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Il marmo spirante : sculpture and experience in seventeenth-century Rome

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Il Marmo Spirante
Sculpture & Experience in
Seventeenth-Century Rome

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Preface

This study is concerned with seventeenth-century sculpture in Rome, but it is not a study of the ordinary kind. It will not give an overview of the period, or of a stylistic development, nor will it be restricted to a single artist, or one specific type of sculpture. Although the work and reception of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, without a doubt the sculptor who managed to leave the largest impression on the sculpture of the period, will play a central role, this is not supposed to be a book about him, nor is it to be a book about any of the other seventeenth-century sculptors in particular. Many of such books exist—indeed, some would argue, too many—and I have used them gratefully. And even if many sculptors have been less fortunate than Bernini it is not the aim of this book to fill this gap. So what does this study have to say about the sculpture of the Roman baroque? It is about how people looked at sculpture and how we may look at it today. It is about the ways the seventeenth-century beholder engaged with the apparent life of the sculpted figure, but also with the cold hardness of the marble, and how the sculptor invited him or her to do so. It is about what texts may tell us about these things, and about how we can use psychology to bring these things together. And whereas I have not strived for completeness, I hope some of my ideas will have a relevance beyond the specific cases I relate them to, and even beyond the period I have chosen as my focus.

This thesis has been written in the context of the research project *Art, Agency, and Living Presence in Early Modern Italy*, generously funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and sited at Leiden University. The questions that form the core of this book have been formulated against the background of the main theme of the project, that is, the agency of

early modern Italian art (painting, sculpture, architecture, theatre) and the ways in which beholders engage with art as if it is alive, and I would urge those who are interested in such questions also to have a look at the other studies that have and will come out of it. Some of the ideas I put forward in the text go back to earlier dates though, when I studied psychology and art history at the VU University, Amsterdam, and I am thankful to my two mentors there, Huib Looren de Jong and Paul van den Akker respectively, for providing me with such a rich background.

Among the colleagues of the *Art and Agency* project, I would first like to thank Minou Schraven; without her encouragement to apply for a position within the project this book would have never been written. I am grateful to Caroline van Eck, not only for her support and countless suggestions on my work but also for the lengths she went to in order to secure a place for me in the project. Maarten Delbeke has generously shared with me his broad knowledge on the Roman baroque, and his numerous suggestions on my texts often made me feel that he knew better than myself what I wanted to say. Like Minou, also the other post-docs of the project, Stijn Bussels and Lex Hermans, have been inspiring colleagues, and it will be difficult to forget our productive discussions and laughter-filled research meetings.

Pallas, later Institute of Cultural Disciplines, provided a lively scholarly context for my work while as a member of the Huizinga Institute I had many opportunities to discuss my ideas in an interdisciplinary setting. During the annual workshops that were organized in the context of the *Art and Agency* project at the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Studies in Wassenaar I have profited greatly from discussing my work with the scholars who joined us there. I recall particularly fruitful exchanges with Malcolm Baker, Frank Fehrenbach, Jason Gaiger, Jeanette Kohl, Arno Witte and Joanna Woodall.

My research could not have been conducted without the hospitality and support of both the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome and the Dutch University Institute of Art History in Florence. At the institute in Rome I am particularly grateful to Bert Treffers, David Rijser, Ivana Bolognese, and the other members of staff. At the Florence institute to Bert Meijer, Gert Jan van der Sman, and Tjarda Vermijden.

Finally I thank my family, who have encouraged and supported me throughout my studies and academic endeavours. I dedicate this book to Elsje van Kessel, who joined me on this crazy ride, and has never failed to stand by me.

Introduction

*Nature draws out my soul in vain,
and though enclosed in alpine stone,
my art dissolves me,
and opens mountains, and gives me life, and depetrifies:
it breathes human desires into me,
into the hard stone, yet I have not frail life,
for its solidity makes me immortal.*

— Giovan Pietro Bellori, 1672¹

Thus, sculpture speaks. Given a voice through the pen of Giovan Pietro Bellori, the great art critic of the seventeenth century, it wavers between life and death, flesh and stone, breath and immortality. Even if art breathes human desires into stone, gives life, and depetrifies [*spetra*], softening stone into flesh, sculpture remains hard, unmoving and impenetrable. The contradiction caught in these lines by Bellori is one that has dominated the discussion of sculpture since antiquity up to modernity; it is a contradiction furthermore, that lies at the heart of how the beholder confronts the work of art.

Alex Potts has referred to the beholder's ambiguous relation with sculpture as 'the Pygmalion problem,' which he defines as 'the potential for frustration resulting from the fact that, however convincing a sculpture might conjure up a warm living body, it remains a cold, inert object.'² There is more than this potential for frustration alone, though, that underlies the beholder's responses to the sculpted object; there is a whole array of behaviours that can be related to this double character of sculpture, all involving what we may call a confusion of domains, where one aspect intrudes on the other. The mimetic, 'visual' arts invite a response, an interaction—as they represent, they make present anew. Yet, by their very nature as images, as objects of canvas and paint, of marble or

¹ The poem, simply titled 'sculpture', is taken from Bellori's *Vite*, where, together with 'painting' and 'architecture' it is placed between the introductory text *L'idea* and the biography of Annibale Carracci. Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 26: 'Natura in van mi toglie | L'alma, e s'entro mi chiude alpina pietra, | L'arte mia mi discioglie, | Et apre i monti, e mi dà vita, e spetra: | M'inspira umane voglie | Nel duro sasso, e non ho vita frale, | Che la durezza sua mi fa immortale.' Trans. adopted from Bellori/Wohl, Sedgwick Wohl & Montanari 2005, p. 66.

² Cf. Potts 2000, p. 34; the historiography of this problem is discussed by Caroline van Eck in a forthcoming book.

bronze, they keep the beholder at bay, push him or her away. Indeed, this ambiguity is not unique to the art of sculpture, though, so argues Potts, it is highlighted by sculpture in two interesting ways.³ Firstly, sculpture entails a physical presence, a body that shares the space of the beholder, and that we may relate to as ‘other.’ It is something we encounter, we may pass by, walk around and reach out and touch. And secondly, because the represented figure is, at least seemingly, identical to the ‘lifeless mass of sculpture,’ the discrepancy between the two becomes all the more acute.

Sculpture thus readily poses the question of how it relates to real life and how it engages the beholder. As Bellori’s poem suggests as well, such a concern was no less significant for seventeenth-century Rome, the focus of this study. Indeed, even if this problem has up to date not been systematically studied by scholars of the Roman baroque, the physical and living presence of sculpture was played out at length and in various ways in contemporary debates. With protestant charges of idolatry in the centre of attention, authors such as Gabriele Pallotti and Carlo Borromeo tried to provide a theory of imagery which could confute such accusations.⁴ At the same time, the literary tradition of ekphrasis continued to flourish, producing ever new ways to thematize the vivacious nature of the sculpted figure and its interaction with the beholder.

The ‘Prima Apprensione’

A highly interesting new angle on this challenging relation between art and spectator was formulated by the Jesuit philosopher Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667), generally known for his book on the *History of the Council of Trent*, but among art historians and literary scholars working on the Italian baroque as an important theorician as well as a friend of Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Pallavicino’s ideas on mimesis were not part of a theory of visual art *per se*; rather, his considerations on this topic are part of a larger argument and must be seen in the light of his main interest in theology, ethics, and poetics.⁵ Where Pallavicino displays a theoretical interest in the visual arts, he arrives there by a roundabout way, discussing it as a part of his theory of ethics and epistemology. Yet, the fact that Pallavicino introduces the arts to illustrate and underline certain points in his philosophy is significant enough, and even more so considering that his ideas may, as we will see, be related to and further elucidate a more common discourse on art found in poetry and literary texts.

³ Potts 2000, p. 35. See furthermore Getsy 2004, pp. 9-14.

⁴ See Scavizzi 1992.

⁵ Delbeke 2002, p. 14.

In his *Del bene* or ‘On the Good’ of 1644, a treatise on ethics, Pallavicino devises an epistemology which allows him to disconnect verisimilitude and the success of art.⁶ Dividing the human intellect in three ways of knowing, he gives a significant role to what he calls the *prima apprensione*, a moment of perception which ‘takes note of the object almost as if it has it between its hands, without however to authenticate it as true, nor to discard it as false...’⁷ Even if on the level of the *giudicio* we know—and we almost always do—that the work of art is not ‘true’, that is, even if we do not mistake art for a living being, the non-judgemental *prima apprensione* allows us to enjoy the work even so. Thus, the *prima apprensione* is not so much a suspension of disbelief—rather, the beholder is well aware of the fact that the work of art he is looking at is not the real, living thing it depicts. The reason that it moves the beholder is again not that he believes it to be that what it represents, or excepts it to be so, but rather, that it ‘awakens’ our memories of the real and the emotions that go with these. It is the intensity with which these memories are aroused that now determines the success of art. Pallavicino writes:

Now the more similar in every minute detail the stories of poetry or the figures of the brush are to the object that is real, and has been experienced before by the listener of the one, and the viewer of the other, with the more efficacy they awake their mobile simulacra, that lie scattered over the various chambers of memory. And thus it turns out: the more lively the apprehension, the more fervid the passion.⁸

The image brings the beholder back to a kaleidoscope of previous experiences or rather, makes these experiences present anew. Thus, the image does not move us as life itself may do, but rather by the way it appeals to our lived experience. The plurality of memories that it awakens stir the emotions. It is this importance of the memory that also informs Pallavicino’s ideas about mimesis, which he discusses earlier in the *Del bene*. His critique is here aimed at Plato who, in his eyes, too easily discards the mimetic arts as only faint reflections of

⁶ The discussion is in Pallavicino 1644, pp. 451-467 [= III.49-53]; see Snyder 2005, pp. 50-53, Delbeke 2004b, pp. 349-351 (with further references in n. 42), Delbeke 2002, pp. 163-228, Montgomery 1992, pp. 34-47, Croce 1966, pp. 170-171, Croce 1929, pp. 183-188.

⁷ Pallavicino 1644, pp. 452: ‘L’uno dunque di questi tre modi si chiama *prima apprensione*, percióché apprende quasi l’oggetto fra le mani, senza però autenticarlo per vero, né riprovarlo per falso...’

⁸ Pallavicino 1644, p. 457: ‘Ora, quanto più simili in ogni minutissima circostanza son le favole della poesia, ò le figure del pennello all’oggetto vero, ed altre volte sperimentato da chi ode l’una, è mira l’altre, con tanto maggior efficacia destano elle que’ mobili simulacri, che ne giacevano dispersi per le varie stanze della memoria. E quindi risulta e più vivace l’apprensione, e più fervida la passione.’

the real. For Pallavicino, imitation is not at all about the relation between the object and its representation.

To imitate [...] means to produce with one's work some of the sensible effects (and in particular the most conspicuous, which are those that appear to the eye) which one usually finds only in the object being imitated; while, if it occurs that the same effects are found elsewhere, promptly, they will awaken in the imagination the memory of that object in which it is most commonly found, and of the other of its properties that we were used to experience [when confronted with the object].⁹

Taking a step back to the sculpted object, we may now see how the paradoxical nature of the beholder's engagement with sculpture comes to stand in a different light with the introduction of the *prima apprensione*. Our responses to works of art are not determined by our judgement of their truth-value, that is to say, by our belief that they are real living entities, and thus the problem of idolatry can be avoided. And yet, even if standing there so obviously as rigid, cold, hard marble, the faculty of the *prima apprensione* allows a kindling of the *fantasia*, an awakening of memories and, as a result, a stirring of the emotions very much as if the beholder was confronted with the real.

Now the significance of Pallavicino's concept of the *prima apprensione* was already recognized by Benedetto Croce around the turn of the twentieth century, and has since then been studied extensively by various authors, up to the recent discussion by Maarten Delbeke. What has not been discussed though, is what its implications are with regard to the work of art, and more in particular, with regard to the intricate interaction that characterizes the beholder's encounter with the sculpted object. It is on these implications that we will further elaborate in this book, focussing in particular on the art of sculpture, as an art which, with its ostensible physicality, so obviously imposes itself on the beholder. Indeed, the shift of attention implied by Pallavicino's epistemology carries with it a new problem, which forces us to turn anew to the works of art themselves and the way they were perceived. For what is an image, if it is not a copy of reality? And how may we understand our responses to these artworks, if not by a confusion?

⁹ Pallavicino 1644, p. 219 [= II.29]: 'L'imitare [...] vuol dire produrre col suo lavoro alcuni effetti sensibili (e specialmente i più cospicui, quali sono le apparenze fatte alla vista) che sogliano rirrovarsi [sic] nella sola cosa immitata; Onde se avviene, che que' medesimi effetti s'incontrino altrove, tosto svegliano nell'immaginazione la ricoranza di quella cosa in cui sola ordinariamente si trovano, e dell'altre proprietà di lei, che in essa summo soliti di sperimentare.'

Approach

Attempting to answer these questions, we may return to Pallavicino's text and have a closer look at the terms he uses. For whereas, in the first place, he aims to make an epistemological point, more implicitly, the text suggests an underlying process. The three central terms around which Pallavicino's argument revolves, and which will be sort of a leading thread throughout this book, are that of mimesis, memory, and response. As we have seen, for Pallavicino the success of an imitation is no longer determined by a direct relation to nature, but rather by response. Consequently, mimesis is intrinsically subjective; a beholder is needed to determine the success of an imitation. What is more, this beholder needs to have a certain set of memories to which the artist may refer. These memories may be images and impressions related to the other senses, but also cultural memories, as Pallavicino makes clear when he gives an explanation of our fear to walk alone in the dark, 'even if we know that no Ogres will come and eat us.' Rationally, that is, on the level of the *giudicio*, we know that there is nothing to be frightened about, and yet our memories of the horrid childrens' stories, 'deeply impressed in our then still malleable soul [*anima*],' are awakened by the darkness and rouse our fears.¹⁰

Obviously, such a view of mimesis and response has also profound implications for the role of the artist—he is, after all, always also a beholder—and, consequently, for the way we may look at the works of art he makes. No longer does the artist inquire into the facts of nature, but rather his aim is to awaken the 'mobile simulacra, that lie scattered over the various chambers of memory...'¹¹ Not likeness but liveliness—*vivacità*—is what he should aim at, for 'the more lively the apprehension, the more fervid the passion.' Thus, the artist refers to a shared memory, both bodily and culturally.

Taking the process that lies implicitly in Pallavicino's epistemology as a point of departure, three instruments will be used in order to study the beholder's double, 'Pygmalian' relation with sculpture. Firstly, we will use textual sources, which, rather than as historical documents, will be considered first and

¹⁰ Pallavicino 1644, p. 458: '...quanti sono, che treman d'insopportabile orrore ò nel caminar soli al buio, ò nel giacer la notte presso à un cadavero: i quali tuttavia ben sanno e che l'Orco non hà licenza di manucar le persone all'oscuro; e che i morti non fanno guerra? Mà la forte immaginazione di quegli oggetti per loro natura mesti congiunta con la memoria delle orribili favole udite da noi nella fanciullezza, & impresse altamente nell'animo allor di cera, spremno à forza la passione dello spavento dalla parte inferiore dell'anima; benché nello stesso tempo la parte superiore, à cui non si mostra verun sopratante pericolo, vive sicura, e tranquilla.'

¹¹ A similar conclusion was drawn by Argan 1955, p. 11. See also Cropper & Dempsey 1987, p. 506.

foremost as indications of the kind of problematic relation between beholder and sculpture that is the starting point of our discussion. Many documents that will be referred to are in fact well known or at least readily available in modern editions (though some documents are newly found in archives and libraries); yet, in the light of the questions posed above and with a thorough close reading, a more extensive or at least different interpretation than commonly found in the scholarly literature can be put forward. Part of the new insights distilled from these texts will receive a further significance by relating them to insights from modern-day psychology, the second instrument. Clearly, Pallavicino introduces a psychological dimension in his discussion of mimesis. Following his lead, and, looking beyond the restrictions of his Aristotelian perspective, we will borrow freely from the conceptual frameworks of modern-day psychology. The third instrument involves a close examination of particular works of sculpture. By relating the insights from both textual sources and psychology to specific works of art, an attempt will be made to scrutinize these works in a way that can be linked to contemporary, seventeenth-century modes of viewing.

How This Book is Set Up

As suggested above, Pallavicino's ideas with regard to mimesis can be related to a literary discourse which, though maybe less systematic, was both more common and more specifically related to art. It is to this discourse that we will turn in chapter one, looking at ways in which seventeenth-century poetry and other literary texts thematized the interaction between sculpture and beholder. Moreover, it will be argued that such texts actually shaped the response to art, thus giving us an important tool to trace contemporary viewing behaviour. As such, our discussion in chapter one will function, with Pallavicino's more theoretical considerations, as the background against which the remainder of the book may be understood.

The remaining chapters in this book can be grouped according to the terms we have distilled from Pallavicino's epistemology, namely, mimesis, memory and response. The problem of mimesis is central to the second chapter, where the focus will be on the portrait bust and what it means for a bust to be a likeness. Even if the portrait in general is excluded by Pallavicino from his aesthetic considerations (contrary to the history painter, so he argues, the portraitist literally follows nature), nowhere can this problem of mimesis be so clearly defined as here, for the intuition still often is that a sculpted likeness can be easily created by tracing the sitter's physiognomy, indeed, almost as if making a death mask. As the practice of caricature (which was developed precisely in this period) shows, though, a likeness can be created in only a few lines. So, we will

ask, what does the remainder of the bust do? In chapter three, we will stick with the problem of likeness and the portrait bust, though now the focus will be more on the problem of the changeable nature of our appearance. Departing from a particularly interesting document, we will see how the copy theory of likeness comes further under stress by the idea that one's likeness is not uniform but that one has various likenesses related to the varied aspects of one's character. It is this problem that allows us also to look more closely at the role of the artist as the person who tries to capture such elements in one single bust. A similar concern lies at the heart of chapter four, where the problem of movement or the suggestion thereof in sculpture will be discussed. As will be argued, this problem is intrinsically related to that of plurality of the portrait bust discussed in chapter three.

In chapter five we will return to the problem of mimesis, but now more strictly related to memory, in a discussion of the sculpted nude flesh and how it may evoke a response in the beholder. The discussion of flesh allows us to focus in particular on the tactile, haptic qualities of sculpture. Even though sculpture was not actually touched, the artist, appealing to our earliest and most basic memories, may indeed evoke this sense by suggestion. Subsequently, in chapter six, the role of mimesis is pushed to the background in a discussion of draperies and the sculptor's touch. In contrast with the physical, tangible flesh, thoroughly anchored in the human anatomy, draperies rely more on the sculptor's fancy, allowing for a more direct expression of creativity and practice. Even so, they refer to a series of memories and experiences shared by even the more common beholder.

In the final chapter, the focus will be on one particular work of art, Giovan Lorenzo Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*, in order to study more closely actual responses to sculpture, and how these were given a place within a specific historical context. Whereas the image, severed from its context, is in a way always ambiguous, a manipulation of the context may highlight a certain interpretation and suppress certain responses. Thus, text may be used to create what will be referred to as a frame for a specific work of art.

Existing approaches

As mentioned, the extensive scholarly literature on the topic of Roman baroque sculpture has never given a systematic account of the questions posed above. This does not make this literature useless for our aims; throughout the book

extensive use has been made of the material extant in the secondary literature.¹² The large quantity of documents that has been unearthed in roughly the last century, has often been approached rather one-dimensionally. New, more theoretical questions, allow for a fresh angle on these sources, and suggest unexpected connections. Rudolf Preimesberger's advances into the contextual analysis of documentary evidence have shown that different readings may be valid for one and the same text, and as much may be said for the works of art themselves. The close visual analysis of sculpture by authors such as Irving Lavin have set a high standard indeed. Admittedly, not all artists are equally well studied. The large amount of scholarly work on Giovan Lorenzo Bernini stands in marked contrast with the scarce attention for sculptors such as Francesco Mochi (working at the beginning of the century) or Domenico Guidi (working at the end), even though the latter two are both key figures of their time.¹³ These differences are not only a matter of the amount of attention, or even of amount of available archival material, but also of the kind of attention. Those interested in Bernini may read about, among many other things, his quarrels with the neurotic Francesco Borromini, about his affair with the promiscuous Costanza Bonarelli, about the numerous Italian and Latin poems that were written in praise of his works, about his groundbreaking activities in the *Commedia dell'Arte*, about his friendly contacts with popes, cardinals, poets and philosophers alike, about the theories and ideas that may or may not underlie his art, and not in the least of all, about his sculptures from a host of angles. For lesser known sculptors, on the other hand, the material is often restricted to some *nuovi documenti* or *nuovi contributi*. With only so much to work with, art historians focus primarily on questions of attribution and chronology.

Now obviously, these are important questions to ask, they constitute the ground work, so to speak, of our discipline. Even so, in the present study most

¹² The literature is dominated by studies on Gian Lorenzo Bernini; among the classics we may note Lavin 1980, Kauffmann 1970, Hibbard 1965, Wittkower 1955, and Frascchetti 1900. Works of significant note on other sculptors are Montagu 1985 on Alessandro Algardi, Dombrowski 1997 on Giuliano Finelli, Lingo 2007 and Boudon-Machuel 2005 on François Duquesnoy, and Sciberras 2006 on Melchiorre Cafà. For a more general discussion of Roman baroque sculpture see Montagu 1989 and the overview in Wittkower/Conners & Montagu 1999, vol. 1, pp. 89-93, vol. 2, pp. 5-21, 88-98, 121-132, vol. 3, pp. 52-62, Nava Cellini 1982, pp. 9-115 and Pope-Hennessy 1963 [4th ed. 1996], pp. 343-411. An indispensable tool for the study of Roman baroque sculpture is the illustrated catalogue of seventeenth-century sculpture in Roman public collections by Ferrari & Papaldo 1999.

¹³ Only since very recent are these artist getting some more attention. For Francesco Mochi see Favero 2009 & 2008 and Lingo 2009; see furthermore Firenze 1981; for Domenico Guidi see the recent contributions by Giometti 2009 & 2007 and earlier work by Bershadt in the 1970s, in particular Bershadt 1970.

of the problems of attribution, chronology, and iconography will be left aside, or at least they will be subjugated to the main question, which is concerned with the experience of art and the role of the artwork's physical qualities in eliciting a response. Returning to our main argument, it may be noted that, even if its central question has not been approached head-on, authors have touched upon different aspects more than once, and from unexpected angles, in discussions of seventeenth-century Italian sculpture and art in general. Among the aspects that are particularly relevant to our discussion, we may note that of the attribution of life to images, the role of empathy or feeling-with for understanding works of art, and that of viewer involvement.

Jacob Burckhardt, in his extensive and famously negative discussion of seventeenth-century sculpture in his *Cicerone* of 1855, speaks of the life of baroque sculpture, a 'false dramatic life' which has descended into sculpture, as this art is 'no longer satisfied with the representation of mere *being* and wants to render a *doing* at all costs, for only then does she believe to mean something.'¹⁴ Burckhardt's psychological sensitivity to the double character of sculpture becomes most clear, though, when he describes the feeling of a loss of balance that one may experience when seeing some of the sculpted figures perched high upon architectural structures. 'What worries us,' he writes 'is the naturalism of their depiction, and the tightrope walker-like claim to an actual relationship to the space they are in, that is to say, to an actual sitting, standing, or leaning on such a dare devil place.' For the idealized sculptures of the fourteenth century, he adds, 'the eye is never scared.'¹⁵ Thus, Burckhardt instils these images with life; they affect the beholder as if they were real, living entities.

If with Burckhardt the underlying problem is still very much implicit, indeed, in a way he is still coping with the problem rather than analyzing it, his pupil Heinrich Wölfflin devised a much more conscious way of dealing with the beholder's responses and the apparent life of art, making it in fact central to his approach. Referring to ideas about *Einfühlung*, or empathy, which were first made popular by Friedrich Theodor Vischer in his *Ästhetik* of 1846-1857 and his son Robert Vischer in his 1872 dissertation *Über das optische Formgefühl*,

¹⁴ Burckhardt/Roeck 2001, p. 555 [697]: 'Genug, dass nunmehr ein falsches dramatisches Leben in die Sculptur fährt, dass sie mit der Darstellung des blossen *Seins* nicht mehr zufrieden ist und um jeden Preis ein *Thun* darstellen will; nur so glaubt sie etwas zu bedeuten.'

¹⁵ Burckhardt/Roeck 2001, p. 561 [705]: 'Was uns besorgt macht, ist der Naturalismus ihrer Darstellung und die seiltänzerische Prätension auf ein wirkliches Verhältniss zu dem Raume wo sie sich befinden, d. h. auf ein wirkliches Sitzen, Stehen, Lehnen an einer halsbrechenden Stelle. Für eine Statue des XIV. Jahrh., mit ihrem einfachen idealen Styl, ist dem Auge niemals bange, so hoch und dünn auch das Spitzthürmchen sein mag, auf welchem sie steht.'

Wölfflin argues that we 'judge every object by analogy with our own bodies.'¹⁶ He continues:

The object—even if completely dissimilar to ourselves—will not only transform itself immediately into a creature, with head and foot, back and front; and not only are we convinced that this creature must feel ill at ease if it does not stand upright and seems about to fall over, but we go so far as to experience, to a highly sensitive degree, the spiritual condition and contentment or discontent expressed by any configuration, however different from ourselves. We can comprehend the dumb imprisoned existence of a bulky, memberless, amorphous conglomeration, heavy and immobile, as easily as the fine and clear dispositions of something delicate and lightly articulated.¹⁷

Even if Wölfflin's approach has a clear echo of Herder's *Plastik*, indeed one of the most explicit emphatic explorations of the sculpted object up to date, what in this passage is stated as a universal principle, is only applied to architecture, that is, to an art that, at least at a first glance, is much further removed from our own bodies than sculpture.¹⁸ Where he discusses seventeenth-century sculpture in other studies, he largely sticks to a more formal analysis, stressing its painterly qualities, while movement, as inherently related to the painterly, also returns as a central, though less explicitly theorized term.¹⁹

We have to jump yet another generation, to Wölfflin's pupil Werner Weisbach to find an extensive exploration of seventeenth-century sculpture that accounts for this kind of psychological thinking, even if in a less explicit manner.²⁰ In his influential studies on the art of the baroque of 1921 and 1924, Weisbach displays a profound interest for the Italian sculpture of the period,

¹⁶ For an overview of this tradition see Büttner 2003 and Mallgrave & Ikonou 1994, the latter with some of the key texts in translation.

¹⁷ Wölfflin 1926, p. 78: 'Jeden Gegenstand beurteilen wir nach Analogie unseres Körpers. Nicht nur verwandelt er sich für uns – auch bei ganz unähnlichen Formen – sofort in ein Wesen, das Kopf und Fuß, Vorder- und Hinterseite hat. Nicht nur sind wir überzeugt, es könne ihm nicht wohl zumute sein, wenn er schief dasteht und zu fallen droht, sondern mit einer unglaublichen Feinfühligkeit empfinden wir auch die Lust und Unlust im Dasein jeder beliebigen Konfiguration, jedes uns noch so fernstehenden Gebildes. Das dumpf befangene Leben des Klumpiggeballten, das keine freien Organe besitzt und schwer und unbeweglich daliegt, ist uns so verständlich wie der helle feine Sinn dessen, was zart und leicht gegliedert ist. Überall legen wir ein Körperliches Dasein unter, das dem unsrigen konform ist. Nach den Ausdrucksprinzipien, die wir von unserem Körper her kennen, deuten wir die gesamte Außenwelt. Was wir an uns als Ausdruck kraftvollen Ernstes, strammen Sich-Zusammennehmens oder als haltloses, schweres Daliegen erfahren haben, übertragen wir auf alles andere Körperliche.' Here also the reference to Vischer.

¹⁸ Herder 1778; for a recent discussion of this work see Potts 2000, pp. 28–34.

¹⁹ Wölfflin 1915, pp. 58–68.

²⁰ For an account of the relation between Wölfflin and Weisbach see Imorde 2004.

even if he focuses almost exclusively on Bernini, who is presented as the undisputed ‘master and leader’ of seventeenth-century sculpture.²¹ Not unlike Burckhardt, Weisbach stresses the role of naturalism in stimulating the beholder’s *Einfühlung* or empathy. Bernini, so he writes, ‘wants to instil his [...] figures with a high level of expressive energy [*Ausdrucksenergie*] in order to carry the beholder away in intense empathy...’ Moreover, the beholder is urged to empathize by the ‘high level of naturalism’ of the figures.²² The concept of movement, which we already found with Wölfflin, becomes for Weisbach a central term for understanding baroque sculpture; indeed, he even makes it one of the central characteristics of the baroque as a whole. But for Weisbach movement is not only a formal quality but an actual quality of the figures themselves; it is *bewegtes Leben*, the movement of life, that the sculptor is after.²³ The ‘painterly values’ Bernini manages to give to the marble, allow him to imbue his sculpted bodies with a ‘sensual life,’ and it is indeed in the sensuality of his sculptures that the role of movement comes most clearly to the fore. In fact, for Weisbach, Bernini’s most important means to move the beholder—elsewhere he speaks of an *Gefühlsreflex* or emotional reflex—is the eroticism of his figures.²⁴

Bernini has worked all his means to arrive at a new kind of flexibility in the expression of the sensuality of his figures. From his marble seems to flow forth an erotic *fluidum*; he has made the stone incomparably sensual and sensible.²⁵

Weisbach’s appealing analysis of Bernini’s statue of Saint Jerome (fig. 1) in Siena, the latter grounded, as he argues, in a fusing together of religiosity and bodily sensuality, may function as an example of how these qualities work together.

²¹ Weisbach 1924, p. 37: ‘...so heben sich neben dem Meister und Führer nur wenige Individualitäten heraus.’

²² Weisbach 1924, p. 32: ‘...er [Bernini] will in seine nach andersartigen Prinzipien angelegten Formgebilde auch ein Höchstmaß von Ausdrucksenergie bannen und zu einem intensiven Miterleben des Gegenstandes hinreißen. Dabei wird die Einfühlungsfähigkeit des Beschauers durch einen stärkeren Grad von Naturalismus angeregt.’

²³ Weisbach 1924, p. 36: ‘So kommt seine Technik auch dem Zentralproblem des Barock entgegen: Bewegungseindrücke in stark illusionistischer Weise zu veranschaulichen.’ Cf. also Weisbach 1957, p. 59.

²⁴ Weisbach 1921, p. 6.

²⁵ Weisbach 1924, p. 32: ‘Bernini hat mit allen Mitteln dahin gearbeitet, für den suggestiven Ausdruck des Sinnlichen der Plastik eine neue Art von Geschmeidigkeit zu verleihen. Von seinem Marmor scheint ein erotisches Fluidum auszuströmen, er hat den Stein unvergleichlich sensualisiert und sensibilisiert.’

...the aged ascetic, who with bent upper body presses the head of the crucifix he holds in his hands to his cheek, and, who, with closed eyes, gives himself to the delights of a serene sense of bliss. The function that the angel's arrow has in the Theresa group, is here reserved for the crucifix. By a kind of fetishist touching between human corporality [*Menschlich-Körperlichen*] and a materialized *sanktum* a mystical state is brought about in the subject. As exemplary of Bernini's art one may point to the contrast between the sleep walker-like tranquillity expressed in the face, and the forceful movements of the body and garment. The drapery, with a piece of cloth fluttering sideways as if caught by the wind, thrown around the naked body and torn apart by an unruly stirring of folds, functions in the whole as an element of mood, fuelling every stimulating effect on the senses...²⁶

For Weisbach, life, movement, and sensuality are imprinted in the marble, the sculpted figures breathing the air that surrounds them, all in order to elicit a response in the beholder.²⁷ Where Wölfflin still is concerned with on a rather basic forms of embodiment, focussing on aspects as gravity, contraction, strength, Weisbach envisages a feeling-with of the beholder that comprise all its complex emotions and responses.²⁸

With the demise of theories of *Einfißlung* as too subjective, the promise of Wölfflin's psychological approach to the study of sculpture lost momentum. Even so, the position of the (implied) spectator—but ever more historically defined—continued to be an important factor in the study of seventeenth-century art. A significant contribution has been Giulio Carlo Argan's short but influential paper on rhetoric and the baroque. Argan's paper revolves around the thesis that baroque art is essentially rhetorical—rhetorical in the sense that

²⁶ Weisbach 1921, p. 139: 'Auf einer Verschmelzung von Religiösem und Körperlich-sensuellem in der äußeren Erscheinung beruht auch der Grundgedanke von Berninis Marmorstatue des heiligen Hieronymus, ein für eine Nische in des Doms von Siena geschaffenes Spätwerk: der greise Asket, der mit vorgebeugtem Oberkörper das Haupt des Kruzifixes, das er in den Händen halt, gegen seine Wange drückt und sich mit geschlossenen Augen dem Genuß eines ruhevollen Seligkeitsgefühls hingibt. Die Funktion, die bei der Theresa-Gruppe der Pfeil des Engels ausübt, fällt hier dem Kruzifix zu. Durch eine Art fetischistischer Berührung zwischen einem Menschlich-Körperlichen und einem materialisierten Sanktum wird ein mystischer Zustand bei dem Betroffenen hervorgerufen. Als bezeichnend für Berninis künstlerische Auffassung sei der Kontrast zwischen der in dem Antlitz ausgeprägten schlafwandlerischen Ruhe und der starken Bewegung in Körper und Gewand angemerkt. Die um den nackten Körper geworfene, von einem wilden Faltengewühl zerrissene Draperie mit dem wie aufgewirbelt seitwärts flatternden Tuchstück dient in der Gesamtökonomie als Stimmungselement und soll jene die Sinne erregende Wirkung befördern...'

²⁷ Weisbach 1924, p. 36: 'Seine Figure stehen gleichsam in Wechselwirkung mit der Atmosphäre, atmen in sie aus und empfangen Atem von ihr zurück.'

²⁸ See for the former's ideas also Wölfflin 1999.

it is an art of persuasion, and thus an art that readily engages the beholder.²⁹ Even if Argan's ideas open up a series of angles on the art of the period, the (indeed not unproblematic) implications of his thesis have only hesitantly found their way into the scholarly debate. Nonetheless, it seems that we may find an echo of Argan's remarks in the work of Bernini scholar Rudolf Wittkower. Where traces of Wölfflin's ideas still play in the background of Wittkower's approach to baroque art, the theory of *Einfühlung* had definitively become obsolete to him, and Argan's ideas implied a role for the beholder and his or her response that was more anchored in the seventeenth-century itself.³⁰ Yet, Wittkower ventures only haphazardly into more psychological interpretations, a well known exception being his discussion of Bernini's busts of Scipione Borghese and Costanza Bonarelli, which he characterizes as 'speaking' likenesses. Wittkower—as we will further discuss below—stresses the manner in which these busts engage the beholder; they 'seek contact with others and need partners to bring their faculties to life.' Thus, conform to Argan's thesis, these artworks engage the spectator, presuppose him. Rather than naturalism alone, this engagement is the result of result of the 'spontaneous expression of the face,' the 'transitoriness of the psychological moment'. The portrayed seems to be 'caught in stone' while 'engaged in animated conversation,' or, in the case of Bonarelli, 'in the grip of passion.'³¹

A wholly different take on the problem, though not totally independent of Argan's suggestion, is that presented by Irving Lavin in his extensive discussion of Bernini's chapel architecture in his *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* of 1980. The central term here is unity; visual unity, structural unity and thematic unity, so argues Lavin, all contribute to the hemming in of the beholder. Already at the outset of the book, as part of a brief discussion of the crossing of Saint Peter's, Lavin makes clear what his central concern is:

...a volume of space is treated as the site of a dramatic action in which the beholder is involved physically as well as psychologically. The drama takes place in an environment that is coextensive with the real world [...] Because the statues act as wit-

²⁹ Argan 1955. For a further interpretation of Argan's thesis see Levy 2004, pp. 48-52 and Contardi 1985. The importance of the text for their own work on baroque art has been noted by Wittkower 1958, p. 92 and Lavin 1989, p. 9. A psychological approach to 'the baroque' as an era had been put forward by Erwin Panofsky in 1934, though in a lecture that was only published much later; cf. Panofsky/Lavin 1995, p. 9.

³⁰ Cf. Payne 2008, pp. 118, 111.

³¹ Wittkower 1955, p. 15.

nesses, the observer is associated with them and hence, inevitably, becomes a participant.³²

This involvement of the beholder is something that, for Lavin, is almost a necessity; the beholder's participation is 'involuntarily' and 'automatic.'³³ As to the process behind this involuntarily involvement, though, Lavin is less explicit, and keeps returning to the apparent significance of the unity of Bernini's art. Only as what seems to have been an after thought, does Lavin present his readers with some key to this process, namely in his discussion of Bernini's theatre activities. Here, by a layering of illusions, by recreating the theatre within the theatre, the beholder is indeed tricked into participating in the larger narrative, involuntarily he or she finds him- or herself to be dealt the role of the actor.³⁴

Notwithstanding these—indeed exceptional—accounts of aspects of our problem, a more programmatic interest in the beholder and its coping with the apparent life of art in this period only developed in the last two decades. An important impetus for this interest came from the 1989 book *The Power of Images* of David Freedberg, who, like somewhat later Horst Bredekamp, very much drew on the tradition of the turn of the previous century, more in particular on the work of Julius von Schlosser and Aby Warburg.³⁵ Moreover, another significant impulse came from the more recent development of so-called reader-response criticism in literary studies, which, in its wake, incited art historians—we may also note here the influential example of John Shearman's 1992 *Only Connect*—to look closer at the role of the (intended) beholder.³⁶

Returning to the art of seventeenth-century Rome, we may note that, even if significant work has been done on what kind of responses the art of the period should achieve in theory, the question how this reflects back on the actual works of art has hardly been asked. A noteworthy exception is Giovanni Careri's 1991 book on Bernini's chapel architecture and what he, with reference to Filippo Baldinucci's Bernini *vita*, calls the *bel composto*, a book that touches on the present study in more than one interesting way.³⁷ Careri's question, formulated as an explicit response to Lavin's more historical analysis, is 'how does it work?' or, in other words, how art brings about a certain response in the be-

³² Lavin 1980, p. 21.

³³ Cf. Lavin 1980, pp. 32, 103.

³⁴ Lavin 1980, p. 155.

³⁵ Freedberg 1989, Bredekamp 1995; cf. Schlosser/Medicus 1993.

³⁶ Shearman 1992. For reader-response criticism (or reception aesthetics) and art history see Kemp 1985. For a discussion of seventeenth-century literature in this tradition see Fish 1972.

³⁷ Careri 1995 (first published in 1991).

holder, a question which he tries to answer with an exceptional combination of early modern sources and more recent ideas about perception, noticeably, with references to Sergei Eisenstein's ideas about 'montage of attractions' in cinema.³⁸ Other, more recent contributions have been less audacious in their approach. Author's such as Sebastian Schütze and Ingo Herklotz have looked at the significance of poetry and other texts for understanding something about the dispositions of contemporary beholders.³⁹ In his article on *Berninis Beseelungen*, Frank Fehrenbach has taken this approach a step further by including a wide selection of sources, ranging from artist biographies to scientific texts about life, warmth, and spirits.⁴⁰

The most recent step in the development is the recognition that a full understanding of the complicated relation of the beholder to the apparent life of the artwork merits a more interdisciplinary approach. This insight has also been the point of departure of the research project *Art, Agency and Living Presence in Early Modern Italy*, funded by the Dutch Foundation for Scientific Research (NWO) and directed by Caroline van Eck at Leiden University between 2005 and 2010, which included approaches varying from rhetoric, anthropology, psychology, and literary studies.⁴¹ A rather similar initiative is that of the *Collegium for the Advanced Study of Picture Act and Embodiment*, sited at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin and directed by Horst Bredekamp and, until his recent untimely death, philosopher John Michael Krois, which has a strong philosophical component.⁴²

The present study, written as part of the Leiden project, is related to the tradition sketched above in several ways. Most importantly, it tries to bring together the psychological approach of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century with the more recent interest in a literary approach to gain access to the dispositions of the contemporary beholder. Like Careri, we will also address the question of 'how does it work,' and like Shearman and Bredekamp we will look for clues to the beholder's responses in the artworks, though the object (sculpture rather than chapel architecture), the period under discussion (the seventeenth century rather than the fifteenth and sixteenth century) and consequently, the method of research will be markedly different. Moreover, rather than referring to ideas that can be traced back to the

³⁸ Careri 1995, pp. 5-7, 73-83.

³⁹ Schütze 2005, Herklotz 2004.

⁴⁰ Fehrenbach 2006.

⁴¹ See the project website at hum.leiden.edu/research/artandagency.

⁴² Bredekamp 2010; see the project website at www.bildakt.de.

turn of the last century, more recent developments in psychology will be taken into consideration, which, even if not unrelated to theories of *Einfühlung*, are more extensively grounded in experimental research.

Psychology

As mentioned, a rather liberal use has been made of extant psychological research, selecting those studies that seem particularly relevant in the light of the historical documents and works of art central to the discussion. Recent developments in cognitive and theoretical psychology facilitate the use of modern-day psychology in relation to earlier periods, among which the seventeenth century, in interesting ways. Many of these developments can be grouped under what Lawrence Barsalou has called *grounded cognition*, which, in a recent review article, he introduces as follows:

Grounded cognition rejects traditional views [which hold] that cognition is computational on amodal symbols in a modular system, independent of the brain's modal systems for perception, action, and introspection. Instead, grounded cognition proposes that modal simulations, bodily states, and situated action underlie cognition.⁴³

This type of cognition, then, as much may be clear, breaks with traditional approaches to cognition by stating that it is grounded (hence *grounded cognition*) in our bodies and its interaction with the environment, implying furthermore that it is tied in with our systems for perception and action. Significantly, such an approach to cognition allows also for a continuum between cognition and emotions. Considering that emotions too should be understood as thoroughly embodied and intrinsically linked with both perception and action, cognition can no longer be regarded as something independent and of a higher order.⁴⁴ Indeed, recent research emphasizes that our understanding even of abstract concepts has a significant emotional component.

Interestingly, what Barsalou here calls 'traditional views,' are views that are specific to the twentieth century; grounded cognition, as he indicates briefly, 'has been the dominant view of cognition for most of recorded history.'⁴⁵ Only under pressure of behaviourism, which did away with mental content altogether and, somewhat later, computational models of cognition grounded in a rather positivist preference for logic and hard numbers, was the dominant view forced to the background. The recent interest for grounded cognition, then, is a step

⁴³ Barsalou 2008, p. 617. See furthermore Pecher & Zwaan 2005.

⁴⁴ Prinz 2005, pp. 103-106.

⁴⁵ Barsalou 2008, p. 619; also Barsalou 2010, p. 717.

back to a model of cognition that was current also in the seventeenth century, or as Barsalou puts it, a ‘reinvention’ of a classic philosophical assumption ‘in the modern context of psychology,’ and it is interesting to see how experimental research that is part of this trend can be projected back to earlier centuries.

In order to illustrate this, we may refer to the ‘modal simulations’ mentioned in the quotation above. Roughly, the idea of model simulations is that our cognitive functions and memories are not formalized in some abstract, symbolic language running independent of the architecture of our body, brain, and perceptual system (thus being amodal, that is, independent of the body and the perceptual system), but actually work with reflections of our sensual experience. The most obvious (and most studied) example of this, is visualization ‘before the mind’s eye’. We have the capacity to simulate a visual experience from recollection, zoom in on details, and even turn it upside-down if we want to. Such mirroring is not confined to vision alone. In fact, many, if not all, of the things we experience involve a variety of senses, and this array of sensual information makes up the multimodal representations (*multimodal* because not restricted to one sense modality) stored in memory and even in the body as a whole. Conversely, these multimodal representations play an important role in how we actually experience and understand our world. Simulations play a role in our understanding of a text’s or an image’s perceptual, motor, and affective content.⁴⁶ Thus, for instance, psychologists have shown that, when simply reading a word denoting an action, our system involved in actually performing this action is activated.⁴⁷ Even if these findings are evidently more sophisticated than Pallavicino’s intuitions, we may find an interesting link with his idea of ‘mobile simulacra’ scattered about our memory and the role these play in perception. For indeed, these simulacra are also multimodal, representing a memory of an event, and object or a person with all its affective and sensory associations, while the perception of only one of these aspects may stir all the related connotations. Moreover, they interact with our perceptions in a dialectic manner; what we perceive and experience is, at least partly, the result of what we have perceived and experienced before.

Indirectly connected to theories of grounded cognition is Alva Noë’s ‘enactive approach’ to perception, which will play a role in the background of our

⁴⁶ Barsalou 2008, p. 633.

⁴⁷ Pulvermüller 2005.

argument. In his 2004 book *Action in Perception*, Noë introduces his ideas on perception as follows:

Perception is not something that happens to us, or in us. It is something we do. Think of a blind person tap-tapping his or her way around a cluttered space, perceiving the space by touch, not all at once, but through time, by skilful probing and movement. This is, or at least ought to be, our paradigm of what perceiving is. The world makes itself available to the perceiver through physical movement and interaction.⁴⁸

If the world makes itself available in such a manner, the same is obviously also true for the artwork; that is to say, looking at a work of art is an activity, an exploration by 'skilful probing and movement.' And although this equally counts for painting as for sculpture, the necessity of such an approach to perception becomes more readily evident in the discussion of sculpture. In fact, it has often been noted that the study of sculpture has been hampered by the dominance of painting in the scholarly debate. Nonetheless, it is only somewhat hesitantly that a more specific sculpture discourse is emerging, a discourse, we may add, that is still particularly focussed on modern sculpture.⁴⁹ The approach to such qualities, though, has, in an attempt to move away from the dominant pictorial conception of perception, been largely phenomenological. The alternative provided by Noë and theories of grounded cognition in general may be regarded as a means to break away from this more personal approach, a means to study sculpture with reference to a theory of perception that can meet the works on their own terms. Obviously, this has some important implications as to how we may perceive the relation between art, artist and beholder.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Noë 2004, p. 1.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Potts 2000 and Krauss 1977.

⁵⁰ This has also been argued by Noë 2001.

In the year 1643 the publisher Angelo Bartoli of Perugia published a small booklet titled ‘Poems dedicated to the glory of *Signor* Alessandro Algardi, best of sculptors.’¹ Counting some 32 pages and containing, after a brief dedication by the editor of the volume, Scipione della Staffa, no less than 27 poems about the sculptor and his works, it seems to include all the ingredients to become a highly significant document for our understanding of the sculpture of the period. Nonetheless, it is referred to only infrequently in the Algardi literature, the poems being mentioned only if they suggest the existence of a work now lost or as providing a *terminus ante quem* for works that are not further documented.² Like so many of such booklets and independent poems as well, the reason for this obvious meagre fortune is twofold. Firstly, the contents of these poems are highly conventional. The same themes return again and again, often without adding any original ways of looking at or discussing sculpture. And secondly, many contributions are obviously written without ever having studied the works they claim to be about, indeed, many could be about any work; they are, so it seems, more a literary exercise than an actual intimate response to a specific work of art.³ It is not the intention here to refute these statements, in general lines—though not necessarily always—they are very much true. Rather, it will be argued that precisely because of these characteristics Bartoli’s booklet, and works alike, may help us to understand something about seventeenth-

¹ Staffa 1643.

² See e.g. Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 79 and Faldi 1954, p. 9.

³ As noted by Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 79: ‘The poems are not good, and even more regrettably, they tell us almost nothing of the works they purport to be about; they have the air of academic exercises...’

century sculpture, as well as the intricate interaction that characterizes the beholder's encounter with the work of art.

In order to see how this might be the case, let us first have a closer look at the booklet and how it came about. A letter among the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Angelica, written by the dilettante poet Aurelio Mancini and sent from Florence—indeed far away from most (if not all) of Algardi's works—to Antonio Montecatini, bishop of Foligno, is interesting in this context, as it gives us just a glimpse of the social pressure involved in such literary exchanges.

I swear to you as your loyal servant that I had consecrated my pen to Silence in the temple of Harpocrates [i.e., the god of silence] with the resolution to put my hands to the oars rather than to apply my talents to poetry; but in vain, the authority of my masters [*padroni*] has made me change my mind again, for I, even if emerged in a sea of obligations, will try to satisfy both your request and my own desire with sending you some of my foolish compositions on the subject that you have sent me. I would have tried to please you at this very instance, if the work that I had to attend to in service of the *Signor Principe* of the [*Accademia degli*] *Insensati* would not have prevented me from doing so, he having imposed on me to make some compositions on *Signor Algardi*, as you can see in two sonnets here attached.⁴

The two sonnets in praise of Alessandro Algardi, that still come with the letter today, were published less than a year later in the collection of poems addressed to the sculptor, the editor Della Staffa being the very same *principe* of the literary academy of the *Insensati* Mancini is referring to in his letter.⁵ The fact that the latter had 'imposed' on the poet to write the poems, gives us enough proof that they should not be read as 'spontaneous effusions inspired by a genuine ap-

⁴ Letter from Aurelio Mancini to Antonio III Montecatini, bishop of Foligno, dated Firenze, 6 December 1642 in BAR, ms. 892, f. 277r: 'Gli giuro da fedel servitore ch'havevo nel Tempio di Arpocrate consacrata in vano la mia penna alla taciturnità con risoluzione di porre piu tosto mano a' Remi; ch'applicar l'ingegno à Rime; ma l'Autorità de' Padroni mi fa di nuovo cangiar pensiero; ond io benche immerso in un mare d'occupationi cercarò di sodisfare e alla sua richiesta, e' al mio desiderio con mandargli qualche mia sciocca compositione sopra il soggetto da lei mandatomi. Havrei cercato di compiacerla per quest ordinario quando l'impiego ch'io havevo per le mani per servire al Sig. Principe de gl'Insensati, non me l'avesse impedito; essendomi da quello imposto lo far qualche compositione sopra il Signore Algardi; come in due sonetti qui da parte possa vedere.' Antonio III Montecatini was created bishop of Foligno in december 1642; see Lattanzi 1994-2002, vol. 3.2, p. 463. Harpocrates, or the infant Horus, was a god of Egyptian origins, depicted as a child with the index finger at the mouth, later for this reason interpreted as a symbol of silence. Cf. e.g. Alciati 1551, p. 13 (*Silentio*): 'Tenga chiuse le labra, e stretti i denti, | Et un novello Harpocrate diventi.'

⁵ According to Maylender 1929, vol. 3, p. 310 Scipione della Staffa was *principe* of the *Accademia degli Insensati* in 1639. For Mancini's sonnets see Staffa 1643, pp. 6-7.

preciation of the sculptures,' as one author hoped to find.⁶ Even so, Mancini apparently found some challenge in the assignment, being sufficiently proud of his achievement to include the poems with his letter to the bishop Montecatini.

A further indication of Della Staffa's intentions can be inferred from his dedication. Addressed to Algardi himself, it sketches in few words the ritual of exchange that underlies the complex social mechanism's hinted at in Mancini's letter.

I send it [i.e., the volume] to your lordship so that you may recognise my feelings [towards you], and so that you will accept them as affectionate to the aura of your reputation [*suo grido*]; for if they cannot add glory to your virtues, at least they will have them be recognized as followers of your glory and fame.⁷

Accordingly, Della Staffa suggests, there is a kind of reciprocity not only among poets, but also between artist and poet, a kind of informal patron/client relation.⁸ That the artist himself took an interest in these encomiastic poems thus seems most likely, the 'aura' of his reputation being tied in with that of the poets. And although we have no indication of Algardi's appreciation of the booklet, a telling parallel can be found when we consider his compatriot Guido Reni, a painter no less admired by his contemporaries. Among the items listed in the inventory of his house, made up shortly after his death on 18 August 1642, can be found 'a painted deal [*abedo*] chest with a variety of printed papers containing sonnets in praise of mr. Guido [Reni] and others.'⁹ Among them was without a doubt the poem on his paintings for the Paoline chapel in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore written by pope Urban VIII himself.¹⁰

⁶ Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 79.

⁷ Staffa 1643, pp. 3-4: 'L'invio à V.S. acciò per essa riconsca il mio affetto, e le gradisca come affettuose à l'aura del suo grido: Che se non potranno aggiunger gloria alle virtù di V.S. vivranno almeno con esse riconosciute per seguaci della sua gloria, & ossequise.'

⁸ See Beer 2007, pp. 16-22 for an interesting theoretical approach to poetry and patronage.

⁹ Spike 1988, p. 51, lines 58-59: 'una casa d'abedo dipinta con diverse carte stampati cioè sonetti in lode del sig. Guido et altri'. Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 2, p. 60: 'non vi sia Pittore, in lode di cui si trovino stampate tante composizioni che presso di me formano un grossissimo volume...'. A large number of poems and writings regarding works by Reni are known, both published and unpublished. Several poems are named by Malvasia in his *Vita* of the artist, to which can be added the nineteen contemporary *libretti* given by Zanotti in his Malvasia edition: Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 2, p. 29, n. 1. On the poetic fortune of Reni see also Colantuono 1997, pp. 111-168 (focussing on Reni's *Abduction of Helen*) with further references at pp. 269-270, nn. 1-2. Montanari 1997, n. 24 mentions numerous poems by Girolamo Moricucci dedicated to the work of Reni in Sforza Pallavicino's papers in BCR, ms. 2121.

¹⁰ Barberini 1620, p. 67: 'De pictoris Guidonis Rheni in sacello exquilini sanctissimi D.N. Pauli Papae quinti.'

Indeed, the collection of poems dedicated to Algardi stood not on itself, but was part of a literary exchange that reached up to the highest stratifications of society. Pope Urban VIII's contribution to this culture of letters was significant. He surrounded himself with the best poets of his day, including nowadays lesser known figures such as Gabriello Chiabrera and Giovanni Ciampoli, who were all to contribute to his ideal of a *poesia sacra*, grounded in the example of the ancient poet Pindar.¹¹ In some biting verses, only published recently, Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger expresses his frustrations with his one-time friend Pope Urban VIII and his entourage of literary figures. Endless poeticizing is what the courtier had to put up with, or so he suggests—in poetry:

Music always, and always poetry,
 music and poetry day and night,
 music every season, and every day
 whether autumn, or spring.
 And yet I fight the Pindarians,
 and yet I fight the odes of Chiabrera,
 and yet I fight the Ciampoli derivatives [*Ciampolerie*],
 which have tired my ears with mannerisms.¹²

Although we may only guess what the direct cause was for Buonarroti's discontent—the pope's reluctance to provide him with a nice pension will certainly have played a role—his characterization of the Barberini court as a place of letters is confirmed by all that we know of the pope and the society of seventeenth-century Rome in general.¹³ Poetry was written and read at the papal court, not in the least by the pope himself, and everybody who was somebody joined in.¹⁴ Poetry was read on special gatherings, sent to others for approval, collected in manuscript volumes, printed on pamphlets for special occasions or published in anthologies. And not withstanding Buonarroti's negative appraisal,

¹¹ See *infra*, pp. 188-189.

¹² ABF 84, f. 539^v in Cole 2007, n. 114: 'Musiche sempre, e sempre poesie, | musiche e poesie mattina e sera, | musiche ogni stagione e ogni die, | vuoi l'autunno, o vuoi la primavera. || Tuttavia 'n campo le Pindarerie, | tuttavia 'n campo l'ode del Chiabrera, | tuttavia 'n campo le Ciampolerie | m'hanno stracco gli orecchi di maniera...'

¹³ For Barberini and Buonarroti see Cole 2007, Cole 2005, Campbell 1977, pp. 10-11, n. 32, and Waddy 1975.

¹⁴ For Maffeo Barberini as poet see Schütze 2007, pp. 27-30, Fumaroli 2007, Castagnetti 2003, D'Onforio 1967, pp. 33-48.

at least some looked back on Urban's reign as a 'happy century of letters' where poetry was 'nurtured by the heavenly gifts of the Barberini bees...'¹⁵

But let us return to the art of sculpture and ask, before turning to the significance of this literary exchange, what these poems have to say about it. To begin with, we may look briefly at a few lines from one of the poems written by Mancini.

Happy age of iron, now that it sees
 how iron gives life to him who of life is empty;
 Come, o marbles, to make the heir to glory
 he who gives you soul [*spirito*] and petrifies my steps.¹⁶

Evidently, these few lines revolve around the idea of life. The iron of the chisel—a synecdoche for the sculptor and his practice—gives life to lifeless matter, a soul to marble; at the same time it 'petrifies' the steps of the beholder, the beholder is grabbed by the stone figure, which leaves him as frozen on the spot. Apparently, these lines tell us nothing about the sculptor or his work. Nor is Mancini's playing out of the apparent life of the marble against the lifeless, rigid state of the beholder very original; indeed we found a similar idea underlying Bellori's poem quoted above. Countless texts and poems revolve around the same idea, giving endless variations, some more original than others. Less of a cliché is Mancini's mentioning of an 'age of iron', a rather ironic twist, for even if obviously referring to the metal tools of the sculptor, essentially the age of iron was supposed to be an age of greed and violence.¹⁷ In any case, these lines do not bring us much further. The significance of such texts lies, at least what the present argument is concerned, not in their individual quality, but rather in the manner in which they are indexical of a cultural practice, a practice that permeated the customs of the Roman elite, notably, the same elite that

¹⁵ Filippo Maria Mancini in Rapaccioli 1665, dedication to Cardinal Francesco Barberini: '...nati nel felice Secolo delle lettere del grande Urbano, e nutriti co' celesti doni dell' Api Barberine...' For this 'century' see Fumaroli 2007.

¹⁶ Staffa 1643, p. 6: 'Felice età del ferro, hor ch'altri vede | Dar vita il ferro à chi di vita è casso; | Venite ò marmi à far di gloria erede | Chi vi dona lo spirito, e impetra il passo.' The poem continues in a similar vein: 'Quel senso, ch' à me toglie, à voi pur cede | Scalpel Dedalco; e di stupor m'insasso, | Che se fere una pietra, ò un sasso fiede, | Vive la pietra, e s'immortala il sasso. || In van dente che strugga, onda ch'inganni | Vanta il tempo, e l'oblio, ch'un marmo impetra | Vincer quei morsi, e superar quei Danni. || Hor qui spezzi pur Morte la faretra, | Già che Fabro immortal per vincer gl'anni | Rende la vita al suo ferir di pietra.'

¹⁷ For the iconography of the ages of man in seventeenth-century Italy see Campbell 1977, pp. 28-35, 44-47 on the well known fresco's by Pietro da Cortona in the so-called *Sala della Stufa* of the Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Coincidentally, Baldinucci suggests that Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger was responsible for the programme of these frescoes.

dealt with sculpture and sculptors. To fully grasp their significance, then, we should understand them as part of a discourse.

What follows is a description of this discourse, a discourse involving a complex of statements in which life, or signs thereof, are attributed to inherently lifeless sculptures. Sometimes these attributions of life are implicit, as taken for granted, and become only apparent within a larger context of statements; often they are expressed explicitly. What qualifies the statements here brought together as a unified group is their reference to the same object, namely, sculpture of seventeenth-century Rome, as well as the recurrent theme of life. More in particular, we may read them as a coming to terms with the kind of complicated, Pygmalian relation between beholder and sculpture discussed above: the manner in which sculpture to the beholder can be both life and solid stone. If there is an overlap with poetry on paintings, there is one important difference. Painted figures come alive *in* the painting, as part of the scene there depicted, always confined to the frame and behind the picture plane; sculpture, on the other hand, imposes a scene on the space that it shares with the beholder, breathing the very same air, looming over us, physically present.¹⁸

We may note again that the discourse hardly focuses on formal qualities of works of art at all. As will be argued, this does not make it less significant, though, as a result the actual works of art these texts may speak about will be regarded as subordinate to the text and are mentioned only in passing by. Moreover, many poems are, as we have seen, highly conventional. Starting out with this solid core of the discourse, a selection has been made of those texts that are most representative of these conventions; as will become clear though, this core is surrounded by statements that are more unique. These latter statements belong as much to the discourse as the former. They show us the stretch of the poet's imagination, the breadth of the discursive field.

Sculpted Life

Thus we read of marbles that live, breathe [*spira*], even have feeling [*senso*]. Sculptures move, act, walk, express their emotions, have a soul, and above all, they speak. And even when they don't, it is only for some temporary reason: 'if he keeps silent now,' writes Alessandro Adimari on Giuliano Finelli's bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (fig. 2), 'it is maybe because he thinks of

¹⁸ I owe this observation to professor Uwe Fleckner.

something more beautiful.¹⁹ Marble horses nigh, a lion ‘breathes ardour’.²⁰ Stone becomes soft as wax, becomes tender flesh.²¹ In Giovanni Pietro Bellori’s careful descriptions of the works of Duquesnoy and Algardi, life and breath are intrinsically connected to the works’ shapes: ‘The marbles live and breathe in their expression of emotion, in their gracefulness, in their spirit [*spirito*] or actions [*atto*].’²² Elsewhere, the rough stone becomes alive already in anticipation of the sculptor’s touch, ‘burning with the desire to be released’.²³ And once revealed, sculptures become almost like actors on a stage. In his *canzone* of 1656 on Gio. Domenico Cerrini’s *Rapture of Saint Paul* in the Roman church of the Santa Maria della Vittoria, Giovanni Simone Ruggieri has Bernini’s *Saint Theresa* (fig. 3) look up at the newly painted dome, and swoon not only by the arrow planted in her breast by the angel at her side, but also by the marvels that her eyes behold up in the dome.²⁴ In yet another poem, it is the angel at her side who becomes for a moment the spectator and is ‘rendered immobile’ by the marvel of the swooning Theresa.²⁵

It is first and foremost the sculptor who gives life to these works of art.²⁶ Life is imprinted, infused. He (they were always men) is an ‘animator of mar-

¹⁹ BLF, ms. A.B.95, 207: ‘...s’or qui tace, pensa à qualche pensier forse più bello.’ Published in Pizzorusso 1989, p. 115 and Dombrowski 1997, doc. D.3 (as ‘...forse è più bello’ but correctly on his p. 85).

²⁰ Letter from ‘G.R.’ to P. Gio. Ferrer, dated Paris, 27 December 1673, in BNP, Ms.it. 2083, published by Frascchetti 1900, pp. 360-361, n. 2: ‘Il cavallo, quantunque di marmo, pare che si muova e nitrisca: e l’ Ré parla e aggratia tanta è la vita che al simulacro di pietra hà data lo scarpello dello scultore.’ BAV, Chigi D III 41, f. 50r in Montanari 2003, p. 192, no. V: ‘...hinnitum quem sculpis habere | Vellet in ore Phlegon...’ Lualdi 1650-51, vol. 2, appendix, p. 2; cf. Delbeke 2004a, n. 13: ‘...uno de suoi Leoni [...] smorza l’ardentissima sete nell’acqua. Spirano le narici l’ardore.’

²¹ Scaramuccia 1674, p. 17: ‘Dissero ancora d’altre cose del Fiamengo, & in specie di quei due putti situati nella Chiesa dell’Anima vicino Piazza Navona, che apunto d’animata Carne più tosto si fanno intendere, che di duro sasso.’

²² Bellori/Borea 1672, p. 403: ‘Mostrò l’industria del lavoro in questo gruppo di due figure di tutto rilievo che vivono e spirano nell’affetto del Santo vecchio e nella grazia soavissima dell’angelo...’, p. 291: ‘si avviva nello spirito, e nell’atto.’

²³ Mariscotti 1648: ‘Dai Monti alpestri, ove ferrò Natura | Di sassose ricchezze aspre minere, | I marmi ardean di sprigionarsi à gara. | Volean di Paolo con sembianze vere | Animar la Figura.’

²⁴ Giovanni Simone Ruggieri in: Moneta 1656, p. 25: ‘Ch’al novo Ciel intesa | Senti per doppio stral doppio contento: | Mentre languida il sen, stupida gli occhi | Empi il core, e le ciglia | De celeste piacer, di meraviglia.’ On the collection of poems on Cerrini’s fresco see Frangenberg 2003.

²⁵ Baba 1678, p. 1: ‘Alza un’ Angiol la man, mà la sospende; | E immoto lui la meraviglia rende.’

²⁶ In some cases it is rather the patron than the artist; see e.g. Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992, p. 114: ‘Et quid mirum, Artificem obtemperasse monenti, ac singula disponenti tibi, qui vel iussu metalla potueris animare?’

bles,' bringing the stone (or, less often, bronze, clay, or wax) to life with his 'obedient' chisel, with his hands.²⁷ 'Under the blows of your chisel,' writes Tommaso Stigliani, 'I see the ambitious marble grow soft...'²⁸ The marble grows soft [*molle*] under those hands, soft as living flesh while with his chisel the sculptor imprints the marble with a spirit [*spirito*], a soul [*anima*], even a heart, burning with love and desire.²⁹ Domenico Bernini writes how his father could work himself up to such a state, that it seemed as if he was 'sending his spirit [*spirito*] from the eyes, to give life to the stones.'³⁰

The sculptor now, with all this vivifying power, is the ancient hero reborn; ancient texts are skimmed, it seems, for illustrious predecessors. He is a new Pygmalion, an Amphion, an Orpheus, a Prometheus, a Deucalion, a Daedalus; he surpasses these life-giving figures from ancient mythology, surpasses nature even, becoming almost an equal of God Himself.³¹ Gian Battista Pianelli, in a letter to Bernini, expresses the hope that the artist's hands 'will in the present age, renew the ancient case of Pygmalion.'³² Pygmalion: Ovid's ancient sculptor who fell in love with a female figure of his own making, only to see her come alive through divine intervention.³³ Yet, where the sole name opens a myriad of images and *topoi*, surprisingly few references may be found in the corpus of

²⁷ Tesauro 1659-60, vol. 1, p. 153 (on Duquesnoy); Orsini 1648, p. 63 (on Bernini).

²⁸ Stigliani 1923, p. 36: 'Veggio io sott'al colpir del tuo scalpello | L'ambizioso marmo intenerirsi...'

²⁹ Cappone 1654, *s.v.* 'Anello Lottiero': '...con iscarpello anima imprime.' Silos 1673, p. 177, no. XV: 'Ardet amor gelido hoc saxo [...] | Quàm verò argutus, tacitum qui pectoris ignem | Impressit Parijs rupibus ingenio?'

³⁰ Bernino 1713, p. 48: '...sembrava anzi estatico, & in atto di mandar per gli occhi lo spirito per render vivi li Sassi...'

³¹ For Amphion see Bruni 1633, vol. 1, p. 34; Cappone 1654, *s.v.* 'Anello Lottiero.' For Orpheus: Cappone 1654, *s.v.* 'Biagio Cusano' and 'Giuseppe Castaldo'. For Prometheus: Cappone 1654, *s.v.*, 'Biagio Cusano'; San Francesco delle Scuole Pie 1651, p. 6, 9. For Deucalion: Martinelli 1676, p. 32; San Francesco delle Scuole Pie 1651, p. 8. And for Daedalus: Cappone 1654, *s.v.* 'Francesco Iezzi'; San Francesco delle Scuole Pie 1651, p. 5; Aurelio Mancini in Staffa 1643, p. 6; Pallavicino 1644, p. 491; cf. Delbeke 2000, n. 43 and Kris & Kurtz 1934, pp. 73-74.

³² Letter to Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, dated 15 August 1633, cited in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 127: '...bacio quelle mani [i.e., those of Bernini], le quali a nostri giorni spero che habbiano da rinnovellar l'antico caso di Pigmalione.'

³³ See also *infra*, pp. 129-131.

texts under consideration.³⁴ The artist is, in these sparse occasions, heir to Pygmalion, again surpasses him.³⁵

More frequently the sculptor is compared to Amphion, the ‘Theban swan,’ who with his golden lyre moved stones to build the walls of Thebe. Agostino Mascardi writes in 1627 that ‘Bernini [...] albeit in his youth, knows to give sense of life to stone with his chisel, better than the fabulous Amphion did with his song,’ a comparison that might well go back to a poem by Giovan Battista Marino titled *Anfione di marmo* (‘marble Amphion’).³⁶ When the sculptor turns the inanimate to life, like Amphion or, less often, like Orpheus, his work becomes their music, their song, their poetry.³⁷ The chisel becomes a plectrum, its touch is like a song, creating not only ‘joyfull harmonies,’—musical rhythms becoming rhythms in marble—but life in lifeless matter.³⁸ The sculptor surpasses both Orpheus and Amphion when ‘the music-like beats of the irons, create mute souls [*anime*] in icy marbles.’³⁹ The sculptor now, writes Costanzo Martinelli on Alessandro Algardi, does not, like Amphion, create mere city walls but ‘whole nations [*popoli intieri*]’, to live in such a magical city.⁴⁰

An occasional reference to Deucalion conjures up the picture of the stones that, after he threw them over his shoulder without looking back, grew into men. And then we have the case of his father, Prometheus, who stole the fire

³⁴ Cf. Stoichita 2008, p. 89: ‘Une obsession pygmalionienne semble ainsi fonder la première histoire d’art des Temps modernes. Mais ce constat est ébranlé par deux observations essentielles: la grande rareté de l’iconographie de Pygmalion pendant les XVI^e et XVII^e siècles et le nombre plutôt restreint de gloses textuelles explicites faisant référence à ce mythe dans les traités d’art de l’époque.’

³⁵ Francesco Formigieri da Reggio in BAV, Chigi I VII 273, f. 166r: ‘Che se colà Pigmalion /si crede/ | D’una marmorea Diva arderne feo, | Quì di pari valor è il Mochi herede.’ Grignani 1641, p. 23: ‘Cedat Pigmalion: hic eburnea corpora finxit; | Sed tu, Moche, facis marmora viva loqui.’ Cappone 1653, *s.v.* ‘Giuseppe Artale’: ‘Giunga hor Pigmaleon’ ei, che l’ardore | D’un’avorio sentì scolpito, e mondo, | Che di tal Fabbro in paragon secondo, | Il rivedrem d’un marmo arder d’amore.’ Benamati 1621, p. 43 [= stanza LXI]: ‘Gloriati pur Pigmalion rinato, | Che l’Imagine tua si spira, e viva...’ Cf. also Cappone 1654, p. 39.

³⁶ Mascardi 1627, p. 321: ‘Cavalier Bernino, [...] nell’ età sua giovanile, con lo scarpello sà dar senso di vita alle pietre meglio, che non fece co’l canto favoloso Anfione.’ The connection with Marino has been suggested by Bellini 2003, n. 28.

³⁷ Cf. e.g. Silos 1673, p. 195, no. LVI, on Melchiorre Cafà’s *Saint Catherine*: ‘Saxa quis Amphion movet hæc? quis Thracius Orpheus | Blandæ vi citharæ te, Catharina, rapit?’ Treffers 1999, pp. 79-80 argues that Orpheus is first and foremost a model for the poet (cf. Rietveld 2007), but in the seventeenth century becomes also that for the musician.

³⁸ Cappone 1654, *s.v.* ‘Biagio Cusano’; *id.*, *s.v.* ‘Francesco Antonio Cappone’: ‘E plettro forse il tuo scarpel, che viene, | Bolgi, à destar tali armonie gioconde’.

³⁹ Cappone 1654, *s.v.* ‘Francesco Iezzi’ [p. 21]: ‘L’armonie de gli Orfei finte credute, | E’l fabro canto d’Anfione discolpi, | Hor che del ferro tuo musici i colpi | Creano in gelidi marmi anime mute.’

⁴⁰ Staffa 1643, p. 24: ‘Che saprà con prodigio assai più bello, | Per abitar la magica cittate | Crear popoli intieri il tuo scalpello.’

from the Gods to give life to Man, moulded in clay with his own hands.⁴¹ The sculptor's chisel, for Tomaso Stigliani, is Prometheus' life-giving torch, surpasses it, while man's fiery soul is echoed in the warm glow of the marble: 'what do I see burning in your stones,' a poet asks, is it the sounding flickering of the chisel (sound and light, as we shall also see further on, easily get conflated), 'or, to give a soul [*alma*] to your work, did you place yourself in heaven, as Prometheus went before..?'⁴² The artist, not unlike Petrarch's Simone Martini, rises up from his earthly surroundings and touches, if only briefly, the heavens.⁴³

Indeed, the demiurgic capacities of the artist indicate a god-like aptitude. The long tradition of the *Deus artifex*, the divine maker, the divine artist even, facilitates the opposite transposition from artist to God.⁴⁴ If not yet God himself, the sculptor is certainly close: 'You enliven the marble, and God gave life to mud [*fango*],' writes Pier Francesco Paoli.⁴⁵ God's creation of Adam, of man, from mud make him the first life-giving sculptor; the sculptor who tries to give life to his images follows in his footsteps.⁴⁶ In a more humble vein, heaven reaches down to give the sculptor a helping hand:

how, without celestial help,
can you portray a face you have never seen,
and give it movement, and make it so that it speaks, and lives?

⁴¹ For the myth of Prometheus in the early modern period see Raggio 1958 and, for further references, Conticelli 2002, n. 16. Bellori/Borea 1972, p. 25: 'Ben può dunque chiamarsi questa idea [...] fuoco che scalda in vita il simulacro di Prometeo.'

⁴² Stigliani 1623, p. 445: 'Cedano, o buon Lorenzo, al tuo scalpello | Di Prometeo la face, | E'l teschio di Medusa.' Cf. San Francesco delle Scuole Pie 1651, p. 6: 'Tu Prometeo novel con le facelle | Vita ci [i.e., the stones] dai'. Cappone 1654, *s.v.* 'Angelo Diana': 'O, per infonder l'alma al tuo lavoro, | poggiasti al Ciel, ve Prometheo pur gio...?'

⁴³ Petrarca/Santagata 1996, sonnet LVII: 'Ma certo il mio Simon fu in paradiso...' Cf. also Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 17 where a letter from Guido Reni to Giovan Antonio Massini is cited: 'Vorrei aver avuto pennello angelico, o forme di Paradiso, per formare l'Arcangelo e vederlo in cielo, ma io non ho potuto salir tant'alto, ed in vano l'ho cercate in terra' and Ferante Carlo about Lanfranco in Turner 1971, p. 321: 'Poiche, mentre l'occhio lo rimira, la fantasia resta absorta, e l'intelletto conclude l'uno de' due dover esser necessario, ovvero, che l'istesso Salvatore glorioso mostrasse la sua sembianza al pittore [...] ovvero, che uno di quei beati spiriti assistenti continuum[en]te [...] le temprasse i colori, e li reggesse lo stile...'

⁴⁴ On the topic of the *Deus artifex* see Østrem 2007, Curtius 1948, pp. 529-531, Kris & Kurz 1934, pp. 47-65. Cf. Staffa 1643, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Paoli 1637, p. 210 (on Bernini's bust of Urban VIII): 'Tù'l marmo avvivi, e Dio fè vivo il fango.'

⁴⁶ This is, in short, the argument of Borboni 1661, chap. 1; see e.g. pp. 8-9: 'Hor vedete fin dove giunsero gli huomini coll'arte infin' a imitare il Divino Facitore, con dare alle statue il movimento, e la parola somigliante a quella dell huomo, in cui è uno de' chiari contrassegni del suo vivere.'

Did you, to gaze upon her, place yourself in Heaven among Saints,
where she has her place, and draw her after life?⁴⁷

Such divine intervention, in the end, makes the artist a mere vessel, subjugated to a higher will. Bernini, or so recounts his son Domenico, often said that he had not made the statue of *Santa Bibiana* (fig. 4) himself, ‘but the very saint had sculpted and impressed herself in that marble.’⁴⁸

Between Marble and Life

Marble, now touched by the life-giving hand of the sculptor, defies its inanimate nature. Bartolomeo Tortoletti, praising Francesco Mochi’s *Santa Veronica* (fig. 5), asks rhetorically: ‘If she speaks, if she walks, and if she is in distress, is she then made of marble, this goddess? is this a statue?’⁴⁹ By posing the paradox as a (rhetorical) question rather than as a statement, the reader is invited to find a conclusion in the work itself. The words force him to look again and consider the paradox of the vivacious marble. More straightforward, but quite exceptional, is Giovanni Battista Passeri’s description of the same sculpture, a figure, he writes, ‘wholly of spirit and mastery.’

He [i.e., Mochi] has represented her in the act of moving, a violent movement not only of walking, but of running with speed. In this it lacks (and this is said without meaning offence) its own essence, for, even though the word ‘statue’ derives from the Latin verb *sto stas*, which means to stand still, stable and on one’s feet, that figure is no longer a permanent statue and immobile as it should be to form a simulacrum to be enjoyed and admired by the onlookers, but rather: a person that passes, and does not remain.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Vincenzio Maria Savarelli in Grignani 1641, p. 34: ‘come potè senza Celeste aiuto, | ritrar volto da te mai non veduto, | e dargli moto; e far, che parli, e viva? || Come sapesti del suo aspetto privo | Scolpir dell’alta Ebraa vivi i sembianti? | Poggiasti per mirarla in Ciel fra Santi, | Ov’ella stanza, e disegnarla al vivo?’ Cf. Borzelli 1917, pp. 15-16 who cites from BNN, ms. XIII.D.13, f. 43r: ‘Ho’ mirabile ingegno, e dove impresso | Vedesti idee sì belle, onde salisti | In cielo, forse, che è a te sol permesso?’

⁴⁸ Bernino 1713, p. 42: ‘Non haver’esso fatta quella Statua, mà la Santa medesima essersi da sè medesima scolpita, & impressa in quel marmo.’

⁴⁹ Grignani 1641, p. 6: ‘Se parla, se cammina, e s’è in affanni, | è marmo questa diva? è statua questa?’

⁵⁰ Passeri/Hess 1934, pp. 133-134: ‘Fu data a lui quella della Veronica, la quale è una figura di tutto spirito, e maestria. La rapresentò in atto di moto, e d’un moto violento non solo di camminare; ma di correre con velocità, e qui mancò (e sia detto con sua pace) dalla sua propria essenza, perche, se la parola nominativa di Statua deriva dal verbo latino *sto stas*, che significa esser fermo, stabile, et in piedi, quella figura non è più statua permanente, et immobile come essere deve, per formare un Simulacro da esser goduto, et amirato dai riguardanti; ma un per-

Passeri's arguments seems more rational, more analytical than that of Tortoletti, yet they both struggle with the same *contradictio in terminis*, that of the living sculpture.

As the sculpture moves away from its inanimate nature, we may ask how the vivacious marble relates to its prototype. If the marble really lives, how can it be distinguished from what it depicts? Lelio Guidiccioni writes on Bernini's bust of pope Urban VIII (fig. 6): 'I hesitate to say whether he looks like the stone, or the stone looks like him, I hesitate whether that is marble softened into him, or him petrified into the marble.'⁵¹ Indeed, the sculptor has 'with his hands changed a piece of marble into His Holiness himself.'⁵² And finally, the sculpted work of art becomes even more alive than the prototype, as in the often cited anecdote on Bernini's *bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya* (fig. 7), where the bust is taken to be the real Montoya, and the real Montoya the marble.⁵³

Effects of Light, Water, Air

Francesco Bracciolini writes of Mochi's *Veronica* (fig. 5) that not only the sculpted stone—he uses the word alabaster [*alabastro*—itself is alive, but the wind that surrounds it as well, living and breathing to make the stone swell [*intumidirlo*].⁵⁴ Thus we see here that the qualities of the marble extend beyond its physical boundaries; it shapes and even brings to life its environment. Conversely, the environment may contribute to the vivacity of the marble. Air, light, water, and even the spoken word may add a sense of life where there is none.

sonaggio che passa, e non rimane.' A similar definition of 'statua' is given by Boselli/Torresi 1994, p. 118: 'Statua anco si può dire perchè sta immobile dov'è posta.' Pope-Hennessy 1963, vol. 2, p. 109 reads Passeri's remarks as a critique on the work, whereas I tend to read it as praise. The word simulacrum used here by Passeri often has a somewhat negative connotation. For Plato, the simulacrum or *phantasma* differs from the icon (*eikon*), in that the former only copies the outer appearance of that what it depicts while the latter approaches its ideal essence. In this and other similar cases, the word seems to have a more neutral meaning though.

⁵¹ Lelio Guidiccioni in his letter to Bernini, dated June 4, 1633 in BAV, Barb.lat. 2958; appendix 1, f. 206r, lines 7-9: 'Dubbio se egli somiglia alla pietra, ò la pietra ad esso; dubbio se quello sia marmo intenerito in lui, o egli impetrato in marmo.' Cf. Sebastian Schütze's brief analysis of the *topoi* found in the work of Guidiccioni in Coliva & Schütze 1998, p. 249.

⁵² Appendix 1, f. 203v, line 8: '...di sua mano cambiato un marmo in Sua Santità medesima...'

⁵³ Three slightly different versions of the anecdote are known, namely Bernino 1713, p. 16, Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 76 and Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 123-124 [17 August]. On the anecdote see Preimesberger 2006 and my discussion *infra*, pp. 51-54.

⁵⁴ Francesco Bracciolini in Grignani 1641, p. 9: 'En non pur vivo è l'Alabastro impresso, | Ma vive, e spira a intumidirlo il vento.' Cf. Silos 1673, vol. 2, p. 176, no. XIII, again on Mochi's *Veronica*: 'Hoc mirum; sculptos quod levis aura movet.'

In an anonymous poem on Bernini's *Santa Theresa* (fig. 3), the sculptor's manipulation of the light is praised. The 'brilliant kisses of the sun materialize in the marble,' writes the poet; 'the Saint would speak, animated by eloquent rays, if her voice were not silenced by the swoons of love.'⁵⁵ Again the light, only made tangible in the marble, brings the sculpture to life. It is due to Bernini, the author concludes, that Phoebus, god of the sun, will gather more fame than he did with the talking statue of Memnon. This ancient statue of Memnon, it was said in antiquity, spoke when touched by the first light of day; 'the sun,' the Greek poet Philostratus the elder writes, 'striking the lips of [the statue of] Memnon as a plectrum strikes the lyre, seems to summon a voice from them.'⁵⁶ The same story is referred to more extensively in Lelio Guidiccioni's *Ara Maxima Vaticana*. 'Whoever sings of Memnon's image,' he writes, 'let him remember the western city [i.e., Rome], and visit again the temple set up to heroic Peter'. Here, under the dome of Saint Peter's Cathedral, where stands the bronze *Baldacchino* (fig. 8):

Immediately from the bronze statues of angels he will hear in his shaken heart, airy voices and secret utterances, while the rays bestow on the gold a clear sun that enlivens the tawny metal into sound.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ BAV, Ghigi D III 41, f. 53r; in Montanari 2003, appendix A, no. XIV: 'Quo præclare magis potuerunt fulgida Solis | Oscula defigi? [...] Diva loqueretur radiis animata disertis, | Si vox deliquit non arceretur amoris.' His translation. See also Francesco Carducci in BAV, Barb.lat. 3891 ('Alla statua di Nostro S.re PP. Urbano VIII posta in Campidoglio'), f. 100r: 'Tocco da i rai del Sole | Simolacro sovrano | Eloquenti formò sensi, e parole; | Da quel del grande URBANO | Lieta oracoli ancora attendi a Roma, | Ve'ch'un sole di gloria hà in sù la cioma.'

⁵⁶ Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*, book I.7 in Philostratus, Philostratus & Callistratus/Fairbanks 1931, pp. 31-32, trans. Fairbanks; see also Callistratus, *Descriptions*, book I.9 in Philostratus, Philostratus & Callistratus/Fairbanks 1931, pp. 406-409. The books of the two Philostratuses and Callistratus were published together in Greek in one volume as early as 1503: *Que hoc volumine continentur: Luciani opera, Icones Philostrati, Eiusdem Heroica, Eiusdem vite Sophistarum, Icones Iunioris Philostrati, Descriptiones Callistrati*, Venetiis: in aedibus Aldi 1503. The original Greek text or a Latin translation must have been readily available to the author. Numerous reprints appeared during the sixteenth century and a translation in Latin was printed together with the Greek in Paris by Claud Morellus in 1608. Bellori cites from Philostratus the younger in his 1672 *Vite*, though probably has taken his reference, as Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 11, n. 1 has argued, from Junius' 1637 *De picture veterum*. Bellori/Borea 1972, p. 25: 'Ben può dunque chiamarsi questa idea [...] sole che dall'oriente inspira la statua di Mennone...'

