Sanctified Presence: Sculpture and Sainthood in Early Modern Italy

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Transfigured Reality: Sculpture and Sainthood in Early Modern Italy

A dissertation presented

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the memorialization of dramatic action in seventeenth-century sculpture, and its implications for the representation of sanctity. Illusions of transformation and animation enhanced the human tendency to respond to three-dimensional images in interpersonal terms, vivifying the commemorative connotations that predominate in contemporary writing on the medium. The first chapter introduces the concept of seeming actuality, a juxtaposition of the affective appeal of real presence and the ideality of the classical *statua* that appeared in the work of Stefano Maderno, and was enlivened by Gianlorenzo Bernini into paradoxes of permanent instantaneity. This new mystical sculpture was mimetic, not because it depicted events narrated elsewhere, but imitated mutable, time-bound, spiritual activity with arresting immediacy in the here and now. No other form of image could so fully evoke the mingling of human immanence and divine transcendence that was the fundamental basis of sanctity. Chapters Two through Four closely analyze the sculptural construction hagiographic identities for Ludovica Albertoni, Alessandro Sauli, and John of the Cross, and their interplay with political, social, and religious factors. The discovery of connections between marble and wooden statuary further broadens our understanding of the expressive range of the medium. The homology between saintly and sculptural exemplarity reveals a far more dynamic, interactive, and rhetorical conception of the medium than is portrayed in early modern theoretical writings.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to Hazel Currie, who never stopped believing.

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INTRODUCTION

Pierre Puget's statue of Alessandro Sauli was installed in the crossing of the Genoese basilica of S. Maria Assunta in Carignano in 1668, as one of a planned group of four figures reminiscent of the saints in the piers of St. Peter's (fig. 1). Stylistically, it exemplifies Puget's expressive idiom, an exquisitely carved spiraling form that embodies the pressure and tension of religious ecstasy. The most striking fact about the work, however, concerns its subject; in 1667, Alessandro Sauli was not officially sanctified. He would not even be beatified until 1742 and his full canonization had to wait until 1904. Why then, is a theologically ordinary individual included in a monumental assemblage otherwise comprised of major saints, particularly at a time when the entire saint-making process had recently come under increased central control? The answer is not straightforward because it is found between the different perspectives that shaped early modern visual culture. By 1667, the notion of "art" as a distinct and privileged category of imagery with its own rules and standards was well established, and Puget's work clearly fell within its rubric. However, this discourse was not concerned with religious usage, which meant that the curious placement of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* was driven by aspects of sculptural signification that fell outside the purview of theoretical treatments of the medium.

The *St. Alessandro Sauli*, like the other works discussed in this dissertation, used the dynamic and engaging sculptural idiom that developed in Rome over the seventeenth century to define and assert the sanctity of its subject. This imagery attempted to fulfill the rhetorical demands of religious art with illusion of living presence, while at least partially complying with the

theoretical requirements of art as a distinct, privileged class of imagery.[1] As an anthropomorphic body in the actual environment of the viewer, figural sculpture invites certain modes of response suggestive, in some ways, of an interpersonal encounter. This is a pre-rational reaction, an inchoate feeling not easily put into words, arising from the uncanny effect of something that clearly is not a person, but possesses the fundamental physical traits that makes a person immediately recognizable. While the specifics vary with time and circumstance, sculpture has always elicited humanizing responses, in a countless variety of animate statues and transformations between stone and flesh, both literal and figural, in every possible context. An image such as the *St. Alessandro Sauli* maximized the the suggestion of dynamic vitality for affective purposes, without abandoning the theoretical criteria that made it an art form. It realized the ahistorical tendency to respond psychologically and emotionally to a three-dimensional body through a historically determined conception of sculpture, in order to engage the senses for spiritual purposes.[2] This juxtaposition of theoretical conformity and affective, mimetic illusionism will be referred to as "seeming actuality," a term that describes the composite nature of a statue as a work of art, or recognized aesthetic object, and as a real lifelike presence.[3] It is true that one legacy of post-structuralist and

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[1] The work of Hans Belting, especially the wide-ranging exploration of the impact of this notion of "art" on visual culture in his *Likeness and Presence*, had a formative influence on this dissertation's recognition of early modern art theory as one arbitrary discourse among others.

[2] W. J. T. Mitchell has contested the supposition that visual culture is entirely historically contingent, noting that certain patterns of response transcend historicity and appear to be more universal human conditions. The reception of three-dimensional figural imagery as something more suggestive of a human presence than other art forms, is one such a universal. What is contextually determined is how these reactions manifest themselves. W. J. T. Mitchell and Marquard Smith, "Mixing It Up: The Media, the Senses, and Global Politics. Interview with W. J. T. Mitchell," in *Visual Culture Studies*, ed. Marquard Smith (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications Ltd., 2008), 37-38.

[3] Evonne Levy once contrasted these opposing modes of reception under the names "art" and "devotion," or aesthetic consciousness, and uncritical affective devotional response. However, seeming actuality is not a choice between historically specific, mutually exclusive conceptions of imagery, but an analysis of how an ahistorical response to three dimensional presence manifested through early modern sculpture theory. See Evonne Levy, "A Noble Medley and the Concert of Materials and Artifice: Jesuit Church Interiors in Rome, 1567-1700," in *Saint, Site*

hermeneutic schools of thought is a healthy skepticism of ahistorical or essentialist arguments, but seeming actuality does not hold that one specific reaction to sculpture invariably occurs. Rather, it recognizes that a certain type of image is predisposed to induce a certain class of response. In seventeenth-century Roman religious art, where rhetorical efficacy was prized, a variety of affective, interactive sculptures brought viewers into contact with sanctity as a miracle and a fact.

Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) was the most innovative figure in the development of seeming actuality in the seventeenth-century. His figures were renowned for their illusory transformations of stone into flesh and other materials, interactions with their surroundings, and semblance of living movement, all characteristics shared by the *St. Alessandro Sauli.* It is clear from his harsh reception in the later eighteenth-century that his work did not align with stricter Neoclassical attitudes towards sculpture, but his exclusive use of marble and bronze, eschewal of polychrome, and advocacy of idealizing antique precedent evince a certain adherence to theoretical principles. The astounding variety of style and material seen in a *quattrocento* sculptor such as Donatello would be inconceivable within Bernini's understanding of the parameters of his art. The two qualities that most set him apart from seventeenth-century theory were his extreme emotionalism and use of mimetic narrative. Sculpture was not supposed to violate appropriate conventions of realism and decorum in search of affect, nor was it to attempt temporal movement, lest it intrude on the bailiwick of painting. Theoretically, it was a memorializing art that captured the essence of a subject's virtue and then transmitted it back to its audience. Seeming actuality retained this commemorative ideal, but wedded it to engaging, living action, and transfigured instantaneity into exemplary permanence. The combination of art as a distinct, privileged sphere

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and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome and Jesuit Urbanism, ed. Thomas M. Lucas (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990), 58.

of cultural activity and the interpersonal appeal of the three-dimensional body, created a composite signifier that juxtaposed the human and the superhuman, the momentary and the timeless, and the accessible and the ideal.

The presence of this idiom in the *St. Alessandro Sauli* defined the subject in these paradoxical terms, asserting his fitness for canonization by indicating how he was to be understood by the viewer. The production of saints, meaning the processes by which a figure originally of local significance is presented, approved and transformed into a universal intercessor, is called hagiography. According to the O.E.D., hagiography is "the writing of the lives of saints; saints' lives as a branch of literature or legend," and, as this definition suggests, scholars have assumed it is a specifically textual system of representation.[4] However, there are many examples of imagery that performs the same role for the same purposes.[5] According to Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell a "hagiographer's main contribution was to shape the received material according to the current, partly implicit, pressures of the saint-making process, including the tastes of his bishop, the interests of his house or order, political agendas, and, not least, the expectations of local devotees."[6] By this standard, the *St. Alessandro Sauli* is hagiographic. It reconfigures a reforming bishop and Barnabite general into a mystical being suffused with divine energy, and asserts his

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[4] Réginald Grégoire, *Manuale di agiologia: introduzione alla letteratura agiografica* (Fabriano: Monastero San Silvestro Abate, 1987), 13. He differentiates (written) hagiography from the larger field of hagiology, which encompasses all modes of expressing sanctity in a society, including liturgy, theology, philosophy, psychology, economics, politics, and the visual arts. Imagery belongs to a second order of representation that disseminates sainthood created by textual hagiography.

[5] A huge body of literary and artistic hagiographic references is mentioned in Raimondo Michetti, "Storia e agiografia nelle raccolte di vite dei santi," in *Diventare Santo: Itinerari e riconoscimenti della santità tra libri, documenti e immagini*, ed. Giovanni Morello, Ambrogio M. Pizzoni, Paolo Vian (Città del Vaticano; Cagliari: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Events, 1998), 37.

[6] Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: the Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 13. The hagiographer is therefore not a biographer per se, but an instrument of the myth-making process.

rightful place among venerable intercessors. The seeming actuality of Puget's sculptural idiom embodied the supernatural spiritual character shared by all saints, and projected it for the inspiration and edification of passers-by. In short, the statue made the case for Alessandro's sainthood.

There is a strong parallel between the composite natures of seeming actuality and sainthood. A saint begins as a real, identifiable individual of exceptional piety and virtue that is elevated into a universal intercessor. The subjects of this dissertation were all produced in the period after the canonization reforms of Urban VIII, which codified the process under a uniform juridical framework that reflected the contemporary ideals of the Church.[7] The production of a transformed the nuance and particularity of an actual life into a simplified and abstract archetypal exemplar of universal spiritual values, without losing the individuality that makes the saint appealing and accessible.[8] The first version of a saint's life, or *vita,* generally appeared prior to canonization, and aimed to align his or her biography with contemporary notions of sanctity.[9] This

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[7] Ferdinando dell'Oro, *Beatificazione e canonizzazione: excursus storico liturgico* (Rome: C.L.V. Edizioni liturgiche, 1997), 19-21; Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540-1750)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994), 114; Weinstein and Bell, 142; Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Westport, CT.: Hyperion Press, 1979), 141-50. Urban VIII's *Decreta servanda in canonizatione et beatificatione sanctorum* of 1642 first separated beatification from canonization, and the pontificate of Clement X (1670-6) saw the development of beatification as "*cosa in se' perfetta*" (something perfect in itself). See Mario Rosa, "Il tribunale della santità," in *Diventare Santo: Itinerari e riconoscimenti della santità tra libri, documenti e immagini*, ed. Giovanni Morello, Ambrogio M. Pizzoni, Paolo Vian (Città del Vaticano; Cagliari: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998), 65.

[8] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 130-2; Weinstein and Bell, 239. Hagiographic sources particularize the universal by making sanctity immediately relevant to a local audience, while universalizing the particular by elevating the subject of a local cult to canonical status within the Church. The cult of a saint is described as everything the saint is not: the public manifestation of transcendence as opposed to the private and personal piety of an actual human life. De Certeau discusses the historiography of saints' lives as an alternation between everyday life and the divine, or history opened to the power of God. In this context, the extraordinary and possible support each other and build a fiction in the service of exemplarity. See Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 274.

[9] For a discussion of the practice of modeling new saints on pre-existing examples, see Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 57. Because saints are complex

could be done structurally, using the formulaic similarity between hagiographic texts to assert a

common nature, or by making direct comparisons within the narrative to model the subject after

other saints. Comparing Alessandro Sauli with Carlo Borromeo, for example, classifies him as a

reforming bishop, while associating John of the Cross with the Pseudo-Dionysius marks him as a

speculative mystic of the highest order.[10]

The blend of generalized persona and individualized accessibility that makes up a saint is

homologous with the fusion of commemorative ideality and interactive illusionism in seeming

actuality. Like any image, a statue is capable of fitting its subject to the prevailing standards of

sanctity. Seeing a saint represented in a certain way can instantly recall similar depictions of other

figures and imprint these associations into the beholder's memory, which is particularly useful for

uncanonized figures whose public identity is still in a formative stage.[11] The formal similarities

between Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross* and earlier sculptures of St. Teresa, St. Catherine and St.

Peter of Alcantara discussed in Chapter Four used physical resemblance to indicate that the

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figures that involving concepts that shift over time, including notions of sanctity, the nature of Christian heroism and appropriate modes of veneration, critical analysis of sainthood must be historically specific. See Richard Kieckhefer, "Imitators of Christ: Sainthood in the Christian Tradition," in *Sainthood: Its Manifestation in World Religions, ed*. Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1988), 2.

[10] Hyppolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography*, trans. V. M. Crawford (London; New York: Longmans, Green, 1907), 41-2. The monotonous repetition of saintly types eliminates individual elements for an abstract, idealized form acceptable and comprehensible to all. See Eric Suire, *La sainteté française de la Réforme catholique: (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles): d'après les textes hagiographiques et les procès de canonization* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2001), 72. For additional discussion of this, see de Romeo de Maio, *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1992), 271. For the fitting of popular post-Tridentine saints were into older worship structures, see Peter Burke, "Popular Piety," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), 122.

[11] Vittorio Casale, "Santi, Beati e Servi di Dio in immagini," in *Diventare Santo: Itinerari e riconoscimenti della santità tra libri, documenti e immagini*, ed. Giovanni Morello, Ambrogio M. Pizzoni, Paolo Vian (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998), 73-4. Casale addresses this issue as an iconographical challenge; how to represent newly minted servants of God in a manner that likens their sanctity to an established saint, while rendering them recognizable as individuals. He notes that in early modern Italy, a vast number of saints and beati are depicted in the same stereotyped fashion: rapt, in ecstasy, with their eyes turned to heaven.

controversial John belonged within a tradition of mystics whose orthodoxy had already been recognized by the Church. However, only sculpture could embody this quality in a compelling real world encounter. Hagiography was intended to be educational and inspiring, and the interpersonal appeal of sculpture was recognized, even in theoretical sources, as being able to exert a virtuous influence on viewers. No other medium comes so close to the fusion of individual immediacy and abstract significance at the heart of sainthood. The suitability, and frequent usage of this animated, interactive imagery for the construction of hagiographic personae makes that an ideal venue to analyze its expressive capabilities.

In its formative stages, this project was challenged to justify a focus on sculpture, or more specifically, identify the unique qualities that justify differentiating sculpture from other art forms as a subject of analysis. This query is fundamentally a question of reception, since it concerns the significance of a particular medium on an audience, or what Ricoeur called the "*quid*" of the subject, "that in view of which" a particular work is to be understood.[12] Any effort to answer this challenge must contend with temporal and cultural distance; in hermeneutic terms, the gulf between the historicity of subject and object, or the writer and the works. While this gulf precludes objective certitude, reception theory offers a means of bridging the divide. Wolfgang Iser's figure of the implied reader (or, in this case, viewer) combines the actualization of meaning that takes place in the act of reading (viewing), with the internal constraints on the range of possible interpretations known as prestructuring.[13] The latter is made up of structures within a given work that encourage particular patterns of response, and is elaborated in Hans Robert Jauss' notion of

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12 Paul Ricoeur, "Existence and Hermeneutics," trans. Kathleen McLaughlin, in *The Conflict of Interpretations*, ed. Don Ihde (Evanston, Il.: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 3.

13 Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), xii.

horizon of expectations. This concept draws on the hermeneutic process presented by Hans-Georg Gadamer in his *Truth and Method*, and describes how the prestructuring of meaning relies on references and allusions to the life experiences and world-view of the implied reader.[14] Jauss historicizes Iser's process, and consequently offers the historian a frame of reference to at least hypothesize what viewer expectations are assumed by a given image.[15] Early modern art theory, religious treatises, other responses, and the evidence of the works themselves all contribute to an understanding of the expectations and capabilities associated with the sculptural signifier.

The first chapter of the dissertation deals with the emergence, characteristics and effects of the mimetic, interactive sculpture that appeared in early seventeenth-century Italy, and its particular utility for the representation of sanctity. The following three chapters present examples of this medium applied to the definition of a new or prospective saint. The first considers two representations of the Bd. Ludovica Albertoni by Gianlorenzo Bernini and Lorenzo Ottoni, the first of which embodied and projected her manifest sanctity at her cult site, while the second transmitted this persona into a funerary context (figs. 2, 3). This chapter assesses the varying degrees of influence that sculpture had on the theological, social and artistic aspects of sainthood. The second case focuses on Pierre Puget's statue of Alessandro Sauli, a monumental representation of an uncanonized figure tightly linked to the social, religious and artistic landscape of seventeenth-century Genoa. Here too, the three-dimensional image was used to engage viewers in a rhetorical interaction, only through a different framework than an intimate chapel setting. Finally, the examination of Pietro Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross* considers an image of a co-founder of

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14 Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 23-39**.**

15 Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), 68.

the Discalced Carmelite reform commissioned for the order's Roman novitiate that embodies their somewhat arcane spiritual ethos and projects it to their members (fig. 4). Although the three subjects differ in their hagiographic profiles, with Ludovica an aristocratic Roman widow known for acts of charity, Alessandro a reforming bishop, and John an accomplished theologian and mystic, all are depicted in the grips of a similar ecstatic religious experience. Mimetic exemplarity realized the simultaneous evocation of a supernatural ideal and lifelike accessibility that was fundamental to saintly identity.

This dissertation contributes to several areas of scholarship, both within and outside of the art historical field. The concept of seeming actuality brings together a range of contemporary perspectives in order to reconcile an evolving theoretical notion of the arts with the affective consequences of physical presence, which offers insight into the significance of sculpture in early modern Italy. The detailed elucidation of several works of art reveals how versatile this interactive medium was in creating sacred presence. This includes analysis of how statues could stand in for their subjects, the ways in which sculptural types, including altarpieces, colossal figures in the round, busts, and relief, created different kinds of encounters, and the affinities between marbles and the veristic wooden imagery that fell outside of theoretical definitions of the medium. Familial support for a potential saint is contrasted with that of religious orders, including the Discalced Carmelites, and their sophisticated image culture. This consideration of the production and promotion of hagiographic identities contributes to areas of scholarship that deal with sainthood outside the realms of art history and visual culture. Saints are complex figures possessed of deep and multifaceted expressive resonances in early modern society that are still not fully plumbed,

and exposing their sculptural manifestation indicates one way that they entered the social sphere.[16]

CHAPTER ONE: SEEMING ACTUALITY AND SACRED PRESENCE

A new kind of sculpture appeared in early seventeenth-century Rome, featuring dramatic figures that appear to respond to their surroundings in the manner of real, living, feeling beings. These works maximized the ability inherent in all three-dimensional anthropomorphic images to create a visceral response akin to an interpersonal encounter, and transformed their viewers into witnesses of extraordinary events. The consequences for religious patronage were profound; nothing less than a new expression of sanctity, combining the ideal purity and commemorative permanence of marble statuary with the affective appeal of a nearly human presence. Stone was transformed into miraculous visions of seemingly real individuals, enraptured and suffused with light, as a testimony to the efficacy of heroic devotion. The fundamental paradox of sanctity, the co-mingling of divine and mortal essences, was not only realized, it seemed to be unfolding, a mystical union transpiring in real time. Despite the popularity of this vibrant, participatory idiom, little attention was paid to it by contemporary writers on sculpture. This is partly due to the discrepancy between this imagery and the treatment of the medium by exponents of seventeenth-century art theory. The latter, with foundations in the humanistic culture of the Renaissance, held that the *telos* of sculpture was not to tell stories, but to embody ideal forms and project virtuous essences. Decorum, commemorative permanence, and idealized naturalism were the benchmarks of the medium, while developments in narrative interaction and emotionalism were largely unacknowledged.

Seventeenth-century art theory does not reflect affective religious innovations, because

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16 Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35, 3 (2009): 554 ff.

these constitute two separate discourses, with distinct aims, assumptions, and connotations. The new expansive sculpture realized the rhetorical needs of ecclesiastic patrons and was valued in a large part for its functionality in inspiring and informing the faithful. Theory is founded in the essence, or first principles, that distinguished the fine arts from less prestigious forms of imagery, and were largely taken as axiomatic by the turn of the eighteenth century. Questions of usage and functional efficacy are of little consequence to a system of judgment founded on fundamental nature and timeless ideals. Nevertheless, the resulting situation was one where leading practitioners of sculpture were not following certain defining precepts of their art. Of course, moving and engaging three-dimensional narrative imagery was not new, as sculpted figures had been used to recreate stories and participate in dramatic productions since the middle ages, but by the Renaissance, most of these works had fallen outside the boundaries of the fine arts. In the seventeenth-century, the most prominent sculptors in Rome, who undoubtably considered themselves legitimate artists, were producing engaging, moving statuary. They did not oppose the theoretical conception of the medium, but sought to expand it. By accentuating the possibilities of interpersonal interaction, they attempted to bring the idea of the living sculpture into the realm of the fine arts.

It should be stated clearly that the expansive sculpture of a Bernini and the theoretical presumptions of a critic such as Giovanni Pietro Bellori, are not opposites, despite long-standing art historical tendencies to contrast classical and baroque impulses. The antithesis to the latter would be closer to a Spanish or Genoese processional image, or an installation from the *sacro monte*, a dramatic, active figure in less valuable materials, likely painted, perhaps with clothing or real hair, and without humanistic antique precedent. A consideration of art theory is therefore necessary in order to understand the sculptural innovations of the seventeenth century, but it only

tells part of the story. The affective possibilities offered by an anthropomorphic presence simply fall outside the purview this corpus of writings. Other discourses, including the literary, the historical, the folkloric, and the religious, must be enlisted in order to ascertain how these expressive figures resonated with their viewers. Significantly, the close proximity between sculpture and life was a common textual motif at the same time that statues became more vital and engaging. Poetic references to transformations between flesh and stone, including those of Pope Urban VIII and other close associates of Bernini, provide a window into the reception of the illusion of life in actual marble statues. This leads to a better understanding of the capabilities of this new sculpture as a signifier, a mode of expression able to represent the humanity and wonder of sanctity with utmost reality.

I. SCULPTURE IN THEORY IN EARLY MODERN ROME

The visual culture of seventeenth and early eighteenth century Italy included the complicated presence of art theory, a relatively new way of classifying and conceptualizing imagery that emerged from the scholarly culture of the Renaissance.[17] Raising a traditionally workshop practice to a liberal art required theoretical foundations that distinguished painting and sculpture from visual culture at large, but these also imposed presuppositions that constrained

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17 Hayden Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). Even those opposed Vasari's Florentine bias took up the debate on his terms. Larry E. Shiner, *The Invention of Art: Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) locates the sixteenth and seventeenth-century developments in a wider history of the significance of the arts in the western tradition. Even modern art history has frequently relied on a structured opposition between a normative Renaissance notion of idealized aesthetics and some form of "other" such as northern realism, Venetian *colore*, or Spanish polychromy. In his influential *Likeness and Presence*, among other works, Hans Belting characterized the impact of this new theoretical consciousness as a transition from "not-art" to "art," an epistemic shift that fundamentally altered the conception of imagery in western culture.

artistic possibilities. As early as the first half of the *quattrocento,* Leon Battista Alberti provided

an intellectual underpinning for artistic practice in the form of a systematized approach to the

imitation of nature.[18] His texts combined the valorization of antiquity typical of humanist writings,

with quantitative standards such as his geometric system of perspective and the canon of figural

proportions in his treatise *De statua.*[19] Alberti's project foreshadowed the essentialist debates of

the *paragone* in the following century by codifying singular conceptions of each art within

parameters that define, but also limit. His conception of sculpture wedded fidelity to natural

observation through his claim to measure actual bodies, with a universal set of ideal proportions

discoverable mathematically. He calls this juxtaposition of unvarying, universal qualities with the

accurate specifics of an individual subject "similitude."[20] Although the tables of proportions

included in *De statua* actually reflect traditional inherited canons rather than empirical data

collection, the stated balance of natural observation and a presumed objective ideal form

anticipates subsequent theoretical developments.

In classical sources, the term *statua* referred to a full-sized figure in the round, but had

largely fallen out of use by the turn of the *quattrocento*. *Statua* was brought back into currency by

writers such as Alberti and Ghiberti, who employed it frequently as a sign of erudition at a time

when Florentine artists were reviving freestanding statuary in marble or bronze.[21] Ghiberti's use

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18 For the position of Alberti in the intellectual culture of humanism, see Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition*, 1350-1450 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 121-39. Alberti and his contemporaries are referred to as part of a revolutionary departure from workshop practices in Piero Morselli, "The Proportions of Ghiberti's Saint Stephen: Vitruvius's De Architectura and Alberti's De Statua," *Art Bulletin* 60, 2. (1978): 235.

19 Morselli, 236.

[20] For similitude, see Jane Andrews Aiken, "Leon Battista Alberti's System of Human Proportions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 71. This analysis of *Della statua* is developed by Aiken.

21 Webster Smith, "Definitions of Statua," *Art Bulletin* 50, 3 (1968): 264. The author describes *statua* as possessing the "self-importance of a rare, learned word" in Alberti and Ghiberti. For the revival of marble and bronze statuary,

of "*statua*" in his *Commentaries* elucidates the connotations of the term in this early phase of humanistic art writing. Although the word never appears in contemporary references to his sculpture, he calls works such as his *St. John the Baptist* or *St. Matthew statue*. However, Ghiberti also applies it to images that are neither life sized nor freestanding, including the small figurines of the goldsmith Master Gusmin. Celebrated artists of the past, such as Andrea Pisano, are referred to by the term *statuario* (statuary), the antique word for the maker of statues. It appears that *statua* connotes a level of quality as much as a type of art for Ghiberti, probably due to the prestige of its antique origins.[22]

The phrase *statua virile* repeatedly appears in Ghiberti's "Third Commentary." It derived from Vitruvius, who used it to mean "statue of a man," but was redefined as the ideal human proportions and symmetry that are the goal of sculptors and painters.[23] Unlike the more elastic corpus of the statuaries, *statua virile* takes the ideal dimensions and characteristics of the antique full-sized figure in the round as a benchmark. Ghiberti aligns with Alberti in promoting a canon of proportions based on antique standards of valuation, although he does not balance it with the emphasis on individual specificity found in the latter's similitude. The connection of *statua* with an idealized *corpo dell' uomo* is an early expression of the basic assumptions that would undergird sculpture theory for centuries to follow. The art of statuary was wedded to a naturalistic physical ideality based on the presumption of an objective standard independent of the subject, placement, or function. The reappearance of Vitruvian terminology brought theory and practice into accord

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see H. W. Janson, "The Revival of Antiquity in Early Renaissance Sculpture," in *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 43.

22 Smith, "Definitions of Statua," 264. Ghiberti never cites a "bad or indifferent *statuario* or a less-than-excellent *statua*." Less proficient carvers and casters are instead called *scultori*.

23 ibid., 265. The phrase appears in the preface to Vitruvius' Book II.

within the nascent humanistic aesthetic ideology of Renaissance Florence, and initiated an exceptionally strong and enduring link between sculpture and contemporary conceptions of antiquity.[24]

The basic principles found in Alberti and Ghiberti were expanded and elaborated upon in a relative proliferation of writings on art appearing in the *Cinquecento*, which in turn provided a foundation for the sculpture theory of the seventeenth century.[25] These sources took several forms but share certain basic premises, including the unquestioned primacy of antique art. Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Delle statue antiche* (1556) has been described as the most important historical source on the collecting of ancient statues in the first half of the sixteenth century, and reveals much about the aims and methods of archaeologists and antiquarians at the time.[26] The text is not polemical, in that it does not promote a theoretical program or argue for the supremacy of a particular idiom, but reflects contemporary taste. Aldrovandi does not overtly disparage modern work, but simply assumes that noteworthy sculpture is, for the most part, ancient. Michelangelo is a singular exception, as three of his statues, the *Bacchus*, the *Risen Christ* and the *Moses*, are the only contemporary pieces mentioned in the text, and there are numerous instances where the

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[24] Charles Seymour, *Sculpture in Italy: 1400 to 1500* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), 5. The author claims that the term is a "way of getting at a basic value for sculpture which his own age felt it was engaged in recovering."

[25] It has been observed that theoretical meditations on art proliferated in Italy after 1550. See Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 5.

[26] Margaret Daly Davis, "Ulisse Aldrovandi's Book 'On Statues,'" introduction to *Ulisse Aldrovandi: Tutte le statue antiche, che in Roma in diversi luoghi, e case particolari si veggono, raccolte e descritte per Ulisse Aldroandi, pp. 115-315, in: Lucio Mauro, Le antichità della città di Roma, brevissimamente raccolte da chiunque hà scritto, ò antico, ò moderno... (Venezia 1562),* ed. Margaret Daly Davis, *Fontes*, 29 (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Heidelberg, 2009), 5-6. The popularity of Aldrovandi's work is evident in its four printings between 1558 and 1562.

sculptor's positive judgment is cited in support of a particular work.[27] In this formation, ancient sculpture is a standard of excellence that is applicable to modern works. The notion that active sculptors should aspire to an antique ideal was taken for granted in seventeenth-century art theory.

Michelangelo was the lone modern in François Perrier's *Segmenta nobilium signorum e statuaru* (1638), a collection of engravings of notable ancient sculptures without textual accompaniment. The inclusion of the *Moses*, along with ninety-eight antiquities, recalled Aldrovandi by characterizing the most acclaimed recent statuary as akin to that of the classical past.[28] The writings of Orfeo Boselli, which appeared roughly two decades after Perrier, likewise assumed the superiority of antique sculpture, but offered a far more comprehensive treatment of the medium, ranging from theoretical principles to practical advice for sculptors..[29] His prominence in classicizing Roman artistic circles was reflected in his training under Duquesnoy and friendships with Andrea Sacchi and Pierre Mignard, and led to recognition as a connoisseur, or *estimatore di scultura*, in the Academy of St. Luke.[30] For Giovanni Pietro Bellori, perhaps the most influential critic in later seventeenth-century Italy, antique sculpture set a standard of quality beyond any modern achievement.[31] Even Bernini stressed that antique sculpture was the measure

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[27] Ulisse Aldrovandi, "Tutte le statue antiche, che in Roma in diversi luoghi, e case particolari si veggono, raccolte e descritte per Ulisse Aldroandi," in *Le antichità della città di Roma*, by Lucio Mauro (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556), 168; 245; 291 for *Bacchus*, the *Risen Christ*, and *Moses* respectively.

[28] François Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium signorum e statuaru quæ temporis dentem inuidium euasere Urbis æternæ ruinis erepta, typis æneis ab se commissa perptuæ uenerationis monimentum* (Rome: s.n., 1638), no. 20. Aldrovandi also included a description of the *Moses.*

[29] ibid., 8.

[30] Elisabetta di Stefano, *Orfeo Boselli e la "nobiltà" della scultura* (Palermo: Centro Internazionale Studi di Estetica, 2002), 13-14. He proffered a concept of idealized natural beauty that cleaved very closely to Bellori's Idea and anticipated French theory of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[31] Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Rome: Mascardi, 1672), 359, 11.

of ideal beauty in his address to the French Academy in Paris of 1665.[32] Many Italian sculptors, including Bernini, Boselli, Algardi and Duquesnoy, experienced the affinity between ancient and modern statuary first hand, by working on antiquities directly, either "restoring" damaged pieces or incorporating fragments into new images.[33] All sculptural theorizing in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Italy assumed the exemplarity of antiquity.

The basic principles of the theoretical conception of sculpture were refined in the sixteenth century, as part of a larger discourse on the aims, limits and standards of the fine arts. This unfolded in various sources, but the debates on the *paragone,* published by Benedetto Varchi in 1550, stand out for their direct comparative focus on the essence of painting and sculpture.[34] Much of the argumentation accepts Leonardo's distinction between painting as an illusion of something other than what it is, and sculpture as a physical reality that actually is what it represents, although the

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[32] See Paul Frèart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du cavalier Bernin en France* (1665), ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1885), 134.

33 See Oreste Ferrari, Introduzione to *Le Scultura del Seicento a Roma*, ed. Oreste Ferrari and Serena Papaldo (Rome: Ugo Bozzi editore, 1999), xxxvi. For Bernini's restorations of the *Ludovisi Ares*, see Filippo Coarelli, "Ares o Achille?" in *Bernini scultore: la nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1998), 134 ff. and for the *Hermaphrodite*, see Matthias Winner, "Ermafrodito," in *Bernini scultore: la nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1998), 124 ff.. For Algardi's restorations, see Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 12-15, 117-23. For Duquesnoy, see Robert Enggass, and Jonathan Brown, *Italian and Spanish Art, 1600-1750; Sources and Documents* (Evanston, Il.: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 101. See Alfredo Marchionne Gunter, "L'attività di due scultori nella Roma degli Albani: gli inventari di Pietro Papaleo e Francesco Moratti," in *Sculture romane del Settecento, III: Ls professione dello scultore*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti (Roma: Bonsignori Editore, 2003), 93 for Papaleo's activity as a copyist of antiquities.

34 The *paragone* derived from popular arguments in medieval universities over the relative merits of the sciences, arts or other subjects, and the agonistic process of these debates was essential for defining the fine arts. Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics," in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 184 ff. He makes the point that the differentiation of separate natures for the arts is an early example of a "Fine Arts" tradition. For examples, see the sources compiled in Eugenio Garin, ed. *La disputa delle arti nel Quattrocento. Testi editi ed inediti di Giovanni Baldi - Leonardo Bruni - Poggio Bracciolini - Giovanni - d'Arezzo - Bernardo Ilicino - Niccoletto Vernia - Antonio de' Ferrariis detto Il Galateo* (Firenze: Vallecchi Editore, 1947).

implications of these qualities are interpreted in different ways.[35] Michelangelo assigns sculpture

a truth-value for not trafficking in fictions and misrepresenting its essential nature.[36] Varchi cited

Aristotle's metaphoric use of a statue in the recently rediscovered *Poetics* to illustrate the concept

of essences, or the relation of form to matter.[37] Defenders of sculpture credited it with moral

superiority because of its honesty, and Varchi and others reiterated the venerable description of

the creation of man as sculptural act as proof of this veracity.[38] If, as liberal arts, painting and

sculpture are vehicles for representing truths, then the latter, as the presence of ideal form in matter,

is the more perfect.[39]

Varchi was not a professional artist, and the *paragone* debate was less an analysis of

functional issues of usage than a reflection of the more abstract interests of the Florentine

Academy, a philosophical and literary body founded in 1541.[40] It is an essentialist exercise,

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35 For both the text of Leonardo's comparison and the interpretation followed here, see Claire Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone: A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1992).

36 According to Michelangelo, "there is as much difference between painting and sculpture as between shadow and truth." Cited in Robert J. Clements, *Michelangelo: A Self-Portrait* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 9.

37 Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982), 98. The *Poetics* were rediscovered in the 1540's. In his First Lecture, Varchi notes: "in a statue, its "material", marble, wood, bronze, or any other cannot be separated form the "form" and the two are created simultaneously." Cited in Mendelsohn, 138.

38 For the prevalence of that argument that sculpture, on account of its three-dimensionality, is more real, see H. W. Janson, "Realism in Sculpture: Limits and Limitations," in *The European Realist Tradition*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 290-1; Thomas Frangenberg, "The Art of Talking About Sculpture: Vasari, Borghini and Bocchi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995): 116; Sarah Blake McHam, introduction to *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12. For Varchi's position, see Benedetto Varchi, "Lezzione. Nella quali si disputa della maggioranza delle arti e qual sia più nobile, la scultura o la pittura, fatta da lui publicamente sulla Accademia Fiorentina..," in *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento*, Vol. I, ed. Paolo Barocchi (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli, 1962), 48.

39 Mendelsohn, 112. Aristotle and Plato were not the only antique philosophers cited in support of this viewpoint: according to both Cicero and Plotinus, if defining the nature of things is the expression of essences, then sculpture is an art of definition, while painting, representing particulars or accidents was merely descriptive. See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, trans. Joseph J.S. Peake (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 27.

40 Judith Bryce, "The Oral World of the Early Accademia Fiorentina," *Renaissance Studies* 9, 1 (1995), 77.

intended to map fundamental, universal distinctions at a time when the fine arts were being

redefined as an intellectualized liberal art. The very nature of this inquiry made it unconcerned

with the particularities shaping the production and reception of specific works. The disconnect

between the *paragone* and contemporary artistic practice is evident in the self-consciousness of

the contributors, most of who apologize for the quality of their writings by referring to themselves

as "only artists."[41] This sort of philosophical investigation was apparently not a common part of

the everyday mental world of painters and sculptors. However, the pairing of sculpture with truth

and painting with representational fiction had tremendous influence on subsequent art theory. The

idea that a statue is what it depicts informed opposition to polychromy, narrative and heightened

illusionism, all qualities that deny stoney reality.[42] The premise that sculpture is truth also fit

seamlessly with the humanistic belief in the aesthetic superiority of ancient modes of expression,

adding moral authority to the model of beauty proffered by antique statuary.[43]

Over time, the association of sculpture with the essence of truth yoked it to the limiting

constraints of classically-inspired ideal form, while the bailiwick of painting became the world of

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[41] Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian Art 1500-1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston, IL.: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 10.

42 Color, as an accidental exigency of worldly appearance rather than part of the essential reality of being, belongs to painting's universal imitation. Pomponius Gauricus' technical treatise *De Sculptura* limits polychromy to woodcarving, literally defined as *scultura dipinta*, as early as 1504. See G. M. Helms, "The Materials and Techniques of Italian Renaissance Sculpture," in *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 22. According to one scholar, the history of western sculpture is one of monochrome, attributable in a large part to the influence of neoclassic associations between the ideal purity of form and the appearance of white antique statuary. Paul Philippot, "Jalons pour une histoire de la sculpture polychrome médiévale," *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 53 (1984): 21.

43 Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 21. The imitation of nature was emphasized most strongly with painting, the imitation of antiquity in architecture, and a balance of the two in sculpture. Vasari credited Brunelleschi with recovering the measurements of the ancients in architecture and Donatello with matching their works in sculpture, but his life of Masaccio does not mention the antique. For Vasari's antipathy towards antiquarian painting, see Marcia Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 15-16.

appearances in all its plenitude.[44] This was already becoming apparent in 1564, when the Florentine Academy again debated the superiority of the arts, and Raffaele Borghini reiterated the universality of painting in a letter to Vasari, based on the ability to represent a greater range of things.[45] For Borghini and Vasari, sculpture is conceived as a freestanding monochrome figure with normative proportions derived from the antique *statua*, while painting consists of multiple figures, landscape background, color effects and foreshortening.[46] As the sixteenth century progressed, greater value was placed on the skill and ingenuity of painterly illusion, while sculpture was denied the imitative variety needed to represent *istorie*, which were considered the most prestigious form of art. This limited sculpture's claim on the poetic inspiration and analogies associated with the more esteemed painting.[47] In the theoretical discourse that developed over the following centuries, painted statuary is excluded entirely, unless mentioned as an example of error.[48]

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44 When Herder published his *Sculpture: Some Observations on Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream* in 1778 (the text was written in 1768-70), he still grounded his distinction between painting and sculpture in touch and sight. Cited in Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 29. Furthermore, Passeri in his *Esame ragionato della pittura e della scultura* (written earlier but unpublished until 1783) cites sculptors defending their art as the one which imitates the true and palpable forms of nature. For a similar attitude in the writing of Diderot, who argues that painting is the art of sight while sculpture is for the blind, see Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *La couleur éloquente: Rhétorique et peinture à l'âge classique* (Paris: Flamarion, 1989), 124.

45 Michiaki Koshikawa, "Apelles's Stories and the "Paragone" Debate: A Re-Reading of the Frescoes in the Casa Vasari in Florence," *Artibus et Historiae* 22, 43 (2001): 21-2. She notes that this concept of universal imitation was shared with poetry, and had a long tradition running from Alberti, through Leonardo and Castiglione up to Vasari's Proemio to the 1550 *Vite* and Dolce's *L'Aretino*. This idea is connected to Pliny's passage on Apelles who "painted things that cannot be represented in pictures: thunder, lightening and thunderbolts."

46 Frangenberg, 116.

47 E. H. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*s 11 (1948): 171.

48 Raphael Mengs described Spanish sculpture's "monstrous magnificence of altars of gilded wood which cancelled every idea of beauty" which "brought upon itself another, still worse custom, of making statues in wood, painted and gilded, with which they disgraced sculpture." Cited in Gridley McKim-Smith, "Spanish Polychrome Sculpture and its Critical Misfortunes," in *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture, 1500-1800, in United States Collections*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton (New York: Spanish Institute, 1994), 17.

Thomas Frangenberg articulated the limited conception of sculptural representation in the writings of the Florentine critics Vasari, Borghini and Francesco Bocchi.[49] According to Vasari, sculpture is restricted to a single figure or a small group in the round, and his analysis of the medium is restricted to formal qualities. The term *invenzione*, which he uses to refer to the composition of *istorie*, does not appear in his sections on freestanding sculpture. Vasari is an insightful observer of physical and psychological nuance in relief sculpture, but his perfunctory references to narrative interaction in groups in the round are limited to the identification of subject matter. A similar attitude is expressed in Borghini's *Il Riposo*, a work intended for laymen that includes five criteria for assessing works of art: invention, disposition, posture, limbs, and color. As with Vasari, all Borghini's qualities apply to painting, but several are deemed inapplicable to sculpture on account of theoretical presuppositions.[50] Since sculpture is by definition monochrome, color is ruled out.[51] Freestanding statues are discussed in terms of their individual artistry, posture and the appearance and comportment of their parts, but not as compositions or, to any great extent, inventions. As Frangenberg notes, Borghini, like Vasari, ignores the "intriguing and diversified development of free-standing figure groups, one of the principal themes in contemporary sculpture."[52] This oversight is a consequence of their limited conception of the

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49 Frangenberg, 115-8.

50 Borghini writes: "*Io dividerei la pittura in cinque parti, in inventione, in dispositione, in attitudini, in rnembri & in colori, e la scultura nelle prime quattro, e massime quando si fanno l'historie di basso rilievo; perche quando si fanno le statue sole tutte ritonde non vi occorre la dispositione; ma solo l'altre tre, cioè l'inventione, l'attitudini, & i mernbri*" (I would divide painting in five parts, invention, disposition, attitudes, limbs & in color, and sculpture in the top four, and especially when you do the histories of low relief; because when you do only statues in the round you do not need all the disposition, but only the other three, that is the invention, attitude and limbs). Raffaele Borghini, *Il Riposo* (1584), ed. Marco Rosci (Milan: Edizioni Labor, 1967), 52. In his manuscript *Selva di Notizie* (1564) Borghini claims painting can equal, or even surpass poetry while sculpture cannot, because only painting can represent the entire narrative ("*storia intera*") with all its components. Cited in Koshikawa, 17.

51 Frangenberg, 119-24.

52 ibid., 126.

medium. Because their fundamental assumptions about the art form are constrained, the possibility of sculpture enacting a tableau-like narrative representation is outside the realm of consideration.[53]

Renaissance limits on the scope of sculptural compositions had become normative in seventeenth-century theory, while painters consciously transformed ancient models into lively, fleshy forms in keeping with the naturalistic illusionism of their medium. Annibale Carracci's Farnese Gallery ceiling frescoes brought statuesque nudes and animated caryatids to vibrant life, is a type of visual *paragone,* where the supremacy of painting is made manifest in its ability to render convincingly all other media.[54] In an appropriation of the metamorphic themes of the Ovidian subject matter, the vivifying power of the artist's brush transformed stony and static statues into animated spectacle.[55] Rubens expresses a similar contrast between hard, unliving sculpture and the illusory fleshiness of painting in his "On the Imitation of Statues," where he claims that lifelike figures may not in the least "smell of stone."[56] Rubens and Annibale basically agree with the notion of sculpture as truth, in that sculpture is defined by the physical qualities of its materials. Painting may imitate any substance in the pursuit of verisimilitude, while statuary must appear cold, stony, and bereft of the semblance of life.

This premise recurs in a variety of subsequent sources. Both Baldinucci and Chantelou state that for Bernini, the superiority of painting was based in its ability to depict what does not

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53 ibid., 116. According to Vasari, figures need to be similar to the depicted object and the parts of the body must conform to one another. Sculptures need posture, good design, harmonious parts, grace, and diligence (*'attitudine, disegno, unione, grazia e diligenza'*).

54 Bellori lists Greek prototypes for some of Annibale's figures. See Aidan Weston-Lewis, "Annibale Carracci and the Antique," *Master Drawings* 30, 3 (1992): 287.

55 Appropriately, the Carracci circle used the pejorative term *statuino* to describe a hard, dry painting. Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 31.

56 Peter Paul Rubens, "On the Imitation of Statues," in *Baroque*, by John Rupert Martin (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 271.

exist, while sculpture is what it represents.[57] The polymath Sforza Pallavicino made the same point

in his treatise on poetic style, as did Galileo in his purported letter to Cigoli, albeit with the opposite

conclusion.[58] In his manuscript of 1657 entitled *Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica*, the

classically inclined sculptor Orfeo Boselli differentiated the visual illusion of painting with the

haptic reality of sculpture.[59] Pursuant to this essential reality, most commentators agree that

sculpture is limited in its acceptable range of materials, and they are unanimous in rejecting the

use of color. As Boselli writes: "white marble is, and always will be, the most suitable material

one could possibly find for making statues and I am convinced that it was for this purpose that

Nature created it, pure, shining, workable and enduring."[60] Bellori, cited a letter from the painter

Domenichino, whom he held in high regard, stating that sculpture had no color.[61] Even

Baldinucci's *Vocabolario Toscano dell'Arte del Disegno*, a lexicon based on traditional Tuscan

practice, differentiates between polychrome figures and unpainted sculpture in higher status

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57 Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, ed. Sergio Samek Ludovici (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1948), 79. Chantelou records Bernini's explanation to the Venetian ambassador that sculpture is truth, and painting a lie. See Chantelou, 205. Elsewhere, Baldinucci defines *forma* as a *termine filosofico*; the intrinsic principle by which things receive their being, while *colore* is a superficial quality on the exterior of the body that renders it visible. See Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno da Cimabue* (Firenze: Giuseppe Manni, 1702), 62; 37.

58 Sforza Pallavicino, *Trattato dello Stile e del dialogo del padre Sforza Pallavicino della Compagnia di Gesú* (Reggio: Torreggiani, 1828), 154. He writes painting is superior to sculpture because sculpture is what it appears to be. In his book on Galileo and art theory, Panofsky recounts the argument attributed to Galileo that sculpture is more "real" than painting, and therefore more deceptive. See Erwin Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1954), 7-8.

59 Orfeo Boselli, "Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica" (1657), in *Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica dai Manoscritti Corsini e Doriae e altri scritti*, ed. Phoebe Dent Weil (Florence: Edizioni S.P.E.S., 1978), f. 2v.

60 Cited in Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 21. Passeri also states that sculpture must not be colored. See Niccola Passeri, *Esame ragionato della pittura e della scultura* (Napoli: Vicenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1783), 37

[61] Bellori, 359.

materials.[62] Color captivates ignorant or simple viewers who lack the knowledge to appreciate the purely formal qualities that distinguish the high-minded fine art from base visual culture.63

For Bellori, writing a century after Vasari and Borghini, it was assumed that sculpture be understood as simulacra of people, and unsuited to narrative. It is true that specific passages from Bellori's *Vite* can resist straightforward interpretation, for while he wrote to promote specific aesthetic and historiographic positions, he did not present or defend his assumptions in a systematic manner.[64] However, his beliefs regarding the nature of the medium are evident through his rhetorical prose. For example, he made the claim that both painters and sculptors imitate the *affetti*, or passions and feelings, but only painting was likened to poetry as the representation of human action.[65] Antique sculpture was esteemed for its formal perfection, and artists were advised to study ancient works as figural realizations of the Idea, rather than vignettes of illusory narrative.[66] The painter and biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri (1610-79) shared Bellori's classicizing point

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[62] Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno*, 157. A *statua* is described simply as a carved or cast (*di getto*) figure in relief or in the round, in a variety of materials, including gold, wood, earth, plaster, stone and metal, that may be colored. He mentions that makers of statuary in different materials are named differently, and while these categories are not hierarchically ordered, they correspond with the value-laden distinctions of the classicists. *Scultori* make figures in stone, specifically representations of humans and animals, and *intagliatori* work with other materials, while wood carvers are singled out as *intagliatori a color*.

[63] Boselli, "Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica," 166-7. For the rejection of the *barbarisme* of colored statues in seventeenth-century England, see B. J. Sokol, "Painted Statues, Ben Jonson and Shakespeare," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 250. The promotion of classical sculpture in the Netherlands is discussed in Frits Scholten, "François Dieussart, Constantijn Huygens, and the Classical Ideal in Funerary Sculpture," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 25, 4, (1997): 309.

[64] For analysis of Bellori's historiographic aims, see Tomaso Montanari, Introduction to *Giovan Pietro Bellori: The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, by Giovanni Pietro Bellori, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl; notes by Hellmut Wohl (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 20-23.

[65] Bellori, 9-10. Painters are singled out among visual artists as representing human actions, as poets do. Both painters and sculptors represent the emotions or *affetti*. Comparing painting and poetry, he writes: "*dobbiamo di più considerare che essendo la Pittura rappresentatione d'humana attione...* [We must further consider that as painting is the representation of human action...]," but that: "*il Pittore, e lo Scultore ad imitare le operationi dell'animo* [painters and sculptors imitate the operations of the soul]."

[66] Bellori, 11.

of view, and criticized the impression of movement in Mochi's *St. Veronica* as incompatible with the immobile permanence required of a sculpted simulacrum.[67] He even pointed out that the word *statua* originated from the Latin "*sto stas*," meaning "to be still."[68] These were relevant figures; Bellori was a pioneer in the emergence of the critic as a tastemaker in the late seventeenth century, and anticipated theoretical developments for over a century.[69] The continuing influence of Passeri is evident in the biography of Lione Pascoli, who paraphrases his assessment of Mochi in his own *Lives* of 1736.[70] The notion of sculpture as a static likeness, rather than a moment of narrative action, endured for a long time.[71]

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[67] Alois Riegl contrasted Passeri and Bellori's opposition to Bernini over a century ago, noting a personal dimension to the former's animus lacking in the more aesthetic or "objective" judgments of the latter. See Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome* (1908), trans. Andrew Hopkins and Arnold Witte (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Insitute, 2010), 110.

[68] Giovanni Battista Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri,* ed. J. Hess (Leipzig: H. Keller, 1934), 133. He writes: "*se la parola denominativa deriva dal motto sto stas, che significa esser fermo, stabile in piedi, quella figura [Mochi's] non è più statua permanente, e immobile come deve esser per formare un simulacro da esser goduto, ed ammirato da'riguardanti, ma un personaggio che passa…*" (if the spoken word is derived from the motto be still, which means to be firm, standing stable, that figure is no longer permanent statue, and immobile as it should be to form a simulacrum to be enjoyed and admired when looked at, but a personage that passes).

[69] For the terns of Bellori's critical judgments, see Hans Raben, "Bellori's Art: The Taste and Distaste of a Seventeenth-Century Art Critic in Rome." *Simiolus* 32, 2/3 (2006): 135; Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 163. He notes that artists operating outside the Roman critical ambient were scorned and compelled to regularize their styles with the prevailing dogmas when working in Rome. For a much deeper look at Bellori, his influential circles, and the formation and promotion of his critical views, see Janis Bell and Thomas Willette, eds., *Art History in the Age of Bellori: Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Tomasso Montanari's article on Bellori and Queen Christina is especially relevant for the critic's influence on powerful patrons. For the later influence of Bellori's ideas, see Gerald Heres, "Winckelmann, Bernini, Bellori: Betrachtungen zur Nachahmung der Alten," *Forschungen und Berichte* 19 (1979). For an overview of the incredible inventiveness in sculpture outside of the classicizing current, and associated with the Late Baroque and Rococo, see Luigi Grassi, *Teorici e storia della critica d'arte: Il settecento in Italia* (Rome: Multigrafia Editrice, 1979), 12.

70 For Pascoli's paraphrase of Passeri's "Life of Mochi," see Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, ed. Alessandro Marabottini (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri, 1992).

71 In his treatise of 1797, Francesco Maria Villabianca adopted the definition of sculpture from Charles D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* of 1755. This is a "*Figure de pierre, de marbre, ou de métal, qui réprésente une personne recommendable par sa naissance, par son mérite, ou par quelque belle action, et qui fait l'ornement d'un palais, ou d'on décore une place publique*" (Figure of stone, marble, or metal, which is a commendable person by birth, by his merit, or some good action, and that ornaments a palace, or we decorate a public place). Strictly speaking, Villabianca continues, the term *statua* is for a figure *in piedi*. It derives from Latin and is related to the Italian verb

The crossing of St. Peter's provides a direct comparison between the conception of sculpture as an idealizing simulacrum or personage and as the mimetic enactment of an event in three dimensions. The project as a whole was designed by Bernini, who held a more expansive view of the medium than Bellori or Passeri, but the individual sculptors tasked with the four monumental figures had considerable input into their contributions. This freedom was apparent when Bernini criticized the windblown look of the *St. Veronica,* since it is unlikely that he would denigrate an effect of his own design. However, despite this harsh reception, Mochi's work is fundamentally akin to Bernini's own *St. Longinus,* since both are dramatic, dynamic representations of events from the Passion (figs. 5, 6). In contrast, François Duquesnoy's *St. Andrew* reflected a conception of the medium more in line with the values of Passeri, and other Roman classicists, by adapting a revered Greek original, the Belvedere *Laocoön,* into an expression of impassioned Christian adoration (fig. 7). When changes in the design of the *Baldacchino* prompted Bernini to move to a narrative image, Duquesnoy did not alter his original conception of his statue.[72] Although the *St. Andrew* can be interpreted as an emulation of the crucifixion, this is based on the significance of the crossing as a whole, rather than the treatment of the subject. Andrew is shown with his cross, which calls to mind his death, but he does not appear to be in the process of being crucified. There is a difference between the depiction of a precisely identifiable narrative moment like St. Longinus' awestruck conversion, and the association of an attribute of martyrdom with the sacrifice of Christ. The religious emotion of the

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stare; denoting the attitude of the body. Finally, a statue can be made of stone, marble, stucco and various metals, especially gold, silver, bronze and lead. This differs from his more generalized definition of sculpture as "*l'arte d'intagliare e scolpire legno, pietra o altra materia…*" (the art of carving and sculpting wood, stone or other materials). See Francesco Maria Villabianca, *Le divine arti della pittura e della scultura*, ed. Diana Malignaggi (Palermo: Edizioni Giada, 1988), 71, 63.

[72] Estelle Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal* (Yale University Press, 2007), 123.

St. Andrew is reflective of a more generalized state; a classically-inspired realization of the attitudes and *affetti* of ideal devotion.

The need to differentiate sculpture and painting, while preserving their shared status as arts of imitation, forced the problematic distinction between the representation of human attitudes and human action. Both painters and sculptors depicted realistic bodies with legible emotions, but only the former were permitted to arrange these bodies to relay a meaningful event. The inability to represent an *istoria,* or properly ordered action, denied sculpture the capacity for Aristotelian mimesis, the idealized representation of human activity that was the ultimate goal for the arts of imitation.[73] Of course, the fact that writers felt compelled to state that sculpture could not aspire to this accomplishment actually implies that it did that very thing. Returning to St. Peter's, the *St. Longinus* and the *St. Veronica*, like Bernini's Borghese statues, are visual narratives enacted by anthropomorphic bodies situated in real space. A simulacrum may capture and project ideal form, character, or feeling, but three-dimensional storytelling makes the viewer witness, or even participate in, the timeless meaning of a memorable event. This gave narrative sculpture a unique capacity to meet the rhetorical desires of the Church by modeling exemplary behavior, but moved it ever further from the increasingly restrictive presuppositions of art theory.

Neoclassical aesthetics, which used similar terminology, but with much more rigid proscriptions, have distorted the modern impression of sixteenth and seventeenth-century art

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73 Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 159-60. Bellori deftly fused two concepts, the idealized imitation of nature epitomized by antique art, and the poetic concept of mimesis, into an influential theory of art. He dominated Roman art circles from 1672, the year of the publication of his *Lives*. He advocated an consistent point of view expressed with authority and clarity, and was the first to combine these notions into a single unified theory of art. See Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 15.

writing.[74] Donatello, Duquesnoy, and Winckelmann, for example, all praised the art of the Greeks as the highest standard of excellence and beauty, and the critics and theorists of the late eighteenth century defined their efforts in Vasarian terms as another revival of the arts.[75] Herder, in his *Sculpture: Some Observations on Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream* (1778), differentiates painting and sculpture as arts of sight and touch while ironically ignoring the eponymous story of a man falling in love at the sight of his statue.[76] The claim that sculpture is truth and painting a dream recalls the deliberations of the Florentine Academy, while his description of it a work that "stands there and endures" is an echo of Passeri's *sto stas*.[77] However, the development of philosophical aesthetics drove essentialist definitions of the fine arts to new levels of rigidity. Lessing, for example, castigated imagery with "an evident religious tendency" as "unworthy to be called works of art," since "Art was not working for her own sake, but was simply the tool of Religion."[78] Sculpture, understood as the self-contained unity of the idealized human figure, was a material expression of spirit in Hegel's ontological historiography of art, which precludes the

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74 Estelle Lingo has pointed out that "even today archaeology and Neoclassical aesthetics still at times obscure our vision of seventeenth-century classicizing art," an observation that could be fairly applied to the sculpture of that century in general. See Lingo "The Greek Manner and a Christian Canon," 86. Peter Cannon-Brookes, "Ultra Realistic Sculpture." *Art and Artists* 12, 3 (1977): 15. He notes that our attitudes towards Renaissance realism are colored by neoclassical misunderstandings of classical sculpture.

75 Hugh Honour, *Neoclassicism*, revised edition (Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1977), 14. The writings of Winckelmann use concepts and terminology dating back to Vasari and espouse an ideal that aligns neatly with Bellori's statement that "the Idea, originating in nature, supersedes the origin and becomes the origin of art." Scholars have projected intimations of Neoclassicism onto early eighteenth-century notions of good taste, such as the attacks on the Baroque by members of the Academy of Arcadia. See Honour, *Neoclassicism*, 102-6; Hans Belting, *The End of the History of Art*, trans. Christopher S. Wood. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987),95.

76 This tactile quality of neoclassical sculpture is identified in Canova's busts, which exhibit the intimacy of touch in their details. Hugh Honour, "A Bust of "Sappho" by Antonio Canova," *Artibus et Historiae* 12, 24 (1991): 195.

77 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream*, trans. Jason Gaiger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 44-5.

[78] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Ellen Frothingham (New York: The Noonday Press, 1962), 63.

non-essential individualisms and passions that belong to music and painting, and, in practical terms, demands that sculpture be serenely abstract and monochrome. [79] Even Ruskin's credo of truth to materials precludes painting or gilding, and rejects illusory or affective attempts to appear as something other than what it is.[80]

In comparison to the Neoclassicists, the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were more sensitive to the affective qualities of a three-dimensional image, and their potential utility in specific circumstances. Bocchi explicitly acknowledged that statues of superior artistry possess a psychic dimension that confers the semblance of life in his *Eccellenza del San Giorgio di Donatello*.[81] He assesses sculpture on the basis of *costume*, *vivacità* and *bellezza*, terms that have been translated as character, liveliness, and beauty.[82] *Costume* is described as a singular and noble aspect with which "*facciamo quasi vive le statue*" (we make the statues almost alive); a sort of aura that enables the carved figure to be compared directly to a living person.[83] *Vivacità* describes vital movement and active forces in conjunction with artistic beauty, and also "*fa quasi*

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79 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "On Art," trans. Bernard Bosanquet, in *On Art, Religion, Philosophy: Introductory Lectures to the Realm of Absolute Spirit*, ed. J. Glenn Gray (New York and Evanston, Harper and Row, 1970), 119-27.

80 Nicholas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 269.

81 David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 143-7. Bocchi shares Vasari and Borghini's insistence that sculpture be carved in monochrome white marble and conform to an aesthetic ideal derived from classical antiquity, but he is much more generous in acknowledging the unique signifying capabilities of the medium.

82 See Francesco Bocchi, "Eccellenza del San Giorgio di Donatello posta nella facciata di fuori d'Or San Michele... dove si tratta del costume, dello vivacità e della bellezza di detta statua," in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento* Vol. III, ed. Paolo Barocchi (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli, 1962). This was finished before 1571 but not published until 1584. See Frangenberg, 127.

83 Bocchi, "Eccellenza del San Giorgio di Donatello," 134.

vive le sculture (makes the sculptures almost alive)."[84] *Bellezza*, pertains to the skill of the artist

and the quality of the work, and includes an aspect of reception by acknowledging the ability the

finest examples to dazzle and stupefy the beholder.[85] The ideal beauty and nearly sentient

expressivity of such a figure combine to strike the imagination with the force of a splendid personal

encounter and induces an affective response beyond the appreciation of artistic rules and

formulae.[86] From this perspective, it is not surprising that Vasari referred to the carving of the

David as miraculously bringing the dead to life.[87]

Even the classicizing writers of the seventeenth century acknowledged that statues had a

potentially seductive appeal, revealing an affective dimension that resembles an interpersonal

reaction to a real being, more than a strictly aesthetic appreciation. Duquesnoy's *St. Susanna*

(1629, Rome, S. Maria di Loreto), for example, was highly esteemed by the erudite Roman circle

that included Poussin and Boselli, for using ancient Greek precedent as a coherent, stable and

classically rooted corrective to excessive freedom (fig. 8).[88] Its alignment with the static notion of

statua as a figure without narrative pretense, naturalistic revelation of the body beneath the

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84 ibid., 153. *Vivacità* is described thus: "*è chiamo io vivacità non quel potente vigore della vita umana, ma quel vivo movimento e quella forza con l'azzione congiunta*" (I call liveliness is not that powerful vigor of human life, but the lively motion and force joined in action).

85 ibid., 194. The *St. George* of Donatello ranks "…*nelle umane opera essendo quasi incredible, genera negli animi nostri stupore e maraviglia*" (in human works almost incredible, generates awe and wonder in our souls).

86 Summers, 144-6. These qualities are interrelated since it is the recognition of the sculpture as a lifelike, but more perfect version of the natural world that creates a profound effect on the viewer.

[87] Charles Seymour Jr., *Michelangelo's David: A Search for Identity* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1967), 25.

88 Lingo, "The Greek Manner and a Christian Canon," 81 She covers the responses of Bellori and Passeri in considerable detail. Passeri writes: "Duquesnoy collected all the best refinements that are preserved in the ancient marbles of a similar subject, as much from the Greek as from the Roman memories, and that he brought them all together in that *Saint Susanna*." Early Modern definitions of style tend to narrow broad theoretical categories to expressions of personal taste. See Sohm, 83. For the development of the preference for Greek art, see Heres, 12

drapery, and faithful recollection of the mood and appearance of antique models such as the Capitoline *Urania*, are all in keeping with the ideals of sculpture theory. Bellori and Passeri considered it paradigmatic, a graceful, decorous and beautiful modern canon for others to follow, and even the Neoclassical Milizia treated it gently.[89] However, Bellori also noted the figure's blend of lifelike eroticism and modesty, a recognition of affective response needing reassurance that there is nothing licentious about it.[90] This reaction implicitly acknowledges a living emotional impact, one that has been compared to ancient accounts of the sexual obsessions of Tiberius and Nero with certain Greek statues.[91] For Boselli, decorum did not preclude a sculpture from being affecting, and he noted the moving qualities of the *Laocoön* and the tale of Pygmalion as evidence of a statue engendering feelings of love.[92] Vincenzio Giustiniani, a member of Duquesnoy and Boselli's Roman circle also discussed the importance of vivacity in statuary in a letter to Teodoro

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[89] See Estelle Lingo, "The Greek Manner and a Christian Canon: François Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna*," *Art Bulletin* (March, 2002), for the place of the *St. Susanna* in early modern criticism. The development of an idiom based on the Greek style was inspired by the legendary excellence of Greek art asserted in writers like Pliny, Pausanius and Quintilian. See also Charles Dempsey, "The Greek Style and the Prehistory of Neoclassicism," in *Pietro Testa, 1612-1650: Prints and Drawings*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1988).

[90] ibid., 81.

[91] ibid., 80. The premise of a sculptor falling in love with his creation calls attention to the erotic potential in inanimate bodies, an intensely human affective response, and there are a number of examples in ancient history and fiction of love or lust for actual statuary. Leonard Barkan observed that these erotic reactions are recognitions that statues are sexy, and that "the corporeality of these sculptures, the quality that makes them "Rome's other population"… speak to their fictive reality not only as historical persons but as objects of desire." Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 152. In his *New History*, Pliny comments on Praxiteles' *Knidian Aphrodite*: "they say that a certain man was once overcome with love for the statue … and embraced the statue and that there is a stain on it as an indication of his lust." Cited in J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C.: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 128. Less explicit accounts share the same basic theme. Suetonius mentions a statue of the son of Germanicus and Agrippina that Augustus used to "kiss fondly every day, " while Pliny notes that Tiberius fell in love with Lysippos' *Apoxyomenos*. Cited in J. J. Pollitt, *Art of Rome, 734 B.C – 337 A.D: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 113-4, 132.

[92] Orfeo Boselli, "La nobilia de la scultura: Leczione recitata ne L'Academia del Disegno In S. Luca da Orfeo Boselli Scultore Romano Di 30 Decembre anno 1663" in *Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica dai Manoscritti Corsini e Doriae e altri scritti*, ed. Phoebe Dent Weil (Firenze: Edizioni S.P.E.S., 1978), f119v-120r.

Amideni.[93]

Seventeenth-century writers had a predilection for sculpture with a soft fleshy appearance that departed from the harder look of ancient models. Bellori's description of the carving of the *St. Susanna* seemed as suited to an idealized human as well as an image: "*sopra il petto, e le memmelle s'increspa gentilmente la tonaca in modo che il fasso perduta affatto l'asprezza, s'assottiglia nelle pieghe e si avviva nello spirito e nell'atto*" (above the chest and the breasts, the tunic gently gathers in a way that the stone has lost its roughness, it becomes thin in the folds and enlivened in spirit and in action).[94] The admiration of affective fleshiness was especially apparent in the response to Duquesnoy's *putti*, which had been carved in emulation of Titian's velvety texture.[95] In a letter to the sculptor of 1640, Rubens even reversed his claim in his *De Imitatione Statuarum* that statues must appear stony, and praised the semblance of life achieved in the *putti* on the Van den Eynde Tomb (1633-1640, Rome, S. Maria dell'Anima) (fig. 9).[96] Both Bellori and Passeri emphasized the tenderness (*tenerezza*) of these figures, and emphasized their power to move cold hearts. The latter defended Duquesnoy against charges that he erred in making his Van den Eynde figures too young

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93 Vincenzio Giustiniani, "Letter to Teodoro Amideni," in *Raccolta di Lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, ed. M. Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1822), 135. Bernini's *St. Teresa* was praised for its marvelous expression, but was considered too lively for a church in French Academic criticism. This is mild compared to later charges of indecorousness. See Marion Boudon, "L'antithese Bernin – Du Quesnoy dans la litterature artistique française," in *La Bernin et l'Europe: du Baroque triomphant à l'âge romantique,* ed. Chantel Guell and Milovan Stanic (Paris: Presses de l'Universitè de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 340.

94 Bellori, 273.

95 Anthony Colantuono, "Titian's Tender Infants: On the Imitation of Venetian Painting in Baroque Rome," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 3 (1989): 209. He describes Poussin and Duquesnoy copying *putti* from Titian's *Feast of Venus* in the Villa Ludovisi.

96 Peter Paul Rubens, "Letter to Francesco di Quesnoy, 17 April, 1640," in *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII, vol. 2*, ed. Giovanni Gaetano Bottari (Milan, G. Silvestri, 1822-25), 488. He describes the *putti*: "*se li abbia scolptit piuttosto la natura che l'arte; e'l marmo si sia intenerito in vita*" (as if they had been sculpted by nature rather than art, and the marble is softened as living).

to perform their complex actions and emotions, by claiming that this was necessary to achieve the conceit of moving tenderness.[97] Sculpture may not be allowed to represent human action, but it can simulate human presence and solicit human emotional reactions from viewers.

Antique precedent and living psychic presence combined in the memorialization of notable individuals, the one area where theoretical writings on sculpture did consider function and reception. Commemorative statuary reprised the public usage of the medium in antiquity, while acknowledging the almost interpersonal ability to inspire virtue. As early as the fifteenth century, Alberti claimed that the *statua* is perfect for the commemoration and glorification of great men "heroically presented in high places in enduring materials," which, as Pliny recorded, was the practice in ancient Rome.[98] Most major seventeenth-century treatises reiterated this purpose. Baldinucci cited the four categories of sculpture, all commemorative in nature, listed in *De sculptura,* Pomponius Gauricus' technical treatise of 1504.[99] Boselli described sculpture as the imitative art of making simulacra to preserve the memory of heroic individuals.[100] Passeri stated

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[97] See Colantuono, 215 for Bellori on tenderness, and p. 221 for Passeri's remarks.

[98] Smith, "Definitions of Statua," 265. The association between the fine art of sculpture with its antique civic (rather than religious) function remained a hallmark of sculpture theory until the twilight of the academies in the nineteenth century.

[99] Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario Toscano dell'Arte del Disegno* (Florence: Santi Franchi al Segno della Passione, 1681), 157. "*La grandezza delle statue dal cito Pomponio Gaulico* (sic) *distingue in quattro proporzione... quanto il naturale, grandi, maggiore e grandissime*" (the size of statues according to Pomponio Gaulico is distinguished in four proportions: natural, grand, great and greatest). The first is for the commemoration of ordinary men, the second for august personages (Kings, Emperors), the third is for heroes, and the fourth are *colossi*, defined as the false gods of the ancients

[100] Boselli, "Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica," f2r. He defines sculpture as an "*arte imitatrice delle Cose maravigliose dello Natura, la quale hà per oggetto di ernare li simulacri, et l'attentione Heroiche degli Hiomini grandi, afine che da quelle memorie si destino ne' secoli futuri alli Principi che verranno honorati desiderj*" (imitative art of the marvelous things in nature that has for its object to make simulacra, and the heroic attention of great men so that the memories are destined for future centuries to the princes that will honorable desires). Boselli's sole references to Bernini appear in "Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica, "f43v. Only the *St. Teresa*, *The Four Rivers Fountain* and the Tomb of Urban VIII are mentioned. No modern sculptors appear in the "La nobilia de la scultura." Giustiniani, "Letter to Amideni," 146, allows sculpture a value for the ornamenting of palaces and gardens.

that its principle end was to immortalize worthies in marble and metal.[101] Immortalization combines aspects of commemoration, memory, and permanence, in order to ensure that the qualities of the subject are never forgotten. The notion of timeless, unchanging virtue fits well with the philosophical linkage between sculpture and enduring truth, and the stillness of Passeri's *sto stas* etymology.[102] A simulacrum without movement or action transfigures a noble subject out of the mutable and time-bound world of human activity, and into a fixed, perfected and idealized essence.[103]

However, statues also possess a bodily presence that elicits humanizing emotional responses, and allows them to impress their exemplary character on the viewer in the manner of a living role model. Bellori captured the juxtaposition of the suggestion of life and permanent immobility in his short verse on sculpture at the beginning of his *Vite*. He wrote:

> "*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*"[104]

> (Nature takes my soul away in vain, and though it closes me in alpine stone, my art dissolves me, and opens mountains, gives me life, and de-petrifies me: human wishes breathe life into me in the hard stone, and I have not frail life, because its hardness makes me immortal)

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101 Passeri, *Esame ragionato della pittura e della scultura*, 24, 30-2. He begins his discussion with a comparison between media reminiscent of the paragone. A century later, Villabianca repeats this memorializing function in his citation of D'Aviler's *Dictionnaire* of 1755: "*il Davileto più scientificamente definisce la statua un rappresentazione d'alto rilievo ed isolata di qualche persona distinta … per conservare la memoria del suo merito*" (D'Avilier most scientifically defines the statue as a representation in high relief and isolated of some person of distinction, to conserve the memory of his merit). See Villabianca, 71.

102 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream*, trans. Jason Gaiger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 44-5.

103 Grassi, 51. Pascoli had some comprehension of the "pictorial" quality of Baroque sculpture and in a generally positive view of modern sculpture, considers this dynamism to be a major achievement.

104 Bellori, 26.

Although the language is allusive, the poem acknowledges both the comparability of sculpted and living bodies, and the stony permanence of statues. It is here that the theoretical view of sculpture comes closest to religious usage, as there really is no structural difference between the ability of a statue of a civic hero to inspire secular virtues, and that of a saint to engender a pious disposition.

For the most part, commentary on the arts from a religious perspective is different from the theoretical or critical interests of Varchi or Bellori. It is focused on the proper usage and appearance of images in general within the Church, rather than the essential differences between media, and therefore does not really address the unique ways that statues affect their viewers. However, there is a pair of seventeenth-century treatises that at the very least point to a connection between the beneficial effects of sculptural memorialization in the classical sense, and the devotional sentiments inspired by representations of ecclesiastic heroes. The first of these, the *Trattato della pittura, e sculptura, uso et abuso loro composto da un theologo, e da un pittore*, was co-written in 1652 by the Jesuit G. Domenico Ottonelli and the artist Pietro da Cortona. Despite Pietro's involvement, it shows little sign of recent developments in the visual arts, and, apart from a greater valuation of creativity, hews closely to the same moralistic concerns of function and decorum that Paleotti expressed some seventy years earlier.[105] All kinds of sacred images can provide "salutary examples" for imitation, and the motivation to emulate them by

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[105] Moshe Barasch, *The Language of Art: Studies in Interpretation* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 12. He claims that no one reading this treatise would expect the involvement of an artist if he had not been mentioned on the title page. Yvon Le Gall "Le Traité de peinture et de sculpture de G. Domenico Ottonelli et Pietro da Cortona. La fin des imprécateurs?" *Études littéraires* 32, 1-2 (2000): 92. The author misinterprets the historical place of this treatise by situating Ottonelli and Bellori within the same critical discourse as Bellori. Bellori actually belongs to the line of art theory running from Vasari and Agucchi to Winckelmann, while Ottonelli shares the religious agenda of Paleotti and Mery. For the debt to Paleotti, the most frequently cited author in the text, see E. H. Gombrich, "Translation of E. H. Gombrich, "The Literature of Art." Authorized translation of the entry on "Kunstliteratur" from Das Atlantisbuch der Kunst (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1952)" trans. Max Marmor, *Art Documentation* 11, 1 (1992): 7; Le Gall, 82.

impressing themselves on the soul and *affetti* of the viewer.[106] One place where sculpture was singled out, the assertion that statues of living princes are not vanities, but exemplary testimonials to the qualities of their subjects, involves the commemoration of secular elites.[107] These figures are referred to as felicitous memories, and trophies of merit and valor that impress themselves upon the viewer and inspire imitation.[108] By applying the the emotional response associated with devotional art to the exemplarity of sculptural commemoration, Ottonelli and Pietro acknowledge the affective potential of an encounter with a three-dimensional body.[109]

The emotional power of sculptural commemoration was covered in greater depth in Giovanni Andrea Borboni's *Delle statue* (1661), a historical treatment of the medium with an unusually favorable attitude towards modern works. This treatise aligned with contemporary art theory in differentiating between the *Statua* with a capital 'S', based on ancient models and materials, and lesser imagery, but also focused on matters of reception.[110] Borboni focused on the

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[106] G. Domenico Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona, *Trattato della pittura, e sculptura, uso et abuso loro composto da un theologo, e da un pittore* (Fiorenza: Gio. Antonio Bonardi, 1652), 71-4; 347. This functional value is bolstered by appeals to Catholic tradition from Gregory of Nanzienus through Gregory the Great to the council of Trent. Conversely, improper imagery has an equally potent baleful effect on the moral fabric of the viewer. The authors contend that heretical images imprint themselves more strongly in the mind than books. The ability of images to impress themselves on the *affetti* is discussed on p. 53.

[107] ibid., 104-6. Such works are even permissible in religious buildings, so long as the subject was a pious protector or benefactor of the church, and the images do not interfere with ritual or other functions. Examples of acceptable statues in churches include the *Henry IV of France* in the Lateran, and the *Duke Fernando I of Florence* outside the SS. Annunziata. The danger iin statues of princes arises from impropriety; tyrants should not be commemorated.

[108] ibid., 110-12.

[109] ibid., 366. The text includes another allusion to a unique quality of sculpture, though it is not elaborated. A sentence appears at the end of a paragraph on the installation of nude statues in churches that reads: "*E pure la Statua è cosa più nocius che la Pittura pervarj rispetti*" (The statue is something more harmful than a painting in several respects). Unfortunately, this provocative remark is not further developed, leaving only hypotheses as to what these greater dangers might be. One would certainly refer to the venerable fear of the pagan idol.

110 Giovanni Andrea Borboni, *Delle statue* (Rome: Nella stamparia di Iacomo Fei d'And. F., 1661), 1-11. His history of statuary that begins with Old Testament idolatry, runs through the classical period and into present times. *Delle statue* follows the early sixteenth-century humanists in presuming the existence of late antique Christian statuary, which are distinguished from pagan idols with the traditional arguments of reference to the prototype and fostering consideration of divine things.

commemorative aspect of statuary throughout history, and linked its psychic impact to both beneficent inspiration and the threat of idolatry.[111] It is likely that the author's clerical vocation influenced his interest in the inspirational and transformative aspects of the medium, as his defense of sculptural commemoration was consistent with the justifications of Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona, as well as Gabriele Paleotti before them.[112] His Tuscan origins probably contributed to the close relationship to Pope Alexander VII, a fellow Sienese and a tremendous patron of sculpture, and the affinities with the Florentine tradition of art theory evident in *Delle statue*. His defense of the pontiff's humility in refusing an honorific statue on the grounds that no work could replicate the the effect of the memory of the living Alexander on the hearts of his subjects has been interpreted as an extrapolation of Bocchi's connection between sculptural liveliness and virtuous influence. To Borboni, the *vivicitá*, or lifelikeness, of a statue was weaker, but essentially the same as the moving presence of an actual person.[113]

The affective power of commemorative sculpture, both ancient and modern, is a central theme in *Della statua*.[114] Borboni noted the ability of the figure of *Charity* on Bernini's tomb of Urban VIII to move viewers to charitable behavior, bringing him very close to Bellori and Passeri's comments on the mellifluous effect of Duquesnoy's tender *putti*.[115] He did not directly address the devotional effects of modern religious works, but his discussions of civic statuary are relevant to

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[111] Maarten Delbeke, *The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome* (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 108. Borboni linked the psychic impact of sculpture to both inspiration of virtue and the threat of idolatry.

[112] Delbeke, *The Art of Religion*, 110. He referred to himself as "*Prete sanese e dottor teologo*" on the title page of *Delle Statue.* Alexander VII appears on the frontispiece.

[113] Delbeke, *The Art of Religion*, 113.

114 The Capitoline *Marcus Aurelius*, for example, was praised for its ability to impress the virtue of the emperor upon a suitably moved viewer. See Borboni, 130-31.

[115] ibid., 83-84

hagiographic subjects. The description of Andrea Doria's monument in Genoa as an embodiment

and model of communal values is reminiscent of the way a saint embodies and projects collective

spiritual ideals. He writes of Doria's qualities:

> "*che come hanno meritato a lui più facile la maraviglia, che l'imitatione; cosi hanno palesato al mondo, dalla riverenza impareggiabile, e dall'ossequii di sì nobile, e di sì segnalato Eroe, quanto ne viva pregiata la Republica di Genova sua gran Madre, che sà allevare sì gloriosi Figliuoli... La beneficenza privata, fu anch'essa esposta a gli honori pubblici...così i benefiti derivati privatamente nelle Casé de' Cittadini, ridondano in util pubblico.*"

> (because he merited it the imitation made it easy to marvel; so it has shown the world from the incomparable reverence, and from obsequies so noble, and of the acclaimed hero, who was so valuable in life to the Republic of Genoa his great mother, who knows how to breed glorious sons… The private beneficence was also exposed to public honor... so benefits derived privately in citizens' homes, redound to the public utility).[116]

The notion that physical presence and recognizable human qualities impel moral transformation

by example is, if anything, even more germane to the representation of saints, which are devotional

role models by nature. The fundamental point of hagiography is to transform a real life into a

timeless subjects of perpetual emulation, without losing the essential humanity that makes these

figures accessible. An image that simulates the physical presence of a historical actor while

visualizing the qualities responsible for his or her permanent significance, is a perfect realization

of the hagiographic process.

II. AFFECTIVE PRESENCE IN RELIGIOUS SCULPTURE

The inherent ability of the three-dimensional imagery to elicit powerful affective responses

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116 ibid., 218-9.

has always been apparent in religious contexts, where heightened emotions can make the barrier between representation and real life seem especially porous. The theoretical requirements that elevated sculpture to a fine art were superimposed over a bodily presence with a history of producing uniquely personalized reactions. While the Church has defended the usefulness of religious art for for disseminating doctrine or fueling devotion since the Patristic era, religious writings on art tends not to distinguish between the characteristic effects of different media.[117] The texts that appeared in the post-Tridentine era were typical for their emphasis on the rhetorical value of visual representation in general. According to the reform-minded Cardinal Gabriele Paoletti, the purpose of art is to give visible form to invisible things and to move the heart of the viewer to piety.[118] Like orators, artists were *teologi mutoli*, expected "*persuadere il popolo e tirarlo col mezzo della pittura ad abbracciare alcuna cosa pertinente alla religione*" (to persuade the populace and draw it by means of painting to embrace any matters pertaining to religion).[119] The

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[117] The canonical justification of St. Gregory the Great, a recapitulation of arguments of Sts. Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, defined images as *libri idioti* that instruct, move and please, a functional view that the Church never abandoned. See Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 149-59. St. Thomas Aquinas proposed "a threefold reason for the institution of images in the church: first, for the instruction of the unlettered; second, so that the mystery of the saints might remain more firmly in our memory by being daily represented to our eyes; and third, to excite the emotions which are more effectively aroused by things seen than by things heard." Cited in David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 162. St. Bonaventure reaffirmed the "lack of education of the simple folk, lukewarm feelings and impermanence of memory" that necessitated didactic and inspiring works of art. Cited in Besançon, 157. In its last session in 1563, the Council of Trent defined the role of the arts so that "the people be instructed and confirmed in the habit of remembering, and continue revolving in mind the articles of faith." Cited in Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, Vol. 1, ed. Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1. The two central recurring themes in the works of Borromeo, Paleotti, Gilio and their counter-reformatory contemporaries reiterate the role of art in stimulating piety, and the necessity of avoiding errors in its depictions and uses. Two centuries after Trent, l'Abbé Mery opens his treatise on painting by stressing the importance of subjects that inspire virtuous conduct. Abbé M. Mery, *Le théologie des Peintures, sculpteurs graveurs et dessinateurs...* (Paris: H. C. De Hansy, 1765), 2-11.

[118] Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane* (Bologna: A. Forni, 1990), 90.

[119] ibid., 214. The Jesuit Robert Bellarmine likewise emphasized correct interpretation when he differentiated truthful images from the false idols. Cited in Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome 1565-1610* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 15. Appropriateness and accuracy are also paramount in Gilio's *Dialogo secondo de gli errori, de gli abusi de' pittori circa l'historie* (1564) and Pirro Ligorio's *Treatise... on Some Things Pertaining to the Nobility of the Ancient Arts* (c. 1570-80), which

particular ways by which different types of imagery performed this persuasive task were less important. However, the emphasis on rhetorical efficacy raises the issue of reception, and differences between media definitely have an impact on affective response. Religious writers did emphasize that images were superior to texts as means of instruction and inspiration because they moved the viewer directly and without mediation. Two and three-dimensional images also also precipitate different types of encounters, on the basis of their physical qualities.[120] The consistent, emotional reception of sculpture in religious contexts is one indictor of this unique rhetorical capacity of three-dimensional imagery.

Sculpture differs from other forms of representation for the frequency with which it is perceived as coming to life, particularly in devotional situations. This presumes a sufficient phenomenological resemblance between image and reality, such as Borboni's equating of the effect of sculptural *vivicitá* with human presence, to enable the viewer to make an imaginative shift between them. In pre-Christian times, the pagan cult statue was believed to be enlivened by an aspect of the subject deity, and when early Christian commentators condemned this agency as demonic, they ironically confirmed that sculpted figures can function like living beings.[121]

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followed Gilio closely, though the latter was not an ecclesiastic writer. See David R. Coffin, "Pirro Ligorio on the Nobility of the Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 197-8.

120 Sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers reiterated the long-standing belief that sight was the most stirring of the senses. Paleotti argued that imagery was a universal and easily understood language that moved the viewer directly, rather than through textual mediation. The French Jesuit Louis Richeome referred to "speaking pictures," and stated that "painting is much more eloquent than speech and often penetrates more deeply into a man's heart." St. John of the Cross claimed that images have a special power to communicate things which are in themselves mysterious. In the eighteenth century, Mery reiterates the cognitive process by which images imprint themselves directly into the minds and memories of the viewer. See Paleotti, 139-42; Louis Richeome, *Holy Pictures of the Mysticall Figures* (1601), trans. C. A. (Ilkley: Scolar Press, 1975), 2, cited in David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the revolt of the Netherlands: 1566-1600* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988), 150; Saint John of the Cross, *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez (Garden City, NY.: Doubleday and Co., 1964), 408; Mery, 13.

[121] The Oxford Dictionary of Art defines cult statues as "earthly substitutes or humanized manifestations of the presence of a deity," and there are a number of accounts of these sacred images acting as if alive Most deities by the late 2nd millennium BC were worshipped in an anthropomorphic form and were, as such, earthly substitutes for the presence of a deity. "Cult Statue." *The Concise Grove Dictionary of Art*. Oxford University Press, Inc., 2002.

Although theologians contrasted their purely representational religious images with these idols, miraculously animate religious sculpture continued to appear long after the end of antiquity, and engage in the same sorts of activities as their pagan forerunners.[122] The speaking statue of *Fortuna* described by Dionysius of Helicarnassus prefigures the speaking crucifixes of Medieval and early modern Europe, while the statue of Mars that Livy claimed began to sweat when Hannibal invaded Italy, resembles the crucifix of S. Domenico in Ravenna, which bled during an Easter battle in 1512 between France and Spain.[123] Details vary with culture and circumstance, so the sanguinary discharges of crucifixes conform to the redemptive mystery of the Passion, but the active potential in anthropomorphic bodies remains constant.

The crucifix is the Christian image most likely to miraculously show signs of life in

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Answers.com 24 Oct. 2007. http://www.answers.com/topic/cult-statue-2. For he role of cult statues in pagan religious practice, see John Curran, "Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective," *Art History* 17, 1 (1994): 53; R. L. Gordon, "The Real and the Imaginary: Production and Religion in the Greco-Roman World," *Art History* 2, 1 (1979): 10. For issues surrounding the infusing of a deity in a statue, see Alice Donahue, "The Greek Images of the Gods," *Hephaistos* 15 (1997): 31-45 and William Crooke, "The Binding of a God: A Study of the Basis of Idolatry," *Folklore* 8, 4 (1897): 326-38. For iconoclastic responses to cult statues, see Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 54; Athenagoras, "A Plea for the Christians," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, Vol. 2, ed. and trans. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York: Scribner's, 1907-1911), 143: Chpt. XXVI: "The Demons Allure Men to the Worship of Images" and Chpt. XXVII: "Artifices of the Demons."

[122] Virgil describes statues that weep or sweat among the portents accompanying the assassination of Caesar, and according to Pliny, the statue of the goddess in the Temple of Artemis on Chios greeted visitors with a severe expression when they arrived, but appeared glad when they departed. See Virgil, *The Georgics*, trans. L. P. Wilkenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), 480; Pliny, the Elder, *The Natural History of Pliny*, Vol. 6, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857), 309. Theologians, like pagan philosophers who viewed cult statues with skepticism, defined sacred imagery as purely a signifier. See Curran, 53.

123 For the Miraculous crucifixes, see Edwyn Bevan, *Holy Images: An Inquiry into Idolatry and Image-Worship in Ancient Paganism and in Christianity* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1940): 25-6; William Wood Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), 407. Dionysius of Helicarnassus records that when a temple of Fortuna Muliebris was dedicated, the statue on the altar spoke in a loud voice. See Angela Anguissola, "Notes on Aphidruma I: Statues and their Functions," *The Classical Quarterly* 56 (2006): 642. Writing almost seventy years earlier, Bevan suggested that the consecration of a cult image may make possible this sort of "miraculous" potential, although at that time he admitted to having no proof.

hagiographic literature, no doubt due to its use in intense and sustained devotions.[124] According to Thomas of Celano, St. Francis frequently prayed before a crucifix and wept as if the Passion was actually unfolding before his eyes.[125] It is a short step from affectively reacting to the statue as if were real to experiencing it come to life as at San Damiano.[126] This transition is not a shift between opposed states, but the perceived realization of an already present bodily potential by supernatural means. There are numerous accounts involving animate crucifixes that behave in ways reminiscent of of miraculous cult statues. St. Brigit of Sweden was addressed by a one while she knelt in prayer in the Roman church of S. Paolo fuori le mura.[127] The immensely popular *Golden Legend* tells that the mother of St. Clare of Assisi was informed of her daughter's exceptional nature by a crucifix, and that another engaged St. Thomas Aquinas in dialogue as he levitated in prayer before it.[128] Accounts of moving crucifixes were also common. Hagiographers were claiming that St. Bernard of Clairvaux was embraced by a figure of Christ that detached itself from its cross within a half

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124 See Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition,* 407-9 for "innumerable" accounts of miraculous crucifixes. For miraculous crucifixes in medieval Italy, see Katherine Jansen, "Miraculous Crucifixes in Late Medieval Italy," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge; Rochester, N.Y., 2005), 203-27. For "devotional, social, and political contexts" in post-World War One Spain, see William A. Christian, *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 3. For a modern American account, see "Weeping Statue," *Western Folklore* 8, 3 (1949): 274.

125 Besançon, 166.

126 Thomas of Celano describes it as an unprecedented and unheard of miracle when Francis saw the lips of Christ move as he "spake from the wood of the crucifix." Cited in Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des beaux-arts* Ser. 6, 73 (March, 1969): 161. For the expansion and development of the speaking crucifix miracle in Franciscan hagiography, see Elvio Lunghi, "Francis of Assisi in Prayer before the Crucifix in the Accounts of the First Biographers," *Studies in the History of Art* 61 (2002): 343-49.

127 Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition,* 409.

128 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*, 7 Volumes, trans. William Caxton, ed. F. S. Ellis (London: J. M. Dent, 1900), Vol. 4, 161; Vol. 7, 156.

century of his death in 1154.[129] A crucifix was said to have bent its head towards St. Margaret of Cortona as she knelt in prayer, and the Golden Legend tells of a figure of Christ that descended from one during the preaching of St. Turien, and another that shifted its gaze to follow a notary as he moved around in a church.[130]

Religious sculpture is inherently ambiguous, since it is simultaneously a figural object in its own right and a reference to another absent concept or thing. A statue of the Virgin, for example signifies a sacred intercessor residing in heaven but is also an appealing figure of a woman, or, as in the case of St. Francis, a crucifix represents both Christ's redemptive sacrifice in the Biblical past, and an actual suffering human form in the here and now. Victor and Edith Turner described this ambiguity as the coexistence of modes of response; the normative or ideological, which refers to the recognition of the subject represented by the image, and the oretic or descriptive, which is an emotional reaction to the outward appearance of the symbol. The anthropomorphic presence of sculpture lends itself to a fluid relationship or even confusion between the supernatural signified and the image itself. When this happens, the inherent ambiguity is no longer sustained, and a distant heavenly personage becomes conflated with its representation on a subjective and emotional level.[131] The perception of actual living qualities in an image is the most extreme sort of extra-rational response, which is why such instances were often celebrated as miracles, but even more moderate reactions improve devotional efficacy. The visceral reality of sculptural presence contributes to the heightened emotional state conducive to religious experience.

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129 Ellert Dahl, "Heavenly Images: The Statue of St. Foy of Conques and the Signification of the Medieval Cult Image in the West," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 8 (1978): 189.

130 Astor's, *The Cross in Tradition,* 409; Jacobus de Voragine, Vol. 7, 173; Vol. 3, 175. See Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition*, 407 for mention of a Neapolitan crucifix whose hair was reputed to miraculously grow.

131 Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 142-3.

Freestanding Christian sculpture became much more common in Italy in the years following 1500, to the extent that the nineteenth-century Protestant Jacob Burckhardt waspishly referenced the conquest of the Christian altar by antique statuary.[132] Renaissance scholars countered the idolatrous connotations of the medium with the historical fiction that pagan cult statues had been replaced by Christian substitutes in late antiquity. There is no evidence that such images ever existed, but the very idea of an ancient Christian cult statue was seductive to humanist thinkers. Connecting ancient sculpture to the purity of the early Church elevated the artistic achievements of antiquity on spiritual, as well as aesthetic, grounds, and legitimated the use of the classicizing sculpture of the Renaissance for contemporary religious purposes. Michelangelo's decision late in his career to to work exclusively in sculpture was based on this notion that the medium possessed an archaic sincerity lacking in painting, a fundamental purity connected to ancient usage, as well as the association with truth established in the *paragone*.[133] Greater integrity and closer relation to antiquity were likewise qualities valued by mid-sixteenth-century religious reformers. Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano, for example, considered sculpture not only to be not idolatrous, but better suited to the needs of religious art on account of its antique pedigree.[134]

This notion of the cult statue was very different from the demonic images condemned by

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[132] ibid., 108.

[133] Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 199.

[134] ibid., 201. Nagel argues that the purview of the *paragone* should be expanded to religious reform, since the qualities of greater integrity and closer relation to antiquity ascribed to sculpture in the former are the same traits that appealed to the latter. Gilio even reversed that charge that religious sculpture was idolatrous by recasting pagan idolatry as a prefiguration of the worship of the saints sullied by satanic deception. See Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, 177. For the connection between the cult of the saints and idolatry in Reformation thought, see Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: the Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Czestochowa* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 83 and André Vauchez, "Religious Enthusiasm and Charismatic Power in the Middle Ages," introduction to *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), xx.

early Christian apologists. It was based in a humanistic valuation of ancient sculpture that dovetailed with the theoretical conception of the medium, rather than the emotionally-charged supernaturalism of bleeding or weeping figures. Miraculous images, either pagan or Christian, become narrative agents by acting in real space and time, and spatio-temporal movement is incompatible with the inherent permanence of sculptural memorialization. However, while *cinquecento* religious sculpture aspired to an antique ideal, its physical presence could engender humanizing responses.[135] Michelangelo's St. Peter's *Pietà* (1498-99, Vatican City, St. Peter's), exemplifies the idealized purity of the early Christian cult statue, but it was also conceptualized in at least partially living terms. In 1549, the Florentine poet Gian Battista Strozzi commemorated a copy of the statue in Santo Spirito as "*Bellezza et honestate / E doglia e pietà in vivo marmo morte*" ("Beautiful and honest / and sorrow and pity in living marble death). His witty oxymoron, is highly conventionalized, but it addresses the work as a figural presence, rather than a pictorial illusion. The sculptor's *David* (1501-4, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia) goes further, with a psychologically convincing expression of anxious anticipation that suggests temporal action. This interest in psychic vitality ultimately derived from Donatello's *St. George* (c. 1416, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), the work that inspired Bocchi's concept of *vivicitá*.[136] In a devotional context, this semblance of life inspired reverence, meaning that the physical presence

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[135] The Roman collector Gabriele de' Rossi and his erudite circle celebrated Andrea Sansovino's *St. Anne, the Virgin, and Child* (1512, Rome, Sant'Agostino) for its spirit (*numen*) and vivacity, similar qualities to those applied to the antique *Minerva* that guarded his household. See Kathleen Wren Christian, "The De' Rossi Collection of Ancient Sculptures, Leo X, and Raphael," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 148.