⁵⁷ Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992, p. 120: 'Memnonium quisquis simulacrum, tactaque primo | Aera canit iubari, reddentia murmure certo | Eoos sonitus [...] | Urbe mille Ausoniam recolat; Templumque revisens | Magnanimo positum PETRO [...];' and somewhat later 'Protinus aetherias voces, atque intima aenis | Aligerum signis concusso murmura corde | Percipiet, radiis Solem indulgentibus auro | Perspicuum, inque sonos animantem fulva metal-la.' Their translation on p. 121.

And later:

Do you see them at first glance as breathing, but not perceive them with your ears as speaking? Do you not see the angels flashing in the sun? Indeed, you will receive their warnings deep in your breast—did not earthly senses dull your mind, and your heart of clay.⁵⁸

Where we have read above of the ‘sounding flickers of the chisel’ that bring the sculpture to life, here it is the flickering light that enlivens the work into sound. It is not sound for the ears now though, for even if the abundant sunlight suggests breath to the eyes, the speaking voices reach deep into the breast, into the ‘shaken heart’. Light here becomes almost a metaphor for that ‘true Light’ which is God, that light of redemption which, in Saint Bonaventura’s words, ‘reshapes, beautifies and enlivens’ the soul.⁵⁹

Such a metaphorical use of light, be it religious or mythological, opens up a whole new set of statements that go beyond the mere effects of the work’s surroundings, touching on some of the other themes we have encountered. On Bernini’s *Bust of Pope Urban VIII* (fig. 6), Girolamo Tezi writes: ‘An illustrious light comes forth from the forehead, the eyes, and the face, thus showing that this work is not made by an artist’s hand...’⁶⁰ Conversely, we see again that the artist comes close to the divine: ‘If you touch the cold marbles with your powerful and warm rays, o resplendent sun of the most eminent sculptors, they speak...’⁶¹ The sculptor himself is the life-giving sun. Indeed, not only within

⁵⁸ Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992, p. 122: ‘Spirantia cernis | Intuito primo, non aure loquentia sentis? | Nonne vides iubare Aligeros radiante coruscus? | At monita excipies penetrari pectore, mentem | Terrestres ni hebetent sensus, et terrea corda;’ their translation, p. 123; cf. also pp. 148-150.

⁵⁹ John 1:9: ‘That was the true Light which gives light to every man coming into the world’ and also John 1:4: ‘In Him was life, and the life was the light of men’. For light as the source of life in the middle ages see Margot Schmidt in Viller, Cavallera & Guibert 1932-95, vol. 9, pp. 1158-1159, and in the Renaissance Medici/Orvieto 1984, p. 292; similar themes occur in the works of Athanasius Kircher and Niccolò Zucchi, cf. Fehrenbach 2005, pp. 27-29. Bonaventura 1882-1902, vol. 2, p. 636 [= *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, libr. 2, dist. 26, q. 2]: ‘Unde et Scriptura vocat Deum sive Christum *solem iustitiae*, quia, sicut ab isto sole materiali influit lumen corporale in aëra, per quod aër formaliter illuminatur; sic a sole spirituali, qui Deus est, influit lumen spirituale in animam, a quo anima formaliter illuminatur et reformatur et gratificatur et vivificatur.’ Cf. Treffers 1991, p. 160.

⁶⁰ Tetius/Faedo & Frangenberg 2005, p. 466 [170]: ‘Fronte, oculis, vultu, lux augustissima surgens, | Hic docet artificis non opus esse manu...’

⁶¹ San Francesco delle Scuole Pie 1651, p. i (first unnumbered page after the frontispiece): ‘Se i Marmi freddi tocchi da i di lei possenti, e caldi raggi, o Sole splendente de più Eminentissimi Scultori, parlano...’ Cf. the discussion of baroque conceptions of light in Fehrenbach 2005. Borboni 1661, p. 3: ‘Comparve finalmente una bellissima Statua, animata non già come quella favoleggiata poco dianzi di Mennone, da’ raggi solari; ma de quel medesimo, che *fabricatus est*

religious discourse of the time, but also in more scientific texts the relations between light, warmth and life were often stressed.⁶² But, as we may see particularly in Guidiccioni's text, the poet can go beyond these theological and scientific theories; it is not what light does, but how it appears to the spectator. His experience is one of sensory conflation (we shall turn to the role of the senses below), of synaesthesia.⁶³

A similar—but much less transcendent—conflation of the senses can be found in the popular theme of the fountain with sleeping Amor, inspired by the ancient example of Callistratus' *Descriptions*.⁶⁴ Here, the pouring water in the marble fountain may suggest the subtle movements in the marble figure, while its trickling sounds are taken for silent breaths. An early variation on the theme can be found in the oeuvre of Maffeo Barberini:

Reclining, Cupid rests his members in soft rest while quietly a crystal-clear stream descends from his quiver. Don't you believe him to be made of marble! With gentle movement he brings forth soft air and the restrained breath resounds from his mouth. Do you deny hearing it? How is it possible [*quid nī!*] The murmur of the water blends with the murmur of the reclining [figure].⁶⁵

In a much more playful manner than Guidiccioni, Barberini makes us aware of the interaction between sculpture and environment. Yet, a similar rhetorical means is used: the reader/spectator is addressed directly with an invitation to reconsider his or her first judgement.

Effects on the Spectator/Poet

All this living marble does not leave the spectator unaffected. The common response we encounter is that of stupor, *stupore*. For Orfeo Boselli, it is marvel, *maraviglia*, that brings on this stupor, a marvel which arises when we see some-

Auroram, & Solem.' Referring to psalm 73 here, Borboni speaks here of God's creation of Man, God who is the real light, 'sendo il Sole un'ombra di qualla luce, che *illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc Mundum.*' (*ibid.*, p. 2)

⁶² Fehrenbach 2005, pp. 27-28, Ianniello 1986, p. 232.

⁶³ For 'literary synaesthesia' see Chidester 1992, in particular pp. 14-24 and, for further references, p. 150, n. 34.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Castagnetti 1991, 1993, Marino/Pieri 1979, vol. 1, pp. 273-277, cf. Cropper 1991b, pp. 199-201.

⁶⁵ BAV, Barb.lat. 1919, f. 57r and Orsi *et al.* 1606, p. 193; Castagnetti 1991, p. 1699 ('In eiusdem dormientis statuam.'): 'On the statue of the same sleeping [Cupid]': 'Stratus Amor molli permulcet membra quiete | vitrea de faretra leniter unda cadit | Marmoreum ne crede levem leni aera motu | ducit et attractus spiritus ore sonat | Hunc audire negas? quid nī confundit in unum | sternentis simili murmure murmur aqua.' See e.g. Callistratus' description of a statue of Narcissus in Philostratus, Philostratus & Callistratus/Fairbanks 1931, pp. 391-395.

thing that exceeds normal beauty and in its ‘rarity draws the spectator’s glances and thoughts to itself, so that one remains distracted by the contemplation of its delights.’⁶⁶ The spectator remains in a state of shock, unable to move, and, where the marble seems to live, the spectator is frozen like a marble sculpture. Guidiccioni, now writing on Bernini’s 1632 *Bust of pope Urban VIII* (fig. 6), names one of his poems explicitly ‘the statue and its viewer’:

The stone glides [*insinuate*] into the viewer’s chest; unaware, conversely, the spectator glides into the stone. From there man (a hard race) draws its rigidity. From there, out of many it draws a soul.⁶⁷

While man gazes upon marble, its stony essence takes a hold of him, while, conversely, the stone grows soft and alive under the gazes of its spectators. An exchange takes place, Guidiccioni’s somewhat cryptic lines suggest, worlds mingle. Man and image are suspended in time and place, sharing a world where stone and life become one. The sculpture’s power to ‘petrify’ its spectator is often compared to that of Medusa, the mythical snake-haired beauty, a mere glance of whose face would turn a man to stone.⁶⁸ And also in other ways the spectator adopts what he finds in the work of art. Luigi Scaramuccia writes on Bernini’s *Saint Theresa* (fig. 3), that ‘so as she is seen in ecstasy, so ecstatic it will leave he who looks upon her...’⁶⁹ More elaborate is the case of Bernini’s *Bust of Francesco I d’Este* (fig. 9), which according to Giovanni Andrea Borboni was

portrayed so lifelike [*al vivo*], that when first seen by that prince, it seemed (I almost would have said, if not his singular cunning had forbidden me to do so) that, as a newborn Narcissus, in gazing attentively at his own features [*fattezzze*] in the white-

⁶⁶ Boselli/Torresi 1994, p. 79: ‘Maraviglia dunque è uno stupore, il quale nasce in noi da cosa veduta, la quale eccede l’ordinario bellezza e quella cosa è maravigliosa, che straordinariamente è bella, onde come rara tira a sè il sguardo e la mente, a segno che si rimane astratto alla contemplazione e piacere di essa.’

⁶⁷ Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992, p. 174 (‘De Statua, & eius Inspectore’): ‘Spectanti insinuat sese lapis; inscius ultro | Spectator totum se lapidi insinuat. | Inde trahunt homines, durum genus, unde regiscant; | Inde unam e multis contrahit ille animam.’ I thank Lex Hermans for helping me with the translation.

⁶⁸ Francesco Antonio Cappone’s dedication in Cappone 1654 (pages unnumbered). See for the ‘Medusa effect’ Lavin 1998a, Shearman 1992, pp. 48-50, and Cropper 1991b, pp. 203-204.

⁶⁹ Scaramuccia 1674, p. 18: ‘...e nella Chiesa della Vittoria in particolare, ove espresse Santa Teresa, che trafitta dall’amoroso Strale del suo Signore vassene in dolce deliquio, e si come in estasi si vede, così estatico fà restare chi la rimira, mercè l’eccellenza d’un tanto Maestro, che la condusse.’

ness of that marble, he was tremendously charmed by himself, even had fallen in love with his statue; [and] he spoke with it, like a newborn Pygmalion.⁷⁰

Not the sculptor, now, but rather the spectator is a Pygmalion. Like Narcissus, he is oblivious of the fact that it is an image of himself he gazes at. Narcissus, who, falling in love with his own reflection in a pond, indeed remains immobile at his own sight, 'like a statue of Parian marble,' as Ovid writes.⁷¹ Francesco d'Este, then, responds quite differently, for he speaks with his own countenance. Not only do these living marbles invite to speech, but also to songs and poetry. The chisel makes the Sirens sing, muses the Neapolitan poet Gennaro Suardo, and brings about the most extraordinary flights in the 'Parthenopian swans', that is to say, his fellow Neapolitan poets.⁷²

As Guidiccioni's lines on Bernini's bust of Urban VIII suggest, it is not always a one-way effect: not only does man grow rigid in the presence of Bernini's marble bust, but the bust itself draws its soul from those who watch. Thus, in this cases it is not the sculptor, or at least not the sculptor alone, who gives life to the marble; the bust needs a beholder to grant it its life. Giovanni Michele Silos, in a Latin epigram on Antonio Raggi's monumental marble relief for the Ginetti chapel in the Roman church of Sant'Andrea della Valle (fig. 10), addresses the spectator directly, writing: 'Whoever you are, here so ardently fallen to your knees before these marble figures, the sculpted marble will grow soft under your prayers.'⁷³

Where the spectator may occasionally, when lost in his contemplation of the image, be moved to such heights that he speak with it, mostly he keeps silent. Nor do we encounter many of the other behaviours we find in religious ritual involving images. Indeed, the spectator may fall to his knees in admiration of a particular devout sculpture, be even moved to prayers and tears, but we do not find here the more ritual rubbing, kissing, and touching with chaplets of statues

⁷⁰ Borboni 1661, p. 84: 'effigiato così al vivo; che veduto da quel Principe, parve (stetti quasi per dire, se non nel vietasse le sagacità singolare dello stesso) che a guisa di novello Narciso in rimirando attentamente le sue fattezze nel candore di quel marmo, si compiacesse sommamente di se medesimo, o vero invaghito della sua Statua; con esso lei ragionasse, come un novello Pigmalione.'

⁷¹ Ovid/Miller 1977, vol. 1, book 3, pp. 152-155: 'adstupet ipse sibi vultuque inmotus eodem haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum...'

⁷² Cappone 1654: 'Col tuo scarpel, [...] | Cantar fai le Sirene, e a' Cigni rendi | Di Partenope mia volo più raro.'

⁷³ Silos 1673, vol. 2, p. 192, no. XLVII, with an Italian translation in Silos/Basile Bonsante 1979, vol. 2, p. 178: 'Quisquis es, hic alacer procumbe ad saxea signa: | Molle tuis votis sculpti le marmor erit.'

witnessed by Sir Philip Skippon and John Evelyn in the Roman churches.⁷⁴ That such behaviour would in fact break the ‘spell’ of vivaciousness, becomes eminent if we look more closely at the role of the senses.

The Senses

The most important sense, in terms of the perception of vivacious sculpture, is without a doubt the eye. In fact, the reader/spectator is often stressed to look: ‘Fix your eyes,’ Gregorio Leone summons his reader, ‘and then look, then look again, and admire of this white colossus the vivacious acts.’⁷⁵ *Mirare* is the verb we encounter again and again, indicating not just a glance, as may be the case in the more neutral *guardare*, but to gaze upon attentively.⁷⁶ A simple looking does not suffice here, the spectator is urged to explore the marble with his eyes, to drink in his visual experience, and to do it again. But even then, the eye is ignorant, it is glibble and easily tricked. Maffeo Barberini writes on a fountain:

...and though the fountain’s semblance remains immobile
within the moving crystal [i.e., the water], the eye believes
that again and again it changes in varied and new shapes.⁷⁷

How different is the sense of touch. Where the eye ‘believes’, the hand is not so easily deceived. ‘Only the hand discloses the deceits,’ a poet writes.⁷⁸ A further elaboration on this ‘revealing’ character of the sense of touch can be found in Galileo Galilei’s contribution to the ancient *paragone* between the arts of paint-

⁷⁴ Paoli 1637, p. 210: ‘Vivo, vivo è, Bernino, | Sacro il volto d’Urbano, | Opra de la tua mano: | Favella, ma con Dio, | E genuflesso anch’io, | Mentre l’alma l’adora, e vivo il crede, | Gli bacierei, se tù ’l formavi, il Piede.’ See also *infra*, p. 98. For such ritual behaviours see Skippon 1732, p. 661 (25 October, 1664 [?]): ‘The same day there was a great concourse of people at *S. Gregorio* on mount *Celio* [...]. For eight days, beginning on *All Saints*, the people pay much devotion here, and kiss a stone table, and the foot of an image.’ Evelyn/Beer 1955, vol. 2, p. 264 (19 November 1644): ‘...a little be neathe the High Altar [of Saint Peter’s], sits an old brasse statue of Saint Peter, under the Soles of whose feete many devout persons rub their heads, and touch their Chapletts...’ Cf. Severano 1630, vol. 2, p. 24: ‘...si dovrà baciare il piede all’Imagine di S. Pietro, e mettergl’ il capo sotto, in segno dell’obediienza, che si deve, e si professa all’istesso Apostolo, & alli Successori suoi, come veri Cattolici...’

⁷⁵ Gregorio Leone in: Grignani 1641, p. 16: ‘Fissa gli occhi, e poi mira, | poi rimira, ed ammira | di candido colosso atti vivaci.’

⁷⁶ Cropper 1991, p. 201 signals Giovan Battista Marino’s preference for the verb *mirare*.

⁷⁷ Maffeo Barberini in Getto 1949-54, vol. 2, p. 270: ‘...sebben nel cristal mobile immota | sua sembianza abbia il fonte, l’occhio crede | ch’ognor si cangi in varia e nuova forma.’

⁷⁸ Sebastiano Baldini in Tamburini 1649, p. 223: ‘Pur guardo indagator riman convinto, | E gl’inganni la man solo confessa; | A tropo ancor di rimirar non cessa | S’ à lo stame vitale è ’l fuso avvinto.’ For the poem see also *infra*, pp. 44-46.

ing and sculpture.⁷⁹ He argues, against the classic argument that sculpture is more truthful than painting because of its physical, tactile qualities, that neither painting nor sculpture can deceive the sense of touch.⁸⁰ ‘Now who would believe,’ asks Galileo rhetorically ‘that a man, when touching a statue, would think that it is a living human being?’ ‘Certainly nobody,’ he continues, for

not only projections and depressions (which constitute the relief in a statue) come within the province of this sense [i.e., the sense of touch] but also softness and hardness, warmth and coolness, smoothness and roughness, heaviness and lightness, all of which criteria of the statue’s power to deceive.⁸¹

Thus, while Galileo implicitly grants that the beholder by only looking at a statue indeed may believe it is alive, that which appears to have the softness and warmth of life to the eyes, proves hard and cold to the touch.⁸²

The senses of sight and touch, though dominating the *paragone* debate, are, as we have seen, not the only senses that may be involved in the experience of sculpture. Although the senses of taste and smell are largely absent (even though, it seems, not necessarily inappropriate), the sense of hearing plays a more prominent role.⁸³ ‘Don’t you hear him? He speaks,’ writes Bernardino Mariscotti on Algardi’s *Saint Paul* (fig. 11).⁸⁴ After having for some time described the effect the work has on himself, towards the end of his poem the author suddenly addresses the reader, a rhetorical trick to involve the latter in the vivacious qualities of the work. As we have already seen, such speech may often be silent speech, not to be heard with the ears. ‘Do you see them at first

⁷⁹ On Galileo’s original contribution to this debate see Bredekamp 2007, pp. 283–287, Panofsky 1954.

⁸⁰ For this classic stance see Da Vinci/Richter 1949, p. 86.

⁸¹ Galileo Galilei’s letter to Lodovico Cigoli, dated 26 June, 1612 in Panofsky 1954, p. 33: ‘Ora chi crederà che uno, toccando una statua, si creda che quella sia un uomo vivo? Certo nessuno [...] non solamente è sottoposto a tal sentimento il rilevato e il depresso (che sono il rilievo della statua), ma ancora il molle e il duro, il caldo e’l freddo il delicato e l’aspro, il grave e’l leggiere, tutt’indizi dell’inganno della statua.’ Trans. Panofsky 1954, pp. 35–36.

⁸² Cf. Stigliani 1623, p. 36: ‘Gelido à chi ti tocca...’

⁸³ For the significance of the sense of smell in the early modern period see various passages in Camporesi 1983. A reference to the sense of smell can be found in a description of the Doric order in Imperiale 1611, p. 430: ‘Sì naturali, e sì vivaci impresse | Scorgi e le Rose, e de i Torrelli i teschi, | Che se ben quelle esser sol marmo, e questi | Et esser marmo, e finti estinti i scorgi, | Tu da quelle l’odor, da questi il moto | Stupido attendi; anzi, s’à i sensi attendi, | Senti odor, vedi moto, e voci intendi.’

⁸⁴ Mariscotti 1648, p. 15 (of 17 unnumbered pages, not counting the frontispiece): ‘Non l’udite? ei favella...’

glance as breathing,' Guidiccioni asks, as we have seen, referring to the Angels on the *Baldachino*, 'but not perceive them with your ears as speaking?'⁸⁵

Also in other ways can sculpture speak directly to the 'internal senses', to the heart. In a poem on Bernini's *David* (fig. 12) we can read: 'But that what the eye does not see, you can marvellously find too, if when gazing upon the work you give belief to your fears.'⁸⁶ The spectator is urged to turn his senses inward, and to fully experience the emotions the sculpture arouses. The work speaks, we may say, beyond the senses and brings about feelings of love, fear and even pain. Saint Theresa herself is made to respond to Bernini's sculpture of her (fig. 3) and is said to relive the pain inflicted in her heart: 'So I,' the Saint speaks to the artist, 'without my knowing it [...] can suffer real wounds in the marble?'⁸⁷

Implications

At this point, we may draw the net somewhat tighter, and come to some more general conclusions with regard to what has been described above. To sum up, we can discern several broader categories of statements. Most common are without a doubt those in which signs of life are, or life in general is, quite bluntly attributed to the works of art. These aspects of life are either behavioural or indicate an internal state. Thus, sculptures may breathe, speak and act out, moving, walking, and making gestures while also thoughts, feelings and intentions can be expressed in the marble. Such admittedly rather basic attributions do not stand on their own; rather, they function as a springboard, so to speak, for more complex arguments. As living entities, sculptures may act towards or respond to their surroundings, be it other works of art or human beings. Life and thoughts might even be attributed to the un-worked material, in anticipation of the sculptor's labour. Indeed, these living sculptures time and again relate in a certain manner to the artist who created it, to the material it is made of, to its surroundings and to the spectator. Furthermore, all these may contribute to the bringing to life of the sculpture. The two main actors we have encountered are the sculptor and the beholder, indicative of two different—though, as will become clear, not necessarily separate—'moments' in the sculp-

⁸⁵ Cf. text cited *supra*, n. 58.

⁸⁶ BAV, Vat. lat. 15013, f. 91r: 'Ma quello che con l'occhio non vedi | Puoi ritrovarvi à meraviglia anch'esso | Se nel mirarlo al tuo timor tu credi.'

⁸⁷ Montanari 2003, pp. 194-195 (his trans.): 'Et gratata sibi vulnus iam dulce paratum | Cordi quod lapidi iussit inesse faber, | "Ignara me ergo" dixit "sub marmore possum, | Si Bernine velis, vulnera vera pati"?'

ture's existence: respectively that of its creation and bringing to life and that of its observation and contemplation.

The sculptor, we have seen, is credited with the power to give life, a power that easily extends to his hands and his tools, the hammer and the chisel. Life or the soul, we read, is infused, imprinted, though the manner in which this happens as well as the actual moment of transition often remain unnamed. The absence of references to the hard labour that obviously underlies the sculptor's practice, gives his accomplishments a magical aura and it is in this aura that the sculptor is easily associated with the many ancient or sometimes religious stories of miraculous animation. The sculptor is a new Pygmalion, an Amphion and Orpheus, a Prometheus, Deucalion or Daedalus and, as such, he comes to adopt some of their characteristics. Like Amphion he sings and plays, his chisel becoming the plectrum to his lyre, while in the guise of Prometheus his chisel is the torch burning with the fire of the Gods. In the end, all that which gave life in ancient mythology becomes an attribute to the sculptor, carrying him above the common man towards the realm of the divine, almost up to the point of the sacrilegious suggestion that the sculptor becomes God himself. Indeed, where ritual interactions with sculptures fall largely outside the scope of the poetic discourse, we do encounter an overt play with terms and concepts laden with religiously connotations. It is at this point that we find also the first signs of a synaesthesia—a phenomenon closely related to the discourse of the metaphysical—; as marble miraculously becomes flesh, the boundaries between sound and light begin to blur. The sculptor may, on the other hand, also be deemed a hand of God; he is not yet divine himself but rather His vessel.

After having been touched by such a enlivening power, the status of sculpture as sculpture comes into play. We encounter different manners to stress the idea that, by bringing the marble to life, the sculptor supersedes the common categories belonging to his art. The apparent tension between warm, soft, moving flesh on the one hand and cold, hard, and rigid marble on the other, often remains unresolved. The author puts it to the fore as a rhetorical question, as an expression of wonder, confusion even, between what the spectator knows and what is seen. It is in this confusion between the real world and that of art, that the sculpture's surroundings are involved as well. The sculpture enters the world of men, that of the sculptor and the spectator, is affected by it and exerts its own power on it. Moreover, these surroundings may play a determining role in the sculpture's enlivening. The sounds and movements of the surrounding elements—air, water, light—are conflated with those attributed to the sculpture. Boundaries between art and life, between marble and flesh, but also be-

tween inside and outside, surface and surroundings, between the different sensory modalities (vision, hearing, etc.) start to fade.

The spectator plays always a determining role in the fading of these boundaries, be it in the guise of the poet who describes what he sees, in that of the reader who is urged to look, or an unidentified spectator, sometimes a pilgrim, that is addressed by the author.⁸⁸ Time and again, when the marble becomes soft as living flesh, the spectator petrifies, turning rigid as stone. But what may seem a quite simple *contrapposto* at first, turns out to be only an initial step in the description of the interactions between sculpture and spectator; in fact, the spectator's rigidity hosts a whole complex of responses.⁸⁹ The image's vivaciousness is something that hits the onlooker, draws him nearer, but also something that needs to be contemplated; indeed, a full appreciation of a sculpture's 'vivacious acts' involves an attentive gazing upon, an active exploration with the eyes, but, again at the same time, an almost unhampered flow of experiences that present themselves to the inner senses. This flow is not, as we have seen, confined to the sole image, but includes also its environment: air, light, water and sounds may all contribute to a sense of movement and life. Only then, when the spectator opens himself up to the work of art in its environment, can it be fully appreciated, does it come fully to life.⁹⁰

This 'opening up' of the beholder involves in the first place a heightened awareness of what we may refer to as the phenomenology of the work of art, that is to say, the beholder opens up to the subjective experience elicited by the work. It is not as much what the spectator knows the work to be, but rather—and we are very close here to Pallavicino's account of perception—the sum of its experiences that is at the centre of interest. This explains the disposition towards the sense of sight we encounter so often in these statements, and that is indeed quite common to the period, and the disregard, so to speak, for the more physical sense of touch. Whereas the sense of touch is capable of breaking the spell of the living image, those of sight and hearing open the way for a whole complex of multi-sensory experiences—including, as we shall see further on, the sense of touch. The onlooker turns his attention inwards, focussing on the inner senses, less fixed to rational demarcations. More and more, the spec-

⁸⁸ For the figure of the pilgrim see Grignani 1641, p. 16, Delbeke 2004a, p. 78 and in particular Antonio Bruni in Facciotti 1625, pp. 3-37. I hope to explore the significance of this *topos* elsewhere.

⁸⁹ For the *contrapposto* as a rhetoric mean see Summers 1977.

⁹⁰ For a contemporary account of the 'beholder's share' see Nemerow-Ulman 1987, p. 78 on Giovan Battista Marino.

tator's experience becomes a sharing in, rather than a response to, that which the work of art seems to experience.

For the sculptor, this means that he cannot conceive of his work as an image isolated from its physical but also its cultural context. Rather, he creates always a work in its environment, an environment that is shared by the willing spectator. The sculptor's art, now, is not just that of creating cold, colourless shapes, but of playing, through his work, on the senses. It is this capacity to marvel the spectator, to draw him into a world shared by sculpture and spectator, that makes the sculptor into much more than a mere artisan; he is, rather, an architect of visions that extend beyond the boundaries of the marble, indeed almost an equal of the gods.

Dispersal

The question remains, however, what we should make of these sources. Do they not belong to some fruitless pastime, far removed from the interest of artists and critics? To answer this question, we should look somewhat closer at the way in which they relate to other kinds of texts. To begin with, we may note that the topics here described are not confined to poetry alone. Although we may safely say that poetry was the most common playground for those with a literary interest in the arts, the topics present in these poems as well as their specific kind of language return in other texts as well. Whereas the *Vite* written by Baglione and Baldinucci's *Notizie dei professori del disegno* are largely devoid of ekphraseis, at least where sculpture is concerned, and accordingly leave little room for such responses, this cannot be said of those by other seventeenth-century authors, such as Bellori and Passeri.⁹¹ Yet, in Bellori's careful descriptions of the works of Duquesnoy and Algardi (the only sculptors he discusses) life and breath are, as we have seen, also no more than adjectives: the marbles live and breathe only in their expression of emotion, in their gracefulness, in their spirit [*spirito*] or actions [*atto*].⁹² Bellori's account may not surprise, the author being known for his systematic approach to art; his style is one of analyzing step by step the figure's pose, gestures, expressions, and actions.⁹³ It is in a similar line that we can also read Passeri's text, his use of these terms being even more restricted than with Bellori. His description of Francesco Mochi's

⁹¹ On Baldinucci's traditional approach see Montanari 2006, p. 100.

⁹² Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 403: 'Mostrò l'industria del lavoro in questo gruppo di due figure di tutto rilievo che vivono e spirano nell'affetto del Santo vecchio e nella grazia soavissima dell'angelo...' p. 291: 'si avviva nello spirito, e nell'atto.'

⁹³ For Bellori's methods of description see Hansmann 2002 and Perini 1989.

Veronica (fig. 5) discussed above is therefore quite exceptional. Passeri's approach towards Mochi's work seems indeed quite different from that by the poets who contributed to Grignani's collection of poems on the *Veronica*. Rather than adopting their lyrical vocabulary, he chooses a more rational style. Nonetheless, his words echo the same sentiment that we can find in the poetry on the work. In comparing Passeri's text with that of Tortoletti, we have seen that both address the same point: the apparent contradiction between the statue's fixed marble essence and a suggestion of movement. Both, also, stress their point by implicitly discarding the fact that movement is only *suggested* in the work: for Passeri it 'is no longer a permanent statue [...], but rather a person that passes,' for Tortoletti the figure walks, even talks and expresses emotions. Although wholly different in style, the exceptionality of the passage within Passeri's work suggests that it may nonetheless be indebted to Grignani's collection; in fact Passeri himself indicates that he has taken note of the publication.⁹⁴ Be this as it may, his analytical approach results in a text that is no less rhetorical than that of the poets. Indeed, if his addition between brackets that he speaks 'without meaning offence' might suggest he had discovered some marring peculiarity in the work, he actually gives it the largest praise one could give.

Another way the poetic discourse may enter in other texts is through anecdotes. Even though Baldinucci, as Domenico Bernini, somewhat more often resides to actual ekphrastic descriptions in his *Vita* of Bernini than in his *Notizie dei professori*, here as well he seldom makes use of the commonplaces found in encomiastic poetry; only in his introduction he speaks once, very generally, of the 'marbles, that thanks to his [i.e., that of Bernini] chisel live and speak'.⁹⁵ It is remarkable to see, then, that Bernini's alleged capacity to give life to marble is primarily expressed through anecdotes rather than through the application of literary conventionalities. An anecdote recounted by Domenico Bernini of the severe illness that struck pope Urban VIII shortly after his election, and his subsequent recovery, is interesting in this context. To calm the people, who due to his long absence believed him to have died, the pope appeared at his window. 'But in vain,' thus writes Domenico, for

⁹⁴ Passeri/Hess 1934, p. 134: '...andò in giro alla Stampa una raccolta di varie poesie in sua lode...'

⁹⁵ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 72: '...i marmi, che mercé del di lui scalpello vivono e parlano...'

the people started to shout, that this is not their Pope Urban, but the body of Urban, that through Bernini's artifice had been held intact, and moved. They having seen only shortly before in that same window the Cavalier, and none other than his could be the invention of giving movement to a body already dead...⁹⁶

The Pope was not 'allegedly brought back to life,' as has been suggested, but was, more interestingly, actually thought to be very dead still.⁹⁷ Bernini is here presented not as a magician, but as the 'supreme trickster'. The anecdote wants to say: you cannot believe your eyes when Bernini is present, and everybody knows it. It suggests that others, even all, have been fooled before by Bernini, and are not willing to be fooled again. Rather than making explicit the *topoi* of encomiastic poetry, they are here merely implicit, seemingly taken for granted. In fact, the anecdote can only be understood if we know Bernini's reputation as an 'animator of marbles' while, by taking it for granted, this very reputation is presented as a truth. Contrary to poetry, then, anecdotes allow the author to anchor these encomiastic *topoi* in a historical setting, providing the rhetorical means to suggest a social consensus. In this particular case, consensus is conveyed by 'the people'—if the people say it is so, who is the reader to doubt?—more often one or more authoritative figures are introduced, exchanging some witticism.⁹⁸

Even though it may seem from the previous examples that the specific vocabulary we found in ekphrastic poetry is only implicitly present in the genre of the *Vite*, this is not necessarily the case. We may contrast Bellori's sophisticated approach with the more poetic ekphrasis of the Bolognese author Carlo Cesare Malvasia. The latter, 'indirectly measures the quality of a work of art through its capacity to allure [*allettare*] the spectator, to suggest to the latter emotions and intellectual digressions, and to solicit an immediate response, also of an artistic nature, such as the creation of sonnets or other panegyric poetry.'⁹⁹ This approach shows itself, among others, in a more extensive play with the *topos* of

⁹⁶ Bernini 1713, p. 36: 'Mà in vano; Poiche comincio il Popolo ad esclamare, *Quello non esser il loro Pontefice Urbano, mà il Corpo di Urbano, che per artificio del Bernino si manteneva intatto, e si moveva: Haver'essi veduto poco prima in quell'istessa finestra il Cavaliere, & altra che sua non poter essere l'invenzione di dar moto ad un Corpo già morto*'.

⁹⁷ Fehrenbach 2005, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁸ See e.g. the anecdotes on Bernini's *Bust of Pedro de Foix Montoy*, *infra* pp. 51-54 and on his *Apollo and Daphne*, *infra* p. 201.

⁹⁹ Perini 1989, p. 179: "Tale approccio indiretto misura la qualità di un'opera d'arte sulla sua capacità di allettare lo spettatore, di suggerirgli emozioni e divagazioni intellettuali e di sollecitare un'immediata risposta di natura anch'essa artistica, quale la creazione di sonetti o altri componimenti poetici di elogio."

the vivacious image. Thus we read of painted figures ‘with such animation and spirit, that they seem to breathe,’ of flesh ‘alive and tender,’ and even of those that ‘have such a movement and make such an uproar that it seems they want to leap out of the painting.’¹⁰⁰ Malvasia’s style is that of the poet Giovan Battista Marino, which through the marinist poet Cesare Rinaldi, found an eager public among the members of the Bolognese *Accademia dei Gelati*.¹⁰¹ As a member of this literary academy, Malvasia undoubtedly was well aware of the extensive production of poetic responses on the local artistic production, in particular that of Guido Reni, which developed in the wake of these poets.¹⁰² Unfortunately, we might say, Malvasia has confined himself to the art of painting; the Bolognese sculptor Alessandro Algardi, though praised by him as a ‘new Guido’, is only mentioned in passing.¹⁰³ What his approach does show, however, is how different literary genres may overlap and may actually be put into service by the author. Obviously, this counts for the poetic discourse described above as well. Even if Malvasia is exceptional in the sense that he literally incorporates the *topoi* of encomiastic poetry in his writing, others do so by different, less obvious means. Indeed, as the examples from Passeri and Baldinucci show, neither the more systematic art literature has been left unaffected by the poetic discourse, introducing interesting ways to engage with, further emphasize and make credible what poets have rather bluntly stated.¹⁰⁴

A more direct way of dealing with these *topoi* that we have not yet touched upon is introducing poetry by others. These often have the character of a sort of ‘illustrations’ to the text. The well known verses on Bernini’s *Sepulchral monument to Pope Urban VIII* (fig. 13), published by Baldinucci as the work of Cardinal Angiolo Francesco Rapaccioli, though published in 1649 in the *Poesie de signori academici Disinvolti di Pesaro* as by one Sebastiano Baldini, show an interesting example.¹⁰⁵ Let us first look at some elements of Baldinucci’s description

¹⁰⁰ Examples taken from the life of Guido Reni, in Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 2, p. 12: ‘Sul gusto di Rafaele una graziosa giovane [...] sovra la qui spalla una compagna più vecchia, sul gusto di Correggio, posta la mano e la testa ridente, guardano ambedue gli spettatori, con tanta vivacità e spirito, che par che spirino. [...] Sul gusto di Tiziano un pastorello che sonando un flauto con certe mani di viva e tenera carne, viene attentamente da un altro [...] ascoltato.’ And on p. 17: ‘E veramente le figure di quella tavola anch’esse hanno una mossa e fanno un strepito, che pare vogliono balzar fuori del quadro.’

¹⁰¹ Cf. Perini 2005.

¹⁰² Colantuono 1997, pp. 110 ff., Emiliani 1995, p. 270.

¹⁰³ Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 2, p. 26: ‘...fu scolpita da un nuovo Guido [Reni] in marmo, e fu l’Algardi Bolognese...’ Malvasia seems to have known Algardi quite well.

¹⁰⁴ For an interesting example in Bellori’s work see Colantuono 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 87; cf. Tamburini 1649, p. 223 for the whole sonnet: ‘Per il Sepolcro di Papa Urbano VIII. eretto in S. Pietro Vaticamo dal Signore Cavagliere

that precede these verses.¹⁰⁶ The bronze figure of the Pope he describes as ‘sitting on a throne, in the act of blessing, expressed so true to life [*al vivo*] that more one could not desire,’ whereas Death, the other figure that is mentioned in the poet’s lines, is more extensively described as ‘shameful and proud at the same time, with his winged back turned towards the outside, with the head somewhat veiled and covered, and the face turned to the back, with a large book in his hands,’ being ‘in the act of writing’.¹⁰⁷ It is this writing figure of Death, that, as Baldinucci recognizes, is the foremost focus of the *concelto* that underlies the monument. As in a marinist conceit, he signals the pope’s demise in his very being while, at the same time, he immortalizes him by inscribing his name in the large book he is holding; what is mortal is at the same time immortal.¹⁰⁸ It is not by chance, then, that the poet takes this figure as his point of departure:

Bernini has contrived the great Urban so alive,
and so well is the spirit impressed in the hard bronzes,

Bernino, Con una Statua di bronzo del PP. & una Morte, che in un Libro scrive il nome del medesimo. || Del medesimo. [= Sebastiano Baldini] || L’Arte vivo il Grande Urbano hà finto, | E sì nè duri bronzi d’Alma impressa; | Che per toglì la fe, la morte istessa | Sta sul Sepolcro a dimostrarlo estinto. || Pur guardo indagator riman convinto, | E gl’inganni la man solo confessa; | A tropo ancor di rimirar non cessa, | Se à lo stame vitale è’l fuso avvinto. || Bernin sei tù, che con Prometea mano, | Quasi aprendo a le tombe hoggi le porte, | Lo richiamo a la vita in Vaticano. || Mà pur del tuo valor non è gran sorte | Far vivo il morto Urban, se fai d’Urbano | Immortali i Sepolcri in faccia a morte.’ The sonnet is, with some minor differences, also at BAV, Barb.lat. 3891, f. 102r, where, due to a repair, the last verses are not fully legible. The verses are repeated, with some variations, in Bernini 1713, p. 73, who attributes them to Cardinal Giovanni Giacomo Panzirolo, Pope Innocent X’s secretary of state. Montanari 2006, p. 88 has argued that in Baldinucci’s Bernini *Vite*, ‘poetic texts are not introduced as ekphrastic equivalents of the works, as in Bellori’s *Vite*; instead they are used in an apologetic manner, to reaffirm the universal approval achieved by Bernini, above all among influential Roman academies.’ Such an interpretation seems, particularly in the example discussed here, a bit too one-sided; in fact such an apologetic function can very well exist next to that of ekphrasis.

¹⁰⁶ Montanari 2006, p. 96, argues that this is one of the few authentic descriptions in the work.

¹⁰⁷ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, pp. 86-87: ‘...la grande statua di bronzo rappresentante la figura d’ Urbano sedente in trono in atto di benedire, espresso così al vivo che più non può desiderarsi.’ And on p. 87: ‘...in bronzo la Morte, la quale vergognosa e superba in un tempo stesso, col tergo alato volto all’infuori, col capo alquanto velato e coperto, e colla faccia volta all’indietro, con un gran libro in mano [...] si fa vedere in atto di scrivere...’

¹⁰⁸ The *concelto* of the tomb is discussed by Wilkinson 1971, who gives relatively little attention to the figure of Death. A more extensive discussion of the figure is in Kauffmann 1970, pp. 115-127, whereas Panofsky 1964, p. 221 particularly stresses its importance. For the Italian term *concelto*, to be translated either as ‘concept’ or ‘conceit’, see Mirollo 1963, pp. 116-117.

that to rob him of his belief Death himself
is on the sepulchre to show him [to be] deceased.¹⁰⁹

We see that the poet stresses the lifelikeness of the pope's image in the same terms as used by Baldinucci; indeed, the former may have incited the latter to do so. Yet, whereas for Baldinucci the vividness of the bronze is primarily an artistic accomplishment, for the poet it forms the point of departure for a further play with the *conchetto* itself. As has been argued by Catherine Wilkinson, Bernini has expressed his *conchetto* here 'not in attributes to the figures but in their subtle expressions and gestures – in their naturalness and seemingly life-like quality.'¹¹⁰ It can, accordingly, only be understood if the spectator takes these elements into account. Although from the lines cited by Baldinucci it remains somewhat unclear who it actually is that is to be robbed by Death of his belief, in the following verse of the sonnet we see that it is indeed the *indagator*, the enquiring spectator.¹¹¹ The poem sets out with the suggestion of a spectator who engages with the monument, who lets his eyes be deceived by Bernini's vivacious art only to suddenly realize the significance of the looming figure of Death. With this, the poem is not only, as Baldinucci suggests, a specimen of the author's wit, but can also be read as a complement to the biographer's own description. Where Baldinucci describes what is seen, the poet shows what it can achieve.

Even though the more 'scientific' manner of description is here placed next to actual poetry, the two are never totally independent. In the alternative approaches to the phenomenon of vivacious sculpture apparent in the genre of *Vita*, the more conventional rhetoric of praise found in contemporary poetry is never totally absent.¹¹² A similar picture arises if we look at other sources. The brief entries in city guides, to give an example, though seldom giving an opportunity for more elaborate discussions of works of art, occasionally fall back on the literary discourse sketched above. One of the more striking examples can be found in Carlo De Lellis' description of the *Cappella Cacace* in the Neapolitan

¹⁰⁹ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 87: Bernin sì vivo il grande Urbano ha finto, | E sì ne' duri bronzi è l'alma impressa, | Che per togli la fé morte stessa | Sta sul sepolcro a dimostrarlo estinto.'

¹¹⁰ Wilkinson 1971, p. 62.

¹¹¹ Tamburini 1649, p. 223: 'Pur guardo indagator resta convinto; | E gl' inganni la man solo confessa; | A tropo ancor di rimirar non cessa | Se à lo stame vitale è'l fuso avvinto.'

¹¹² That poetry forms an important intertext of the artist biography has been noted by Delbeke, Levy & Ostrow 2007, p. 53.

church of San Lorenzo Maggiore and Andrea Bolgi's sculptures made for this chapel (fig. 14).

Equally rich for the preciousness of the stones and for the abundance of the gold, there are two statues and two busts of marble, sculpted by Andrea Bolgi of Carrara, who has been called from Rome especially for this effect. [And he is] truly the Amphion of this century, for he has animated the stones of the images just mentioned, which, though the originals [i.e., the figures portrayed] are lifeless and without speech, they on their part, readily start to speak, so much are they alive.¹¹³

Although, at the time they were made, Bolgi's sculptures were exceptional in the Neapolitan context for their vivacious, Bernini-esque quality, De Lellis' description, indeed an anomaly in the genre of the city guide, can be traced to a specific source. As has been suggested by Riccardo Lattuada, the author must have been acquainted with Francesco Antonio Cappone, who, in 1654, published an extensive collection of poems on Bolgi's Cacace marbles. The collection is—rather unsurprisingly—rich with the kind of *topoi* used by De Lellis.¹¹⁴

Another interesting case is presented by the literary oeuvre of Michelangelo Lualdi, priest and canon of San Marco.¹¹⁵ His manuscript *Galleria Sacra Architettata dalla Pietà Romana*, probably begun under the reign of pope Urban VIII but much reworked in subsequent decades, contains about two hundred entries describing works of art, buildings, holy objects, etc. in Rome in a manner similar to the kind of themes described above. The texts are much akin to Lualdi's better known description of Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, which was published as an independent booklet in 1651. As becomes clear from the title of this booklet, though, the text was initially conceived as part of a work much less directly occupied with art and ekphrasis: Lualdi's *Istoria Ecclesiastica*, published in two volumes in 1650 and 1651 respectively. As Maarten Delbeke has shown, several of the texts in the *Galleria* have taken up a place in his writings on church history. His *Istoria Ecclesiastica* contains in fact many poetic descriptions, both by Lualdi's own hand as by others. Rather than pure embellishments they hint at a history made present. Delbeke writes: 'Lualdi "inscribes" epigrams onto objects mentioned in his prose, attempting either to conjure up a visual

¹¹³ De Lellis/Aceto 1977, pp. 358-359: 'Egualemente ricca per la preziosità delle pietre e per la copia dell'oro, vi sono due statue e due busti di marmo, scolpiti da Andrea Bolci [sic] da Carrara, fatto venire da Roma per questo effetto, veramente Anfione di questo secolo, perché ave animate le pietre delle immagini già dette, che se non sono loquaci è perché non sono vivi l'originali, che, dal canto loro, tengono pronta la favella, cotanto sono vive.'

¹¹⁴ Cappone 1654; Lattuada 1984, pp. 161-162.

¹¹⁵ For Lualdi and his oeuvre see Delbeke 2004a.

image of an object, or rather, to disengage visuality from the written account, thereby establishing a spatial dialogue between the text and its object.¹¹⁶

Between Beholder, Artist and Art

There can be no doubt that the kind of discourse described above was deeply embedded in seventeenth-century culture. Whereas some, as we have seen in the case of Aurelio Mancini, would write on demand, apparently without having seen what they purport to write about, others did so to bring across the vivid impression a work had made on them. Either way, between these two extremes, authors made use of a very similar terminology, a highly conventional terminology that speaks of response rather than artistic quality. Now what does this tell us about art? At a first instance, this does not seem to be very much. Clearly, these texts give us hardly any information on technical aspects and formal qualities of the works of art, and what they give away about their iconography is not much more than we could have deduced otherwise. More indirectly, though, these accounts give us a very important indication of the way people interacted with art. As we have seen, the interaction of the beholder with the work of art and variety of responses the work may elicit are thematized time and again. Such *topoi* may tell us something about the character of the beholder's responses, not because they can be read as some first-hand account or because they give us some privileged access to the beholder's thoughts and feelings, but rather because we may understand such texts as providing a norm: they provide the beholder with a set of categories, a field of possibilities in which he or she can formulate a response. Accordingly, we should not try to understand such accounts as *descriptive*, in the sense that they describe what is experienced, but rather as *prescriptive*—they implicitly prescribe how the beholder should act, what he or she should look for in the work of art, but more in particular, what he or she should feel when regarding a work of art.¹¹⁷ Indeed, the enormous attention to the relationship set up between the beholder and the work of art inescapably primes the beholder to question this relation-

¹¹⁶ Delbeke 2004a, pp. 78-79.

¹¹⁷ A similar argument for the significance of these sources has been put forward by Schütze 2005, p. 10 and Freedberg 1989, p. 297: 'The ultimate tribute to artistic excellence may be to say the work is so excellently crafted, so lively, that it seems to move or speak. These are the convenient conventions of compliment; but if they are repeated often enough, if they are inevitably at hand, then convention itself is likely to condition response.'

ship.¹¹⁸ At this point, what seems at first primarily a literary discourse, starts to flow over in actual behaviour—discourse stops not at the pen or the mouth.

This does not mean, however, that every beholder acted in the manner alluded to by the poets. Inevitably, some must have regarded the masterpieces of baroque sculpture with indifference. Some may have just not been interested in the whole discourse, others might have ‘just not felt it,’ even if they tried to open themselves up. Rather, what these texts allude to—and this is what it means for them to be *prescriptive*—is an ideal beholder, an ideal set of responses. They are normative in the sense that they prescribe how a successful encounter with a quality sculpture should develop ideally. Neither the conditions under which many of these poems were written, nor their conventional character detracts from this formative character. Rather, precisely because these conventions were shared by so many, including the patrons of sculpture, could they become the norm. In effect, these texts contain some sort of a self fulfilling prophecy; the ideal beholder, akin to the authoritative actor in anecdotes, acts out the literary discourse. Whereas authors such as Bellori provide an aesthetic analysis of art, giving us terms to analyse them as works of art, the kind of poetic descriptions discussed above tell the beholder how to act and what to feel. Thus, whereas Bellori gives us first and foremost the tools to reconstruct the ideal artwork, the poet gives us the terms to reconstruct the ideal viewer. We now have a clear picture of what this ideal viewer should look like. It is someone who is ready to look, and look again, someone who is open to the affective impact of the work, someone who is willing to step into the world of the image, to let his or her senses flow over.

Finally, it is this ideal beholder that tells us also something about the work of art, or rather, it may help us to understand something about how art is conceived. For what is this ideal beholder other than the artist’s point of reference? His mode of address being informed by the poetic discourse, the kind of affective response that is expected of the beholder is precisely the kind of response that the sculptor tries to elicit. With an ideal beholder and ideal responses, we can think up an ideal work of art, and it must be this work of art that the artist

¹¹⁸ The suggestion of Cropper 1991, pp. 193-212 that the ‘relationship between painting and literature in the Renaissance has been considered from the viewpoint of narrative subject matter and of allegory but not of the special relationships set up between the spectator and the image in lyrical poetry’ can easily be extended to the relationship between sculpture and literature in the Baroque period. Notably, some interesting remarks on this subject have been made for the case of Gian Battista Marino’s *Galeria*, apart from Cropper’s contribution mainly by literary historians; see Surluga 2002, the introduction to Marino/Martini 1995, Paulicelli 1994, Guardiani 1988, Nemerow-Ulman 1987, Pieri 1978.

aspires to. Even if we do not find this ideal work in the poetic texts discussed above, they allude to its effect and, as with Pallavicino, the quality of the work is determined by this effect. Thus we return again to the problem of mimesis as it has been put to the fore by Pallavicino. The artist is not expected to create a copy of nature, but rather to recreate its 'sensible effects' as forcefully as possible.

* * *

The work of art and the poetic response interact in a manner that makes it difficult to say which comes first. Is the artist influenced by poetic discourse? Or does the poet respond to certain developments in art? Even if an answer to these questions may be attempted in specific cases, in general it is more to the point to stop thinking about them in terms of influence, and rather to regard artist and poet as partners in an exchange. They advance together in an intricate interchange of themes, ideas, and responses. Accordingly, the texts discussed above form as much a poetic discourse as a discourse about sculpture. Precisely because of the conventional nature and wide dispersal of this discourse it must be deemed formative of both the beholder's stance and the sculptor's approach. As it turns out, truth to life is only one of the qualities of the ideal work, a first step. The artist is challenged to go further, much further, in his attempt to move his ideal beholder. In the chapters that follow, we will explore how the artist responds to this challenge.

'Twas said to be so wonderfully like (and indeed, from that strong character of nature which it has, one easily believes it to have been like) that those who knew him used to say it was Montoja petrified.

— Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1750¹

After our discussion of the various ways poets could evoke the life of marble and the sculptor's almost divine powers, we will now turn to one of the most basic *topoi* of encomiastic poetry: that of likeness. In an often quoted passage, Leon Battista Alberti singles out portraiture for the 'divine force which not only [...] makes the absent present, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive,' concluding that 'the face of a man who is already dead certainly lives a long life through painting.'² The portrait likeness, then, seems to be bound up intrinsically with the capacity to conjure up a vivacious, indeed almost living presence of the portrayed. But, we may ask, what is a likeness, and how may we understand its 'divine force' to make present anew?

Let us start with an anecdote. In an often cited passage from Domenico Bernini's biography of his father, the author introduces to his readers one of the sculptor's more renowned portraits: the marble bust of the Spanish jurist Pedro de Foix Montoya of 1622 (fig. 7). It was, in Domenico's words

worked with such spirit and likeness, that who wanted to take the pleasure of describing [*raffigurare*] attentively the original, and the copy, would be forced [*d'vuopo*] to say that either both were feigned or both were real, since he had represented him

¹ Reynolds/Cotton 1859, p. 7.

² Alberti/Grayson 1960-73, vol. 3, p. 44 [= II.25]: 'Tiene in sé la pittura forza divina non solo quanto si dice dell'amicizia, quale fa gli uomini assenti essere presenti, ma più i morti dopo molto secoli essere quasi vivi...' 'E così certo il viso di chi già sia morto, per la pittura vive lunga vita.' Cf. Woodall 1997, pp. 8-9.

so much as himself [i.e., Montoya] that this statue was not in need of a soul to appear alive.³

After this initial praise, to which we will return below, Domenico goes on to illustrate his point with an anecdote. It is a familiar anecdote, of which two other versions exist, one only slightly different in the *Vita* by Baldinucci and one somewhat more deviating, in Chantelou's *Journal*.⁴ Yet, Domenico's version, particularly in combination with his further remarks on the bust, can be deemed the most forceful in its rhetorical thrust, and it is for this reason that we will refer to it here. Let us see what Domenico has to say:

Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, finding himself among those flocked to the church to see this portrait, heard someone saying: 'This is Montoya become stone.' And in saying this Monsignor Montoya actually arrived, whereupon, having graciously approached him, the cardinal touched him and said: 'This is the portrait of Monsignor Montoya' and turning to the statue, he added, 'and this is Monsignor Montoya.'⁵

Rudolf Preimesberger, providing a thorough reading of the anecdote, distinguishes three of its essential 'moments', starting with the introduction, or in terms of rhetoric *occasio*, followed by the transition or *provocatio* and ending with a final twist, the *dictum* or *factum*.⁶ Thus, first the author sets the stage: we find ourselves in the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in which a large crowd of people has gathered in front of the bust with, among them, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, who we know, of course, as Bernini's early promoter.⁷ Then we have

³ Bernino 1713, p. 16: 'E condusse a fine il lavoro con tale spirito, e somiglianza, che chi volea prendersi diletto di raffigurare attentamente l'Original, e la Copia, gli era d'vuopo di dire, ò che ambedue fosser finti, ò ambedue veri, essendo che rappresentollo così desso, che quella Statue non havea bisogno d'anima per parer viva...' For the bust Wittkower 1981, cat. 13; for its date Lavin 1968, p. 240.

⁴ See Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 76 and Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 123-124 [17 August]. Preimesberger 2006, pp. 210-218 discusses the differences between the three versions. Lavin 1968, n. 114 has shown that Chantelou's account of the bust still being in the artist's studio is more probable as it conforms to the information in Montoya's will. Cf. *infra*, n. 7.

⁵ Bernino 1713, p. 16: '...non havea bisogno d'anima per parer viva: E di questo sentimento fù il Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, che trà i concorrenti nella chiesa a veder questo Ritratto, ritrovandosi anch'esso, intese un non so chi: *Questo è il Montoya diventato sasso*. Et in così dire sopravvenne veramente monsignor Montoya, onde a lui accostatosi graziosamente il cardinale, e toccatolo, disse: *Questo è il ritratto di Monsig. Montoya*, e rivolto alla statua soggiunse, *E questo è Monsignor Montoya*.'

⁶ Preimesberger 2006, pp. 210-217.

⁷ One of the many incongruities in the chronology of the Bernini *Vite*, for documents indicate that the bust remained in the artist's workshop until after the Cardinal Barberini had already become pope Urban VIII; cf. Lavin 1968, n. 114. As Delbeke, Levy & Ostrow 2006, p. 49 have argued '...these accounts should be read as creative accounts of historical record, texts

the *provocatio*: somebody is heard saying ‘this is Montoya turned to stone.’ The likeness, it seems, is absolute. But now—we are working up to the final twist—the actual *Monsignor* Montoya, as by chance, walks in. A confrontation between counterfeit and prototype, between portrait and portrayed becomes suddenly possible, inescapable even. The necessary outcome of such a comparison is foreseen by Domenico in his initial praise of the work: one is forced to conclude, he argues, that ‘either both were feigned or both were real.’ It is the impact, we may argue, of Bernini’s bust of Scipione Borghese (fig. 15), made some ten years later, as described by the writer Lelio Guidicioni in an encomiastic letter to the artist: ‘I doubt,’ he writes, ‘if the marble has softened into him [i.e., Scipione], or he is petrified [*impetrato*] into marble.’⁸ Nonetheless, the Cardinal Barberini takes us one step further: touching Montoya gracefully—a significant gesture, for even the most vivacious sculpture proves to be made of hard marble to the touch—he says ‘This is the portrait of Monsignor Montoya,’ only to turn to portrait and say: ‘and this is Monsignor Montoya.’⁹

‘The rhetorical paradox of the counterfeit surpassing the human prototype,’ thus concludes Preimesberger, ‘reflects the fundamental and decisive idea of sculptural liveliness or *vivacità*.’¹⁰ In accordance with the reading of most other authors, Preimesberger sees Domenico’s anecdote primarily as an illustration of the impressive vivaciousness the artist could achieve in his work.¹¹ Hereby he explicitly downplays the importance Domenico gives to the resemblance of the bust to its prototype: ‘likeness (*somiglianza*),’ writes Preimesberger, ‘comes sec-

in which the authors make sense of Bernini’s life and works, creating meaningful intersections among the themes, interests and identities of his patrons and the events that involved them both.’

⁸ Lelio Guidicioni in his letter to Bernini, dated June 4, 1633 in BAV, Barb.lat. 2958, ff. 202-207; Appendix 1, f. 206r, lines 7-9: ‘Dubbio se egli somiglia alla pietra, ò la pietra ad esso; dubbio se quello sia marmo intenerito in lui, o egli impetrato in marmo.’ The relation of these lines with the Montoya anecdote is discussed by Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 67. The letter is further discussed in the following chapter.

⁹ Preimesberger 2006, p. 217 writes: ‘It is significant and to the point that Barberini touches Montoya’s body as if it were a mere sculpture...’ This suggests that the taboo of touching fellow humans was much greater than that of touching sculpture. I am not sure that this was actually the case. The conventions of touching sculpture seem, at least within a religious sphere, strongly regulated in seventeenth-century Rome and primarily confined to specific, non-contemporary, works of art. See on this topic the forthcoming PhD thesis by Linda Nolan. For further discussions about sculpture and touch see also Hall 2006; Johnson 2002 and *infra*, chapter 5.

¹⁰ Preimesberger 2006, p. 213.

¹¹ For similar readings see e.g. Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 9; Boudon-Machuel 2004, p. 66; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 9 and p. 67.

ond in his esteem.¹² Can we accept such a reading of Domenico's text? Must not the portrait's 'similitude [...] prevail above everything else,' as Bernini's contemporary and fellow sculptor Orfeo Boselli has suggested?¹³

Rather than delving further into the theoretical notions that can be related to the anecdote, we will focus here on its significance for a discussion of likeness in the sculpted portrait and its complicated relation with the sitter. We will begin the discussion with what will be referred to as the problem of likeness, that is to say, the question how we recognize an individual in a lump of marble, and relate it to the principle of caricature. After a somewhat more general examination of caricature, a further distinction will be made between likeness and lifelikeness, reserving the latter term for a form of realism or naturalism rather than actual likeness. To conclude, the role of the practice of physiognomy in baroque portraiture will be discussed briefly.

To Create a Likeness

Let us return to Domenico's anecdote. Notwithstanding Preimesberger's remarks, it seems that the likeness of the figure plays a central role here. In fact, the apparent confusion between the marble and the prototype presupposes that the two look very much alike. But what does it mean to 'look alike?' What do we actually mean when we say that a portrait bust is a good likeness? It is tempting to assume that likeness indicates here a certain faithfulness to the original, an equivalence as we might find when we compare a pair of twins: a striking similarity not only in their appearance, their physique, but in the way they talk, they dress, the way they go about their lives. Yet such similarities are never found in art; works of art do not 'go about their lives.' Even when the sculptor could carefully trace the sitter's features at a certain moment in time, he would capture only a fragment of his or her identity, a fleeting moment that is more likely to deny the sitter than to give him or her away. 'To portray faithfully,' Nelson Goodman writes, 'is to convey a person known and distilled from a variety of experiences.'¹⁴ An impossibility, he argues.

¹² Preimesberger 2006, p. 214: '...the criterion of "likeness" (*somiglianza*) [...] comes second in his [i.e., Domenico Bernini] esteem. It is preceded by another one which is "spirit."

¹³ Boselli/Torresi 1994, p. 110: 'Opera, che ricerca similitudine manifesta a tutti, espressione meravigliosa, artificio squisito, ma la similitudine deve prevalere ad ogn'altra cosa.' On Boselli see DBI, *s.n.* 'Boselli, Orfeo'. On the importance of creating a likeness in funerary portraiture see Boudon-Machuel 2004, pp. 65-66. Cf. also Piles 1989, p. 127: '...la première perfection d'une portrait est une extrême ressemblance...'

¹⁴ Goodman 1969 gives an extensive critique on what he calls the 'copy theory of representation'; his remarks on sculpture on pp. 19-20.

Yet, as we will see, it is precisely this that sculptors have tried to achieve. Although for us it is impossible to verify the impression the bust, according to Domenico's account, made on Barberini and his companions—Montoya's 'real likeness', the man himself, is for us forever lost—the experience which seems to underlie the episode might not be all too unfamiliar. The nagging feeling of having seen a face before, the striking resemblance between two relatives, the picture of a friend that has captured him as he truly is: all these are experiences that we may have tried to voice one time or another. To explain such experiences, such responses, we must abandon the notion of likeness as an absolute measure. Ernst Gombrich has argued that the artist inquires not into the nature of the physical world, but rather into the nature of our responses, an idea that seems to conform to Pallavicino's ideas discussed above, as well as to Lomazzo's conception of the portrait likeness as 'images of people similar to them, in such a manner that by whoever sees them they are recognized as the very same [*quei medesimi*]...'¹⁵ Likeness is in the eye of the beholder. Yet, whereas this intuition has certainly found acceptance with regard to the art of painting, this is less so for the case of sculpture. Jennifer Montagu, to give an example, argued in her 1985 study on Alessandro Algardi that this sculptor was primarily concerned with 'reproducing the physiognomy of the sitter,' creating 'something which is as near as possible to an objective image.'¹⁶ But, as Gombrich and also Goodman, among others, have argued, such an 'objective image' does not exist.¹⁷ To understand the phenomenon of 'likeness', we thus have to turn elsewhere. Following Gombrich's intuition, we may argue that likeness in portraiture is not the result of a perfect fit between sitter and portrait, but that rather it is the spectator's experience of familiarity that links them. There is, in other words, no likeness without a spectator.

Admittedly, the 'spectator's experience of familiarity' is not something that can easily be pinned down, introspection and retrospection being notoriously problematic. An alternative approach, proposed by Gordon Lyon, may prove more fruitful. Lyon has associated the experience of perceptual familiarity of

¹⁵ Gombrich 1962, p. 45: 'What a painter inquires into is not the nature of the physical world but the nature of our reactions to it.' As argued above, this point was already made by Pallavicino; cf. *supra*, p. 4. Lomazzo/Ciardi 1974, vol. 2, p. 374: '...ritrarre dal naturale, cioè di far l'imagini de gl'uomini simili a loro, sí che da chiunque gli vede siano riconosciuti per quei medesimi...'

¹⁶ Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 158 and p. 164.

¹⁷ Photography has been the 'last bastion' of objectivity, also in portraiture; for an overview of discussions with regard to the objectivity of photography see Wells 2004, in part. chapters 2 and 7; for an early discussion of likeness in portrait photography see Arnold 1889.

faces with the fluency of the perceptual process, arguing that the sense of familiarity is not an independent experience that follows perception, but something inherent to the processes of perception itself.¹⁸ Lyon's hypothesis has found further reinforcement from a more recent study by Heather Kleider and Stephen Goldinger.¹⁹ They showed that the relative clarity of a portrait picture might contribute to a sense of familiarity and even may result in false judgments of familiarity in recognition tasks. Thus, among a series of more distorted pictures, the portrait that shows a face more clearly is easily regarded as one we have seen before, even if this was not the case. Impaired processing by added noise, on the other hand, leads to false judgments of unfamiliarity, while, vice versa, memory for faces results in an overestimation of the clarity of the picture. All this indicates that the memory of a face and the ease with which it is processed are not only interrelated but cannot be easily seen apart. This insight provides us with an opening for approaching the portrait bust and the problem of likeness, for, even if we cannot determine if this or that bust actually looked familiar to a seventeenth-century beholder, we may ask if there are ways in which the sculptor could have facilitated the ease with which it was perceptually processed.

In order to answer this question we should turn to the actual practice of the sculptor. An important source for our understanding of sculptural practice in seventeenth-century Italy is the treatise *Osservazioni della scoltura antica* by Orfeo Boselli, an erudite sculptor from the school of François Duquesnoy.²⁰ It is in fact the only extensive seventeenth-century text on sculptural practice by someone who actually practiced the art, and as such of high value. Comparisons with other sources and visual evidence suggests that his text is valid enough and that it echoes in many cases the more general sculptural practice in seventeenth-century Rome. As we learn from this treatise, Boselli had some experience with sculpting portrait busts; his *Bust of Cardinal Girolamo Colonna* (fig. 17) can still be admired in the family's palazzo in Rome.²¹ In his treatise the sculptor describes his method of creating a likeness in some detail. After having

¹⁸ Lyon 1996, pp. 83-100.

¹⁹ Kleider & Goldinger 2004.

²⁰ The texts in Boselli/Dent Weil 1978 and Boselli/Torresi 1994; an annotated transcription is currently being prepared by Anthony Colantuono. For Boselli see also DBI, *s.v.* 'Boselli, Orfeo'. For further remarks on the treatise see Di Stefano 2002.

²¹ Cf. Boselli/Dent Weil 1978, Ms. Corsini, f. 119^v and p. 37. For Boselli on portraiture see also Dombrowski 1997, pp. 65, 83 and Boudon-Machuel 2004, p. 65: '...l'ouvrage d'Orfeo Boselli apparaît donc comme une, voir *la* source essentielle pour toute analyse du portrait sculpté à Rome au XVII^e siècle.'

determined the general shape and proportions of the head, he argues, the sculptor should search for the likeness in the particulars:

this is done by again observing which part is disproportionate in that face, that is, if the forehead is imperfect, or flawed in largeness or smallness, and so the mouth, if the nose is disproportionate in length or shortness, if the eyes are too much towards the outside or the inside, and that excessiveness of ever which part, should be worked which such an expression, that surely it will be recognized by all, for nothing does the portrait more good than knowing the line that deters from perfection.²²

Thus, Boselli suggests, the sculptor must focus on the disproportionate, on the flaws and imperfections. These disproportions, furthermore, should not be sought in the face as a whole but in its parts. Forehead, mouth, nose, and eyes are all regarded independently. A similar occupation belies also Chantelou's notes on Bernini's approach to his bust of Louis XIV (fig. 16):

The *Cavalier* said that in the last two days he had studied the King's face intensively and had found that one side of his mouth differed from the other, and this was also true of the eyes, and even of the cheeks; these details would help him to get a resemblance...²³

And a few days later he notes:

The *Cavalier* told me this morning that, while working on the King's nose, he had observed that he had one which was of a quite peculiar kind, being wider at the bridge than at the base where it joined the cheek, [and that] this might help [*pouvait l'aider*] him with the resemblance.²⁴

²² Boselli/Dent Weil 1978, Ms. Doria Pamphili, ff. 41r-41v [=Boselli/Torresi 1994, Ms. BNCF, c. 61]: 'Doppo questa forma generale del tutto, e proporzione, voglio che discenda a cercare la similitudine nelli particolari e ciò farà di nuovo osservando qual parte è eccessiva in quel viso cioè se la fronte pecca, o difetta in grande o picciolo, così la bocca, se il naso è di soverchio longo o corto, se gl'occi sono troppo in fuori o indentro, ed a quella eccessività di parti qualsiasi, lavorare con tanto espressione, che di fatto sia riconosciuto da tutti, perché il ritratto altra cosa non lo fa bene, che il conoscere la linea, che s'allontana dalla perfezione.' Boselli paraphrases his conclusion in Ms. Corsini, f. 118r: '...l'esperienza costringe a diffinire il Ritratto non essere altro, che una linea mossa dalla perfetione...'

²³ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 120 [15 August]: 'Le Cavalier a dit qu'il a observé ces deux jours le visage du Roi avec grande exactitude, et avait trouvé qu'il a la moitié de la bouche d'une façon et l'autre d'une autre, une œil différent aussi de l'autre, et même les joues différentes; ce qui aiderait à la ressemblance...' Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 121.

²⁴ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 128 [19 August]: 'Le Cavalier m'avait dit le matin qu'il avait observé, travaillant au nez du Roi, que Sa Majesté l'a d'une façon toute particulière, la partie d'en

In this fragmentary perception of the human face we may recognize an echo of the academic tradition, originating in the Bolognese school of the Carracci. Particularly among the drawings of Agostino Carracci, we find analytical studies of independent features, such as eyes, ears, mouths, and noses (fig. 18), which, in their turn, have influenced the popular print series of independent features by such artists as Odoardo Fialetti and Il Guercino.²⁵ It is, in the end, the sum of these elements that determines what Boselli calls the ‘line that deters from perfection,’ apparently seemingly being some fixed ideal. Thus, when Boselli speaks of the disproportionate in the sitter’s independent features, his point of reference is the ideal from which these details differ. As a rule of thumb such an approach is quite worth while. Rather than having to reconstruct the whole head, the artist can rely on some fixed ideal, a scheme which functions as his point of departure. Indeed, as Gombrich has argued, the artist necessarily works from such general schemata.²⁶

Next to the academic practice as instigated by the Carracci, Boselli’s approach can also be related to the actual way we perceive the human face. In psychological research on face perception and face recognition the facial ‘fragmentation’ we have found in Boselli, that is to say, the face’s analysis in different elements, is usually taken as a point of departure. In very general terms we may say that we recognize a face by its individual features. The manner in which these different features play a role can be further elaborated upon, though. Psychologists make a distinction between ‘featural processing’ and ‘configural processing’ of the face, the former referring to the processing of the individual features such as the nose, eyes, and so forth, whereas the latter refers to the relations between these different features.²⁷ Within configural processing a further distinction can be made between first-order and second-order relations, where the first-order relations refer to the relative position of the different features in the head (that is, the nose above the mouth, the eyes above the nose, etc.) and the second-order relations to the relative distance to other fea-

bas qui confine à la joue étant plus étroite que le devant du nez, ce qui pouvait l’aider à la ressemblance.’ Trans. partly adopted from Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 131.

²⁵ See Gombrich 1962, pp. 137-139 and Akker 1991, p. 97. Cf. Alessandro Allori in Barocchi 1971-73, vol. 2, pp. 1941-1981, who teaches to draw first the individual features to compile a face. The link between the construction of the face from different parts by the artist and its recognition is suggested by a remark of Leonardo in Vinci/McMahon 1956, vol. 2, p. 109: ‘Se tu voi havere facilità in tenerti a’ mente un aria d’un volto inpara prima a’ mente di molte teste ochi nasi bocce menti e’ gole e’ colli e’ spalli.’

²⁶ Gombrich 1962, pp. 67-78.

²⁷ Featural processing is also known as ‘componential processing’, ‘piecemeal processing’, and ‘analytic processing’.

tures and to the side of the face.²⁸ First-order relations, it is generally assumed, play an important role in recognizing a face as such; in fact, as one may know from experience, the mere suggestion of a pair of eyes above a mouth is readily interpreted as a face. An artist such as the mannerist painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo plays with this principle in his renowned ‘reversible portraits’ (fig. 19). Obviously, an artist such as Boselli takes them for granted; they are already in his ideal scheme.

For the actual recognition of an individual, both the independent features and second-order relations, as well as how they relate to each other, play an important role.²⁹ Thus, we recognize the individual both by the shapes of the individual features as well as the relative distances between these features. Returning to sculptural practice, we can see how also Boselli accounts for these aspects. Whereas a small mouth or nose can be considered as clearly identifiable features, the distance between the eyes and the size of the forehead may be counted among the second-order relations. Furthermore, Boselli’s apparent reference to an ideal face can be compared with so-called norm-based models of face recognition. The idea of such models is that, given the proposition that distinctive faces are more easily remembered and recognized than more average faces, they are somehow measured against a norm or indeed an ideal face.³⁰ Although norm-based models of face recognition have not been fully accepted and even criticized, they do account for a large portion of the experimental data. Boselli’s approach, then, indeed works towards creating a recognizable likeness.

Caricature

There is one aspect in Boselli’s text that asks for further attention; namely, his address to the artist to work the face’s disproportions with *espressione*, with expression. Although admittedly, the term is somewhat vague, it seems Boselli means to suggest that the sculptor stresses particularly those aspects that he deems characteristic for the person to be portrayed, an approach that, as we will see, is very close to that involved with creating a caricature. In fact, a comparison of Boselli’s text cited above with the definition Filippo Baldinucci gives of the caricature in his 1681 *Vocabolario toscano dell’arte del disegno* shows that, notwithstanding the obviously very different intentions, the two are actually very close. To caricaturise, Baldinucci writes, is

²⁸ For an overview of research on configural processing see Maurer, Le Grand & Mondloch 2002.

²⁹ See e.g., Collishaw & Hole 2000.

³⁰ Rhodes, Brennan & Carey 1987.

a way [...] of making portraits, as much a likeness of the portrayed as possible; but for fun, and sometimes out of malice, making worse or exaggerating the defects of the imitated parts out of proportion, so that as a whole it looks like him [the portrayed] while the parts are varied.³¹

In line with Boselli's prescript, be it less explicit, Baldinucci suggests that the artist constructs a portrait likeness by imitating the different 'parts'. Furthermore, and again in line with Boselli, the artist first of all focuses on the defects of these parts. To arrive at a caricature, though, these parts are not only worked with *espressione*, they are rather exaggerated—the word caricature comes from the Italian *caricare* which translates as 'to charge'—to such an extent that all proportions get lost; we see, in other words, immediately that something outdoes the normal, even the possible. Significantly, these exaggerations do not get in the way of the actual likeness of the portrait; it is still 'as much a likeness of the portrayed as possible'. It is in this paradoxical antagonism, stressed by Baldinucci in the concluding clause of his definition, between distorted features on the one hand, and the likeness of the whole on the other, that the comic effect of the caricature has its origin: features are exaggerated towards absurdity, ridiculing, even insulting, the portrayed whose likeness it retains.

Of course, we do not find this element of ridicule with Boselli, but nonetheless, the difference between showing features with expression or actually exaggerating them is only a gradual one. Further evidence for this may be found in Giovanni Antonio Massini's introductory text to a series of prints by Annibale Carracci, the *Diverse figure* of 1646. Here we may read that the caricaturist—in this case Annibale Carracci, to whom the author attributes the words—represents nature's smaller defects 'much more expressly [*espressamente*],' only to present the onlooker with the 'perfect deformity' as intended by nature.³² Where this conception of the 'perfect deformity' may indeed, as has been suggested by Denis Mahon, be read as a pun on contemporary classicist and

³¹ Baldinucci 1681b, *s.v.* 'Caricare': 'un modo [...] in far ritratti, quanto si può somiglianti al tutto della persona ritratta; ma per giuoco, e talora per ischerno, aggravando o crescendo i difetti delle parti imitate sproporzionatamente, talmente che nel tutto appariscano essere essi, e nelle parti sieno variati.' Baldinucci expands on his definition in his *Lezione ... nell'Accademia della Crusca* of 1692, in Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, pp. 579-609, in particular, pp. 593-595.

³² Giovanni Antonio Massini in Mahon 1947, p. 262, has Annibale Carracci say that: '...il valoroso artefice, che sà alla natura porgere aiuto, rappresenta quell'alteratione assai più espressamente, e pone avanti à gli occhi de' riguardanti il ritrattino carico alla misura che alla perfetta deformità più si co[n]viene.' The text is repeated with some alterations in Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 1, p. 248.

idealist theories of art, it is the idea that the caricaturist makes the smaller defects 'more expressly' which suggests an uninterrupted line from portrait to caricature.³³

Before discussing the significance of this parallel between portrait and caricature—for as we will see, there is indeed a significance—let us look more closely at the phenomenon of caricature. The genre of the caricature and its early developments have received a serious amount of attention in scholarly literature.³⁴ As to these developments we can be rather brief: they can be summarized as a common acknowledgement, already from the earliest sources, that the genre first occurred in the Bolognese school of the Carracci where often Annibale Carracci is credited with its 'invention,' and that, parallel to its adaptation by the more talented exponents of the Carracci school such as Guercino and Domenichino, it was perfected by Bernini in the 1630s.³⁵ Already in its earliest manifestations, caricature drawing has encompassed all the particularities that we associate with the genre today. Next to the exaggeration of particular features, which, in the light of Baldinucci's definition, we may regard as the central element of caricature, aspects such as a quick and minimal use of the pen or pencil and the dwarfing of the body as in comparison to the head can be found.

Within modern literature, the interaction between caricature and more serious artistic activities has received only sparse attention, perhaps because of the 'low' connotations of the genre of caricature. Nonetheless some suggestions may be found with regard to the most obvious candidate, namely Bernini, who was both a prolific portrait sculptor as well as caricaturist. Notably, Irving Lavin made some interesting observations on the early history of caricature while dis-

³³ Mahon 1947, p. 262, n. 47. McTighe 1993, p. 78 provides an other interpretation, seeing the remark as a way to fit the phenomenon of caricature within the classicist theoretical framework provided by Agucchi. See more generally Cropper 1984, pp. 63-64 and Malvasia/Summerscale 2000, n. 84.

³⁴ For the early development of caricature see Berra 2009 (with further references in n. 1), Kahn-Rossi 1989, Lavin 1981, pp. 26-54, Tempesti 1976, Mahon 1947, pp. 259-264, nn. 43-45, 47-48, Gombrich & Kris 1940, Juynboll 1934, pp. 95 ff.

³⁵ Chantelou suggests Bernini had a particular admiration for the Bolognese painter; see on this Montanari 2009, pp. 77-81; cf. Lingo 2009, pp. 5-6, D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 97-104. Considering that Annibale died 15 July 1609, that is, when Bernini was not yet ten years of age, it seems improbable that he learned the art of caricature from the painter directly. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 100 argues that Paolo Giordano II Orsini, on who more below, might have been the link between the two artists. For Domenichino as a caricaturist see Mahon 1947, p. 264, n. 48 and Pope-Hennessy 1952. The inventory made up after the death of Benedetto Gennari, Guercino's beloved nephew and heir, indicates that Guercino had left him no less than 322 caricature drawings; cf. Gozzi 2005. For Bernini as a caricaturist see Dombrowski 2004 and Lavin 1981.

cussing a series of portrait busts by Bernini and Francesco Mochi. In some of these works, and in particular those made towards the end of the 1630s, Lavin claims to discern an ‘element of satire.’ ‘It seems relevant,’ he adds to his observation, ‘that at the same period, in the hands of Bernini, caricature drawing itself became a truly independent art form.’³⁶ Yet, the common ground shared by these two art forms exists solely in what Lavin calls their ‘sociology;’ it is the shared element of satire discerned by the author, but not the means by which this is reached, which brings the two together. But as the same author has pointed out, satire would be highly unfit for public portraits; an actual intention to ridicule the sitters in a monumental bust was—even in the case of Bernini—out of the question. Rather than giving in to our inclination to judge some of the portrayed to look ‘faintly ridiculous,’—what to think, for example, of Finelli’s *Bust of Francesco Mariconda* (fig. 20)?—it seems wiser to suppress our more spontaneous and most probably anachronistic responses to contemporary clothing and hair dress in favour of a more contextualised reading of these aspects.³⁷

Jennifer Montagu, writing on Algardi’s busts of pope Innocent X Pamphili (fig. 21) argues that, in comparison, Bernini’s portrait of the pope (fig. 22) ‘approaches caricature’.³⁸ Even though she does not relate the work to the artist’s actual activities as a caricaturist, her marking out of the bust’s elongated and exaggerated features indeed does bring this activity to mind. Montagu’s characterization is somewhat problematic, though, for it rests primarily on the comparison with other portraits, namely, the ‘independent testimony of Velázquez (fig. 23),’ as she dubs it, which should allow the reader to conclude that ‘Algardi has shown Innocent X as he actually appeared, while Bernini’s idealized image provides more evidence as to his views about the papacy than as to the physiognomy of the pope.’³⁹ In absence of the person of Innocent X himself, such a thesis is difficult to assess.⁴⁰ What strikes us today as ‘truthful’ in Velázquez’

³⁶ Lavin 1970, p. 144 and n. 75 singles out the portrait of Paolo Giordano II Orsini in the Odescalchi collection, though its attribution to Bernini has been contested by several authors; cf. Benocci 2006, p. 72 and n. 42.

³⁷ Cf. Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 108 on Bernini’s bust of Thomas Baker. On Finelli’s bust of Mariconda see Abbate 2002, pp. 146-147: ‘Sull’esempio infatti dei ritratti «caricati», e forse involontariamente un poco caricaturali, del Bernini [...], Finelli costruisce una simile interpretazione di aristocratica alterezza, colma di enfatico sussiego.’

³⁸ Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 159.

³⁹ Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 159; cf. also Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 153.

⁴⁰ Nor do contemporary written accounts provide much of a solution; cf. Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 153: ‘Die zeitgenössischen Beschreibungen vermitteln zwar kein dezidiertes Aussehen des ...

portrait is certainly not the resemblance of the image to the sitter's physiognomy. Rather, as Enriqueta Harris writes in her monograph on the painter, it is 'the *effect* of familiar and living likeness' that is so striking in the painted portrait.⁴¹

In a brief passage, John Pope-Hennessy relates Bernini's portraiture more directly to the practice of caricature. Referring to Chantelou's *Journal*, he credits Bernini with the idea that, before studying the countenance in detail, the sculptor was to seize the general impression of the sitter; '*le general de la personne*,' as Chantelou calls it. It is this same general impression, or so argues Pope-Hennessy, that, notwithstanding its distortions, characterizes the artist's caricatures.⁴² Even if we would question Pope-Hennessy's suggestion that Chantelou's words echo those of Bernini without alteration, the general core of his idea, namely, that a very similar principle underlies both the artist's caricatures and his more serious portraits, deserves consideration. Bruce Boucher, in his concise study of Italian baroque sculpture, has elaborated somewhat on this idea. He argues that Bernini's capacity to render the character of the subject in a 'few essential lines' without a doubt had an impact on the artist's more serious activities as a portrait sculptor.⁴³ 'The art of caricature,' he writes, 'uses exaggeration to arrive at an essential truth about its subject,' and 'Bernini was acutely aware that any sculpted portrait required a degree of exaggeration to succeed.' The caricature, furthermore, combines two elements that are central also to the sculptor's portrait busts, namely that of the *concetto*, or the general idea, and 'a manipulation of the medium to obtain a telling likeness.' Pope-Hennessy and Boucher thus provide an account of the relation between caricature and portraiture where there is no need to speak in terms of ridicule or satire. Furthermore, the latter's suggestion that portraiture requires some amount of exaggeration may explain the physiognomic differences Montagu finds between the works of Bernini and Algardi.

To further develop this idea, let us look again at the suggested parallel between the practice of creating a portrait and that of creating a caricature. An interesting account of the early practice of caricature that will help us further develop this parallel may be found in a satire by Paolo Giordano II Orsini, duke

Papstes, doch lassen sie erkennen, dass sein äußeres Erscheinungsbild immer wieder zu ungeschönen, oft übertriebenen negativen Beschreibungen Anlass gab.'

⁴¹ Harris 1982, p. 147, my italics. The difference between *likeness* and *lifelikeness* is discussed below.

⁴² Pope-Hennessy 1963, vol. 1, p. 121.

⁴³ Boucher 1998, p. 62.

of Bracciano and close friend of Bernini.⁴⁴ In satirizing the courtly life between city dwelling and rural villa, the author often enlivens his text by introducing situations that seem based directly on his own experiences. In one such section of the satire, Orsini, together with his friend Bernini, ‘animator of marbles,’ attend a social gathering in a villa outside the city and while the others there present play games of chess, draughts, and so forth, the poet and the sculptor set out to draw the players’ caricatures:

Now while they were struggling,
 Bernini and I on a buffet to the side,
 started to caricature [*caricare*] some of them.
 Of what it is to caricature, and the art
 of making one, I will tell you now:
 one portrays someone in wax, marble or on paper,
 and if he has any member malformed or crooked,
 or that is further away or closer to the others
 than it should be, or too long, or short,
 that disproportion one exaggerates, and often,
 even if he becomes so much uglier, one would swear
 that it resembles more closely than the natural [*l naturale*] itself.⁴⁵

Even more clearly than in Boselli’s text, we can point out here the distinction between facial features and second-order relations which, as indicated above, are the basic elements constituting facial recognition. An ideal norm is only implicitly present in the ‘than it should be’. What is most striking about Orsini’s account though, is the last phrase: ‘often [...] one would swear that it [that is, the caricature] resembles more closely than the natural itself.’ The ‘natural’ is, of course, the person that is caricaturised;⁴⁶ while the artist exaggerates all that na-

⁴⁴ For Orsini and Bernini see Benocci 2006, pp. 56-57. D’Onofrio 1967, p. 100 suggests that Orsini himself learned the art of caricature from Carracci.