[136] Michelangelo first hinted at expression of the *David* in his *St. Proclus* (1495, Bologna, Shrine of St. Dominic, San Domenico). See Seymour Jr., 47; David G. Wilkins, "The Invention of Pictorial Relief" in *Depth of Field: Relief Sculpture in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Donal Cooper and Marina Leino (London: Peter Lang, 2007), 78. The *David* is not the only work of Michelangelo's to develop Donatello's suggestion of psychic vitality. The *Moses* (c. 1515, Rome, S. Pietro in Vincoli) drew on the experience of the Sistine Chapel prophets to enhance the expressivity of the older sculptor's *St. Mark* (c. 1410, Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo). See Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 158.

of a statue could meet the rhetorical needs of the church in the manner of a living role model.[137]

The narrative implications of the *David* were not fully developed into the seventeenth century.

In order to represent action, sculpture needed to move past the theoretical constraints of timeless essence into the deceptive illusions of mimesis. Benvenuto Cellini raised such a possibility by reinterpreting the idea of sculpture as truth to mean a more exact imitation of the natural world, in his letter to Varchi on the *paragone* of 1546.[138] Pictorial illustration is imperfect, illusory and therefore manipulative when compared to the reality of plastic form, making painting merely the shadow of sculpture. He rejected Vasari's contention that *disegno* was the "*madre di arte,*" instead stating that "*rilievo viene a essere il padre di tutti è disegni"* (relief, or plastic presence, is to be the father of all that design is). For Cellini, this greater reality is a practical rather than a philosophical advantage, in that it enhances mimetic effectiveness, and offers the multiple viewpoints of a real body. Varchi likewise recognized the possibility of confusion between the statue and the subject, writing "it is certain that a figure in relief has more of truth and of the natural in relation to substance than a painting. This is demonstrated by the figure of Pygmalion and all the ancient idols which were in relief so as to be better able to deceive man."[139] There are actually two distinct concepts of truth in evidence here: an essential notion of pure self-referential form in matter, and the phenomenological proximity between types of material bodies that cannot be replicated in two dimensions.

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137 It is the *costume*, *vivacità* and *bellezza* of Clemente and Baccio Bandinelli's *Pietà* (Florence, SS. Annunziata), that inspired reverence. See Francesco Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della città de Fiorenza, dove à pieno di pittura, di scultura, di sacri tempii, di palazzi i più notabili artifizii, & più preziosi si contengono*, facismile of the 1591 edition (Farnborough: Gregg, 1971), 223-4.

138 Fredrika H. Jacobs, "An Assessment of Contour Line: Vasari, Cellini and the "Paragone," *Artibus et Historiae* 9, 18 (1988): 139-45. Cellini claimed that wax models should precede, if not replace, the use of preparatory drawings for all artists, lest their images appear "false and clumsy," an idea strongly opposed by Vasari.

139 Cited in Mendelsohn, 121.

Both these notions of truth factor into the model of empathetic response described in Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della pittura inititolato l'Aretino* (1557), which identified two possible outcomes to the shock (*stupore* or *meraviglia*) caused by the sight of a statue of high quality. The viewer either succumbs to the naturalism, suspends awareness of the medium, and reacts emotionally to expression and gesture as if encountering a real person, or else disregards the affective illusion and critically evaluates the work's artistic merit.[140] The former is an imaginative participation that completes the representation, and even supplies speech if necessary. In Dolce's words: "whatever the art in itself does not comprise, the mind, imagining, clearly understands."[141] Jacopo Sadoleto's *De Laocoontis statua*, written after the unearthing of the eponymous statue in 1506, exemplifies this sort of response.[142] After praising the sculptor's ability to "quicken the unyielding stone with living shapes, to put living senses into the breathing marble," Sadoleto interprets the figures within the context of the story and writes as if the scene is occurring over time. He hears Laocoön's anguished groans and the gurgling wound inflicted by the serpent's bite and sees the fear, anger and agony of the priest and his sons. Sadoleto actually performs Dolce's imaginative participation, disregarding awareness of the sculptural medium for scene transpiring before his very eyes. A comparable pattern of reception is evident a century later, in the Latin verses written by Maffeo Barberini on a fountain with a sculpted marble cupid.

> "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

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140 Norman E. Land, *The Viewer as Poet: The Renaissance Response to Art* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 149.

141 Cited in Land, *The Viewer as Poet,* 66. This interpretation of Dolce's *Dialogue* is developed in Mark W. Roskill, *Dolce's 'Aretino' and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (New York: New York University Press, 1968).

142 ibid, 73-5. Sadoleto lived from 1477-1547 and was active in Rome from around 1500. His poem is based on Virgil's description of the statue (*Aeneid* II, 199-224)

mouth. Do you deny hearing it? How is it possible [quid ni]! The murmur of the water blends with the murmur of the reclining (figure)."[143]

The future pontiff is more wittily playful than his *cinquecento* counterpart in suggesting that the sound of the water obscures the statue's breathing, but the imaginative response to the figure as actively living remains the same.

Dolce contrasts response patterns that roughly align with theoretical and religious perspectives. The former is a rational appraisal of aesthetic quality, while the latter is a more emotional or unconscious reaction that can potentially humanize a rhetorically charged image as if it were a living actor. From this perspective, St. Francis' miraculous address by the crucifix at S. Damiano can be reinterpreted as a paradigmatic example of responding imaginatively to an image as if it were real. The same is true of St. Teresa of Avila's claim to have seen the actual Virgin Mary appear during Mass in Avila and take the place of a statue: "at that moment the statue vanished from sight and all I saw was the Holy Mother herself."[144] Devotional efficacy derives from a non-miraculous version of the response to miraculous images, an a-rational relationship that inspires pious sentiment. It is the potentially deceptive capacity of sculptural presence commented on by Cellini and Varchi, that makes it so easy to imagine such attributes as speech or movement, while the psychic naturalism recognized by Bocchi enhances this response.

Bocchi, Cellini and the others differ from Teresa or Francis in that they are referring to imagery that falls under the rubric of the theoretically-informed fine art of sculpture. However, the line between theory and religious affect is a permeable one. Cellini reproduced his supernatural

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[143] "*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.*" Cited and translated by van Gastel, 33.

144 Cited in A. Hyatt Mayor, "Visions and Visionaries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 5, 6 (1947): 160.

vision of Christ in a wax sculpture and then in a white and black marble crucifix for his own tomb.[145] Diverse writers posit a connection between aesthetic quality and devotional efficacy throughout the sixteenth century. In one early example, the poet Andrea Michieli Strazzola (d. 1510) wrote a verse detailing how a badly rendered piece of art could induce laughter, the loss of piety or even the denial of God in a viewer.[146] Bocchi claimed that a well-wrought statue is able to stimulate the emulation of the virtues expressed by it in his *Eccellenza del San Giorgio di Donatello,* and noted elsewhere that the quality of Clemente and Baccio Bandinelli's *Pietà* (1554-59, Florence, SS. Annunziata) inspires reverence.[147] The connection between artistry and influence on the viewer is summed up in a letter of 1582 from Bartolommeo Ammannati to the Florentine Academy of Design asserting that good sculpture conflates *ben fatte* with *bella figura*.[148] Bocchi and Ammannati are claiming that a statue has the potential to influence or transform behavior in the manner of a human role model if it is of sufficient quality, which, to writers such as these, means the classically inspired idealizing sculpture of art theory. This suggests that adherence to theoretical criteria not only allows affective response to the image, but may actually enhance it.

St. John of the Cross, the subject of chapter four of this dissertation, commented on the devotional efficacy of sculpture in the third book of his *Ascent of Mount Carmel* (1578-79). His main concern is the proper use of images, and he warns against the excessive appreciation of art

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145 The crucifix is dated 1555, and in 1559 was made a gift to Eleanor of Toledo.

146 Land, *The Viewer as Poet,* 96.

147 Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della città de Fiorenza*, 223-4.

148 Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del disegno,* Vol. 2, 37.

for its aesthetic qualities, since too much attention to the work itself misdirects valuation and

obstructs a proper focus towards the invisible subject.[149]

> The Church established the use of statues for two principle reasons: the reverence given to the saints through them and the awakening of devotion to the saints through their means. Insofar as they serve this purpose their use is profitable and necessary. We should consequently choose those statues that are more lifelike and move the will more to devotion. Our concentration should be centered on this devotion than on the elaborateness of the workmanship and its ornamentation."[150]

John's writings were the product of a very different context than the humanistic intellectual culture

of Renaissance Florence, but comments on art contain some evocative and relevant ideas.

Verisimilitude and artistic virtuosity were opposed in John's thought, with the former creating

inspiringly realistic figures, and the latter a worldly distraction. His dim view of elaborate

workmanship and ornamentation is consistent with the post-Tridentine preference for accuracy

and clarity over displays of manneristic brilliance.[151] His comments highlight the part played by

the appearance of an image in facilitating imaginative participation. In Dolce's terms, the viewer

is more inclined to react to a lifelike statue as if it were real, and to appraise an artistically

elaborately work on detached aesthetic grounds. It is important to point out that John did not

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149 Saint John of the Cross, *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez (Garden City, NY.: Doubleday and Co., 1964), 137 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*,1 12, 3).

150 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 274 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 3, 35, 3).

151 John was in accord with the principle post-Tridentine writers on art. For example, Paleotti argued that the ultimate aim of painting can be summed up as to imitate something and in order to persuade persons to practice piety and direct them towards God. See Pamela Jones, "Art Theory as Ideology: Gabriele Paleotti's Hierarchical Notion of Painting's Universality and Reception," in *Reframing the Renaissance*: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450-1650, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 127. The ability of the arts to create direct knowledge was recognized from the time of the early Christian apologists. Augustine claims sight is the bodily sense closest to the mind. Saint Augustine, *Augustine: On the Trinity*, Books 8-15, trans. Stephen McKenna, ed. Gareth B. Matthews (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 60-62 (Book 11). Aquinas defines "a threefold reason for the institution of images in the church: first, for the instruction of the unlettered, who might learn from them as if from books; second, so that the mystery of the saints might remain more firmly in our memory by being daily represented to our eyes; and third, to excite the emotions which are more effectively aroused by things seen than by things heard." Cited in Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 162.

advocate sculptural verisimilitude unconditionally. He was critical of emotionally fraught responses that treated the image as too lifelike, such as dressing statues, for fear that they blur the distinction between art and reality, and possibly lead to idolatrous confusion between sign and referent.[152] John recognized that artworks elicit responses that are powerful but potentially uncontrollable, and his goal is to ensure that these responses are the correct ones.[153]

The *Ascent of Mount Carmel* appeared just over a decade after the waves of iconoclasm that swept across sixteenth-century Europe, making the issue of idolatrous response particularly pressing. Idolatry and iconophilia are both expressions of the affective power of images, but differ in their interpretation over the ethical and spiritual nature of that power. For the iconophile, the image makes an absent subject more accessible, but does not propose to take its place, while the idolator confuses the two and makes the image an object of devotion.[154] The forms of response in each case can appear quite similar; what differs is the point of view of the commentator. Both devotional images and idols inspire the viewer on the emotional level and, in the most extreme reactions, manifest miraculous qualities such as animation or speech.[155] In the former however, the inspired feelings are directed at the holy subject, who may act through the image in turn, while in the latter, any supernatural effects are products of delusion and/or demonic agency. There were

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[152] John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 274 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 3, 35, 3).

153 Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 143. John justifies the necessity of art while limiting its usage: "there is no delusion or danger in the remembrance, veneration and esteem in images that the Catholic Church proposes to us in a natural manner, since in these images nothing else is esteemed than the person represented... Images will always help a person towards union with God, provided that he does not pay more attention to them than is necessary" John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 236 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 3, 15, 2).

154 The notion of idolatry as a transgressive behavior is a legacy of Old Testament prohibition, and was not really a part of Greco-Roman world, although the origins of its attendant terminology were Greek. According to Origen, in his "Homily on Exodus VIII," the image or *eikon* was the truthful representation of an existing thing, while the idol or *eidolon* is a false representation of what does not exist. Cited in Besançon, 66.

155 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 30-41.

signs of slippage between these two categories in the public confusion over the nature of certain images on the eve of the Reformation.156 The numinous presence projected by veristic devotional sculpture elided the ontological distinction between representation and prototype that was never as clear as the authorities would have it. Attacks on Catholic art revealed the failure of strictly referential interpretations of the cult of images that Gilio and others used to distinguish their purified antique Christian sculpture from pagan idols.[157]

Iconoclasm is the simplest and most draconian solution to image confusion; destroy the symbolic vehicle to purify its meaning. The actual causes of the sixteenth-century destruction of images were much more complex, but widespread misuse was the generally stated rationale in Reformed polemic.[158] Sculpture generated especially strong antipathy from the likes of Heinrich Zwingli, Herman Moded and even Erasmus, and the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 explicitly contrasted dumb idols of the Catholics with the living preaching of the Word.[159] Erasmus, not a Protestant himself, but a fierce critic of contemporary Catholicism, refers to idolatrous worshippers who "bowed the head before them, fell on the ground, crawled on their knees, kissed and fondled

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156 Eire begins his study with an admittedly generalized survey of the late medieval religious landscape. Alongside the emergence of ontologically ambiguous image forms, he notes the proliferation of the cult of relics and their attendant miracles as evidence of a popular conceptualization of metaphysical reality on a highly immediate and localized level. See Eire, 1-9. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (Garden City, NY.: Doubleday and Company, 1954) remains an important overview of this period.

157 The complex causes and political significance of iconoclasm has been the subject of many studies. See Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting*; Olivier Christin, *Une revolution symbolique: l'iconoclasme huguenot e la reconstruction catholique* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1991), for different treatments of relevant issues.

158 Iconoclasm was part of a larger assault on the belief systems of the late Middle Ages, and, in particular, their externalization of the sacred. There were political motivations as well, as the dismantling of Catholic cults freed churches for Reformers' own use. See Eire, 12-17; Vauchez, xx.

159 Freedberg, Iconoclasm and Painting, 28-33. The author explains that Reformers connected image use to the cults of saints, relics and the notion of intercession, all of which are further inducements to idolatry. Praying to the saints and the Virgin is idolatrous since they can't hear and have no place in the material world. In response, Catholic apologists resurrected the old distinction between *dulia* (reverence of saints) and *latria* (reserved for God).

the carvings."[160] Cornelis van der Heyden lamented that people forget about God, run to images of wood, stone, and silver, seeking help or comfort from them, unashamed of speaking with things which had no soul."[161] Sixteenth-century French poet Eustache Deschampes demanded "no false gods of iron and stone, stones which have no understanding: let us not adore such counterfeits."[162] In the following century, Jean Daillé deplored the Roman Church for introducing "*image de sculpture… incongreues entre les Grecs*" (image of sculpture, incongruous among the Greeks).[163] The last of these quotations speaks to the profound difference between Protestant and Catholic historiography. Instead of the pure Paleochristian statue, iconoclasts focused on the proliferation of sculpture in the later middle ages, and interpreted the replacement of the icon by three-dimensional statuary as proof of a historical degeneration into idolatry.[164]

Theologically, the Protestants decried Catholic deviations from an imageless purity of Apostolic Christianity, but on a practical level, the attack on sculpture reflects the image confusion impelled by the ambiguities of presence. Only sculpture can be easily carried, dressed, crowned, and otherwise adored in a manner that suggests the work itself is the recipient of worship. Statues, more so than other targeted imagery, were treated in human fashion by iconoclasts; menaced, taunted, "tortured" and "killed," often by decapitation.[165] Contemporary woodcuts primarily depict

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160 Cited in Eire, 21.

161 ibid., 48

162 Huizinga, 176.

163 Jean Daillé, *de la créance des Peres sur le fait des images*, Geneva, 1641, 576-8. Cited in Christin, 152

164 Christin, 152. Accusations of idolatry in early modern France indicate the continued association between this transgression and the proliferation of sculpture. See Anne Betty Weinshenker, "Idolatry and Sculpture in Ancien Régime France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, 3 (Spring, 2005): 485-507.

165 Christin, 133. The technical explanation given for decapitation was that it was easier than destroying a statue, but it was done to wooden figures and reliquaries that were easily burned or shattered. In May of 1534 in Geneva, several Franciscan images were decapitated. See Eire, 136. Zwingli responded to this iconoclasm in life-like terms:

this sort of image being burned during events such as the Iconoclasm at Wasen, where a group of young men mocked wooden figures piled for a bonfire, saying that they had better walk away if they wanted to escape the flames.[166] This behavior has been interpreted as an equivocating continuity of traditional devotional relationships among lay Protestants.[167] However, the ridicule and humiliation of "idols" repeats patterns observed during the destruction of paganism in late antiquity, another instance when a population turned on statues formerly credited with supernatural power.[168] The intensity and venom behind the iconoclasts' mocking personifications speaks to the powerful association of these images with real beings in the popular consciousness, and to the relief at finding them powerless.

When Catholics reconquered Protestant territory, they worked to reestablish the immanent relationship between visual representation and the sacred that had been ruptured by iconoclasm.[169] This process included the deliberate and organized promotion of miraculous (rather than symbolic) imagery by the clergy, and was so successful that by the second half of the seventeenth century, most districts in Baveria claimed a wonder-working image.[170] Miracle stories were published and disseminated that featured the standard accounts of statues behaving as if alive, such as the tale

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"if this abuse had done any harm to the saints who are near God, and if they had the power which is ascribed to them, do you think you would have been able to behead them and cripple them as you did?" Cited in Eire, 112.

166 Eire, 113.

167 The abuse of statues can be linked to the late Medieval practice of "trying the saints," a destructive "embarrassment" of religious images that had ceased to work intercession. Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 65.

168 Thomas F. Matthews, *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6-10; John Holland Smith, *The Death of Classical Paganism* (London and Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman Publishers, 1976),, 155 ff.

169 Christin, 178, describes the necessity of resacralization.

170 Soergel, 165.

from Azwinischer Bogen of a figure of the Virgin that had been thrown in the Bosphorus during the Byzantine iconoclasm and swam up the Danube to safety.[171] The Franciscan priest Fortunatus Huber's *Ripe Pomegranite* told of a statue of the Madonna defeating Hussitism by resisting attacks and ultimately converting her assailants. Miraculous statues, like iconoclastic fears, constitute an extreme imaginative interpersonal response to devotional sculpture. In general, these images were not planned on the institutional level, but were largely a popular mode of response, although the Church benefited from their motivational ability, and often supported them at the parish level.172 The deliberate resacralization efforts in Bavaria and other reconverted territories offer rare instances when the tacit approval of imagery embodying the sacred became explicit.

Psychic force, miraculous activity, and iconoclastic violence are all responses that treat the three-dimensional image like a living presence, but they differ in their relationship to the theoretical definition of the medium. The first enlivened works that otherwise corresponded with the timeless presence of the commemorative *statua*, but the latter two involve some element of temporal agency. In the case of moving or speaking statues, the work becomes an actor, while taunting and killing engaged the image in an unfolding interactive exchange. These are extreme imaginative responses, to use Dolce's formation, but they indicate that a sculpted figure is capable of suggesting movement. Beginning around 1600, Stefano Maderno brought the conception of sculpture as an active presence together with the static, yet transformative, exemplar of the theorists. He carved two marble saints that deliberately used the historical associations of their settings to enact narrative subjects, and make their viewers witnesses to an presently occurring

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171 ibid., 221.

172 John T. Paoletti, and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 3rd Edition (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 60. These "had their greatness thrust upon them."

miracle. Commemoration, memory, and permanence were extended beyond theoretical limits into the realm of human action, creating a sculptural mimesis not found in contemporary treatises. The memorialization of a passing moment seems paradoxical, but it developed into a powerful rhetorical vehicle as the seventeenth century progressed.

Maderno's innovative *St. Cecilia* (1600, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome) was part of a renewed Roman interest in the early Christian era (fig. 10). The enduring sites of the early Church, and the seemingly providential rediscovery of early martyrs, attested to the legitimacy of the cult of saints and countered Protestant claims on the original purity of apostolic faith.[173] The inventiveness of the *St. Cecilia* becomes apparent when compared to Nicholas Cordier's *St. Agnes* (1605, Sant' Agnese fuori le Mura, Rome), another sculpted martyr installed on a Roman altar at around the same time (fig. 11). The latter figure, an antique alabaster torso "restored" with bronze pieces in a fashion popular in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, literally was a Christian cult statue.[174] This burnished, mesmerizing figure was not an imaginary replacement of pagan sculpture by a Christian variant, but an actual pagan image "reformed"; a microcosm of the emergence of the paleochristian past out of antiquity and its continual relevance into the present day.[175] At the same time, the *St. Agnes* does raise questions of propriety. By the logic of *spolia*, it

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[173] For Baronio's restoration of early Christian churches, see Alexandra Herz, "Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de'Appia," *Art Bulletin* 70, 4 (1988): 590-92. This focus on the early Church was much more attentive to historical detail than the early sixteenth-century humanism behind the fantasy of the early Christian cult statue. The antiquarian impulse behind the compilation of sympathetic histories such as Cesere Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastices* (1588-1607) and Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea* (beg. 1593) also impelled the study and restoration of antique monuments such as S. Cecilia in Trastevere.

174 Farinacci, n. p. For more on the *St. Agnes*, see Sylvia Pressouyre, *Nicolas Cordier: recherches sur la sculpture à Rome autour de 1600* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1984), 412-13. Cordier was the most prominent producer of such works, but his *St. Agnes* was unusual in his oeuvre for its devotional context.

175 For other statues of saints "restored" from pagan statuary, including the *St. Helena* in S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, see A. Giuliano, "Statue antiche traformate in figure di Santi e condottieri," in *Venezia, l'archeologia e l'Europa, Congresso internazionale (Venezia 1994),* ed. Manuela Fano Santi (Rome: Bretschneider, 1996), 190–3.

represents a symbolic triumph over paganism, but the uneasy fact remains that it made a pagan image into an object of public veneration within a church. The gleam of its precious materials and powerful gaze of its abstracted classicizing features project a numinous quality that recalls the compulsive allure of feared antique idols.[176] Like the *St. Foy* of Conques, another repackaged ancient image made centuries earlier, Cordier's altarpiece embraced the magnetic attraction of its presence in order to bring Christian worshippers into contact with the sacred. However, for all its power, this aura does not suggest movement, but remains a timeless, if troubling, simulacrum.

The *St. Cecilia* also presented the viewer with the material reality of early Christian martyr, but did so very differently. Unlike Cordier's work, which brought the past into the present by incorporating an actual piece of ancient statuary, Maderno recreated his subject by illusory means out of entirely new materials. Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato had commissioned an exact replica of the real St. Cecilia, as she was discovered during the renovation of her ancient titular church in 1599, to commemorate her martyrdom and providential reappearance, and to provide a focal point for her cult.[177] Only a three-dimensional image is capable of simulating a real encounter with the saint at the moment she was found.[178] Sculptural materiality and illusion replace the potentially

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176 Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 155.

177 Her relics were unearthed during a renovation campaign for the Holy Year of 1600. See Gaetano Miarelli Mariani, "Il "Cristianesimo primitivo" nella riforma cattolica e alcuni incidenze sui monumenti del passato," in *Architettura a Roma e in Italia, 1580-1621: atti del XXIII Congresso di storia dell'architettura, Roma, 24-26 marzo 1988*, Vol. 1 (Rome: Centro di studi per la storia dell'architettura, 1989), 136. Maderno follows Bosio's description of the saint, and did not actually study her corpse, as many, following Baglione, believed. See Harula Economopoulos, "La reliquia svelata: note su Baglione, Baronio e la S. Cecilia di Stefano Maderno," in *Giovanni Baglione, 1566-1644: pittore e biografo di artisti*, ed. Stefania Macioce (Rome: Lithos, 2002) for the relationship between Baglione and Maderno's reputation.

178 Scholars have shown that this legendary verisimilitude is not actually correct; Maderno and his patron took liberties to make the saint more visually appealing. The written sources dealing with Cecilia's rediscovery indicate that she was found headless, and the sculptor camouflaged this defect with the addition of the turban, an element not previously found in her iconography. See Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, "Stefano Maderno's "Saint Cecilia": A Seventeenth Century Roman Sculpture Remeasured," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 25-26 (1985): 9-21. Noting the novelty of the turban, O'Neil concludes that it represents a compromise between Sfondrato's desire for an image faithful to the holy body and Maderno having to deal with the aesthetic problem of the missing head. Tobias Kampf notes Cardinal Sfondrato's innovative use of liturgical and architectural prototypes to meet rhetorical and expressive

problematic antique fragment as a means of recreating an early Christian presence in the present day. The white marble of the statue recalls the cult images of Christian humanist fantasy, but the putative historical accuracy makes it a more complex signifier. Maderno combined reality and ideality; reality in the accurate pose, visible wound and physical presence of the figure, ideality in the pearly, almost translucent, marmoreal sheen that suggests a ghostly echo from another time.

The dual nature of the *St. Cecilia* transfigures the body of the saint into an apparition that signifies in two directions. The moments of martyrdom and rediscovery are enacted with a physical immediacy that makes the viewer witness to a miraculous historical narrative, but in a manner suggestive of the timeless, spiritual truths of sanctity. Together, these qualities emphasize the temporal reality of the representation, while elevating it beyond the mundanities of everyday life. This differs from the early sixteenth-century notion of the Christian cult statue, which was imagined as an autonomous presence on a pedestal without external narrative entanglements. Although the *St. Cecilia* also consists of just one figure, its setting and claim to historical accuracy made it a perpetual, idealized, recreation of the portentous moment when the body was found. The viewer, therefore, is not only shown the luminous beauty of sanctity, but made a participant in the act of discovery that restored that sanctity to the world. This is an impermanent condition that implies both violent martyrdom that came before, and the veneration to come. Historical narrative and sculptural ideality combined in a figure able to perpetually enact an event that gave a site spiritual meaning, while also demonstrating the supernatural nature of that significance. It not only depicts a material body, but that body's importance, and by extension, how the viewer is to understand and respond to it. The historically particular is offered as proof of the spiritually eternal,

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needs, a "creative adaptation" consonant with the *St. Cecilia*. See Tobias Kampf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body: Paolo Camillo Sfondrato and the Language of Revelation," *Sculpture Journal* 6 (2001): 10-20.

while the spiritual imbues the particular with an exemplarity that transcends time and place.

Statues that illustrate the historical significance of their setting are not especially common, but there are other examples. Maderno's *St. Bridget in Ecstasy* (c. 1629, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome) was installed opposite the venerated fourteenth-century wooden crucifix that supposedly spoke to her while she knelt before it in the Sacrament Chapel (fig. 12).[179] The diagonal movement from the left leg into the right hand speaks to attractive power of the vision, while the left hand pulls back, creating an overall effect of compulsion mixed with awed hesitation. Clearly, the statue is a representation of an action as much as a personage, and early modern commentators repeatedly refer to its "*atto di orare*."[180] Antonio Raggi's *St. Benedict* (ca. 1657, Cave Chapel, Monastery of St. Benedict, Subiaco) in the actual cave where the saint pioneered eremitical life in the fifth century (fig. 13). The presence of the basket enhanced the temporal dimension of the scene by alluding to the everyday chores interrupted by Benedict's ecstasy. Viewers are not confronted with a simple commemoration of the saint, but an enactment of the devotional conduct and divine sanction that gave spiritual relevance to his sojourn here.[181] The notion that a statue can articulate timeless virtues by memorializing actions as well as individuals relates to, but exceeds, Borboni's process of reception. The *Statua* is a simulacrum that productively triggers memories and

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179 The Sacrament Chapel is located to the left of the high altar, and was reconstructed in 1725 for the Jubilee Year to accommodate the venerated fourteenth-century crucifix. The chapel survived the devastating fire of 1827 and retains its Baroque appearance. See Anna Maria Cerioni and Roberto Del Signore, *La Basilica di San Paolo Fuori le Mura* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2003),56; Nicolai, 36. For the statue, see Riccoboni, 143. The *St. Bridget* and its legend is repeated in many of the early modern writers on sculpture. See, for example, Giovanni Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma* (1639), ed. Liliana Barroero (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1990), 78; Titi, 39, Roisecco, 260.

180 Titi, 39, describes the "*atto di orare*"; Roisecco, 260 claims "*si vede in atto di orare*"; Baglione, 78, notes it is "*scolpita in atto di far orazione al Santissimo Crocifisso*" (carved in the act of prayer to the Holy Crucifix).

181 See Vincenzo Golzio, *Il Seicento e il Settecento*, Vol. 2 (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1955), 1043. For more on Subiaco, see Pietro Egidi, et al., *I monasteri di Subiaco* (Rome: Ministero della pubblica istruzione, 1904).

associations rather than a narrative depiction of specific events, or, in other words, the representation of an admirable legacy and nature, rather than admirable deeds. In contrast, sculpting a miracle in the place where it occurred emphasizes that it is not only the saint that is being memorialized, but something specific that the saint did or experienced.

Works such as the *St. Bridget* or the *St. Benedict* are better described as enactments rather than simulacra, in that their purpose is the recreation of a meaningful event or chain of events. They contravene the theoretical claim that sculpture should stand still by representing the exemplary action associated with mimesis.[182] In Aristotelian terms, mimesis is transformative for its use of embellishment, improvement, and generalization to create an exemplary fictional world, replete with activities as well as characters, with a recognizable affinity to our own.[183] If the simulacrum translates a mutable, time-bound human life into a perpetual, ideal persona, mimetic sculpture translates mutable, time-bound action into a perpetual example of ideal conduct. This particularizes the theoretical notion of exemplarity by shifting the subject of the work from a general model of virtue to a specific desirable behavior. For example, a static, theoretically appropriate *Statua* of St. Bridget would commemorate and project the virtues of a model life in its fullness, but Maderno's version presents a particular miracle that enacts sanctity, and encourages

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182 The Renaissance concept of *imitatio naturae* expanded to include the imitation of human action, or mimesis, that opened the visual arts to poetics and rhetoric under the rubric of Horace's *ut pictura poesis*. See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture*, 1500-1900 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 84. The fundamental study of the *ut pictura poesis* tradition remains Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967). See also Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts. The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1958).

183 Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 26. The French Academy was the source of the most sophisticated applications of Aristotelian poetics to painting. For example, the unity of time in Poussin's art is a subject of Genevive Warwick, "Poussin and the Arts of History," *Word and Image* 12,4 (1996). Algardi's *Leo and Attila* relief is praised for its proper *affetti* and unity of action in Passeri, *Esame ragionato della pittura e della scultura*, 49. Andre Filibien stressed the importance of Aristotle's three unities in a composition, with action considered the most important. See Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 3. See also Lee, 58.

sacramental devotion. Sculpture has the capacity to transpose the interactive immediacy of human action, as well as the enduring reputation of an admirable persona, into a state of permanent inspiration.

The ability of these enactments to physically stand in for their subjects in recreations of actual occurrences affirms the commensurability between marble and human bodies. The historical reality of the event confers a legitimating truthfulness on the sculpted action, while having its significance perpetually reaffirmed in turn. However, this means that sculpture could imitate and idealize living action in any context. This is apparent in Bernini's *St. Bibiana* (1626, S. Bibiana, Rome), a somewhat later image of an early Christian martyr in a meaningful site with less emphasis on exact historical reenactment (fig. 14). Unlike the *St. Cecilia*, which emphasized the physical aspect of its subject by reenacting the narrative of execution and discovery, Bernini focused on the spiritual significance of Bibiana's martyrdom, or what Tod Marder called the transformation of a teenaged Roman into a counter-reformatory saint.[184] The sculpted body is changed from the representation of a material fact (physical remains) to an outward manifestation of the currently unfolding action of grace. Directed lighting from hidden sources enhance the sense of the miraculous by drawing the statue from the darkness of the niche and conferring an otherworldly aura upon it.[185] The violence of her demise is reduced to the attribute of the column, while her turbulent drapery and beatific visage suggest the inner turmoil and bliss of divine union.

The *St. Bibiana* and *St. Cecilia* rely on their settings to enhance their verisimilitude, but do so in different ways. Maderno used the historical associations of its site to assert the reality of his

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[184] Tod. A. Marder, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), 54.

[185] Fehrenbach, 12-13. He analyzes the transformational effect of light in the *St. Bibiana*. For an in-depth analysis, see Vitaliano Tiberia, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Agostino Ciampelli in Santa Bibiana a Roma: I restauri* (Todi: Ediart, 2000), 47-61.

narrative by depicting something that actually happened there. Bernini used visible environmental conditions, such as real light effects, to make his narrative appear to be something that is happening right now. The *St. Cecilia* is still and quiet in mood, a ghostly echo of something in the past that retains significance in the present, while the *St. Bibiana* seems active, in a state of flux. Sculptural presence naturalizes the signifier, while the animating illusion of luminous transformation creates the impression that a supernatural manifestation is unfolding, making the viewer feel part of a shared experience of grace. Neither the religious nor the theoretical writings on art that appeared in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries explored the potential impact on the viewer of a real body acting in real space. However, the concept of transformation, the notion that a statue can actually become an active body or a spiritual presence, was commonplace in seventeenth-century letters. The popularity of the idea that three-dimensional imagery is only a spark away from life is a consequence of the ability of sculpture to create affective experience.

III. TRANSFORMATIONS

The transformation of stone into flesh is the supernatural realization of the natural physical affinities between sculpted and human bodies. Here, imaginative response and illusion are replaced by reality, and a simulated interpersonal encounter becomes an actual one. Statues that actually become alive, as opposed to exhibitions of human behavior by miraculous cult images or the perception of vital characteristics by sympathetic viewers, are an ancient and recurring motif in the western tradition, beginning with the Biblical and Greco-Roman creation stories.[186] The image

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186 The Book of Genesis is typical for its formation of Adam from the materials of the earth Genesis 2, 7. For similar creation myths among the Sumerians, Egyptians, and Babylonians, see Samuel Henry Hooke, *Middle Eastern Mythology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981), 29, 73, 111. Oceanic myths of Borneo, Sumatra, New Zealand, parts of Australia and other areas of the South Pacific also describe the creation of man from a statue. See

of God as a divine sculptor who creates man by bestowing vitality on an inert simulacrum is paradigmatic of a relationship in which life forms the dividing line between art and reality. In fact, the longstanding relationship between three-dimensional imagery and human beings may be succinctly summarized as a spark away from life, meaning that it is only some sort of enlivening animating spirit that separates sculpted and real people. These stories need not be taken as literally true to indicate how sculpture was conceptualized in human terms. If language structures thought and orders the experience of the phenomenal world, writing about these figures as living is tantamount to thinking of them in the same way.

Statues alone among the fine arts possess bodies, and therefore align uniquely well with the basic structure of Christian dualism, which conceives of humanity as an inert material form infused with a soul. From this perspective, there is no meaningful ontological difference between a sculpture and a corpse, as indicated by analogies made in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the preeminent source of transformations between stone and flesh in the western tradition.[187] The story of

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G. H. Luquet, "Oceanic Mythology," in *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, trans. Richard Aldington and Delano Ames (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1959), 468-9. As early as Hesiod (eighth century BCE), Greek myth describes humanity originating from an animated clay figure, be it Hephaistos' facture of Pandora or the man molded by Prometheus and vivified by Athena. See Hesiod, "Works and Days," in *Hesiod and Theognis*, trans. Dorothea Wender (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1973), 61. Other accounts of the Prometheus myth were available in authors such as Sappho, Aesop, Pausanias, Ovid, Plato, and Apollodorus. See Sappho and Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric I*, trans. David A. Campbell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann, 1982), 190; Aesop, *Aesop's Fables*, Vol. 1, trans. Laura Gibbs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 411; Apollodorus, *The Library*, Vol. 1, trans. Sir James George Frazer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1921), 52; Pausanias, *Guide to Greece,* Vol. 1, trans. Peter Levi (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1979), 411; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), 31; Plato, "Protagoras," trans. W. K. C. Guthrie, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 320c-322a. For more on the popularity of the Prometheus myth in the Roman and Hellenistic worlds, see Olga Raggio, "The Myth of Prometheus: Its Survival and Metamorphoses up to the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, 12 (1958): 46.

187 John Heath, "The Stupor of Orpheus: Ovid's "Metamorphoses" 10.64-71," *The Classical Journal* 91, 4 (1996): 356. These do not include the 200 petrified assailants of Perseus (5.208-9). For the importance of stone in the Metamorphoses, see Douglas F. Bauer, "The Function of Pygmalion in the Metamorphoses of Ovid," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962): 3-9. The frequency and variety of its usage makes transmutation into stone the dominant image in the poem. There are far to many examples of fabulous transformations into statues to attempt to enumerate here. For example, see P. M. C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis*

Pygmalion, the most popular account of a statue coming to life in European history, is described with similar language to the resurrection of a corpse in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius.[188] The petrified victims of Medusa are referenced in terms associated with marble statuary, such as Thescelus, who becomes "*signum de marmore*" (*Metamorphoses* 5.183), or Eryx who turns into an "*imago*" (5.199).[189] Transformed animals are called "*simulacra*" (4.780), the same word used for Pygmalion's statue (10.280). Ovid creates a semantic field involving living, dead, stone, and insatiate figures, where both a sculpted image and a corpse are conceptualized as human forms lacking the spark of life. Vasari underscored this affinity between non-living bodies when he described the divine enlivening of the statue with the language used for the creation of Adam in the book of Genesis.[190] The figurative ambiguity between death and sculpture has been described as perhaps the most popular of all artistic paradoxes in the seventeenth century.[191]

The premise that it is the spark of life that differentiates sculpture from human bodies is complimentary with the theoretical definition of the medium assumed by writers such as Bellori. Prior to the miraculous transformation, Pygmalion's statue is a static simulacrum, capable of stimulating feelings of desire with its alluring beauty in the manner of the *Knidian Venus*, but not

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in Greek Myths (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 288; Edward Thomas, "The Making of the Worlds," in *The Faber Book of Northern Legends*, ed. Kevin Crossley-Holland (London: Faber & Faber, 1977), 33.

188 Henry W. Prescott, "Apuleius Metamorphoses II. 29," *Classical Philology* 6, 1 (1911): 90. The phrase in question is "s*alebris vena pulsari*."

189 Sylvia Huot, "The Medusa Interpolation in the *Romance of the Rose*: Mythographic Program and Ovidian Intertext," *Speculum* 62, 4 (1987): 870-1.

190 Paul Barolsky, "The Spirit of Pygmalion," *Artibus et Historiae* 24, 48 (2003): 184. Vasari reformulates Pygmalion with the language of divine creation, writing that the sculptor prayed his statue be granted the breath of life, *fiato e spirito*. In the Vulgate, the breath of life is described in the language of "spirit": "*et inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae*" (Genesis 2:7). Both "*inspiravit*" and "*spiraculum*" are related to *spiritus*, the root of Vasari's *spirito*. With this word (nowhere present in Ovid's account), Vasari transforms the fable into Biblical allegory.

191 Elizabeth Cropper, "The Petrifying Art: Marino's Poetry and Caravaggio," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 26 (1991): 200.

actually doing anything. After the miracle, she becomes temporal; a living agent, able to love, marry, and do the sundry tasks involved with living happily ever after. Crossing the barrier between statue and life can be thought of as crossing from essence into narrative. Sculpture stands still, but real people move and act. This distinction is challenged when sculptors attempt to simulate living behavior, or the human side of the transformation, in stone. Bernini's work for Scipione Borghese, and the semblance of miracle in the *St. Bibiana*, are good examples of illusory metamorphoses, where the artist attempts to imitate a condition that is supposedly antithetical to the art. Many sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources actually did reference famous accounts of statuary coming to life as archetypes for sculptural creation. Vasari described to the creation of Adam as the work of a *dues artifex*, and the "*vero esemplare*" for all artists.[192] Borboni closely follows this idea over a century later, writing that God's creation of Adam from mud made him the first life-giving sculptor, with all those who attempt to give life to their images following in his footsteps.[193] The poet Pier Francesco Paoli used the same language when he wrote on Bernini's Bust of Urban VIII: "you enliven the marble, and God gave life to mud."[194]

Pierleone Casella conflated sculpture, Ovidian transformation, and religious creation in his *Elogia Illustrium Artificum* (1606), an eclectic canon of artists accompanied by brief "eulogies."[195] Bandinelli was praised thusly: "*To show the forces of the mind in marble is to give life*." Andrea

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[192] Barolsky, "The Spirit of Pygmalion," 184. Cellini took God's creation of Adam as evidence for the inherent truth of sculpture as divine activity against the deceptions of painting. See Michael Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of the Medium," *Art Bulletin* 84, 4 (2002): 623. This argument recurred in remarks by Bernini to the Venetian ambassador on the truth-value of sculpture as opposed to the deception of painting. See Paul Frèart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du cavalier Bernin en France* (1665), ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1885), 204-5.

[193] Borboni, 9-10.

[194] '*Tù'l marmo avvivi, e Dio fè vivo il fango.*' Cited in van Gastel, 28.

195 Ernst H. Gombrich, "An Early Seventeenth-Century Canon of Artistic Excellence: Pierleone Casella's Elogia Illustrium Artificum of 1606," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 226.

Sansovino was lauded for his ability "*To bring out many great things from one small thing is done by man through nature and grace. To achieve this in stone is a living miracle of your hand and your breath*."[196] The hand is a straightforward acknowledgement of artistry, but the reference to breath recalls the vivifying infusion of spirit in scriptural accounts of creation. Giambologna was deemed "*A new Deucalion; but one who may ... give life and movement to the products of this industry*." Deucalion is a reference to the mythological couple that repopulated the world by throwing stones over their shoulders, which then turned into people. In Ovid, the transformation is brought about by divine agency, as it was in Pygmalion, but Casella transferred this power to the mortal sculptor. This implied that sculptural creation had a supernatural aspect, which brought it closer to speculations on the magical animation of statues in the Renaissance occultism of Marsilio Ficino, and Cornelius Agrippa.[197] The Florentine Academy had discussed the infusion of spirits into statues in these terms, and likened the sculptor to a kind of magus, who by shaping natural materials exerted power over nature.[198]

Although occult speculation lost much of its philosophical luster by the seventeenth-

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196 ibid., 229-30 for the eulogies to Sansovino, Bandinelli and Giambologna.

197 Ficino and Agrippa were very familiar with late antique occult sources, including the highly influential Hermes Trismegistus. These held that statues could be animated by human agency through Neoplatonic potentials of form and ritual magic. See *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in New English Translation*, trans. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 81. The theurgy of Iamblichus (c. 245-c. 325), a blend of philosophical and occult sources including Plotinus' Neoplatonism, Pythagorean number theory and Egyptian mimetic ritual, likewise included the magical animation and empowerment of statues. For an overview of Iamblicus' theurgy, see Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania University Press, 1995), 21-4. For the role of theurgy in the syncretic Renaissance occultism of Pico della Mirandola, see E.J. Langford Garstin, *Theurgy or The Hermetic Practice: A Treatise on Spiritual Alchemy* (Berwick: Ibis Press, 2004), v. Ficino translated the *Corpus* in Medici Florence, and Agrippa addressed this subject in *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* Chapter II, 50 (on the use of celestial images). See Wouter J. Hanegraaf, "Sympathy or the Devil: Renaissance Magic and the Ambivalence of Idols," *Esoterica* 2 (2000): 2-6; 8-9.

198 Mendelsohn, 24. Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* holds that certain statues have the power of prophecy, but that this derives from mathematics, not demonic magic. Varchi's notion of magic followed Aristotle, in that the carver is the formal and efficient cause of the art, but the actual power is in the material itself. The magic of the image transpires when the affective action of the maker imparts meaningful form to the substance.

century, a linkage remained between sculpture and supernatural force. According to his biographers, Bernini was believed to be suffused with extraordinary spirits (*spiriti*) that enlivened his works, and that the spectacular *vivacità* of his early sculpture even fueled rumors that he could magically animate the dead.[199] In his poem of 1643, Aurelio Mancini credited his chisel with an enlivening power that leaves the spectator stunned: "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."[200] Paolo Giordano Orsini referred to him as the "animator of marbles."[201] Chantelou's claim that the persona of Louis XIV settled within Bernini and found full expression when the sculptor transferred vital spirits into the bust aligns with Borboni's belief that that the ingenuity of the artist invested the simulacrum with some aspect of its subject.[202] An allusive remark made by Pierre Puget in 1683 speaks to this nearly magical ability: "*Je me suis nourri aux grandes ouvrages, je nage quand j'y travaille; et le marbre tremble devant moi*" (I nourish myself with great works. I swim when I work and the marble trembles before me).[203] Nourishment implies that his art fulfilled some essential need, making it an integral part of his nature. Swimming is a rich metaphor for sculpting, connoting total immersion in the task, as well as the ability to transform stone into a more fluid material. Trembling is consistent

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199 Frank Fehrenbach, "Bernini's Light," *Art History* 28, 1 (2005): 1-3. Domenico Bernini records that in the immediate aftermath of the election of Urban VIII, a rumor had spread that Maffeo Barberini had died, and that when the new pontiff appeared on the Benediction Loggia with Bernini, people believed the artist had revived corpse through his art. See Domenico Bernini, *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini: A Translation and Critical Edition*, trans. and ed. Franco Mormando (University Park: Penn State Press, 2012), 33-6.

200 "*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.*" Cited in van Gastel, 23.

201 Cited in van Gastel, 26.

202 Fehrenbach, 9; Borboni, 141.

203 Cited in Martin, *Baroque*, 49.

with the notion that the sculptor brings his statues to life, but it is an aggressive choice of verb, with associations of fear or intimidation. By characterizing his essential, transforming, enlivening art as a potentially violent imposition of will, Puget revealed the sheer force of this superhuman creativity.

In other instances, miraculous artistry was described in more religious terms, with the enlivening spirit provided by God, rather than occult power. Borboni began his *della Statua* with a fable told by Albertus Magnus, in which the prayers of a devout artist bring his work to life.[204] This recalled Cellini's account of the casting of his *Perseus*, where the statue is enlivened by the artist's invocation of Christ's name.[205] Divine intervention could take other forms. According to one legend, S. Bibiana guided Bernini's hands while he carved her image, essentially creating herself in stone. These cases differ from the transformational powers described above, because the artist is a conduit for, rather than a source of, the infusion of life, but they offer similar insight into the reception of statuary in the seventeenth century. If the sculptor is a creator of life, then he can represent both sides of the stone to flesh transformation with static essences or mimetic action.

Sculpture can come to life rhetorically as well as supernaturally, and the attribution of living characteristics to sculpted bodies in various forms was very common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Poets used transformations between flesh and stone in the classical tradition, including Ovid's immensely popular *Metamorphoses*, as hyperbolic praise for a statue so lifelike that it seems alive, or an artwork so overwhelming that its viewer seems turned to stone.[206]

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[204] Borboni, 8.

[205] Cole, 631.

206 Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (London, Phaidon Press 1961), 93. For the Humanist interest in Ovid in the 1500's that led to the reappearance of the original *Metamorphosis*, and its gradual supplanting of Medieval adaptations, see Raymond Huntington Coon, "The Vogue of Ovid since the Renaissance," *The Classical Journal* 25, 4 (1930): 281-3. For the complex and profound ways in which Ovid influences the thought of the Renaissance, see Paul Barolsky, "As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, 2 (1998). The notion of *stupeo*, with

Prosopopoeia, or the imparting of words to an inanimate object, was a common way of enlivening sculpture, with the spark of vitality provided by the versifier's pen.[207] In Renaissance Florence, works such as Anton Francesco Doni's *I Marmi* imagined statues speaking as testimony to their convincing realism, and used allusions to Medusa to express their ability to leave the viewer in a petrified stupor.[208] Emanuele Tesauro connected the power of poetic invention, or *argutezza*, with his notion of an *arte parlante*: "*per miracolo di lei (argutezza) le cose mutole parlano, le insensate vivono le morte risorgono: le Tombe, i Marmi, le Statue, da questa incantatrice degli animi ricevendo voce, spirito, e movimento con gli uomini ingegnosi, ingegnosamente discorrono*" (By the miracle if it (*argutezza*) the mute talk, the senseless live, the dead resurrect: tombs, marbles, statues, they receive voice, spirit, and movement from this enchantress of souls and with ingenious men, ingeniously converse).[209] A self-indulgent little poem written by Antonio Bernal in praise of Innocent X and the Four Rivers Fountain captured this sentiment by equating the power of poets and artists to bring sculpture to life: "*voi Bernini, e Bernal cantino e carmi / Poiche l'un col scalpel, l'altro con penna / Donate, e vita, e senso a i fiumi, a i marmi*" (you Bernini, and Bernal little songs and poems / because one with a chisel, the other with a pen / gives life and sense to the rivers

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attendant ideas of paralysis, shock, amazement, silence and petrifaction in the face overwhelming artistry, became a powerful critical device in the hands of early modern writers. See Heath, 362.

207 Giovan Francesco Caracciolo, a Neapolitan poet and humanist, who responded to Mazzoni's work with a sonnet, writing: "to become alive, they need only motion and words." See Jan Chilbec, "A Description of Guido Mazzoni's Lamentation in Venice by a Bohemian Traveller in 1493," *Burlington* 144, 1186 (2002): 20. As Jan van Gastel writes "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." See van Gastel, 24.

208 Anton Francesco Doni, *I Marmi*, Vol. 2, ed. Ezio Chiòboli (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1928), 9-10; 20-1. This includes a a dialogue with Donatello's *St. George*, and a discussion whether Michelangelo's *Aurora* actually has spirit. In his "Life of Donatello," Vasari tells of the sculptor's cry to the *Zuccone* to ""Speak, speak or may dysentry seize you"," the sculptor's own recognition of the figure's convincing realism. The anecdote reflects the old trope that only lack of breath distinguishes the stone figure form the living as well as referencing Hab. 3: 18-9. See Bonnie A. Bennett and David G. Wilkins. *Donatello* (Mt. Kisco, NY.: Moyer Bell Ltd., 1984), 206.

209 Cited in Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *La festa barocca* (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 1997), 128.

and the marbles).[210]

The tradition of *statue parlante* known as the Pasquinades provided a different context for the poetic attribution of words to "talking statues." The *Pasquino,* an ancient mutilated antique marble now at the base of the Palazzo Braschi, and certain other ancient statues on public view, became sites for the posting of anonymous verses of a critical or subversive nature.[211] Located outside the direct control of the powerful agents who staked their claims to the *piazze* of Rome, *Pasquino* is an unusually good example of the humanization of a sculpted figure by the general public. The work is a ruin; no one credits it with the illusion of life, yet it possesses qualities that lend themselves to assuming a potential voice.[212] It is recognizable as a human figure, but lacks the clearly identifiable subject typical of most public imagery, leaving it free to be appropriated however an anonymous poster sees fit. The conceit that it speaks is not a consequence of sculptural illusionism, but of the raw presence of material object in human form for whom the ability to talk is at least imaginative plausible. This presence was sufficiently powerful to lead to the dressing of the statue like a cult image during public celebrations.[213]

The use of the living statue as a poetic hyperbole for artistic excellence, rather than a supernatural event, is a tradition with antique roots. The ancient Roman poet Martial wrote in response to a statue of Domitian's niece Julia in the guise of Venus that the "the white *lygdus*

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210 Antonio Bernal, *Copiosissimo discorso della fontana e guglia erette in Piazza Nuova, per ordine della Santità si Nostro Signore Innocentio X dal Signor Cavalier Bernini* (Rome: Herede de Grignani, 1651), 15.

211 "Official" Pasquinades existed and were printed up as manuscripts. See Valerio Marucci, Antonio Marzo and Angelo Romano, ed., *Pasquinate Romane del Cinquecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1983), lx. For the socio-political implications of the tradition in the early seventeenth century, see Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 245-48.

212 Altough Chantelou records Bernini's esteem for the quality of the *Pasquino*; according to the artist, it and the *Belvedere Torso,* are the best works in Rome, but because of their mutilated condition, only the connoisseur sees their real beauty. See Chantelou, 26.

213 Barkan, 217.

[marble] matches [answers] with a speaking likeness, and living beauty shines in your face."[214]

Centuries later C. de la Chambre commented in the *Journal des Sçavans* of 1681 that Bernini "rejects the durability of the marble, softens it with the chisel, and gives lightness and transparence like flesh to our eyes."[215] Martial and de la Chambre bookend a tradition of canonical ekphrases that describe a statue is so well wrought that it seems alive, while acknowledging the reality that it is a representation. Similar examples abound across the centuries. In the tenth *canto* of the *Purgatory* (1308-21), Dante claims that he could almost hear the word "*Ave*" escape the lips of the angel of the *Annunciation* and smell the depicted smoke in a set of divinely made carvings.[216] The fifteenth-century Paduan poet and humanist Ciriaco d'Ancona's sonnet "Nivea Paros" (1449) praised Parian marble as the vehicle to create objects that seem real.[217] Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (first published in 1499) describes the reliefs on the base of a statue of a winged horse as so realistic that the figures appear to move.[218] Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (published in full in 1532) mentions figures on a bronze door that seem to breathe and look around, while in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), Armida's palace gate has cavings that seem to

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214 Martial, *Epigrams*, 1:119. Cited in Stephen G. Nichols, "Pictures of Poetry in Marot's *Épigrammes*," in *Revenge of the Aesthetic: The Place of Literature in Theory Today*, ed. Michael P. Clark (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 95.

215 "Éloge de M. le cavalier Bernin par M. l'abbé de la Chambre de l'Académie Française," *Journal des Sçavans* 1681, p, 26, cited in Marion Boudon, "L'antithese Bernin – Du Quesnoy dans la litterature artistique française," in *La Bernin et l'Europe: du Baroque triomphant à l'âge romantique,* ed. Chantel Guell and Milovan Stanic (Paris: Presses de l'Universitè de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 341.

216 Dante Alighieri, *Purgatory*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum, (New York and Toronto: Bantam Books, 1984), 87-91 (canto 10, 28-96).

217 Mary Bergstein, "Donatello's "Gattamelata" and Its Humanist Audience," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, 3 (2002): 850-1. The poem, was based upon Humanist Cristoforo Buondelmonti's elegiac descriptions of the marbles of Paros.

218 Cited in Land, *The Viewer as Poet*, 67.

speak.[219] In all of these cases, sculpture calls to mind living, active beings, but does not actually come to life.

The story of Pygmalion offered a template for a different kind of transformation, one where the stone figure actually did become a living person. Several versions of the story existed in antiquity, but Ovid's became the standard, and its impact on subsequent writing on sculpture was profound.[220] The tale of a man falling in love with his statue, and its enlivening by a sympathetic Venus, articulates the conception that the only difference between the three-dimensional image and real life is the spark of life. Pygmalion's work is sufficiently suggestive of a human woman to inspire intense interpersonal attraction, yet for all its artistry, remains inert stone without divine intervention. It acknowledges the tremendous affective response that sculpture can inspire, while recognizing that more than human power is needed to actually cross the boundary between representation and reality. In other words, statues are bodies, but really only come to life in stories. However, Ovid's story provided a readymade poetic hyperbole for the praise of lifelike sculpture.[221] Conversely, the power of Medusa to turn flesh into stone become a *topos* of laudatory rhetoric that inverted Pygmalion's transformation, and described how an encounter with a statue of extraordinary beauty stupefies the viewer so that he or she resembles a marble figure. Ovidian allusions may not be literal, like accounts of magic and miracle, but they indicate a fluid pattern

219 Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. Guido Waldman (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 505 (canto 42, 74); Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, trans. Edward Fairfax (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), 400 (book xvi, 2-7).

220 Ovid, 114-5. Meyer Reinhold notes that the story of Pygmalion as known today is essentially the creation of Ovid. See "The Naming of Pygmalion's Animated Statue," *The Classical Journal* 66, 4 (1971): 317. For the history of the myth, see Helen H. Law, "The Name Galatea in the Pygmalion Myth," *The Classical Journal* 22, 5 (1932): 337-41.

221 Kai Mikkonen, "Theories of Metamorphosis: From Metatrope to Textual Revision," *Style* 30, 2 (1996): 309. Troped literary reference provided a metaphorical vocabulary for reflections on the nature of sculpture and viewership. This conclusion arises in the very different readings of Jane Miller, Roman Jakobson, and Paul de Man.

of response based in poetic ingenuity and the authority of ancient sources.[222]

By the sixteenth century, poetic response to artworks had become an established genre in which authorial ingenuity, rather than artistic prowess, provided the spark that brought stone to life. Both the Medusa and Pygmalion *topoi*, with their attendant overtones of stupor and erotic attraction, become formalized expressions of sculpture's effect. Anton Francesco Doni's response to the *Aurora* of Michelangelo in his *I Marmi* (pub. 1552, reprinted 1609) employs both devices to refer to the lifelike beauty of the statue and its entrancing power over him: "I touch her in stone and she moves my flesh… I am marble and she is flesh."[223] Doni's transference typifies the shifts and juxtapositions of Renaissance poetic wit, but its effectiveness is predicated on the similarity between a statue and a human body that makes this reciprocal transformation conceivable. Virtuous feelings could also be embodied. Gian Battista Strozzi praised a copy of Michelangelo's St. Peter's *Pietà* in S. Spirito in 1549 as "*Bellezza et onestate / E doglia e pietà in vivo marmo morte*" (Beauty and chastity and sorrow and pity in living marble death), a witty oxymoron that acknowledged the living qualities most strongly associated with the sorrowful Virgin in the inanimate stone.224 The interplay of stone and flesh is prominent in Giambattista Marino's *Galeria* (1620), a collection of highly metaphorical ekphrastic responses to artworks.[225] His poems explored the overlapping relationships between sculpture, death, and life, and his enormous

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222 Barkan, 227.

223 Cited in Andrea Bolland, "Desiderio and Diletto: Vision, Touch and the Poetics of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*," *Art Bulletin* 82, 2 (2000): 319.

224 The poem is cited in Anthony Hughes, "Authority, Authenticity and Aura: Walter Benjamin and the Case of Michelangelo," in *Sculpture and its Reproductions*, ed. Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranfft (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 33. Nanni di Baccio Bigio, a close friend of Michelangelo, carved the statue for the banker Luigi del Riccio.

225 Victor I. Stoichità, "Beautiful Helen and Her Double in the "Galeria" by Cavalier Marino," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (Autumn, 2004): 123. He discusses Marino's interplay between the real and sculpted Helen of Troy.

influence has been connected to the interest in tender *putti* shown by Poussin and Duquesnoy, which still resonated in the writings of Bellori and Passeri.[226] His treatment of statues of sleeping Cupids played on the inability of the viewer to tell if they are actually alive, as in this example: *Qual tu ti sia, che l'miri, temi non viva e spiri? Stendi securo il passo: toccal pur, scherzai teco, egli è di sasso*. (Whoever you are, who gaze on him; do you fear lest he live and breathe? Lengthen your pace safely: touch him even - I was teasing you - he is of stone).[227]

Sculpture was a relatively infrequent subject of poetic response in the early years of the seventeenth century compared to the paintings of Caravaggio or the Carracci, but the generation that of Bernini, Mochi, Algardi, and Duquesnoy fired poetic imaginations.[228] Ludovico Leporeo's ekphrases on Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* (1622-25, Villa Borghese, Rome) and *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius* (1618-19, Villa Borghese, Rome), which appeared in his volume dedicated to works in the Villa Borghese of 1628, is typical for its emphasis on the semblance of life:

> "*Mira qui del Bernini espressi al vivo / Apolline seguir Dafne fugàce. / Già la soppraggiunge il biondo Divo, / Troppo credulo amante, e troppo audace; / Poiché con chiome sparse e palme aperte, ' La fuggitiva in Lauro si converte*"[229]

> (See that which Bernini expressed as alive / Apollo follows the fleeing Daphne / Already supervenes the blonde god / too credulous a lover and too audacious / Because with scattered hair and palms apart, the fugitive converts into Laural)

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[226] Cropper, "The Petrifying Art: Marino's Poetry and Caravaggio," 199; Colantuono, 230.

[227] Cited in Cropper, "The Petrifying Art: Marino's Poetry and Caravaggio," 200.

[228] Oreste Ferrari, "Poeti e scultori nella Roma seicentesca: i difficili rapporti tra due culture," *Storia dell'Arte* 90 (1997): 152. Also of note is the composition of Marino's *La Galleria*, where only 57 of over 600 pieces dedicated to sculpture, and few of these are modern. One of these is the *Moses* of Prospero Antichi in the Acqua Felice. The eulogy on Donatello in Casella's *Elogia Illustrium Artificum* does contains an elliptical play on the Pygmalion motif: "The art of sculpture having been made pregnant by the progeny of its pioneer burns with desire and kisses the image." Cited in Gombrich, "An Early Seventeenth-Century Canon," 229.

[229] Cited in Ferrari, "Poeti e scultori," 152.

By describing the statues in terms of movement, transience and action, Leporeo recognized the narrative progression in the composition (fig. 15). The reference to Apollo's hair as *biondo,* a living hue, rather than the *bianco* of marble, enhanced this sense of vivacity. It is clear that in poetic, unlike theoretical, discourse, there was no prohibition against mimetic narratives in stone.[230]

The striking contrast between Passeri's condemnation of movement in Mochi's *St. Veronica* and Leporeo's reception of the *Apollo and Daphne* crystalizes the difference between theoretical and poetic patterns of reception. Outside of art theory, the *St. Veronica* was generally well received, Mochi's prickly exchange with Bernini over its inappropriately wind-blown drapery notwithstanding.[231] However, even this dispute is reflected a very different attitude towards sculptural animation than Passeri's rejection of motion. According to Bernini, the illusion of sweeping movement is only a shortcoming because the statue is indoors, where there are no sudden gusts to create such an effect. The *St. Veronica* is criticized for appearing incongruous with the conditions of its actual environment, or, in other words, not appearing sufficiently like a real person, an ironic slight from an artist famed for suggesting spiritual or psychic states with unnatural drapery effects.[232] Mochi's figure is rhetorically effective in the same manner as the sense of dramatic, onrushing anguish in the *Lamentation* by Niccolò dell'Arca (c. 1463, Santa Maria della

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230 ibid., 153. He cites Lelio Guidiccioni funerary elegy to Stefano Speranza, perhaps best known for the relief on the Tomb of Countess Matilda. He describes the sculptor thusly: "*Stefano, ch'animar candide pietre.*"

[231] Franco Mormando, *Bernini: His Life and His Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 88.

232 Mochi may have curtailed some of the vigor and violence of the St. Veronica; his bronze version of the work is equally emotionally intense and less retrained in its motion than the marble. See Jennifer Montagu, "A Model by Francesco Mochi for the *St. Veronica*," *Burlington* 124, 952 (1982): 436.

Vita, Bologna), or the violent emotionalism and *gravitas* of the antique Niobid group.[233] The use

of the *Niobids* as prototypes recalls a widely imitated epigram from *Greek Anthology* that praised

Praxitiles for reversing what the gods did to Niobe; where they turned her to stone, through the

power of his art, he turned stone to life.[234] This characterizes the freshness, vivacity and urgent

motion of the *St. Veronica* as a transformation of from inanimate stone into a living active being.

The group of statues carved by Bernini between 1619 and 1624 for Scipione Borghese were

revolutionary for illusory transformations, suggestions of movement, and powerful dramatic

expressions that dazzled contemporary viewers.[235] The subject of Leporeo's ekphrasis, the *Apollo*

and Daphne, was tour de force of sculptural metamorphosis that realized the supernatural climax

of Ovid's tale with unprecedented naturalism. The young Bernini adapted Giambologna's restless

Mannerist movement into a progressive series of views that allowed the narrative to unfold in real

time.[236] Impelling the viewer to move compensated for the static nature of stone, and incorporated

an element of actual temporality into the reception of the work. Transformation was not only the

replication of hair, bark, or some other substance, but the impression of life in its plenitude,

including spirit and motion. As the poet Antonio Bruni, an associate of Scipione Borghese's court,

wrote: "Praise the beautiful Daphne, sculpted so alive by he who gives also to marble, both sense

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233 Rudolf Preimesberger, "Skulpturale Mimesis: Mochis H. Veronika," *Kunstlerischer Austausch Artistic Exchange* 28, 2 (1992): 478-79. The emotionalism and drama of the *St. Veronica* is likened to Guido Reni's *Massacre of the Innocents*.

234 Cited in John Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 114. Widely imitated in the Renaissance, this epigram was twice cited by Raphael's friend the poet Celio Calcagnini.

235 Mormando, *Bernini: His Life and His Rome*, 42.

236 Joy Kenseth, "Bernini's Borghese Sculptures: Another View," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 201. She refers to a kinetic view or "multi-faciality" in which the sum of the meaning unfolds as the viewer encounters the statue in time. For movement in Giambologna, see Mary Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 149.

and life."[237] These figures were no static simulacra, projecting virtues to passers-by, but imaginary

actors, capable of poetic mimesis, with a physical presence that demanded interaction.

The *Pluto and Persephone* (1621-22, Villa Borghese, Rome) was another Borghese

commission that used different viewpoints to create the semblance of dramatic movement in

time.[238] While this work does not depict a magical transformation, it is Bernini's "Ovidian"

sculpture that most strongly intimates the Pygmalion myth (fig. 16).[239] The famous representation

of the hand of the god sinking into his struggling captive recalls the poet's description of the artist's

fingers pressing into the now-soft flesh of his statue and feeling the pulse in her veins.[240] Ovid

likens the softening of the statue to melting wax, a simile that prefigures Bernini's oft-quoted claim

to be able to "render marble flexible, so to speak," in contrast to artists who "lacked the courage

to make the stone as obedient to the hand as if it were so much dough or wax."[241] The sculptor's

description of his own practice is extremely close to the poetic language of transformation of

Tommaso Stigliani, who wrote: "under the blows of your chisel, I see the ambitious marble grow

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[237] "*Loda la bella Dafne | così al vivo scolpita | da chi porge anco à' marmi e senso, e vita.*" Cited in van Gastel, 186-87. The poem, "Per una statua di Dafne, ch'è nella Villa dell'Eminentiss. Sig. Cardinal Borghese," was published in 1633.

[238] Kenseth, 202. The directions of the gazes and the configuration of the composition structure a viewing process represents the abduction and struggle unfolding over time.

239 Paul Barolsky, "As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art," 472. He describes the violent abduction as conforming to Ovid's account, but notes a "deeper Ovidian character" in the astonishing illusion of the hand sinking into marble seemingly transformed into flesh.

240 Paul Barolsky, "The Spirit of Pygmalion," 183. Rudolf Preimesberger has likened the Pluto and Persephone to another antique account of fleshy illusionism: Pliny's description of a group of interlaced figures at Pergamon carved by Kephisodotos, son of Praxitiles. Rudolf Preimesberger, "Zu Berninis Borghese-Skulpturen," in Antikenrezeption im Hochbarock, ed. Herbert Beck and Sabine Schulze (Berlin: Gebr. Mann. Verlag, 1989), 121.

241 Cited in John Rupert Martin, *Baroque* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 48. Bernini sought to solve the innate conflict between marble and nature by denying the nature of the stone. See Robert Petersson, *Bernini and the Excesses of Art* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 89.

soft...' The marble grows soft [*molle*] under those hands, soft as living flesh.[242]

The frequent conceptualization of statues as living speaks to a certain expectation for viewership. Beholders were not expected to actually mistake a stony figure for flesh and blood, as only poetic imagination or supernatural intervention could effect such a transformation, but to respond emotionally to them in ways suggestive of real people. This is similar to Dolce's imaginative response, except rather than choosing whether to appreciate the image as a work of art or react to it as if it were its subject, both outcomes coexist. Sforza Pallavicino, the Jesuit polymath and friend of Bernini, articulated this aspect of sculptural representation in a theory of reception that appeared in his *Del Bene* of 1644. He describes a *prima apprensione*, or initial impression, of something seen that precedes reasoned judgment, and calls up memories of real objects and experiences. This brings about an emotional response associated with the subject of the work, without mistaking it for reality. From this perspective, the tendency to respond to statues as if they were alive indicates that three-dimensional imagery evokes feelings associated with actual people. In short, the image is not life, but an appeal to lived experience.[243] In Franciscus Junius' terms, the imagination of the viewer is stimulated by illusory representation to see, in the mind's eye, "things in themselves and not their resemblance only."[244]

Pallavicino's abiding interest in the processes of artistic creation, and his membership in the erudite circle around Pope Urban VIII, assured that he was well acquainted with poetic responses to imagery. His emphasis on the personal memory and feeling of the viewer/listener linked artistic value to subjective response, rather than theoretical standards; a shift towards

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[242] '*Veggio io sott'al colpir del tuo scalpello | L'ambizioso marmo intenerirsi...*' Cited in van Gastel, 26.

[243] This interpretation of the *prima apprensione* follows van Gastel, 3-4.

[244] Norman E. Land, "Ekphrasis and Imagination: Some Observations on Pietro Aretino's Art Criticism," *Art Bulletin* 68, 2 (1986): 210.

affective judgment that does correlate with the frequent appearance of moving transformation as praise for statuary in the *seicento*. However the beholder only comprises half of the reception relationship, and while literary accounts of living sculpture flourished, sculptors produced works that strove for illusionism, emotionalism, and direct engagement with their surroundings. It was noted earlier that poetic response to sculpture became more prevalent in the second quarter of the century, with the generation that included Bernini and Algardi. Although it cannot be proven that this dynamic and interactive statuary inspired the poets, it is unlikely to be a coincidence that both developments occurred at the same time. While it is true that people have always reacted to three-dimensional imagery in ways commensurate with living subjects, never before in the post-classical world had stone carvers made such efforts to create figures that lend themselves to be seen as alive, as if striving to maximize the force of the *prima apprensione.* The illusion of transformation became a goal of the artists themselves.

When Pallavicino used the *prima apprensione* to account for the extreme affective responses to the ancient orator Quintilian, he highlighted its utility for rhetorical purposes. From a functional perspective, such as devotional inspiration or commemorative behavior modification, the ability to engender actual human affective response is of singular value.[245] This brought poetic and religious response together at a time when the Church was placing an increased emphasis on emotionally charged visual culture.[246] Religious sources did not disregard the ability of art to convey information to the rational mind, as the emphasis on accuracy and clarity in the decrees of the Council of Trent demonstrated, but recognized that visual communication had a

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[245] Sforza Pallavicino, "Del Bene," in *Opere del cardinale Sforza Pallavicino*, Vol. 2 (Milan: Nicolò Bettoni, 1834), 528.

[246] Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the ancien régieme* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 270-76.

heightened affective dimension.[247] While it is true that these texts tended not to differentiate between image types, Pallavicino indicates that a figure able to trigger a visceral interpersonal response is uniquely able to make an emotional impression and seem naturally imitable. This is born out by instances where religious sentiment enlivened sculpture, such as Bernini's claim that St. Bibiana imbued his statue with her spirit, and Borboni's fable of the artist whose prayers animated his work, mentioned earlier. One seventeenth-century epigram directly connects devotion with the apparent transformation of stone to flesh in overtly poetic terms. Addressing the viewer of Antonio Raggi's marble relief for the Ginetti chapel in the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, poet Giovanni Michele Silos wrote: "Whoever you are, here so ardently fallen to your knees before these marble figures, the sculpted marble will grow soft under your prayers."[248] Here it is not a poet or sculptor that brings about the metamorphosis, but a pious reception.

Rhetorical exemplarity and the semblance of sculptural life came together in the development of the "speaking portrait," or extremely lifelike bust, in the seventeenth century.[249] The truncated form of the bust always presented a challenge to figural realism, but efforts to enhance the illusion of life are apparent by the late sixteenth century.[250] This foreshadowed the innovations of Bernini and his contemporaries that ignored the fragmented state and emphasized the semblance of real, psychological life, including studying the sitter while he spoke and moved

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[247] Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona claimed that imagery can induce virtuous behavior by impressing themselves on the *affetti*, or feelings, and motivating the imitation of role models. See Ottonelli and Cortona, 53.

[248] "*Quisquis es, hic alacer procumbe ad saxea signa: | Molle tuis votis scul- pti le marmor erit.*" Cited in van Gastel, 35.

[249] The portrait bust had connotations of memory and exemplarity rooted in ancient usage, and had been called the most notable Roman contribution to sculptural form. See Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *A World History of Art* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 200.

[250] Irving Lavin, "On the Sources and Meaning of the Renaissance Portrait Bust," *Art Quarterly* 28, 3 (1970): 208-9.

naturally.[251] In portraiture, as in other forms of sculpture, the representation of human action became a priority. The reception of these in terms applicable to full figure statues is evident in Baldinucci's account of Maffeo Barberini's response to the bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya (1621, S. Maria de Monserrato, Rome). When the actual Montoya entered the church, Barberini greeted him with the words: "this is the portrait of Monsignor Montoya," and said to the sculpture: "and this is Monsignor Montoya."[252] These comments drew on tropes such as the Pygmalion and Medusa myths that praise statuary by expressing confusion between the image and its subject, and characterize extreme sculptural likeness as a transformation between stone and flesh. By rhetorically averring that portrait and man are so similar as to be indistinguishable, Barberini imaginatively treats the truncated bust as a whole body.

Borboni included an overt Ovidian reference in his remarks on the bust of Francesco I d'Este, an image remarkable for a naturalistic treatment of flesh, hair and clothing intended to, in Alice Jarrard's terms, "persuade the viewer of the image's veracity."[253] The patron seems to have been persuaded; Borboni records that Francesco "*vero invaghito della sua Statua; con esso lei ragionasse, come un novello Pigmalione*" (had fallen truly in love with his statue; he spoke with it, like a new Pygmalion).[254] The notion of Bernini as a sort of animating magus appeared in Chantelou's account of the poems read about the bust of Louis XIV, These included the standard

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251 Bernini's son records his father sculpting his sitter in action. Prior to Bernini, there is little in the way of Roman portrait sculpture production. John Pope-Hennessey, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 21.

252 Cited in Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 238. Chantelou records Bernini's telling of the same anecdote during his visit to France, over four decades later. See Chantelou, 102. This ekphrastic variant of the Medusa *topos* is unsurprising from a humanistic Latin poet.

253 Alice Jarrard, *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Court Ritual in Modena, Rome and Paris* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 159.

254 Borboni, 84.

laudatory tropes about living statuary, while acknowledging the almost supernatural powers of the sculptor that infuse the stone: "*Bernin famoso, il cui scolpir perfetto / Lo spirito vital nei marmi infonde ... Vivo è del gran Luigi il genio espresso*" (Famous Bernini, whose perfect sculpture / The vital spirit infuses the marble... the genius expresses the great Louis alive).[255] Scholars have noted the illusory potential for interpersonal reciprocity in the speaking likenesses of Bernini's mature portraits, which suggests an interlocutor rather than an object for contemplation, despite the lack of body. This opens the bust to the beholder, and allows a kind of rhetorical address predicated of the familiarity of real human contact.[256]

Portrait busts carried funereal and memorial associations from their antique origins, but did more than keep the memory of deceased individuals alive for posterity in a modern mnemonic sense.[257] They received offerings such as incense and represented honored ancestors as moral exemplars intended to inspire virtuous conduct, and even served as proxies for the absent emperor in the Imperial cult.[258] The Renaissance conception of this fusion of imitation and morality was summed up in Irving Lavin's list of three essential traits: the illusion of a living presence, the

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255 ibid., 107.

256 Maria Teresa Rizzo, "Dal ritratto "cortese" al ritratto "parlante": interpretazioni del ritratto tra manierismo e Barocco, Ottavio Leoni e Gianlorenzo Bernini," *Studi romani* 50, 1-2 (2002): 100-13. She argues that Bernini's *portrait parlant*, introduces "*la mobilité psychologique*" and so passes from a "*forme fermée*" to a "*forme ouverte*."

[257] Susan Wood, *Roman Portrait Sculpture, 217-260 A.D.: The Transformation of an Artistic Tradition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 9; Lesley Adkins and Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 274. The head and face were considered markers of individual identity and therefore played a privileged role in Roman portrait statuary. See Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46-7; 54-6.

[258] Honour and Fleming, 200. According to Sallust, images of one's ancestors move great men to great deeds. Cited in Margaret Aston, "Gods, Saints and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), 201. She compares this process to images of saints moving the memory towards moral instruction.

allusion to classical antiquity and the elevation of the represented individual to an ideal.[259] The theorist Gian Paolo Lomazzo asserted a juxtaposition of representational ideality and interpersonal engagement in his contention that busts should portray only the idealized likenesses the greatest individuals, while engaging the wit of the viewer in accordance with contemporary rhetorical theory.[260] The definition of the bust as both emotionally resonant and idealized recalls contemporary justifications for religious imagery, and is consistent with a general moralizing attitude towards antique forms in the wake of the Council of Trent.[261] Both assume structurally similar processes of reception, only in the former, saints are used to trigger memory in the service of morality, while the latter represents secular subjects.

The addition of busts to early seventeenth-century tombs brought the new interactive realism and traditional connotations of commemoration and exemplarity into a context that linked Christian virtue and the preservation of memory. These half-length figures were shown in prayer, holding a prayer book or rosary, or pressing their hand to their hearts in a gesture of devotion, appeared in Rome in the late sixteenth century, but became increasingly dynamic and interactive in the seventeenth.[262] The distracting problem of the fragmented body was resolved by treating the portraits as if they were full figures with the lower portions concealed from view. Giuliano Finelli's

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259 Irving Lavin, "On Illusion and Allusion in Italian Sixteenth-Century Portrait Busts," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, 5 (Oct. 15, 1975): 361.

260 See Bruce Boucher, *Italian Baroque Sculpture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 57. In his *Trattato dell'arte della Pittura* of 1584, Lomazzo emphasized ideality and exemplarity in stating that only the greatest individuals should be portrayed in busts, and added that the successful image should combine intellectual conceit as well as a physical likeness.

261 Aston, 201.

262 Steven F. Ostrow, ""Sculptors pursue likenesses": The Typology and Function of Seventeenth-Century Portrait Sculpture in Rome," in *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, ed. Andrea Bacchi, Catherine Hess and Jennifer Montagu (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 73. Early Roman examples include Giacomo del Duca's bust of Elena Savelli (1570) in S. Giovanni in Laterano, and Valsoldo's bust of Cardinal Giovanni Girolamo Albani (1590's) in S. Maria del Popolo.

Bust of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio (1633-4, S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome), which represents the deceased kneeling at a *prie-dieu* and focused on the altar, is an early example of this configuration (fig. 17). Wittkower describes this kind of tomb portrait as a perfect Baroque paradox, one that immortalized a transient moment in the deceased's personal relationship with God in stone, but it is also paradoxical in another way.[263] It simultaneously remains recognizable as a bust, with all the attendant traditional connotations, but denies the limits of its truncated form to further the illusion of an actor in the viewer's space. Art and life are fused into an encounter where the dead invite the living to join their prayers.[264] The effectiveness of this illusory realism in a funerary context is evident in Bellori's praise for Algardi's Bust of Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Millini (1637-8, S. Maria del Popolo) as "almost kneeling, in the act of praying to the altar," a remarkable acknowledgement of sculptural action for this critic. (fig. 18).[265]

As Bellori's comment suggests, the contrast between the new, animated sculpture of the seventeenth century and the theoretical conception of the medium was not as stark as it may appear on first glance. There were too many instances where the separation between the two broke down to maintain a diametric opposition; in reality they are better understood as different perspectives on the permissible limits of expression, within a set of common assumptions about the medium. The classicizing art theorists of seventeenth century appreciated an affective, illusory surface texture, but objected to excessive visual effects that, in their opinion, exceeded the boundaries of sculpture, such as aspirations to painterly narrative, emotionality, irrational drapery and open and

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263 Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 129.

264 Ferrari, Introduzione to *Le Scultura del Seicento*, liv; Boucher, 60.

265 Cited in Boucher, 69.

complex compositions.[266] Even here, however, there are places that at least hint at possible room for the representation of action and the material illusionism that are the bases of Ovidian transformation. For example, when Boselli emphasized that drapery should reveal the human form, he was actually arguing for greater verisimilitude, and against its use as a visually unrealistic emotional signifier in Bernini's work, or as a venue for decorative virtuosity in that of Finelli.[267] Bellori repeatedly used conjugations of the verb to move when discussing the canonical *St. Susanna*, despite the disallowance of sculpted action.[268]

A comparison between two celebrated images of mystic saints from the first half of the seventeenth century illuminates the nature of this variance of critical opinion. Both Bernini's *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* (1647-52, Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria) and Algardi's *St. Philip Neri in Ecstasy* (1636-38, Rome, S. Maria in Vallicella) can be connected to identifiable events, but represent their subjects with different levels of instantaneity (figs. 19, 20). The former represents Teresa's transverberation as if it is currently taking place, with the angel in the midst of plunging its spear into the rapturous saint as she is weightlessly suspended on stucco clouds. The expressive drapery contributes to the sense of movement by flicking and rising around the fiery seraph, and roiling around Teresa in order to suggest her inner turmoil, and to impart an overall impression of instability upon the whole. Algardi also alluded to a particular mystical experience, in this case, Neri's nocturnal ecstasy in the catacombs that burst his heart, by including a slight concavity of

[266] Tomaso Montanari, Introduction to *Giovan Pietro Bellori: The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 3. Boselli is representative in his promotion of an aesthetic of measured decorum, which was a common ground for the condemnation of the overly veristic, affective, dynamic, and spatially expansive statuary. See Boselli, "Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica," f39r. This comment anticipates complaints made by members of the French Academy that contemporary artists were contaminating the pure art of the ancients in Rome, and castigated students for falling under their influence. See Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture*, 11.

[267] Boselli, "Osservazione sur la Scultura Antica," f94v.

[268] Bellori, 272.

the chest and an inscription referencing the event. However, he mitigated the impression of immediacy, of the overwhelming irruption of the divine in the here and now, by limiting narrative reference, addressing the viewer with an expository text, and avoiding any interaction between the saint and the angel. The statue is a memorial to Neri's exemplary piety that refers to a specific action, but foregrounds a devotional attitude, rather than recreating the instantaneity of an actual moment of ecstasy. At the same time, there is tremendous verism in the handling of surface textures and the tension in the hands that enhances the suggestion of a living individual. In comparison, they differ in the extent to which they attempt mimesis, but not in the acceptance that narrative allusion is at least somewhat possible.

The career Ercole Ferrata (1610-86), a pupil of Algardi who worked extensively under Bernini, exemplifies the considerable fluidity of this environment and bridges the traditional division between Classic and Baroque in seventeenth-century art history. His *St. Agnes on the Pyre* (1660-64, Rome, S. Agnese in Agone) recalls Duquesnoy's *St. Susanna* in the way its drapery reveals the body beneath, but represents temporal action in a manner reminiscent of the spiritual transformation in Bernini's *St. Bibiana*, and the appearance of fire, the most mutable and ephemeral of subjects, in his *St. Lawrence on the Grill* (1614-15, Florence, Contini Bonacossi Collection) (fig. 21). The fact that Melchiore Cafà developed his active, emotionally charged idiom under Ferrata's tutelage, and even provided designs for his workshop, further indicates that theoretical proscriptions did not bind sculptural practice.[269] For his part, Bernini always perceived his artistic vision as compatible with artists of all stripes, having employed both Duquesnoy and

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[269] See Elena di Gioia, ""*Chi non esce talvolta della regola non la passa mai*": Melchiorre Cafà a Roma tra 1660 e 1667," in *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque*, ed. Keith Sciberras (Valletta, Malta: Midsea Books, 2006,), 61-5 for Cafà's time with, and influence on, Ferrata. His model making is discussed in Jennifer Montagu, "Melchiorre Cafà's models for Ercole Ferrata," in *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque*, ed. Keith Sciberras (Valletta, Malta: Midsea Books, 2006), 67-71.

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Mochi on his project for the crossing of St. Peter's, and seemingly favoring the work of the former. Towards the end of his life, both he and Bellori enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden.

Conversely, makers of moving sculptural narratives may have exceeded the limits of certain theoretical precepts, but they did not discard them all together. Instead, the required models and materials of the medium were chosen and deployed to facilitate the illusory transformations necessary for the simulation of living action. It had been axiomatic that sculpture follow ancient models since the first theoretical musings on art in the early Renaissance, and academic critics judged Bernini poorly, in comparison with Duquesnoy, for his taste, correctness of design, and imitation of antiquity.[270] Antiquity, however, is a procrustean concept, and where the two sculptors differed was not in their esteem for ancient art, but in their choice of inspiration.[271] Bernini was attracted to the open and dynamic idiom of the Hellenistic age, rather than the serene, Praxitelian softness reflected in the other's *St. Susanna* or *putti*.[272] Hellenistic sculpture, with its aesthetic of verisimilitude, pathos, and dramatic action, offered Baroque artists the legitimating

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[270] Boudon, 337-8. Duquesnoy was praised for his *bon gout de dessin*.

271 Heres, 12. In his speech to the French Academy, Bernini mentions the importance of making plaster casts of antique statues for models. often started with a classical prototype that he transforms into a Baroque solution. See Achille Bertini Calosso, "Il classismo di Gian Lorenzo Bernini e l'arte francese." *L'Arte* 24 (1921): 242; Aldo de Rinaldis, *L'Arte in Roma dal Seicento al Novecento* (Bologna: Licinio Cappelli Editore, 1948), 78; Irving Lavin, "Bernini and Antiquity," 9. For the protean nature of antiquity, see Janson, "The Revival of Antiquity in Early Renaissance Sculpture," 40. Later ages have always found whatever they wished in antiquity, a 1500 year period from the Doric migration to the fall of the western empire.

[272] Bernini's study of Hellenistic sculpture is analyzed in Irving Lavin, "Bernini and Antiquity – The Baroque Paradox: A Poetical View," in *Antikenrezeption im Hochbarock*, ed, Herbert Beck and Sabine Schulze (Berlin: Gebr. Mann. Verlag, 1989). His dynamic work for the Borghese was produced for that family's collection of Hellenistic and late antique sculpture. See; Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze, eds., *Bernini scultore: la nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1998); Mina Gregori, "Rubens, Bernini e lo stile concitato," *Paragone/Arte* 50, 24–25 (1999): 8.

antique precedent that fused movement and rhetorical impact.[273]

Antique pedigree, appearance, and value made unadorned monochrome marble, and bronze to a lesser extent, normative materials for sculpture in Rome, but this was not necessarily the case in areas where the influence of art theory was weaker. Cafà, for example, carved figures in wood for patrons in his native Malta, but worked exclusively in marble after arriving in the city. Although there were some exceptions, such as Cordier's *St. Agnes* or Pierre Le Gros' *St. Stanislaus Kostka* (1702-03, Rome, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale), serious Roman sculptors limited themselves to these materials. For Bernini, however, marble also offered the potential for mimetic transformation that fell outside of any aesthetics of classical purity. According to Chantelou, the artist eschewed polychrome sculpture for reasons of naturalism, believing that with sufficient control of shadow and texture, white marble could better replicate a living subject than painted portraiture. The stone allowed subtle effects of form, shading and texture that other materials did not, which more than compensate for any lack of color. Bernini also praised its chromatic illusionism, pointing out that after nine or ten years, worked marble takes on the tone of flesh.[274] He, perhaps more than any other sculptor, rejected material limitations for illusionistic effects of soft flesh, translucent skin and supple flowing surfaces. The apparent plushness of the mattress he added to the ancient *Hermaphrodite* so belies its stoney hardness that it sometimes overshadowed the celebrated

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273 Scholars have described the sculpture of the two periods in very similar terms. Gisela Richter referred to Hellenistic art as moving in two different ways; it seems to move in the sense of coming to life, and it seeks to move the viewer emotionally with a lifelike, emotionally charged presence. Bart Treffers described to seventeenth-century sculpture similarly, claiming that "a statue must be moving in order to move," or appear to live if it is to impact the viewer on an emotional level. See Gisela Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*. 6th ed. (London; New York: Phaidon, 1969), 159-60; Bert Treffers, "The Arts and Craft of Sainthood: New Orders, New Saints, New Altarpieces," in *The Genius of Rome: 1592-1623*, ed. Beverly Louise Brown (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001), 366. For Hellenistic aesthetic tendencies, see Gisela Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 237; John Boardman, *Greek Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 195, 203. For a discussion of the achievement of complex movements at the expense of harmony in Hellenistic sculpture, see Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 158-59.

274 Chantelou, 94.

antique statue (fig. 22). His similar treatment of the linens beneath the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* enhanced the semblance of reality in that deathbed scene.[275]

Ancient commentators had recognized the mimetic quality of marble, although this received little attention from writers on sculpture. Pliny described the antique passion for the stone as driven by its value, but also praised it as better able to render more lifelike images than any other substance. His notion of verism differs from Bernini's for its primarily coloristic bent (unpainted marble resembles white skin), but this is consistent with the differences between the sculptural aesthetics of Imperial Rome and the classicism of early modernity. What is significant is that in both cases marble is valued for its ability to represent something other than what it is, a metamorphic power that contravenes ideologies of sculpture as physical truth. Ancient poets such as Ovid used the word *marmoreus* to mean realism, a reference to the the striking lifelikeness of statues that factor so prominently in his narratives.[276] Just as Hellenistic art indicated that action could be compatible with ancient examples, the marmoreal art of Bernini and Pliny showed that value and pedigree are no obstacle to illusory transformation. The makers of moving sculptural narratives rejected the static, measured ideality of the *statua,* but not the models and materials of their art. In their hands, uncolored marble and antique precedent entered the service of illusion and affect.

Although Bernini never colored his sculpture, there are instances where he used the color of his materials for mimetic purposes. The *presepio* commissioned by Antonio Barberini for the Capuchin convent in Albano (1635, Albano, Church of the Nativity) and executed by Andrea Bolgi

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275 Genevive Warwick, "Speaking Statues: Bernini's Apollo and Daphne at the Villa Borghese," *Art History* 27, 3 (2004): 373. She likens the mattress to the transformative effects of the Borghese mythologies.

276 Jacob Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. Henrik Rosenmeier (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 177.

and Stefano Speranza is one such example (fig. 23).[277] The group is conventional in its iconography, with the Madonna in an attitude of prayer and Joseph adoring Christ with the common gesture of his hand on his heart, but is innovative for its use of two types of stone to create a chromatic distinction. The white marble child appears luminescent next to the gray, matte travertine of his parents, an illusion of divinity reminiscent of the glowing infant seen in many paintings of the Nativity. This contrast between a gleaming divine image and its prosaic surroundings also had an antique precedent in what Pliny referred to as the *marmoris radiatio* of the cult statue of Hecate in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos.[278] This image was painted, with the face, hands and feet left bare, and the marble gleaming through the dim half-light of the shrine so stimulated the imagination that the temple guardians advised visitors to be cautious lest they be overcome by its impact. There is no evidence that the Albano *presepio* stupefied its viewers, but it followed the ancient example in representing supernatural radiance with material luminosity.

Statues in bronze and other precious materials also added mimetic possibilities to their connotations of status and prestige. Pliny wrote of a bronze statue dog whose color resembled that of the actual animal.[279] Although works in valuable metals rarely survived the vicissitudes of time and circumstances, there are several notable exceptions that illustrate this illusory effect. The gilt bronze of Bernini's original *S. Francesca Romana* (1641-43, destroyed) has been likened to eyewitness accounts of the rapturous saint's ecstasy in S. Maria in Trastevere, where she was

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277 Ana Maria Rybko, "Due scolari del Bernini ad Albano: Il Presepio della Chiesa del Convento dei Cappuccini." In *L'arte per i papi e per i principi nella campagna romana: grande pittura del '600 e del '700, 257-60* (Rome: Quasar, 1990), 257.

278 Pliny, 317-18

279 Pliny, 164.

overtly described as fixed and immobile, "like a bronze statue."[280] This simile recalls the age-old Medusa *topos* comparing static people to sculpture, but it also connects the material of this image with what the subject actually looked like. The monument not only depicts exemplary devotion as an inducement to piety, but also recreates the appearance of mystical event that indicated her sanctity as it was happening. At the end of the seventeenth century, the *St. Ignatius* by Pierre Le Gros (1695-98, destroyed) likewise used a silver patina to replicate hagiographic evidence and stimulate devotion; in this case, the argent radiance emitted by the saint.[281]

The importance of the unique proximity between sculpture and life is apparent in both the frequency of references to animation and transformation, and in the artists' own efforts to enhance illusions of life, emotion, movement, and even the presence of the divine. At the same time, the works discussed above were all made in canonical materials by leading practitioners of a fine art. This juxtaposition of theoretical conformity and affective, mimetic illusionism defines "seeming actuality," a term that describes the composite nature of a statue as a work of art, or recognized aesthetic object, and as a lifelike generator of interpersonal patterns of reception. It resembles Dolce's imaginative response by differentiating between reacting to an image as real and appraising it on aesthetic grounds, and Pallavicino's *prima apprensione* by characterizing that the former is a visceral, affective reaction that does not impede reasoned judgment. However, seeming actuality is a visual development, understood through visual sources that escaped textual analysis, and combined several "non-theoretical" artistic developments to enhance realism. It may be conceptualized as a middle ground on a continuum between a hyperreal simulacrum at one extreme

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280 Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 60.

281 Evonne Levy, "Reproduction in the "Cultic Era" of Art: Pierre Legros's Statue of Stanislas Kostka," *Representations* 58 (Spring, 1997): 104.

(realism dominant) and the most aesthetically distinct, cold, and abstract neoclassicism on the other (aestheticism dominant). The idiom of Bernini strikes a balance between these two poles; more self-consciously artful than the unvarnished verism of such works as the early modern *sacre monti* or the postmodern figures of Duane Hanson, but more interpersonally affective than the gelid neoclassicism of Bertel Thorwaldsen. At heart, seeming actuality is a rhetorical application of the venerable tradition of the living statue, realized through the expressive parameters of early modern artistic convention.