⁴⁵ Orsini 1648, pp. 65-66: ‘Hor mentre battagliavano costoro, | Bernino, & io sopra un buffetto à parte | Presemo a caricare alcun di loro. | | Di quel che sia il caricar, de l’arte | Di farlo, adesso renderotti accorto, | Si ritragga un sù cere, marmi, ò carte. | | S’ egli have membro alcun mal fatto, ò torto, | O’ che da gli altri sia lontano, ò presso | Più del dovere, ò troppo lungo, ò corto: | | Quella sproporzion si cresce: e spesso, | Ben che venga più brutto assai: diresti | Somiglia più che l naturale stesso.’ The passage, often repeated in discussions of Bernini’s caricatures, was first cited in Muñoz 1928, p. 442.

⁴⁶ For a definition of *il naturale* see Grassi & Pepe 1978, vol. 2, p. 341: ‘Figura, modello, oggetto, cose reali, che il pittore ritrae direttamente dal vero, non a memoria, o di fantasia.’ The term is used in this meaning also by Bernini himself in a letter to Francesco I d’Este, published first in Venturi 1882, p. 213, where the artist complains that it is ‘quasi impossibile’ to sculpt a portrait bust after a painting without ever having seen ‘il Naturale’.

ture has given and thus seems to move *away* from nature, the likeness comes closer and exceeds the prototype.

It will not have escaped the reader that Orsini's concluding paradox is virtually the same as that which we have found with Domenico's account of the Montoya anecdote cited above. Notwithstanding this parallel, the character of the satire suggests that this sentence should not be read in a similar way. Indeed, by writing that 'one would say' that the caricature resembles more closely, the author seems to express his own amazement about a phenomenon that others might experience as well. The occurrence that even today we may be stricken by the almost uncanny likeness that a caricature can convey, further confirms such a reading. In fact, modern psychology has attempted to find an explanation for what is generally called the 'caricature advantage.' As argued above, the experiences of likeness can be redefined as the ease with which the face is processed and, paradoxically enough, psychologists have indeed shown an advantage for caricature over undistorted, veridical faces. Caricatured faces, either drawn by professional caricature artists or made by manipulation of (digital) pictures, are recognized faster and with more accuracy, suggesting that they resemble indeed 'more closely than the natural itself.'⁴⁷ Furthermore, the methods that psychologists have used to create caricatures from digital photographs follow closely those suggested by Orsini.⁴⁸ Susan Brennan, developer of the *Caricature Generator* software often used by psychologists, writes:

The theory of computation underlying the Caricature Generator is to exaggerate the metric differences between a graphic representation of a subject face and some other similarly structured face, ideal or norm.⁴⁹

Thus, like the portrait sculptor and the caricaturist, the psychologist as well takes an ideal or average face as point of departure. Deviations from the norm are blown up, enhancing recognition and, as an illustration taken from Brennan's article shows (fig. 24), only gradually growing more absurd.

What now, is the significance of these findings for our understanding of the baroque portrait bust? The most important conclusion to draw at this point is that creating a good, even striking likeness is not the same thing as accurately

⁴⁷ For an overview see Lewis & Johnston 1999, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁸ The method developed by Brennan 1985 is used often by psychologists; for further additions to Brennan's approach see Mo, Lewis & Neumann 2004.

⁴⁹ Brennan 1985, p. 173.

tracing the physiognomy of the sitter.⁵⁰ Indeed, a striking likeness can be produced with the aid of but a few well-placed strokes of the pen or the brush, or, in the case of the sculptor, by the sketchy modelling of a lump of clay or wax. The accomplishment of the sculptor seems here in fact closer to that of the draughtsman than to that of the painter.⁵¹

We can elaborate on this by referring to another one of those anecdotes related to Bernini which return in various forms in different sources, among which the lesser known diary of Nicholas Stone, a young sculptor from Britain who visited Bernini when he was in Rome in 1638. After expressing his disbelief at Stone's insistence that his (now lost) bust of King Charles I was very much admired in England, not only for the exquisite workmanship, but also for 'the likenesse and nere resemblance itt had to the King countenannce,' Bernini, or so Stone relates, expressed his reluctance to sculpt after a painted portrait.⁵² Once pressed by the Pope to do so, he told him 'that itt was impossible that a picture in marble could have the resemblance of a living man;'

then sayth he, 'I told his Holinesse that if he went into the next rome and whyted all his face over and his eyes, if possible were, and come forth againe nott being a whit leaner nor lesse beard, only the chaunging of his coulour, no man would know you; for doe not wee see y^t when a man is affrighted thare comes a pallnesse on the sudden? Presently wee say he likes nott the same man. How can itt than possible be that a marble picture can resemble the nature when itt is all one coulour, where to the contrary a man has one coulour in his face, another in his haire, a third in his lipps, and his eyes yett different from all the rest? Therefore (sayd the Cavelier

⁵⁰ See Gombrich 1962, p. 290 who notes that: 'The invention of portrait caricature presupposes the theoretical discovery of the differences between likeness and equivalence.' Cf. Posner 1971, vol. 1, p. 69.

⁵¹ The complex relation between drawing and sculpture has received very little attention in scholarly literature. See for some remarks on preparatory drawings for portrait busts Montagu 1985, vol. 1, pp. 158-159.

⁵² Bernini sculpted the portait after a painting by Van Dyck; apparently quite reluctantly he made several of such busts. Algardi did not object to work after a painting, even though he said to need the actual subject to bring the clay model to perfection; cf. Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 157 and p. 259, n. 3: '...potria cavar, e formar il luto dalla Pittura, e lo perfezionara in presenza di chi dovra sodisfarli, per farlo poi più essatamente in marmo.' Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 5, pp. 92-93 recounts that Giambologna's pupil Pietro Tacca had sent for a portrait picture by Rubens when working on his equestrian monument for Philips IV. As Middeldorf 1971, p. 544 has argued, 'such cases will help to illustrate certain fundamental problems in the theory and psychology of sculpture,' and thus would deserve some attention.

Bernini) I conclude that it is the impossible thing in the world to make a picture in stone naturally to resemble any person.⁵³

Bernini's anecdote was obviously devised to stress his own virtuosity; to say that it is impossible to sculpt a likeness in marble after having just been praised for doing precisely that, is claiming to have achieved the impossible. But we may wonder if not some actual frustration underlies the anecdote, a frustration with how easy people think about the portrait bust. Indeed, with his anecdote the sculptor seems to want to stress that creating a good likeness involves much more than accurately tracing the physiognomy of the sitter.⁵⁴

Bernini's 'simile,' as Stone calls it, was of course difficult to test, and has only much more recently found confirmation in psychological research. Nikolaus Troje and Heinrich Bühlhoff have shown that colourless faces are indeed recognized less easily and that we have more difficulty in relating different views of the same face in absence of colour.⁵⁵ To account for their findings, the authors point primarily at the absence of diffuse facial features, such as facial hair and general complexion. Yet, in the light of the discussion on face recognition above, such an explanation is only partly satisfactory. As we have seen, recognition relies largely on the identification of independent facial features and their relative positioning. Evidently such features are not solely determined by

⁵³ Stone 1919, pp. 170-171 [22 October, 1638]; cf. Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 47 [6 June], Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, pp. 145-146, and Bernini 1713, p. 30.

⁵⁴ In acknowledging this, we may question whether the death mask is a good likeness, and thus the convincing portrait bust as a straightforward derivative thereof. Goethe (quoted in Hertl 2008, pp. 9-10) has remarked that death is a 'sehr mittelmäßiger Porträtmaler,' and indeed, we may wonder with Verschaffel 1995 to what extent the dead are still anything like what they were when they were alive. The face of a dead person, he argues (p. 41), is a likeness in itself, but has nothing of the living. In fact, that a death mask could not be copied literally for producing a portrait bust is suggested also by early modern documents. In a letter from one Ludovico Beccadelli to Alvise Contarini, dated 4 Januari 1561 and quoted by Martin 1998, cat. 69, the death mask of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini is discussed. To serve as a model for a portrait bust, writes Beccadelli, it will be necessary to take away 'quello aspetto di morto, il che saprà ogni maestro che non sia goffo.' In the case of Bernini's bust of Antonio Coppola, documentary evidence seems to confirm the impression that it was based on a death mask (cf. Lavin 1968, p. 225). Yet even then we should be careful in concluding that the qualities of the bust are the result of their dependence on a death mask; as Lavin 1968, p. 226 has put forward: 'It might be argued that the [death] mask made possible a greater degree of realism than would have been attainable otherwise. But the spectral quality of the image as a whole cannot be explained in this way, since it depends as much on the pose and composition as on Coppola's physical features. Bernini seems to have been caught by the idea of infusing in what is ostensibly the portrait of a living person some of the "deathliness" of a corpse.' In other words, if something of a dead-ish quality can be found in the portrait bust, this is because the artist chose to show this.

⁵⁵ Troje & Bühlhoff 1996, particularly p. 1768.

their spatial qualities. The lips, to name an obvious example, stand out because of their relative redness as compared to the rest of the face, while subtle differences in colour around the edges of the nostrils accentuate the contours of the nose. To create a good likeness, the sculptor needs to compensate for these subtle qualities of the coloured face; like the caricaturist he needs to accentuate particularly those places of larger contrast. Thus, in Chantelou's report Bernini proposes that a darker colour round the eyes may be suggested by hollowing the marble.⁵⁶ Deep shadows contrast with polished highlights as the caricaturist's dark, tapering line against the white of the paper. Rather than the suggestion of the lively colour of the face, the artist is here concerned with bringing to the forefront the defining features of the sitter. He works them, as Boselli, suggests, with *espressione*, making them stand out in the whiteness of the marble, even accentuating them.

Evidently, such a conception of likeness also has implications for the role of the artist, for it is up to the artist to decide if and when a likeness is achieved. Rather than making merely a cast of nature, his work goes much beyond. He has to work with what he sees, what he experiences; not unlike the painter or draughtsman, experiment underlies his art. Stepping away from his *modello*, the artist has to adopt the role of the onlooker, he has to see as the beholder sees, and to account for the beholder's dispositions.

Lifelikeness

Up till now, we have spoken of what it takes to create a likeness in a portrait bust. The reader may at this point very well wonder what remains of the traditional portrait bust after reducing the conditions for creating a likeness to such a basic scheme. It seems, in fact, that creating a good likeness is not enough for creating a convincing portrait bust. Apart from creating a likeness, it is the sculptor's task to create a suggestion of what we may call 'lifelikeness.' Whereas likeness is solely determined by our recognition of the person portrayed, lifelikeness indicates a suggestion of the physical presence of a real human being.⁵⁷ Although lifelikeness is, as shall be further elaborated upon below, not totally independent of likeness, it is largely a case of visual rhetoric. That is to say, the artist's means are rhetorical in the sense that they may increase the suggestion of truthfulness without necessarily being more truthful to the original, the sitter.

⁵⁶ Wittkower 1951, p. 12.

⁵⁷ Bodart 2006, p. 41 makes a similar distinction using the terms 'ressemblance physionomique' and 'ressemblance à la vie.'

To further elaborate on this idea, we may refer to Roland Barthes' notion of the 'reality effect.'⁵⁸ In the essay of the same title, the author proposes an analysis of literary texts which goes beyond the mere structure of the whole: 'if analysis seeks to be exhaustive,' he writes, 'if it seeks to encompass the absolute detail, the invisible unit, the fugitive transition, in order to assign them a place in the structure, it inevitably encounters notations which no function (not even the most indirect) can justify...' Indeed, as Barthes notes, such details may have an aesthetic function, allowing artists to impress with their virtuosity. It is this function which, furthermore, enables them to put a halt to 'the vertigo of notation;' the inexhaustible number of details ready for description, are subject to 'an aesthetic or rhetorical choice,' the artist selects, rejects, orders and emphasizes. Be this as it may, this aesthetic goal is 'thoroughly mixed with "realistic" imperatives;' the referential is posited as real by 'pretending to follow it in a submissive fashion.' In the end, the most minute details say nothing more than: 'we are the real.'⁵⁹ As is noted by Barthes, in the classical tradition of rhetoric, such details are still strongly related to the notion of *enargeia*, and as such we still find it in the work of Sforza Pallavicino.⁶⁰ Relating to the distinction between poetry and history already made by Aristotle, he writes in the *Del bene*: 'poetry, the end of which is to make [the reader] vividly imagine marvellous objects, rightfully profits from the representation of those minute details, which render the story, even more than is possible [*più che si può*], similar to the real.'⁶¹ But what about the portrait? To Pallavicino, the portrait is closer to history than to poetry; not unlike the historian, thus he argues, the portraitist depicts that what *is*, be it beautiful or ugly. It is the *pittore d'invenzione* that makes his figures 'so that they resemble not primarily as a whole, but in the different parts, considered independently...'⁶² Details are introduced, as we have seen before, to stir the beholder. The portraitist, then, who, like the historian aims at

⁵⁸ As discussed in Barthes 1989, pp. 141-148.

⁵⁹ Cf. Barthes 1989, p. 148.

⁶⁰ See Delbeke 2002, chapter 4.

⁶¹ Pallavicino 1644, p. 461: '...la poesia, che hà per fine il far immaginar vivamente oggetti maravigliosi, à ragion si vale de quelle rappresentate minuzie, le quali rendono il racconto, più che si può, simile al vero.' For the distinction between poetry and history see Aristotle/Barnes 1984, vol. 2, p. 2323 [= *Poetics* 1451] and p. 2337 [= *Poetics* 1460b].

⁶² Pallavicino 1644, p. 462: '...dovendo quest'arte [i ritratti] esprimere le cose quali sono ò belle, ò non belle, che sieno; e dovendo per lo contrario il pittor d'invenzione formar le sue figure in maniera, ch'elle assomiglino non già nel tutto, mà nelle parte seperamente considerate, quali si sia delle cose, che sono, ò che furono, pur che gustose à mirarsi...' Cf. Pallavicino 1644, p. 457.

a truthful rather than a lively account, should do away with all superfluous details.⁶³

Be this as it may, even a superficial glance at many a baroque portrait bust shows us that Pallavicino's parallel—surely devised as not more than just that—is hardly attainable. Sculptors such as Finelli and Algardi, excelling in what has quite characteristically been called 'descriptive realism,' introduce an abundance of details seemingly only to show off their technical virtuosity. It has often been noted for example how Bernini, Finelli and others introduced in their busts, as kind of a visual *topos*, the subtle and apparently quite superfluous detail of a button that peeps only halfway through the button hole. Such irregularities indeed seem to function solely to attract the attention of the beholder (visually, but more particularly tactile), inviting a kind of marginal narrative of little everyday things of life as to contrast the more timeless ambitions of the bust as a whole.⁶⁴ Arguably the most striking example is that of Finelli's portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane (fig. 2) in the Casa Buonarroti, testimonial of an almost neurotic attention for detail up to the point of rendering individual hairs, grouped in a slightly disorderly manner to stress their casualness. In its essentially superfluous details—superfluous as they do not further contribute to the actual likeness which, as we have seen, can be conjured up by the caricaturist in a few well put lines—the work first and foremost claims to be true to life. Lifelikeness, then, is not so much about an actual correspondence with the person who is portrayed, but about convincing the beholder.

Following through this argument, we can now conclude that a convincing portrait (if it still deserves the name) need not be a likeness at all. That this may indeed be the case, can be inferred from Algardi's busts of members of the Frangipane family in the Roman church of San Marcello al Corso (figs. 25-27).⁶⁵ These busts, according to Passeri's account, 'as to their likeness are ideal [*sono ideali*], and they have no similarity whatsoever to anybody, because they are some ancient members of the Frangipane house, of whom there was no tradition other than their names and the dignities they held.'⁶⁶ Although we may of course dispute Passeri's statement, let us, for the sake of argument, accept it to

⁶³ Pallavicino 1644, p. 462: '...lascia le minutezze, e poco usa le metafore, e meno le simiglianze, e gli epiteti non necessarij.' See also Delbeke 2002, pp. 184-185, and his n. 86 for further instances of this comparison.

⁶⁴ Cf. Winter 2006, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁵ Montagu 1985, vol. 2, cat. 147-149.

⁶⁶ Passeri/Hess 1934, p. 207: '...quanto alle sembianze sono ideali, e non hanno similitudine veruna d'alcuno, perche sono alcuni personaggi antichi della Casa Frangipane delli quali non si haveva tradizione d'altro, che de' loro nomi, e dignità da loro sostenute...'

be true; for indeed, they very well *could* be fake portraits, that is to say, fake in the sense that they were not sculpted after the life or after any other likeness of the individuals they are supposed to portray. Strictly speaking, then, these busts are not really portraits; even if they stand in for the figures and can thus be defined as *effigies*, they do not actually convey their likenesses. Consequently, their portrait-like individuality is purely rhetorical, the result of trying to convey in a convincing manner something that is *not* true, namely, that they are portrait likenesses of individuals.

What now are the artistic tools with which Algardi tries to convince his spectator? We may first notice how he creates a suggestion of physical presence. Starting with only the contours of a truncated torso, from the neck upwards he fully exploits the material qualities of the marble by devising his work wholly in the round, following the general shape of the human head. To be sure, his reference is to nature and the only way one can speak about it is by doing the same. We sense, then, a firm cranium underlying the face which is particularly apparent at the angles of the temporal lines, at the eyebrows, at the cheekbones and on the rim of the nose. Stronger lines around the mouth seem to indicate a muscular tension while soft undulations at the cheeks and the chin suggest a more fleshy softness. The two older men, furthermore, show the marks of aging in the wrinkles on their foreheads while soft skin under the eyes, only tentatively present in the figure of the young Lelio (fig. 25) is more extensively expressed in Roberto's (fig. 26) weary head. All these elements, finally, interact in a coherent, natural manner. Muzio's (fig. 27) stout double chin, to give an example, crops up at the left of his face due to the bold turn of his head, encountering the muscular tension around the mouth while at the same time yielding to the metal rim of the cuirass. The same tension in the mouth, then, is also echoed in the stern brow, creating a crease between the eyebrow and a typical pattern of lines in the forehead.

The three figures share a broad, muscular jaw, a prominent, somewhat pointy chin and fleshy cheeks—a family resemblance, maybe—but Algardi has made sure to accentuate also the differences.⁶⁷ Muzio's fine and severe mouth sets him apart from the young Lelio, whose full, sensuous lips have an almost damp quality. We may quickly discern the obvious differences in hairstyle between the three, but also subtle differences in the facial features, and, after closer inspection, also the small asymmetric irregularities. Such idiosyncrasies

⁶⁷ We may indeed expect, as Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 164 has suggested, that these differences can be related to the different positions they held.

are significant enough. As we have seen we recognize the individual by its defining features; conversely, a figure without such defining peculiarities is hardly convincing as a portrait. Algardi introduces them to suggest an identity, a personality.

In the cases where such an identity is actually given, that is to say, in the cases of actual portraits, the sculptor still has an enormous liberty for variation. A comparison between Francesco Mochi's portrait of Carlo Barberini (fig. 28), now in the Museo di Roma, and that of Bernini as part of a full figure in the Musei Capitolini (fig. 29), shows us how much detail can be discarded without—we may assume—loosing the likeness.⁶⁸ In fact, Mochi's busts are among the few that would make Pallavicino's parallel between history and portraiture convincing.

The comparison between two busts of Scipione Borghese (figs. 30, 15), recently displayed next to each other at the Bernini exhibitions in Los Angeles, Ottawa and Florence and sculpted not more than a year apart by Finelli and Bernini respectively, is also telling.⁶⁹ Surely, at a first inspection, the most conspicuous difference between the two is the striking vivaciousness with which Bernini has managed to instil his bust as compared to the somewhat dull and tired expression of Finelli's rendering. For the present argument, though, we should look beyond this, and focus on the equally interesting differences in the physiognomy. Starting with the impression of the whole, we may note how Bernini, in comparison with Finelli, shows *less* face and *more* of the particular. Finelli's portrayal is in the first place dominated by the face as a general shape, whereas Bernini appears to have adopted an approach that indeed seems reminiscent of caricature; rather than starting with a more or less generic face, he builds his portrait from significant, and overall clearly demarcated elements: the puffy cheeks and pointed chin, the high cheekbone (albeit more prominent in Finelli's rendering) dominate the face. Zooming in on some of the details, we may note for example how Bernini, though retaining the somewhat narrow eyelids we also find in Finelli's version, gives the eyes more space by widening and

⁶⁸ Mochi's bust and its comparison with Bernini have been further explored in Lavin 1970, pp. 140-142: 'Bernini's surfaces are soft, vague, complex; he conveys the accidents of color, light and form. Mochi simplifies, abstracts, reduces each element to its basic constituent.' See furthermore Catherine Hess in Bacchi, Hess & Montagu 2008, cat. 2.3.

⁶⁹ The exhibition *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* was held at the Getty Museum, Los Angeles from 5 August 2008 to 26 October 2008) and the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa from 28 November 2008 to 8 March 2009. A smaller exhibition at the Bargello in Florence, titled *I Marmi Vivi: Gian Lorenzo Bernini e la nascita del Ritratto Barocco* was held from 3 April to 12 July 2009. For the catalogues see Bacchi, Montagu & Hess 2008 and Bacchi, Montanari, Paolozzi Strozzi & Zikos 2009 respectively.

at the same time accentuating the bone structure of the orbit, while making the arched eyebrows independent of the brow.⁷⁰ In Finelli's rendering, to the contrary, the eyebrows follow the less prominent bone structure in a rather generic manner. Likewise, Bernini's rendering of the nose is somewhat more individualistic, for even if they both describe largely the same arch, Bernini has made the tip of the nose somewhat more fleshy, a detail really blown out of proportion in his caricature of Scipione (fig. 31).

Guidiccioni's suggestion—in a letter that will be discussed more extensively in the following chapter—that Bernini's portrait was the first to actually capture the likeness of the cardinal in all its facets may be read as a dig at Finelli; taking into consideration what has been argued above, it may be actually true, in the sense that no other portrait conveyed Scipione's likeness more forcefully than Bernini's. What is more, we may expect Bernini's bust to be more convincing as a likeness without regard for the original—'from that strong character of nature,' as Reynolds writes with regard to Bernini's Montoya bust, for as we have seen, individualized features suggest likeness in itself.

Physiognomy

As a final note, we will briefly address the role of the practice of physiognomy. Since antiquity right up to the nineteenth century, the idea that specific facial (and bodily) features could be related to a person's character have exerted an important influence on portraiture.⁷¹ Particularly significant in the context of our discussion are Giovan Battista della Porta's *De Humana Physiognomia* of 1586, first published in an Italian translation of the author's own hand in 1610, and Paolo Pinzio's *Fisionomia* of 1550, which brings together most of the ancient sources on the subject.⁷² Now, we may ask with Pinzio: 'what does physiognomy have in store for us?' The answer is quite straightforward: 'It gives us the possibility to consider, departing from the qualities of the body, the qualities of the soul [*animo*], and to have certain knowledge of them.'⁷³ This relation between appearance and character can be found in the particulars, such as the

⁷⁰ An approach he would also adopt in his portrait of Louis XIV; cf. Wittkower 1951, p. 12.

⁷¹ For physiognomy in Bernini see Posèq 2006 and Preimesberger 1989b, p. 417; for an account of the history of this practice see Kwakkelstein 1994, pp. 42-61 and p. 51, n. 84 for further references.

⁷² Also Pomponio Gaurico discusses physiognomy in his 1504 *De sculptura*; cf. Gaurico/Cutolo 1999, pp. 170 ff.

⁷³ Pinzio 1550, p. 2: 'Primieramente dunque è da esser posto, che cose si prometta la Fisionomia. Ella ci promette, dalle qualità del corpo, considerar le qualità dell'animo, & di quelle haver certa cognitione.'

shape of the nose or the mouth, but may also involve the person as a whole, up to the point where one may share the physiognomy of different animals and thus their character. This allows the artist to explore the sitter's character in his portrait by stressing or even altering certain facial features. Indeed, some of the significant differences between portraits of the same person may reflect a different take on the character of the sitter.

We may note, to give just one exceptionally well documented example, the discussion of the forehead in Bernini's bust for Louis XIV (fig. 16). Here the artist, or so Chantelou suggests, is not only concerned with likeness or naturalism, but also with the more symbolic value of the forehead.⁷⁴ In fact, in texts on physiognomy, the forehead is singled out as one of the most important *loci* for our knowledge of someone's character.⁷⁵ Della Porta, who, as a preface to his work, takes the example of his patron Cardinal Luigi d'Este to show how physiognomy may work in practice, starts with the forehead; 'an ornament,' he argues, alluding to the Cardinal's blood ties with the French monarchy, 'of superhuman splendour, befitting of royalty...'⁷⁶ And thus it comes as no surprise that Chantelou should argue that 'the forehead [is] one of the principal parts of the head and from the point of physiognomy the most important,' adding that 'the King had a forehead of great beauty and it should not be covered up...'⁷⁷ Apparently Bernini agreed, leaving the King's forehead uncovered but for a single curl of hair; he is even said to have remarked that the king 'had something of Alexander about him, particularly in the forehead and the air of his face.'⁷⁸ His treatment of the King's forehead went not without criticism, though. The sculptor and medallist Jean Warin (or Varin), who as head of the royal mint was well acquainted with the King's physiognomy, expressed to Chantelou the opinion that 'the *Cavalier* had taken too much off the forehead,' adding that 'the marble could not be put back.' Chantelou writes:

⁷⁴ As also recounted in Wittkower 1951, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁵ Cf. Barasch 1975, p. 428.

⁷⁶ Porta 1627, unnumbered pages preceding p. 1: 'Irragia nel primo mirar la tua fronte un ornamento più che d'huomo, un mirabil splendore, riguardevole d'una maestà...' Luigi d'Este, who took Della Porta in his house in Rome and later Venice, was the grandson of King Louis XII of France.

⁷⁷ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 82 [22 July]: 'Je lui ai dit que le fronte était une des parties principales de la tête et servait le plus à la physionomie de l'homme, il était bien qu'on le vît, et que le Roi ayant le front fort beau, il ne fallait pas tout le couvrir...' Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 69.

⁷⁸ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 120 [15 August]: '...que le tête de Roi avait de celle d'Alexandre, particulièrement le front et l'air du visage...'

I assured him that this was not so, that he had intended to make that part of the forehead above the eyes more elevated, which would not only be true to life, but would follow the style of all the beautiful heads of antiquity...⁷⁹

Surely, there are no absolute measures for the degree of likeness. Chantelou quite openly admits here to some tampering with reality though, in favour of those ‘beautiful heads of antiquity.’ Warin, to the contrary, seems to have been of a more traditional kind; Chantelou himself would argue that, though he ‘made a good likeness, he was unable to impart those qualities of nobility and grandeur with which the *Cavalier* had endowed his bust.’⁸⁰

Now, we may wonder, does such tampering in favour of physiognomic characteristics not put an unduly pressure on a portrait’s likeness? In the light what has been said above, this does not necessarily seem to be the case. As we have seen, the practice of caricature gives the artist an unexpected liberty in ‘filling in’ his portrait. And what is more, the caricature itself is not bound to one specific configuration. Rather than distorting the likeness, the artist may integrate these elements. He may choose his exaggerations and *contraposti* so that they conform to the theory of physiognomy.

* * *

The enormous freedom, the enormous range of choice the sculptor had in devising a portrait likeness is unmistakable. Surely, as Bernini’s remarks suggest, to make a good likeness is no gratuity—the artist should choose wisely—and naturally there were a lot of conventions the artist should account for in his work, as may be illustrated by the practice of physiognomy. Yet, caricature and the related acknowledgment that likeness is not as much an objective match with the world, but rather a subjective, psychological category, allowed the artist to pull apart and differentiate between what we may call the different axes (likeness, lifelikeness, physiognomy, and so forth) against which he can set out the total impression of the portrait bust. Here likeness stands out as its central,

⁷⁹ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 128 [19 August]: ‘Il m’a dit à moi qu’il croyait que le Cavalier avait trop déchargé du front, qu’il n’y pourrait pas remettre du marbre. Je l’ai assuré que non et que son intention était de faire cette partie du front, au-dessus des yeux, fort relevée, l’étant dans le naturel, outre qu’on le voit de cette sort dans toutes les belles têtes antiques...’ Trans. adopted from Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 131.

⁸⁰ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 187-188 [19 September]: ‘Je lui ai dit [...] que nous avions Warin qui faisait bien ressembler, mais qu’il ne pouvait donner le noble et le grand, comme le Cavalier l’avait donné à son buste.’ Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 207.

indeed defining feature. At the same time, it is also the most elusive; our modern evaluation of the portrait bust must largely depend on lifelikeness rather than likeness. It is on these grounds that we may, as Reynolds did, easily believe a bust to be a likeness. For the contemporary beholder, though, a striking likeness must have made an impact we cannot easily imagine today. Indeed, we may argue now, this impact makes up a large part of what Alberti calls the 'divine force' of the portrait. It is the likeness that most forcefully brings back the individual.

There is more to a portrait bust than likeness alone, we concluded in the previous chapter. And likeness itself, seems to be more than just this single face. Building on the discussion of likeness and physical presence in the previous chapter, we will now focus on one of the more enigmatic qualities of the portrait bust: that what a contemporary has characterized as its ‘plurality’, an attempt to capture the fleeting expressions of the human countenance in a dynamic, though cohesive whole. This contemporary was the Luchese *letterato* Lelio Guidiccioni, who uses the characterization in a letter addressed to Bernini, dated 4 June, 1633. Kept in the Vatican Library among other documents pertaining to the author, the letter has suffered extensively from ink corrosion.¹ A transcription, albeit with some gaps due to the state of the original, was first published by Cesare D’Onofrio and more recently additions and corrections to his transcription—though without filling all the gaps—have been made by Philipp Zitzlsperger.² Notwithstanding its fragmentary character, the contents of the letter indicate that Guidiccioni was a man who knew about art, and knew how to write about art.

The present chapter develops an argument which has some affinities to that developed by prof. Preimesberger in his paper titled ‘Lelio Guidiccioni’s letter to Bernini in Barb. Lat. 2958 of the Vatican Library: A short commentary’ presented at the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence on 22 June 2009; as my argument had been developed largely before I took notice of that of prof. Preimesberger, and as I believe there may be some interesting differences, I have decided to leave it as is.

¹ BAV, Barb.lat. 2958, ff. 202r-207v; see appendix 1.

² D’Onofrio 1967, pp. 380-388; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 179-183.

This impression is more or less confirmed by what we know about the author: an intellectual at the court of Cardinal Scipione Borghese and later at that of Antonio Barberini, *nipote* to pope Urban VIII, he was particularly renowned for his literary capacities. Furthermore, the poet certainly shared their interest in the visual arts. According to one source, Guidiccioni ‘burned with extraordinary zeal and lust for pictures and spared no labour or expense in acquiring them...’³ Dealings with the art market provided an excellent means to gain access to the higher stratifications of society, and though not always deemed a qualified *conoscitore*, Guidiccioni had certainly brought together a collection worthy of mention.⁴ That his opinion on art matters was furthermore regarded with some esteem at the Borghese court, is indicated by his appointment as a guide to the art collection at the Borghese villa on the Pincian hill during Ferdinando II de Medici’s visit to the estate in 1628.⁵

Obviously, Bernini’s activities at the same villa had not gone unnoticed by the poet—in fact, he mentions the Borghese sculptures in his letter—though it is for the more public commission of the catafalque for the reburial of pope Paul V in 1622 that Guidiccioni first takes up his pen to praise the sculptor. The publication, in the following year, of the *Breve racconto della trasportatione del corpo di papa Paolo V* coincided with that of Guidiccioni’s *In Tusculanam Amoënitatem*, a panegyric on the landscape surrounding the Borghese villa at Frascati.⁶ It has been argued by Tracy Ehrlich that Scipione Borghese had employed Guidiccioni to actively re-coin the roman *campagna* as an idyllic, poetic landscape.⁷ Guidiccioni, who was invited by Scipione to recite his elegy at the rich banquets held at the *loggia segreta* of the Cardinal’s Tusculan villa, provided the visitors gathered at the banquet with what Ehrlich calls an ‘artistic structure’ guiding their view of the villa’s surroundings.⁸

³ Rossi 1645-48, vol. 2, p. 129; trans. Haskell 1980, p. 121.

⁴ As has been noted also by De Renzi 2007, p. 557. For Guidiccioni as a collector of arts see Spezzaferro 1996, pp. 241-245, who tries to dispel the claim by Rossi 1645-48, vol. 2, p. 129 that Guidiccioni was often fooled by art dealers. In a letter addressed to one *Ill.mo Panzirolo* and dated 18 October 1636, at BAV, Barb. lat. 2958, f. 248r, Guidiccioni discusses the attribution of his beloved painting of the Madonna: ‘Il Cesare della piccola turba de’ miei quadretti, è questo a me sì caro della Madona; da’ i buon giuditij assegnato alla sommità del terzo posto.’ D’Onofrio 1967, p. 379, n. 6 mentions a letter where Guidiccioni is mentioned as ‘mediatore-estimatore’ of some antiques found on the Esquiline hill for Card. Giori.

⁵ Rossi 1645-48, vol. 2, p. 128: ‘...signas ac tabulas pictas, quibus ea villa referta est...’

⁶ For a list of Guidiccioni’s publications see Corradini 2004, pp. 59-61; the *In Tusculanam Amoënitatem* has been reprinted as an appendix to Ehrlich 2002, pp. 274-278.

⁷ Ehrlich 2005, pp. 160-162 and Ehrlich 2002, chap. 9.

⁸ Ehrlich 2002, p. 261

In his 1633 letter to Bernini, Guidiccioni refers back to the *Breve racconto*: ‘Twelve years have passed since I made public the few words I wrote about you,’ he writes, possibly suggesting that the letter itself, or rather, a re-elaboration, might have been meant for publication as well.⁹ In fact, in the same year of the letter a publication by the poet’s hand saw the light, the *Ara maxima vaticana*, comprising the extensive poem in praise of Bernini’s *Baldachino* in Saint Peter’s from which we have cited in chapter one, and a number of shorter poems, among them several on Bernini’s bust of pope Urban VIII, one of which was also discussed above. Whereas the *Ara maxima vaticana* is extremely programmatic in its content, providing an interpretation which focuses primarily on the Pope’s heavenly and worldly reign, in his letter as well as in some of the shorter poems Guidiccioni has much more attention for Bernini’s artistic accomplishments.¹⁰

The letter written by Guidiccioni is primarily concerned with Bernini’s then three most recent portrait busts, both the busts of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, that is to say, the failed attempt as well as the second bust (fig. 15), and that of pope Urban VIII (fig. 6), the occasion being their recent completion. In the letter Guidiccioni stresses his relationship with the artist as well as that with his two important patrons, suggesting that he in fact had been somehow involved in the commission for the Scipione bust.¹¹ The terms in which Guidiccioni praises the sculptor’s accomplishment are thoroughly embedded in contemporary discourse, yet the author does not rely on commonplaces alone. As will be argued below, he provides a rather inventive ‘structure’, suggesting to the reader an original look on Bernini’s portrait busts. One term Guidiccioni introduces in his letter to characterize Bernini’s bust of Pope Urban VIII (absent in D’Onofrio’s transcription but transcribed by Zitzlsperger) is that of *pluralità*. This term seems to be an original contribution among other terms that have a more solid basis in art theory and is, as we will see, one of the central concepts in Guidiccioni’s redefining of the baroque portrait bust.

⁹ Appendix 1, f. 203r, lines 26ff.: ‘Sono 12 anni, ch’io scrissi di V.S. due parole mandate al publico...’ D’Onofrio 1967 p. 378, n. 4 suggests the letter was meant for publication.

¹⁰ The *Ara maxima vaticana* has been republished in Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992; see their introduction, pp. 3-64, for an interpretation of the text.

¹¹ Appendix 1, f. 205r, lines 11-13: ‘Viene Vostra Signoria, *per mia fortunata instigatione* et ad un tratto muta ogni cosa in bene, perche tirando risoluto alla riuscita con franchezza, et non titubando, in sette brevissime sedute lo [il Card. Borghese] fa uscir vivo da un marmo.’ (Italics mine.)

Guidiccioni uses the term *pluralità* in his praise of the bust of pope Urban VIII, without a doubt the one now in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome.¹² Here the artist, thus argues Guidiccioni, has introduced ‘plurality’, *pluralità*, ‘not only expressing more subsequent actions [*azioni*] in one work [...], but also hinting at those that he cannot express...’¹³ ‘In the face of His Holiness,’ he grants the artist somewhat earlier in his letter, ‘you have [...] expressed many emotions [*affetti*], and many points of view [*vedute*], which would have repelled each other by nature, but through art you have reconciled them in harmony.’ Guidiccioni sees in the bust a person who lends his ear to those who are granted audience; he listens attentively but also returns their words, talking business with princes and speaking eruditely to the learned.¹⁴ In fact, references to the plurality of the bust—though without use of the actual word—return time and again in the letter, even if at times the gaps in the text exclude a definitive reading.

Although it seems that the term *pluralità* is something quite new, the problem that must have incited the author to use it is not. Guidiccioni, writing on the bust of Scipione Borghese (fig. 15), argues that ‘in twenty-eight years some fifty able painters have tried to create a likeness of the *Signore Cardinale*, but not one of them has succeeded.’¹⁵ The inability of these artists, now, has a precedent in ancient literature, namely in Plutarch’s life of Demetrius, and although the original text leaves some room for interpretation, its reading by Francesco Bocchi in his discussion of Donatello’s *San Giorgio* of 1571, seems to give us a rather straightforward idea of the difficulties Guidiccioni says Bernini has overcome. Bocchi writes:

¹² See Sebastian Schütze in Coliva & Schütze 1998, nr. 26 and Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 59.

¹³ Appendix 1, f. 204 ν , lines 7-14: ‘Ma Vostra Signoria ha felicemente introdotto pluralità non solo esprimendo più azioni successive in una opera o per dirlo meglio in una operatione, ma anco accenando qualle, che non può esprimere, et cavandone espresso significato. Perchè per essemplio il sudetto ritratto di Nostro Signore che non ha braccia, con un poco di motivo di spalla destra, et alzato di mozzetta, aggiunto alla pendentia della testa, che serve a più cose, come anco il chinare della fronte, dimostra chiara l’attione di accenar col braccio ad alcuno che si levi...’

¹⁴ Appendix 1, f. 203 ν , lines 12-14: ‘Ma stupenda è la varietà delle cose, et degli affetti trà lor diversi, con dolce consonanza, in esser rappresentati.’ *Ibid.*, lines 17-21: ‘Hor quello che è da stupire, Vostra Signoria nella faccia di Sua Santità ha vivamente espressi molti affetti, et molte vedute, che sarebbero tra lor ripugnanti in via di natura, se in via d’arte ella non l’havesse con armonia conciliate insieme.’ *Ibid.*, f. 204 r , lines 2-5: ‘Porge [Sua Santità] orecchie all’ audienza et muove le labbra, raccoglie le guancie, le ciglia, et alquanto il naso, per il suo dire. Dice, o par che dica, cose di negotio con Principi, di soavità con privati, et d’eruditione con dotti...’

¹⁵ Appendix 1, f. 204 ν , lines 29-31: ‘...in 28 anni s’è provata una cinquantina di buoni pittori a rassomigliare il Sig. Cardinale, nè ad alcuno è venuto ciò conseguito.’

...in the face of that great King there was not only grace and mildness, but also terror and graveness; and even if many sculptors and painters had set out to portray him, not one of them, no matter how hard they tried, could imitate his face so that it was a likeness in every part. For one or two of those parts escaping the pencil or the chisel, and the artist's eye and hand not being able to bring it to effect, for that reason the portrait turned out less beautiful and less alike, and different from that after which it was portrayed.¹⁶

It is Della Porta, though, who in his well-known treatise on physiognomy of 1586 brings the anecdote in relation with the modern portrait. As we have seen in the previous chapter, in the introduction to his treatise, he discusses the physiognomy of his patron, Cardinal Luigi d'Este, starting his 'example' with the Cardinal's forehead.

This ornament one can neither describe with words, nor paint with a brush; one sees it only with the eyes, and considers it with the intellect. A similar grace had Demetrius, as the stories of Plutarch recount, who at the same time exhibited grace and terror, graveness and benevolence, so that no painter or sculptor could ever portray him. I recall being in Rome, and seeing many portraits of your effigy in colour, though never was there a good likeness, for even if they expressed well the lineaments and the colours, they never succeeded in expressing that royal dignity of which I am speaking.¹⁷

¹⁶ Bocchi in Barocchi 1960-62, vol. 3, pp. 136-137: '...nel volto di questo gran re non solamente era leggiadria e mansuetudine, ma terrore ancora, e gravità; onde, quantunque molti pittori e molti scultori a contrafarlo imprendessero, nessuno però giammai, comeché molto si affaticasse, il volto suo poté, che del tutto somigliasse, imitare. Perché una o due di queste parti o il pennello o lo scarpello sfuggendo, e gli occhi e le mani dell'artefice più di una non potendo mettere ad effetto, per questa cagione il ritratto men bello e men simile ne diveniva, e da quello, onde egli era effigiato, differente.' For a discussion of the passage in the context of Bocchi's text see Barasch 1975, p. 420. For the original passage see Plutarch/Perrin 1914-26, vol. 9, p. 7: 'Demetrius [...] had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him. They [i.e., his features] had at once grace and strength, dignity and beauty, and there was blended with their youthful eagerness a certain heroic look and a kingly majesty that were hard to imitate.'

¹⁷ Porta 1627, unnumbered pages preceding p. 1: 'Questo ornamento ne può descriversi con parole, ne depingersi con pennello, mà solo si mira con gl'occhi, & se considera con l'intelletto. Simil gratia hebbe ancor Demetrio, come riferiscono l'istorie di Plutarco, che in un medesimo tempo mostrava gratia, & terrore, una gravità, e benignità, che non bastò scultore, ò pittore giamai à poterlo ritrarre. Mi ricordo che essendo io in Roma, viddi molti ritratti della tua effigie coloriti, ne mai alcun che rassomigliasse, che se bene esprimevano i lineamenti, & i colori, non bastorno pur mai à dimostrar quefta real dignità, di che ragiono.' The passage is again referred to at pp. 169r-170r: 'Demetrio fù di bellezza di volto, e d'ornamento così eccellente, & illustre, che niun pittore, ò scultore bastò poterlo ritrarre dal naturale, che in un medesimo tempo avesse potuto rappresentare la gratia, il terrore, la gravità, e la man-

Della Porta, then, most clearly sets a precedent, while the personal note of the portraits he saw in Rome makes the parallel all the more significant; if a cardinal of the likes of Luigi d'Este could not be convincingly portrayed by contemporary artists, the same could easily apply to Urban VIII or Scipione Borghese. It would take, so Guidiccioni argues, a genius such as Bernini to succeed where the artists of both antiquity and more recent history had failed. He makes a bust that seems 'thoughtful with happiness, sweet with majesty, light-hearted with graveness...'¹⁸

Azioni to Affetti

Before we can fully grasp the scope of Guidiccioni's use of the term *pluralità*, we need to take a sidestep for a moment and have a closer look at the concept of *azione*, or action, for apparently *pluralità* involves a series of actions. The term *azione* (plural *azioni*, also spelled as *azzione* or *attione*) was especially conspicuous in seventeenth and eighteenth-century art criticism, though it evidently derives from the Latin *actio*, a broad concept which can be traced back to ancient philosophy and rhetoric where it had a series of connotations, ranging from a simple gesture to the plot of a tragedy.¹⁹ To understand Guidiccioni's use of the term *azione*, we may refer to a more contemporary source, namely, the writings of the Roman physician and art critic Giulio Mancini, who, as physician to pope Urban VIII, moved in the same social circles as Guidiccioni and Bernini himself. In his *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, a text that was quite widely read in the seventeenth century even though it remained in manuscript until its publication in 1956, he gives an extensive account of the role of action in his definition of history painting:

the *historia* [...] is a representation of an action performed by more persons, in such a way that all the figures in one way or another converge and act at its service, and [...] that everyone of them contributes to that action, as is the case in the human body where all the parts contribute to that action which by the philosophers is called the action of the whole, but the hand in one way, the foot in another and the liver and the heart in [yet] another [way]. And this should be the case with those figures in a *historia* who constitute and contribute to an action, for which one first determines the site or the place where it took place, the time when it took place, the

suetudine, s'aggiungeva a questa bellezza un mirabil splendore congiunto con una certa real dignità, che pareva fusse da Dio prodotto per mostrare in un ponto il stupore, e la bellezza.'

¹⁸ Appendix 1, f. 203^v, lines 33-34: 'Così si vede quell ritratto pensoso con allegria, dolce con maestà, spiritoso con gravità...'

¹⁹ Grassi & Pepe 1978, vol. 1, p. 63, *s.n.* 'Azione'.

light, the main figure, be it one or more, with those that serve and administer [*somministrano*] him, in who one should consider the probable likeness [*similitudine*], the emotions and conduct, decorum and grace, the whole expressed with movement [*lotione*], positioning, conveyance [*statione*] and expression, uniting all these things to express and represent the action of whichever figure one is studying and which serves this *historia*...²⁰

Mancini, following a suggestion by Alberti which, in its turn, can be traced back to Aristotle's ideas on the unity of action in tragedy, wants all the figures in the painting to work towards a single action, centred around its main character.²¹ This action unfolds at a certain place, though rather than unfolding *over* time as may be the case in a tragedy, it appears that Mancini has to content himself with posing *a* time, that is to say, a time of the day, which is of course related to the light he mentions next. Evidently, this step is motivated by one of the core problems of the *ut pictura poesis* doctrine, namely the fact that, contrary to a written text or a play, visual art does not develop over time.²² What is more, and again not unlike the ideas expressed by Alberti and Aristotle, we may discern here an implicit hierarchy of actions, where every figure acts on his or her own accord though at the same time contributes to the action of the whole.²³

But is this the kind of action Guidiccioni was talking about in relation to Bernini's busts? Surely, much of Mancini's account does not seem to apply to

²⁰ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 117: '...l'istoria [...] è una rappresentatione d'attion fatta da più persone, cioè che tutte le figure o in un modo o in un altro concorrono et servino a quella e [...], che ognuno faccia il fatto suo per questa tal attione, com'avien nel corpo humano che tutte le parti concorrono a quell'attione che dai filosofi vien detta attion del tutto, ma la mano in un modo, il piede in un altro et il fegato e cuore in un altro. E così deve avvenire delle figure dell'istoria che costituischino et concorrono ad un'attione, nella quale prima si considera il sito o luogo dove fu fatta, il tempo quando fu fatta, il lume, la figura principale, uno o più che siano, con quelle che gli servono e somministrano, nelle quali si devon considerar la similitudine probabile, l'affetto e costume, il decoro e la gratia, il tutto espresso con latione, positione, statione et espressione, accompagnandovi tutte queste cose per esprimere e rappresentare l'attione di qualsivoglia figura che si ricerca et che serve a quella historia...'

²¹ Alberti/Grayson 1960-73, vol. 3, p. 68 [= II.39] and p. 72 [= II.42]: 'Parmi in prima tutti e' corpi a quello si debbano muovere a che sia ordinata la storia.' Cf. Aristotle/Barnes 1984, vol. 2, pp. 2322 [= *Poetics* 1451a: 30-35]: '...just as in the other mimetic arts one imitation is always of one thing, so in poetry the story, as an imitation of an action, must represent one action, a complete whole, with its several incidents so closely connected that the transposition of withdrawal of any one of them will disjoin and dislocate the whole.' See also Puttfarken 2005, p. 152.

²² Cf. the conference given by Charles le Brun on Poussin's *Fall of the Manna in the Wilderness*, discussed in Unglaub 2006, pp. 172-185, Puttfarken 2005, pp. 61, 68, and Dowley 1997. See also chapter 4.

²³ Alberti/Grayson 1960-73, vol. 3, p. 64 [= II.37]: 'Poi si proveggia che ciascuno membro segua, a quello che ivi si fa, al suo officio.'

portraiture. Nonetheless, briefly before coming to his argument quoted above, he speaks also of the portrait in terms of action, making a distinction between the *ritratto semplice* and the *ritratto d'attione*.²⁴ Whereas the *ritratto semplice* or the simple portrait is for Mancini purely a depiction of outer likeness, the latter, that is, the 'action portrait', shows, added to the likeness, also *attione* and *affetto*, action and emotion.²⁵ What such a portrait should look might be illustrated by one of the examples Mancini gives; a portrait of Thomas More previously in the Roman Crescenzi collection and most likely the one by Holbein now in the Frick collection (fig. 32), where, according to the author, the sitter 'wants to respond to someone after having read a note [*memoriale*].'²⁶ It is only in hindsight, with our acquaintance of portraits by such artists as Rembrandt or Van Dyck, that Mancini's example seems badly chosen. We may assume that he was not aware of the striking portrait of Giovan Battista Agucchi (fig. 33), painted either by Annibale Carracci or Domenichino, which, described by Malvasia as '*monsignor Agucchi in his dressing gown [*habito di camera*] who, holding a letter with both his hands, seems to raise his head to see who has arrived,' responds much closer to his definition of the *ritratto d'attione*.²⁷ It seems that art at this time developed faster than Mancini could write.*

²⁴ On the various manuscripts see Adriana Marucchi's introduction to Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956.

²⁵ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 115: '...ritratto semplice, senza attione et espressione d'affetto. E questo non esprime altro che la grandezza, proportionione e similitudine della cosa che imita, con colore et altro che costituisce quel tale essere d'individuo et d'esser individuato, con tradistinto da qualsivoglia altro, quale, per essere perfetto, non ricerca altro che la similitudine.' And p. 116: '...nel secondo [ritratto] dell'attione et affetto, [...] oltre la similitudine essendoci l'attione et affetto, della similitudine corre nel medesimo modo che del semplice, ma per l'attione et affetto – immitandosi questa con rappresentar il modo di quell'affetto, di latione, positione, et espressione...'

²⁶ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 116: '...quel di Tomasso Moro di voler rispondere ad alcuno doppo haver letto un memoriale...' On the same page '...quel del Crescenzi di Tomasso Moro...' Sir Arthur Hopten mentions the picture in a letter to the Earl of Arundel dated 7 August 1631 as 'in Rome in the Cardinall Crecentios house...' Bellori 1664, p. 22 finds it in the collection of 'Marchese Crescentii alla Rotonda. Tra le pitture del palazzo di questo Signore conservasi il ritratto celebre di Tomaso Moro in tavola di mano di Olbens, per finimento et arte d'imitatione eccellentissimo.' See furthermore Wells 1981, p. 58 who suggests it is the painting in the Frick and Trapp 1990, vol. 10, pp. 73-76 for further references.

²⁷ The description is in a manuscript version of the Felsina pittrice, noted by Richard Spear in Strinati & Tantillo 1996, cat. 24 [= p. 420], n. 4: '...monsignor Agucchi in habito di camera, che tenendo con ambe le mani una lettera finge alzar la testa per guardar chi arriva.' For the portrait and its attribution see most recently Tomaso Montanari in Bacchi *et al.* 2009, cat. 3 with further references. Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 273 gives a very similar description of Van Dyck's portrait of cardinal Guido Bentivoglio: 'Espresso Antonio il cardinale a sedere con una lettera nelle mani, e quasi l'abbia letta si volge...'

In any case, Mancini's text allows us to make a distinction between the mere likeness, as discussed in the previous chapter, and the *ritratto d'azione*, a portrait that involves a certain action. It is Mancini's discussion of the *historia*, though, that helps us to further dissect this one-dimensional concept of *azione* in relation to portraiture. As we have seen, the variety of actions that constitute a history painting play a role also on the micro level of the human body. Here, writes Mancini, 'all the parts contribute to [...] the action of the whole, but the hand in one way, the foot in another and the liver and the heart in [yet] another [way].'²⁸ Thus, rather than one basic gesture, the *azione* of the portrait bust can be understood as a combination of elements, which, in addition to the various roles of the members also include the inner body parts such as the liver and the heart. According to a medical tradition going back as far as the writings of the Roman physician Galen of Pergamon and, notwithstanding several challenging discoveries, still current throughout the seventeenth century, the heart was seen as the seat of the emotions, the liver that of desires and appetites.²⁹ With the action of the whole, then, we may also include the contributions of these inner motions, and thus the *ritratto d'azione* is not confined to a series of simple gestures, but shows the sitter's *affetti*, or emotions. It was Alberti who already argued that the 'movements of the soul are made known by the movements of the body' and in a similar vein, Leonardo argued that 'that figure is most admirable which by its action [*atto*] best expresses the passion [*passione*] of its soul.'³⁰ Obviously, this applies as well to the portrait bust, as to the figure as a whole.

Fantasia or Capturing the Moving Model

But how is the artist to depict these movements, both inner and outer, in a static image? Leaving a definitive answer to this question for the next chapter, we may here focuss on the question of the perception of movement. Again Alberti stresses the difficulties involved in the depiction of the movements of the soul and their outward expression: 'Who would ever believe who has not tried it,' he writes, 'how difficult it is to attempt to paint a laughing face only to have it elude you so that you make it more weeping than happy?'³¹ A passage in

²⁸ *Supra*, n. 20.

²⁹ For Galen's ideas see Knuutila 2004, pp. 94-98.

³⁰ Alberti/Grayson 1960-1973, vol. 3, p. 70 [= II.41]: '...questi movimenti d'animo si conoscono dai movimenti del corpo.' Vinci/Richter 1939, vol. 1, p. 341 [= 584]: 'Quella figura è più laudabile che con l'atto meglio esprime la passione del suo animo.'

³¹ Alberti/Grayson 1960-1973, vol. 3, p. 72 [= II.42]: 'E chi mai credesse, se non provando, tanto essere difficile, volendo dipigniere uno viso che rida, schifare di non lo fare piuttosto piangioso che lieto?' Trans. Alberti/Spencer 1956, pp. 76-77.

Bellori's *Idea*, where we find terms employed that are quite similar to those used by Guidiccioni, gives us an idea of the problems involved:

We should also consider that, painting being the representation of human actions, the painter must gather in his mind [*mente*] the examples of the emotions [*affetti*] that belong to these actions [*azzioni*] [...]. These movements [*moti*] must in effect be impressed in the artist's soul [*animo*] with the continuous contemplation of nature, for it is impossible to draw them by hand after the model [*il naturale*], if he has not first given them shape in his imagination [*fantasia*]. And for this [giving shape in the imagination] great attention is needed, for one never sees the movements of the soul, if not in passing by and in some immediate instants [*subiti momenti*]. Thus, when a painter or sculptor undertakes to imitate the operations of the soul, which derive from the passions, he cannot see them in the model he has placed in front of him, for it [the model] does not retain any emotion; rather, it [this emotion] languishes with the soul [*spirito*] and the limbs in the act in which it unfolds itself [*si volge*], and it halts to another's will.³²

Evidently, Bellori suggests that the depiction of the human actions and emotions is no easy task. The spontaneity which is found in real life perishes when a model is forced in a pose. Indeed, Bellori's quite theoretical elaboration has also more practical implications. The painter Pietro Testa, an artist probably acquainted with both Bellori and Guidiccioni, mocked his fellow artists, arguing that 'in order to show someone who is running, they string up a leg, and [in order to show] someone who is shouting, they keep his mouth open with

³² Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 20: 'Dobbiamo di più considerare che essendo la pittura rappresentazione d'umana azione, deve insieme il pittore ritenere nella mente gli esemipi de gli affetti, che cadono sotto esse azzioni, nel modo che 'l poeta conserva l'idea dell'iracondo, del timido, del mesto, del lieto, e così del riso e del pianto, del timore e dell'ardire. Li quali moti deono molto più restare impressi nell'animo dell'artefice con la continua contemplazione della natura, essendo impossibile ch'egli li ritragga con la mano dal naturale, se prima non li averà formati nella fantasia; ed a questo è necessaria grandissima attenzione; poiché mai si veggono li moti dell'anima, se non per transito e per alcuni subiti momenti. Siché intraprendendo il pittore e lo scultore ad imitare le operazioni dell'animo, che derivano dalle passioni, non può vederle dal modello che si pone avanti, non ritenendo esso alcun affetto; che anzi languisce con lo spirito e con le membra nell'atto in cui si volge, e si ferma ad arbitrio altrui.' Cf. *ibid.*, p. xxv, n. 3 & p. 360: 'Per questo aveva [Domenico Zampieri, named Domenichino] grandissima apprensione e sempre contemplava l'immagine delle cose, ritenendo le forme de gli affetti, li quali non si veggono se non per subiti momenti, né possono in altro modo ritrarsi dal naturale. E questa è la maggior difficoltà della pittura, la quale senza li movimenti dello spirito non è altro che una morta imitazione.' A similar remark can be found with Pietro Testa (not incidently, a pupil of Domenichino) in Cropper 1984, p. 227, no. 56: '...mai si vedono le cose animate che per transito, come chi tira pesi, chi l'alsa, chi teme, chi si ralegra, e tutti gl'affetti in somma...' Cropper 1984, p. 168 suggests a shared source in Xenophon, but although Testa refers to him, I have found no source for this particular remark.

sticks...³³ Obviously, this is not the way to go about it; the artist cannot observe these transitory qualities in the posing model, but must somehow grasp them in the fleeting instances that they show themselves.

The faculty of imagination or *fantasia* plays a key role here. Although Bellori does not elaborate much on the concept himself, for an understanding of its role we can again refer directly to Aristotle, whose argument Bellori must have known well.³⁴ Besides the more complex creative act we more often would associate with the imagination, for Aristotle it also had a more fundamental meaning. The *phantasia*, for Aristotle, is parasitic on the senses, sometimes coinciding with sensory perception, but adding the capacity to hold on to an impression, to have it linger after that what was perceived has passed or to conjure it up again at will.³⁵ What is more, these lingering impressions, or *phantasmata*, can be further enriched by their repeated experience.³⁶ Following Aristotle's conception of the imagination we may understand Bellori's citing of Philostratus' remark that the '*fantasia* renders the painter more knowledgeable [*saggio*] than imitation, for the latter only results in that what is seen, whereas the former results in that what is not seen in relation to what is seen.'³⁷ Due to the imagination's dependence on the senses a link with nature is retained, while careful and repeated observation enables the artist to rise above the particular and to construct an abstraction, an idealization. It is here, in the *fantasia*, that lies the capacity to combine, to bring together things both perceived and re-

³³ Pietro Testa in Cropper 1984, p. 227, no. 51: 'Per fare uno che corra, l'apuntellano in aria una gamba, se une che grida l'aprono con li stecchi la boccha e simile...'

³⁴ Aristotle discusses the *phantasia* most extensively in his *De Anima*, Aristotle/Barnes 1984, vol. 1, pp. 679-682 [= *De Anima*, book III.3, 427a18-429a9].

³⁵ Aristotle/Barnes 1984, vol. 1, p. 681 [= *De Anima*, 428b: 11-15]: '...imagination [*phantasia*] is held to be a movement and to be impossible without sensation, i.e. to occur in beings that are percipient and to have for its content what can be perceived, and since movement may be produced by actual sensation and that movement is necessarily similar in character to the sensation itself, this movement cannot exist apart from sensation or in creatures that do not perceive...' See also the discussion of the imagination in Junius 1638, pp. 18-22.

³⁶ Frede 1992, p. 291; cf. Aristotle/Barnes 1984 [= *De Anima*, 434a: 8-9]: '...what acts in this way must be able to make a unity out of several images.'

³⁷ Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 16: '...la fantasia rende più saggio il pittore che l'imitazione; perché questa [l'imitazione] fa solamente le cose che vede, quella [la fantasia] fa ancora le cose che non vede con la relazione a quelle che vede.' Cf. Philostratus/Conybeare 1960, VI.9, p. 78, in the English translation (p. 79): "Imagination," said Apollonius, "wrought these works, a wiser and subtler artist by far than imitation; for imitation can only create as its handiwork what it has seen, but imagination equally what it has not seen; for it will conceive of its ideal with reference to the reality..." In Junius/Aldrich, Fehl & Fehl 1991, vol. 1, p. 25 the translation reads: "Phantastic," answered Apollonius, "hath accomplished these things; an Artificer farre exceeding Imitation in wisdom: for Imitation doth worke out nothing but what shee hath scene: Phantastic on the contrary doth take in hand also what shee hath not scene; for shee propoundeth unto her selfe unknowne things with a relation to such things as are."

membered and to shape them into something new, something that eludes direct sensory perception.³⁸ To return to the problem of the *azioni*, we may now conclude that what underlies the successful depiction of fleeting expressions is what Dorothea Frede, in her account of Aristotle's ideas about the imagination, has called a 'plurality of experiences'; it is by the 'continuous contemplation of nature,' as Bellori writes, that several indistinct observations of an action may add up to a single clear image in the artist's *fantasia*.

Bellori's ideas regarding the depiction of the *azioni* seem to match quite well with Bernini's approach towards the portrait bust, or at least the way this approach was described by Guidiccioni.³⁹ The latter writes that the sculptor possesses 'a vigorous imagination'—like Bellori he uses the term *fantasia*—and that 'in sculpting the portrait, he has seen nothing but the lively internal harmony [*vivo consenso interno*], and nothing else with the eyes.'⁴⁰ The lively, or even living, harmonious whole 'seen' by the artist, is the product of the *fantasia*, it is not something that shows itself in real life, but must be reconstructed from those ungraspable fleeting moments. Bernini, thus argues Guidiccioni, had built this 'lively harmony' from attentively observing the pope's features for over a period of ten years, enabling him to sculpt the portrait even though the pope was

³⁸ For *phantasia* in Aristotle see Frede 1992, on the way it is used here in particular pp. 282ff. A similar account, explicitly grounded in that of Aristotle, can be found in Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's *Liber de Imaginatione* written in 1500, cf. Sallis 2000, pp. 63-65. That the term was still used in very similar manner in the baroque may follow from its use by Sforza Pallavicino, as discussed by Delbeke 2002, pp. 192-196 and Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 16. For a further discussion of the term *fantasia* in the Renaissance see Summers 1981, pp. 103-43 and Kemp 1977, pp. 361ff.

³⁹ The relation between Bernini and Bellori is a complicated one; although it has often been argued that Bellori omitted Bernini's biography from his *Vite* because he did not fit his classicist ideal, Cropper 1991a, p. 153 argues that 'Bellori's decision [to omit Bernini's biography] may not have been based on principles resembling those of a later Neoclassicism, and that any critical rejection of Bernini's art does not derive from a seventeenth-century version of a Wölfflinian classical/baroque antithesis.' Cropper introduces Agostino Mascardi as someone who combines a theoretical 'classicism' concurrent with that of Bellori with an explicit admiration for Bernini. Another case in point seems to be Guidiccioni whose theoretical considerations again, as I will try to show, can be linked to those of Bellori as well as to Bernini's practice. The suggestion by Williams 2006, pp. 194-195 that Balducci's and Domenico Bernini's emphasis on Bernini's 'love of ancient art and understanding of the ideal' was a response to the ideas that had been put forward by Bellori, seems hardly attainable if we realize that Bernini moved in circles where such ideas were current already from the very beginnings of his career. Cf. also Ginzburg 1994, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Appendix 1, f. 203r, lines 23-25: 'Hora com' ella è di gagliardissima fantasia, nel fare il ritratto, ha solo veduto il vivo consenso interno, et non altrimenti con gli occhi.' The Italian *fantasia* is directly related to the greek *phantasia* which is usually translated as 'imagination', even though our use of the word captures only part of the meanings. For a discussion relating Aristotle's *phantasia* (being the first to discuss it at length) to our imagination see Schofield 1992, pp. 249-253.

residing in Castel Gandolfo at that moment and could accordingly not sit for Bernini in Rome.⁴¹

But even when the sitter was in fact present Bernini also adopted a method that can be related to Bellori's remarks and the Aristotelian concept of the imagination. In the biography of his father, Domenico Bernini recounts that the sculptor had developed a radically new approach to portraiture:

In portraying others either in marble or on paper, the custom of the *Cavaliere* was very different from the usual one. He did not wish the sitter to sit still, but to move and to speak naturally. In this way, he said, he saw all of his beauty and portrayed him as he was, asserting that when one remains still, one is never so like oneself as when moving, which reveals all those individual qualities that belong to no other and that give likeness to a portrait.⁴²

Domenico's account is further confirmed by what Chantelou writes about Bernini's work on the marble bust of Louis XIV (fig. 16), made during the sculptor's stay in France. We learn that Bernini observed Louis on several occasions, such as when the latter was playing a game of tennis, and that he actually sat down to draw the King while he was in a council meeting.⁴³ The drawings made by Bernini at such occasions but also during more formal sittings, were, if we may believe Chantelou's account of the sculptor's words, not meant as actual preparatory drawings in the traditional sense; rather, 'he had made them

⁴¹ Appendix 1, f. 203^v, lines 21-23: 'Ha ella osservato in dieci anni attentamente il volto di un Principe Urbanissimo, che apre a lei non solo la giocondità del suo volto, ma la soavità degli affetti.' *Ibid.*, lines 10-12: '...è fatta [...] senza veder l'esemplare, ne' giorni che Sua Santità, da Vostra Signoria ritratta in Roma, era à Castello.'

⁴² Bernino 1713, pp. 133-134: 'Tenne un costume il Cavaliere, ben dal commune assai diverso, nel ritrarre altrui ò nel marmo, ò nel disegno: Non voleva che il figurato stases fermo, mà ch'ei colla sua solita naturalezza si movesse, e parlasse, perche in tal modo, diceva, ch'ei vedeva tutto il suo bello, e'l contrafaceva, com'egli era, asserando, che nello starsi al naturale immobilmente fermo, egli non è mai tanto simile a sè stesso, quanto è nel moto, in cui consistono tutte quelle qualità, che sono sue, e non di altri, e che danno la somiglianza al Ritratto.' Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 44, n. 130. As to how different Bernini's approach to portraiture was, we may confront it with the rapid, assembly line approach of Van Dyck as described by De Piles who says to have obtained the information from Everhard Jabach; cf. Piles 1989, pp. 142-143.

⁴³ Although Bernini observed the King also while the latter was playing a game of tennis on June 23 1665 (cf. Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 62: 'Nous y avons trouvé Sa Majesté jouant la paume. Le Cavalier a eu le temps de considerer le Roi.'), he drew only him afterwards, posing him against a small table for support and completing two drawings in one and a half our; cf. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 40, n. 121, referring to a letter by Bernini's companion Mattia de' Rossi, dated 26 June 1665, in Mirot 1904, p. 217 ff., n. 1; French trans. in Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 387-389. For the council session Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 75 [12 July]: 'Il dessina encore d'après le Roi durent le Conseil...'

only to imprint the image of the King on his mind as forcible as possible, so that it should be soaked and impregnated with it...'⁴⁴ It is Domenico Bernini, finally, who, claiming to quote his father, describes the process using the term *fantasia*: 'the models had served him to introduce in his imagination [*fantasia*] the features [*fattezze*] of the person he had to portray...'⁴⁵

What these accounts indicate is that the act of drawing (and, it seems, also modelling) played an important role in the shaping of an image in the artist's *fantasia*. Although Bernini's method might at first seem at odds with Bellori's suggestion that the artist cannot draw these actions and emotions 'by hand after the model,' Bernini's drawings serve another purpose; as we learn from Chantelou and Domenico Bernini, the artist hardly, if at all, uses his sketches when he works the marble. Rather, the act of sketching itself seems to be closer here to Bellori's 'contemplation of nature'; it is a way of looking, a way of getting to know, a way of exploring, to actively bring into conscious even and imprinting the mind. We may, on the other hand, argue that Bernini's practice goes against the conception of a purely cognitive *fantasia*, an imagination, that is, which fully resides in the realm of the mind. Rather, Bernini's actual practice, and we may expect, that of many other artists, forces the *fantasia* into the outer world, from the mind to the hands, to the pen, the paper, the clay and the chisel.

Creating the Plural Bust

Through contemplation and re-elaboration of the model, he or she is created anew in the *fantasia*; to be sure, as we have also seen in the previous chapter, the artist creates an original, not a copy.⁴⁶ Whereas we may think of these workings of the *fantasia* as preceding in time the actual physical creation of the image—indeed, a *parto* or giving birth as it is sometimes alluded to in contemporary

⁴⁴ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 98 [30 July]: '...ne les [dessins] avait-il faits que pour s'imprimer plus particulièrement l'image du Roi dans l'esprit et faire qu'elle y demeurât *inzuppata e rinvenuta*, pour servir de ses propres termes;' trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 92; similar accounts at Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 96 [29 July] & p. 115 [12 August].

⁴⁵ Bernino 1713, p. 134: '...i Modelli gli erano serviti per introdurre nella fantasia le fattezze di chì egli doveva ritrarre...' Cf. Fehrenbach 2005, p. 4, Delbeke 2002, p. 327, Delbeke 2000, pp. 216-218.

⁴⁶ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 98 [30 July]: '...s'il avait travaillé d'après ses dessins, au lieu d'un original il ne ferait qu'une copie...' Cf. Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 96 [29 July] & p. 115 [12 August]. A very similar idea is expressed by Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 14 (with my italics): 'Questa idea, ovvero dea della pittura e della scultura, aperte le sacre cortine de gl'alti ingegni de i Dedali [i.e., the sculptors] e de gli Apelli [the painters], si svela a noi e discende sopra i marmi e sopra le tele; *originata dalla natura supera l'origine e fassi originale dell'arte*, misurata dal compasso dell'intelletto, diviene misura della mano, ed animata dall'immaginativa dà vita all'immagine.'

texts—Guidiccioni's letter suggests otherwise.⁴⁷ Let us turn back to the letter and see how he describes the actual act of creation.

I will never forget the delight I took in intervening all those times at your work, seeing you every morning, always making a thousand opposing movements with extraordinary gracefulness; chatting away, always up to date with the latest events, the hands moving far away from the conversation; crouching down, stretching yourself, placing [*maneggiar*] the fingers on the model with the effortless grace [*prestezza*] and variety of one playing the harp; making charcoal marks on the marble in a hundred places, striking with the mallet in a hundred others; striking, I say, in one place while looking in the opposite direction; pressing the hand onwards, and turning the head looking back; overcoming the contrarities [*contrarietà*] and with great spirit appeasing them instantly...⁴⁸

In this striking passage, apparently based on the author's own impressions though evidently informed by the customary art critical vocabulary, we are painted a picture of the artist at work. We see the sculptor almost as a dancer moving around the marble, completely in his element, pressing forward without hesitation, displaying an effortlessness and grace that seems indeed more proper to the musician, or the painter for that matter, than the sculptor.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Cf. Fehrenbach 2005, p. 5 and n. 28, referring to Bernini 1713, p. 134, cf. also p. 15, where Bernini's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* is described as the result of the sculptor's 'primo parto di divozione'. This passage is discussed by Damm 2006, p. 234, though he sees the *parto* primarily as an indication of the (figurative) birth of the devout sculptor.

⁴⁸ Appendix 1, f. 205r, lines 17-26: 'Io non sono mai per dimenticarmi il diletto che m'è toccato dall'intervenir sempre all'opera, vedendo ciascuna mattina Vostra Signoria con leggiadria singulare far sempre mille moti contrarij; discorrer sempre aggiustato sul conto delle cose occorrenti et con le mani andar lontanissimo dal discorso; rannicchiarsi, distendersi, maneggiar le dita sul modello, con la prestezza, et varietà di chi tocca un Arpe; segnar col carbone il marmo in cento luoghi, batter col mazzuolo in cent'altri; batter dico, in una parte, et guardar nell'opposta; spinger la mano battendo innanzi, et volger la faccia guardando indietro; vincer le contrarietà, et con animo grande sopirle subito...'

⁴⁹ For this distinction between the arts see in particular the devastating judgment of Leonardo: Vinci/Richter 1949, pp. 94-95, par. 37: 'Tra la pittura e la scultura non trovo altra differentia, se non che lo scultore conduce le sue opere con maggior fatica di corpo che 'l pittore, et il pittore conduce l'opere sue con maggior fatica di mente. provasi così esser vero, conciossiache lo scultore nel fare la sua opera fa per forza di braccia e di percussione, à consumare il marmo od altra pietra superchia, che eccede la figura, che dentro a quella si rinchiude, con esercizio meccanicissimo accompagnato spesse volte da gran sudore composto di polvere e convertito in fango, con la faccia impastata e tutto infarinato di polvere di marmo, che pare un fornaio, e coperto di minute scaglie, che pare li sia fioccato addosso; e l'abitazione imbrattata e piena di scaglie e di polvere di pietre. il che tutt'al contrario avviene al pittore, parlando di pittori e scultori eccellenti, imperòche 'l pittore con grand'aggio siede dinanzi alla sua opera, ben vestito, e move il levissimo pennello con li vaghi colori, et ornato di vestimenti come a lui piace. e l'abitazione sua piena di vaghe pitture, e pulita. et accompagnata spesse volte di

A key term in this passage is that of *prestezza*. In fact, elsewhere in the letter Guidiccioni also characterizes Bernini's working methods using terms as *facilità* and *prestezza*.⁵⁰ A term used in *Cinquecento* art theory to denote a rapid and seemingly effortless execution, *prestezza* was in the first place reserved for the practice of painters such as Tintoretto and certainly not always deemed a virtue.⁵¹ The more negative connotations seem to have gradually disappeared though. The seventeenth-century occupation with authenticity in art, obviously inspired by the growing interest in art collecting and, as a result, in connoisseurship, made speed and spontaneity of execution ever more important qualities for the artist.⁵² The ease and speed with which Bernini worked the marble has been noted also by others. Baldinucci, for example, praises the 'ease [*facilità*] and frankness [*franchezza*]' with which the sculptor handled [*manegiasse*] the marble.⁵³ The term *franchezza*, which will be a central term in chapter six, is closely related to *prestezza*, but more typical for the baroque occupation with authenticity, the 'frankness' of the execution being related to the idea of the authenticity found in a rapid and spontaneous execution.⁵⁴ We encounter the term in Baglione's *vita* of the sculptor Pietro Bernini, Gian Lorenzo's father and, not incidentally, the person from whom he had learned his trade:

Pietro worked the marble with such a frankness [*franchezza*], that he had only few equals. And one day in Naples, I myself saw, that, taking a charcoal, and with it making some marks on the marble, he instantly took up the irons, and without any other drawing [*disegno*] he carved from it three life size [*dal naturale*] figures, to make

musiche, o' lettori di varie e belle opere, le quali senza strepito di martelli ed altri rumori misto sono con gran piacer' udite.'

⁵⁰ Appendix 1, f. 203^v, lines 10-11: '...più meravigliosa il modo con che s'è fatta, con facilità con prestezza et senza veder l'esemplare...' Cf. *Ibid.*, f. 206^v, line 2: '...tirate giù con prestezza...'

⁵¹ See Nichols 1996, who argues that the term could also have negative connotations. Cf. the description of Cristoforo Sorte in Barocchi 1960-62, vol. 1, pp. 299-300.

⁵² See Warwick 2000, pp. 76-129 and Held 1963 for the connoisseurship of drawings in the seventeenth-century. Praise for an ease in the execution of the work had also its sources in antiquity; see the discussion in Junius/Aldrich, Fehl & Fehl 1991, vol. 1, pp. 292-293 (III.vi.6) who concludes: '...certainly, the chiefest and most lively force of Art consisteth herein, that there appeare in the worke that same prosperously prompt and fertile Facility which useth to accompany our first endavours: this is the life and spirit of Art; which if it be extinguished with too much care of trimming, the whole work will be but a dead and lifelesse thing.'

⁵³ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 141: 'Non fu mai forse avanti a' nostri e nel suo tempo tempi, chi con più facilità, e franchezza manegiasse il marmo.'

⁵⁴ Appendix 1, f. 205^r, lines 12-13: '...tirando risoluto alla riuscita con franchezza, et non titubando, in sette brevissime sedute lo fa uscir vivo da un marmo.' To get a feel of Bernini's *prestezza* in modelling the bust we may look at the cast of a *bozzetto* for the bust of Scipione Borghese, published in Weil 1989 as a cast after a clay model. As Peter Fusco in Fogelman, Fusco & Cambareri 2002, p. 176, n. 17 suggests, it might rather be a cast of a model in wax.

an ornament [*capriccio*] for a fountain, and he treated it with such an ease [*facilità*], that it was stupefying to see.⁵⁵

That the marking of the marble with charcoal was not out of the ordinary, we learn from Cellini's treatise on sculpture; it is, he argues, the way of the 'great Michelangelo'.⁵⁶ What is so striking about Guidiccioni's description, though—and in this it is close to Baglione's account of Pietro Bernini—is the *ad hoc* character of Gian Lorenzo's way of approaching the marble; we feel that the artist does not first make his model, then draws an outline on the marble and only then grabs his chisels; rather, he does it all at once, using charcoal and chisel alongside even as the work progresses, then pressing the hand onwards, then again stepping back to see what has been achieved, deciding anew how to move on. That Guidiccioni's description at least partly conforms to the artist's practice can be observed in some of the more roughly cut parts of his sculptures. In his *Apollo and Daphne*, among the laurel leaves, we can in fact still find traces of the charcoal marks.⁵⁷

Guidiccioni provides a glance into the artist's workshop, leaving an impression that makes the artistic genius more tangible; no longer can it be attained that everything goes on in the mind or head of the artist and disguise the phys-

⁵⁵ Baglione 1642: 'Pietro con ogni franchezza maneggiava il marmo sì, che in ciò pochi pari egli hebbe. Et un giorno in Napoli, io stesso il vidi, che prendendo un carbone, e con esso sopra un marmo facendo alcuni segni, subito si messe de[n]tro i ferri, e senz'altro disegno vi cavò tre figure dal naturale, per formare un capriccio da fontana, e con tanta facilità il trattava, che era stupro il vederlo.'

⁵⁶ Cellini/Ferrero 1980, pp. 788-789: 'Volendo condur bene una figura di marmo, l'arte promette ch'un buon maestro debba fare un modello piccolo di dua palmi il manco [...]. Da poi si debbe farla grande a punto quanto la possa uscire del marmo [...]. E da poi che uno si sia soddisfatto nel sopradetto modello, si debbe pigliare il carbone, e disegnare la veduta principale della sua statua di sorte che la sia ben disegnata; perchè chi non si risolvessi bene al disegno, talvolta si potria trovare ingannato da' ferri. E il miglior modo che si sia mai visto è quello che ha usato il gran Michelagnolo: il qual modo si è, di poi che uno ha disegnato la veduta principale, si debbe per quella banda cominciare a scoprire [...] come se uno volessi fare una figura di mezzo rilievo...'

⁵⁷ See the close-up by Araldo De Luca in Hermann Fiore 1997, p. 130 and Rockwell 1997, fig. 10. It has been observed by Maria Grazia Chilosi in Coliva 2002, p. 126 that many of the charcoal marks left on Bernini's works can be found on highly finished areas and accordingly probably did not have a function in the actual carving of the image. The charcoal marks found on a much less finished area of Bernini's *Verità* in the villa Borghese indicate on the other hand, as Hermann Fiore 1997, p. 91, Gerlinda Tautschnig in Coliva 2002, p. 239 and Peter Rockwell in Coliva 2002, p. 247 have argued, that the artist used charcoal also in an earlier stage of the sculptural procedure. Rockwell 1997, p. 147 has furthermore argued on the marks among the leaves of the Apollo and Daphne that they functioned as a means of communication from artist to assistant, in this case Giuliano Finelli. Yet, taking into account Guidiccioni's words, a more dialectic role for these charcoal marks may be put forward; the artist seems to use them also to try out ideas and to guide his own hand.

ical labour of artistic creation behind metaphors such as that of the *parto*. We may indeed opt for a more externalized conception of the *fantasia*, running through the whole creative process.⁵⁸ The artist is brought back to his material, the giving shape to an image becomes a series of experiments. This experimental character is best expressed in the final sentence of the passage from Guidiccioni's letter cited above. Here we read that Bernini, while striking with the mallet and pressing the hand onwards, overcomes the difficulties [*contrarietà*] and with great spirit appeases them instantly. Rather than having a fixed image before his mind's eye, the sculptor changes and adjusts as he goes along, working the model and working the marble.⁵⁹ It is here that 'through art,' as Guidiccioni writes, the sculptor reconciles in harmony those *azioni* which would have repelled each other in nature.

Looking at Bernini with Guidiccioni

What is the significance of all this for our understanding of the term *pluralità* and the way it is used by Guidiccioni to characterize Bernini's portrait busts? First of all, we may notice how the author wavers between theoretically heavily laden concepts on the one hand, and his knowledge of the actual working procedure of the artist on the other. These are the terms through which he gives shape or organizes what he experiences in the artist's workplace. His introduction of the term *pluralità* builds on this traditional framework, allowing for a re-elaboration of the different concepts as well as of the works themselves. In fact, although Guidiccioni's concept of *pluralità* might at this point still be seen as an innovative addition to the more traditional conventions of praise, a closer look at the letter suggests that the artist had indeed observed the works he speaks about quite attentively.

Right after his use of the term *pluralità*, Guidiccioni gives an example of one of the actions or *attioni* that is apparent in the work, arguing that, even though the work, being a portrait bust, is without arms,

...with a hint of movement [*motivo*] of the right shoulder and raising of the *mozzaetta*, added to the slight tilt of the head, which serves more purposes, as also the inclina-

⁵⁸ I propose the kind of active externalism that has been put forward by Clark & Chalmers 1998. See also Clark 2008, Clark 2010.

⁵⁹ As Rockwell 1997, pp. 141-143 has shown for the case of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*, this approach can also be observed in the more *non finito* parts of the marble.

tion of the forehead, [the bust] shows clearly the action [*attione*] of making a gesture with the arm to somebody who is standing up...⁶⁰

Even though the bust is only a bust and thus without arms, Bernini has managed to create the suggestion of a gesture with the arm. The ‘hint of movement’ in the right shoulder, the *mozzetto*, the pose of the head, together they add up to this particular ‘attione’, which is indeed not unlike that described by Mancini. Yet, the tilt of the head, Guidiccioni argues, ‘serves more purposes’; in the context of the whole, plural bust, it apparently contributes to a number of actions of which the gesture with the arm is only one example. In other words, the ‘slight tilt of the head’ is ambiguous, it can take on different roles within the whole of the bust.

A strikingly similar though somewhat less elaborate observation as that of Guidiccioni, is attributed by Chantelou to Alvisè Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador in Paris at the time of Bernini’s stay in 1665.⁶¹ After having giving the latter’s bust of King Louis XIV (fig. 16) extensive praise, the ambassador, thus writes Chantelou,

said that the King seems to be in the act [*action*] of giving this or that command in his army to *monsieur* the Prince, to *monsieur* the count d’Harcourt or to *monsieur* de Turenne; and furthermore, [he said] that, though the bust is without members, it seems nonetheless to have movement.⁶²

Like Guidiccioni, Sagredo discerns a particular action in the bust, in this case that of giving an order to one of his generals, indeed an action that befits the armoured king. And even if Sagredo is less explicit about the manner in which

⁶⁰ Appendix 1, f. 204v, lines 10-14 ‘Perchè per essemplio il sudetto ritratto di Nostro Signore che non ha braccia, con un poco di motivo di spalla destra, et alzato di *mozzetta*, aggiunto alla pendenza della testa, che serve a più cose, come anco il chinare della fronte, dimostra chiara l’attione di accenar col braccio et con la mano ad alcuno che si levi...’

⁶¹ On Alvisè Sagredo see Mazza 2004, pp. 11-13, who writes that ‘...Alvisè ebbe qualche merito come committente e non mancò di contatti con gli artisti.’ It was his brother though, the later doge Nicolò Sagredo, who during his ambassadorship at the papal court between 1651 and 1655 had bought together a significant collection of paintings from artists active in Rome at the period; through him Alvisè might have had a more than average knowledge of the Roman art world for a Venetian.

⁶² Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 123 [17 August]: ‘L’ambassadeur [de Venise] a fort loué le buste, et a dit que le Roi était comme en action de donner quelque commandement dans son armée à M. le Prince, à M. le comte d’Harcourt ou à M. de Turenne; qu’encore que ce buste fût sans membres, il semblait néanmoins avoir du mouvement.’

this suggestion of an action is achieved, we find a very similar sense of wonder about the experience that such a ‘truncated’ figure seems to act as a whole.⁶³

The *azione* described by Guidiccioni may be related to what would become somewhat of a visual *topos* in busts of the period; it can be seen, for example, in Melchiorre Cafà’s *Bust of Pope Alexander VII* (fig. 34).⁶⁴ The left side of the *moz-zetta* is curled up in rough creases and comes towards the spectator while the felted rim describes an elaborate arch, suggesting that the whole is being moved by the up- and forward motion of the right arm, without it even being depicted. In Bernini’s rendering of Urban VIII (fig. 6), on the other hand, this ‘hint of movement’ is much more subtle, less obvious even. As in earlier portrait busts, its lower rim still largely describes a clear and even cut from left to right, whereas the heaping of creases found in the Cafà is here not much more than a single ‘plain’ of fabric at about the height of the shoulder caught between two more or less vertical creases, the lower one arching out at the far left in a subtle downward sig-sag. The combination with the slight drawback of the other side of the chest gives indeed the suggestion of a movement, though it is a movement that is much less clearly defined.

Such a subtlety, indeterminacy even, of expression seems to confirm with Guidiccioni’s observation of Bernini’s reconciliation through art of those elements that would repel each other in nature. Various actions are brought into equilibrium as a convincing whole. It is through the association with this careful weighing of seemingly contrary elements that the term *pluralità* invokes that of *contrapposti*.⁶⁵ According to this concept, things that are opposed might influence one another and accordingly, the artist must account for the way that appearances might change as a result of variations in the environment.⁶⁶ Thus, as Bernini is said to have recounted to Chantelou, a piece of drapery on a figure’s shoulder can make an otherwise perfectly measured head seem too small.⁶⁷ To

⁶³ Cf. also Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 413: ‘...in Roma nella Chiesa del Popolo, entro la cappella de’ signori Millini, vi è il bel deposito di marmo del cardinale Giovanni Garzia della medesima famiglia. È posta la sua statua in un nicchio, con una mano al petto; con l’altra tiene un libro, quasi stia ginocchione in atto di pregare verso l’altare: si vede mezza figura...’ And likewise Passeri/Hess 1934, p. 250, on Finelli’s portrait of Giulio Antonio Santori: ‘il ritratto [...] in mezza figura che sta inginocchiato, e fa parere con artificio che sia tutto intiero.’

⁶⁴ For the Cafà bust (illustrated is the clay model) see Wittkower 1959, p. 203; Anne-Lise Desmas in Bacchi, Hess & Montagu 2008, p. 264 argue that this detail might have been inspired by Bernini’s rendering of the same subject.

⁶⁵ Cf. Lavin 1980, vol. 1, pp. 10-11 and Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 134-135 [23 August].

⁶⁶ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 134 [23 August]: ‘...que les choses nous paraissent non seulement ce qu’elles sont, mais eu égard à ce qui est dans leur voisinage, qui change leur apparence.’

⁶⁷ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 134 [23 August]. Cf. Boselli/Torresi 1994, p. 122: ‘E’ di gran momento il colloro, vicino al viso esprimere bene, perchè sono efficaci mutar un’aria.’

bring such elements in equilibrium the artist cannot rely on standard measurements but must rely on his *giudizio dell'occhio*, the judgment of the eye.⁶⁸ We may argue, that only with the externalization of the *fantasia* this *giudizio* comes into play. Only by giving visual, tangible shape to a conception can it be judged by the eye. The artist, then, essentially becomes a spectator of his own work, creating not the one physiognomic likeness of the sitter (if such a thing even exists), but rather a broader, multiform phenomenological likeness. The bust carries in one object a myriad of impressions, of experiences that the artist tries to recreate and relive again and again, in his sketches, in his *bozzetti* and *modelli*, and in the final marble.

The Beholder

We may ask to what extent this *pluralità* was seen as a significant factor of the artist's work by other spectators. Of course we have Guidiccioni's account, though it could very well have been formulated with knowledge of the artist's intentions; after all, he had visited Bernini's studio. Even so, judging from other sources, a more general attention for the *azioni* of a marble figure seems to have been rather common. Bellori, for example, uses the term quite often in his descriptions of the works of Alessandro Algardi and François Duquesnoy. Even more striking is an excerpt from a sonnet by Gregorio Leone on Francesco Mochi's *Santa Veronica*: 'Fix your eyes,' he summons his reader, 'and then look, then look again, and admire of this white colossus the vivacious acts [*atti vivaci*].'⁶⁹

Similar accounts are less common when we confine ourselves to the reception of the portrait bust. We may note Orfeo Boselli's ideas on the movement [*moto*] or act [*atto*] of the head and portrait bust, indeed, as he argues, an indispensable feature.⁷⁰ As becomes clear from his discussion, it is the single act in which this nature is eventually expressed in the marble. A single 'act' gives it all away, all the sitter's virtues and vices. Yet, Guidiccioni's concept of *pluralità* suggests that such a one-dimensional approach to the individual was starting to

⁶⁸ On the concept of the *giudizio dell'occhio* see Ostrow 2006, pp. 278-282; Summers 1981, pp. 352-379.

⁶⁹ Gregorio Leone in Grignani 1641, p. 16: 'Fissa gli occhi, e poi mira, | poi rimira, ed ammira | di candido colosso atti vivaci.'

⁷⁰ Boselli/Torresi 1994, p. 100: 'E' tanto necessario un bel moto ed atto nelle teste, che senza dubbio alcuno si può dire che in questo consista il tutto, poichè se si facesse una testa bellissima dritta dritta, senza alcun grazia sopra il petto, sarebbe per questo difetto biasimata tutta la figura, dove – per lo contrario – svoltando con grazia sarà da tutti con stupore ammirata.' Cf., p. 110: '...è cosa certa che anco i moti esprimono la natura del movente.'

become obsolete. In this context a madrigal by Pier Francesco Paoli, with as its subject the same bust of Urban VIII (fig. 6) that Guidiccioni wrote about, is interesting.

It is alive, alive, Bernini,
 Urban's sacred head,
 work by your hand:
 it speaks, but with God,
 and I too will kneel,
 while the spirit he adores, and believes [it] to be alive,
 I would kiss his foot, if only you would sculpt it.⁷¹

Paoli thus indeed sees the bust as acting out, though the *azione* he says to discern (without using the actual word) is clearly not among those indicated by Guidiccioni. Whereas the latter sees the pope in the first place as a man of affairs, the former clearly opts for a more religious role. It seems that, taking into consideration the bust's *pluralità*, these two readings are not mutually exclusive; rather, because of its plural character, it allows for a myriad of readings. In fact, such a double meaning is indicated by Guidiccioni himself in one of the shorter Latin poems in his *Ara maxima vaticana*, written in praise of the same bust and addressed to the sculptor: 'The living marble plays [*refert*] the blessed part of our Prince, who himself plays the part of Christ. A sign with double meaning is revealed...'⁷² Guidiccioni invokes here the principle of the theatre-in-the-theatre: the different layers of meaning, or rather, the possible layers of interpretations, are presented as levels of representation in the most literal sense of the word. The bust, the 'living marble' does not 'point to' that what it represents by means of some abstract symbol, but actually acts it out, 're-presenting' it before the eyes of the beholder; the various actions comprised by the plural bust add up to a single 'unity of the whole' which defines the sitter.

Such a reading of the bust does not obviously present itself, rather, the plural bust calls for a 'beholder's share'; a (hi)story needs to be created around it to make sense of its plural character. The beholder thus needs to engage the work as the artist engages his model, that is to say, not as something that is fixed in

⁷¹ Paoli 1637, p. 210: 'Vivo, vivo è, Bernino, | Sacro il volto d'Urbano, | Opra de la tua mano: | Favella, ma con Dio, | E genuflesso anch'io, | Mentre l'alma l'adora, e vivo il crede, | Gli bacierei, se tù 'l formavi, il Piede.'

⁷² Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992, pp. 172-173: 'Marmor animatum vices | Refert beatas Principis, vices refert | Qui Christiformes. Duplici ostentum nota | Anceps, verendum, vividum, arcanum patet.'

time but something that engages with its environment. Looking at Bernini's busts, it is clear that they invite such an active mode of viewing. As Rudolf Wittkower has observed when discussing Bernini's busts of the 1630's (including also those discussed by Guidiccioni), they 'seek contact with others and need partners to bring their faculties to life.'⁷³ The observer, now, in order to make sense of the bust, needs to reconstruct these partners; one needs to ask who the work is engaging with to make sense of its *azioni*. Thus we see that both Guidiccioni and Paoli suggest an interaction, not, in the first place, with the spectator but with others, be it the papal courtiers in the case of the former or God in the case of the latter.⁷⁴

Guidiccioni's concept of *pluralità*, we may conclude, proposes for the portrait bust that from which it is furthest removed: the painterly ideal of the *historia*, 'a representation of action made by more persons,' as Mancini defines it.⁷⁵ It is in Mancini's discussion of the *historia* that we may also find an indication of the limits of the beholder's share. All the figures in a history painting, all their actions work towards one grander action, that 'what the philosophers call the *attione del tutto*,' the action of the whole.⁷⁶ In a similar manner, the portrait bust, through all its different *azioni*, through all the different stories that can be told, points back to that one single person, capturing the character, virtues and vices.

* * *

⁷³ Wittkower 1955, p. 15; cf. *infra*, p. 120.

⁷⁴ This does, of course, not mean that all accounts should involve such an interaction; see e.g. Tetius/Faedo & Frangenberg 2005, p. 466.

⁷⁵ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 117: '...una rappresentazione d'attion fatta da più persone.' For Bernini's portrait bust as *historia*, cf. Montanari 2009, p. 72. An actual hierarchic order of genres was proposed by André Félibien, though, as has been argued by Lee 1940 the prominence of history painting was suggested much earlier. Cf. also Boselli/Torresi 1994, p. 138: 'Cose certa è che nei gruppi ed istorie apparisce più notabile l'espressione che nelle figure sole...' Bodart 2006, p. 51 has pointed out the anecdotal character of painted portraits by Andrea Sacchi and Carlo Maratti as described by Bellori/Borea 1976, pp. 568, 606. Bellori's indications are only relevant to an extent though, as the historical character of these pictures is only partly determined by the *azioni* of the person portrayed; in fact, Bellori himself argues (p. 606) that it is their ornamentation that equals them to the *historia*: '...oltre la naturalezza ricevono pregio ancora dagl'ornamenti, in modo che non li loderai come semplici ritratti, ma possono aver equal luogo fra i componimenti di figure.' Although the portrait paintings by Sacchi referred to by Bodart 2006, n. 80 have not been traced, that of the musician Marcantonio Pasqualini by Carlo Maratti can be identified with that now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. As has been noted by Olson 2004, p. 709, the 'castrato [i.e., Pasqualini] was trained to restrain facial expression and bodily gesture' and is depicted as such; the actual portrait likeness hardly qualifies as 'ritratto d'azione.'

⁷⁶ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 117: '...tutto le parti concorrono a quell'attione che dai filosofi vien detta attion del tutto.'

With his introduction of the term *pluralità*, Guidiccioni gives us a handle to regard the portrait bust as more than a one-dimensional, snapshot-like likeness. The plural bust opens up to the beholder, showing him or her the subject in all its complexity. The implications for the role of the sculptor are significant; if we could conclude already in the previous chapter that he is no longer a slavish copyist who takes a mould of nature, such an idea now has become almost absurd.⁷⁷ His task has become that of transposing a lived experience into a work that allows the beholder to reenact this creative experience. In order to do so, the artist has to divide himself between creator and beholder, making the act of creation a dialectic between these two stances. The ‘sitter’ is no longer expected to hold still, but is studied while performing all the complex actions that are part of going about one’s life; the sculptor, in the meantime, observes and sketches, sketches and observes—indeed, activities that can no longer be seen apart. This active involvement with the portrayed is echoed in the artist’s active involvement with his model in clay and the marble itself, and finally points towards the active involvement of the beholder. In this dialectic process, the artist wavers between plurality and unity, trying to capture the sitter in all its variety in a figure that is a convincing whole. It is this dialectic nature of artistic creation that also forces us to reconsider the role of the *fantasia*. Traditionally considered as purely internal and preceding the act of creation, indeed as the pregnancy that precedes birth, *fantasia* is now driven outwards, becoming part of the dialectic act of creation itself. Evidently, the implications of this redefinition are not confined to the portrait bust alone; in the following chapters we will focus on the sculpted figure as a whole.

⁷⁷ It is interesting to compare Bernini’s approach as described by Guidiccioni with the elaborate description of that of the blind sculptor Giovanni Gonelli, known as *il Cieco da Gambassi*, given by Balducci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 4, pp. 622–624, at p. 623: ‘...accostava insieme apperte le mani, piegandole gentilmente, tanto quanto avesse potuto formarne come una maschera, la quale egli presentava al viso del suo naturale...’ As has recently been argued by Hans Körner at the Studientag ‘Das haptische Bild’ in Berlin (4 June 2010, Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe Bildakt und Verkörperung) Gonelli’s approach results in busts that lack the vivaciousness of those of Bernini.

A problem that has become more and more prominent in the previous chapters is that of movement in the static image. Following up on the discussion of the term *azione* in chapter three, we may ask how such an action—let alone, more than one action—can actually be ‘expressed’ in the marble.¹ Although we have seen how movement may be ‘captured’ by the artist’s *fantasia* (rather than being observed in nature), the question of how it may actually be depicted still awaits an answer. As was argued by Giuseppe Passeri, movement goes against the ‘essence’ of sculpture, and thus the discussion of movement brings us back to the core problem of the beholder’s double, Pygmalian, stance to sculpture.²

Moment

Traditionally, the discussion of movement of art is the discussion of the moment in art. If one sets out to discuss the depiction of time in sculpture (or in painting, for that matter), one is inevitably confronted with Lessing’s treatment of the subject in the third book of his 1766 *Laokoon*.³ Here Lessing famously argued that, contrary to poetry or music, the visual arts do not have the capacity to depict events that develop over time, but are rather confined to show but one single moment of an episode: ‘the artist can never make use of more than a

¹ For an overview of ways of suggesting motion in a static image see Friedman & Stevenson 1980 and, more recently, Cutting 2002. Of the ways presented here (dynamic balance, stroboscopic sequences, affine shear, and photographic blur) none seems to be able to account fully, if at all, for the suggestion of movement in sculpture.

² Passeri/Hess 1934, pp. 133-134; discussed *supra*, pp. 29-30.

³ Lessing/Barner 1990. For the pre-history of Lessing’s ideas see Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 666, Gombrich 1964, pp. 293-294, and for other approaches to this problem Puttfarcken 2005, pp. 150-154.

single moment in ever-changing nature...⁴ Accordingly, thus argues Lessing, the artist must choose this moment well.

...while the works of both painter and sculptor are created not merely to be given a glance but to be contemplated—contemplated repeatedly and at length—then it is evident that this single moment [...] cannot be chosen with too great a regard for its effect [*nicht fruchtbar genug*]. But only that which gives free rein to the imagination is effective.⁵

In fact, Lessing was not the first to put forward this idea. Mancini, in a critical note on Lomazzo, who did in fact equal painting to poetry, had already written in very similar terms about movement in art.⁶ Movement, he argued, involves a continuity in time, whereas the artist ‘imitates the things in that indivisible instant in which there is nor time nor movement, but only rest.’⁷ If we want to speak of movement in the image, he continues, this can only refer to a certain pose, from which the ‘imagination and intellect of the beholder deduces and holds the assumption [*facesse sunnotione*], that that very same figure, even if one sees it standing still [*star fermo*], in fact moves...’⁸

The fruitful, or pregnant moment, to return to Lessing, is as an anchor to the imagination, stimulating the mind to follow the action through. In his search for the most fruitful moment, then, the artist should keep from exploring the boundaries of expression; if an emotion is depicted at its most extreme, there is no room for the imagination to take it further. When Laocoon sighs, writes Lessing, we can imagine his most horrific agony, but when he is depicted in his most pitiful state, our imagination can only turn up with something less interesting.⁹ Lessing’s ideas regarding time in the visual arts have been a stumbling block for many art historians. Yet, their apparently intuitive appeal, cer-

⁴ Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 32: ‘Kann der Künstler von der immer veränderlichen Natur nie mehr als einen Augenblick [...] brauchen...’ Trans. Lessing/McCormick 1962, p. 19.

⁵ Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 32: ‘...sind aber ihre Werke gemacht, nicht bloß erblickt, sondern betrachtet zu werden, lange und wiederholter maßen betrachtet zu werden: so ist es gewiß, daß jener einzige Augenblick [...] nicht fruchtbar genug gewählt werden kann. Dasjenige aber nur allein ist fruchtbar, was der Einbildungskraft freies Spiel läßt.’ Trans. Lessing/McCormick 1962, p. 19.

⁶ See Lomazzo/Ciardi 1974, vol. 2, p. 98: ‘...la pittura si paragona alla poesia.’

⁷ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 159: ‘...dicendo moto, si dice continuità di tempo, essendo di natura di moto l’esser continuo in tempo, et il pittore immita le cose in quello instante indivisibile ne quale non vi è tempo nè moto, ma sol quite.’

⁸ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 159: ‘Pur, se noi volessimo ridur a buon senso questo su detto, si potrebbe dir che, con positioni di parte, si descrivesse una tal attitudine dalla quale l’immaginazione et intelletto dei riguardanti astraesse et facesse sunnotione che quella tal figura, ancorchè la vedi star fermo, si muova...’

⁹ Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 32.

tainly enhanced by the development of photography, has kept the concept of a fruitful, 'snapshot' moment alive.

One of Lessing's more ardent critics has been Ernst Gombrich. In his seminal article 'Moment and Movement in Art' of 1964, he sets out to show that this idea of the moment is in itself problematic. By asking what happens at a specific moment in time, he argues, we therewith assume that such a moment really exists. Now we may put forward here that Gombrich gives a too literal, or anachronistic reading of Lessing's use of the term moment. For the latter, the moment is always seen in a dramatic context, that is to say, as part of a larger plot.¹⁰ Gombrich, on the other hand, departs from the much more restrictive idea of the *punctum temporis*, the snapshot moment. We may ask though how far we can get with Gombrich's reading. The arguments against it are, as Gombrich points out, well-known. We need only refer to the famous paradoxes of Zeno. If movements can be cut up in static instants, there remains nothing to explain movement itself, or as Zeno would have it: '...if everything when it occupies an equal space is at rest, and if that which is in locomotion is always in a now, the flying arrow is therefore motionless.'¹¹ Gombrich's real problem with the instant, though, is not ontological, but rather epistemological; the idea is a 'worse absurdity psychologically.'¹² Already in 1964, he could claim that '[c]ompared with the speed of a computer we are indeed slow in the uptake.' The idea of a moment in time, he means to argue, is totally at odds with the manner in which we perceive reality. Gombrich was certainly accurate with this assertion. While science may have partly caught up with his ideas on the actual working of human perception, the central claim that perception in itself is something that takes place over time has only found reinforcement.

Although Gombrich writes that he does not want to overstate his case, more recently Robin le Poidevin has argued that he has done just that.¹³ Even though the instant may, as Gombrich argues, be a logical impossibility and might in no way relate to how we actually perceive motion, it does not necessa-

¹⁰ As becomes clear from the examples he gives, see e.g. Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 34: 'Ajax erschien nicht, wie er unter den Herden wütet, und Rinder und Böcke für Menschen fesselt und mordet. Sondern der Meister zeigte ihn, wie er nach diesen wahnwitzigen Heldentaten ermattet da sitzt, und den Anschlag fasset, sich selbst umzubringen. Und das ist wirklich der rasende Ajax; nicht weil er eben itzt raset, sondern weil man siehet, daß er geraset hat; weil man die Größe seiner Raserei am lebhaftesten aus der verzweiflungsvollen Scham abnimmt, die er nun selbst darüber empfindet. Man siehet den Sturm in den Trümmern und Leichen, die er an das Land geworfen.'

¹¹ As in Aristotle/Barnes 1984, vol. 1, p. 404 [= *Physics*, book V.9, 239b5 ff.] Aristotle discards Zeno's paradox, arguing that '...time is not composed of individualnows...'

¹² Gombrich 1964, p. 297.

¹³ Poidevin 1997, p. 175. Cf. chapter 7 of Poidevin 2007.

rily follow from this that it cannot be represented. The question remains, though, how we may represent such a thing as an instant. Here, Le Poidevin puts forward that the idea of the instant, though problematic as a theoretical concept, does nonetheless help us when we try to understand, even define motion. As he notes, ‘we most naturally characterize motion as the occupancy of different positions at different times, where times are understood as instants.’¹⁴ Now the occupancy of a position, or in Mancini’s terms, ‘a certain pose,’ is something we can understand, indeed, even depict, that is to say, at least if we can describe this position as relative to something else. Le Poidevin concludes that ‘if we are willing to accept the existence of instants, then there is a perfectly straightforward sense in which static images represent instants: they do so by depicting particular spatial relations between objects.’¹⁵ As will become evident in what follows, this conclusion is quite important for our understanding of the depiction of time in the visual arts, for, contrary to actual movement, spatial relations are very much part of its domain. And even if the fact that we can make an argument in favour of the depiction of instants does not mean that it provides the best way to suggest motion in a static work of art, Le Poidevin’s restatement of the problem in terms of spatial relations gives us an interesting lead of how this may be achieved.

Dynamics and Momentum

A quite influential way to think about movement in static imagery in terms of spatial relations, is provided by Rudolf Arnheim’s concept of ‘dynamics’.¹⁶ As Arnheim is quick to point out, actual movement in an image is not what can be intended—to speak of movement can only be metaphorical. As an alternative to movement, he introduces the term dynamics, defined as a directional force or tension that is part of the essentially static ‘perceptual image’.¹⁷ Dynamics is for Arnheim a fact of perception, inherent to the elements (either two or three-dimensional) of a whole and the way they relate to each other. This perceptual image, in turn, is an elaboration of the ‘raw material of experience’ that is dealt with by vision ‘by creating a corresponding pattern of forms.’¹⁸ The different shapes constituting this pattern of forms are all essentially dynamic while also the organization of the pattern, and thus the interactions of the shapes, may

¹⁴ Poidevin 1997, p. 182.

¹⁵ Poidevin 1997, p. 187, his italics.

¹⁶ For a recent (rather uncritical) overview of Arnheim’s ideas see Versteegen 2005.

¹⁷ Arnheim 1966, pp. 74-89; Arnheim 1974, pp. 410-443; the term ‘perceptual image’ is on p. 416. See also Gottlieb 1958, who draws heavily on Arnheim’s ideas (cf. n. 1).

¹⁸ Arnheim 1974, p. 46.

result in a dynamic percept. The idea of a ‘perceptual image’ in general has more recently met with severe criticism, though. It seems that the author adheres to a variation of what Alva Noë has dubbed the ‘snapshot conception of sensory perception,’ that is, the idea that ‘[v]isual experiences represent the world in the way pictures do, in sharp focus and uniform detail.’¹⁹ Indeed, Arnheim moves easily between the painted picture plane and the perceptual image, suggesting a—for our case rather problematic—disposition towards the two-dimensional surface.²⁰ And although such an approach might seem quite suitable for the analysis of painting (abstract painting in particular), it is rather inapt to analyse the complex and often subtle suggestions of movement in the natural, voluminous shapes that constitute the human appearance.²¹ As Noë argues, we do not ‘inhabit a domain of visual snapshot-like fixations.’²² The world gradually exposes itself to our view as we look and move around. The same applies to sculpture: its movements do not develop in a two-dimensional plane, but rather in the three-dimensional space they share with the beholder.

Not unrelated to Arnheim’s concept of dynamics, but more useful in the present context is that of *representational momentum*, introduced by psychologist Jennifer Freyd in the 1980s.²³ In her seminal 1983 article, she showed that when a person is presented with a photograph of an object undergoing a unidirectional motion, the person’s memory for the location of the object in the photograph will be distorted so that the location of the object is placed further along the path of movement. It seems thus, that, when confronted with an object in motion ‘frozen’ in a static picture, we automatically ‘unfreeze’ the object and follow its motion through. Whereas the principle of representational momentum may explain at least some of the dynamic properties Arnheim ascribes to the ‘perceptual image’, it has a much wider application and is certainly not confined to the two-dimensional abstractions which are at the centre of his argument.²⁴ In fact—and this is relevant for our discussion—Maggie Shiffrar and again Jennifer Freyd have shown that the motion or even apparent motion of an ‘animate target,’ that is, something we recognize as a human being or an animal, is processed differently than that of inanimate targets; the biological

¹⁹ Noë 2004, pp. 35-39; quotation from p. 39.

²⁰ Thus Arnheim 1992, p. 86 has to conclude that ‘an artist like Gian Lorenzo Bernini prefers to offer the essence of his message in a principal view.’

²¹ Arnheim 1974, chapters 8 and 9, particularly, pp. 410-416. See also the critique in Previtali 1962b.

²² Noë 2004, p. 72. Cf. Arnheim 1966, p. 81: ‘Attempts to explain visual dynamics by actual or potential eye movements will only confuse the issue.’

²³ See Freyd 1983a and Freyd & Finke 1984. Cf. Valenti & Costal 1997, p. 183.

²⁴ For a recent overview see Hubbard 2005.

constraints of movement, imposed by joints, muscles, and so forth, are accounted for in our estimation of the trajectory of a limb or a whole figure.²⁵

What is important to acknowledge here, is that we process an entity recognized as an animate being as inherently in motion, even if this entity is in fact static. Our sensitivity for biological constraints suggests furthermore that this capacity springs from our history of daily encounters with others, as well as from our own capacity to move in a similar manner.²⁶ Ordinary movements are internalised and thus our experiences thereof are grounded in our own bodily experience; we just know where an arm or a leg goes or may go when it is in such or such a constellation.

At this point, we may well conclude that the snap-shot moment may indeed help the artist to suggest movement in an essentially static image. There remains one nagging problem though, for even if the material used by Freyd (fig. 35) may in some cases look dynamic, it does not, however, give us the kind of suggested movement we find in so many works of art. In fact, it has often been noted that the snapshot produces pictures that seem to be ‘painfully paralyzed,’ as if ‘frozen, arrested in arbitrary positions.’²⁷ Of course, this is certainly not true for all photographs, though nonetheless we must conclude that not any frozen moment will do if we would want to create a suggestion of movement.

Shifts

Without wanting to deny an influence of representational momentum, or even some form of Arnheim’s concept of dynamics in the depiction of action in sculpture, a model can be proposed that takes into account much more explicitly the spatial character of sculpture as well as the dynamic and grounded character of our perception. To do so, we may depart from what may seem somewhat of an unexpected source, namely, Paul Gsell’s account of his conversations with the French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840-1917) of which particularly the chapter on movement in art is of interest to our discussion. When Gsell expresses his wonder about the striking vivaciousness of Rodin’s figures, the latter argues that ‘the illusion of life in our art is obtained through good modelling and through movement.’²⁸ Subsequently, the dialogue focuses on the topic of movement. ‘First,’ stresses Rodin, ‘note that movement is the transition

²⁵ Shiffrrar & Freyd 1990.

²⁶ Lorteije *et al.* 2007 have shown that suggested motion evokes a neural activity in the same direction selective neurons that are involved in the processing of actual motion.

²⁷ Arnheim 1974, pp. 414-415.

²⁸ Rodin & Gsell 1911, p. 72: ‘Or l’illusion de la vie s’obtient dans notre art par la bon modelé et par le mouvement.’

from one attitude to another.' It is, he adds, a metamorphosis not unlike that of Ovid's *Daphne*.²⁹ With this statement, the sculptor immediately makes clear that he is concerned with the movement of a living body. Evidently, in the case of Zeno's arrow we would not easily think of movement as transformation; the movement of the body as it is conceived by Rodin, on the other hand, means in the first place a change in the figure, the 'passage of one pose into the other...'

It is important to stress this, for in discussions of movement in art it has often remained unclear what should be meant by movement. To depict a moving arrow on its own as moving seems indeed an impossibility. As we have noted though, the human body is a special case. The biological constraints of movement actually provide the body with an inherent context; a finger always moves in relation to a hand, a hand in relation to an arm, an arm in relation to a shoulder, and as the research by Shiffrar and Freyd suggests, we are very much aware of these relations; they are grounded in our own capacity to move. Now how does the artist exploit this to suggest the movement of the body? Rodin says:

[The artist] makes visible the passage of one pose into another; he indicates how imperceptibly the first glides into the second. In his work, one still detects a part of what was while one discovers in part what will be.³⁰

Subsequently, the sculptor further underlines his claim with reference to an example, François Rude's bronze *Le Maréchal Ney* (fig. 36):

...you will notice that the marshal's legs and the hand that holds the sheath of the sabre are placed in the position they had at the moment he drew his sword. So the left leg is pulled aside so that the weapon is offered more easily to the right hand, which has just drawn it. The left hand is still in the air as if it still presented the sheath. Now consider the torso. It would have been slightly leaning to the left when the gesture I have described took place. But the torso we see is erect, the chest thrown out. And his head turns toward the soldiers as he roars the order to attack. Finally, the right arm is raised and brandishes the sabre. [...] the movement of this statue is but the metamorphosis of a first attitude—when the marshal drew his sword—into another attitude—when he rushes towards the enemy, his arm raised.

²⁹ Rodin & Gsell 1911, p. 76: 'Notez d'abord que *le mouvement est la transition d'une attitude à un autre.*' (Italics in the original.) 'C'est en somme une métamorphose de ce genre qu'exécute le peintre ou le sculpteur en faisant mouvoir ses personnages.'

³⁰ Rodin & Gsell 1911, p. 77: 'Il figure le passage d'une pose à une autre: il indique comment insensiblement la première glisse à la seconde. Dans son œuvre, on discerne encore une partie de ce qui fut et l'on découvre en partie ce qui va être.' Trans. Rodin & Gsell/Caso & Sanders 1984, p. 29.

[...] The sculptor obliges, so to speak, the spectator to follow the development of an act through [*à travers*] one figure. In the example that we have chosen, your eyes are forced to rise from the legs to the raised arm. Since, in the course your eyes follow, they encounter the different parts of the statue representing successive moments, they seem to see the movement actually enacted.³¹

Although it seems unlikely that, as Rodin suggests, our eyes actually travel over the bronze from bottom to top, we do form our image of the whole from different impressions.³² As much has in fact been put forward by Gombrich, and has found further confirmation in more recent literature. These different impressions are not only the result of saccadic eye movements, but (and this equally counts for painting) of our exploring the work actively. We move around a work, or at least pass by it, making that what first lays behind visible to the eyes. Our exploration of the work is a visual palpitating, a going back and forth to zoom in on a detail only to give it a place in a larger whole again. In this process we experience an image that is essentially unstable. Each member is incompatible with the other, each time-slice is out of pace with the next. Yet, we see and recognize the figure as one body, one individual; ‘and since all of them remain visible within the unity of the body, it is the body which becomes to bestride time [*la durée*].’³³

The validity of Rodin’s striking observations is certainly not confined to his own art nor to that of his time. In fact, one author has used them as a point of departure for the analysis of the art of Dürer and, subsequently, Erwin Panof-

³¹ Rodin & Gsell 1911, pp. 77-79: ‘Vous remarquerez alors ceci: les jambes du maréchal et la main qui tient le fourreau du sabre sont placées dans l’attitude qu’elles avaient quand il a dégainé: la jambe gauche s’est effacée afin que l’arme s’offrît plus facilement à la main droite qui venait la tirer et, quant à la main gauche, elle est restée un peu en l’air comme si elle présentait encore le fourreau. Maintenant considérez le torse. Il devait être légèrement incliné vers la gauche au moment où s’exécutait le geste que je viens de décrire; mais le voilà qui se redresse, voilà que la poitrine se bombe, voilà que la tête se tournant vers les soldats rugit l’ordre d’attaquer, voilà qu’enfin le bras droit se lève et brandit le sabre. [...] le mouvement de cette statue n’est que la métamorphose d’une première attitude, celle que le maréchal avait en dégainant, en une autre, celle qu’il a quand il se précipite vers l’ennemi, l’arme haute. [...] Le statuaire contraint, pour ainsi dire, le spectateur à suivre le développement d’un acte à travers un personnage. Dans l’exemple que nous avons choisi [Rude’s *Le Maréchal Ney*], les yeux remontent forcément des jambes au bras levé, et comme, durant le chemin qu’ils font, ils trouvent les différentes parties de la statue représentées à des moments successifs, ils ont l’illusion de voir le mouvement s’accomplir.’ Trans. Rodin & Gsell/Caso & Sanders 1984, pp. 29-30.

³² The tracking of eye-movements, first performed by Buswell 1935, suggests in fact that we explore the image in a quite random manner.

³³ Merleau-Ponty 1964, p. 79 (referring to Rodin’s ideas): ‘...la position de chaque membre, justement par ce qu’elle a d’incompatible avec des autres selon la logique du corps, est autrement datée, et comme tous restent visiblement dans l’unité d’un corps, c’est lui qui se met à enjamber la durée.’ Trans. Charleton Dallery in Merleau-Ponty/Edie 1964, p. 185.

sky referred to them for a more systematic treatment of the problem of movement in art.³⁴ As Panofsky's argument reads like a more thorough underpinning of Rodin's words, it is worthwhile to have a closer look at his text. Not unexpectedly, he starts his discussion with a brief reiteration of Lessing's idea of the pregnant moment. Lessing, as we have seen, has argued that the artist should choose the instant so that the imagination can deduce what happened before and what will happen next. Yet, Panofsky argues that the imagination of the beholder is not what is at stake. The fixation of a moment from an unfolding movement—we are back here with a notion of the moment as a point in time, as it would later be thought through by Gombrich—means petrification, *Erstarrung*, even if we can imagine what happens next. The moment chosen by the artist should not only make understandable what was and what is to come, but rather, it should actually *show* it; past and future should be brought together in one image. Now, Panofsky asks, which moments meet such a requirement? Surely not those stills from an ongoing movement. Rather, he posits that to show a movement, the artist should pick a moment that actually *precedes* it, a moment not of actual movement but of potential, latent movement. He finds such a moment in what he calls the *Wendepunkt* or turning point, a point, he argues, of rest (as there is no movement) but also of tension between past and future.

Panofsky was not the first to realize the potential of transition. His claim gains in interest when we confront it with Bernini's supposed remark that 'the best time to render the mouth is when [the subject] has just spoken or is just about to begin speaking; that one should try to catch this moment.'³⁵ A more detailed account is provided by the Earl of Shaftesbury. Residing in Naples towards the end of his life because of health problems, he wrote a series of instructions for a painting of the *Judgment of Hercules* intended for the Neapolitan painter Paolo De' Matteis.³⁶ These instructions, reading like a small treatise on art, also address the problem of time. Not unlike Lessing, he signals that the artist can depict only one moment in time, but it is a conclusion that leaves him uneasy. 'How is it therefore possible,' he asks, 'to express a Change of Passion

³⁴ Kauffmann 1924, p. 5 and Panofsky 1926, in particular pp. 141-147.

³⁵ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 154 [4 September]: '...a dit que, pour réussir dans un portrait, il faut prendre un acte et tâchera le bien représenter; que le plus beau temps qu'on puisse choisir pour la bouche est quand on vient de parler ou qu'on va prendre le parole; qu'il cherche à attraper ce moment.'

³⁶ Shaftesbury 1714; cf. Haskell 1980, pp. 198-199. De Matteis' painting is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See furthermore Pestilli 1993.

in any Subject, since this change is made by Succession [and] will require a Disposition of Body and Feature...?'³⁷

This transition, which seems at first so mysterious a Performance, will be easily comprehended, if one considers that the Body, which moves much slower than the Mind, is easily out-strip'd by the latter, and that the Mind on a sudden turning it-self some new way, the nearer situated and more sprightly parts of the Body (such as the Eyes and Muscles about the mouth and Forehead) taking the alarm, and moving in an instant, may leave the heavier and more distant parts to adjust themselves, and change their Attitude some moments after.³⁸

What Shaftesbury and also Panofsky were looking for, then, is to overcome the *Erstarrung* of the snapshot image, without, however, giving up the idea of a single moment. In order to do so, they focus on a moment of transition, that is, a moment that is not 'pregnant' in Lessing's terms (Lessing in fact explicitly states that this 'moment [...] must express nothing transitory'), but actually combines that which was and that which is to come in one image.³⁹ Still, we may wonder if we can rightfully speak of a *moment* here; is this something we can convincingly capture or rather an artistic construct? A closer look at the painting De Matteis painted for the Earl of Shaftesbury (fig. 37), or indeed, for many paintings that pretend to capture such a transitional moment, the latter seems quite obviously the case.

But returning to Panofsky's essay, there is yet another way he argues that movement can be depicted in art. This is what he calls the 'segmentation of the unfolding movement in a cinematographic sequence of instants.'⁴⁰ It is a technique we know well from experiments by artists such as the Italian futurist Giacomo Balla. In his *Swifts: Paths of Movement + Dynamic Sequences* (fig. 38) we see, against a rather abstract background, a whole series of swifts strung together in elegantly curving patterns. While the yellow sinusoids may remind us of the traces left by moving points of light in a long exposure photograph, the repetition of the swifts is certainly influenced by the photographic experiments of Étienne-Jules Marey (fig. 39), which feature closely spaced sequences of stills in order to describe the movements of animals.⁴¹ Although these images indeed

³⁷ Shaftesbury 1714, pp. 10-11.

³⁸ Shaftesbury 1714, p. 12.

³⁹ Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 32: '...so muß er nichts ausdrücken, was sich nicht anders als transitorisch denken läßt.'; trans. Lessing/McCormick 1962, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Panofsky 1926, p. 143: '...eine Zerlegung des Bewegungsablaufs in mehrere kinematographisch aufeinanderfolgende Einzelphasen...'

⁴¹ For photography's impact on the depiction of movement in art see Scharf 1968, chapter 9.

may bring about a strong sense of movement, the approach has some obvious drawbacks. Not only is it difficult to repeat in a medium as marble, but, as Panofsky notes, to have the beholder believe, or rather, experience that it is the movement of one and the same figure that is seen, the various instants must be placed in a rigid sequence close to overlapping, just as in Balla's painting.

This drawback can be overcome by what Panofsky calls a division of roles.⁴² In that case, it is not one and the same person which shows us the series of instants, but we can see the movement unfold through a series of different figures. A striking example of such a division of roles can be found in Tintoretto's *Annunciation* in the Sala Inferiore of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco (fig. 40).⁴³ Here we see a swirling stream of *putti*, entering the scene from above, just left of the wall that cuts the composition in two, and, with a sharp turn at the far left of the painting, looping with an elegant curve through a small top window. We can not help but feel that the *putto* up front must have followed this path and had his arms spread wide as his companion two places back; indeed, we can hardly imagine that they do not all follow the same path and will clasp their hands together in the end. Surely also some more subtle examples can be found, as is illustrated by Rodin's detailed discussion of Antoine Watteau's *Embarkation for Cythera* in the Louvre (fig. 41).⁴⁴ In the group of figures on the foreground to the right, he explains, we see the action of the parting group starting to unfold itself. To the far right a couple is still seated, the woman, so it seems, without any intention to leave, but the man already making a first move to get up. In the second couple, just to the left of the first, the man is already standing, helping his partner to her feet. And yet somewhat further, we see a third couple, already advancing towards the boat on the far left of the painting, though the woman still throws a glance over her shoulder, as if she too did not want to leave directly. And so it continues, all the way down to the boat itself and finally the *putti* who lead the way with a fuming torch. Such an arrangement, as Rodin notes, gives the artist the possibility to suggest an extended action, we read through the different figures, who all seem to represent a different moment.

Now, one may wonder, how does Rodin's argument discussed above relate to all this? On the one hand, it complies with Panofsky's demand that the image actually shows (rather than merely suggests to the imagination) the be-

⁴² Panofsky 1926, p. 144.

⁴³ Pallucchini & Rossi 1982, vol. 1, cat. 435, as by Jacopo with the assistance of Domenico Tintoretto.

⁴⁴ Rodin & Gsell 1911, pp. 91-97.

fore and after. Yet on the other hand, we can speak also of a segmentation of the unfolding movement. In effect, then, Rodin brings these two aspects together (or rather, Panofsky has pulled them apart), creating an image that is characterized both by conflation and segmentation. It is only in a note that Panofsky elaborates on this possibility.⁴⁵ His idea of divided roles, he argues, may well be applied to a single figure; the different roles are then given to its body segments. We may wonder, though, if the initial moment of tension sought by Panofsky is not a special case of such a conflation of segments. It seems impossible to draw a clear line between such a 'real' moment of tension and that which the artist reconstructs from different moments. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the *fantasia* plays a key role in the depiction of the moving image. The only way to capture the fleeting moment of a figure in movement, even if it is one of those transitory moments, is by a combining a series of impressions, while modeling and sculpting itself become ways to make such impressions tangible.⁴⁶ The artist, as also Rodin does not fail to point out, proceeds by experiment.

Let us, bearing in mind Rodin's example of Rude's *Maréchal Ney* and Panofsky's analysis, have a closer look at some examples in seventeenth-century sculpture. In the agitated figure of *Attila* in Alessandro Algardi's monumental relief of *The Encounter of St Leo the Great and Attila* in Saint Peter's (figs. 42-43) we find a quite prominent example. Already Bellori's description gives us an indication of the various moments that the artist has tried to capture in this figure:

...the barbarous king [Attila], scared by that sudden encounter, turns around to flee, and seeing behind him the apostles that are ready to wound him, he fends them off with one hand while moving the other [hand] with the baton forwards, frightened and confused.⁴⁷

The turning around, the looking back, the fending off his adversaries, and the forward movement: all these actions suggest different, not necessarily congruent, motions unfolding in time and space. Indeed, where we easily read Bellori's description as a sequence of subsequent actions, it is difficult to imagine how this might be achieved in the marble. If we would only look at Attila's left arm

⁴⁵ Panofsky 1926, p. 145, n. 1.

⁴⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 85 ff.

⁴⁷ Bellori/Borea 1976: '...il barbaro re [Attila], impaurito a quel subito incontro, si volge in fuga, e riguardando in dietro gli apostoli pronti a ferirlo si ripara con una mano e muove l'altra col bastone avanti, spaventato e confuso.'

and right leg, we would see a person stepping out, towards us. The left leg though, is placed parallel to the relief's plane, pointing towards the right. It is, accordingly, at a right angle with the other leg, suggesting a sharp rightward turn (of some ninety degrees) made after an initial stride away from the pope towards the right. This apparently abrupt change of direction is further stressed by the bellowing cloak, which, folding around the upper right thigh, seems to have been interrupted in its initial progressions in the same direction. Algardi now fully exploits what would later be known as Newton's rule of inertia, the cape pointing both backwards and forward in time. Flung over the right shoulder, it suggests a backward movement of the right arm, though the hand, risen in a gesture of aversion, does not yet guard against the approaching adversaries. Quite surprisingly, all these different movements and moments do not result in a fragmented, distorted image. Through this balancing of different moments and combining of contrasting segments, we find a sole figure, expressing both time and suspension, movement and transition.

Surely, the application of these principles is not confined to such moments of confusion and agitation. The order of variety that was within the reach of the sculptor can be grasped when we compare some of the papal monuments created in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Algardi's relatively tranquil *Leo XI* (fig. 44), made between 1634 and 1644 is shown seated on a throne, the right hand slightly risen while the other is placed on the edge of the chair's armrest which lies hidden under the lavish folds of his cope. Only the slightest hint of movement is achieved by the somewhat unfocused glance on the one hand, and the relative moments expressed in the positioning of the shoulders, the right arm, the right hand, and its independent fingers on the other. The ambiguous, absent gaze suggests a shift of attention, a brief moment of contemplation, before eyes come to rest on the object of blessing. And even if the hand is already largely unfolded, we can still follow its motion through the independent fingers. The manner in which they unfold can be caught in Panofsky's idea of divided roles: every finger depicts a stage in the unfolding of a single finger, while only together they represent the whole movement.⁴⁸ The arm, subsequently, may be expected to rise higher, further lifting the cope that seems to slowly unfold at the ground. Between the head, the arm, the hand, and its independent fingers, we find slightly different moments in time, alternating in a slow rhythm that, combined with the large, heavy folds of the cope, stress the solemnity of the gesture.

⁴⁸ Panofsky 1926, p. 145.

Bernini has his Bronze *Urban VIII* (fig. 45), started somewhat earlier than Algardi's *Leo XI* in 1627 but finished only in 1647, lift his arm higher, even above the shoulder, and gives the gesture more breadth by having the pope looking in the opposite direction. It is this more profuse gesture that is also adopted by Algardi in his *Innocent X* (fig. 46), made between 1646 and 1649, now at the Palazzo dei Conservatori.⁴⁹ Contrary to Bernini though, he places the cope partly draped over the right knee, resulting in a wide sweep not unlike that of Attila's cape, while its corner is curled up as if suspended in mid air. The heavy fabric bellows and it seems as if it might slide off due to the forceful gesture of the arm which we see already as stretched above the shoulder. The pope's eyes have found focus below the hand, though the turn of the head is still apparent in the slightly twisted lappet suspended from the papal tiara. The restless, almost nervous folds in the alb suggest a further movement, a rustling of the fabric set in motion by a slight disposition of the upper body. In comparison with his *Leo XI*, Algardi has here quickened the pace; solemn movement has given way to a more resolute, more regal gesture.

As these examples illustrate, suggested movement may be sped up by making larger jumps between the relative moments. We have seen that Le Poidevin has argued that instants may be represented 'by depicting particular spatial relations between objects.' In the human figure, these 'objects' are constituted by what we naturally recognize as the segments of the human body, their spatial relationships belonging to the fixed set of possible movements. This set can be expanded upon by the artist. Spatial relations may be stretched, combined and conflated, thus achieving a rhythm in the work that is more than a play of recurring lines and shadows. It is a rhythm that may change its pace, accelerating towards the most significant gesture, by making ever more large intervals. But there is more to these movements than speed alone; they differ in quality, have a different feel to them.

Movement Styles and Caricatures

This quality of movement, or what in psychological literature is known as 'movement style', can be further elaborated upon.⁵⁰ As is indicated by psychological research—and as many will know from personal experience—people

⁴⁹ Montagu 1985, cat. 152.

⁵⁰ For an overview see Pollick & Paterson 2008 and Pollick 2004. Pollick & Paterson 2008, p. 287 say the following with regard to a definition of style: '...for both objects and actions, there is substantial variability in physical stimuli capable of giving rise to the same basic evaluation. Moreover, this variability of the stimuli is not merely noise but creates an intrinsic part of the visual experience that carries its own aesthetic or semantic significance.'

can be recognized by how they move about; we quite easily single out the people we know by their walk and, as has recently been demonstrated, even by how they pick up a drink. What are the elements that contribute to our recognition? As movement unfolds in both time and space, we may make a distinction between its temporal and spatial characteristics. With regard to the temporal characteristics, one may think for example of the changes in the speed of an arm and its parts when we reach out for something and subsequently draw back the arm towards the body. We may thus describe a movement as a pattern of accelerations, de-accelerations, and different velocities. Although we may not be directly aware of such patterns in daily life, our sensitivity to them comes to the fore when we watch a film of even the most simple performance played backwards. Movements, then, become jerky and unpredictable. The spatial characteristics of a movement are, more obviously, determined by the trajectory of the moving object or organism. And also in this case, we are quite sensitive to subtle varieties.

Now, of course the works of art discussed here are never actually in motion. It seems reasonable to assume, though—and as much is illustrated by our examples—that these characteristics can be shown in suggested movements as well. By varying the relative positioning of different ‘moments’ in a work, the artist can change the pace of movement, whereas the relative positioning of the elements shows us the movement’s trajectory. Algardi has exploited these possibilities in a most subtle manner, though it seems that they may equally be achieved in less elaborate works; in effect, the art of caricature learns us that some characteristic, silly walk may easily be rather strikingly captured in a few lines.⁵¹

It may be instructive to dwell here for a while on the topic of caricature.⁵² In their discussion of what they call the ‘neurological theory of aesthetic experience,’ psychologists Vilayanur Ramachandran and William Hirstein have suggested that the principle of caricature is not restricted to shape, but can also be applied to motion.⁵³ This suggestion finds further confirmation in more experimental research on the matter: exaggerated movements enhance recogni-

⁵¹ See e.g. Portoghesi 1967, p. 710 on Carlo Fontana’s caricature of Francesco Borromini: ‘In the caricature, close to the left-hand edge of the sheet, halfway up, is rapidly sketched in pen, in very summary lines, a profile of the whole figure, which completes the caricature by recalling other characteristic traits of the subject, particularly his awkward gait, his gestures, and his strange clothing.’

⁵² See *supra* pp. 59 ff.

⁵³ Ramachandran & Hirstein 1999, p. 19; their article is one of the earlier contributions to the recent debate concerning the significance of Neuroscience for Art History; for an overview see Onians 2007.

tion.⁵⁴ With all that is said above, we may wonder if such exaggerations could not also play a role in the suggestion of movement. Rather than delving further into assumptions and extrapolations regarding the significance of all this for the static image, a further underpinning of this point can be given by again looking at some examples. An interesting case is that of Bernini's marble *Constantine's vision of the cross* (fig. 47), placed at the main landing of the Vatican *Scala Regia*.⁵⁵ The unveiling of this work on the first of November 1670 brought about a host of responses which, remarkably, were not all so positive.⁵⁶ One particular offensive text, written under the title *Il Costantino messo alla Berlina*, or, Constantine brought to the pillory, by an anonymous author and known in several manuscript versions, takes the work as a point of departure for debasing more or less the sculptor's complete oeuvre.⁵⁷ Bernini also had his defendants though, and in some of the manuscripts the critique is followed by another text, again anonymous though the author admits to being a Neapolitan: *Il Costantino difeso*, that is, the Constantine defended.⁵⁸ It is in the latter text, a direct response to the former, that we find some remarks that are of particular interest to our discussion.

⁵⁴ Hill & Pollick 2000, pp. 223-228.

⁵⁵ Wittkower 1955, cat. 73. See furthermore Raspe 2007; Marder 1997, pp. 165-179; Kauffmann 1970, pp. 278-89; Panofsky 1919.

⁵⁶ Marder 1997, pp. 208-212.

⁵⁷ Excerpts of the text have been published by Previtali 1962a and Bauer 1976, pp. 46-53, both referring to BAV, Barb.lat. 4331, ff. 1r-23v. Further versions of the text can be found in BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, ff. 121r-132v and BAV, Bonc.Lud., ms. N.1, ff. 76r-91r. A more concise version of the text is published by Fraschetti 1900, p. 321, n. 1, taken from BAV, Vat.lat. 8622. Previtali 1962, n. 1 takes the latter text to be a summary of the former, while Marder 1997, p. 209 unconvincingly argues that the latter is the original while the longer text is made only after 1725 and based on the other. Marder 1997, pp. 294-5, n. 170 bases this date on the mentioning of the statue of Charlemagne, which was sculpted by Agostino Cornacchini and unveiled only in 1725; cf. BAV, BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, ff. 129r-v: '... quando [...] le ponga di filo, ed à fronte nell'altro fianco de' portici già terminata un' altra statua equestre à Carlo Magno [...], è ben da sperarsi che non vi mancherà artefice, che lo superi...' (my italics). As has been noted by Simonato 2005, n. 70, Marder's dating is based on a misreading of the text; whereas the portico was finished, as the text indicates, the statue was only planned and in fact the author of the *Costantino messo alla Berlina* expresses the hope that it will surpass Bernini's work. For these plans see Poeschel 2003, pp. 682-684 and Marder 1997, pp. 206-208; cf. Lualdi 1673, p. 36 (as noted by Delbeke 2004a, p. 92, n. 89): '[Nel portico di Paolo] si vede effigiato nel marmo Costantino à cavallo, in atto di rimirare la Croce, che nell'aria gli apparve, promettendogli la vittoria contro Massentio. E nella parte opposta vi haverà parimente effigiato nel marmo pari Eroe.'

⁵⁸ BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, ff. 133r-145r and BAV, Bonc.Lud., ms. N.1, ff. 92r-109r. A defence already mentioned by Fraschetti 1900, p. 321, n. 1 in BAV, Vat.lat. 8622 ff. 154-157 is probably also an abbreviation. Both these texts as well as those mentioned in the previous note are being prepared for publication by Claudia Lehmann.

When Constantine's horse is criticised for being 'without any symmetry or harmony whatsoever in its members and movements,' for the absurd length of its body and legs, and for its emaciated belly and thin, crane-like neck, the anonymous Neapolitan defendant of Bernini's *Constantine* replies that 'the sculptor must imitate the nature of motion.'⁵⁹ Addressing the anonymous author of the *Costantino messo alla Berlina* directly, he writes:

You accuse the length of the horse, and you show there to know nothing of art, for in the horse one considers many places, and actions [*attioni*]: the movement, and the quietness in the pauses keep it in its right position, the movement or the course extend it. If accordingly Bernini's horse tends towards movement [*anbela al moto*], it is not against nature that it seems somewhat too elongated...⁶⁰

The proportions of the horse, the author argues, need to be considered 'according to the rule of motion'.⁶¹ But what is this rule? An indication may be found in the work of Gian Paolo Lomazzo, who, writing in 1585 and thus some fifteen years short of a century before the unveiling of Bernini's *Constantine*, proposes a series of rules for the depiction of the horse in movement, focusses primarily on the restrictions following from the horse's anatomy. Concluding his discussion with a word of warning, Lomazzo advises the artist not to 'express the movements [*moti*] too extremely, if not having been forced by great necessity to a contrived and terrible effect,' thus pointing to what Bernini may well have tried to achieve in his work.⁶² In truth, it seems that the sculptor had

⁵⁹ For the critique BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, f. 124r: 'Et in primis, che s'elgi smontasse, ò si gropasse in terra vi uscerebbe sì lungo, che in due passi occuparebbe la Lungara, e tocchasse Porto Longone...' '...messo nelle gambe parerebbe un camelo...' ff. 124r-v 'Onde che questo non servando in tutte le membra, e nel portamento simestria, ovvero armonia alcuna, come sconcerterebbe tutto il ballo sibaritico in guerra...' f. 124v: '...egli habbia assai smonta la panza per mancamento di biada, che gliel' havera furbacchiata al suo solito lo stalliere.' f. 125r: '...il colo sottile, come di grue.' For the defence: BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, f. 141r: '...lo scultore deve imitare la natura del Moto.' On the horse in particular see Raspe 2007, pp. 288-290.

⁶⁰ BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, ff. 139r-139v: 'Accusate la lunghezza del Cavallo, e vi dimostrate non saper dell'Arte; poiché nel Cavallo si considerano molti siti, et attioni, il moto, et la quiete nelle pause, lo mantiene nella sua giusta positura, il moto, ò il corso lo distende. Se dunque il Cavallo del Bernini anhela al moto, non è contro la natura, che paia un poco più disteso, e così le gambe per misura sono giustissime, e per proportione adeguate, ma la curvatura lo fò vedere alquanto contratte.'

⁶¹ BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, ff. 140r-140v: 'Dite che la coda è troppo longa, ma consideratasi la proportione, secondo la regola del moto, e della quiete diviene in bilantia giustissima, poi considerando quel destiero nel moto naturale, mentre marcià à Galoppo, et alza i piedi anteriori il tego si abbassa, et la coda casca interra; laonde ingegnosamente affasciata dall'artefice s'allontana dal tocco del suolo, e si rende più nobile, e sontuosa.'

⁶² Lomazzo/Ciardi 1974, vol. 2, p. 260: 'Ma avvertiscano i pittori che ne gl'uomini e ne' cavalli et altri animali non si dovrebbero in tutto esprimere i moti così estremi, se non si è sforzato

attempted here a work without proper precursors among equestrian statues; where the then traditional rearing equestrian statue showed the horse in variations of the formal pose of the *corvetta*, indicating above all the great control and ability of the rider, Bernini's horse is in a confused state of anguish and shock.⁶³ The author of the *Costantino messo alla Berlina* criticizes in fact the 'violent movement or spring of the horse,' arguing that it looks 'more possessed than spirited,' thus acknowledging that Bernini has managed to give the horse an extraordinary vivaciousness.⁶⁴

It is in Lomazzo's extensive discussion of the rules for depicting movement in men, deriving, the author claims, from Michelangelo himself, that he remarks that 'a body that is disproportionately lean, with long members will, in some movements, be more forceful...'⁶⁵ As in his rules of movement in horses, Lomazzo's remark should be read here as well in the context of a discussion on the decorum of movement rather than the actual suggestion of movement.⁶⁶ Be this as it may, it seems that a similar observation as that of the anonymous author of the *Costantino difeso*, lays at its core: the length of the legs and the body, the emaciated belly and thin neck, all may actually contribute to the forcefulness of the suggested motion. In fact, Lomazzo's observation can be easily turned around, for, if disproportionately lean and long members result in more forceful movements, cannot a more forceful movement be suggested by elongating the members? Surely, Lomazzo's remarks suggests an artistic experience that fits quite well with the practice of the mannerist artist, namely, that a playing with proportions might, in some cases, indeed enhance the suggestion of movement. Looking at Bernini's *Constantine* (fig. 47) we may indeed sympathise with its anonymous critic. Even if the sculptor has managed to give a striking evocation of the animal's agitated state, the horse as such is less con-

più che da gran necessità di effetto sforzato e terribile.' A similar plea for temperance can be found already with Alberti/Grayson 1960-73, vol. 3, pp. 76-79 [= II.44], who, as Summers 1977, n. 17 argues, might have based his judgment on ancient rhetoric.

⁶³ For the equestrian statue involving a rearing horse, the main point of reference was the Florentine tradition of Giambologna and his pupil Pietro Tacca; see Gasparotto 2006, particularly on the *corvetta*, pp. 98-99. Also the author of the *Costantino messo alla Berlina* (Previtali 1962, p. 57; BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, f. 128v) refers to this tradition when making the comparison with the bronze equestrian statues by Giambologna and Tacca in Florence and Madrid.

⁶⁴ BAV, Chigi J.VII.270, f. 126r: 'Hor del nostro non men Pio [cavalier] si dice, ch'egli in quel suo moto violento, o sbalzo del cavallo, quasi che più spiritato, che spiritoso, dovesse havere un poco più se non di moto, e di sollievo di anima, e di vivenza...' Trans. Bauer 1974, p. 51.

⁶⁵ Lomazzo/Ciardi 1974, vol. 2, p. 258: 'E però la grossezza resterà indietro; sí come, per incontro, un corpo sproportionato, magro e longo di membra, in alcuni moti farà maggiore sforzo, trapassando anco questi che si sono detti.'

⁶⁶ Cf. Summers 1981, pp. 406-417.

vincing. Apparently, the impact of the work is given precedent over a suggestion of naturalism.

In the context of our discussion of different movement styles, it is interesting to note that the elongation of a figure's proportions does not necessarily make a movement more violent. In fact, with regard to mannerist artists such as Parmigianino or Pontormo the elongations are more frequently associated with grace or elegance.⁶⁷ We need only quote Vasari's remark that Michelangelo 'used to make his figures of [a length of] nine, ten or even twelve heads, not searching for more than that, in putting them together, there was a certain unity of grace not found in nature...'⁶⁸ Raffaello Borghini is even more specific, noting that if the artist wants to make his figures graceful, 'the measures need to be elongated in some parts, and shortened in some other parts.'⁶⁹ Even if the term grace remains somewhat enigmatic, sometimes denoting a vague but apparently pleasant '*non so che*' in the appearance, Firenzuola in his tract on the beauty of women associates it rather straightforwardly with movement:⁷⁰

Elegance [*leggiadria*] consists of nothing else [...] than the observation of a silent law, given and promulgated by nature to you women in the moving, comports, and use of your person as a whole, as well as its particular members, with grace [*grazia*], modesty, nobility, measure, and good manners so that no movement, no action will be without rule, mode, measure, or design...⁷¹

The elongation of the limbs may give movements more breadth, while at the same time slowing them down, suggesting a feeling of languishment, of elaborateness; elongated fingers may suggest a subtle movement or touch. These qualities, though particularly associated with mannerism, are certainly not con-

⁶⁷ See Boubli 2005, pp. 26 ff.

⁶⁸ Vasari/Barocchi 1962, vol. 1, p. 117: '...egli usò le sue figure farle di 9 e di 10 e di 12 teste, non cercando altro che, col meterle tutto insieme, ci fussi una certa concordanza di grazia nel tutto che non lo fa il naturale...'

⁶⁹ Borghini 1584, p. 150: '...spesso si facciano figure in atto di chinarsi, d'alzarsi e di volgersi, nelle cui attitudini ora si distendono et ora si raccolgono le braccia di maniera che a voler dar grazia alle figure bisogna in qualche parte allungare et in qualche altra parte ristignere le misure.' Also Leonardo associates elongated figures with grace; cf. Vinci/McMahon 1956, vol. 2, f. 114r: 'La membra col corpo debbono esser accommodate con gratia al proposito dell'effetto che tu voi che faccia la Figura, et se tu voi fare Figura che dimostri in se leggiadria, debbi fare membra gentili e distese...'

⁷⁰ See e.g. Spear 1998, Sohm 1995, pp. 762-773 and Baxandall 1988, pp. 128-131.

⁷¹ Firenzuola 1622, pp. 41: 'La Leggiadria non è altro [...] che una osservanza d'una tacita legge, data, e promulgata dalla natura a voi donne, nel muovere, portare, & adoperare così tutta la persona insieme, come le membra particolari, con gratia, con modestia, con gentilezza, con misura, con garbo, in guisa, che nessun movimento, nessuna attione sia senza regola, senza modo, senza misura, ò senza disegno...' Trans. adopted from Sohm 1995, p. 764.

fined to this period; as with regard to the seventeenth century, no sculptor has explored them more than Antonio Raggi.⁷² Let us look, for example, at his relief of the *Death of Saint Cecilia* (figs. 48-49), in the Roman church of Sant'Agnese in Agone which, though partly based on the design by Giuseppe Perone, clearly bears Raggi's mark.⁷³ On the far right of the relief, we see a man approaching, who, though not part of the central narrative, has a clear compositional function. Sculpted fully in the round with drapery bellowing over the frame of the relief, he creates a bridge between the space of the beholder and the space represented in the image, drawing attention to the central scene with his glance and gesture. Ignoring for a moment the heavy, chaotic draperies (we will return to the role of draperies in chapter six), one is immediately struck by the elongations of the members, particularly the legs. His left leg, bared up to the knee, steps out towards the beholder, in an angle of almost ninety degrees from his other leg. The left foot, twisting just a bit further even, seems to be placed ever so carefully. His almost dancelike step, but also the fine gesture of the long fingered hand, show modesty and measure. Through the outlandish proportions, the slight *serpentinata* that runs through the figure is stretched up, making the man's twist more subtle, slower, indeed more elegant, more graceful.

The Portrait Bust

With all that is said above, let us return briefly to the portrait bust. In a well-known passage, Rudolf Wittkower has introduced the often repeated, but somewhat ill-defined expression '*speaking* likeness,' using it to set apart Bernini's portrait busts of Costanza Bonarelli and Scipione Borghese (figs. 50, 15).⁷⁴ By accentuating the word '*speaking*', Wittkower suggests something beyond the striking resemblance that is commonly meant by the phrasing, and although he does not actually give a direct definition, we may infer one from his characterizations of the two busts. Wittkower dwells here particularly on the engagement between portrait and spectator: 'the spiritual barrier between onlooker and the portrait bust has fallen,' he writes, 'and contact is immediate and direct.' The portraits, he continues, 'seek contact with others and need partners to bring their faculties to life.' Their impact, we may infer from the description of the Scipione bust, is the result of the '*spontaneous expression of the face with the*

⁷² As has been remarked by Bedaux 1998, p. 100. For Raggi see Westin 1978.

⁷³ On the relief see Westin 1974 and Simonetta, Gigli & Marchetti 2003, pp. 112-115.

⁷⁴ Wittkower 1955, p. 15; for a discussion of the term see Bacchi & Hess 2008, p. 20 and Hill 1998, pp. 9-12.

half open mouth and the lively gaze,' or in more general terms, of the 'transitoriness of the psychological moment'. The portrayed seems to be 'caught in stone' while 'engaged in animated conversation,' or, in the case of Bonarelli, 'in the grip of passion.'⁷⁵

At this point we may well wonder if such a 'snapshot' conception can be upheld.⁷⁶ Would it not be possible to explain the dynamic character of these busts in terms of Rodin's example? In effect, already our discussion of the concept of *pluralità* suggests that such an approach may be worthwhile. In order to take the step from the full marble to the portrait bust, we may look at a particularly interesting example, the *Bust of a King* in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, by the French sculptor Pierre Puget (fig. 51).⁷⁷ With its almost violent thrust to the side, the work possesses an animation that we do not often find in busts; rather, it is much closer to a figure such as Algardi's *Attila* (fig. 43) discussed above, which may have inspired Puget when he was in Rome in 1662. Indeed, the dramatic movement of the *Attila* resonates in the limited structure of the bust alone. Clearly, the sculptor could afford some liberty as it is obviously no actual portrait likeness, but similar (albeit less extreme) effects are equally found in real portraits, first and foremost those of Bernini singled out by Wittkower. Also Bernini's busts are not without predecessors, though, as may be illustrated by a closer look at one which may have been particularly influential: a Roman portrait bust from the first century BC, generally identified as the orator Cicero (figs. 52-53), now in the Musei Capitolini, Rome.⁷⁸ Already in the Barberini collection before 1628, Girolamo Tezi locates it in the *sala ovata* of the Barberini palace in his 1642 *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae*.⁷⁹ Its presence in this particular room was, it seems, not accidental, for it was here

⁷⁵ Wittkower 1955, p. 15.

⁷⁶ Wittkower 1955, p. 15, using the word 'snapshot' in relation to Bernini's drawing of Scipione Borghese in the Morgan Library, New York.

⁷⁷ For Puget's stay in Rome in 1662 see Walton 1969, who also suggests (at p. 585) that the bust is related to Algardi's *Attila*.

⁷⁸ Stuart Jones 1912, p. 249 [= *Filosofi* 75]. Also Weil 1989, p. 36 has proposed an antique example for the bust, the Pseudo-Sceneca in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, arguing that Bernini 'probably meant to honor and flatter Scipione Borghese by comparing him to the great thinkers of the past...'

⁷⁹ Within the Barberini family it changed several times of ownership. The bust entered the collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1628 from that of Don Carlo Barberini (Lavin 1975, p. 79, no. 116) and in 1640 it was given to Cardinal Antonio Barberini (Lavin 1975, p. 145, no. 409). In 1640 it had been installed in the Oval room on the *piano nobile* (cf. Lavin 1975, p. 145, no. 411: '...tutti li sopradetti petti sono dentro al ovato dove stanno le sopra dette statue sopra li scabbeloni di marmo bianco...') of the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro fontane where it is mentioned by Tetius/Faedo & Frangenberg 2005, p. 473 in 1642 and was still to be found in 1644 (Lavin 1975, p. 178, no. 588) and 1651 (Lavin 1975, p. 263, no. 16). Cf. Lucia Faedo in Tetius/Faedo & Frangenberg 2005, p. 43.

that Cardinal Antonio Barberini held his literary gatherings.⁸⁰ In fact, Tezi stages the bust as an actual living presence, conversing with illustrious members of Antonio's *accademia* such as Francesco Bracciolini, Lucas Holstein and Lelio Guidiccioni. Without further elaborating here on the significance of Tezi's remarks, we may note that the *Cicero* has the mouth slightly opened, indeed as if in the act of speaking. The head, slightly larger than life-size, is placed upon a modern torso, characterized by the somewhat irregular drapery which, falling in large folds over the shoulders, joins below the chest where it follows the truncation at the lower rim of the bust. Characterized by a prominent nose and chin and high forehead, the face reveals a somewhat older, but vital man. His speech-like action is further stressed by the left turn of the head and the strong asymmetry of the face which becomes particularly apparent when one is viewing the work *en face*: the left cheek recedes more than the other and joins in a flowing manner (echoed by the drapery below) the folds in the neck, the mouth, somewhat crooked, inclines towards the left, the more prominent left cheekbone tends to hide the eye which lies deeper in the head than the other; hair, brow, nose, forehead, nothing in the left side of the face is the same as on the right side. These asymmetries can only be partly explained by the physical changes brought about by the turn of the head; rather, the artist has tried to suggest a continuing flow, an ongoing suggestion of movement which unfolds itself with the spectator's every saccade, every step.

At the cost of a consistent treatment of the human physique at a given moment in time, though certainly not without suggesting such a unity, the artist builds his image from impressions, from movements, almost as in a cubist portrait.⁸¹ The fragmentation of the portrait, as that of the whole figure, results in an ambiguity, but it is an ambiguity that is resolved time and again in the details. When inspecting the work, the spectator is confronted with an image that shifts constantly between ambiguity and clarity. It is an ambiguity that we automatically resolve, pulling it towards the clarity of the detail, but always in different ways. In this sense the image is indeed transitional, but rather than caught in one frozen moment, it is a 'transitoriness' that itself constantly changes. The

⁸⁰ Lucia Faedo in Tetius/Faedo & Frangenberg 2005, pp. 38-39, 50.

⁸¹ For the suggestion of movement by superimposing different moments in cubism see Gottlieb 1958, pp. 24-25 and Cleaver 1963, p. 235: 'Cubist sculpture, like Cubist painting, tends to present us with a sequence of different points of view or different positions of the image. We often see a profile combined with a full face, the top and the side of a glass at the same time. The artist gives us a more complete experience of the object. Thus he develops a summary of experience from different moments in time and implies the relativity of time and space. He has carried further Rodin's idea of preceding and succeeding movements or moments in time.'

image is, accordingly, essentially instable. Nonetheless, it remains within the parameters set out by the artist.⁸² In his double role as artist and spectator, he can manipulate infinitely until a desired equilibrium is found. The liveliness of the figure, or at least one of its central elements, is collateral to, or a symptom of, the instable, plural character of the bust. Plurality, in other words, is both a means to the vivification of the image, as well as a means to suggest movement.

The Beholder

As is suggested by Wittkower's remarks on Bernini's busts, their transitional character gives the sculptor a powerful tool to address the beholder. In painting, we tend to follow the picture plane; it is only when somebody looks out at us directly, that we have the feeling that the picture plane is crossed and the image reaches out to our world. The inaccessibility of the suggested space behind the plane is always eminent. Unlike the window or the mirror, our own movement does not change our perspective on the picture, the world beyond the frame remains totally hidden to us and our perspective on the depicted scene stays the same.⁸³ Our own bodily movement, constitutive of our capacity to perceive, is accordingly denied by the painting. This very phenomenon also explains why sometimes we may have the feeling that a person looking out of the picture follows us with his or her eyes: why we would expect that by stepping aside we change our angle on the face, the face is actually skewed but our angle does not change.⁸⁴ How different is the art of sculpture; as a tangible, physical art, our perspective on sculpture changes with every step. As has often been observed, the possibilities offered by this characteristic of sculpture is only fully exploited in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ The beholder is invited to an interaction with the work, and here movement plays an important role. So how do we actually respond to the suggestion of movement in these sculptures—and how do they responds to us?

In his *Journal*, Chantelou recounts how he and Bernini visited the Parisian church of Saint-Joseph des Carmes for prayers. Now, in the same church can be found the monumental *Madonna and Child* (fig. 54) after a design by the famed sculptor, executed by his one time assistant Antonio Raggi.⁸⁶ Whilst

⁸² Zitzlsperger 2002 has convincingly argued that Bernini's state portrait are closely tied to socio-political conventions.

⁸³ See on the perspective inherent to the painting Hopkins 2004.

⁸⁴ Koenderink, Doorn & Kappers 2004.

⁸⁵ E.g., Wittkower 1958, p. 101.

⁸⁶ Wittkower 1981, no. 53; Westin 1978, no. 21. Del Pesco 2007, pp. 274-275, n. 158 cites an entry from Lorenzo Magalotti's Parisian diary which confirms the attribution to Raggi; Maga-

Chantelou was admiring this statue, he writes in the *Journal*, a few of the ‘good Fathers’ came up to him and Bernini, arguing that ‘to many people it looked as though the Infant Jesus of the Virgin [...] was blind as there was no colour in His eyes’. Chantelou’s response indicates that he looked at the work primarily as an art critic: ‘I said to them that nor there was any in the hair, nor in those [i.e., the eyes] of the Virgin, nor red in their lips...’⁸⁷ Yet, there may be something more to the suggestion of the ‘worthy fathers’ than mere ignorance in artistic matters. In fact, even nowadays the emptiness of Christ’s eyes strikes the beholder immediately. That those of the Madonna are not incised either, on the other hand, is much less disturbing: the light hits the eyelids but the eyes themselves, downcast, remain in the shadow. The whole posture of the Madonna makes it instantly clear that she looks down on the Christ child, at ease, in a loving manner. The attitude of the child is markedly different: his pose a mirror image of the *Río de la Plata* (fig. 55) on Bernini’s *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, he turns away from his mother, almost breaking out of the composition, making a violent movement to the right, contrasted by the forceful gesture of the right hand to the left.⁸⁸ The child’s slight furrow betrays a hint of panic—the panic in his eyes, one would almost say. It is there, in the eyes, that one looks for a suggestion of the cause of the child’s violent movement, yet one finds no answer.⁸⁹ The emptiness of the eyes makes it hard to place the work; the movement of the child remains unexplained, even if the averting gesture of the left hand may give some indication. As recent research has

lotti/Doglio 1991, pp. 184-185 (5 July 1668): ‘...v’è una statua d’una Madonna a sedere con un bambino in braccio, donata dal cardinal Antonio [Barberini]. Ell’è creduta universalmente del Bernino, ma ell’è di Antonio Raggi detto il Lombardo, allievo dell’Algardi.’ In Brice 1685, vol. 2, p. 125 it reads: ‘...il y a une Statuë en marbre blanc, des plus belles que l’on puisse voir, d’un nommé disciple du fameux Cavalier Bernini...’ Two years later, in Brice 1687, p. 200 the text has been changed to: ‘...il y a une Statuë en marbre blanc, des plus belles que l’on puisse voir, d’un nommé Antonio Raggi élève de l’Algardi...’ And in Brice 1698, vol. 2, p. 231 it reads: ‘...il y a une tres-excellente figure en marbre blanc, des plus belles que l’on puisse voir. Elle est d’Antonio Raggi, sur-nommé le Lombard, élève de l’Algardi, lequel l’a fait à Rome sur un model du fameux Cavalier Bernin.’

⁸⁷ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 113-114 [11 August]: ‘...quelques-uns de ces bon Pères m’ont dit qu’il y avait beaucoup de gens à qui il semblait que le petit Christ de la Vierge que je regardais était aveugle, ne lui voyant couleur aux yeux. Je leur ai dit qu’il n’en paraissait non plus à ses cheveux, ni à ceux de la Vierge, ni aucun rouge à leurs lèvres...’ Trans adopted from Chantelou/Blunt 1985, p. 113.

⁸⁸ On the startling pose of the *Río de la Plata* see Kauffmann 1970, p. 189. The pose was also used by Il Baciccio for his *beato Giovanni Chigi*; cf. Ana Maria Rybko in Faggiolo dell’Arco, Graf & Petrucci 1999, cat. 58.

⁸⁹ The iconography of the frightened Christ has been cause for some discussion, particularly in relation to Michelangelo’s *Taddei tondo*; see for a critical evaluation Easton 1969. The theme was certainly more common in the seventeenth century, cf. Finaldi & Kitson 1998, p. 92, no. 39. In our case, there can be little debate about Christ’s expression.

shown, a frightful look to the side changes our focus of attention in that direction, thus indicating that we search the pupils for a clue for the origins of our companion's fears.⁹⁰ In case of the Christ child, now, we are at a loss. We search his eyes and find nothing.

Raggi's choice to leave the eyes blank makes us aware of our responses in an interesting manner. Our disturbance by the empty eyes indicates that we rely on them, expect something to be there. We search the work for hints, and let our attention be guided by what we find; essentially in a manner that is not much different from how we act in an actual conversation.⁹¹ Sculpture not only suggests movement, but has us move in unison. While Raggi's *Virgin and Child* leaves us, in a sense, empty-handed, artists often know very well how to explore such responses in a more constructive manner.

The gesture of the Christ child is one that appears again and again in baroque sculpture; we found it in Raggi's relief of the *Death of Saint Cecilia*, in Algardi's *Attila* and a very similar gesture may in fact be discerned in Bernini's early *Saint Bibiana* (fig. 4) in the Roman Church of the same name.⁹² As the first commission where the sculptor was not only responsible for the sculpture, but also for the space in which it was to reside, he had the possibility to adjust the one to the other. While framed by the heavy aedicule, the animated figure is not confined to it; reaching out over the niche she enters the space of the beholder, appearing to respond to the light entering through a hidden window.⁹³ Bernini seems to have been inspired here by some variation of Praxiteles' legendary *Cnidian Venus*, most probably the acclaimed *Medici Venus* (fig. 69), depicted as if she is caught undressed by an intruder and tries to hide her nakedness.⁹⁴ As in the Apollo of the Borghese *Apollo and Daphne*, Bernini has taken an ancient marble and brought it to life. Varying on the subtle defensive gesture found in some of the antique examples, the delicate hint of the knee of the *Cnidian Venus* has been given more prominence under the heavy drapery, as has the guarding hand above the genital area, an indication of the saint's chastity, maybe—also suggested by the girdle around her waist—but at the same time an excuse to animate the rippling draperies. Leaning in towards the whipping post, she at

⁹⁰ Tipples 2006.

⁹¹ See the classic study Argyle & Cook 1976.

⁹² Wittkower 1981, no. 20; Kauffmann 1970, pp. 78-84.

⁹³ See in particular Fehrenbach 2005, pp. 12-13 and, more in general on hidden light sources in relation to sculpture, Davis 2002.

⁹⁴ The *Medici Venus* was recorded at the Villa Medici in Rome in 1638, and moved to Florence in 1677 where it was restored by Ercole Ferratta; see Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. 88 and Goldberg 1983, pp. 227-251.

once both embraces her martyrdom and becomes a personification of fortitude. At its base, finally, the *erba di Santa Bibiana*, or hemp agrimony, associated with the Saint's healing powers.

Where the attributes of the whipping post and the palm branch, the latter somewhat clumsily tucked away under the left hand, are a clear indication of her martyrdom, her whole pose and inclination is less straightforward. The opened, outstretched right hand can be read in an iconographic manner, as an indication of refusal—a suggestion that is further enhanced by the averse inclination of the head and right knee.⁹⁵ We may thus associate it with the saint's refusal to worship pagan idols, indeed similar to that in Domenichino's fresco of *The condemnation of Saint Cecilia* (fig. 56) in the Roman church of San Luigi dei Francesi.⁹⁶ Yet, the gesture of the Bibiana is more ambiguous; it is a transitory gesture that has equally been interpreted as an opening up towards heaven and God the father depicted above her.⁹⁷ In effect, the work can be read as a conflation of the significant moments of the saint's life, centring on her martyrdom, depicted as different episodes in Cortona's fresco's in the same church (e.g. fig. 57). We find sentiments of all the fresco's in the one marble figure: the refusal, the torture, the blissful union. The figure's ambiguity is not static, though, but rather develops over time. While we approach the altar our perspective on the work changes: the hand, first directing away from the Saint, moves up towards the face and when seen from below, from in front of the altar, hand and face are almost on the same level. The hand draws our view upwards now, and as it opens up towards the light it is received by the glaring image of God the Father who, on his turn, reaches down as to accept her in an ecstatic moment of blissful union.

* * *

At this point it has become clear that Lessing's idea of a pregnant moment and, more so, Gombrich's restricted interpretation thereof as a *punctum temporis*, are hardly adequate terms for our discussion of the suggestion of movement in works of art we have been looking at. Rather, for the depiction of a single, sculpted figure the suggestion of movement can only be understood as essen-

⁹⁵ For the gesture's iconography see Spear 1997, pp. 64-65.

⁹⁶ Kauffmann 1970, pp. 83-84; for the fresco see Spear 1982, vol. 1, no. 42, iii.

⁹⁷ Kauffmann 1970, pp. 83-84; Wittkower 1955, p. 7: '...the lyrical bend of the head, the half-open mouth, the upward glance [...] as well as the transitory gesture of the raised right hand denote the instant of her blissful union with God.'

tially relational; the suggestion of movement is determined by the spatial relations between the different members, the relation of the figure as a whole to its context, and finally the relation to the beholder who echoes these movements through his or her own capacity to move. The work must be understood as a composite of moments, that asks of us that we move, and comes to life as we do so. As the beholder approaches it and takes it in from different sides, the relative position and length of the limbs change, giving a different angle on the work not only in the literal sense. It invites an interaction, invites us to take one step, and then another. In between these steps we see the figure change, we experience something that is not quite movement, but it is something that comes close. Even if we cannot see the arrow fly, we can certainly experience how the archer, as in one fluent movement, draws it from his quiver, and turns his attention to the target. Nor is this something we need to imagine to see it happen: it is all there, elegant or unrestrained, solemn or furious. This does not mean though, that the imagination plays no role at all. The sculpture's apparent movement is only a first step in an experience that slowly detaches itself from the work.

The appetite for delight that is in the flesh, flows out as from a fountain and spreads itself over all the senses, as if over five rivers, and with the eyes, as if with some kind of body-less hands it touches all that it wants, and the things that it cannot touch with the real hands it embraces with those very same eyes, and the images and figures of the things, that it receives through the eyes, are stamped in the heart and with them it inflames all of the body with delight, and in that guise all the senses operate towards delight, as if it were their queen, and thus they contaminate the soul, and make it carnal.

— Francisco Arias, 1602¹

In the previous chapters we have seen how sculpture, as a result of the artist's attempt to enliven the marble, may lose its solid, physical character; between shifts, moments, movements, the marble as a whole seems to get out of focus. Yet, there is in sculpture also always a solidity, a tangible presence. It is at its surface, its skin, that the marble is most solid, most real—and yet, at the same time, there it may suggest life in the most acute manner. This double nature becomes already apparent in what is without a doubt the most paradigmatic instance of responses to sculpture in the European tradition; namely that of the sculptor Pygmalion (hence Pott's concept of the 'Pygmalion problem') towards his own creation as described by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. Pygmalion, having been put off by the 'imprudent acts' of women, recounts Ovid, sculpts himself the perfect virgin wife in ivory and falls in love with her.² Venus, taking pity on

¹ Francisco Arias, citing Saint Basilio, in his *Aprovechamento espiritual*, published in Valencia in 1588. The work was first published in the Italian translation of Giulio Zanchini in 1596; some eight editions followed, the last one in 1619. I have used the Venetian edition of 1602: Arias/Zanchini 1602, vol. 2, p. 212 [= cap. 15]: 'L'appetito del diletto che è nella carne, esce come da una fonte, & si sparge per tutti i sensi; come per cinque fiumi, & con gli occhi, come con certe mani incorporee, tocca tutto quello, che vuole, & quelle cose che con le mani corporali non puote toccare le abbraccia con gli stessi occhi, & le imagini, & le figure delle cose, che riceve co[n] gli occhi le stampa nel cuore e con quelle infia[m]ma tutto il corpo di diletto & in questa guisa tutti i sensi indirizzano le operazioni al diletto, come ad una Regina loro: & così contaminano l'anima, & la fanno carnale.' The passage is also referred to by Ottonelli & Cortona 1652, p. 369.