IV. BAROQUE MYSTICAL SCULPTURE

The *St. Bibiana* was Bernini's first major public commission to apply mimetic illusionism to the rhetorical needs of the Church, but it was not his earliest use of this idiom for religious purposes. Despite its small size, his *St. Lawrence on the Grill* is a veristic presence that infused the recumbent early Christian martyr with the narrative dynamism found in paintings of the subject (fig. 21). The saint is represented in the middle of his execution, a moment of passage between life and salvation that anticipates the conjunction of death and divine union in the *St. Bibiana* and, later, the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*. Bernini captured this transitional state with a hybrid composition that combined the horizontality of a corpse with an upward-turned rapturous expression that presages the passage of the soul. The *St. Lawrence* was the first of the sculptor's many uses of illusory metamorphosis to realize a subject also in the midst of becoming something else.[282] One scholar has commented on the "almost alchemical transformation" of stone into flesh, the metal

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[282] Irving Lavin has described the *St. Lawrence* as a bridge between Bernini's juvenilia and Borghese works. See Irving Lavin, *Visible Spirit: The Art of Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (London: Pindar Press, 2007), 229.

grill and chain, and the fiery bed of coals.[283] The unprecedented sculpted flames indicate the evanescence of the instant of martyrdom, and represent the young sculptor's challenge to painting's claim on universal imitation and mimesis. Bernini perceived himself as the successor of Annibale Carracci, and he attempted to answer the *paragone* of the Farnese Gallery ceiling by achieving comparable transformations in sculpture.[284]

Domenico Bernini's claim that his father burned himself in front of a mirror in order to observe the effects on his face may be a fabrication, but it is it speaks to the realism of the figure that such an anecdote was credible.[285] The notion that an artist should put himself in the attitude that he intended to represent was originally a poetic one, but it had been accepted by the Carracci circle decades before the *St. Lawrence*.[286] Classical mimesis was applied to painting under the concept of the sister arts, or *ut pictura poesis*, but by including this anecdote, Domenico claimed that his father's sculpture could also be conceived of as visual poetry able to unfold in time. The temporal aspect of the *St. Cecilia* derived from its interactive seeming actuality; by literally standing in for the saint, it allowed the viewer to experience the providential discovery of her sanctified body. The *St. Lawrence* transformed the nature of this encounter by replacing the inert presence with dramatic narrative. The viewer does not come upon something that happened, but something happening, mimesis enacted in real space by a three-dimensional figure. Bernini

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[283] Rudolf Preimesberger, *Paragons and Paragone: Van Eyck, Raphael, Michelangelo, Caravaggio, and Bernini* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 59.

[284] ibid., 58-59. Preimesberger sees the origins of Bernini's transformative, mimetic sculpture in the use of contrasting surfaces to suggest coloristic effects in his very early *The Goat Amalthea with the Infant Jupiter and a Satyr* (before 1615, Rome, Galleria Borghese), and notes the even greater success at representation of great number of things in the *St. Lawrence.*

[285] Mormando, Bernini: *His Life and his Rome*, 41.

[286] This idea is found in Aristotle's *Poetics* and Horace's *Ars poetica*. See Franco Mormando, trans. and ed., *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini: A Translation and Critical Edition*, by Domenico Bernini (University Park: Penn State Press, 2012), 285n41.

mastered the integration of this illusory action with its physical environment in his Borghese commissions, a series of four subjects in different transitional states. The last of these was the strikingly naturalistic *David* (1623, Rome, Galleria Borghese), a climactic narrative moment that implied a fictive Goliath somewhere in real space, and another instance when the artist was said to imitate his own expression (fig. 24).[287] The interactive potential of a sculpted body enabled a historically significant event to be represented as currently unfolding, and turned mimesis into an idealized encounter.[288]

The *St. Bibiana* combined this narrative instantaneity with the theoretical notion of a statue as a commemoration of virtue, to create a religious experience that was both immediate and idealized. This "secularization of the transcendental" incorporated real environmental phenomena so that the image appeared to act in, and be effected by, the same world as the viewer.[289] The sculpture resembles the *Spiritual Exercises* or the *sacri monti*, only instead of providing transportation to the setting of scriptural narrative, sacred subjects are brought into the here and now. St. Bibiana's divine union is a luminous transformation that seems to transpose a real, active body out of the everyday in what Wittkower has called a "dual vision," a stirring supernatural event, enhanced by the intimacy of its setting and the use of natural light that seems like a miracle itself. [290] This is only a modest first attempt, but the raw materials for a devotional imagery of

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287 Thomas L. Glen, "Rethinking Bernini's *David*: Attitude. Moment and the Location of Goliath," *RACAR* 23, 1-2 (1996): 90-1. For the *David* as a self-portrait, see Avigdor W. G. Posèq, "Bernini's Self-Portraits as David," *Notes in the History of Art* 9, 4 (Summer, 1990): 14.

288 The *David* also possessed an ennobling antique inspiration in the Hellenistic *Borghese Gladiator*. See Haskell and Penny, 221.

289 Martin, *Baroque*, 56; Angela Negro, *Bernini e il bel composto: la cappella de Sylva in Sant'Isidoro* (Rome: Campisano, 2002), 11. She mentions Bernini's ability to transform marble into a living material, making allegories that seem "*vive e palpitanti*."

290 Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 2.

unprecedented affective power are already present. The ability to configure the viewing environment into a mystical encounter perfectly realizes the observation made by Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona that the better an image is at generating feeling in the viewer, the greater its rhetorical efficacy. The appeal of this blend of physical presence and participatory vision is apparent in its popularity as the seventeenth century progressed. In fact it is possible to identify a "Baroque mystical sculpture" as a distinct artistic type that met the challenge of depicting spiritual experience with the corporeal signification of a real body.

This sculptural simulation of an intensely affective devotional experience was foreshadowed by developments in painting around the turn of the seventeenth century. Focused studies of religious emotion, such as Guido Reni's and Domenichino's versions of *St. Cecilia*, challenged the barrier between the image and the outside world, and Reni in particular used chiaroscuro to draw the saint out of the darkness, and extended her violin past the parapet (figs. 25, 26). These paintings resemble the theoretical *statua* for their eschewal of narrative detail in favor of a direct representation of the beatific state indicative of sanctity. They are psychological studies that drew on the influential expression of exalted spirituality in Raphael's *St. Cecilia* (1514, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), in order to reveal an interior condition through its outward manifestation.[291] Raphael, however, depicted his subject among a group of other figures, while both Reni and Domenichino suppressed suggestions of context in order to offer the viewer a more intimate encounter with a single exemplary figure. The techniques used to enhance the directness of this engagement, including expressive close-ups, evocative lighting, and the avoidance of

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[291] Raphael's *St. Cecilia*, is the best known prototype of the suggestion of divine union through upturned eyes, in which, according to Vasari, "one can see in her head the sense of total absorption that can be detected in the living flesh of those who are in ecstasy. See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors, and architects: trans from the Italian of Giorgio Vasari. With notes and illustrations, chiefly selected from various commentators*, trans. Mrs. Jonathan Foster (London: H. G. Bohn, 1855-85), 324.

extraneous details, reveal the influence of Caravaggio, the painter who had brought unprecedented immediacy to Roman painting.

Although his unidealized realism might superficially suggest otherwise, Caravaggio's approach to his art in the early and middle phases of his career often resembled that of a sculptor, with dramatic figures integrated with their actual surroundings.[292] He was at his most sculptural in his grand Roman chapels, where the harmonization of natural and pictorial light enhanced the impression of physical presence. This is less evident in the Contarelli Chapel than the Cerasi Chapel, since the narratives in the former are busier and more overtly pictorial in composition. However, both Contarelli altarpieces were conceived as three-dimensional figures that challenge their picture planes (Fig. 27, 28). The original was described by Walter Friedlaender as the first instance of the painter's "powerful concentration of plastically projecting forms," even included a foot that appeared to hover directly over the altar. The more decorous stool in the *The Inspiration of Saint Matthew* (1602, Rome, S Luigi dei Francesi) seems about to tip forwards in the same manner as the Ambrosiana *Basket of Fruit* (1595-1600, Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana) (fig. 29).[293] The corner of the table in this picture is an angular protrusion that forcefully extends the composition outwards, a device Caravaggio would reprise to even greater effect with the tomb slab in his *Entombment* (1602-03, Vatican, Pinacoteca).

The Cerasi commissions truly revealed the expressive potential of the intimate and self-contained chapel as a venue for divine and earthly essences to mingle. Caravaggio reduced the

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[292] Frank Stella observed that Caravaggio essentially inverts the illusory recession of the Albertian window by creating a protentive space that seems to project outwards. See Stella, 46. The enigmatic *Basket of Fruit* seems precariously balanced and about to tip out of the picture, a device reprised in the first *Supper at Emmaus* (1601, London, National Gallery) that helps connect the image to the world outside. The *Musicians* (ca. 1595, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) has been criticized for its crowded composition, but it exhibits an uncanny three-dimensionality from an oblique view.

[293] Walter Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1955), 105.

number of figures to a minimum in his two wall paintings, and thrust them up against the picture

plane as if they could actually spill out into the real world. The images appear most real *in situ*,

where their compositional arrangement aligns with the visitor's oblique vantage point, and their

pictorial light harmonizes with the real illumination from the window above. The gaze of the stern

St. Peter seems to address its message of martyrdom directly to the viewer, while the dazed St.

Paul appears to have landed just short of the chapel interior (figs. 30, 31). There are no angels or

other apparitions, just the blending of real and pictorial light that pulls the figures out of the

darkness and attests to the reality of God's invisible presence. Annibale Carracci's altarpiece is

radically different in style, but he also emphasized the three-dimensional presence of his more

idealized figures. The leaning body and foreshortened hand of St. Peter seem to be falling out of

the picture in a Caravaggesque manner (fig. 32). The Virgin, bursting from her deathbed, seems

not only to rise upward but outward, led by the bold projection of her marvelously illuminated

knee. This image also acknowledges the physical conditions of the chapel, as the heavenly light

that appears above the Virgin appears to be the underside of the real light source that strikes

Caravaggio's figures. The same radiant grace hinted at in the earthy recreations of scriptural

narrative on the side walls are revealed in its full supernatural splendor behind the altar.

The stylistic differences between the two artists align perfectly with the theological and

devotional structure of the chapel, in which the altar, as the site of the Eucharist, is a miraculous

point of contact between heaven and earth. Annibale's altarpiece represents the divine splendor

that lies behind this divide with ideal forms, bright colors and swirling luminous energy. In

contrast, the viewer's side, the worldly realm in which spiritual truths are not evident to the senses,

is flanked by grittily realistic scenes from the lives of Sts. Peter and Paul. Although saints also

constitute earthly manifestations of grace, the humble and sometimes-ugly details of their lives

rarely display heavenly glory, and the only sign of sanctity in Caravaggio's pictures is the suggestive but natural lighting. The "sculptural" projection of the figures and use of real light transforms these scenes into virtual encounters by extending them into the actual space of the chapel. The altarpiece seems less immediate than the side panels, as its frieze of apostles creates a degree of self-containment that distances it somewhat from the here and now, but Caravaggio's works seem as physically present as possible for a two-dimensional image. Replacing paintings with mimetic sculpture extended this fictive shared environment into three-dimensional reality.

The affinities between Bernini and Caravaggio are easily overlooked on account of their differences in preferred media, career trajectories, and style. Both were creators of tremendous artistic illusions that challenged the physical and psychological separation from the world around them. Scholars have noted that Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (1595-1600, London, National Gallery) and Bernini's *Damned Soul* (*Anima Dannata*, 1619, Rome, Palazzo di Spagna) share a similar interest in an almost confrontational rendering of intense emotion.[294] In both these works, the ostensive subject, be it an enigmatic, moralizing bite or hellish torment, does little to detract from the reality of the images as dramatic close-ups of violent passion. Bernini's interest in psychological effects extended to religious feelings, and his *Blessed Soul* (*Anima Beata*, 1619, Rome, Palazzo di Spagna) explored and intensified the upward turning expression of ecstasy in Raphael's *St. Cecilia*, Michelangelo's *Leah* (1542-45, Rome, S. Pietro in Vincoli), and his own *St. Lawrence*, with the concentrated immediacy as the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* or the *Damned Soul*. By the time he turned to the *St. Bibiana*, the sculptor had developed a pictorial vocabulary for the bodily, or at least facial, signification of divine union. Bernini also resembled Caravaggio in his

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[294] See, for example, Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, fourth ed., (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 13;

creation of viewing experiences like the Cerasi Chapel, where physical presence paradoxically asserted the truth of the subject's spiritual nature. In the *St. Bibiana*, the ecstatic expression and the directed lighting work together to define the inner enlightenment and outward transformation wrought by mystic union (fig. 33).

The presence of a luminous and tangibly real figure behind the altar transformed the experience of earthly and sacred realities articulated in the Cerasi Chapel. Caravaggio made the lives of the saints immediately present, while Annibale's supernatural vision is relatively more remote, reflecting the abstract ideality of divine reality. This structure was reversed in S. Bibiana, where the sculpted altarpiece was the most physically real representation. The walls of the small nave contain frescoes depicting events from the martyr's actual life, but these do not even attempt the illusion of spatial continuity perfected by Caravaggio, let alone match the immediacy of the three-dimensional presence of the *St. Bibiana* (fig. 34).[295] They show the viewer important, but historically distanced, events, while in contrast, the sculpture appears to be actual body suffused with grace, a spiritual transformation without depicted narrative context that could emphasize its historicity too strongly. By representing the miraculous union with God as actually occurring, the small church shows that the timeless grace manifested in the life of the saint remains perpetually present. This aligned with the epistemology of seventeenth-century Paleochristian interest, which perceived the Church as a constant realization of the same providential truth that informed the miracles and martyrdoms of the early Christian era. The marble purity of the statue is a reminder, like Annibale's style, that this vision is a spiritual ideal, but one more tangibly real than anything Caravaggio could depict.

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[295] See Vitaliano Tiberia, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Agostino Ciampelli in Santa Bibiana a Roma: I restauri* (Todi: Ediart, 2000), 78 ff. for discussion of the frescos by Pietro da Cortona and Agostino Ciampelli.

By re-imagining a historical instance of martyrdom as a perpetually occurring, yet timelessly memorialized, union with God, the *St. Bibiana* applied the immediacy and ideality of seeming actuality to the juxtaposed immanence and transcendence of sanctity. Rather than a static exemplar of virtue, the statue memorialized the transformative outcome of her heroic piety as an affirmation of divine action in the world. The sculptural immortalization of an act of ideal spirituality became a hallmark of Bernini's subsequent chapel commissions, and he became increasingly adept at enhancing the visionary reality of his installations. The Raimondi chapel, for example, was structured around the *St. Francis in Ecstasy* (1642-46, Rome, S. Pietro in Montorio), perhaps the most Caravaggesque of his sculptures and a rare instance of relief in his *oeuvre* (fig. 35). The central group of the saint and angels was conceived in high relief, and its projection was enhanced by the concavity of its panel and the raking light from hidden sources that pull it out from a shadowy background.[296] The tombs of the Raimondi patrons, with their moralizing panels and commemorations of piety, play a similar part as the frescos in S. Bibiana, and make reference to the virtue of Christian life in the world. The viewer stands between these *momento mori* while being shown the vision of divine union unfolding behind the altar. Francis, unlike Bibiana, was known for his mystical spirituality, and is shown completely detached from his senses, but this more intense ecstasy also seems abstracted from narrative context and presented as a presently occurring miracle.

Caravaggio had also painted a *Saint Francis in Ecstasy* (ca. 1595–96, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum), and there are some similarities between his work and Bernini's. Both depict the saint with angelic companionship against a dark background with a barely visible landscape.

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[296] Lavin, *Bernini and* 35-40

Lavin, *Bernini and* 23-53; Ferrari XLVII

Caravaggio's image is contrastive in mood, however, with his Francis seemingly asleep or dead rather than levitating in rapture. On one hand, this is typical of the painter's aversion to the depiction of dramatic supernatural effects, but also highlights the connection between ecstasy and death as two forms of unity of the soul with God.[297] This association is also apparent in Bernini's treatments of Bibiana and Francis, martyr and mystic, as comparable instances of the transforming effect of grace on the body. Similarly, the sculptor's smaller memorial to Maria Raggi includes an oval portrait derived from traditional funerary imagery that depicts the deceased in a final ecstasy. Perhaps his most powerful rendition of the affinity between union and death is the *St. Teresa in Ecstasy* for the Cornaro Chapel, a project that followed the basic structure of the Raimondi Chapel, but with much more lifelike figural art (fig. 19). The busts of the deceased on the side walls are more animated and expressive, while the sculpted vision behind the altar is fully in the round. This famous statue represents Teresa's transverberation by depicting the saint as lifeless as St. Francis, but roiling with inner spiritual turmoil. Her death-like state is especially apparent in comparison with the iconographically similar but clearly sentient *Ecstasy of St. Margret of Cortona* by Lanfranco (fig. 36).

The slack facial expression of the *St. Teresa in Ecstasy* captures the paradoxically intense detachment described in the saint's writings, while a mass of clouds signifies her supernatural levitation. The exquisite quality, dramatic staging, and expressive gesture of the sculpture creates the illusion of an actual event, while the illumination from hidden sources confers a miraculous

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[297] Scholars have theorized a connection between death and ecstasy in early modern Europe. The post-Freudian notion of sexuality in this line of inquiry falls outside the purview of this study. See Stefania Buccini, "Marino e la morte erotica dell'età barocca," in *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine arts and Music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani (New York and Ottawa: Legas, 1994), 290-92. For the development of spiritual analogies for martyrdom, see Grégoire, 51-8.

quality on the whole.[298] An independently lit white marble figure possesses an otherworldly luminescence that is actually more effective at capturing ineffable divine presence than the polychrome naturalism of any *tableaux*. Bernini used the expressive qualities of his material to make the psychologically intense Teresa simultaneously the most tangibly real and the most supernaturally evocative figural element in the chapel. Mimetic sculpture offered a physically immediate and physiognomically legible spiritual ideal that achieved Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona's call for a language of art that conveys the truth of faith, and met the Tridentine goal of emotionally stimulating piety.

The success of this idiom is evident in its popularity, and before the mid-point of the seventeenth-century, mystical sculpture developed into three principle kinds. The first consists of standing ecstatic figures, such as the *St. Bibiana*, which, because of their posture, do not mimetically represent death. Puget's *St. Alessandro Sauli*, discussed in Chapter Three, is an example of this type, and Maini's contributions to the founders series in the nave of St. Peter's, including the *St. Francis de Paul* (1732, Vatican City, St. Peter's)*,* maintained this type well into the eighteenth century. The second category is comprised of recumbent figures either in the process of an ecstatic death, or in a death-like ecstasy, such as Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, the subject of Chapter Two. The third group falls between the first two and is made up of kneeling or swooning figures that often seem either to rise or float in the air, making it the most overtly supernatural in appearance. Maderno's *St. Bridget* may be the earliest example, and Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross,* studied in Chapter Four, is another. Two swooning figures that are neither vertical nor horizontal may be placed in this category, though they are of different attitudes. Bernini's *St. Teresa* had, as already mentioned, qualities suggestive of a mystic death, while Raggi's *St.*

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[298] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 113-16

Benedict appears very much alive (fig. 13). The number and variety of these works speaks to the adaptability and appeal of sculpture as a means of creating moving visions of sanctity.

The blend of spiritual ideality and physical immediacy that made up the seeming actuality of mystical sculpture lay outside the concerns of theoretical writers on the arts, making it necessary to consider actual usage in order to ascertain how it served religious purposes. That it did is apparent in the proliferation of statues of saints, including many recently or (hopefully) soon-to-be canonized individuals after the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The frequent employment of this idiom as a means to project identity, encourage virtuous emulation, and foster cultic activity, speaks to the recognition of a particularly close alignment with the characteristics and aims of hagiography. Hagiographic images favor persuasive characteristics that capture the viewer's attention and represent the subject as worthy of devotion or imitation. They must inspire piety, but maintain a reserve appropriate to both their sacred subject and their status as representations. Excessive personalization lends itself to potentially idolatrous subject confusion, or to improperly close relationships with the image. A representation that is too remote or inaccessible, however, risks undermining the affective relationships that are so important for motivating viewers. Seeming actuality avoids either extreme by combining a physical presence that lends itself to being unconsciously treated as a natural being, and an ideality that can evoke the exalted, supernatural quality of divine presence.[299]

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299 Victor and Edith Turner described how statues could induce emotional responses the appearance of the symbol. Their analysis is concerned with the extreme image confusion that contributed to iconoclastic backlash, but it highlights how the visceral response to the bodily presence of a statue conditions a more profound or extra-rational relationship than subject identification. See Turner and Turner 142-3.

Sainthood (and theology in general) accommodates the timeless reality of divine truth to limited human subjectivity in a temporal world.[300] Richard Viladesau has explored the representation of this composite identity in the visual arts through a concept he calls "aesthetic theology," defined as "a reflective understanding of the faith embodied in artistic modes of thinking and communication."[301] Although he is indebted to Gadamer's description of the experience of art as a unique mode of knowledge, Viladesau applies this specifically to the theological mediation between heaven and earth.[302] However, while, aesthetic theology is sensitive to the ability of artworks to function as original signifiers, it can be further refined with consideration of the differences between images types. Terms such as art, aesthetic, and visual treat imagery as a monolithic category rather than a collection of varied media, each with its own phenomenological characteristics and historical and cultural connotations. Mystical sculpture's occupancy of a middle ground between idealized classical rigor and lifelike engaging verisimilitude is uniquely homologous with the nature of sanctity. As a real individual elevated to the level of exemplarity, the saint is simultaneously universalized and individuated. Seeming actuality likewise straddles the general and the particular; the ideal purity of its white marble form and the affective power of its plastic verisimilitude.

Unlike a narrative painting, with its specific setting in time and place, sculptures are removed from an identifiable context and enact their model comportment in the space of the viewer. Other characteristics of these images enhance their hagiographic potential. On the

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300 Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 3. He discusses theology as connecting the two poles of eternal truth and temporal situatedness.

301 Richard Viladesau, "The Passion of Christ in Aesthetic Theology," *Listening* 37, 3 (Fall, 2002): 159.

302 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Crossroad, 1985), 87.

theoretical side, the traditional connotations associated with *statue* are suited to expressing other abstract characteristics associated with saints. Statues are credited with embodying a communal will to remember a departed worthy, ensuring that his or her reputation endures and providing a model of virtue for collective emulation. Exemplarity, memory and celebration are all fundamental aspects of hagiography as well, formulated for a particular Christian context. On the affective side, placement and lighting can enhance the illusory effectiveness of the luminous white marble or gleaming silver and bronze associated with fine art commissions by conferring an otherworldly aura that makes a lifelike body seem sanctified. No other medium can so capture the immanence and transcendence of sainthood.

The mimetic aspect of hagiographic sculpture remained outside of theoretical discourse as art developed into an autonomous, academic discipline. Although moving rhetoric remained vital for Catholic purposes into modernity, social and epistemological changes, including the development of philosophical aesthetics and the decline of the Church as an influential patron, placed devotional efficacy outside of the interests of the art world.[303] For a long time, historians defined the artistic landscape after the death of Bernini as a fatigued and retardaire backwater.[304]

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[303] John Dillenberger, *A Theology of Artistic Sensibilities: The Visual Arts and the Church*, (New York: Crossroad, 1986, 99. He notes that the Baroque idiom continues into the nineteenth-century in Catholic contexts, albeit outside of the artistic mainstream. The continuance of expressive conventions is also apparent in Giovanni Pierantoni's representation of divine epiphany with a raised arm and upturned gaze derived from Le Gros' silver *St. Ignatius* in his late eighteenth-century refashioning of an antique *Antinous* into a *Ganymede*. See Jessica Hughes, "The Myth of Return: Restoration as Reception in Eighteenth-Century Rome," *Classical Reception Journal* 3, 1 (2011): 19.

[304] Often, the death of Bernini was offered as the symbolic fulcrum of this shift. Antonio Munoz, Rudolf Wittkower, and Hanns Gross characterize the sculptors following Bernini as epigones stunted by his legacy almost eighty years apart. See Antonio Munoz, *Classicismo artistico nel seicento e nel settecento* (Rome: E. Armani, 1920), 3; Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 131; Gross, 357. Anthony Blunt claims that after Bernini's death, sculptural virtuosity continued but the conviction that informed it did not. See Anthony Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," *Art History* 1, 1 (March, 1978): 82. For the characterization of the eighteenth-century as transitional in art historiography, see Wendy Wassying Roworth, "Rethinking Eighteenth-Century Rome," review of "The Splendor of Eighteenth-Century Rome," Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Art Bulletin* 83, 1 (2001): 135.

However, over the last two decades, scholars have reconsidered this view, demonstrating that the late Roman Baroque was actually a culturally dynamic period.[305] Seeming actuality contributes to this evaluation by combining contemporary modes of reception to reveal that mystical sculptural remained a vital idiom well into the eighteenth century. Acclaimed sculptors continued to operate between discourses, even using precious materials to impart numinous realism on sanctified figures. The material value, spiritual significance, and artistic status of Giovanni Battista Maini's bronze and silver *St. Felician* (1730, Foligno, Duomo) placed it within three overlapping frames of reference. It was commissioned to replace a revered wooden statue of Foligno's patron saint that appeared lackluster after the addition of a lavish silver throne in 1692.[306] The luxurious new image moved into the same devotional roles as its predecessor, and its glittering finish enhanced its affective appeal as it mingled with the public in the streets (fig. 37).[307] The selection of Maini due to his status as "the foremost sculptor in Rome," suggests that the work's status as an aesthetic object was also significant.[308] Devotional efficacy, artistic reputation, and the illusion of reality coexist seamlessly in a compelling, moving presence.

Contemporary non-theoretical responses to comparable works on opposite ends of the Baroque period exhibit remarkably consistent attitudes. The Corsini Chapel (1729, Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano), for example, belongs to a tradition of lavish, sculpturally adorned memorial

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305 For the reconsideration of eighteenth-century stagnation, see Christopher M. S. Johns, "The Entrepôt of Europe: Rome in the Eighteenth Century," in *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joseph J. Rishel and Edgar Peters Bowron (Philadelphia and London: Merrell Holberton, 2000). Counter-reformatory figures such as Neri and Borromeo, and Baroque themes of mysticism and martyrdom remained popular subjects.

306 The history of the *St. Felician* and its commission are outlined in Jennifer Montagu, *Gold, Silver and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 136-42. The throne was offered in gratitude for deliverance from the plague of 1656.

307 ibid., 142. She describes the *St. Felician* as "an icon at once vividly real in its modeling, and reflecting a divine radiance in the richness of its materials."

308 ibid., 141. She cites the document of 1733 consigning the finished statue to the cathedral.

chapels commissioned by powerful ecclesiastic families that began with the Sistine Chapel of Sixtus V (1587, Rome, S. Maria Maggiore).[309] It fits seamlessly into a continuum that includes the Pauline Chapel (1613, Rome, S. Maria Maggiore), the Borghese Chapel (1616, Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle), and the Ginetti Chapel (1671, Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle), where the most *au courant* sculptural styles perform the same commemorative and devotional purposes. If the Corsini Chapel is backward looking, it is because it likened its subjects to their predecessors through established conventions and patronage structures; in other words, it served the same old purposes. The stylistic differences indicate what they often do: a change in the representational idiom associated with a certain place and time. The classicizing coolness of Maini's Corsini tomb may be taken as a contemporary judgment that Bernini's work is too exuberant, just as Giovanni Antonio Paracca's effigy of Sixtus V probably appeared lifeless and mannered in the mid-seventeenth century, without eschewing the consistent function of tomb sculpture.

Wittkower's discussion of the Pauline Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore exemplifies the divergent conclusions generated by aesthetic and instrumental (or devotional) viewpoints. He connects its rich ornamentation to the "neo-Medieval demand" by the likes of Molanus that the church be an image of heaven on earth, but concludes that this decorative backdrop undermines the effectiveness of the sculpture.[310] However, a contemporary source, Andrea Vittorelli's *Gloriose memorie della Beatissima Vergine Madre di Dio* (1616), praises the devotional significance of the four principle niche figures: Nicolas Cordier's *David* and *Aaron*, Camillo

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309 The decline of the family chapel in the later eighteenth century accompanied the Enlightenment challenge to intercessory masses and the neoclassic preference for the freestanding mausoleum as a funerary monument. See Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 214.

310 Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 1, 30. The spiritual aspirations governing the use of splendid materials in Jesuit interiors is discussed in Levy, *A Noble Medley*, 58.

Mariani's *St. John*, and Ambrogio Bonvicino's *St. Joseph.*[311] Over two centuries later, Luigi
Portelli still emphasizes the love and devotion inspired by the works in the chapel.[312] For Portelli
and Vittorelli alike, the enduring quality of the images is judged on their success as devotional
objects, rather than any characteristics that might be described as aesthetic. The case studies that
follow this chapter revolve around four principal works that straddle the Baroque/late Baroque
divide. Two of these, Pierre Puget's *St. Alessandro Sauli* (1666) and Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica
Albertoni* (1674), predate the turn of the eighteenth century, while the others, Lorenzo Ottoni's *Bd.
Ludovica Albertoni* (1705) *and the Holy Family* and Pietro Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross* (1714)
come after. However, the thematic, formal and conceptual similarities between all of these,
including direct influence and the creative reworking of established conventions, illustrates basic
consistencies of values and approach. It is apparent that mystical sculpture continued to be inspired
and supported by an enduring religious framework, despite its gradual eclipse in theoretically
informed circles.

CONCLUSION

Three-dimensional imagery has always demonstrated the potential to enter into uniquely
interpersonal types of relationships with the viewers who share its space. Although the appearance,
usage and expectations surrounding statuary changed over time, patterns of reception that resemble

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311 Vittorelli, 253-4.

312 Luigi Portelli, *Descrizione storico-artistico-morale della perinsigne Borghesiana Cappella eretta sul Monte
Esquilino dal Sommo Pontefice Paolo V* (Rome: Tipografia Contedini, 1849), 7. He singles out the *David*, *Aaron*, *St.
Dionysius*, and *St. Bernard* for commendation. The *Aaron* is praised for its "*atto di spargere gle olezzanti profumi
dinanzi all'altare del Signore*" (poised to spread fragrant scents before the altar of the Lord). It is noteworthy that
this book is dedicated to a member of the Borghese family.

encounters with real beings remained consistent. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the epistemological presuppositions of art theory imposed certain constraints on the nature of sculpture that made it largely insensitive to this "living" mimetic aspect of the medium. This disregard derived from a structural division within the *cinquecento* understanding of art. The conflict between the facile philosophizing of sculpture as truth, and its ability, as recognized by Varchi, to deceptively stand in for its subject, foregrounded an inherent contradiction in Renaissance concepts of representation and the essence of being. There is a difference between realism defined as the ontological fusion of form and matter, and as the naturalistic illusion of something living. The "reality" of sculpture is the paradox of an object presented in the guise of a subject; an idealized form/matter combination that is also the figural representation of something other than itself. This two-sided nature was recognized; Dolce's imaginative response is a early acknowledgment of the ability of images to evoke absent subjects imitatively or to stand as independent examples of aesthetic creativity. About a century later, Pallavicino associated the perception of living qualities in statues with rhetoric, foregrounding the suitability of this bifurcated realism for religious purposes.

The developmental overview presented in this chapter only sketches the contours of early modern mimetic sculpture; each commission had its own conditions and demands that shaped its installation and reception. Since the effects of seeming actuality are never overtly discussed in contemporary theoretical or religious sources, the analysis of specific examples is required to understand how these moving figures functioned as affective signifiers. The following three chapters contain close examinations of the use of this idiom to portray either prospective or new saints that, when taken together, reveal a forceful and flexible mode of visual rhetoric. There are several reasons for this choice of subject. Saints are complex figures that combine real personhood

and divine ideality in a single body, a difficult to represent juxtaposition of opposites that requires and reveals the expressive range of sculptural mimesis. They are individuals that express the highest spiritual values of a community, and are deliberately held up as models of piety and conduct for others to emulate. This perfectly suits them to the commemoration, memory and permanence and the transformative projection of virtue associated with statues in textual sources, and the visceral appeal of living action. Hagiographic stories of triumph and suffering on a personal scale make heroic virtue relatable, and therefore emotionally appealing. Seeming actuality is a homologous juxtaposition of engaging realism and aesthetic idealism that simulates this mingling of human and divine before the viewer's very eyes. New saints require the establishment of public personae that connect them to, but differentiate them within, the larger sanctified community. Mystical sculptures are individuated while exhibiting common signs of supernatural character. This synthesis of the particular and the general allows for the elevation of individual cultic characteristics to the level of universal intercessor. Together, the following case studies provide a sense of the temporal, modal and contextual range of mystical sculpture as a rhetorical vehicle for the representation of sanctity. Some fifty years separate the *St. Alessandro Sauli* and the *St. John of the Cross*, and the venues under consideration include a familial basilica, a cult site, a family burial chapel and a mendicant convent church. Freestanding sculpture, busts and reliefs, both behind altars and elsewhere, all develop means of enhancing affective presence in accordance with their various defining characteristics. Seeming actuality emerges as a powerful and versatile way to combine heaven and earth.

CHAPTER TWO: LUDOVICA ALBERTONI: INTERCESSORY PRESENCE IN ARISTOCRATIC ROME

The case of the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni, a Franciscan tertiary of noble origins and the subject of two sculpted altarpieces in lavish early modern Roman chapels, provides a unique opportunity to analyze the the sculptural construction and projection of a saintly identity. Bernini designed the Altieri Chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa in Trastevere for the *beata's* place of interment, and it is by far the better known of the two (fig. 38). It was a culmination of familial promotion at Ludovica's principle cult site, and a commemoration of Pope Clement X Altieri's beatification of his ancestor in 1671. Some thirty years later, Sebastiano Cipriani designed the Altieri Chapel in S. Maria in Campitelli, with sculpture by Lorenzo Ottoni and others, to serve as a funerary chapel for Angelo Altieri and his wife (fig. 39). Unlike the earlier version, this project is more overtly focused on the direct personal memorialization of the patrons. The chronological proximity and similar subject matter of the two commissions form a common ground for the comparison of the role of sculpture in different compositional, functional and thematic circumstances.

The first chapel offers insight into the use of sculpture to express the sanctity and enhance the devotional appeal of a newly created intercessor. It housed Ludovica's relics and drew supplicants predisposed to her veneration, making Bernini's mystical statue an inspiring stand-in for her absent body and a lodestone for ambient religious emotion. This figure is the most arresting element in the chapel, an encounter with sanctity in a venue oriented towards devotional expression. Different types of sculpture appear in the second project; reliefs and busts rather than sculpture in the round, which changes the structure of viewer/visitor interaction. The altarpiece is a relief, with a constraining frame and internal setting that undermine the seeming actuality of a freestanding figure, but the Altieri funerary busts are sculptural presences that directly engage the

visitor in an interpersonal fashion. An arrangement in which portraits mediate access to the *beata* suits a place where the virtues and salvific hopes of the deceased are the primary subject. This chapel does directly reference Bernini's imagery, but within an architectural and figural framework of familial identity.

I. LUDOVICA, BERNINI AND THE FIRST ALTIERI CHAPEL

Bernini's intervention in the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco al Ripa has been the subject of much scholarly analysis, and the purpose for revisiting this well-trodden territory is to consider specifically how sculpture was used to engage the viewer.[313] It is not the intention of this chapter to present a definitive reading of the chapel as a whole, although certain problems with existing interpretations must be addressed and conflicts resolved. Rather, it will explore how the general understanding of sculpture mapped out in Chapter One was realized in the service of a particular instance of visual hagiography. Statuary was linked to notions of commemoration, memory and permanence, but how was Ludovica to be remembered and commemorated, and what values promoted? Beatification transformed Ludovica's status, legitimated her cult and occasioned public imagery to redefine her hagiographic identity from a charitable matron to an ecstatic mystic. The

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313 See Frank H. Sommer, "The Iconography of Action: Bernini's Ludovica Albertoni," *Art Quarterly* 23,1 (1970): 30-38; Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism"; Christopher M. S. Johns, "Some Observations on Collaboration and Patronage in the Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa: Bernini and Gaulli," *Storia dell'arte* 50 (Jan-Apr 1984): 43-47; Howard Hibbard, "Ludovica Albertoni: l'arte e la vita," in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e le arti visive*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1987); Shelley Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love*; Marcello Beltramme, "G.L. Bernini a San Francesco a Ripa: una rilettura per una nuova proposta tematica," *Studi romani* 46, 1-2 (June, 1998): 29-59; Michela Ulivi, "La Cappella della beata Ludovica Albertoni nella chiesa di S. Francesco a Ripa," in *Bernini, Regista del barocco. I restauri*, ed. Claudio Strinati and Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milan: Skira, 1999).; Federica di Napoli Rampolla, "Chronologia della ristrutturazioni della Cappella della beata Ludovica Albertoni a San Francesco a Ripa," in *Bernini, Regista del barocco. I restauri*, ed. Claudio Strinati and Maria Grazia Bernardini (Milan: Skira, 1999).

seeming actuality, or the juxtaposition affective realism and spiritual idealism of Bernini's statue, transformed a saintly death into a gripping moment of divine union, and offered the viewer an encounter with manifest sanctity.

Scholars have approached this chapel from various perspectives. The thorough analyses of archival source material by Federica Di Napoli Rampolla and Michela Ulivi have contributed much to the current understanding of the genesis and execution of the commission, including the leading role taken by Angelo Altieri.[314] The principle interpretations of the project are Shelley Karen Perlove's *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel*, and Giovanni Careri's *Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion,* both of which contribute to this dissertation in different ways.[315] Perlove marshaled a wide variety of contemporary source material in an attempt to provide a definitive iconographic reading of the entire assemblage, but did not really investigate how different media were used to structure the significance of the whole. Careri sought to correct what he perceived to be Perlove's over-reliance on textual sources by focusing on how the varied parts of the chapel work together to create a unique meaningful experience. The concept of the *bel composto*, the unity of the arts mentioned by the sculptor's early biographers, was fundamental to his understanding of the non-linear relationships between image types. This resulted in sensitive and nuanced observations regarding the interactions between the different elements of the chapel, including the "non-indifference of materials," or the conscious selection of elements for their specific connotations. However, his

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[314] Di Napoli Rampolla, 97.

[315] The present study assumes that the sculpture does indeed depict Ludovica, contrary to the untenable claim by Marcello Beltramme, that it is an image of St. Anne. Ignoring the evidence of the commission, the patrons, and the accounts of Bernini's own contemporaries, he makes a tenuous circumstantial argument connecting the sculpture to the cult of St. Anne among the reformed Franciscans at S. Francesco al Ripa. This tepid iconographical analysis is based on a selective reading of tangental sources without concern for their relationship to more firmly documented facts, and has been largely ignored by scholars. See Beltramme, "G.L. Bernini a San Francesco a Ripa," 29ff.

insistence on strict synchronic analysis rules out consideration of iconographic or formal precedent, which obscures the richness of Bernini's innovations. Participation in the signifying structures of a cultural tradition includes deviation from pre-existing usages to express something novel, and without awareness of those usages, the novelty is cannot be ascertained.[316] The representation of Ludovica in the throes of mystic union becomes meaningful in relation to earlier artistic conventions, including her traditional depiction as a charitable *beata*, and the associations that developed around mystical sculpture as a type.

Experts on Bernini's early modern biographies called into question the pertinence of the *bel composto* as an interpretative device, despite its use by modern scholars, including Perlove, Angela Negro, Irving Lavin and Tod Marder, in addition to Careri. The basis of this critique is two-fold. Maarten Delbeke has pointed out the irreconcilability between the understandings of the term in Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini's *Lives*, and called into question whether it is even possible to consider the *bel composto* a "neutral, well-defined and unequivocal notion."[317] Franco Mormando examined the use of the term in both texts and observed that neither biographer provides an example of it anywhere.[318] In fact, Baldinucci's text is the only seventeenth-century source in which the term appears at all. The appeal of the *bel composto* as a heuristic model is its basis in contemporary writings on Bernini, who clearly did produce integrated multi-media

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316 Harold Bloom used the notion of adaptive competition with the past as the foundation of a theory of poetic influence in his seminal *Anxiety of Influence*. Walter Benjamin also recognized this process, describing the production of artworks as the creative transformation of the past, including the artist's own oeuvre. See Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 108.

317 Maarten Delbeke, "Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Bel Composto*: The Unification of Life and Work in Biography and Historiography," in *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, eds. Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Anita Levy, and Steven F. Ostrow (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 252.

318 Franco Mormando, Introduction to *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini: A Translation and Critical Edition*, by Domenico Bernini, trans. and ed. Franco Mormando (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 46-7.

assemblages, yet it appears to be an anachronism.[319] The issue is how to address a composite work like the Altieri Chapel without recourse to this historically suspect terminology. Careri's advisement to consider the implications of each image type and material, and how these interact to create a unique meaningful experience, remains prudent. More thorough consideration of the chapel's hagiographic function, and its place within the history of Albertoni-Altieri patronage, is needed to fully understand how these signs adapted visual conventions to define and assert Ludovica's saintly persona.

The history of Ludovica's representation leading up to her beatification reveals the three principal elements in the production of sainthood: the encouragement of her public following, the interests of her powerful backers, and the formal affirmation by the Church. All future saints begin with a group of devotees that provide the kernel of a cult, which, if sufficiently strong and enduring, draws the attention of the Congregation of Sacred Rites and Ceremonies. Ludovica's following, and, consequently, her family's patronage activity, was centered at her tomb in S. Francesco a Ripa. The likelihood that a candidate would be canonized or beatified was swayed by the activities of his or her supporters, either through direct influence on the pope, or the material support of cult sites and images. This bears out statistically, in the fact that nobles and clergy had much better chances of being canonized than commoners.[320] For religious orders, sanctified members affirmed the divine sanction of origin and mission, exemplified institutional values, and conferred irrefutable legitimacy to doctrinal positions.[321] For aristocratic families, a saintly ancestor was

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[319] ibid., 47.

[320] José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 33-5. For the social status of saints, see Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 54. Sallman, 159, analyzes whose testimonies appear at beatification hearings and who champions individual candidates.

[321] Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge; New

prestigious, and spoke to the moral quality of their lineage. In Ludovica's case, it was her family, rather than her Franciscan order, that was her most consistent champion.

Angelo Altieri's commissioning of Bernini's chapel was the apogee of the Altieri-Albertoni history of patronage around Ludovica's tomb, and the most visually impressive of the public commemorations of her beatification in 1671. Angelo followed in the footsteps of his great-grandfather, Baldassare Paluzzi Albertoni, who had funded a more modest renovation of the site in 1622, but under very different circumstances. The election of Clement X in 1670 made the Altieri a papal family, with a commensurate upswing in fortunes that allowed for a much more materially impressive and demonstrative decorative program. The nature of Ludovica's representation shifted as well. Baldassare's intervention supported an unofficial cult, while Bernini's project announced the Blessed Ludovica to the public. Its timing, splendor and location combined to make it the definitive declaration of her hagiographic persona, or how her official sanctity is to be understood. The charitable iconography that defined her pre-beatification imagery was replaced by a vision of divine union that affirmed the supernatural truth of her sanctity and the importance of the Altieri.

Ludovica's fortunes followed those of her family as they progressed from middling Roman aristocrats to the halls of pontifical power. She was born in 1473 to Stefano Albertoni and Lucrezia Tebaldi in a house adjacent to the church of S. Maria della Corte, in the *rione* Campitelli.[322] Her

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York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 199; Grégoire, 14. Religious orders are able to sustain pressure over time and could employ assets such as archives, libraries, and learned apologists to the cause of their candidates. Sallmann, 159 discusses the role of the dominant classes in influencing the canonization process. Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 127. Canonizations brought dedication of altars, calls to Mass in the saint's name, a heightened possibility of miraculous intervention through relics, and the creation of subjects through naming.

[322] Ugo Boncompagni Ludovisi, *Roma nel Rinascimento*, Vol. IV (Albano Laziale: Fratelli Strini, 1929), 427-34. According to one of her hagiographers, Ludovica was baptized in the parish church in Campitelli. See Giovanni Paolo di Roma, *Vita della B. Ludouica Albertoni Piermattei Paluzzi del Terzo Ordine di S. Francesco composta da un religioso riformato di S. Francesco a Ripa, ... Dedicata all'eminentiss. e reuerendiss. prencipe Palutio cardinal*

husband, Giacomo della Cetera, died in 1506 and was interred in his family's chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa in Trastevere, leaving her with four children. The Albertoni had longstanding ties with the Franciscans of S. Maria in Aracoeli, where they acquired a chapel in 1479, but the widowed Ludovica's spiritual activities centered at her husband's church.[323] Despite family opposition, she entered the Franciscan tertiary order, where she developed a reputation for piety and virtue, and became renowned for her charity. Her expenditure of personal wealth on aid for the needy was particularly appreciated during the hard years around the sack of Rome in 1527. In addition, she was reputed to have had profound mystical experiences, including ecstasies and visions of Christ. On her death, Ludovica wished to be buried with her husband, and was entombed in his chapel on Feb. 1, 1533.[324]

Ludovica's descendants proved increasingly well positioned to nurture her saintly reputation and growing posthumous cult. Her maternal aunt Gregoria had married Marcontonio Altieri, which initiated the gradual blending of the two families.[325] Ludovica's daughter Silvia married Niccolò Muti, and when two of their four children, Girolamo and Giovanna Muti, married

Altieri camerlengo di S. Chiesa (Rome: Giuseppe Coruo, 1672), 5. The church was near the house of the Paluzzi-Albertoni where Ludovica was born. The Albertoni had long owned a palace on the piazza Campitelli. See P. Luigi Pasquali, *Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli memorie insigni illustrati e corredate ai nuovi documenti* (Rome: Tipografia A. Befani, 1899), 104; Marina Carta and Laura Russo, *S. Maria in Aracoeli* (Rome: Istituto Mazionale di Studi Romani, 1988), 111. S. Maria della Corte was demolished in the seventeenth century to make room for S. Maria in Campitelli.

323 Paolo, 46. For the Albertoni Chapel in S. Maria in Aracoeli, see Carta and Russo, 111.

324 ibid., 228-34. For a listing of the Franciscan religious and tertiaries who died with a reputation of sanctity buried in Aracoeli see Casimiro Romano, *Memorie istoriche della chiesa e convento di Santa Maria in Aracoeli di Roma* (Roma: nella Tipografia della R.C.A., 1848), 566.

325 Boncompagni, 435. The history of the Altieri is well documented, and reveals that they had held lofty political and ecclesiastic positions for centuries by the time of Ludovica's birth. Marco Altieri, for example, had been named major domo to Emperor Otto III in 983. Closer to her lifetime, Mario Altieri, the former canon of St. Peter's, was named Bishop of Sutri and Nepi in 1453, and Girolamo Altieri became Governor of Tivoli in 1556. For the history of the Altieri, see Gaetano Maroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, Vol. 1 (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1844), 285-6.

Drusilla and Ottavio Altieri, the families were essentially fused into one.[326] In 1667, three years

before his election to the papacy, Emilio Altieri adopted his distant cousin Laura Altieri's husband

Gaspare Albertoni, in order to restore his failing line. This was followed by the adoption in 1670

of Gaspare's father Angelo and his uncle Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, who was

named cardinal nephew.[327] All three Albertoni subsequently took the surname Altieri.[328] The

patrimonies of the two families were formally unified through a new *fedecommesso,* a legal

mechanism that constrains the transfer of assets within a family, in order to solidify the leap in

wealth and status that accompanied Emilio's ascent to the Holy See.[329] These events transformed

the family's ability to support and promote Ludovica's cult.[330] Angelo in particular acquired works

from leading artists, including Giovanni Battista Gaulli's *The Bd. Ludovica Albertoni Giving Alms*

(1671, Los Angeles, Getty Museum) as well as Bernini's and Cipriani's chapels (fig. 40).[331] Her

first official hagiography, Giovanni Paolo's *Vita della B. Ludovica Albertoni* (1672), was authored

by a member of the Altieri-Albertoni-Paluzzi line and addressed to the *camerlingo,* Cardinal

Paluzzo Altieri.[332]

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326 Boncompagni, 466-7; Paolo, 49. Ludovica's second daughter Antonia married into the noble Mattei family.

[327] Karen Jean Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons in Early Modern Rome (1592- 1676)" (PhD diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2010), 31.

328 Anna Menichella, *San Francesco a Ripa: vicende costruttive della prima chiesa francescana di Roma* (Rome: Edizioni Rari Nantes, 1981), 56; Marina Minozzi, "Santa Maria in Campitelli," *Roma sacra* 15 (1995): 19; Boncompagni, 486; Maroni, 286. Gaspare and Laura had four boys: Cardinal Giambattista, Cardinal Lorenzo, Emilio and Girolamo. Angelo married Laura Parabiacchi. According to the inscription on Gaspare's tomb in Aracoeli, the Paluzzi derived from the Albertoni,

[329] Menichella, 32.

330 Minozzi, 19 discusses Clement X's promotion of Ludovica's cult from his election in 1670.

[331] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons'" 310.

332 See Paolo, ftpc. On page 4, the author emphasizes the age and nobility of Ludovica's ancestry. Pastor mentions a rare *vita* entitled *Istoria della B. Ludovica Albertoni* by the Franciscan Gennaro de Malta of 1672, also dedicated to Cardinal Paluzzi Altieri. See Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 31, ed. Ernest Graf (St. Louis: Herder, 1923-69), 468. The publication of the official findings of the Congregation of

There is evidence that cultic devotion to Ludovica began immediately after her death in 1533.[333] The earliest known reference to her as a *beata* appeared in the inscription on her original sarcophagus in the year of her passing, according to a transcript of 4 March 1625 by Odoardo Tibaldeschi, secretary of Cardinal Millini Vicario, then *regnante* of Urban VIII.[334] Tibaldeschi's inclusion of Latin verses invoking her protection and alluding to her miracles likely reflect an intensification of interest in her *processus* in that year. According to the conclusions of the Congregation of Rites issued in 1671, Ludovica had been continually referenced in the Franciscan *martyrologium* as *Beata*.[335] In 1587, less than fifty years after her death, the Franciscan general Francesco Gonzaga made note of the sepulcher "*della B. Ludovica degli Albertoni romana.*"[336] Her appeal among the *popolo romano* is evident in symbolic actions taken by the Roman Senate, including declaring her a *Beata* (without theological standing) and presenting a chalice and four torches to S. Francesco a Ripa in 1606, on the anniversary of her death.[337] In October of 1625, the senate went further and declared January 31, her unofficial feast day, a holiday.[338] There is

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Rites regarding Ludovica's case was likewise dedicated to Cardinal Altieri. See *Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum siuè Eminentissimo, ac Reverendissimo D. Card. G. V. Alterio Romana, Canonizationis Beatae Ludovicae Albertoniae Tertii Ordinis S. Francisci posito Super Dubio. An sentential Eminentissimi Urbis Vicarij super cultu immemorabili, et casu excepto à Decretis fel. rec. Urbani VIII confirmanda vel infirmanda fit in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.* (Rome: Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1671), t.p.

333 Boncompagni, 474. During Ludovica's *processus*, elderly Franciscan nuns from the Tor de' Specchi convent testified to the perpetuity of the cult around her tomb. Clement X refers to the *culto immemorabile*, which began on the very day of her death. Paolo, 236-41, records that devotees left offerings, including silver images, at her tomb.

[334] ibid., 470. The inscription on her sepulcher is described in Paolo, 263.

[335] *Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum, Canonizationis Beatae Ludovicae Albertoniae*, 50.

[336] Gonzaga, Vol. I, Pt. II, 178. Cited in Boncompagni, 468. Gonzaga was appointed Franciscan general in 1579.

337 ibid. 54. The declaration, occurred on Oct. 13, 1606. The gift was delivered in a solemn ceremony, including representatives of the *capoitoline magistratura*. For the 1625 ceremonies, see p. 29. See also Menichella, 34, 43.

[338] Ludovica's popularity among the Senate and the Roman people was such that one early modern author referred to the recognition of her cult as an "*Indulto concesse... à suppliche del Senato, e Popolo Romano*" (an indulgence

evidence of Albertoni influence behind these civic gestures, but they could not have taken place without a certain degree of popularity among the Roman elites.[339] It also appears that the senators were favorably disposed towards Ludovica's noble status, and several early modern references to the *beata* make a point of mentioning that she was a "*nobile Romana*."[340]

Interest in Ludovica's cause intensified in the early 1620's, as evidenced in Tibaldeschi's writings and the senate declaration. Baldassare Albertoni renovated her burial chapel between 1622 and 1626, following its acquisition from her husband's family, the della Cetera.[341] At this time, the chapel was rededicated to St. Anne, but unofficially to Ludovica as well, in recognition, according to the hagiographer Giovanni Paolo, of her popularity among the Roman people.[342] Urban VIII's tightening of requirements in 1625 and 1634 set back her prospects for official recognition, but in 1625 the cult was granted an exemption from the decrees curbing the veneration of unsanctioned individuals, likely at the urging of Baldassare, who had a personal relationship with the pontiff.[343] This sort of dispensation was not unheard of for unofficial cults with sufficient

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granted the supplication of the Senate and Roman people). See Marco Battaglini, *Annali del sacerdozio e dell' imperio, intorno all' intero secolo decimosettimo di Nostra Salute*, Tomo Terzo (Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1709), 506.

[339] Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 169-71.

[340] For example, Vincenzo Rossi, *Descrizione di Roma moderna* (Rome: Michel'angelo e Pier Vincenzo Rossi, à Pasquino, 1697), 117. Fulgence-Marie Riccardi, *L'anno francescano, ossia vite de' fratelli, e sorelle, del Terzo-Ordine di S. Francesco d'Assisi* (Turin: Mairesse, 1789), 52. She states that Ludovica was illustrious for the nobility of her blood ("*illustri per la nobilità del sangue*"). Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *La Gerarchia cardinalizia* (Rome: Nella Stamparia del Bernabo, 1703), 122, describes Ludovica as the "*gran Matrona che servì di specchio di virtù a tutta la nobiltà Romana*" (the great matron that served as a mirror of virtue to all the Roman nobility).

[341] Paolo, 255; Boncompagni, 481-2.

342 Paolo, 255-8; Boncompagni, 481-2; Menichella, 35. According to Menichella, 56, work on the chapel took place from 1622-25. In 1625, Ludovica's body and the old tomb were removed to the sacristy in order to make room for the installation of the new sepulcher. Testimony given to the Congregation of Rites in 1671 by Fr. Eleutherius Nursia, an eighty-eight year old Franciscan, indicated that the chapel was originally dedicated to the Holy Cross. See *Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum, Canonizationis Beatae Ludovicae Albertoniae*, 4.

343 *Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum, Canonizationis Beatae Ludovicae Albertoniae*, 2. Paolo mentions Urban's permission to keep a lamp burning at her sepulcher. See Paolo, 259. For Urban's efforts to formally define the

strength or backing, and Alessandro Sauli, the subject of Chapter Three of this dissertation, received the same privilege. Paolo states that Urban gave specific permission to keep a lamp burning at her sepulcher, and in the same year, Baldassare provided funds to purchase the necessary oil in perpetuity.[344] When Baldassare died in 1652, his will stipulated that at least 10,000 scudi be spent on commemorative furnishings in the event of Ludovica's canonization.[345]

The handful of images of Ludovica produced over the nearly fourteen decades between her death and her beatification testified to the longevity and continuity of her Roman following. The Altieri family offered some of them as evidence that her cult had been active for the one hundred years required by Urban VIII's reform, after consulting connoisseurs and artists to that they were of sufficient age.[346] In his report of 1654, Bellori identified the full-figure image of Ludovica offering bread to the poor on the left wall of the chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa as the earliest, claiming that it was over over 100 years old and painted in the manner of Raphael's followers (fig. 41).[347] He dated the pendentive frescos in the Albertoni Chapel in S. Maria in Aracoeli depicting Ludovica with Sts. Francesca Romana, Cecilia and Agnes to the 1570's, and identified Gaspare Celio's frescos of the same subjects in S. Francesco a Ripa as later copies (fig. 42).[348] The painter

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categories of Beata and Saint, and ban public cults before official recognition, see Rosa, 65-7. This climaxed in his bull *Caelestis Hierusalem* of 1634, which required official approval for exterior symbols of sanctity such as aureoles, rays, halos, etc. Ludovica's canonization was derailed by Urban's tightening of requirements in 1625 and 1634. See Nussdorfer, 170. For Baldassare's connection to Urban VIII, see Boncompagni, 485.

344 Paolo, 259.

345 Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri* (Rome: Associazione bancaria italiana, 1964), 172. "*L'erede se sarà canonizzata Ludovica dovrà spendere almeno 10,000 scudi in suppellettili per onorarla*" (The heir, if Ludovica will be canonized will have to spend at least 10,000 *scudi* in furnishings for her honor).

346 Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 311.

347 Boncompagni, 471.

348 Perlove, 62-63.

Giovanni Battista Gaulli, who had become very familiar with Ludovica's iconography while working for Angelo Altieri, agreed with Bellori's findings.[349] In some instances, her pre-beatification imagery included direct references to her as a *beata.* For example, a feast-day print from typographer Francesco Greuter of 1641 depicts Ludovica giving bread to a poor man with the text: "*in questa città… visse un tempo questa Beata vostra concittadina che presento a voi rediviva in questa immagine,*" (in this city... once lived this *Beata* your compatriot that I present to you revived in this picture).[350] In 1645, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli painted her with the Roman saints Eustachio, Cecilia, and Alessio for the Cappella del Palazzo dei Conservatori, and an inscription accompanied the picture referencing "B. LUDOVICÆ DE ALBERTONIBVS" (fig. 43).[351] It is likely that another of her kin had a role in this commission.[352]

This pre-beatification imagery was more than a reflection of Ludovica's following; it defined the preliminary contours of her hagiographic persona and iconography. Early images establish how the heroic virtue of a potential saint will be represented, and consequently, understood. From the outset, visual and textual sources based Ludovica's public identity on her charitable activity. She was celebrated for her aid the poor while a tertiary, and her distribution of bread became the signature reference to her *carità*. In 1587, Francesco Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua and General of the Friars Minor, addressed this subject in his *De origine Seraphicae Religionis*:

> "*In quella chiesa [S. Francesco al Ripa] è sepolto il corpo della B. Ludovica degli Albertoni romana, illustro pel suo sangue, ma più illustre ancora pei soui miracoli; di esse tante fu la misericordia e la carità verso i poveri di Cristo, che nei pani da erogarsi a questi aveva cura di nascondere monete o di oro o di argento*

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[349] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 310; Boncompagni, 472.

[350] Boncompagni, 478.

[351] ibid., 484.

[352] Perlove, 70. According to the Fasti Consulares Capitolini in the Palazzo del Conservatori, an "Ant. Palutii De Albertonib" was a government official in 1545 and 1546.

commettendo al signore che si degnasse di curarne esso la distribuzione secondo la maggiore necessità di ciascheduno."[353]

(Buried in that church [S. Francesco al Ripa] is the body of the Bd. Ludovica Albertoni Romana, famed for her lineage, but more famous for her miracles, many of them done with the mercy and charity to the poor of Christ, hiding coins or gold or silver in the bread that distributed to them and committing to the Lord to distribute them according to their need.)

Gonzaga's text was intended to raise awareness of exemplary Franciscans, but its early date, just forty-five years after her death, offers an insight into the nature of Ludovica's cult prior to the official interventions of the senate and the efforts of Baldassare Paluzzi Albertoni. It calls attention to her noble origins and miracles, but focuses mainly on her charitable activities, above all the provision of bread to the hungry.[354]

The centrality of bread in her relief efforts leant itself to Eucharistic allusions and facilitated the representation of the spiritual significance of her charity. This is apparent in the anonymous mid-sixteenth century frescos preserved in the Altieri Chapel in S. Francisco al Ripa pairing Ludovica giving bread to the poor with St. Clare holding a monstrance (fig. 44). These images were an attempt at hagiographic modeling, the process used in both written and visual sources by which a new saint is likened to, patterned after, and/or connected with an established predecessor.[355] They assert a typological logic, by which Ludovica's sanctity is equated with the great Franciscan foundress, and her charitable activity connected with the veneration of the host

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353 Cited in Boncompagni, 468.

354 Rose Marie San Juan, Rome: *A City out of Print* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001),123. She considers the image of S. Francesca Romana in the context of a citywide emphasis on charity. The theme of Ludovica's charity is treated in detail in Perlove, 21-9.

355 See Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 57, for a discussion of the practice of modeling new saints on pre-existing examples.

as active and contemplative aspects of ideal Christian lives.[356] The bread of charity and the Eucharistic wafer are shown as parallel wheaten means of drawing near to God. Although Ludovica would not be paired with Clare again, the giving of bread became a fixture in her iconography.

The other extant sixteenth-century depiction of the *beata* is the pendentive fresco in the Albertoni Chapel in S. Maria in Aracoeli dated to the 1570's and attributed to Navarra by Bellori and Gaulli.[357] Here too, she was portrayed as equivalent to official saints, in this case, the Romans Francesca Romana, Agnes, and Cecilia. Ludovica is depicted handing a piece of bread to a poor man with one hand and holding a book in the other; again evoking the active and contemplative lives.[358] This same group of figures was copied in the upper reaches of the Altieri Chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa between 1622 and 1625, as part of Baldassare Albertoni's renovation, which visually connected the two sites.[359] The effigy placed on Ludovica's new sepulcher at this time likewise connected her good works with devotional activity by depicting her crowned with rays and holding a book resembling a breviary in her right hand, while offering bread to the poor with her left. This lost image also contained the arms of the *popolo romano* in acknowledgment of the civic dimension of her following.[360] Following the exemption of her cult from the restrictions of

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356 For the conformity between Franciscan saints in particular, see Vincenza Musardo Talo, ed., *Il francescanesimo nella devozione dei santini (*Lecce: Edizioni del Grifo, 1993). The association with mystical figures such as Sts. Clare and Francesca Romana assure that Ludovica's own spiritual excesses were legitimate, and not diabolical deceptions. This was a concern in the early modern period, especially concerning female experiences. See Rosa, 69.

357 Carta and Russo, 111-4. Nicolò Trometta da Pesaro painted the ceiling in 1582 with funding left by Angelo Albertoni after his death in 1573.

358 Paolo, 264-65. He states that the bread represents her charity to the poor, while her book signifies contemplation of God's law.

359 Boncompagni, 471-2; *Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum, Canonizationis Beatae Ludovicae Albertoniae*, 16; Menichella, 56. Giacomo Mola designed the chapel.

360 *Congregatione Sacrorum Rituum, Canonizationis Beatae Ludovicae Albertoniae*, 9.

Urban VIII, prints distributed on her feast day further disseminated the image of Ludovica giving

aid to the poor.[361] The standing full-figure representation of Ludovica's charity that first appeared

in S. Francisco a Ripa retained currency until the time of her beatification. The painting was copied

on one of the piers framing the chapel of S. Francesca Romana in the Roman church of S.

Bartolommeo all'Isola, most likely in the sixteenth-century, although damage and over-painting

make it difficult to date.[362] Romanelli's panel for the Cappella del Palazzo dei Conservatori and

Gaulli's *The Bd. Ludovica Albertoni Giving Alms*, are both stylistically *au courant* versions of the

cinquecento original.[363] The frontispiece of Cesare Solatio's *vita*, the *Compendio della vita della*

beata Lodouica Albertoni della Cetera vedoua romana... (Rome: Nella Stamperia del Mancini,

1671) brought this basic composition into wider circulation (fig. 45).[364]

S. Francesca Romana was the saint that Ludovica was most commonly likened to prior to

beatification, a fellow widowed matron renowned for mystical religiosity and charitable service to

the Roman people.[365] Paolo recorded that the *beata* was an avid reader of the lives of the saints,

with special attachments to St. Francis, the founder of her order, and S. Francesca Romana.[366] This

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361 Boncompagni, 478; 484. Early imagery of Ludovica is the subject of Chpt. XXII in Paolo, 261 ff.: "Antichità dell'immagine della Beata Ludovica.

362 Karen J. Lloyd, "Baciccio's Beata Ludovica Albertoni Distributing Alms," *Getty Research Journal*, 2 (2010): 7.

363 ibid., 7.

364 For the connection between Gaulli's iconography and the Solatio vita, see Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 318

365 Boncompagni, 425, notes that she was frequently called "*continuatrice di Francesca Romana*." For descriptions of S. Francesca Romana as a charitable helper of the poor, see Armando Donatelli, *Santa Francesca Romana: La santa dei poveri di Roma e della oblate di Tor de' Specchi* (Siena: Cantagalli, 1987); Arnold Esch, "Tre sante e il loro ambiente sociale a Roma: S. Francesca Romana, S. Brigida di Svezia e S. Caterina da Siena." *Atti del simposio internazionale cateriniana-bernardiniano: Siena, 17-20 aprile, 1980*, ed. Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1982).

366 Paolo, 102.

devotion included carrying a piece of the latter's veil with her in an act of constant veneration.[367]

In his *vita*, Cesare Solatij noted how closely the two were connected, writing that before S.

Francesca Romana was canonized, "these two glorious matrons and heavenly blessed were

depicted together, one next to the other, and with equal veneration they were revered and adored

by the Roman people."[368] The pendentive frescos in the Albertoni and Altieri Chapels in S. Maria

in Aracoeli and S. Francesco a Ripa asserted this commonality with strong formal congruences

between the two. While each site included four associated figures, the resemblance between

Ludovica and S. Francesca Romana, both of whom hold books, is especially strong. Pairing more

recent saints with early Christian martyrs such as Agnes and Cecilia, was a common way of

asserting the equivalence between the charitable acts and mystical devotions of the former, with

the bodily sacrifices of the latter. It has already been noted that the book in the image of Ludovica

(and presumably S. Francesca Romana) signifies her contemplative nature, and the bread, her

active life. With these frescoes, the Albertoni positioned their ancestor as another Francesca

Romana, a contemporary analogue to the sanguinary prototypes of ancient Roman sanctity. The

full-figure image of Ludovica in the chapel dedicated to Francesca Romana in S. Bartolommeo

all'Isola also speaks to the close connection between the two.

There is sufficient material to sketch the contours of Ludovica's public persona and

principle frameworks of support leading up to her beatification. Her order expressed some early

recognition of her reputation, but her principle champions were the Roman senate, and above all,

her family. The former reflected her popularity among the *popolo romano* due to her Roman

origins and especially her charitable service. The Albertoni and Altieri maintained and enhanced

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[367] Perlove, 10.

[368] Cited in Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 318.

her burial site in S. Francesco a Ripa, ensuring that the focal point of her cult remained appealing.

Unsanctioned cults faced a paradoxical situation: official recognition required miracles as proof of

intercession, but restrictions on open commemoration made it difficult to attract people into the

devotional relationships that generate miracles, which is why papal authorities turned something

of a blind eye to the unobtrusive promotion of new cults.[369] For this reason, Urban VIII's

exemption and Baldassare Albertoni's renovation were of considerable importance for establishing

Ludovica's sepulcher as a sanctioned locus for public veneration and the display of her image,

which in turn heightened awareness of her cult. Paolo's official *vita* records the miracles that

occurred around the sepulcher and the votive offerings that accrued.[370]

Ludovica was beatified on January 28, 1671, which removed any problems with the

promotion of her cult, and occasioned a burst of promotional and representational activity. The

feast day proclaimed by the Roman senate was retained, and officially celebrated for the first time

with a special mass on January 31, 1671 in S. Francesco a Ripa.[371] Many important figures were

in attendance, including Queen Christina of Sweden, and members of the Altieri family gave bread

and money to the area poor in honor of their ancestor. It is possible that this event provided the

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369 Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 130. She finds a greater anxiety over imagery than written texts in early modern writings on unsanctioned cults, which she attributes to a greater perceived truth-value for the former, although it may also be that depictions elicit a more visceral and therefore, more compelling response. Loose enforcement of the prohibition on devotional images of the unsanctioned recognizes of the need for images to produce sanctity.

370 Paolo, 243. Rays surrounded the head of the effigy, which were usually reserved for the formally beatified. The sepulcher with *ex votos* was a living memory of the hero and his or her miracles. See de Maio, 270. These were indispensable in the canonization process, the *signa sanctitatis* of heroic virtue. For the controversy over the veneration of unofficial *beati moderni*, including Philip Neri and Ignatius Loyola in the first decade of the seventeenth century, see Ruth S. Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati moderni* in Rome ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, 3 (Fall 2011): 815-22; 826-28.

371 Boncompagni,488-90.

occasion for Angelo Altieri's commission of Gaulli's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni Giving Alms*.[372] If Karen Lloyd is correct in concluding that this painting was intended as a temporary altarpiece for the chapel, it suggests that the Altieri were considering refurbishing the site in conjunction with the beatification even prior to contracting Bernini. The first *vita,* Solatio's *Compendio della vita della beata Lodouica Albertoni della Cetera...* appeared in 1671, followed by the more comprehensive version commissioned a year later by Paluzzo Altieri from Fra Giovanni Paolo, himself a descendant of Ludovica. In each of these instances, the emphasis on charity remained paramount. The *vite* focus more on this virtue than on her miraculous spirituality, Gaulli produced an updated version of the anonymous fresco in the Altieri Chapel, and the family themselves reenacted her *carità* at the celebratory mass.

The two main representations that immediately followed Ludovica's beatification significantly changed her charitable hagiographic persona into something much more mystical. Bernini, who became involved in the renovation of the chapel in 1672 and completed his statue of the *beata* two years later, depicted her recumbent, and in the grips of ecstasy, for the first time (fig. 2).[373] The panegyric read in her honor by the Carmelite Bernardino Santini in the church of S. Chrisogono in Trastevere in the spring of 1673, and subsequently published with the title *Voli d'Amore*, also focused on her union with God.[374] He described her divine union in the paradoxical and allusive language typical of mystic writers and discussed more fully in Chapter Four, and likened her to Teresa of Avila and Maria Maddelena dei Pazzi, Carmelites known primarily for

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[372] "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 313.

[373] Perlove, 13.

[374] Santini's involvement was likely due to Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri's position as protector of the Carmelite order.

their rapturous spirituality.[375] Bernini's relationship with Santini is unclear, but he had famously rendered St. Teresa in ecstasy for the Carmelite church of S. Maria della Vittoria some twenty-five years earlier, and used a similar luminous, visionary approach to fundamentally change the representation of the *beata*. Images of charity, even when paired with symbols of contemplation, depict concrete actions that fall within the parameters of normal behavior and could be replicated by anyone. Mystic union, on the other hand, is an extremely rare and miraculous metaphysical elevation brought about through direct contact with the divine, and is only open to the most accomplished spiritual adepts. The *beata* appears bereft of conscious agency and suffused with grace, an exalted state of being that calls to mind Émile Mâle's famous remark that "*les saints de la Contre-Réforme furent eux-mêmes des miracles*" (the saints of the counter-reformation are themselves miracles).[376]

While it is possible to situate Bernini's image within the larger tendency to represent saints in mystical attitudes identified by Mâle, both Gaulli's painting and Solatio's frontispiece had depicted Ludovica with the traditional charitable iconography just a year before the chapel project got underway. This suggests that the change was a response to more specific circumstances rather than a consequence of a broad shift in artistic conventions. The two subjects correspond theologically and chronologically to different stages in the canonization process, and may have had different identity-forming purposes. Prior to canonization, hagiographic rhetoric was oriented towards making a case for the subject's fitness for official recognition, and his or her manifest sanctity could not be assumed. The juridical processes of the early modern Church involved a

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[375] See Careri, *Flights of Love*, 67-68.

[376] Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trent. Étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe du XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1932), 152-4.

carefully defined and graduated notion of the supernatural, where the measure of sanctity was the possession of a "heroic" degree of virtue.[377] By repeatedly reminding viewers of Ludovica's charitable character, the pre-beatification imagery asserted that she possessed such a virtuous nature. Once beatified, her sanctity was affirmed, and consequently a depiction of her miraculous spirituality becomes both theologically appropriate and a fitting public advertisement of this exalted status. A similar phenomenon occurred in the case of Alessandro Sauli, discussed in Chapter Three, with early imagery tending to depict his miraculous episcopate, and Puget's statue, commissioned in anticipation of a beatification that did not occur, showing him in ecstasy. Beatification meant leaving the ranks of ordinary humanity, and Bernini depicted this new status as dramatically as possible. [378]

II. BERNINI'S CHAPEL

The Altieri Chapel was a direct response to Ludovica's beatification, and as such, reveals much about the use of visual culture and patronage for hagiographic purposes. Imagery distills an edifying model of a saint's life into a single representation, which gains in graphic immediacy what it loses in expository detail. The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* occupies the compositional and theological focal point of the chapel, and is positioned to arrest the attention of potential devotees (Fig. 36), but is more suggestive of a naturally occurring presence than a constructed and

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377 Delooz, 202. Among many early Christian saints, martyrdom was the index of sanctity, the *imitatio Christi par excellence*; without wholesale persecutions, heroic nature became the standard. Weinstein and Bell, 141).

378 Saints shown as bathed in celestial light and not at work marks them as bigger than life models of heroic virtue set apart from ordinary human experience. Thomas M. Lucas, "The Saint, the Site and Sacred Strategy," in *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome and Jesuit Urbanism*, ed. Thomas M. Lucas (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1990), 17

conventionalized sign. Scholars have argued that Bernini's work was not only a celebratory exaltation of Ludovica, but also an anticipation and encouragement of her election to full sainthood.[379] The Jesuits recognized the importance of drawing subjects to the tomb of St. Ignatius Loyola, in order to bolster the strength and prominence of his cult around the turn of the eighteenth century, and it is probable that the Altieri had similar hopes for their commemorative activities.[380] If this appeal is to be effective, it must draw the attention and inspire the devotion of new supplicants, or, in Evonne Levy's terms, it must interpolate prospective subjects and draw them into its vision of sanctity. Bernini attempted this with a form of visual rhetoric that positions the beholder spatially, thematically and emotionally as witnesses to to the miracle of divine union.[381]

The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* is perhaps the masterpiece of Bernini's late career, but in some ways it looks back to his early years. The statue is most often likened to the *St. Teresa in Ecstasy*, but it is, in some ways closer conceptually to the less mature *St. Bibiana* (fig. 14). Neither Ludovica nor Bibiana were primarily known for mystic spirituality, but in both cases Bernini chose to manifest sanctity through the ecstatic comportment of divine union. The *St. Teresa* faithfully represents a well-known mystic in a recognizable narrative scene, and the flanking Cornaro busts in their loge-like enclosures add to a theatrical feeling that undermines the unmediated intimacy of the viewing experience. The *St. Bibiana* and the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* are single figures without spectators that less obviously correspond to a particular narrative moment. The former combines elements of martyrdom and divine union to indicate spiritual transformation. Death is

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379 Johns, "Some Observations on Collaboration and Patronage," 45-6. The similarity between the face of Ludovica and that of St. Anne in Gaulli's altarpiece is referred to as a "carefully considered plea for canonization."

380 Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 130-32.

381 Chantelou, 102, records Bernini's citation of Michelangelo's statement that the power of a statue to command attention is sufficiently that that "a room with only a statue overshadows one beautifully appointed."

acknowledged, albeit without drama or suffering, and salvation made clear in a singular combination of otherworldly luminosity and physicality. The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* is likewise an original realization of the transformative power of divine union, but with a greater emotional intensity enhanced by more sophisticated lighting. The fundamental similarity between the two suggests that Bernini's attitude towards mystical sculpture remained consistent for some fifty years.

The actual subject of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* has provoked considerable scholarly interest, since it does not illustrate a specific hagiographic incident like Teresa's transverberation. Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini established that it was conceived as a deathbed scene by referring to it with the phrase "*atto di morire*," and other early modern observers concurred with their position.[382] Wittkower accepted this funereal character in his seminal monograph on the sculptor, and used the idea of a transition between life and death to account for the coexistence of contradictory elements within the sculpture.[383] However, two articles appeared in the 1970's that questioned whether Ludovica should actually be understood as dying. Frank Sommer called attention to the *beata's* shoes, and argued that their inclusion suggests the temporary loss of sense in ecstasy rather than preparation for death.[384] Anthony Blunt noted discrepancies between Bernini's depiction and the account of Ludovica's death in Paolo's *vita*, particularly the absence

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[382] Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 130; Bernini, 164. Johann Jacob Volkmann, *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien: welche eine genaue Beschreibung dieses Landes, der Sitten und Gebräuche, der Regierungsform, Handlung, Oekonomie, des Zustandes der Wissenschaften, und insonderheit der Werke der Kunst...*, Volume 2 (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1770), 662. He refers to "*die Statue der sterbenden heiligen Ludovica Albertoni von Bernini*" (the statue of the dying saintly Ludovica Albertoni by Bernini).

[383] Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, fourth ed., (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 58.

[384] Sommer, 35.

of the crucifix she was said to have been holding.[385] Subsequently, Howard Hibbard took the position that she was dying, but it is Shelley Karen Perlove who assembled the most comprehensive argument for this interpretation.[386] She offered formal and iconographic reasons for the absence of the crucifix, and concluded that the deviations from Paolo's deathbed scene were to avoid situating Ludovica's passing in any one hagiographic narrative moment. Giovanni Careri noted the presence of funerary emblems on the golden frame surrounding Gaulli's altarpiece, but observes that there is nothing inherent in the statue itself that implies death.[387]

It is a testimony to the effectiveness of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* in simulating a living presence that scholars have been motivated to ascertain her exact state, as if discussing a real person. However, the figure is a construct, and is not bound to human conditions. This study agrees with Perlove's conclusion that a more generalized state of mystic death is represented, rather than a single determinable hagiographic moment. It seems safe to say that the image does have a funereal air, as Bernini's early biographers and most modern scholars agree. The figure itself may not denote death as Careri claims, although this is debatable, but the circumstantial evidence of the setting is overwhelming. In addition to the aforementioned funerary emblems, the altar beneath the statue is configured as a sarcophagus. The placement of recumbent saints on or under altars was a common seventeenth century way of representing the connection between an exemplary Christian life and heavenly intercession that actually evolved from medieval tomb effigies. The juxtaposition of sanctity, death, and the Eucharistic associations of the altar that informed Bernini's

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[385] Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 78-80.

[386] Hibbard, "Ludovica Albertoni: l'arte e la vita,"; Perlove, 38.

[387] Careri, *Flights of Love*, 66.

statue were already present in Isaiah da Pisa's tomb of St. Catherine of Siena (1430; Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva) over two and a half centuries earlier (fig. 46).

Stefano Maderno's *St. Cecilia* transformed traditional schematized figures like Isaia de Pisa's into a moving blend of sculptural ideality and realism that initiated a series of recumbent altar sculptures including the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* (fig. 10).[388] Their placement insinuated these statues into the ritual and symbolic associations of the altar as focus for cultic devotions and point of sacramental contact between heaven and earth.[389] Bernini's statue combines aspects of the effigial tomb and altar statue traditions without conforming entirely to either. The Altieri Chapel altar is an actual sarcophagus, but the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* is set above and behind, rather than directly on top of it, with an evocative red jasper drapery mediating the physical and symbolic connections between the two. Earlier altar statues, such as the *St. Cecilia,* have a lifeless appearance that more closely resembles a tomb effigy than the tense, partially upright *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*. Even Cafà's *St. Rose of Lima,* the most immediate influence on Bernini's figure and, according to Baldinucci, the first Baroque statue of a saint in the process of dying, is far less

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388 Pascal Julien, "Edifiante souffrance: l'agonie extatique, du Bernin à Pierre Legros," in *Le Bernin et l'Europe: du baroque triomphant à l'âge romantique*, ed. Chantal Grell and Milovan Stanic (Paris: Presses de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 260-3. The author observes that Maderno's St. Cecilia inaugurated a series of variations on this theme, including Nichola Menghini's *St. Martina* (1635, Ss. Luca e Martina), Cafà's *St. Rose of Lima*, Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, Giorgetti's *St. Sebastian* (1672, Rome: S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura), Francisco Aprile's *St. Anastasia* (1685, S. Anastasia) and Andrew Sala's *St. Francis* (1687, Barcelona Cathedral). It may also be significant, that there is a strong formal resemblance between the recumbent effigies on the tombs Giacomo Albertoni (d. 1596) and Baldassare Paluzzi Albertoni in S. Maria in Aracoeli (d. 1652), and the pose of the Bd. Ludovica. For these tombs, see Carta and Russo, 114.

389 de Rinaldis, 71. He describe the *St. Cecilia* as juxtaposing the cave of the tomb with the mensa of the altar. With the eventual display of real bodies beneath altars, the artistic suggestion of saintly presence is fully actualized and its signification replaced with corporeal fact, although the idealizing dimension of sculpture is lost. These include two examples in St. Peter's: the silver-covered body of Pope St. Pius X under the Altar of the Presentation of Mary and the remains of the Bd. Pope John XXIII beneath the Altar of St. Jerome. For the emphasis on the altar in post-Tridentine thought, see Rita Venturini, *I colori del sacro: tarsie di marmi e pietre dure negli altari dell'Alto mantovano, 1680-1750* (Castel Goffredo: Comune di Castel Goffredo, 1997), 21.

animated and suffused with spiritual energy (fig. 47).[390] The juxtaposition of reclining pose and irrationally roiling drapery approximates the paradoxical coexistence of tension and release described by mystic writers, making this an image of divine union as much as death.[391]

Ludovica's eyes appear open but sightless, rolled back into her head in a manner that reveals ecstasy as an "*alienazione de'sensi*," in the words of the early modern Jesuit writer on mysticism Giovanni Battista Scaramelli (1687-1752).[392] Even a cursory examination of her written hagiography indicates that she achieved divine union, although she did not write on her experiences like Teresa.[393] Fra Paolo described her mystic marriage to the crucified Christ and her heavenly visions on the road to contemplation, and credited her with having attained of a state of spiritual conformity by aligning her will to God's, terms reminiscent of the mystical spirituality of the Discalced Carmelites discussed in Chapter Four.[394] Her divine union was stated explicitly: "*nella oratione stava la Beata Ludovica tanto unita co' Dio fonte perenne d'ogni divina dolcezza, che reimpiuta l'anima sua di spirituali consolatione…*" (the Blessed Ludovica was so united in prayer with God, eternal source of all divine sweetness, which reinfused [*reimpiuta*] her soul with

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[390] Boucher, 13.

[391] See Careri, *Flights of Love*, 60.

[392] Giovanni Battista Scaramelli, *Il Direttorio Mistico: Indirizzato a'Direttori de quelle anime, che Iddio conduce per la vis della Contemplazione* (Venice: Simone Occhi, 1760), 208.

[393] Perlove discusses the accounts of Ludovica's mystical piety as presented in Paolo's *vita*.

[394] Paolo, 105-8. Chapter 14 of Paolo's *vita* is devoted entirely "Delli Estasi della Beata Ludovica," which include the usual signs, such as levitation and the emission of light. See Paolo, 201-2; 196.

spiritual consolation...).[395] Appropriately, the other significant contemporary representation of her ecstasy, the Bernardino Santini panegyric, was written by a Carmelite.[396]

The question of whether Ludovica is depicted in death or ecstasy presumes that the two states are mutually exclusive, when in fact both apply. Bernini employed the representational conventions associated with ecstasy to dramatically signify the theologically and metaphysically similar divine union that takes place in a Christian death.[397] Catholic ontology is founded on the co-joining of heaven and earth made possible by the mystery of the Incarnation, and the Altieri Chapel superimposes representations of this coming together of metaphysical opposites. The Eucharist, which takes place at the altar, is the most frequently occurring and generally accessible of these points of contact, but there are many other examples.[398] Saintly miracles and intercession, the taking on of material form by angels, and contemplation, mystical union with God, are all examples of celestial reality mingling with the terrestrial. The last of these was closely related theologically to the most invisible of all such spiritual encounters; the salvation of the soul after death through Christ.[399] Both involved alienation from the material world and oneness with the

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[395] ibid., 112, 128. The term *reimputa* is curious, as it was, according to Palladio, an architectural term for a method of antique wall-building that mingled earth and mortar together into an inseparable whole. Its usage here is a metaphor for the mystical fusion of God and the soul in divine union. For its usage, see Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura di Andrea Palladio. Ne'quale dopo un breue trattato de' cinque ordini,* primo libro (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1581), 13.

396 It is true, as Perlove points out, that Paluzzo Altieri was a protector of the Carmelites, which probably influenced the choice of Santini to author the panegyric, but the mystic and contemplative bent of that order is well known, and his selection linked Ludovica with his tradition in ways that other authors might not have. It may be noteworthy that Ottonelli and Oietro da Cortona likened the commemorative power of sculpture to panegyric.

[397] This connection was made in an eighteenth-century Franciscan collection of hagiographic sketches and reflections on the order's tertiaries. Ludovica's true imitation of Christ, who granted her miracles and ecstasies, and in whom she passed through "*agli eterni riposi,*" is described in Riccardi. 56.

[398] Eire, 1. He refers to this as religious immanence, including the power of the clergy, miracles of the saints and veneration of images.

[399] Rowan Williams, *Teresa of Avila* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1991), 144.

divine, and while contemplation was a gift awarded to the exceptionally virtuous and devout, it foreshadowed the ultimate postmortem union available to all.

The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* visualizes the fusion of metaphysical opposites through its ambiguous and paradoxical qualities. The sheer physicality of marble is undermined by the otherworldly translucence caused by light penetrating the stoney surface and playing on the drapery folds. Herbert Read once described how the lighting of sculpted surfaces can unite forms and induce an air of heightened reality or unreality, a phenomenon that Karl Noehles referred to as blend of theology and morphology called *lux divina*.400 The combination of solid materiality and supernatural luminosity creates the appearance of an indeterminate state of being, a figure of both matter and light. The coexistence of passivity and activity, tension and surrender, tumultuous drapery and a reclining pose, all reinforce this impression. Neither fully recumbent like Cafà's *St. Rose*, nor soaring heavenward like Raggi's *St. Andrew* (early 1660's, Rome, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale), the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* falls somewhere in-between, momentarily suspended between this world and the next (fig. 48). Perlove's observation that the absence of the crucifix mentioned in Paolo's *vita* separated her death from a specific hagiographic moment is germane here. The *beata's* passing is freed from the constraining associations of narrative illustration to join the Eucharist at the altar below as immediate manifestations of the divine presence that empowers salvation, intercession, and transubstantiation.

Comparison with other works in Bernini's *oeuvre* further supports the notion that the statue represents metaphysical transition. In the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa,* the style of carving differentiated

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400 Herbert Read, *The Art of Sculpture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956), 105-23; Karl Noehles, "Altari scenografici nel settecento romano," *Bollettino Centro Internazionale di Dtudi d'Architettura Andrea Palladio* 17 (1975): 165. The dark tonality of the chapel epitomizes a shift in chapel decoration during the seventeenth century from light to darker shades. See Bruhns, 575.

the existential nature of saint from that of the angel. The deep undercutting of the eyes and greater use of shading in the face are techniques that the sculptor claimed are suggestive of a living countenance, making them indicative of Teresa's solid human materiality (figs. 49-51).[401] In contrast, the angel's face is more smoothly polished, making it appear a more luminous, ethereal being. This accords with the contemporary understanding of angels as intermediaries between the materiality of the terrestrial world and the ineffability of the divine. Ludovica's face is much closer to that of the angel in its smooth, luminous and vaguely undefined character, than it is to the more corporeal-seeming Teresa, which suggests that she also is not entirely of this world.

This theme of divine union is translated into a symbolic language by the gilded emblemata on the golden background surrounding Gaulli's altarpiece.[402] Flaming hearts signifying the infusion of divine love into an ecstatic mortal body are appropriately situated under the hidden windows that admit the otherworldly illumination.[403] The gilded pomegranate directly adjacent to the statue is a reference to the Song of Songs, the Old Testament poetry interpreted since Patristic times as an allegory of divine union, and a subject of intense interest in early modern Catholicism. In verse 7: 13, the fruit is described as a token of intimacy, and the process of ripening symbolizes the climate of love over the course of the season, while in 6: 15, the pomegranate blossom shows

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[401] Chantelou, 18-19.

[402] Peter M. Daly, *Emblem Theory: Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1979), 102. He writes that emblems transfer meaning from one mode to another like a fugal variation between levels of signification. According to Barthes, coded symbolic messages such as the linguistic sign or emblemata guide interpretation of a visual sign, and work to prevent the uncontrolled spread of connotations. See Roland Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image/Music/Text*, trans. and ed. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 38-39.

[403] According to the 1677 *Iconologie* of J. Baudouin, "*Amour Divin*" is a winged figure with a chalice and a flaming heart pierced with an arrow, "IHS" written on his chest, and his eyes turned upwards. The heart is flaming, because celestial love "is of a diamond nature, purified by fire and refined by patience." J. Baudouin, *Iconologie ou nouvelle explication de plusieurs images, emblemes, & autres Figures Hyerogliphiques ... Tirée des Recherches & des Figures de Cesar Ripa* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677), 15-18.

the arrival of spring in an allegorical reference to rebirth.[404] Bernini included depictions of both

the bursting and whole fruit, creating a sense of chronological movement and rebirth or

resurrection through love, and enabling the inherently static emblem to represent a dynamic

process.[405] The form as well as the content of the pomegranates became homologous to the

transitory nature of Ludovica's mystical passage, a notion of renewed vitality through love as

signifying the ultimate union with God that occurs with a proper Christian death.

The emblems make an abstract and impersonal reference to the carnal language of the Song

of Songs, but the rapturous intensity of *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* is a much more tangible, visceral

and emotionally charged evocation of its erotic content. The statue fits within a Catholic tradition

stretching from St. Gregory of Nyssa to St. John of the Cross that retained (in allegorized form)

the physical sensuality of the canticle, and used sexual union as a metaphor for divine union on

the basis of shared attributes of total abandonment, irrationality, and above all, the joining of two

separate beings.[406] Rather than an end in itself, the pleasure of sexual ecstasy is an imperfect

suggestion of the infinitely greater spiritual version.[407] This had great appeal to writers on mystical

subjects, either hagiographers, or the mystics themselves, who struggled to express sensations of

incommunicable intensity. Although separated by centuries, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Teresa

of Avila describe their ecstasies with a similar sensuality that can appear surprising to modern

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[404] Jill M. Munro, *Spikenard and Saffron: The Imagery of the Song of Songs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 80. Flowers were often used to signify the transitory nature of human life, but in the Song of Songs they invite the lovers to recognize that the time of rebirth is near, and that spring is come.

[405] Careri, *Flights of Love*, 70.

[406] George L. Scheper, "Reformation Attitudes Towards Allegory and the Song of Songs," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 89, 3 (1974): 558-59.

[407] For the use of carnal expressions of spirituality in a CR context, see Spivey, 131.

readers.[408] Fra Paolo used language reminiscent of Catherine and Teresa in describing Ludovica's union as a fusion of ardor and sweetness.[409] Bernini's most famous usage of physical rapture to suggest the spiritual, his *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, was actually a faithful rendering of the saint's own account of her experience.

The use of carnal metaphors can be problematic for a historical account of reception, because the reaction that they engender has changed a great deal since the seventeenth century. For an image such as Bernini's, a shift in attitude can create visceral emotional reactions that alter the overall impression of the work. To many post-Freudian viewers, the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* and the *St. Teresa in Ecstasy* seem plainly erotic, discomfiting images of orgasm in highly inappropriate settings. Aldous Huxley describes viewing the the former as giving "the impression of having opened a bedroom door at the most inopportune of moments, almost of having opened *Tropic of Cancer* at one of its most startling pages."[410] Less sophisticated viewers sometimes react prudishly or immaturely to the statue.[411] There is, however, evidence that representations of physical ecstasy were not troublesome in their own time, but necessary to depict an ineffable

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[408] Judy B. McInnis, "Eucharistic and Conjugal Symbolism in the Spiritual Canticle of St. John of the Cross," *Renascence* 36, 3 (1984): 137. The literature on mysticism and eroticism is too extensive to enumerate here. Louis Beirnaert, "Le signification du symbolisme conjugal" in *Mystique et Continence*, *Revue Carmelitaine* 31 (1952) is an essay by a Carmelite friar who states the aptness of sexual coupling as a metaphor for divine union. For its application to female Italians, see Anna Antonopoulos, "Writing the Mystic Body: Sexuality and Textuality in the écriture féminine of Saint Catherine of Genoa," *Hypatia* 6, 3 (1991): 185-207; Mary Ann Sagnella, "Carnal Metaphors and Mystical Discourse in Angela da Foligno's Liber," *Annali d'italianistica* 13 (1995): 79-90; Suzanne Noffke, "The Physical in the Mystical Writings of Catherine of Siena," *Annali d'italianistica* 13 (1995): 109-30; Olimpia Pelosi, "Tra eros e caritas: le 'pene d'amore' di Maria Domitilla Galluzzi." *Annali d'italianistica* 13 (1995): 307-32. For more on the tradition of mysticism inspired by the Song of Songs, see Carlo Ossola, "Apoteosi ed ossimio: retorica delle <<traslazione>> e retorica dell' <<unione>> nel viaggio mistico a Dio: testi italiani del secoli XVI-XVII," in *Mistica e retorica*, ed. Franco Bolgiani (Firenze: Leo S. Olschi, 1977), 50.

[409] Paolo, 133-36.

[410] AIdous Huxley, *Themes and Variations* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1950), 170.

411 The point derives in part from personal observation of awkward, snickering and juvenile reactions to the sculpture, where personal discomfort and sexual immaturity are poorly hidden beneath a veneer of humor.

spiritual state. St. Teresa certainly seemed unperturbed in describing her trnasverberation, and provides no sense that such language was inappropriate. Likewise, there is no hint of lasciviousness in Paolo's narration of Ludovica's mystical union, which would have been problematic to the point of outlandishness in a *vita* commissioned by her powerful descendants and champions. Both of Bernini's ecstatic sculptures appear to have been well received, which suggests that more prudish responses were the product of later mores.[412]

The condemnation of Bernini's ecstasies as inappropriately erotic appears to have begun in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. An anonymous manuscript in the Vatican Library written sometime after 1725 and published under the title "Constantine Brought to the Pillory" by George Bauer in 1976, ends with a reference to the *St. Teresa* as dragged "into the dirt... a Venus not only prostrate but prostituted."[413] Francesco Milizia (1725-98), the neoclassical critic who repudiated Baroque aesthetics in no uncertain terms, described the statue in 1787 as swooning "in an ecstasy not of Divine Love, but of very worldly voluptuousness."[414] The language of the latter is much less vitriolic than the anonymous critic, but the basic thrust of the objection is the same; the statue is morally lacking on account of its suggestive eroticism. A rough contemporary of Milizia, the French traveller and writer Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, commented on the ability of the *St. Teresa* to arouse the viewer sexually, but without the language of moral opprobrium. He writes:

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[412] Walther Weibel, "The Representation of Ecstasy," trans. Marianne Armstrong and George C. Bauer, in *Bernini in Perspective*, ed. George C. Bauer (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1976), 79. This study was a pioneering attempt to historicize Bernini's representations of ecstasy rather than judge them by anachronistic moral standards.

[413] "Constantine Brought to the Pillory," trans. George C. Bauer, in *Bernini in Perspective*, ed. George C. Bauer (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1976), 53. Franco Mormando dates the manuscript in the notes to his translation of Domenico Bernini's biography of his father. See Bernini, The *Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 365.

[414] Francesco Milizia, "Dictionary of Fine Arts: Bernini," trans. George C. Bauer, in *Bernini in Perspective*, ed. George C. Bauer (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1976), 55.