² I am citing from the popular translation by Giovanni Andrea Anguillara; Ovid/Anguillara/Horologgi & Turchi 1610, Book 10, p. 156r: 'Hor come vide quell'ato imprudente, | Non potè ne le donne haver più fede.' The Anguillara translation, first published in Venice in 1561, must have been widely available; in the seventeenth century only it was reprinted (with annotations by M. Gioseppe Horologgi) eleven times; cf. Schweiger 1834, vol. 2.2, pp. 689-690.

the sculptor, answers his prayers and gives the statue life. Now one of the more striking and, arguably, central features of Ovid's story is the prominent role given to the sense of touch, a feature that is retained in early modern translations such as the popular edition of Giovanni Andrea Anguillara. Here we can read that, before the sculpture is brought to life by divine intervention Pygmalion touches it as if touching real flesh.

...while she seemed alive to him, he stretched out his hand,
and wanted to experience it with his finger,
and as if she had feelings [*come habbia a sentir*], he touched [her] very gently,
for he did not want to bruise the flesh.
And even if now it did not seem a human body to him,
he did not, however, want to judge it for certain.³

Thus, the sculptor, ever so gently, tests his illusion ("she *seemed* alive to him") with his hands, and even if he does not want to admit that it is not real flesh, his touch tells him otherwise. And again, after Venus has granted the sculptor his wishes by giving life to the image:

[Pygmalion] kisses the beloved mouth, and touches her bosom,
and she seems to feel somewhat tepid to him.
He tries again, and to his delight
her surface [*manto*] feels softer, and more flesh-like [*carnal*],
and while he can still not really believe it,
he feels the beating in her chest heightening the pulse.
As if someone moulds hard wax,
making it softer and warmer with his fingers,
in order to give it any kind of shape,
it becomes more and more tractable and less firm.
Thus handling her, the statue changes its nature,
and becomes softer and warmer,
and, in his amazement, he tries and tries
so much, that alive, finally, he discerns and finds her.⁴

³ Ovid/Anguillara/Horologgi & Turchi 1610, book 10, p. 157r: 'Mentre viva gli par tende la mano, | E vuole co'l dito esperienza farne, | E come habbia a sentir, tocca pian piano, | Che non ne vuol far livida la carne. | E se ben non gli par poi corpo humano, | Non però vuol certo giudicio darne.' It then continues: 'La bacia, le favolla, e poi si duole, | Che non può trar da lei baci, e parole.'

⁴ Ovid/Anguillara/Horologgi & Turchi 1610, book 10, p. 157r: 'Bacia l'amata bocca, e tocca il petto, | E gliela par sentir tepida alquanto. | Prova di novo, e con maggior diletto | Men duro, e più carnal le sente il manto, | E mentre bene anchor creder no'l puote, | Sente, che'l petto il polso alza, e percuote. | Come se preme alcun la cera dura. | L'ammolla con le dita,
...

The same hand that, before the divine intervention, brought on disappointment, now finds affirmation. The hand, in both instances, mediates between what is seen and what is known, it seeks to affirm. The sculptor touches her, almost moulds her as if modelling wax, trying his hand again and again. It is the hand that convinces in the end—‘*corpus erat!*’, exclaims Ovid, ‘it was real flesh!’—the hand that feels the softness and warmth of flesh, inaccessible to the eye.⁵

Although the story of Pygmalion is only scarcely referred to in seventeenth-century texts on art, the topic of touch and flesh highlighted above, recurs again and again in contemporary art and art discourse; indeed, this discourse must have been largely informed by the well know text.⁶ And yet, such an image may be partly confounded, as a more universal response may lie at the basis of both. What follows is an exploration of responses to art involving the depiction of flesh and its relation to the sense of touch. Much more than in sculpture, even if usually deemed the more tactile art, the depiction of ‘living flesh’ was found to belong to the accomplishments of the painter. It is this challenge, as we will see, that the sculptor responded to.

Titian as a Sculptor of Flesh

So let us start our discussion of sculpted flesh with painting. The flesh painter *pur sang*, at least for what concerns the Italian *Cinquecento*, was without a doubt the Venetian painter Tiziano Vecellio, or Titian. In fact, as has been pointed out by David Rosand, Titian’s apparent ability to make his painted figures look like actual flesh was a ‘standard topos’ in the appreciation of his work.⁷ In his *Aretino* of 1557, Ludovico Dolce praises the painter, arguing that he ‘walks in step with nature, so that everyone of his figures has life, movement and flesh which palpitates.’⁸ ‘Titian,’ Dolce has the painter Pordenone say in praise of the Saint Sebastian in his *San Niccolò* altarpiece (fig. 58), has ‘put flesh and not

e le riscalda, | E per poter donarle ogni figura, | Viene ogn’hor piu trattabile, o men salda, | Così premendola ci cangia natura | La statua, e vien più morbida, e più calda, | Ei sta pur stupefatto, e tenta, e prova, | Tanto, che viva al fin la scorge, e trova.’

⁵ Ovid/Miller 1916, vol. 2, book 10, line 289: ‘*corpus erat!* salient temptatae pollice venae.’ On the role of the sense of touch in the Pygmalion story see also Hersey 2009, pp. 95 ff.

⁶ I have found only few instances, see *supra*, p. 26; also Stoichita 2008, p. 89 argues that the theme is largely absent in the seventeenth century.

⁷ Rosand 1994, p. 23; cf. Couëtoux 2007, p. 174; for a more general discussion of Titian and flesh see Bohde 2002.

⁸ Dolce in Roskill 1968, p. 184 (trans. p. 185): ‘Titiano [...] camina di pari con la Natura: onde ogni sua figura è viva, si muove, e le carni tremano.’

colours onto this nude.⁹ And even Vasari, who was certainly not set on giving Titian idle praise, writes that the same saint 'is so flesh-like and unique [*proprio*], that he seems wholly stamped from life,' in fact a critique in disguise, for Titian's figure lacks the ideal sought after by Vasari.¹⁰ Most eloquent in describing these qualities of Titian's brush, though, was certainly Pietro Aretino, who has the angel Gabriel's 'cheeks tremble in the tenderness composed of milk and blood,' while describing the flesh of a Saint John as 'so well coloured that in its freshness it resembles snow streaked with vermillion [being] moved by a beating pulse and warmed by the spirits of life.'¹¹ More than Dolce and Vasari, Aretino stresses the painterly qualities of Titian's painted flesh; the tenderness of the angel's cheeks, so he argues, is imitated by the blending [*unione*] of colours. But Aretino pulls these blended colours apart in isolated brushstrokes of extremes: milk and blood, snow and vermillion.

Not insensitive to Aretino's writing (though his texts are entirely different in character), the Venetian Marco Boschini, writing some hundred years later, also mused extensively on the flesh-like quality of Titian's painting. One of the most striking instances can be found in his *Breve istruzione*, published as a preface to the 1674 *Ricche miniere della pittura*, where he gives a lively description of Titian's working methods. After first sketching out the main figures, so writes Boschini, Titian returns to them only much later,

...when subsequently he wanted to apply the brushes again, he examined them with rigorous observance, as if they had been his capital enemies, to see if he could find some fault in them; and discovering something that did not conform to the delicacy of his intentions, as a charitable surgeon he cured the patient, cutting away some bulge, or surplus of flesh, straightening an arm, if the shape of the bones was not all to well adjusted, [and] if the foot had turned out ugly when first placed, he put it on

⁹ Dolce in Roskill 1968, pp. 188, 190 (trans. pp. 189, 191): '...un San Sebastiano di bellissima forma, e con una tinta di carne così simile alla vera, che non par dipinto, ma vivo. Ilqual San Sebastiano essendi il Pordonone andato a vedere, hebbe a dire, io stimo, che Titiano in quel nudo habbia posto carne, e non colori.' See also Roskill 1968, pp. 208, 214.

¹⁰ Vasari/Bettarini & Barocchi 1966, vol. 6, p. 159 [ed. Giuntina]: 'San Sebastiano ignudo, ritratto dal vivo e senza artificio niuno che si veggia essere stato usato in ritrovare la bellezza delle gambe e del torso, non vi essendo altro che quanto vide nel naturale, di maniera che tutto pare stampato dal vivo, così è carnoso e proprio: ma con tutto ciò è tenuto bello...' The passage is discussed in Rosand 1994; for the general appreciation of Titian's work see Rosand 1982.

¹¹ Aretino/Camesasca 1957, vol. 1, p. 79 (Letter to Titian, from Venice, dated 9 November 1537): '... le sue guance tremano ne la tenerezza composta dal latte e dal sangue che al naturale contrafa l'unione del vostro colorire.' *Ibid.*, p. 19 (Letter to Massimiano Stampa, from Venice, dated 8 October, 1531): '... le carni si ben colorite ne la freschezza loro somigliano neve sparsa di vermiglio, mossa dai polsi e riscaldata dagli spiriti de la vita.' Cf. Land 1986, pp. 207-208.

its place without feeling sorry for the pain it caused, and so on. Thus, working and reshaping those figures, he reduced them to the most perfect symmetry that can be represented by the beauty of nature and art; and afterwards, when that was done, he took to another, until the other was dry, he did the same; and subsequently, every now and then, he covered with living flesh those quintessential abstractions [*estratti di quinta essenza*]...¹²

The painter's first rough sketch is, step by step, covered with living flesh; essence is covered by body. Painted flesh is modelled, cut, and bent into perfection in a manner that, rather than the activity of the painter, brings to mind the way in which the sculptor approaches his model in clay or wax. In fact, Boschini's description has some striking affinities with the manner in which the sixteenth-century goldsmith and sculptor Benvenuto Cellini describes the practice of modelling a human figure. After taking a piece of clay or wax and imposing a figure on the material, thus he argues, the sculptor 'raises, lowers, pulls forward and backwards, bends and straightens the said figure's limbs many times.'¹³ Boschini's description of Titian's practice, then, evokes the painter as a modeller who gives a very physical shape to the bodies he paints.

Somewhat later in the text, this sculptural character becomes even more apparent. Boschini writes:

And Palma [il Giovane] assured me, in truth, that in finishing his pictures, he [i.e., Titian] painted more with his fingers than with his brushes. And truly (for who thinks about it well) he was right to work in this manner; for, wanting to imitate the works of the Highest Creator, he could not do otherwise than see that He too, in shaping this human body, He shaped it from clay with His hands.¹⁴

¹² Boschini/Pallucchini 1966, p. 711: '...quando poi da nuovo vi voleva applicare i pennelli, con rigorosa osservanze li esaminava, come se fossero stati suoi capitali nemici, per vedere se in loro poteva trovar difetto; e scoprendo alcuna cosa, che non concordasse al delicato suo intendimento, come chirurgo benefico medicava l'infermo, se faceva di bisogno spolpargli qualche gonfiezza, o soprabondanza di carne, radrizzandogli un braccio, se nella forma l'ossatura non fosse così aggiustata, se un piede nella positura avesse presa attitudine disconcia, mettendolo a luogo senza compatir al suo dolore, e cose simili. Così, operando e riformando quelle figure, le riduceva nella più perfetta simmetria che potesse rappresentare il bello della Natura e dell'Arte; e doppio, fatto questo, ponendo le mani ad altro, sino che quello fosse asciutto, faceva lo stesso; e di quando in quando poi copriva di carne viva quegli estratti di quinta essenza...'

¹³ Cellini/Ferrero 1980, pp. 810: '...prima che ci si risolva, molte volte alza, abbassa, tira innanzi e indietro, svolge e dirizza tutti e' membri della sua detta figura.' Trans. Cole 2001, p. 520, who gives an extensive discussion of the passage.

¹⁴ Boschini/Pallucchini 1966, p. 712: 'Ed il palma mi attestava, per verità, che nei finimenti dipingeva più con le dita che co' pennelli. E veramente (chi ben ci pensa) egli con ragione co-

Boschini thus compares Titian to God Himself, who with his own hands modelled mud into human form; indeed, a comparison that, as we have seen, is not unfit for the sculptor.¹⁵ Contrary to Pietro Aretino, then, Boschini creates an image of Titian's manner that is much closer to that of the sculptor than the painter; particularly if we think of the sculptor as modeller, the fingers pressing in the wet clay or, even more appropriate when we think of the Pygmalion story, the warm wax, giving shape to the human form, his trade seems not that different from that of the painter, who gives physical shape to his figures with the fingers.

A very similar way of thinking about Titian's art becomes apparent in Boschini's brief mention of the Flemish painter Anthony van Dyck in his *La carta del navegar pittoresco* of 1660, where he has the painter give extensive praise to Titian's paintings for the Venetian church of Santo Spirito, now in the Santa Maria della Salute. Rather than a surgeon, however, the artist now is a baker: 'Whoever does not refine his grain upon this mill,' Boschini has Van Dyck say, 'will never produce bread this soft, white, and fine...' The mill, it is clear, refers to Titian's painting, whereas the soft bread alludes to the very physical character of the painted body. Again, the painted surface is attributed with tactile, malleable qualities, displaying the softness of pure, white bread. Boschini has Van Dyck continue:

All the Roman statues that I drew,
all the ancient that I have sifted through a sieve,
all of this is a joke to this modern [painting] down here:
this is the dough of flesh that one can knead.¹⁶

Boschini, it seems, devises his simile so as to stress the physical, tangible nature of the flesh. The somewhat repelling image of kneadable flesh, handled by the painter as the baker handles his dough, also brings to mind Boschini's very sculptural characterization of Titian's technique and paintings.¹⁷

sì operò; perché, volendo imitare l'operazione del Sommo Creatore, faceva di bisogno osservare che egli pure, nel formar questo corpo umano, lo formò di terra con le mani.'

¹⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 28.

¹⁶ Boschini/Pallucchini 1966, p. 191 [= pp. 166-167]: 'Quel Antonio Vandich, sì valoroso, | Ha fatto notomia de sta Pittura, | Col copiar sto dasseno e sta bravura, | E dir: sta volta me fazzo famoso. || Perché che no colpisse in sta maniera, | E no masena el gran su sto molin, | Mai farà pan bufeto, bianco e fin, | Né 'l bon cognosserà; questa è la vera. || Tute le statue ho dessegnà de Roma; | Tuto l'Antigo int'un tamiso ho messo: | Tute xe bagie a sto moderno appresso: | Questo è impastà de carne, che se doma.'; cf. Loh 2007, p. 76.

¹⁷ Cf. Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 1, p. 399, who tells of Annibale Carracci's response to a painting by Pietro Faccini: 'Dio mio, fu inteso dire, che cosa mette mai costui nelle sue carnagioni? io giurerei, che in vece di colori, fa macinare carne umana.'

What does Boschini achieve with this metaphorical way of describing? Whereas the tactile qualities of the painted flesh are not directly accessible to the spectator—evidently he or she cannot actually touch the painted flesh—it may, on the other hand, implicitly awaken recollections of the tactile sense of real, living flesh. What Boschini does is to expand on such experiences, by evoking images of kneadable dough and soft bread, thus implying a reversal of the traditional opposition between sculpture as a tactile art on the one hand, and painting as a purely visible art on the other.¹⁸

Of Copying Statues

Boschini's remarks on Van Dyck bring us also to another point, namely that of the copying of antique sculptures. Ancient sculptures, the great attraction of Rome and still many an artist's point of reference, are, or so Boschini means to argue, fleshless compared to Titian's paintings. Nor was Boschini alone in his estimation. The argument that Roman statues lack the real flesh found in Titian's art can be related to a discourse that was quite widespread at the time. Rather coincidentally, so it seems, the matter was commented upon quite extensively by Van Dyck's master, the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens, indeed he himself even better known as a painter of flesh than Titian.¹⁹ In a brief excerpt from Rubens' notes on art theory, known as *De imitatione statuarum* and first published by Roger de Piles at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the painter, even if stressing the importance of the example of ancient sculpture, warns the young artist to avoid giving his work the stone-like impression of the examples.²⁰ If the young students of art, Rubens argues, do not select the works they copy well, they will 'disgrace nature,' since, 'instead of imitating flesh they only represent marble tinged with various colours.'²¹ Rubens continues by arguing that even in the 'best statues' certain problematic qualities are found that should at the least be taken into account:

...the flesh, skin, and cartilages, by their diaphanous [i.e., translucent] nature, soften, as it were, the harshness of a great many out-lines, and wear off those rugged breaks, which in statues, by the force and depth of their shade, make the stone, tho' very opaque, appear still more opaque and impenetrable to light, than it really is. There are, besides, certain places in the *natural*, which change their figure according to the various motions of the body, and, by reason of the flexibility of the skin, are

¹⁸ As expressed by Benedetto Varchi in Varchi & Borghini/Barocchi 1998, pp. 41-42.

¹⁹ For Rubens as a painter of flesh see Heinen 2001.

²⁰ The text is discussed in Muller 1982.

²¹ Rubens in Piles 1708, in Piles 1989, pp. 82-83; the citation is from the English translation Piles 1742, p. 87.

sometimes dilated, and at other times contracted. [...] To this we must add, that not only the shade, but also the lights of statues are extremely different from the *natural*; for the gloss of the stone, and sharpness of the light that strikes it, raise the surface above its proper pitch, or, at least, fascinate the eye.²²

The problem of sculpture, then, as a model for the painter but also more generally as a mimetic art, is grounded in the characteristics of the material. The opacity of the stone, further accentuated by harsh shadows, on the one hand, and, on the other, its unnaturally bright lustre or gloss, add up to an impression of hardness while, on the contrary, the translucency of flesh and skin rather soften the contours and undulations of the human form.

Even if Rubens was certainly not the first to point out these apparent limitations of the art of sculpture, they coincide with a more specific attention to the painterly qualities and the depiction of flesh in the art of the Venetian and Emilian schools which developed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, most specifically in the Carracci circles.²³ We may in fact refer to a letter, published by Malvasia, from the hand of Annibale Carracci, in which the painter praises the works of Correggio he sees in Parma for their ‘colour that seems to be of living flesh,’ and contrasts them with those of Raphael. Raphael’s *Saint Paul*, he writes, ‘once seemed a miracle to me,’ but now, in comparison with Correggio’s *Saint Jerome*, it ‘seems a wooden thing, so hard [*dura*] and sharp.’²⁴ Somewhat later these remarks would lead to the coining of the derogatory qualifier of *statuino*, or statuette-like, used by Malvasia not only to characterise the works of Raphael and Michelangelo, but also the manner adopted by Annibale Carracci after his move to Rome.²⁵ Malvasia’s critique on Raphael and Annibale’s Roman style was met with much irritation by people such as Bellori and the painter Carlo Maratta, who, according to the former, ‘agitatedly reprehended the vulgar opinion [...] that one should not follow Raphael because his manner were dry and statuette-like [*statuina*]...’²⁶ That such ‘vulgar’ opinions

²² Piles 1742, pp. 88-89.

²³ For earlier examples, mostly formulated in the context of the *paragone* debate, see Heinen 1996, pp. 196-198, n. 103.

²⁴ Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 1, p. 268 (on the cupola of the Duomo): ‘...un colorito, ch’è di vero carne...’ and p. 269: ‘...prima mi pareva uno miracolo, e adesso mi pare una cosa di legno tanto dura e tagliente...’; trans. Malvasia/Summerscale 2000, p. 96. Sohm 2001, p. 212, n. 47 traces the qualification of ‘wooden’ back to Leonardo.

²⁵ Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 1, pp. 264, 346. Dempsey 1986, p. 240 argues that it were the Carracci themselves who coined the term, while in effect it was Malvasia. See Sohm 2001, pp. 27-33; Malvasia/Summerscale 2000, p. 34.

²⁶ Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 628: ‘Suole però Carlo riprovare con senso concitato l’opinione vulgata del nostro secolo, che non si debba seguitar Rafaele per esser di maniera secca e statuina, rispondendo che più tosto il loro cervello è formato di sasso e di macigno’

were indeed held, is confirmed by the biographer Giuseppe Passeri, who quotes Salvator Rosa in saying that ‘the Neapolitan school’ (to which Rosa himself belonged) called Raphael’s works ‘hard, of stone, and dry...’²⁷ The discussion on this point continued well into the eighteenth century, and even though it was never as explicitly made as by Rubens himself, it seems to have been well known in the Italian (Bolognese) context. This may be shown by the argument put forward in Giampietro Zanotti’s *Lettere familiari* of 1705, that is, some years before Roger de Piles published the excerpt from Rubens’ notebooks. Zanotti, he himself a painter, writes that

...taking as a model a relief instead of the natural, one never arrives at that softness and doughiness at which one arrives better [when having] in front an example that is alive and breathing. [...] that hint of hardness, that one always finds in sculpture, is not a defect of art, but [rather] of the material, that is not able to receive certain reflections and shadows, which are found in the translucent and clear flesh, and at those the painter can better arrive than the sculptor...²⁸

Now what did all this mean to the sculptor? Whereas the discussion was at first essentially focussed on painting, Passeri drew the obvious conclusion by arguing that those sculptors who ‘strive to demonstrate a terse intelligence in anatomy, produce a repelling dryness, and a hardness to run away from [*da sfuggirsi*]...’²⁹ Such arguments must have certainly posed a challenge for the sculptor. Someone like Alessandro Algardi, receiving his earliest training in Ludovico Carracci’s academy in Bologna, without a doubt was well aware of the discussions that took place there; even if the heydays of the Carracci academy were over, many of the painters it had produced returned to Bologna for briefer

²⁷ Passeri/Hess 1934, p. 397: ‘...con Rafaele non haveva molta domestichezza perche la scuola Napolitana lo chiama tosto, di pietra, e secco, e non vogliono amicizia sua.’

²⁸ Giampietro Zanotti in: Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 2, p. 40 of the *Osservazioni*: ‘...adoprando per modello un rilievo in vece del naturale, non si giunge mai a quella morbidezza e pastosità a cui si arriva meglio con un esemplare davanti vivo e spirante. [...] quel poco di duro, che sempre in esse [le sculture] si scorge, non è difetto di arte, ma della material, che non è atta a ricevere certi riflessi e certe ombre tenere, che nella carne traslucida e chiara si scorgono, e a questo può meglio giungere il pittore che lo scultore...’ This opinion would not keep him from praising the Bolognese sculptor Giuseppe Mazza for his ability to make the marble soft as flesh; cf. Zanotti 1739, vol. 2, p. 10: ‘...fece un basso relievo di un Giudicio di Paride, con molte figure, così morbidamente sculpite, che più pittura pareva, che scultura, anzi più carne, che marmo...’

²⁹ Passeri/Hess 1934, pp. 8–9: ‘Gli Scultori che non si afaticano nella difficoltà del dipingere, e nell’ arteficio del chiaro, e scuro, procurano per altra via di toccare il segno della perfezione, tuttavia se vogliono ostentare una stringata intelligenza delle anatomiche partoriranno una odiosa seccaggine, et una durezza da sfuggirsi, che il Pittore col buono del colorito, con l’inganno dell’ ombre, e con l’osservanza de contraposti, rende l’opera sua perfetta per un’altro verso.’

periods, thus bringing also the latest news from Rome.³⁰ Likewise, Bernini as well must have been much aware of the Bolognese tradition; indeed, it has been argued that the sculptor tried to place himself explicitly in a lineage with Annibale Carracci, even though he cannot have met him but at a very young age.³¹

Several comments attributed to Bernini by Chantelou suggest that the artist was indeed very aware of this tradition. First of all, we may note that, precisely concerning the art of Annibale Carracci, Bernini recounts, or so we read with Chantelou, that the painter exposed his works to the general public for a critical opinion, singling out as a comment: ‘it is too dry, it is too hard,’ thus giving a striking prominence to the qualities of the *statuino*.³² Responding to Chantelou’s remark that Michelangelo’s talent was not that of sculpting women, Bernini would have added his incapability ‘to make his works seem to be of flesh [*chair*].’³³ Now, that Chantelou’s comment on women apparently prompted the sculptor to add this more general statement may imply that he had particularly Michelangelo’s women in mind, though elsewhere Chantelou presents Bernini as giving the more general statement that Michelangelo ‘in his paintings and sculptures, had not had the talent to make appear the figures flesh...’³⁴ This admittance of a lack of talent on Michelangelo’s part suggests that the depiction of flesh in sculpture is not a question of material, as had been argued by Rubens and Zanotti, but rather one of artistic talent. Even if we may question if Michelangelo’s talent was really the point, it is clear that, for a sculptor such as Bernini, flesh was the medium to overcome both his illustrious predecessor, as well as the art of painting. What was sought after were the qualities Malvasia ascribes to a figure painted by Guido Reni: ‘the contours drawn by Michelangelo, only to subsequently be made more tender and covered with true flesh...’³⁵

³⁰ Montagu 1985, vol. 1, p. 2.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 61, n. 35.

³² Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 156 [5 September]: ‘...a répété qu’Annibal Carrache voulait qu’on exposât à la censure publique un tableau aussitôt qu’il était fait; que le public ne se trompait pas et ne flattait point, qu’il ne manquait jamais dire: « Il est sec, il est dur », lorsqu’il l’était, et ainsi du reste.’

³³ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, pp. 217–218 [2 October]: ‘J’ai pris la parole et dit que son [Michel-Ange] talent n’était pas de faire des femmes. Il [Bernini] a ajouté: « de faire que ses ouvrages parussent être de chair. »’

³⁴ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 64 [25 June]: ‘...dans la sculpture et dans la peinture, il n’avait pas eu le talent de faire paraître les figures de chair...’

³⁵ Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 2, p. 12: ‘...un gran nudo intero, così terribile e risentito nel tirare per forza un’asinello restio, che pareva che Michelangelo l’avesse in tal forma contornato, perchè più tenero poi, e più ricoperto di vera carne ei venisse dalla Scuola di Lombardia...’

Dwelling on Bernini for a moment, we may also find indications of this point in his works. Already in his youthful *Saint Lawrence* of ca. 1617 (fig. 59), a collection piece made primarily to show off the sculptor's abilities, Bernini takes up the task of confronting both the art of painting as well as the sculptural work of Michelangelo.³⁶ To name the most obvious feat, his depiction of the fire underneath the grill, licking at the saint's flesh, show an element, visible but intangible, that previously had been reserved exclusively for the art of painting.³⁷ A similar argument may be made for his depiction of flesh. While the work seems indeed, as has been suggested, to rely quite explicitly on the example of the figure of Christ in Michelangelo's *Saint Peter's Pietà* (fig. 60), the latter's hard glimmering surface has been replaced by soft, undulating flesh. The incised, hard bone structure and musculature of Michelangelo's Christ are covered with a tight skin only, folding barely at his side. In Bernini's *Lawrence*, these anatomic details, though present, are less prominent, as they surface only there where the work's pose allows it. There is even the hint of some fat on the stomach, which moves under the Saint's twist, responding like real flesh as it comes up around the navel and folds in the side. The ribs at the opposite side, where the skin is stretched most, are more visible, though still not as sinewy as with Michelangelo. Thus, already in his early works Bernini shows a clear attention for effects of light and shadows on the marble surface, in what seems a conscious attempt to enliven and soften the marble. In some of his later works, this occupation is further underlined by the subtle application of a patina of wax and even pigments to emphasise or mellow down the effects of the light on the hard marble.³⁸

Nursing the Putto

Arguably the most striking indication of this preoccupation with the depiction of flesh in sculpture is the rapid change of the marble *putto*, or playful infant, in the first decades of the seventeenth century; a change that again is echoed in the literary production of the time.³⁹ In an exceptional passage of his *La carta del navegar pittoresco*, Boschini situates his discourse in Rome, describing a (without a

³⁶ Preimesberger 1985, pp. 2-4.

³⁷ Cf. Benedetto Varchi in Varchi & Borghini/Barocchi 1998, p. 36: 'Fanno [i pittori] ancora fuochi, lumi, aria, fumi, fiati, nugoli, riverberi et altre infinite apparenze, come sarebbe l'apparire del sole, l'aurora, la notte, i colori dell'acque, le piume degli uccelli, i capelli e peli dell'uomo e di tutti gli animali, sudore, spume et altre cose, che non possono fare gli scultori.'

³⁸ Cf. Fabretti & Fabretti 2007, p. 350.

³⁹ For the putto see Körner 2007.

doubt fictional) dialogue between the sculptor Alessandro Algardi and the painter Ermanno Strioffi:

What did Algardi say to Don Ermanno
in praise of Titian's tiny *putti* [...]?
He said: those little *putti* suckle milk
from the Graces, and Nature has given birth to them:
and so, they nurture themselves [*se nutrisse*] into soft little creatures [*morbideti*].
And who has ever seen more angelic forms?

Then, stepping away from the dialogue, Boschini continues:

And also Algardi has chosen such a worthy path,
that everyone could very well [*a bona ciera*] say:
these are statues of flesh, and not of marble
or if they are marble, it is [marble] made flesh [*incarnada*].⁴⁰

As with the passage concerning Van Dyck discussed above, also here Boschini poses Titian as an exemplary painter of flesh. In this case, though, the author singles out the painter's *putti*, mothered by both art and nature, and suggest they are the example that brought the sculptor on the right path, enabling him to make his marbles seem like real flesh. Thus, the *putto* lies here at the basis of Algardi's sculpted flesh. It is not from Algardi's mouth, though, but from that of François Duquesnoy that we would expect such words of praise for Titian's paintings. In fact, Bellori, Passeri, and Boselli all write about how Duquesnoy, accompanied by his friend the painter Nicolas Poussin, sought out the works of Titian in Rome, in particular his *Feast of Venus* (fig. 61), to study and copy his tender *putti*.⁴¹ It is by this study, combined with that of nature, or so argues Bellori, that Duquesnoy 'came to soften the hardness of the marble itself, mak-

⁴⁰ Boschini/Pallucchini 1966, p. 520 [= p. 485]: 'C. Ma voi tornar a Roma col discorso. | Cosa disse l'Algardi a Don Ermano [the painter Ermanno Strioffi] | In laude dei putini de Tician, | Sora un certo parlar, tra lori ocorso? || El disse: quei putini zuzza el late | Dale Gratie; e Natura i portorissee; | Per questo morbidedi i se nutrisse. | E chi ha mai visto forme più beate? || E pur l'Algardi ha cusì degna strada, | Che ognun dir poderave a bona ciera: | Quel è statua de carne, e no de piera, | O, se piera la xe, la xe incarnada.'

⁴¹ Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 289: '...ch'egli si applicò tutto a studiare li putti di Tiziano, con occasione che nel Giardino Ludovisi vi era il celebre quadro de gli Amori che giuocando si tirano pomi, donato dopo al re di Spagna.' Cf. *ibid.*, p. 427. Passeri/Hess 1934, pp. 105-106. See Colantuono 1989. The british traveler Richard Symonds writes in his notes on a 'discourse' with Poussin, published by Beal 1984, p. 144, that Duquesnoy 'gott his good manner for boyes' from two *puttini* accompanying a antique river god in the Belvedere; the putti of Bernini, he adds, 'have [...] swolne thighs,' i.e., swollen thighs.

ing it seem to be of milk rather than hard stone.⁴² A similar conflation of the milk white skin, echoing the whiteness of the marble, and the soft flesh of the well-fed child is evoked by again Boschini, who writes—now on Titian's *putti*—that they are so 'vivaciously nurtured with the milk that seeped from Titian's excellent brushes, that they are more than alive...'⁴³ The milk that feeds the child, showing the strength to live in the child's chubby health, seeps from the brushes as the milky white of the painted flesh.⁴⁴ In the words of Scaramuccia, now again on Duquesnoy's *putti*: 'rather of animated flesh they seem, than of hard stone.'⁴⁵ And finally, even Rubens was sensitive to the sculptor's ability to give his work the softness of flesh. On his *putti* for the Vanden Eynde monument in the Roman Church of Santa Maria dell'Anima (fig. 62) he wrote: 'it is as if they were sculpted by nature, rather then by art, and [as if] the marble had softened itself [*si sia intenerito*] into life.'⁴⁶

The two *putti* by Duquesnoy referred to by Rubens stand out as the prime example of what Orfeo Boselli, the former's assistant, has called the *putto moderno*: a type of *putto* that essentially looks still younger than the *putto antico*, not the young child as the latter, but almost an infant.⁴⁷ Informed by Titian, and, it

⁴² Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 299: 'Concepì Francesco una idea intorno le forme de' putti, per lo studio fatto da Tiziano e dal naturale; se bene egli andò ricercando li più teneri sino nelle fascie, tanto che venne ad ammolire la durezza del marmo, sembrando essi più tosto di latte che di macigno.'

⁴³ Boschini/Pallucchini 1966, p. 712: 'Gli Bambini particolarmente sono così vivamente nutriti con il latte, che stillava da' suoi [Tiziano] eccellenti pennelli, che sono più che vivi...' The conflation of the whiteness of skin and milk is also thematized by Marino/Croce 1913, p. 70, in a pastoral poem, titled 'Ninfa mungitrice': 'Mentre Lidia premea | Dentro rustica coppa | A la lanuta la feconda poppa, | I' stava a rimirar doppio candore, | Di natura e d'amore; Né distinguer sapea | Il bianco umor da le sue mani intatte, | Ch'altro non discernea che latte in latte.' Titian was not the only painter that was praised for his depiction of the *putto*; Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, p. iii, obviously aiming at a more decisive Bolognese story of art, puts his compatriot Francesco Francia to the fore: 'Vedete esser [Francesco Francia] anche stato il primo a rappresentare i puttini così graziosamente carnosì, bozzotti [from *Bozzoloso*, i.e., lumpy], e *polputi* [= fleshy, plump] che anco a' nostri tempi non isdegnarono Guido [Reni], e l'Albano osservarne, e lodarne la pastosa sagoma, ed imitarli.'

⁴⁴ Milk and flesh are also related in the religious topos of the 'mammelle di Dio', cf. Marino/Pozzi 1960, p. 162, n. 27 and Camporesi 1983, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁵ Scaramuccia 1674, p. 17: 'Dissero ancora d'altre cose del Fiamengo, & in specie di quei due putti situati nella Chiesa dell'Anima vicino Piazza Navona, che apunto d'animata Carne più tosto si fanno intendere, che di duro sasso.'

⁴⁶ Letter from Rubens to Duquesnoy, dated Antwerp, 17 April, 1640 and published in an Italian translation from the French in Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 302: 'Io non so come spiegare a V. S. il concetto delle mie obbligazioni per li modelli mandatemi e per li gessi delli due putti della iscrizione del Van den Eynden nella Chiesa dell'Anima, e molto meno so spiegare le lodi della loro bellezza: se li abbia scolpiti più tosto la natura che l'arte e 'l marmo si sia intenerito in vita.'

⁴⁷ Boselli/Dent Weil 1978, f. 124r: 'Ma vaglia il vero che li nostri moderni si sono presi licenza di farli di minore età, et è certo che riescono più gratiosi.'

seems, later also by Rubens, Duquesnoy brought this type of fleshy, tender *putto* to perfection.⁴⁸

The quite considerable changes the sculpted *putto* went through in the first decades of the seventeenth century can be illustrated by a particularly interesting, though equally vexing example. Possibly one of the first to explore the potential of the fleshy *putto moderno* in marble, was the sculptor of the two *putti* crowning the tympanum above the left door of the Barberini chapel (figs. 64–65) in the Sant’Andrea della Valle. According to a document in the Barberini archives both these as well as the two *putti* above the opposing door (fig. 63) were commissioned from Pietro Bernini in 1618, while the latter explicitly notes that he will execute them with the help of his son Gian Lorenzo.⁴⁹ A comparison of the two pairs of *putti* makes immediately clear that we have two very different hands at work. Is this the difference between father and son? If so—there are some convincing arguments in favour of the replacement of two of the *putti* by another sculptor at a later date—the young sculptor made a work that was quite unique at that moment in history.⁵⁰ Contrary to the agile, cheerful little boys on the right tympanum, who, with an overelaborate torsion of the waist balance somewhat awkwardly on one hip, those on the left have adopted a much more natural pose, nor have their fluttering draperies anything of the convoluted curls with which the other *putti* are animated. What is more, the *putti* on the left side of the chapel (figs. 64–65) differ strongly in their proportions; though somewhat larger as a whole, we can quite easily see that their heads take up a much larger portion of their total length, while arms and legs are rather short and plump in comparison. The faces are fuller, broader with round, puffy cheeks and the stomachs are more fleshy, softer, even sag somewhat. Apart from the naturalistic rendering of the flesh, we may also note how the sculptor has staged these *putti* in a manner which more directly involves the spectator. The *putto* on the left has his head turned in the direction of the

⁴⁸ Boselli/Dent Weil 1978, f. 124 ν argues that Duquesnoy followed Titian: ‘Sopre l’Opere di lui [i.e. Titian] studiò questa parte [i.e. the *putti*] Francesco di Quesnoi Fiamengò scultore incomparabile...’; Wittkower 1958, p. 180 argues that also Rubens must have influenced the sculptor. In fact, Rubens’ influence on northern baroque sculptors is somewhat of a *topos*, though, as Boudon-Machuel 2005, n. 4 argues, no serious attempt to study this influence has been made. In 1719 the Flemish sculptor Gabriel Grupello—the pupil of a pupil of Duquesnoy—would write (as cited in German in Kultermann 1968, p. 31): ‘Ever since my youth, I have tried to follow this great Rubens. And it did not do me any harm.’

⁴⁹ D’Onofrio 1967, appendix II.10.b; the document is in ASV, Barb. IV.50, 51. For a recent discussion of these *putti* see Kessler 2005, cat. C6 (with further literature).

⁵⁰ Lavin 1968, p. 235 attributes the two *putti* to Francesco Mochi, Bacchi 1999, p. 74 to Andrea Bolgi. The two original *putti* by father and/or son Bernini, could be those mentioned in the Barberini collection as ‘Due Putti, che erano sul frontespizio della Cappella di papa Urbano’; cf. Lavin 1968, p. 234.

viewer outside the chapel, while his right hand points towards the altar (the index finger has broken off), thus drawing attention to the altarpiece, while the other *putto*, as *exemplum*, has the left hand placed on its chest, and the head turned towards the altarpiece in adoration.

What is the significance of this difference between the *putto moderno* and the *putto antico*? Even though the *putto moderno* sins against the rules of decorum, for they seem in fact too young and chubby to perform the acts painters and sculptors have them perform, they have the quality of *tenerrezza*, tenderness. Filippo Baldinucci argues that it was *tenerrezza* that Duquesnoy sought after in his depiction of the *putto*, ‘searching out the most tender [*tener*] up until the swaddles, observing minutely their tenderness [*tenerrezza*], not only in their shape, but also in their actions, movements, and attitudes...’⁵¹ In its tenderness of age and flesh, the tizianesque *putto* embodies the *concept* of tenderness, the sweet innocence of the child, further stressed by its playful, capricious behaviour.⁵² And what is more, as such they should elicit tenderness in the beholder. Now even if it may seem evident that young children and babies can indeed elicit such feelings of tenderness, we may note that some do this better than others. The famous ethologist Konrad Lorenz has determined a set of characteristics, the so-called *Kindchenschema*, that are perceived as ‘cute’. These include: a large head in proportion to the body, a high, protruding forehead, large eyes below the midline of the head, round, protruding cheeks, a rounded body shape, and a soft, elastic body surface.⁵³ Such cute figures, as it turns out, draw our attention

⁵¹ Baldinucci 1728, pp. 285-286: ‘...egli fu per certo un artefice singolarissimo, in quanto appartiene particolarmente alla bella idea, che egli si formò nell’esprimere le forme de’ putti, per lo grande studio fatto da quei di Tiziano e dal naturale stesso, ricercando i più teneri sino nelle fascie; osservando minutamente essa tenerezza, non pure nelle forme loro, ma eziandio negli atti, ne’ moti e nelle attitudini, non punto ammanierati, non troppo gonfi o estenuati (vizio, nel quale hanno dato bene spesso, tanto in pittura quanto in rilievo, i maggiori uomini, che abbiano avuti queste belle arti) tantochè possa dirsi di lui, che egli sia stato capo e maestro di una nuova e perfettissima scuola a tutto il mondo.’ This passage is not fully in Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 4, p. 677 where the sentence ends at ‘...sino nelle fascie.’ Baldinucci follows here closely the argument of Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 299; cf. Paola Barocchi in Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, p. 49.

⁵² Colantuono 1989.

⁵³ Lorenz 1943, p. 274: ‘Wie bei allen angeborenen Schematen des Menschen [...] ist auch beim Kindchenschema das Ansprechen mit ganz bestimmten, autonomen und unvergleichbaren Gefühlen und Affekten verbunden, mit einem durchaus spezifischen Erlebnis, dessen Qualität im Deutschen meist mit “niedlich”, “süß”, am eindeutigsten im Süddeutschen mit “herzig” wiedergegeben wird. Der letztgenannte Ausdruck stammt sicher unmittelbar von der durch das Schema ausgelösten echten Instinktbewegung des Auf-den-Arm-Nehmens (Ans-Herz-Drücken, Herzen), das meine ältere Tochter im Alter von anderthalb Jahren ihrer ersten Puppe gegenüber mit einer Ausgeschliffenheit und Erfolgsicherheit ausführte, wie wer sie sonst in erstmaliger Ausführung nur bei Instinktbewegungen von Tieren zu sehen gewohnt sind.’ p. 275, lists the following: ‘1. Verhältnismäßig dicker, großer Kopf [...] 2. Im Verhält-

more readily than others, and more readily motivate caretaking behaviour.⁵⁴ This caretaking behaviour, in its turn, quite obviously involves touching; in fact, a host of studies has shown the importance of physical contact, and more specifically ‘tender touch’ for a healthy mother and child relation and the child’s normal physical and psychological development.⁵⁵ The infant’s world is fully determined by the mother’s care-taking, where, even when mother and child are not actually touching, they are always within reach. Developmental psychologist Francine Wynn characterises this intricate relation as follows:

In the early phase of the newborn’s life, a mother engages in a symphony of bodily gestures, movements, and perceptions that ‘facilitate’ and overlap with the reverberations and initiations of those movements, affects, and perceptions of her infant. This results in a circling interchange of rocking/being rocked, humming/cooing, feeling/being felt, touching/being touched, seeing/being seen, inspiration/expiration, exciting/calming etcetera, each echoing and mirroring the other.⁵⁶

This relationship is deeply inscribed in our genetic makeup, and as easily flows over to dolls, and works of art.⁵⁷ One seventeenth-century account relates of a nun fondling a small statue of the Christ child, only to find it ‘to appear to be flesh, and warm,’ further inciting her to ‘give caresses to the face with great love.’⁵⁸ Evidently, some babies are more cute than others, and we can easily see

nis zum Gesichtsschädel stark überwiegender, mit gewölbter Stirn vorspringender Hirnschädel. 3. Großes und in Übereinstimmung mit der vorerwähnten Proportionierung tief, bis unter der Mitte des Gesamtschädels liegendes Auge. 4. Verhältnismäßig kurze, dicke und dickpfotige Extremitäten. 5. Allgemein rundliche Körperformen. 6. Eine ganz bestimmte, der Fettschicht des gesunden Menschenkindchens entsprechende, weich-elastische Oberflächenbeschaffenheit. 7. Runde, vorspringende “Pausbacken”, mangels derer sich die Niedlichkeit des Kindchenkopfes stark ringert. [...] Alle Lebewesen, ja selbst alle unbelegte Attrappen, die mehrere der erwähnten Merkmale zeigen, wirken “herzig”, und zwar in einer geradezu erstaunlichen Einhelligkeit bei den verschiedensten Menschen.’ Lorenz has, as he himself indicates, devised his *Kindchenschema* ‘rein selbstbeobachtend’; more recent research has confirmed his findings, though.

⁵⁴ Glocker *et al.* 2009a, 2009b; Brosch, Sander & Scherer 2007.

⁵⁵ See for a recent discussion Jean, Stack & Fogel 2009.

⁵⁶ Wynn 1997, p. 259.

⁵⁷ Gell 1998, p. 18 writes: ‘From dolls to idols is but a short step, and from idols to sculptures by Michelangelo another, hardly longer.’

⁵⁸ Maggio 1673, p. 88 (from the life of Madre D. Orsola Benincasa): ‘...hebbe però altri Bambini [other than the ‘piccola Statua di Giesù Bambino’ mentioned earlier in the text] la nostra Madre. Di uno die questi, che oggi nella Congregation si conserva, la M. D. Anna Battinelli nella Vita di D. Anna Palmieri, scrive così: *Stando Anna al servizio della M. una sera, non uscendo subito ella dall’Oratorio, mossa da santo zelo l’affrettava con troppa sollecitudine. Onde la Madre sorridendo: le disse: Questo Bambino, al quale io hò fatt’oratione, oggi mi hà fatta una gran predica. E subito Anna andò à fargli carezze, e lo trovò come divenuto di carne, e caldo, sì che con grande amore gli accarezzava la faccia. E andò poi à trovar la M. Orsola, e le raccontò quanto l’era avvenuto. E dopò il Santo Bambino se intendere alla M. Orsola, che Anna teneva le mani aspre, e che quando gli faceva carezze, gli recava un poco di*

how the development towards the *putto moderno* is an optimization of what we may call the ‘cuteness-factor’; indeed, as the comparison between the *putti* in the Barberini chapel indicates, all of the factors lined out by Lorenz are more prominently put to the fore.⁵⁹ This implies that the *putto moderno* more readily invites touch. The *putto* then, more than only the personification of tenderness, literally *embodies* it. The *conchetto* goes beyond a cognitive association and hooks directly up to the spectator’s emotional response.

Ambiguities of the Flesh

Whereas the fleshy *putto* is all innocent *tenerrezza*, other fleshy figures may be more ambiguous in their message. For one, we may note the figure of *Cupid*, who combines the *putto*’s tender looks with a rather mischievous character. A wholly other kind of ambiguity can be discerned in the personification of charity, which, more than the *putti* she has as her attributes, stands for a particular kind of tenderness. In fact, Bernini’s voluptuous figure of *Charity* (fig. 66) for the monument of Pope Urban VIII has been credited with an evocative power that is close to that of the tender infant: ‘She moves all the mothers that see her, without even wanting it, to love tenderly [*teneramente*], and to embrace their children,’ writes Borboni in 1661.⁶⁰ Yet, not all were as positive about the figure. The anonymous critic of Bernini’s *Constantine* discussed in the previous chapter, quite bluntly presents the figure as ‘his [i.e., Bernini’s] Costanza transformed into Charity...’⁶¹ The author obviously refers here to Bernini’s onetime lover Costanza Bonarelli, who, before he caught her in bed with his brother Luigi and subsequently had a servant slash her face, was portrayed by the sculptor in an astonishingly sensual and vivacious bust (fig. 50).⁶² The marble derives its erotic thrust from an elaborate manner of veiling and unveiling, the chemise

male. Con che volle il Santo Bambino dare ad intendere, ch’essendo Anna Palmieri di gran zelo, era di spirito, alquanto però rigido, e duro: dove la Madre al rovescio, era tutta dolce, e soave.’ The passage is discussed in Scaramella 1997, p. 136. See furthermore Klapisch-Zuber 1998 and, in particular for the seventeenth century, Le Brun 1996, pp. 340, 342-343; at p. 340: ‘Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi, al pari di tante altre religiose, nutrive nei confronti di queste statuette una devozione in cui una forma di amore materno si accompagnava a una elevata spiritualità.’

⁵⁹ Bedaux 1998, pp. 104-116.

⁶⁰ Borboni 1661, p. 83: ‘Ella muove tutte le Madri che la veggono, ancorche non volessero, ad amare teneramente, e accarezzare i loro figliuoli.’

⁶¹ Previtali 1962a, p. 58 [= BAV, Barb.lat. 4331, f.21r]: ‘Lascio da banda la sua Costanza trasformata in Carità [nella tomba di Urbano VIII], con tanti non so se figli, o Padri alle poppe...’ The remark suggests that the text was written before a piece of cloth was added in stucco to cover the breast at the end of the seventeenth century; cf. Körner 1999, p. 45 and Wittkower 1981, cat. 30. For the dating of the text see also *supra*, p. 116, n. 57.

⁶² For Costanza Bonarelli and the affair with the Berninis see McPhee 2006.

gliding of the right shoulder and falling open to reveal only a hint of her full bosom, leaving, as Torquato Tasso would have it, the imagination to linger on that which is so ‘enviously’ hidden, kindling the flames of desire.⁶³

To be sure, the practice of studying women from life was not always greeted with enthusiasm. Ercole Ferrata’s request for permission to ‘strip an attractive young girl’ in order to have his students study from the female nude as well, was denied, the object of study being deemed unsuitable for the young sculptors’ eyes.⁶⁴ In the case of the *Charity*, it was of course also the dubious character of the supposed female model that played a role. The accusation is in fact close to that addressed to Caravaggio at the beginning of the century. Mancini notes in his *vita* of the painter that his *Death of the Virgin* (fig. 67), painted for the church of the Madonna della Scala, was removed from that church by the Fathers ‘because in the figure of the Madonna he had portrayed a courtesan that he was in love with,’ while noting in a letter to his brother that it had been removed because ‘it was full of errors [*spropositata*] of lasciviousness and decorum.’⁶⁵ It seems that only the association with a less virtuous person could already mean a breach of decorum, indeed, even lasciviousness, disregarding the further content of the painting.⁶⁶ Be this as it may, Bernini must have been very much aware of the power of association and one would not expect him to make the same mistake (if we may call it that) as Caravaggio.⁶⁷

⁶³ Tasso/Caretti 1993, Canto 4^o, 31-32: ‘Parte appar de le mamme acerbe e crude, | parte altrui ne ricopre invida vesta: | invida, ma s’a gli occhi il varco chiude, | l’amoroso pensier già non arresta, | ché non ben pago di bellezza esterna | ne gli occulti secreti anco s’internà. || Come per acqua o per cristallo intero | trapassa il raggio, e no ’l divide o parte, | per entro il chiuso manto osa il pensiero | sì penetrar ne la vietata parte. | Ivi si spazia, ivi contempla il vero | di tante meraviglie a parte a parte; | poscia al desio le narra e le descrive, | e ne fa le sue fiamme in lui più vive.’

⁶⁴ Letter from Torquato Mantauti to Apollonio Bassetti, dated Rome, 5 December 1676 in Lankheit 1962, doc. 114 [= ASF, Princ. Mediceo 3942]: ‘Il Sig.r Ercole Ferrata, a quale concessesse S.A. che nella stanza solita del Palazzo di Madama si facesse lo studio del Modello ignudo, dov’egli mai si è veduto, mi ha fatto domandar licenza di poterci anco spogliare una bella giovanetta, ma io gliel’ho espressamente negato, scusandomi di non poterlo permettere senza haverne l’ordine da Firenze. Non mi è parso studio proportionato per i dui nostri giovani...’

⁶⁵ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 224, from the intermediary manuscript edition [= BNF, Palatino 597]: ‘...per havervi ritratto in persone di Nostra Donna una cortigiana da lui amata e così scupolosa e senza devozione...’, notably, Mancini himself had tried to buy the picture; cf. Maccherini 1997, p. 76 and doc. 2: ‘...la morte della Madonna attorno con li Apostoli, quale andava nella Madonna della Schala di Trastevere che, per esser stata spropositata di lascivia e di decoro, il Frate Scalzo ha fatta levare.’

⁶⁶ See also Ottonelli & Cortona 1652, pp. 181-183. We may note that in the 1627 statutes of the Accademia di San Luca, it was mentioned explicitly that ‘no persons of bad reputation’ should be depicted; cf. Missirini 1823, p. 92, cited *infra*, n. 78.

⁶⁷ In Giovan Battista Doni’s notes on Bernini’s comedy of the *Inondazione del Tevere* (‘The flood of the Tiber’), published by Montanari 2004, pp. 311-312, we can read that, after a house col-

The ambiguity the sculptor had to deal with in his depiction of *Charity* is that the ideal mother is, evolutionary speaking, also the ideal sexual partner. This ambiguity is most clearly put into focus if we regard the female breast, originally exposed in Bernini's rendering of the subject (fig. 66) but covered with stucco towards the end of the century. While it seems that in the Middle Ages the bosom was primarily seen as a source of nourishment, in the seventeenth century it was clearly an object of desire.⁶⁸ Tasso, in describing the beautiful Armida in his 1581 *Gerusalemme liberata*, argues that it is by her bosom that 'the fire of love is nurtured and awakened.'⁶⁹ As Tasso's use of the verb 'to nurture' already indicates, the female bosom had not lost its previous association. In Bernini's *bozzetto* for the *Charity* (fig. 68) in the Vatican museum, she suckles a child on her exposed breast, 'trembling with milk,' as Marino would express it, thus evoking indeed all the association with milk and nurturing so relevant for the *putto*.⁷⁰ It is the 'fire of love,' though, where lies the real attraction.

In his commentary on the Pygmalion story in Anguillara's translation discussed above, Giuseppe Horolloggi notes that, because men are naturally tempted to love, 'they give in to loving some things of little advantage, only for their very delight, such as paintings, sculptures, medals, and similar things, and they love them so ardently, that the very same things get to satisfy their desire' in a manner not unlike the satisfaction given by the love between a man and a woman.⁷¹ Likewise, Sforza Pallavicino notes that painted figures may spur the emotions, either for good or for bad, even if they are recognized to be painted. This is illustrated, he argues, by

the pestilent flames, that are lighted in the young hearts by obscene images, for which with the shamefulfulness of human impudence at every which hour much

lapses on stage, a fake corpse was carried out by two actors, copied 'ad vivum' in papier-mâché from an actual casualty of a collapsing house to be seen some months earlier in Rome.

⁶⁸ For this 'secularization of the breast' see Miles 2008.

⁶⁹ Tasso/Caretti 1992, Canto 4°, 31: 'Mostra il bel petto le sue nevi ignude, | onde il foco d'Amor si nutre e desta.'

⁷⁰ Marino/Pozzi 1976, Canto 7°, 64: 'Mostra ignudo il bel seno una di queste [ninfe], | e tremanti di latte ha le mammelle...'

⁷¹ Giuseppe Horolloggi in Ovid/Anguillara/Horolloggi & Turchi 1610, book 10, p. 166: '...essendo la volontà nostra naturalmente spinta ad amare, si danno ad amare alcune cose di poco frutto, solamente per proprio loro piacere, come Pitture, Sculture, medaglie, ò simil cose, e le amano così caldamente, che vengono le medesime cose, a soddisfare al desiderio loro, come se se rimanessero satisfatti del desiderio del vero Amore, che deve esser fra l'huomo, e la donna.'

money is paid to be the doormen of the soothing lasciviousness: taking to be precious the very desire to sin.⁷²

The often repeated story of the *Venus of Cnidos*—coincidentally, so the story goes, posed for by a courtesan—is the prime examples of the dangers of the nude.⁷³ And indeed, some two millennia later, the work had not lost its lure, as one author deemed a well known copy, the *Medici Venus* (fig. 69),

...the most rare miracle that Greece has sculpted in all its lasciviousness, in which Art with its softness shows itself so presumptuous in its want to teach Nature the ability to mould mankind among the stones, and to invent a new carnal sin in the amorous embrace of a stone.⁷⁴

Thus, the softened marble reaches out and lures the petrified beholder. It is a power that is not restricted to ancient statues alone. John Evelyn notes in his diary:

At the very upmost end of the Cathedral [of Saint Peters] are diverse stately Monuments, especially that of Urban the VIIIth, amongst all which there is one [that of Paul III Farnese] observable for two naked incumbent figures of an old, & a young woman upon which last, there now lyes a covering, or apert of brasse, to cover those parts, which it seemes occasioned a pigmalian Spanyard to be found in a lascivious posture, so rarely to the life was this warme figure don...⁷⁵

⁷² Pallavicino 1644, pp. 456-457 [= III.50]: 'E pur le figure dipinte, benchè per dipinte sien ravvisate, pungono acutamente l'affetto. Il dimostrano con buona; e con rea operazione, e le divote lagrime, che spesso traggon dagli occhi alle persone spirituali i ben formati ritratti del tormentato Redentore, e le fiamme pestilenti, che sono accese ne' petti giovanili dalle imagine oscene, le quali con obbrobio dell'umana sfacciataggine tal'ora pagansi gran danaro per esser mantici della sopita lascivia: comperandosi come prezioso il desiderio medesimo di peccare.'

⁷³ To give a contemporary rendering of the story: Leti 1669, vol. 2, pp. 130-131: 'Scrivono che un giovine Cittadino, innamoratosi della bellezza di questa Venere, doppo haverla vagheggiata più mesi, come appunto se avesse fatto l'amore ad una viva Verginella, finalmente nascostosi una notte dentro il tempio, senza che il Sagristano se ne accorgesse, se ne andò poi vedendosi solo, dove era questo simulacro, e con gran passione, e sfrenatezza di senso, si diede à sfogar le sue impudiche voglie, onde vi restò per segno della lascivia del giovane, una difettuosa macchia nella Statoa...'

⁷⁴ Lupis 1682, p. 71 (Letter to Sig. Antonio Morrone, Bergamo): 'Quella Venere de Medici, il più raro portento, che intagliasse dalle sue lascivie la Grecia, in cui l'Arte con le sue morbidezze mostròsi così presuntuosa in voler insegnare la Natura di potersi impastare l'Humanità trà le selci, e d'inventare un nuovo peccato di carne negl'amorosi amplessi di un sasso.' For the Medici Venus in the seventeenth century see also Goldberg 1983, pp. 227-251.

⁷⁵ Evelyn/Beer 1955, vol. 2, pp. 264-265 (19 Novembre, 1644); for the fortunes of this figure see Körner 1999.

One may wonder if such responses were confined strictly to non religious works of art. In fact, Saint Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) in his *De inspirationibus*, when warning against the dangers of showing the human flesh, explicitly included that of Christ: 'I know of a person,' he writes, 'who, while contemplating the humanity of Christ on the cross—it is shameful to say and horrendous just to imagine—sensually and foully polluted and defiled himself.'⁷⁶ In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Pietro da Lucca warned that particularly women 'should be cautious when contemplating the nude flesh [*nudità della carne*] of the Saviour,' for they could be 'easily led to some vile and ugly thoughts of carnality.' Men, on their turn, should be wary of impure thoughts when contemplating the Virgin Mary or other female Saints.⁷⁷ It must have been similar occupations that had brought Pope Clement VIII (installed 1592) to exercise censorship on nudity in churches, demanding nude figures to be clothed or removed.

Naturally, nudity can be quite easily banned, at least from churches, but even if the council of Trent prescribed a tactical use of draperies—a prescription repeated in the statutes of the Accademia di San Luca—this did not, it seems, solve the whole problem.⁷⁸ Many artworks derive their evocative power

⁷⁶ Bernardin of Siena 1950-65, vol. 6, p. 259: 'Novi personam, quae dum contemplabatur humanitatem Christi pendentis in cruce (pudet dicere et horrendum est etiam cogitare) sensualiter et turpiter polluebatur et foedabatur.' Trans. from Brown 2001, p. 284 who gives a more extensive discussion of the problem of the religious nude.

⁷⁷ Lucca 1535, pp. 11r-12r; cited in Gaston 1995, n. 47 (from the 1527 ed., pp. 9r-10r): '...le donne dovere essere molto caute nel meditare la nudità della carne del Salvatore. Imperoche troppo fortemente figendo la imaginatione in quella, per opera del Demonio facilmente potrebbero incorrere in qualche laido e brutto pensiero de carnalitate: si come all'huomo anchora per la differentia del sesso, simile pericolo accaderebbe se la nudità di Maria vergine, o d'altra Santa martyre con forte imaginatione considerate volesse; e semi dicesti, paretti cosa strana, che la carne del Signore, quale e imbalsamata del balsamo della santa divinita, possi le donne indurre a tali dishonesti pensieri: Et similmente la Verginea & immacolata carne di Maria Vergine: della quale piamente si referisce, e credesi, che mai persona alcuna ad alcuno carnale movimento eccitasse. Ti rispondo: ch' el Signore ci ha dottato del uso della ragione, accioche ragionevolmente ogni nostro atto & opera facciamo con ditta ragione: essendo adonche contra la ragione non considerare la pronita & inclinazione nostra a la lascivia, e non fugire i pericoli dell'anima, procedendo noi senza ragione, e non fuggendo le occasioni de' pericoli, come c' insegna essa ragione: il demonio ingerendosi, ci induce a laidi e dishonesti pensieri; permettendo questo el Signore per nostra colpa. Non e adonche la carne del nostro Salvatore, ne di Maria Vergine, ma el demonio ela nostra negligentia, insierne con la nostra fantasia, che ci induce tale tentationi, riducendoci a memoria li pudendi membri, e libidinosi atti de altre petsona gia conosciute, & forse impudicamente amate.'

⁷⁸ From the statutes approved by Urban VIII in Missirini 1823, p. 92, pt. 9: 'Che nelle Opere sacre si osservasse il decreto del Concilio di Trento, nè si dipinge cosa, che contenesse falsi dogmi, o ripugnasse alla sagra scrittura, o alle tradizioni della Chiesa; e si fuggisse ogni invenzione bruta ed oscena: nè si esponessero effigie di persone di mala fama, e nei dipinti, sempre s'avesse cura, che il decoro del corpo, e l'ornamento del vestito corrispondessero alla dignità, e santità del prototipo.' Cf. Ottonelli & Cortona 1652, p. 41: 'Sono così grande le tentationi

not from bluntly displaying nude flesh, but by more subtle suggestions. As Giovan Domenico Ottonelli notes in his 1652 book on the ‘use and abuse’ of painting and sculpture, ‘a beauty is enough, even if she only reveals little and shows little nudity, to melt the hearts of God’s children with desire.’⁷⁹ The question is not as much what is shown, but what can be imagined. We have already mentioned Tasso’s musing on the bosom of Armida, while no less striking is Marino’s evocative poem on ‘imperfect delight’. Here the poet evokes a love not consumed, but held at the height of its passion: ‘she tampers the flame but the fire is not smothered,’ and ‘she denies me the fruit of Amor’s garden, but grants me the flower,’ and more literal, ‘she takes me in her arms, but does not want me in her bosom [*in seno*].’ ‘Made a Tantalus, I am in Paradise,’ concludes Marino; the imperfect delight has become the highest attainable.⁸⁰ Such tensions, rather than avoided, were explicitly evoked by the artist, and religious art was no exception.

Touch and Flesh

From where does the sculpted flesh derive its evocative power? To answer this question, we may follow the indications of Ovid’s story of Pygmalion and focus on the sense of touch. Let us return once more to the art of painting and its challenges to the sculptor. One of the more prominent intellectuals connected with the Carracci was Giovanni Battista Agucchi.⁸¹ In his well known *Descrizione della Venere dormiente*, written in the autumn of 1602 and later published by Malvasia, Agucchi gives a meticulous description of Annibale Carracci’s *Sleeping Venus* (fig. 70), made for Cardinal Odoardo Farnese and now in the collection of the Musée Condé, Chantilly.⁸² One of the things Agucchi plays out in his text is the distinction he makes between the sculptural qualities of the figure of Venus, as opposed to her flesh-like softness and how these qualities are related

del Nimico, che stimerei ben fatto, che tutte le figure si facessero honeste; e non solo le donne, e gli huomini, mà i fanciulli ancora, e gli Angeli si coprissero di vaghi panni.’

⁷⁹ Ottonelli & Cortona 1652, p. 368, citing San Basilio: ‘Basta una bellezza, anche per poco scoperta, & ignuda, accioche i cuori de’ figlioli di Dio restino ammolli dal piacere.’

⁸⁰ Marino/Martini 1995, p. 104 (nr. 44, ‘Nel medesimo soggetto’, i.e., ‘Piacere imperfetto’): ‘Il più mi dona e mi contende il meno | questa crudel, che del giardin d’Amore | mi nega il frutto e mi concede il fiore, | posto ai desir su ’l maggior corso il freno. || Desta la voglia e non l’appaga apieno, | temprà la fiamma e non spegne l’ardore, | m’alletta il senso e non mi sazia il core, | m’accoglie in braccio e non mi vuole in seno. || O spietata pietà, fiera bellezza, | per cui morè il piacere, in fasce ucciso | apena nato, in grembo ala dolcezza! || Così congiunto a lei, da lei diviso, | povero possessor d’alta ricchezza, | Tantalò fatto sono in paradiso.’

⁸¹ For Agucchi see Mahon 1947, esp. pp. 111-154 and, for a re-evaluation of his role in *Seicento* art theory Ginzburg Carignani 1996.

⁸² Montanari 2009, p. 80 suggests that the young Bernini was directly influenced by this painting.

to the senses. Musing somewhat on the positioning of Venus's legs, Agucchi writes that 'both legs not only can be scrutinized [*guatare*] without hindrance'—he uses the word *guatare*, which has a rather voyeuristic association—'but might also even be touched, as if they were in relief...' Now if this may suggest the work is rather *statuino* in its appearance, somewhat later we can read that, particularly 'in the concavity of her waist, she [i.e., Venus] reveals an area of sweetly shadowed flesh mixed with a certain cast of light, of which I cannot say whether it is generated by reflections of the cloth, or perhaps by the whiteness of her skin...' Agucchi's sensitivity to the play of light and shadow on the goddess's soft waist, indicates that he was well aware of the subtle qualities of human flesh as described by Rubens. At the same time, it is the unimpeded vision of the (equally fleshy) legs that invites touch. Somewhat later in his description, Agucchi returns more explicitly to the paradoxical character of Carracci's *Venus*:

Thus if one turns to consider in general the delicacy of all the flesh, [...] it will certainly seem to him [i.e., the spectator], on the one hand, that the dazzling whiteness as well as the highlights appearing at the raised parts of the limbs, when carefully observed, have the solidity of alabaster or ivory; but if on the other hand he considers the ease and softness of the various folds, and the sweetness of the shadows scattered gently in the little valleys that appear here and there, these will certainly bring to mind the tenderness of the freshest cream cheese [*gioncate*]. And so strongly do both the one and the other deceive the senses of touch and sight [...] that, then again, he will long to test what they are by touching them, and then again, on approaching will fear that he might disturb that sweet sleep...⁸³

For Agucchi, the figure of *Venus* holds the middle between sturdy and soft, between tough and flaccid, an ambiguity that, or so it seems, is particularly apt to arouse a longing to touch, while at the same time inciting a fear of awakening the depicted figure.

Similar deceits, playing on touching and awakening, can be found in Giovan Battista Marino's *Galeria*, an extensive and highly influential collection of poems on works of art. In one particularly interesting poem, Marino sets out by

⁸³ Agucchi in Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 1, pp. 362-363: 'Quindi rivolgendosi alcuno a considerare in generale la delicatezza di tutte le carni [...]; mentre dall'una parte ed il candore, ed i lumi, che spuntano dalle sommità delle membra, in quelle n'osserverà, gli pareranno al sicuro, come sodi alabastri, ed avorii; ma s'egli riguarderà dall'altra la facilità, e morbidezza delle varie piegature, e lo soavità dell'ombre, leggermente sparse per le picciole vallette, che in diversi parti si formano; gli verrà per certo alla mente la tenerezza delle giuncate: e tra l'uno e l'altro ingannatone il senso e la vista, ed istupidito egli dello accoppiamento di sì differenti qualità, talora di sperimentare ciò ch'elle sieno in toccandole, averà desiderio; talora nell'avvicinarselo dubiterà di non turbare quel dolce sonno...' Trans. based on Malvasia/Summerscale 2000, pp. 341-342.

bluntly stating that a sculpture of a sleeping *Amor* is made of marble. Subsequently though, step by step, he convinces the reader that the figure is in fact real; ‘that he does not move,’ he writes, ‘does not make him less alive,’ for the eyes cannot tell if it is a lifeless work of art or that he is just asleep.⁸⁴ Wind, rustling streams, and birds are begged not to awaken the sleeping *Amor*; thus the awareness of the surroundings are heightened and one is pressed to include them in the perception of the work of art.⁸⁵ Only at the end of the poem, the tension is dissolved: ‘Go on, and touch it [*toccal pur*],’ the poet says, ‘it is made of stone.’⁸⁶ Thus, in the end, only the sense of touch dissolves the tension that has been build up by the art of the sculptor and the poet.

As we have seen in the first chapter, also other sources indicate that touch has this revealing character. Both in poetry and in Galileo’s more scientific contribution to the paragone debate, touch’s privileged access to the truth comes to the fore.⁸⁷ What is more, the revealing character of touch is not confined to scientific and artistic discourse only. Already from its earliest beginnings it played an important role in the Catholic tradition. Particularly ‘touchy’ evangelic episodes such as Mary Magdalen’s recognition of the resurrected Christ in the garden and the latter’s subsequent rejection of her touch, known as the *noli me tangere*, or that of the incredulity of the apostle Thomas, invited by the resurrected Christ to touch his side wound, were popular topics for works of art in the renaissance and baroque, even though their meaning might now sometimes be somewhat elusive.⁸⁸ For Saint Augustine all three evangelic moments of touch—the *noli me tangere*, the doubting Thomas, as well as the ‘Touch me, and see...’ from Luke 24:39—center around the idea of truth and belief in Christ’s presence in the true flesh. ‘It was true flesh,’ he writes, ‘that Truth brought back to life; true flesh that Truth showed to the disciples after the resurrection; the scars of true flesh that Truth presented to the hands of those who would touch him.’⁸⁹ The figure of the *Doubting Thomas*, such as the well known example by Caravaggio in Sanssouci, Potsdam (fig. 71), then, cannot

⁸⁴ Marino/Pieri 1979, vol. 1, p. 275, lines 17-20: ‘L’esser di moto privo | nol fa però men vivo, | né scorgere gli occhi ponno | s’è difetto de l’Arte, o pur del sonno.’

⁸⁵ Marino/Pieri 1979, vol. 1, p. 276, lines 49-52: ‘Deh tacete, o ruscelli, | silenzio amici augelli. | Nol desti o fronda o vento, | can col latrato, o col muggito armento.’

⁸⁶ Marino/Pieri 1979, vol. 1, p. 277, lines 97-100: ‘Qual tu ti sia che ’l miri, | temi non viva e spiri? | Stendi sicuro il passo: | toccal pur, scherzai teco, egli è di sasso.’

⁸⁷ See *supra*, pp. 36-37.

⁸⁸ John 20:17 and John 20:24-29, resp.

⁸⁹ Augustine/Hill & Rotelle 1990, part 3, vol. 10, sermon 375/C, p. 344.

only, as has been suggested, be associated with Galileian empiricism, but even more readily it tells about flesh, incarnation, and belief.⁹⁰

Whereas in Caravaggio's rendering the apostle's fingers reach deep into the flesh, for the spectator of sculpture such a releasing touch is hardly ever realized. Figures are out of reach, or, as one account states about Bernini's Borghese sculptures, it was explicitly forbidden to touch them.⁹¹ The position of the spectator, then, is one of insecurity, of tension. There is always the fear that the eye deceives, always the fear that the work awakes, that it is not cold to the touch. Not unlike Augustine's Mary Magdalene, whose touch is delayed, postponed to the moment of heavenly reunion, the beholder experiences a moment of suspense.⁹² We may experience something of this moment in the wonderful marble *Noli me tangere* group (fig. 72) in the cappella Alaleona in the church of Santi Domenico e Sisto, sculpted by Antonio Raggi after the design by Bernini.⁹³ The sculpture—now placed before a painted scenery though apparently originally a more sober, plain background was intended—shows us, on the left hand side, the resurrected Christ, while kneeling before him, on the viewers right, we see Mary Magdalene, reaching out to her saviour. The figure of Christ poses in an elegant curve, echoing that of the Belvedere Antinous, and is clad in opulent, jagged draperies, which, flung loosely over the left shoulder, bellow up behind his back and gather in large folds below the waist, leaving the muscular torso bare for the viewer to see.⁹⁴ His left hand rests on the spade, while his right arm is stretched out towards Mary Magdalene, the hand somewhat raised in a gesture which seems to indicate restraint. Mary Magdalene, clad in a dress that twists at her side in small crinkles while draperies cover waist and legs in broader folds, seems to move upwards, her left

⁹⁰ Cf. e.g. Bologna 1992, p. 168. Sandrart 1675, p. 189: 'In wärender Zeit nun daß er sich so verstecken muste mahlte er in gedachten Palast wie Christus des Thomas Finger in Gegenwart der andern Aposteln in seine heilige Wunden steckt da bildete er nun in aller Anwesen den Angesichtern/ durch gutes mahlen und rundiren eine solche Verwunderung und Natürlichkeit an Haut und Fleisch aus daß meist alle andere Gemälde dabey nur als illuminirt Papier scheinen'

⁹¹ BAV, Chigi J.VII.270 ('Il Costantino del Sig.r Cav.re Bernini difeso'), f. 144r: 'Io non parlo di quelle vostre statue, che nella villa del Prencipe Borghese; pretiosa Galleria del mondo sono tanto pregiabile, che di loro si proibisce il tatto a' spettatori, conservandosi come reliquie d'una destra Divina.' Hall 2006, p. 150 argues that in the seventeenth century 'touching statues was generally frowned upon...' Cf. Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 170 [9 September]: 'Le Roi [Louis XIV]... a rapporté que M. le cardinal Mazarin disait un jour à M. le maréchal de Gramont, qui regardait de près quelqu'une des antiques de sa galerie: «Monsieur, quand ces choses tombent à bas, elles se cassent» et ne lui disait pas: «N'y touchez point.»'

⁹² Cf. Baert 2008.

⁹³ For the chapel, see Ackermann 2007, pp. 55-72.

⁹⁴ Bernini's admiration for the Antinous cf. Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 155 [5 September].

hand almost touching that of Christ, the other hand stalled in mid air. The manner in which the left sleeve of her dress is drawn back and the large, rippling fold bellowing over her right arm is pressed left- and backwards in a sharp angle suggests an almost physical barrier; she seems to be reaching through thickened air, struggling against some impenetrable current. Her head though, remains untouched; she looks up calmly, longing, in admiration, with a hint of sadness in her eyes; her hair, tied in elegant tresses at the back of her head, falls in loose curls over her shoulders.

In the tension between the two figures, departing from Christ's calm, somewhat reserved pose and Mary's more ambiguous movement and centring on the two hands, one reaching out, the other refusing, the sculpture contains also a warning. For the sense of touch is also the most earthly of senses. The Renaissance philosopher Marsilio Ficino argued that 'contemplative love ascended from sight to mind; voluptuary love descended from sight to touch.'⁹⁵ Such a warning becomes all the more significant if we realize that the Alaleona chapel and its decorations have often been seen as made in direct response to an incident that befell a member of the family some decades before it was decorated.⁹⁶ In the diary of Giacinto Gigli, we may read how, somewhere in May 1635, a youngster from Ferrara fell in love with a girl from the Alaleona family who, 'very pretty and eighteen years young,' was a nun at the monastery of Santa Croce at Monte Citorio. That the love was mutual is evident from the plan they thought up to get the boy into the girl's cell. The boy, pretending to get out of town for a few days, asked a servant to deliver a chest at the address of the young nun as soon as possible, while, having given her a copy of the key, he placed himself inside, as to be released by the girl. By an unfortunate turn of events, though, the servant, thinking the master to be out of town, made no haste in making the delivery, and when the girl finally got to open the chest she found her lover suffocated.⁹⁷ Returning to Raggi's group, we may note that the

⁹⁵ Cited in Boyle 1998, p. 4.

⁹⁶ A connection between this event and the chapel decorations is doubted by Ackermann 2007, p. 55.

⁹⁷ Gigli/Barberito 1994, vol. 1, p. 270 (May 1635): 'Un Giovane Ferrarese essendo innamorato di una Monica di Casa Alaleona nel Monastero di S. Croce a Monte Citorio; essendo tra loro d'accordo di ciò, che pensavano da fare, il giovane andatosene a casa, disse al suo Servitore, che lui voleva andare per alcuni giorni fuor di Roma, et però il d[ett]o Servitore portasse a quella Monica di Monte Citorio quel giorno stesso una cassa, pregandola a tenerla in custodia per alcune Robbe d'importanza, che dentro vi erano, finché lui tornasse di fuori. Dopo questo egli si serrò in quella cassa, ma il Servitore, non sapendo che dentro vi fusse il Padrone, trascurò di portarla subito, di modo che quando la portò, il Padrone vi si era dentro soffocato. La Monica, che haveva la chiave, ricevuta, che hebbe la cassa, et portatase la in camera l'aperse, et trovatovi dentro quel giovane morto, o come dicono alcuni, che spirava allora,

iconography of the *noli me tangere* is indeed particularly significant for the circumstances, the figure of the penitent Mary Magdalene being deemed an important example for the unvirtuous woman.⁹⁸ What is more, we may find some parallels in the relation between Christ and Mary Magdalene and the nun and her Ferrarese lover. Did she touch the dead body of her lover as Mary touches the dead Christ in so many depictions of the *Pietà*?⁹⁹ The eerie feeling, often reported, when approaching a dead body, may in fact have some interesting affinities to the responses towards marble flesh.¹⁰⁰ The cold touch of the body, the fear that it might move or awaken as Carracci's *Venus*. On the other hand, we may argue, there is the more erotic tension of the lovers' first touch, the anguish of the girl, waiting to hold him. It is this touch that, so the sculpture implies, should be postponed in awaiting a union with Christ less physical.

In religious contemplation the devotee is invited to a very similar kind of touch. We may note, for one, how Saint Ignatius prescribes contemplation involving *all* the senses. In conjuring up the sacred stories before the imagination, one is pressed to apply the inner senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste, and finally, one should imagine 'to touch, and to kiss the clothes, the places, the footsteps, and the other things related to those persons, so that our devotion will grow...' And likewise, when meditating on the torture of the damned in hell, one should explore their pains with the inner sense of touch.¹⁰¹ Obviously, this approach is devised in order to conjure up a vivid, indeed *tangible* presence

dopo di esser stata un pezzo afflitta sopra modo, finalmente fu forzata di scoprire il tutto all'Abadessa, dalla quale ne fu avvisato il Vicario del Papa, et finalmente la Monica fu nel detto Monasterio murata, la quale era bella, et giovane di dicidotto anni.'

⁹⁸ Jones 2008, pp. 201-259, McPhee 2006, pp. 328-329.

⁹⁹ See e.g. Ribera's *Pietà* in the church of San Martino, Naples; Spinosa 2003, cat. A210.

¹⁰⁰ Freud 1947, p. 254 argues in his *Das Unheimliche* ('the uncanny', first published in 1919): 'Im allerhöchsten Grade unheimlich erscheint vielen Menschen, was mit dem Tod, mit Leichen und mit der Wiederkehr der Toten, mit Geistern un Gespenstern, zusammenhängt.' He attributes this (p. 255) to our inability to accept (at least at the level of the unconscious) the inevitability of death. For a contemporary account see Pallavicino 1644, p. 458, cited *supra*, p. 5, n. 10. In robotics, interesting research is being done on the relation between death and responses to uncanny, all-too-human figures; see MacDorman 2005.

¹⁰¹ I quote from the seventeenth-century Italian edition. Ignatius 1625, week 2, day 1, 5th contemplation: 'Il primo punto sarà, con l'imaginazione rimirare tutte le persone, e notando le circostanze, che intorno ad esse occorreranno, cauarne alcuna utilità per noi. | Il secondo. Udire in un certo modo quello, che parlino, ò che loro convenga parlare, e tirare ogni cosa à nostra utilità. | Il terzo, con un certo gusto, & odorato interiore, sentire quanto sia grande la soavità, e dolcezza dell'anima, ripiena de' divini doni, & virtù, secondo l'essere della persona, che consideriamo, accomodando à noi quelle cose, che ci possono apportare alcun frutto. | Il quarto, immaginarsi di toccare, e baciare i vestimenti, li luoghi, le pedate, e le altre cofe congiunte à tali persone; donde si accresca in noi maggiormente la divotione, ò qualsivoglia altro bene spirituale.' The passage is discussed by J. Marechal in Viller, Cavallera & Guibert 1932-95, vol. 1, pp. 810-828. See also Careri 1995, pp. 38 ff.

of that which is contemplated in the imagination. As Carlo Gregorio Rosignoli, a Jesuit from Lombardy, relates in a commentary on the *Spiritual exercises*:

from this mode of tasting or beholding the divine things [...] one obtains some kind of experimental knowledge of them, which goes much further than the notions obtained by discourse, just as tasting flavours surpasses to discuss them.¹⁰²

To contemplate the flesh of Christ or Saints—indeed a prominent feature in the Christian tradition, as we have seen—means to see, to touch and to smell it.

The Thematisation of Touch

The ways of priming the beholder we find in art literature and religious texts, have a more ‘tangible’ counterpart in visual culture. A preparatory drawing for Annibale’s *Venus in Frankfurt am Main* (fig. 73), shows how also the artist might further draw the spectator’s attention to the sense of touch. While in the painting, as Agucchi describes it, Venus’ ‘right breast follows the inclination of the whole body, so that its firmness seems to offer only the slightest resistance to its tenderness,’ in the drawing the painter has Venus’ hand rest gently on her right breast, thus giving ample opportunity to stress the flesh-like character by the denting of the flesh under the pressure of her fingers.¹⁰³ This quality of the female flesh had already been described by Agnolo Firenzuola in his 1541 *Delle bellezze delle donne*, which was published again in 1622, together with a series of other texts on the beauties and virtues of women by Firenzuola himself, Alessandro Piccolomini and Lodovico Dolce under the title *Le bellezze, le lodi, gli amori, ed i costumi delle donne*. Interesting are his remarks on the beauties of the female arm.

...the most beautiful [arms] are extremely white, with only a little shade of rose-pink [*incarnato*] on the most prominent places, fleshy and muscular; but with a certain sweetness so that they do not look like those of Hercules when he grabs Cacus, but rather like those of Pallas when she was before the shepherd. They have to be full of [that] natural juice, which gives them a certain vivaciousness and a freshness, generating a firmness which, when you would lay a finger on it [*aggravi su*], all of a sudden gives way [*si avalli*] and whitens at the oppressed part, but in such a manner

¹⁰² Rosignoli 1713, p. 54: ‘...da questo modo di gustare, e vedere le cose Divine [...] ne proviene una certa cognizione come sperimentale, che avanza di tanto la notizia per via di discorso, quanto l’assaggioare i sapori supera il discorrerne.’

¹⁰³ Agucchi in Malvasia/Zanotti 1841, vol. 1, pp. 362: ‘...secondanda la diritta il pendere di tutto il corpo verso quell fianco, pare che la sodezza alla tenerezza contrasti il piegarla un tantino in colà; ma pure si discerne alla fine, che questa ne riman vincitrice: perciocchè almeno tanto, lungi però da ogni violenza, a inchinarsi la Sforza, che sotto le fa rimanere una dolce vellella, soavemente ombreggiata.’ Trans. Malvasia/Summerscale 2000, p. 341.

that when the finger is lifted, the flesh returns to its place and the whiteness vanishes to give place to the returning skin-colour.¹⁰⁴

Bernini, even if not without reference to the Florentine tradition of Giambologna, thematizes the touch of flesh in a manner hardly seen before.¹⁰⁵ Well known is the detail of his *Pluto and Proserpina* (fig. 74), where the latter's soft flesh yields to the god's grasping hands, his fingers pressing deep into her thigh—though not without giving a suggestion of the flexed quadriceps—while the slackened skin of her side folds and strains between the fingers of his other hand. Such a thematization of touch may work in two ways. First of all, it makes us aware of the qualities of the flesh being touched. As the passage by Firenzuola indicates, skin needs to be touched to really make its flexibility stand out. Secondly, it is this thematizing of touch, by the artist, but also in contemporary texts, that heightens the viewer's awareness of the tactile qualities of the work of art, thus inviting actual touch itself. It heightens the tension between what is seen, and what is revealed by touch. Indeed, the sense of touch can be ascribed with a particular important role here. Contrary to vision (or other senses), tactile sensations involve a double experience: that of the thing being touched as well as that of the thing touching, in other words, the own body. In effect, when we touch or are touched, our body 'appears to us,' we know, irrefutably, that it is our body, our flesh that is involved. Accordingly, 'only in touching does the body gain its peculiar character as a lived body and becomes my body.'¹⁰⁶ The flesh is both sense and object of sense, up till the point where, when I touch my own flesh, the two become almost inseparable. Now, these qualities are addressed also when we observe someone else being touched; the experience of seeing something being touched is grounded in our own capacity to reach out and touch. We may imagine, then, that it is no coincidence that, or

¹⁰⁴ Firenzuola 1622, p. 78, having Celso speak: '...le belle [braccia], sono di quella proportionata lu[n]ghezza che noi vi mostrammo all'altra giornata, nel quadramento della statura humana: & oltre acciaio son bianchissime, con un poco d'ombra d'incarnato su luoghi più rilevati, carnose, & muscolose, ma con una certa dolcezza, che non paian quelle d'Hercole quando, strigne Cacco, ma quelle di Pallade quando era innanzi al pastore: hanno ad essere piene d'un natural succo, il quale dia loro una certa vivezza, & una freschezza, che generino una sodezza, che, se vi aggravì su un dito, che la carne si avalli, e si imbianchi nella parte oppressa tutta ad un tratto, ma in guisa, che subito levato il dito, la carne torni al luogo suo, & la bianchezza sparisca, e dia luogo all'incarnato che torni.'