"I feel within myself if I may so say a kind of mental blush; let us quit the subject. And they call this church the church of Victory. If the peace of your soul has been disturbed by any passion, repair to the fountain of Moses and contemplate those two lions, which are lying down while two streams of water gush from their yawning mouths. The attitude of repose, in which these noble animals are represented, will calm you."[415]

The characterization of Bernini's image of ecstasy as erotic continued into the nineteenth century, even if the negative view of Bernini's proficiency did not. As George Head wrote on the *St. Teresa* in 1849: "the object altogether is a most exquisite piece of sculpture but whether or not indicative of more humanity than the artist intended to represent is certainly the most unfit ornament to place in a Christian church that can be imagined."[416] The modern variant of this interpretation is found in works ranging from tour guides to scholarly meditations, which are no longer as concerned with morality, but still assume that the image is sexualized.[417]

Contemporary Roman responses to Bernini's representations of mystic union are very different. Neither Baldinucci nor Domenico Bernini even acknowledge the rapturous appearance of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, but refer briefly to her as in an "*atto di morire*" (act of dying). The statue received less attention that the *St. Teresa in Ecstasy*, but there are a number eighteenth-century references that treat it positively while ignoring the ecstatic demeanor. Most of these are guidebooks, but there are exceptions, such as the mention of "*una Statua del Scalpello eccellente del fu Cavagliere Bernini*" (a statue by the excellent chisel of the Cavalier Bernini) in Carlo

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[415] Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, *Travels through Italy: in a Series of Letters; Written in the Year 1785* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788), 272.

[416] George Head, Rome: *A Tour of Many Days: In Three Volumes*, Volume 1 (London: Longman, 1849).

[417] See, for instance, Crispin Sartwell, *Six Names of Beauty* (London: Routledge, 2004), 58. He writes: "surely the sexual aspect of Ludovica's experience could not have been lost on Bernini and his viewers. The saint clutches her own breast; her face is transported into orgasm." For an example from a popular series of guidebooks, see the reference to "Bernini's overtly sexual Beata Ludovica Albertoni," in Sylvie Hogg, Stephen Brewer, *Frommer's Italy Day by Day* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons 2010), 110.

Bartolomeo Piazza's text on Roman cardinals of 1703.[418] The German antiquarian John George Keysler described the work as "lying in a trance," with a remarkable expression.[419] Filippo Titi referred to the "*statua della B. Lodovica scolpita in marmo perfettamente dal Cav Bernini*" (statue of the B. Ludovica perfectly sculpted in marble by Cav. Bernini) in 1763, while Ridolfino Venuti used almost the same phrasing in his description of "*la statua della B. Lodovica Albertoni scolpita perfettamente in marmo dal Cav. Bernini*" three years later.[420] In 1770, another German, Johann Jacob Volkmann, observed the "*guter Charakter*" of the dying *beata*, despite some technical flaws.[421] Gregorio Roisecco simply mentioned the existence of the statue without further comment in his guidebook of 1750.[422] By not even acknowledging the enraptured appearance of the representation, these authors imply that it was not only acceptable, but so unproblematic as to be unworthy of mention. This pattern of response, which was consistent with the established carnal language found in Teresa and Paolo, seems more pertinent to the corporeal signification of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* than concerns over eroticism in the cultural world of the late seventeenth-century Rome.

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[418] Piazza, 122.

[419] John George Keysler, *Travels Through Germany: Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorrain. Containing an Accurate Description of the Present State and Curiosities of Those Countries... To which is Prefixed, the Life of the Author, by Mr. Godfrey Schutze, ... Translated from the Hanover Edition of the German...* (London: Lind, 1758), 20.

[420] Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma* (Rome: Marco Pagliarini, 1763), 48; Ridolfino Venuti. *Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma moderna, opera postuma* (Rome: C. Barbiellini, 1766), 444.

[421] Volkmann, 622. The flaws include a lack of beauty in the hands and the mannered drapery ("*die Hände sind nicht schön [and] Die Draperie ist sehr maniert*" (the hand is not beautiful… the drapery if very mannered).

[422] Gregorio Roisecco, *Roma antica, e moderna o sia nuova descrizione di tutti gli edifici antichi, e moderni, tanto sagri, quanto profani della citta' di Roma...* (Rome: Gregorio Roisecco, 1750), 28.

The divergence in eighteenth-century attitudes is clear in a comparison between the reactions of Milizia and the slightly younger Mariano Vasi (1744-1820) to the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. The former's description of "an ecstasy not of Divine Love," is almost completely reversed by the latter's reference to the "*gruppo è considerato per la pia bell'opera del Bernini*" (group considered the most pious beautiful work of Bernini) of the "*Santa rappresentata nell'estasi del Divino Amore*" (saint represented in the ecstasy of divine love).[423] These incompatible patterns of response indicates the existence of two equally incompatible semiotic relationships, in which sculpted images of ecstasy mean completely different things. The opposing descriptions of Milizia and Vasi both recognize the ecstasy of the *St. Teresa*, but for one it is a sign of sexual pleasure, while for the other the mystical union of divine love. Vasi's reaction can be challenging to modern viewers, given the close association between eroticism and ecstasy in a modern context, but the absence of any hint of impropriety in the favorable reactions to the statues speaks to a different set of connotations.

Contemporary poetic responses to the *St. Teresa in Ecstasy* refer to her state as swooning, but whether this is due to pleasure or pain varies. One of Bernini's sons references "*un si dolce languire*" (a swoon so sweet), while Joannes Michael Silos wrote "*Anhelat, aestuatque, conciditque / Doletque, languet, et mori videtur*" (she gasps, and heaves, and swoons, and she suffers, languishes and seems to die).[424] These responses acknowledge an all-consuming physical condition, but one that does not signify erotic pleasure. Mario Praz captured something of this

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[423] Mariano Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma antica e moderna: ovvero descrizione generale dei monumenti antichi e moderni ...* (Rome: Vasi, 1807), 443.

[424] Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino* (Milan, 1812), 59. Cited in Weibel, 85; Joannes Michael Silos, Bituntinus, *Pinocatheca sive Romana Pictura et Sculptura, Libri Duo, in quibus excellentes quaedam qua profanae, qua sacra, quae Romae extant, Picturae, ac Statuae, Epigrammatis exornantur*, trans. Margaret Murata (Rome, 1678), 189. Cited in Weibel, 85.

spiritual ecstasy when he wrote: "inclined as it was to the pleasures of the senses, the seventeenth century could not help using, when it came to religion, the very language of profane love, transposed and sublimated: its nearest approach to God could only be a spirituality of sense."[425] It is not certain that Silos, Bernini, or Vasi actually perceived this as a redirected language of profane love, but if they did, it was so perfectly sublimated to be devoid of even a hint of self-consciousness or irony. It is a spirituality of sense without an attendant sexuality. However, its carnal foundation left it open to moralizing misrepresentation and misunderstanding as attitudes towards ecstasy and religion changed. Contrary to the anonymous author of "Constantine Brought to the Pillory" or to Milizia, it was not Bernini who grounded the flight of the spirit, but those who recast the image of divine union as something it was not meant to be.

The intensity of Bernini's figures, like the language used by Teresa, Paolo, and Santini, was meant to stir the passions of the viewer. Mystic union, with its ecstatic transport and swooning pleasure and pain, was incredibly dramatic regardless of sexual undertones, and well suited to the demand for the stimulation of piety expressed in religious treatises on art. Bernini placed the viewer in the company of a sensation so powerful that it superseded intellect and will, and continued to generate prudish, uncomfortable and condemnatory reactions long after the original significance was occluded.[426] In the terms of Mitchell's critique of the excessive historicizing of visual culture, the carnal intensity and emotional force of the image is abiding; what varies is its reception. What post-Enlightenment viewers perceived as eroticism was, for contemporary

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[425] Mario Praz, *The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli and Other Studies* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Ltd., 1973), 204.

426 According to her biographer, Ludovica's purity of heart opened the path to union, and her heart, not her mind, had custody of her soul. Paolo, 84, 97.

spectators, a miracle of mystical union made viscerally and immediately present in the most seemingly actual way possible.

Gaulli's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* reiterates the statue's mystical theme in more expository terms, by depicting Mary actually handing her son to her mother (fig. 52). The painting replaced Celio's altarpiece depicting a similar subject, but reduced the number of figures to the minimum needed to show the transference of Christ without any distractions or dissolution of focus.[427] The holy family remain recognizable, but the cloudy indeterminate background separated them from their spatio-temporal setting in scriptural narrative. This preserved their their significance as a Biblical archetype for union with Christ, but freed it for allegorical redeployment in other, less literal, contexts.[428] The connection between the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* and the altarpiece is reinforced by the decision to dress St. Anne, who was not a traditional hagiographic model for the *beata*, in the anachronistic garb of a Poor Clare.[429] The altarpiece also represented divine union as something in the process of happening at the present moment, like the transitory position of the statue between life and mystic death, or even the pairing of ripe and bursting pomegranates. Anne reaches for Christ and is clearly about to receive him, but the transfer is not complete, which creates a sense of temporality that is suspended right before the climactic instant.[430] Similarly, the sculpted Ludovica is represented on the cusp of her final mystic union,

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[427] See Perlove, 7, for Celio's altarpiece.

[428] This removal and redeployment of figural signifiers was described by Walter Benjamin as allegorization. See Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), 183.

[429] The Jesuit trained Agostino Mascardi advocated taking liberties with historical details to bolster theological clarity in his *Dell'Arte Historia*. See Warwick, "Poussin and the Arts of History," 140.

[430] Karen-edis Barzman, "Devotion and Desire: The Reliquary Chapel of Maddalena de'Pazzi," Art History 15, 2 (1992): 171-96. She argues that images depicting someone in the process of receiving Christ without actually having attained contact suspend narrative climax, and place the protagonist in a state of perpetually unfulfilled desire.

but hangs in a state of perpetual transition. Both altarpieces are examples of *peripeteia*, a common trope in Baroque art that refers to the reduction of the subject of a pictorial narrative to a critical moment of change.[431]

Both the painting and the sculpture include formal and thematic elements that link them to the Eucharist. The spatial relationship between the Virgin and her mother in the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* actually resembles that of the priest and the communicant during the administration of the host. Anne reaches out, demonstrating her active participation as Mary offers her the body of Christ. In effect, the holy family constitutes a sort of Eucharistic prototype, an ur-Mass at the fountainhead of sacramental ritual. The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* is flanked by torches on the golden background that carry a traditional funerary association, as in the Rainaldi Chapel, but are modified by the masks on their hafts that likely reference Priapus, a god of gardens and fertility associated with resurrection in the seventeenth century.[432] These torches bracket Gaulli's painting like a pair of altar candles, strengthening the connection between divine union and the Eucharist. Reading the torches this way suggests an additional level of meaning to the angelic heads delineating the light from the hidden windows that is evocative, if impossible to prove. According to post-Tridentine doctrine, angels were purported to attend special Masses, including the Viaticum, or last Communion, which supports the association of Ludovica's deathbed union with sacramental

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[431] A. Kibedi Varga, "Stories Told by Pictures," *Style* 22,2 (1988): 202.

432 Bertram Puckle, *Funeral Customs: Their Origins and Development* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1926), 76-7; George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 324. The funerary association of the torch is longstanding; the word funeral is derived from Latin *funeralis*, from *funis* or torch. It is also associated with Christ as the light of the world, derived perhaps from funerary processions where torchbearers lit the way. Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967, 117, notes that Priapus was the overseer of kingdom of Flora who looks both forward and back. For Bernini's early employment of masks and Priapus in his art, see Alberta Campitelli, "Erme," in *Bernini scultore: la nascita del barocca in Casa Borghese*, ed. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schültze (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 1998. It is possible that these masks are an allusion to Janus (especially the bearded face on right), who, as the two-faced god of doorways and beginnings, was also suited to themes of resurrection. See E. S. Whittlesey, *Symbolism and Legends in Western Art*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 167.

presence.[433] Flanked by 'candles' and suffused with grace, the *beata* herself is presented as a sort of Eucharistic offering.[434]

The altarpiece connects Ludovica's mystic death and the Eucharist, the personalized examples of union in the chapel, with their scriptural foundations, and demonstrates that the historically distant, events of the Bible remain ever present. The incorporation of the sacrament draws the viewer/supplicant directly into the chain of analogies that comprise the symbolic structure of the chapel, and associates the painting and the sculpture with his or her personality religiosity. The representation of divine union as something happening, rather than as a finished act, is homologous with the basic nature of a devout life as the ongoing process of working towards a reward that cannot be attained in this world. The *beata's* sanctity came after years of commitment, devotion, and privation, and while her body may be considered a vessel for divine grace, she is also a participant in this process.[435] This may account for the suggestion of both activity and passivity in the complex pose of the statue. There is also a reciprocal character to the interaction between the Christ Child and St. Anne, for while the saint actively reaches for the infant, he opens his arms to her in turn. Salvation in general requires the efforts of the individual to open the way to God's grace. Union is shown to be a mutual coming together and not a unidirectional longing.

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[433] Thomas MacNamara, *Programmes of sermons and instructions comprising (According to the course laid down by the Catechism of the council of Trent) the Apostles' Creed, the Commandments of God, and precepts of the Church, prayer and the sacraments, as also, an exposition of Christian doctrine*, Vol. II (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1881), 447.

[434] Angels and candles were prominent in early seventeenth-century representations of Last Communions. See Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 24.

[435] Bruce Boucher contrasted St. Anne's active reaching for her grandson with what he describes as Ludovica's passive reception of Christ, and likened them to an Aristotelian catharsis of contrasting emotions. However, this ignores the complex juxtaposition of opposites in the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* that suggests activity as well as passivity. See Boucher, 143.

The thematic unity of the chapel brings various media together for a common purpose, which offers a controlled environment for the direct comparison of different modes of signification that all express the same theme. The physical characteristics of each art form shape the way in which it realizes its subject and is apprehended on the phenomenological level by the beholder. The altarpiece depicts a de-localized and allegorized version of the Holy Family, but the fact that these are recognizable Biblical figures serves to distance them somewhat from the present time and place. Gaulli's style is dynamic, but it is obviously a flat picture within a frame, a depiction without the ambiguous presence and seeming actuality of a sculpture. This combination of detached accessibility and overt referentiality is capable of illustrating scriptural antecedent as a living resonance in current events, while retaining the spatiotemporal distance of the Biblical past. The gilded emblems are part of a standardized iconography of repeatable images with established meanings that functions more like a visual language. Located in the background and on the framing elements, these devices provide a sort of legible gloss on the chapel imagery that states the central themes of mystic union and Christian death and rebirth that are realized by the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*.

Bernini's statue differs from the other representations because it appears to be a currently unfolding miracle. This physical presence in the real space of the viewer enables a direct and immediate relationship that undermines the mediating effect of the more obviously referential emblems or even the painting. As Careri observed, a three-dimensional figure is better at soliciting viewer sympathy and emotional conformation than a picture, and the attitudes and expectations associated with sculpture in the early modern sources discussed in Chapter One support this contention.[436] The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* does violate certain theoretical precepts with its

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436 Careri, *Flights of Love*, 37.

irrationally turbulent drapery and representation of action, but the image of a sanctified Christian exemplar in her burial place accords with principles of commemoration and memory. While the notion of an unresolved *peripeteia* works against the significance of permanence on some levels, it was shown in Chapter One that the replacement of essence with mimesis, or the representation of an idealized persona with an idealized action, was perhaps the key innovation of mystical sculpture. Borboni's claim that a figure of exceptional virtue projects those virtues back to the public seems to echo in Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza's description of Ludovica as the "*specchio di virtù a tutta la nobiltà Romana*" (mirror of virtue to all the Roman nobility) in 1703.[437] The popular notion that sensually stimulating statues elicit reactions akin to real people was certainly borne out in the history of response to the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* as either an affecting simulation of religious rapture, or a more carnal form of ecstasy. This intense, inspiring, and above all, real enactment of overwhelming emotional experience drove the imaginative perception identified by Pallavicino as *prima apprensione*.

Mimetic naturalism leads the viewer to recognize something akin to him or herself, which is the source of exemplarity; we imitate what we recognize.[438] Bernini was well aware of the power of the eyes to move the soul, and strove for the highest degree of verisimilitude in his work.[439] According to Chantelou, Bernini claimed "images that recall the look and deeds of great men [...] fill the viewer with desire to emulate their virtues," and criticized Michelangelo's inability to make

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[437] Piazza, 122.

[438] Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 183; Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 236.

[439] According to Baldinucci it is "*maravigliosa e quasi simil cosa a miracolo si è la forza di quelli occulti semi, che negli animi di più fina tempra*" (marvelous and a thing almost like a miracle, the strength of those occult signs, in the minds of finer temper). See Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 71. Writing on Bernini's illusionism, Blunt claims that Ludovica's sheets make the viewer grasp the reality of the scene and therefore the ecstasy, just as the muscular tension in Gabrile Fonseca's hands convinces us of his penitence. See Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism." 81.

"creatures of flesh and blood."[440] The realist impulse that always marked the sculptor's *oeuvre* is

in full effect in the Altieri Chapel, where the "*pittoricismo,*" or fleshy appearance, of Ludovica's

face and hands, recalls the remarkable handling of textures in his early Borghese statues.[441] This

is particularly notable in the *beata's* throat, which protrudes in the death rattle that signals her

passing, and differentiates this final ecstasy from the mid-life occurrence represented in the *St.*

Teresa. (fig. 53). The connection between this striking realism and the ability to signify on a deeply

affective level is captured in Domenico Bernini's use of the term *tenerezza*, the same word used

by Bellori and Passeri in reference to Domenichino's *putti*, to describe his father's sculpture. This

word literally means "tenderness," but its dual meaning in seventeenth-century art writing

precludes an exact English translation.[442] It combines a technical handling of surfaces to create the

appearances of natural things, and a deep, stirring emotional effect on viewers of poignancy or

pathos. Objects are likewise handled in an illusory fashion, such as the incised lace on a pillow

that seems downy soft, a reminiscence of the youthful virtuosity of his mattress for the Borghese

Hermaphrodite.

It is possible to outline of the reception of the immediacy and presence of the *Bd. Ludovica*

Albertoni on the basis of the observations above. A statue is capable of establishing an emotional,

interpersonal-type relationship with potentially transformative effects, the potency of which is

enhanced by the realism of the figure. This is generally compatible with aspects of early modern

art theory, the demand for rhetorically efficacious art in religious sources and even the enigmatic

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[440] See Chantelou, 207, for the power of images, and 38-40 for Bernini's thoughts on Michelangelo. The sculptor also cites Annibale Carracci's comment that the *Risen Christ* does not imitate nature.

441 See de Rinaldis, 90-91 for the use of this term in relation to the *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*. He observes that much of the sensuality of this figure originates in the "*plastico-pittorici del volto e delle mani*" (pictorial plasticity of the face and hands). See also Petersson, *Bernini and the Excesses of Art*, 75.

[442] Mormando, Introduction to *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 50.

claim of Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona that sculpture may strike a viewer more powerfully than other images.[443] However, comments recorded by Chantelou indicate a gap between Bernini's conception of sculptural realism and that of the theorists, despite the use of common terminology. The sculptor echoes the old distinction from the *paragone* that sculpture is truth and painting deception, but defines the former in a way that that opposes the philosophical notion of verity as being what is represented.[444] Bernini's approach is based on illusory transformations that make a statue appear to be what it is not, or quite literally, optical deceptions. This is the gist of his oft-quoted statement about rendering "marble flexible... and make the stone as obedient to the hand as if it were so much dough or wax." His simile is illuminating because it suggests a deeper transformation than mere appearance, in the ability to alter the fundamental physical properties of obdurate stone. The contrast with Michelangelo's search for a form contained within a single block could not be starker. Of course, the nature of a simile is figurative, and the transformation Bernini describes is entirely perceptual, but it speaks to a desire for perfect illusionism through the sculptor's art.

This raises the question of how illusory deceit can be reconciled with the association between sculpture and truth. Bernini's truth is similitude to reality, or realism, but not reality itself. It is subjective rather than objective, the convincing replication of the real, rather than some essential commonality between image and subject. He distinguished the natural (or real) from imitation, telling Chantelou that "in order to imitate the natural it is necessary to create that which is not in nature."[445] This is almost Platonic in its awareness that all forms of representation are

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[443] Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona, 366.

[444] Chantelou, 205.

[445] Chantelou, 19.

fundamentally mimetic, and that the one most capable of evoking the subject is the most truthful. By this standard, painting is deceptive to a higher degree, as it is a two-dimensional surface upon which a plethora of coloristic and other illusionistic devices may be employed to depict any time, place or context. If sculpture is also illusory, an imitation based on "that which is not in nature," the only characteristic that makes it more truthful is the facticity of its presence, a mimetic representation that also exists as an actual thing in the world. This is the phenomenological distinction that enables erotic attraction, inspirational exemplarity and the semblance of psychological life.

The illusory realism of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* differs from the polychromy of Le Gros' *St. Stanislaus Kostka* (1705, Rome, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale), an almost contemporary Baroque sculpture of a saintly death, to say nothing of the painted figures in wood or terracotta common in other contexts. Bernini was unequivocal in his rejection of colored statuary and asserted the theoretical notion of sculpture as ideal form, preferably in accordance with antique models.[446] Although his own work, especially late in his career, took great anatomical liberties for expressive effect, his opposition to polychromy remained consistent, and the white marble of the *beata* possesses an idealized quality that differentiates it from a real person. However, this is not the sort of idealism commonly associated with classical perfection, but a luminous supernatural aura that paradoxically coexists with a tangible realism.[447] Directed light from hidden windows enhanced both the reality and of unreality of the work, creating a shimmering, visionary apparition that stirs

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[446] Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 72. He mentions that Bernini thought sculpture was more difficult than painting because it didn't have access to color. Chantelou records a conversation with the papal nuncio, in which Bernini stated the requirement that good art be constructed according to correct principles, or design, and offered the *Pasquino* and the *Belvedere Torso* as the best works in Rome. Elsewhere, he advised students to copy antiquity before even nature. See Chantelou, 26.

447 Johns, "Some Observations on Collaboration and Patronage," 45. He describes this as visual paradox: the sculpture appears to exist with us, but seems remote and apparitional as well.

the soul of the viewer with the very physical effects of his or her environment.[448] In terms of verisimilitude, ecstatic mystics were frequently described as emitting actual light as a consequence of divine presence, and Paolo tells of Ludovica's luminosity when describing her mystic union.[449] The play of shadows on the statue's folds and subtle changes of appearance as the sun moves across the sky combines with the reality of the illumination to create the feeling of a happening, that Ludovica is not a static representation but a supernatural event that is occurring right now. The notion that art is most effective in moving a viewer's soul when it seems to come to life, moving to move, in Bart Treffers' terms, was powerfully realized, not only in the force of expression, but in the animating instantaneity.[450]

On the other hand, the lighting creates a sense of unreality that maintains a distance between the sculpture and the viewer. The unknown source of the illumination lends itself to the suggestion of a celestial origin that sets the figure apart.[451] This supernatural air is enhanced by the placement of the cherubic heads in stucco along the diagonal path of the light. Angels, as explained more fully in Chapter Four, are spiritual entities infusing matter, and the quintessential mediators between heaven and earth. Their very presence is an expression of supernatural agency in the world. Ontologically, they are commensurate with mystic union and Eucharistic participation as

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448 For an early modern reference to the power of light to dazzle the soul, or "*rapisce l'anima per gli occhi [and] alzano gl'occhi al Firmamento*" (ravish the soul by the eyes… raise the eyes to heaven), see Pietro V. Martorelli, *Teatro istorico della Santa Casa Nazarena della B. Vergine Maria e sua ammirabile traslazione in Loreto*, Volume 2 (Rome: Rossi, 1733), 384. Bernini included narrow windows on either side of the chapel recess, but only one of these is still open; the other has been blocked up.

449 For mention of Ludovica's luminosity, see Paolo, 133. Ana de la Encarnación testified at Teresa of Avila's inquiry that she saw the saint with face lit by a bright light and surrounded by rays of gold. See Bruno de Jésus-Maria, *Three Mystics: El Greco, St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa*, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1949), 85.

450 Treffers, 366. Beyond naturalism, the figure must appear truly alive and act according to internal dictates, with every gesture an external manifestation of an inner drive.

451 Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 73. He makes this observation with regards to the Raimondi Chapel, where the relief is bathed in a mysterious and initially seemingly unexplained light.

examples of the co-mingling of celestial and terrestrial reality, only in a different form. Their bright white color radiantly stands out in the light of the windows, and chromatically reinforces their connection with the ecstatic *beata*. The shimmering, blurring effect of angelic light turns the base materiality of the sculpture into a visionary experience and transforms the chapel into a venue wherein the action of grace takes on plastic form. The *Bl. Ludovica Albertoni* seems at once compellingly real and luminously unearthly, a tangible holy woman and a vision of grace. Theologian Paul Tillich refers to this paradox as a "numinous realism," or something that presents "ultimate reality as present here and now in particular objects." It depicts things "in a way which makes them strange, mysterious, laden with an ambiguous power [...] We are grasped by it as something through which ultimate reality ultimately shines."[452]

The visual arts have long been recognized for their ability to give form to extra-linguistic concepts and use aesthetic qualities to cause a similar awed reaction to an encounter with the sacred. Thomas O'Meara echoes Tillich when he writes that art offers a mode of subjectivity: "that not only rejects the technocracy of words, but which unleashes, bestows and discloses the more of presence."[453] Faith and representation are both forms of perception that recognize the likeness between a sign and an eternal signified as well as the difference and distance between them. This is not unlike early modern mystics' use of religious art to mobilize the heart and the will to a meditative state before confronting the incommensurability of God, but O'Meara is more attentive

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452 Tillich, 222.

453 Thomas Franklin O'Meara, "The Aesthetic Dimension in Theology," in *Art, Creativity and the Sacred*, ed. Diane Apostolos-Cappadonna. New York: Crossroads Pub. Co., 1984), 206. He writes: "the Roman Catholic personality and vision do not rest easily in verbal expressions." Christine Buci-Glucksmann suggests that images may be better suited to supernatural phenomena than texts, writing of "a distance between sight and speech" that 'refers us precisely to the 'complimentary world,' to what is mystical as Wittgenstein put it. There are indeed things that cannot be put into words. They make themselves manifest. They are what is mystical." See Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Baroque Reason: The Aesthetics of Modernity*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1994), 58.

to how this mobilization occurs. Divine revelation resembles aesthetic experience because their impacts are intuitive, immediate and carried forward emotionally.[454] Vasari referred to this effect as *muovere*, and artists such as Bernini combined illusionism and splendor to induce a homologous emotional state and incline the viewer towards devotion.[455] Although subjective qualities such as aesthetic appeal or beauty are critically suspect, they are an fundamental to the effectiveness with which a work like the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* signifies spiritual meaning, engages the viewer, and situate him or her within its vision of reality.[456]

The statue is actually innovative in two interrelated ways; in addition to being an unresolved *peripeteia* removed from the usual context of charity, it is a three-dimensional presence that appears miraculous. These two characteristics work together to create an affective, mystically charged figure in the throes of a divine union that seems to be happening in the present time and place. The effect of this unconstrained immediacy on the reception of the work becomes apparent in comparison with a roughly contemporary, high quality Roman altarpiece that depicts an act of saintly charity. The *Charity of St. Thomas of Villanova* by Melchiorre Cafà (1663-9; Rome, S. Agostino) shows the titular subject giving bread to a personification of charity in the form of a

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454 O'Meara, 213.

455 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori nelle redazione del 1550 e 1568*, Vol. 2, ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Florence: S. P. E. S., 1966-87), 139. The reference to the power to "*muovere gl'intelletti ignoranti degli uomini*" is found at the outset of the life of Ugolino da Siena. According to Martin, *Baroque*, 170: "the purpose of illusionism was not merely to astonish but to assist the viewer to lift his mind from the transitory things of this world to the eternal things of the spirit."

456 Damisch makes a similar point in referring to qualities in painting that are not reducible to iconographic equivalences. See Hubert Damisch, *A Theory of |Cloud|: Toward a History of Painting*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 26. In a similar vein, O'Malley notes how historians emphasize subjects such as moral codes, religious wars, or the self-promotion of patrons over more aesthetically engaging phenomena like Baroque angels and mystical poetry; the sublime, self-transcendent and wondrous. See John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 140.

woman and child (fig. 54).[457] This work exceeds Bernini's engagement with the surrounding space, as personification of charity is located outside of the niche and extends the world of the image into real life. Yet despite Cafà's distinctive and spiritually suggestive style, these figures possess the air of a diorama, a reenactment rather than a miraculous state of being. In contrast, the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* possesses a spiritually charged aura that resists being viewed off-handedly and almost aggressively demands attention. It is a gripping embodiment of the ecstatic consequences of a life of sanctity and devotion, rather than a hagiographic advisement to do good works. It is significant that Cafà's image is not installed in the burial place of St. Thomas, but refers to a subject of well established sanctity with a principle cult site that was physically distant. The unmediated, arresting and direct presence of Bernini's statue is a realization of sanctity ideally suited to interpolate viewers and stimulate piety at the center of a newly sanctioned cult.

The interaction between the viewer and the statue is framed by the structure and signification of its setting. Regardless of the historical suitability of the term *bel composto*, the Altieri Chapel is a thematically unified assemblage in which the various elements work synergistically to reinforce the enduring truth of Ludovica's sanctity and the historical legacy of cult.[458] The way in which each part functions within the larger whole is shaped by their positions in the assemblage and the expressive qualities of their respective media. The illumination responsible for the numinous realism of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* is restricted to the niche containing the statue, which distinguishes this area from the rest of the chapel as adjacent but

457 See Rudolf Preimesberger and Mark Weil, "The Pamphili Chapel in Sant'Agostino" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975): 183–98, for an in-depth study of the monument.

458 According to Wittkower, these unified spaces with their fusions of the arts broke traditional modes and enhanced the viewer's emotional participation, as life and art, real existence and apparition melt together. This heightened affect is central to Careri's interpretation of the *composto*. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 14.

distinct natural and supernatural spaces. This configuration visualizes the transitional nature of the altar, the point of ritual contact between heaven and earth, in spatial terms. The layout was typical of the the metaphysically suggestive chapels discussed in Chapter One, although here it was complicated by the increased variety of imagery, including the painted altarpiece, emblematic elements, and the older frescos. Together, these structure a viewing experience that asserts the reality of Ludovica's sanctity within the ontology of the Church.

The inclusion of two altarpieces was unusual in Bernini's *oeuvre*, but was fundamental to its interactive nature. The Raimondi and Cornaro Chapels have single sculptures behind the altar, while the Fonseca Chapel altarpiece incorporates painting and sculpture into a single unit. The *Cathedra Petri*, if considered an altarpiece, is comprised of multiple media (sculpture and stained glass), but is also a single composition. Antonio Raggi's *Noli me Tangere* (1649, Alaleona Chapel, SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome) is placed before a painted backdrop, but these work together to create a unified narrative installation akin to a diorama. The closest Bernini came elsewhere to two separate altar images was in S. Andrea al Quirinale, but even here, only Borgnone's painting of the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* is behind the altar, while Raggi's statue of *St. Andrew* soars heavenward, above the aedicula and through the divide between the lower zone of the interior and the golden celestial dome. Only the Altieri Chapel has two distinct images, one painted and one sculpted, installed directly behind the altar but not part of a single combined representation. The dual altarpieces were something of a theological necessity, since an altar cannot be dedicated to a *beata*, but this does not dictate how the two dedicatees are to be represented. As discussed earlier, their relationship is thematic; they are parallel manifestations of divine union with different levels immediacy based on their relative placement and medium. As an allegorized narrative of scriptural prototypes, the subject of the painting is furthest removed from the reality of the viewer in space

and in time, and is depicted two-dimensionally within an enclosing frame. In contrast to this obvious representation, the statue is a numinous presence that perpetually recreates the specific miracle of Ludovica's sanctity and places it directly before the viewer. The Biblical antecedent is realized by the sculpted manifestation.

When the viewer becomes an active participant in the chapel by kneeling before the altar, he or she is positioned at the base of a diagonal axis that extends through the sculpture to the painting. This spatial relationship corresponds to a theological progression from Biblical foundation, through human intercession, to personal religiosity. Three levels of signification of divine union are arranged spatially to form a continuum of grace that advances in realism and universality as it projects out from the depths of the chapel and into the world. The narrative allegory of scriptural prototype is physically and experientially furthest from the supplicant at the altar. At the other pole, the Mass is a recurring reenactment of divine union on the altar that includes the worshipper's active participation.[459] The *Bl. Ludovica Albertoni* lies in-between the illustration and real ritual communion, a material testimony to the continuing significance of scripture in the world, and its connection to the sacramental ritual of the church.[460]

The altar that separates Bernini's mystically illuminated niche from the world of the viewer is also Ludovica's sepulcher, and a symbolically rich combination of forms (fig. 55). It is positioned as a conduit between earthly and heavenly reality, an interstitial zone that houses

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[459] As Rowan Williams put it in his study of Teresa of Avila, mysticism was not considered a psychological experience but the perception of an invisible, objective world; the same place ontologically entered by other believers through the liturgy and whose coming the scriptures reveal in Christ. See Williams, *Teresa of Avila*, 144. For a discussion of the combination of mystic experience and Eucharistic participation in the context of John of the Cross and his expressed desire for a total union beyond the brief union of the Eucharist and the abiding union of spiritual marriage, see McInnis, 131.

460 Philipp, Fehl, "Hermeticism and Art: Emblem and Allegory in the Work of Bernini," *Artibus et Historiae* 7, 14 (1986): 174. He observed in a different context, one of Bernini's gifts is to take the specifically relevant and to make it general, by imparting a dimension of universal applicability.

accessible material manifestations of divine presence such as the Host and Ludovica's relics. The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* represents a mortal body in final mystic union just beyond this divide, but connected to the altar by the red jasper drapery.[461] Noting the rough morphological similarity with the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, and the effect of the directed light in and on its shiny speckled surface, Careri interpreted the drapery as an abstraction of the divine union represented by the statue. It translates the *beata's* experience into an abstract figuration of the infusion of grace in the mortal world. Ludovica's personal experience is disconnected from a particular individual and made commensurate with the universal applicability of the sacrament.

The imagery is very different on the viewer's side of the altar, but it also reinforces the spiritual significance of the space. Bernini retained the ceiling frescoes and pendentives added by Celio and his workshop during Baldassare Albertoni's renovation of 1626, and the anonymous mid-sixteenth-century images of Clare and Ludovica on the angled walls joining the chapel to the nave (figs. 39, 42). The preservation of these images was a deliberate choice, since the replacement of Celio's altarpiece indicated a willingness to remove older works where appropriate. In isolation, the frescos continued their traditional roles of associating Ludovica with established predecessors, while serving as historical artifacts that testified to the longevity of her cult.[462] However, they also contribute to the symbolic division of the chapel space by strengthening the contrast between ordinary reality and the divine presence behind the altar. The old paintings bracket the earthly side of the chapel with representations of the active and contemplative spiritual life that highlight

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461 Careri, *Flights of Love*, 71-75.

462 For more on this, see Chapter Four, where Carmelite attitudes connecting ecstasy and martyrdom as forms of Christian death are discussed. This equivalence recurs in Baroque art, notably Bernini's sculptural program for the ceiling of S. Maria del Popolo, where contemplatives Teresa and Catherine of Siena join eight early Christian martyrs. The placement of the four saints between the viewer and the vision of God the Father with his chorus of angels in the dome is a positional metaphor for the common intercessory function that binds them across time. For more on the practice of representing old and new saints in the same manner, see Wood, 308.

Ludovica's heroic virtue and the Eucharist, the two key forms of divine union represented in the chapel. Charity and sacramental participation are universally applicable behaviors, unlike the rarified phenomenon of mystical union, and show the viewer how to reach for Christ, as charged by Gaulli's altarpiece.

The frescos are humble and rather dry by the standards of Gaulli's Baroque style, and provide a sharp stylistic contrast with Bernini's statue in the alcove above. This is appropriate to their location on the 'terrestrial' side of the altar, where, as seen in the Ceresi Chapel paintings by Caravaggio, the beauty and splendor of holiness is not always apparent in the mundane activities of a life of faith. The painted Ludovica aligns perfectly with the altar, which strengthens the association between her *caritas* and the Eucharist by positioning the impoverished recipient of her charity as a kneeling participant in a virtual Mass. By reprising the position of the poor man in the fresco, anyone praying at the altar is drawn into the symbolic progression towards union with God. On the opposite side, Clare holds her monstrance out towards the viewer as they enter the chapel, asserting the fundamental importance of the sacrament in this process, and initiating the network of relationships that link the viewer to the dazzling and affective presence that defines Ludovica's sanctity. This captures the essence of one scholar described as the power structure of baroque interpolation, a process in which emotionally gripping imagery works "to awe, to move, to demand participation," and then to impel collusion.[463]

Bernini's Altieri Chapel broke with the hagiographic convention of emphasizing Ludovica's charity, and represented her spirituality as mystical in nature. The variation of the mimetic statue type depicting ecstatic death was well suited to the need for a cult site and funerary chapel to draw viewers and communicate sanctity. This use of sculpture within an interactive

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[463] John Law, "Assembling the Baroque" *CRESC Working Paper Series* 109 (Dec. 2011): 11.

multi-media installation also offers more general insight into the unique signifying capabilities of this art form. While the paintings provide historical and scriptural context, the statue creates an interactive presence, both physical and sacral, in the heart of the chapel. The central theme of the infusion of divinity into an earthly body, is figured as a perpetually occurring event with a numinous realism that approximates the spiritual wonder of the union of God and matter. In other words, the paintings and *emblemata* offer an expository presentation of theology and hagiography, but the statue initiates an encounter, a seeming actualization of mystic union in personal form. Sanctity is defined, devotion is inspired, and new subjects drawn, by extra-discursive emotional reactions that such an encounter engenders. Catholic ontology presumes that there are certain points where celestial reality breaks through into the quotidian with marvelous effects.464 It is difficult to imagine a more compelling simulation.

III. CIPRIANI, OTTONI AND THE SECOND ALTIERI CHAPEL

Angelo Altieri's final significant act of patronage pertaining to Ludovica was a lavish chapel dedicated to her in the Roman church of S. Maria in Campitelli, begun in 1694 to serve as his own burial site (fig. 37). The genesis of this project some two decades after Ludovica's beatification, and the commissions for Gaulli's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni Giving Alms* and Bernini's chapel, speaks to the family's ongoing promotion of their ancestor's sanctity, and raises the question of the efficacy of such efforts in securing or furthering official recognition. The short

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464 Thomas Buser, "The Supernatural in Baroque Religious Art," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 108, 4 (1986): 40. He notes that by the seventeenth century, a distinct notion of the supernatural had formed, and that representations of divine agency in the world depict it as a spectacular break in the natural order. See also Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 178.

answer is that Altieri patronage ultimately proved ineffective, and that Ludovica was never canonized. Despite the visionary brilliance of Bernini's statue and its ability to interpolate subjects (it is this author's experience that the Altieri chapel remains a site of devotion), there was no efflorescence of new miracles to drive her *processus* forward. Nor is there evidence of continued civic action on her behalf on the part of the senate, as the Romanelli painting is the last significant commission dedicated to her from this body. The family's lasting legacy is an artistic one.

It is possible that Ludovica's cause suffered a similar fate to that of Alessandro Sauli, another candidate supported by his noble family that waited a long time for beatification. Benedict XIV had intended to canonize Alessandro in 1750, but the rejection of two of his submitted miracles, followed by an unfavorable cultural climate that included Enlightenment attacks on religion and the dispersion of the orders, disrupted this plan.[465] However, Ludovica was beatified much sooner, almost eighty years before the circumstances that thwarted Alessandro, leaving a lengthy period of time for her supporters to work on her behalf. Only two artistic commissions of significance appear during the span between Bernini's chapel and 1750, both of which came from the Altieri family: Angelo's burial chapel and the *Miracle of the Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* (c. 1710-20, Ariccia: Palazzo Chigi, fig. 56) by Benedetto Luti. There is no evidence that the Congregation of Rites officially confirmed the subject of the latter, or that the painting was part of a spate of activity around her cause. For all the promotion by the Albertoni and Altieri, the only time her case moved forward was when a family member had a direct connection to the papacy. The most substantial progress outside the pontificate of Clement X came when Baldassare Albertoni may have influenced Urban VIII to exempt her cult from the the latter's new restrictions. The sobering

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[465] Francesco Tranquillino Moltedo, *Vita di S. Alessandro Sauli della Congregazione de'Barnabiti Vescovo di Aleria poi di Pavia* (Napoli: Pei Tipi di Michele d'Auria, 1904), 510.

conclusion is that without a sympathetic pope, there is no evidence that familial support can drive a *processus* to a favorable outcome.

This does not mitigate Angelo's dedication to his great-great-great-grandmother, the sincerity of his efforts to define and promote her saintly identity, or the insights into contemporary attitudes towards the seeming actuality of sculpture offered by his commissions. His two chapels are particularly well suited to productive comparisons; the second chapel employs the iconography of mystic union that debuted in the first. Both are conceptually integrated environments centered on sculpted altarpieces dedicated to Ludovica and members of the Holy Family that structure their address through viewer participation. The differences between them are less superficially striking but equally significant, for they concern the nature of viewer experience, and more fundamentally, the primary function of the site. The newer work articulates saintly presence with different types of sculpture, and in a manner appropriate to a family burial chapel. Ludovica is experienced through the lens of the Altieri patrons, rather than as an immediate encounter with the thaumaturgic presence a divinely empowered intercessor, which alters the structure of the relationship between the viewer and the imagery. Rather than juxtaposed realizations of a single theme across different expressive registers, the second chapel is organized as a more linear framework. The animated and lifelike busts of the deceased provide clearest expression of seeming actuality, while the miracle of mystic union is represented by the more constrained referentiality of relief sculpture.

The history of the second chapel is more closely intertwined with that of the Altieri and Albertoni families than the first, which had belonged to the Della Cetera until its acquisition by Baldassare Albertoni in 1622. The fact that none of Ludovica's descendants were interred in S. Francesco a Ripa suggests that her chapel was important to the family for cultic reasons more than

dynastic commemoration.[466] The Albertoni chapel at the time of the *beata's* death was in S. Maria in Aracoeli, where the presence of the sixteenth-century frescoes dated by Bellori testifies to familial support and promotion of the *beata*, despite her lack of involvement with that church. The second Altieri Chapel is similar, in that it commemorated Ludovica without there being any material evidence connecting S. Maria in Campitelli to her cult. Ludovica was born in in her parents' house in Campitelli, which was located where the church now stands, but the current structure was not even built until a century after the her death. Construction on S. Maria in Campitelli began in 1619 on a site that encompassed S. Maria della Corte, the parish church where Ludovica was baptized, and the Albertoni home.[467] It was still incomplete when Pope Alexander VII ordered it rebuilt, following the plague of 1656, as a votive offering to house the venerated Madonna della Portico, which was credited with ending the outbreak.[468] The title of the church where this miraculous picture had previously hung followed the image, so the new church was named S. Maria in Portico in Campitelli.[469] Reconstruction took place from 1662-75, although the decorations were not finished until 1690.

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[466] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 324.

467 The Campitelli chapel has received a minute fraction of the attention garnered by Bernini's work. Only one scholar has dealt with the chapel in any depth. See Alessandra Anselmi, "Sebastiano Cipriani. La cappella Altieri e 'I pregi dell'architettura oda di Giambattista Vaccondio,'" in *Alessandro Albani patrono delle arti. Architettura, pittura e collezionismo nella Roma del '700*, ed. Elisa Debenedetti (Rome: Bonsignori Editori, 1993).

468 See Paolo, 5; Pasquali, 104. One eighteenth-century source refers to Ludovica as the "Glory of Campitelli." See Carlo Antonio Erra, *Storia dell'imagini e chiesa di Santa Maria in Portico di Campitelli* (Roma: Stamperia del Komarek al Corso, 1750), 47.

469 For the history of S. Maria in Campitelli, see Minozzi, 12-14. For the legend surrounding the outbreak of the plague and the miraculous cure effected with the aid of the painting, see Erra, 34-7.

The Altieri family, who resided in the *rione* in a refurbished palace, were important patrons of the new church.[470] Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri, one of the adopted Albertoni *nipote* of Clement X, provided 12,000 *scudi* for the decoration of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, and his funeral was held there in 1692.[471] Paluzzo's nephew Girolamo Altieri paid for annual masses, including one for his deceased family members.[472] Principe Angelo Altieri, Paluzzo's brother, became the most munificent family patron when he commissioned the Cipriani to design a funerary chapel dedicated to Ludovica and St. Joseph. The project took the better part of a decade, with planning underway by 1696, major works of sculpture finished by 1703, and the decorations completed in 1705.[473] The outcome was well regarded at the time; one eighteenth-century source referred to it as one of the most lauded chapels in Rome, and even today, the opulence of its costly stones and gilded metal is striking.[474]

Architecturally, the design of the Campitelli chapel is stable and lucid due to its clear rectilinear articulation. A prominent entablature follows the projections and recesses of the wall and divides the space vertically into two unequal zones. The lower portions of the lateral walls are framed by two pairs of ornate flanking pilasters; one outside the low balustrade that separates the chapel from the nave, and the other abutting narrow vertical projections adjacent to the altar wall. The matching tombs of Angelo Altieri (d. 1706) and Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri (d. 1687) occupy

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470 The Altieri palace, which had been recently enlarged, was located on the Piazza del Gesù. See Ludovico Pratesio, *Palazzi e Cortili di Roma* (Rome: Anthropos, 1987), 112-13.

471 Erra, 65.

472 ibid., 65. Decorations for the funeral included eight hundred torches. Girolamo paid for annual *cantare*, and two Masses, which must have been lavish affairs, as each was to include a *nobile catafalco*.

473 Ferrari, "Poeti e scultori," 158; Maria Pedroni Bertoli, *S. Maria in Campitelli* (Rome: Istituto Mazionale di Studi Romani, 1987), 105.

474 Erra, 66. The author lists *paonazzetta*, *giallo*, *verde* and *nero antico*, *alabastro orientale*, *pietra di paragone*, lapis lazuli and gilded metal.

the left and right walls of the chapel respectively (figs. 57, 58). Each is comprised of a bust of the deceased on a curving plinth atop an ornate sarcophagus. The busts are set against triangular panels suggestive of pyramids and mourning *putti* holding conventional funerary attributes flank the plinths. There are no epitaphs in the chapel, only a single gilded word on each plinth: NIHIL (nothing) on Angelo's tomb and VMBRA (shadow) on Vittoria's.[475]

The altar wall is differentiated from the two sides by variations in the articulation. The slightly concave *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* is flanked by gilded Corinthian columns of *verde antico* and framed in *antico giallo* beneath a wide entablature that separates it from the semi-dome. Four lions in *pietro rossa antica* bear the Albertoni arms, proclaiming the union of the Altieri and Albertoni.[476] Prominent gilded partitions divide the vaulted ceiling zone into a shallow domed region over the central area, and a smaller semi-dome above the altar. Gilded foliated bands form arches that spring from the tops of the pilasters and ring the central dome. The space between these divisions contains two semi-circular windows on the lateral walls and frescos by Giuseppe Passeri. The *Assumption of the Virgin* fills the central dome, the semi-dome contains angels bearing the crown of stars of the Queen of Heaven, and other adoring angels occupy the squinches. These images are composed *di sotto in su*, but the illusion of coextensive space is mitigated by the strict enclosure of the framing elements. Several sculptors contributed to the tombs, including Michele Maglia (Michel Maille), a sculptor of Burgundian origins who was a student of Ercole Ferrata at the same time as Cafà, and who enjoyed a long and successful career in Rome. Giuseppe Mazzuoli sculpted the bust of Angelo and the *putto* on the left of his tomb between 1699 and 1701, and Andrea Fucigna and Giuseppe Napolini carved the *putti* on the right

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[475] The uppermost *putti* originally held cartouches with the names of the deceased.

476 Erra, 66.

and on the top of the pyramid respectively. Vittoria's bust was started in 1699 and but abandoned in 1701 by Maglia and completed by Giacomo Antonio Lavaggi by 1703.[477] Lavaggi also carved its flanking *putti*, and Giuseppe Raffaelli contributed the *putto* on top of the pyramid.[478] This collaborative effort was typical of large late Baroque projects and could lead to stylistic variations, but the tombs exhibit a consistent tone of sober, almost somber, restraint throughout.[479]

Several minor sculptures are situated in the upper regions, including *putti* hanging from the entablature above the tombs, allegorical busts in the upper corners by the altar wall, and a pair of gilded angels kneeling on the cornices above the columns. Only the angels interact with their surroundings by focusing on the altar below, although without the pointed gazes of their prototypes on Bernini's Altar of the Blessed Sacrament. Even these do not challenge the architectural divisions of the interior; their cornice perches offer unobstructed sight lines to the altar as the entablature curves away behind them. Two *putti* bear a cartouche with the Albertoni arms on the entrance arch, a symbol of Angelo's continued allegiance to the name he had to renounce when adopted by Clement.[480] Overall, the tonality, extensive use of marbles, and strong linear articulation is typical of late seventeenth-century Roman chapels.[481] The palette is rich but sedate

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[477] Maglia is documented as being in Rome from 1657-1703. See Elena Montani, Erik Pender, and Dario Scianetti, eds., *Flemish Masters and Other Artists: Foreign Artists from the Heritage of the Fondo Edifici Di Culto Del Ministero Dell'interno* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2008), 19.

478 For dating and attributions see Pedroni Bertoli, 110; Schiavo, 193; Minozzi, 20; Anselmi; Oreste Ferrari and Serena Papaldo, eds., *Le Scultura del Seicento a Roma* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi editore, 1999), 225. Dates are based on records of payment to the sculptors.

[479] Edward J. Olszewski, *Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740) and the Vatican Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 232-4. He discusses collaboration in late Baroque projects

[480] With the adoption by Clement, the Albertoni line was extinguished. While this decision was taken for the social and economic benefits of becoming part of a papal clan, Angelo appears never to have fully integrated into Altieri. See Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 334.

481 Ferrari, Introduzione to *Le Scultura del Seicento a Roma*, xlvii

with predominate green and yellow tones that offset the brightness of the white sculpture and the warmth, reminiscent of Gaulli, in Passeri's frescos.[482] The altarpiece is expressive, if a bit lacking in unity, and exhibits the suave grace characteristic of contemporary French Roman sculpture, such as Le Gros' *Bd. Stanislaus Kostka*.

While the use of multiple media in the service of a single subject recalls Bernini's Altieri Chapel, the strong linear articulation of Cipriani's architecture is a lattice-like framework that organizes the figural decorations, imposing a different structural logic than the accretion of imagery in the older commission.[483] This difference can be related to several factors. On the most basic level, the chapels are shaped differently, and the rectilinearity of Cipriani's design corresponds to the configuration of his site, while Bernini had to accommodate more irregular geometries. It is also likely that changing tastes over the intervening decades contributed to the divergent appearances, especially the late Baroque predilection for sculptural decoration and extensive marble revetment in earthy tones in funerary chapels.[484] Visually, the architectural approaches correspond to functional differences between the chapels. Bernini's work is a theater of contact with the numinous realism of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni,* and rest of the interior reinforces the affective relationship between viewer and sculpture. As a cultic locus, this chapel is

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[482] Pedroni Bertoli, 109-10. Passeri also demonstrates a late *seicento* classicism in his use of pastel colors, *sfumato* effects and a precious silver tone

[483] Minozzi, 19. Pedroni Bartoli, 107 notes that Bernini's precedent is most apparent in individual details such as the appearance of the altar, which was modeled after the *Noli me tangere* in the church of Ss. Dominico and Sisto, or the mourning *putti*, which recall those in the Raimondi Chapel. Cipriani again called upon this model when he designed the altar for Bernini's statue of *St. Barbara* in Rieti Cathedral.

[484] Ferrari, Introduzione to *Le Scultura del Seicento a Roma*, xlvii-xlix. He gives Carlo Fontana's Ginetti Chapel with a relief by Antonio Raggi, the Capocaccia Chapel (S. Maria della Vittoria, 1694), with sculpture by Domenico Guidi, and the Campitelli Altieri Chapel as examples of this trend. He adds that this intense use of sculpture in noble memorial chapels requires further study, and that the development of funerary sculpture in general is not well understood from an ideological perspective at present. The Ginetti Chapel presents a fully marble interior without any painting at all., and even the fictive clouds above the altar are rendered in alabaster. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "The Ginetti Chapel at S. Andrea della Valle," *Burlington Magazine* 141, 1156 (July, 1999): 403-5.

a site of heightened devotional intensity, with imagery that gives form to this intensity and reflects it back onto the viewer. In contrast, Cipriani's project is a funerary chapel or *capellania*, bound to the Altieri family's history and position in the city, and without cultic associations beyond what is normal for any of the titular saints of the myriad chapels in Rome.[485] Funerary art balances personal status and achievement with assertions of piety and hopes for salvation, in order to attract and engage the viewer and solicit his or her prayers. Late seventeenth-century Roman monuments, like their Renaissance predecessors, express notions of personalized immortality with motifs derived from antiquity, but focus more on the fate of the soul than on worldly accomplishments. The labeling of the sarcophagi in the Altieri Chapel with the words "nothing" and "shadow" exemplify this devaluation of mortal life.

The Altieri tombs share the viewer's attention with the altarpiece, which precluded a structure based on single cynosure surrounded by multiple expressions of a common theme. Instead, Cipriani's architecture is more of a unifying framework for the funerary busts and a narrative relief, two classes of sculpture that engage the viewer in different ways. Materials were chosen for the revetment on the basis of their value and appearance and configured in harmonious and pleasing patterns, but they do not articulate an overarching theme as in Bernini's work.[486] The notion that the architecture orders the experience of the imagery and testifies to the wealth and standing of the patrons is supported by a generic resemblance with other contemporary chapels of a similar nature. For example, there are strong iconographic similarities between the Altieri Chapel

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[485] Colvin, 190. This is a category of ecclesiastic space with a history in Italy dating back to the late thirteenth century that developed into a means of expressing personal and familial identity The most effusive seventeenth-century devotional activities are recorded in conjunction with S. Maria in Campitelli involved the veneration of the miraculous Madonna ensconced in Cafà's high altar.

486 Giambattista Vaccondio, *I pregi dell'architectua oda di Giambattista Vaccondio* (1706), 5-6.

and Carlo Fontana's Ginetti Chapel (1674-1703, Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle).[487] Both are robustly articulated with dominant vertical and horizontal elements that conform to their basic rectilinear spaces, and contain rich materials, altarpieces in high relief, and tombs on the lateral walls.[488] The latter is larger, but has two principle effigies that strike prayerful poses and, like the bust of Angelo Altieri, direct their attention towards the altar (fig. 59). The architectural commonalities speak to the influence of Fontana on Cipriani, but also the relative interchangeability of these settings for lavish sculpture and social display.

Both the content and the organization of the chapel contributed to familial aggrandizement. According to legend, part of one of the walls from the house where Ludovica was born was encased within the chapel, but this sort of fragment is very different from the relics venerated in S. Francesco a Ripa.[489] Rather than spiritually connecting an intercessor to the terrestrial world, it memorialized a historical fact, making it more a souvenir than a sacred object. The relics that are contained in the mensa are from S. Angelo Martyr, an early Christian chosen because he was Angelo Altieri's name saint.[490] The decorative elements of the chapel were organized in a linear and straightforward manner, rather than an overlapping, thematic immersion; a configuration more consistent with an expository demonstration of familial piety, history and wealth than a mystical manifestation of divine union. Where the chapel does resemble Bernini's predecessor is in its use

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[487] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 330. Her analysis includes the iconography of St. Joseph in the altarpieces, the inclusion of praying figures, and the similarity of the Ginetti and Albertoni as failing noble lines.

[488] The deployment of imagery is limited and coherent in its geometrical alignment and lack of distracting inscriptions. The Ginetti Chapel, which took almost thirty years to complete, is less tightly composed. Its expansive empty floor space and more somber tonalities make it less inviting, and the incoherent combination of full-figure statues and putti with busts create the impression of pastiche.

489 Pedroni Bertoli, 104.

490 Erra, 66.

of interactions between diverse media to transform real space into an immersive representational experience. In this case, the principal works of sculpture above the altar and on the tombs integrate beholders into a network of relationships that express Altieri devotion and largess, and ultimately connect them to the intercessory reality of Ludovica's sanctity. Here also, the role of the individual components is dependent on the interactive possibilities and connotations of their image type. Consequently, the constituent parts must be analyzed individually, in order to assess their contributions to the unified whole.

The sculptural representation of Ludovica in the Campitelli chapel is a relief, which differentiates it from the other subjects of this study (fig. 3). The major landmarks discussed in the analysis of mystical sculpture in Chapter One are also either freestanding figures, or reliefs configured to resemble freestanding figures, such as Melchiorre Cafà's *St. Catherine of Siena* (fig. 60). Ottoni's composition, with its two registers and fictive spatial setting, is much closer to that of a contemporary painting than a suggestion of an autonomous person. It is an example of a new kind of relief that appeared in the middle of the seventeenth century, and synthesized pictorial structure and sculptural projection into a hybrid of the two arts. It is also unique within this dissertation for the repetitive nature of its subject matter. The other sculptures under consideration make formal and stylistic allusions to earlier works for the purposes of hagiographic modeling and the definition of sanctity, but this is the only one that depicts the same figure involved in the same sort of mystical experience as another recent statue.[491] Both its sculptural type, and its explicit reference to Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, define the nature of the altarpiece as a signifier.

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[491] Maini's *St. Anne* is equally referential, but by duplication of form rather than subject.

Ottoni (1648-1736) was a long-lived and prolific artist with a number of important Roman commissions to his name.[492] A native of Rome, he was apprenticed to Antonio Giorgetti from the age of ten to fifteen, then joined the larger workshop of Ercole Ferrata, where he learned the style and technical language of the Roman mainstream. In 1678, his name appears in the atelier of Gioseppe Giorgettti, who had taken over the family studio following his brother's death in 1669.[493] The Giorgetti brothers had a close relationship with the Barberini, and Ottoni worked on commissions for the powerful family while in Gioseppe's workshop. This led to commissions of his own from Cardinal Carlo Barberini, including a series of busts in the late 1680's and restoration work on the family's collection of antiquities. A commission from Louis XIV of France for a copy of the Vatican *Nile Belvedere* (1687-92), furthered Ottoni's contact with antique sculpture, and is considered the beginning of the roughly thirty year long prime of his career. In 1691, he was elected to the Academy of St. Luke in Rome and a year later he started work under Theodon on the Ignatius Chapel in the Gesù and under Carlo Fontana on the Tomb of Queen Christina of Sweden. In addition to the *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and The Holy Family*, Ottoni's major works of the first two decades of the eighteenth century include the Monument to Scipione and Geronima Santacroce (1707, Rome, S. Maria in Publicolis) and the *St. Thaddeus* (1712, Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano). For thirty years he worked for the *Fabrica* of St. Peter's, including sculpture for the colonnade arms, narthex vault, lateral chapel drums, and stucco allegories in the spandrels.

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492 Robert Enggass, "Laurentius Ottoni Rom. Vat. Basilicae Sculptor," *Storia dell'arte* 15/16 (1972): 315-18; Anthony Roth, "A Portrait Bust of Maffeo Barberini, Prince of Palestrina," *Apollo* 122, 281 (July, 1985): 26; Elena di Gioia, "Lorenzo Ottoni e Michele Maille: due bassorilievi marmorei per l'ospezio apostolico dei poveri invalidi al Museo di Roma," *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Rom*a.3 (1989): 139-54.

493 Montagu, Jennifer. "Antonio and Gioseppe Giorgetti: Sculptors to Cardinal Francesco Barberini." *Art Bulletin* 52, 3 (1970): 279. There is a languor in Ottoni's stucco work for the S. Cecilia Chapel in the Roman church of S. Carlo ai Catinari reminiscent of the Giorgetti. See Thomas Pickrel, "Maglia, Theodon and Ottoni at S. Carlo ai Catinari: A Note on the Sculptures in the Chapel of St. Cecilia," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 23, 24 (1984): 36.

The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* may be one of Ottoni's first major independent works, but it already exhibits the suavity associated with his mature style. Iconographically, it is indebted to Bernini's Altieri Chapel, although the nature of this reference is altered by the difference in sculptural form. The relief consciously cites the earlier statue, but it asserts the facticity of divine union without the immediate numinous realism of seeming actuality. In this relationship, the cult chapel acts as the authoritative expression of Ludovica's sanctity, which can then be referred to in other contexts. The shift from illusory presence to the overt reference to an earlier work of art raises problem in the historiography of the later Baroque. Art historians have sometimes characterized the stylistic change from Bernini's idiom to the French-influenced classicism favored by Ottoni, as a sign that aesthetic self-consciousness was replacing the raw expression of religious emotion. This accusation is problematic for reasons addressed in Chapter One, and while it is true that the relief foregrounds its representational status by openly quoting an earlier image, its expressive role within the chapel was to establish a visual link to Ludovica's cult site. Seeming actuality is not required, since the busts provide the illusory presence that engages and addresses the viewer.

Relief occupies an unstable place in early modern art theory that is never systematically resolved. The hybrid nature of a pictorial field comprised of figures against a ground like a painting, but rendered with the materials and techniques of sculpture, fits poorly in a discourse founded on clear categorizations and contrasts between the arts. When relief was considered, it was placed under the rubric of sculpture, since it had an impeccable antique pedigree and its facture required the same high value materials, tools and labor-intensive practices. However, as a self-contained pictorial composition, rather than a free-standing object in the world, it was exempted it from many of the limitations placed on statues in the round. Renaissance Florentines classified

relief as a subcategory of sculpture, but attributed to it the sort of descriptive capacity associated with painting.[494] Vasari's definition of sculpture as individuals or small groups of no more than two or three figures ruled out the elaborate narrative subjects of painted *istorie*, and therefore his quality of *invenzone*, or the skillful arrangement of larger groups of figures, did not apply to it.[495] Vasari does use *invenzione* to adjudicate figural groupings in relief scenes, acknowledging that this type of sculpture can represent *istorie*.[496] Borghini uses the term "disposition" to describe the composition of *historie* in relief as well as painting, but not freestanding sculpture, which is declared incapable of such subjects.[497] In both cases, relief is permitted a capacity for narrative representation associated with painting.

Categorical slipperiness still cleaves to relief sculpture over a century later, even among the art theorists who asserted the impropriety of sculptural aspirations to narrative. In his *Vite,* Bellori chided sculptors who sought to tell stories, and advised them to stay away from *historia*.[498] Passeri's etymology of *statua* as *sto stas*, described in Chapter One, was the basis for his argument that sculpture ought only to produce immobile and enduring *simulacro*, not vital, changing *personaggio*. *Historia*, he claimed, required a capacity to represent action that sculpture only

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494 For Vasari's classifications and technical terminology, see Michael J. Liebmann, "Giorgio Vasari on Relief." *Acta historiae atrium* 27, 3-4 (1981): 281-86. When Vasari does consider relief, it appears as an afterthought at the end of his piece on sculpture. His claim that relief originated as a form of statuary for places lacking sufficient space for figures in the round, suggests that it is a simple if compromised offshoot from the main stem of sculpture. See Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehose (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1960), 154.

495 It is this limited definition of sculpture that prevented the fine arts tradition as predicated on rigid definition and separation of media from being able to accommodate narrative groupings of freestanding works such as the *tableaux* of Niccolo dell'Arca. This reading of Vasari is developed in Frangenberg, 116-17.

496 Frangenberg, 117.

497 ibid., 119-20.

498 Bellori, 6.

possesses in relief.[499] In his laudatory text on Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Ginetti of 1687, L. Queba e Tuna describes the sculpted altarpiece in the Ginetti Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle in terms of a painting, writing "*La tavola, o vogliam chiamar Quadro, e tutto un gran bassorilievo coll'immagine della Beatissima Virgine…*" (The panel, or let us call it painting, is all one great relief with the image of the Blessed Virgin).[500] As an image that reads like a painting but possesses the tactile qualities of sculpture, relief even falls between the eighteenth-century sense-based definitions of Herder and Lessing.

Baldinucci's lexicon is based in workshop terminology and does not fit with the classicizing ethos of Roman theory, but it offers the most evocative contemporary conceptualization of relief hybridity. The author is typical in categorizing relief as a type of sculpture; his *statua* is an expansive category of three-dimensional imagery that includes all sculpted or cast images in wood, earth, plaster, stone and metal.[501] Sculptors are classified according to the materials that they work with, not the types of sculpture they produce, and there is no technical differentiation between relief and other types of *statue. Scultori,* for example, make all types of figures in stone, *gettatori* make those in metal, etc.[502] His treatment of the term *rilievo* is more complex and is defined as both an adjective and a noun. It can refer to a sub-category of *statua* (carved panels called reliefs today), the three-dimensionality characteristic of all sculpture

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499 Ferrari, "Poeti e scultori nella Roma seicentesca," 154.

500 L. Queba e Tuna, *Il fior fenice cioè Marzio redivivo in Giovanni Francesco cardinali Ginetti* (Venice, 1687), 379, cited in Cavazzini, 404.

501 Baldinucci, *Vocabolario Toscano dell'Arte*, 17.

502 ibid., 157. He notes that the Tuscans have a variety of names to describe the makers of statuary in different media. Scultori make figures in stone that represent human and animals, while *intagliatori* work in other materials and subjects. *Intagliatori a color* work figures in wood, *gettatori*, figures in metal, *formatori a coloro* in *gesso*, *cartapesta*, or other such materials, *modellatori* work in earth and *stuccatori* in stucco.

"opposite those that we call painted works," and the painterly effects of light and shadow that confer the illusion of depth on two-dimensional images.[503] The three usages all relate to qualities of plasticity, but at different levels of realization. The first refers to a picture plane rendered in three dimensions, the second to a distinction between images that possess real volume and those that do not, and the third to a metaphorical reference to spatial illusion. The tern *rilievo* is a semantic field that combines qualities associated with sculpture in the round and painting.

The recognition that relief challenges early modern artistic taxonomies does not eliminate the importance of those categories as the grounds against which relief becomes meaningful.[504] Carefully delineated notions of painting and sculpture create the theoretical divisions that relief hybridity combines and deconstructs for expressive purposes. The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* is a full synthesis of sculptural presence and pictorial narrative into a distinct form of three-dimensional composition that is not reducible to either category.[505] Algardi's pioneering *Leo and Attila* (1646-53, Rome, St. Peters's) had essentially done away with the notion of a fixed picture plane, replacing it with smoothly integrated projecting figures and gradated carving depth to create a coherent flow of action that seems to begin behind the wall and carry into the real world

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503 ibid., 135. *Rilievo* is a "*termine di Pittura*," and he quotes the *Professori* as saying: "*per aggiunto a figura, dicendosi figura di rilivio*" (for addition to the figure, say figure in relief). This is attained "*a forze di bene aggiustati lumi ed ombre, sembra esser rilevata dal piano*" (by strength of well adjusted light and shadow, the plane appears to be in relief).

504 Philosopher John Searle has argued that it is a fallacy that the inability to make a distinction hard and fast must eliminate it as a distinction. He rejects the presupposition of deconstructive criticism that the identification of a point where a text or argument evinces inconsistency or self-contradiction must unravel the whole. Relief exists between the "mutually exclusive" categories of painting and sculpture, but rather than exploding these, it draws meaning from them. See John R. Searle, "The World Turned Upside Down," in *Working through Derrida*, ed. Gary B. Madison (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 182.

[505] Boucher, 171. The author contrasts the painterly relief that emerged in the Baroque with ancient Roman relief sculpture, which he calls mostly decorative, weak and inexpressive compared to statuary in the round. Baroque relief was ultimately supplanted by a more restrained neoclassical version.

(fig. 61).[506] Illusory and real variations of depth combine to replace the Albertian window with an *istoria* that seems to flow perpendicularly to the surface of the image.[507] Although Algardi's illusion is not perfect, the extension of the narrative into the third dimension creates a psychological immediacy that facilitates the viewer's emotional participation.[508] In this way it resembles a freestanding sculptural arrangement, but without the full seeming actuality possessed by independent figures.[509]

There is poetic evidence that the three-dimensional projection of relief possessed some of the ability of freestanding sculpture to generate affective response suggestive of living presence. The trope of the living statue, which constitutes either a metaphoric, hyperbolic or a supernatural realization of the bodily presence of sculpture, was consistently applied to relief carving in medieval and early modern Italy. For example, Chapter One of this dissertation referenced Dante's Annunciation in the *Purgatory* that seems to speak, Colonna's moving figures in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,* Ariosto's breathing, moving carvings in his *Orlando Furioso*, and Armida's palace gate in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Poets are much more likely to treat

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[506] Scholars single out the revolutionary significance of the *Leo and Attila*. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 145-46, calls it an exemplar of sculptural relief, Boucher, 152, refers to it as the wellspring of Baroque relief and Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 93, claims it initiated a new Baroque species.

[507] This sort of relief is described as halfway between pictorial illusion and reality, and was preferred to painting for the ability to efface the boundary between art and life. See Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 93. Ferrata and Retti's *Martyrdom of St. Emerenziana* (1660-1709, Rome, Sant'Agnese in Agone) and Raggi's *Urban VIII Visits the Dying St. Cecilia* (1664, Rome, Sant'Agnese in Agone) are examples of the application of Algardi's precepts. See Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 125; Ferrari and Papaldo, 6.

[508] Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 146. She notes that the effectiveness of the spatial illusion depends on the good will of the spectator.

[509] The inclusion of elements that break the frame create an ambiguity by making it part of the expressive content of the work as well as an external limit of representation. See Meyer Schapiro, "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image Signs," in *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist and Society. Selected Papers*, Vol. 4 (New York: Braziller, 1994), 8. This is fundamental to Derrida's reading of the *parerergon* as an element that belongs both to and outside of a representation

sculpted figures as real than painted ones with devices like prosopopoeia and apostrophe. In order to be perceived as living, these must be imagined as possessing a physical reality that is absent in painting, yet their activity is still contained within their pictorial compositions. The *Leo and Attila* strives for a comparable effect in practice, depicting a fixed moment in space and time like an *istoria* (in this case the Rome of 452), only with a meaning (the divine sanction of the pope as head of the Church) that spills out into the world. Maintaining the integrity of the representation made the image theoretically palatable, and the *Leo and Attila* was popular with classicist commentators for its decorum and harmony.[510]

The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* follows Algardi by setting deeply carved protruding figures against a shallow background to create a continuous outward flow.[511] Ottoni's work is more closely related to contemporary painting conventions, but it also combines perpendicular axes of movement to render a three-dimensional *istorie.* The first axis, the diagonal passing from the *beata* to the holy family, runs parallel to the image surface, in a common pictorial configuration has Victor Stoichiță referred to as a vision painting.[512] This was a standardized way of representing contact between a mortal mystic or seer in the lower register, and a supernatural manifestation above. The term "vision painting" is a little misleading, since this could also be used to represent mystical events that were not technically visions, such as imageless forms of union

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[510] The integrity of the frame as a representational limit was an important aspect of the classical notion of the autonomy of the work of art. See Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 145 Critical praise of the work, especially the alignment between the thrust of the narrative action with the orientation of the gestures and expressions is noted by Boucher, 153.

[511] The use of plasticity to create a dramatic focus with real physical presence is made apparent in comparison with Domenico Guidi's chaotic reliefs of even depth. See Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 2, 124-25.

[512] While Stoichiță's study focused on the art of Golden Age Spain, this basic configuration was so common throughout Catholic Europe as to be a convention. It provided a dramatic means of converting spiritual content into the representational system of painting, so that various forms of interiorized experience could be exteriorized in a standard pictorial formula that expressed their common significance. See Stoichiță, *Visionary Experience*, 78.

like contemplation and ecstasy. It represents contact between a spiritual adept and the supernatural, with the latter signified by heavenly beings, even if no visual experience was described in hagiographic sources. In painting, this is a two-dimensional configuration that unfolds diagonally across the picture plane, and on first glance, it appears that Ottoni's composition is oriented the same way. However, the forward projecting holy family creates a second axis that opens the vision painting relationship into the third dimension, and carries it out into the chapel.

There are Roman precedents for supernatural figures that seem to emerge from unknowable depths. Francesco Brunetti's altar relief for S. Maria in Porta Paradisi (1645) is an early use of outward directionality for the representation of mystical subject matter in sculpture. It surrounds a miraculous Madonna and Child with a turbulence of celestial beings that seem to spill into the church (fig. 62).[513] This basic configuration dates back at least to the Pauline Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, but the gradations of space in Brunetti's relief are more subtle and sophisticated.[514] They are actually redolent of Rubens' *Vallicella Madonna* (1606-8, Rome, S. Maria in Vallicella), which also seems to flow outward, but with real plastic projection, rather than a painted illusion (fig. 63). Here, cloudy supernatural space of the type found in the upper register of vision paintings is reconfigured in three dimensions, with depths of carving corresponding to levels of spiritual, rather than spatial, depth. In a two-dimensional representation, the supernatural world is located in the upper reaches of the picture and oriented downwards, but here it seems to originate behind the plane and surge through it towards the viewer. The Madonna becomes the conduit through

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[513] Ferrari and Papaldo, 324.

[514] There are painted versions that are earlier.

which divine reality literally shines forth.[515] Ottoni used a spiritual irruption akin to Brunetti's to turn the structure of a vision painting outward, and incorporate the viewer into its spiritual relationship.

According to Stoichiță, the vision painting composition was a conventionalized means of representing an interiorized spiritual experience. This makes the image scenographic and the viewing experience voyeuristic, in that the beholder witnesses the externalization of private, closed relationship along a contained diagonal axis across the picture plane. In contrast, Brunetti's composition is open, with the implied thrust of the supernatural manifestation directed outward towards the viewer rather than a depicted saint. It effectively converts the contained relationship of the vision painting into a radically interactive experience across real space, in which the altarpiece depicts the supernatural irruption of the upper register and the viewer takes the place of the visionary. Like Rubens before him, Brunetti expressed the nature of the altar as a metaphysical intermediary zone, and affirmed the miraculous Madonna as a vehicle for the entry of divine energy into the world. The viewing experience shifts from a demonstrative mode, or watching someone else's activity, to a participatory one, in which the viewer is made aware of his or her own contact with the divine. The hybrid nature of relief allowed Ottoni to invest the conventionalized reference of the vision painting format with a degree of seeming actuality, turning it into a physical projection into real space that metaphorically represents the spiritual projection of the divine. Ludovica remains the subject of mystical experience, but this experience accessible to the viewer as well. Rather than simply witnessing, he or she is invited to share in the presence of the divine flowing into the world.

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[515] Bernini's *Cathedra Petri* takes this effect to an extreme where the mass of clouds and figures no longer even have a frame, but exist as a sort of free-standing form. With some exceptions, such as Cafà's high altar sculpture for S. Maria in Campitelli, framed pictorial compositions with figures emerging from depth were much more common.

In a recent dissertation, Karen Lloyd considered the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* in relation to the patronage of Angelo Altieri and contemporary devotion to St. Joseph. Noting the absence of any reference to a vision of the Holy Family in Ludovica's hagiography, she logically inferred that the subject of the relief was devised to reflect the double dedication of the chapel.[516] Her proposal of Giovanni Coli and Francesco Gherardi's *Holy Family with S. John the Evangelist and a Bishop Saint* (c. 1670, Rome, Galleria Colonna) as a possible source for Ottoni's composition is credible on the basis of the formal similarities between the two. However, while it is true that St. Joseph was featured in other late Baroque sculpted altarpieces, such as the Ginetti chapel, which Lloyd discusses, and the Capocaccia Chapel (Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria), which she does not, the most compelling precedent for Ottoni's image is found in Bernini's Altieri Chapel. Sts. Joseph and Anne, the titular saints of their respective chapels are similarly represented as Biblical archetypes for Ludovica's mystical union with Christ. While Lloyd closely analyzed Gaulli's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni Giving Alms*, an example of Altieri patronage that depicts the *beata* in her traditional role of distributing bread, her study did not take up the hagiographic shift inaugurated with Bernini's image of ecstasy and saintly death.[517] While there are allusions to charity in Ottoni's altarpiece, including the bread and coins above the altar, and possibly the witness in the background, Ludovica's rapt posture, the apparition of the Holy Family and the conventionalized connotations of the vision painting composition all align this representation with the more recent, mystical concept of the *beata*.

How then is Ottoni's composition to be understood? As stated earlier, the vision painting structure includes two subjects: the visionary and the mystical experience, but the connection

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[516] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 329.

[517] See also Lloyd, "Baciccio's Beata Ludovica Albertoni Distributing Alms," 1–18.

between them may vary. The composition articulates its meaning relationally, by organizing its elements to signify something that may or may not be visible. What is important is the basic fact that the visionary figures show themselves, making the viewer privy to theophany.[518] In Pietro da Cortona's *Vision of St. Francis of Assisi* (ca. 1640, Arezzo, Santissima Annunziata), Mary's passing of the Christ Child to the saint is a figural metaphor for the direct connection with the divine in ecstasy (fig. 64). In Pietro's *Saint Peter Damian Offering the Camaldolese Rule to the Virgin*, (1629, Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art), the "vision" is a representation of the divine sanction of an order (fig. 65). The exact theological nature of these subjects differs, but they use the same artistic convention to depict some sort of contact between heaven and earth. Unlike most vision paintings, the relationship between Ottoni's human and supernatural beings is not reciprocal. Although Ludovica's upturned gaze is directed towards Christ, the Holy Family are absorbed in their own interaction and do not seem to acknowledge her. The relief is best understood as a figurative version of the composition, a visual metaphor for an interior mystic state, rather than a literal vision.[519] The subject is not a hagiographic episode, but another image, the definitive visualization of the *beata*'s sanctity in Bernini's Altieri Chapel.

There is overwhelming circumstantial evidence for a connection between the two chapels. It is inconceivable that the signature Altieri commission during the family's pontificate, one executed by the most celebrated artist of the era and dedicated to a beatified ancestor, would not

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[518] Stoichiță, *Visionary Experience*, 121. The experience of the theophany is of principle importance to the mystic; what the figures in a vision say or do is secondary to the basic fact that they show themselves.

[519] Art and visions have been framed in common forms of perceptual awareness since at least early modernity, which causes mystics to perceive holy figures as they appear in religious art, and enables them to recognize the content of their visions. See Joseph Runzo, "Visions, Pictures and Rules," *Religious Studies* 13 (1977): 303-18. Early modern mystics such as John of the Cross asserted that art and visions were similar as meditative figurations of religious subjects. This relationship is supported by modern scholarship that has identified comparable forms of perceptual awareness in these two forms of visualization, as well as in dream imagery.

resonate in another lavish marble chapel for the same patron, in the same city, a few decades later. However, Ottoni's figurative reference is based in strong formal and iconographic connections between the two. Both chapels contain sculpted altarpieces depicting the ecstatic Ludovica below an image of the Holy Family, in which Mary passes the infant Christ down to one of her closest relations and the titular saint of the chapel. The image of Joseph adoring the Christ child has been linked to the Eucharist as a symbolic connection between the Incarnation and Christ's redemptive sacrifice, but Bernini's precedent suggests a slightly different interpretation more in keeping with the *beata's* own mystic spirituality. The receiving of Christ is the common element shared by the infusion of grace that sanctifies Ludovica, the consumption of the sacrament by the communicant, and both chapels' depictions of the Holy Family. Ottoni's Ludovica protrudes directly above the altar and therefore, like Bernini's statue, associates her mystical experience and the Mass, while the Biblical antecedent of union perpetually shines forth from above. Ottoni's inclusion of two small loaves of bread studded with coins directly above the altar strengthens the Eucharistic analogy by associating her act of charity and the bread of the host.[520] This connection was also foreshadowed in S. Francesco a Ripa by the paired frescos of St. Clare venerating the host and Ludovica's *carità* preserved by Bernini.

Direct comparison of the two figures of Ludovica furthers the association between the chapels. The vertical orientation of Ottoni's figure obscures the striking similarity between its pose and that the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, which becomes clearer with a ninety degree rotation. Ottoni's drapery is more decorative than turbulent and the angle of his Ludovica's head conforms to her upright posture, but both raise bent knees and press their hands to their chests in gestures of intense religiosity (fig. 66**)**. Recognition of Bernini's antecedent as a model clarifies some of the awkward

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[520] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 329.

passages in the relief figure. Ottoni's graceful carving belies the anatomical improbability of his *beata's* combination of bent leg and upright posture, a position hard to imagine for a real body. It is also difficult to resolve the relationship between her knees and the step in naturalistic terms, as it is not consistent with real weight distribution. There are overt "errors" and omissions in the statue, including the positions of the left shoulder and of the lower leg and foot on the left side, the alignment of the hips, and the bend of the spine from the head through the upper back, that are camouflaged to an extent by the installation next to the wall and the distracting effect of the turbulent drapery. The overall position on the bed is also curious in that the *beata* seems rotated onto her left side in a manner that would raise the left shoulder and hip into the air, but the right arm does not show the tension of weight bearing, as it would if a real body were tipped forward. Bernini takes liberties with gravity and anatomical structure in order to make his figure more accessible from the viewer's vantage point, and relies on the distractions of affective intensity and dazzling virtuoso carving to compensate. The awkwardness in the pose of Ottoni's Ludovica results from the adoption of the basic composition of Bernini's version, but with the irregularities resolved to at least be consistent with a complete human body. The result is anatomically credible, if positionally curious.

Ottoni's liberal attitude towards figural naturalism, like Bernini's before him, enhanced the suggestion of temporal action in his work. The configuration of Ludovica's body juxtaposes three principal stages of ecstasy, appearing simultaneously to kneel in prayer, swoon with loss of sense, and rise upward, either in levitation, or as a metaphor of spiritual ascent.[521] The direct reference to Bernini's statue defines this spiritual progression as a comparable divine union, but the vertical

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[521] Leo Steinberg proposed the idea a pose combining three different positions in reference to the figure of Christ in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. See Leo Steinberg, "Michelangelo's Last Judgment as Merciful Heresy," *Art in America* 63 (1975): 49-63.

orientation, and the bread of charity, negates the connection with death. In S. Francesco a Ripa, Ludovica's mystical experience defined her sanctity and served as a template for her saintly demise, but ecstasy without funereal associations is more appropriate to a site that does not contain her tomb and relics. The Altieri are the subjects of metaphysical transition in the Campitelli chapel, while the *beata* appears to be more of a visual reference to an intercessor than a real sacral presence. This is not a claim that the relief denies the truth of her status, but that her miraculous spirituality is not the principal subject. Consequently, the altarpiece is free to represent Ludovica's contemplative nature as part of the everyday virtuous existence indicated by the bread. The active and contemplative aspects of an ideal Christian life that were signified separately in the old frescos of Ludovica and Clair in Bernini's chapel were brought together within a single image, indicating that her union with God flowed from her commitment to *caritas*.

The original contract with Angelo Altieri called for the relief to depict "the Madonna with the Child, and Saint Joseph over the clouds with the flowering rod, with [a] glory of angels and seraphim all around, and with the Beata Ludovica in the act of adoration with a *putto* at her feet, and figures in the distance in such a way that they express the saint's charity."[522] Ottoni included only one possible figure "in the distance," the person peering out between the columns to the *beata's* left, although it is not immediately obvious how this expresses a charitable nature. A comparison between the wording of the contract and the finished work illuminates the extent to which Bernini' precedent influenced Ottoni's composition. The theme of charity is marginal, limited to obliquely symbolic (the bread) or speculative (the recording *putto*) representations, while the act of adoration in the foreground is visualized in the terms established in the chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa. It is possible that the witness objectively verifies the connection between

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[522] Cited in Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 332.

Ludovica's ecstasy and her commitment to charity, confirming that her heroic virtue and mystical reward are two sides of a single saintly life. It is curious that if this is the role of the figure between the columns, charitable activity was not more overtly referenced in the foreground. Perhaps it is the act of witnessing itself that is important, and the clarity of the representation of virtue is less significant than the fact that it is externally verified.

The shift from the simulated personal encounter in Bernini's chapel to an explicit affirmation of third-party observation is another way in which Ottoni's image is more expository or referential than its predecessor. Not only is the viewer shown a representation of mystical spirituality as happening elsewhere, he or she is assured that this event is verifiable. Witness verification calls to mind the juridical canonization process, which relied heavily on personal testimony to confirm evidence of sanctity. An emphasis on evidentiary value may also be reflected in the writing *putto* at Ludovica's feet, who has been described as recording her acts of charity.[523] Themes of witnessing and documentation are consistent with Angelo's continuing interest in his ancestor's canonization. This hope is further reflected in the reference to the Beata Ludovica as "saint" in the wording of Angelo's contract with Ottoni, a title not seen in other contemporary sources. Although there is no substantive evidence that Ludovica's *processus* progressed over the eighteenth century, or even of influential support outside of the Altieri, Angelo's chapel indicates the familial devotion to her cause that is still present in the commissioning of Luti's *Miracle of the Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* some two decades later.

The *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* replicated the content of the S. Francesco a Ripa altarpieces, but the nature of the viewer's experience was altered by the change in medium. Bernini's statue and Gaulli's painting are part of a larger assemblage that articulates the central

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[523] ibid., 332.

theme of divine union in various ways. The former provides a seemingly actual presence of luminous mystical spirituality, while the latter offers an allegorized connection to underlying scriptural truth. The painting joins with other signifiers such as the emblematic devices, angelic light, red drapery and flaming heart, to encompass the encounter between the viewer and a sanctified figure in a symbolically charged ambient, in which each medium retains its unique expressive characteristics. In contrast, Ottoni has condensed the two altar images from the earlier chapel into a hybrid form that combines aspects of painting and sculpture without fully corresponding to either. The juxtaposition of an immanent presence and a pictorial reference is replaced with two physically equivalent figural registers within a single image that interact according to the compositional logic of a vision painting. This presumes a different model of reception. Rather than a multi-faceted address in a unified space defined by layered references to a central miracle, the viewer is expected to "read" a single panel of Baroque relief from which the *beata* and the Holy Family project bodily into real space, yet remain clearly confined within a framed representational field.

The adoption of the vertically arranged figures from Bernini's chapel is the visual equivalent to an intertextual reference that calls attention to the older model, while adapting its significance to a new context.[524] The rich, identity forming mixture of cultic devotion, seeming actuality, and mystic union was condensed into a single image, an appropriate change in a venue where the patron and his wife are the subjects, and not Ludovica's intercessory presence. Her

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[524] Intertextuality is a concept derived from literary criticism that has been adapted by art historians to describe the structural presence within artworks of older images that remain identifiable and consequently retain their meanings The newer images are not simply 'retellings' of the older material, but 'readings' that generate new content out of visual and iconographic tradition. Art historical applications of this concept include Shearman's, who cites Thomas Greene's definition of intertextuality, and Minor's who draws on Mieke Bal and Keith Moxey's adaptation. See Shearman, *Only Connect*, 242; Vernon Hyde Minor, *Passive Tranquility: The Sculpture of Filippo della Valle* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997), 51.

sanctity appears at a semiotic distance, a pictorial citation, rather than a visionary simulation, of divine union. The nature of relief as a self-contained representation that asserts its truth-value with three-dimensional projection made present a composite reference to the *beata's* spiritual status, and her place in the piety and patronage of the Altieri family. Replacing an encounter with an illusory apparition that demands an interpersonal imaginative response with a framed illustration of something else restructured the viewer's experience to align with the symbolic function of the setting. While the older chapel sought to give form to the subject of active cultic devotion, the newer one quotes the reality of that subject in the context of a family burial chapel. Consequently, Ludovica's image is somewhat distanced, and is only made accessible through the mediation of the fully three-dimensional busts that lock the viewer and altarpiece into a network of relationships.

The Altieri busts are versions of the expressive tomb portrait type discussed in Chapter One that proliferated in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[525] These combined the engaging animation of the "speaking portrait," or extremely lifelike bust, and connotations of memory and exemplarity that dated back to antiquity, into an idealized interpersonal engagement that was well suited to a funerary context. Such figures have a seeming actuality that memorialized the deceased, related their moral exemplarity to their salvation, and projected this to the viewer as an interpersonal address. The conventional nature of these busts is apparent in their standard gestures of devotion, such as hands clasped in prayer, one hand on the heart, and consideration of a prayer book.[526] However, there is an immediacy in their attentive gazes that transforms the

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[525] The portrait bust has been called the most notable Roman contribution to sculptural form, likely invented during the early Imperial period from earlier veristic portrait heads. See Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *A World History of Art* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 200.

[526] The notion of the bust as an intense and affecting image of devotion reached a peak with Bernini's Fonseca Tomb, where the deceased seems gripped by an almost ecstatic fervor that permeates his entire body. Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 159. He calls the Fonseca bust "by far the most intense realization of a religious concept to which numberless Roman sculptors between 1630 and 1680 contributed.

commemorative medium into an active demonstration of faith. When the viewer imaginatively responds to these figures, he or she is directed to share the devotional attitude that underwrites the promise of salvation. The sculptural representation of past virtue as an ongoing inspirational encounter recalls the statue of Ludovica in the Altieri Chapel, only here, the spirituality is not supernatural and the subjects not sanctified. The busts encourage the viewer to join their devotions as peers, rather than make him or her a witness to miracle.

The position of the busts as effective human-scaled intermediaries between heaven and earth is reinforced by the symbolism and design of the tombs. These are descendants of Raphael's influential design for the Chigi Chapel (c. 1513, Rome, S. Maria del Popolo) that featured a novel combination of pyramidal forms containing portrait medallions of the heads of the deceased in relief (fig. 67).[527] Pyramids had appeared in Italian funerary monuments since antiquity, but Raphael transformed the motif by attenuating its proportions to recall an obelisk, another ancient symbol connected with death.[528] The pyramid in the Chigi tombs is not a repository for the remains of the deceased, but decorative component appended to a traditional sarcophagus; a creative adaptation of classical precedent that became popular in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[529] It has been hypothesized that the combination of pyramid and portrait medallion took the place of the *gisant* in earlier monuments, including those in the Albertoni Chapel in S. Maria

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527 Bernini preserved the basic composition of the tombs, but simplified them. See Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 276-7; John Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, 3/4 (1961): 132-3.

528 ibid., 133.

529 For more on the proliferation of this motif in the seventeenth century, see Quinto Tosatti, "L'evoluzione del monumento sepolcrale nell'età barocca, il monumento a piramide," *Bollettino d'arte* 7 (1913): 173; Leo Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung in der Römischen Grabplastik des 16., 17., und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1940): 396.

in Aracoeli.[530] The Chigi tombs do combine pictorial memorialization and reference to the afterlife, but in a form that bears different connotations than the recumbent effigy. Rather than an uncanny conflation of mortal body and immortal soul, the oval *imago clipaeus* was a means of recalling the living subject since antiquity, and in the Renaissance, it conveyed the notion of immortality as the triumph of fame through the preservation of memory.[531] By superimposing this sort of likeness on a symbol of immortality such as the pyramidal obelisk, Raphael combined the Christian emphasis on the fate of the soul with a commemoration of an actual life lived. This configuration differs from the *gisant* by maintaining a distinction between the two states, while demonstrating that they are ultimately related. The virtues of the Chigi are responsible for their posthumous fates.

The Altieri tombs retain the structure of attenuated pyramid and portrait surmounting a sarcophagus, but replace the oval *clipaeus* medallions with busts. Both types of portrait are traditionally associated with memorializing the deceased, but the bust adds connotations of ideality and exemplarity, and the affective seeming actuality of the speaking likeness. It is mnemonic, but also an intermediary connecting the world of the viewer to the one beyond. The composition of the Altieri tombs represents spiritual transition with vertically arranged references to heaven and earth connected by the busts; the pyramidal form derived from Raphael's signifier of eternity and the mortal remains in the sarcophagus. By standing on the lower register, the busts are rooted in human life, but their superimposition over the pyramids graphically demonstrates that it is their

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530 Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," 136.

531 Erwin Panofsky, "Mors vitae testimonium: the Positive Aspect of Death in Renaissance and Baroque Iconography," in *Studien Zur Toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift fur Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich*, ed. Wolfgang Lotz and Lise Lotte Möller (Munchen: Prestel-Verlag, 1963), 222.

devotional comportment that transcends the material world of shadow and nothingness.[532] This

transitory nature is asserted chromatically as well, in a manner reminiscent of the sculpture in

Bernini's Altieri Chapel. The brilliant white hue of the portraits, like that of the *Bd. Ludovica*

Albertoni, associates them with the surrounding angels, which are themselves intermediary beings,

and differentiates them from their marble surroundings. Their placement at the midpoint of the

chapel between the entrance and altar, further asserts the position of these figures between heaven

and earth.

The arrangement of the busts is a variation on an established early modern practice of

pairing funerary portraits, either of kinsmen or spouses, on opposite sides of the altar. The

matching Bonanni tombs by Giuliano Finelli (1640, Rome, S. Caterina in Magnanapoli) were an

important precedent for the Altieri for the representations of Giuseppe Bonanni (d. 1648) in prayer,

and Virginia Bonanni Primi (d. 1650) with her hands placed before her (fig. 68).[533] However, a

key difference between the pairs had profound consequences for the articulation of the chapel's

significance. The Bonanni portraits are typical of most works of this kind because both face

towards the altar, while the bust of Vittoria Altieri gazes intensely outward.[534] A bust focused away

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532 According to his Testament of 1703, Angelo intended for two words on each base: NIHIL and PULVIS on his, and NIHIL and UMBRA on hers. While this would have undermined the striking simplicity of the single words, it would not have altered the devaluing of worldly life. There are similar juxtapositions of devout busts and *momento mori* imagery in Bernini's Raimondi tombs, only here, the signifiers of both levels of reality are complex, and there is no predominant symbol of immortality. The contrast between the stark simplicity of the lower level and the visual richness of the upper in the Altieri tombs drives home the existential emptiness of worldly things.

533 Bruhns, "Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung," 330-2; Papaldo and Ferrari, 68.

534 Sometimes clumsy later modifications direct their sculptural gazes elsewhere. This is often the result of clearing space for a new tomb. For example, when the Chapel of St. Anne in the Church of S. Maria dell'Anima in Rome was altered in 1688 when Pietro Luigi de Sluse replaced Algardi's Tomb of Giovanni Savenier (d. 1638) with Ercole Ferrata's Tomb of Gualtiero Gualtieri (d. 1659) and placed the former alongside Domenico Guidi's Tomb of Jean-Gauthier de Sluse (d. 1687). Consequently the clasped hands and pious concentration of Algardi's bust is directed away from the altar. See Antonia Nava Cellini, "Aggiunte alla ritrattistica berniniana e dell'Algardi," *Paragone* 6, 65 (1955): 30-1.

from the viewer resembles a medieval tomb effigy, in that it is a tableau-like figure intended to be looked at and perhaps meditated on, rather than a direct personal address. These are fully contained within the closed signifying structures of their setting, rather than solicitous of viewer interaction. This self-absorption makes them scenographic, unaware that they are being observed regardless of their realism or emotionalism, which means that they exemplify piety or virtue and preserve memory in the manner of a demonstration or a play. The small compositional adjustment of orienting one of these figures outward, however, opens this self-containment and initiates communication with passers-by.

The inclusion of a character or characters that look away from the dramatic focus of a composition and towards the beholder, was a longstanding device used in Italian art to break down the separation between the scene and the viewer, and testify to the veracity of the image.[535] Two distinct types of these diegetic figures turn up in early modern Roman tomb sculpture. The first resembles the Albertian model in which one individual in a complicated composition meets the eye of the viewer. The third figure on the right in Bernini's Cornaro Chapel has a conspicuous outward gaze that is an excellent example of this. The large assemblage of Bolognetti monuments in SS. Nome di Gesù e Maria provides another example in Francesco Aprile's bust of Pietro Bolognetti, which looks away from the altar to invite the beholder in.[536] In both of these, the diegetic figure is a unique exception within an otherwise self-contained, multi-figure system of representation, with a thematic or narrative integrity that is opened, but not dissolved. These compositions resemble events that the viewer is invited to join by a marginal attendee, but exist

535 Alberti had recommended their use in painted *istorie* in the fifteenth century. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973).