¹⁰⁵ Giambologna's works must have been known also in Rome through the many bronze's that came from the sculptor's studio, even long after his death; cf. Leithe-Jasper 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Mattens 2009, p. 99. It is what Merleau-Ponty calls *reversibility*; cf. Dillon 1983.

so Chantelou tells us, a Spanish ambassador visiting Bernini's studio not only studied the sculpture for a long time, but also touched the figure of *Proserpina*.¹⁰⁷

More subtle is Bernini's play with touch in his *Apollo and Daphne* (fig. 75). Although seemingly a small detail, Apollo's touch of Daphne is of no small significance. In fact, as will be argued in chapter seven, much of the work revolves around Apollo's touching the soft bark that shoots up around the nymph's stomach and only slightly gives way to the outstretched fingers of his reaching hand. The prominence of this touch is further stressed by the absent look in Apollo's face; a look that stresses that his attention is not with what he sees but with that which he *feels*. We need the literary frame to understand just what this is: 'and he felt,' thus writes Marino, 'in touching the beloved wood under the living and tender bark, tremble the veins and throb the fibres.'¹⁰⁸ The hand, as in the story of Pygmalion, feels what is *beyond* the surface. Thus it has access to real life; it is here that the difference between art and life is felt: as is argued by the Jesuit Louis Richeome, art is only exterior, whereas the works of nature have their principal perfection on the inside.¹⁰⁹

Although it has been suggested that the inaccessibility of the Nymph makes the story one of neoplatonic sublimation, such an interpretation is only one of the possible directions.¹¹⁰ In fact, Franco Croce, in his discussion of the poetry of Marinist poets Girolamo Preti and Antonio Bruni, has shown that, even where a certain 'platonic turn' is indeed apparent, it does not necessarily imply such a sublimation. While Preti scolded Marino for the lascivious content of his works, opting for chaste love rather than lascivious passion, and indeed advocating what may justly be called platonic love, in the work of Bruni chastity and

¹⁰⁷ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 52 [8 June].

¹⁰⁸ Marino/Pieri, Ruffino & Salvarini 2005, p. 155, lines 325-327: '...e senti nel toccar l'amato legno | sotto la viva e tenerella buccia | tremar le vene e palpar le fibre.'

¹⁰⁹ Richeome 1628, vol. 2, p. 526 [= *De la peinture de l'univers*]: 'De la difference des œuvres de la nature, & de l'art. Il nous faut icy noter avec Galien une grande difference entre les œuvres de la nature, & de la peinture. C'est que les œuvres de l'une consistent seulement à l'exterieur, & les œuvres de l'autre ont leur principale perfection au dedans. Le portraict de quelque chose retirée par le peintre n'a que les linéaments & figure du dehors, & ce qui se peut ietter en apparence, & estre représenté à l'œil, ses proprietéz, qualitez, & effects, son mouvement, sa vie, & semblables pièces de verité n'y paroissent rien, sinon par conjecture. Mais les œuvres de la nature, autre l'exterieur, elles ont l'interieur, qui est la maistresse perfection.' For a further development of this theme in relation to Bernini's art see Delbecke 2000.

¹¹⁰ Anna Coliva in: Coliva & Schütze 1998, p. 262: 'La sfolgorante traduzione del mito in immagini, così come avviene in questi anni in casa Borghese, si adatta a fatica a un ripiegamento sui toni dell'ammonimento moraleggiante. Piuttosto può serpeggiarvi il motivo della vanità, della caducità, liricamente connessa all'idea della peripezia, del percorso amoroso che attraverso prove fisiche—la metamorfosi, il ratto—si libera della passione sensuale e raggiunge una sorte di sublimazione neoplatonica.'

lasciviousness seem no longer mutually exclusive.¹¹¹ In a poem significantly called *Amori platonici* published in the 1630 *Le tre Grazie* and apparently a response to Marino's sensual *Amori notturni*, the poet sketches a situation that is in fact somewhat comparable to the story of Apollo and Daphne: The poet, wandering in the dark, discovers a sleeping Nymph close to a stream and falls hopelessly in love with her.¹¹² Even if the protagonist does not, contrary to the one in Marino's poem, take full possession of the woman—'I am no monster,' he assures the Nymph—the story is no less evocative in its sensual content: the Nymph's luxurious clothes leave bare her naked, candid limbs, and as he steals her kisses, she awakens; her protest is ended by another kiss: 'her lips, I closed with mine,' and though she still resists, he places his 'naked arms around her naked waist.' The result is an eroticism of the flesh more veiled but no less taunting than Marino's straightforward expressions.¹¹³ Importantly, also for Bruni, the sense of touch remains essential to evoke emotions of passion, lips touching lips, naked skin touching naked skin.

* * *

Through both literary as well as pictorial tradition, the contemporary spectator was primed to see the sculpted body as a very tangible substance, evoking responses ranging from tenderness to lust and fear. Authors evoke images—or rather: sensations of hands kneading dough or moulding wax, thus heightening the spectator's awareness to the specifically tactile qualities of the flesh. As has been argued at the outset of this chapter, Ovid's example must have been important here: the gradual softening of the sculptor's creation under his repeated touch (he has become, at this moment, a spectator) makes clear the relations between flesh, life and touch in an unprecedented manner. But the highly sensual story of Pygmalion shows us only one part of the spectrum; on the other side we have the soft, fleshy putto, inciting feelings of tenderness. In both cases, though, an imaginative act is involved. It is this imaginative act, that lies at the core of the experience of the seventeenth-century observer; even if, or

¹¹¹ Croce 1965, p. 37. Preti addresses Marino directly in his sonnet *Loda l'amor pudico*. Preti/Chiodo 1991, p. 157 ('Loda l'amor pudico. Risposta al Sig. Cavalier Marino'): 'Ben ardo anch'io, ma d'un bel viso adorno, | Sol vagheggiando, appago i miei desiri; | Non di lascivo amor provo i martiri, | Ch'ha seguaci al diletto affanni e scorno. || L'anima errando a duo begli occhi intorno | Contempla il bel del cielo in brevi giri, | E levata su l'ali de' sospiri, | Fa in quell'alta beltà nido e soggiorno. || Del mio sterile ingegno ella cultrice | Fa che nasca, troncando ogni tormento, | E frutto e fior d'un'arida radice. || Così provo, Marin, ch'animo intento | Ad un amor pudico arde felice, | E che piacer lascivo è un'ombra, un vento.'

¹¹² Bruni 1630, vol. 1, pp. 61-68, disuccesed in Croce 1965, pp. 51ff.;

¹¹³ Cf. Croce 1965, p. 52.

rather, precisely because the work is never touched, the spectator is time and again made aware of its tactile qualities, and subsequently of his own sensual, embodied experiences. The particular character of such experiences allow for an interplay between image and spectator which is, as we have seen, time and again exploited by texts and images.

In our discussion of the dialogues between Paul Gsell and Auguste Rodin in chapter four, brief mention was made of the latter's statement that 'the illusion of life' in sculpture 'is obtained through good modelling and through movement.' Having focussed primarily on movement in that chapter, we may ask if we can also give a role to modelling. How is it that 'good modelling' may result in the 'illusion of life'? Rodin's answer to this question focuses in the first place on the depiction of warm, living flesh, the topic of our previous chapter. But there is more. There is a quality to modelling which goes beyond mimesis and illusionism. In the art of painting, this quality is quite evident, as may be illustrated by the conflation of Titian's touch and the depiction of flesh discussed earlier. And indeed, how often do we not read of the painter's vivacious brushstroke? But what about the sculptor? Can he wield his chisel as the painter his brush? One may doubt this—and rightfully so—but none the less, Bernini's biographers Domenico Bernini and Filippo Baldinucci suggest that the sculptor had achieved something that comes very close indeed. Baldinucci, leaving out the dialogue form in which Domenico presents the argument, puts it as follows:

There may have never been before our times, nor is in his own time, someone who worked [*maneggiasse*] the marble with more ease [*facilità*] and frankness [*franchezza*]. He gave his works a marvellous softness [...]; and even if some scolded the draperies of his statues, as being too folded and too pierced, he to the contrary, valued it to be a particular merit of his chisel, that had in this manner showed to have overcome the difficulty of rendering, so to speak, the marble flexible and to know in a certain way to bring together painting and sculpture. And that other artists [and, according to Domenico Bernini, the ancients] had not done this, he attributed to their not having

been given the heart to render the stones obedient to the hand as if they were dough or wax...¹

The idea that the sculptor could seemingly overcome the tough marble and manipulate it as if it were soft wax was not new. We find it for example in Luigi Scaramuccia's *Finezze de' pennelli italiani* of 1674, where the author argues that in his *Apollo and Daphne* (fig. 75, 84-85) Bernini has worked his chisel so that 'one would believe that he had been working in wax, rather than in marble...'² And several decades earlier, the Florentine poet Alessandro Adimari would praise Bernini's sometime assistant Giuliano Finelli with the observation that the 'audacious marble' for his portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (fig. 2) was as wax to the sculptor's chisel.³ Yet, the passage in Baldinucci's Bernini biography, obviously playing with this idea, is more refined, and extends the point in at least two interesting ways. First of all Baldinucci gives a particular *locus*, a particular aspect of his works where the sculptor most clearly shows his capacity to render the marble flexible, namely, the draperies. And secondly, the

- ¹ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 141: 'Non fu mai forse avanti a' nostri e nel suo tempo tempi, chi con più facilità, e franchezza manegiasse il marmo. Diede all'opere sue una tenerezza maravigliosa [...]; e sebbene alcuni biasimavano i panneggiamenti delle sue statue, come troppo ripiegati e troppo trafitti, egli però stimava esser questo un pregio particolare del suo scarpello, il quale in tal modo mostrava aver vinta la difficoltà di render, per così dire, il marmo pieghevole e di sapere ad un certo modo accoppiare insieme la pittura e la scultura, ed il non aver ciò fatto gli altri artefici, diceva dipendere dal non essere dato loro il cuore di rendere i sassi così ubidienti alla mano quanto se fossero stati di pasta o cera [...].' Cf. Bernino 1713, p. 149, who relates the account to a particular occasion; namely the sculpting of the *Louis XIV on Horseback*: 'Ad un altro [personaggio], che passava con lui maggior confidenza, nel dir che gli fece, *Esser i panneggiamenti del Rè, e i crini del cavallo, come troppo ripiegate, e trafitti, fuor di quella regola, che hanno a noi lasciata gli antichi scultori*, liberamente rispose [Bernini], *Questo che da lui gli veniva imputato per difetto, esser il pregio maggiore del suo scalpello con cui vinto haveva la difficoltà di render' il marmo pieghevole come la cera, e haver con ciò saputo accoppiare in un certo modo insieme la pittura, e la scultura. E'l non haver ciò fatto gli antichi artefici esser forse provenuto dal non haver loro dato il cuore di rendere i sassi così ubbidiente alla mano, come se stati fossero di pasta.*' For a discussion of the two passages and their differences see Delbeke 2006, pp. 263-264 and Panofsky 1919, p. 272, n. 1. As is already suggested by the latter, Domenico's rendering of the passage, though published much later, is not necessarily fully derived from that of Baldinucci. For the discussion on the genesis of the two biographies and their interrelation, see Delbeke, Levy & Ostrow 2006, pp. 17-23, Montanari 2006 and D'Onofrio 1966. Preimesberger 1986, pp. 194 ff. reads this passage (in Domenico's rendering) in the context of the *paragone* debate. Even though his reading is not incompatible with mine, it fails to account for the fact that Bernini's bringing together [*accoppiare*] of sculpture and painting is both by Baldinucci and Domenico explicitly related to the rendering of draperies and folds.
- ² Scaramuccia 1674, p. 18: '...quello che maggiormente li faceva stupire era [...] il vedere così facile il lavorio, e di tal modo in esso adoperato lo scalpello, che più tosto in cera, che in marmo poteva credersi impiegato...'
- ³ In Dombrowski 1997, doc. D.3: 'Allor, con più contento, un Marmo audace, | che parve cera, ò [Finelli], al tuo scarpello, | scopri l'Immagin sua [Michelangelo Buonarroti il giovane] pronta, e vivace.'

author argues that Bernini has ‘in a certain way’ managed to bring together the arts of sculpture and painting. Although the latter point has been commented upon in relation with the concept of the *bel composto*, that is to say, the unification of architecture with sculpture and painting, as well as that of the *paragone*, it seems that in this specific passage the authors respond not as much to the whole of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* or an art theoretical discourse, but rather to a specific quality of Bernini’s sculptures.⁴ In fact, as will be illustrated below, it is particularly in the draperies that Bernini has managed to create a dynamic effect that has everything to do with the term *franchezza*, used by Baldinucci to characterise Bernini’s manner of working.

What will follow, is a discussion of the ‘air of spontaneity’ that characterises Bernini’s sculptures (but also those of some of his contemporaries such as Francesco Mochi, Melchiorre Caffà and Antonio Raggi) and the manner in which it relates to the discourse on connoisseurship as it had developed in seventeenth-century Italy. In an interesting essay on modern connoisseurship, Edgar Wind has argued that its practice, and more specifically the ‘Morellian method’, have led to a disposition among art historians to ‘sacrifice almost everything to freshness,’ to the ‘authentic touch.’⁵ He relates this disposition directly to the artist. ‘For the artist,’ he writes, ‘this prejudice [towards spontaneity] creates a debilitating atmosphere: it encourages a striving for the immediate, a particular sophistry of production by which each work, no matter how laboured, hopes to give the impression of being freshly improvised.’⁶ Even though we may not share Wind’s negative associations, the link he finds between connoisseurship and artistic practice might help us to understand something of the paradox of the spontaneous character of baroque sculpture, and so it is to connoisseurship that we will turn first.

Franchezza and Connoisseurship

The early history of connoisseurship is one that is difficult to write. A person such as the Venetian art collector Marcantonio Michiel certainly must be deemed a connoisseur, and indeed was praised as such by the renowned writer Pietro Aretino.⁷ Yet, even though Michiel did not hesitate to state his opinion on authorship of the paintings he encountered in Venetian collections, we

⁴ For a critical discussion of the *bel composto* see Delbeke 2006, in relation to this passage pp. 263-264 and Dombrowski 2007; see also Preimesberger 1986 and Lavin 1980, vol. 1, pp. 6-15.

⁵ Wind 1963, p. 50.

⁶ Wind 1963, p. 46.

⁷ Cf. Fletcher 1981, p. 604.

know little to nothing about his ideas on the practice of connoisseurship itself. One of the first texts to discuss this problem in more detail is one not on the art of painting or sculpture but on ancient coins, Enea Vico's 1555 *Discorsi sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, or discourse on the medals of the ancients. In his attempt to find a way for making a distinction between an authentic, ancient coin, and a modern forgery, the author, though not insensitive to stylistic features, pays particular attention to the irregularities that are the result of the manner in which a coin is minted, irregularities that, according to Vico, can be approached in a forgery but are never identical.⁸ It is, in other words, the manner in which the original work is made, which leaves an imprint that can never be equalled by another technique.

The idea, still implicit in Vico's text, that the traces of the original procedure of making can only be approached to a limited extent by careful, conscious elaboration in the copy, was to become one of the central issues in the debate on authenticity in the seventeenth century and beyond. One of the first to directly approach this issue was Giulio Mancini in his manuscript *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, written in the 1620s.⁹ As we have seen, the author moved in circles close to those of the most important sculptors of the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, as we may deduce from the many manuscript copies of his work, as well as from references in later texts, his *Considerazioni* were widely read.¹⁰ From the introduction to the treatise it becomes clear that it was in the first place intended for amateur collectors, the *intendenti*, and Mancini makes somewhat of a point of arguing that one need not necessarily be an artist to have a sound judgement in matters of art. Even though the author touches on various topics of interest to the art historian—his ideas on the *ritratto d'azione* were discussed in chapter three—for the present argument we may look in particular at the chapter on the 'ricognizione delle pitture'. An elaboration on an earlier, more brief discussion in the manuscript *Discorso della pittura*, it is here that the author speaks most extensively on connoisseurship.

Setting out to discuss one of the central problems of the connoisseur—how to discern the original from the copy—Mancini argues that one should look for

⁸ Vico 1555, vol. 1, p. 62: '...nelle figure moderne, non è quella pratica di fare, ne quella venustà ne' corpi, che nelle antiche figure si vegono.' For irregularities related to the process of making see *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹ For Mancini on connoisseurship see Gibson-Wood 1988, pp. 33-40. We may note that ideas quite similar to those of Mancini had been formulated somewhat earlier in the Netherlands by Karel van Mander; cf. Tummers 2008, pp. 46-47.

¹⁰ Cf. Luigi Salerno in Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 2, pp. xxxi-xxxii and Mahon 1947, pp. 315-326.

‘la franchezza del maestro,’ particularly in ‘those parts that by necessity one makes with resoluteness,’ such as the hair, the beard and the eyes.

And those parts of the picture [he continues] are like those flourishes and clusters [*tratti e gruppi*] in handwriting that need the frankness and resoluteness of the master. The same thing can be seen in some flashes and strokes of light here and there [*spiriti e botte di lumi a luogo a luogo*], that by the master are placed in one streak and with the resoluteness of one inimitable brush stroke; as in the folds of draperies and their highlights, they rely more on the imagination [*fantasia*] and resoluteness of the master than on the truthfulness of the thing made into being.¹¹

Not unlike Vico, then, Mancini as well stresses the manner in which the work is made; the connoisseur in the making is urged to question the touch of the painter as a physical touch. Rather than giving a qualification to the work of art itself, Mancini gives a qualification to the manner in which it is made.

As we shall see, also the comparison with handwriting is no fortuity, and indeed, Mancini was not the first to make this comparison. In his treatise on architecture, completed somewhere around 1464, the Florentine architect and sculptor Antonio di Pietro Averlino, known as Filarete, already argues that one recognizes the painter in his paintings as one recognizes the writer in his letters, a parallel he significantly attributes to the fact that both are a product of the human hand.¹² A more obvious source for Mancini though, was Giorgio Vasari’s *Vite*. In his conclusion to this work, the author stresses that, though one may learn much about art from texts, a direct knowledge of the work of art is essential, because to gain insight in the style [*maniera*] of a particular painter, one needs as much practice as the ‘learned and experienced *cancelliere*’ who is able to recognize the writings of his colleagues and even every single character written

¹¹ Mancini/Marucchi & Salerno 1956, vol. 1, p. 134: ‘Con tutto ciò, chi ha pratica, scopre tutti questi inganni: prima se nella pittura proposta vi sia quella perfezione con la quale operava l’artefice sotto nome del quale vien proposta e venduta; di più se vi si veda quella franchezza del maestro, et in particolare in quelle parti che di necessità si fanno di resolutione nè si possono ben condurre con l’imitatione, come sono in particolare i capelli, la barba, gl’occhi. [...] E questi parti nella pittura sono come i tratti e gruppi nella scrittura, che vogliono quella franchezza e resolutione del mastro. Il medesimo ancor si deve osservare in alcuni spiriti e botte di lumi a luogo a luogo, che dal mastro vengon posti a un tratto e con resolutione d’una pennellata non immitabile; così nelle pieghe di panni e lor lume, quali pendono più dalla fantasia e resolutione del mastro che della verità della cosa posta in essere.’

¹² Filarete/Finoli & Grassi 1972, vol. 1, p. 28, lines 5-10: ‘...se uno tutte le fabbricasse, come colui che scrive o uno che dipinge fa che le sue lettere si conoscono, e così colui che dipigne la sua maniera delle figure si cognosce, e così d’ogni facultà si cognosce lo stile di ciascheduno; ma questa è altra pratica, nonostante che ognuno pure divaria o tanto o quanto, benché si conosca essere fatta per una mano.’

by those who he knows best.¹³ A more contemporary source was Camillo Baldi's 1622 *Trattato come da una lettera missiva si conoscano la natura e qualita dello scrittore*, or, 'Treatise on how to learn the nature and qualities of the writer from a sent letter', generally considered to be the first book on graphology.¹⁴ What must have interested Mancini in this treatise, is not as much the way Baldi links a manner of writing to certain traits, but rather the presupposition that handwriting may have certain qualities unique to the author.¹⁵ What is more, these qualities are most prominent, when the author writes in a natural, non-artificial manner: 'when someone writes without art, without erudition or consideration whatsoever, as nature dictates [*gli detta*], then one can determine many things about the author with probability...'¹⁶

A second aspect of Mancini's text that is interesting to our discussion is his mentioning of the draperies as a locus of the authentic, 'frank' touch of the artist. As we have seen, Baldinucci writes that Bernini saw his unconventional modelling of draperies as a particular merit of his chisel; it is here that the sculptor had managed 'in a certain way' to bring together painting and sculpture.¹⁷ Now the apparent freedom the painter had in his devising of draperies, had been recognized already by Anton Francesco Doni. It is on the subject of draperies that he writes that,

if one sees more apprentices who, as is general practice, study and imitate the same master, nonetheless every one of them adopts a manner [*maniera*] totally different from the other, and, what is even more surprising, they are also all different from the one they imitate. And the reason for this is that in learning to paint draperies one cannot employ any order or proportion whatsoever, from which one can somehow obtain the rules...¹⁸

¹³ Vasari/Bettarini & Barocchi 1966, vol. 6, p. 411: '...insegna la lunga pratica i solleciti dipintori a conoscere, come sapete, non altramente le varie maniere degli artefici, che si faccian un dotto e pratico cancelliere i diversi e variati scritti de' suoi eguali, e ciascuno i caratteri de' suoi più stretti famigliari amici e congiunti.'

¹⁴ Ginzburg 1980, p. 18 and, somewhat more extensively, Sohm 1991, pp. 75-82. Gibson-Wood 1988, p. 294, n. 15 denies the importance of Baldi, and argues that Mancini's source more probably was Vasari.

¹⁵ Cf. Baldi 1622, p. 18: 'È chiaro, che diverse persone diversamente scrivono, e ciascuna nel suo carattere serva una certa qualità, per la quale la scrittura sua è differente da quella d'altri, ogni volta, che non mette studio per occultarsi...'

¹⁶ Baldi 1622, p. 10: '...quando senza arte, senza eruditione, o consideratione alcuna scrive, come la natura gli detta, allora molte cose dello scrittore si potranno asserire probabilmente...'

¹⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 1.

¹⁸ Cf. Doni 1549, pp. 16r-16r: '...che e si vedranno piu discepoli, i quali di comune consenso studieranno et imiteranno un medesimo maestro, nondimeno ciascuno piglia una maniera differentissima da gl'altri: et ancho son tutti differenti da quella che gl'imitano; la qual cosa è

Although Doni does not set out to provide an argument about authenticity, he stresses that eventually every artist will paint his draperies in a unique manner, implying that one should be able to recognize the individual painter from his draperies. The term manner here thus suggests something of a personal way of painting, a personal style.¹⁹ Bellori, in turn, and apparently voicing the opinion of the painter Carlo Maratta, argues that, whereas ‘the nude takes all of its form from nature’ and can thus be relatively easily copied,

draperies do not have a natural form and depend wholly on art and the erudition of *disegno* for knowing how to place them. The artist, thus, in studying the nude in whatever pose or form, is helped by nature, which shows and teaches him the contours of the model; this is not so with draperies, for they are wholly artificial and constrained to conform to the same nude they cover...²⁰

Whereas the artist can rely on the ‘natural form’ of the nude, grounded in the proportions and rules for its construction, draperies do follow no such rules, and though they follow the contours of the nude they cover, they do so in a whimsical, even random manner. Here, in the draperies, one finds, in Baldinucci’s words, ‘certain touches that we would call contemptuous and almost poured at random...’²¹ Contrary to the moving human model, that, as we have seen in chapter two, can be captured by repeated observation, drapery is with-

di maggior meraviglia. Et la ratio[n]e è che a imparare a far de’ panni non si può adoperare alcuno ordine o proporzione di misure, per le quali tu possi in qualche maniera acquistata per le regole...’ Though somewhat below, at pp. 15r-16r: ‘...quanto all’intelligenza di questi panni ella co[n]siste tutta nel fondamento de gli ignudi, dove s’accorciano, et si ritraggono.’

¹⁹ For a discussion of the term *maniera*, see Miedema 1979; cf. also Mascardi 1674, p. 394: ‘...coloro, che ben intendono l’eccellenza dell’arte, una particolarità nell’altrui tavole riconoscono, in virtù di cui, questa Tavola è del Lanfranco, quest’altra è di Guido, quella è opera di Giuseppino, quella del Cortonese san dire. Et à cotal particolarità s’è dato dai periti il nome di maniera: onde si dice la maniera di Raffaello, la maniera di Titiano.’

²⁰ Bellori/Borea 1976, pp. 631-632: ‘Io [Maratta, quoted by Bellori] apporterò solo una difficoltà de’ panni, e dico che l’ignudo prende tutta la sua forma dalla natura; i panni non hanno forma naturale e dipendono in tutto dall’arte e dall’erudizione del disegno in saperli adattare. L’artefice adunque in riconoscere l’ignudo in ciascun modo e forma, è sovenuto dalla natura, che gli mostra e gl’insegna i dintorni del naturale; il che non avviene delle pieghe, che sono del tutto arteficiose e costrette a conformarsi con l’istesso ignudo che ricuoprono, e per tal ragione vediamo che non pochi pittori e scultori con la diligenza dell’imitazione sono riusciti meglio nel formare un ignudo che nel panneggiarlo, sicché de’ panni non trovandosi essemplio, è necessario ricorrere all’industria dell’arte con modo più difficoltoso.’ Cf. Sohm 1991, pp. 72-75.

²¹ Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, p. 471: ‘...certi colpi che noi diremmo disprezzati e quasi gettati a caso, particolarmente nel panneggiare, i quali veduti in dovuto distanza fanno conoscere in un tempo stesso e l’intenzione del pittore ed una meravigliosa imitazione del vero, cosa che nelle copie rare volte si vede...’ The word *disprezzati* recalls that of *sprezzatura*, though Baldinucci seems to stay here closer to the literal meaning of the word, thus something like ‘placed with disregard’. Cf. the discussion on *sprezzatura*, *infra*, pp. 169-171.

out rules or essence. The artist, then, must rely fully on his own artistry in depicting draperies. Consequently, it is here that the artist is most himself, is most authentic. Due to their rule-less nature, drapery becomes all style, all artist. Mancini's recognition that draperies rely more on the 'imagination [*fantasia*] and resoluteness of the master' than on truthfulness can now be fully understood. The imagination is here meant as the creative force associated with the poetic *furor*, implying artistic creation unmediated by the higher intellect and thus resolute and authentic.²²

Several decades later, Mancini's argument would again be picked up by Filippo Baldinucci. In a letter, dated 28 April, 1681, and published as a fourteen page booklet in the same year, Baldinucci addresses Vincenzo Capponi in the latter's capacity of *luogotenente* for the grand duke at the Florentine Accademia del disegno, apparently at the latter's instigation to instruct him on matters important for the job, that is to say, on connoisseurship.²³ And indeed, being himself an able draughtsman and modeller as well as one of the foremost connoisseurs behind the enormous collection of drawings of cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, few would have been more equipped to reflect on the matter.²⁴ Of the four questions Baldinucci addresses in his letter, all of which are related to the practice of connoisseurship, it is the second that is most interesting to our discussion, that is, the question 'if there is a certain rule for knowing if a painting is an original or a copy; and if no such rule exists, how one, wanting to make a judgement, should comport oneself to arrive at a more or less right conclusion.'²⁵ Interestingly, when answering this question, Baldinucci first turns to drawings and, more in particular, to the artist's *primi pensieri* or early sketches.²⁶

It is here, in these first sketches, that the rule for making a distinction between original and copy—for Baldinucci indeed argues that there is such a

²² Cf. Summers 1981, p. 107.

²³ Baldinucci 1681a, reprinted in Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6. Cf. pp. 461-462: '...ha voluto che io le ponga in carta i miei sentimenti intorno ad alcune questioni toccanti la materia della pittura...'

²⁴ Golberg 1988, see in particular chapter 2.

²⁵ Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, p. 462 addresses the following points: '1. se il perito professore dell'arte solamente possa dar retto giudizio delle pitture, o pure anche il dilettante ingegnoso; 2. se vi sia regola certa per conoscere se una pittura sia copia o originale; e quando ella non vi sia, che modo si debba tenere da chi la vuol giudicare per render alquanto giusta la sentenza; 3. se vi sia regola per affermare con certezza se una bella pittura sia stata fatta dalla mano d'uno o d'un altro maestro, e quando questa pure non vi sia, quale sarà il modo più sicuro di fondare alquanto bene il proprio giudizio; 4. finalmente di ciò che debba dirsi dell'uso di far copie di belle pitture, e del conto che debba farsi delle medesime copie.'

²⁶ Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, pp. 469-470: 'Ma prima bisogna fare una distinzione da opere a opere, piacendomi per ora intendere col nome di opere non solo le pitture, ma anche i disegni che i pittori fanno nelle carte, e fino a' primi pensieri o schizzi che vogliamo dire.'

rule—is most apparent. Like Mancini, also Baldinucci makes the term *franchezza* central to his discussion of authenticity in art; he speaks in fact of the ‘universal rule of the greater or lesser frankness [*franchezza*] in working’.²⁷ Although acknowledging that some artists have acquired such a *franchezza* that they have managed to deceive many with their counterfeits, he continues to argue that it remains ‘extremely difficult to imitate with frankness those tremendously fast and subtle strokes in a manner that they look like originals, without lacking even a little in the aspects of good *disegno*’.²⁸

The term *franchezza*, as used by Mancini and Baldinucci, brings to mind the concept of *sprezzatura*, introduced in its now most common meaning by Raphael’s friend Baldassare Castiglione in his *Il Cortigiano*.²⁹ In effect, though, the two terms signify something markedly different. The courtier, or so argues Castiglione, should use in everything ‘a certain negligence [*sprezzatura*], which hides the artistry, and makes the things one does and says seem to come without effort and almost without thinking.’ Indeed, both *franchezza* and *sprezzatura* indicate a sense of naturalness, of unaffectedness. And Ludovico Dolce, who, when

²⁷ Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, p. 471: ‘...universal regola della maggiore o minore franchezza nell’operare...’ See also his *Lezione [...] nell’Accademia della Crusca* of 1692, in Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, pp. 579-609, in particular, pp. 590-591 on franchezza and artistic identity. To use the term *franchezza* in relation to art seems to be a *Seicento* invention; the term is not, as far as I have been able to find, used by Giorgio Vasari, Raffaello Borghini and Ludovico Dolce. Baglione 1642, uses the word more often: Marco da Faenza worked with a ‘mirabil franchezza’, showing particularly in his grotesques a ‘franchezza & agilità di mano’ (p. 22), the work of the young Cavaliere d’Arpino ‘spirava vivacità con franchezza di colorito sì mirabile, che tutti confusi ne restavano’ (p. 368), and Pietro Bernini, the only sculptor for whom the term is used by Baglione, ‘con ogni franchezza maneggiava il marmo’ (p. 305); see also p. 30 (Paolo Cespade), p. 47 (Gio. Battista della Marca), etc. Similar terms are still used by Padre Sebastiano Resta at the end of the century, praising the Bolognese Bartolomeo Passarotti for his ‘modo risoluto del toccar di penna’ and the ‘franchezza del tratto’ (cf. Warwick 2003, p. 142, n. 6). Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 377, conversely, uses the term *franchezza* only once, mainly as a pun on the name Lanfranco. Definitions of the term are in general quite broad, see Baldinucci 1681b, *s.n.* ‘Franchezza’: ‘Ardimento, bravura, l’esser franco.’ VDC, *s.v.* ‘Franchezza’: ‘Ardimento, gagliardia, bravura.’ For further associations with the word see: Bartoli/Mortara Garavelli & Corti 1982, p. 16r, col. 108, *s.n.* ‘forze’. For a critical note on *franchezza* see Pietro Testa in Cropper 1984, pp. 226-227, no. 50: ‘Ben è vero che diletta una certa franchezza, ma per il più è nimicha del’ esattezza...’

²⁸ Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, p. 470: ‘...vi è più certa la regola, quanto più lontano fu il pericolo dell’essere stati contraffatti, atteso che è difficilissimo a chi che sia l’imitare con franchezza quei velocissimi e sottilissimi tratti in modo che paiono originali, senza mancare né punto né poco alle parti del buon disegno...’ In the following century, D’Argenville 1762, p. xxxvi would even go as far as denouncing all together the authenticity of drawings that are too finished: ‘Défiez-vous des desseins trop finis, rarement sont-ils originaux.’

²⁹ Castiglione/Barberis 1998, p. 59 [= I.26]: ‘...una certa sprezzatura, che nasconda l’arte e dimostri ciò che si fa e dice venir fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi.’ For a discussion see Emison 2004, pp. 42-51.

questioning the demands of *disegno* and *colore*, first introduces the term in the discussion of art shows in fact how *franchezza* might follow out of *sprezzatura*.

It seems to me that what is needed here, is a certain convenient negligence [*sprezzatura*], so that one has neither too much beauty in the colouring, nor to high a finish in the figures, but sees in the whole [work of art] an agreeable firmness [*sodezza*].³⁰

The artist, according to Dolce, must approach his work with ‘a certain convenient negligence.’ As with Castiglione, the strong associations of the word *sprezzatura*, derived from the Italian *disprezzare* or to despise, are mellowed down; it is a negligence that is calculated and aimed only at certain aspects of the artist’s art, in particular that of being over-elaborate. The result should be a work that lacks such an elaborateness, leaving visible the traces of the brush. The ‘agreeable firmness’ or *sodezza*, then, certainly indicates a firmness of touch or, in other words, *franchezza*. Still, *franchezza* is certainly no synonym of *sprezzatura*. Particularly in the meaning attached to the concept of *sprezzatura* by Castiglione—Dolce, it seems, uses it in a much more literal sense—it suggests a certain pose of nonchalance, an act even of making the difficult *look* easy; *franchezza*, to the contrary, is essentially direct and authentic.³¹ Now, admittedly, the term *sprezzatura* is not insignificant in the discussion of Bernini and the way he is pictured in contemporary sources, including that cited at the beginning of this chapter; it is just that the term *franchezza* belies another interest. For where *sprezzatura* should hide the artistry, *franchezza* actually shows us art at its most intimate.

Like Mancini, then, also Baldinucci stresses principally the process behind the work; in fact, the latter’s universal rule of authenticity concentrates on a manner of working rather than particular aspects pertaining to the work itself.

³⁰ Dolce in Roskill 1968, p. 156: ‘In questo mi pare, che ci si voglia una certa convenevole sprezzatura, in modo che non ci sia né troppa vaghezza di colorito, né troppa politezza di figure, ma si vegga nel tutto una amabile sodezza.’ Contrary to what one might expect from its lavish use in modern art history, the term *sprezzatura* had only a meagre critical fortune in sixteenth and seventeenth-century writings on art. For *sprezzatura* in Gregorio Comanini’s *Il figino* see Maiorino 1991, pp. 18–20. It would in fact be the singer Giulio Caccini to take the term into the seventeenth century (cf. Caccini/Hitchcock 2009, p. 3, n. 10.). Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger uses the term in his suggestions for a design of the Palazzo Barberini; see Waddy 1975, pp. 107–110.

³¹ A very similar distinction has been noted by Nichols 1996 with regards to *sprezzatura* and *prestezza* in sixteenth-century writing. Nichols furthermore shows that the painter Jacopo Tintoretto associated his rapid manner of drawing with authenticity; cf. Vasari/Bettarini & Barocchi 1966, vol. 5, p. 472 [ed. Giuntina]: ‘...rispose loro, che quello era il suo modo di disegnare, che non sapeva altrimenti, e che i disegni e modelli dell’opere avevano a essere a quel modo per non ingannare nessuno...’

Such an approach might not surprise us, as it seems to conform quite well to how we talk about art today. To pick just one example, we may note how Ernst Gombrich discusses a painting by Frans Hals in his seminal introduction on art history *The Story of Art*, suggesting that we ‘seem to witness his [i.e., Hals] quick and deft handling of the brush...’³² The painting, so we often seem to think, shows us the artist at work. As will become clear in what follows, this kind of thought is quite natural, and tells us in fact something about how we actually *see* these works of art. Before looking closer into this matter of perception though, let us first ask what this discourse on authenticity might have meant for the sculptor.

The Sculptor as Connoisseur

Now that we have roughly traced the role of spontaneity in the early developments of connoisseurial discourse, we may ask to what extent the artist was let in on the concerns of the collector. In fact, within seventeenth-century connoisseurial culture also the artist tended to play an important, even definitive, role; the judgement of the *intendenti*, that is to say, those who understand art but do not practice it, often was deemed subordinate to that of the *professori*, the artists.³³ All in all though, early modern connoisseurship was communal in character; attributions were arrived at through a joint effort, works were discussed in special gatherings including both *intendenti* as well as *professori* while drawings sometimes travelled long distances in order to obtain the judgement of experts residing elsewhere.³⁴ An interesting impression of such a gathering (even if we do not know if any *professori* were present in this case) is given by an account of the Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens, who, living in Paris at the time, teamed up with the great art collector Everhard Jabach and several other connoisseurs to pass judgement on a collection of drawings that the Flemish dealer Valcourt tried to sell to the French king. In a letter to his brother Constantijn jr., himself a dilettante painter and draughtsman, he writes:

You would have had unparalleled pleasure to see Jabach determine the authenticity of those pieces with a magisterial complacency; only to conclude in the end that out of 300 drawings that were thought to be by Raphael there were but two originals. I would give a good thing to see him censure yours and that you were [listening in from] behind the tapestry. When we were at his place, there was also no shortage of

³² Gombrich 1995, p. 416.

³³ Cf. Warwick 2000, p. 229, n. 10. Balducci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 6, pp. 463-467, gives much precedence to the artist.

³⁴ Warwick 2000, p. 79.

controllers [*controlleurs*], of which I was one of the minor figures, who challenged the attribution of what he believed to be true Giulio Romanos and Raphaels, which drove him into a rage that made us all laugh, so much so that there would be hardly any comedy that would equal such a conference.³⁵

Connoisseurs will often have disagreed—as they still do today. Yet, the fact that an attribution could be a topic of discussion, that Huygens could even speak of *controlleurs*, suggests that there must have been a large amount of consensus about what counted as valid arguments for attribution both among *intendenti* as well as *professori*. It comes accordingly as no surprise that many of the ideas put forward by Mancini and Baldinucci are also to be found among artists.

Bernini was certainly among those *professori* whose opinion on matters of attribution counted for much in the Roman milieu.³⁶ Even so, we have to turn again to the Parisian scene to get a fuller picture of his activities in this field. This time it is Chantelou who relates about a gathering of connoisseurs, while Jabach's own collection is the object of discussion. Apparently with the same confidence as shown by Jabach with regard to the collection of Valcourt, the sculptor, or so Chantelou tells us, denounced a great number of drawings from Jabach's own collection as fakes.³⁷ That for Bernini authenticity was related to a spontaneity of execution as well, may follow from his observation, on the same occasion, that 'there were few drawings of which one could be surer than Annibale Carracci's, for his work was less finished than that of the others, and therefore more difficult to copy.'³⁸ Furthermore, the artist was of the opinion that 'the drawings of a great master were to a certain extent more satisfying

³⁵ Huygens 1888-1950, vol. 6, pp. 219-220, no. 1640, letter from Christiaan Huygens to Constantijn Huygens, dated 1 June 1668: 'Vous auriez un plaisir nonpareil a voir comme Jabach determine sur l'authenticite de ces pieces avec une suffisance magistrale; concludant en fin que de 300 desseins qu'on donnoit pour des Raphael il n'y en avoit que 2 d'originaux. Je donnerois quelque chose de bon pour le voir censurer les vostres et que vous fussiez derriere la tapperie. Quand nous fusmes chez luy, il ne manqua pas d'y avoir des controlleurs, dont j'estois des moindres, qui luy contestoient quelques fois des pieces qu'il donnoit pour veritables Julio Romano et Raphael dont il se mettoit dans un colere a nous faire rire tous, tellement qu'il n'y a point de comedie qui vaille une pareille conference.' Translation adopted from Tummers 2008, pp. 31-32 with some changes. The brothers Huygens must have been well informed about matters of art, their father Constantijn Sr. being a well known art collector who had been in contact with artists such as Rembrandt and Rubens; see Broekman 2005 and her forthcoming dissertation.

³⁶ Cf. Warwick 2000, p. 80.

³⁷ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 251 [11 October]: 'Il en a vu un grand nombre qu'il a dit n'être que des copies.' Bernini was not the only one to question Jabach's connoisseurship, and it seems, rightfully so; see Monbeig Goguel 1988.

³⁸ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 251 [11 October]: 'Le Cavalier a dit qu'il n'y avait aucuns dessins où l'on pût être moins trompé que ceux d'Annibal Carrache, pour ce qu'ils étaient moins finis et pouvaient plus difficilement être copies.' Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 289.

than the works that he executed from them after great study and care.³⁹ Here the question of authenticity merges with aesthetics; the more spontaneous drawing is not only more difficult to copy and thus more clearly authentic, it was also more pleasing. It seems, at this point, no coincidence that Bernini himself handled pen and charcoal with an almost unprecedented liberty, an impression that has been stressed in modern literature, but also by Baldinucci, who writes that, in his ‘infinite drawings of figures of human bodies,’ Bernini displays ‘such a frankness [*franchezza*] of touch that it is truly a miracle.’⁴⁰

Up to now, our discussion has been largely concerned with drawings and paintings; but what about sculpture? Even though an interest for the rough modelling of the *bozzetto*—the sculptural counterpart of the quick sketch—may already be discerned at its first appearance around the end of the *Quattrocento*, a more widespread interest for the *bozzetto* as collectable object seems to have only developed in the eighteenth century.⁴¹ While in the seventeenth century some *bozzetti* made their way to important collections, often cast in bronze, but, we may add, in numbers in no way comparable to those of drawings, there are hardly any traces of a connoisseurial discourse involving sketches in clay or wax. Indeed, much indicates that *bozzetti* primarily were retained in artist’s studios and were passed on from master to pupil. Alessandro Algardi, for one,

³⁹ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 251 [6 July]: ‘Il parla après de quelques dessins que Mignard lui avait montrés chez lui, et dit qu’il avait un plaisir extrême de voir ces premières productions d’esprit des grands hommes; que c’était là qu’on voyait la splendeur d’une idée nette, claire et noble; que Raphaël avait eu l’esprit si beau, que sa première imagination était arrêtée comme les ouvrages les plus achevés du monde, et dit même que ces dessins des grands maîtres étaient, en quelque sort, plus satisfaisants que les ouvrages qu’ils avaient depuis exécutés dessus avec étude.’ Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 54. Cf. *ibid.*, 6 June.

⁴⁰ Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 140: ‘infiniti disegni di figure di corpi umani [...] un tal franchezza di tocco, che è propriamente un miracolo’. Cf. Bernino 1713, pp. 8-9: ‘...in pochi tratti di penna, e con un franchezza ammirabile di mano la [testa di S. Paolo] tirò subita a fine...’

⁴¹ For an account of the fifteenth century see Lavin 1967, p. 100. Interesting in this regard is also the exceptional collection of Giambologna *bozzetti* brought together by Bernardo Vecchietti; cf. Avery 1987, p. 237. As for the seventeenth century, we may note the equally exceptional collection of Cardinal Flavio Chigi (cf. Villani 2008, Barberini 1991, pp. 27-28 and Raggio 1983, pp. 377-379), who, according to the inventory of ca. 1666-1676 (Villani 2008, doc. 3) had owned some 34 *bozzetti* by various sculptors (including Bernini and Algardi), at least part of them gilded, silvered or painted with a bronze-coloured patina, evidently to make them look as the more common bronze reductions and casts after models. For a brief overview of such works related to Bernini see Peter Fusco in Fogelman, Fusco and Cambareri 2002, p. 176, n. 17. That *bozzetti* could be regarded as things of little importance is indicated by the inventory of Bernini’s studio of 1706 (as noted in Lavin 2007, n. 3), where they are described as ‘di poco valore’ and ‘cose di poco rilievo’. On the other hand, Bernino 1713, pp. 161-162 recounts that ‘un Servidore di sua casa confessò essersi esso, e sua famiglia mantenuto in Roma, per lo spazio di vent’anni con il prezzo, che ricavò della vendita di alcuni di essi [i.e., suoi Disegni, e Modelli]...’ For the collecting of terracotta’s in the eighteenth century see Scherf 2004, pp. 4-5 and Walker 1998.

stated in his will that the contents of his studio should be divided between four of his assistants, among them, most notably, Ercole Ferrata, who, according to the inventory made up after his death, possessed no less than ninety *bozzetti* by his master as well as several by other colleagues.⁴² Ferrata, who was elected to become, together with the painter *Ciro Ferri*, head of the Florentine academy in Rome instituted by Grand Duke Cosimo III, certainly held on to these *bozzetti* for their educational value. He himself left part of his collection to the Accademia di San Lucca in Rome and the academy founded by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milan, close to the sculptor's place of birth, while another part was again bequeathed to several more able assistants.⁴³ Where at the academies the sketch models were without doubt used for educational means, we may assume that the more competent artist used them for other purposes.⁴⁴

The value or attraction of these unfinished sketches, both for the student as well as the master, must have lain precisely in their unfinished character. More than only an aesthetic preference, these works could actually show the young sculptor something that goes beyond the mere example for mimetic reproduction.

The Dynamics of Observation

To gain understanding of the attraction of the sketch model, we may delve somewhat further into the aesthetic of spontaneity. We have seen that in connoisseurial discourse, the vocabulary used to discuss authenticity focuses primarily on the creative act, or to be more precise, the act itself and the mark it

⁴² Algardi's will is published in Montagu 1985, vol. 1, pp. 231-232, on p. 231: 'Item lascia, come sopra, a Domenico, Ercole, Paulo, e Girolamo suoi Giovani le robe, che ha alla Fonderia proportionamente conforme parerà al detto Sig. Gasparo Morone [...] dichiarando dette robbe consistere in modelli di creta, forme di gesso, e ferramenti da lavorare, da consegnarsi dopo la sua morte.' For the inventory of Ferrata's studio see Golzio 1935.

⁴³ For Ercole Ferrata and the Florentine academy see Goldberg 1983, pp. 134-172 and Montagu 1989, pp. 11-14. For the dispersal of his collection Montagu 1989, p. 16 with reference to Piazza 1698, pp. lxxvi-lxxviii: '...riflettendo il medesimo Erede alla dignità, decoro, e magnificenza di questa Romana Accademia, mosso dal concetto, e stima di tanti segnalati Ingegneri di essa; per mero, & ossequioso genio al loro merito, e valore, fece libero dono della maggior parte de Modelli più grandi, e più rari alla medema de'scielti, e consegnati con publica scrittura al Prencipe, e Primarj Officiali & illustri sostegni, e Colonne di essa Carlo Fontana, Carlo Maratta, *Ciro Ferri*, e Domenico Guidi, Lumi, e splendori in tutte e trè le illustri Professioni de'nostri tempi. Altri preziosi rilievi, e Modelli di Opere insigni del medesimo Ferrata, e del Cavaglier Algardi, donò alla Biblioteca celeberrima Ambrosiana di Milano sua Patria [...]. Il rimanente del medesimo Studio fu opportunamente distribuito à diversi Virtuosi Ingegneri, ò Allievi del Defonto, ovvero ad altri Studiosi Giovani Professori di queste nobili Arti d'ogni parte d'Italia, non meno per eterna memoria del medemo Ferrata, che per Gloria di Roma...'

⁴⁴ Baldinucci/Ranalli & Barocchi 1975, vol. 5, p. 389: '...dovessero servire per aiuti de' giovani studenti.'

leaves are somehow conflated into one. As we will see, such a conflation, which is still much apparent in contemporary connoisseurship, is no fortuity, but can rather be related to the actual manner in which we perceive—taking perception in the psychological sense—the products of human activity.

A particular aspect of Rudolf Arnheim's concept of dynamics proves instructive here, namely that of the 'dynamics of the act of creation.'⁴⁵ Arnheim argues that the 'motor acts' by which the artist gives shape to his work, i.e., the stroke of the pen, the pencil or chisel, leave their imprint by their 'graphological qualities.' And indeed, as all will know by experience, the qualities of the line drawn by a pen or a pencil, in terms of variation in width, colour, saturation, may depend much on the amount of force applied and the speed with which it is drawn over the paper.⁴⁶ Arnheim's argument continues though, for he suggests that these qualities, on their turn, have a dynamics of themselves: 'the dynamic traits of the physical motor act,' he writes, 'leave reflections [...] and show up as dynamic qualities of corresponding character.' Such a conception seems to be confirmed by our discussion of early modern connoisseurship; as we have seen Mancini and Baldinucci use qualifiers that relate more directly to an activity than to the essentially action-less image, thus suggesting that somehow the image evokes the action that lies at its source.

Further proof for this idea can be found in the work of experimental psychologist Jennifer Freyd, whose concept of representational momentum was discussed above.⁴⁷ In an article from 1983, and in more detail in an article of 1988 co-authored by Mary Babcock, she has looked at our capacity to read handwritten characters, focussing on the question to what extent the traces left by the physical act of their creation might contribute to this capacity.⁴⁸ The most important finding for our discussion is that people, when asked to reproduce a memorized hand-drawn character, are influenced by the way the initial character had been formed, thus suggesting that people are indeed 'sensitive to information in the static traces [...] of handwritten characters that relates to the

⁴⁵ Arnheim 1974, pp. 417-418.

⁴⁶ For an analyses of these 'graphological qualities' see Perrig 1991, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁷ See *supra*, pp. 105-106.

⁴⁸ Freyd 1983b focuses particularly on the capacity to read handwritten characters. One of the more 'encouraging' finds, as she calls it (p. 345), is that characters with so-called 'sloppy lines' with a consistent distortion, that is to say, a distortion that conforms to the drawing direction of the character, are actually more easily recognized than non-distorted characters. While the distortions introduced in this particular experiment, though based on those made when actually drawing the characters, conform only to a certain extent to the graphological qualities of actual handwriting, in Babcock & Freyd 1988 actual hand-drawn characters were used.

original construction of the characters'.⁴⁹ In other words, when we perceive an unknown character we not only see a certain pattern of static lines but actually perceive them as lines drawn in a certain order, and in certain directions. Their actual creation is accounted for in the percept of the character.

An interesting addition to these findings has more recently been provided by tracing responses to handwritten characters on a neurological level. Taking as a point of departure recent research on the so-called mirror neuron system, Marieke Longcamp and her colleagues have observed an excitation of parts of the human motor cortex usually associated with the execution as well as the observation of an action (the neural system 'mirrors' the action when it is observed) in recognition tasks involving essentially static handwritten letters.⁵⁰ Although the exact role of the mirror neuron system is still under heavy debate, it seems clear that it plays an important role in action-response coupling; that is to say, our own motor skills are involved in the observation of action and vice versa.⁵¹ The research of Longcamp *et al.* now suggests that the visual traces of activity, in this case hand writing, are part of the very same loop. Although it is still difficult to define what this precisely indicates in terms of perception and actual experience, the fact that patterns are excited that can be associated with observing actual actions is a strong indication that traces of actions are in fact perceived in a manner that accounts for the creative act that brought these traces about.

Now, to what extent may the discussion of handwriting contribute to our understanding of drawings, *bozzetti* and monumental sculpture?⁵² To start with the first, we may argue that many characteristics of the written character can equally be found in drawings, while also the activities that lie at their bases have a lot in common. As we have also seen in chapter four, research in the field of grounded cognition has shown that our own physical experiences with performing certain actions, may help us to recognize those actions when performed by others, and it seems now not too far fetched to argue that the same may count for the traces of those actions.⁵³ Indeed, learning how to write is to a

⁴⁹ Babcock & Freyd 1988, p. 125.

⁵⁰ Longcamp, Tanskanen & Hari 2006; cf. Freedberg & Gallese 2007.

⁵¹ For a brief overview of action-perception coupling see Thornton & Knoblich 2006; for a critical discussion of the mirror neuron system, Looren de Jong & Schouten 2006.

⁵² The significance of these findings for the discussion of aesthetic experience has been stressed by Freedberg & Gallese 2007, who predict that similar findings will be obtained using as stimuli works of art in which such traces can be found (p. 202).

⁵³ Casile & Giese 2006, cf. Calvo-Merino *et al.* 2006 and Reithler *et al.* 2007. These recent studies contradict Arnheim 1974, pp. 413-414 who argued against 'pedestrian theories' upholding that dynamics may be dependent on our previous experiences.

certain extent also learning how to read, and there are substantial grounds to assume that much of our capacity to sense the actions that lay at the basis of a drawing is in fact grounded in our experiences in writing. As has often been observed, historically as well the development of handwriting and draughtsmanship share common factors, and surely not only the Leonardo da Vinci's of this world will have practiced their penmanship in doodles and drawings.⁵⁴ In truth, the better connoisseur would have had some actual practice in drawing as well; Baldassare Castiglione already stressed in his *Il cortegiano* of 1528 that the courtier needs to have a basic practice in draughtsmanship in order to develop a sound judgement on matters of art.⁵⁵

The step from written character to the *bozzetto* modelled in clay or wax is maybe less obvious. Even though the characteristics of the roughly worked material show some affinity with that of the sketch on paper, one could argue that instead another set of experiences is triggered by the roughly modelled clay of the *bozzetto*. This must certainly be a set of experiences that is less explicitly acquired; in this case we have nothing that compares with the thoroughly structured way of learning to handle pen and ink. It is, on the other hand, a set of experiences that is much broader. A fingerprint left in an overripe peach, tracing a stick through the wet sand, or playing with the soft wax of a burning candle: the experience of manipulating with the hands or a tool a malleable substance is as much something of everyday life as writing a note or a letter.

Although we have accordingly some frame of reference to rely on when confronted with the *bozzetto*, the sculptor's feeling with the material is obviously much more direct: Passeri's observation that Algardi 'devoted himself continuously to modelling' may attest to this, as does the fact that one of the first things Bernini demands after having arrived in Paris, or so we read with Chantelou, is material for modelling; even though his assistants had brought some clay from home, Bernini asked if he could not somehow have a whole load 'to keep his men busy so they would not be with nothing on their hands.'⁵⁶ What is more, learning to model in wax and clay was an essential part of the

⁵⁴ Rosand 2002, pp. 61-65, Akker 1991, pp. 151-156, Kemp 1979, pp. 126-130. For writing and doodling see Gombrich 1999, pp. 212-225.

⁵⁵ Castiglione/Barberis 1998, p. 103 [= I.49]: 'Prima che a questo proposito entriamo voglio [...] ragionar d'un'altra cosa, la quale io, perciò che di molta importanza la estimo, penso che dal nostro cortegiano per alcun modo non debba esser lasciato addietro: e questo è il saper disegnare ed aver cognizione dell'arte propria del dipingere.'

⁵⁶ Passeri/Hess 1934, p. 195: 'Davasi continuamente a modellare con la creta nel quale esercizio riusciva assai spiritoso, e d'un gusto squesito.' Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 55: 'Qualqu'un de chez lui ayant apporté un morceau de terre à modeler, il m'a demandé s'il y avait un moyen d'en avoir une charretée, afin d'occuper ses gens et qu'ils ne fussent pas sans rien faire.' For Bernini's modelling techniques see Gaskell & Lie 1999.

sculptor's education, a fact also stressed by Ciro Ferri (though he himself was in the first place a painter) who, according to one source, argued that 'good modellers in a year can become perfect sculptors,' presenting Algardi as a case in point.⁵⁷ All in all, the experience of modelling would have brought an advantage also when viewing the models by a colleague. Whereas the average person would certainly see the *bozzetto* as a series of forces excited on malleable material, the sculptor must have had a much more thorough, though equally direct, understanding of the manner in which these *bozzetti* were made.

We may indeed argue that with the experience of modelling comes the implicit understanding of the material and how it reacts to the pressure excited with the fingers or a tool. The importance of these objects for the artist, then, seems obvious: not only may they function as a nice example to emulate, but first and foremost, the *bozzetto* actually shows them the master at work. The dynamic qualities of the rough sketch, be it on paper or in clay or wax, give the image an unresolved tension which we may define as 'open', that is to say open to possibilities, open to interpretation and thus an open invitation to interaction from the spectator, or for that matter, the young sculptor. Yet, it hints at a certain direction; we are invited to follow the line through, to imagine our hands on the damp clay and feel our fingers pressing further. This openness is already apparent in the artist's first touch of the material. 'Once begun', thus writes art historian David Rosand in his exploration of the phenomenology of the drawing, 'the line itself begins to assert a certain will of its own, to challenge the guiding control of the hand, urging its own agenda.'⁵⁸ Similarly, we may argue that also the work of the sculptor, after having placed his hands on the damp clay, continues in such a dialectic manner, a dialectic that remains unresolved and can be picked up again by anyone who lays eyes on it.

⁵⁷ Letter from Torquato Montauti to Apollonio Bassetti, dated 6 October 1674, Rome, in: Lankheit 1962, p. 251, doc. 92: '...ha detto il Sig.r Ciro che i buoni Modellatori in un anno divengono perfetti scultori, et apportò l'esempio dell'Algarbi [= Algardi]...' For Ferri and sculpture see *ibid.*, pp. 39 ff. and Schlegel 1969. For modelling in the sculptor's education see also Montagu 1989, pp. 5-6 and p. 199, n. 33.

⁵⁸ Rosand 2002, p. 12; he continues: 'Whatever initial intention may have inspired the making of a drawing, whatever external stimulus, the draftsman inevitably finds his attention being commanded by his own line. Whatever its intended structure in the representation, the line becomes an active participant in the act of drawing, in the process of its own making, even asserting its own creative independence. And we, as viewers, acknowledge that independence when we respond to a drawn line, to its substance, its body and personality, its idiosyncratic and vagrant qualities. In searching for descriptive language adequate to our response, we invoke a full range of kinaesthetic experience. Mixing metaphoric allusion and psychological perception, tactile sensation and somatic awareness, we assign values and qualities, affect and character, to lines and marks.' See also Cain 2010.

The Prominence of the Fold

Notwithstanding Bernini's impressive versatility in cutting marble, he, not unlike the other sculptors of his time, hardly has his material 'speak' by exploiting the graphological qualities left by the chisel on the stone.⁵⁹ Indeed, as Boselli argues, it is absurd to believe 'that marvellous statues are made by chance, or at random [*alla balorda*],' for 'the sculptor does not give one stroke [*colpo*], of which he does not know the reason and the effect...'⁶⁰ Even with Vasari's praise for the roughly hewn marble putti in Donatello's *cantoria* for the Florentine Duomo, experiments would be confined to the depiction of loose, wrinkled fabric as that in the shirt of Bernini's *Monsignor Francesco Barberini* (fig. 76) in Washington.⁶¹ Only much later, Camillo Rusconi would further explore the possibilities of the non-finito, as in his 1719 *Giulia Albani degli Abati Olivieri* (fig. 77) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, where the texture of the veil is only as much as hinted at by the roughly cut marble.⁶² As we will see, though, artists such as Bernini had devised a wholly other method to capture the *franchezza* in their works. How is it that they tried to retain the freshness of the model in the 'definitely closed form' of the finished marble?⁶³

To answer this question, we may look in the first place at how the sculptor treated the draperies of his works.⁶⁴ As we have seen, it was precisely in the treatment of the draperies that Bernini was said to have overcome the difficulty of rendering the marble flexible as clay.⁶⁵ What is more, also Mancini and Baldinucci single out the draperies as a *locus* for the frank touch of the artist. Bernini's sensitivity for the possibilities of the drapery fold, must have been given in by the sculptures of his father, Pietro Bernini, while the experience of the dra-

⁵⁹ On Bernini's marble technique Rockwell 1997.

⁶⁰ Boselli/Dent Weil 1978, f. 1r: 'Scamozzi [...] nel Proemio del primo libro della sua Idea d'Architettura, trattando delle Arti imitatrici dice che la scoltura è detta vanamente da Plinio scientia; perche *scire est per causam cognoscere* e che questa non si regge per via delle Cause; ne ha precetti certi, et terminati: ma che v'è a piacimento, e pero il padre non puo insegnarla al figlio, ne l'un fratello all'altro: quasi che le statue meravigliose si facciano a caso, o alla balorda. Ignoranza in vero troppo grande posciache lo scultore non dà colpo, che non sappia la Causa et l'effetto che gli partorira...' The reference is to Scamozzi 1615, p. 3, lines 20-30.

⁶¹ For Vasari's praise of Donatello see Vasari/Bettarini & Barocchi 1966, vol. 3, pp. 51-52.

⁶² Martin 2007, pp. 338-341 and Montagu 1975, pp. 321-322. For Rusconi's non-finito see furthermore Wittkower 1926, p. 43. Of course, the story of bronze sculpture is totally different in this respect; see e.g. Scholten 1999, pp. 35-41.

⁶³ Citing Barberini 2001, p. 44.

⁶⁴ Recently, several studies on drapery have been published. Hollander 2002 gives a concise overview of the uses of draperies in painting throughout history, though without references to theoretical discourse that might have informed the artists. Doy 2002 provides a discussion of draperies that focuses primarily on modern conceptions of drapery. Vasseur 2002, pp. 31-35 discusses Leonardo da Vinci and Roger de Piles ideas on drapery.

⁶⁵ Cf. *supra*, n. 1.

matic drapery effects conjured up by Pietro's somewhat younger compatriot Francesco Mochi certainly will have spurred him on to further explore the possibilities of the marble fold. Rather than sculpture, though, his primary point of reference must have been the loose touch of the painted fold as found in Tintoretto or Rubens. In truth, some of the 'mannerisms' found in the works of his father, are still apparent in those of the young Gian Lorenzo: compare, for example, the elaborate curls in Pietro's *Vita Attiva* (fig. 78) of 1596 in the apse of the church of San Martino, Naples, with the equally curly piece of fluttering drapery in Gian Lorenzo's *Neptune* (fig. 79) in London of 1622-23.⁶⁶ Already in the 1630's, though, Bernini has managed to free himself completely from the artificialities that characterise the manner of his father, opting for a seemingly more natural, though equally personal approach to drapery.

This approach becomes already apparent in his studies on paper. Others have rightfully observed that Bernini's drapery studies differ from those of other artists in their 'remarkable lack of finish.'⁶⁷ Often executed in black chalk, the sculptor exploits the qualities of this material to the most, handling the medium almost as a modeller. Sometimes the paper is touched only lightly to indicate a shape in quick, restless lines, then again the charcoal is applied with force, leaving enough residue to smudge the lines as if to model them into position like clay. A wonderful drapery study for one of the Church fathers of the *Cathedra Petri* (fig. 80), kept in Leipzig, may illustrate Bernini's approach. As in the final bronze, the figure is dominated by the heavy draperies; the left hand, a piece of the right arm, the head, and possibly a foot are indicated only with a few lines. Characteristically, Bernini suggests the shape of the arm with several unconnected, though sometimes overlapping lines, a quick repetition that leaves the final shape only suggested. The rendering of the draperies, on the other hand, is much more forceful. At the upper right arm we can see how the sleeve is modelled over the body with some thick, short strokes. The dark recess under the cape that falls over the arm is partly filled in though here and there still has some texture and folds. A soft, even filling and hatching is interrupted by quick but forceful tapering lines, that are then smudged again. The heavy folds that crop up above the book held to the side and fall away from it, are defined by a combination of smooth undulations, suggested by soft parallel hatchings, and deep recesses, again achieved by a more forceful application of

⁶⁶ For Pietro's *Vita attiva* see Kessler 2005, cat. A6; for the *Neptune* Wittkower 1981, cat. 9. An echo, though wholly different in character, can be found in Bernini's *Angel with the superscription* (San Andrea delle Fratte, Rome) at the drapery below the left knee.

⁶⁷ Pamela Gordon and Steven Ostrow in Lavin 1981, p. 13. Cf. Harris 1968, p. 384.

the chalk and smudging. Sometimes these harsh lines end abruptly, more often they soften towards the ends, disappearing in a fading *sfumato*. Exceptionally for Bernini, additional more angled creases are indicated with white heightening. Even if this drawing is among the more elaborate preparatory studies in the sculptor's oeuvre, it has the feel of an enormous directness and speed.⁶⁸ The sense of directness, the *franchezza*, to use Baldinucci's term, that dominates such drawings can still be found in many of the artist's finished works; in fact, particularly in the sculptor's later works we may notice that the drapery folds, with their often violent rhythms, are closer to the sketches in charcoal and clay than to actual drapery.

One of the most striking examples can be found in Bernini's marble *Beata Ludovica Albertoni* (figs. 81-82) in the Roman church of San Francesco a Ripa of 1673-74. The *beata*, caught in a timeless spasm between death, vision and ecstasy, with her head thrown back and hands grasping the abdomen and breast, is engulfed by a mass of twisting folds that only vaguely hints at what may be expected to be clothing.⁶⁹ Rather than attempting here a full description of the complex drapery, let us look at the one by Shelly Perlove in her book on the sculpture, which is illustrative in more than one way:

The veil, rising from behind Ludovica's right shoulder, gently caresses her cheek as it undulates about her head and falls in a long uninterrupted sweep over her left hand, where it gracefully rises in a curving loop. In the area in which she grips her body, the cloth becomes more turbulent, moving about her abdomen in whirlpools and meandering towards her loins to arch upward in tightly bunched folds. A thin strip of cloth, flowing through the centre of these whorls of fabric, rushes between her legs like a rivulet.⁷⁰

Perlove has chosen her words carefully; we can quite literally trace the curves and flutters of the drapery, while at the same time we get a sense of the overwhelming impression the work may make on the spectator. By choosing verbs such as to rise, to undulate, to fall, and the metaphor of water that now flows and rushes, than again meanders, she elegantly conjures up the dynamic rhythms of the marble draperies. Yet, at the same time such a choice of words veils the manner in which these effects are brought about, indeed not unlike the manner in which discussing the qualities of the artist's touch tends to veil the actual graphological qualities of line, stroke or cut. In fact, such qualities can be

⁶⁸ See e.g. Brauer & Wittkower 1931, vol. 2, figs. 75 and 76.

⁶⁹ The actual moment in which the *beata* is depicted has been cause for much debate; see Perlove 1990, p. 29 and following pages for her interpretation.

⁷⁰ Perlove 1990, pp. 16-17.

found in the marble. The sharp ridges lain bare by way of deep undercutting, often overlapping or breaking a way at unexpected angles, light up as quickly placed tapering lines, swelling towards the lightest summit and dissolving in a fading point as they curve back into the shadow.⁷¹ Notwithstanding these almost calligraphic qualities, the work is in no way two-dimensional. Subtle undulations, sometimes forming uneven plains suggesting the cuts of a knife or chisel in wood, are contrasted with deep undercutting, while at places the marble seems to twist as a loosening braid. And indeed, under all this movement we sense a more physical life; her hands clasp her solid body.

Now the relation between marble drapery and the sketch on paper, in clay or wax is an intricate one. As may be illustrated by the example of Bernini's *bozzetto* for *The Angel with the Superscription* (fig. 83) at the Palazzo Venezia—several *bozzetti* for this work have come down to us; the present example is a *pensiero* that is quite close to the final marble—we readily interpret the rhythms of tapering incisions made by the sculptor's tools in the clay as fluttering draperies.⁷² In the large zigzag fold above the angel's exposed leg, we may see how the sculptor lays the folds bare with a few quick cuts of the spatula, hollowing it out to leave a sharp, twisting ridge. With his bare fingers—on the lower edge of the large loop towards the left a fingerprint may be discerned—he further models the folds into place, while the toothed spatula is used to give the clay a texture of more subtle creases. These tapering traces also allow the sculptor to give an additional sense of direction to the draperies, as in the large, twisting fold that flows down from over the upper leg.

Our experiences of manipulating soft, malleable material, collide here with those of seeing (and hearing, feeling) drapery in our daily lives; the clergy's billowing robes or freshly washed laundry moving on a breeze. We may argue that, at the point where both are associated with dynamics or movement, they may collapse almost into one as the boundaries between the two become more and more difficult to determine: the rhythms of the undulating, tapering lines, become the rhythms of the flowing, vibrating draperies. The force of the deep crease and the large fold is that of the sculptor's tool cutting deep into the wax or clay, the calligraphic flutter is the pen that flows from the wrist over the

⁷¹ Cf. Wölfflin 1915, p. 63 on Bernini's draperies: 'Blitzschnell wie Schlänglein huschen die Glanzlichter der Höhen dahin, ganz in der Art wie Rubens seine weißgehöhten Lichter in die Zeichnungen einträgt.'

⁷² I thank Ms. Giulia Barberini for having me study the work from close by while it was under restoration, and her as well as Cristiano Giometti for discussing the work and the other *bozzetti* at Palazzo Venezia with me. For the *bozzetto* see Boucher 2001, cat. 45, with further references. For Bernini's *bozzetti* for the ponte Sant'Angelo see in particular Weil 1974 and, more in general on Bernini's work in clay, Gaskell & Lie 1999.

paper. These aspects do not, in the first place, relate to each other on a metaphorical level; rather, we may expect such associations to evoke an actual response that accounts for the apparent physical force behind the shapes.⁷³ In truth, Jacob Burckhardt's malicious characterisation of Bernini's polished marble draperies as 'carved with a spoon in almond jelly' may be more to the point than the choice of his words suggest.⁷⁴

Yet, contrary to the sketch model, the sculptor's finished marbles have a sense of directness that can no longer be relegated to artistic procedure. It is a sense of spontaneity that is clearly at odds with the hard marble, shaped with the tough blows of the sculptor's hammer and chisel. Rather—and here we may find a connection with the literary discourse discussed earlier—they suggest a force that can not be further identified, a force that indeed gives shape to the marble as if it were soft as clay or wax. There is, so it seems, an invisible power at work, there is life within the stone. We may refer here again to some lines of a sonnet from the hand Francesco Bracciolini, poet and secretary to the pope's *nipote* Cardinal Antonio Barberini, written on the occasion of the unveiling of Francesco Mochi's *Veronica* (fig. 5). 'Not only is the imprinted alabaster alive, but also the wind that surrounds it, living and breathing to make it swell [*intumidirlo*].'⁷⁵ The marble is shaped by an unseen hand, an unseen tool that imprints it with energy, with life.⁷⁶

* * *

Even if the connoisseurial discourse may have first created an awareness of the striking dynamic potential of the spontaneous, unmediated, and above all 'frank' line, the artist quickly adopted this potential to his own needs. And whereas this may have come natural to the painter, Bernini and, in his wake,

⁷³ Cf. Posèq 2008, pp. 40-41 who briefly suggests a similar relation between drawing and marble.

⁷⁴ Burckhardt/Roeck 2001, p. 554 [= 696]: 'Die Politur, womit Bernini und vieler seiner Nachfolger das ideale Gewand, zumal himmlischer Personen, glaubten auszeichnen zu müssen, verderbt dasselbe vollends. Es gewinnt ein Ansehen, als wäre es – man erlaube die Vergleichung – mit dem Löffel in Mandelgallert gegraben.' Trans. Bauer 1976, p. 66.

⁷⁵ In Grignani 1641, p. 9: 'En non pur vivo è l'Alabastro impresso, | Ma vive, e spira a intumidirlo il vento.'

⁷⁶ Cf. Minor 1989, p. 153, on Bernini's angels flanking the *Cathedra Petri*: 'Currents of air seem to blow the drapery across the abdomen of the angel on the left, under a stabilizing arm, and unexpectedly back again, between his legs, to fan out, held there by some "superessential" wind. Wind, as Dionysius [the Areopagite] maintains, "bears a likeness and type of the supremely Divine energy."' And Lavin 1980, vol. 1, p. 111 on Bernini's *Teresa*: 'The cherub's dress wraps itself in a streaming swath forward around his body [...]. One might imagine a wind blowing from behind...'

many of his contemporaries, managed to transpose these qualities in the carefully made marble. Indeed, it is the same frank line, cherished in drawings and *bozzetti*, that is echoed in the complex draperies of Bernini's later works. Yet, the sculptor's painterly marbles are only to a certain extent an answer to the painter who is praised for his lively brush. The sculptor seldom uses the power of the fold for sheer effect; rather, his marble draperies suggest a metaphor for the metaphysical, for the invisible. The dynamic rhythms with which Bernini imbues his works, coincide with the drama painted before the viewers eyes. Alluding to a sense of touch that is less physical than that of the flesh, one that moves quickly though not without leaving a trace, the sculptor allows the beholder to share in the work's coming into being. As if the marble never seems to really harden, it wilfully moves under the beholder's gaze, its physicality denied in the rapid touch of an unseen hand.

Metamorphosis

As has become clear in the previous chapters, there are various aspects of sculpture which may elicit a response in the beholder. The beholder itself, though, has remained largely implicit in these accounts. In this chapter we will look more closely at the beholder and how he or she tried to make sense of this power of the image. More precisely, the question will be addressed how the image's infringement on the beholder's world and body can both be activated and channelled by text and discourse, and how, at the same time, the artist seeks to relate to such a discourse with his work. What are the artist's means to participate in a particular discourse if not with words? Although he might address the spectator on an intellectual, linguistic level, the full impact of a work of art can only be understood if we assume a fully embodied spectator, a spectator that can be addressed directly on a corporeal level.

To illustrate this point we may look closer at a particularly interesting case, namely, that of the *Apollo and Daphne* (figs. 84-85) sculpted by Giovan Lorenzo Bernini roughly between 1622 and 1627 for cardinal Scipione Borghese's Roman villa outside the Porta del Popolo.¹ To the almost physical impact the work made when it was first unveiled in Rome may attest Filippo Baldinucci's account of its initial reception. In his 1682 *Vita* of the artist he writes:

as soon as it was showed fully finished, there arose such a cry that all Rome concurred in seeing it as a miracle, and the youthful artist himself [...], when walking

¹ Now the Galleria Borghese where the work can still be found.

the city streets drew after him the eyes of all, and they gazed upon him and pointed him out to others as a prodigy...²

If we may believe Baldinucci, the *Apollo and Daphne* caused a lot of talk indeed; like a pebble in a pond, its initial impact expanded beyond the limits of the Villa Borghese walls throughout the Eternal City, only to find a host in its maker, Bernini, surrounding him with the aura of genius. Even if this picture may be largely rhetorical, still it seems to justly indicate that the seventeenth-century public recognized that Bernini had shown something new, even revolutionary. Indeed, the revolutionary character of the work has not gone unnoticed by modern day art historians.³ Although opinions may differ on the exact origins of Bernini's conception, we can discern a particular attention among scholars for the poetic discourse at the moment it was made; all seem to agree that its particularity has something to do with poetry. The following argument builds on this observation, indicating how the work's ability to move the spectator is entangled with poetic discourse.

'Per una statua di Dafne'

We may start our discussion of the *Apollo and Daphne* with a poem which, published only relatively recently, has received but little attention within the literature on Bernini's 'fortuna poetica'.⁴ Written by Antonio Bruni, a poet that had been associated with the court of Scipione Borghese at the time that Bernini started working on the first of his big sculpture groups commissioned by the Cardinal, the *Aeneas and Anchises*, it is of particular relevance for our understanding of the reception of Bernini's work.⁵

Praise the beautiful Daphne,
sculpted so alive

² Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 79: 'subito ch'ella fu fatta veder finita, se ne sparse un tal grido, che tutta Roma concorse a vederla per un miracolo, ed il giovinetto artefice stesso [...] nel camminar ch'e' faceva per la città, tirava dopo di sé gli occhi di tutte le persone, le quali il guardavano e ad altri additavano per un prodigio...'

³ For a brief overview of the different opinions on the work see Bolland 2000, p. 309.

⁴ Bellini 2003, pp. 408-409, discusses it only briefly. For the reception of Bernini's art in poetry see Ferrari 2004, pp. 59-63; Herklotz 2004; Montanari 2003, pp. 177-198; Montanari 1999; Ferrari 1999, pp. 595-615; Montanari 1998, pp. 127-164; Schütze 1994, pp. 213-287.

⁵ Flemming 1996, p. 192 and p. 182, n.18, mentions a manuscript work by Bruni titled 'La Porpora del gran Cardinale Scipione Borghese' dated 1618, which can be found in the Vatican Archive, ASV, F.B. IV, 139 and is mentioned in the *Indice dei manoscritti dell'Ecc.mo sig.e Cardinale Scipione Borghese*, BAV, Chigi R.II.61, f. 570v as 'La Porpora, panegirico del Bruni'. The final payment for the *Aeneas and Anchises* dates from 14 October 1619, suggesting that Bernini started on the work in 1618. The small bust of Pope Paul V also in the Villa Borghese is usually dated around the same year. Cf. Wittkower 1955, cat. 6 and 8.

by he who gives also to marble, both sense and life:
 Only you can praise her,
 you, who, Thracian singer, Theban swan
 seems with your odes:
 Behold, sovereign sculptor,
 for, new Amphion, newborn Orpheus,
 with your song to the trophy
 you withdraw trees and stones, now transforming her
 from one form into the other,
 and prove her courteous to your lyre,
 now in plant you change [her], and now in stone.⁶

The poem reads like a closed circle: the artist brings the lifeless marble to life, only to see it change back to lifeless material in the last verse of the poem: ‘now in plant [*pianta*] you change [her], and now in stone’. The circular element explored by Bruni brings to mind some of the works of Giovan Battista Marino.⁷ In particular we may think of a madrigal such as his *Cantatrice crudele* (‘Cruel singer’), published in the 1602 *Rime*. Here the poet presents the reader with a further unidentified female singer who, with her song, renders alive trees and stones and seduces them to fall in love with her, only to show herself ‘to prayers a tree stump, to tears a stone’.⁸ A theme like this appears perfect to praise the *Apollo and Daphne*, which, as also the subject dictates, is indebted to the sensitivity for metamorphosis we find in Marino and the *marinisti*. Bruni’s poem is not conceived of as a simple praise of the artist though. While it is definitely the artist, Bernini, who gives the marble ‘and sense and life’, the ‘you’ in the fourth verse (‘Only *you* can praise her...’) seems to refer to someone else, a poet, who with his poetry, his song, brings about the final metamorphosis.⁹

⁶ Bruni 1633, vol. 1 (‘La venere terrena’), p. 34 (‘Per una statua di Dafne, ch’è nella Villa dell’Eminentiss. Sig. Cardinal Borghese.’): ‘Loda la bella Dafne | così al vivo scolpita | da chi porge anco à’ marmi e senso, e vita: | Sol tu lodarla puoi, | tu, che Tracio Cantor, Cigno Tebano | sembri con i carmi tuoi | Ecco Scultor sovrano, | perche, novo Anfion, novello Orfeo, | del tuo canto al trofeo | tu tragga arbori, e sassi, hor la trasforma | d’una in un’altra forma, | e la mostra cortese à la tua cetra, | hor’ in pianta conversa, et hora in pietra.’ Trans. adopted from Bellini 2006, p. 283. See also Bellini 2006, pp. 281-283; Bellini 2003, pp. 408-409 and Bellini 2002, p. 94, n. 162. The poem is also referred to in Unglaub 2006, p. 248, n. 58.

⁷ For Bruni’s indebtedness to the work of Marino see Croce 1965, pp. 22-76.

⁸ Marino/Martini 1995, p. 57, originally in Marino 1602, vol. 2, p. 15: ‘ai preghi un tronco, ai pianti un sasso’; see also Martini’s discussion of this poem and one with a similar theme on pp. 119-121.

⁹ While Bellini 2002, p. 94, n. 162, still holds that it is ‘more probable’ that Bruni does not refer to Bernini here, in Bellini 2003, p. 409, he argues that the praise of being a ‘new Amphion,

Who can this poet be? Surely it is not the sculptor himself. Bernini's tool is the chisel, not the word. Agostino Mascardi, a literary figure and historian closely connected with the court of Urban VIII, writes in 1627 that 'Bernini [...] albeit in his youth, knows to give sense of life to stone with his chisel, better than the fabulous Amphion did with his song.'¹⁰ Yet, the sculptor is no Orpheus, no 'Thracian singer'.¹¹ The imperative 'praise' with which Bruni starts his first verse is only picked up again after the sculptor has been mentioned with the more distant 'he who...' [*chi*]: 'only *you* can praise her'. It is the same 'you' that is repeated in verses 5, 6, 9, 10, and 12, either as a personal or a possessive pronoun. Whereas the sculptor, Bernini, gives life to the marble, it is the poet who proves it 'courteous' to his lyre; where the artist gives life, the poet gives life a direction. 'Behold' [*ecco*], writes Bruni: the poet is confronted with the power of his own words, for he is indeed the 'sovereign sculptor' in the seventh verse. He takes over where the chisel's work ends, showing the work as it truly can, or even should be. Already in 1613, Borghese court poet Scipione Francucci had praised the power of the poet over that of the artist; only Apollo, the poet, can 'bring alive the works of the chisel...'¹² Now, we may ask, was a specific poet intended in Bruni's poem? As will be further explored below, there are arguments to believe that this was indeed the case, namely: Maffeo Barberini, the poet pope Urban VIII. What is more, with this identification we may attribute a more profound significance to Bruni's poem. That is, not only can we read it as praise for the sculptor, but also as readily engaging with the more specific discussion that developed around the *Apollo and Daphne* as well as thematizing the poet's efforts to come to terms with the sculpture's physical impact.

The Poet and the Marble

Maffeo Barberini's ascension to the Papal throne in 1623 as Urban VIII occasioned the endorsement of poetry on Christian grounds, the *poesia sacra*,

newborn Orpheus' is 'attributed not as much to Bernini [...], but to the poet who celebrates in his verses the Daphne sculpted by the artist.'

¹⁰ Mascardi 1627, p. 321: 'Bernino, [...] nell' età sua giovanile, con lo scarpello sà dar senso di vita alle pietre meglio, che non fece co'l canto favoloso Anfione.' For Mascardi see Bellini 2002.

¹¹ For the myth of Orpheus and its reception see Rietveld 2007. Cf. also *supra*, p. 27.

¹² Scipione Francucci in BAV Borghesiano 184, f. 8, quoted in Warwick 2004, n. 47: 'tu solo Apollo puoi di mille Apelli | L'apre muti adeguar con nobil canto, | E con la penna tu' de i lor penelli | Dipinger puoi l'intera gloria, el vanto. | Tu puoi l'opre avviar de gli scarpelli, | E per solo anch'io confido intanto | Pittor canoro, et scultor loquace | Dar vivi accenti a' chi parlando tace.'

countering the sensual and sometimes downright lascivious *marinismo* of many of his contemporaries.¹³ Pindaric poets such as Virginio Cesarini, Giovanni Ciampoli, Gabriello Chiabrera and of course Maffeo himself came to define the new norm, buttressed by a theoretical underpinning provided by authors such as Agostino Mascardi and Sforza Pallavicino, while Marino's *magnus opus*, the 1623 *Adone* was put on the index not long after.¹⁴ It is tempting to read the treatment of the *Adone*—other works of Marino would follow—as a way for Maffeo to get even with his own past. To be sure, an influence of Marino's work on the young Maffeo cannot be denied. One thing the two share is a profound interest in the relation between the visual and the literary arts. In Marino's case the most significant literary sediment of this interest is, as we have seen, his 1619 *Galeria*.¹⁵ Maffeo's efforts on the other hand are more scattered, both in his published works and in his manuscripts. For both Marino as Maffeo we may assume that Aurelio Orsi's *Caprarola*, a lengthy collection of poetic descriptions of the artworks in and outside the Farnese villa Caprarola, played an important role in their treatment of works of art in poetry.¹⁶ Subsequently, Maffeo's sensitivity to the art of painting may have developed further during his stay in Bologna, where there was a lively interaction between poets and painters already at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁷

The pope's literary interest in the visual arts must have been well known by his contemporaries. An anonymous 'discorso' on the pope's poetry, in manuscript in the Vatican Library, is saturated with references to the pictorial qualities of his work, echoing Horace's dictum *ut pictura poesis*.¹⁸ On one occasion the author writes:

he [His Highness, Urbano VIII Barberini] shows to comprehend in a more elevated manner the arrangement, the poses, and the movements, and the shadows, and the lights, than never comprehended Athens and Rodos, nor their Apelleses and Proto-

¹³ See also *supra*, p. 22.