536 For the Bolognetti figures, see Alessandro Angelini, *Baroque Sculpture in Rome*, trans. Susan Wise (Milan: 5 Continents, 2004), 62.

independent of his or her involvement.[537] The Altieri tombs belong to the second type, in which there are only two figures that divide their attention evenly between the viewer and the altar, creating reciprocal gazes that cast the former as a second focal point within the composition. This structure is actually incomplete without the participation of a beholder.

Bernini designed an early version of this bifocal configuration for his d'Aste tombs (late 1630's-1643, Rome, S. Maria in Via Lata), and further developed it in his Raimondi Chapel (1640-7) (fig. 69).[538] In the latter, the bust of Francesco Raimondi stares out at the viewer from above his sarcophagus and points to his torch-lit remains in a forceful *momento mori,* while Girolamo, absorbed in a prayer book, exemplified proper devotional conduct to the living. This configuration establishes a more conceptual connection between the viewer and the altar than the overt network of gazes in the Altieri Chapel. The busts provide a humanizing analogy for the miraculous spirituality depicted in the altarpiece that is directed to the beholder by gaze and gesture. A life filled with prayer and lacking an undue attachment to worldly vanities is demonstrated by a pair of accessible gentlemen in contemporary garb and offered as a practical application of St. Francis' example. The appropriately named Francesco offers an invitation into the composition, but the association between the busts and the relief is implied rather than demonstrated, and it is for the viewer to recognize the connection.

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537 These comments do not imply the same notion of absorption that Michael Fried identified in the painting of eighteenth-century France, since the presence of a diegetic figure prevents hermetic closure. The viewer participates in the sepulchral *concetto* of SS. Nome di Gesù e Maria as an invited participant in a collective act of veneration directed towards the high altar. He or she is the subject of a direct address by a single figure that turns away from the rest, but the overwhelming disposition of the entire composition is one of disinterest towards the spectator. Overall, the relationship is best described as a compelling and convincing exemplarity. See Michael Freid, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

538 See Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, vol. 1, 22-49; Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 264. Francesco Raimondi's tomb depicts the sarcophagus as open, with the recumbent effigy of the deceased visible beneath the portrait bust. The idea of showing the deceased as both "alive" and "dead" was originally French and is common in medieval tombs. Bernini transformed this motif into an ingenious idea where one of the mourning *putti* raises the lid and illuminates the corpse while the other recoils from the sight.

The Altieri busts, more than any of the examples discussed so far, divide their attention evenly between the viewer and the altar. Angelo is wholly engrossed in the former with a prayerful intensity demonstrated by his clutched rosary and the standard gesture of his hand on his heart. Vittoria has put aside her prayer book and peers directly at the latter with a sober, implacable gaze (fig. 70). Her left arm subtly points towards the altar wall in symmetry with her husband's rosary, but this gesture lacks the forcefulness needed to split the focus of the image in the manner of the divergent gaze and praying hands of the Giovanni d'Aste portrait. The physical qualities of the chapel enhance the impact of the busts, which project insistently into the narrow space, and the contrast between their white marble hue and the deep tones behind them is striking. Vittoria's powerful gaze seizes the attention of the viewer, and once engaged, Angelo's bust becomes obvious and directs his or her attention towards the altar. This establishes a quadrilateral relationship that connects the viewer and the relief through the mediation of the Altieri portraits. If the Albertian version of diegesis is akin to a performance or engaging public lecture, these tombs constitute a rigorous personal tutorial. In this context, the vitality and realism of the busts not only makes the address more compelling, but the command to take heed more forceful.

By initially arresting the viewer, and then linking him or her to the altarpiece within a geometric configuration across real space, the busts set the parameters for the reception of Ottoni's relief. They are, in Louis Marin's terms, "figures of reception," elements inscribed within a representation that structure the "viewer-reader-interpreter" as an element within it.[539] This relationship is supported by the connotations and expressive characteristics associated with each of the sculptural types. The realism of relief is a self-conscious representation of something real,

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[539] Louis Marin, "Figures of Reception in Modern Representation in Painting," in *On Representation*, trans. Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 320-21.

such as Ludovica's sanctity, rather than an illusory simulacrum of real presence. It foregrounds its representational status with its fictive setting, prominent frame and intertextual reference, and therefore is not conducive to the interpersonal type of relationship solicited by an independent sculpted figure. In contrast, the illusory autonomy, animated gestures and psychological realism of the busts makes them appear more a part of the world of the viewer, which invests them with the interpersonal appeal that the relief lacks. Theirs is a straightforward seeming actuality, a combination of affective figural presence and the idealized symbolic richness of the bust image type. This makes them intermediaries between viewer and altarpiece on multiple levels, including the physical or spatial, the representational for tying them together with gazes, and the ontological, in that they partake of the essential qualities of both real people and the obvious referentiality of the relief.

Recognizing the role of the busts helps elucidate the relationship between the sculpted elements in the chapel. Andrea Lloyd interpreted it as a three-dimensional realization of the traditional image of a donor ushered into a holy scene by a patron saint.[540] Given Angelo Altieri's history of support for his ancestor, the assumption of a general devotional connection between the two seems sound. However, this hypothesis is slightly problematized by Ludovica's full containment within the internal narrative logic of the relief, which is not suggestive of interaction with the outside world, and Vittoria's turn away from the altar altogether. These conditions imply a more thematic or associative link between the relief and the bust of Angelo that the linear connection of a pictorial composition extended into the third dimension, as found in a *tableau*. It is telling that Angelo and Ludovica make the same two-handed variation of the hand on the heart gesture that Bernini had used in his *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni.* In both altarpieces, this represents the

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[540] Lloyd, "Adopted Papal Kin as Art Patrons," 336.

internal receipt of Christ through the divine union depicted figuratively by the images of the Holy Family. The fact that Angelo shares this pose suggests that he is also suffused with grace as a sign of his salvation. Bernini had used the repetition of a meaningful pose to tie metaphysically disparate figures together in his Fonseca Chapel. Here, the painted Virgin, the angel in relief holding the frame, and the bust of Gabriele Fonseca all repeat the same basic gesture with increasing degrees of intensity, signifying that they share a common spiritual condition adjusted to fit their different realities.[541] The Virgin, angel and Fonseca are not represented as participants in the same event, but as sharing a fundamental theological condition across time and space. Angelo likewise signifies a devotional state akin to Ludovica's, but in a form appropriate to a worthy gentleman of contemporary Rome rather than a sanctified intercessor.

The addition of the busts modifies the basic division of the Baroque chapel into earthly and heavenly spaces discussed in Chapter One. In Bernini's Altieri Chapel, for example, the sanctified figure of Ludovica joined the Host as a bridge between levels of reality. In Cipriani's design, the *beata* remains a conduit, but her intercession is presented in a less immediate fashion. She is depicted beneath the scriptural archetype within a single representation of a historically specific instance of mystical union, and the outward thrusting Holy Family actually seems more of a real presence. By combining Ludovica's particular mystical experience with the foundational Biblical antecedent, the relief articulates the essence of her sanctity as an individualized manifestation of universal spiritual truth. The viewer is not positioned as a witness to a miracle as it unfolds, but is informed of its preexisting facticity. The connection between this incident of divine union and the sacramental version available at the altar is demonstrated symbolically, through the strategic placement of the sculpted bread, rather than through the illusion of shared experience. The Altieri

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[541] Careri, *Flights of Love*, 25.

busts are the sculptures that actualize the message of the altarpiece in the present time. Angelo's devotion to the legend of his ancestor and his wife's charge to the viewer create a bi-directional relationship that demonstrates appropriate spiritual comportment in a manner relatable to everyday life.

The shared gesture of Angelo's bust and Ludovica supports the premise that the former is a quotidian concretization of the *beata's* heroic sanctity. According to the original contract, Ottoni was to carve Ludovica in adoration, which means that Angelo, in emulating her pose, also signifies this attitude. The similar bearings of the two imply a common devotional state, which means that he is emulating her example, but she is not the object of his veneration. Both focus their worshipful attention towards the Holy Family, who escape the internal narrative logic of the relief by disregarding the *beata* and projecting outwards, into the space of the chapel. In other words, if similar signs of adoration reflect a similar object, Ludovica and Angelo are focused on the same representation of the divine. This is not a claim that Angelo had mystical experiences. Miraculous spirituality is the province of the relief and its intertextual reference to the sanctified presence in Bernini's Altieri Chapel. Angelo is simply a devout intermediary who expresses Ludovica's heroic piety on the level of an ordinary virtuous person. This configuration moves her into the referential world of the altarpiece, and structures the interpersonal relationship around the busts. Their combination of mortality and immortality, actuality and representation, and realism and ideality at the midpoint of the chapel, makes them intermediary in every way. In effect, the portraits intrude into the direct relationship between a beholder and a representation of a saintly intercessor, and command a sort of intercessory position of their own.

The notion that the Altieri "intercede" between viewer and saint is theologically presumptuous, but not out of keeping with the spiritual and social needs that inform the

significance of a burial chapel. The convincing presence of Baroque mystical sculpture in the round was ideally suited to the primary communicative function of Bernini's Altieri Chapel as a cult site, as it would be for the Discalced Carmelite Crucifix Chapel in S. Maria della Scala discussed in Chapter Four. In contrast, the Altieri Chapel in S. Maria in Campitelli is in the first instance a testimony to the virtue and taste of the patrons, a celebration of the allegiance to the Albertoni ancestry that Angelo renounced for the greater good of his family, and a good work that demonstrates the extent of his piety. It is the deceased who profit from their proximity to the Mass at the altar and the prayers of the faithful. If the busts seem to be the most real figures in the composition, and interpose themselves between the viewer and the represented saint, it is because the entire symbolic mechanism of the chapel is designed to benefit the deceased Altieri and showcase Angelo's role as a virtuous defender of his family's interests.

IV. THE ISSUE OF EFFICACY: WHAT BECAME OF LUDOVICA?

The effectiveness of these commissions in defining a hagiographic persona is difficult to determine with certainty, but it is possible to draw some speculative conclusions. The construction and promotion of saintly identity may be assessed from several socio-cultural perspectives depending on the particulars of the case in question. With regards to Ludovica, these include the social, consisting of contributions to Altieri family prestige; the theological, broadly defined as the efforts to spread and encourage her cult and assert her sanctity with an eye to her official recognition; and the artistic, meaning the influence on her iconography in subsequent representations. The value of a sanctified ancestor in the aristocratic social world of early modern Rome is apparent in the consistent efforts of the Albertoni and Altieri families to support

Ludovica's cause and cult long after civic interest, as indicated by the actions of the Roman senate, seems to have dwindled. There is evidence indicating that the Altieri garnered societal attention for their patronage activities includes the status of the attendees at the celebrations in S. Francesco a Ripa, the laudatory commentary on the second chapel by Vaccondio and the generally positive assessments of both commissions in early modern guidebooks. It is fair to say that the sculpture was efficacious from the social perspective.

Theological success is another matter entirely. This chapter has considered numerous instances of Albertoni and Altieri patronage from nearly two hundred years, from the sixteenth-century frescoes in S. Francesco a Ripa and S. Maria in Aracoeli, through Baldassare Albertoni's renovation of the Altieri Chapel in 1622 and Angelo Altieri's chapel projects, to Luti's painting of the *beata's* miracle. However, concrete advancements in her *processus* only transpired when the family had direct influence on the papacy. The beatification by Clement X is the primary instance of this, but the possibility that Baldassare Albertoni persuaded Urban VIII to exempt Ludovica's unsanctioned cult from his restrictions is another example. After the pontificate of Clement X, Altieri patronage does not appear to have had a notable impact on Ludovica's prospects, despite the hopeful motifs of witnessing and recording in Ottoni's altarpiece. No significant public images other than those commissioned by the family appeared, no new *vite* were written, and there is no evidence of support from the senate or the *popolo romano*. If her descendants' efforts did kindle interest in Ludovica's cult, the effect was not of sufficient magnitude to mark the historical record.

The date and location of miracles provide one kind of evidence of devotional activity, but none are confirmed for Ludovica in the eighteenth-century. In fact, early modern hagiographical data is rare after the *vite* produced in the wake of her beatification. There are two eighteenth-century Franciscan sources that provide information from a devotional perspective: the

Leggendario Francescano of 1722, and Fulgence-Marie Riccardi's *L'anno francescano* of 1798 (a calendar year's worth of inspiring accounts of the order's tertiaries), but these offer little insight into the nature of Ludovica's cult.[542] The latter text openly sets aside the issue of miracles as outside the scope of a guide to proper behavior, and states that such prodigies have little application to the lives of ordinary Christians.[543] The only miracle described in the *Leggendario* appeared in Paolo's *vita*, and while others are alluded to, they are not further explicated.[544] The various guidebooks that mention Ludovica's chapel comment on the artworks and sometimes on the nobility of her ancestry, but offer no record of devotional or miraculous activity. This lack of notable events aligns with a case that had ceased making official progress towards canonization. Altieri patronage may have bolstered the *beata's* cultic presence, and the Altieri Chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa does remain a site of devotion today, but they do not appear to have impacted her *processus* in a tangible way.

The one area where Altieri patronage proved unequivocally effective in shaping Ludovica's identity was the artistic realm. Ludovica was not a frequent subject of representation, but there is evidence that the new mystical iconography that Bernini devised for his Altieri Chapel colored the visualization of the *beata* over the following century and beyond. Eighteenth-century guidebooks generally praise the quality of the statue despite neoclassical condemnation of the Baroque idiom, and Ottoni's reference to this model has already been discussed. Two other eighteenth-century "citations" of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* offer evidence that it did establish an

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[542] Benedetto Mazzara and Antonio da Venezia, *Leggendario Francescano ovvero storie dei santi, venerabili ad altri uomini illustri che fiorirono nei tre ordini istituiti dal Serafico S. Francesco, raccolte dal P. Benedetto Mazzara in 4 volumi e con l'aggiunta di nuove vite, disposti in 12 volumi dal P. Antonio da Venezia*, Vol. VIII (Venice, Domenico Lovisa, 1722), 421-23; Riccardi, 52-56.

[543] Riccardi, 56.

[544] Mazzara and da Venezia, 423. The reason given for not discussing any other miracles is to not bore the reader.

inspiring devotional image for its subject. Bernini's work was included in a set of eight statues of saints engraved by Pietro Bombelli in 1781, along with the four figures from the crossing of St. Peter's, and Sts. Cecilia, Martin, and Anastasia from various Roman churches (fig. 71).[545] According to a contemporary account, these images honor the virtues of venerated "*Eroi della nostra Santa Fede*" (heroes of our holy faith), but it seems noteworthy that Ludovica is the only subject that isn't fully canonized.[546] This may be interpreted as evidence that her chapel remained an active devotional site, but also that Bernini's statue was sufficiently well regarded to merit inclusion in this group. It is significant that seventeenth-century statues of saints continued to be valued well into the age of the Enlightenment, and it appears that the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* in particular remained a canonical figure of art and devotion.

The other example is Maini's *St. Anne* (ca. 1750; Rome, Sant'Andrea della Fratte), a less fluid, but otherwise almost exact copy of Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, with the same irrationally turbulent drapery and a comparably dramatic expression of ecstatic anguish (fig. 72). Maini might not equal Bernini's technical proficiency as a marble carver, but was clearly striving for an image of equivalent devotional intensity. Critics of the Late Baroque might dismiss the *St. Anne* as a failure of creativity, but this ignores its functional purpose. Unlike the other recumbent statues of saints that followed Maderno's *St. Cecilia,* Maini's was not merely influenced by its predecessors, or conforming to an iconographic or formal type; it was clearly intended to look exactly like the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*. Shelley Perlove observed that it asserts the hagiographic compatibility between the *beata* and the mother of the Virgin established by the altarpieces in the

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[545] *Gazzetta universale: o sieno notizie istorice, politiche, di scienze, arti, agricoltura, ec.*, 8, 64 (11 Agosto 1781): 512.

[546] *Gazzetta universale*, 512.

Altieri Chapel.[547] However, exact copying is still unusual, and even images that model a saint on a predecessor generally include individuating details. No other statue discussed in this dissertation is an exact replica of an earlier work. Maini's figure is therefore not simply another example of the repetition of general patterns typical of hagiographic modeling in art, but evidence of some further formative concern as well.

Although speculative, a possible explanation for the replication relates to the status and reception of Bernini's prototype; in other words, it possesses a proven functional dimension. The impulse behind an exact copy of the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni*, rather than an allusion to it in an original composition, suggests that the older image was recognized as having specific desirable qualities. Whether these were aesthetic (the statue was judged superior to comparable images) or functional (the statue was especially effective in inspiring devotion and drawing attention to the altar) is unclear; likely it was some combination of the two, like the motivations behind Bombelli's print. Further research is required into the circumstances surrounding the genesis and installation of the *St. Anne*. What is clear, however, is that Maini produced a replica of a spiritually charged masterpiece of mystical sculpture for a similar setting as the original model. Altieri patronage may not have effected Ludovica's canonization, but it did create an affective image of heroic piety that retained currency long after critics and theorists had dismissed such emotionalism from the purview of art.

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547 Perlove, 40. This association would be evident to anyone familiar with the earlier sculpture, especially one familiar with the repetition and patterning fundamental to hagiographic representation.

CONCLUSION

The two Altieri Chapels provide an opportunity to examine the expanded usage of sculpture in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the efficacy of its deployment to define and promote a new saint. Although the commissions shared a common patron and subject matter, one commemorates a beatification at a cult site while the other is an aristocratic funerary chapel, which places different demands on their respective imagery. Apropos to her burial chapel, Bernini's last essay in the mystical sculpture type that he had innovated half a century earlier made the viewer a witness to the irrational truth and celestial glory of Ludovica's final divine union. Riveting numinous realism born of sculptural illusion and directed light asserted her sanctity as an arresting, engaging, and inspiring experience transpiring in real time. The statue appears like a vision, at once a tangible encounter and a spiritual ideal, that simulates the indescribable nature of ecstasy with an affective *muovere* that bypasses reason and fires the emotions. The Campitelli Altieri Chapel also avails itself of seeming actuality, but does so differently. It is a funerary chapel for the Altieri family, and the immediate presence of the *beata* is less pertinent to this function. Here, engaging versions of relief and busts articulate a different sort of meaningful experience. By its very nature, relief lacks the independent existence of sculpture in the round, but it still insistently projects the truth of its message into the interior. Interpersonal address is provided by the busts, examples of interactive portraiture that created models of virtue on an accessible scale that direct the viewer towards the example above the altar.

Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* and the Altieri portraits are images of devotion that combine commemoration and affective impact to evoke participatory responses, but in different ways. The former is a mystical presence at a saintly tomb that offers a direct interaction with an

intercessor, while the latter are virtuous but ordinary devotees that mitigate whatever physical reality Ottoni's altarpiece does possess. It is the Altieri and their exemplary ordinary lives that actually seem present in Cipriani's chapel, and while Ludovica provides the spiritual foundation in this system, it is the busts that invite the viewer to follow their example and join in their devotions. Mystical sculpture stands in for its sanctified subject, or more precisely, what miraculous sanctity would look like were it fully visible. The Baroque bust is also a stand-in with deep historical roots, but for subjects of a more mundane nature. That the object of the busts' pious devotion is imagined in terms of Bernini's statue strongly associates the virtual and real Ludovica, and situates the viewer in a network of appealing figures where the interplay of sanctity, cultic devotion, social prestige and ecclesiastic politics almost comes to life. It is not only the cultural breadth and richness of saints that is made clear, but the commensurate ability of seeming actuality to realize it.

CHAPTER THREE: ALESSANDRO SAULI: SAINTLY PRESENCE IN BAROQUE GENOA

Pierre Puget's *St. Alessandro Sauli* is one of four monumental statues planned for the crossing piers of the Genoese basilica of S. Maria Assunta in Carignano in the third quarter of the seventeenth century (fig. 1). The wealthy and aristocratic Sauli family patrons had originally intended for Puget to produce all of them, but he only executed this figure and a *St. Sebastian* before returning to his native France (fig. 73). The other two, the *St. John the Baptist* by Filippo Parodi (1630-1702) and the *St. Bartholomew* by Claudio David (fl. 1678-after 1721), were added in 1677 and 1699 respectively (figs. 74, 75). On first glance, Puget's two works make a rather mismatched pair. Sebastian, an early Christian martyr often invoked against the plague, was widely venerated throughout the Catholic world and appears in a vast array of representations.[548] His popularity in Genoa was such that he was named a secondary patron of the city, and many altars were dedicated to his name.[549] On the other hand, Alessandro Sauli is far more obscure, and was not even beatified until 1742.[550] This dissimilar status is matched by the formal differences between the figures. While the *St. Sebastian* is nude and languid, seemingly held up by the tree behind him, the *St. Alessandro Sauli* is an image of ecstatic intensity that stands upright, fully clothed and suffused with an electric tension. The choice of such thematically asymmetrical figures

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548 See Louise Jane Marshall, "Waiting on the Will of the Lord: the Imagery of the Plague" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1989); "Reading the Body of a Plague Saint: Narrative Altarpieces and Devotional Images of St. Sebastian in Renaissance Art," in *Reading Texts and Images*, ed. Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002); Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000).

549 Lazzaro de Simoni, *Le chiese di Genova: storia, arte, folclore* (Genoa: Edizione Ceretti, 1948), 72. A Genoese church dedicated to St. Sebastian was erected in 1450.

550 The popularity of images of uncanonized individuals was sufficient in medieval and early modern Italy that Urban VIII issued the decree *Caelestis Hierusalem* (1634) to arrest their spread. However, the *St. Alessandro Sauli* appears to be unique in its size, prominence and material value.

as equal parts of a balanced installation offers insight into the expressive potential of sculpture in early modern Italy and its value for the creation of a saint.

Alessandro Sauli (1535-92) was born into a noble family with branches in Milan and Genoa and commercial interests over much of Italy. Much of the available biographical material pertaining to him is hagiographic in nature, and therefore suspect, but the basic contours of his life are discernible. Opting for a religious vocation, he joined the Milanese Barnabites and rose quickly through their ranks, eventually becoming general of the order. In 1570 he was named Bishop of Aleria in Corsica, where he distinguished himself as a reformer and, during the plague of 1580, as a miraculous healer. Alessandro was very well connected with many major figures of the post-Tridentine Catholic reform. He numbered St. Philip Neri and especially St. Charles Borromeo among his friends, preached before St. Pius V, and was held in high regard by St. Robert Bellarmine. Despite these associations, official recognition was slow in coming. Following more than a century of intermittent activity, Alessandro's *processus* climaxed with his beatification in 1741. An even lengthier wait ensued before full canonization was proclaimed in 1904. Puget's statue was installed during a decade when Alessandro's supporters were intensifying their efforts to impel his case towards a successful conclusion, as a rhetorically powerful, if not immediately successful, assertion of his sanctity.

The purposes for representations of saints include providing foci for devotional activity, offering models to emulate, or disseminating awareness of cults. Since Alessandro had no official intercessory standing, including him in the company of St. Sebastian makes a proactive claim of sanctity. It asserts that this individual belongs amongst the saints, and anticipates his official recognition in the future. However Puget's statue also reflects the interests and identity of its patrons, the powerful Sauli family that had built S. Maria Assunta in the previous century, and

financed major decorative projects in the church over the generations that followed. A monumental statue in this venue defined the putative saint in terms of the history, station and social aims of his Genoese kin. Puget crystalized these connotations in an expansive and affective figure that contributed to the artist's revolutionary impact on Genoese sculpture. However, a more inclusive consideration of contemporary image culture suggests that these qualities may be better understood as the introduction of interactive qualities already present in wood sculpture into marble. This indicates a closer conceptual affinity between these materials than traditionally recognized by critics and historians.

I. ALESSANDRO SAULI, HIS FAMILY, AND THEIR CHURCH

Alessandro Sauli was born in Milan on February 15, 1534 to Domenico Sauli, a wealthy and well-connected senate president, and a close friend of Duke Francesco Sforza, and Tommasina Spinola.[551] Young Alessandro was provided a rigorous literary and philosophical education, but religious life proved to be his calling. Following a period at the university of Padua, which included the study of Greek, Latin, history, philosophy and jurisprudence, he returned home and fell in with the Barnabites based at the Milanese church of S. Barnaba.[552] Notable for his fervid religiosity and

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[551] This summary of Sauli's life is taken from Giovanni Battista Semeria, *Storia ecclesiastica di Genova e della Liguria dai tempi apostolici sino all'ano 1838* (Turin: Tipografica e Libreria Canfari, 1838), 231-5; Orazio M. Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel cinquecento* (Roma: Desclée, 1913);; Giuseppe M. Cagni Moltedo, "I Sauli," *Eco dei Barnabiti* 72, 2 (April-June, 1992): 2-5. An early modern source records that the most important affairs of the *ducato* in the time of Francesco Sforza passed through the hands of Domenico Sauli. See Raffaele Soprani, *Li scrittori della Liguria e particolarmente della maritime*, (Genoa: Pietro Giovanni Calenzani, 1667), 85.

[552] See Giuseppe M. Cagni, "I primi anni," *Eco dei Barnabiti* 72, 2 (April-June, 1992): 12-15. The Barnabites, or Clerics Regular of St. Paul, were founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria in 1500, and instituted at S. Barnaba after 1530. See Semeria, *Storia ecclesiastica di Genova,* 230. For an extensive history of the order, see Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel cinquecento and Storia dei Barnabiti nel seicento* (Roma: Industria Tipografica Romana, 1922).

powerful preaching, Alessandro's reputation spread and he rose quickly through the ranks of the clergy. He celebrated his first Mass on April 12, 1556, and in 1564 entered into a close friendship with St. Charles Borromeo, eventually becoming the great reformer's confessor and life-long correspondent. At the behest of St. Philip Neri he journeyed to Rome, where he preached before St. Pius V.[553] In 1567, Alessandro was appointed general of the Barnabite order, and in 1570 was named bishop of Aleria in Corsica, a place of lawless repute and long neglect by the Church that challenged his reforming zeal. His tenure there was acclaimed as a success, and in 1591, his spiritual disciple Gregory XIV named him bishop of Pavia, where he died the following year. In 1741, he was beatified by Benedict XIV, and finally canonized by St. Pius X in 1904.

Much of the source material on Alessandro's life is hagiographic in nature, and aimed at representing him within established parameters of sanctity, rather than critically appraising his historical legacy. As was typical of the genre, certain recurring elements in his career were shaped into the hallmarks of his saintly persona. His erudition and education defined the quality both his preaching and his extensive writings.[554] His close association with Borromeo, and to a lesser extent, Neri, situated him amidst the leading spiritual lights of his day. Borromeo in particular looms large in accounts of Alessandro's life. Not only was Alessandro confessor and correspondent to the Milanese reformer, the two worked together on ecclesiastic matters, including including the investigation of reports of heresy, and planning the future of the Barnabite order.[555]

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553 Moltedo, 266.

554 Soprani, 13. These include texts on the Eucharist, confession and episcopal activities. For more on his Eucharistic writings, see E. Hogdez, "Bulletin des publications hagiographiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* 25 (1906): 395.

555 The relationship between Charles Borromeo and the Barnabites is well established, if sometimes unclear. An image painted in Milan Cathedral depicting *Il Beato Carlo riceve i gesuiti e i teatini e consegna le constituzioni ai barnabiti*, speaks to a misconception that the saint founded the order. It is known that Alessandro Sauli persuaded Charles not to merge the Barnabites with the Humiliti. See Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel cinquecento*, 207.

Alessandro resembled Borromeo, in that his conduct as an exemplary, post-Tridentine reforming bishop defined his heroic service to the Church. For example, Corsica was castigated as a vast, abandoned, wild, and impious place until Alessandro restored religion to the populace.[556] While historians have shown that his tenure in Aleria was somewhat less transformative than some of the more enthusiastic accounts would have it, his work there was substantial.[557] He wrote a new catechism, restored the cathedral, established a seminary and evangelized through example, preaching, and the written word.[558] Alessandro's impact on the island was such that it remains one of his principal cult sites to this day. Of all the events that occurred during the Corsican period, it was his conduct during the plague of 1580 that most defined his candidacy for sainthood. Like Borromeo in Milan, the bishop's ardent prayers, tireless charity and miraculous healing during this ordeal testified to his heroic virtue.[559]

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556 Pius V addressed briefs of encouragement to Sauli and other Corsican bishops, urging religious instruction of the common people, reformation of the clergy and strict adherence to the Tridentine decrees. Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 17, ed. R. F. Kerr (St. Louis: Herder, 1923-69), 229.

557 Hagiographic and other ecclesiastic sources hold Sauli's interventions in Corsica as almost miraculous. See, for example, Antonio Maria Spelta, *Delle vite di tutti i vescovi che dell'anno di nostra salute VL fino al MDIIIC successivamente ressero la chiesa dell'antichissima, & regal città di Pavia* (Pavia: Pergli Heredi di Girolamo Bartoli, 1597), 531-2 and Luigi Albacini, *Il lode del B. Alessandro Sauli preposito generale della congregazione de chierici regolari di S. Paolo vesscovo di Aleria poi di Pavia* (Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, 1854), 19. Antoine-Marie Graziani, relies heavily on archival sources to map out a picture of the sociological and political situation in Corsica under Genoese rule. He addresses the longstanding stereotype of Corsica as a wild and lawless place outside the norms of European society, and considers Sauli's efforts to promote and reform religious observance. While these meet with some successes, there are also failures, including the inability to prevent laic intrusion into ecclesiastic matters. See Antoine-Marie Graziani, *La Corse Genoise: Economie, Société, Culture. Période Moderne: 1453-1768* (Ajaccio: Editions Alain Piazzola, 1997), 146-55. For Sauli's economic activities on the behalf of Genoese interests, see Antoine-Marie Graziani, *La Corse vue de Gênes: Fonds Corsica, archivio di stato de Gênes* (Ajaccio: Editions Alain Piazzola, 1998), 6. For more on Sauli's tenure in Corsica, see Anton Pietro Filippini, *Chronique de la Corse 1560-1594*, trans. Antoine-Marie Graziani (Ajaccio: Editions Alain Piazzola, 1995), 337.

558 Semeria, *Storia ecclesiastica di Genova*, 234.

559 Moltedo, 334-6. The comparison with Borromeo is made explicit.

Alessandro arrived in Pavia to tremendous celebrations, and although he died shortly after his arrival, his reputation amongst the populace made his tomb a site of cult activity.[560] Antonio Maria Spelta's collection of lives of Pavian bishops, published five years after Alessandro's death, already attests to his saintly reputation.[561] The Barnabites produced their first *vita* in 1600, with more versions to follow, in an effort to formally establish his sanctity.[562] From 1610, the cult in Pavia experienced steady growth, and Alessandro's tomb became the site of various material displays of devotion. Lamps burned there without interruption and images were printed depicting him with aureoles and calling him *Beatus*.[563] When the news of this reached Rome, Robert Bellarmine purportedly looked at one of these engravings and said: "*l'ho conosciuto: era mio amico. Santo era davvero e ben merita questa corona di raggi*" (I knew him, he was my friend. He was very holy and deserves this crown of radiance).[564] Paul V opted not to impede the cult, which lead to the opening of an investigation into the cause for beatification. Sauli's following quickly spread into Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia, Savoy, and even France, while in Calosso and Pavia, feasts were held on the anniversary of his death. The cult was exempted from Urban VIII's decrees restricting the veneration of unsanctioned individuals; recognizing its strength, the pope

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560 ibid., 488.

561 Spelta, 532. For more on Spelta and his book, see Carlo Speirani, "Antonio Maria Spelta e la sua Historia delle Vite dei Vescovi di Pavia," *Rivista di scienze storiche* 4, 8 (1907): 81-109.

562 Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel seicento*, 53. The first life of Alessandro Sauli was written by Giovanni Antonio Gabuzio (1551-1627) in 1600, although it was not published until 1748. Latin *vite* appeared by Agostino Gallicio, in 1661 and by Valeriano Maggi and Luigi Barelli in 1663. See Moltedo, 15. The first Italian life, by Giampietro Grazioli, appeared in 1740.

563 See Giuseppe. M. Boffito, *Scrittori Barnabiti, o della congregazione dei chierici regolare di San Paolo (1533-1933): Biografia, Bibliografia, Iconografia*, Vol. III (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1934), 425.

564 Cited in Moltedo, 494.

provided it with a special license to continue unhindered.[565] Alongside the growing public devotion to the bishop, the Barnabite order was working to further their co-religionist's cause. Letters written by Boerio, the Padre Generale at the time, reveal an interest in the establishment of places for veneration within their chapter houses, as well as some anxiety over the legitimacy of an unsanctioned cult.[566]

A formal *processus* was initiated in 1623, and in 1625, agents of the Congregation of Rites went to Corsica to collect testimony. There is evidence that a speedy completion was anticipated, but the first round of proceedings ended inconclusively.[567] This outcome was immediately followed by a hiatus on new saints of nearly three decades, from 1629 to 1658, that is attributable to the imposition of a fifty-year waiting period by Urban VIII.[568] The beatification of another model bishop, St. Francis of Sales, in 1661 induced the Barnabites to encourage the Vatican to revisit Alessandro's case, and a lavish new *vita* was published in Rome.[569] It was during this decade that the Genoese branch of the Sauli family commissioned Puget's monumental sculpture. In 1677, the formal process resumed, and after a prolonged investigation, Clement XII pronounced a favorable opinion in 1732. Finally, Benedict XIV proclaimed the beatification, with the intention of canonizing Sauli in the Holy Year of 1750. However, the Congregation was unable to approve

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565 ibid., 497.

566 Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel seicento*, 76, 88.

567 The Congregation of Sacred Rites published its first summary of the process in 1638. See Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, "Un ciclo inedito di isegni per la beatificazione di Alessandro Sauli," *Arte Lombarda* 40 (1974): 9-86, for the cycle of images planned for Sauli's beatification ceremony.

568 Urban's fifty year waiting period replaced the previous twenty-five year term, which had not always been observed. See Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 50. In contrast, Carlo Borromeo and Filippo Neri were canonized twenty-six and twenty-seven years after their respective deaths.

569 Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel seicento*, 293.

two of the submitted miracles, and Sauli's cause was subsequently eclipsed by unfavorable political events.[570] Full sainthood would have to wait until the twentieth century.

Alessandro's lengthy road to sainthood raises legitimate questions about the strength of his candidacy that are not acknowledged in the predominately hagiographic sources of his biography. While there is clear evidence for the growth of his cult, his lack of verifiable miracles does not suggest a particularly intense public following. He was associated with many major figures of the post-Tridentine Catholic reform, but from a secular historical perspective, his tenure in marginal Aleria seems less transformative than Borromeo's impact on the more important Milan. His candidacy was also hindered by unfortunate timing, as official investigation began at a time when the Church was seriously evaluating the qualifications of new saints. The fifty-year waiting period, and hiatus from 1629-58, stand in stark contrast to the earlier portion of the seventeenth century, when a number of reformers and founders were canonized. The *processes* of St. Rose of Lima and St. John of the Cross also languished during the middle decades of the 1600's, and the successful conclusion of the former required direct pressure from the King Philip IV of Spain, while the latter benefited from royal and noble supporters.[571] Given this challenging climate, it is not surprising that Alessandro's champions would make continued efforts to promote his candidacy by asserting his sanctity and raising his public profile.

Alessandro had two major advocates in the seventeenth century: the Barnabites and his family, but there is no evidence of their cooperation in his pre-canonization imagery. In general, the early modern canonization process favored candidates from the orders, because these

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[570] Moltedo, 510.

[571] Teodoro Hampe Martinez, "El Proceso de canonizacíon de Santa Rosa." *Hispania Sacra* 48, 95 (1996): 735. For John of the Cross, see Chapter Four.

organizations possessed the continuity and focus to maintain steady influence throughout the compulsory waiting periods and extensive juridical procedures. It was unusual, though not unheard of, for cases to drag on as long as Alessandro's. The reason given for this delay in Barnabite sources claims uncertainty over the legitimacy of his miracles, but it is possible that the Barnabites themselves lacked the strong political influence that abetted a candidate's chances.[572] Of the thirty-two saints and six *beati* who lived between 1540 and 1770, none belonged to Alessandro's order.[573] Perhaps because of this paucity, the order refused to let the case die, and the circumstances surrounding his beatification reveal that Barnabite efforts were integral in ensuring the successful outcome.[574] Both the *vite* of 1600 and 1661, and the principle twentieth-century accounts of his life such as Moltedo's and Premoli's, were produced by members of the order.

Puget's statue was a powerful example of Sauli efforts to promote Alessandro's sanctity that was contemporary with, but independent of, the renewal of Barnabite pressure for the resumption of his *processus* in the 1660's. This dramatic public appeal for official recognition was theologically unproblematic, on account of the exemption granted to the unsanctioned cult by Urban decades earlier, and while the statue claimed sainthood by association, it was not placed over an altar. There is evidence that Alessandro's reputation was accepted in Genoa at that time. In his survey of Genoese writers published in 1667, Rafalle Soprani noted that Sauli died in

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[572] Giuseppe M. Cagni, "La morta santa," *Eco dei Barnabiti* 72, 2 (April-June, 1992): 67. For other lengthy cases, see Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 52. John Berchmans died in 1627 and was canonized in 1888, while Peter Canisius died in 1597 and had to wait until 1925.

[573] The profiles of Counter-Reformation saints are listed in R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 122.

574 Andrea M. Erba, *Benedetto XIV e i Barnabiti (ricerca storica)* (Florence: Provincia Romana dei PP. Barnabiti, 1980), 56-61. Benedict XIV had a longstanding relationship with the Barnabites that left the pope well disposed to Alessandro's cause. Benedict began the *processus* September 27, forty days after his election, and on April 9 it was finished. He also reopened the case of the order's founder, Antonio Zaccaria, which had been closed by Urban VIII.

"*opinione di Santo*."[575] However, a monument of the scale of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* does not only assert the saintly nature of its subject, it attempts to define it, just as Bernini established Ludovica Albertoni as a contemplative in the model of Teresa of Avila or Catherine of Siena. As an uncanonized individual, Alessandro had no standard iconography, so the image was relatively unconstrained in its choice of hagiographic characteristics, making the absence of any allusion to his Barnabite affiliation stand out. The vision of a mystically sanctioned saintly bishop created by Puget appears rather like another Carlo Borromeo, which recalled the iconography of the *Alessandro Sauli in Episcopal Robes* (Pavia, S. Maria di Canepanova), a picture attributed to Giovan Battista Crespi that was also produced outside of a the ambient of the order (fig. 76).[576] The other figures planned for the crossing were all universally venerated figures from antiquity, a company that asserts membership in the community of the saints in an emphatic, but general, manner.

This image of sanctity is more applicable to Sauli history and activity. The cope, crozier and miter foreground the episcopal career that enabled Alessandro's reforming activities and heroic virtue in the face of the plague, but also align with important factors that shaped his family's public identity. The social position of the Genoese Sauli benefited from the unwavering service of Doge Giulio Sauli during the plague of 1656-57, and the number of high ranking ecclesiastics in the family tree. Furthermore, Alessandro's posting to Aleria enabled his direct involvement in his family's Sicilian economic activity. His ecstatic demeanor and release of his crozier indicate his pious disregard for titles and station in the face of devotion, and the pot of treasure overturned at

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[575] Soprani, 12.

[576] The painting was traditionally attributed to Guglielmo Caccia (called il Moncalvo; 1568-1625) although scholars are now more inclined to give it to Giovan Battista Crespi (called il Cerano; 1567-1632). See Antonio Gentili, "Un Santo Eucaristico," *Eco dei Barnabiti* 72, 2 (April-June, 1992): 30.

his feet shows that his familial riches held no attraction for him. These features deftly combine the established hagiographic types of the saintly bishop and the mystic to represent a life of material wealth and ecclesiastic standing eclipsed by a spiritual calling. Reciprocally, the hagiography produced by Barnabite authors does not mention S. Maria Assunta, and the iconography developed by Puget is not found in the imagery produced for the order until some time afterwards. It appears, therefore, that while the S. Maria in Carignano crossing was part of a larger focus on Alessandro's cause, its image of the potential saint is more specific to the Sauli family than part of an integrated campaign.

Few churches are as closely connected to one family as S. Maria Assunta and the Sauli. The construction of the basilica was the signature act of patronage of an ambitious and influential line that had steadily raised its profile since the middle ages. The Sauli first appear in Genoese records in 1393, and over the next two centuries consolidated their wealth and expanded their interests at home and in Milan. Members of the family continually occupied important secular and ecclesiastic positions in both cities.[577] In the oligarchic political world of Genoa, political leadership was limited a select group of noble families, and the Sauli were elevated to this company in the 1520's.[578] Subsequently, they provided the city with two doges as well as eleven other candidates for the position.[579] Seventeenth-century Genoa was unusual in that the nobility remained at the center of both political and economic life, since they, and not a merchant class,

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577 Marco Bologna, *L'Archivio Sauli di Genova*, (Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, direzione generale per gli archivi, 2001), 12-17; Cagni, "I Sauli." For the specific accomplishments and positions of individual family members, see Giovanni Battista Semeria, *Secoli cristiani della Liguria ossia storia della metropolitana di Genova, delle diocesi di Sarzana, di Brugnato, Savona, Nola, Albenga e Ventimiglia* (Turin: Tipografia Chirio e Mina, 1843), 187-244.

578 Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese 958-1528*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 315.

579 Luigi M. Levati, *Dogi biennali di Genova dal 1528 al 1699*, pt. II (Genoa: Genova Rivarolo, 1930), 87.

controlled the flows of capital that funded the Spanish empire.[580] When Spain collapsed, the damage to Genoa was enormous, and by 1680 the city, which had been among the most prosperous in Europe, sank into a depression. The nobility, whose ambitious building projects in the previous century faded along with the Spanish gold that financed them, retained a certain degree of wealth, thanks in large part to a vibrant silver trade, but on a much lesser scale than before. Their attention turned inward; no longer able to realize monumental works, they spent on ephemeral, social pursuits and gradually faded from international prominence. With this shift towards introversion came an increased emphasis on bloodline, mythologized family histories and a glorious, if imagined past.[581] In this context, a saintly ancestor would add considerable prestige to the Sauli line, even in comparison to other parts of Italy.[582]

S. Maria Assunta originated in a large bequest left in October 16, 1481 in the will of the enormously wealthy merchant and financier Bendinelli Sauli, to build and endow a church dedicated to Sts. Sebastian and Fabian.[583] The dedication was changed to the Assumption of the Virgin when the church was actually constructed in the middle of the sixteenth century.[584]

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580 Maria Nicora, "La nobilità Genovese dal 1528 al 1700," *Miscellanea storica ligure* 2 (1961): 273.

581 Giorgio Doria, "L'opulenza ostentata nel declino di una città," in *Genova nell'età barocca*, ed. Ezia Gavazza and Giovanna Rotondi Terminiello (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1992), 13-16.

582 Epstein, 307. For example, Caterina Fieschi Adorno (St. Catherine of Genoa), was the first Genoese saint since the obscure Hospitaller St. Ugone, and brought tremendous prestige and honor to her family. The Sauli had a beatified ancestor, the B. Maria Saoli Bargagli, a fifteenth-century *beata* who seems to have faded into obscurity. She was purportedly buried in S. Maria dei Serviti in Genoa, although the location of her tomb is no longer known. See Semeria, *Secoli cristiani della Liguria*, 187-8.

583 Giuliana Algeri, *Basilica di S. Maria Assunta in Carignano* (Genoa: Sagep, 1975), 5; Luc Georget, *Pierre Puget: peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620-1694: Centre de la Vieille Charité, Musée des beaux-arts, 28 octobre 1994-30 janvier 1995* (Marseille: Musées de Marseille; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 15. For details on the career of Bendinelli Sauli, see Federigo Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la città di Genova*, Vol. 1 (Genoa: Gio. Grondona Q. Giuseppe, 1846), 257.

584 These is evidence that the original title lingered in the popular imagination. A guide to Genoa published in 1780 refers to the church as "S. Maria and SS. Fabiano e Sebastiano." See Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto può vedersi di più bello in Genova in pittura, scultura ed architettura*, Vol. I (Genoa: presso Ivone Gravier, 1780), 84.

Bendinelli's decision was an unusual one, in that its primary reason was to provide his descendants with what is essentially an enormous family chapel.[585] In fact, a portion of the bequest went to endow the post of rector, which paid an annual income of 100 *scudi* and was reserved in perpetuity for a member of the Sauli family.[586] The building does not commemorate a memory, a venerated image, a vision, or a miracle, and the site does not appear to have had any prior religious significance. By all accounts, its sole motivation is the voluntary desire of Bendinelli, which scholars have linked to issues status and prestige. Having their own church would be a mark of social position for a family that had attained considerable wealth and power, but had not yet been raised to the noble rank necessary for participation in rulership. Consequently, it is possible to see S. Maria Assunta as a monument to the Sauli's rise in the Genoese socio-political scene.[587] There is also a more theological rationale for the bequest; accusations of usury surrounded Bendinelli's vast wealth, and a grand religious expenditure could do much to compensate for this.[588] The controversial nature of the family fortune gives particular resonance to the disregarded treasure at the foot of the *St. Alessandro Sauli.* Finally, the bequest ensured a degree of financial and

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Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Federigo Alizeri also calls it the "Basilica di S. Maria e de'santi Fabiano e Sebastiano." See Alizeri, Vol. 1, 257.

585 The analogy to a family chapel is made in Bologna, 11.

586 Christoph Thoenes, "S. Maria di Carignano e la tradizione della chiesa centrale a cinque cupole," in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento: atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Genova, 16-20 aprile 1974,* ed. Wolfgang Lotz, et al., (Genoa: Sagep, 1975), 319.

587 According to Genoese legend, the impetus for Bendinelli's bequest came from his rivalry with the Fieschi family and the desire to outshine their ecclesiastic patronage. See James Theodore Bent, *Genoa: How the Republic Rose and Fell* (London: C. K. Paul & Co., 1881), 361. The funding of an entire church is the ultimate example of high status religious patronage. See Haskell, 5.

588 Epstein, 307. In 1481, Bendinelli Sauli arranged for his account books to be checked after his death for illicit contracts, and for any necessary restitution to be made. His concern arose from the (usurious) profits he made from speculation in Genoese public debt. The audit was conducted in 1484, and resulted in his heirs having to pay 15,000 lire to various charities. See Robert Norman Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 209.

ecclesiastic stability for his descendants, outside the purview of episcopal authorities or the orders. The actual reasons are likely threefold: to save his own soul, to bring glory to his house and to secure the future of his family.[589]

Given these origins, it is not surprising that the Sauli family maintained a unique relationship with S. Maria Assunta from its inception. Funded entirely by their own money, and under their complete and continuing oversight, its construction and decoration serve as a monument to their religious vision across generations. Actual construction did not get underway until the mid-sixteenth century; in 1543 the architect Galeazzo Alessi received the commission for the new church, and he formally entered the service of the family six years later.[590] The first stone was laid on March 10, 1552, and by 1569 the interior was largely complete. On March 22, 1588, the first Mass was celebrated in the church, although the cupola would not be finished until 1602.[591] The basic form of S. Maria Assunta is a Greek cross with a central cupola on four massive piers over the crossing and four smaller domes at each corner of the building. Analysis of the plans points to Sangallo's design for St. Peter's as Alessi's point of departure, although Michelangelo's influence is evident as well.[592] The geometry is very regular, with only the apse and campanile providing a sense of orientation. In terms of ornament, Alessi intended a very sober interior

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589 Thoenes, 319.

590 Georgette, 114; Santo Varni, *Spigolature artistiche nell'archivio della Basilica di Carignano* (Genoa: Tipografica del R. Istituto Sordo-muti, 1877), 7. Domenico Sauli served as the conduit for Alessi's commission for S. Barnaba in Milan. See James S. Ackerman, "Il contributo dell'Alessi alla tipologia della chiesa longitudinale," in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento: atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Genova, 16-20 aprile 1974*, ed. Wolfgang Lotz, et al. (Genoa: Sagep, 1975), 461.

591 Bologna, 45; Georgette, 114.

592 Thoenes, 319-21. This detailed analysis of Alessi's plans and their precedents notes that unmodified Greek cross churches are rare after the early sixteenth century. A letter from Alessi comparing S. Maria Assunta to St. Peter's is published in Varni, 55.

decoration with muted walls punctuated by Corinthian pilasters.[593] The basic adherence to St. Peter's as a model appears to have been the architect's idea, and it was a decision that would shape Puget's project.[594]

While decorative work continued on S. Maria Assunta well into the eighteenth century, the most significant additions to the interior date to the second half of the seventeenth.[595] These included the installation of a new high altar as well as the monumental sculptures for the crossing. It is noteworthy that for both these projects, the patrons initially looked outside of Genoa for artists, a decision that scholars have used as evidence of the Sauli's cosmopolitan tastes.[596] In 1662, work began on a high alter designed by the Florentine Massimiliano Soldi, with a bronze crucifix by his countryman Pietro Tacca, and the first two crossing sculptures were commissioned two years later.[597] The availability of Puget was a stroke of good fortune. The artist had been stranded in Genoa when his marble buying expedition for Nicolas Fouquet, Surintendant des Finances to Louis XIV, abruptly terminated with the latter's arrest in 1661.[598] Lacking other immediate prospects, the sculptor took a second trip to Rome, where he acquainted himself with the mature styles of

593 Algeri, 10.

594 Thoenes, 319.

595 Varni, 71. The *cantoria* and organ were added between 1658 and 1695, and construction of the high altar began in 1662.

596 Graziani, *La Corse Genoise*, 150. Those families with interests and connections in the Roman court exhibited a more cosmopolitan sensibility. The Sauli were active all over Italy, including Rome. See Lauro Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme della tradizione alla libertà dello spazio barocca," in *Genova nell'età barocca*, ed. Ezia Gavazza and Giovanna Rotondi Terminiello (Rome: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1992), 293.

597 Ratti, 87. For Tacca's crucifix, see Bologna, 48;

598 See Guy Walton, "Pierre Puget's Projects for the Church of Santa Maria Assunta di Carignano," *Art Bulletin* 46, 1 (1964): 90. Due to its proximity to Carrera, Genoa controlled the marble trade. See Lauro Magnani, Evia Gavazzi and Giovanni Rotondi Terminiello, "Puget à Genes," in *Pierre Puget: peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620-1694: Centre de la Vieille Charité, Musée des beaux-arts, 28 octobre 1994-30 janvier 1995* (Marseille: Musées de Marseille; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 254.

Bernini and Pietro da Cortona, then established his workshop in Genoa.[599] Puget's involvement at S. Maria Assunta began with a contract from Giulio and Francesco Maria Sauli signed on March 8, 1664, calling for both statues to be finished within two years of the consignment of the first block of marble, although the artist had prepared drawings for the baldachin as early as 1663.[600] The *St. Alessandro Sauli* and *St. Sebastian* were transported to S. Maria Assunta on May 12, 1668, as the first stage of a larger assemblage including the sculptures for the other piers.[601] However, these works never made it past the planning stage, and Puget returned to France in 1668 with his grand plan unrealized.[602]

Genoa is typical of early modern Italian states, in that it is difficult to separate the political and ecclesiastic spheres. Spending on religious causes, including artistic patronage, was considered an act of piety and a good work in the theological sense, as well as an index of social status.[603] Noble families built churches and endowed charities in part to enhance their own prestige, and the highest-ranking clerical positions were frequently occupied by social elites. While this may seem obvious, it is worth restating when considering Alessandro Sauli's image as an exemplary post-Tridentine bishop. Hagiographic accounts note his humility, and desire to turn his back on the affairs of the world, which may be true, but by their nature, these descriptions must ignore the worldly issues that surrounded an ecclesiastic career. In Genoa, virtually all post-

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[599] See Guy Walton, "Pierre Puget in Rome 1662," *Burlington* 111, 799 (Oct., 1969): 582-87, for Puget's Roman sojourn of 1662.

[600] Enrica Amadei, "Due contratti genovesi di Pierre Puget," *Notizie da Palazzo Albano Urbino* 10, 1 (1981): 50. The author publishes the original contracts.

[601] Georget, 112.

[602] Varni, 81.

[603] Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Helms, 10.

Tridentine bishops came from elite families; both Gerolamo (1550-9) and Antonio (1586-91) Sauli occupied the position.[604] While assignment to Aleria is presented as the providential pairing of saintly leader with a flock in desperate spiritual need, the Sauli family also had a history of dealings on the island.[605] Without necessarily diminishing the religious achievements of his time in office, Alessandro's involvement in economic matters is undeniable.[606] In a context where there is no real line dividing the secular and the ecclesiastic, and where religious expression bleeds into social prestige, it is obvious that Alessandro's reputation and status would be a matter of continuing importance to his family.[607]

Alessandro's personal connections with S. Maria Assunta strengthened the linkage between the bishop and the basilica as manifestations of sanctity, status and dynastic pride. He had actually visited the church during a convalescence in Genoa while bishop of Aleria, and although his local cult was modest, S. Maria Assunta was its epicenter.[608] Less than forty years after his death in 1592, an altar was dedicated to Alessandro in the basilica, and *The Blessed Alessandro Sauli Brings and End to the Plague* (c. 1630, Genoa, S. Maria Assunta in Carignano), an altarpiece by Domenico Fiasella depicting him with a small radiance surrounding his head, was added around

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604 Danilo Zardin, "Perogative della Chiesa e prestigio della republica dal primo cinquecento alle riforme tridentine," in *Il cammino della Chiesa Genovese: dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, ed. Dino Puncuh (Genova: Società ligure di storia patria, 1999), 296. The author raises the issue of the rapport between religious authority and political power. The Sauli produced eight bishops, including Alessandro, between 1404 and 1710, three archbishops between 1540 and 1638, and two sixteenth-century cardinals. See Vincenzo Canepa, *Cenni storici sulla liguria e su Genova*, 2nd. ed., (Genoa: presso il librajo Canepa, 1858), 210-11, 174, 162-63.

605 See Epstein, 292, for the Sauli's economic activity in Corsica.

606 Graziani, *La Corse vue de Gênes*, 6.

607 ibid., 150. He refers to "*banquiers et saints*" "*une connivence qui mériterait d'être approfondre pour une meilleur compréhension de Genes des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*" (bankers and saints, a collusion that should be a foundation for a better understanding of Genoa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).

608 For Alessandro's visit, see Moltedo, 306-7.

1630 (fig. 77).[609] As noted in the previous chapter, altars were only to be dedicated to saints, and even a *beata* such as Ludovica required the accompaniment of a fully canonized partner such as Anne or Joseph. The presence of this altar speaks not only to Alessandro's reputation in the basilica and in Genoa, but also to the lenient enforcement of the rules. The installation of Puget's statue strengthened the association between its subject, the Sauli patrons, and S. Maria Assunta by asserting his sanctity within a monument to familial piety and prestige.

The idea of a specifically Sauli image of Alessandro, as distinct from that embraced by the Barnabites, is observed in the celebrations that followed his beatification. The Roman festivities took place from May 28-30, 1741 at the Barnabite church of S. Carlo in Catinari where Pope Benedict himself venerated an image of the new *beato*. According to contemporary accounts of the proceedings however, the ceremonial images on display were narrative in nature and none seem to resemble Puget's.[610] In contrast, the Genoese celebrations were held at S. Maria Assunta in Carignano, which is unaffiliated with the Barnabites, and were structured as a commemoration of dynastic pride. Doge Nicolò Spinola, who was descended from Alessandro's mother's family, led a procession to the basilica, where Domenico Sauli met it at the entrance in a gesture that glorified both families.[611] Puget's sculpture was a template for the *beato's* representation in S. Maria Assunta, according to a contemporary account mentioning a silver statue specifically produced for the event, "*fatta sul modello di quella di marmo stata fatta da P. P*" (modeled after

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609 The altar had been there since before 1630. See Algeri, 14; Alizeri, Vol. 1, 271.

610 Moltedo, 503.

611 ibid., 504-5.

that [one] in marble by P. P.).[612] This public connection between Alessandro's sanctity and the prestige and profile of the Sauli family had been implicit in the patronage and location of Puget's statue from the outset.

II. THE *ST. ALESSANDRO SAULI* AS AN IMAGE OF SANCTITY

The monumental *St. Alessandro Sauli* depicts its subject in the distinctive cope of a bishop with his head turned upward, while a supporting *putto* holds his crozier. Compositionally, the statue forms a slight curve that is countered by the dramatic linear diagonals of the shaft and the outstretched hand. A slight suggestion of backwards movement, the left hand wrapping tightly around the torso, and the heavy cope all contribute to a sense of compression reminiscent of Puget's earlier *Atlantids* in Toulon (fig. 78). In contrast, the extended arm and protruding crozier project into the outside world beyond the niche, and combine with the upward curve to counteract the sense of constriction. This juxtaposition of opposites creates an overall effect of strain, as if an expansive force is vying against its stony constraints, which complements the rapturous visage to create an air of seething spiritual intensity. The upturned face and ecstatic expression are consistent with representations of mystic states, and the pressure and strain in the figure evokes the contest of the soul against the confines of the body.613 Ignazio Pallavicino, a seventeenth-century commentator, described the statue as possessing "*un interiore e spiritual movimento, per mezzo del quale l'anima innalzata a Dio*" (an inward and spiritual movement by which the soul is raised

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612 Eugenio Nervi, *Per la Gloria del Beato Alessandro Sauli nel celebrarsi solennemente le Feste della di lui Beatificazione nell'insigne collegiate di S. Maria in Carignano sonnetti* (Genova: Stampe di Paolo Scionico, 1741), 5. An inventory of the basilica from 1741 also mentions this statue. See Varni, 76.

613 Stoichiță, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*, 168. Renaissance antecedents for this expression include Raphael's *St. Cecilia* and Michelangelo's *Leah* on the tomb of Julius II in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

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to God).[614] The force and fire of Puget's chisel palpably render the impossible pleasure and pain

of ecstasy.[615]

Seventeenth-century artists represented mystical experience through its physical

consequences, both miraculous and mundane, and its psychological effects.[616] Gesture was

believed to reveal inner states, as it was thought to emerge spontaneously from the soul, and could

not be fully controlled.[617] Therefore, religious passion, like any other impulse, could be

exteriorized through somatic indicators. It is noteworthy that Alessandro, like Ludovica, was not

primarily known as a mystic.[618] His writings are pastoral and liturgical in nature, and he is most

celebrated as a reforming bishop and a miraculous healer. By representing him in ecstasy, the

statue asserted and characterized his sanctity with an established hagiographic type.[619] Images of

saints use conventionalized iconography and attitudes to indicate their nature, but at the time of

Puget's project, Alessandro did not yet have an official persona.[620] The sculpture had to define him

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614 I. Pallavicino, *Veri e morali ritratti degli amori*, Genova, 1693. Cited in Lauro Magnani, "Pierre Puget, uno scultore barocca fra Genova e la corte di Francia," in *Genova e la Francia: opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*, ed. Piero Boccardo, Clario Di Fabio and Philippe Sénéchal (Milano: Silvana, 2003), 115. Jacques Thuillier, introduction to *Pierre Puget: peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620-1694: Centre de la Vieille Charité, Musée des beaux-arts, 28 octobre 1994-30 janvier 1995* (Marseille: Musées de Marseille; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 20. He has noted, Puget is not subtle or discreet; figures monopolize their space, and with their heavy volumes, multiple voids, masses bent to the rhythm of great arcs, seem ready to burst

615 In a famous letter of 1683, Puget described his ability to render stone obedient to his hand: "*Je me suis nourri aux grandes ouvrages, je nage quand j'y travaille; et le marbre tremble devant moi*" (Great works nourish me, I swim when I work and the marble trembles before me). Cited in Martin, *Baroque*, 49.

616 Stoichiță, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*, 80.

617 Sohm, 66-7; Peter Burke, "The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy," in *Varieties of Cultural History*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1997), 61-2.

618 Sauli falls outside of what has been referred to as a flowering of Italian mystic writings in early modern Italy. See Massimo Marocchi, "Spirituality," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), 175-7.

619 The importance of established types of sainthood is elaborated in Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 157.

620 Seventeenth-century art is full of saints and beati depicted in a standardized fashion, in Vittorio Casale's words: "*tutt'un atteggiarsi mite e abbandonato, sempre lo sguardo rivolto al cielo, dappertutto la stessa aria estatica*" (all

in understandable terms before an argument for his canonization was possible. It did so by combining two standard categories; the symbols of his episcopal accomplishments reveal him to be a saintly bishop, and his rapt demeanor places him among contemplatives.

Alessandro's limited pictorial history included representations of him as an ideal prelate in the throes of mystic union, but this had never been rendered as dramatically as in S. Maria Assunta. Puget's statue bore a striking iconographic resemblance to the *Alessandro Sauli in Episcopal Robes* attributed to Crespi, and while it greatly exceeds the intensity of the older painting, their basic compositions are identical. In both cases, Sauli is depicted in bishop's garb, with palms and face turned upwards towards a heavenly light in a pose suggestive of supernatural religiosity. His crozier and mitre, the symbols of his ecclesiastic vocation, are clearly shown but set aside in favor of a purer spirituality. Each image even includes a *putto* in the lower right that attends to the discarded accoutrements. It is noteworthy that S. Maria di Canepanova, the site of the painting, is not a Barnabite foundation and that Alessandro's most significant connection with Pavia was his brief tenure as its bishop. It is unclear if this image influenced Puget or his patrons directly, or points more generally to the existence of an episcopal conception of Alessandro that informed both images.

The most significant Genoese representation of Alessandro prior to Puget's, Fiasella's *The Blessed Alessandro Sauli Brings and End to the Plague*, also indicated his position within the Church, but without the overtones of mystical spirituality. It is a narrative depiction of the service during the plague in Corsica that strengthened his hagiographic association between him and the paradigmatic counter-reformatory saintly bishop, St. Charles Borromeo, and foreshadowed Pietro

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in a detached and abandoned pose, always looking towards the sky, everywhere the same ecstatic air). See Casale, "Santi, Beati e Servi di Dio in immagini," 73.

da Cortona's *S. Carlo Borromeo Leads a Penitential Procession During the Plague of 1576* (1667,

Rome: S. Carlo ai Catinari) (fig. 79). During his time in Milan, Alessandro worked with Borromeo

on matters involving the Barnabites and eventually became his personal confessor, an event

included in every account of his life.[621] Their friendship is evident in their extensive

correspondence preserved today in the Ambrosiana, and continued until Borromeo's death.[622] It

was Borromeo who consecrated Alessandro when he was named bishop of Aleria, and wrote a

long letter to Pius V stating that Milan regrets his departure.[623] His charity, zeal, and reforming

efforts made Borromeo an episcopal ideal, a model of sanctity easily applied to his venerated

Barnabite associate.[624] Alessandro purportedly did emulate his friend during his difficult Corsican

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621 On the link between Borromeo and the Barnabites, see Premoli, *Storia dei Barnabiti nel cinquecento*, 201-61.
For Alessandro and Borromeo's efforts against heresy in Milan, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza.
Inquisitori, confessori, missionary* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), 346. References to Alessandro's role as Borromeo's
confessor or spiritual father are numerous; see Sac. Rituum Congregatione Eminentissimo & Reverendiss Papien,
*Beatificationis & Canonizationis Venerabilis Servi Dei Alexandri Sauli primum Alerien deindè Papien Episcopi
Super Dubio...* (Rome: Typis Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1689), 6, Num. 7 N; Francesco Luigi Barelli,
*Memorie dell'origine fondazione avanzamenti successi ed uomini illustri in lettere, e in santita della congregazione
de Cherici Regolare di S. Paolo chiamati volgarmente Barnabite*, Tomo Primo (Bologna, S. Michele, 1703), 332; P.
D. Pietro Grazioli, *Della Vita, Virtù, e Miracoli del B. Alessandro Sauli Proposto Generale della Cogregazione di S.
Paolo detta de' Barnabiti, Vescovo di Aleria...* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1741), 47-51.

622 For their correspondence, see St. Alessandro Sauli, *Lettere scelte inedite del B. Alssandro Sauli scritte a S.
Carlo Borromeo publicate da Giuseppe Colombo B* (Turin: Tip. e Lib. S. Giuseppe Artigianelli, 1878).

623 Jean-Baptiste Gaï, *Saint Alexandre Sauli 1534-1592 apotre de la Corse, patron de la ville de Cervione*
(Cervione: Paroisse de Cervione, 1966), 49.

624 Zardin, 295. The idea of Borromeo as an ideal bishop was disseminated through his own *Acta ecclesiae
mediolanesis*, and accounts of his life and death, including early *Vite* by Bescapè (1592) and Giussani (1610), and
canonization proceedings. See Giuseppe Alberigo, "Carlo Borromeo between two Models of Bishop," in *San Carlo
Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastic Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (John M. Headley
and John B. Tomaro, eds. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1988), 250; Nils Rasmussen, "Liturgy
and Iconography at the Canonization of Carlo Borromeo, 1 November, 1610," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic
Reform and Ecclesiastic Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. John M. Headley and John B.
Tomaro (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1988), 265; John B. Tomaro, "San Carlo Borromeo and
the Implementation of the Council of Trent," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastic Politics in
the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Cranbury, NJ: Associated
University Presses, Inc., 1988), 77. Borromeo's assertion of episcopal independence and jurisdictional disputes with
the Vatican were stricken from his official hagiographic persona for a portrayal as a loyal servant of the centralized
Church. See also de Maio, 265-7, for the notion of heroic service and Carlo as the model of Tridentine bishop.

tenure, especially during the plague.[625] Despite their differences, Puget, Crespi, and Fiasella all cast him as a heroic bishop in the model of Borromeo. In contrast, Barnabite commissions tend to follow the painting attributed to Guido Reni (Rome: S. Carlo ai Catineri), and show Alessandro in the costume of their order.[626]

Alessandro and Borromeo were both likened to the great early Christian bishop St. Ambrose, a model that defined their episcopal sanctity as the continuance of an unchanging standard of perfection dating back to the early church.[627] Their hagiographic similarities were expressed in the visual arts by the reuse of recognized iconographic motifs, established poses, and narrative episodes. In short, their common appearance became a metaphor for their common nature. Images are produced where Borromeo is shown with the standard attributes of Ambrose, the whip and crozier, to assert the equivalence of their penitential activities.[628] Giovanni Battista

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625 Adriano Prosperi, "Clerics and Laymen in the Work of Carlo Borromeo," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastic Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1988), 127; Giuseppe Colombo, introduction to *Lettere scelte inedite del B. Alessandro Sauli scritte a S. Carlo Borromeo publicate da Giuseppe Colombo B.*, by Saint Alessandro Sauli (Turin: Tip. e Lib. S. Giuseppe Artigianelli, 1878), 8. Alessandro also corresponded with Carlo Bescapé, Borromeo's associate and first biographer.

626 For Sauli's iconography within the Barnabite order, see Boffito, *Scrittori Barnabiti*, 424-6.

627 Borromeo stressed the contiguity between their two bishoprics and extolled Ambrose as an ideal of reform. After his death, hagiographers continued to press the similarity between them. See Prosperi, "Clerics and Laymen in the Work of Carlo Borromeo," 115-7; Paolo Biscottini, "L'immagini di Sant'Ambrogio nel periodo borromaico," in *Ambrogio: l'immagine e il volto: arte dal XIV al XVII secolo*, ed. Paolo Biscottini (Venice: Marsilio, 1998), 23. Early modern religious historiography stressed ecclesiastical consistency, and the recurrence of archetypal figures exemplified the unchanging nature of the Church. By this way of thinking, the centuries lying between the Milan of Borromeo and that of Ambrose are inconsequential; what matters is that the role of ideal bishop as a model of sanctity endures through all time. The impact of Baronio on Milanese hagiography is apparent in Placido Puccinelli, *Zodiaco della chiesa milanese, cioe le vite de'suio dodeci primi pastori, distinti in tre parti…* (Milan: fratelli Malatesti stampatori, 1650), 208 ff., whose "Vita ed attoni di S. Ambrogio" cites the historian throughout. For more on Baronio, see Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

628 Fagiolo dell'Arco, 217. For Borromeo's activity as a flagellant and his prescription of this activity for members of his own penitential community, see Ann W. Ramsey, "Flagellation and the French Counter-Reformation: Asceticism, Social Discipline and the Evolution of a Penitential Culture," in *Asceticism*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 586.

Crespi emphasized their commensurability with extraordinarily similar faces and expressions, a demeanor with a strong resemblance to the painting of Alessandro in S. Maria di Canepanova (figs. 80, 81).[629] The association between Alessandro and Ambrose is also evident in the conflation of the two in nineteenth-century discussions on the identity of Puget's statue.**[630]** Ambrose was reimagined as a paradigmatic counter-reformatory bishop, and, in turn, provided a historical precedent for the similarly patterned lives of Alessandro and Borromeo.

Fiasella's altarpiece in S. Maria in Carignano shows Alessandro's miraculous intervention against the plague, something explicitly compared to Borromeo's activity by his hagiographers, but the composition actually derives from Van Dyck's *Emperor Theodosius is Forbidden by Saint Ambrose to Enter Milan Cathedral* (ca. 1619, London, National Gallery) (fig. 82).[631] In both paintings, the bishop emerges with his entourage from within a church, arms extended, to confront an adversary. Although the events are different, Borromeo claimed that Ambrose's repulse of Theodosius was emblematic of a bishop's charge to risk his life for his flock, which made it relevant to the dangerous pastoral work undertaken by both he and Alessandro and during the epidemic.[632] This comparison is not intended to claim a direct relationship between the two paintings; while Van Dyck influenced Fiasella's art, it is unknown whether the latter knew of this particular work.[633] What it does reveal is a common way of defining these figures, a shared

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629 Biscottini, 25.

630 Léon Lagrange, *Pierre Puget Peintre - Sculpteur Architecte Décorateur de Vaisseux* (Paris: Didier et Cie., 1868).

631 For Borromeo's iconography, see Marco Rosci, *I quadroni di san Carlo del Duomo di Milano* (Milan: Ceschina, 1965). The large cycle of paintings in the Milan Duomo illustrating the life of Borromeo served as the model for a similar series featuring Alessandro that was never executed.

632 He made this analogy in a sermon on December 7, 1567. See Prosperi, "Clerics and Laymen in the Work of Carlo Borromeo," 115.

633 Van Dyck briefly lived and worked in Genoa in during the early seventeenth century and had a considerable impact on artistic developments in that city. Fiasella's robust figures, surface textures and vibrant colors all owe a

conception of them as model bishops that provided a point of departure for Puget some decades later.

The long history of Ambrose in Genoa included ties to the Sauli family.[634] In 1589 the Jesuits began construction of their church on the site of the ancient church of S. Ambrogio, with the first stone blessed by Cardinal Nicolò Sauli.[635] The first chapel on the right was dedicated to Ambrose, and flanked by statues of that saint and Borromeo. The latter, by Domenico Scorticone (d. 1650) was carved around 1620 and shares certain basic characteristics with Puget's *St. Alessandro Sauli*.[636] The differences between the rigid, static and upright *S. Carlo* and the dynamic and forceful sculpture in S. Maria Assunta are jarring, but they do not obscure the presence of the common iconographic elements that identify these images as belonging to the same established and recognizable hagiographic category of episcopal saint.[637] The inspiration for Puget's innovative treatment of this traditional subject is found within his own *oeuvre*. He was an accomplished painter as well as a sculptor, and his approaches to the two arts exhibit many stylistic affinities. In the *Baptism of Clovis* (1652, Marseilles, Musee des Beaux-Arts) the figure of St. Remi, himself a saintly bishop, turns forcefully yet fluidly in a manner that prefigures the sculpture

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debt to the Fleming's influence. For more on Fiasella, see Franco Renzo Pesenti, *La pittura in Liguria: artisti del primo seicento* (Genoa: Cassa Di Risparmio, 1986), 231-306.

634 Fausta Franchini Guelfi, "La devozione ambrosiana in Liguria," in *Ambrogio: l'immagine e il volto: arte dal XIV al XVII secolo*, ed. Paolo Biscottini (Venice: Marsilio, 1998), 145-6. A church, built in 568 and dedicated to Ambrose served the Milanese bishops as a refuge during the Lombard invasions, and Milan and Genoa were subsequently joined under one bishop. In 1133, Innocent II made Genoa an independent archbishopric, but by then devotion to Ambrose was well established. His cult, described as an ancient and lasting presence was energized with the canonization of Borromeo. S. Ambrogio was demolished in the fifteenth century

635 Rita Dugoni, *Chiesa del Gesù: Santi Ambrogio e Andrea* (Genova: Sagep, 1999), 8-9; Gavazza, 4

636 There is little published information available on Scorticone's S. Carlo Borromeo. See Ratti, 430; Dugoni, 9.

637 There is a strong resemblance between Scorticone's *St. Charles* and the version carved for S. Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome by Stefano Maderno after 1610. See Alberto Riccoboni, *Roma nell'arte; la scultura nell'evo moderno; dal quattrocento ad oggi* (Roma, Casa Editrice Mediterranea, 1942), 141-2.

in S. Maria Assunta (fig. 83).[638] The *St. Alessandro Sauli* therefore classifies its subject as a Borromeo/Ambrose type of ideal bishop, filtered through Puget's own formal and stylistic vision.

The saintly bishop was a logical choice for Alessandro, given his connections with Borromeo and importance of this vocation to his family, but it only one of the established models of sanctity represented by the statue. The other is the ecstatic mystic, which was less common in Alessandro's limited iconographic tradition. The body of evidence accumulated during his *processus* included numerous eye-witness reports of levitations and other miraculous phenomena indicative of contemplation during mental prayer or before the Eucharist. In account after account, he is described with his arms apart, eyes fixed on heaven and lost in union with God.[639] These written testimonials perform the same function as the ecstatic demeanor of the statue; by recording the supernatural consequences of his heroic piety, they offer proof of divine favor for his actions, and consequently, the spiritual perfection associated with sainthood.[640] Another established saint became a hagiographic comparison for this aspect of Alessandro's sanctity; Philip Neri, the so-called Apostle of Rome, who was renowned for his Marian mysticism and ecstasies so violent that his swollen heart cracked his ribs.[641]

Neri's association with Alessandro began when he invited the bishop to preach before the pope in 1575, and according to contemporary accounts, Alessandro's eloquence moved his entire

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638 Marie-Christine Gloton, "Puget et la peinture," in *Puget et son temps; actes du Colloque tenu à l'Université de Provence, les 15, 16 et 17 octobre 1971* (Aix-en-Provence: Pensée universitaire, 1972), 117.

639 Congregatione Sacorum Rituum, *Beatificationis & Canonizationis Ven. Serv. De Alexandri Saulij Aleriensis deindè Papien Episcopi, ex Congregatione Clericorum Regularium Sancti Pauli Posito Super Dubito* (Rome: Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1678), 80-89: Num. 37: "De Cultu Divino," Num 38: "Pietas e Ecstases in Missae sacrificio," Num. 39: "Profunda contemplations cum extasibus."

640 Barelli, 304-5; Moltedo, 243; 456-7.

641 The analogy with Alessandro, "the Apostle of Corsica" is telling. On Neri's mysticism, see Alberto Venturoli, *Il profeta della gioia: la mistica di San Filippo Neri* (Milan: Jaca Book SpA, 1999); Paul Türks, *Philip Neri: The Fire of Joy*, trans. Daniel Utrecht. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995.

audience to tears. Following this, the two saints undertook the traditional pilgrimage to the seven churches.[642] Scholars have noted the similarities between the *St. Alessandro Sauli* and Algardi's *St. Philip Neri* in the sacristy of S. Maria in Vallicella in Rome (fig. 20).[643] The influence of Algardi is strong in Puget, and it is not surprising that he would recall this precedent when carving his own ecstatic subject. Although no contemporary sources have been found to directly link the two sculptures as of yet, and the almost palpable spiritual tension of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* seems almost overpowering compared to the relatively calm *St. Philip Neri*, the formal affinities between the two works are striking. Both poses are configured in an S-curve with their heads tilting to their right sides. In Algardi's case, this is a comparatively subtle *contrapposto*, while Puget's composition is almost Gothic in its accentuation, but the basic similarity is unmistakable. Each raises a remarkably veristic right hand with the palm turned up and fingers flexed, and reveals a sleeve with sharply puckered fabric. Both saints are supported by a kneeling angel on the left side that holds an identifying attribute: the crozier and book, respectively. The two sculptors were extremely proficient in the precise rendering of surface detail, and their statues share this technical refinement. In fact, one place where Algardi's work matches the tension of Puget's is in the facial expression of the strain arising from an overpowering inner turmoil. The *St. Alessandro Sauli* can be described as the *St. Philip Neri's* model of ecstatic piety raised it to a full-bodied fever pitch. If one were to imagine Algardi's statue with the tremulous energy of the St. Remi in the *Baptism of Clovis*, the image of Alessandro in S. Maria Assunta would be the result.

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642 Sac. Rituum Congregatione, *Summarium Additionale, Num. 9 B*, 10

643 Klaus Herding, *Pierre Puget. Das bildnerische Werk*, (Berlin: Mann, 1970), 71. For more on Algardi's Philip Neri, see Jennifer Montagu, "Alessandro Algardi and the statue of St. Philip Neri," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* XXII (1977): 75-100.

Mystic union requires a detachment from worldly affairs that has been problematic for a church predicated on good works and sacramental observance. Numerous movements have been declared heretical for overemphasis on the sufficiency of an unmediated relationship with the divine to effect salvation, and, as shown in Chapter Four, even saints like Teresa and John of the Cross had to be defended from these charges.[644] While Alessandro resembled Neri in that he was never accused of Quietism or the like, his ecstatic detachment in Puget's statue does seem somewhat antithetical to notion of the active reforming post-Tridentine bishop. In truth, the two personae are not mutually exclusive. Iconographic elements describe his conduct and character; a book at his feet represents his learning and erudition and the spilled coins symbolize his disregard of material wealth.[645] The latter is particularly germane given the rather earthly nature of Sauli economic activities. His crozier, the mark of his episcopal vocation, is prominently situated, if momentarily ignored. Despite his ecclesiastic achievements, Alessandro was renowned for his hatred of honors and worldly things.[646] His humility purportedly led him to refuse the bishopric of Aleria three times before finally acceding to Pius V's wishes out of obedience.[647] By displaying the signs of his exemplary life, the sculpture acknowledges his heroic virtue on the behalf of the church, while foregrounding the union with God that defined his sanctity.

Written descriptions of Alessandro's mystical experiences share certain similarities with Puget's statue. A testimonial by Tommaso Giorgi, a Ligurian priest and confidant of the bishop,

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644 This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

645 Amadei, 50,

646 Congregatione Sacorum Rituum, *Beatificationis & Canonizationis Ven. Serv. De Alexandri Saulij Aleriensis*, 7.

647 *Sommario de processi fatti d'ordine della Sacra Congregazione de Riti di Roma per la canonizatione del venerabile servo di Dio Alessandro Sauli della congregazione de Cherici Regolare Barnibiti di S. Paolo vescovo prima d'Aleria e poi di Pavia*, (Milan: Stampatore Archiepiscopale 1638), 7-8.

recorded an event that occurred in Aleria in 1572, when he entered the oratory and found

Alessandro genuflecting before the altar and bathed in a vivid light.[648] Accounts of colleague or

co-religionist stumbling across private manifestations of supernatural piety are commonplace in

canonization processes, and are frequently represented in printed images as well. Structurally, they

bridge the gap between personal devotions that occur in isolation, and the third-party recognition

that converts them into signs. In effect, the witness serves as a proxy for all viewers or readers

while maintaining the integrity of the saint's private space. For Alessandro, as with most others,

ecstasy flourished apart from quotidian activities; his mystical life nourishes, but is separate from,

his active duties as a bishop, teacher or scholar. A similar structure is evident in Puget's sculpture,

where the signifiers of public service are differentiated from the representation of an inner spiritual

life.[649] When one approaches the statue this effect becomes even more pronounced. Given the scale

of the figure and the height of its base, the book and the coins are at eye level (fig. 84). The crozier

protrudes from the niche and forms a bridge between the artwork and the surrounding space,

drawing the viewer's eye upward. These symbols of public virtue serve as the point of contact with

the spectator. From this wide base, the figure twists up and away towards obscurity, its features

almost completely hidden, creating a sense of movement towards an unknowable world of inner

enlightenment.[650]

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648 The testimonial continues: "*ancora altri, che vissero in casa del Sauli in Bastia, attestarono aver visto il suo volto meravigliosamente illuminato nella preghiera, nè una volta sola posarsi sul suo capo in globo di luce abbagliante*" (still others, who lived in Sauli's house in Bastia, testified to have seen his face wondrously lit up in prayer, and not only once, a dazzling globe of light alight on his head). Cited in Moltedo, 243. See also Congregatione Sacorum Rituum, *Beatificationis & Canonizationis Ven. Serv. De Alexandri Saulij Aleriensis*, 81.

649 It has long been noted that artists' contribution to the hagiographic process is not simply to illustrate written and oral sources, but to transform their inherited subjects into homologous but original forms. Delehaye, 112.

650 Barelli, 305, writes that in this state "*la sua mente unita con Dio*" (his mind is united with God).

The *St. Alessandro Sauli* addresses the issue of its subject's lack of an iconographic tradition by employing the hagiographic strategy of modeling a new or uncanonized individual after comparable established saints, while maintaining enough individuality to be recognizable. Generally, these comparisons possess some sort of personal connection as well. Alessandro is fitted to the hagiographic category of reforming saintly bishop through iconographical and attitudinal allusions to Borromeo as well as Ambrose, the early Christian prototype reconceived along Borromean lines in the post-Tridentine era. Alessandro's spiritual perfection is manifest in the ecstatic demeanor of divine union, a state likened to the paradigmatic counter-reformatory male mystic, Philip Neri. Both Borromeo and Neri were friends of Alessandro's, which makes them members of a sanctified fraternity as well as exemplars of the same virtues. Puget's statue therefore accomplished two techniques of saintly identity construction: the attribution of established forms of sanctity and participation in mutually recognizing groups of spiritual peers. Additionally, Alessandro's social class is acknowledged in a way that is able to foreground his pious eschewal of worldly things. Overall, Puget deftly managed the hagiographic goal of aligning the particulars of an individual life with universal standards of sanctity.

The pairing of Alessandro with St. Sebastian, Puget's pendent sculpture in the S. Maria Assunta crossing, is a different sort of association in that it does not make a case for sainthood on the basis of resemblance, but by analogy. Alessandro's similarity to Sebastian lies in their miraculous efficacy against plague, the central manifestation of sanctity shared by both. As was the case for Carlo Borromeo, much of Alessandro's saintly reputation derived from his conduct during the plague of 1580.[651] His unflagging efforts proved his heroic degree of charity, while his

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[651] A. Lynn Martin, *Plague? Jesuit Accounts of an Epidemic Disease in the Sixteenth Century*, (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth-Century Journal Publications, 1996), 185. She observes that Carlo canonized in 1612 largely on his pastoral work among the sick during the epidemic that came to be known as the "*peste di San Carlo*." During the Milanese plague of 1630, city magistrates opened Carlo's tomb and processed the remains around the city, which

prayers effected miraculous relief from the disease.[652] It has been suggested that the general acceptance of Alessandro's behavior during this disaster led the Sauli family to assume the certainty of his pending beatification, and commission the statue in the first place.[653] Domenico Fiasella's altarpiece depicting this subject has already been mentioned, and its presence in S. Maria Assunta indicates a degree of public recognition of his conduct. The comparison with Borromeo is again revealing; both were relatively recent intercessors and were considerably different from the saints traditionally evoked against the plague.[654] As high-ranking ecclesiastics, healing and other ministrations were taken as heroic expression of pastoral service.

In mid seventeenth-century Genoa, however, Borromeo had too many other connotations to be understood purely as a plague saint. If Alessandro's claim to sainthood rests on his conduct during the epidemic of 1580 and his intercessory potency against future afflictions, then this should be stated unequivocally. St. Sebastian, who had been invoked as early as the seventh century against pestilence, and, by the fourteenth century, had become a universal protector, possessed no

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was believed to have turned the tide against the disease. Giuseppe Ripamonti, *La Peste di Milano del 1630* (Pirotta: Tipografia a Libraria, 1841), 47-50. For the centrality of his charity during the plague in Carlo's cult in France, see Marc Venard, "The Influence of Carlo Borromeo on the Church of France," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastic Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1988), 212.

652 Godefroy Henschen et al., *Acta sanctorum junii, ex Latinis & Graecis aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis, servata primigenia scriptorum phrasi, collecta, digesta, commentariis et observationibus illustrata, a Godefrido Henschenio p.m. Daniele Papebrochio, Francisco Baertio, et Conrado Janningo e Societatis Jesu presbyteris theologis*, Tomus 1 (Venice: Giovanni Battista Albrizzi and Sebastiano Coleti, 1741), 749-51, CAPUT VI. "Singularis ejus in omnes charitas & in pauperes misericordia: domestica disciplina," col. 826A 68. This entry draws heavily from the Gabutio *vita*. For a summary of Alessandro's activities during the plague, see Moltedo, 334.

653 Georget, 12.

654 Boeckl, 59. She contrasts Carlo with St. Roch, an older saint who was commonly invoked for protection from the plague. Arguing that saints mirror contemporary religious mores, she notes that Roch, as a miracle healer projected pre-conciliar values, while Carlo, as an ordained priest and bishop expressed a Tridentine ideal. Insofar as the Church canonized and promoted complimentary individuals, this is true, although this neglects the continued popularity of older saints in public devotion. For example, Jerome Nadal recommended devotion to both Sts. Roch and Sebastian in the Jesuit colleges. See Martin, *Plague?*, 102.

such ambiguity.[655] The naked martyr, pierced with arrows, had been commonplace in Italian art for centuries. The resemblance between the nude, suffering saint and Christ is not coincidental; Sebastian is the sacrificial victim who catches the metaphoric arrows of disease before returning to life.[656] He is what Leo Steinberg irreverently described as a lightning rod, standing between humanity and plague.[657] Even amongst static and iconic groups of saints, he is almost always shown in this narrative context, and by following this tradition, Puget's sculpture foregrounded his protective role. There is no more archetypal figure for Alessandro's efficacy against pestilence than Sebastian.

Post-Tridentine saints that became popular tended to fit within older worship structures, such as the veneration of Sebastian to defend against sickness.[658] However, the theme of virtuous conduct during the plague is directly relevant to mid seventeenth-century Italy and the Sauli in particular, for reasons that go beyond the hagiographic profile of their ancestor. It has been noted how Alessandro's ministrations to the sick were considered exemplary and followed the pattern of behavior established by Carlo Borromeo, but it is equally true that this, like any criteria of sanctity, is based in the prevailing values in the Church. Care for the afflicted was a serious issue during epidemics, and the papacy used all possible means to encourage pious works in the face of the plague. Bulls were written in the seventeenth century promising indulgences and other spiritual rewards for risking lives in the service of the sick, which was deemed heroic charity no less

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655 Boeckl, 55; Marshall, 147.

656 ibid., 107; 261.

657 Cited in Boeckl, 55.

658 Burke, "Popular Piety,"122

glorious than martyrdom.[659] It is tempting to see the pairing of the charitable Alessandro with the

martyr Sebastian as a manifestation of this posited equivalence, although that conclusion is

circumstantial at best. The fact that Alessandro's conduct epitomized actions during the plague

that were held in the highest regard, at least by the religious authorities, is more concrete.[660]

Furthermore, members of the Sauli family performed comparable actions during the outbreak that

struck Genoa in 1657, only a few years before the crossing sculptures were commissioned.

Genoa was actually visited by two devastating epidemics in the mid-seventeenth century,

with impacts exacerbated by widespread malnutrition and other social maladies brought on by the

resulting economic hardship. An outbreak of typhus between 1648 and 1650 had double the normal

mortality rate, and was followed by an even more virulent plague of 1656-7. Between the two,

40,000 people, or roughly half the population of the city, lost their lives.[661] Giulio Sauli, later a

patron of Puget, was elected doge in 1656 and served through the plague. Nearly 80 years old, he

refused to abandon his post, and continued to direct assistance for the duration of the outbreak,

despite his doctors' orders to leave the disease-infested palace, and the deaths of almost all his

collaborators, soldiers and servants. His main assistant during this time was his son, Marco

Bindinelli Sauli, who remained with him throughout the ordeal.[662] Scholars consider it likely that

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659 Boeckl, 113. The dispute between Carlo Borromeo, who insisted on full ministrations to the plague ridden, and the Milanese Jesuits, who wished to limit their service to confession, is also indicative of the authoritative emphasis on care for the sick. See Martin, *Plague?*, 185.

660 Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 48. Saints, like other heroes, reflect the values of the culture in which they are perceived in a heroic light.

661 Giuliano Briganti, Prefazione to *Genova nell'età barocca*, ed. Ezia Gavazza and Giovanna Rotondi Terminiello (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1992), 15. It took the city fifty years to recover demographically. For more on the plague, see Danilo Presotto, "Genova 1656-1657: cronache di una pestilenza," *Atti della societa ligure di storia patria* 5, 2 (1965): 315-440.

662 Levati, 162-73; Romano da Calice, *La Grande Peste Genova* 1656-1657 (Genova: Cooperativa di Solidarietà Sociale Egidio Bullesi, 1992), 131-2.

the Sauli family's role during the outbreak influenced the S. Maria Assunta commission, with Lauro Magnani going so far as to claim that the *Sebastian* may be an homage to Giulio.[663] Klaus Herding has raised the possibility that the sculptures not only commemorate their patron's activity, but also possess a votive quality, and were commissioned to give thanks for the cessation of the plague.[664] If this is the case, it is likely that Alessandro and Sebastian were intercessors invoked during the epidemic, the latter perhaps at the altar with Fiasella's depiction of Alessandro during the Corsican plague hanging above it.

Doge Giulio's conduct brought distinction to his term in office and earned him a local reputation for Christian heroism.[665] Given that Alessandro's miraculous leadership during the plaque of 1580 was the strongest argument for his canonization, he, Sebastian and the Sauli patrons are bound together by a pestilential motif. Sebastian provides an authoritative foundational reference for this theme as the universally venerated early Christian intercessor most associated with the disease. This makes him a logical choice for an homage to Giulio, and accounts for why it was him and not Fabian of the two saints named in Bendinelli's original bequest chosen for the crossing. While the martyr defines the essence of Giulio's heroism and Alessandro's sanctity by analogy, the latter two share a much more immediate bond. Alessandro epitomizes the family's conduct in the face of the plague, only on the heroic, idealized and ultimately exemplary level of a putative saint. As Sebastian reified the qualities that made Alessandro fit for canonization, Alessandro embodied the heroic virtue exhibited by his family in their own time of trial. The

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663 Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 297.

664 Herding, *Pierre Puget*, 67. It is interesting to note that votive churches tend to be centralized in plan, although there is no evidence that S. Maria Assunta was built for this purpose. See Boeckl, 53, on votive churches.

665 Magnani La scultura dalle forme," 297. He writes that Giulio Sauli was recorded in contemporary sources as an "*eroe della Cristiana pietà*" for his leadership during the plague. See also Goffredo Casalis, *Dizionario Geografico Storico - Statistico - Commerciale degli Stati*, Vol. VII (Turin: Cassone e Maezorati, 1840), 1258.

commission functions through the construction of analogies between historically disparate persons and events, which underscores the existence of fundamental similarities across time.[666] Alessandro is like Sebastian in his spiritual essence, and this likeness provides a model of Christian heroism for his family to emulate.

The iconography and attitude of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* defines its subject as a figure of spiritual perfection and a heroic servant of the Church. Episcopal paraphernalia marks him as an ideal bishop; his all-consuming rapture indicates that his worldly accomplishments are inconsequential in the face of supreme devotion, and his association with Sebastian highlights his intercessory potency. The nature of sculpture as a physical body allows for these signs to be configured as a spiritual progression through real space. The lowest attributes, the book and treasure, are placed at the viewer's eye level, which means that the encounter with the statue begins with representations of wealth and learning, achievements most irrelevant to a sanctified life. The crozier, a symbol of ecclesiastical vocation supported by an angel, draws attention upward until it becomes apparent that it too is set aside. This rising thrust is picked up by the spiral pose of the figure, with its intense gesture and rapt expression, and carried into a realm of pure devotion. The viewer is confronted with a vertical progression from worldly success through religious service into heroic piety. The rhetorical force of this address is enhanced by the projection of the figure out of its niche into the crossing, which makes it appear more of a real presence than a scenographic display. This meaningful physicality calls attention to the interaction of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* with its surrounding environment.

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666 Barbara Stafford has described how visual analogy generates meaning through the observation of resemblances between different entities. See Barbara Maria Stafford, *Visual Analogy: Consciousness as the Art of Connecting* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 23.

Puget conceived of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* as part of a larger project patterned after Bernini's installation in the crossing of St. Peter's, with a monumental statue planned for each of the four piers, and a large baldachin in the center. The choice of St. Peter's as a model followed Alessi's adaptation of the Roman basilica in his design of S. Maria Assunta, but there are more specific reasons for Puget's decision. Scholars have noted that one of his principal accomplishments was to open the conservative world of Genoese sculpture to the artistic changes taking place in contemporary painting.[667] His fluid attitude towards media enabled him to translate the spatial illusionism and dynamic action developed in the frescos of artists like Grechetto and Valerio Castello, into three-dimensions.[668] Bernini's integration of highly expressive figures with their environments made him a logical model for a sculptor of this sensibility, especially in a commission that so closely resembled the innovative incorporation of figures and space in St. Peter's.[669]

There are significant differences in the geneses and developments of the two crossing projects that mark the Roman installation as more of a conceptual model than an exact program to be followed. Although Bernini's project underwent significant alterations during its execution, the major relics contained within the piers predetermined the subject matter of the four statues: Sts.

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[667] Genoese sculptural practice was organized around family-based ateliers, where individual artistic tendencies were sublimated into homogenous shop styles, and works limited to a mainly decorative and architecturally subordinate role. Orlando Grosso, *Genova* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'arti grafiche, 1926), 117-18; Evia Gavazzi, "Puget et les artistes genois: la recontre de deux cultures," in *Pierre Puget: peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620-1694: Centre de la Vieille Charité, Musée des beaux-arts, 28 octobre 1994-30 janvier 1995*, ed. Marie-Paule Vial (Marseille: Musées de Marseille; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 288; Magnani, Gavazzi, Terminiello, 254-56; ; Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 293. Puget's innovations also had a profound effect on fresco painters of the following generation, like Domenico Piola and Gregorio de Ferrari and their elaboration of a scenographic Baroque space.

[668] Gavazzi, 286; Grosso, *Genova*, 114. The lessons of Bolognese *trompe l'oeil* painters had a marked impact on these Genoese artists.

[669] For Bernini's integration of figures and Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Crossing of Saint Peter's* (New York: New York University Press, 1968), 39.