¹⁴ For the documents pertaining to Marino's *Adone* and the index see Bujanda & Richter 2002, p. 588 (Decree of the Congregation of the Index, 11 June 1624; repeated 17 July 1625 and 5 November 1626). In secondary literature one often encounters the date 1627, but I have found no source for this date. For an extensive discussion of Marino and the inquisition see Carminati 2008.

¹⁵ The literature on Marino's *Galeria* is extensive; see, among others, Surluga 2002, pp. 65-84, Paulicelli 1994, pp. 255-265, Guardiani 1988, pp. 647-654, Nemerow-Ulman 1987, pp. 76-86, Marzio Pieri in Marino/Pieri 1979 and Pieri 1978, pp. 30-49.

¹⁶ Orsi's *Caprarola* has been published in Baumgart 1935, pp. 76-179. For Marino and Orsi see Leuker 2009. I owe thanks to professor Leuker for letting me read the manuscript of his article before its publication. For Barberini and Orsi see Castagnetti 1993, pp. 411-450.

¹⁷ Schütze 2007, pp. 175ff. and 2004, pp. 183-204.

¹⁸ The key study is still Lee 1940, pp. 197-269.

geneses, and for that matter the garments, the nudes, the foreshortenings and above all the emotions...¹⁹

Maffeo's poems are paintings [*dipinture*], superseding those of antiquity. But what about sculpture? In a lengthy poem written to celebrate the wedding of Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna by *monsignor* Lorenzo Azzolino, a figure well known at the papal court and a poet of considerable esteem in the seventeenth century, we find a reference to the Theban swan:²⁰

You, an equal of Amphion,
Phidias, give not however with soft songs, or lyre,
but with hard iron, a soul to stones.
But through more solid dimensions,
taking the palm from the Theban Swan,
Maffeo arises with his glorious songs...²¹

The chisel is beaten by the word, the sculptor is defeated by the poet who takes the palm not from the sculptor's hand, but from that of Amphion himself. 'Breathing statues arise,' we read in the strophe that follows.²² In the context of the poem, the verses quoted above can easily be taken for a statement in the *paragone* between the visual arts and literature as it was already expressed by Petrarch: the visual arts may produce figures that seem very much alive, but they remain mute bodies—only words can show their inner life.²³ Yet, the repeated reference to Amphion implies that we are still in the domain of living stone, while the 'through more solid dimensions' suggests that the poet reaches a similar effect as the sculptor but through another way. What this 'other way' is seems evident: where the sculptor brings the stone to life with his chisel, the poet does so with his words—and he does it even better!

¹⁹ From the anonymous *Discorso sulle poesie di Urbano VIII* in BAV, Barb. lat. 3836, f. 22r: 'mostra ella [Sua Santità, Urban VIII Barberini] d'intendere in più alto modo le positure, l'attitudini, e le movenze, e l'ombre, & i lumi, che non l'intessero Athene, e Rodo, ne i suoi Apelli, e Protogeni, e così gli abiti, gl'ignudi, e gli scorti, e soprattutto gli affetti...'

²⁰ For Azzolino see DBI, vol. 4, s.v. 'Azzolino, Lorenzo'.

²¹ Brogiotti 1629, p. 127 ('Stanze di Monsig. Lorenzo Azzolini.'): 'Tu d'Anfione al paro, | Fidia, non già con molli Carmi, ò Cetre, | ma dà con duro ferro alma à le pietre. || Ma via più salde moli, | quando al Cigno Teban tolse la Palma | s'alzò Maffeo co'gloriosi Carmi...'

²² Lorenzo Azzolino in Brogiotti 1629, p. 127: 'Sorgan Statue spiranti'.

²³ Bettini 1984, pp. 227-231. Evidently, this idea had changed by the seventeenth century, when it was often stated that also the painter or sculptor not only depicted the body, but also the soul; see Delbeke 2002, pp. 205-207.

We may well assume that Azzolino was aware of the pope's earlier literary works; they must have been rather obligatory reading under his rule.²⁴ Among these early literary works are several epigrams, published, partly for the first time, in 1991 by Marina Castagnetti, that prove particularly relevant for our discussion.²⁵ Not only do they show Maffeo's interest in the poetic description of works of art, evidently inherited from his master Aurelio Orsi, but what is more, they show a particular interest in the lively character of these images and its effects on the spectator.²⁶ As an example we can refer again to the poem discussed in chapter one, first published in 1606 as part of a small collection of poetry by various authors:

Reclining, Cupid rests his members in soft rest while quietly a crystal-clear stream descends from his quiver. Don't you believe him to be made of marble! With gentle movement he brings forth soft air and the restrained breath resounds from his mouth. Do you deny hearing it? How is it possible [*quid nŕ!*] The murmur of the water blends with the murmur of the reclining [figure].²⁷

The deceit here is quite simple. The sleeping Cupid, seemingly not more than a marble fountain, is alive, even if his gentle breath is lost under the soft murmur of the water flowing forth from his quiver. As has been argued by Castagnetti, what is at stake here, is not a philosophical questioning of reality and appearance, or a moralizing lesson on the deceitfulness of the senses. Rather, the spectator, who, significantly, is addressed explicitly in the poem, is presented with an alternative, more creative way of experiencing the work. The poet, urging him to put aside his skepticism, complements the deceit of the sculptor with a poetic deceit.²⁸

It must have been particularly this aspect of Maffeo's poetry that prompted Azzolino to argue that he had taken the palm from Amphion's hand and which, eventually, prompted Bruni to address his poem to the pope. But there is yet another argument for identifying Bruni's 'newborn Orpheus' with Maffeo Barberini. As is well known, Maffeo actually wrote something for Bernini's group, a distich, now engraved in the base of the *Apollo and Daphne*. Without a doubt

²⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 22.

²⁵ Castagnetti 1991, pp. 1693-1703.

²⁶ Castagnetti 2003.

²⁷ BAV, Barb.lat. 1919, f. 57r and Orsi *et al.* 1606, p. 193; Castagnetti 1991, p. 1699 ('In eiusdem dormientis statuam.', i.e. 'On the statue of the same sleeping [Cupid].'): 'Stratus Amor molli permulcet membra quiete | vitrea de faretra leniter unda cadit | Marmoreum ne crede levem leni aera motu | ducit et attractus spiritus ore sonat | Hunc audire negas? quid ni confundit in unum | sternentis simili murmure murmur aqua.'

²⁸ Castagnetti 1991, pp. 1702-1703.

Bruni knew the distich; indeed he might actually refer to it in his poem. Before turning to this point though, some more attention needs to be paid to the spectator, for it was the work's impact on the spectator that prompted Maffeo to have his words placed at the base of the statue in the first place.

The Active Spectator

Among Bernini scholars, there has been some debate about what should be considered the most important viewpoint or viewpoints of the *Apollo and Daphne*.²⁹ Now, it is clear that the work could not be viewed from all sides; as is indicated by a sheet with the designs for the pedestal in the Borghese archive, already at its conception the work was planned to be set up close to the wall, which is furthermore attested by the somewhat unfinished character and unsatisfactory composition of the back of the statue.³⁰ Yet, Joy Kenseth has convincingly argued that the seventeenth-century visitor to the Villa Borghese could not have grasped the work 'in one dramatic moment' nor have seen it upon entering the room 'from an ideal viewpoint.' Rather, both doors that gave access to the room where the *Apollo and Daphne* was located, presented the person entering a view from the back of Apollo, thus forcing one to move around it in order to as much as grasp what it represents.³¹ And even those entering from the garden through a third door, 'still accompanied by the scent of laurel,' as one author has it, did not see the work from what is often taken to be its most favourable angle.³² Of course, there are ways to argue nonetheless in favour of one or another angle, but one may wonder if it is as favourable for the sculptor as it is for the engraver or the photographer who is trying to give an impression of the work in one single image. Indeed, it is for this reason that Kenseth argues that the work must rather be explored from a series of angles. But even if there is much to say for Kenseth's idea of multiple viewpoints, we must be careful in taking too serious the idea of a fixed trajectory for the beholder, of a 'narrative progression of viewpoints.'³³ Although, upon closing in

²⁹ For an overview of this discussion see Hermann Fiore 1997, p. 102 and Kenseth 1981, pp. 191-193, including respective notes. See furthermore Winter 2006, pp. 66-69.

³⁰ The sheet, first published in Hibbard 1958, p. 181, fig. 1, indicates that it was less than half a *palmo* (ca. 10 cm) from the wall.

³¹ For the placement see González-Palacios 1997, pp. 16-17 and Kenseth 1981, pp. 194-195, and fig. 3 (B) and fig. 16 (A). Schmitt 1997, p. 123 argues that the work would have been placed at an angle of 90 degrees to the wall, thus showing two long sides and one short side.

³² Hermann Fiore 1997, p. 101.

³³ The quote is from Warwick 2004, p. 375, who refers to Gibbons' discussion on multiple viewpoints in the works of Giambologna; cf. Gibbons 1995, p. 107: 'Although the spectator can take in only one view at a time, a succession of views in a work so reconstructed exists in the mind as an ongoing experience.' Obviously, this idea is informed by the insight that a film

on the work after entering through one of the doors, there may have been an initial effect where the story more or less seems to unfold, most spectators would have given the *Apollo and Daphne* more attention than just a one-time passing by. The work is not explored as a series of snapshots, all presenting a view on the work in full detail. Certain meaningful details can be uncovered only after longer elaboration, the beholder needs to step in and take a step back again, maybe walk back to explore again the development from to back view to the front, and so forth.³⁴ Thus, whereas the sculpture indeed suggests a development from left to right, that is, from the back of Apollo to the front of Daphne, its exploration will not proceed in the same pace, nor necessarily in the same direction.

Obviously, almost all sculpture can be viewed from various sides, and will often profit from such an approach. Why then the urge to restate what seems obvious in the case of the *Apollo and Daphne*? The answer must be sought in the extraordinary way that Bernini has exploited this aspect of his art. One of the most remarkable features of the work's composition is the way it plays with time, the intrinsic time of the work and the time of the spectator's contemplation.

The merge of time and space achieved by Bernini can not be easily captured in terms of the more traditional discussions on time in the arts. As we have seen, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing quite famously made a strict distinction between the spatial character of the visual arts and the temporal character of poetry.³⁵ Where the poet can describe a succession of events, the artist, according

consists of a series of images, rather than by a clear idea of the actual working of human perception. Fehrenbach 2008, pp. 15-17 takes Bernini's designs on paper as point of departure for discussing the main viewpoints [*Hauptansichten*] of the sculptor's *Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi*. Like the medium of photography, that of drawing forces the artist to choose an angle, and even if this choice is of course significant here, it tells us more about what the artist tried to convey with the drawing than about where the beholder should place him- or herself. Fehrenbach does not discuss Bernini's elaborate preparatory (?) drawings for the personifications of the rivers, such as that for the *Rio della Plata* in Florence (Brauer & Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 50) which favours a wholly different angle. For a different suggestion of the experience of sculpture in the round see Getsy 2000, pp. 37-38: 'Various factors such as glimpses, focused looking, distractions, associations with one's past, interpersonal negotiations with other viewers, and identification with content all weave themselves into the experience of sculpture and infuse our recollection of that experience.'

³⁴ See also Potts 2000, p. 35: '...the viewer, both frustrated and intrigued by the discrepancy between a suggested live body and the dead medium in which it is realised, is motivated to look harder and focus intently on those features of the work [...] that momentarily make the fixed shape seem moving and alive.'

³⁵ This aspect is only an element of a more extensive discussion on the role of time in the visual arts, going back to Aristotle's unities of time, place and action. See Lee 1940, pp. 197-269

to Lessing, ‘can use only a single moment of an action...’ Therefore, he must ‘choose the one that is most suggestive [*den prägnantesten*], from which the preceding and succeeding actions are most easily comprehensible.’³⁶ Lessing’s argument is primarily focused on the art of painting though, making it rather insufficient to include the particularities of the *Apollo and Daphne*. What in Ovid can be read as a sequence of clearly delimited events, Bernini has condensed in a fluid whole; pursuit, touch, and metamorphosis flow in and out of view in what only can be characterized as a moment stretched to its uttermost limits.³⁷ In this aspect it is closer to the text of Marino’s ‘Dafni’, published in his 1620 *La Sampogna*, then to Ovid’s original:

And he saw halfway still between blonde and green,
 the gold of the curly hair move on the air
 and he felt in touching the beloved wood
 under the living and tender bark,
 tremble the veins and throb the fibres.
 And then he halted...³⁸

The marble hair, of a lightness defying the ‘contrary nature of the material’, is thrown up in braids and strands of curling locks, and there, where it has already turned into laurel leaves, it touches the Sun God’s shoulder.³⁹ Yet, the branch-

and, particularly for the situation in France, Fried 1980, pp. 82-92. For a more general discussion of the role of time in the arts see Souriau 1949, pp. 294-307.

³⁶ Lessing/Barner 1990, p. 117: ‘Die Malerei kann in ihren coexistierenden Compositionen nur einen einzigen Augenblick der Handlung nutzen, und muß daher den prägnantesten wählen, aus welchem das Vorhergehende und Folgende am begreiflichsten wird.’ Trans. adopted from Lessing/McCormick 1962, p. 78. See *supra*, pp. 101-103.

³⁷ The text was most probably available to Bernini in the translation in Ovid/Anguillara/Horologgi & Turchi 1610 or a similar edition. Cf. McPhee 2000, nr. 12. The passage in Anguillara’s translation, *libro primo*, f. 8v, reads as follows: ‘Il piè veloce s’appiglia al terreno, | E con radice immobil vi si caccia: | La sommità del novo arbore ameno | Tenne la grata sua leggiadra faccia. | Servo sol lo splendore almo, e sereno. | Che vuol, ch’a Febo ancor quest’arbor piaccia. | Dubioso il tocca, e trova con effetto, | Tremar sott’altra scorza il vivo petto.’

³⁸ Marino/Pieri, Ruffino & Salvarini 2005, p. 155, lines 323-328: ‘E vide mezo ancor tra biondo e verde, | Poro del cresco crin moversi al’aura | e senti nel toccar l’amato legno | sotto la viva e tenerella buccia | tremar le vene e palpitar le fibre. | colà fermosi...’. Bolland 2000, pp. 313-315, mentions the same poem in relation to the sculpture, but cites only the lines following those cited above. Kenseth 1981, pp. 195-201, relates the work to another of Marino’s poems, titled ‘Dafne’ and published in Marino 1620. Even though there are obvious similarities between the two Marino poems, an important difference is that in the latter Apollo embraces Daphne rather than touching her, Marino/Pieri, Ruffino & Salvarini 2005, p. 451, lines 165-169: ‘All’hor ch’egli senti, forte stringendo | Tra le sue braccia il caro amato stelo, | Sotto la viva e tenerella scorza | Tremar gli spirti, e palpitar le fibre | Della già tanto spirata Ninfa.’

³⁹ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 136 [23 August] : ‘...il [Bernini] osait dire à Sa Majesté que ce n’était pas chose aisée, voulant arriver à donner à ces cheveux la légèreté, comme elle est au

like strand of hair is only a foreboding of what is to come. Marino describes Apollo's moment of confusion: '...envious foliage hides from me my love, my life.'⁴⁰ It is his hand that tells the truth. Not on the abundant naked skin, but there where the bark has begun to grow over the side of her stomach he touches her.⁴¹ The nymph's wood-like skin is still soft, 'alive and tender' in Marino's words, as it slightly gives way under Apollo's fingers. Only as he feels 'tremble the veins and throb the fibres' underneath does he fully realise what is happening, a moment that is echoed in his fleeting facial expression.⁴² It is this moment in time that Bernini has made the focal point of his intricate composition.

In a sense, this moment is clearly dramatic, it points both backward as well as forward in time; we know that the bark under Apollo's touch, now still soft, will turn into rough, solid matter within instants. Nonetheless, the previous and subsequent moments are not only *suggested* by the selection of a single pregnant moment, as Lessing prescribed, but they are actually *depicted*; one need just take a step to see them appear. Guidiccioni's term *pluralità*, though, as we have seen, used to describe a portrait bust, is also here applicable, the sculptor 'not only expressing more subsequent actions in one work [...], but also hinting at those that he cannot express...'⁴³ Contrasting moments are blended together visually, thus resulting in a convolution of dramatic moments forming a fluid, poetic whole, extending beyond the marble into the space of the beholder.

It is tempting to interpret these particularities of Bernini's work as a direct result of his contacts with poets and other literary minded people. Arguments have been put forward in favour of the sculptor's 'pindarismo', his 'petrarchismo', and his 'marinismo', while on a more theoretical level, aesthetic concepts such as 'varietà' and 'vivacità' were evenly used for the analysis of poetry on the one hand and of the visual arts on the other.⁴⁴ Yet, even if Bernini's

naturel ; que, pour cela, il fallait combattre contre la matière, qui est d' une nature contraire; que si Sa Majesté avait vu sa *Daphné*, Elle connaîtrait que le travail qu' il y avait fait en cette espèce ne lui a pas mal réussi.'

⁴⁰ Marino/Pieri, Ruffino & Salvarini 2005, p. 154, lines 299-301: '...invida fronde | mi nasconde | lo mio bene e la mia vita.'

⁴¹ On the relevance of touch in Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*, and in particular in relation to the poetry of Petrarch, see Bolland 2000, pp. 309-330.

⁴² It is a moment of 'distraction', as it has been described by Fried 2005, pp. 549-551. Apollo is clearly oblivious of being observed, being totally absorbed in his activities.

⁴³ Appendix 1, f. 204^r, lines 8-9; see chapter 3 for a further discussion.

⁴⁴ For the 'pindarismo' see Guidiccioni/Newman & Newman 1992, pp. 77-106, on p. 80: 'There is indeed a "Pindarismo" in both Bernini and Guidiccioni.' A similar suggestion has been made by Del Bravo 1985, pp. 45-50 for the case of Francesco Mochi: 'nel campo della scultura italiana tale analogia della sublimità inventiva e dell'ebrezza stilistica di Pindaro non-

conception can be understood in poetical terms, this can only be so in hindsight. Neither poetry nor theory can dictate a definitive style. Having said this, we must not dismiss the relevance of Bernini's literate environment. As has been argued above, poetry may broaden the aesthetic realm; the poet, sometimes even addressing the spectator directly, opens the senses for the effects of sound, space, air, colour, light, water, and so forth.⁴⁵ And is not the artist just another spectator?

Bernini's sensitivity for his poetic environment seems hard to deny; indeed, it must have had a profound impact on the artist. Yet, he was no 'mere translator'.⁴⁶ To further understand this, we must step outside the poetic discourse which surrounds the *Apollo and Daphne* and ask how the artist himself addresses the spectator. One of the characteristic features of the work is that its spatial conception almost forces the spectator to relate to it in terms of movement, time and metamorphosis; the depicted time intrudes the time of contemplation by its dramatic violence. An initial sense of movement is imposed on the viewer by the tilting of the marble, an effect that must have been even stronger before the pedestal was enlarged in the eighteenth century and patches of stucco were added to the base of the group.⁴⁷ The work tilts over the edge of the base, conveying a sense of instability which is echoed by the body of the beholder; the loss of balance invites a physical response, introducing us 'to what are strictly non-visual (e.g. vestibular, kinesthetic) components of our "visual" experience,' as Alva Noë has it.⁴⁸ However, the tension created by the factual instability of the group is resolved by the physical qualities of the material, the assumed physical reality of the figures. We do not feel that Apollo is falling over, but rather, he is leaping forward. His instability does not disturb us as we know by experience that the left leg will inevitably move forward to regain stability. The sense of movement is continued in all the details: the waiving hair, the fluttering, twisting robe, the muscular flesh, but also in the eyes that still look past the fleeing nymph in an undefined distance, as if to indicate the path of his

ché delle sue metafore prese di lontano, aveva già avuto un capolavoro nell'*Angelo annunziante* del Mochi, statua coclide di marmo, ebra di metafore di conchiglie e di rose.' For the 'petrarchismo' see Bolland 2000, pp. 313-318; and for the 'marinismo' Kenseth 1981, pp. 195-201. The terms *varietà* and *vivacità* are discussed in Delbeke 2002, chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

⁴⁵ See chapter 1.

⁴⁶ The citation is from Giovan Pietro Bellori cited in Pace 2001, p. 237: '...semplice traduttore...'

⁴⁷ By Vincenzo Pacetti in 1785; cf. González-Palacios 1997, doc. 7. A print by N. Dorigny of 1693, published in Hermann Fiore 1997, fig. 17, gives an idea of its original appearance.

⁴⁸ For the experience of instability see Noë 2001, pp. 123-135, in part. p. 131.

course.⁴⁹ How different is the tension in Daphne's twisted body! Her right flank and shoulder, still unhampered by the growing bark, have been thrown in an upward vortex, continued in the outstretched arms and the flying strands of hair, by what must have been a forward motion. That which from one angle seems as a deliberate evasion of her persecutor, almost a duck to the side, turns out to be an inevitable thrust upward. The bark, flexible, even soft under Apollo's hand, bends under Daphne's movement, but becomes more robust once we move to the other flank, rooting firmly in the rocky ground, only to bring Daphne to the inevitable full stop.

These are all aspects that are part of our perceptual experience; we do not interpret or read them, but understand them *physically*. As argued, the complex of movements and forces comprising the group cannot be taken in all at once; its experiencing also implies activity on the side of the spectator. The spectator lives through the spatial development of the figures as through an event, step by step, back and forth, relating one impression with the next.⁵⁰ This is not to say though, that an 'eye with legs' suffices.⁵¹ The work's tactile qualities are recognized, even without touching it, because one knows by experience how flesh feels to the touch. We recognize the dramatic movement of the figures because we have experienced these ourselves. The instability of the work is not interpreted but is felt directly in the stomach. To truly experience the work, a whole body is needed, a body with a memory.

The Petrified Spectator

Whereas, as we have seen, sculpture's vivaciousness is often thematized in ekphrases, that of the spectator is only occasionally. In fact, we read much more often that the latter remains in a state of shock, a state of immobile stupor. How can this be consonant with the idea of an active beholder as posed above? To console the two, we have to delve into the history of the idea of the petrified spectator, going back to the work of Petrarch. Let us first look at a contemporary example though, a poem simply titled 'Al Signor Cavalier Lorenzo Bernini', written by Tomaso Stigliani and published in his 1623 *Canzoniero*. The poem, even if not very original in its content, is interesting both because of its early date—it is among the earliest poetic references to the sculptor—and be-

⁴⁹ Thus creating, as Lavin 1980, vol. 1, p. 19 puts it, 'a startling sense of environment.'

⁵⁰ Cf. Noë 2006, p. 32.

⁵¹ The citation is in Alpers & Baxandall 1994, p. 8.

cause of the context in which it appeared.⁵² The 1623 edition of the *Canzoniero* is in fact dedicated to the Cardinal Borghese, the same Cardinal for whom Bernini was making the *Apollo and Daphne* at the very moment it was published, thus making it particularly relevant to our discussion:⁵³

They yield, o good Lorenzo, to your chisel,
Prometeus' torch,
and Medusa's severed head.
The torch in enlivening lifeless bodies,
and the head in petrifying animated members.
For every single one of your statues is so lifelike,
and I remain so stupefied in beholding [*mirare*] them,
that they seem the animated, I the petrified.
They seem alive, I seem sculpted.⁵⁴

The sculptor is not compared to Amphion now, but to Prometheus, the ancient Titan who with the fire stolen from Olympus gave life to man.⁵⁵ As in Bruni's poem the striking vivaciousness of the artist's sculptures is contrasted with their hard material essence. Yet, the play on liveliness and stone is here extended outside the sculpture, into the real world of the spectator. The spectator is stupefied by what he sees (or, more properly, what he beholds, contemplates [*mirare*]) and seems petrified, sculpted out of stone. Bernini's works have a potency surpassing that of Medusa. The 'Medusa topos', as it has been dubbed by John Shearman, has a long tradition and can be traced back to antiquity.⁵⁶ Interestingly, its use is not confined to descriptions of works of art and their spectators; in fact, it has an important tradition in lyric poetry. As such the *topos* was first extensively explored by Francesco Petrarca in his *Canzoniere*, a work to

⁵² Notably, the poem was published three years before Ludovico Leporeo's description of the *Apollo and Daphne* in Leporeo 1628.

⁵³ The picture painted in Haskell 1980, p. 27 of Cardinal Scipione Borghese as 'a man of few intellectual attainments' has more recently been rebutted by Flemming 1996, pp. 178 ff.

⁵⁴ Stigliani 1623, p. 445: 'Cedano, o buon Lorenzo, al tuo scalpello | Di Prometeo la face, | E'l teschio di Medusa. | La face in avvivar corpi insensati, | E'l teschio in impetrir membri animati. | Poscia ch'ogni tua statua è sì vivace, | Ed io resto sì stupido in mirarla, | Ch'ella par l'animato, io l'impetrato. | Ella rassembra il vivo, io lo scolpito.' Interestingly, in the copy of Stigliani's *Il canzoniero* in the BNR 71.2A.11, containing, as Besomi 1975, p. 55, n. 7 has indicated, notes and additions by the author himself, Bernini's name is crossed out and replaced by that of Francesco Mochi. These notes were probably made after 1644, cf. p. 237 where a dedication to 'Card. Barberino' has the addition: 'il vecchio che fù poi Pappa Urbano Ottavo.'

⁵⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 27.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 34. The relevance of the *topos* for the understanding of Bernini's work is discussed by Lavin 1998a, pp. 155-174.

which Stigliani explicitly shows to be indebted.⁵⁷ To understand the connotations of the latter's words, we should thus study the work of Petrarch and his use of the *topos*.⁵⁸

Let us look at his sonnet *L'aura celeste che 'n quel verde lauro* ('The heavenly breeze that [breathes] in that green laurel'), number 197 in the *Canzoniere*, where the Medusa *topos* is, interestingly enough, combined with a reference to Ovid's Apollo and Daphne story:

The heavenly breeze that breathes in that green laurel,
 where Love smote Apollo in the side
 and on my neck placed a sweet yoke
 so that I restore my liberty only late,
 has the power over me that Medusa had over the old Moorish giant,
 when she turned him to flint;
 nor can I shake loose that lovely knot
 by which the sun is surpassed, not to say amber or gold:
 I mean the blonde locks and the curling snare
 that so softly bind tight
 my soul, which I arm with humility and nothing else.
 Her very shadow turns my heart to ice
 and tinges my face with white fear,
 but her eyes have the power to turn it to marble.⁵⁹

The 'green laurel' from the first verse echo's the name of Petrarch's beloved but irreproachable Laura, while at the same time referring to the metamorphosis of the equally irreproachable Daphne of Ovid's story. Laura's hair moving on the wind brings the poet to his knees, the strains of hair being like a yoke [*giogo*] on his neck, a snare around his soul.⁶⁰ The hair on the wind has (as later the eyes will have) the same power that Medusa had on the 'old Moorish giant' Atlas, turned into a mountain ridge [*giogo*] by her petrifying looks. Undeniably, the poet is drawn in by Laura, not able to turn away, his soul is bound. But on

⁵⁷ For Stigliani's petrarchism see Bolland 2000, p. 317.

⁵⁸ See Braden 1999, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁹ Petrarca/Santagata 1996, nr. 197: 'L'aura celeste che 'n quel verde lauro | spira, ov'Amor feri nel fianco Apollo, | et a me pose un dolce giogo al collo, | tal che mia libertà tardi restauro, | | pò quello in me, che nel gran vecchio mauro | Medusa quando in selce transformollo; | né posso dal bel nodo omai dar crollo, | là 've il sol perde, non pur l'ambra o l'auro: | | dico le chiome bionde, e 'l crespo laccio, | che sì soavemente lega et stringe | l'alma, che d'umiltate e non d'altr'armo. | | L'ombra sua sola fa 'l mio cor un ghiaccio, | et di bianca paura il viso tinge; | ma li occhi àno virtù di farne un marmo.' Trans. Petrarca/Durling 1976, p. 342. For a discussion, but in a broader context, see also Balducci 2004, pp. 43 ff.

⁶⁰ Note here the dependence of the above cited passage from Marino's 'Dafni' on Petrarch's text.

the other hand, the poet cannot act on his intentions, his face tinged ‘with white fear’ by only her shadow. Laura is again a Daphne, unreachable, untouchable.

How now, does this reflect on our discussion of Bernini’s *Apollo and Daphne* and the way it may be perceived? To be sure, the work itself can be understood in a overt Petrarchan vein, but can we say the same thing about the beholder?⁶¹ On the one hand, we have seen that the liveliness of the marble figures is a clear invitation to the spectator’s active involvement with the figures. Bernini has conceived his work in such a way that an involvement in its poetic development is almost inescapable. It is, on the other hand a work of art, made of cold, white marble. It cannot be possessed by the spectator. He is, similar to Petrarch, a second Apollo, incapable of possessing that which draws him near. No matter to what extent the spectator gets carried away he is always conscious of the fact that the object of attraction is an artful fiction.

Life to Stone

Now, after this somewhat extensive excursion, to return to Bruni’s poem on the *Apollo and Daphne* cited at the beginning of this chapter. As indicated, a final reason to believe that the poet referred to as the ‘new Amphion, newborn Orpheus’ is indeed Maffeo Barberini, is the well known fact that a text by his hand can be found on the base of the *Apollo and Daphne*. In an exquisitely sculpted dragon’s head—it is, of course, the Borghese dragon—we find a Latin epigram reading as follows: ‘He who, loving, chases the joys of fleeting beauty, will catch but dry leaves, and bitter berries.’⁶² Although often read as an explanation of

⁶¹ Cf. Bolland 2000.

⁶² ‘Quisquis amans sequitur fugitivae gaudia formae, | Fronde manus implet, baccas seu carpit amaras.’ As has been argued first by Cesare d’Onofrio and later, more extensively, by Marina Castagnetti, the distich does not stand alone; together with the lines that were to be found on the base of Bernini’s *Pluto and Proserpina*, it is part of a series of twenty-nine distiches. D’Onofrio dates the *distichi* before 1618, therefore suggesting that Maffeo wrote the lines not specifically for the *Apollo and Daphne* but had them already at hand. Castagnetti on the other hand, argues more convincingly that they must have been written earlier—but not much earlier—than the reburial of Pope Paul V organized by his nephew Scipione Borghese on the thirtieth of January, 1622. Regarding the fact that the first payment for the marble dates from the second of August, 1622, and allowing for several months to work it into something recognizable, it must be concluded that the distich had indeed been written before Bernini started working on the marble. Unfortunately, chronology is somewhat complicated if we take Bernini’s anecdote to Chantelou cited below into account. Judging from a letter written to the pope, Cardinal de Sourdis had left Rome for his homeland France before the seventeenth of July, 1622—that is, several weeks before Bernini received the block of marble. The only way to allow for these dates is either to conclude that Bernini mixed up some names—possibly deliberately, as D’Onofrio suggests, introducing a French name to please his French audience—or to conclude that the two Cardinals had been looking at a clay *modello* rather

the work, a translation in text of that what the work already shows itself, such a reading does not conform to the history of its conception as we know it from several sources.⁶³ Bernini himself, or so we read with Chantelou, recounted the story as follows:

when he was working on the *Daphne*, Pope Urban VIII (then still a cardinal) came in to see it with Cardinal de Sourdis and Cardinal Borghese who had commissioned it. Cardinal de Sourdis remarked to the latter that he would have some scruples about having it in his house; the figure of a lovely naked girl might disturb those who saw it. His Holiness answered that he would attempt a cure [*remède*] with a couple of verses.⁶⁴

Maffeo's response seems quite tame, particularly if we consider that Tommaso Campanella wrote in his *Commentaria* that he regarded Ovid's *favola* of Apollo and Daphne as one of the principal causes of the decadence of poetry.⁶⁵ The story, Campanella argues elsewhere, is of the same low, lascivious order as Marino's *Adone* which, as we have seen, was put on the index by Maffeo, then Pope Urban VIII, in June 1624.⁶⁶ Taking Bernini's account at face value though, it must be admitted that it is not the story of Apollo and Daphne itself but particularly the 'naked girl' that might offend the spectator. When we regard Domenico Bernini's account of the anecdote this picture can be even further specified. He writes in the biography he wrote of his father that the lines were attached 'because she was a female nude, and even if made of stone, she was made by Bernini's hand and could accordingly offend the chaste eye.'⁶⁷

than at the marble. For the discussion see Castagnetti 2003, pp. 80, 97, 100-101, with further references to D'Onofrio 1967. For the dates of De Sourdis' stay in Rome see Lavin 1968, p. 238, n. 102. The document for the marble payment was published in Faldi 1954, p. 35.

⁶³ Warwick 2004, p. 360; Bolland 2000, p. 316.

⁶⁴ Chantelou/Stanic 2001, p. 57 [12 June]: 'quand il eut fait la *Daphné*, le pape Urbain VIII (il n'était alors que cardinal) l'étant allé voir chez lui, le cardinal de Sourdis, qui était avec Sa Sainteté, dit au cardinal Borghèse, pour qui elle avait été faite, qu'il aurait scrupule de l'avoir dans sa maison; que la figure d'une belle fille nue, comme celle-là, pouvait émouvoir ceux qui la voient. Sa Sainteté répartit qu'avec deux vers il se faisait fort d'y donner remède.' Trans. Chantelou/Blunt & Bauer 1985, p. 30.

⁶⁵ Campanella/Bolzoni 1977, pp. 786-787: 'sex fabulae sacer vates pestiferas in exemplum adducit: prima est Phoebi cum Daphne'. That 'sacer vates' indeed refers here to Maffeo Barberini, then Pope Urban VIII is indicated by similar references in Campanella's text; see e.g. *ibid.*, p. 688.

⁶⁶ Campanella writes this in his *Poëticorum*, in Campanella/Bolzoni 1977, p. 484.

⁶⁷ Bernino 1713, pp. 19-20: '...per esser femmina nuda, benche di Sasso, mà di mano del Bernino, poteva offendere l'occhio pudico...' Baldinucci/Samek Ludovici 1948, p. 14 expresses himself in a similar manner when discussing Bernini's *Truth* on the tomb of pope Alessandro VII: '...perché femina nuda, benché di sasso, ma però di mano del Bernino, non bene si confaceva colla candidezza de' pensieri dell'oggi regnante pontefice [Innocenzio XI]...'

How is it that particularly ‘Bernini’s hand’ could make the marble so offensive? An answer may be found in his ability to bring the marble to life. Bernini’s capacity to render the marble as soft as living flesh, seemingly sensitive to every touch (‘sense and life,’ writes Bruni), sensitive to every suggested movement, gives the Daphne a sensual appeal that is unprecedented.⁶⁸ The physical attraction of the marble is further attested by a poem of the poet Fulvio Testi, who we know, in fact, to have seen the *Apollo and Daphne* personally and who had befriended Bernini during his stay in Rome in the 1630s.⁶⁹ In an extensive poetic lamentation of the city of Rome, Testi asks the sculptor to justify himself for his *Apollo and Daphne*:

Why, breathing in living stone, in Rome,
show Apollo and the fleeing beauty,
who, while her feet root stubbornly in the ground,
crowns her head with sizzling leaves?⁷⁰

Testi presents the *Apollo and Daphne* as the epitome of a Rome fallen into corruption and luxury, his marbles being vile [*vili*], lascivious. Bernini’s ability to bring his figures to life (‘breathing in living stone’) is here not praised but questioned. It is their vivaciousness that is the cause of their low nature.

Evidently, a reference to ‘the moral of the story’ did neither suffice to cancel out Bernini’s living marble, nor to ‘cure’ the disturbed viewer. Rather, Maffeo Barberini’s sensitivity for sculptural aesthetics, as indicated by the early work

⁶⁸ See for Bernini’s capacity to render the human flesh Cousinié 2002 (with further references) and *supra*, chapter 5.

⁶⁹ Letter by Fulvio Testi to Conte Francesco Fontana, 29 January, 1633, Rome, in Testi/Doglio 1967, vol. 1, nr. 403, pp. 432-433: ‘Il mio carnevale sarà una dolcissima, gustosissima, virtuosissima conversazione di quattro o cinque gentiluomini letterati della prima bussola, ma galantuomini e begli umori in eccesso. Questi ogni di vengono a ritrovarmi sì che ho del continuo una mezza accademia in casa, nella quale per favorirmi s’è contentato d’entrare il cavalier Bernino [...]. Questi s’è innamorato di me et io di lui, et è veramente un uomo da fare impazzire le genti, perché sa molto anche di belle lettere e ha motti et arguzie che passano l’anima.’ Cfr. *ibid.*, vol. 2, nr. 621, p. 87: ‘Il cavalier Bernino [...] è mio amico particolare’ and nr. 1223, pp. 742-743.

⁷⁰ See appendix 2, lines 25-28 [= BEM, ms. α.]9.15, f. 3r: ‘Perche spirante in vivo sasso à Roma | Mostrare Apollo, e la beltà fugace, | Ch’ abbarbicando al suolo il pie’ tenace | Di fronda sibillante il capo inchioda.’ De Castro 1875, p. 85, n. 1, notes ‘Fu pubblicata primamente dal Venturi, indi dall’avv. D. Ferrero. La censura pontifica, vivente il poeta, ne vietò la pubblicazione.’ For this episode see Testi’s letter to his father Conte Giulio Testi, dated 28 September (?) 1644 and published in Testi/Doglio 1967, vol. 3 (1638-1646), no. 1831: ‘Bisogna per tutti i rispetti conformarsi al gusto del reverendo padre Inquisitore e di troppo cattivo esempio sarebbe il contrastare al suo zelo ed alla sua prudenza. Levisi tutta la canzone del lusso di Roma e si lasci fuora. Dio volesse che sì come taceranno i miei versi, così tacesero le lingue del mondo.’ Cfr. also no. 1441. For Fulvio Testi see also Castagnetti 1969.

discussed above, suggests a more elaborate reading of his intentions. The key to these intensions can be found in the petrarchan origin of Barberini's epithet. It has been noted by Rudolf Preimesberger that Maffeo's distich echo's Petrarch's sonnet *Sí traviato è 'l folle mi' desio* ('So far astray is my mad desire'), number 6 of his *Canzoniere*.⁷¹ As in the sonnet by Petrarch discussed above, the author alludes in this poem to the story of Apollo and Daphne to show the double character of his attraction to his Laura/Daphne. Blinded and gone astray by maddening longing he chases the object of his desire, only to find himself under her spell, brought to his knees, his spirit broken:

and when he [i.e., 'my mad desire'] takes the bit forcefully to himself,
I remain in his power,
as against my will he carries me off to death;
only to come to the laurel, whence one gathers
bitter fruit that, being tasted,
afflicts one's wounds more than it comforts them.⁷²

The 'bitter fruit' gathered by the poet, is as salt in an open wound; he finds no reward for his suffering but is only hurt more. All his suffering 'only to come to the laurel', only to find her unreachable, untouchable, like Marino's *Cantatrice crudele* 'to prayers a tree stump, to tears a stone'.

Barberini must have been well aware of the connotations of Petrarch's sonnet. Rather than suggesting the spectator a moralist reading of the *Apollo and Daphne*, the epithet underlines the inaccessibility of the work, the helplessness of the spectator.⁷³ It addresses the spectator not as somebody who interprets or reads the work but one who actually experiences it. Where Bernini draws the spectator in, puts, in Petrarch's terms, the yoke on his neck by bringing the marble to life, Maffeo finishes the metamorphoses initiated by the sculptor leaving the spectator with nothing more than the leaves and bitter berries of the laurel tree. This now, suggests a conclusive reading of the poem by Antonio Bruni with which we started this discussion. Maffeo Barberini is indeed the 'sovereign sculptor', proving the Daphne 'courteous' to his lyre. Only he can laude the beautiful Daphne, for where Bernini shows her 'breathing in living

⁷¹ Preimesberger 1989a, p. 124.

⁷² Petrarca/Santagata 1996, nr. 6: 'Et poi che 'l fren per forza a sé raccoglie, | i' mi rimango in signoria di lui, | che mal mio grado a morte mi trasporta: | sol per venir al lauro onde si coglie | acerbo frutto, che le piaghe altrui | gustando afflige più che non conforta.' Trans. Petrarca/Durling 1976, p. 40.

⁷³ An interesting parallel may be found in Michelangelo's *Brutus* and its inscription, as discussed in Bredekamp 1995, pp. 54-64.

stone', Maffeo shows her for what she actually is: 'now in plant,' he changes her, 'and now in stone.'

* * *

As it appears, the efficacy of the *Apollo and Daphne* is significantly altered by Maffeo's distich, an alteration that is alluded to in Bruni's poem: the marble is 'courteous' to the poet's 'lyre.' The text exercises its influence on the sculpture; it frames the work, providing an initial context in which it must be read.⁷⁴ Where the spectator may be addressed on a bodily or psychological level, textual culture intervenes, plays with his or her reactions and changes their meanings, gives them a direction. This does of course not mean that the placement of the distich excluded all other responses to the work. It is a kind of coping that only functions within a very narrowly defined cultural context; the whole poetic discourse of living sculpture is already there, driving the responses of the beholder. Tapping into this discourse with his poem, Maffeo tries to turn the conventional order around. In the tension between the hard marble and the living, breathing figures it represents, the Pygmalian beholder is time and again pressed to let him- or herself get carried away by the lively nature of the figures. Maffeo, as an anti-Venus, does not give life, but swings the pendulum the other way. Where Pygmalion found, in the end, real flesh, the beholder is once more reminded that the work he is looking at is nothing but cold, hard marble.

⁷⁴ For conceptual framing see the classic study Goffman 1974.

Conclusion

At the outset of this study we have signalled what may be dubbed the double character of sculpture. Whereas the sculpted object is so obviously carved from hard, cold and lifeless marble, at the same time it conjures up a seemingly living presence of soft, undulating flesh, dramatic movements, and fluttering draperies. And even if sculpture is not unique in its capacity to mimic life, its physical, tangible presence makes this double character stand out to the beholder more than any other art. As its apparent life is persistently obscured by its materiality and its materiality continually denied by hints of life, sculpture inherently challenges the beholder, is cause for confusion or frustration. As we have seen, this was no less the case in seventeenth-century Rome; in fact, the double character of sculpture and the manner in which the beholder coped with this has proven to be a central issue in contemporary discussions of art. Throughout this study, we have explored the complicated interaction between beholder and work of art, asking how we may understand the manner in which the seventeenth-century beholder engaged the sculpted object.

Two lines of inquiry have been adopted to approach this problem. In the first place we have, in chapter one, reconstructed and analyzed a poetic discourse which, in the way it persistently thematizes and problematizes the beholder's intricate interaction with the artwork, has provided us with a series of themes that have formed the outset of the subsequent chapters. And secondly, insights from modern-day psychology have been introduced to gain further understanding of the way in which the beholder deals with the complicated nature of sculpture. These two approaches have proven to be complementary, allowing us on the one hand to get a sense of the dispositions of contemporary beholders, and, on the other hand, to describe how certain responses were

grounded in very real psychological phenomena. Moreover, we have been able to look at the sculpted object from a radically new angle, regarding it as an intricate, plural construct that engages with and responds to the beholder's bodily, psychological, and literary informed interactions with the image.

Here the ideas of Sforza Pallavicino, even if largely in the background, have proven to be instrumental. His theory of epistemology and mimesis grounded in response, which, in its turn, is grounded in memory, have allowed an opening up of the way we regard sculpture and its mimetic faculties. Notably, with his introduction of the *prima apprensione*, Pallavicino has given an important clue of how we may conceive of an art that goes beyond traditional ideas of mimesis. As we may recall, for Pallavicino to imitate means 'to produce with one's work some of the sensible effects [...] which one usually finds only in the object being imitated,' but in such a manner that this work 'awakens in the imagination the memory of that object in which it is most commonly found, and of the other of its properties...' ¹ This notion has shown to have two important consequences. Firstly, for Pallavicino, looking at art implies an interaction between what is perceived and what is present in memory. The success of art is determined not by an absolute truthfulness, but rather by its capacity to reactivate the beholder's previous experiences. As a result, the artist inquires not as much in nature itself, but rather into the human imagination and the memories that linger there. Secondly, Pallavicino argues that only *some* properties of that which is represented need to be observed in order to bring it back in all its complexity. A handful of elements may bring back a memory in all its splendour, including not only the various senses—something seen may awaken a scent, a sense of touch—but also the emotions that accompanied these remembered encounters.

As we can now say, Pallavicino's ideas with regard to perception and mimesis reflect a way of thinking about art and beholder that was much more common, namely, that which can be found in poetry and other literary sources. More than these sources, though, Pallavicino's ideas have helped us to reformulate the problem in psychological terms, allowing for the introduction of modern-day psychology. Particularly the importance he attached to memory has proven central; by putting forward such a beholder centred conception of mimesis grounded in memory, we have been able to understand sculpture as a complex construction, a composite of effective elements that can be manipu-

¹ As cited *supra*, p. 3, n. 8.

lated in an attempt to optimize its allusions to memory and, as a result, the responses of the beholder.

Poetry

In its breadth, the poetic discourse discussed in the first chapter illustrates the plurality of the beholder's responses to sculpture. Here, again, sculpture is almost never believed to be completely alive; rather, there are different moments of confusion, different aspects of life that may play a role in the interaction between beholder and artwork as it is sketched by the poet. And even if the most common poetic response is that of rather bluntly taking the work of art to be alive, a more thorough analysis of sources has allowed us to map the complexities of such a seemingly straightforward remark. Nonetheless, as has often been remarked upon, these sources remain highly conventional. This does not, so we have seen, make them less significant, or at least not for the questions we have asked. Being so thoroughly embedded in contemporary society and touching on a large variety of discourses, it is precisely because of the sheer repetition of, and variations on, a single theme that these texts have so effectively shaped the contemporary eye. Indeed, it is precisely this conventional character that has helped us in our attempt to reconstruct the dispositions of the seventeenth-century beholder, a beholder, so it turns out, who was very much attuned to the complex nature of the sculpted object.

Where Pallavicino has provided us with a theoretical underpinning, the poetic discourse has given us the terms to describe the manner in which the beholder engaged with art. Poetry shows us the span of the emotional field that was at the artist's command. An important insight for our understanding of the sculpture of this period, is that the boundary between object and subject is crossed again and again. Sculpture, for the beholder, does not stand alone, but is enmeshed in its natural context. It not only shares the space of the beholder in a passive manner, but both actively responds to the world that is also that of the beholder, and at the same time gives shape to this world. Thus, if draperies may flutter on the very same wind that the beholder feels on his skin, the sound of a rustling stream is appropriated and becomes the sound of the sculpture's soft breath. This awareness of sculpture's physical presence is what sets it off against painting, so obviously confined to its frame. With the beholder's involvement comes also the demand for introspection; time and again the beholder or reader is invited to focus on what he or she *feels*, what his or her responses are. In this introspective mode, the apparent duality of sculpture between life and lifelessness is constantly at the centre of attention.

The attention for the duality of sculpture was also the outset of chapter seven, where, in our discussion of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*, the intricate interaction between poetry, sculpture and the beholder has been yet further explored. We have seen that, even if the beholder's responses must be understood as entangled with the poetic discourse described at the outset of the book, the discourse itself is grounded in our bodies and the way it allows us to interact with the world around us. Language not only fosters awareness but can give a direction to such responses, it colours them. It is in this field of tensions between body and language that the sculptor gives shape to his work of art.

Sculpture

The impact of this taking up a beholder-centred conception of mimesis has come most clearly to the fore in our discussion of the specific qualities of sculpture. Sculpture, so it has turned out, is as much an art of illusion as painting.² By acknowledging this, we can view these works of art in terms that relate more directly to the concerns and experience of the contemporary beholder. Moreover, we have been able to describe some of the principles that are at the base of sculpture's 'power to deceive'; indeed, only in adopting a beholder-centred theory of mimesis can we recognize and look more closely at the way in which the artist reaches certain effects. This has become most apparent in our discussion of the suggestion of movement in sculpture, where the discrepancy between art and nature is the most difficult to ignore. The idea that the artist, in order to suggest motion, is restricted to the depiction of one single frozen instant, an interrupted moment from actual locomotion, has proven to account little for the techniques applied in seventeenth-century sculpture. Rather, building on the ideas of Auguste Rodin and Erwin Panofsky we have been able to illustrate that the sculptor builds his images from a series of moments that are brought together in what only seems to be a unified whole. It is in the relative relationship between these moments, and the way in which the beholder may relate to them physically, that we found the possibility to suggest ongoing motion. What is more, by focussing on the experience of movement, rather than its duplication, we can understand more closely how suggested movements may differ in speed and quality, finding ways to describe the languid movements of elegance or the violent movements of confusion.

Maybe more surprisingly, it has turned out that the portrait bust, discussed extensively in chapters two and three, must be seen as a complex construct as well. Having reduced the issue of likeness, so central to contemporary debates,

² Notably, Gombrich's 1962 classic *Art and Illusion* focusses on painting only.

to a set of relatively simple rules that allow for the recognition of an individual in the artwork, we have been able to show that what makes up the portrait bust is largely rhetorical. Seemingly superficial details are introduced in order to create, in Roland Barthes' words, a 'reality effect,' that is to say, to suggest a truthfulness to the sitter even if they contribute only little to actual identification. Moreover, we have seen that the bust, more than a single impression or snapshot, should be understood as a complex of impressions, brought together by the artist into a fluent whole. As a result of this *pluralità*, the bust is characterized by an ambiguity that invites the beholder to project life into it.

Another issue that has come to the fore in the course of our discussion, and which can be much more easily given a place in a beholder focussed conception of mimesis, is the role of artistic practice in the experience of the finished work of art. The seventeenth-century viewer, so it turns out, approached sculptures as objects that were explicitly *made* by someone, to such an extent that this process of making could become an intrinsic part of the way sculpture was perceived as straddling the line between life and lifelessness. This is nicely illustrated by Guidiccioni's account of Bernini's portrait busts of Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Scipione Borghese, discussed in chapter three, where the vivacious, plural character of these busts is directly related to the manner in which they were made. As the chapter on *franchezza* has illustrated though, such stories of creation need not necessarily relate to the actual manner in which the image came into being. Rather, the sculptor alludes to their materiality and their making in elaborate ways, evoking these not to be 'true' to his art, but above all to elicit a response in the beholder.

Psychology

Recent developments in psychology, first and foremost in the field of grounded cognition, have allowed us to build a bridge between seventeenth-century and modern-day ideas on cognition and perception. Whereas Pallavicino's Aristotelian account in itself suggests a psychological approach, these recent developments not only allow for interesting connections, but actually provide an experimental underpinning for the Jesuit's intuitions. What is more, they have enabled us to look more closely at what makes sculpture unique as an art.

One of the important points of convergence between these two approaches is the role of multimodality in both perception and memory. That is to say, the different perceptual systems, ranging from vision to hearing to touch, but also including perceptions of internal states such as emotions, and body movements, all play a role and work together in the way we experience, conceptualize and remember the world around us. The specific kind of multimodal represen-

tations that are part of our experience of sculpture, involving visual memories, but also memories of actively exploring the work, of introspections of emotional responses, and so forth, are closer to those involved in easing into a chair (to refer to the example Lawrence Barsalou gives in his discussion of grounded cognition), with all its associations of visual and tactile experiences, the action of sitting down, but also feelings of comfort and relaxation, than the purely visual, two dimensional experience that is often (but, we may add, wrongly) associated with looking at a picture.³ Thus, if the beholder understands sculpture as something that is explicitly made, this is because his own memories of manipulating material allow for a sort of inner re-enactment, even if much simplified, of the sculpture's creation. In the case of (figurative) sculpture though, this field of associations is, as we have seen, not confined to lifeless objects alone. Our interactions with our fellow men, starting with our very earliest experiences, set the stage for how we approach the world, and the sculptor tries to re-evolve these kind of experiences as vigorously as possible. Thus, we invest sculpture with life in all its manifestations, because we have experienced life both as living beings ourselves and in our encounters with other living beings.

Closely related to this dynamic of experience and association is the psychological concept of caricature. Adopting a theory of mimesis that is grounded in response, we have found there is a discrepancy between the perfect match between nature and art (if such a thing exists) and the optimal response, that indeed often exceeds nature. We may stress here again that caricature should here not necessarily be seen as something purely satirical. Caricature, as a psychological principle, is both much broader than funny pictures, and goes beyond considerations of likeness alone. As we have seen, caricaturizing not only enhances likeness, but may play a role in issues as diverse as the suggestion of movement and the cuteness of *putti*.

A further insight concerns the active nature of perception, which has enabled us to understand why the physical character of sculpture is such a big issue. As long as we recognize action only as something that *precedes* perception, allowing us to change our angle on the sculpted object, sculpture always remains 'over there', no different than the picture on the wall. As Alva Noë's theory of action in perception shows, though, action is part of perception itself. Our exploration of the sculpted object is an active involvement, and encounter that, even if it may privilege a certain route of approach, can never be reduced to a series of snapshots. Only when we understand sculpture as something that

³ Barsalou 2008, p. 618.

is physically present, something that we can reach out and touch, can we understand the impact of the sculpted flesh as something that, even without being touched, appeals in particular to the sense of touch. And in a different way, such an active approach to perception helps us to understand how we may weave the apparently fragmentary, plural image into a moving, vivacious whole.

By returning repeatedly to the position of the beholder, we have become aware of the fact that artists are, in a sense, psychologists themselves, who have a rather privileged take on what experience is and how it can be manipulated. As such, they, and the informed beholder, may help us to formulate new questions. Some of those questions have been posed in the course of this book, and often only a tentative answer could be formulated. How do we perceive movement in the static image? Can we somehow confirm Rodin's suggestions? We may be certain that more specific questions can be asked and answered by the psychologist. Thus the exchange between art history and psychology, or for that matter, anthropology, sociology, does not need to be a one-way exchange. By departing from a non-experimental setting, the art historian can in fact help formulate questions and suggest ways of inquiry that allow the psychologist to bridge the gap between laboratory and real life.

The study of sculpture, as an art so obviously physical and tangible, may play a particular role in this exchange. A great deal of the discussion regarding the experience of art, particularly when scholars borrow from psychology, is focussed on the art of painting, and although painting and sculpture have interesting common features, the study of sculpture is much hampered by the oculo-centrism, not only of art history, but also of psychology. Obviously, the eye plays a more than significant role also in our perception of sculpture. As early modern sources indicate, though, there is more to sculpture than meets the eye, so to speak. In order to come to a full and historical account of sculpture and its experience these aspects need to be taken serious. The implications are not few; it means we need to reconsider how we think about perception itself in a way only hinted at in this book. Less mainstream currents of psychology, such as the 'enactive approach' by Alva Noë, can point us in interesting directions. On the other hand, again the art historian may contribute as well. In the exchange between disciplines noted above, the study of sculpture may play a specific role in steering the discussion away from the oculo-centrism that still dominates both psychology and art history.

As we have seen, the implications of such an approach go beyond the isolated works of art themselves. It should also make us reconsider the ideas we have on how these works were made, and the role the techniques and materials involved in their making, as well as the stories of their making, have in the per-

ception of the work and the artist.⁴ Recent approaches in theoretical psychology, such as Andy Clark's and David Chalmers' ideas on the extended mind, can help us to open up these still often separately treated domains by bringing the creative process out there in the world under the eyes of the beholder.⁵ Seventeenth-century Rome may be a good point of departure for such an exploration. As a period that so clearly puts the beholder central in its considerations and so clearly thematizes the beholder's interactions with the work of art, it actually forces us to understand him or her as a fully active and embodied subject that engages physically with art and art in the making.

Seventeenth-Century Rome

We may well ask how specific the argument developed in this book is for the situation of seventeenth-century Rome. In our synchronic approach to the art of the seventeenth century, the question of development has hardly been touched upon, though in effect, we have discussed many topics that, one time or another, have been deemed central to the period as a whole and that accordingly should set it apart from earlier or later centuries. The sensuality of the sculpted flesh discussed in chapter five, for example, was central to Werner Weisbach's ideas about baroque art, as was that of movement, discussed in our chapter four.⁶ Yet, Weisbach's concern, even if he was not insensitive to the affective qualities of art, was very much that of the connoisseur, seeking for stylistic features that would help to pin down the art of a period. By asking to what effect these qualities were employed, though, we have found that they should be perceived as more than solely stylistic features, forcing us to look into the dispositions of the beholder, and the psychological effect such qualities could have had.

It will be evident that, even if Pallavicino's approach is quite original, much of what may be found in the seventeenth-century poetic discourse was not manifestly new. And yet, there are shifts of attention, certain topics that are now more persistent than in other periods, that give such texts a particular flavour of their own. Obviously, only a more historical approach to these sources may lay bare what precisely discerns them from ancient or renaissance poetry, though with our analysis in chapter one we have a good indication of their particular flavour. Terms such as *franchezza* and *pluralità* seem to capture some-

⁴ See Baker 1998, in particular pp. 513-517.

⁵ Menary 2010, Clark & Chalmers 1998; See Gell 1998, chapter 9 and Mithen 2000 for anthropological and archaeological perspectives respectively. For a promising approach see Cain 2010.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 11-12.

thing which, if not exclusive to the period, at least suggests a change of interest, of approach. We might want to bring these terms into relation with Wölfflinian qualifiers such as ‘painterly’ and ‘multiplicity’, but as may be clear at his point, their sense runs deeper than purely formal qualities alone.⁷ That is, they are intrinsically bound up with an experience, an experience, furthermore, that cannot be seen apart from the dispositions of the beholder. We may note, for example, how easily authenticity is replaced by the *feel* of authenticity, now captured by the term *franchezza*, and how, subsequently, this feel is further explored, extended upon, and employed to hint at something higher than authenticity alone.

More in general, it is this awareness, this allowance of a psychological factor, that gives the artist an impetus to go beyond that which is laid down in the rules of proportion, even those of decorum. As Bellori notes, Duquesnoy’s rubenesque *putto moderno* sins against decorum, its young, plumb body unable to perform the acts the artist has him perform, and yet, it is so much more effective in moving the beholder in this guise.⁸ The concept of naturalism, which was put forward by Burckhardt and Weisbach as central to affective power of the sculpture of the period, thus turns out to be only a first step. Only at a first glance are Duquesnoy’s *putti* naturalistic, the suggestion of naturalism, as in the portrait bust, being part of the artist’s rhetorical means. Moreover, it is a means that is easily overruled in favour of other effects, as is the case with the elongation of figures and members we have found in the work of Antonio Raggi. Indeed, such elongations were not unique for the period, as they were not unique for the art of the second half of the sixteenth century. What does make these qualities specific for the period, is how they are part of a larger artistic climate, a climate that made the complicated relation between beholder and artwork to a central concern.

Even if such a concern may seem to stand far from that of our own today, the implications of a beholder-centred theory of mimesis reach further than seventeenth-century Rome alone. As we see our own post-modern society reflected in that which we call baroque, we may wonder to what extent the Pygmalion problem lingers in our own experience of sculpture. How self-conscious are we when we approach a work of art and how open are we to its emotional impact? To ask this question means also to question our own dispositions. And

⁷ See Wölfflin 1915. In fact, for Wölfflin, baroque art (though he does not include sculpture in his discussion of this term) is rather an art of relative unity than one of multiplicity.

⁸ Bellori/Borea 1976, p. 299: ‘Ma con tutto che sieno di esattissima imitazione, quella tenerezza non si contiene nella proprietà del costume, mentre egli li mosse ad atti di forza e di giudizio in quell’età che non si reggono per se stessi...’

as we become aware of these dispositions, we may even learn to shrug them off, and adopt those, if only partially, of centuries passed.

Appendices

Appendix 1: A Letter to Bernini

Letter from Lelio Guidiccioni to Cav. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, dated 4 June 1633, in: BAV, Barb.Lat. 2958, ff. 202r-207v.

Part of the letter were first published by Cesare D’Onofrio in 1967 and more recently additions to his texts have been made by Philip Zitzlsperger, who apart from his own additions seems to have copied D’Onofrio’s rendering literally.¹ Referring back to the original document, I have made some additions and changes to both. Although Zitzlsperger writes that, apart from some passages that have been rendered illegible by ink rot, he publishes the letter in extenso, there are two reasonably legible sections of the letter which he has not transcribed at all. Admittedly, these do not seem to be the most interesting parts of the letter, treating respectively the sculptor’s virtues (ff. 202r-203r) and a summation of antiquities that have influenced him or are surpassed by him (ff. 204r-204v). Accordingly, I too have not fully transcribed them here, though I have tried to give clearer indications of what is lacking where. The sentences as transcribed below follow the line breaks of the original text. Where one or several words in a sentence are missing in the transcription, this is indicated by three points between angled brackets: ‘[...]’, where I was not sure of a word, it is followed by a question mark between brackets: ‘[?]’, where part of a word is missing this is indicated with the tilde: ‘~’, and where a whole sentence is missing this is indicated by an open line with a single point. When more than three lines are omitted, only three blank-pointed lines are shown, with an indication of the total of missing lines.

¹ The letter is transcribed in Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 179-183 and D’Onofrio 1967, pp. 380-388.

[202r] Signor Cavalier Bernini

Quando io vengo familiarmente usando termini d'osservanza et amore verso Vostra Signoria, ella mostra ò di non credere, ò di maravigliarsi.

Se fusse così, nel primo modo faria torto à me, et nel secondo à se stessa. È così meco la verità, come lontano

5 da Vostra Signoria l'ignoranza. [...]

.

· [31 lines]

.

[202r]

· [30 lines]

.

[203r]

· [25 lines]

.

26 Son 12 anni, ch'io scrissi di Vostra Signoria due parole mandate al publico; et conclusi che nell'opere di scoltura, ella s'incaminava à liberar questo secolo dall'invidia degli antichi. Parve, ch'io dicessi molto et giove [?] poco; perche non di~ [?] si, [...] ella si studiava di farsi che gli antichi invidiassero è [?] noi, sempre

30 la [?] veneratione che si deve à quelli immortali spiriti, retta al suo luogo.

Tuttavia, le mie verità sopra le lodi di Vostra Signoria non sono à i nostri giorni sì oscure, che non siano testimoniate da un chiarissimo Pontefice, et da un

[203r] gran Cardinale. Non sò io, che il gloriosissimo Papa Urbano Nostro Signore fra l'altre laudi, che può recarsi [?] d'essere stato artefice di nobili artefici, che svegliati dalla sua virtù fanno fiorire il suo tempo (perche l'api non si veggono dove i prati non siano fioriti) con ogni ragione questa [?]

5 gloriarsi che Vostra Signoria è soggetto et creatura che fa miracoli facendo parlare i marmi? Ma che m'occorre cercare [...] Sua Santità [...] Vostra Signoria à quel marmo, creatura di Vostra Signoria et converso in lui [?], del [?] quale ella è creatura [?]

havendo di sua mano cambiato un marmo in Sua Santità medesima, gli fa dir queste cose, et maggiori? Maravigliosa è quella effigie, di tanta bel-

10 lezza, et similitudine; più maraviglioso il modo con che s'è fatta con facilità, con prestezza et senza veder l'esemplare, ne'

giorni che Sua Santità, da Vostra Signoria ritratta in Roma, era à Castello. Ma stупenda è la varietà delle cose, et degli affetti trà lor diversi, con dolce consonanza, in esser rappresentati. Un Principe senza [?] dub-

15 bio, come tela, rappresenta coste [?] in [?] eccelsi [?], et pensieri gra~ come huomo in una veduta non può rappresentarne più [...]

benche ad ogni momento [?] possa cambiar la veduta, et gli affetti. Hor

quello che è da stupire, Vostra Signoria nella faccia di Sua Santità ha vivamente [?] espressi molti affetti, et molte vedute, che sarebbono tra lor ripu-

20 gnanti in via di natura, se in via d'arte ella non l'havesse con

armonia conciliate insieme. Ha ella osservato in dieci anni attentamente
 il volto di un Principe Urbanissimo, che apre a lei non solo
 la giocondità del suo volto, ma la soavità degli affetti. Hora com'ella è
 di gagliardissima fantasia, nel fare il ritratto, ha solo veduto il vivo con-
 25 senso interno, et non altrimenti con gli occhi. Hà potuto esprimere et
 quelle arie, et posture, che in dieci anni è venuta osservando più
 nobili in quella faccia; in cui, come in libro aperto, si veggono es-
 pressi [...], et sentirgli [?] che certa [?] paiono variati trà loro; [?] ma
 se l'investigargli fù studio d'industria, l'eliggergli virtù di giu-
 30 dicio et l'esprimergli inclemenza [?] d'imaginativa, il convincergli
 et mettergli insieme fù opera di tutte queste cose, et fù disentione d'arteficio essen-
 do chiaro che la disentione entra in ogni virtù, e tutte le virtù
 entrano in lei. Così si vede quel ritratto pensoso con allegria,
 dolce con maestà, spiritoso con gravità; ride et è venerando; affida
 35 ed atterrisce. Dà anima altrui di ragionare [?], et egli ragiona. L'occhio suo
 ch'è ripieno di soda venustà, et il più bello in ragion d'arte, che si vegga
 [2047] in teste d'antichi, tiene un pensiero convenientissimo, et d'attentione
 à chi parla, et d'atto presentare al rispondere. Porge l'orecchie
 all' audienza et muove le labbra, raccoglie le guancie,
 le ciglia, et alquanto il naso, per il suo dire. Dice, o par che dica, cose di negotio
 5 con Principi, di soavità con privati, et d'eruditione con dotti,
 et dicendole, ò di peso per la dottrina, ò di soavità per la lingua, ò
 di vaghezza per il metro sembra farsi riflessione con serietà, motivo
 con sufficienza, et espressione con silenzio. Tutti questi pensieri si veggono in quella faccia.
 Così si fanno i ri-
 tratti de' Principi; et s'io vedessi un Alessandro per mano di Li-
 10 sippo, ò d'Apelle da lui soli ammessi a ritrarlo, essendo bene, che mi scorgerei la
 somiglianza
 dell'essere in sommo grado, ma non forse altrettanto dell' operare
 ò se pure anche di questo, non tanto della sceltezza dell' operazioni [?]
 più degne, nè della diversità, nè della quantità dell'is-
 tessa. Che, se io voglio dir vero, non credo, che mai forestiere
 15 in Roma s'innamorasse più degli antichi
 marmi di quella [?] che con estrema delectatione hò fatto io. [?]
 Ma da essi cavando una grandezza nobile, con una morbidezza reale, una
 verità franca, una resolutione senza paura, un vivo,
 una prontezza [?], che ben corrisponde al merito di Roma padrone
 20 del mondo. Parmi nondimeno, che gli autori [...] Satiri (che ben si conoscono
 da' i Greci) si fermassero assai nelle rappresentatione
 dell' essere i Greci, anche in ella [...] opera~ ma non con tanto varietà
 d'operationi, quanto con mio gran contento [?], per veder l'Arte
 in questa parte arricchita da un virtuoso a me sì caro osservo
 25 in Vostra Signora. [...]

·
· [8 lines]
·

[204r] ·
· [6 lines]
·

7 [...] Ma Vostra Signoria ha felicemente
introdotto pluralità non solo esprimendo più azioni successive in una
opera o per dir meglio in una operatione, ma anco accennando quelle, che non può
esprimere, et cavan-

10 done espresso significato. Perchè per esempio il sudetto ritratto di Nostro Signore che
non ha braccia, con un poco di motivo di spalla destra, et alzato
di mozzetta, aggiunto alla pendentia della testa, che serve a più
cose, come anco il chinare della fronte, dimostra chiara l'attione di
accennar col braccio et con la mano ad alcuno che si levi [...]

15 ·
·
[...] Tutte le volte, ch'io son
tornato à tal ritratto, l'hò goduto visibilmente [...]
variate forme, et maniere; et questo non è inganno del mio pensiero, perche l'

20 hò provato effetto [?] di verità, il cui principio non si spicca da
me, se non per ragion dell'attentione, con che si de~ [...]
simili oggetti, ma vien di fuori, et per conseguenza, [...]
attività [?] della cosa veduta [?], in ordine alla quale, io non adempio altra parte, che pas-

25 siva. Che dirò del ritratto del mio Padrone? Intendo di dirne
ben poco, perche assai dice il marmo di per se medesimo, et perche tutti di-

cono ch'egli è la più bella cosa, che di marmo si vegga.
Haveva Vostra Signoria sino a qui vinto gli altri; le restava vincer se stessa, ch'è
tutta benignità; et vincer l'invidia, ch'è malignità. L'ha fatto
et il caso è notabile perche in 28 anni s'è provata una cinquan-

30 tina di buoni pittori a rassomigliare il Sig. Cardinale, nè ad alcuno è ve-
nuto ciò conseguito. Vostra Signoria l'ha rassomigliato per tutti, et quelle 10
parti, che divise tra loro dovean fare che ciascuno stampate [?] il rappre-
sentassero tutte unite in lei sola, con altrettante sue proprie, l'
hanno espresso in guisa, ch'è vivo, et opera, ma ne' più scelti

35 et eletti modi, che sian possibili ad osservarsi in Sua Eminenza

[205r] chi vede negli occhi neri sulla essi della natura, et del mondo, doppo uno
estremo, incontrarsi l'altro, così del bene, come del male. Doppo
gran pioggia, succede lunga serenità. Se ha durato [?] un pezzo la
carestia, in un tratto vien l'abondanza. A colui, che hebbe tutta

5 la felicità nel suo vivere, cadde improvvisamente [?] la casa addosso,
et certamente [?] non fù finito in tutti i suoi anni, con tante battaglie,
et in uno instante hebbe 29 finte [?]. Era un gran male che tanti valent'huomini s'aguz-

- zassero a ritrarre il Sig. Cardinale, et niuno colpisse, tal che per la parte di chi lavorava indamo, et del tedio, che si dava à
- 10 questo humanissimo Signore in simil negotio, si trattava di compassione. Viene Vostra Signoria, per mia fortunata instigatione et ad un tratto muta ogni cosa in bene,
- perche tirando risoluto alla riuscita con franchezza, et non titubando, in sette brevisime sedute lo fa uscir vivo da un marmo. Ha contrastato la consueta difficoltà dell'aspetto di Sua Eminenza in esser colto, con la
- 15 straordinaria virtù di Vostra Signoria, la quale ha vinto, et convertito le cose difficili in somma facilità. Ma qual modo ha ella tenuto nel lavoro attuale! Che dominio sull'arte! Io non sono mai per dimenticarmi il diletto che m'è toccato dall'intervenir sempre all'opera, vedendo ciascuna mattina Vostra Signoria con leggiadria singulare far sempre mille moti contrarij; discorrer sempre aggiustato sul conto delle cose occorrenti et con le mani andar
- 20 lontanissimo dal discorso; rannicchiarsi, distendersi, maneggiar le dita sul modello, con la prestezza, et varietà di chi tocca un Arpe; segnar col carbone il marmo in cento luoghi, batter col mazzuolo in cent' altri; batter dico, in una parte, et guardar nell'opposta; spin-
- 25 ger la mano battendo innanzi, et volger la faccia guardando indietro; vincer le contrarietà, et con animo grande sopirle subito; spezzarsigli il marmo per un pelo in due pezzi quando era già il lavoro condotto; imprendere nuovo lavoro in nuovo marmo, et ricondurlo con tanta velocità, che niuno se ne sia accorto; né ciò sia cre-
- 30 dibile se non si vedessero in essere tutti due. Queste et altre singolarità danno ad intendere che in virtù del gran fondamento et del raro spirito, ò Vostra Signoria tenga in punta de dita l'imagini che porta impresse nell' ~one per esprimerla sul marmo; ò che trovandosi quelle forme virtualmente occultate nell'istesso marmo, Vostra Signoria spogliandolo di rozzezze le scopre
- 35 et le faccia uscire fuori con l'imperio della sua mano, à cui comanda, che le ritrovi.
- [2057] Le difficoltà di rassomigliare bene questo signore, alla cui potenza sin hora ogni cosa haveva ceduto, fuori che vedersi rassomigliato; sono, ò la molta vivacità della faccia, de' i motivi, et dell'occhio; ò la gran concorrenza de' i muscoli,
- 5 che ò crescendo in pieno fanno eminente carnosità, ò nella col-legatione abbassandosi, fanno concavità; parti in tutto dissimilari, ma nella Natura con gratia, et con proportione maestrevolmente congiunte; ò l'abondante operatione, che esce dal vivo, ò l'aria, ò le fattezze, e le linee che non
- 10 danno in alcuno eccesso, a cui l'artefice possa appigliarsi, ò la superficie ineguale, ò l'inegualità del tenero, ò la tenerezza del carnosio, ò la diversità delle tinte (che queste ancora Vostra Signoria con molta finezza hà voluto rappresentare), ò 'l riso di quelle

- parti ancora che non ridono, et la varietà dell'istesso riso, ò l'
 15 moto di quelle parti, che non si movono, et la variatione dei [?] [...] ò le mutationi di tutto l'aspetto ad ogni mutatione d'affetto; ò tutte queste, et molt'altre cagioni insieme; le quali à gli altri hanno servito per ritirate di verace scusa, ed à Vostra Signoria per gra- [?] di, e scale di vera laude; difficoltà da lei superate [...]
- 20 pite, e scogli spianate; di modo che la maggior bellezza di questa effigie, ha per sua cagion materiale, la maggior scabrosità; ma lo scabroso ha servito à Vostra Signoria come à quegli animali che vi s'attaccano meglio sù, che sul liscio, et come il fuoco opera più nelle materie più dense, et la febre s'impadronisce meglio d'un cor-
- 25 po più robusto, et un guerriero valoroso ha maggior vittoria da maggior numero di nemici, così la virtù di Vostra Signoria che trasmuta lo spavento in trionfo dall'argomento del difficile, tira aumento al mirabile; et in questa parte concludo, ch'il più lodevole de' i suoi parti è il più malagevole all'altrui parturire. Non dirò la diver-
- 30 sità delle bellezze di queste due opere; et come in ambedue essendo eccellentissima la maniera, et il naturale; nondimeno in quella Pontificia dove il naturale è più uniforme, l'ha unito alla maniera che è vaghissima, come à principale; et nell'altra, al naturale ch'è pieno di tante investigazioni recondite, ha unita la maniera
- [206r] come accessoria al suo principale. Onde in virtù dell'uno et dell'altra, questa imagine eminentissima opera egualmente vivo, et scelto. Ride, ma del più nobile suo riso; spira, ma del suo più puro auto; parla, ma con la maggior sua dolcezza; ascolta, ma
- 5 [...] piu discreti [?]; guarda, ma con la sua piacevolezza maggiore; pensa, ma tutto da Principe;
- [...] gioviale, ma tutto da grande. Ideale nel'essere, ideale nel costume; Dubbio se egli somigli alla pietra, ò se la pietra ad esso; dubbio se quello sia marmo intenerito in lui, o egli impetrato in marmo. Marmo ch'
- 10 è pietra di paragone del valor di Vostra Signoria, de' i più graditi aspetti di questo Signore, et dell'amore de' i suoi affettionati. Perche, collocandosi quella testa in buon lume, al venir de gli osservatori, l'osserva chi più l'ama, più intenerirsi, et commoversi d'affettione, lasciando le frivole considerationi,
- 15 et col trasformarsi nel merito d'essa pietra ideale, maggiormente unirsi alla verità et a gli affetti dell' ideate. [...]

A cross placed in the text indicates that part of the text on the following page should be inserted, and I continue with that section here. The original is transcribed below.

- [206r] Queste, et molte più cose mi danno da dire due sole sculture, tirate giù con prestezza, doppo sei o sette anni, che non se l'era veduto toccare scarpello, per le sue varie et vaste applicationi alle opere di S. Pietro: quando molti dicevano, ch'ella per il disuso della scultura saria calata; et non sapevano, che in questo me-
- 10 desimo tempo, Vostra Signoria per sua humiltà, dandosi a credere di non essere per quella che è, non ha mai tralasciato nè giorno nè notte lo studio del disegno, sempre ha modellato, spesso ha colorito, et s'è voluta assolutamente impadronire di quelle arti, il cui studio et amore s'era affatto impadronito di lei. Non [...]
- 15 quanto le ovazioni grandi ingrandissero l'habilità d' [?] un talento grande per le medesimo [?]; quarto s' aiutassero intiere [?] le nobili Arti frà lor contigue, et quanto sublimasse gli spiriti d'un soggetto spiritosissimo, l'altezza del grado, et del posto, qual gode Vostra Signoria nell'honore, et nell'interesse, la fren- [?]
- 20 za di trattare, ò più [...] d'esser hum~ trattato da un Pontefice di tanto sapere in tutte le cose, che in lui [...] non meno la sommità delle virtù [...] meno sopra stà à gli [...] con l'ingegno, che con l' impero et che soleva, et regola il mondo, non più nell' [...]
- 25 che nell' intelletiva con la sapienza [...] fra mille delle cose, che Vostra Signoria mi vuol dire, [...]
- .
.
[5 lines]
.
- [...] Hor venga un avveduto, et discreto forestiero, il quale da principio, sentendo che Vostra Signoria gode in Roma tanta parte sopra gli altri più vecchi artefici, ascolti (se pur le
- 35 facessero) le lor querele sopra simil diseguaglianza, et [...]
- [207r] come scaltrito nel giudicare, faccia condursi à vedere l'opere di ciascuno. Costui senza dubbio vedendo che un giovanetto già di 23 anni, era di chiaro grido, per molte opere che si veggono; et che in brevissimi giorni condusse con fondamenco esquisito 36 bellissime statue di marmo finto
- 5 maggiori del naturale nel catafalco di Paolo Quinto S.M. et prima fece molti ritratti maravigliosi et ammiratissimi et molte grandi statue eccellenti, come il Nettunno, il Plutone, et Proserpina, il Davide, l'Apollo, et la Dafne; che hoggidi si tengono in sommo pregio; di poi nel prender le somme chiavi il S.mo Urbano con la via già lastricata della virtù et della
- 10 Fama, giunto al grado del servitio ov' hoggi si trova, si sia, oltre la scultura, avvantaggiato in architettura; et dopo tante opere di modelli nell'una et nell'altra, habbia condotto et memorie et sepolchri nobilissimi et gettato di bronzo colonne smisurate, et posamenti et colossi et machine in quantità per

servitio del tempio Vaticano; et sia fecondissimo d'inventione, et giudi-
 15 cioso nel disporre, sodo nell'ornare, polito nell'eseguire, elevato nella
 maniera; oltraciò, parco nel censurare, modesto nel presumere, savio nel
 discorrere, assiduo nello studiare, et arrivato à i 35 anni, niuno habbia
 fatto di colore i ritratti più vivi di lui, et di marmo tolga la speranza che niu-
 no sia mai per fargli; nelle statue gareggi con l'antico, ne' bronzi di lui si veg-
 20 gano tanti pezzi d'enorme condotta, dove Daniel da Volterra s'invecchio in un solo
 cavallo; costui senza dubbio havra campo di dire a tutti che si quietino et
 [207r] soggiungerà ch'è grande il giudicare di Nostro Signore e che i trattamenti di Vostra Signoria
 son
 giusta; et la conclusione sara simile a quella lode, che il gentilhuo-
 mo da me guidato a Vostra Signoria, disse in sua lode, o pur a gradire [?] anzi pur di lei, ma
 che non sapendo dargli
 eguale al merito, si rivoltò à lodare per sua cagione un [...]
 5 [...] sopra il quale non pò salirsi più sù; et disse in somma; Il Papa è un grand [...]. Vede
 con che soggetto bisogna congiungerla per lodare; et quei
 lodi van miste, ed interessate le lodi sue in Providenza; Nostro Signore
 gloriarsi d'haver prodotto maraviglie in lei, che produce maravi-
 glie ne' marmi. Ed io ritornando al marmo risposta del mio Sig.re,
 10 dico à Vostra Signoria

Here follows the text that was omitted at f. 206r, line 16.

[206r] [...] Questi gusti, et honori
 parturisce Vostra Signoria al mio Padrone, il quale rende eterno, con immorta-
 lar se medesimo; et non vuole ch'io la stimi, et honori? Da queste si
 fatte pietre fabrica il Tempio all'immortalità del suo
 20 [...], Mausoleo, non più per uso di morte, ma di
 vita, e non ha da osservarla? Da [...] consolatione
 [...] a noi [...], et a me tanto honore, che per mezzo delle
 vie imbasciate, sia nata una memoria del mio Signore,
 qual non si vede d'altrui; et non debba amarla.
 25 [?] ~disco dire, che mi con~ di tremare [?] al cospetto suo; et
 lo provo in questa maniera. Riverando a Platonicis, perche l'amante
 [...] che la bellezza humana
 è un [...] della Divinità; il quale havendo la sua
 sede nell'anima [...] sole per chiara nuvola nel
 30 corpo bello; [...] ri ~eggendo l'amante la partici-
 pava [?] [...] estrema [?] innanzi, come ad una Statua, ò ti-
 [...] di Dio. Io ho sempre [?] detto, che la maggiore d'ogni bellezza, è quella della
 virtù [?]; della quale, ch'è partecipazione divina, tien Vostra Signoria tanta par-
 te; dunque, non la chiamerò statuario, ma viva statua, et simula-

[206^r] cro di quel sommo Bello, innanzi al quale per riverenza [?] [...]

Resterà dunque ch'io mi raccoglia e taccia, et nel silenzio
mi raccomandi nella sua gratia come fò sempre. [...]

4 Giugno 1633.

Appendix 2: Fulvio Testi's Lasso di Roma

The poem was published only partially by Domenico Ferrero and Giovanni De Castro. I have supplemented (in cursive) the text published by the latter with the manuscript in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena.²

<p>Ferma, Fulvio, le piante: ove tutt'ebro Di desio glorioso il cor ti guida? Qual ti consiglia mai speranza infida 4 A portar merce di virtù sul Tebro?</p> <p>Tempo, nol niego, fu che qui s'apriva Porto sicuro a l'eliconie prore, Or chiuso è il varco, ed alle caste suore 8 L'adultera città nega la riva.</p> <p>Vana cura involar dall'onda stigia I nomi altrui apollinea tuba: Vuoi tu sul Lazio onor? Vattene, e ruba 12 Elena a Grecia, e Ganimede a Frigia.</p> <p><i>Se di simil tesor tuo legno grave Fia, ch'al lito Roman giugner si veda; Con applauso minor men cara preda 16 Portò alla riva Achea d'Argo la Nave.</i></p>	<p>Ma se, in virtù d'elaborato inchiostro, Pensi gloria acquistar, come l'inganni! Vedrai che più d'un Mida, in aurei scanni, 20 L'acute orecchie incoronate ha d'ostro.</p> <p>O di natura emulato felice, Bernino, alla cui mente, alla cui destra Dar moto e vita a fredda selce alpestra, 24 E crear nova gente in terra lice.</p> <p><i>Perche spirante in vivo sasso à Roma Mostrare Apollo, e la beltà fugace, Ch' abbarbicando al suolo il pie' tenace 28 Di fronda sibillante il capo inchioda.</i></p> <p>Fa che, libero il veltro, e poste l'armi Oziose, fra l'erbe Adon si mora³ A Citea nel seno, e fieno allora 32 Vili, al tuo paragon, di Fidia i marmi.</p>
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² Castro 1875, p. 85, n. 1, notes 'Fu pubblicata primamente dal Venturi, indi dall'avv. D. Ferrero. La censura pontifica, vivente il poeta, ne vietò la pubblicazione.' For this see letter by Fulvio Testi to Conte Giulio Testi, dated 28 September (?) 1644 in Testi/Doglio 1967, vol. 3 (1638-1646), no. 1831: 'Bisogna per tutti i rispetti conformarsi al gusto del reverendo padre Inquisitore e di troppo cattivo esempio sarebbe il contrastare al suo zelo ed alla sua prudenza. Levisi tutta la canzone del lusso di Roma e si lasci fuora. Dio volesse che si come taceranno i miei versi, così taceessero le lingue del mondo.' Cfr. also no. 1441. The poem was published, partially, in Ferrero 1865, pp. 15-18 and in Balletti 1887, pp. 265-266. I have consulted the following manuscripts: (1) BEM, ms. α.J.9.15; (2) BAV, fondo Boncompagno-Ludovisi, M.12, with the title 'Si detestano le lascivie di Roma', with some deviations, primarily in the interpunction; (3) BAV, Barb.lat. 3708, ff. 10^v-11^v, under the title 'L'Autore si duole, che in Roma sia stato poco apprezzato', with many different spellings and deviations, and (4) BNR, fondo S. Pantaleo, ff. 5^r-14^v. For Fulvio Testi see Castagnetti 1969 and Croce 1966, pp. 200-201.