Longinus, Helen, Veronica and Andrew. Bernini originally intended for the *baldacchino* to be topped with a statue of the Risen Christ as a bridge between the Eucharistic reenactment of Christ's sacrifice on the altar below, and the mosaic image of Christ enthroned in the dome above.[670] The *St. Veronica* and *St. Helen* were intended to relate to the lower portion of the *baldacchino* associated with passion and sacrifice, while *St. Longinus* and *St. Andrew* were oriented towards the upper region of resurrection and redemption. Together, these saints and their Passion relics, the spiral columns associated with the Temple of Solomon, and the miraculous recurrence of Christ's sacrifice on the altar were conceived as a dramatic transformation of the crossing into a virtual Jerusalem. The suggestive illumination by the light from the dome conferred the usual supernatural aura on this assemblage. Uncertainty as to whether the *baldacchino* could support the weight of the bronze Christ caused the figure to be replaced with the orb and cross seen today, although this removed the overt theme of resurrection. Consequently, all four pier statues had to relate to the sacrifice of Christ, and the *St. Longinus* was redesigned with arms spread wide to reference to the crucifixion. The evocation of a New Jerusalem was, if anything, strengthened by this increased focus on the Passion, and role of spiritual illumination provided by the real light remained unchanged.[671]

The crossing of S. Maria Assunta presented a very different situation. It did not contain major relics to establish the identities of its four saints, and as a relatively new building, lacked the historical resonance of St. Peter's and its ancient columns. Consequently, Puget did not have the sort of preexisting conditions that determined the content of Bernini's assemblage. Not only were the four Genoese statues not commissioned at the same time, it is unlikely that all their identities

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[670] ibid., 18.

[671] ibid., 35-7.

had been firmly fixed when Puget was first engaged. There is, however, strong circumstantial evidence that the crossing was conceived as an integrated group from the outset. Puget's two statues were commissioned together, and documents published by Varni indicate that the sculptor was paid to design a high altar for the center of the crossing at the same time.[672] Existing drawings for the baldachin have also been dated between 1663 and 1665.[673] The development of the other two sculptural subjects are less certain.[674] A *modello* for a *St. Mary Magdalene* was prepared, but Puget destroyed it before returning to France, and no indication of its appearance is known to exist.[675] In 1691, Puget signed a contract with the Sauli for a *St. Jerome*, although it is unlikely that he ever intended to execute the work. The proposed composition is known from a print after a probable presentation drawing, which later served as a point of departure for a statue designed by Schiaffino and executed by Diego Carlone. The installation of this last figure in the left transept of S. Maria Assunta suggests that its subject was not deemed essential to the crossing, and the sculptures that did fill the remaining niches were of different saints from those associated with Puget. The contributions of different artists, uncertainty over the original plan, and the time elapsed before completion differentiate the S. Maria Assunta crossing from Bernini's assemblage. However, four of its components, the baldacchino, altar and two statues, were planned by Puget at

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672 Varni, 56.

673 See Jean-Jacques Gloton, "Pierre Puget architecte romaine," in *Puget et son temps; actes du Colloque tenu à l'Université de Provence, les 15, 16 et 17 octobre 1971* (Aix-en-Provence: Pensée universitaire, 1972), 62, for the dating. Walton notes that the documents in the Sauli Archives do not indicate the order in which the baldacchino and sculptures were planned. Walton, "Pierre Puget's Projects for the Church of Santa Maria Assunta di Carignano," 90.

674 Amadei, 50. The author publishes the original contracts. The contract of March 8, 1664 includes payment of 8000 lire for the *St. Sebastian* and *St. Alessandro Sauli*.

675 Walton, "Pierre Puget's Projects for the Church of Santa Maria Assunta di Carignano," 91, 94.

the same time, and their relationship offers insight into how his sculpture engaged the space around it.

On first glance, Puget and Bernini's baldachins are quite similar, with spiral columns, prominent volutes and animated angels in the upper regions (figs. 85, 86). However, Puget's version is more dynamic and geometrically complex. Instead of a rectilinear form where four huge columns predominate, he proposed paired columns rising between a square base and a curving superstructure. The affinities between this plan, and Gabriel Le Duc's exactly contemporary variation on the St. Peter's *baldacchino* for the Parisian church of Val-de-Grâce (1663-5), cannot be overlooked (fig. 87).[676] Both have rounded forms and an increased number of columns compared with the original but Le Duc's version had a different relationship with its physical context that changed its significance.[677] The high altar in the Val-de-Grâce is against the apsidal wall, rather than in the center of the domed space, making the baldachin more of a frame than a unifying thematic axis. Bernini's square structure, which corresponded with the statues and relics in the four piers, was replaced with a circular configuration that aligned morphologically with the interior of the church, and created a sort of theatrical space for Michel Anguier's *Nativity* (1665, Paris, Val-de-Grâce). From the nave, the columns seem to coalesce into a cylindrical enclosure with a wide opening beneath a broken pediment, establishing a frontal vantage point, and defining the viewer's experience as more spectatorial than participatory. Puget's baldachin was part of a crossing plan that followed Bernini's, and was similarly placed at the center of a group of monumental statues. By combining four pairs of columns, the design wedded the graceful form

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[676] Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, 5th ed., revised by Richard Beresford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 212. The connection between Puget and Le Duc is noted in Jean-Jacques Gloton, 63.

[677] Anne Le Pas de Sécheval, "Entre hommage et trahison," in *Le Bernin et l'Europe: du baroque triomphant à l'âge romantique*, ed. Chantal Grell and Milovan Stanić (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 378.

and greater complexity of the Parisian version to the quadripartite structure needed to correspond with the surrounding sculpture.

The modifications in Puget's design actually accentuated the unifying, symbolic role of the original *baldacchino* in St. Peter's. The upper portion is more prominent and the columns proportionally much smaller, enhancing the sense of rising movement through the larger, more vertical volutes, and into the sculpted *Assumption of the Virgin* at the pinnacle. Puget echoed Bernini's original intention to place a statue atop the structure, and while the subjects of these works differ, both extend the upward thrust of the design with a paradigmatic message of triumph over death. The Assumption is not as directly connected to the Eucharistic enactment of Christ's sacrifice, but it references the dedication of the basilica with an image of bodily transition into heaven, a union with God that would have created its own thematic relationship with the sacrament on the altar below. The Genoese structure would likewise have been bathed in light from the cupola, creating the same sort of suggestion of divine presence.[678] The theological significance of the Eucharist as the union of the communicant and the divine would be given affective form by a powerful image of ascent into the light.

The stylistic variance between the pier figures is another aspect of Puget's crossing that recalls Bernini's. Lavin has argued that Bernini used different stylistic modes interpretively, to align the representation with the nature of the subject and its role in the assemblage.[679] Puget appears to have done the same thing and, if anything, shows an even greater diversity between his figures. The *St. Sebastian* was commissioned and executed at the same time as the *St. Alessandro*

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678 The notion of converting the space around the altar into a *theatrum sacrum* to realize the emotional involvement of the faithful was common in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ligurian churches. See Fausta Franchini Guelfi, "Altari genovesi del settecento," *Antichita vivà* 25, 4 (1986): 33.

679 Lavin, *Bernini and the Crossing of Saint Peter's*, 39.

Sauli, but in many ways appears to be its diametric opposite. Where the latter stands upright, fully clothed and suffused with an electric tension, its counterpart is nude and slack, held up by the tree behind him. These differences align neatly with their equally dissimilar places within Ligurian society and the hierarchy of the saints as a whole. Sebastian was universally venerated, and had a strong following in Genoa.[680] Bendinelli Sauli's original bequest for the construction of S. Maria Assunta even called for him to be named a titular saint of the basilica. The pairing with Sebastian emphasizes Alessandro's own sanctity, and, more specifically, his miraculous role during the plague in Corsica. The obvious dissimilarities between Alessandro and Sebastian are made apparent, but their equivalent scale and placement claims a fundamental connection that goes beyond superficial resemblance and asserts that the essence of sanctity transcends specifics of time and place.

Both statues are carved with stunning virtuosity, but the *St. Sebastian* replaces the palpable spiritual force, internal tension and coiling upward movement of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* with a supplely modeled vision of Christian resignation in the face of torment.[681] Scholars have proposed various models for the figure, including a painting of the same subject by Ribera, while others have noted the similarities with Bernini's *Daniel* (1655-61, Rome, S. Maria del Popolo), especially the position of the legs and the way the figure projects from the shadows of its niche.[682] The influence of Bernini is plausible, although Puget most likely is combining and adapting multiple

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680 de Simoni, 72. A church dedicated to St. Sebastian was erected in 1450.

681 François Paul Alibert, *Pierre Puget* (Paris: Les Éditions Rieder, 1930), 22. He refers to the statue as a "superhuman poem of passion and sorrow." See also Lejeaux, 163.

682 Walton, "Pierre Puget's Projects for the Church of Santa Maria Assunta di Carignano," 93; Georget, 118. Anthony Blunt writes: "the likeness of the *St. Sebastian* to the latter's *Daniel* in the Chigi Chapel is so great that one is tempted to think that Puget must have known this work." Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), 286.

antecedents as he did with the *St. Alessandro Sauli.* The comparison with the *Daniel* actually calls

attention to the differences between the two artists' approaches. Bernini's figure seems to surge

out of its niche, while the *St. Sebastian* is more respectful of its architectural frame, and while not

completely constrained, is less aggressive in its invasion of the surrounding environment.[683] The

latter still demands the viewer's response, but in a manner that maintains a greater separation

between real and pictorial space. [684] Like Bernini, Puget was accomplished in multiple arts, but

this affected his sculpture in different ways. Bernini's recognition of the compatibilities between

media led him to combine them into an expressive whole, but he always retained the integrity of

each art form, so while painting and sculpture may be meaningfully brought together, they remain

recognizably painting and sculpture. Puget, on the other hand, exploited concurrences between

media on a more essential level. According to Klaus Herding, the artist abandoned the notion of

competition between discrete fine arts associated with the *paragone*, and rather than placing

painting and sculptures beside each other, he invented painterly sculptures and sculptural

paintings.[685] Both S. Maria Assunta statues have distinctly painterly qualities, including

remarkable chiaroscuro and chromatic effects attained by alternating deep and shallow drapery

folds, and skillfully varied surface treatments.[686]

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683 Georget, 118.

684 Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*, 268.

685 Klaus Herding, Genevieve Bresc-Bautier and Luc Georget, "Puget sculpteur," in *Pierre Puget: peintre, sculpteur, architecte, 1620-1694: Centre de la Vieille Charité, Musée des beaux-arts, 28 octobre 1994-30 janvier 1995. Marseille* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 92. The authors relate Puget's approach to the *paragone* debates, claiming he abandoned notions of competition for congruence.

686 Puget also paints like a sculptor, constructing plastic forms with dense paste-like masses of paint, and vivid colors against somber backgrounds. Gavazzi, 286-7. See also Magnani, Gavazzi and Terminiello, 256.

Of the two, the *St. Alessandro Sauli* is closer to Bernini, in that the human figure dominates its setting to the point where surrounding elements do not suggest a separate narrative context, or imply any location other than the crossing itself. In contrast, the *St. Sebastian* includes surrounding elements that combine with the central figure in a discrete pictorial narrative scene.[687] Stylistic variance heightens the dissimilarity between the two, which, in turn, created differences in each represents its subject and interacts with the other elements of the differently. Sebastian's sanctity is indicated by a historical reference to his signature hagiographic moment of martyrdom. To anyone familiar with his story, it is clear that the sculpture depicts a specific recognizable incident from the distant past. The *St. Alessandro Sauli* does not contain elements that situate it temporally in this way; its subject was not generally portrayed as a mystic and there are no indicators to link it to a particular incident in his *vita*. Sebastian's accoutrements, the tree and discarded armor, are consistent with the story of a Roman soldier who was stripped, strung up, and shot, while Alessandro's symbolize a more general disregard of worldly matters. The narrative quality of the *St. Sebastian* sets the image apart from its surroundings to evoke an event from long ago. In contrast, the expansive and environmentally participatory *St. Alessandro Sauli* includes no spatiotemporal references to constrain a spiritual experience that seems to happen right now.

The well-known story of the early Christian martyr offers a canonical archetype of sanctity that defines Alessandro's mystical experience as a contemporary manifestation of a saintly ideal established long ago. In other words, what's happening to Alessandro is commensurate with what happened to Sebastian. The differences between the two statues reflect the temporal gulf between

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687 Rudolf Preimesberger has called this the scenic mode of representation, and it is where sculpture in the round comes closest to painting and narrative relief. See Rudolf Preimesberger, "Ein Spätwerk Filippo Parodi in Genua," *Pantheon* 27 (1969): 51. It is noteworthy that Bernini showed little interest in relief sculpture. Even the *St. Francis in Ecstasy* in the Raimondi Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio in Rome lacks the scenic dimension of narrative setting. His *Pasce Oves Meus* panels for St. Peter's are the only notable examples of narrative relief in his oeuvre.

early Christianity and the present, and make clear that the image of self-sacrifice is to be understood as having happened in a different time and place. In contrast, Alessandro is presented with an immediacy that stresses the contiguity of his spiritual example to the world of the viewer. Together, the two statues articulate the link between the ideal Christian death, or martyrdom, and the figurative death of the self in ecstasy discussed in Chapter Two, and assert the fundamental continuity of sainthood across the centuries.[688] The *St. Sebastian* hangs impotently from its tree, with his head down but his eyes turned upward in a suppliant gaze. As the light from above falls on his cheek, his resigned expression testifies to his faith in redemption.[689] Martyrdom was the ultimate sign of sanctity, and Sebastian's willingness to give up his life for his faith promises his heavenly passage. The *St. Alessandro Sauli's* ecstatic state was symptomatic of mystic union; his extended hand and upturned eyes face towards the light, while the play of illumination on his richly textured surface makes it appear as if he is actually suffused with divine radiance. One seventeenth-century Genoese commentator wrote of this figure: "*s'interna nell'anima per mezzo d'una luce divino*" (its soul is penetrated by means of a divine light).[690]

The statues each represent a historically appropriate example of the oneness with God epitomized by the *Assumption of the Virgin* intended for the top of the baldacchino. Mary's archetypical union would have been placed closest to the light entering from the dome, as a sort of wellspring informing all subsequent occurrences of this kind. A theme of heroic spirituality

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688 There are many sources that connect mystical experience and martyrdom. For an overview of the theme, see Christopher Nugent, *Mysticism, Death and Dying* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 10-23. The link originates in the Bible with the account of the protomartyr St. Stephen, who, at the moment of his death proclaimed "behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God." (Acts 7:56)

689 Herding, Bresc-Bautier and Georget, 92.

690 I. Pallavicino, *Veri e morali ritratti degli amori*, Genova, 1693. Cited in Magnani, "Pierre Puget, uno scultore barocca," 115.

leading to divine union differs from Bernini's creation of a new Jerusalem, in that it is not connected to a specific place and time. Unlike the saints at St. Peter's, whose identities were determined by the Passion relics, the S. Maria Assunta figures could theoretically be drawn from any moment in ecclesiastic history. The temporal gulf between the lives of St. Sebastian and Alessandro actually strengthens the premise that divine union is a timeless spiritual reward. The choice of subjects for the other two niches was therefore quite flexible, which explains how the two saints associated with Puget could differ from those actually installed without disrupting the larger theme of the crossing. Mary Magdalene was a prototypical penitential convert and ecstatic, while Jerome was an inspired ascetic that translated the Bible under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Parodi's *St. John the Baptist,* the saint who announced the Incarnation, looks towards the center of the crossing, addressing the viewer directly, while his hand points up towards the light. David's *St. Bartholomew* clumsily reprises the theme of martyrdom; like the *St. Sebastian*, he hangs from a tree, with his face turned into the light of salvation. The fact that all four possibilities dated to early Christian or Biblical times reinforced the venerable roots of Alessandro's sanctity.

Although the S. Maria Assunta crossing does not depict a single event, it does extend sculptural reference across real space and, as at St. Peter's, incorporates viewers within its thematic purview. Bathed in the divine light and surrounded by the drama of salvation, they are made part of a shared spiritual truth.[691] The planned altar would have underscored this participatory dimension, since communicants at the Mass would actually experience their own union with God.[692] Unlike the crossing of St. Peter's, where the role of the Host is to stand-in for Christ's

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691 This is what anthropologist Victor Turner has referred to as a positional meaning; how a signifying object works in relation to other symbols and activities to form meaningful complexes. See Turner and Turner, 146.

692 Foreknowledge, or the pre-understanding of a signifying object is a presupposition of hermeneutic theories of interpretation, which hold than meaning emerges from the convergence of that object and the reader/viewer.

sacrificial body, Puget's plan defined the Eucharist as a personally available form of the spiritual energy that infuses the surrounding figures. However, this conceptual union of art and sacrament was never realized, and when the baldachin project came to naught, the planned central altar was abandoned for its current site in the apse. Propitiously, the basic orientation of the two statues towards the cupola and the effect of the light on their marble surfaces is unaffected. The absence of the centerpiece makes their relationship with their surroundings less obvious, but this does not change their complementary figurations of divine union. The viewer is still situated amidst an actualization of Christian heroism that is more tangibly real than any tw-dimensional picture. There is no single viewpoint from which the entire assemblage is visible; like the reality of sanctity, it is literally all around.[693]

Puget's statues possess a naturalism that enhances the credibility and appeal of the crossing's participatory message. However, despite their carefully textured surfaces and penetrating exploration of emotions, the sculptures are by no means hyper-real. Their grand scale and gleaming white marble bodies define them as more than human. St. Sebastian's idealized form recalls the antique sculpture that Puget studied in Rome, and Alessandro's ecstatic tension seems superhuman in its restrained vehemence.[694] This fusion of the real and the ideal, what Lauro Magnani calls "*naturale-miracoloso,*" is seeming actuality, and speaks to a spiritual reality that is

According to Gadamer, the meaning of an artwork is actualized through the specific act of viewing, the converging horizons of beholder and image, in an experience that is potentially transformative. See Gadamer, 95.

693 The idea of a composite work of art that eludes the single vantage point and requires a mental effort of assembly used by Petersson to describe the Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria. See Robert Petersson, *The Art of Ecstasy: Teresa, Bernini, and Crashaw* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), 64.

694 Soprani, 323-4. The author observes that the head of *St. Sebastian* resembles a Greek sculpture, while the weapons and armor on the ground have the *gusto* of Trajan's Column.

both proximate to and removed from the quotidian.[695] By yoking the lifelike qualities of sculptural

naturalism and real light to the metaphysical symbolisms of divine illumination and ideal form,

the sculpture bridges the barrier between the earthly and celestial spheres, and reveals the passage

between them is readily available in the hands of the church. Including Alessandro in this powerful

grouping makes a bold claim for his as yet unrecognized sanctity.

III. PUGET AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF GENOESE SCULPTURE

Pierre Puget was born October 16, 1620 in Marseille to a master mason.[696] His formation

was eclectic; originally apprenticed to a wood carver, he went to Italy in 1638, where he joined

the workshop of Pietro da Cortona as a painter and stuccoist.[697] Following his return to France, he

was employed at the naval shipyard at the Arsenal in Toulon, where he worked as a wood carver

and painter. A second journey to Italy followed in 1646, and a year later he was back in Toulon. It

was here, in 1656, where he received his first major sculptural commission in stone, the pair of

Atlantids for the entrance portal of the Hôtel-de-Ville (fig. 76). Scholars have seen the influence

of Pietro da Cortona, Bernini, and Michelangelo in these figures, but they possess an expressive

force, straining energy and emotionalism that is Puget's invention.[698] Despite their extreme

plasticity, they lack the idealized physiques common to French sculpture at the time, and their

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695 Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme, 295; see also Petersson, *The Art of Ecstasy*, 48.

696 The basic details of Puget's life are taken from Herding, *Pierre Puget*.

697 Puget was likely employed on the Venus and Jupiter rooms in the Pitti Palace. See Gloton, "Puget et la peinture," 115.

698 Herding, Bresc-Bautier and Georget, 89. For the debt of the *Atlantids* to the fictive sculptural elements in Pietro's Palazzo Barberini ceiling, see See Magnani, "Pierre Puget, uno scultore barocca fra Genova e la corte di Francia," 110,

almost palpable tension foreshadows the spiritual intensity of the *St. Alessandro Sauli*.[699] It is evident that these figures brought professional success, for by the end of the decade, Puget was in the service of the highly discriminating Fouquet. His duties included a mission to Genoa in 1661 to acquire marble for Vaux-le-Vicomte, but shortly after, the Surintendant des Finances fell from favor and was imprisoned, leaving the sculptor to fend for himself.[700] Having decided to stay, Puget made another trip to Rome, then spent the better part of the decade establishing himself as the preeminent sculptor in Genoa.[701] He returned to France at the behest of Colbert, but remained in contact with his patrons and associates in Italy until his death in Marseilles in 1694.

Puget stands somewhat apart from the mainstream of French sculpture. Even his *Milo of Croton* (1671-82, Paris, Musée du Louvre), which was carved for Versailles, exhibits a tension and dramatic realism that is distinct from the work of sculptors like Girardon (fig. 88). Puget's uniqueness and diversity has disconcerted some critics and made him difficult to categorize. Herding, for example, describes the sculptor's love of detail as as out of step with the aesthetic of his academic contemporaries. He identifies Puget's ultimate goal as impossibly ambitious: to surpass the leading Italian sculptors by rendering nature in truthful fashion while achieving the pathetic aspirations of the Roman Baroque, to pursue the grand manner without neglecting detail, and to fortify the language of emotion without systematized expressions of the kind developed by Le Brun.[702] Puget's accomplishments, which span the fields of painting, sculpture, architecture,

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699 This tension is evident in Puget's paintings as well. See Marie-Christine Gloton, 116.

700 See Walton, "Pierre Puget's Projects for the Church of Santa Maria Assunta di Carignano," 90. Due to its proximity to Carrera, Genoa controlled the marble trade. See Magnani, Gavazzi, and Terminiello, 254.

701 Walton, "Pierre Puget in Rome 1662," 582.

702 See Herding, Bresc-Bautier and Georget, 88, for the ambiguity in efforts to classify Puget. For Puget's place outside the French artistic establishment, see Henry H. Hawley, "Pierre Puget: Blessed Alessandro Sauli," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 55 (April, 1965): 101; Gloton, "Pierre Puget architecte romaine," 55.

engineering and nautical design, exhibit a breadth that makes classification under the categories of the academic fine arts difficult, and biographies written by Provençal amateurs have led some to classify the sculptor as a talented provincial.[703] A more prevalent line of criticism recognizes the obvious similarities between Puget and Bernini, but occludes their significant differences.[704] In truth, the artist was neither an autochthonic singularity nor "the Bernini of France" as the Genoese author Carlo Ratti already called him in a 1768 biography.[705] His experiential breadth allowed him to develop a unique and personal approach to his art that never seemed derivative.

While the spatial relations and formal properties of the works for S. Maria Assunta do recall Bernini in some ways, the project is marked by an originality that is Puget's own, and his innovative approach ushered in a new era in Genoese sculpture. Many of the characteristics of his later sculptures were already in evidence in the *Atlantids* of Toulon, including his debt to Italian influences and personal way in which these are realized. While their clearest predecessors are Michelangelo's slaves, Puget's figures demonstrate a greater emotional intensity that threatens to burst out of its figural constraint at any moment. While the postures of the slaves suggest an element of physical strain, the suavity of their herculean proportions, their unfinished forms, and their resigned expressions make their expressed passions seem somewhat veiled or abstracted. In contrast, the *Atlantids'* more finished appearances, with taut muscles and wrinkled skin, and their fierce, almost pained expressions of tremendous effort, create a greater air of real, temporal

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703 Walton, "Pierre Puget in Rome 1662," 587. For another early biography, see Aline Mangien, "Le sculpteur A.-Fr. D'Huez, biographe de Pierre Puget et Pierre II Legros," *Revue de l'art* 127 (2000-1): 32-42.

704 Klaus Herding, "Pierre Puget: le Bernin de la France, ou subtil antiberninien," in *Le Bernin e l'Europe: du baroque triomphant à l'âge romantique*, ed. Chantal Grell and Milovan Stanić (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002). The author traces the history of the Puget/Bernini comparison from its appearance in the mid-eighteenth century, and its impact on the critical appraisal of the former.

705 Soprani, Vol. 2, 323.

actuality, a relatively unidealized exploration of psychic truth. This freeing of expressive qualities from the constraints of ideality is part of a larger "penchant for the quotidian," in Klaus Herding's words, that distinguishes the artist from Bernini and renders him unique in European sculpture at this point.[706] Although Puget spent time in Rome, which included the study of both ancient and modern sculpture, his interest in veristic expression diverges from contemporary Roman aesthetics.[707] At his best, his works possess a compelling, realistic presence that makes abstract and spiritual subjects seem highly accessible.

For the first three years after his arrival in Genoa in 1660, Puget continued to move around, including voyages to Rome and back to France. In 1663 he seems to have settled in the city where he quickly developed a reputation for excellence. As early as 1661, he had established a working rapport with the local sculptural workshops, whose organization around family ties, and shared Lombard origins, generally made them resistant to outsiders.[708] Although Puget brought his own students from France, including Christophe Veyrier and Honoré Pellé, he employed Genoese carvers for preparatory work. More significantly, he formed personal relationships with the sculptural families, even becoming godfather to the sons of Giorgio Scala and Francesco Mocetti.[709] Rapidly integrating himself into the native artistic culture positioned Puget to take on important commissions without resistance. The Sauli were the first of the Genoese aristocracy to acquire his services, beginning with a series of drawings for the proposed altar and baldachin for

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706 For a convincing analysis of the *Atlantids*, and Puget's originality, see Herding, "Pierre Puget: le Bernin de la France," 314-6. At first glance, the surface qualities and modeling of the bodies suggests Bernini's baroque, but their intense and idiosyncratic pathetic sentiment lacks the ideal aura that the Roman sculptor always maintained.

707 During his second sojourn to Italy in 1646, Puget's primary activity was the studying and drawing of sculpture. See Guy Walton, "Puget et l'Italie," *Arts et livres de Provence* 77 (1971): 67.

708 Magnani, Gavazzi, and Terminiello, 255.

709 Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 294.

S. Maria Assunta in 1663. Giulia Maria Sauli is recorded as paying Puget a monthly wage of 300 *livres* before the formal contracts for the *St. Alessandro Sauli* and the *St. Sebastian* were were drawn up the following year.[710] 1664 also marked the beginning of the sculptor's work for other Genoese patrician families, including the carving of an *Immaculate Conception* (1666-70, Genoa, Chiesa della SS. Concezione) for Emanuele Brignole and another version for the Lomellini (c. 1665, Genoa, Oratorio di San Filippo Neri), a *Madonna and Child* (1682, Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino) for the Carrega family, and twelve Roman emperor busts for Vincenzo Spinola. He also sculpted a relief depicting the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1664-65, Berlin, Staatliche Museen) for the Grand Duke of Mantua.[711]

Puget's arrival in Genoa has been described as a watershed in the sculptural history of that city, and his Sauli commissions constitute the first major examples of this transformation. The *St. Alessandro Sauli* has often been compared to a work by Bernini, which is helpful in characterizing Puget's accomplishments as long as it does not obscure the differences between the two sculptors.[712] Puget exhibits a more painterly dimension with nuanced modeling, textural transitions between different substances such as wings, robes and clouds, and the use of surface refinements to create chiaroscuro effects.[713] This is apparent in the variegated surface of the robes of the *St.*

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710 Lagrange, 67; Hawley, 103. These figures were the extent of Puget's contributions to the family church, though there is evidence that he remained committed to the project up until his return to France. See Magnani, "Pierre Puget, uno scultore barocca," 115.

[711] Herding, Bresc-Bautier and Georget, 90-1.

712 To cite just three examples, Anthony Blunt states that the *St. Alessandro Sauli* is where Puget comes closest to Bernini, Henry Hawley compares it to the St. Peter's *Longinus*, calling it a particularly clear example of Roman Baroque influence, and Guy Walton finds a precedent in the *Cathedra* fathers. See Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 268; Hawley, 103; Guy Walton, "The Sculptures of Pierre Puget," (PhD diss., New York University, 1967), 38. Puget's shared vocabulary and style with Bernini is noted in Venanzio Belloni, *La grande Scultura in marmo a Genova (secoli XVII e XVIII)* (Genoa: G. B. G.: 1988), 139.

713 Magnani, Gavazzi and Terminiello, 256. Belloni, *La grande scultura in marmo*, 138. The author captures the magnitude of Puget's impact in calling him the godfather of Genoese art.

Alessandro Sauli and intricate detail of the armor of the *St. Sebastian* and its contrast with the figure's smooth flesh. He combines elements of Bernini's pathos and spiritual intensity with an attention to detail and greater restraint reminiscent of Algardi. The relationship between the *St. Alessandro Sauli* and its Roman antecedents as a general one, where Puget confronts definitive monuments of the High Baroque and molds them into his own vision.

Scholars generally characterize Puget's impact in terms of his novel approach to marble carving relative to local sculptors. As noted earlier, the production of marble sculpture in the city was controlled by conservative workshops that checked the impact of new ideas.[714] However, perhaps even more than the lack of individual flair, it was the decorative quality and subordination to architectural constraints that typified Genoese sculpture of the earlier seventeenth century. Churches were filled with expertly carved figures commemorating the lives and deeds of notable individuals, but lacking a sense of convincing movement or extension into real space. In contrast, Puget articulated plastic forms in space, and because of this, he is often credited with bringing a Roman Baroque idiom to Genoa.[715] However, the general characterization of Genoese sculpture as constrained by its setting or lacking the ability for spatial interaction is a restricted view of the medium, because it ignores the rich tradition of wood carving in the region. Limiting consideration to works in marble is a position more in keeping with the contemporary Roman theoretical presuppositions discussed in Chapter One that ultimately led to the rejection of Bernini's mimetic idiom. In other cities, where critics were less overbearing, the classical tradition less present, and Renaissance theories of medium less influential, sculptors enjoyed a greater degree of freedom.

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714 Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 293; Magnani, Gavazzi, Terminiello, 254; Elena Parma Armani and Maria Clelia Galassi, "Artisti e artigiani del marmo dal Cinquecento al Seicento," in *La scultura a Genova e in Liguria dal seicento al primo novecento* (Genoa: Fratelli Pagano, 1989), 9.

715 Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 296.

Genoa was such a place, with a vital tradition of woodcarving that flourished alongside marble

sculpture well into the modern era, and polychrome altarpieces placed on prominent altars in the

grandest Baroque churches.[716]

Distinguishing between wood and marble sculpture has been a fixture in art history and

criticism since the Renaissance, when a hierarchical relationship between media was first

theorized. Even Bernini, who would later be condemned for his movement and unclassical

emotionalism, is dismissive of contemporary woodcarving traditions. According to Chantelou, the

sculptor castigated polychrome figures "distinguished only by lovely coloring or unskilled charm"

as pleasing only to the eye and not the mind, and criticized Naples as a place "where only trifles

and gilding are appreciated."[717] Spaniards, he added, "have no taste or knowledge of the arts," and

presumed that they would judge his *Persephone* as "very pretty but would look better with the

black eyes that the nuns give embroidered dogs." The powerful influence of these opinions is even

perceptible in the shape of modern academic art history where, until recently, studies of sculpture

generally focus on stone or bronze, the high status materials used by the most acclaimed artists for

the best commissions. In Rome, wooden sculpture was not produced by the major artists, and was

ignored by the critics, biographers, and principle patrons. This contrasts with Genoa, where both

Puget and his successor Parodi carved in wood as well as marble, and the leading sculptor of the

next generation, Anton Maria Maragliano (1664-1739) worked entirely in the former.[718] Wood

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716 Other cities had vital wood sculpture traditions, including Naples. For the presence of these in Salentine churches, see Raffaele Casciaro, "La scultura," in *Il barocco a Lecce a nel Salento*, ed. Antonio Cassiano (Lecce, Edizioni de Luca, 1995).

717 Chantelou, 23.

718 Boucher, 164; Herding, Bresc-Bauttier and Georget, 98; Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 297. In addition to the *cassace*, Genoa has a tradition of elaborate *presepe* sculpture that continues until the present day. See Parma Armani and Galassi, 34; Graziella Colmuto, *L'arte del legno in Liguria: A. M. Maragliano* (Alessandria: Tipografia Ferrari, Occella & C., 1968), 10.

was also a traditional and important sculptural material in Puget's native France. Various factors, including a strong Spanish influence, the lack of classical tradition and the absence of sort of written critical sources found in Rome and Florence contributed to a different attitude towards what sculpture could be.

The development of Genoese wood sculpture was largely driven by the tradition of *casacce*, the processional floats commissioned by confraternities to celebrate feast days and other liturgical events.[719] These processions trace their origins to the *disciplinanti*, or groups of flagellants that first appeared in the city in 1260, and who were performing spectacular displays of public penance by the mid-fifteenth century.[720] The early *casacce* were modest props, such as a simple crucifix, but grew more elaborate over time.[721] By the seventeenth century, processional "machines" included figural tableaux with multiple sculptures, and their popularity fueled fierce rivalries between the sponsoring confraternities and a drive to hire the best sculptors.[722] The importance of the *casacce* in the city made them a respected venue for wood carvers to develop their art, which is evident in the number of such sculptures that were eventually installed as altarpieces. Leading artists, including Parodi, and later Maragliano, applied current developments in marble carving and pictorial composition to produce images that participated in a "fine art"

719 These processions continued until their suppression by the Napoleonic government in 1806. Orlando Grosso, *Le Casacce genovese e la scultura lignea sacra genovese del Seicento e Settecento* (Genoa: Edizione Goffi, 1939), 17.

720 Colmuto, 8. For the history of the *disciplinanti*, see Giuseppe Banchero, *Genova e le due riviere: descrizione di Giuseppe Banchero* (Genoa: Luigi Pellas, 1846), 239; Francesco Maria Accinelli, *Memorie istoriche sacro-profane di Genova* (Genoa: Tipografia Botto, 1852), 19.

721 The first record of the construction of a multi-figure machine is dated 1559, when the Disciplinanti di S. Feancesco commissioned a float supporting a sculpture of Christ with *putti* and angels. See Colmuto, 9.

722 ibid., 20. See also Boucher, 174-5. For a comprehensive history of the *casacce*, see Grosso, *Le Casacce genovese*. From their medieval origins as an expression of popular liberty to their suppression in 1806 by a Napoleonic government, the casacce always had a political dimension.

idiom.[723] Scholars have noted the resemblance between these processions and the *pasos procesionales* of Spain, where wooden sculptures and demonstrative penitents took to the streets in dramatic fashion.[724] In both cases, spectators came into direct contact with real, physical, interactive bodies, blurring the distinctions between art, ritual, and public space. In fact, the high quality of Ligurian carving ensured a ready Iberian export market from the late fifteenth century and, by the seventeenth century Genoese sculpture was prominent in Madrid, Valencia, Seville, Cadiz and other cities.[725]

Scholars of wooden processional imagery have opposed these images and their function to the theoretically based notion of sculpture of early modern Italy. These do represent very different discursive frameworks, but binary structures of this sort oversimplify complex image cultures. The notion of a normative religious sculpture possessing ideal qualities and set apart in an ecclesiastic setting is a somewhat anachronistic application of modern assumptions of viewership. Even in Rome, stone sculpture was installed outdoors, on facades and in public spaces. In other parts of Italy it is even harder to neatly separate religious sculpture into a theory-driven, detached marble

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723 For Parodi's work as a wood carver, see P. Rotondi Briasco, "Filippo Parodi, maestro d'intaglio," *Bollettino d'Arte* 45 (1959): 46-56; Antonia Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento* (Torino: UTET, 1982), 166-73. For the impact of Bernini on Parodi and Maragliano, see Colmuto, 15-22. For the influence of painting on *cassace* sculptures, see Grosso, *Le Casacce genovese*, 24-5; Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 310-11.

724 See Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento*, 165. For the longstanding relationship between Genoa and Spain, see Piero Boccardo, José Luis Colomer and Clario Di Fabio, eds. *Genova e la Spagna: opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti* (Milan: Silvana, 2002).

725 Carmen Aranda Linares, Enrique Hormigo Sánchez and José Sánchez Peña, S*cultura lignea genovese a Cadice nel Settecento: opere e documenti* (Genoa: Associazione amici della Biblioteca Franzoniana, 1993), 9. This traffic in sculpture mirrored the growing economic and political ties between Spain and Genoa. Genoese sculptors decorating the Iberian churches and palaces with funerary monuments, celebratory and devotional statues, and architectural elements, especially in polychrome wood. The success and longevity of this export speaks to the similarity between the sculptural conventions of the two locales; scholars have noted that Ligurian iconography aligned perfectly with Andelusian tradition, and allowed immediate recognition. Fausta Franchini Guelfi, "La Scultura del Seicento a del Settecento. Marmi e legni policromi per la decorazione dei palazzi e per le immagini della devozione," in *Genova e la Spagna: opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*, ed. Piero Boccardo, José Luis Colomer, and Clario Di Fabio (Milan: Silvana, 2002), 252, discusses Schiaffino's work in Cadiz and the Cristo de la Salud by Maragliano.

category and a more engaged popular polychrome idiom. Both northern and southern Italy had well-established traditions of altarpieces in painted wood and terracotta. Polychrome carvings in various materials, including wood were also widely used for permanent interior projects in southern France, and Genoese sculpture was popular in seventeenth-century Provence.[726] The categorical boundaries between sculptural types was very fluid in Genoa where wood carving, despite scholarly disinterest, exhibits considerable overlap with its stone counterpart in formal and functional terms.[727] Ritual and aesthetic commonalities with Spain, economic ties with the south of France, the Baroque idioms of Puget and Parodi, a tendency for successful sculptors to work in different media, and the gradual adoption of fine art qualities in wood, are all evidence of a dynamic medium that challenges arbitrary boundaries.[728]

Parodi emerged as the leading sculptor in the city after Puget returned to France, and clearly reveals the influence of his time spent in Rome under Bernini and Cafà. He, even more so than Puget, was responsible for the dissemination of a mature Baroque idiom in Genoese sculpture.[729] His output in marble, wood and plaster share stylistic commonalities, such as the languid dolor

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[726] Francesca Fabbri, "Marmi genovesi nel Sud della Francia, scultori francesi a Genova: nuovi elementi per la vicenda artistica di Honoré Pellé (Gap, 1641-Genova, 1718)," *Artibus et Historiae* 25, 49 (2004): 186.

727 Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 3, 64, refers to the Genoese school of woodcarving as a popular tradition that only only Anton Maria Maragliano (1664-1739) raised to the level of high art. For the tradition of popular religious imagery on the Ligurian coast and elsewhere, see Boucher, 174.

728 Fabbri, 186. He treats the interchange between the French and Genoese sculpture that blossomed in the wake of Puget. See Parma Armani and Galassi, 34, for a marble *presepio* (Genoa, Chiesa del Gesù, 1625-6) by Tomaso Orsolino, a member of one of the leading ateliers in the city at the time. They comment on the novelty of substituting a traditional paliotto with a sculptural group. For more on the cultural and economic exchanges between France and Liguria see Myriame Morel-Deledalle, "Le XVIIe siècle et la début du XVIII siècle au Musée d'Histoire de Marseille," in *Marseille Baroque*, ed. Françoise-Albane Beudon and Rémy Kertenian (Marseille: Office de la Culture de Marseille, 2000), 26.

729 Magnani "La scultura dalle forme," 296. He claims Parodi interpreted the Roman experience of Bernini, Cafà and the unity of the arts, combining naturalism with a tendency towards stylization in his mature work. See also Grosso, *Genova*, 121.

that characterized his marble *Christ at the Column* (c. 1677-80, Genoa, Galleria Palazzo Reale)

and the wooden *Christo Morto* (c. 1681-2, Genoa, S. Luca) (figs. 89, 90).[730] Parodi's son and pupil

Domenico emulated his father by bringing a clear formal understanding of the sculptural art to the

making of *casse*, and treating wood with the *gusto* of marble.[731] Maragliano worked exclusively

in wood, but like Parodi, brought a refined aesthetic sensibility to his carvings. Scholars have

credited this sculptor with introducing Rococo grace to Genoa and bringing a greater elegance to

the ecstatic devotion, grand saintly gestures, and spiritual agitation of the Baroque.[732] His *casse*

exhibit a spectacular theatricality inspired by such painters as Domenico Piola, Gregorio de Ferrari

and Anthony Van Dyck, and were highly sought by Ligurian confraternities.[733] The direct

influence of marble carvings by Bernini and Puget on Maragliano's graceful wooden visions

speaks to a shared conceptual framework for the two materials where the lessons of one are easily

transferred to the other.[734] A figure such as the *St. Sebastian* (c. 1700, Rapallo, Oratorio da SS.

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730 Magnani, Gavazzi and Terminiello, 268-71.

731 Grosso, *Le Cassacce genovese*, 23.

732 ibid., 25; Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 3, 64. Genoa was not the only Italian center where Rococo stylistic idioms are found in wooden sculpture. Gualano attributes four eighteenth-century gilt reliquary statues (Turin, S. Filippo Neri) depicting *St. Charles Borromeo*, *St. Francis of Sales*, *St. Filippo Neri* and *Pope Pius V* to Giuseppe Antonio Riva. He notes that these are exceptions to the relative rarity of Rococo sculpture in Turin.

733 For Maragliano and his stylistic formation, see Magnani, "La scultura dalle forme," 310-11. The author links the sense of movement, structural composition, modulation of drapery, graceful figures and refined stylization in the sculptor's work to the Piolas and Ferrari. See also Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 3, 64; Grosso, Le Cassacce genovese, 24.

734 See Boucher, 175. It has been observed that Maragliano's statue of *St. Michael* is an almost literal copy of a seventeenth-century drawing after Raphael by Simone Cantarini. See Anne Rivoallan, "Du dessin à la sculpture: L'école bolonaise de peinture et les sculpteurs à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XVIIè siècle," *Storia dell'arte* 98 (2000): 37. The author notes the same position of head and arms and undulating movement. The case has been made that the head of Maragliano's demon in the *St. Michael* is copied from Bernini's *Damned Soul*. Fausta Franchini Guelfi, "San Michele Arcangelo," in *Genova nell'Età Barocca*, ed. Ezia Gavazza and Giovanna Rotondi Terminiello (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1992), 331.

Trinità), with its obvious debt to Puget's statue in S. Maria Assunta, stands a total contrast to the critics who asserted the fundamental distinction between wood and stone (fig. 91).

This common attitude towards sculptural types is evident on the functional as well as the formal level. Maragliano's altarpiece depicting *St. Pascal Baylon in Ecstasy before the Eucharist* (1735, Genoa, SS. Annunziata del Vastato) is the focal point of an ornate architectural setting (G. A. Ponsonelli and Gaetano Quadro, 1711) with paired alabaster spiral columns topped by a curved broken pediment that would not have been out of place in S. Ignazio or Il Gesù (fig. 92).[735] However, rather than the marble or silver statuary of Le Gros, the altarpiece is a dynamic carved and painted group of wooden angels displaying the host to the enraptured saint. Apparently, these materials were interchangeable for devotional purposes. The Crucifix Chapel in the Genoese church of S. Siro di Nervi offers a different manifestation of this commensurability (fig. 93**)**. Here, a seventeenth-century polychrome crucifix by Giovanni Battista Bissone (1576-1636) was made the centerpiece of a mixed-media installation. A group of marble sculptures by Francesco Schiaffino (1688-1763) were added in 1753, depicting the *Virgin Addolorata*, *Mary Magdalene* and a throng of angels, all in an attitude of worship.[736] The images cohere into a single representation, where the saints and their heavenly companions demonstrate the proper attitude towards the suffering Christ. Like Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross,* the marble figures convert the iconic crucifix into a narrative scene, while maintaining its visual distinction as a devotional object. Unencumbered by critical concerns regarding media, this chapel exploits material differences to construct a compelling and nuanced tableau.

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735 Giorgio Rossini, *Santissima Annunziata del Vastato. Basilica* (Genova: Sagep, 1999), 29.

736 Franco Boggero, *Chiesa di San Siro a Nervi*, vol. 85 of *Guide de Genova* (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1978), 15.

The palpable physical presence of sculpture has been recognized in some form or another from the beginnings of scholarly writing on art.[737] However the development of theoretical discourse introduces issues of artistic competence and idealizing dogmas that consider the effect of sculpture as an aesthetic quality, rather than the psychological and emotional response to something that appears real.[738] This is not a claim that aesthetic judgments are less natural than affective response; all perceptions are rooted in culturally conditioned frames of reference. It simply recognizes that different frames of reference coexist in a certain time and place, and that these have consequences for reception.[739] Attempting to establish a hard and fast division between these is problematic. At the extremes, the difference seems obvious; the classical notion of sculpture with its calm grandeur and noble simplicity is willing to sacrifice extreme affect for a more intellectualized conception of art. Conversely, the mobile interactive figures of the *casacce* dispense with intellectualized restraint to maximize emotional impact and the illusion of life. In actuality, the distinction is less clear, and never more so than in the Baroque, where marble statuary comes closest to the rhetorical emotionalism associated with baser materials. At the same time, as the examples of Parodi and Maragliano reveal, at no other point is Italian wood carving so

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737 See Helms, 13; Potts, 9.

738 Jeffrey Hamburger sets up an opposition between affective response and *ingenium* (artistic talent) in his discussion of Michelangelo's St. Peter's *Pietà*. See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "'To Make Women Weep' Ugly Art as 'Feminine' and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics," *Res* 31 (1997): 9-10. See also Joanna E. Zeigler, "Michelangelo and the Medieval Pietà: The Sculpture of Devotion or the Art of Sculpture?" *Gesta* 34, 1 (1995): 33-4.

739 Sinding-Larsen, 5. He sets up a distinction between the perception of the image as a presentation of what it depicts and as a convention bound construct. Brooks, 14, opposes realism and hyper-realism, the former being the conventional forms of classicizing sculpture while the latter strives for an unmediated reiteration of exterior reality. The problem with this opposition is that it imputes a certain truth-value to hyper-realism, rather than recognizing that it is actually a different kind of conventionally determined approach. See Kathleen Weil-Garris, "<<Were this Clay but Marble>> A Reassessment of Emilian Terracotta Group Sculpture," in *Le Arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII Secolo*, ed. Andrea Emiliani (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1979), 71 for the contrast between *statua* and *tableau*; the former being the marble statuary of high art, while the latter is the more vulgarly realistic imagery of the sacre monti or sculpture in base materials such as terra cotta and wood that appealed to the emotions over the intellect. Her article explores the shared approaches between artists working in the two categories.

influenced by developments in high art. In effect, there are, at this time, two modes or media, each with their attendant ideologies and associations working towards similar ends. Rather than two diametrically opposed poles, it is more accurate to consider these as endpoints on a continuum made up of the myriad permutations of affective rhetoric and "aesthetic" or fine art qualities. It is a moment that cannot be sustained, but it is especially clear in Genoa, where the critical debates of Rome are distant.

Puget's own formation prior to his arrival in Genoa included proficiency in wood and marble carving and the application of similar attitudes to each. Amongst his early works, stone sculptures such as the Toulon *Atlantides* or the *Gaulois Hercules* (1661-62, Paris, Musée du Louvre) have received the lion's share of scholarly attention, due mainly to the fact that little remains of his contemporary wooden output. What does survive, however, is revealing. Much of Puget's early woodcarving was done for nautical decoration during his time at the Arsenal at Toulon, a context not conducive to preservation. One evocative piece that does remain is a large wooden arm (Paris, Louvre) traditionally attributed to the sculptor and likely intended for a monumental mythological figure.[740] Scholars have long noted the excellent quality of this work, especially the dynamic tension and interest in surface detail in the strongly characterized muscles, veins and tendons, which are also hallmarks of Puget's marbles. The sculptor is known to have used similar carving techniques for both materials. His notch and groove surface treatment and use of diverse instruments to create varied effects originates in woodcarving, and was employed by his follower Filippo Parodi as well.[741] Here too, a common approach to technique bespeaks an awareness of the similarities between the media on other levels.

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[740] Herding, Bresc-Bauttier and Georget, 166.

[741] Magnani, Gavazzi, and Terminiello, 258. The church of S. Luca in Genoa provides an excellent opportunity to contrast Parodi's work in the two media. His wooden Deposition, with polychrome by Domenico Piola is found in

Puget's French origins meant that he was exposed to forms of wood carving not found in Genoa but potentially relevant to his work at S. Maria Assunta. Complex, large-scale retables that blended architecture, figures, and other visual effects in polychromed wood were common in France well before the gilded stucco Roman creations of Bernini and Cafà (fig. 94).[742] Puget was known to have carved a huge walnut retable, a combination of gilded sculpture, painting and imitation marble almost six metres high, for the Chapel of the Corpus Domini in Toulon Cathedral.[743] This installation was destroyed in a fire in 1681, barely two decades after its completion, and replaced by a more durable marble and stucco version by Puget's nephew and student, Christophe Veyrier (1637-89). The notion that wood and marble are equally appropriate for altar sculpture replicates the Genoese attitude discussed above, and suggests that Puget was disposed to an expansive and theoretically unconstrained view of the art even prior to his arrival in Liguria.

Although a steady stream of commissions for marble statuary occupied Puget's time in Genoa, he continued to sculpt in wood, and he applied his innovative adaptations of the Roman Baroque to this medium as well. His wooden altarpiece depicting *St. Anthony of Padua* (1665, Genoa, SS. Annunziata in Vastato,), carved in collaboration with local artists, featured a painterly compositional device that Bernini had adapted in his tombs and in the decoration of the Sala Ducale in Rome (fig. 95).[744] An angel in the upper right corner protrudes outward and draws back a drape to reveal the saint's vision, linking the sculpted tableau to the actual space of the niche, and by

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the first chapel on the right, while his marble Immacolata group is on the high altar. See Ezia Gavazza, "Chiesa di S. Luca," in *Guide de Genova*, ed. Cassiano da Langasco (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1975), 10-11.

[742] Catherine Bourdieu, *L'âge d'or de la sculpture: artistes toulousains de XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Somogy, 1997.

[743] Lagrange, 386.

744 Venanzio Belloni, *Chiesa della SS. Annunziata del Vastato* (Genova: Sagep, 1979), 24-30.

extension, to the surrounding chapel. This fusion of sculpture with its architectural setting represents the first Genoese instance of a multi-media combination of the kind commonly associated with Bernini.[745] The decorative qualities and architectural constraints of traditional marble carving in the city may not have anticipated Puget's revolutionary spatiality and emotional drama, but the same cannot be said about sculpture in other materials. The *St. Alessandro Sauli* possess an emotionalism, penetrating psychological effect, and appropriation of the viewer's space that draw on the example of Bernini, but would not seem all that alien to a Genoese public accustomed to such effects in the *casacce*. Scholars have credited Puget's background as a painter for inspiring his sculptural innovations, but it is likely that his activity as a wood carver was equally influential.

Rudolf Preimesberger once contrasted the Genoese sculptural idiom that originated with Puget with its theoretically based Roman counterpart as a "scenic" mode of representation rather than "statuary." This meant that the former was expanded and integrated into the surrounding environment to create a larger narrative scene, but one to be looked on as a beholder, rather than interacted with as a participant.[746] He gives the example of Puget's *St. Sebastian* as exceeding "the limits of statuary," as opposed to the self-containment of Ercole Ferrata's *St. Agnes* (Rome, Sant'Agnese in Agone). This is not to say that Puget disregarded the priorities of contemporary art theory. Even early modern commentators recognized the blend of classical inspiration and naturalism that aligned with contemporary notions of artistic excellence.[747] Rather, Preimesberger

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745 Antonio Fabio Ivaldi, "Una <<macchina>> funebre nella Chiesa dei Padri Somaschi (1683). Annotazione sugli apparati effimeri genovesi di fine seicento," *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 22 (1982): 231-3.

746 Preimesberger, 51.

747 Soprani, vol. 2, 323-4. The St. Sebastian is praised for a head that resembles Greek sculpture and weapons and armour that have the gusto of the figures on Trajan's Column and thousands of other *bellezze*. The angel on the Alessandro Sauli has a foot "*che sembre formato di vera carne*" (that seems formed of real flesh).

interprets Puget's innovation as a new approach to space that resembles painting or narrative relief, only in a full three dimensions across a real environment. It is a lesson learned by Parodi, who, upon his return to Genoa, gradually expands his statuary into graphic scenes. A comparison between his *St. Pancrazio* (c. 1690, Genoa, S. Pancrazio) and Bernini's *David* illustrates the difference in their approaches to interactivity. The latter figure is said to dominate its setting, while in contrast, the *St. Pancrazio* incorporated its context into a larger composition to convert the interior of the church into a three-dimensional narrative scene.[748]

While the scenographic quality that Preimesberger identified is characteristic of some Genoese sculpture, his comparison with Bernini ignores the development of different, but equally interactive spatial relationships in Rome. The *David* may not incorporate its setting into a fixed composition, but it does presuppose a fictive Goliath somewhere in the background, which places the conflict in the actual space of the viewer. As he matured as an artist, Bernini created unified environments for his sculpture that are not composed pictorially, but are equally effective at bringing sculpture together with its wider ambient. These examples are not specifically scenic, as defined by Preimesberger, but they do not conform to the self-contained logic of the *statua* either. If separate Genoese and Roman Baroque idioms may be defined, both recognize the potential of the sculpted figure to function as a virtual actor in a wider world, only in different ways. Furthermore, attitudes towards sculpture are not homogeneous, even within the *oeuvre* of a single artist. Puget's *St. Alessandro Sauli* is much closer to the sort of sculpted presence understood to exist within the world of the viewer that Bernini would carve, than a three-dimensional scene.

If the *St. Alessandro Sauli* is closer in conception to the Roman sculpture of Bernini or Algardi, the more constrained *St. Sebastian* does reflect a more scenic attitude towards the

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748 Preimesberger, 51.

medium. Given Puget's formation, there is a good possibility that French wood carving traditions may have had an influence on his use of this mode of representation. The notion of a pictorial composition affectively realized in real space is definitely applicable to some of the wooden sculpture in the *Tour des Corps Saints* in the basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, especially in the Chapel of Saint-Martial (1645).[749] Here, the sculptor Guillaume Fontan flanked a relief sculpture with a pair of polychrome saints that project from their niches, including a bishop with a crozier and out-turned right palm (fig. 96). The effect is one of a three-dimensional picture in which the figures break the barrier between real and pictorial space and extend the composition into the world of the viewer. This is not to suggest that Puget was directly influenced by this particular work, only that the scenographic quality identified by Preimesberger existed in southern France before the sculptor's Genoese sojourn. The similar attitude exhibited in a work like the *Tour des Corps Saints* and the *St. Sebastian* further speaks to the commensurability of wood and marble sculpture outside of theoretical distinctions.

Fontan's work raises a subject that Preimesberger does not mention, and has received little scholarly attention at all: the use of polychrome on the *St. Alessandro Sauli*. Raffaele Soprani writes in his biography of the artist that parts of the angel, including the hair and wings had been tinted "*un coloretto rossiccio così ben accordato; che rapisce gli occhi degli Spettatori*" (a reddish color so well executed that it captivates the eyes of spectators).[750] Dazzling the eye of the spectator may be fundamental to the art of the Baroque, but Puget turned to non-traditional means to obtain this effect. Even Bernini, who shared Puget's interest in illusory transformation, never went this far. The complete absence of this pigment today may be a consequence of its incongruity with later

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[749] Bourdieu, 93-4.

750 Soprani, Vol. 2, 324. No trace of this remains today.

notions of sculptural purity. Compared to French or Ligurian traditions of polychrome wood sculpture, Puget's use of color is mild. This suggests that wood and marble sculpture were not completely interchangeable on the aesthetic level, and that there were different expectations regarding surface appearance, even if they shared common formal and functional characteristics. On the one hand, Puget did not possess an aversion to coloring marble in principle, as Bernini did, or else he would not have tinted his statue at all. Still, he must also have valued the appearance of the bare finished stone.

There are two related explanations for the limited use of polychromy on the *St. Alessandro Sauli*, one discursive and the other functional within the larger theme of the crossing. The former is made up of the social and critical discourses surrounding marble sculpture, of which classicizing theory is only one. The high cost of marble conveyed prestige and status, and a patron conscious of these connotations would not wish to obscure this valuable material.[751] Longstanding artistic practices can shape expectations without philosophical dogmatism; Genoese marble sculpture tended not to be painted, and it was assumed in the seventeenth century that ancient sculpture was also monochrome. A comparison with the much later case of John Gibson's *Tinted Venus* (1862) is illustrative of how ingrained assumptions can lead to conservative responses.[752] This controversial statue was very modestly colored compared to the sort of pigmentation used in the ancient world, but was still considered scandalous at the time.[753] Gibson's polychrome was

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[751] Fabbri, 186. She observes that marble had prestigious associations with the "grand manner" and wood was unrefined in comparison. Her assertion that Puget ceased wood carving completely in Genoa, however, is in error.

752 Jeremy Cooper, "John Gibson and his Tinted Venus." *Connoisseur* 178, 716 (Oct., 1971): 84-92.

[753] The Sackler Museum at Harvard University put on an exhibition in which casts of antique statues were painted after archaeological evidence of their original appearance, and the dazzling, vibrant effect on the historically conditioned reflexes of modern viewers who know intellectually that ancient works were painted is still quite stunning. See Susanne Ebbinghaus, "Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture in Classical Antiquity," *Harvard University Gallery Series* 57 (2007).

sufficiently modest that the reality of a marble figure *all'antica* remained recognizable to contemporary viewers, which enabled judgment on those terms. It is possible that Puget likewise did not wish to diverge too greatly from the customary (if less theoretically determined) appearance of marble sculpture in his own context. This seems even more likely given the pristine color and geometric rigor of the S. Maria Assunta interior. Figures such as Fontan's, or Puget's own *St. Anthony*, would be jarringly out of place in such a setting.

The main functional reason for Puget's light polychrome involves the optical quality of marble that lends itself to the signification of supernatural effects. The play of light on the translucent surface of a marble sculpture can suggest the mystical infusion of grace more effectively than any application of paint, as the work of Bernini makes clear. Puget's figures possess a luminosity originating in the light of the cupola, a modern version of Pliny's *marmoris radiatio* that evocatively indicates their own union with the divine. The complementary association of the medium with idealizing and heroic qualities is an area where the functional and discursive spheres overlap. It was well known in early modernity that marble statues, especially colossi, was used to commemorate exceptional individuals in antiquity. This seems appropriate to hagiographic imagery intended to assert the Christian heroism of its subject. It is not necessary to choose from among all these possible explanations, as it is most likely that more than one of them apply.

The number of reasons for the limiting of polychrome on the *St. Alessandro Sauli* raises the question of why color was used at all. According to Soprani it was limited to the hair and wings of the angel; maybe it served to distinguish this heavenly being from the adjacent saint. It was noted earlier that the statue was composed as a vertical progression from worldly accomplishment to divine union, which requires the process of spectatorship to start at the bottom. Soprani observed that the coloring had an eye-catching quality, so perhaps it was intended to draw the viewer's

attention to the lower region of the sculpture, from where the eye would be disposed to follow the line of the crozier upwards, through the enraptured expression of the saint and into the divine light beyond. Whatever, the reason(s), this use of polychrome underscored the difference between the artistic climates of Rome and Genoa. In the absence of rigid critical categories, the affective qualities of sculpture were foregrounded, and color could simple be one more way to engage viewers and draw them into a fictive world of sanctity.

The consideration of wooden as well as marble sculpture offers a more complete understanding of the role and signifying capacity of three-dimensional imagery in seventeenth-century Genoa. Puget's expansive and expressive Baroque idiom seems less of a radical departure from local artistic attitudes, and his differences from Bernini, such as his scenic mode of representation and use of color, fit within his own formation. The continuing functional commensurability of wood and marble sculpture in the decades that follow provides a reminder, *contra* theoretical dogmas, that all three-dimensional imagery possesses the affective potential of a real body in the world, and that different materials convey other meanings than critical status. S. Maria Assunta has a grand and serene interior, with muted tones and rich materials that clearly set it apart from the outside world. Crossing its threshold, one enters into a domain of harmonious geometric perfection well suited to the contemplation of celestial things. Puget's monumental statues are at home here, their material and scale commensurate with their environment. It is all the more striking, therefore, when the viewer is confronted by compelling naturalism and emotional address in the heart of such a magnificent and detached place. Small-scale statues of hyper-real verisimilitude would be incongruous here, lost amid the size and ideality of the crossing. Puget's illusionism balanced the real and the idealized, the naturalistic and the symbolic, to expose

the essential connection between the spiritual and the material.[754] The statues engage and impress, drawing the beholder into a place where sanctity is made manifest under divine light and laid bare for all to see. Here, the heroic reality of Alessandro's sainthood is asserted in the strongest possible way.

IV. EFFICACY REVISITED: THE AFTERLIFE OF THE *ST. ALESSANDRO SAULI*

This case makes a natural comparison to that of Ludovica Albertoni, since both involve members of prominent families who pursued lives of exemplary devotion, inspired cult followings, and had their public personae shaped by aristocratic family commissions. While neither enjoyed speedy official recognition, Alessandro was eventually canonized, albeit two centuries later, while Ludovica faded into relative obscurity. Such divergent outcomes, despite their basic similarities, suggest that the differences that did exist were decisive. This is valuable from a scholarly perspective because it allows for the comparative identification and isolation of some key determinants the canonization process. Ludovica enjoyed a lengthier history of high profile family support in the strategically advantageous location of papal Rome, but Alessandro benefited from the greater involvement of his order, which could advocate over centuries and produce imagery in various locations and contexts. The Sauli's efforts to define Alessandro's identity and bolster his prospects for canonization face the same questions as the Altieri. Did the sculptural rhetoric accomplish its aims? Was the argument for Alessandro's sanctity convincingly made? This impressive commission proclaimed his status; did anyone listen? These questions are difficult to

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754 For the role of illusionism in bringing the natural and supernatural together, see Petersson, The Art of Ecstasy, 48.

answer, but a brief investigation into his fortunes in the decades that followed may offer some illumination.

The efficacy of the hagiographic sculpture may be assessed on the same grounds as in chapter Two: the social, encompassing contributions to Sauli family prestige, the theological, including the encouragement of Alessandro's cult and assertion of his sanctity with the goal of official recognition, and the artistic, meaning the influence on subsequent representation. As with Ludovica, there is some overlap between these categories, but they can be treated as distinct for the purpose of analysis. The *St. Alessandro Sauli* does appear to have had generated some social capital, although it is not really possible to cleanly separate the statue from the larger venue of S. Maria Assunta in Carignano in relation to the Sauli's civic profile. The family's history of patronage indicates a desire for the work of accomplished non-local artists, and implies that such cosmopolitan tastes may have reflected a sophisticated cultural cache. Puget followed Alessi, Soldi and Tacca as notable foreign contributors to the basilica. Alessandro was not beatified until long after the installation of Puget's statue, but when he was, the Genoese celebrations were held in S. Maria Assunta as a commemoration of Sauli and Spinola family pride. It is significant that the silver statue produced for the event was patterned after the *St. Alessandro Sauli*, since this indicates that the latter formed a definitive image of the new *beato* for this context of newly recognized sanctity and reified social standing.

Theologically, the contributions of the Sauli commissions to bolstering Alessandro's cult and raising his prospects for canonization seem to have been, like the similar efforts of the Altieri, insubstantial. Accounts of his *processus* and hagiographic sources indicate that he was referred to as "*beatus*" from at least the early part of the seventeenth century, and maintained an uninterrupted reputation for sanctity in certain areas. Not surprisingly, devotional activity seems strongest among

the citizens of Aleria and Pavia, where he had served as bishop, but the evidence pertaining to the extent of his following in Genoa is somewhat tepid. On the one hand, there is no testimony of miraculous activity from that city in compilations of the Congregation of Rites.[755] The locations of reported miracles give some indication where his cult was prominent, and while Pavia, Aleria, Milan, Bologna, Cremona, Novara, and Turin all appear, Genoa is conspicuously absent.[756] If the Sauli intended to generate expressions of devotion with their commission, there is little evidence of their success. The only affirmation of his Genoese following appears in the canonization proceedings and the celebrations that occurred afterwards, both of which centered on the Sauli family church of S. Maria Assunta and occurred almost seventy years after the installation of Puget's statue.[757] Insofar as the *St. Alessandro Sauli* defined an image for its subject, it was a Genoese one, or more narrowly, a Sauli one, and its monumental, engaging and compelling case for his sanctity really did not influence the world outside. In this way it seems consistent with the blend of grandeur and introversion that characterized Genoese noble society in general.

The pivotal difference between the two cases lies in the involvement of their orders. The Barnabites continued to work on Alessandro's behalf until his eventual canonization in the twentieth century, independently of the Sauli family's commissions, or the decorations around his tomb in Pavia. Benedict XIV, who beatified and planned to canonize Alessandro, also had strong Barnabite ties. The difference between this level of support and the Franciscans disinterest in

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755 For example, the *Sommario de processi fatti d'ordine della Sacra Congregazione de Riti* of 1638 includes a huge list of miracles, most of which involve healing, and the bulk of which took place in Pavia. Genoa is not mentioned. The same holds for the *Beatificationis & Canonizationis Ven. Serv. De Alexandri Saulij Aleriensis…* of 1678, as well as the vite by Gabuzio and Gallicio.

756 For example, see Barelli, 401-3; *Sommario de processi fatti d'ordine della Sacra Congregazione de Riti,* 21ff..; Henschen, et. al., 751.

757 *Beatificationis & Canonizationis Ven. Serv. De Alexandri Saulij Aleriensis…*, 62, notes how his fame spread across Milan and Genoa. For a contemporary account of the celebrations in Genoa, see Nervi.

Ludovica likely relates to the relative significance of the two candidates to each order, and of each order within the Church. The Franciscans were a vast and powerful organization with an abundance of saints, including some of the most universally popular, and there is little to make Ludovica stand out in this company. The Barnabites, on the other hand, were a relatively minor order, largely without saints, and Alessandro was a former general with close ties to many of the leading figures of the post-Tridentine reform. Other than their founder, he was their most viable candidate for canonization and received the full weight of their support. Family patronage lacked the long-term advocacy that an order could bring to bear, and without exceptional circumstances such as a family member occupying the papacy, was insufficient to ensure official recognition.

The subject of beatification imagery leads to the issue of the artistic influence of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* outside of his family's sphere of control. It was noted earlier that the iconographic impact of Puget's statue was initially stronger in the Sauli ambient than amongst the Barnabites, but it is noteworthy that eighteenth-century representations of Alessandro bring references to his miraculous episcopal character and his order more closely together. Not surprisingly, the painting by Federico Ferrari on Alessandro's tomb in the Pavia cathedral (1744) foregrounds the deceased's role as that city's bishop (fig. 97). Although he wears his mitre and holds his crozier, the curve of his posture and upturned hand are reminiscent of Puget's composition. However, there are other pictures that represent a more hybrid conception of the *beato. St. Alessandro in Barnabite Attire* by Fernandino Porta (Pavia, S. Maria di Canepanova, 1741) depicts its subject carrying a large cross in a reference to the commonly represented event from his *vita* when, as a young man, he impressed the Barnabites with his preaching in the Piazza della Mercanti in Milan (fig. 98). However, this is not a literal illustration of this incident, since Alessandro is depicted as an older member of the order. The scene is also supernaturally suggestive, with an apparition of Christ in

the clouds above and *putti* next to the *beato*. These beings are holding the miter, crozier and other symbols of Alessandro's vocation as he moves outside the realm of worldly office into pure spirituality, just as they did in Puget's statue. In Porta's composition, Barnabite and bishop combine in an image of exalted religiosity.

A similar fusion of elements appears in Giovanni Battista Tagliasacchi's *St. Alessandro with the Emblems of a Religious and a Bishop* (Piacenza, S. Brigida, c. 1737) (fig. 99). Here, Alessandro is shown kneeling in cloud borne ecstasy and surrounded by angels and an image of the Trinity. He wears the garb of his order, but his miter, crozier and cross are also shown in the care of angels. It appears that with beatification, or as beatification drew near in the case of the Tagliasacchi picture, a more consistent iconography developed that incorporated the various aspects of his hagiographic identity. Images such as Puget's (and Crespi's) are products of a time when the contours of Alessandro's sanctity were forming and his supporters were asserting rather than disseminating hagiographic personae. These are unofficial, and therefore unmediated by the Church, which makes them prone to the polemical assertion of the interests of their supporters. It is a testimony to the efficacy of Puget's vision that his version of a bishop in mystical abandonment made a lasting contribution to Alessandro's mature iconography.

CONCLUSION

The *St. Alessandro Sauli* is akin to the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* as an innovative hagiographic image that combines references to other saints, family history, and sculptural traditions, but its circumstances open different insights into the use of the medium. Puget's figure was part of the introduction of a new idiom that transformed the artistic landscape of his adopted

city, while Bernini's was a continuation and culmination of a career filled with mystical statues and integrated multi-media assemblages. Prior to his arrival from France, marble sculpture in Genoa had been comparatively conservative and lacking the animation, dramatic emotionalism and environmental interactivity that characterized the Roman Baroque. In S. Maria Assunta in Carignano, Puget introduced those qualities of the living statue necessary for seeming actuality, creating a mimetic hagiographic presence that is at once lifelike and superhuman. However, this project reveals a breadth of sculptural signification that is not apparent in the Altieri commissions. The historically remote *St. Sebastian* is what has been called scenographic, an image somewhat distanced from the here and now by narrative accoutrements, but, unlike a relief, fully plastic and unconstrained by a block. In contrast, the *St. Alessandro Sauli* is assertively immediate, with color highlights and elements intended to solicit direct viewer engagement. The use of different modes made the new Sauli saint more proximate, or at least more accessible; a message in keeping with the family's promotion of their own.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion to be drawn from this case concerns the existence of a relationship between early modern sculpture and the wider field of contemporary imagery that fell outside of theoretical discourse. Interactive and affective sculpture was produced in Genoa before Puget, but it was in wood rather than marble, an inappropriate material for the fine arts. Puget's own formative experiences occurred outside the purview of Italian aesthetic ideology, and he was an accomplished carver of both materials. Part of his revolution may be characterized as applying attitudes previously associated with wooden sculpture in Liguria to stone, thereby meeting preexisting Genoese expectations and response patterns with a new medium. In doing so, he reveals the commensurability between sculpture in marble and in wood as vehicles of mimetic illusionism, despite the theoretical divide between the two. The appeal of this approach is apparent

in the output of the leading sculptors in the city after Puget's return to France. Parodi produced figures in both materials, and although Maragliano worked exclusively in wood, he exhibits influences and approaches associated with the fine arts. From a historical perspective, Puget's innovations and their aftermath indicate the importance of looking beyond specifically artistic sources to the wider visual culture to fully appreciate the expressive richness of the medium.

CHAPTER FOUR: ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS AND THE ENACTMENT OF CARMELITE DEVOTION

The *St. John of the Cross* was carved by the Sicilian-born sculptor Pietro Papaleo in the middle of the second decade of the eighteenth century for the Discalced Carmelite church of S. Maria della Scala (fig. 4). Although this work has received relatively little scholarly attention, it is an illuminating example of the use of sculpture to define the sanctity of a new saint, and the proximity of its style to the affective emotionalism of Bernini or Cafà indicates the continued use of that idiom into the *settecento*. There is evidence that the statue was carved earlier than the date traditionally assigned to it, possibly more than a decade before the canonization of its subject in 1725. This suggests that its installation was a form of advocacy, intended to raise John's hagiographic profile and encourage a successful outcome for his *processus*. The tidy alignment of patron, subject and placement render this image particularly well suited to reception analysis. John of the Cross was the disciple of Teresa of Avila and co-founder of her Discalced reform, and his writings constituted the principal authority for his order's mystical spirituality. S. Maria della Scala was the Discalced Carmelite novitiate in Rome, the place where new members were trained in the devotional practices established by John. The Scala Carmelites themselves commissioned the statue for the Crucifix chapel in their church, making them the intended audience for their own image of their founder.

St. John of the Cross is unique among the subjects of this dissertation for having written on the use of religious art. As mentioned in Chapter One, the third book of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* deals with the proper use of devotional imagery. It is worth repeating the following passage on the value of realism:

> The Church established the use of statues for two principle reasons: the reverence
> given to the saints through them and the awakening of devotion to the saints through

their means. Insofar as they serve this purpose their use is profitable and necessary. We should consequently choose those statues that are more lifelike and move the will more to devotion. Our concentration should be centered on this devotion than on the elaborateness of the workmanship and its ornamentation."[758]

Lifelikeness refers to the effectiveness in calling an absent subject to mind, and not the ability to serve as a proxy or substitute for that subject. Any form of reception that treats the image as meaningful in itself is idolatrous, and humanizing practices such as dressing or adorning, are possibly even more improper than connoisseurial or aesthetic valuation. He continues:

"Without any repugnance for vain worldly fashions, they adorn statues with the jewelry conceited people in the course of time invent to satisfy themselves in their pastimes and vanities, and they clothe the statues in garments that would be reprehensible if worn by themselves - a practice that was and still is abhorrent to the saints represented by the statues... By this usage, the authentic and sincere devotion of the soul, which in itself uproots and rejects every vanity and trace of it, is reduced to little more than doll-dressing. You will see some that never tire of adding statue upon statue to their collection, of insisting that they be of this particular kind and workmanship, and placed in a certain niche and in a special way - all so that these statues will give delight to the senses. As for devotion of the heart, there is very little."[759]

In defending the proper use of imagery, John charted a course between the extremes of idolatry and iconoclasm; asserting their profitability and necessity, but differentiating between appropriate and inappropriate response.[760] The quality of religious art is measured by its ability to inspire devotion by focusing the imagination on a holy subject, and while a vivid resemblance to its subject makes it more effective, it must never be taken for more than a sign.

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758 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 274 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 3, 35, 3).

759 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 274-5 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 3, 35, 4).

760 Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 143. John addresses idolatry: "There is no delusion or danger in the remembrance, veneration and esteem in images that the Catholic Church proposes to us in a natural manner, since in these images nothing else is esteemed than the person represented... Images will always help a person towards union with God, provided that he does not pay more attention to them than is necessary. John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 236 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 3, 15, 2).

In effect, John acknowledged the affective impact of lifelike imagery, while maintaining a distinction between its ability to evoke thoughts of a living presence and its status as a representation. This recalls Lodovico Dolce's postulation of two modes of response to a statue of high quality discussed in Chapter One, in which the viewer either suspends awareness of the medium, and reacts emotionally as if encountering a real person, or else disregards the affective illusion and critically evaluates the work's artistic merit. Dolce, who published his *Dialogo della pittura* two decades before the *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, was writing in a very different context, and placed a much higher valuation on aesthetic accomplishment. However, the basic distinction between awareness of that an image is an image, and the treatment of the image as its subject, is the same. They also share a belief that affective reception, or reception based on an emotional response, is based on the ability of the image to mentally create its subject within the viewer's imagination. This is consistent with the Thomistic epistemological basis of John's Discalced Carmelite theology, which held that knowledge can only be acquired through the senses.[761] A thing must be known before the will can move towards it, meaning that devotion begins with positive, sensorial understanding.[762] He wrote: "a man of himself knows only in the natural way, that is by means of the senses. If he is to know in this natural way, the phantasms and species of object will have to be present, either in themselves or in their likenesses."[763] Images that resemble holy subjects send sensory data to the active intellect, which, in turn, directs the will towards God. It follows that a more lifelike representation creates a clearer or more vivid impression in the imagination, which more effectively stimulates devotion.

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761 Wilhelmsen, 5. John adheres to a basic Aristotelian and Thomistic philosophy of knowledge. There is nothing in the intellect that is not first in the senses. Man can have no imageless or formless thoughts.

762 ibid., 6. The will can only love what the intellect understands.

763 John of the Cross, *Collected Works* (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, 2, 3, 2).

The *Ascent of Mount Carmel* was written between 1578 and 1579, placing it in same era of post-Tridentine Catholic reform as Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre et profane* (beg. late 1570's, pub. 1582), and Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (pub. 1577). John shared his contemporaries' practical focus, but his basic conception of art was that of his native Andalusia, and bore little resemblance to that of post-Renaissance Italy. When he discussed religious art in general terms, he referred to his subject as statues, rather than the usual default medium of painting found in Italian sources. Spanish sculpture developed outside the the expressive limits of art theory, and strove to maximize the ability of its three-dimensional form to simulate real presence. His warning against the excessive appreciation of art for its aesthetic qualities should therefore not be seen as a repudiation of Renaissance theorists, but a statement that value of a devotional image lies in its ability to call a subject to mind. To this end, a statue is the form of art most reminiscent of an actual person.

John was the co-founder and first theologian of his order, making his writings canonical, but it is not obvious how his position on imagery translated to the very different context of early eighteenth-century Rome. The central place of imagination in his understanding of affective response is broadly compatible with Pallavicino's *prima apprensione*, the ability of a representation to "*svegliano nell'immaginazione la ricoranza* (awaken in the imagination the memory)" of the thing represented.[764] Sixteenth-century Andalusian religious art may have been far removed from the experience of Papaleo's Carmelite patrons, but the affinity with Pallavicino suggests that the seeming actuality of Bernini's mystical sculpture could provide an inspirational lifelikeness suited to their Roman context. This emotionally charged idiom was well-suited to the

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[764] Pallavicino, "Del Bene," 219. The entanglement between memory and imagination has been described as being "as old as Western Philosophy." See Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 7.

representation of John, a contemplative whose writings on divine union became the foundation for the Discalced Carmelite's spiritual program. The *St. John of the Cross* integrated two discursive frameworks; the aforementioned sculptural tradition of mystics in ecstasy, and a sophisticated Discalced Carmelite visual culture that used allegorical prints, devotional practices and written sources to articulate abstract doctrines and guide viewer response. This arresting figure embodied the sanctity of its subject in the very place where the order shaped its new members, then projected these values back to them.

The *St. John of the Cross* brought together patron, subject and content in an unusually controlled, historically accessible context. The elucidation of this example of visual hagiography is a multi-step process that begins with the identification of its place among early modern sculpture of mystic subjects. The relationship with Discalced Carmelite visual culture is less straightforward, since use of imagery within the order has not been the subject of much systematic analysis. There are prints that demonstrated John's exemplarity by representing his religious experiences from the vantage point of the viewer. In this way, the saint's conformity, or internal alignment of the soul with Christ's sacrifice through the progressive detachment from worldly things, is offered graphically as the path to divine union or contemplation. By incorporating the preexisting wooden crucifix used by members of the S. Maria della Scala community, the *St. John of the Cross* also allows the viewer to associate his devotion with John's example of conformity, but with in a compelling presence that combines the lifelike and idealized qualities inherent in sainthood. Structural homologies between the place of Crucifix Chapel within the church and the Discalced Carmelite ethos of solitary devotion within a collective organization underscore the importance of internalizing this message in the privacy of the cell as well as the church. John's mystical sanctity

is defined in a way that not only reflects his own *vita*, but also applied to and inspired members of the Roman novitiate to attain the order's spiritual goals.

I. THE GENESIS OF THE IMAGE

The *St. John of the Cross* is a counterpart to the famous image of the Discalced Carmelites' other great founder-mystic, Bernini's *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, but it has received virtually none of the critical or historical interest generated by the older work (fig. 19). In fact, it has never even been conclusively dated, and the traditional claim of 1726, the year of John's canonization, is belied by the sculptor's death eight years earlier.[765] Although Papaleo's name first appears in conjunction with the project in the 1750 edition of Gregorio Roisecco's *Roma antica, e moderna,* and is added to the 1763 edition of Titi's *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma*, his authorship has never seriously been called into question.[766] Alfredo Gunter addressed the problem with the dating, raising the possibility that the statue may have been completed by an assistant after Papaleo's passing. There is evidence that the sculptor was in poor health in the years preceding his death, and may have been overtaxed by the rigors of carving.[767] Implicit in this argument is the premise that if the *St. John of the Cross* could not have been produced for its

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765 Edmondo Maria della Passione Fuscardi, *Cenni storici sui conventi dei PP. Carmelitani scalzi della Provincia roman* (Rome: Tip. Pol. Cuore di Maria, 1929), 18. The most comprehensive history of S. Maria della Scala makes the undocumented claim that the sculpture was commissioned as a commemoration after John's canonization. This date and rationale remain on the informative placard displayed in the chapel today. Robert Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 73, has also noted the discrepancy.

766 Roisecco, 172. The author notes that the statue of John is by Pietro Papaleo Siciliano. See also Titi, 26.

767 Gunter, 95. Giovanni Battista Ragusa, a sculptor from Palermo (d. 1727) whose presence is documented in Rome from 1717-9, is proposed as a possible helper. A complete renovation of the chapel in 1874 revealed that the fingers on one of the *St. John of the Cross*' hands had been redone. While this clearly points to the intervention of another artist, there is no evidence that this took place at the time of installation.

subject's canonization, it must have been carved as near to that date as possible. However, an examination of Papaleo's career and historical source material from the Discalced Carmelite archives suggests that an earlier date is more likely.

The prior history of the S. Maria della Scala crucifix chapel sheds light on Papaleo's intervention. According to Fuscardi, the Genoese nobleman Cesere Baldi was its first patron, and provided all ornamentation other than the *St. John of the Cross*.[768] Reports made after the apostolic visits by Cardinal Alessandro Falconieri in 1725 and 1729 include a listing of the chapels with their titles and patrons, but do not mention artworks or furnishings.[769] Both of these documents acknowledge Baldi's patronage of the Crucifix Chapel, but neither mentions a dedication to John. This omission actually supports Fuscardi's assertion that the Discalced Carmelites commissioned the statue of the saint, and even hints at their rationale. Acquiring title to and decorating a chapel constitute good works in the theological sense, and it is these virtuous donations that are documented in the records of the apostolic visits, not the specific devotional practices that took place within the chapels. If the Carmelites commissioned the *St. John of the Cross* for their own purposes, its installation is unrelated to Baldi's donation and therefore falls outside the purview of Cardinal Falconieri's reports.

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768 Fuscardi, 18. Following Baldi's death, title to the chapel passed to the Camera Apostolica and in 1739 to Signore Antonio Durani. No dates are offered for Baldi or his patronage. In a brief remark, Titi attributes the entire new chapel of the Ss. Crocifisso to Baldi's largess. AGOCD Plut. 83 (Prov Romana: Romae Conv. S. Maria della Scala Obligationes es Missorum) Segnatura g #14 records that a Giacomo Baldi, in his testament of 12 April 1624, left money to S. Maria della Scala for masses in his name, although his relationship to Cesere is unknown.

769 ASR n. 25/III n. 13: Corporazioni religiose maschile: Carmelitani scalzi in S. Maria della Scala, 338r: Relatio visitationis Eccllesiq. Santa Maria della Scala de' Urbe Diaconia Emi. D. Cardinalis Alexandri Falconerii. Depuatio RPD visitatoris records the deposition of the titular Alessanfro Falconieri of 1725. Folio 341r mentions the title of the chapel was held by Casere Baldo. Folio 351r marks the beginning of *Alexander Falconerius huius Ecclesiae S. Mariae de Scala Diaconis Cardinalis mandat exegui et observan decreta*, the Cardinal's observations following the visit of 1729. Here too the description of the chapel is extremely limited.

There are several factors to consider when proposing a date for the statue, including the history of devotion to John at S. Maria della Scala, the Carmelite's reasons for commissioning the work and the trajectory of Papaleo's own career. Scala Carmelites had venerated John in the Chapel of S. Giacinto from his beatification in 1675 until Papaleo's marble group became the *beato's* principal devotional image.[770] Fuscardi's claim that the tenure of John's cult in that site extended from his beatification to his canonization is based to the late date he assigns the installation of the statue. However, a document preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Rome dated March 27, 1695 indicates that the cult shifted to the crucifix chapel much earlier. It records an order from the Roman Provincial to the prior of the convent of S. Maria della Scala to restore the image of S. Giacinto that had been removed following the beatification of John, to its own chapel. A painting of John that had taken its place, presumably the devotional image ultimately replaced by Papaleo's statue, was to be moved to the Crucifixion chapel.[771] Therefore, by 1695 at the latest, rather than 1726, the Crucifixion chapel was recognized as the *beato's* dedicated cult site in the church.

Regarding the date of the statue itself, Orlandi makes the unelaborated claim that the *St. Fabian and the Angel* (1714-15/6, Rome, S. Sebastiano) was the last of Papaleo's works, and dates

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770 Fuscardi, 21-2 claims John was venerated in the S. Giacinto Chapel in a *sottoquadro* from his beatification to canonization (1675-1726), when the marble group was placed in the Crucifix Chapel. The problem with this chronology has already been noted.

771 ASR inventorio 25/III cc. 143; 152; 1695, March 7, fol. 22r. It reads: "*il definitorio della provinca romana ordina al priore del convento di S. Maria della Scala di ricollocare nella propria cappella l'immagine di S. Giacinto che fu tolta in occasion della beatification di S. Giovanni della Croce per porvi quello del nuovo beato e di portare quest'ultima nela (sic) cappella del Ss. Crocifisso.*" (The authorities of the Roman province order the prior of the convent of S. Maria della Scala to put back the image of S. Giacinto in its chapel, which was replaced on the occasion of the beatification of St. John of the Cross, by one to celebrate the new *beato*, and move the latter to the Chapel of the Holy Cross).

it to 1712, though Gunter revises this to 1714-5 (fig. 100).[772] In either case, the work was completed before the period of ill health that preceded the sculptor's demise. If Orlandi has ordered Papaleo's *oeuvre* correctly, then the *St. John of the Cross* was carved before the *St. Fabian* and no later than 1715. Since the Carmelites commissioned the project themselves, it must have responded to their specific needs or desires.[773] Most likely, it was produced in anticipation of John's canonization, either in awareness that it would soon occur, or to provide impetus for the cause.[774] This hypothesis is supported by the pattern of activity pertaining to John's case around 1715 within the records of the Congregation of Rites. A disproportionate percentage of the relevant documents and testimonials concerning his miracles in the Vatican Archives are dated from that year or later.[775] At the very moment when John's process is gaining institutional momentum, an impressive monument to the candidate appears in his devotional chapel. Given the cost of marble sculpture, it is probably not coincidental that in 1712 the Scala Carmelites sold a number of valuable pieces of silverware.[776]

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772 Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Abecedario pittorico dei professori piu illustri in pittura, scultura e architettura...*, (Firenze, Con licenza dei Superiori, 1753), 432.

773 The other decorations make no direct pictorial reference to John. Some scholars attribute the paintings in the chapel to Filippo Zucchetti da Rieti, who died in 1712 (*Thieme Becker*, XXXVI, 576). See Titi, 26; Roisecco, 172. These images, including angels with symbols of the passion on the ceiling and panels depicting *The Mocking of Christ* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* on the walls, clearly relate to the Crucifixion rather than John. See Laura Gigli, ed., *Rione XIII – Trastevere, Parte II Guide Rionali di Roma* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1979), 28.

774 Enggass points out that beatification was sufficient to justify an altarpiece, although he does not address why the order would have waited so long after 1675 to install the monument.

775 This follows decades of steady accumulation of material at a much slower pace. See A. Fortes and F.J. Cuevas, eds., *Procesos de beatificación y canoniazación de San Juan de la Cruz, Biblioteca mística carmelitana* 9 (Burgos: Editorial Monte Carmelo, 1994), 687.

776 ASR inventorio n. 25/III n. 13: cc. 236; 245 1712, Aug. 5-9. The congregation of regular bishops authorized the sale of 11 silver *calici, 2 candelieri da tavola, 2 candelieri piccoli, un campanello, e un cucchiaio* (11 silver chalices, 2 candlesticks for the table, 2 small candles, a bell, and a spoon).

Admittedly, the evidence surrounding the chronology of the *St. John of the Cross* is circumstantial, but it points to an earlier date than has been previously assumed. Most likely, the statue was acquired by 1715, and perhaps even by 1712. It possesses fluid vitality and emotional force, qualities that are lacking in the comparatively stiff and fussy *St. Fabian* and not suggestive of a sculptor in failing health. In fact, the *St. John of the Cross* is quite accomplished, drawing proficiently on the example of Cafà, and indirectly, Bernini, for its overall modeling, articulation of drapery and surface details. The paradoxical juxtaposition of curving upward movement and senseless static rapture is clearly inspired by the renderings of overwhelming mystical experience perfected by Cafà, although without the older sculptor's unparalleled expression of the accompanying inner torment.[777] The *St. John of the Cross* is almost inconceivable without the examples of the rapturous *St. Catherine in Ecstasy* or the sweet surrender of the *St. Rose of Lima* (figs. 58, 45). When called upon to produce his own version of the theme, Papaleo competently evoked powerful formative examples from the early years of his career.[778]

This raises the question as to what significance, if any, Papaleo's choice of stylistic model might convey, or, in other words, what is to be made of the appearance of mimetic, mystical sculpture in eighteenth-century Rome? Gunter interpreted this image as evidence of a more heterogeneous contemporary artistic climate than is often presented. This seems likely, yet modern semiotics asserts that style itself is a bearer of meaning, a sign that, in Jan Mukarovsky's words,

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777 Gunter, 95.

778 Papaleo was associated with Cafà when the latter was carving these works. According to the document ASBR, 1671, vol. 77, c.673 Papaleo was paid for his work on the *apparati* in S. Maria sopra Minerva for the canonization of Rose of Lima. Cafà's sculpture of the saint was carved some four years earlier on the event of her beatification. For the ceremonies, see Fagiolo dell'Arco, 490.

pertains less to things than to a certain attitude towards things.[779] It is likely that, on some level, the stylistic aspect of the *St. John of the Cross* participates in defining the persona of the saint, by referencing and connecting its subject to other works of art. This is not to suggest that stylistic choices were made explicitly, but rather that a certain aesthetic mode functions associatively by calling to mind other representations. In this case, the statue articulates a sanctity comparable to his saintly predecessors, within a uniquely visual mode of constructing hagiographic identities, on the eve of John's own elevation to sainthood.

In terms of content, the *St. John of the Cross*, like the *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* or the *St. Alessandro Sauli*, is an ecstatic, visionary representation of its subject, rather than an illustration of one of the narrative events that take up most of their written *vite.* However, for all their riveting immediacy, images are much less effective than texts at systematically defining the precise nature of mystical experience. Theologically, visions and ecstasy are very different phenomena that signify distinct stages in the worshipper's relationship with God. The former belong to the sensory or intellectual levels of perception and as such, engage the imagination, while the latter are the results of the soul's direct and unmediated union with God and involve the suspension of all faculties of perception.[780] One is a cataphatic, or positive, visualization, while the other is essentially an apophatic and transcendent state of unknowing. Visions are by nature visible; they

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779 Cited in Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 64. In semiotic terms, style is content. See Sohm, 72-73.

780 Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Life of Teresa of Jesus: The Autobiography of Teresa of Avila,* trans. E. Allison Peers (New York: Random House, 1960), 129 (18: 1). She identifies three forms of divine union: the prayer of union, ecstasy and full mystic union with God. These differ in intensity, participation and permanence, but may be thought of as a continuum. See E. W. Truman Dicken, *The Crucible of Love: A Study in the Mysticism of St. Teresa of Jesus and St. John of the Cross* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 424. Visions may precede or follow ecstasy or rapture, but the two are fundamentally different. According to the deposition of Francesca of the Mother of God during his *processus*, John fell into ecstasy for a half hour following a vision of the Trinity. See Bruno de Jesus Maria, 174. Teresa's raptures were generally preceded by an intellectual vision of Christ. Ahlgren, 112.

convey information figuratively and are often compared to works of art. When depicted, they are generally differentiated from the quotidian world by cloudy, non-perspectival space, but otherwise appear similar to material things. Ecstasy or rapture is an imageless state with no inner scene to show to the viewer, only a metaphorical brilliance of a literally unimaginable presence. In John's terms, "the intellect will not be able through its ideas to understand anything like God... In order to draw nearer the divine ray the intellect must advance by unknowing rather than by the desire to know, and by blinding itself and remaining in darkness rather than by opening its eyes."[781] Connotative associations of stylistic mode can help signify such an arcane subject.

Mystical states can only be expressed through such somatic effects as expression, gesture and miraculous action. With his head hanging back and to the side, his mouth agape, and his upturned eyes appearing to roll back, the *St. John of the Cross* used standard facial indicators of the detachment from the world, alternation between tension and release, and an unmistakable sense of spiritual intensity associated with ecstasy.[782] The use of established conventions asserts the fundamental similarity of experience between mystics from different orders and times. Like written hagiography, religious art fits saintly profiles to preexisting categories of sanctity, but in a manner appropriate to its medium, meaning that the *St. John of the Cross* more closely references sculpted predecessors such as Cafà's *St. Catherine of Siena* than a passage in its subject's

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781 Saint John of the Cross, *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 1, 8, 5, in St. John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 128. Teresa writes that in rapture, the soul's faculties, including memory, imagination and understanding are temporarily suspended. *Saint Teresa of Avila, The Interior Castle,* trans. E. Allison Peers (New York, Image Books, 1961), 198 (6: 11); *The Life of Teresa of Jesus*, 132 (18: 14-15).

782 The notion that the body comprises a sort of readable language takes gesture and expression as signs to be interpreted within the rhetorical objectives of the image. See Stoichiță, *Visionary Experience*, 164; Jean-Claude Schmidt, *La Raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 66.

oeuvre.[783] It is neither a real person nor an illustration, but a carefully constructed representation that belongs to a tradition of mystical expression and is particularized through the conditions of its reception. Relationships between these images can be used to articulate a common sanctity, which is useful to a soon-to-be-canonized subject. By aligning stylistically with *St. Catherine of Siena* or Bernini's *Ecatasy of St. Teresa*, the *St. John of the Cross* asserts that its subject belongs within the same hagiographic category.