³ This passage might refer to Marino's *Adone*, and it being put on the index, which was already decided in a decree of the Congregation of the Index on 11 June 1624 and not in 1627 as is often written; cf. Bujanda & Richter 2002, p. 588. In fact, Marino himself, or at least according to his biographer Gio. Francesco Loredano, compared the death of Adonis to the fortune of his book; Loredano 1633, p. 39: 'Quando intese, che'l detto Adone era sospeso in Roma, disse: mi spiace, che'l destino perseguiti il povero Adone anco nelle Carte.' See also *supra*, p. 189.

- Belgiche Tesseltrici in van superbe
Andate voi di ben composte fila.
Portano al collo oggi Giacinto, et Ila
40 In pallido lavor tessute l'erbe.
- Smaltar di rose il fulgido tesoro
D'un biondo crin, fù gran vaghezza inprima:
Or novo lusso, à bella fronte in cima*
44 *Con cipria polve incanutir fà l'oro.*
- Minian di carte ibere ostri mendaci
D'atre guance il pallor; l'istesso labro
Finto rosseggia, e con equal cinabbro
48 Infetta il viso, ed avvelena i baci.
- Di Topazi, e Zaffir non degna il ciglio
Mirar luce plebea. Iaide, e Frine
Infamano le perle; e un sozzo crine
52 Spoglia di bianchi parti il Mar vermiglio.
- Se fia giammai, che di Quirino il soglio
Barbara Turba à debellar discenda,
Purche il braccio guerrier di gemme splenda,*
56 *Tarpee non mancheranno al Campidoglio.*
- Or va, bel Tebro, e di' che alla tua fronte
Cedesse i suoi Diademi Africa mesta,
E ch'al tuo piè la faretrata testa
60 Umiliasse il tributario Oronte.
- Chi mai tel crederà? Fangosa terra
Or degli estinti eroi l'ossa ricopre,
E gli archi iscritti di magnanim'opre,
64 Schivi di tua beltà, fuggon sotterra.
- Roma in Roma è sepolta; e quel che avanza
Del suo gran corpo, oggi è corrotto e pute;
Balsamo di valor, e di virtute
68 Nel moderno fetor non ha possanza....
- Si libera Talia, che non applaude
All'ozio altrui con mercenario canto,
A me stesso ragiona, e si dà vanto
72 Sol virtù vera incoronar di laude.
- Il placid'arco d'innocente Musa
Non ha certo bersaglio; all'aria suole
Commetter la saette; e chi sen duole
76 Ne' colpi altrui le proprie colpe accusa.
- Or se avverrà, che pazzo orgoglio insano,
Qual drago, alzi le creste, e gonfi il collo,
Strali più acuti avrà Parnaso: Apollo
80 A saettar Pitone usa ha la mano.

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Abbreviations

ABF: Archivio Buonarroti, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.
ASF: Archivio di Stato, Florence.
ASV: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City.
BAR: Biblioteca Angelica, Rome.
BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.
BEM: Biblioteca Estense, Modena.
BLF: Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence.
BNF: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

BNN: Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples.
BNP: Bibliothèque National de France, Paris.
BNR: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome.
DBI: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Roma: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana 1960-ongoing.
VDC: *Vocabolario della Crusca*, Venezia: Giovanni Alberti 1612.

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Samenvatting

In zeventiende-eeuwse Italiaanse teksten over de Romeinse beeldhouwkunst uit deze tijd komen we telkens eenzelfde tegenstelling tegen: het contrast tussen enerzijds de hardheid van het materiaal, de overduidelijke kilte en levensloosheid van de steen en anderzijds het vermogen van de beeldhouwer om in dit materiaal een ogenschijnlijk levende figuur van vlees en bloed te creëren. De suggestie van leven in het beeldhouwwerk wordt voor de beschouwer telkens gefrustreerd door zijn materialiteit, terwijl deze materialiteit steeds weer wordt ontkend door tekenen van leven. Deze studie ondervraagt dit dubbele karakter van de beeldhouwkunst en de centrale plaats hiervan in de ervaring van de eigentijdse beschouwer.

Een significant nieuwe wijze om dit dubbele karakter van de kunst een plaats te geven vinden we bij Kardinaal Sforza Pallavicino, die in zijn *Del bene* uit 1644 een epistemologie uitwerkt die het mogelijk maakt om gelijkenis en het succes van kunst los van elkaar te zien. Voor Pallavicino zijn onze emotionele reacties op een kunstwerk niet het gevolg van een verwarring tussen het werk en datgene wat het voorstelt, maar wordt dit succes bepaald door de wijze waarop het kunstwerk appelleert aan eerdere confrontaties met het voorgestelde en de emoties die daar mee gepaard gingen. De implicaties van Pallavicino's epistemologie zijn verstrekkend en vormen een aangrijpingspunt om de hoofdvraag van dit boek verder uit te denken.

Zo volgt uit Pallavicino's epistemologie dat het succes van het kunstwerk subjectief is, dat wil zeggen, dat er een beschouwer nodig is om dit succes te bepalen. De kunstenaar probeert in zijn werk niet de werkelijkheid te imiteren, maar veeleer haar effect op de beschouwer. Hiermee moet het kunstwerk ap-

pelleren aan het geheugen; het doet de herinneringen aan het voorgestelde ontwakken en spreekt zodoende ook de emoties aan.

Pallavicino's benadering opent hiermee de weg voor een psychologische benadering van de zeventiende-eeuwse kunst. Hierbij is een interessante parallel te vinden met recente ontwikkelingen in de psychologie die door Lawrence Barsalou zijn samengebracht onder de term *grounded cognition*, 'verankerde' cognitie. Centraal is hier het idee dat cognitie moet worden gezien als een proces dat inherent verankerd is in het lichaam en onze mogelijkheid tot interactie met de omgeving. Dientengevolge kan cognitie niet los worden gezien van waarneming en emoties. Hoewel deze ontwikkelingen beschouwd kunnen worden als een breuk met de overwegende trend in de twintigste-eeuwse psychologie, zijn er juist sterke overeenkomsten aan te wijzen met de lange traditie van de oudheid tot en met de negentiende eeuw. Zodoende kunnen interessante verbanden worden gelegd met de ideeën van Pallavicino en kunnen recente ontwikkelingen in de experimentele psychologie een interessant nieuw licht werpen op zijn ideeën.

Poëzie

Het eerste hoofdstuk toont hoe de relatie tussen beeldhouwwerk en beschouwer wordt uitgespeeld in zeventiende-eeuwse literaire teksten, en dan met name de dichtkunst. Hoewel dergelijke teksten door kunsthistorici vaak opzij worden geschoven wegens hun ogenschijnlijk geringe documentaire waarde, wordt hier betoogd dat juist het conventionele karakter van deze gedichten toegang biedt tot de blik van de zeventiende-eeuwse beschouwer. Door een groot aantal gedichten samen te nemen, kan de discursieve ruimte worden bepaald waarin de beschouwer zijn reactie kon formuleren.

Het centrale thema in deze teksten is zonder twijfel dat van het levende beeld. De steen wordt zacht, figuren spreken, ademen, hebben een ziel, en gaan een uitwisseling aan met hun omgeving. De beeldhouwer, die aan de oorsprong van dit leven staat, krijgt hiermee bijna goddelijke kwaliteiten toegedicht en wordt vergeleken met een groot aantal mythologische figuren. Het kunstwerk zelf blijft steeds de aandacht vestigen op de onvermijdelijke paradox van het levende beeld.

De interactie die het beeld met zijn omgeving—licht, lucht, water—aangaat omvat meer dan een eenvoudig 'reageren op'. Het beeld vormt de omgeving, vraagt om een herinterpretatie terwijl de omgeving zelf telkens een rol speelt in de verlevendiging van het marmer. Dit alles laat de beschouwer niet onberoerd. Waar het beeld tot leven komt, blijft de beschouwer als versteend. Achter deze verstening gaat echter een complex aan ervaringen schuil. De beschouwer

wordt steeds aangemoedigd tot contemplatie en het naar binnen keren van de blik. Wat eerst wordt waargenomen met het oog—de aanraking van het harde marmer verbreekt de illusie—valt in het innerlijke theater van de geest uiteen in een hoeveelheid aan sensuele ervaringen.

Hoewel de poëzie duidelijk de meeste ruimte bood om deze thema's te verkennen, waren ze hier geenszins toe beperkt. In feite zien we dat dezelfde thema's in verschillende literaire genres steeds terugkomen, hoewel niet altijd in dezelfde vorm. Waar poëzie wordt ingevoegd in levensbeschrijvingen van kunstenaars of stadsbeschrijvingen, kunnen ook anekdotes eenzelfde thematiek benadrukken. Het discours waarin telkens het levende beeld centraal staat maakte dan ook een belangrijk onderdeel uit van de zeventiende-eeuwse cultuur.

Uiteindelijk geven deze gedichten en andere teksten ons weinig informatie over de kunstwerken zelf. Hoewel ze vanwege hun topische karakter niet kunnen worden gelezen als een directe, ongereflecteerde respons op het kunstwerk, geven ze wel degelijk een indicatie van een bepaalde norm; juist doordat dezelfde thema's steeds worden herhaald, voorzien ze de zeventiende-eeuwse beschouwer van een set categorieën, een veld van mogelijkheden waarbinnen een reactie geformuleerd kan worden. Natuurlijk zal niet iedere kijker hebben voldaan aan de verwachtingen die in het poëtische discours gewekt worden. Wat we uit deze teksten kunnen destilleren is een ideale beschouwer en het is deze ideale beschouwer, de beschouwer die het discours heeft verinnerlijkt, die ook het referentiepunt voor de kunstenaar moet zijn geweest.

Gelijkenis

Gelijkenis is een van de terugkerende thema's in zeventiende-eeuwse teksten over kunst. Om nader te bepalen wat de rol van gelijkenis in de beeldhouwkunst was—we zoomen hier in op het genre van de portretbuste—kunnen we deze term herdefiniëren als herkenning. Wat is er nodig om een individu te herkennen? Psychologisch onderzoek naar gezichtsherkenning geeft hier een aantal aangrijpingspunten en het lijkt geen toeval dat de methode om een portret te construeren zoals deze wordt beschreven door Orfeo Boselli in zijn traktaat over de beeldhouwkunst, significante raakpunten heeft met hoe we volgens hedendaagse psychologische inzichten een gezicht herkennen.

Opvallend genoeg geeft Boselli aan dat de kunstenaar juist deze aspecten, dat wil zeggen, de vorm van de verschillende gezichtselementen (neus, mond, ogen, etc.) en hun relatieve afstand, moet benadrukken. Hiermee kan een belangrijk verband worden gelegd met een andere traditie van portretteren, namelijk die van de karikatuur. Zoals uit eigentijdse beschrijvingen van dit fenomeen

blijkt worden ook in de karikatuur juist die elementen uit een gezicht genomen die bijdragen aan de herkenbaarheid van het gezicht. Meer dan in het gangbare portret, echter, worden deze elementen overdreven en wordt al het andere achterwege gelaten. Dit gaat geenszins ten koste van de gelijkenis; door de overdrijving is herkenning soms nog sterker dan bij het normale portret.

Nu we kunnen concluderen dat gelijkenis gereduceerd kan worden tot zo'n basaal schema, rijst de vraag wat er nog resteert van de traditionele buste. In feite is gelijkenis in de zin van herkenbaarheid slechts een beperkt deel van haar effect. Naast een gelijkenis dient een buste vooral levensecht te zijn. Dat wil zeggen: de beeldhouwer dient de lichamelijke aanwezigheid van een echte, levende persoon te suggereren. Dit aspect van de buste is vooral retorisch in de zin dat de beeldhouwer een suggestie van overeenkomst suggereert waar deze niet noodzakelijk aanwezig is. Hier geldt Roland Barthes' idee van het 'realiteitseffect'. Ogenschijnlijk irrelevante details wekken de suggestie dat zij niet meer doen dan verwijzen naar de werkelijkheid, dat de kunstenaar de werkelijkheid slaafs volgt en elk detail meeneemt. Dat dit inderdaad een retorisch middel is, blijkt wel als we kijken naar 'portretten' die gezien hun ontstaansgeschiedenis niet op een individu kunnen lijken, zoals Alessandro Algardi's bustes van leden van de Frangipane familie. Hoewel de geportretteerden reeds lang overleden waren en de kunstenaar ook niet op eerdere portretten kon terugrijpen, zet hij in zijn bustes levensechte individuen neer. En ook de grote verschillen tussen portretten van één en dezelfde persoon tonen de grote vrijheid die de kunstenaar had om te variëren.

Een traditie die ogenschijnlijk op gespannen voet staat met de gelijkenis is die van de fysiognomie, het idee dat bepaalde gezichtstrekken iets vertellen over het karakter van een individu. Op het moment dat we gelijkenis los zien van een directe navolging van de gelaatstrekken, hoeft dit echter niet het geval te zijn.

Gelijkenis, zo kunnen we concluderen, heeft niet zozeer te doen met een objectieve 'match' met de zintuiglijk waarneembare wereld, maar is eerder een subjectieve, psychologische categorie. De totale indruk van de buste verloopt hiermee langs verschillende assen; gelijkenis, levensechtheid, fysiognomie, zijn alle factoren die, hoewel ze van invloed op elkaar zijn, toch relatief onafhankelijk kunnen worden behandeld. Hoewel van deze factoren gelijkenis definiërend is voor de portretbuste, is dit tegelijkertijd de meest vluchtige categorie.

Pluraliteit

We kunnen echter nog een volgende stap nemen in het afbreken van het idee van een objectieve gelijkenis. Met de veranderlijkheid van het gezicht rijst de

vraag welke van de vluchtige uitdrukkingen de kunstenaar in zijn werk moet vatten om tot de daadwerkelijke gelijkenis te komen. Om dit punt verder uit te werken, kunnen we nader kijken naar de term *pluralità* of pluraliteit, zoals die wordt gebruikt door de zeventiende-eeuwse auteur Lelio Guidiccioni in een brief waarin hij Bernini's bustes van Scipione Borghese en Paus Urbanus VIII prijst.

In deze brief suggereert Guidiccioni dat de buste een veelvoud van *azzioni* of handelingen in zich bergt en hij geeft daarbij aanwijzingen voor hoe de kunstenaar deze heeft samengebracht. Voor een beter begrip van deze term *azzione* kunnen we terecht bij Giulio Mancini, die in zijn traktaat over de schilderkunst uit de jaren twintig van de zeventiende eeuw al spreekt over het *ritratto d'azzione* of actieportret, een portret waarin de geportretteerde een bepaalde handeling verricht waarmee tegelijkertijd een gemoedstoestand tot uitdrukking wordt gebracht. Uit Mancini's discussie van de historieschilderkunst blijkt daarbij dat elke handeling valt op te delen in verschillende kleinere handelingen, waarmee er een hiërarchie van handelingen ontstaat.

De capaciteit van de kunstenaar om de vluchtige uitdrukkingen van het gezicht te 'vangen' wordt door zeventiende-eeuwse theoretici, die hiervoor teruggrijpen op Aristoteles, vooral toegeschreven aan de faculteit van de *fantasia*. De *fantasia* maakt het namelijk mogelijk om verschillende vluchtige waarneming te behouden en te combineren tot een duidelijk omlinjnde essentie. Bernini's gewoonte om de personen die hij portretteerde te observeren en tekenen als zij zich met alledaagse dingen bezighouden kan hiermee in verband worden gebracht. De schetsen die de beeldhouwer bij dergelijke sessies maakte kunnen dan worden gezien als een onderdeel van het waarnemen, een wijze om de vluchtige essenties te vatten en samen te brengen in de *fantasia*. Echter, ook bij de uiteindelijke uitvoering van het portret, zoals beschreven door Guidiccioni, speelt het experiment nog een belangrijke rol. Terwijl hij zijn werk vormgeeft blijft de kunstenaar ook beschouwer en past steeds weer aan om in zijn werk de ervaringen van het origineel te vatten.

De term *pluralità* helpt ons niet alleen om naar het werkproces van de beeldhouwer te kijken, maar zegt ook iets over de beelden zelf. De *azzioni* die Guidiccioni meent te ontwaren zijn niet alleen na te wijzen in de bustes maar worden ook door andere zeventiende-eeuwse bronnen bevestigd; in feite wordt hier steeds de aandacht op de handeling gevestigd. Door zijn suggestie dat de buste meerdere handelingen in zich weet samen te brengen, komt het dicht bij het geprezen genre van het historiestuk.

Beweging

De thematiek van de pluraliteit kan in een breder kader worden geplaatst als we kijken naar het probleem van de suggestie van beweging in de beeldhouwkunst. In de kunsthistorische traditie valt de discussie omtrent dit probleem samen met die van het vruchtbare moment, zoals beschreven door Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in zijn invloedrijke *Laokoon*. De kunstenaar, zo stelt Lessing, moet het moment zo kiezen dat de beschouwer zich kan voorstellen wat er zich voor en na dat moment heeft voltrokken en zal voltrekken. Ernst Gombrich interpreteert Lessings idee van het vruchtbare moment als een daadwerkelijk *punctum temporis*, een momentopname zoals we dat in de fotografie kennen, en wijst op de logische onmogelijkheid van een dergelijk moment. Nog belangrijker, zo meent hij, is dat de menselijke waarneming zo traag is dat dergelijke momenten er geen deel van uit kunnen maken. Robin Le Poidevin heeft erop gewezen, dat hoewel Gombrich hier misschien gelijk in heeft, dit desondanks niet uitsluit dat zo'n moment wel kan worden weergegeven. Hij stelt voor om het probleem te herdefiniëren in termen van ruimtelijke relaties.

Psychologisch onderzoek naar de perceptie van fotografische momentopnames, voor het eerst uitgevoerd door Jennifer Freyd en haar collega's, laat zien dat er wel degelijk een rol is weggelegd voor de momentopname in de suggestie van beweging. Echter, de beelden die in dergelijk onderzoek worden gebruikt hebben veelal hetzelfde bevroren karakter als andere fotografische momentopnames.

Een alternatieve manier om te denken over de suggestie van beweging, die aansluit bij de suggestie van Le Poidevin, vinden we in de door Paul Gsell opgetekende opmerkingen van Auguste Rodin, later meer systematisch uitgewerkt door Erwin Panofsky. Voor Rodin is de suggestie van beweging een kwestie van het samensmelten van verschillende momentopnamen. Aan de hand van voorbeelden zoals Alessandro Algardi's *Atilla* kan worden getoond dat een dergelijk principe ook ten grondslag ligt aan de wijze waarop zeventiende-eeuwse beeldhouwers beweging in hun werk suggereren. Bovendien helpen deze voorbeelden ons om nog een stap verder te gaan en een uitspraak te doen over de verschillende kwaliteiten van een beweging. Door variaties in de stappen tussen de verschillende momenten kan een beweging worden versneld of juist worden vertraagd. Daarbij kan ook het ritme van deze variaties in één en dezelfde figuur worden gevarieerd, waarmee een versnelling naar het punt van climax kan worden gesuggereerd.

Psychologisch onderzoek naar bewegingsstijl en het karikaturiseren van beweging maakt daarbij inzichtelijk dat bewegingspatronen meer kunnen uitdrukken dan een verandering in snelheid alleen. Door het selectief verlengen

van lichaamsdelen kunnen bewegingen worden vertraagd en kunnen de kwalitatieve suggesties van een bewegingspatroon worden uitvergroet.

Als we de suggestie van beweging begrijpen als iets dat ‘door het beeld heen’ wordt waargenomen, impliceert dit ook een rol voor de bewegingen van de beschouwer. De relatie tussen het ogenschijnlijk bewegende beeld en de bewegende beschouwer is echter meervoudig. Het beeld kan doormiddel van blikrichtingen en beweging de aandacht van de beschouwer sturen en hem of haar in beweging brengen. Door de veranderende positie van de beschouwer ten opzichte van het beeld kan daarbij ook de suggestie van beweging zelf in kwaliteit of intentie veranderen.

Lichaam

Waar de pluraliteit van het beeldhouwwerk en de suggestie van beweging een uiteenvallen van het beeldhouwwerk suggereren, blijft het beeld toch altijd een solide, tastbaar geheel. Deze eenheid openbaart zich het meest duidelijk aan het oppervlak, aan de huid, waar het beeld enerzijds het meest tastbaar en solide is, maar waar anderzijds de suggestie van leven het meest acuut is. Deze relatie tussen hardheid enerzijds, en huid, vlees en tastbaarheid anderzijds werd reeds uitgespeeld in één van de meest paradigmatische uitwisselingen tussen kunstwerk en beschouwer, de antieke mythe van de beeldhouwer Pygmalion, die zijn schepping onder zijn aanraking tot leven voelt komen. Het is echter in eerste instantie niet de beeldhouwer geweest die werd geprezen om zijn weergave van het lichaam, maar juist de schilder. Opvallend genoeg worden schilders kwaliteiten toegedicht die dichter bij die van de beeldhouwer staan, terwijl juist de beeldhouwkunst de mogelijkheid zou ontberen om het materiaal een echt lichaam te doen gelijken. De zeventiende-eeuwse beeldhouwers in Rome lijken deze diskwalificatie als uitdaging te hebben opgevat en bewijzen het tegendeel.

Een treffende casus is die van de zogenaamde *putto*. Reeds in zeventiende-eeuwse bronnen wordt de capaciteit van de beeldhouwer om deze figuurtjes van echt vlees en bloed te doen gelijken geprezen. De zachtheid van het mollige lichaam valt hier samen met dat wat de *putto* moet uitdragen; de *putto* belichaamt in de meest letterlijke zin de zachtheid van de naastenliefde, onschuld, etc. De perfecte *putto*, zoals deze is ontwikkeld door François Duquesnoy, lijkt daarbij geoptimaliseerd om dergelijke emoties bij de beschouwer op te roepen. Konrad Lorenz heeft al aangetoond dat er zoiets kan worden gedacht als een supranormale baby, die al die kwaliteiten die aanzetten tot verzorgingsgedrag nog sterker oproept, en de zeventiende-eeuwse *putto* past inderdaad goed binnen dit beeld. De aanraking speelt een centrale rol in het gedrag dat de *putto* stimuleert.

Natuurlijk is niet elke weergave van het naakte lichaam zo onschuldig. Waar de putto vooral onschuld uitstraalt, heeft het naakt en dan vooral het vrouwelijke naakt vaak een negatieve, erotische connotatie. Het werken naar vrouwelijke naaktmodellen was ook in de zeventiende eeuw nog problematisch, terwijl de negatieve associaties gerelateerd aan minder zedige modellen een stempel op het uiteindelijke werk konden drukken. Verschillende auteurs schrijven over de gevaren van het naakt en met name in de kerkelijke context zijn in de loop van de zeventiende eeuw verschillende werken gecensureerd.

De tastzin lijkt een centrale rol te spelen in de aantrekkingskracht van het naakt en inderdaad wordt juist het tactiele karakter van het naakte lichaam gethematiserd door zeventiende-eeuwse auteurs. Het is de tast die de zachtheid en warmte van het naakte lichaam kan onthullen, en daarmee heeft de tast ook, meer dan het oog, toegang tot de waarheid. Dit is ook een centraal thema in de christelijke leer, zoals blijkt uit het bekende verhaal van de ongelovige Thomas. De beschouwer is echter nooit in staat om het beeld aan te raken en staat zodoende dicht bij de figuur van de H. Magdalena van de *Noli me tangere*, die, in afwachting van een minder fysieke hereniging met Christus, Hem niet mag aanraken. In zeventiende-eeuwse contemplatiehandboeken wordt de gelovige dan ook aangespoord om zich de aanraking van het heilige zo levendig mogelijk voor te stellen.

Ook de kunstenaar zelf kan aanraking thematiseren in zijn werk. Het dubbele karakter van aanraking als aangeraakt worden wordt hier aangesproken door het zachte lichaam te laten reageren op de aanrakingen van het marmer. Zoals het marmer aanraakt moet het ook kunnen voelen, en als het voelt, dan leeft het.

Oprechttheid

Er is nog een geheel andere wijze waarop aanraking wordt gethematiserd in kunst, namelijk als afgeleide van de aanraking van de kunstenaar. Hoewel we deze aanraking in de eerste plaats associëren met de schilderkunst, blijkt uit zeventiende-eeuwse bronnen dat ook de beeldhouwer de capaciteit werd toegedicht om zijn materiaal te bewerken alsof het was is, of deeg.

Een centrale term in deze discussie is *franchezza* of oprechtheid, een term die is terug te voeren op de geschiedenis van het kennerschap. Hier wordt de snelle, ongereflachte toets van de kunstenaar gezien als datgene waar deze het moeilijkst is na te volgen. Deze onnavolgbare toets is vooral te vinden in de schildering van draperieën. Als het onderdeel van de figuur dat niet aan vaste regels is gebonden, werkt de kunstenaar juist hier het meest 'oprecht'.

Dat deze discussie niet onbelangrijk is voor ons begrip van de beeldhouwkunst blijkt als we zien dat ook een kunstenaar als Bernini een belangrijke rol speelde in het kennerschapdiscours. Hijzelf zou zelfs menen dat de tekeningen van Annibale Carracci moeilijk te vervalsen zijn omdat ze zo vlot getekend zijn. Niet ontovallig werden ook Bernini's eigen tekeningen geprezen om hun *franchezza*. Opvallend genoeg lijkt er in de zeventiende eeuw nauwelijks een dergelijk discours te hebben bestaan waar het de schetsen in klei of was van de beeldhouwer betreft, wat er ongetwijfeld mee te maken heeft dat deze objecten nauwelijks systematisch werden verzameld. Veeleer gingen deze modellen over van werkplaats op werkplaats.

Om beter te begrijpen wat de aantrekkingskracht van de spontane toets en wat het belang van de schetsmodellen voor andere beeldhouwers was, kan nader worden gekeken naar hun esthetische kwaliteiten. Rudolf Arnheim heeft reeds beargumenteerd dat de handelingen van de kunstenaar een afdruk achterlaten in de grafologische kwaliteiten van de lijn of toets en dat deze afdrukken de dynamische kwaliteiten van de achterliggende handeling weten te behouden. Een onderbouwing van Arnheims these vinden we in het onderzoek van psychologe Jennifer Freyd naar onze capaciteit om handgeschreven karakters te lezen. Uit haar onderzoek blijkt dat onze herkenning van hoe een karakter in eerste instantie is gevormd in belangrijke mate bijdraagt aan onze capaciteit om een dergelijk karakter te reproduceren. Hiermee concludeert zij dat mensen inderdaad gevoelig zijn voor de 'informatie in de statische sporen [...] die te relateren is aan de oorspronkelijke constructie van karakters.' Recent onderzoek op een neurologisch niveau onderschrijft dit punt nog eens. De statische sporen activeren delen van het brein die in eerste instantie gerelateerd lijken te zijn aan het uitvoeren van deze actie. Hiermee is het aannemelijk dat onze eigen ervaringen met het uitvoeren van een handeling bijdragen aan onze capaciteit soortgelijke handelingen terug te vinden in de sporen die zij hebben achtergelaten.

Dientengevolge kunnen we zeggen dat leren schrijven in zekere zin ook leren lezen is en het is interessant om deze conclusie verder door te trekken naar de artistieke praktijk. Waar de leek, zogezegd, een set ervaringen heeft die het mogelijk maken om de afdrukken in een klei of wasmodel te herkennen als sporen van de kunstenaars fysieke interactie met het materiaal, zal er voor de getrainde beeldhouwer veel meer informatie te vinden zijn. Immers, vanuit zijn eigen ervaring in het modelleren kan deze veel nauwkeuriger navoelen hoe het werk tot stand is gekomen. Hiermee is ook duidelijke waarom kunstenaars er belang aan hechtten om deze objecten in hun eigen studio te houden. Veel

meer dan een interessante compositie geven zij toegang tot de werkwijze van de meester.

Kijken we naar de uiteindelijk beeldhouwwerken in marmer, dan moeten we concluderen dat de daadwerkelijke sporen van de beitel op het marmer in deze periode nauwelijks als expressiemiddel worden gebruikt. Daarentegen proberen beeldhouwers wel de dynamische kwaliteiten te imiteren, en hiervoor gebruiken ze vooral de vrijheid die wordt geboden door de regellose draperieën. Door de grafologische kwaliteiten van de tekening en het model te behouden in de draperieën wordt een achterliggende handeling gesuggereerd die er in feite nooit geweest is en kan de draperie een uitdrukking van het bovennatuurlijke worden.

Metamorfose

In het laatste hoofdstuk komt een aantal thema's uit de voorgaande hoofdstukken samen en worden ze verder uitgediept aan de hand van een casus, Bernini's *Apollo en Dafne*. Een gedicht van Antonio Bruni over dit beeld doet de vraag rijzen wie het beeld uiteindelijk het leven geeft, de beeldhouwer of de dichter. In dit geval lijken beiden een rol te spelen, maar waar de beeldhouwer inderdaad leven geeft, is het de dichter die de metamorfose omdraait (of vervolmaakt?) en het beeld terugbrengt tot steen. De relevantie van deze ongebruikelijke draai blijkt als we aannemen dat er hier een specifieke dichter is bedoeld, Paus Urbanus VIII die als Kardinaal Maffeo Barberini zelf een aantal dichtregels schreef die later op de piëdestal van de beeldengroep zijn geplaatst. Al in zijn vroege gedichten schrijft Barberini over kunst en thematiseert in zijn gedichten de levendigheid van kunstwerken en hun effect op de beschouwer.

Om de werking van de *Apollo en Dafne* beter te begrijpen, is het van belang om te weten hoe het werk werd bekeken. Hoewel verscheidene auteurs hebben aangenomen dat het beeld vanuit één punt moet worden bekeken, heeft Joy Kenseth betoogd dat de bezoeker van de Villa Borghese het beeld eerder als een opeenvolging van kijkrichtingen moet hebben waargenomen. Maar ook het idee van een narratieve opeenvolging van kijkrichting kan worden bevestigd. Het principe van een kijkrichting *an sich* lijkt problematisch en eerder ingegeven door een picturaal denken. Het staat echter buiten kijf dat Bernini's werk de beschouwer uitnodigt tot beweging en Lessings idee van het vruchtbare moment lijkt nergens minder van toepassing dan hier. Eerder dan een enkel moment uit te lichten, vlecht Bernini een opeenvolging van momenten in elkaar.

De beschouwer ervaart het werk dan ook niet als een snapshot, maar eerder als een gebeurtenis, die ook op het niveau van het lichaam ondergaan wordt. Beweging wordt gesuggereerd door een instabiliteit die in het lichaam wordt

nagevoeld terwijl de zachtheid van de gebeeldhouwde huid appelleert aan de tastzin.

Hoe verhoudt dit idee zich tot dat van de versteende beschouwer zoals we deze tegenkomen in de zeventiende-eeuwse dichtkunst? Het idee van deze verstenening kan worden herleid tot het werk van de dichter Francesco Petrarca, waar deze verstenening direct gerelateerd wordt aan het verhaal van Apollo en Dafne, en kan worden begrepen als een spanning tussen enerzijds de wens om te bezitten en anderzijds de onbereikbaarheid van het object van deze wens. Eenzelfde spanning vinden we ook tussen beschouwer en beeldhouwwerk.

De dichtregels van Maffeo Barberini die de sokkel van de *Apollo en Dafne* sieren sluiten aan op deze thematiek en lijken hiermee een poging om de zinnelijke aantrekkingskracht van het werk te temperen door de beschouwer, die hier de rol van Apollo op zich neemt, te wijzen op de onbereikbaarheid van de figuur. Hiermee voltooit de dichter de metamorfose die de beeldhouwer in gang heeft gezet en maakt hij, zoals Bruni in zijn gedicht aangeeft, het levende marmer tot steen.

Conclusie

Het dubbele karakter van de beeldhouwkunst tussen hard en levenloos materiaal en de suggestie van een ogenschijnlijk levende aanwezigheid en de vraag hoe de beschouwer hiermee omgaat was een centraal thema in het kunstdiscours van het zeventiende-eeuwse Rome. Om nader inzicht in de complexe relatie tussen beeld en beschouwer te krijgen hebben we dit thema van twee kanten benaderd. Enerzijds heeft onze analyse van een literair discours een indicatie gegeven van met wat voor blik, met wat voor aannames, de zeventiende-eeuwse beschouwer naar de beeldhouwkunst keek. En anderzijds hebben we aan de hand van de hedendaagse psychologie kunnen laten zien dat bepaalde reacties gegrond zijn in de wijze waarop mensen de werkelijkheid waarnemen.

De ideeën van Sforza Pallavicino, die direct aansluiten bij de thematiek van het literaire discours, zijn instrumentaal geweest om een nieuw licht te werpen op het beeldhouwwerk en haar totstandkoming. Door het succes van het kunstwerk niet langer te zoeken in een absolute gelijkenis maar in het effect op de beschouwer heeft hij de weg voorbereid voor een psychologisch begrip van het kunstwerk, dat wil zeggen een kunstwerk dat in de eerste plaats moet worden begrepen in termen van de reacties van de beschouwer. Dientengevolge kan het beeldhouwwerk worden gezien als een complexe, meervoudige constructie, die in de eerste plaats rekenschap geeft van de lichamelijke, psychologische en literair geïnformeerde toenadering van de beschouwer. De beeldhouwkunst, zo blijkt, is niet minder een kunst van illusie dan de schilderkunst.

Door de nadruk te leggen op het effect van het kunstwerk komt ook de rol van de kunstenaar in een nieuw licht te staan. De kunstenaar kan in zekere zin worden gezien als psycholoog, als iemand met unieke inzichten in de reacties van de mens en de wijze waarop deze bespeeld kunnen worden. Hiermee kan de kunstgeschiedenis niet alleen profiteren van psychologische inzichten, maar ook de psycholoog op weg helpen met het formuleren van nieuwe onderzoeksvragen. De beeldhouwkunst, als een kunst die zo overduidelijk vraagt om een breuk met het oculo-centrisme dat nog immer centraal staat in psychologisch en kunsthistorisch onderzoek, kan een speciale rol in deze uitwisseling spelen. De implicaties van een dergelijke kijk op kunst gaan verder dan de geïsoleerde kunstwerken zelf, maar leggen nieuwe vragen bloot omtrent het maakproces en de wijze waarop hier over werd gesproken.

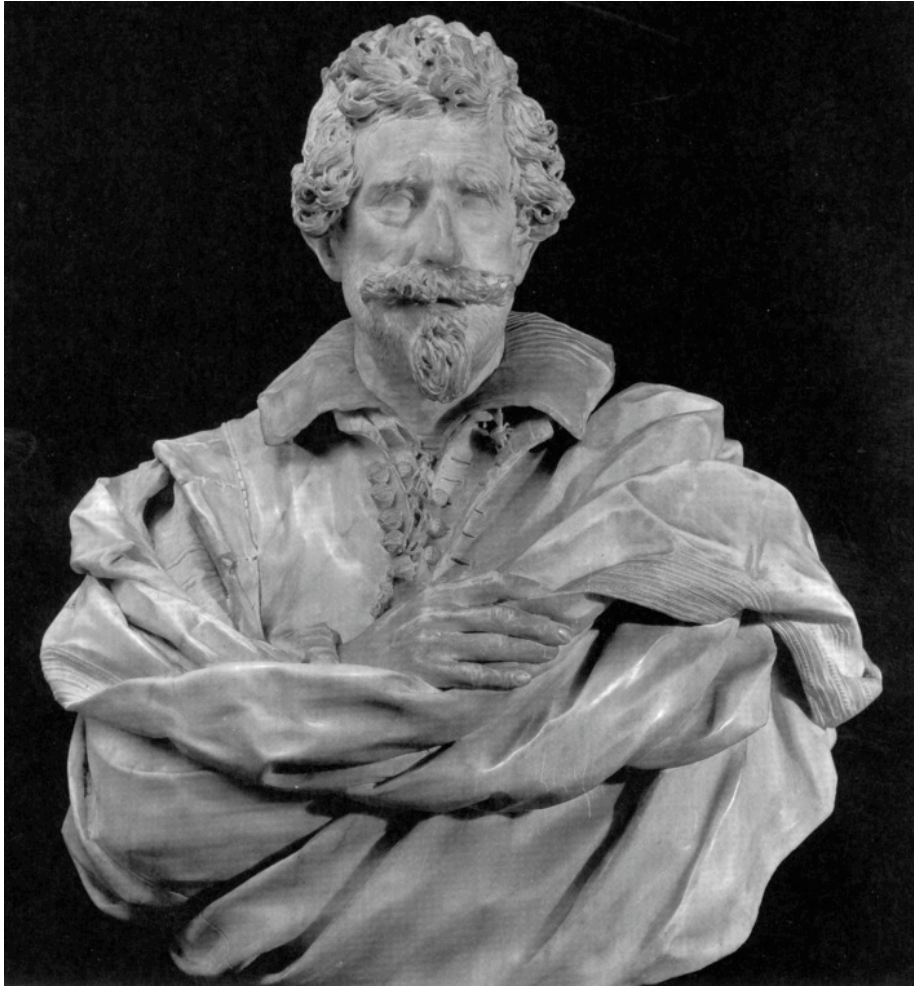
Curriculum Vitae

Jan Joris van Gastel (Joris) was born on 12 May, 1977 in Huizen, the Netherlands. After completing high school, he started his studies at the VU University, Amsterdam in 1998, first Computer Science, then Psychology in 1999 and Art History in the year 2000. He graduated *cum laude* in Theoretical Psychology in 2004 with a thesis on Wittgenstein and the social conception of mind, and a year later in Art History, again *cum laude*, with a thesis on sculptors' drawings in renaissance Florence. In 2004, Joris studied for half a year in Venice at the Università Ca' Foscari with an Erasmus scholarship and after graduating he spent several months at the Dutch Institutes in Florence and Rome. In 2006 he started his tenure as PhD candidate at Leiden University as part of the research project *Art, Agency and Living Presence in Early Modern Italy*, granted by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). In 2011 he has held scholarships from the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz to do research in the collection of the Bode Museum, Berlin, and from the Fondazione Ermitage Italia, Ferrara, to do research in Italy.

Illustrations



1. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Saint Jerome*, Chigi Chapel, Cathedral, Siena.



2. Giuliano Finelli, *Bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane*, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



3. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of Saint Theresa of Avila*, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome.



4. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Saint Bibiana*, Santa Bibiana, Rome.



5. Francesco Mochi, *Saint Veronica*, Saint Peter's, Rome.



6. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Pope Urban VIII*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome.



7. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya*, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Rome.



8. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Angel on the Baldacchino*, Saint Peter's, Rome.



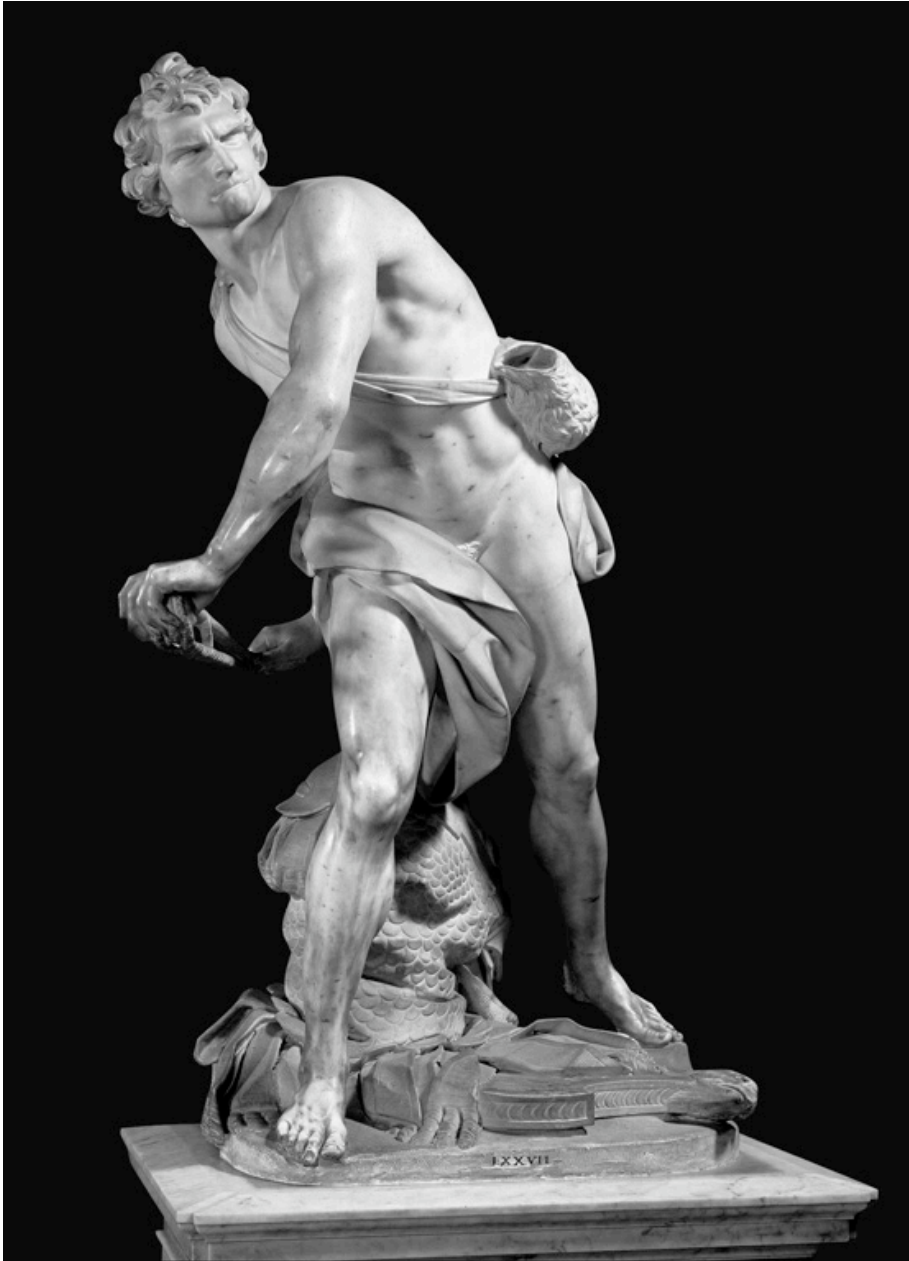
9. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Francesco I d'Este*, Galleria Estense, Modena



10. Antonio Raggi, *Angel Announcing the Flight into Egypt to Saint Joseph*, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome.



11. Alessandro Algardi, *The Beheading of Saint Paul*, San Paolo, Bologna.



12. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *David*, Galleria Borghese, Rome.



13. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Tomb for Pope Urban VII*, Saint Peter's, Rome.

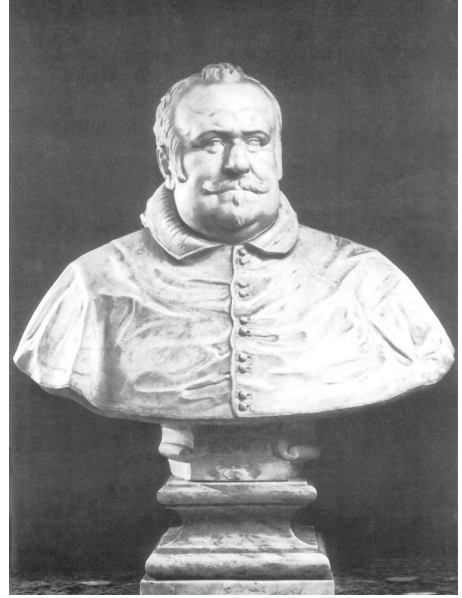




14. Andrea Bolgi, *Members of the De Caro Cacace Family*, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.
15. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, Galleria Borghese, Rome.



16. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of King Louis XIV*, Versailles.
17. After Agostino Carracci, *Studies for the Human Face*, Bibliotheque National, Paris.
18. Orfeo Boselli, *Bust of Cardinal Girolamo Colonna*, Palazzo Colonna, Rome.
19. Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *The Greengrocer*, Museo Civico Ala Ponzzone, Cremona.





20. Giuliano Finelli, *Bust of Francesco Mariconda*, Basilica dell'Annunziata Maggiore, Naples.



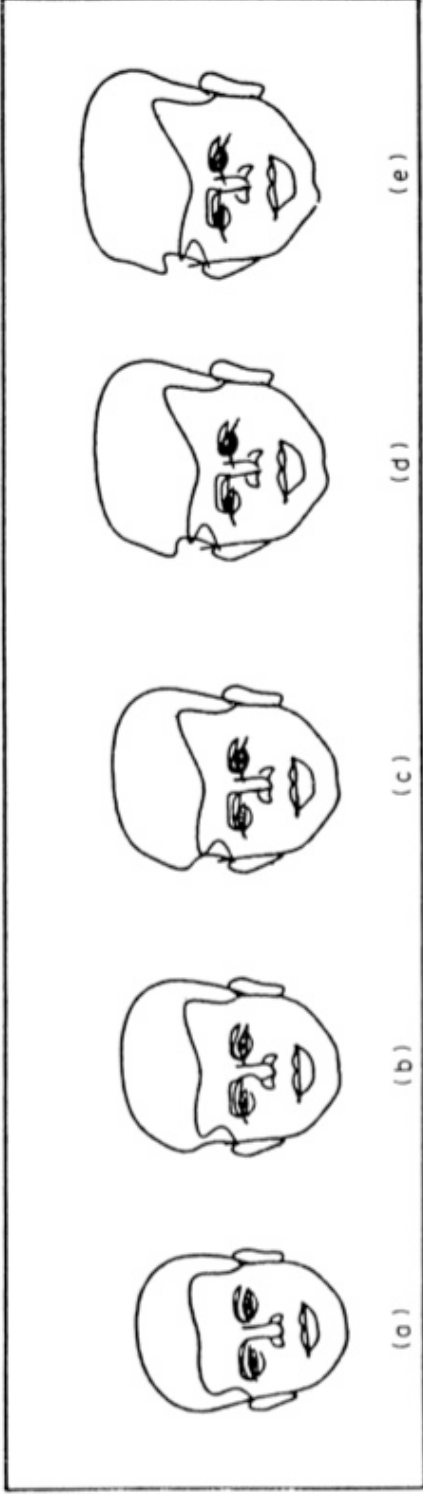
21. Alessandro Algardi, *Bust of Pope Innocent X*, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.



22. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Pope Innocent X*, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.



23. Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.



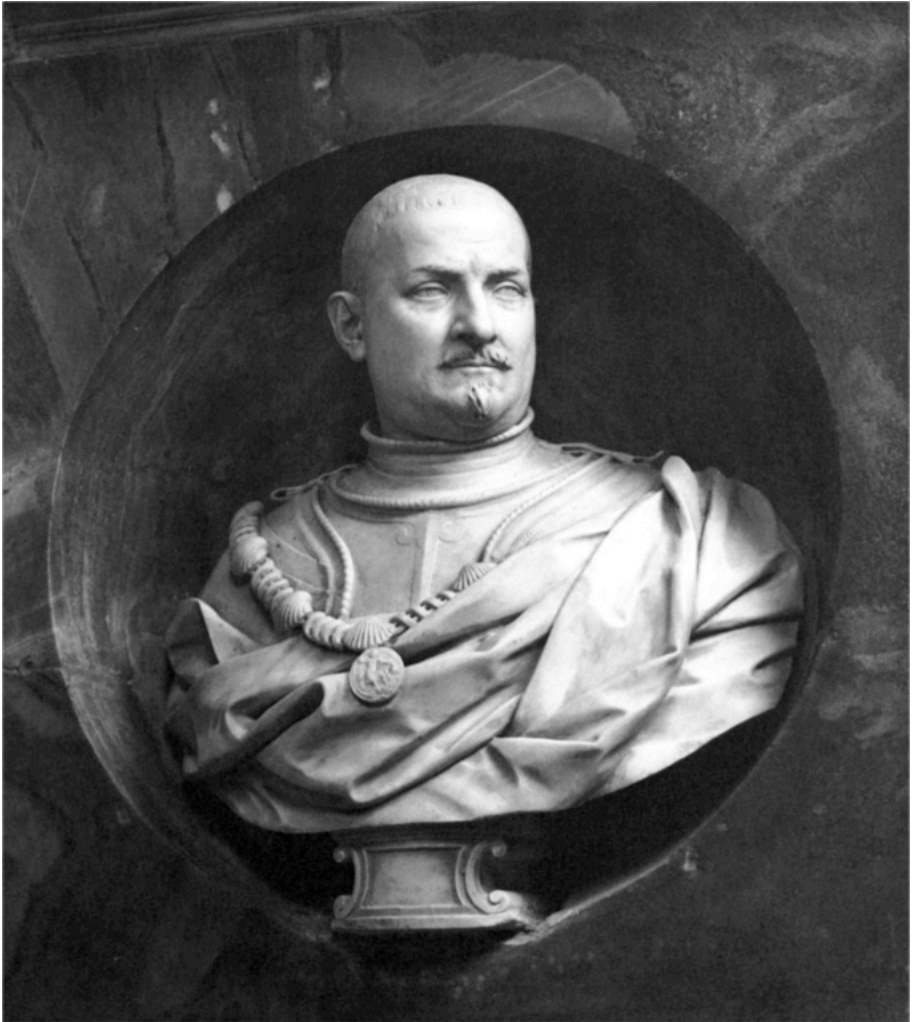
24. Figure taken from Brennan 1985, showing the progressive caricaturing of a line drawing of the face of John F. Kennedy.
(a) Undistorted line drawing, (b) 50% exaggeration with respect to an average, (c) 100%, (d) 140% and (e) 160% exaggeration.



25. Alessandro Algardi, *Bust of Lelio Frangipane*, San Marcello al Corso, Rome.

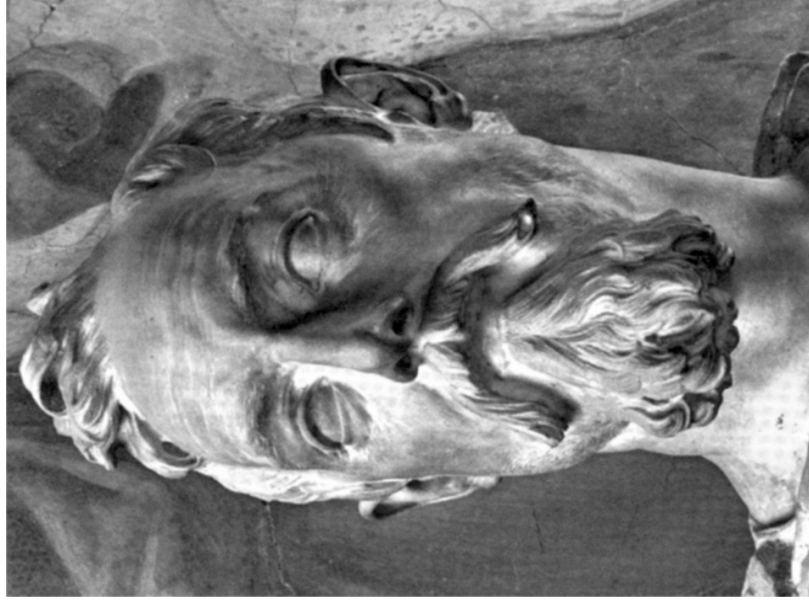


26. Alessandro Algardi, *Bust of Roberto Frangipane*, San Marcello al Corso, Rome.

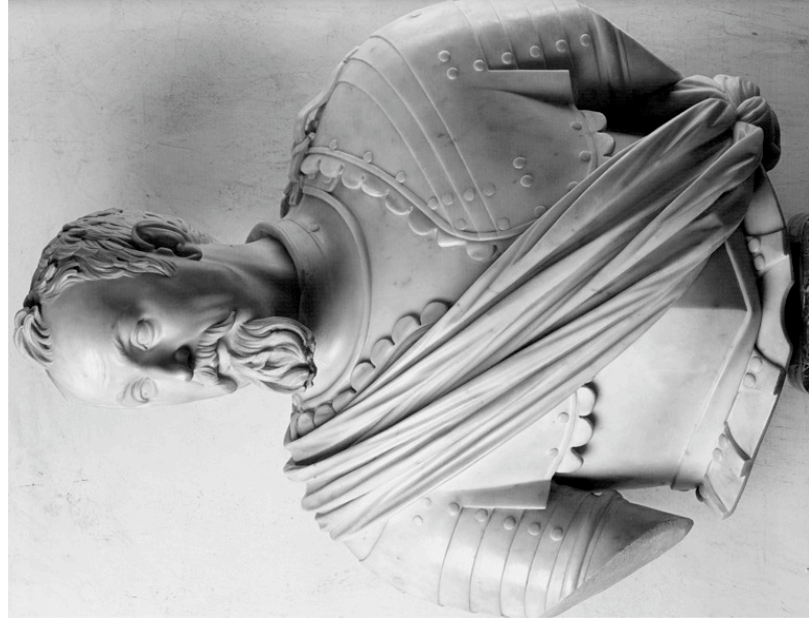


27. Alessandro Algardi, *Bust of Muzio Frangipane*, San Marcello al Corso, Rome.

28. Francesco Mochi,
Bust of Carlo
Barberini. Museo di
Roma, Rome.



29. Giovan Lorenzo
Bernini, *Carlo*
Barberini (detail).
Musei Capitolini,
Rome.





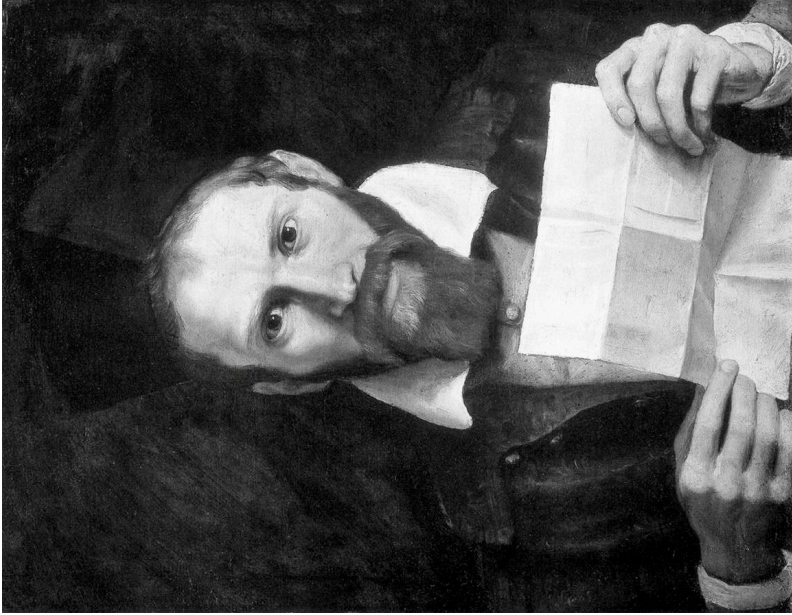
30. Giuliano Finelli, *Bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

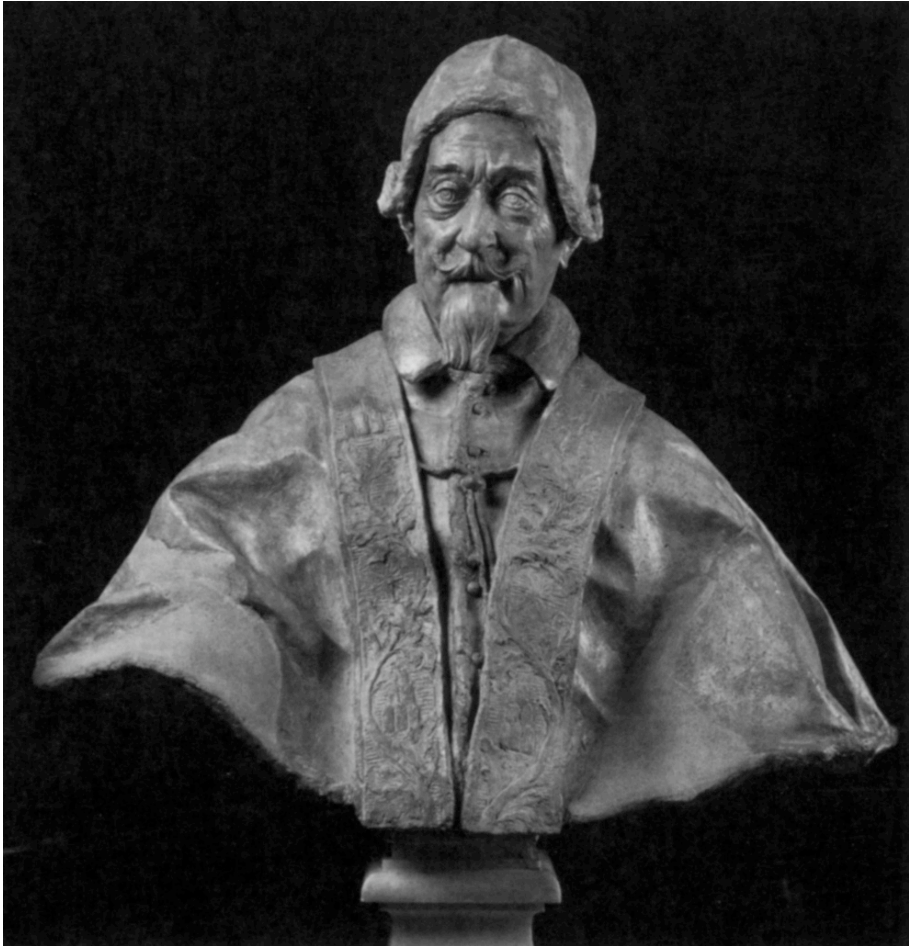


31. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Caricature of Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.

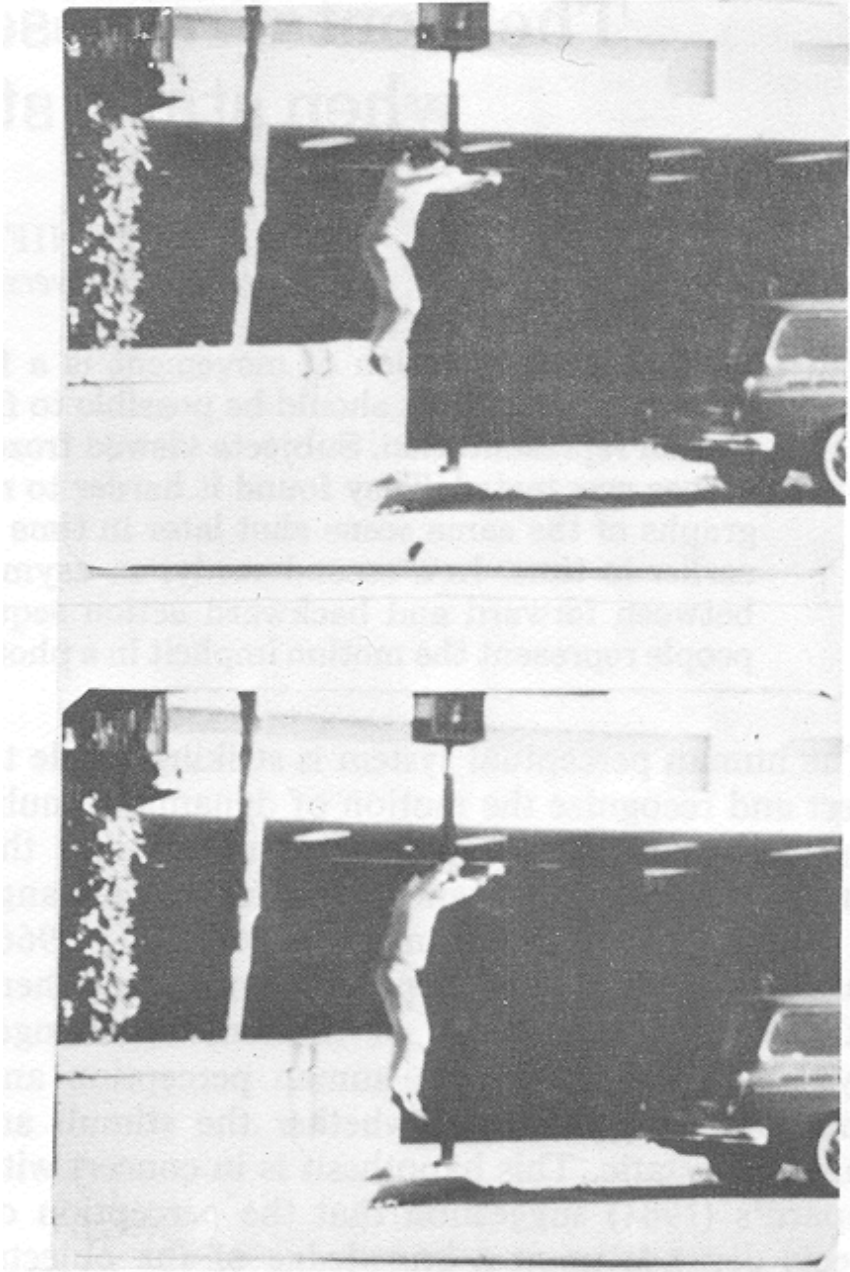


32. Hans Holbein,
*Portrait of Sir
Thomas More*, The
Frick Collection,
New York.
33. Annibale Carracci
or Domenico
Zampieri
(Domenichino),
*Portrait of Giovan
Battista Agucchi*,
York Art Gallery,
York.





34. Melchiorre Cafà, *Bust of Pope Alexander VII*, Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia



35. Two images from an 'action sequence' from Freyd 1983a.

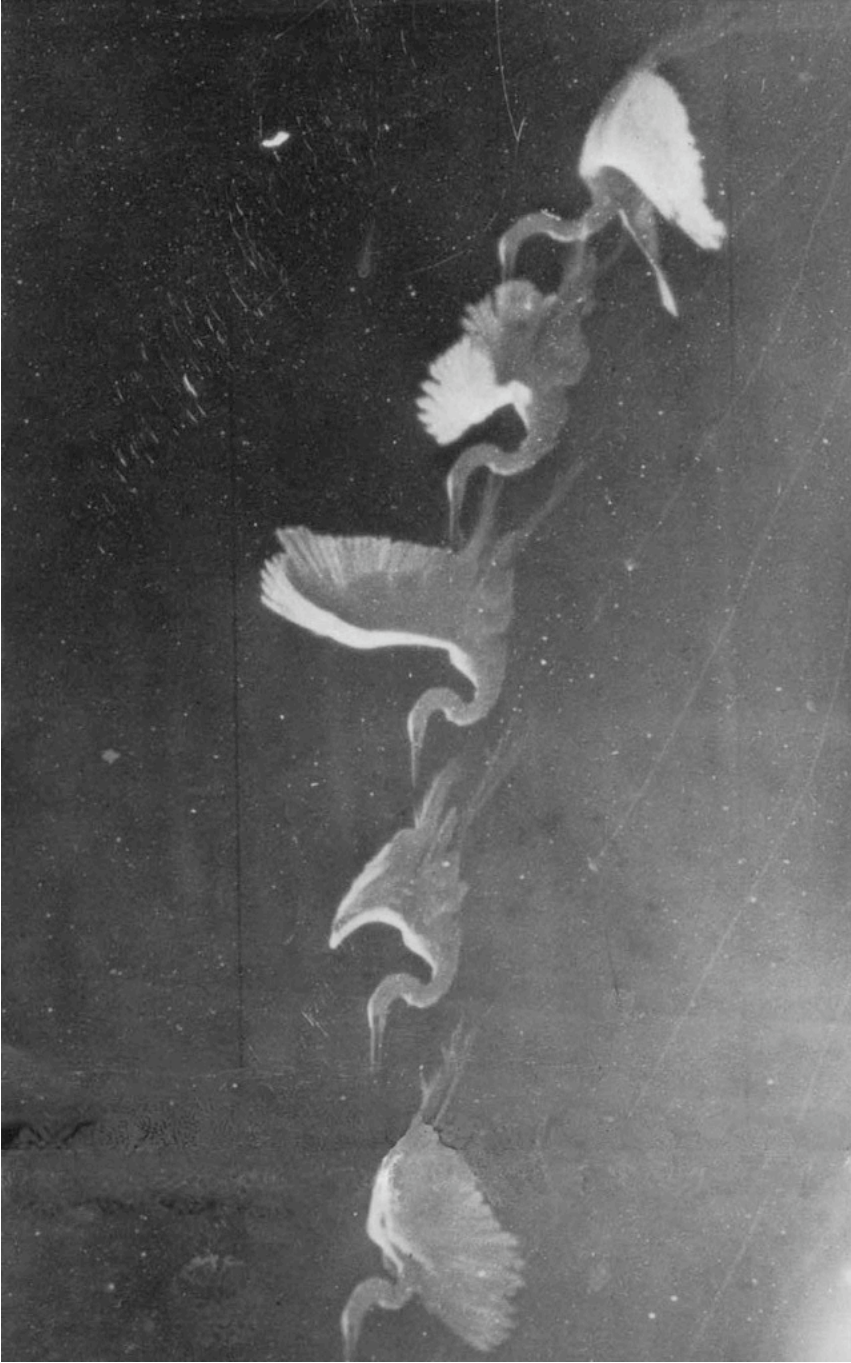


36. François Rude, *Le Maréchal Ney*, Place de l'Observatoire, Paris.

37. Paolo De' Matteis, *The Judgement of Hercules*, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

38. Giacomo Balla, *Swifts: Paths of Movement + Dynamic Sequences* (1913), Museum of Modern Art, New York.





39. Étienne-Jules Marey, *Flight of a Heron*, Joy of Giving Something, Inc., New York.



40. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Annunciation*, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice.
41. Antoine Watteau, *Embarkation for Cythera*, Louvre, Paris.



42. Alessandro Algardi, *The Encounter of St. Leo the Great and Attila*, Saint Peter's, Vatican City.



43. Alessandro Algardi, *The Encounter of St Leo the Great and Attila* (detail).



44. Alessandro Algardi, *Pope Leo XI*, Saint Peter's, Vatican City.



45. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Pope Urban VIII*, Saint Peter's, Vatican City.



46. Alessandro Algardi, *Pope Innocent X*, Musei Capitolini, Rome.



47. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Constantine's Vision of the Cross*, Scala Regia, Vatican City.

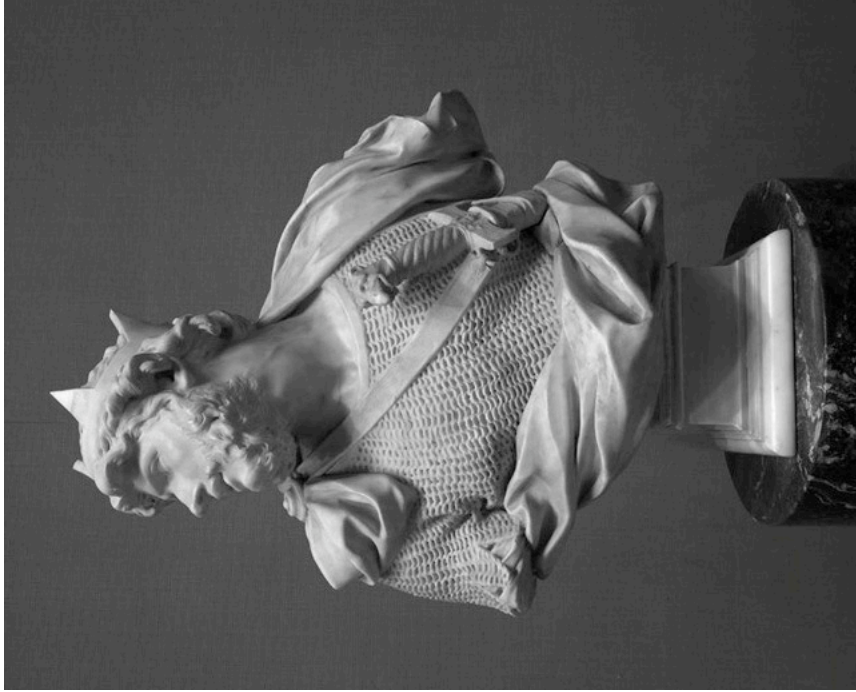


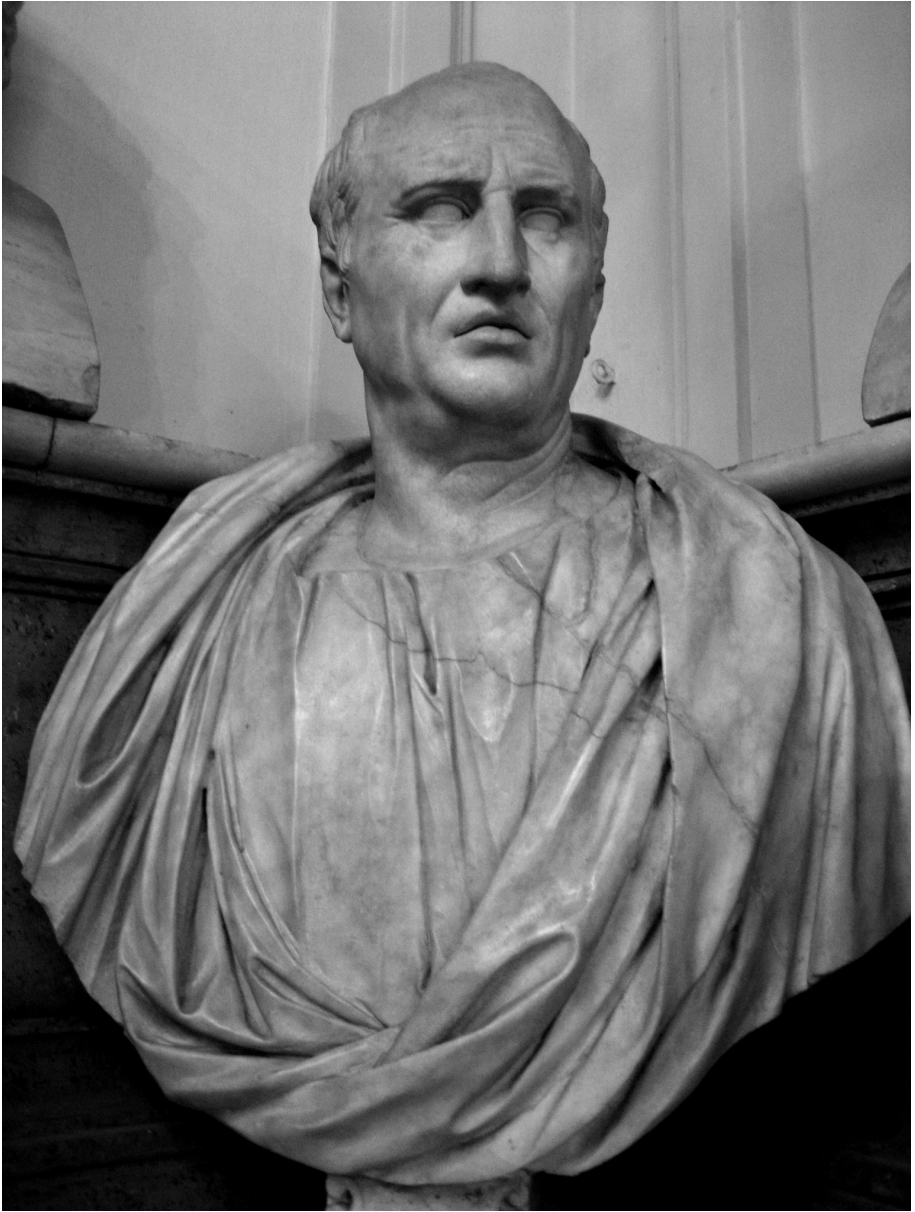
48. Antonio Raggi (after the design by Giuseppe Perone), *The Death of Saint Cecilia*, Sant'Agnese in Agone, Rome.



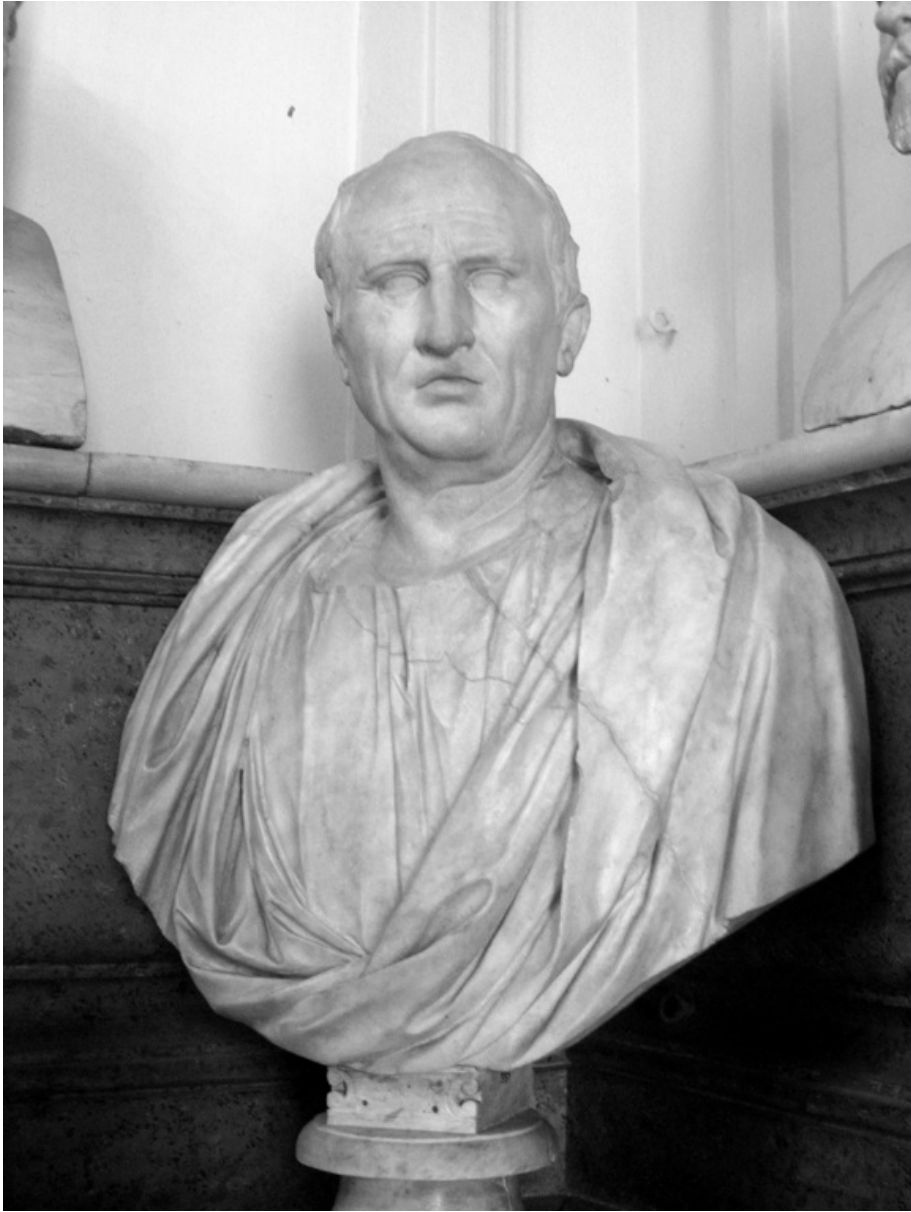
49. Antonio Raggi (after the design by Giuseppe Perone), *The Death of Saint Cecilia* (detail).

50. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Costanza Bonarelli*, Bargello, Florence.
51. Pierre Puget, *Bust of a King*, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.





52. Unknown sculptor of the first century BC, *Bust of Cicero*, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

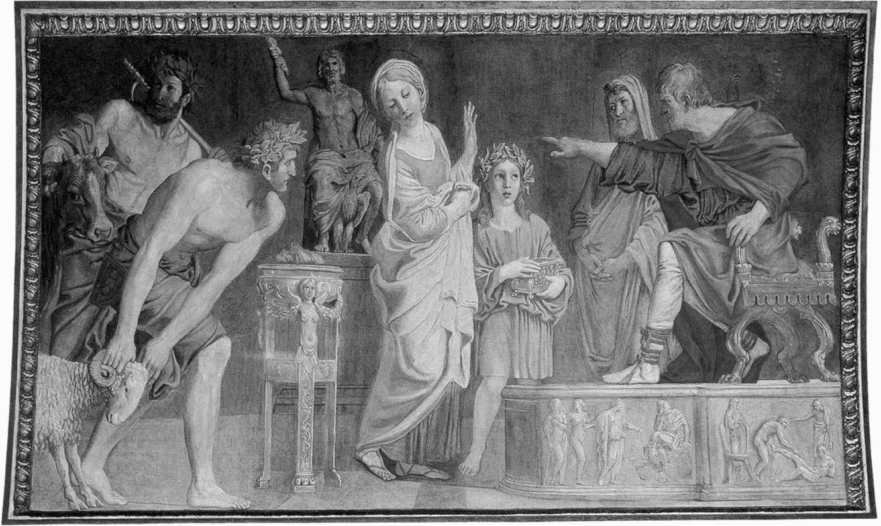


53. Unknown sculptor of the first century BC, *Bust of Cicero*, Musei Capitolini, Rome.
54. Antonio Raggi, (after the design by Giovan Lorenzo Bernini), *Madonna and Child*, Saint-Joseph des Carmes, Paris.





55. Francesco Baratta (after the design by Giovan Lorenzo Bernini), *Río de la Plata*, Piazza Navona, Rome.
56. Domenico Zampieri (Domenichino), *The Condemnation of Saint Cecilia*, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.
57. Pietro da Cortona, *Scene from the Life of Saint Bibiana*, Santa Bibiana, Rome.





58. Tiziano Vecellio, *San Niccolò Altarpiece*. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City.

59. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Saint Lawrence*. Contini-Bonacossi Collection, Florence.

60. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Pietà*. Saint Peter's, Vatican City.





61. Tiziano Vecellio, *The Feast of Venus*, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
62. François Duquesnoy, *Two Mourning Putti*, Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome.
63. Pietro Bernini, *Two Putti Carrying the Barberini Coat of Arms*, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome.
64. Francesco Mochi (attributed to), *Two Putti Carrying the Barberini Coat of Arms*, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome.



65. Francesco Mochi (attributed to), *Putto*, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome.



66. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Charity*, Saint Peter's, Vatican City.



67. Caravaggio, *The Death of the Virgin*, Louvre, Paris.



68. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Model for the Charity for the Tomb of Urban VIII*, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City.



69. Greek sculptor of the first century BC (?), restored by Ercole Ferrata, *Medici Venus*, Uffizi, Florence.



70. Annibale Carracci, *Sleeping Venus*, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

71. Caravaggio, *Doubling Thomas*,
Sanssouci, Potsdam.





72. Antonio Raggi, *Noli me tangere*,
Santi Domenico e Sisto, Rome.

73. Annibale Carracci, *Study for Sleeping Venus*, Städels Museum, Frankfurt am Main.

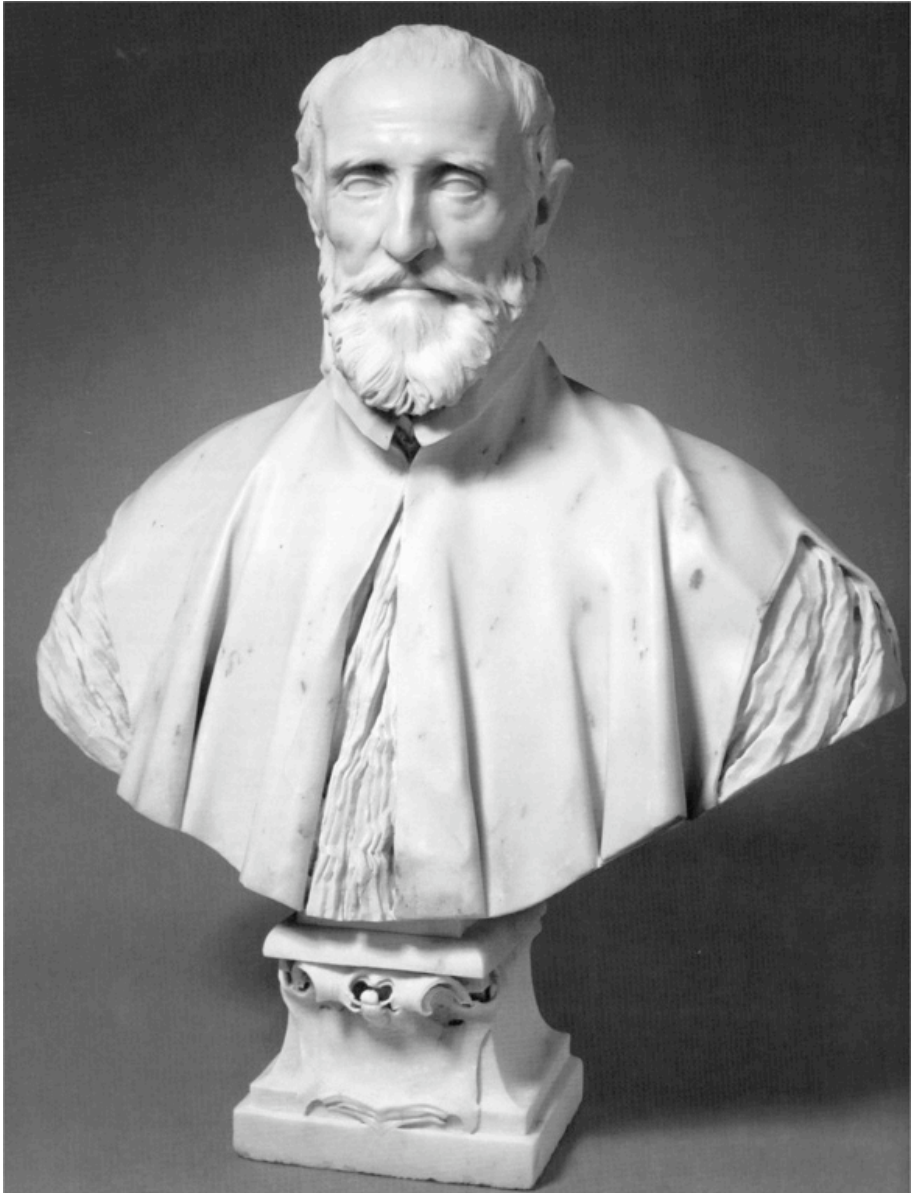




74. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Rape of Proserpina* (detail), Galleria Borghese, Rome.



75. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne* (detail), Galleria Borghese, Rome.



76. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Monsignor Francesco Barberini*, National Gallery of Art, Washington.



77. Camillo Rusconi, *Giulia Albani degli Abati Olivieri* (detail), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



78. Pietro Bernini, *Vita attina*,
San Martino, Naples.

79. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini,
Neptune, V&A, London.



80. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Drapery Study for a Church Father of the Cathedra Petri*,
Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig.



81. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome.



82. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* (detail).

83. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Angel with the Superscription*, Palazzo Venezia, Rome.





84. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*. Galleria Borghese, Rome.



85. Giovan Lorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*.