Papaleo's statue bears a strong formal resemblance to the *St. Peter of Alcantara in Ecstasy* (Rome: S. Maria in Aracoeli), by Michele Maglia (Michelle Maille), a contemporary of Cafà in the workshop of Ercole Ferrata, and contributor to the Altieri tombs in S. Maria in Campitelli (fig. 101). The compositional similarity between these cloud-borne mystics, accompanied by angels, in rapture before a cross visualized the equally strong connection between them in hagiographic sources. No saint was more closely associated with the Carmelite reformers than Peter, who served as confessor, inspiration and guide to Teresa throughout her life.[784] Her testimony to his character, virtue and efficacy in prayer featured prominently during his canonization proceedings, and she is

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783 Robert Harbison, *Reflections on Baroque* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 38. John's pose cannot be "explained" by theology, but its purpose is to appeal to the viewer by awakening an emotional response

784 In his *vita* of St. Peter of Alcantara, Father Marchese told how when the saint first met Teresa, she, in a common motif, immediately recognized his sanctity, and cited several of Peter's letters to encouraging her reform. See Francesco Marchese, *Vita del B. Pietro d'Alcantara riformatore e fondatore d'alcune provincie de'Frati Scalzi di S. Francesco nella Spagna: raccolta dalli processi fatti per la sua canonizatione* (Rome: Giacomo Dragondelli, 1667), 134, 149, 160, 216. Peter sent a number of women to enter a Discalced monastery (pp. 163, 151), and aided the founding of convents (p. 189, 219). He believed God inspired him to assist her reform. (pp. 236, 387). For more on the parallels between their reforms see Stéphane J. Piat, *Le Maitre de la Mystique: Saint Pierre d'Alcantara* (Paris: Editions Franciscaines, 1959), 80. Peter became her confessor, and Teresa included his *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation* on the list of required readings in the constitution of her order (Marchese, 42). See Alvarez, et al., for the Carmelite constitutions. For Peter's treatise, see E. Allison Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 2, Second edition, revised (London: S.P.C.K.; New York: Macmillan, 1951), 85. The saints are also linked through miracles. Teresa had a vision of receiving the Eucharist in a mass performed by Peter, with Sts. Francis and Anthony of Padua assisting. See Marchese, 245. In life he reassured her of the divine origins of her visions, and after death appeared to her on several occasions. See Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of St. Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (London and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 125; Marchese, 411; Andrés de Sales Ferri Chulio, *Imaginería Europa de San Pedro de Alcántara* (Valencia: Imprenta de Luis Palacios, 2004), 106.

the most frequently cited saintly authority in Marchese's *vita* of Peter. Peter's role as a model for

Teresa's reform, and her subsequent adoption of his devotional methods, made the Franciscan

something of a Discalced Carmelite spiritual ideal. The link with Teresa established an association

between Peter and John, despite the fact that they did not appear to have met personally. The two

had academic training in theology and philosophy, before beginning their religious vocations, and

both were reformers and contemplatives, renowned for their visions and ecstasies. While John was

more sublime a writer of mystic doctrine and Peter more extreme in his bodily mortifications, both

espoused a spirituality rooted in the imitation of Christ. They experienced similar relationships

with Teresa, who came to see Peter as a prefiguration of her disciple and co-reformer.[785] Just

Teresa was cited in evidence of Peter's sanctity; Peter provided one template for John's own

process.[786]

The Discalced Carmelite writer Spiridione di Maria Immacolata refers to the connection

between John and Peter as a way of conceptualizing the former through a set of recognizable and

orthodox parameters.[787] Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross* uses formal similarities with the *St. Peter*

of Alcantara to define the potential saint in a comparable manner. It is clearly distinct from the

earlier work, but resembles it enough to call it to mind, especially if the viewer is cognizant of the

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785 Piat, 82. A lack of theological training and general suspicion of her gender left Teresa anxious about her mystical experiences and vulnerable to censure and criticism. Peter was an authoritative supporter equipped to engage complex doctrinal issues. A generation later, John's theological training was a valuable asset in the debates surrounding the legitimacy of the Carmelite reform.

786 The Discalced friar Michael a Christo, a postulator in John's cause, defended the saint's description of *effloreret statis*, the stupor caused by the soul leaving the body during divine union. He offered Dionysius the Areopagite, Teresa, and Peter of Alcantara as precedents. AGOCD Plut. 315/c 1340-7 "Responsio ad obiectiones factas in congregatione incausa Canonizationes B. P. Joannis a Cruce," f. 1342.

787 See Spiridione di Maria Immacolata, "Estudio sobre el doctorado sanjuanistica," in *San Juan de la Cruz Doctor de la Iglesia: Documentacion Relativa a la Declaración Oficial*, ed. Eulogio Pacho (Rome: Teresianum, 1991). Comparisons with remain common into the twentieth century, and factored in the deliberations that led to the naming of John a Doctor of the Church.

depicted saints' spiritual and hagiographic similarities. Stylistically, however, Papaleo's figure is unlike the somewhat static *St. Peter*, the calm drapery and erect pose of which connote a mystical experience defined by stillness. It has a spiral movement that begins in the *putti* in the clouds around his leg, and is enhanced by the drapery that curls around his body. This unified, upward turning flow recalls Cafà's *St. Catherine*, although without the same sweeping motion.[788] The Maltese sculptor's influence is further evident when the *St. John of the Cross* is compared to Ferrata's *St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Ecstasy* in the Wroclaw Cathedral (fig. 102). This figure is similarly positioned on a bank of *putti* and clouds, but has a sedate quality akin to the classicizing idiom of his student Maglia, that again represents mystical transport without dynamism.[789] Papaleo was a more capable handler of an established Baroque sculptural vocabulary than given credit for today.[790]

The seeming actuality of Papaleo's sculptural idiom combines real presence and intense emotionalism with idealizing qualities to create visions of intense piety.[791] The viewer is

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[788] Gunter, 95. He observes that Papaleo captured the sweeping mystical expression of the late Cafà but without the intense interplay of pleasure and pain that the latter's work shares with Bernini.

[789] For the *St. Elizabeth*, see Jessica Marie Boehman, "Maestro Ercole Ferrata" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 188-91; David L. Bershad, "Some New Documents on the Statues of Domenico Guidi and Ercole Ferrata in the Elizabeth Chapel in the Cathedral of Breslau (now Wroclaw)," *Burlington* 118, 883 (1976): 700-703.

[790] The stylistic affinity between Papaleo and Bernini is apparent in the misattribution of the latter's *Salvatore mundi* to the Sicilian in a recent exhibition catalogue. See Pina Baglioni, "The Last Bernini and the Salvator Mundi," *30 Days in the Church and in the World* 9 (Sept. 2004). http://www.30giorni.it/us/articolo.asp?id=4365. According to Francesco Petrucci and Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, the bust was too beautiful to have been sculpted by a mediocre artist like Papaleo, but while the Sicilian may have lacked Bernini's sublime handling of marble, dismissing him as a mediocrity is unjust. Orlandi writes of his "*opere sue private e pubbliche con buona maniera, e sicuro Disegno*" (his private and public works are done in good style and solid design), and is echoed echoed by Titi. See Orlandi, 432; Titi is cited in A. Bertolotti, "Alcuni artisti siciliani a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII, notizie e documenti raccolti nell'Archivio di Stato Romano," *Archivio Storico Siciliano* n.s. IV, 6 (1879): 165. For more on the bust, see Irving Lavin, "La mort de Bernin: vision de redemption," in *Baroque, vision jésuite: du Tintoret à Rubens*, ed. Alain Tapié (Paris; Somogy; Caen: Musée des beaux-arts de Caen, 2003):105-9.

[791] Scholars have long recognized that Baroque art reconciles opposites into an effective coexistence George Kubler referred to this as an orientation earthward and heavenward, between spiritualism and naturalism. See Erwin Panofsky, "What is Baroque?" in *Three Essays on Style*, ed. Irving Lavin (Cambridge; London: The MIT Press,

encouraged to recognize the likenesses as an exceptional individual and naturalize the representational content by responding empathetically to it as if it were a person. Once a sculpted figure appears real, its spiritual condition likewise becomes convincing.[792] However, realism is only half the make-up of a sculpture such as this, and in the most effective compositions, this compelling figure is simultaneously differentiated from the quotidian world by various means. The *St. John of the Cross* includes a bank of clouds that supports the saint, a luminous white color, and a spiraling upward motion that all denote that something extraordinary is taking place. The installation of this work in the dim recesses of the crucifix chapel further enhances its suggestion of a supernatural or mystical event. One encounters it abruptly, becoming suddenly aware of its unearthly presence, itself like a vision, suspended in contemplation. At once tangibly solid and lifelike, but spatially separate and chromatically distinct, it expresses credible devotion beyond normal experience.

Emotional intensity conditions the relationship with the viewer. The paradoxical coexistence of dynamism and passivity in a naturalistic but spiritualized figure transposes the simultaneous tension and surrender recorded by mystic writers into a credible somatic expression.[793] This appearance of overwhelming feeling imbues the representation with an immediacy that suggests an action occurring at the moment of viewing. Unlike the timelessness of the classical ideal, this figure appears responsive to stimuli in its, and by extension, the viewer's ambient, creating a sense of temporal specificity and active potential that belies the marmoreal permanence of the medium. This momentary character is enhanced by the unexpected suddenness

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1995), 51; George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959), 237.

792 Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 81.

793 Harbison, 52.

with which the visitor first perceives the statue. Surprise and wonder open an active and engaged relationship that lends itself to fostering religious feeling and evoking the appropriate amazement at the marvel of divine union.[794]

The recurrence of this moving formula in the chapels of Rome established it as an artistic type that indicates a certain form of sanctity. Divine union and ecstasy are proof of direct contact between a soul and God, and while this may not be sufficient to assure canonization, virtually all early modern saints are credited with this sort of miraculous devotional experience. The subjects of the seventeenth-century predecessors of the *St. John of the Cross,* such as Sts. Bridget, Francis, Peter, Teresa and Catherine, were all acclaimed for their mystical accomplishments. Mystics struggle to express their experiences, generally turning to paradoxical phrasings such as luminous darkness and sweet agony to connote something that cannot be described directly. These sculptures likewise juxtapose opposites, such as the lifelike with the otherworldly and the emotionally immediate with the marmoreally permanent, to fashion a visual language for the representation of mystical subjects and situate a new saint within established and accepted hagiographic categories. John is emphatically shown to belong among the most celebrated mystics of the Church, a fitting place given his life and works.

Pietro Papaleo carried the expressive language of of Bernini and Cafà into eighteenth-century Rome, but has received little attention from art historians, and much about his life remains uncertain.[795] His death on 26 December 1718 is documented in a testimony preserved in the

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794 Boucher, 215-16. The author refers to Baroque sculpture as "the perfect idiom" for communicating mystic experience because of the the sense of wonder and the unexpected that draws the viewer.

795 Gunter's article is the most comprehensive account of Papaleo's life and work currently available. Two other studies of note include Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, upon which Gunter draws heavily, and Christopher M. S. Johns, Papal *Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), which focuses on the sculptor's work for the Albani.

Archivio do Stato in Rome, and his birth year is generally listed as 1642, based on Orlandi's claim that the artist died at age seventy-six.[796] Papaleo was born in Sicily, and had arrived in Rome by the 1660's, where he settled with his two brothers.[797] From 1671 his name appears in the *libri mastri* of the Vatican Fabbrica, and in 1694 he was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca. Papaleo's service on influential committees, and his involvement in the intellectual circles surrounding the Albani papacy, reveal an artist of some standing. The prestige of his commissions, the frequency with which his name appears in the records of the Accademia, and the favorable criticism his work received all suggest that the sculptor was much more highly regarded during his own time than he is today.

The arc of Papaleo's career spanned the early 1660's to the 1710's, a period when Roman artistic tastes underwent considerable change, at least with regards to the most valuable commissions.[798] Influential voices were challenging the Baroque idiom of Bernini even before that artist's death, and these critics were bolstered by an increasingly predominant French presence in both academic discourse and among the most successful sculptors. As the first great sculptural commission of eighteenth-century Rome, the Lateran apostle series is generally held up as paradigmatic of the shift away from the emotional, interactive and environmentally integrated

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796 ASR, 30 Notai Capitolini, uff. 35, Cardelli, 1718, vol. 73, c.607r. Cited in Gunter, 70. Enggass points out that there is no sign of Papaleo's name in the records of the Accademia of San Luca from 1719-1727, though he is mentioned frequently in earlier years (the records for 1717 and 1718 are largely missing). The claim is first made in the 1753 edition of Orlandi's *Abecedario pittorico*. See Orlandi 432. Thieme-Becker lists Papaleo's dates as ca. 1642-1718. Bertolotti follows Orlandi, stating that the artist died in 1718 at the age of seventy-six, but Enggass is unconvinced of the reliability of Orlandi's claim. Riccoboni provides no rationale for assigning him a birth date of 1649. It is assumed here that he follows Orlandi.

797 Gunter, 68, notes evidence that from 1662-7 Papaleo was frequenting the same areas around S. Lucia in Gonfalone as Melchiorre Cafà. His brothers, both sculptors, have also contributed to confusion regarding his activity; Enggass questions whether Pietro and his brother Francesco Papaleo could have been the same person. Gunter notes the existence of a third, largely ignored brother, Giuseppe.

798 This shift is commonplace in the general literature on the field. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, is a good example of this, especially Vol. 2, 145-47 and Vol. 3, 52-57.

works. Even Camillo Rusconi (1658-1728), who drew heavily from Bernini's example, owes as

much, if not more, to the precedents of Duquesnoy and Algardi.[799] The Lateran apostles, with their

well-proportioned grandeur and relative lack of violent emotionalism or direct incorporation of the

viewer, represent a new aesthetic, a synthesis aptly summed up by Wittkower as "heroic Late

Baroque Classicism."[800] However, this shift from an affective and interactive stylistic idiom was

not universal, as the relative success of Papaleo attests.[801]

Although Papaleo's later works were contemporary with the Lateran apostles, the sculptor

was somewhat older than Rusconi, Legros (1666-1719) or Monnot (1657–1733). His development

took place amid the large group of artists associated with the workshop of Ercole Ferrata,

particularly Cafà, who appears to have been his mentor if not master. A roster associated with the

Accademia di San Luca reprinted by Cipriani and Valeriani mentions a "Pietro Passaleo" who

worked during the *principato* of Maratta and was a "*... scultore scolaro del signor Melchiorre

Cafà*" (student of sculpture of Mr. Melchiorre Cafà).[802] Although not much older than his student,

the Maltese artist exerted a formative influence that remained with Papaleo for the duration of his

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799 See Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, Vol. 3, 55. Rusconi's work at the Lateran is significant since he was given four of the twelve apostles. The other artists to receive multiple figures were both French: Pierre Le Gros the Younger and Pierre-Étienne Monnot with two each. A similar preference for French classicism is seen in the grand Jesuit commissions from around the turn of the century.

800 Robert Enggass, "Un problème du baroque romain tardif: Projets de sculptures par des artistes non sculpteurs," *Revue de l'art* 31 (1976): 21-32. He addresses the sculptural disengagement from the world of the viewer.

801 Another example of the persistence of the Berninesque idiom is the little known Bolognese sculptor Francesco Buonetti's *Glory of Angels with Benedictine Saints and Anthony Abbot* on the high altar of S Maria in Porta Paradiso in Rome of ca. 1720. It has been claimed that the moving and affective composition derived from Bernini, especially the angel reminiscent of the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. See Riccoboni 198.

802 ASASL vol. 66: Nomi Cognomi e Maestri de Signori Professori e Giovani del Disegno che intervengono a studiare nell'Accademia di San Luca di Pittura, Scultura et Architettura. Reprinted in A. Cipriani, and E. Valeriani, eds. *I disegni di figura nell'Archivio Storico dell' Accademia di San Luca*, vol. I. (Roma: Quasar, 1988), 180. Passaleo is one of several variants by which Papaleo is known. Papaleo worked alongside other artists affiliated with Ferrata on several projects for the Roman Dominicans, contributed to the canonization *apparati* for Sts. Luis Beltran and Rose of Lima, in the summer of 1671, and in 1674 received payment for the putti in the Bonelli monument in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. See Gunter, 72.

career. Cafà possessed a powerful artistic personality that won him a leading place in Ferrata's workshop at an early age and a number of impressive commissions of his own. Of all the sculptors of his generation, it was he who was able to develop the lessons of Bernini into an original expressive idiom.[803] It is hard to imagine a work like the *St. John of the Cross*, with a pulsing spiritual energy that seems to extend beyond the boundary of its setting, without Cafà's antecedent.

While the vital and emotionally charged idiom of Cafà and Bernini suffered a decline in popularity in theoretically informed circles as the seventeenth century wound down, Papaleo enjoyed continued professional success. A sojourn in Naples from the end of 1686 to the middle of 1687 established important relationships that shaped the latter part of his career.[804] He entered into the service of the Discalced Carmelites of S. Teresa agli Studi, and came into contact with Cardinal Francesco del Guidice, who on Feb. 13, 1690 was elected to the *concistoro segreto* of the Ottoboni Pope Alexander VIII. For their part, the Ottoboni had recently funded the sumptuous ornamentation of the tribune of S. Maria del Carmine, the principal Carmelite church in Naples.[805] Whether or not it was the Cardinal who brought Papaleo into the intellectual circles surrounding the Ottoboni is uncertain, but the contacts between the two men could only strengthen the

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803 While most of the sculptors who worked in the shadow of Bernini have been dismissed as epigones, Cafà managed a creative and original response. In the *Charity of St Thomas of Villanova* of 1663, the saint steps out of the altar niche like a marble *tableau vivant*, achieving an independence from its architectural setting beyond any example by Bernini. In his *Ecstasy of St Catherine of Siena*, Cafà's sculpted the saint in an almost painterly manner, calling into question the clear distinction of media. For the *St. Thomas*, see Preimesberger and Weil. For the *St. Catherine*, see Mario Bevilacqua, *Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli: arte e storia di una comunità religiosa romana nell'età della Controriforma* (Rome: Gangemi, 1993); Gerhard Bissell, "Melchiorre Cafà at S. Caterina a Magnanapoli," in *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque*, ed. Keith Scriberras (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd., 2006), 84-88.. For more on Cafà see Keith Scriberras, ed., *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* (Malta: Midsea Books Ltd., 2006); John Fleming, "A Note on Melchiorre Caffa," *Burlington* 89, 529. (Apr., 1947): 84-89; Antonia Nava Cellini, "Contributi a Melchiorre Caffa," *Paragone* 7, 83 (1956): 17–31; Jennifer Montagu, "The Graphic Work of Melchior Cafà," *Paragone* 30, 413 (1984): 50–61 and Daniela Jemma, "Inediti e documenti di Melchiorre Caffà," *Paragone* 32, 379 (1981): 53-8.

804 For Papaleo's movements from Rome to Naples see Gunter, 74.

805 ibid. 74. Renovations of the S. Maria del Carmine tribune funded by Nicolò del Giudice began in 1671.

sculptor's standing. Following his return to Rome, Papaleo's career reached its zenith. In 1694 he was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca, and throughout the 1690's and 1710's, worked alongside some of the leading sculptors in the city.[806] With the election of Pope Clement XI in 1700, Papaleo became a favored artist of the Albani papacy, and his best-known work, the *St. Fabian* was carved for the Albani chapel in S. Sebastiano in Rome.[807] This work was a costly replacement for a planned painted altarpiece that speaks to the prestige of the commission in its patron's eyes.[808] The sculpture has a considerable impact on the overall effect of the chapel, an almost palpating quality and tremulous presence whose fluid vivacity energizes and contrasts with its otherwise restrained setting.[809] When the S. Maria della Scala Carmelites decided on Papaleo,

806 Papaleo and Lorenzo Ottoni collaborated on the *putti* in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace, and his statue of *Faith* and its pendent, Monnot's *Prayer* of 1705 are located in SS. Apostoli in Rome. See Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento*, 85–6; Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, 75. He participated on the Ignatius Chapel at the Gesù. In 1696 he had been commissioned, together with Camillo Rusconi, to produce four angels for the Ignatius chapel, but was replaced due to prior contractual obligations to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni.

807 For Papaleo's work on the Albani Chapel in S. Sebastiano in Rome see Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics*, 164. For Papaleo's part in Vatican commissions under Clement XI see Antonella Pampalone, *Disegni di Lazzaro Baldi nelle collezioni del Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe: Istituto nazionale per la grafica, Gabinetto nazionale delle stampe, Roma, Villa alla Farnesina alla Lungara, 23 novembre 1979-28 febbraio 1980* (Roma: De Luca, 1979). The frequency with which Papaleo's name recurs archival notices speaks to his activity in the Academy of St. Luke. His involvement in various committees, and general engagement described in their minutes suggests that sculptors may not have been held in as low professional esteem, as is often assumed. For example, Papaleo, along with Théodon and Ottoni, was chosen to judge the sculpture section of the Concorso Clementino of 1702. This chapel was principally the design of Carlo Maratta and Carlo Fontana, and also included paintings of *S. Fabiano Baptizes S. Filippo l'Arabo* by Pier Leone Ghezzi and S. *Fabiano elected Pope* by Giuseppe Passeri The stucco medallions in the pendentives depicting paleochristian female saints are also likely the work of Papaleo. See Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics*, 236 and Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento*, 85-6. Johns dates the figure to 1710-12; for revised date of 1714-15/6 see Gunter, 89.

808 Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics*, 165. The author makes much of the sheer cost of sculpture in arguing for its status and value, despite the existence of contemporary criticism extolling painting as the superior medium.

809 This is, perhaps, an echo of Cafà's approach to the treatment of marble. His works are noted for their vibrating surface quality suggestive of inner spiritual turbulence. The *St. Fabian* has been called a pleasing synthesis of the *St. Vito* by Gramignoli for the St. Peter's colonnade, with elements of Le Gros' *St. Dominic* in S. Peter's, Theodon's *St. Francesca Romana*, Algardi's *St. Filippo Neri*, *St. Cornelio* by Maglia for S. Maria in Trastevere, and the elegant garb of Le Gros' *Cardinal Casanate* in the Lateran. See Gunter, 89. The number of proposed sources undermines the usefulness of the list, and proves only that Papaleo participated in the general sculptural trends of his time.

they chose a well-connected and highly regarded artist with established ties to their order and the proven ability to create spiritual energy and tension in marble.

II. THE DISCALCED CARMELITES AND ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

The patrons, intended audience, setting, and subject matter of the *St. John of the Cross* all share a Discalced Carmelite identity, which makes the conditions that inform the significance and reception of the statue unusually circumscribable.[810] The nature and beliefs of the order, and the ways in which they represented John and his ideas, provide an identifiable foundation for an interpretation of the expressive potential of a sculpted image. The Discalced Carmelites emerged from the venerable Order of Mount Carmel, a body with historical origins clouded by a veil of legend. Their claim to have been founded in the ninth century BCE by the prophet Elijah was hotly disputed in early modernity and is belied by the evidence dating their settlement on Mt. Carmel to the early thirteenth century.[811] Elijah did provide the model for the eremitical and contemplative ethos of the order from its inception as "the solitary prophet who nurtured his thirst for the one and only God, and lived in his presence" (Carmelite Constitutions no. 26). Following their expulsion

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810 While the Roman chapter did commission other works of art for various purposes, none of them approach the *St. John of the Cross* in cost or splendor. See Anthony Clark, "Agostino Masucci: A Conclusion and a Reformation of the Roman Baroque," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, Vol. 2, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine, (London: Phaidon 1967), 259.

811 Robert Koch, "Elijah the Prophet, Founder of the Carmelite Order," *Speculum* 34, 4 (Oct., 1959): 547. The first rule for their settlement on Mt. Carmel dates from 1209 or 1210, and received papal endorsement in 1226. Sixtus IV issued a bull in 1477 declaring Carmelite claims of origin to be true, but Baronius pointed out their historical improbability and the Bollandists furthered this objection. The dispute between the Bollandist Papebroch and the Carmelites grew so fierce that Innocent XII imposed a perpetual silence in 1698. Benedict XIII, who canonized John, allowed a statue of Elijah in St. Peter's funded in part by both the Discalced and Regular Carmelites, with the motto "Universus Carmelitarum ordo fundatore." See Cécile Emond, *L'iconographie Carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux* (Bruxelles: Palais des Academies, 1961), 33. Today, the Carmelites refer to Elijah as a model to emulate rather than a founder in the formal sense.

from the Holy Land by the Saracens, they relocated to western Europe, adopted a Mendicant aspect and founded houses in settled areas.[812] Although no longer eremitical, the Carmelites continued their pursuit of a direct, mystical knowledge of God in the tradition of Elijah.[813] This contemplative orientation and purported continuity from Old Testament origins allowed the order to position itself as the wellspring of religious communal life. In the *Speculum Carmelitanum* of 1680, Daniel da Vergine Maria presents Elijah as the predecessor and prototype of all other founders, including Sts. Benedict, Scholastica, Bruno, Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius. Cornelis Galle gave this claim graphic form in his print of the *Vinea Carmeli* where the fountain of Elijah in the left corner sends four jets to Basil, Augustine, Benedict and François de Sales, in the shadow of the vine at the foot of Mt. Carmel.[814]

The Discalced reform unfolded in the context of this tradition. [815] Dismayed by an increasingly worldly direction of the order, Teresa and John reemphasized the union between the self-sacrificing eremitical and mystical life of the original hermits of Mt. Carmel, and the apostolic mission of the mendicants. Declaring that outward action flows from a state of the soul, John

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812 Kees Waaijman, *The Mystical Space of Carmel: A Commentary on the Carmelite Rule*, trans. John Vriend (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 3. Mount Carmel is described as a mystical space: the place of "the Living One before whom Elijah stood." The challenge was how to remain a Carmelite apart from Mt. Carmel.

813 The oldest extant Carmelite definition of their nature, the *Rubrica prima*, describes Carmel as a place for those "who truly love the solitude of this mountain with a view to contemplating heavenly things." Cited in Adrianus Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), 40. The mystical life apart from Carmel is addressed in the *Book of the First Monks*, perhaps the most important early text after the *Rule*. "In whatever place you live, draw away from the finite and enter into the infinite space which is God. Turn every place into a Carmel." All who enter this mystical space are true Carmelites. See Waaijman, 4.

814 Emond, 210. Augustine was revered as the founder of the eremitical Augustinians.

815 The connection between the Teresa and the ancient ideals of the order are prominent in Discalced thought. One significant early modern example was a a huge text published in Paris linking the legendary founder with the reformer. See Louis de Sainte-Thérèse, *La succession du sainte prophète Élie en l'order des Carmes et en la réforme de sainte Thérèse selon l'order chronologique* (Paris: Guillaume Sassier, 1662), especially 625-31 and 649-50.

transformed the climbing of Mt. Carmel into a spiritual/psychological progression and used it into a symbol of ascent towards God.[816] Arguably, the principal spiritual feature of the reform was the profound emphasis on contemplation, or mystical union with God. The Discalced Constitutions state: "We profess that the first and foremost part of our institution consists in prayer and contemplation."[817] The balance between inward spirituality and outward action was perceptively named "solitude within community" by Keith Egan, and is an important concept for the appreciation of Papaleo's sculpture and the Carmelite use of imagery in general.[818] The reform message proved popular, and the Discalced Carmelites enjoyed a period of sustained growth throughout the seventeenth century.[819]

The foundation of S. Maria della Scala is evidence of this growth. In the bull *Sacorum Religiosorum* of 20 March, 1597, Clement VIII authorized the building of the church as the seat of the newly established Roman province.[820] The initial compliment of the foundation consisted

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816 Bruno de Jesus Maria, 4.

817 Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume III: The Catholic Reformation 1600-1750 (Darwin, IL.: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1982), 420.

818 Keith J. Egan, "The Solitude of Carmelite Prayer," in *Carmelite Prayer: A Tradition for the 21st Century*, ed. Keith J. Egan (New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 39. Teresa writes: "all of us who wear this holy habit of Carmel are called to prayer and contemplation. This call explains our origin; we are descendants of men who felt this call, of those holy fathers on Mt. Carmel who in such great solitude and contempt for the world sought this treasure, this precious pearl of contemplation."

819 Emond, 27. The seventeenth century was a period of general global growth for the order, including their reinstatement on Mt. Carmel in 1631.

820 Friars from Teresa's reform movement arrived in Italy in 1584. The early years of the seventeenth century saw the first translation of John's works into Italian by Alessandro di San Francesco (Rome 1558-1630), as well as the publication of *L'arte di amore Dio* (Venezia, 1608) by Giovanni di Gesù Maria, which provided a synthesis of Teresan thought at that time. Antonio Gentili and Mauro Regazzoni, *La spiritualità della riforma cattolica. La spiritualità italiana dal 1500 al 1650* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna, 1993), 356; Massimo Petrocchi, *Storia della spiritualità italiana II: Il Cinquecento e il Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni do Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 180.

of thirty recently professed friars who had been educated by John of the Cross himself.[821] Novice instruction began as early as 1603, and in 1655 became the primary function.[822] It is significant that during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there was no shift in basic life within the novitiate, and the contemplative focus and mystical tradition embodied by Elijah and reaffirmed by Teresa and John was unaffected by changes in the world outside.[823] The *St. John of the Cross* uses the image of the founder-saint to give form to these changeless spiritual lessons as they were understood, incorporated, and transmitted within the novitiate. John is an especially pertinent subject for role; not only did he exemplify an ideal Carmelite life, but his writings laid the theological foundation for the Carmelite contemplative spirituality represented by the statue.

John of the Cross was a sixteenth-century mystic, theologian, poet and reformer, and second only to Teresa of Avila in importance to the Discalced Carmelites. His work alongside Teresa led to him being named a co-founder by the order, and his writings provided the foundation for their mystical spirituality. However, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of his life, and much of his personal history is based on hagiographic sources that exemplify the values and

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821 Fuscardi, 7-14. The church was largely finished in 1607, but the interior decorations were installed over the following century and a half.

822 AGOCD Plut. 83 seg. C/2/2 contains the decree of Clement VIII of 19 March 1603, authorizing S. Maria della Scala for the education of novices. In ASR cc. 8; 17 1650, Dec. 18, the *procuratore generale* of the Carmelitani scalzi supplicated the congregazione di regolari to concede the faculty of receiving all novices in the Roman province to S. Maria della Scala. AGOCD Plut. 83 Seg. c/2/1 contains the decree of Alexander VII of 1655 declaring the church was to be for the education of novices in the Roman province.

823 Michel de Certeau defines mysticism in opposition to an increasingly technologically oriented society, yet in his history of the Discalced Carmelites, Smet notes that the order remained largely oblivious the new philosophical and scientific ideas emerging in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, trans. Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 4; Smet, 1-2. Even in France, the acts of the last French chapters before the Revolution are no different in tone or content from previous examples. Carmelite expansion largely stopped in the eighteenth century, but they remained faithful to the mystical thought of Teresa and John. See Emond, 27. Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 3, treats this systematizing aspect of later Carmelite writers. For a list of significant works on Carmelite mystical theology in the vein of Teresa and John of the Cross produced in Italy during this period, see Petrocchi, *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, 182. Discussing the international consistency of the order, Smet writes: "to speak of Carmel in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is to speak of Carmel in a number of different countries." See Smet, 164.

aspirations of his community. The partisan nature of this material is actually helpful for understanding the *St. John of the Cross* because the statue is also engaged with fashioning an image of John that epitomizes his order. John was born Juan de Yepes y Alvarez in the Castillian town of Fontiveros in 1542, most likely on June 24, the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.[824] His father died shortly after, and his mother moved to Medina del Campo, where the young John received an elementary education and was apprenticed to local craftsmen. The time spent in the shops of a sculptor and painter left him with a life-long appreciation for these arts, and established the foundation of his attitudes towards religious imagery. From 1559-63, he studied the humanities at the Jesuit College, but he was drawn by the contemplative orientation of the Carmelites and joined them in 1563. The following year, he began studies in philosophy, theology and rhetoric at the University of Salamanca, and his scholastic aptitude led to his appointment as Prefect of Studies while still a student. In 1567, he was ordained, and, while home in Medina del Campo to perform his first Mass, met Teresa of Avila. Inspired by her mission, John became her associate, disciple, and eventually confessor, and presided over the foundation of the first reformed house for friars at Duruelo in 1568.

John shared Teresa's goal of combining the apostolic mission of the mendicant orders with the solitary life of contemplation exemplified by the hermits of Mt. Carmel.[825] A spiritually enlightened disposition cultivated in solitude and prayer was to drive virtuous public action. In John's own words: "what they have joyously harvested with the sickle of contemplation in

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824 This account of John's life is drawn from E. Allison Peers, *Spirit of Flame: A Study of St. John of the Cross*, 5th Edition (London: Student Christian Movement Press, Ltd., 1945), 11-15 and Kieran Kavanaugh, General Introduction to *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez (Garden City, NY.: Doubleday and Co., 1964), 15-26.

825 Bruno de Jesus Maria, 3. The Carmelites were essentially mendicant since their arrival in Europe.

solitude, they must thresh on the floor of preaching and sow broadcast."[826] He epitomized this interrelationship of inward devotion and outward action by attaining the rarified heights of mystical union and working on the part of the reform. From the outset, John was involved in instruction and spiritual guidance. When the foundation at Duruelo was elevated to a priory and authorized to receive novices in 1569, he was named subprior and novice master. A year later, he was appointed rector of a new house of studies in Alcala, where he directed academic endeavors and guided students in their spiritual development. His mentoring role reached its zenith in 1572, when Teresa named him the spiritual director of the Convent of the Incarnation where she resided, which brought her under his direct guidance. It was during this time that she attained mystic marriage with God, the highest possible level of mystic union.

While celebrated for his direction and formation of others, John's own spiritual development was unsurpassed.[827] His miraculous devotions and complex writings on mystical theology hold a central place in Discalced Carmelite doctrine, and greatly influenced representations of John himself. His ideas align closely with those of Teresa, who he believed addressed the spiritual stages preceding contemplation so accurately that he felt no need to elaborate on her treatment. According to E. Alison Peers, the pioneering English language scholar of Spanish mysticism, Teresa writes with a spontaneity and freshness, but lacks the formal theological background and enormous poetic talents that render John unique among early modern contemplatives.[828] His four major works: *The Ascent of Mount Carmel, The Dark Night of the Soul,*

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826 ibid., 4.

827 Pius XI declared him the Mystical Doctor in 1926 on the strength of his writings on mystical experience. John Howley, "St. John of the Cross a Doctor of the Church," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 16, 61 (Mar., 1927): 91.

828 Peers, *Spirit of Flame*, 94. John possessed a wealth of reading, a gift of generalization and a command of argument that Teresa, who lacked his educational opportunities, does not possess.

The Spiritual Canticle and *The Living Flame of Love*, drew on venerable traditions of apophatic, or negative mysticism to define a threefold path to contemplation or union with God. The first two are prose treatises, while the latter pair are metaphorical poems with extensive commentaries that figuratively address a subject that exceeds direct, discursive presentation.

The images and texts that developed John's hagiographic persona after his death can be divided into two groups: those dating from the beginning of his veneration within the Discalced Carmelite community in the early seventeenth century until his beatification in 1675, and those that followed this first official recognition. The Congregation of Rites actually began gathering information pertaining to his case in 1614, and his first *vita* appeared several years later.[829] In general, this initial group respected the prohibition on the use of titles denoting sanctity for the officially unrecognized, although there are exceptions. The premature designation of "Blessed" in works such as the French Carmelite Cyprien de la Nativité's *Vie de bienheureux P. Jean de la Croix* of 1642 attest to the high regard for John within the order.[830] Some of his earliest images are similarly titled and include a nimbus of light around his head, such as the portrait displayed from 1630 in the chapel in Segovia where he had been miraculously addressed by a crucifix.[831] Prints were circulated that articulated this status as well. As early as 1627 P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios

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829 María Dolores Verdejo Lopez, ed., *Proceso apostólico de Jaén: beatificación y canonización de San Juan de la Cruz: informaciones de 1617* (Jaén: Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Jaén, 1984), 50-62. Shortly after John's death he was credited with an aura of sanctity, and his image and relics were venerated. Regarding the growth of his cult, in 1627, thirty-six years after his death, P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios el Asturicense declared in the *Procès Apostolique* that he had gathered twenty-four different prints published in Spain and other countries. See Michel Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale* (Bruxelles: Desclée, De Brouwer, 1975), 14.

830 Cyprien de la Nativité, *Vie de bienheureux P. Jean de la Croix par la R.P. Joseph de Jésus Marie, Carme Déchaussé*, trans. R.P. Élisée de Saint Bernard and the R.P. Cyprien de la Nativité (Paris: 1641), unnumbered title page.

831 Florisoone, Jean de la Croix: *Iconographie générale*, 42, 66. See Emilia Montaner, "La configuración de una iconografía: las primeras imágenes de San Juan de la Cruz," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 27, 2 (1991): 156, for the use of images of John to popularize and consolidate representations of him well before his canonization.

el Asturicense wrote: "*les unes lui donnent le titre de saint, d'autres de bienheureux, et beaucoup le peignent avec des rayons comme se peignent les saints canonizes*" (some give him the title of saint, others (the title of) blessed, and many paint him with rays like the canonized saints are painted).[832] His saintly reputation extended beyond Carmelite circles; in a letter to Pope Innocent X of 1646 on behalf of John's candidacy, Empress Eleanor Gonzaga testifies to the miracles and sanctity of "*Beati Joannis a Cruce*."[833]

John's canonization process began in the second decade of the seventeenth century, but initially proved inconclusive, and Urban VIII declared his case *non cultu*.[834] Devotion to him continued both inside and outside of his order, and the resumption of his cause resulted in beatification in 1675 and canonization fifty-one years later.[835] A delay of this length for a candidate promoted by an influential order and powerful European monarchs indicates a degree of official

832 Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale*, 14. The inconclusive result of the initial process curtailed this to some extent. As a rule, one does not find the prefix "V" (Venerable) after 1675, or "B." (Blessed) after 1726. The correct iconography for saints and *beatas* was only finalized by Benedict XIV in the mid-eighteenth century.

833 AGOCD Plut. 315 Seg. n "Letters Postulat. Fra beatif. S. Joannes a Cruce 1646-74.", 22 March, 1646. The dedication to John on the part of the Imperial ruling family is evident in the decision to choose him as patron shortly after his canonization. In 1729, he was named protector of both the ruling family and all Imperial domains. Record of this proclamation is preserved in AGOCD Plut 315 sig. r and sig. z/1, ff. 1369. For the celebrations accompanying the John's patronage on Mantua, see *Relazione dele solenni funzioni ultimamente fattesi per l'elezione di S. Giovanni della Croce primo carmelitano scalzo in comprotettore della Città, e Ducato di Mantova* (Mantua: Stamperia di S. Benedetto per Alberto Pazzoni Stampatore Arciducale, 1729). The majority of early modern saints were backed by a powerful order or royal house. In John's case, both apply. See Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, 264.

834 Documents pertaining to John's beatification and canonization processes are reprinted in Fortes and Cuevas, especially 676-82. His case began in 1614 with the *Proceso Ordinario o Informativo*, which led to the Apostolic Process of the Congregation of Rites in 1627 and formal commencement of his trial in 1629. The *processus* on his writings took place in 1655, his virtues from 1662-7 and his miracles and beatification in 1674-5. In 1680, his canonization proceedings got underway. Urban VIII first laid out the concept of *non cultu* in his apostolic letter of 1634, *Coelestis Hierusalem cives*, which forbade publications on candidates' life and miracles, or the representation of symbols of sanctity, without ecclesiastical approval. Exceptions were made for unsanctioned cults greater than one hundred years old. See Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, 216, Rosa, 67.

835 For a description of the mausoleum chapel in Segovia built to house John's body, and dismantled following the *non cultu* declaration, see Fernando Collar De Caceres, "En torno a la iconografía de San Juan de la Cruz. A propósito de su capilla-mausoleo," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 13 (1983): 19. Paintings by Pedro de Soria of John's visions were later copied and disseminated as prints to be used in his beatification process.

uncertainty about his sanctity. John's mysticism, like that of Teresa before him, involved unmediated access to God, which was potentially threatening to a Church predicated on sacramental participation and good works. Just as lingering Illuminist influences fueled opposition to Teresa's canonization, John's case was before the Congregation of Rites during the Quietist controversy over the necessity of personal effort in attaining divine union.[836] John was defended by Discalced Carmelite theologians who demonstrated that his mystical doctrine was orthodox because it recognized of the value of two types of mental prayer: meditation and contemplation. The former requires the active participation of the will to rid the mind of improper thoughts and to imagine appropriate devotional subjects, particularly the Virgin and Christ. Contemplation begins when the soul has been sufficiently prepared so that God comes to it directly and fills it with grace. It is only in this state that the soul moves beyond positive knowledge or capacity for rational understanding.[837]

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836 Teresa rewrote her experiences to distinguish herself from the *alembrados*. See Ahlgren, 14; Alison Weber, "Between Ecstasy and Exorcism: Religious Negotiation in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23, 2 (Spring, 1993): 221. Illuminism and Quietism are both interiorized forms of spirituality, without vocal prayer or sacraments. Quietistic currents began spreading in the mid-seventeenth century, but the publication of the *Guia espiritual* (1675) made Miguel Molinos its face, led to his trial for heresy in 1687-8, and life imprisonment. The popularity of the movement threatened the Church and contributed to an anti-mystical turn at the end of the seventeenth century. Prospero Lamberti (Benedict XIV) ultimately absorbed much of the "*eccessi*" of Baroque spirituality into a modern doctrinal framework. He subordinated the contemplative life to the active one, concluding that prophecy, ecstasy, visions, apparitions and revelations are not reason for canonization, but should be considered following proof of heroic virtue. See William S. Maltby, "Spain," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), 34; Burkhart Schneider, "The Papacy in the Period of French Hegemony," in *The Church in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment*, trans. Gunther J. Holst (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 125; Gianvittorio Signorotto, "Lo spazio delle devozioni nell'età della controriforma," in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990), 319; R. W. Ward, *Christianity Under the Ancien Regieme: 1648-1789* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21; Rosa, 69-70.

837 For for the Carmelite influence on Quietism, especially Teresa's suspension of intellect and the total inactivity of John and Maria Maddelena de'Pazzi, see Massimo Petrocchi, *Il quietismo italiano del seicento* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1948), 14. Italian quietism found its most robust expression in the mystic theology of Pier Matteo Petrucci, who drew on John, Teresa, and Maria Maddelena de'Pazzi, and others. See Petrocchi, *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, 235. *Seicento* heterodox treatment of divine union appear in Signorotto, 317. These include *La notte oscura*, the title of a canto by the Capuchin Antonio Francesco Cadelari, that openly recalls John's text.

John and Teresa based their devotional methodology on the structure and terminology of the Threefold Way to divine union, the spiritual progression through three states called Purgative, Illuminative, and Unitive or Mystic common in Golden Age Spanish mysticism.[838] The first of these Ways involves the active will and corresponds to the traditional imperatives of the Church: participation in the sacraments, the avoidance of vanities, and meditation on sacred things. The soul is enlightened through grace in the Illuminative Way, and achieves union and transformation in God in the Unitive.[839] The Carmelite reformers replaced the notion of sequential progression through these stages with an organic conception in which all three exist simultaneously and even the most advanced mystics must adhere to the compunctions and privations of the Purgative Way.[840] This continual juxtaposition of active and contemplative spiritual modes became the backbone of Discalced Carmelite spirituality, and inoculated John against accusations that his goal of direct contact with God obviated the need for the institutional Church. Rather than lead to detachment, contemplation empowered a life of piety.[841] John, like Teresa, stressed devotion to

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[838] Petersson, *The Art of Ecstasy*, 26.

839 Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 2, 6-28. The threefold way is laid out by Garcia de Cisneros (1455-1510) in his *Book of Exercises for the Spiritual Life* of 1500. He writes: "in the first way we forsake the lusts of the world; in the second the spirit is enlightened and raised on high; in the third it has tranquility and rest in God. This widely popular book appeared in five Spanish, and Latin editions in the sixteenth century, and since then, seven more Latin ones, three Italian, two French, two English, one Catalan, and one German. The Unitive Way was especially neglected by pre-Carmelite writers, largely due to its individualistic nature and the impossibility of discussing transcendence within any discursive system. See Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 1, 33. Peter of Alcantara, devotes very little space in it his influential Manuel of Prayer, noting only that meditative life moves the will to strike a spark whose flame can be enjoyed in contemplative silence. See Saint Peter of Alcantara, *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation* (c. 1556), trans. Dominic Devas (Westminster, MD.: The Newman Press, 1949), 112.

840 Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 2, 227; Peers, *Spirit of Flame*, 99. John's mystic path is a Whole Way where the various parts cycle back and illuminate the whole (I, 14-15).

841 This fusion of active and contemplative life is fundamental to Carmelite spirituality, and Teresa wrote that her mysticism motivated her reform efforts. See Pastor, Vol. 19, 159-60. Writing in defense of John, whom he knew personally, the Discalced Carmelite general Fray José de Jesús Maria (Quiroga) (1562-1628) described him as the "master of the contemplation which we can attain by our industry aided by grace." Cited in Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 3, 49. In his seventeenth-century commentary on John, Nicolas de Jesus-Maria condemns Quietism, and the ignorance of those mystics who promote it. See Nicolas de Jesus-Maria, *Analyse d'un traité intitulé Eclaircissement des phrases de la theologie mystique du v. pere Jean de la Croix, &c. Pour servir de*

the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, and placed a tremendous emphasis on the Passion and humanity of Christ as a subject for meditation and as a model to emulate. His defenders highlighted the aesthetic, human centered aspect of John's spirituality that is often overlooked in the tendency to characterize him as an apophatic master of darkness.[842] This included the use of religious imagery as a tool to focus the mind in the early phases of devotion.[843]

As a depiction of a founding saint, the *St. John of the Cross* must represent its subject according to the order's values, and offer these to Carmelite viewers to inspire and guide their own meditative activities. The fundamental principle that informs Carmelite image use and connects all active and willful devotional activities to senseless contemplation is called conformity. Conformity aligns the worshipper inwardly with Christ and prepares the soul for the infusion of grace, but it is also a process of conceptualization and internalization that defines the relationship between the Christ's sacrifice, the saint, the image, and the beholder. It constitutes a historically and structurally specific framework to theorize the interaction between the statue, its place in the Crucifix Chapel and the members of the novitiate. Conformity has been defined an interiorized version of the imitation of Christ, where one breaks attachment to worldly things without becoming completely passive.[844] It is based on an equilibrium between willful action and being acted on by

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préjugé dans l'affaire de m. l'archevêque de Cambrai (Paris. 1697), 4. Hagiographer Francesco di S. Giovanni Battista Michele recounts how John was frequently united with God without losing control of his senses. Francesco di S. Giovanni Battista Michele, *Vita, geste e miracoli di San Giovanni della Croce compagno di S. Teresa di Gesù nella fondazione dell'Ordine de'Carmelitani Scalzi* (Ferrara: Gio. Andrea Bolzoni, 1727), 71; Waaijman, 13.

842 Jane Ackerman, "The Childhood of John of the Cross and The Living Flame of Love," *Studia Mystica* 13, 4 (Winter, 1990): 4. She considers John differently from many commentators, who often see him as an unearthly model of piety. She focuses on his humanity and his use of the Incarnation as a means of consecrating this world. The humanity of Christ was fundamental to both John and Teresa's thought. See Marocchi, 169-72.

843 Michel Florisoone, "La Mystique Plastique du Greco et les antecedents de son style," *Gazette des beaux-arts* Ser. 6, 49 (Jan. 1957): 21.

844 Careri, *Flights of Love,* 33-45. He discusses conformity in the context of Jesuit worship and art patronage.

God's will, which avoids the problematic indifference of the Quietists.[845] In Carmelite sources, conforming to the example of a saint refers to a process of aligning oneself with Christ by emulating a saintly model; one emulates a saint to conform to Christ. John's mystical flights are evidence of conformity of the most perfect kind, making him a template for members of the order preparing their own inner selves for mystic union.

Discalced Carmelite sources differentiate between the imitation of a saint and the imitation of Christ. The former is a literal model of conduct, in that members of the order are intended to act as he or she did. The imitation of Christ is more figurative, an inward turn from worldly concerns towards a life of humility, charity and self-abnegation rather than the actual endurance of physical torment or violent death. As John writes: "if you desire to be perfect, sell your will, give it to the poor in spirit, come to Christ in meekness and humility, and follow him to Calvary and the sepulcher."[846] The devotions best suited to this involve meditation on the Passion. Christ's physical sacrifice serves as a metaphor for the self-sacrifice of individuality that opens the worshipper to the arrival of God's presence. Self-abnegation, or utter loss and metaphysical emptiness, is what John refers to as a "Dark Night," the abandonment of all comforts and consolations before

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845 Signorotto, 320. Meditations on the mysteries of Christ waken the *affetti* and empower pious action. Early modern canonization proceedings frequently describe conformity as the "heroic imitation of Christ." This observation is based on the study of the processes of Ss. Pius V, Carlo Borromeo, John of the Cross, John of God, John of Avila, Ignatius, Caterina de'Ricci, Maria Maddelena de'Pazzi, Peter of Alcantara, the Venerable Luis of Granada and Orsola Benincasa. The notion of the heroic imitation of Christ is expressed in a number of ways, including penitence, theorizing and visions, such Maria Maddelena de'Pazzi's stigmata, Caterina's crown of thorns, John's vision and drawing of the crucifix and Rose of Lima's ecstasy of the Passion. See di Maio, 260.

846 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 682 ("Maxims and Councils: Other Councils," 7).

receiving any sort of divine assurance.[847] It is an experience of utter existential emptiness, a terrifying and suffocating journey taken on faith, more challenging than any physical travail.[848]

The notion of conformity as an inward transformation recurs again and again in Discalced Carmelite sources. John himself writes: "Because I have said that Christ is the way and that this way is a death to our natural selves in the sensory and spiritual parts of the soul, I would like to demonstrate how this death is patterned on Christ's. For He is our model and light."[849] Peter of Alcantara, whose *Manual* was required reading for members of the order, writes that the highest and most useful subject of meditation is the Passion: "for such imitation gradually transforms us, so that we may come to say, with the apostle: 'I live, now not I; but Christ liveth in me.' (Gal. ii 20)." He further emphasizes the sacrifice of the self and renunciation of self-will as a "crucifixion" of one's own natural inclinations.[850] Inside S. Maria della Scala, the idea of conformity to Christ was a critical element in the development of the Carmelite novices, as an undated seventeenth-century manuscript attests: "*il modo di educcare la Gioventù ne nostri novitiati più convenevale alla perfittzione religiosa, e più espediente per la nostra osservanza, conforme il santo zelo di nostro Signore*" (the way to educate the Youth in our novitiate that is most convivial to religious

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847 The analogy between the sacrifice of Christ and mystic union informs the association of death and ecstasy. John is reported to have desired martyrdom, although he was never presented with the possibility. See Michele, 60.

848 John echoes Peter of Alcantara, who charges the reader to renounce your own self-will and crucify your own natural inclinations." Peter of Alcantara, 108. There is a long tradition linking the adoration of the crucifix with the renouncement of worldly things. See Joseph Hoppenot, *Le crucifix dans l'histoire, dans l'art, dans l'ame des saints et dans notre vie* (Lille; Paris: Société Saint-Augustin, Desclée, de Brouwer, 1905), 246.

849 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 124 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 2, 7, 9).

850 Peter of Alcantara, 46, 108. John writes: "Spiritually speaking there are two kinds of life: One is beatific consisting in the vision of God, which must be attained by natural death… The other is the perfect spiritual life, the possession of God through union of love. This is acquired through complete mortification of all the vices and appetites and of one's own nature." St. John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 607 (*Living Flame of Love*, 2, 32).

perfection and expedient for our observance, conform the holy zeal to our Lord).[851] Similarly, an epistle dated 1629 by P. Fr. Alessandro di S. Francesco emphasizes the need to conform the heart and the will to the divine, charging the reader to "*conformarsi con la divina volontà*" (conform himself to the will of the divine).[852]

The segment of this process of inward transformation centered on devotion to the sacrifice of Christ belongs mainly to the Purgative Way, since it involves the active motivation of the will and arduous spiritual labour. Images can play a role here, in assisting the worshipper to adhere to Christ's example, until one has progressed beyond the need for them. John writes:

> "The truly devout person directs his devotion mainly to the invisible object represented, has little need for many statues and uses those that are conformed more to the divine traits than to human ones. He brings those images – and himself through them – into conformity with the fashion and condition of the other world, not with this one." "He seeks the living image of Christ crucified within himself."[853]

Conformity, therefore, is the foundation of Carmelite mysticism. According to John: "The supernatural union exists when God's will and the soul's are in conformity... When the soul completely rids itself of what is repugnant and unconfirmed to the divine will, it rests transformed in God through love."[854] The ultimate goal of ecstasy represents the death of the self, the complete internalization of the model of Christ's sacrifice, which frees the soul from the constraints of earthly existence. John states this explicitly in his *Maxims of Love*:

> Once being asked how one becomes enraptured, the Venerable Father Fray John of the Cross, replied: by denying one's own will and doing the will of God; for an ecstasy is nothing else than going out of self and being caught up in God; and this

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851 ASR n. 25/III n. 13: Corporazioni religiose maschile: Carmelitani scalzi in S. Maria della Scala. fol. 161.

852 AGOCD Plut. 83 Segnatura d (1), u.p.

853 John of the Cross, *Collected Works.* 275 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 3, 35, 5).

854 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 116. (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 2, 5, 3).

is what he who obeys does; he leaves himself and his desire, and thus unburdened plunges himself in God. [855]

The juxtaposition of the crucifix image of Christ's sacrifice and John's ecstatic state in Papaleo's sculpture captures the essential connection between active meditation and union.

Active conformity to Christ, like the other aspects of the Purgative Way, defines the worshipper's Christian life and is never fully abandoned. This is apparent in the selections from the *Emeterio* of Sister Cecilia del Nacimiento (1570-1646) published in the history of the Discalced Carmelites by Marvel de San Jeronimo of 1710. Her works bear the strong influence of both Teresa and John, and her treatment of the threefold way suggests that she herself was an accomplished contemplative. In her discussion of divine union she writes: "Sometimes I would be subjected outwardly to much scorn and shame whereas within me there would be supreme peace and glory. Outwardly I would be seeing, as it were, Christ put to shame on the cross, while inwardly his most holy soul would be enjoying the supreme blessedness, which He now enjoys. It would seem that the soul is imitating some of this in its own manner…"[856] Sister Cecilia crystallizes the relationship between the Carmelite spirituality and the sacrifice of Christ. Like Christ in the Passion, the conforming mystic presents a debased and humble exterior that conceals the spiritual glory beneath.

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855 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 680 ("Maxims of Love," 80). Teresa describes ecstasy as a state where the faculties are suspended dead to the world in order to live in God. Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Interior Castle*, 98 (5: 1). Elsewhere, she recounts the death-agony pains that afflict contemplatives. See Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Life of Teresa of Jesus,* 155-60. There is an abundance of sources linking death and ecstasy with the imitation of Christ in early modern spirituality. In the late sixteenth century, the Franciscan Marco da Lisbone writes: "*Iddio opera Estasi mentali nell'anima, elevandola negli abbracciamenti dell'Amor Divino: in esse si gusta la carità, e ci si prepara al martiro*" (God works mental Ecstasies in the soul, raising it in the embraces of Divine Love, in that it can taste the charity, and prepare itself for martyrdom). Marco da Lisbone, *Chroniche de gli ordini instituiti dal Padre S. Francesco, che contengonola sua vita, la sua morte, i suoi miracoli…* Vol. 1 (Venice: Antonio de Ferrari, 1585), 251-53. In his *Via compendii ad Deum*, Giovanni Bona (1609-74) describes an imitation of Christ so perfect to participate in him (*Coram Deo*); a process he compares to "*liquefactio*" in God. See Ossola, 61.

856 Cited in Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 3, 66.

Conformity encompasses an attitude of reception and internalization that belongs to the Discalced Carmelite ambient and helps clarify the different ways that the *St. John of the Cross* defines its subject for its audience. It is an inward process that cannot be depicted directly, but the image of a saint in ecstasy before the crucifix represents the perfect interiorized imitation of the bodily sacrifice represented by the latter. The role of devotional imagery in a Discalced Carmelite context is to help focus meditative efforts, and is especially useful in the early stages of spiritual development expected in a novitiate. The image of a perfectly conforming John, himself enraptured before a devotional image, visualizes the sanctified model for the viewer's own internal imitation of Christ, and shows how images of a saint and Christ's sacrifice (such as the crucifix) can articulate an invisible spiritual truth. Conformity provides a theoretical framework, rooted in early modern religiosity, to explore the relationships between statue, its place in the Crucifix Chapel and the members of the novitiate.

III. THE DISCALCED CARMELITES AND THE ARTS

The seeming actuality of the *St. John of the Cross* placed it a little outside of the classicizing art theory of the early eighteenth century, but it fit quite well within the visual culture of the Discalced Carmelites. Their attitudes towards art are only sketchily outlined in the written sources, but the structure and composition of imagery used within the order articulates complex spiritual subjects and innovative techniques of direct viewer engagement. There can be no doubt that they always recognized the value of visual expression. They continually commissioned and used a wide variety of representations beginning in John's lifetime, ranging from hagiographic and devotional illustrations to complicated allegorical renderings of doctrine and other abstract subjects. Aesthetic

modes of signification factor prominently in the life and work of John as well. He had been apprenticed to a sculptor as a youth, ranks among his country's best poets, and wrote on the use of images in meditation and on the epistemological importance of sensory perception. He and Teresa show an aesthetic temperament in their writings, relying heavily on visual metaphors and vivid figural language, and artworks are recorded as having triggered powerful spiritual responses in both reformers long after they attained the highest stages of imageless contemplation.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, John defended imagery for its ability to call to mind holy figures, but he was explicit that more spiritually advanced worshippers moved beyond the need for visual aids, either physical or imaginative, towards imageless contemplation. However, John's own life attests to the continuing importance of art in communicating spiritual truths, motivating the piety of the beholder and engendering a state of heightened devotional responsiveness. His aesthetic sensibility informs his attempts to express mystical subjects through the allusive language of poetry in evocative and beautiful allegorical verses.[857] His biographers tell of his apprenticeship in a sculptor's workshop before choosing his religious vocation, and that he continued to carve and paint throughout his life, including a bronze that he gave to Teresa.[858] His artistry seemed to have possessed intrinsic spiritual value; he wrote "*méditer, certes; prier aussi et sculpter: c'est le meme acte*" (think, certainly; pray also and sculpt: it is the same act).

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857 John's passionate language of love and desire derived from both the Song of Songs and the Spanish courtly love tradition. The two major themes of the medieval *cancioneros*, the pain of unfulfilled love as a sign of devotion and erotic passion purified by suffering, lend themselves to religious allegory. Terence O'Reilly, "Courtly Love and Mysticism in Spanish Poetry of the Golden Age," *Journal of Hispanic Research* 1 (1992): 53-9; Jorge Guillén, *Language and Poetry: Some Poets of Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 89.

858 Francisco de Yepes writes of John's happy tenure as a sculptor's apprentice. Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 87. For his sculpture, see Peers, *Spirit of Flame*, 52, Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 123.

During his imprisonment in Toledo, he sustained himself with devotions that included carving religious figures.[859]

John spends little time discussing mental imagery, such as supernatural or intellectual visions, as these are also representations that the soul must eventually move past on its road to God.[860] However, his visionary experiences comprise a significant part of his hagiography.[861] Typical of this genre, John's visions tend to be described with a language that recalls contemporary art, and are frequently initiated by exposure to religious imagery.[862] Devotional images focus the outer senses onto the sacrifice of Christ and imaginary visions do the same for the inner, sharing common structures and conventions of visuality that indicate their fundamental interrelationship. The vision that inspired his small drawing of the Crucifix, currently in the Carmelite Convent of Incarnation in Avila is illustrative of these points (fig. 103). His experience followed intense devotion before a real sculpted crucifix, and its clarity and plastic sensibility are attested to in its graphic reproducibility on paper.[863] According to his early hagiographer Jerónimo de San José, John gave the drawing to one of his followers, Ana María de Jesús, who kept it until her death in

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859 Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 127. According to his jailer, Juan de Santa-Maria, the cross was in profile, in exquisite wood and with passion instruments. Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 123.

860 John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 137 (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 2, 12, 1). After the Night of Sense, which involves divesting the exterior senses from natural apprehensions, comes the Night of the Spirit, in which supernatural exterior apprehensions are also abandoned.

861 Michele, 42; Gianfederigo da S. Rosa, *Ristretto della vita, e virtú di S. Giovanni della Croce coadjutore della serafica vergine Santa Teresa nella riforma del Carmine* (Parma: Reale Ducale Stamperia Minti, 1749), 85.

862 Visions and art operate under the same set of perceptual rules that enable mystics to be reasonably certain of identifying the figures in a vision and explain why mystics tend to perceive entities that accord with their religious expectations. See Runzo, 310-12.

863 Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 110. This precise, clear and distinct vision came after contemplation induced by the cross.

1618.[864] Since 1641, it has been displayed in the convent, and has been a major component of John's iconography for centuries.[865] This work was unprecedented for its sophisticated perspective, described by Jeronimo de San Jose as seen "from the left side, not parallel with the arms of the cross, placed as if in a tribune or a window as that of a church or a monastery, beside the high altar, facing the people."[866]This drawing actually raises two important points that pertain to the reception of Papaleo's statue: the centrality of the Passion to the active, imagistic aspects of John's spirituality and the relationship between art and mystical experience.

The humanity of Christ, especially his passion and sacrifice, is of paramount importance to Discalced Carmelite meditative practices, and both John and Teresa emphasize it as the principle object of devotion.[867] Christ's suffering provides a wealth of images, both mental and artistic, that offer emotional inspiration (stimulus to piety) and a model of Christian self-abnegation.[868] Not surprisingly, the artworks that provoked sudden mystical responses in the Carmelite founders depict this subject. Francisco de Yepes, for example, recounts a miraculous incident where a crucifix told John to "ask me what services you can provide for me."[869] The "Miracle of Segovia"

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[864] Kavanaugh

[865] Variations of the incident recur in a number of prints. See Fernando Moreno Cuadro, *San Juan de la Cruz y el grabado carmelitano del Teresianum de Roma* (Rome: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1991) and Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale*.

[866] *Historia del V. P. F. Juan de la Cruz* (1618), cited in Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 87. It has been noted that unusual angle and position of the figure is unlike any contemporary artistic representation of the subject. See Rene Huyghe, "The Christ of Saint John of the Cross," in *Three Mystics: El Greco, St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa*, ed. Bruno de Jésus-Maria, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1949), 97.

[867] One Christmas, John is recorded as having grasped a statue of the infant Christ from the Christmas creche in his arms and dancing with joy. Cited in Kavanaugh, 31. See also Michele, 74.

[868] Michele, 42, recounts a vision where John beheld the passion, as if it were before his eyes.

[869] Cited in Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 131.

took place when John passed by an image of Christ carrying the cross, was struck dumb, and went into an ecstatic rapture. Afterwards, he picked up a cross in the choir and tenderly embraced it.[870] According to the Carmelite Archives of Segovia, this occurred in 1588, when his spiritual development was far past the need for devotional art, which suggests a stimulus beyond the relatively dry and limited function outlined in his writings.[871] The vision recorded in the Crucifix drawing, the dialogue with the sculpted crucifix, and the miracle of Segovia became popular Carmelite subjects. Frequently, they are altered or conflated within the John's developing iconography, evolving away from the faithful rendering of textual accounts and generating original ways of conceptualizing miraculous spirituality. The use of passion imagery in this process makes it particularly germane to the *St. John of the Cross* and its inclusion of the crucifix.

The early modern Discalced Carmelites produced a number of allegorical prints that represent their spiritual aims, ideals and concepts, revealing a much more sophisticated image use than the relatively simple written sources indicate. On a general level, these offer a better understanding of the order's attitudes towards art, but they also reveal structures of visual signification that are relevant to the *St. John of the Cross*. One example, a print by Erasme Quellin titled *Les fleurs du Carmel* (1670), allegorizes Carmelite history and the spiritual prowess of its heroes (fig. 104).[872] In the upper centre, the Virgin gives the scapular to St. Simon Stock, whose famous vision testified to Mary's special favor and heavenly sanction. A pairing of a legendary

870 Michele, 42, descries John's state: "*appassionato, fermossi a rimirarla: e tantosto si accese in volto, si cangiò di sembiante, muto, immobile, e poi resto rapito*" (empassioned, fixed, gazing: and encountered her face, the countenance was changed, silent, motionless, and then enraptured).

871 Florisoone, *Esthétique et Mystique*, 128-9. Teresa also writes of being overcome by an image of the suffering Christ, in this case an image of the ecce homo. She writes that her emotions were overcome by his terrible wounds, and that "that my heart seemed to burst within me and I threw myself before him in floods of tears…" Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Life of Teresa of Jesus*, 78-81.

872 Emond, 49.

Old Testament founder with one of the Discalced reformers appears on either side. Elijah is shown with a flaming sword and John of the Cross kneels with a cross and a burning lamp on the left, while on the right, Elias kneels with a jug and a lantern and Teresa is transverberated behind him. The inclusion of John, who had not yet been beatified, speaks to his prominence within the order. Beneath these, Mount Carmel is shown with the figures of *Religio* and *Silentium* as an enclosed garden stretching heavenward, and cared for by members of the order. The print diagrams a mystical devotional space where the virgin dispenses illuminating grace to the founding prophets and saints, which is then available to all Carmelites who tend their inner gardens in an air of quiet religiosity. In the contemplative domain depicted here, John's adherence to Christ's sacrifice, represented by his cross and the light it proffers in the dark night of the soul, is an equivalent to Teresa's wounding by divine love.

Quellin's print articulates its message by allegorizing the saints and prophets in a manner similar to Gaulli's *Holy Family with St. Anne* in the Altieri Chapel. Each figure is recognizable, but removed from their historical contexts for redeployment as signifiers of a shared rarified spirituality. The connotations of Teresa's transverberation or John's Christological mysticism derive from hagiographic sources, but their use in this composition belies any narrative dimension. Instead, these individuated instances of miraculous devotion are presented in a fashion that suggests equivalence between them. Their specifics are less important than the common overarching truth that they manifest; in this case, the receipt of divine grace through the Virgin Mary. They contribute to a sort of spiritual diagram; a set of relationships coded in a purely visual language. A "John" or a "Teresa" is recognizable because their histories are well-known, but in this context they stand for the ultimate goal of unitive life, an impossible state to depict directly.

This representation of a spiritual state by the allegorizing of its exemplars, is a process of signification that relates to the *St. John of the Cross*.

Papaleo's statue resembles *Les fleurs du Carmel* in that it does not depict the saint in a specific narrative, but it is far more lifelike than the small and somewhat schematic figures in the print. This naturalism is both descriptive, in that John's rapturous state is easily recognized, and it is moving, in that it resonates with the viewer on the emotional or pathetic level. Quellin's saint is recognizable, but it lacks the humanizing effect of real, life-sized presence that makes the beholder more receptive to the composition as a whole, including its symbolic or allegorical associations. The *St. John of the Cross* may be described as an example of lifelike allegory, a concept introduced here that combines conventions of mimetic resemblance with the deliberate semiotic referentiality of an allegorized figure. These two qualities are never fully distinguishable; mimesis is as convention-bound as any other form of representation, but this formation presumes an imaginative response that naturalizes the signifier. By embodying rhetorical or doctrinal associations in an engaging realistic form, lifelike allegory combines affective and discursive modes of communication in the same sign.

The *St. John of the Cross* articulates meaning through a two part process. The subject is removed from its narrative frame of reference, and redeployed so that its traditional connotations inform a new discursive context. The relationship with the crucifix carries allusions to the saint's ecstatic response to a real image, as in the *Miracle of Segovia*, an intelligible vision in his mind's eye, like the *Vision of the Crucifix*, or a metaphor for the sacrifice of Christ conformed to internally, like the *Prayer of Quiet*. However, each of these possibilities expresses the same basic premise that informs all of John's mystical speculations; that the unitive goal of Carmelite spirituality is linked to the sacrifice of Christ, and that that linkage begins in conscious, eidetic meditation.

Heightened realism naturalizes the essentially symbolic nature of this figure, making it more engaging and relatable on an emotional level. The inclusion of the actual crucifix from the S. Maria della Scala Crucifixion Chapel strengthens the rhetorical force of this signifier by associating its expression of religious values to the same devotional image used by members of the novitiate. A Discalced Carmelite viewer familiar with the subject matter and its associative meanings can simultaneously read the symbolic associations, while being moved by its realistic and pathetic illusion, which inspires him to follow John's example and internalize devotion to a life in Christ.

There are many Carmelite prints that show how the image of John and the crucifix became a lifelike allegory for spiritual conformity with the crucified Christ. The Miracle of Segovia, the Dialogue with the Crucifix, and representations of John's own drawing of his vision of the crucifix are common subjects that are especially relevant to Papaleo's statue.[873] The first two are oft-cited episodes in his hagiography that involve miraculous encounters with an image. The Miracle of Segovia shows the connection between the Passion and mystical experience, indicates that the link is based in the imitation of Christ with the parallelism of Christ carrying the cross and John embracing one, and attests to the devotional value of imagery in general. The Dialogue with the

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873 Francesco de Yepes describes the Miracle of Segovia as follows: "*Nous avions au couvent un crucifix... et un jour que je me trouvais devant lui, il me sembla qu'il serait placé plus convenablement dans l'eglise. C'etait désir qu'il fut honoré no seulement par les religieux, mais aussi par ceux du dehors. Et je fis cela comme l'idée m'en etait venue. Après l'avoir mis dans l'eglise le plus convenablement que je pus, étant un jour en oraison devant (lui), il me dit: Frère Jean, demande-moi ce que tu m'as rendu. Et moi, je lui dis: Seigneur, ce que je veux que vouz donniez, ce sont des souffrances á supporter pour vous, et que je sois déprécié et conté pour peu de chose*" (We had a crucifix in the convent... and one day I found myself in front of it, It seemed to me that it would be more appropriately placed in the church. It was desirable that it was honored not only by the religious, but also by those outside. And I made this happen as the idea came to me. After putting it in the church as appropriately as I could, being one day in prayer before (it), it said: Brother John, ask me what work you can do for me. And I said, Lord, what I want to give you are sufferings in support of you, and that I am depreciated and count for little). Cited in Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale*, 97. The importance of the Miracle of Segovia is evident in its prominent display during John's canonization celebrations in S. Maria della Vittoria. According to a commemorative publication, a painting of the miracle with the text "*quando nell'orare gli (Christ) disse il Signore Joannes quid vis pro laboribus?*" (when in prayer Christ asked what work can you do for me?) by Giovanni Battista Morandi was displayed. See *Breve Ragguaglio della solenne festa celebrata per tre giorni dalli RR. PP. della Madonna SS. Della Vittoria per la seguita canonizzazione di S. Giovanni della Croce Primo Carmelitano Scalzo*, n.p. AGOCD 1380-1382.

Crucifix describes an exchange between John and a crucifix understood as a proxy for the real Christ. This implies that the connection between saint and savior is established by the latter's redemptive sacrifice, and that imagery, especially the crucifix, facilitates meaningful devotional experience. The vision of the crucifix and John's subsequent drawing of the experience speaks to the commensurability of physical and mental/miraculous imagery while again using this most common form of devotional image,to symbolize divine presence.

Visual representations of the Miracle of Segovia vary, and take increasing liberties with the source text. It is the nominal subject of Diego de Astor's *Vision of the Nazarene,* a popular image that accompanied the first edition of John's *Obras completas* in 1618 and served as a model for many subsequent variations (fig. 105).[874] In the foreground, John kneels in prayer and speaks with the painted Christ, while behind him is a darkened intermediate zone with an altar topped with symbols of the passion. Beyond that is the brightly lit interior of the church, notionally the active centre of religious life, but shown here with a spatial indeterminacy that suggests a less prosaic function. These juxtaposed planes can be read as a figuration of the essential structure of Carmelite mysticism. The passion instruments mark the break in the shadowy barrier between the private site of John's miraculous encounter and the luminous indeterminate space beyond the divide. The path towards union that leads out of the dark night is opened by Christ's sacrifice and commences with the recognition of the visible symbols of his suffering. The unitive state of heavenly glory that results cannot be shown, but is suggested by the baldachin that surmounts the rising steps and hovers above the cross like a crown. This setting converts a hagiographic narrative

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874 Moreno Cuadro, *San Juan de la Cruz y el grabado carmelitano*, 13. Diego's image was reprinted in 1619, 1649 and 1672, and served as a model for many other versions. Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale*, 100. The author devotes a section of his iconographic guide to the Miracle of Segovia, and identifies a great many variations in its treatment.

moment, the saint's visionary experience, into a generally applicable allegory of spiritual progress. Astor included books with the clearly legible titles *Dark Night of the Soul* and the *Living Flame of Love*, which indicate that these are John's own writings. These texts describe and elucidate the same mystic way that is intimated in the allegorized composition of the print. That the saint in shown in prayer, and not passing by the picture as described in the written accounts, emphasizes that the road to contemplation begins with conscious devotion.

Lucas Vorsterman's version of the miracle is one of many that follows Astor's composition, although the addition of a balustrade makes the space of John's vision seem more like a chapel (fig. 106).[875] The saint's writings are again included, only Vorsterman depicts one of the books open and displaying the words "*En una noche oscura con ansias en amores ynflammada o dichosa ventura sali sin ser notado…*," a direct reference to the illuminating flame of divine love in the metaphysical darkness. This small modification strengthens the analogy between John's personal miracle and the general notion of progress along the mystic way. Since this print was actually a frontispiece to a collection of the saint's writings, the viewer holds the very texts that are included in the figuration of the Carmelite spiritual continuum and its visionary affirmation at Segovia. In effect, this brings the allegorization of John's miraculous experience back to the personal level by asserting that the same general path through the dark night signified by his encounter is open to anyone who follows his writings. Hagiographers offer the Miracle of Segovia as a narrative incident that proves John's sanctity, but in pictorial form, it can also elucidate and transmit the deeper meaning that this event exemplifies. Images such as this help clarify the connection between Papaleo's statue and Discalced Carmelite visual culture because the indicate

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875 Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale*, 105.

how the relationship between the saint's miraculous devotion and Passion imagery can be used to express the order's mystical doctrine.

In his *Iconographie Générale* of John of the Cross, Michel Florisoone attempts to organize the diverse representations of John into several thematic categories. He groups a number of compositions, including Astor's and Vosterman's, under the heading "the Miracle of Segovia." Ironically, this effort to clarify John's iconographic diversity calls attention to the variance that exists within a single category, revealing the latitude in the visualization of the miracle independent of the source text. Mass produced and widely circulated, these engravings establish normative parameters for the conceptualization of their subject that can then be altered to generate new connotations. Since the written accounts are constant, these representational variations comprise a purely visual discourse wherein the meaning of the new elements is produced intertextually. Older images establish an iconographic basis that allows for subject identification, and provide a standard against which the significance of a variation may be ascertained.[876] Deviations cannot be too extreme, lest the reader/viewer become incapable of recognizing the consequences of transformation and juxtaposition of past usages.[877]

Astor's *Miracle of Segovia* contains an important deviation from its hagiographic archetype that indicates how imagery develops unique ways of articulating a spiritual message. The dialogue between John and Christ, legibly reprinted in a pair of banderoles, recurs in subsequent depictions of the scene, but according to John's *vite*, did not happen at this time. The words are imported

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876 Laurent Jenny, "The Strategy of Form," trans. R. Carter, in *French Literary Theory Today*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 34.

877 ibid., 39. This account differs from broader notions of intertextuality where every work is taken as a mosaic of citations and transpositions from other texts and sign systems in a confused and often mysterious accumulation of influences. Julia Kristeva is perhaps the best-known proponent of a broad intertextuality that encompasses the transposition of one or more sign systems into another.

directly from a different incident, the dialogue with the crucifix, as reported by Francisco de Yepes. The inclusion of the dialogue in the *Miracle of Segovia* asserts the fundamental compatibility, even interchangeability, of the significance of each event on a general level. The narrative specifics of each miracle are less important than their place in the spiritual relationships articulated in the writings and conduct of John. The text of the dialogue is revealing; Christ tells John to ask what he can do for him, and the saint pledges a life of purgation after his savior's sacrifice. Key tenets of John's, and by extension Discalced Carmelite, practice come together and are visualized by the background allusion to the path of union including the centrality of the passion as a focus of prayer, the strictly referential but valuable role of religious art and the need for the active pursuit of a religious life in Christ's image.

Sometime before 1622, the printmaker Peeter de Jode produced a variant of Astor's engraving that retained the basic compositional elements, but replaced the painting of Christ carrying the cross is with a crucifix (fig. 107).[878] John faces an altar with two lit candles, his books and a lily of purity at his feet, while the allegorized background of dark wall, lighted arch and passion instruments provide spiritual depth. The interchangeability of the crucifix and the painting indicates that they were commensurate signifiers of Christ's sacrifice and the divine affirmation of John's sanctity. The de Jode composition, like Astor's, proved influential.[879] An anonymous version accompanied the first Italian translation of John's works, published in Rome in 1627 **(fig. 108).** [880] The full title of this volume: "*Opere Spirituali che conducono l'anima alla perfetta unione*

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878 The originality of this image has been noted, and it retains little in common with textual accounts of the miracle Moreno Cuadro, *San Juan de la Cruz y el grabado carmelitano*, 14. He calls it a "*variante más original.*"

879 See Florisoone Jean de la Croix: *Iconographie générale*, 118-23 for a list of the images that followed the basic de Jode composition.

880 Moreno Cuadro, *San Juan de la Cruz y el grabado carmelitano*, 78, Florisoone, Jean de la Croix: *Iconographie générale*, 120. The full title of the volume: *Opere Spirituali che conducono l'anima alla perfetta unione con Dio, Composte al Ven. P. F. Giovanni della Croce, Primo Scalzo della Riforma del Carmine, e Coadiutore della Santa*

con Dio, Composte al Ven. P. F. Giovanni della Croce, Primo Scalzo della Riforma del Carmine, e Coadiutore della Santa Vergine Teresa, Fondatrice di essa" indicates John's lofty position as a historical and spiritual model for his order. De Jode's engraving is even more consonant with this generalized institutional persona than Astor's *Miracle of Segovia*. The morphological similarity between the speaking crucifix and the cross with the passion instruments in the middle distance highlights their direct relationship and symbolically binds the foreground and allegorical background more closely. Furthermore, the crucifix, more so than a painting of a Passion scene, is the devotional object *par excellence* in virtually any Catholic context.

The variations on the Miracle of Segovia demonstrate how an ostensibly narrative depiction of a founding saint can be allegorized into more universally significant representations. The repetition of the intermediary cross and passion instruments between the foreground and the crowning baldachin extends John's privileged relationship with the crucifix to encompass the central position of Christ's sacrifice in Discalced Carmelite mystical spirituality. This is relevant to Papaleo's composition, because even thought the statue is not configured as a version of the miracle, it places the image of the crucified savior in the same role. In both cases, a tripartite relationship is established that links the saint, the beholder and Christ in a network of devotion and emulation. Christ is the model for all Christians, and his sacrifice represents the prototype of charity, humility and self-abnegation for everyone. John is an intermediary, whose perfect conformity to Christ's paradigm is both the criterion of his sanctity and an accessible example for the rank and file of his order. Finally the beholders are presented with an image of the founding

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Vergine Teresa, Fondatrice di essa. Con un breve Sommario della Vita dell'Autore, et alcuni Discorsi del P. F. Diego di Giesu di detto Ordine, Priore del Convento di Toledo sopre le dette Opere. Tradotte dalla Spagnuola in questa nostra Lingua Italiana dal P. Fr. Alessandro di San Francesco Definitore Generale della Congregatione d'Italia de' medesimi Scalzi (Rome, 1627).

saint to guide and inspire their own devotional efforts. Further insight into this fundamentally important set of relationships can be found in another class of imagery in Carmelite visual culture: John's own drawing of a vision of Christ on the cross and the representations inspired by it.[881]

The *Vision of the Crucifix,* an engraving by Herman Panneels first published in Jerónimo de S. Josef's *vita* of 1641, is among the earliest versions of this subject to be widely circulated (fig. 109).[882] Although undistinguished in its draftsmanship, the print is noteworthy for its composition. It is comprised of two sections; an inset in the upper left showing the saint actually having his vision through the window of his cell, and a large version of the crucifix based on John's famous drawing. In the former portion, John's location above and to the side of the apparition has him looking down on it from the same viewpoint that his drawing was composed from, asserting Panneels shows the viewer what was actually seen by the saint. A depiction of visionary experience alongside the actual content of the vision is an invitation to share in the event. The clouds banked around the crucifix on the right strengthen the connection between the saint's and the viewer's experiences. Clouds indicate supernatural spaces or effects, and here they comment on the nature of the depiction. When John drew his vision he did not include clouds, which implies that they are not understood to be literally present in Panneel's rendition of the experience. They mark the crucifix as a miraculous apparition rather than a physical sculpture, whereas John simply drew what he saw. The clouds inform the viewer that the crucifix on the right, like the smaller one on

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881 For John's drawing, see Giuseppe Vincenzo dell'Eucarestia, "Il Cristo crocifisso nella visione di S. Giovanni della Croce," *Il Carmelo e le sue missioni* 62 (1963): 51-8 and Huyghe.

882 The full title of the *vita*: *Historia del V. P. F. Juan de la Cruz, Primer Descalzo Carmelita, companero y coadjutor de Santa Teresa de Jesus en la Fundación de su Reforma*, (Madrid, 1641). The image appeared between pages 186 and 187. See Florisoone, *Jean de la Croix: Iconographie générale*, 64. It was reprinted in the life of John issued on the occasion of his beatification: *Resunta de la vida de N. Bienaventurado P. San Ivan de la Cruz, Doctor Mistico, Primer Carmelita Descalzo, y fiel Coadjutor de nuestra Madre Santa Teresa en la Fundación de su Reforma. Beatificado por nuestro Santísimo Padre Clemente X à 6 de Octubre de 1674*, Madrid, 1675. See Moreno Cuadro, *San Juan de la Cruz y el grabado carmelitano*, 84.

the left, represents a vision seen from above. Their arrangement even corresponds to the way that the circle of clouds on the left would appear from the saint's vantage point. Panneels' print graphic performs the saint's role of devotional model by actually placeing the viewer in John's privileged position.

Visions were signs of and rewards for exemplary devotion, and Panneels' John, wearing his habit and kneeling in prayer in his cell, is a figure any Discalced Carmelite could identify with. This familiar accessibility indicates that conforming to Christ does not involve physical transformation, and foregrounds the ontological difference between the saint and his followers, and a savior whose appearance is a miracle.[883] It is impossible to conform to this Christ by means of physical emulation, but one can imitate John's devotional conduct and pursue his goal of spiritual conformity. This image, and others like it are literally *ek-static*, in that they aim to move the viewer outside of him or herself and into the visionary position of a saint. It makes explicit the desired response implicit in virtually any religious representation, conformity to the depicted spiritual model, by not only showing the saint in an attitude of devotion, but offering a glimpse of that devotion's miraculous affirmation.

Panneels incorporated a preexisting image of the crucifix, John's drawing, and used it as a focus for conformity to the saint as a means of conforming to Christ. Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross* likewise incorporates a preexisting image of the crucifix, the Scala altarpiece, as the object

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883 Although John discourages interest in supernatural apprehensions, it is less easy for hagiographers and artists who to ignore them. See Gianfederigo, 103 for a recounting of John's visions, including the bloody and suffering Christ while "*contempland'egli la dolorosa Passione del Redentor Crocefisso*" (he was contemplating the dolorous Passion of the crucified Redeemer). They demonstrate divine favor and sanctity, and visualize the saint's close conformity to Christ on the cross. This last point is crucial, since John stresses an internal notion of conformation, rather than the dramatic mortifications of the flesh practiced by the likes of St. Peter of Alcantara or St. Rose of Lima. He writes: "…the road leading to God does not entail an multiplicity of considerations, methods, manners and experiences – though in their own way these may be a requirement for beginners – but demands only the one thing necessary: true self-denial, exterior and interior, through the surrender of self both to suffering for Christ and to annihilation in all things." John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 124 (*The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Book 2, 7, 8).

of John's devotion. The print maps out how the combination of these elements articulated a devotional relationship in which the paradigmatic figure of the saint proffered a model for the viewer to follow. There are, however, differences between the two crucifixes that are significant. The sculpture is neither associated with a specific visionary experience of John's, nor linked to his own hand. It brings different connotations to the tripartite relationship with saint and beholder, associations derived from its existence as an established devotional image within S. Maria della Scala. It is also completely different in medium and scale, possessing a seeming actuality that creates a different sort of affective relationship. Instead of being offered the saint's point of view, the viewer is confronted a real presence that seems to say "here he is, how will you interact with him?"

IV. AN IMAGE OF CONTEMPLATION

Images are less suited to the representation of gradients of mystical experience than texts, since the very different states of meditation and contemplation are said to induce similar somatic effects. Discalced Carmelite image use helps elucidate how the *St. John of the Cross* embodied mystic doctrine and provided a model of conformity, but it is less helpful in determining the specific spiritual relationship depicted between the saint and the crucifix. This is important, since meditation suggests a conscious, sensory awareness, and contemplation does not. However, elements within the composition, including clouds, angels, and effects of light and color, indicate that John is most likely shown in an apophatic contemplative state of divine union. Clouds have been used in Italian art since antiquity as a means of delineating a space unconstrained by the laws

of nature, showing divine presence in the everyday world, or lifting a figure out of the quotidian.[884]

According to Hubert Damisch, they indicate "both the radical discontinuity - and, at the same time - the possibility of communication between the human world and the divine order."[885] A cloudy border was commonly used to distinguish immaterial visions from the physical body of the saint, but more nuanced representations of supernatural effects were possible.[886] For example, de Jode's *Miracle of Segovia* variant does not depict John having a vision per se, but supernatural activity in a crucifix that was physically present on the altar. The clouds surrounding the luminous image contain its radiance and frame it for both the kneeling saint and the viewer. These create an opaque barrier, the solidity of which suggests the presence of something real, but indiscernible. In effect, they mark the limits of representation, and what exists beyond them cannot be shown.[887]

Clouds were used in the Bible to signify the inability of human knowledge to apprehend the divine, and John drew on these to indicate imperceptible realities in his own writings. For example, figures of darkness and obscurity in the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* refer to the suppression of rational and sensible things that liberates the soul to unite with God. He writes:

> The intellect must be blind and dark and abide in faith alone because it is joined with God under this cloud. And as David proclaims, God is hidden under the cloud: *He set the darkness under his feet. And he rose above the Cherubim and flew upon*

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[884] Damisch, 19. Clouds accompany representations of non-perspectival, and therefore non-natural, spaces, and exist in opposition to the perspectival laws that define the representation of the material world.

[885] ibid., 108. He traces the surviving use of clouds to indicate this intersection between the human and the divine to the fifth-century mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

[886] The visual arts are well suited to visionary experiences, since these tend to approximate sensory phenomena, and are often described in terms that recall religious imagery. For the relationship between the representation of visions and art, and the cloud as a border between the natural and supernatural, see Stoichiță, *Visionary Experience*, 26; 84.

[887] Cesere Ripa's *Iconologia* offers a precedent for this. Here, the emblem of beauty is depicted with her head hidden by a cloud, since physical perfection exceeds the representative power of imagery. See Damisch, 56-64.

the wings of the wind. He made darkness and the dark water His hiding place. [Ps. 17: 10-12][888]

In this tenebrous metaphor, illumination refers not to a physical light, which belongs to the visible world, but to a supersensible "radiance" that leaves the senses in overwhelmed darkness. John cites the passage in Exodus where the Israelites, about to cross the Red Sea, are separated from the Egyptians by a cloud that "was dark and illuminative in the night."[889] This illustrates "how faith, a dark and obscure cloud to man (also a night in that it blinds and deprives one of natural light), illumines and pours light into the darkness of his soul by means of its own darkness."[890] Opaque to the world of the senses, yet clearly present, the cloud is an obscure presence that both reveals and conceals its subject; a suitable sign for that which cannot be represented directly.

The clouds in the *St. John of the Cross* support the saint, which is different from the juxtaposition of revelation and concealment described in the *Ascent of Mount Carmel*. This suggests that it is John himself who is the subject of a supernatural experience rather than an unseeing onlooker. This comparison raises a difference in visual and written signification. All signifiers are arbitrary, but words are particularly non-mimetic. The text is free to state impossible, self-contradictory or paradoxical effects, since it not limited to things that can be shown. A naturalistic sculpture cannot easily do this, as it is really only capable of presenting a single version of the subject. Alternative times or states may be implied formally or iconographically, but they cannot be depicted coequally, or the image would lose coherence. Mystics make considerably use of linguistic paradoxes to articulate themes and experiences that elude mimetic description, but the

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[888] John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 111 (*The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 2, Chpt. 3, 4).

[889] ibid., 152 (*The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 2, Chpt. 16, 8).

[890] John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 111 (*The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. 2, Chpt. 3, 4).

sculptor cannot enrobe a saint in clouds that both reveal and obscure, since the saint must be visible to be identifiable. Placing clouds under John makes him easily recognizable while indicating the agency of an inchoate divine force. The use of this device in the *St. John of the Cross*, like the representation of conformity, is consistent with Discalced Carmelite image culture.

A striking example of a cloud signifying something beyond direct representation appears in *The Prayer of Quiet*, one of a series of ninety-four anonymous seventeenth-century engravings depicting a Carmelite spiritual itinerary.[891] The subject of this image is a stage of mental prayer during which God has extended himself towards the soul of the worshipper, but full union has not yet been attained.[892] The experience is suggested metaphorically, by a sophisticated composition that includes a Carmelite friar who perceives an image of Christ crucified within a nimbus of cloud. By its very nature, the prayer of Quiet, like full contemplation, is a mystical occurrence rooted in conformity that falls outside the scope of sensory perception. Since the actual content of the experience cannot be shown, the crucifix, the quintessential devotional figuration of Christ's sacrifice, stands in for it metaphorically. The lighting of the clouds is highly suggestive; as one moves inward, they increasingly lighten until the space around the head of the crucifix is clear. This inward direction is not coincidental; the journey towards union is a move away from the world towards the interiority of the soul. The outermost ring of cloud, which, distinguishes the space of the spiritual from that of the mundane, is black, suggesting that this constitutes the limits of sensory perception or the active intellect. Inside this space, pictorial lighting functions metaphorically,

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[891] Emond, 236.

[892] Teresa describes the Prayer of Quiet as a "supernatural state" that cannot be reached without God's grace, "but is different than that in which the soul is wholly united with God." Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Way of Perfection*, trans. and ed. E. Allison Peers (New York: Image Books, 1964), 200, 206 (Ch. 31).

growing brighter as one moves towards the goal. The path to enlightenment literally leads through the spiritual darkness.

The anonymous engraving based on the Miracle of Segovia that accompanies the Italian edition of John's *Works* applies this use of cloud to a real crucifix and not an apparition, which makes it more obviously relevant to Papaleo's statue (fig. 105). The lighting emanating from this common devotional object seems to behave like natural radiance, casting the roiling interior of the cloud bank into relief and illuminating the kneeling saint. Yet, the frontal altar candle does not cast a shadow, despite standing directly before the opening in the clouds, and while its mate is visible through the opening, it is darkened, as if untouched by the adjacent source of brightness. There is a roughly triangular patch of cloud shown in darkness in the upper right corner that matches the outside of the cloud bank on the opposite side. This suggests that the clouds do not just ring the crucifix, but envelop it completely, which makes the opening an implied, rather than an actual, one and explains why the external altar furnishings are unaffected by the light. In effect, the engraving represents two aspects of the cloud at once, the opaque interior and the hidden radiance, that correspond to the dark and illuminative characteristics of John's description. A statue is dependent on environmental conditions and cannot depict the irrational lighting conditions or partial clouds seen in the print, but it can use the crucifix as a metaphor for the invisible God.

The *Miracle of Segovia* and the *St. John of the Cross* use clouds to define the relationship between the saint and the crucifix differently, but they share a common conceptual foundation that makes these differences significant. Although the print ostensibly depicts a hagiographic narrative, John, the crucifix, and the symbolic radiance are positioned so that their spiritual meaning is apparent from the vantage point of the beholder. Only the metaphorical cloud and the spiritually enlightened saint are illuminated by the crucifix, while material objects like the candles are

unaffected, which indicates the supernatural nature of the light. However, the opening in the cloud is actually more oriented towards the beholder than the saint; with the exception of the darkened segment in the upper right corner, its entire foreground hemisphere is cut away. While it is difficult to ascertain the precise spatial location of the cloud within the depicted interior (which is typical of the sort of non-rational space it indicates), most of it seems located on the right side of cross, rather than behind it, where it would be if parting strictly for John. This is even more prominent in the de Jode version, where the upper right is unobstructed. The saint is also positioned curiously, turned slightly outwards, but illuminated as if he faced the altar squarely. While this further affirms the non-physical nature of the light, it also makes him more accessible from the beholder's point of view.

The *Miracle of Segovia*, like Panneels' engraving of John's vision of the crucifix, addresses the viewer by configuring a spiritual event so that he or she may share in the encounter. Their particulars differ, but in both cases a hagiographic model for emulation is translated into graphic form by placing him or her in the privileged position of the saint. Compositional structure is used to articulate exemplarity in a performative manner unique to imagery, by presenting thematically linked components from the perspective of the beholder in order to facilitate their internalized recombination. The S. Maria della Scala Crucifix chapel altarpiece is also organized into a triangular relationship encompassing the *St. John of the Cross*, the crucifix and the viewer. The crucifix faces out directly; its principle orientation is towards the beholder, which emphasizes its function as an object of sensory devotion. In this way it differs from the alignment of cross directly towards the saint in Maglia's *St. Peter of Alcantara in Ecstasy*, which makes more sense from a narrative perspective, but diminishes its potential as a devotional object for the viewer. The fact that the marble John does not even face the crucifix is an even stronger indictor than the sightless

eyes that he is not represented as meditating on the image of Christ in a manner associated with devotional art. Rather, the crucifix functions within the composition as a stand-in for the divine component of John's ecstatic conformity. It is a visual metaphor for the ineffable grace that rewarded John's perfect conformity with mystic union. As model and exemplar of Carmelite spirituality the image of John demonstrates the proper reaction to Christ's sacrifice, and the spiritual rewards that are made available.

The *Miracle of Segovia* and related prints enable the identification of a participatory structure in certain images of John and the crucifix that is applicable to the *St. John of the Cross.* However, Discalced Carmelite image culture is like any signifying system, in that alterations in a visual convention articulate variations of meaning. Although clouds are indicators of divine presence in both the prints and the statue, differences in their usage provide information bout the sort of supernatural experience represented in each. In the former, the image of Christ represents the point of contact between heaven and earth, whether an ordinary image transformed into a conduit for celestial communication,as in *The Miracle of Segovia*, or as a an intelligible vision transmitted directly to the mind of the worshipper, as in *The Vision of the Crucifix*. The rest of these compositions are understood as ordinary space, into which the cloud-swathed miracle irrupts. In contrast, the clouds in the *St. John of the Cross* lift the ecstatic John up on one side of the composition and billow around the angels on the other, but merely surround, rather than support the crucifix. Here, it is the saint that is cloudily transposed from the everyday world, while the image of Christ appears rooted in the here and now. The crucifix is shown not to be divinely infused or miraculous, but either a purely physical representation to inspire those who have not entered a contemplative state, or a purely metaphorical sign of the utterly unrepresentable divinity

of mystical union. It is the saint that is the locus of supernatural agency, the transmission of grace to the contemplative soul that makes his transport a sign of and reward for his perfect conformity.

The placement of a cloud underneath a earthly being was a venerable indicator that he or she was a locus of supernal contact that appears to have first been used in representations of the Ascension of Christ.[893] The Florentine painter Bernardo Daddi included it in his *Assumption of the Virgin* (ca. 1340, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) around 1340, and Andrea Orcagna, with whom he collaborated on the Orsanmichele tabernacle, followed suit later in the decade (fig. 110). The theatrical use of *nuvole*, or cloud machines, helped establish it as an iconographic convention for transition between levels of existence by the middle of the *quattrocento*. [894] Prominent and influential pictures such as Titian's *Assunta* (1516-18, Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari) and Annibale Carracci's Cerasi Chapel altarpiece (fig. 30) speak to the lasting appeal of this motif. The cloudy support was adapted to signify mystical transport in the Life of St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi. The *Ecstasy of St. Francis* (before 1297, S. Francesco, Assisi) depicts its subject rising on a cloud towards the figure of Christ, who emerges from the heavens in the upper right to meet him (fig. 111).[895] This event is described in some detail by St. Bonaventure in his *Legenda Santi Francisci*: "here he was seen praying all night long, with his arms extended in the form of a cross, his whole body being raised from the ground, and

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[893] An extremely early example is found in the *Ascension* in the Bamberg Apocalypse (1000-20, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS A. II. 42).

[894] Pierre Francastel, "Imagination plastique, vision théâtrale et signification humaine," in *La réalité figurative: éléments structurels de sociologie de l'art* (Paris: Gonthier, 1965), 220-22.

[895] Damisch, 100-101. Recent scholarship has uncovered "convincing new evidence for a terminus ante quem of 1297" for the Upper h frescos. See Donal Cooper and Janet Robson, "'A great sumptuousness of paintings': Frescos and Franciscan Poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312," *Burlington* 151, 1280 (Oct., 2009): 662.

surrounded by a luminous cloud..."[896] To Bonaventure this recalled the Transfiguration, which was, like God's appearance to Moses, a cloudy allegory for union with Christ, thereby linking the contemplative flight of the soul and the physical transit between heaven and earth.[897] However, these images do not seem to have had an immediate influence, and with few exceptions, clouds did not become a popular signifier of a body in ecstasy until the seventeenth-century.[898]

The use of clouds as a sign of mystical experience in the *St. John of the Cross* can be traced back almost a hundred years, to the innovative and emotionally-charged art of Giovanni Lanfranco. His *Vision of Saint Teresa of Avila* (ca. 1617, Rome, Monastery of S. Giuseppe delle Carmelitane Scalze) modified the more conventional representation of miraculous spirituality of Lodovico Carracci's *The Virgin Appearing to St Hyacinth* (1594, Paris, Musée du Louvre) or Guido Reni's S. Filippo Neri in Ecstasy (1614, Rome, Santa Maria in Vallicella) by bringing the saint into the cloudy world of the heavenly beings. If the clouds signify the irruption of the divine into the earthly sphere, this composition indicates that Teresa, as well as her vision, is a locus of supernatural activity, which is more consistent with the co-mingling of the soul and God in contemplation. His *Ecstasy of St. Margaret of Cortona* was another alteration of influential precedent, in this case, the

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[896] Saint Bonaventure, *The Life of S. Francis of Assisi. From the "Legenda Santi Francisci of S. Bonaventure*, trans and ed. Cardinal Henry Manning (London: R. Washbourne, 1868), 125.

[897] Jane Beal, "Moses and Christian Contemplative Devotion," in *Illuminating Moses: A History of Reception from Exodus to the Renaissance*, ed. Jane Beal (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 328-29. For other connections between Francis and the Transfiguration, see Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 186; Arnold I. Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or how St. Francis Received the Stigmata," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (Spring, 2009): 470-73. The same iconography reappeared between 1314 and 1329 in the cycle in the Lower Church depicting the life of St. Mary Magdalene, who enjoyed a strong following within the order. *Mary Magdalene Speaking to the Angels* (1314-29, Assisi, S. Francesco) has been referred to as "the most lyrical evocation of the contemplative life in the Magdalene Chapel." Lorraine Schwartz, "Patronage and Franciscan Iconography in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi," *Burlington* 133, 1054 (Jan., 1991): 33.

[898] Benozzo Gozzoli's *Vision of St. Dominic* (1452, Montefalco, San Francesco) and Pedro Fernández' *Vision of the Blessed Amedeo Menez de Sylva* (c. 1514, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica) are two exceptions.

image of senseless, yet grounded, spiritual transport popularized by Caravaggio's *St. Francis in Ecstasy* that appeared repeatedly in the first two decades of the seventeenth century (fig. 34). Orazio Gentileschi, Guido Reni, the Cavaliere d'Arpino, Lodovico Cigoli, Bernardo Strozzi, and Giovanni Baglione all painted versions of an overwhelmed Francis lying or slumped on the ground prior to 1620. Lanfranco retained the sensory detachment in his depiction of the Franciscan Margaret, but emphasized her spiritual union with Christ by placing her on a bed of clouds. A comparison with Guercino's contemporary *St. Francis with an Angel Playing the Violin* (c. 1623, Dresden, Gemaeldegalerie Alte Meister) or Carlo Saraceni's *Vision of St. Francis* (c. 1620, Munich, Alte Pinakothek) highlights the effect of this change (fig. 112). These are examples of the vision paintings discussed in the previous chapter, because the cloud-borne angel externalizes the interior supernatural experience of a figure that is represented as fully of the terrestrial world in nature.[899] St. Margaret is also positioned as a worldly recipient, but her cloudy support connotes that she is also a point of contact between heaven and earth, and signifies the real divine presence of true ecstasy.

Lanfranco's example seems to have had a transformative impact on Bernini's representation of divine union. The difference between the ecstatic expression of the *St. Bibiana* and the spiritual transport of the *St. Francis in Ecstasy* is striking, and while the nature of the painter's influence is undocumented, it is not surprising that the adaptation of a pictorial innovation would take place in the more painterly relief mode. Shortly after, the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* fully translated the *Ecstasy of St. Margaret of Cortona* into a luminous, otherworldly presence and established a base of clouds as a physical signifier of God's presence within the soul (fig. 19). Fra

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[899] Angelo Walther, "St. Francis with an Angel Playing the Violin c. 1623," in *The Splendor of Dresden, Five Centuries of Art Collecting: An Exhibition from the State Art Collections of Dresden, German Democratic Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 214.

Diego Giurato da Careri's *St. Francis in Ecstasy* (1660, Rome, S. Francesco a Ripa) indicates that sculptors in Rome adopted this device within the decade, and notable examples of its usage include Maglia's *St. Peter of Alcantara*, Cafà's *St. Catherine*, Ferrata's *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, and Pierre Le Gros' *St. Philip Neri* (1708-10, marble, Rome, S. Girolamo della Carità) (fig. 113). [900] Filippo Parodi, who studied under Bernini, introduced it to Genoa in his *St. Martha in Glory* (1665, Genoa, S. Marta). Papaleo who was connected to the Ferrata ambient, drew heavily on Maglia, Cafà, and Ferrata's precedents when devising his own image of ecstasy.

With the exception of the *St. Peter of Alcantara*, which seems to float, Roman sculptures of ecstatic saints tend to suggest upward movement. In the *St. John of the Cross*, this is created by the spiral posture and pyramidal banks of cloud. Flight or levitation was commonly associated with ecstasy on both metaphoric and literal levels, and mystics frequently describe divine union as an uplifting or the soul in flight. In his life of John of the Cross, Gianfederigo discusses the transformation of the soul in God as "*felicemente perdevasi in Voli, ed Estasi*" (happily lost to itself in Flight and Ecstasy).[901] According to eyewitness accounts, this effect is often expressed corporeally by actual levitation. Teresa describes levitation as a physical extension of ecstasy, where the soul is lifted out of the body.[902] The causally linkage of actual physical levitation with the metaphorical flight of the soul indicates a figurative understanding the body. Divine union is not a physical phenomenon, and does not involve real movement in any direction. Describing it in

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900 For Diego da Careri's *St. Francis*, see P. Damiano Neri, *Scultori Francescani del Seicento in Italia (*Pistoia: Tipografia Pistoioso, 1952), 75-7.

901 Gianfederigo, 99. Elsewhere he describes the sublime flights of John's spirit (p. 85).

902 Saint Teresa of Avila, *The Life of Teresa of Jesus,* 148-50. During their dramatic Sublevitation in the convent in Avila during the feast of the Blessed Trinity, both John and Teresa went into ecstasy and levitated at exactly the same time. See Gianfederigo, 101; Kavanaugh, 30. Raymond of Capua observed a similar tendency to levitate while in ecstasy in his life of St. Catherine of Siena. See Bl., Raymond of Capua. *The Life of St. Catherine of Siena by the Blessed Raymond of Capua*, trans. G. Lamb (New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1960), 164, 174-6.

terms of flight is an attempt to render an ineffable but exhilarating supernatural experience in a language predicated on references to the natural world. When the enraptured body levitates, it becomes a material analogy for a metaphorical description. Placing a mass of clouds beneath a body understood to be in the air is a means of visualizing that this flight is a consequence of divine union.[903]

The supportive angels in Papaleo's composition further emphasize the supernatural nature of the representation. Painters had intermingled angels with heavenly clouds for more than two centuries, though the motif only appears in sculpture in seventeenth-century works such as Bernini's *St. Francis in Ecstasy*.[904] The *St. Teresa* and *St. Peter of Alcantara* include angels that are distinct from the nebulous support, but the other examples of cloud-borne ecstasy discussed above all incorporate them into the heavenly base. The angels beneath Papaleo's John differ from their Roman predecessors for their direct contact with the saint; one even leaves a handprint in his robe. Their positioning and proximity incorporate them formally into the turning uplifting movement of the overall composition, making them appear to directly participate, and even impel, his ecstatic rise. John never mentioned angelic visions, nor do his hagiographers describe his sharing their company like S. Francesca Romana, which means that these figures do not identifiable a recognizable narrative like the seraph in *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. John, like other saints, was often compared to an angel, both for his virtue and for the dramatic supernatural

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[903] Teresa uses clouds figuratively, writing of "the divine clouds rising to heaven and carrying the soul with it." As indicators of the divine causality, they shift John's bodily levitation to a somatic metaphor for the flight of the soul.

904 Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno* (1512) is a prominent early Roman example.

symptoms of his ecstasies.[905] However, the careful integration of the angels into Papaleo's composition creates a role that extends beyond the generic associations of hagiographic simile.

As celestial beings in material form, angels are figurations of the possibility of intercommunication between heaven and earth that makes divine union a reality.[906] According to the traditional angelology derived from the Pseudo-Dionysius, angels are intermediaries, bridging the gulf between spiritual and material reality.[907] They participate in the celestial and earthly realms at once, as agents of divine causality and manifestations of supernatural forces.[908] The Discalced Carmelites took the Aquinian position that angels were completely immaterial in being, impossible to measure or locate spatially, and with no essential relation to the physical bodies that they may condense out of air.[909] They embody the manifestation of the of the supernatural in matter, which confers a comparable spiritual status to ecstasy. Three of them use this shared position to define and qualify what is taking place in the *St. John of the Cross* (fig. 114). The central member of this group offers instruction by looking directly at the viewer, and pointing to

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905 Gianfederigo, 52, compares John's pure and innocent nature to an angel, while Michele, 73, likens the flame of charity burning inside his ecstatic form to a Seraph.

906 De Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 34. He refers to the angel is a "shifter," a figure that crosses borders, cuts through hierarchical orders and transcends spatial arrangements.

[907] Much of the early modern theological understanding of angels was derived from the description and categorization in the *Celestial Hierarchies* of the Pseudo-Dionysius. However, John's philosophical formation was different. The strongly Neoplatonic Pseudo-Dionysius postulated a universe of hierarchically arranged levels of existence, and conceived of mystic union as the soul's ability to be drawn upwards through these towards the divine center. John's Aquinian cosmos was separated into only two parts: the earthly and heavenly. Rather than crossing radiating hierarchical layers, the Baroque angels of Papaleo's sculpture traverse the singular ontological divide between earth and heaven. Paul Rorem, *Eriugena's Commentary on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), 89.

908 In his influential treatise on angelology, *Pars secunda Summae Theologiae de Deo rerum omnium Creatore in tres praecipuos tractatus distributa quorum primus De Angelis hoc volumine continetur*, first published in 1620, the theologian Francesco Suarez claims that God governs the visible world through the angels. Petrocchi, *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, 190.

909 *Summa Theologica* Ia. L. a. 1, cited in Careri, *Flights of Love*, 20-1. Aquinas argued contra Augustine that that angelic bodies are not composed of matter and form, since they transact on the intellectual plane.

the enraptured saint. Behind it, another displays a lily symbolizing John's purity, a synecdoche of the life of Christian virtue necessary for his manifest divine favor. The one on the right demonstrates the proper attitude of worship by looking up at the crucified Christ and raising its arms in adulation.910 The angels depersonalize John's spiritual example by distilling it into its generalized essence, and transmit it directly to the viewer. While it is taken as axiomatic that religious art projects values to emulate, here it is made explicit.[911]

The inclusion of the dark wooden crucifix introduced an element of polychromy that further articulates the nature of the representation. On one level, the coexistence of marble and wood implies commensurability between these disparate kinds of three-dimensional imagery, but the composition both affirms, and relies on, their difference for meaningful purposes. White marble is used for points of contact between the material world and the divine. John is a sanctified figure that exemplifies the notion of divine unity through conformity, the angels translate this process to a general level, and the clouds are a well-established visual signifier of supernatural presence. The crucifix is clearly differentiated from these elements by its color, and while the gesturing angels indicate that it is part of the composition, it remains unmistakably the devotional image from S. Maria della Scala as well. John is reacting to the same altarpiece that the Carmelite viewer had likely used in his devotions, which personalizes the sculptural enactment of mystical devotion. How is this three-way relationship to be understood? Does the *St. John of the Cross*

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910 These three are versions of the infant *putti* praised by Bellori and Passeri for their tenderness, a quality that added an element of sentimentality to the seriousness of their actions. See Colantuono, 221. Passeri defended the *putti* on Duquesnoy's van Eynde tomb by claiming that their performing actions beyond their infant capabilities created a heartbreaking contrast between their tenderness and the immensity of the tragedy. Papaleo's proficiency in rendering infant anatomy has been credited for the creation of *putti* that engage the viewer as real beings. See Riccoboni, 256

911 Into the eighteenth century and beyond, the clerical position on the arts remained unchanged, holding that they served a didactic purpose by inculcating morality through inspiration and example. See Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 272-3.

depict a vision, like the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, where we are privy to an image in the mind's eye of the saint? Is a more literal representation of a divine union that followed meditation on the Crucifix? In actuality, it is not necessary to choose between mutually exclusive "scenes"; the image is a representation of a concept, not an illustration of a narrative moment.

The sculpted John is not an illustration of the "real" John, but an idealized and exemplary representation that qualifies and explicates the crucifix as the beginning of the meditative path to divine union. Conversely, the crucifix provides a devotional point of departure for John's spiritual progression that anchors his mysticism to the most orthodox of sources. Referring to the *St. John of the Cross* as a representation rather than an illustration requires some clarification. It is a lifelike allegory, in that the fact that it looks like a real individual inclines the viewer to respond to it as such. This seeming actuality is the source for its rhetorical efficacy, for it initiates a response more like an interpersonal connection than an intellectualized decoding a diagram. However, it is a construct, and is formally ordered in ways that are not bound to the physical realities of living bodies. For example, John's head is tilted back and his eyes appear sightless and turned into his head. If he can be understood as seeing anything, it is an inner vision. This suggests that the connection between the ecstatic saint and the crucifix is not optically straightforward. John's contemplative *ekstasis* is rooted in his veneration of the sacrifice of Christ, but these are two separate stages on a spiritual continuum, and his current state is far past visual awareness of any sort. Tying the representation of the saint to the crucifix asserts that there is a relationship between devotional imagery, and what is clearly recognizable as imageless ecstasy.

The crucifix has been the preeminent devotional image since its appearance in the middle ages, and it stands somewhat apart from other artworks.[912] Large sculpted examples, such as the one in S. Maria della Scala, possess an ambiguous art historical status; they are installed on altars, yet are treated differently from most altarpieces. In many ways, they fall outside the parameters of the discourse on art, both in the seventeenth century and today. Frequently made from lightly regarded materials like wood, often polychromed, and rarely carved by prominent artists, many remain anonymous.[913] If the critics and historians did not treat these like conventional artworks, it is perhaps because the public responded to them in a different manner as well. The crucifix is a narrative image, the moment in the passion cycle where Christ dies for mankind, yet the sculpted versions of it do not seem like *istorie.* All recognizable aspects of the biblical setting are missing; nothing is included to indicate place or time.[914] This deemphasizes the temporal distance between the represented event and the beholder and makes the image more immediately accessible. In effect, it is shifted from a visual narrative to an iconic presence, a constant reminder that Christ's sacrifice is a perpetual reality. This recalls meditative spiritual techniques that fire the emotions by imaginatively recreating of the events of Christ's life.[915] These intense responses are evident in

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[912] For the origins and early history of the crucifix, see Marie-Christine Sepière, *L'image d'un Dieu souffrant, IX-Xe siècle: aux origines du crucifix* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1994).

913 This is especially true in Rome, where marble carving was most valued. Papaldo and Ferrari's study is indicative of this lack of art historical or critical interest; there is no mention of crucifixes or wooden sculpture at all. There are some examples of high profile artists carving crucifixes, but they tend to be exceptions. It is telling that Bernini's crucifixes for St. Peter's were cast in valuable materials, although he followed traditional iconographic categories. See Ursula Schlegel, "I crocifissi degli altari in S. Pietro in Vaticano," *Antichità viva* 20, 6 (1981): 37-42.

914 The Byzantine/Medieval convention of the *Deesis* is something of an exception for its inclusion of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist who were present at the crucifixion, but its appearance remains iconic.

915 In the thirteenth century, meditation on the Passion became the primary focus for developing devotion to Christ's humanity. See Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality. High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt in collaboration with Bernard McGinn and John Mayendorff, *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest* 17 (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 86; Ewert Cousins, "The Humanity and the Passion of Christ," In *Christian Spirituality. High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt in collaboration with Bernard McGinn and John Mayendorff, *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest* 17 (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 382-4. The image of the savior suffering on the

the frequent miracles and visions, including John's dialogue, associated with these images. The number of cases where a crucifix gestured towards or spoke to a prayerful saint is sufficient to make this a hagiographic convention.[916]

There are abundant precedents for depicting John with the crucifix in different contexts, including those like the *Vision of the Crucifix* by Panneels, where the viewer shares in the saint's vision (fig. 109). The obvious affinities between this image and Papaleo's sculpture include the orientation of the cross towards the viewer and the location of the prayerful saint to the side. However, the print differs from the sculpture in important ways. Panneels shows the saint in prayer, but not in ecstasy, which is explicitly defined as an imageless and sensorially empty mystic transport. Insofar as the statue depicts a definable spiritual state, it is one where visionary experience is impossible. This observation is further supported by the position of the clouds in the two images. In the print, they surround the cross, indicating this is a vision, the supernatural point where the celestial irrupts into the terrestrial world. In the sculpture, they lift up the body of the saint, showing that he is the site of divine action and not the crucifix, which is solidly rooted in a break in the clouds. The location of the sculpture also contributes to the viewer's understanding of its internal relationships. The crucifix has a history in S. Maria della Scala that predates Papaleo's intervention, including established devotional associations for the Carmelite novices, that are

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cross was a central aspect of his affective form of piety, and developed in ways that rendered it more compelling. At this point, the dead Christ type of crucifix emerges, whose drooping head and wracked and bloody body were aimed at awakening sympathy. See Richard Viladesau, "The Passion of Christ in Aesthetic Theology," 165.

916 Ringbom, 161, discusses miracles associated with icons and sculptures, including St. Francis' dialogue with a crucifix in S. Damiano. The full talking Crucifix story first appears in the *Compilatio assisiensis*. See Lunghi, 343. Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition*, 407-8, describes the crucifix in the church of S. Domenico Maggiore which is reported to have spoken with Thomas Aquinas. As with John, this exchange is not mentioned in the saint's own writings, but is recounted in hagiography. Other examples include St. Brigit in S. Paolo, and the crucifix who bent its head to St. Margaret of Cortona. In 1602, during the plague in Cortona, an incident occurred that is interesting on several levels. A man carrying an image of St. Nicholas of Tolentine in a procession met another carrying a crucifix. The saint stretched his arms and Christ stooped and embraced him, after which the plague stopped.

independent of its role in the representation. Papaleo's sculpture adds a supplementary level of signification to a meaningful image that was already there. It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at the crucifix in its chapel, to better comprehend how the addition of the statue alters its significance.

The crucifix presents the viewer with a figure that performs two mediating functions in the economy of redemption.[917] On one hand, salvation is the work of God, who offers grace as a gift made available to all through Christ's sacrificial blend of humanity and divinity. On the other, salvation is an individual human accomplishment achieved through the personal appropriation of this gift. As an intercessor, Christ mediates on both the universal/theological and the private/subjective levels. Because of this binary nature, the crucifix is a polyvalent sign, able to signify God's triumph, the price of redemption through the human suffering of Christ, and the need to work towards salvation.[918] Christ's acceptance of his fate is the supreme example of virtue and obedience to God's will, making him the archetype of Christian selflessness. By distilling the critical moment of sacrifice to a single image of iconic accessibility, the crucifix articulates a conception of its subject that is both personal and exemplary; at once a stirring reminder to each viewer of what was endured, and an archetype to emulate in one's own life. This composite nature is explicit in representations of the "living" Christ on the cross, such as the example in S. Maria della Scala, where it is shown with its eyes open, but with the side wound, the traditional sign of his death. According to Staale Sinding-Larsen, this blends realism and allegory in a figure with a

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917 Kenneth Burke, *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 136. Christ is the dialectical principle of mediation between the natural and the supernatural, time and eternity, while as a ransom for man's guilt, he mediates in the form of intercession on the behalf of the faithful individual.

918 Viladesau, "The Passion of Christ in Aesthetic Theology," 160.

personally affective living face, but a wound that signifies the universal reality of his redemptive sacrifice.[919]

The S. Maria della Scala crucifix possesses a powerful and idealized body that is beautiful by the standards of contemporary art theory.[920] While suffering is evident in the agonized expression of the face, the physiognomy recalls heroic representations like Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* in S. Maria sopra Minerva and intimates the overcoming of sin and death that was to follow. Although made of polychromed wood, the coloring of the sculpture is not naturalistic. Rather, it has a glossy dark hue that blends into the gloom of the chapel while glistening in the flickering light, creating a supernatural effect. The athletic body and suffering visage assert a powerful physical presence, while the idealized form glimmering in the shadows alludes to a mystical separation from worldly matters. This crucifix asserts a dialectical conception of Christ's identity, at once tormented and transcendent, a moving juxtaposition of self-sacrifice and triumph. The analogy with John's conception of the path to union is a compelling one; it is Christ suffering on the cross that offers a focus for devotion amid the darkness and extends the promise of perfection to follow.[921] The image connotes the very mystic way that the Discalced Carmelite viewer meditatively opens.

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919 Sinding-Larsen, 40-41.

920 Riccoboni, 255.

921 Nocturnal themes are prevalent in John's thought, to suggest disorder and the attachment to things that the soul must escape. See Jean Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix et la problème de l'expérience mystique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, F. Alcan, 1931), 301-3. In John's writings, the image of Christ crucified corresponds with the trials and purgation of the "dark night," where the soul struggles to liberate itself through faith. According to Pascal du S. Sacrament (col. 773), the term "Dark night" has a triple meaning in John: The night of the senses is the point of departure for the soul to be liberated from natural appetites. The night of the spirit describes the soul lost in a faith obscure to intelligence. Finally, there is God, who even in union is always incomprehensible to the soul.

The retention and use of the Scala image connected the saintly model to actual devotional activity in the novitiate with a degree of reality beyond the strictly representational. Conforming to Christ was central to Discalced Carmelite spiritual life, and is articulated and encouraged in a variety of registers germane to Papaleo's sculpture.[922] A large corpus of texts, including the writings of John and Teresa, encouraged the reader to follow Christ's example, and hagiographic sources recounted their own heroic imitation of Christ. More specifically, novice training at S. Maria della Scala emphasized conformity as an agent of personal transformation; the inward alignment of the soul that leads towards divine union. This was a critical aspect of the early stages of the Mystic Way, and was integral to preparing new members of the order for the ultimate goal of contemplation. The Passion provided a structural analogy for the soul's path to union, a sequence moving from abnegation through sacrifice to transcendence. The crucifixion represents the climactic moment where the self-abandonment is complete, and the soul is opened to God. As John writes: "He who seeks not the cross of Christ seeks not the glory of Christ"; the two are inseparable parts of the same path.[923]

The use of the crucifix as a devotional aid in this process is also affirmed by an abundance of sources.[924] Numerous images and hagiographic accounts represent John's imitation of Christ by

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922 There is a considerable tradition of imagistic devotional practices that relate to the use and reception of religious art, with Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* the most famous. Peter of Alcantara's *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation* is directed at readers at the beginning of the Mystic Way, and encourages them "to consider Christ as present before our eyes, and ourselves as there with him in his sufferings" (p. 46). The pages on the Crucifixion are disturbingly graphic (pp. 68-73). Meditational handbooks do not only reflect contemporary religious practice, but also reveal how the potential of images can be tapped and harnessed. See Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 171.

923 "The Dark Night of the Soul" and the "Ascent of Mount Carmel" have been described as parts of the same work in active and passive modes, mapping out one spiritual trajectory. Pascal du S. Sacrament, "St. Jean de la Croix," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique: contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire*, Vol. 8, pt. 1, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot and E. Amann (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924), col. 771.

924 The image of Christ on the Cross is the focus of contemplation for many saints, and there are accounts of Teresa and the Carmelite St. Maria Maddelena dei Pazzi being whisked into rapture by the Crucifix. See Hoppenot, 255.

his constant adoration of this image.[925] This association was strong enough that the two were linked liturgically, as shown by a hand written notice in he Carmelite archives dated 12 Dec. 1678. This "Officium B. Joannia a Cruce" announces three nocturnal readings in commemoration of the newly beatified John dedicated to the sacred cross.[926] While highly suggestive, it lacks the necessary detail or corroborating documents to draw concrete conclusions regarding the specific details of the veneration of John in S. Maria della Scala, but it points to the possibility of a ritualized connection with the crucifix in the novitiate itself. Fra Stefano, a venerated novice master in the convent who died in 1640, also embodied the connection between the crucifix and conformity.[927] Although he predates Papaleo's statue, his lingering reputation in the convent makes him indicative of Roman Carmelite notions of sanctity in the later *seicento*.[928] According to the unpublished *vita* written by Bonaventura del Monte Carmelo in 1661, he was a contemplative who remained in conformity with (*in conformità a*) Christ through his poverty and humility, as well as his veneration of the crucifix.[929]This history made the crucifixion chapel an apt a site for the

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925 See, for example, Michele, 41.

926 AGOCD Plut 83 Seg. A Prov. Roma: Roma Maria della Scala Documenta varia saec. XVII, 12 Dec. 1678. The document is difficult to read, but it announces the lections for three nocturni. "Primi nocturni: ut in festo Inventionis S. Crucis;" the second is illegible, and the third: "Nocturni udin festa Exalsasis S. Crucis."

927 According to the Liber Funeralis, a compendium of lives and deaths in the convent from 1599-1647, Frate Stefano died on Dec. 27, 1640. AGOCD Plut. 83 Segnatura D (7)

928 Archival documents show that local members of the order attempted unsuccessfully to build a case for official recognition from the Congregation of Rites, including the compilation of a standardized hagiographic biography and accumulation of testimonials to his virtues and miracles Documents pertaining to Fra Stefano can be found in AGOCD Plut. 83 Segnatura D (4). These include the *Breve Relatione della Vita e morte del Ven Fra Stefano* by Fra Bonaventura dal Monte Carmelo, a handwritten and unpublished vita dated 1661, and a collection of testimonials to his extraordinary virtue, humility, obedience and miracles. Upon news of his death, many wept in the city, and he was reported to have died with the odor of sanctity. Among those who wrote on his behalf was Signora Anna Monna, wife of Taddeo Barberini.

929 AGOCD Plut. 83 Segnatura D (4): *Breve Relatione della Vita e morte del Ven Fra Stefano.* Fra Stefano is explicitly stated as dividing his time between prayer and the contemplation "*delle cose celesti.*" Many of his miracles involved the sign of the crucifix, including the healing of his mother.

installation of Papaleo's statue. Nowhere else could the profound connection between John's exalted spiritual accomplishments implicit in his ecstatic state, and the figuration of the Christological reality that makes them possible, be made so clear. When members of the Scala community looked upon the statue, they saw their co-founder as an image of supernatural piety that responds to the very same devotional image that they used themselves.

V. A DISCALCED CARMELITE CHAPEL

The relationship between the *St. John of the Cross* and its chapel site is a variation on the use of sculpture as an enactment of an event that made a site meaningful. Stefano Maderno's *St. Cecilia* was discussed as a pioneering example of this in Chapter One, but his *St. Bridget in Ecstasy* is more germane to the Papaleo's composition (fig. 12). This image was installed opposite the venerated fourteenth-century wooden crucifix that supposedly spoke to the saint while she knelt before it in the Sacrament Chapel.[930] Unlike the *St. Cecilia,* this sculpture was never presented as an exact replica of the miraculous event, and its location in a niche in the back wall further undermines the suggestion of a real experience. However, it does imbue its setting with a ghostly presence of historical importance that is at once immanent and distanced, with implications for both the persona of the saint and the experience of the worshipper. The basic function of the chapel was to provide a place for the faithful to venerate the sacrament and meditate on the Crucifix. The

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[930] The Sacrament Chapel is located to the left of the high altar, and was reconstructed in 1725 for the Jubilee Year to accommodate the venerated fourteenth-century crucifix. The chapel survived the devastating fire of 1827 and retains its Baroque layout. See Anna Maria Cerioni and Roberto Del Signore, *La Basilica di San Paolo Fuori le Mura* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2003),56; Niccola Maria Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo* (Rome: Stamperia de Romanis, 1815), 36. For the statue, see Riccoboni, 143. The *St. Bridget* and its legend is repeated in many of the early modern writers on sculpture. See, for example, Giovanni Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma* (1639), ed. Liliana Barroero (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1990), 78; Titi, 39, Roisecco, 260.

St. Bridget personalized the significance of these devotional practices in a physical embodiment of her miraculous spirituality in the very place of its manifestation. Bridget's sanctity is perpetually affirmed by a permanent image of the mystical experience initiated by her exemplary piety. Any subsequent worshipper is made aware that they follow in her footsteps, as their own venerations unfold in the very same space as hers.

Papaleo's statue is akin to the *St. Bridget* as a sculpted enactment of the significance of a site through the addition of a meaningful presence that is both lifelike and detached. Both images represent a relationship with an established devotional object, a wooden crucifix, but differ in the structures of their signification. When Maderno's statue was installed, the Sacrament Chapel had had a long history as a devotional site. By adding the *St. Bridget*, Maderno imparted a symbolic narrative dimension that preserves and enhances its traditional character. The statue is an illusion of a real event that demonstrates both the spiritual quality of, and the proper comportment towards the miraculous crucifix. John had no historical personal relationship with S. Maria della Scala, so the installation of the *St. John of the Cross* does not recreate something that actually happened. His connection with the chapel is more oblique, rooted in the presence of his relics and his exemplification of the Carmelite devotional practices that took place there. The basic parameters are similar, however, in that the earlier significance of the site is not only retained but enhanced by the saintly presence that simultaneously attests to its subjects' manifest sanctity and the importance of the chapel, and projects these back to the viewer as an example to follow. Papaleo's statue transforms the experience of its site into an enactment, where spiritual significance and expectations of devotional conduct are given a form that is engaging, didactic and paradigmatic, a real presence that personalizes a concatenation of concepts and associations definitive of its crucifix chapel and Carmelite novitiate setting.

The Baroque sculptural combination of ideality and realism in these enactments transforms their sites into a sort of theatre of narrative action yet remains ambivalent about completely replicating a historical moment. They not only depict material bodies, but the bodies' importance, and by extension, how the viewer is to understand and respond to them. The historically particular proves the spiritually atemporal, while the spiritual imbues the particular with an exemplarity that transcends the specifics of time and place. The coexistence of transient, momentary reality and marmoreal permanence is elegantly summed up in the verses written on Bernini's *St. Teresa* by the seventeenth-century poet Pier Filippo Bernino:

> *"In sì dolce languire*
> *Esser dovea immortale;*
> *Ma perché duol non sale*
> *Al cospetto divino,*
> *In questo sasso lo eternò il Bernino."* [931]

> (In this sweet languor
> was to be immortal
> but because grief does not rise
> to the sight of God
> in this rock Bernini is immortalized)

In a typically baroque juxtaposition of opposing concepts, Bernino aligns the idea of immortality in sculpture with the immortality of the soul, and contrasts the state of ecstatic languor with the paired eternities of commemoration and salvation. While this ekphrastic response to Bernini's artistic genius is an unremarkable example of seventeenth-century poetic wit, it possesses a certain interpretive value. Verses such as Bernino's foreground issues of reception; predicated as much on the poet's ability to respond to the image as on the creation of the image itself, they offer insights into how a work of art could be understood. Bernino articulates a response that recognizes sculpture's power to capture the immediacy of a specific human action while transforming it into

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931 Cited in Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 101.

a state of permanence. If transferred from the realm of poetics to that of devotion, this model of reception is homologous with visual hagiography, where a specific life is presented as a timeless model for subsequent readers to emulate. The ability of sculpture to conflate the real presence of a historical actor with his or her permanent significance is a perfect realization of this hagiographic adaptation of eternal truth to the life world of the viewer.

The integration of the crucifix enables the *St. John of the Cross* to make a multifaceted visual statement regarding the sanctity of its subject, Discalced Carmelite mystical spirituality and the use of devotional art within the order. The marble figures expresses a favorable attitude towards imagery in general, while commenting on the older figure as both a signifier and an object. As a representation of the sacrifice of Christ, the crucifix depicts the source of grace that enables the Discalced Carmelite goal of divine union and the model for the spiritual conformity that makes union possible. Together, the images of redemptive sacrifice and enraptured saint define the endpoints of the Mystic Way and encompass a spiritual trajectory from sensory-dependent novice to contemplative exemplar and saintly founder. At the same time, the crucifix retains its identity as a preexisting devotional image, which personalizes the significance of the composition for the Scala community. It is not just any crucifix that informs John's union, but the one used by members of the order, and therefore, the statue of John enacts the devotional perfection that his followers aspired to reach. This last point is what made the *St. John of the Cross* so rhetorically powerful within its context. The Scala Carmelites were confronted by a lifelike yet ideal presence of their preeminent spiritual model achieving their mystical goal within their crucifix chapel. A closer look at this setting will reveal how the ideas expressed by the sculpture resonated within the walls of S. Maria della Scala.

Chapels are intimate devotional environments that are separated from the main body of the church, while not altogether distinct. The notion of interconnected sites for private and collective devotional activity is structurally homologous with the "solitude within community." that defined the integration of individual and communal religiosity of the Discalced Carmelites.[932] Documents from S. Maria della Scala reveal the emphasis on communal religiosity within the novitiate. For example, Chapter Twelve of the anonymous handwritten "Regolae et constit du Frélli dell'oratoris della Madonna della Scala in Trastevere" of 1612 is devoted to vocal prayer and other forms of group worship.[933] Similarly, the "Costumi lodevoli dei novizi" by F. Christoforo del Bambino Gesù emphasizes frequent confession, communion, group prayer and so forth to "*conforme l'obedienza.*"[934] Conversely, the intensity of solitary prayer drives an inward turn away from anything other than the soul and God, just as the intimate scale and focused imagery of the chapel facilitates the maximum possible absorption in the worshipper's faith. Within this intimate space, the *St. John of the Cross* uses the seemingly actual presence of the Carmelite founder and spiritual model to enact the connection between meditative devotion and the divine grace that enkindles the soul. The progression from bodily existence through devotional training to spiritual enlightenment is represented spatially in the progress from the material world outside, through the nave, and into the interiority of the chapel. For the Carmelite worshipper, the experience is all-encompassing; it is happening right now to his saint, in his church, by way of his doctrine, in the very space he currently occupies.

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932 Egan, 40. In the earliest documents, Carmelite sources stress solitude as integral to life as an imitation of Christ. Among the concerns that drove Teresa's reform was a fear that monasteries were growing too crowded and busy to accommodate solitude and contemplative prayer.

933 AGOCD Plut 83 Seg. b(1).

934 AGOCD Plut 83 Seg. b(2).

The presence of a consecrated altar and the Eucharist further enhance the symbolic value of a chapel. As a manifestation of the divine within physical matter, the regular theophany of transubstantiation possesses an affinity with the infusion of grace in the contemplative soul. It reenacts the sacrifice of Christ that redeemed mankind and enabled conformity.[935] John continually stressed the importance of sacramental participation, and, like many mystics, underwent some of his most dramatic experiences while attending Mass.[936] In fact, the only privilege he sought while major superior in Segovia was possession of the cell closest to the Blessed Sacrament, and it is worth noting, in light of this fact, that the crucifix chapel in S. Maria della Scala is the last one on the left, next to the transept and as near as possible to the high altar.[937] The *St. John of the Cross* has its fullest significance during Mass at the chapel altar, when both the crucifix and the saint are ritually linked to the divine union of the Eucharistic miracle as iterations of God's action in the world. That these figures have a personal connection to the Scala community as established devotional image and affective representation of the founder and spiritual model respectively, can only make their symbolic analogies more resonant.

John's request calls attention to the conceptual affinities between the chapel and cell as spatial analogies for the structure of Discalced Carmelite spirituality. The latter replaces the

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935 Peter of Alcantara, 111. He states that the timing of devotion matters: "like dry wood, the heart is more quickly set aglow with heavenly fire when the exercise occurs after some other holy exercise like Matins, or after one has heard or said Mass or after some devout reading or vocal prayer." Participation in the Tridentine Mass led to an awareness of the great mystery at its heart and an enhanced will to devotion. See Wolfgang Müller, "Liturgy and Popular Piety," in *The Church in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment*, trans. Gunther J. Holst (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 548-9.

936 Michele details many of John's mystical responses to the Eucharist, including hearing miraculous voices at his first Mass and ecstasy at the sight of the host. See Michele, 17, 30. Bruno de Jesus Maria, 174 records that, following the Mass of the Trinity, John had a vision then fell into a rapture for half an hour. Similar experiences appear in the hagiography of St. Catherine of Siena and St. Peter of Alcantara. See Raymond of Capua, 174-6 and Marchese, 162. For the necessity in John's thought for sacramental initiation for leading a life in Christ, see Desmond Tillyer, *Union with God: The Teaching of St. John of the Cross* (London: Mowbray, 1984), 24.

937 Kavanaugh, 31.

symbolic configuration of the church with the more intimate and familiar setting where the notion

of solitude within community played out in practice.938 New members learned a spiritual doctrine

based on inward conformity to the sacrifice of Christ that hewed closely to the tenets of the

founders, and was expressed visually in the *St. John of the Cross*. The Discalced Carmelites had

developed a systematic mystical theology taught novices to recognize contemplation not as a rare

gift, but as the attainable goal of prayer, even before they even fully understood it.[939] As future

general of the order Juan de Jesús Maria (1564-1615) wrote in his popular novice manual: "The

subjugation of the passions, the acquisition of virtue and the study of prayer put us in a position to

aspire to divine union."940 According to John, external stimuli provided these unformed new

members with the sensory information needed for meditative progress towards imageless devotion.

He wrote:

> "it should be known that the practice of beginners is to meditate and make acts and
> discursive reflection with the imagination. A person in this state should be given
> matter for meditation and discursive reflection, and he should by himself make
> interior acts and profit in spiritual things in delight and satisfaction of the senses.
> For by being fed with the relish of spiritual things, the appetite is torn away from
> sensual things and weakened in regard to things of the world."[941]

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938 Egan, 52; Waajiman, 264-89. The cell is described as a space for spirituality free of the distractions of family
and world and open to terrific visions and mystic experience in Sofia Boesch Gajano, "Gli spazi della santità," in
Diventare Santo: Itinerari e riconoscimenti della santità tra libri, documenti e immagini, ed .Giovanni Morello,
Ambrogio M. Pizzoni, and Paolo Vian (Città del Vaticano; Cagliari: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Events, 1998),
20. Teresa writes: "all of us who wear this sacred habit of Carmel are called to prayer and contemplation - because
that was the first principle of our Order, and because we are descendant upon the line of those holy Fathers of ours
from Mount Carmel who sought this treasure, this precious pearl of which we speak, with such great solitude and
such contempt for the world." Saint Teresa of Avila, *Interior Castle*, 97 (5, 1).

939 *Instructio novitiorum* pt. 2, chpt. 24

940 ibid.,. 25.

941 Saint John of the Cross, *Collected Works*, 621 (*Living Flame of Love*, 3, 32).

The earliest extant Carmelite documents emphasize that solitude is necessary to leading life in the imitation of Christ, and the various versions of the Discalced constitutions are explicit on the importance of the cell for private prayer.[942]

The pedagogical priorities of the order are evident in their novice manuals. The two most popular in the seventeenth-century, the *Instructio novitiorum* (1591) by Juan de Jesús María Aravalles (1549-1609) and Juan de Jesús María's *Instructio magistri novitiorum* (1611) define meditation as an intellectual exercise addressed to the will that prepares the soul for the mystic way.[943] The manuals inform the *Costumi lodevoli dei novizi*, a modest tract by Fra Christoforo del Bambino Gesù, the novice master of S. Maria della Scala.[944] This hand-written, unpaginated set of instructions is not dated, but its references to the "Blessed John of the Cross" place it between 1675 and 1726, or roughly contemporary with Papaleo's statue. It predictably affirms that an affective divine union, predicated on the example of the passion, is the desired spiritual goal, stating: "*unite il suo cuore coll'amaroso cuore di Giesu con tutto il suo amore… viti della sua*

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942 Egan, 40. Regarding the constitutions, Alvarez et. al. reprint section X, "Del silencio y recogimiento en lac celdas," from the *Constituciones del Capitulo de Alcala of* 1581, "De silentio et redditu al cellas" from the Constituciones de Sixto V of 1590, and Cap. X: "Del silentio e ritornare alle celle" from the Italian Regola e Costitutioni delle Religiose Primitive Scalze dell'Ordine de la gloriosa Vergine Maria del Monte Carmelo," Pub. Genova, 1593; Roma, 1610, 1630. See Alvarez et. al., 84, 130, 225.

943 Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. 3, 13-21. Aravalles' was a standard guide for novice masters for over two centuries, and was authorized for exclusive use in novitiates everywhere, and signed by the vicar-general and five *concilarios*, including John himself Two new Spanish editions were published in the seventeenth century, four Latin editions in France and Italy between 1605-11, two Italian versions appeared in 1612 and 1645, and in 1702 a Latin edition was published in Prague. Other versions were produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Juan de Jesús Maria was prolific author who wrote over thirty books. His *Instructio magistri novitorum* was first published in Italian in 1611, and seven later editions followed. The text was translated into Spanish, French, Portuguese and German. The two texts differ on the number and categories of prayer. Aravalles', which was more widely used in Spanish foundations, listed seven of these: preparation, reading, meditation, thanksgiving, oblation, petition and contemplation. Juan, who was more popular in Italy, omitted contemplation, so as to not encourage novices to strive for it before they mastered the lower stages of the mystic way.

944 AGOCD Plut 83 Seg. b (2). Another version of the novice manual, the Costumi Loder li che si opervano da Novizi Carmelitani Scalzi by F. Massimiliano di S. Pietro de Alcantara Carm. S. was written in 1772 and largely transcribes Cristoforo's. AGOCD Plut. 83 Seg. b (3)

SSmas Passione" (unite his heart with the loving heart of Jesus with all his love... unite with his most holy Passion). Both individual and collective religious life is explicitly based on conformity. The tract mentions communal vocal prayer and the specific allocation of time for the veneration of the cross as requirements to "*conforme l'obedienza*" of the will. Christoforo also describes a spiritual exercise to be performed in the privacy of the cell, in which the novices are instructed to focus their thoughts on death, and "*imaginandosi che il letto sia il Cataletto, e la cella sia la sepoltura*" (imagine that the bed is the catafalque and the cell is the sepulcher).[945] This was an imaginative and affective activity intended to distance oneself from all distractions, and "*in tutta vivono come morti al mondo, e solo desiderosi d'unirsi con Cristo*" (live in the world as if they are dead, and desire only to unite with Christ).

Devotional manuals favored by the Discalced Carmelites, stress the importance of bodily position in conforming to Christ in private devotion, especially the frequently repeated charge to hold one's arms out in the form of a cross.[946] Teresa describes praying in this way, and Peter of Alcantara emphasized its importance in the chapter in his Manual entitled "The Preparation

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945 Spiritual exercises, or programs for meditative devotion and mental prayer, with the potential to lead to contemplation, proliferated in the seventeenth century. Ignatius Loyola's are the most famous example, but they were especially common with the Carmelites and Capuchins as well as the Jesuits. See Gentili and Regazzoni, 311. Alvarez et. al. examines various editions of the *Discalces constitutions*. These include recommendations of a few "*buonos libros*" to maintain the soul, including the *Contemptus Mundi* (Similar to the Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis) and the writings of Kempis, Jean Gerson and Peter of Alcantara. According to her earliest biographer Ribera, Teresa herself studied Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. See Petersson, *The Art of Ecstasy*, 8,

946 Various sources emphasize the importance of this position. In testimony presented at Teresa's *processus*, Ana de la Encarnación recounted seeing her illuminated by a golden light, after which the saint knelt, stretched her arms into a cross shape and remained in prayer for three hours. See Bruno de Jesus Maria, 174. In the fourth chapter of his prayer manual, entitled "the Preparation Required for Prayer," Peter of Alcantara advocates kneeling or standing with "arms extended in the form of the cross." See Peter of Alcantara, 86. According to Marchese, Peter adopted this posture while levitating in ecstasy, "*con le braccia distese in sembianca di Croce*" (with the arms extended in the semblance of a Cross). See Marchese, 314. This is a reference to St. Francis, who, according to St. Bonaventure: "was seen praying all night long, with his arms extended in the form of a cross, his whole body being raised from the ground, and surrounded by a luminous cloud, so that the marvelous light which shone forth from his body bore glorious testimony to his wonderful illumination of mind." See Saint Bonaventure, 125.

Required before Prayer."947 The *Costumi lodevoli dei novizi* indicates that the Scala novices were instructed to do this as well.948 Discalced Carmelites describe conformity as the crucifixion of one's inclinations in the soul, which casts the adoption of the cruciform pose as a somatic figuration of this very action. The friar bodily takes the place of the soul, and becomes a physical metaphor for his own spiritual journey. This is similar to a crucifix in that it is a physical, apprehensible symbol that is not merely a sign of an ineffable experience, but as a correlative link to it. Both provide material assistance to the meditative stages of the Mystic Way at the outset of the road to contemplation.

The image of the lone figure seeking divine union in the shape of a cross has an affinity with the placement of the *St. John of the Cross* in the relatively gloomy Crucifixion Chapel. Unlike the other chapels discussed in this dissertation, this one had no direct source of natural illumination, and today is weakly lit by ambient light from the nave. In Papaleo's time, altar candles and the oil lamp burning in John's honor would have cast a flickering light that would have enhanced the supernatural quality of the white marble figures without filling the space with reflected brightness. The search for God in the dark night of the soul is a private one, and the image of John is an inspiration rather than a set of directions. Each novice had to find his own path within the privacy of the cell. The connection between the chapel and cell share is apparent in two of the prints discussed earlier. The *Vision of the Crucifix* (fig. 109) depicts John's mystical experience during private devotion within his cell, while the *Miracle of Segovia* shows his experience before an image of the Passion within a chapel in a church (fig. 108). The chapel is symbolically appropriate to Papaleo's image of conformity because of its figurative interiority in relation to the more

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947 Peter of Alcantara, 86. He describes the "arms extended in the form of the cross."

948 AGOCD Plut. 83 Seg. b (2).

communal ambient of the nave. The cell, on the other hand, truly is a private space, where the individual Carmelite may internally conform to the compelling model of their founding saint.

CONCLUSION

The *St. John of the Cross* defines the sanctity of its soon-to-be-canonized subject in terms appropriate to its setting, and in so doing, offers general insights into the nature and reception of seeming actuality. As an example of visual hagiography, the statue likens John to other prominent mystics, including his spiritual inspiration, St. Teresa of Avila. This sort of modeling is a well-established strategy that, in this case, establishes the orthodoxy of John's spiritual accomplishments. Saints, and by extension, hagiography, balance the general and the specific by providing individuated instances of the sacred. Sculpture accomplishes this contextually, by means of specific details within an established representational type and the connotations of its setting. The installation of the *St. John of the Cross* in the S. Maria della Scala crucifixion chapel and its incorporation of sculpted crucifix already located there, gives this image an intensely directed focus. There is a consistency of patron, subject and site, the Roman Discalced Carmelites, their co-founder, and their novitiate, respectively, that limits the number of agendas at play in the commission and therefore makes the statue a relatively straightforward case for the analysis of this specification of the sculptural production of sanctity.

The broad affective appeal of this image lies in its blend of idealism and realism, a mix of personally accessible individualism and superhuman essence that parallels the structure of sainthood itself. This seeming actuality informs images that lend themselves to emotionally charged relationships with the viewer suggestive of intersubjective contact, while simultaneously

articulating higher spiritual values. The Discalced Carmelites explicitly used their saints as models of conformity that members could relate to, but possessed of a level of perfection that made them ideally inspiring. The expression of this exemplarity through imagery is apparent in Discalced Carmelite prints that employ the figure of John as a signifier of devotional achievement, structurally position the viewer in the place of the saint, and deploy the crucifix as a metaphor for otherwise ineffable spiritual phenomena. The realization of this sort of expression in sculpture is quite literally a realization, as in making real, of conventions of the order's visual culture in the more rhetorically compelling presence of a lifelike allegory. Placement in the crucifixion chapel takes full advantage of this presence to demonstrate the pertinence of this ideal model of conformity with an actual devotional image of the crucifix. This calls attention to a representational potential unique to sculpture; the enactment of a significant personage or event within a meaningful location. In effect, the *St. John of the Cross* enacts a model of Discalced Carmelite devotion, a lifelike allegory that attests to both its reality and spiritual ideality, in a place strongly associated with it.

Discalced Carmelite novices were trained to conform to the sacrifice of Christ in the manner of their saints by following the Mystic Way to Contemplation. As both the co-founder of their order and source of their spiritual itinerary, John was the ultimate devotional model. The overt emphasis on following his example makes explicit something implicit in the affective qualities of Roman Baroque sculpture; its orientation towards shaping the attitudes of the viewer. The notion of enactment is essentially the perpetuation of an edifying presence where that presence is most instructive. The supernatural air created by the appearance of white marble, along with other indicators such as clouds and angels, highlights the miraculous action of divine grace on the ecstatic figure, without undermining its affective realism. At the same time, the direct association

with Discalced Carmelite devotional practices established by the inclusion of the crucifix, indicates the capacity of sculpture to articulate abstract doctrinal points. Together, these attributes demonstrate the virtue and attainability of the order's spiritual goals and show just how rich and powerful a mode of expression, sculpture could be. Discalced Carmelite thought and affective sculpture provide complementary discursive frameworks that fall outside of the art theory that predominated in contemporary critical sources, and reveal that the expressive potential of marble statuary was recognized and valued even into the seventeenth century.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzed the memorialization of dramatic action in seventeenth-century sculpture, and its implications for the representation of sanctity. These works maintained the commemorative connotations of the medium, but used illusionism and emotionalism to encourage the general human tendency to respond to three-dimensional images in interpersonal terms. The resulting hybrid of ideality and immediate presence was well suited for saints, who were themselves combinations of universal values and individual accessibility. It was necessary to theorize the rhetorical potential of lifelike sculpture in a devotional context, since this was not a topic of interest in contemporary writing on art. The prevalence of humanizing reactions to statues, such as animation or transformation, indicates an ability to induce affective, imaginative response, and the exploration of these required new terminology. Seeming actuality refers to the blending of verism and theoretical ideals to create figures that are simultaneously insistently present and spiritually exalted. Bernini set seeming actuality in motion by confronting viewers with actions that seem to be really happening. Instantaneity was integral to the development of a new type of mystical sculpture that created a participatory experience of sanctity. The use of this sculpture to stand in for its subject and immortalize an event in the place where it really transpired is called an enactment, while lifelike allegory is the embodiment of an idea, or set of ideas, in a compelling and inspiring form. These concepts are new, and consequently relatively unrefined, making their ultimate value to our understanding of early modern visuality uncertain. However, they do contribute to a recent upswing of scholarly interest in Baroque sculpture by broadening awareness of the expressive possibilities offered by the medium.

The following chapters examined how seeming actuality defined and/or projected the

sanctified personae of three individuals in different circumstances over a fifty-year span. These include the newly beatified Ludovica Albertoni, the officially unrecognized Alessandro Sauli, and the soon-to-be canonized John of the Cross, in such venues as a family chapel, the crossing of a basilica, a cult site and a novitiate church. In each case, the rhetoric of presence associated with the living statue combined with theoretical notions of commemoration, memory, and ideality to create manifestations of sanctity with tangible immediacy. Scholars have indicated that saints were figures of enormous breadth that resonated in many facets of early modern Italian culture, and even the limited case studies highlight the versatility of sculpture for the representation of such polyvalent figures. A physical presence occupies real space, which means that the encounter with the saintly simulacrum can take place in any number of venues, and participate in a wide range of circumstances. Sculpture involves different patterns of reception than prints or painting, which in turn structures a different sort of encounter between viewer and intercessor; one with at least the potential for a more visceral engagement. All three cases involved mystical statues of new saints, which is not a coincidence, since ecstasy is the most dramatic and obvious physical indicator of a mortal body in direct contact with the divine. However, they also touch upon a wealth of contexts, including social standing and prestige, historical memory, cultic devotions, ecclesiastic politics, and mystical doctrine. The identification of this versatility is a primary art historical contribution of this dissertation, both as a systematic revelation of the broad expressive potential of the medium, and a demonstration of the value of diverse sources to the analysis of contemporary response.

The emotional intensity and bravura surface illusionism of Bernini's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni* counters certain artistic liberties and makes the figure seem dramatically alive, while controlled lighting and complimentary decorative elements create an enhanced air of supernaturalism. Together, these create a virtual experience of the conjoining of human and divine

that defines mystic union, Christian death, and the sacred in general, not by depicting what it looked like to an eyewitness, since supernatural presence is invisible, but in a palpable form that seems real. Ottoni's *Bd. Ludovica Albertoni and the Holy Family* referenced Bernini's image within a network of images, where funerary busts become active interlocutors that invite the viewer to join in the devotion to a sanctified figure defined elsewhere. This case indicates the ability of sculpture to define and establish a public persona for its subject, even if their *processus* comes to a halt, and the limits of family patronage to influence canonization. It also afforded a cursory examination of how busts and relief sculpture became more suggestive of living presence. The portraits in S. Maria in Campitelli resemble Bernini's sculpture in that they superficially conform to, but subvert, the functions of commemoration by replacing the timeless simulacrum with the semblance of presently unfolding action.

The case of Alessandro Sauli involves yet another type of sculptural encounter; a colossal component in an integrated crossing that attests to the reality of divine union as a definitive condition of sanctity. The expressive range of the medium is on display in the contrast between the dynamic immediacy of the *St. Alessandro Sauli* and the more constrained, scenographic *St. Sebastian*. The former, with its emotionalism and environmental interactivity, calls attention to commonalities with the wood sculpture traditions of Genoa, France and elsewhere, while the latter echoes developments in Ligurian painting. It is evidence of Puget's breadth of an artist that he could produce such disparate works at the same time, but it also indicates that contemporary audience expectations could accommodate a much wider conception of sculpture than appears in most written sources. Papaleo's *St. John of the Cross* embodied the basic structure of Discalced Carmelite religiosity through an idealized, figural exemplar. The statue transforms John's significance as an model of the process of conformity into a real encounter in a venue associated

with the pursuit of his spiritual accomplishments within the order. Only an image that seems at once real and ideal, immediate and abstracted, could naturalize a devotional process in this manner. The study of this statue also generated awareness of Discalced Carmelite image culture, a sophisticated means of representing the esoteric goals of the order.

The close examination of individual case studies enables some speculation as to why this sculptural development occurred when it did. The cool attitude towards sculptural mimesis in art theory indicated that these innovations were not driven by what might anachronistically be called aesthetic imperatives. Conversely, it is clear that the Church appreciated rhetorically charged representations, and it has long been recognized that the triumphalism and emotionalism of the Baroque was driven by religious concerns. The case studies show a strong homology between the seeming actuality of Baroque sculpture and the intermediary status of a saint, as both combine immediate accessibility and superhuman ideality, which makes the former a vehicle for hagiographic images that simulate real contact. There are strong chronological reasons to assume a connection between the representational desires of the Church and the new sculpture that emerged in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Much of the sixteenth century, and particularly the decades following the Sack of Rome, was not conducive to bold, costly, public artistic statements, especially not those pertaining to saints. The crisis of confidence that followed the trauma of the Reformation placed the church on a defensive footing that included a lengthy hiatus on canonizations. The rebuilding of Rome that got underway under Sixtus V symbolized a more optimistic outlook accompanied with a heightened interest in the early church. Maderno's statuary and Caravaggio's chapels, the preliminary applications of Baroque seeming actuality, came in the wake of this change in climate.

It is not the intention of this paper to adjudicate between the roles of individuals and larger

cultural forces in driving historical change, but the creative genius of Bernini was perfectly fitted to these circumstances. Beginning with the *S. Bibiana*, he drove the development of a sculptural idiom that was only possible in a papal Rome grown prosperous, assertive, and freed of doubts, and which met the rhetorical desires of the Church with unprecedented force. As long as the Church remained a leading patron, this Baroque sculpture would be in demand. This is born out by the dates of the case study commissions, which indicate that this idiom remained vital and was used for the same purposes well into the eighteenth century. The more restrictive, theoretical attitude towards sculpture only becomes predominant when changing socio-cultural circumstances remove the Church from the leading ranks of art patronage, and the medium is driven by different desiderata. It appears, therefore, that the sculptural flowering associated with the Baroque was wrapped up with the fortunes of the Roman church, and when the leaders of the art world ceased to value the simulation of sacral presence, there was no counterweight to the neoclassical taste of the Enlightenment era. This conclusion contributes to our understanding of the artistic climate of the early eighteenth century, but also asserts the fundamental importance of patronage structures and implied viewership on art production in a more general sense; not only in terms of subject matter or iconography, but on broadly stylistic trajectories as well.

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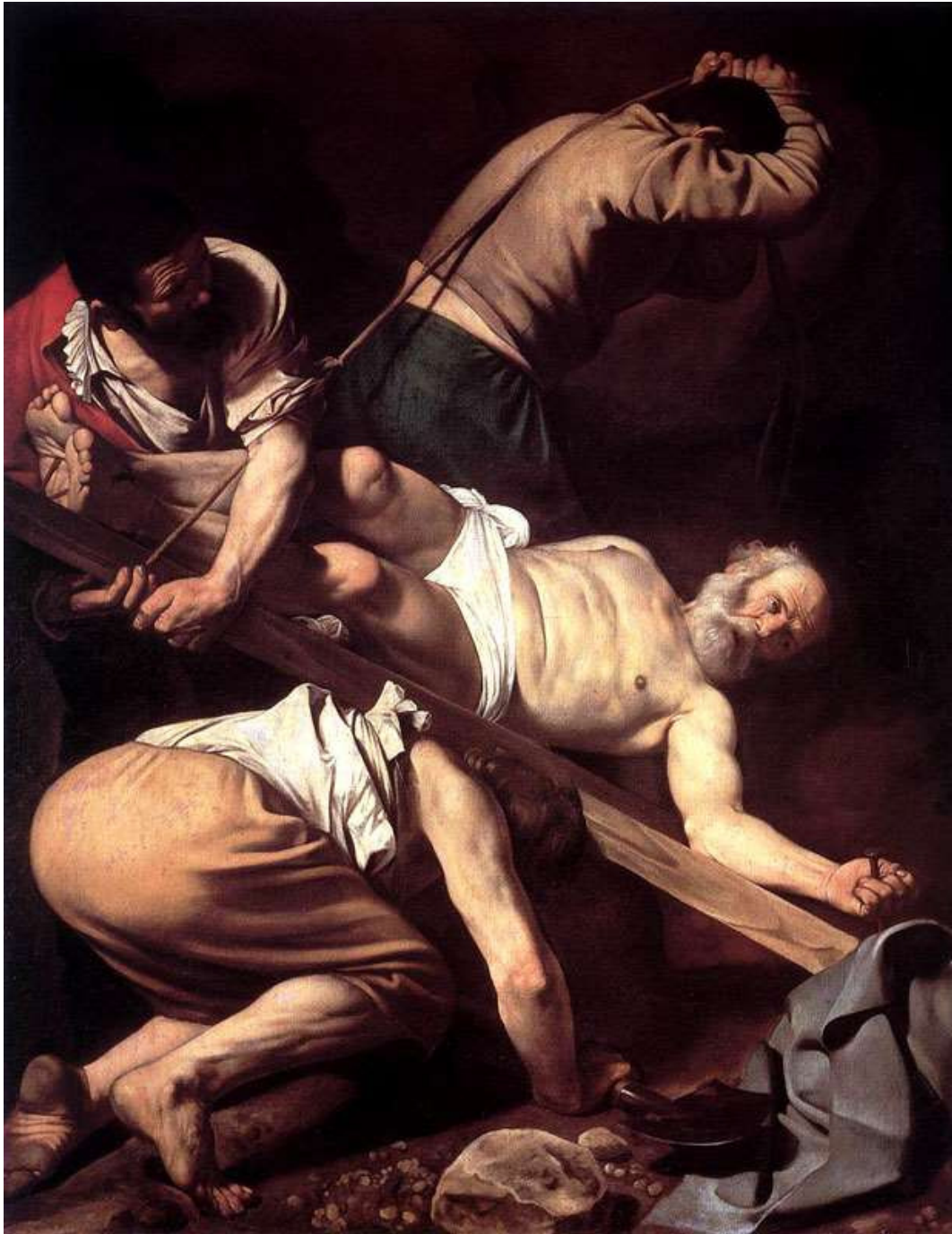
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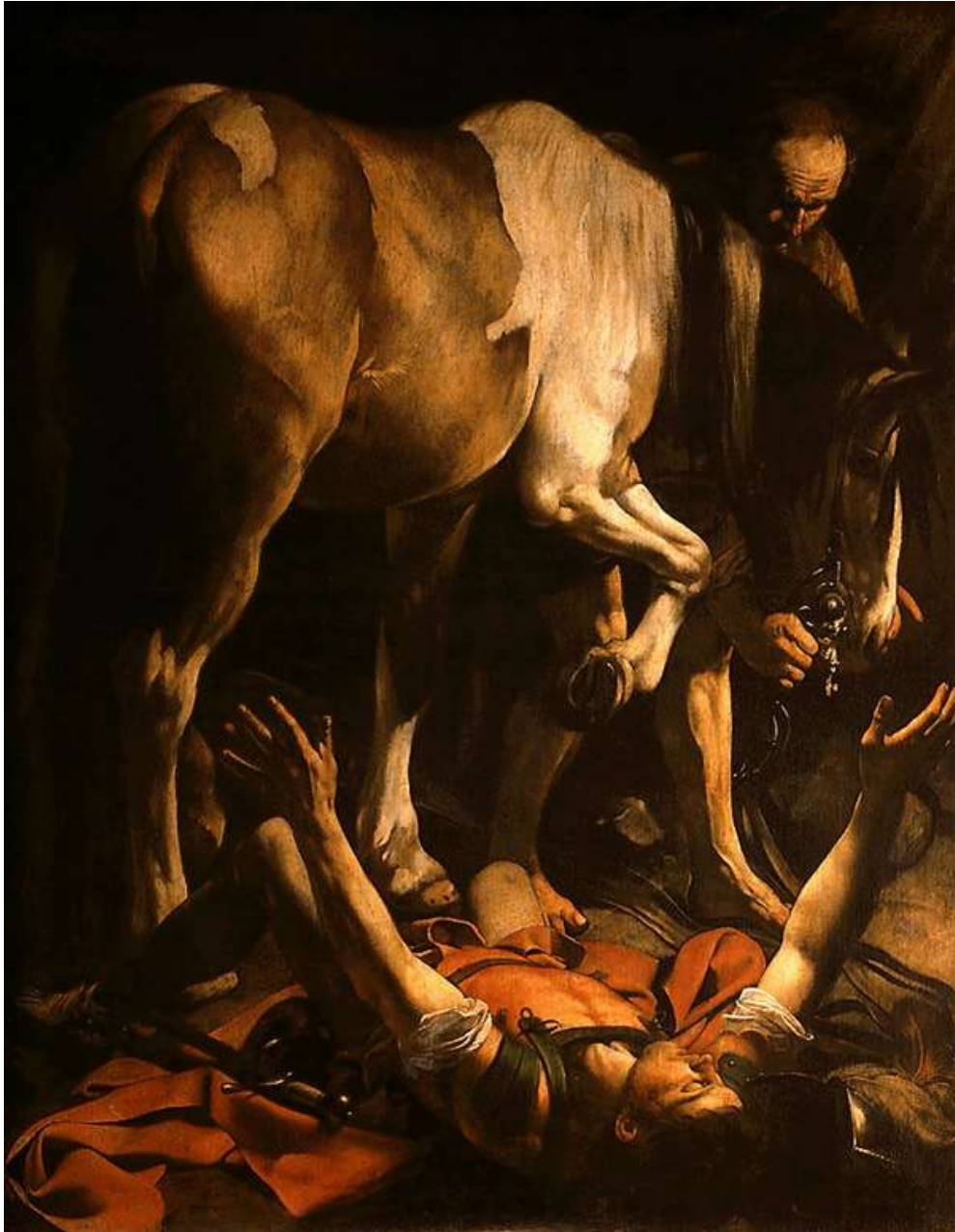
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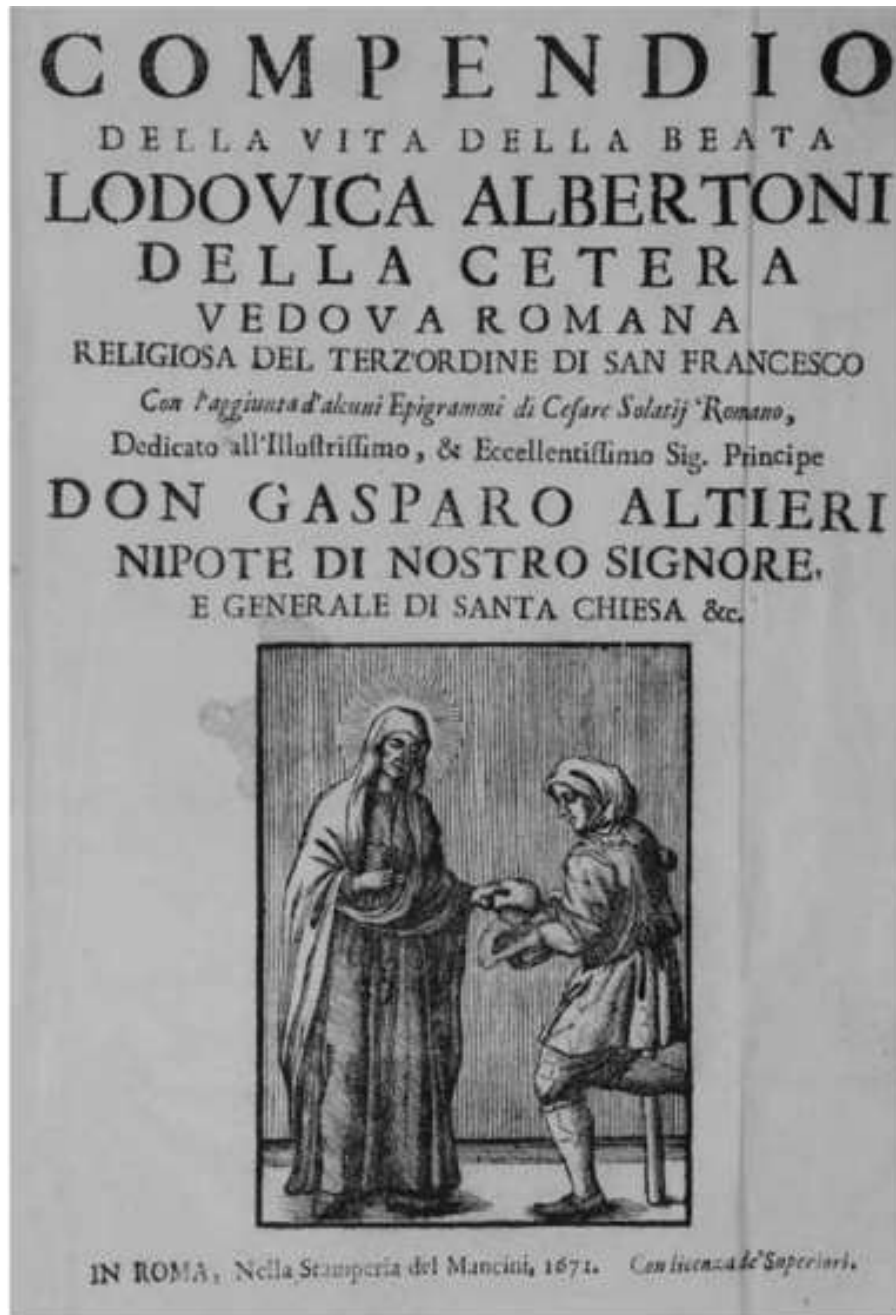
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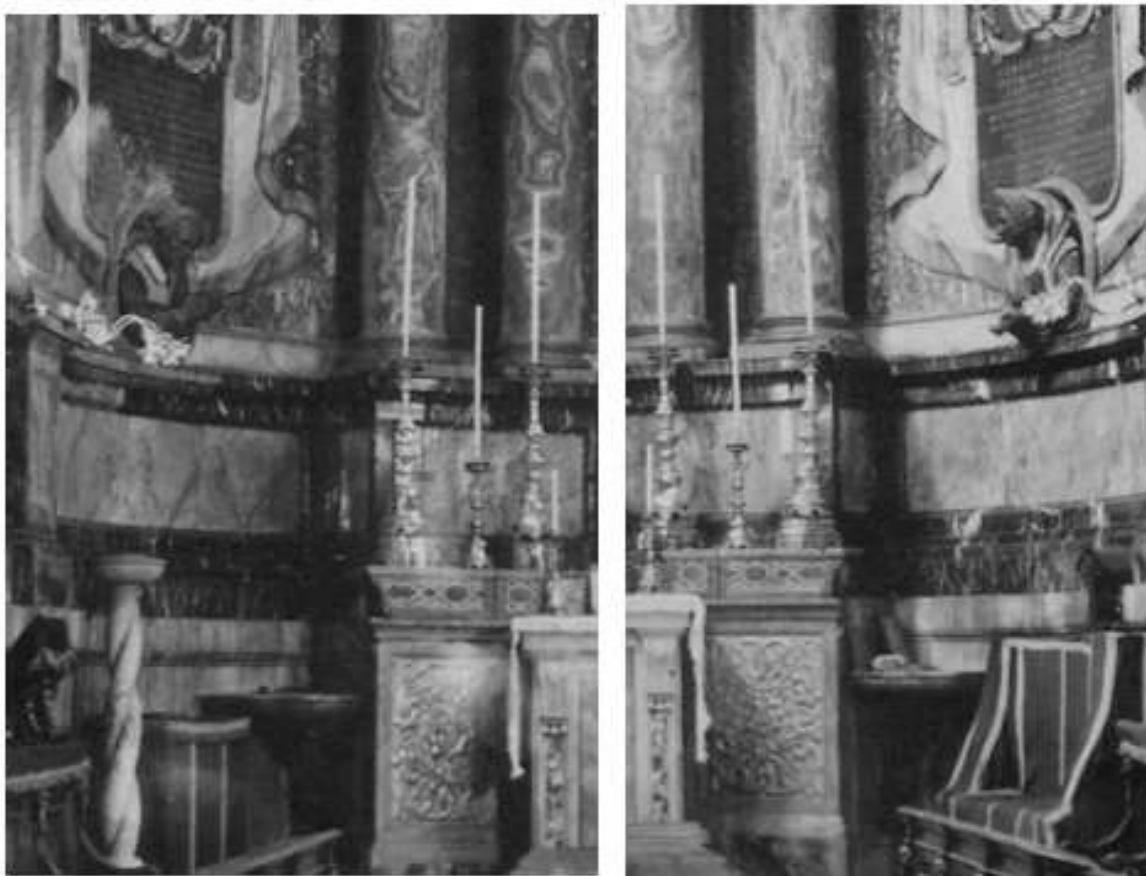
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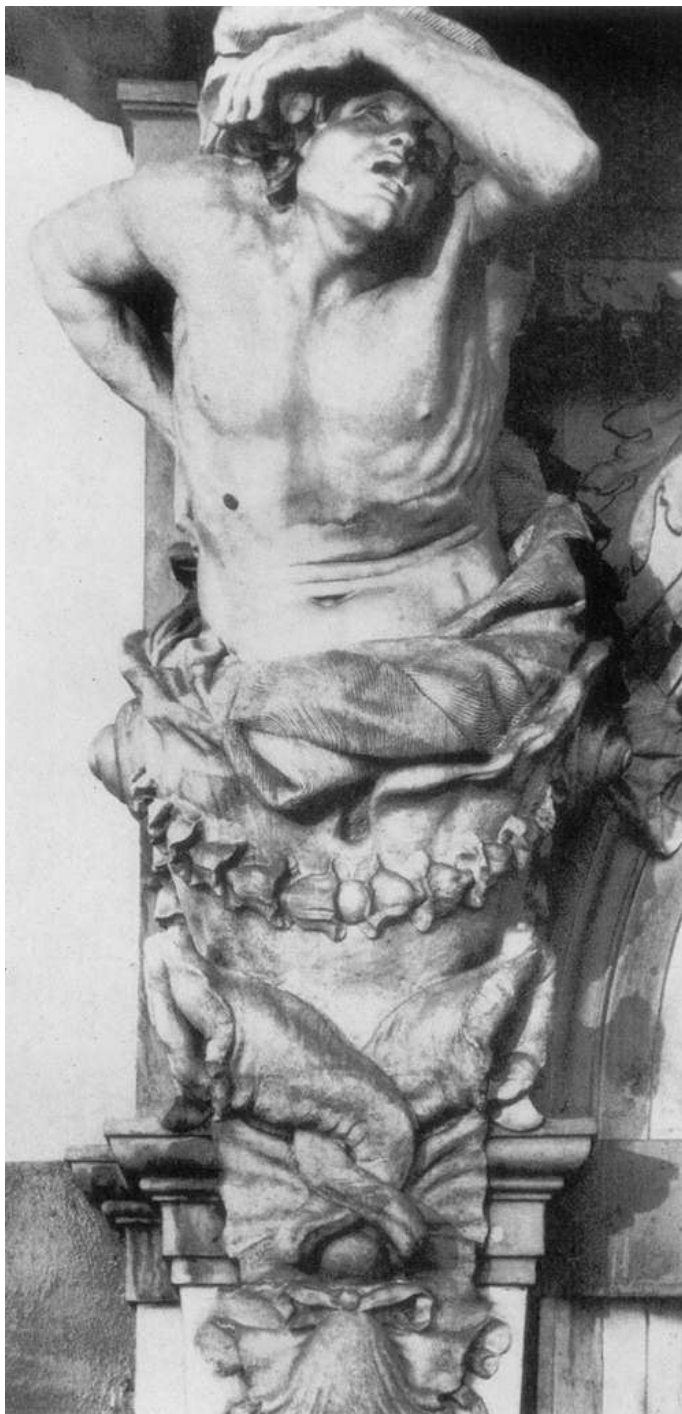
Fig. 78. Pierre Puget, *Atlantid*, 1656-57, marble, Hotel de Ville, Toulon.

Fig. 79. Pietro da Cortona, *Saint Charles Borromeo Leads a Penitential Procession During the Plague of 1576*, 1667, oil on canvas, S. Carlo ai Catinari, Rome.

Fig. 80. Giovan Battista Crespi (il Cerano), *Saint Charles Borromeo in Glory*, 1615, oil on canvas, S. Gottardo in Corte, Milan.

Fig. 81. Giovan Battista Crespi (il Cerano), *Saint Ambrose*, 1610, oil on canvas, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

Fig. 82. Anthony Van Dyck, *The Emperor Theodosius is Forbidden by Saint Ambrose to Enter Milan Cathedral,* c. 1619, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 83. Pierre Puget, *The Baptism of Clovis I (465-511) King of the Franks*, 1652, oil on canvas, Musee des Beaux-Arts, Marseille, France.

Fig. 84. Pierre Puget, *St. Alessandro Sauli*, view of base, 1664-68, marble, S. Maria Assunta in Carignano, Genoa.

Fig. 85. Pierre Puget, project for Baldacchino of S. Maria Assunta in Carignano, 1663, drawing, Musée Longchamp, Marseilles.

Fig. 86. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Baldacchino*, 1624-33, bronze with gilded highlights, St. Peter's, Vatican City.

Fig. 87. Gabriel Le Duc, *Baldachin*, 1663-5, bronze with gilded highlights, Val-de-Grâce, Paris.

Fig. 88. Pierre Puget, *Milo of Croton*, 1671-82, marble, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
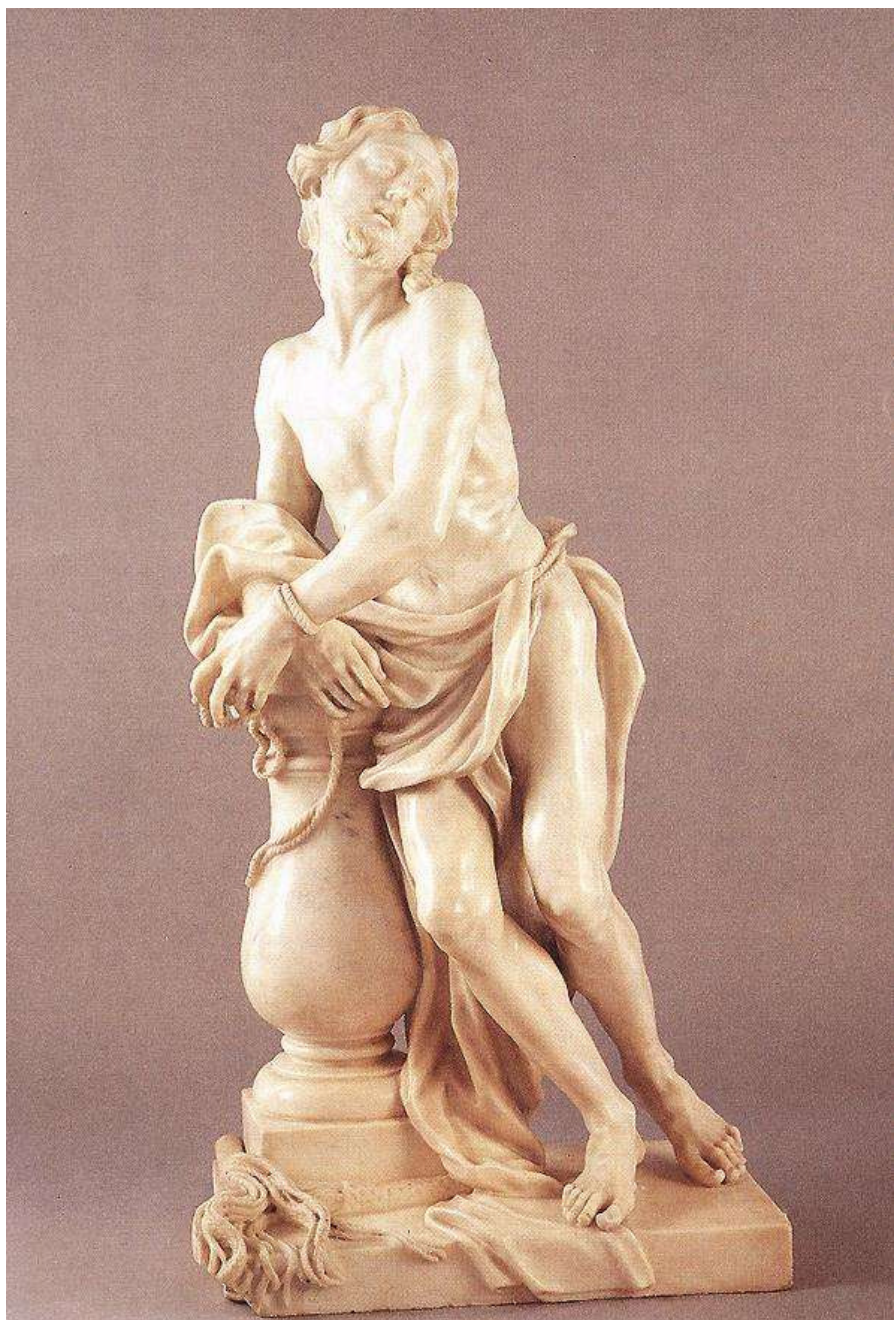
Fig. 89. Filippo Parodi, *Christ at the Column,* c. 1677-80, marble, Galleria Palazzo Reale, Genoa.

Fig. 90. Filippo Parodi, *Cristo morto*, c. 1681-2, polychrome wood, S. Luca, Genoa.
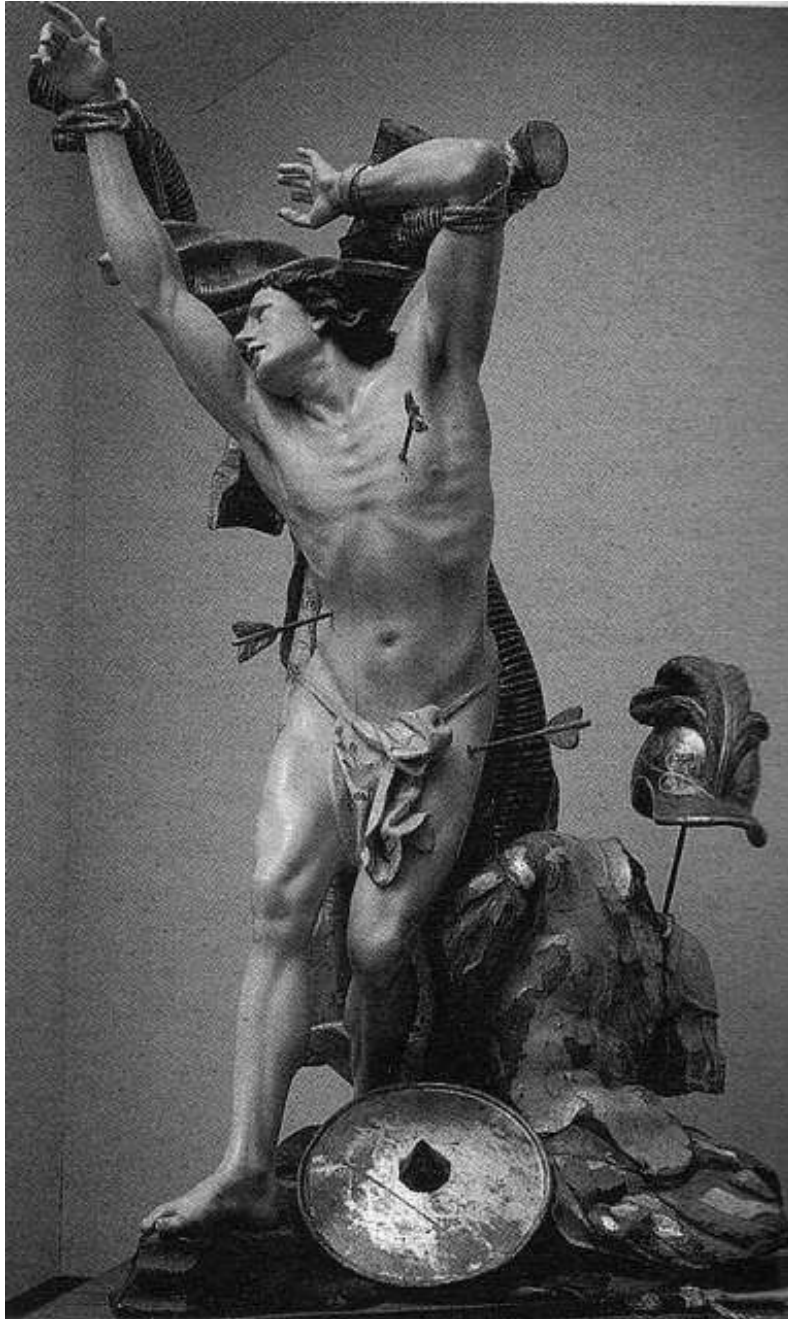
Fig. 91. Anton Maria Maragliano, *St. Sebastian*, 1700, polychrome wood, Oratorio da SS. Trinità, Rapallo.

Fig. 92 a and b. Anton Maria Maragliano, *St. Pascal Baylon in Ecstasy before the Eucharist*, polychrome wood, 1735, SS. Annunziata del Vastato, Genoa.

Fig. 93. Pietro Besoggi, Giovanni Battista Bissone, Francesco Maria Schiaffino, Crucifix Chapel, S. Siro di Nervi, Genoa.

Fig. 94. Gervais de la Barre and Louis Finson, Retable, 1615, chapelle des jésuites, collège Henri IV, Poitiers.

Fig. 95. Pierre Puget, *St. Anthony of Padua*, 1665, polychrome wood, SS. Annunziata in, Genoa.

Fig. 96. Guillaume Fontan, *Tour des Corps Saints*, 1645, polychrome wood, Chapel of Saint-Martial, Saint-Sernin, Toulouse.

Fig. 97. Federico Ferrari, *St. Alessandro Sauli*, 1744, oil on canvas, Duomo, Pavia.

Fig. 98. Fernandino Porta, *St. Alessandro Sauli in Barnabite Attire*, 1741, S. Maria di Canepanova, Pavia.

Fig. 99. Giovanni Battista Tagliasacchi, *St. Alessandro Sauli with the Emblems of a Religious and a Bishop,* c. 1737, S. Brigida, Piacenza.

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Fig. 100. Pietro Papaleo, *St. Fabian*, marble, 1714-15, Albani Chapel, S. Sebastiano, Rome.

Fig. 101. Michele Maglia, St. Peter of Alcantara in Ecstasy, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome.

Fig. 102. Ercole Ferrata, *St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Ecstasy*, 1679-80, St. Elizabeth Chapel, Wroclaw Cathedral, Wroclaw.
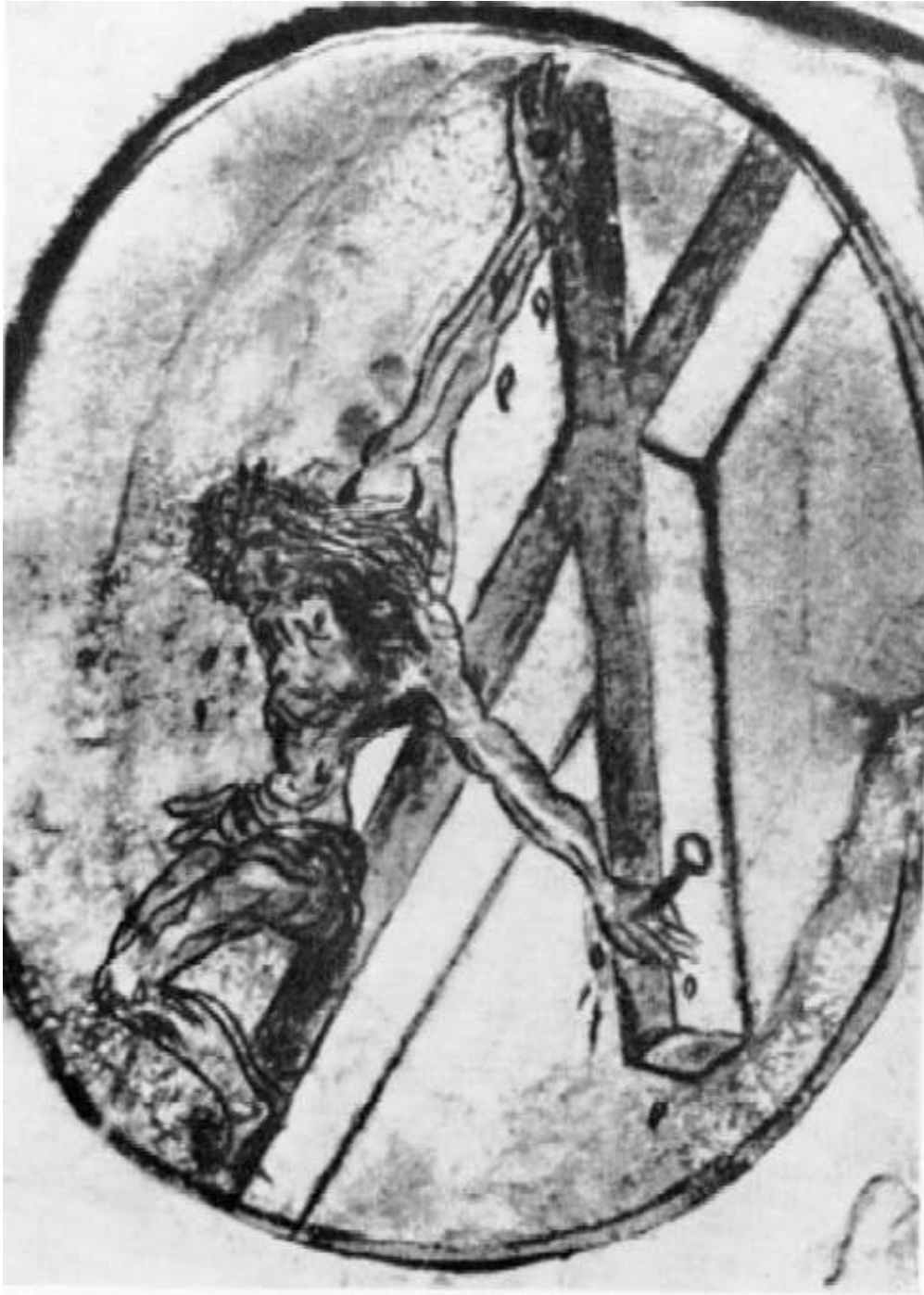
Fig. 103. St. John of the Cross, *Vision of the Crucifix*, drawing, Convent of Incarnation, Avila.

Fig. 104. Erasme Quellin, *Les fleurs du Carmel,* 1670, engraving.

Fig. 105. Diego de Astor, *Vision of the Nazarene*, print, frontispiece for the first edition of John of the Cross, *Obras completas*, 1618.

Fig. 106. Lucas Vorsterman, *The Miracle of Segovia*, seventeenth century, engraving.

Fig. 107. Pieter de Jode, *The Miracle of Segovia*, early seventeenth century, engraving.

Fig. 108. Anonymous, *The Miracle of Segovia*, engraving, frontispiece for the first Italian edition of John of the Cross, "*Opere Spirituali che conducono l'anima alla perfetta unione con Dio*, 1627.
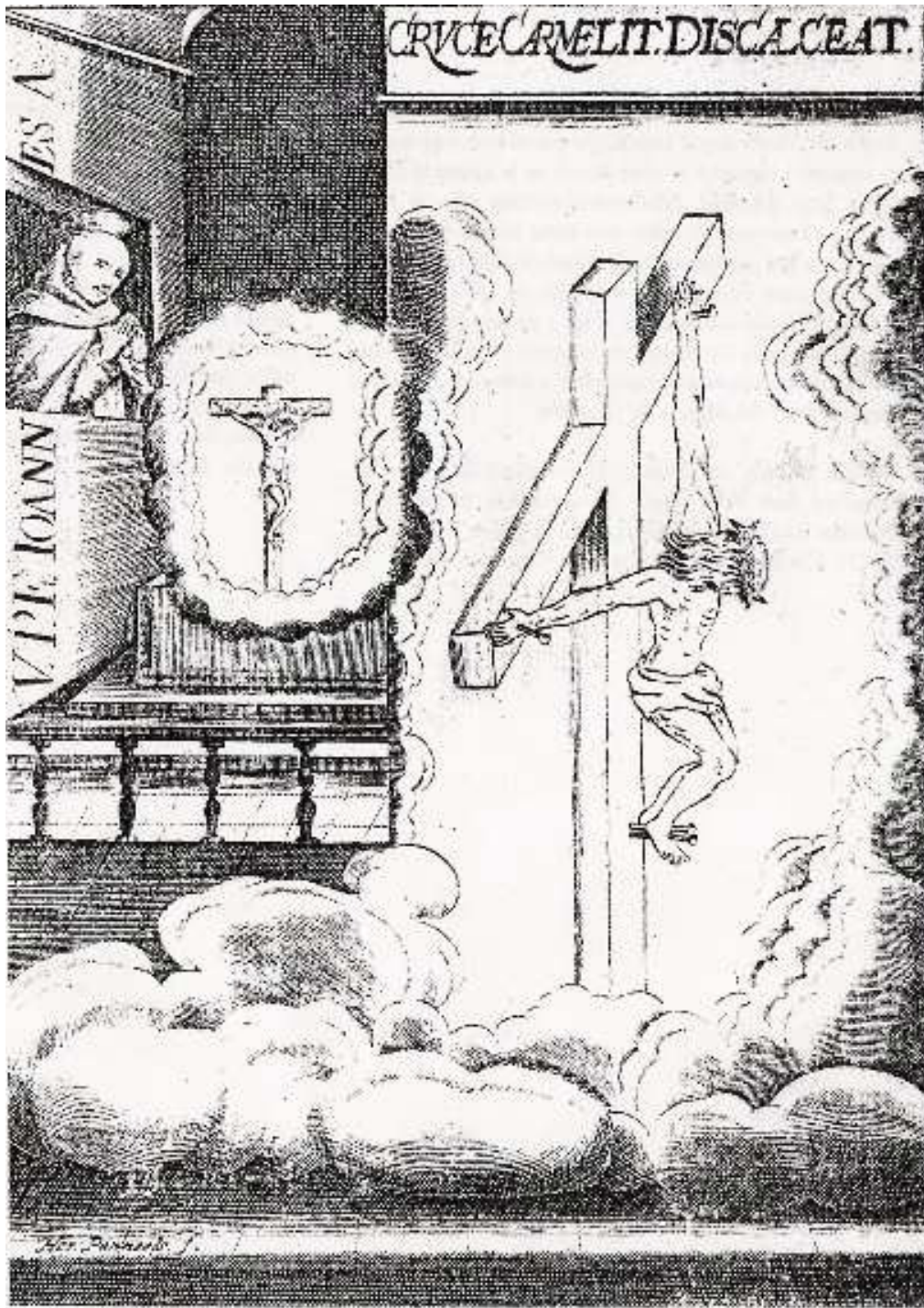
Fig. 109. Herman Panneels, *Vision of the Crucifix*, 1641, engraving.

Fig. 110. Bernardo Daddi, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1340, tempera on panel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 111. Giotto (attr.), *The Ecstasy of St. Francis*, before 1297, fresco, Upper Church, S. Francesco, Assisi.

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Fig. 113. Fra Diego da Careri, *St. Francis in Ecstasy*, 1660, polychromed wood, S. Francesco a
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Fig. 114. Pietro Papaleo, *St. John of the Cross in Ecstasy*, detail, angels, c. 1714, marble, S. Maria della Scala, Rome.