



BERNINI *and the Birth of*
BAROQUE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

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The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles • National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

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FOREWORD

TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT to the North American public for the very first time a comprehensive exhibition of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's sculpted portraits is a rare and exciting event. Bernini was the preeminent sculptor of the Baroque period—indeed, he was one of the greatest sculptors of any era—and his influence endures. Yet his sculpture in marble has never been the subject of an exhibition outside Europe, and we are delighted that the J. Paul Getty Museum and the National Gallery of Canada have been able to present the work of this magnificent artist to a new audience.

The idea for the exhibition began to take shape in 2000, with the J. Paul Getty Museum's acquisition of a magnificent marble sculpture, a Baroque portrait of a woman. Since then, curators have been working to unravel her mysteries. Her identity has been confirmed as Maria Cerri Capranica, a Roman noblewoman. The bust is attributed to Giuliano Finelli, one of Bernini's workshop assistants and a virtuoso artist in his own right, but this attribution remains the subject of discussion. These discussions led to the realization that a full examination of sculptural portraiture in seventeenth-century Rome had never been attempted and was very much needed. Catherine Hess, associate curator in the Getty's Department of Sculpture and Decorative Arts; Andrea Bacchi, scholar and professor at the Università di Trento in Italy; and Jennifer Montagu, Honorary Fellow at the Warburg Institute in London, decided to join forces to transform these discussions into a major exhibition.

They immediately decided that the principal subject of such an examination must be Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the brilliant artist who set in motion innovations in sculptural portraiture that forever changed the field. Bernini and his followers were able to capture a person's appearance and so create a "speaking likeness," not simply by

portraying what was visible but by turning their attention to elusive but critical elements: the sitter's temperament, character, and intellect.

We would like to thank Catherine Hess, Andrea Bacchi, and Jennifer Montagu for having conceived and organized *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* and for having edited and contributed to this magisterial companion volume. Julian Brooks, Anne-Lise Desmas, David Franklin, Steven F. Ostrow, and Jon L. Seydl also made invaluable contributions to the catalogue.

The curators were supported at every step by Antonia Boström, curator of the Department of Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Getty Museum, and by Quincy Houghton, assistant director for exhibitions and public programs. Merritt Price and his team created the brilliant design of the exhibition.

The partnership and support of David Franklin, deputy director and chief curator, and Karen Colby-Stothart, director of exhibitions and installations, at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, have been critical in producing *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*.

The generosity of lenders in North America and Europe has made this groundbreaking exhibition possible; they are listed on the preceding page and deserve our heartfelt gratitude. But we must make special note of the many and invaluable loans from public and private collections in Italy. Our collaboration with individuals and arts institutions in that country has opened a new phase in cultural exchange, for which all of us are deeply grateful.

MICHAEL BRAND, DIRECTOR

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

PIERRE THÉBERGE, DIRECTOR

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE IDEA FOR THIS EXHIBITION developed from a long and absorbing conversation one afternoon in Florence in early 2004. Under discussion was the Getty Museum's bust of Maria Cerri Capranica: its attribution, identification, and relationship to other seventeenth-century Roman busts. With the realization that there remained much to understand of Roman Baroque portrait sculpture and that North America had never hosted an important exhibition on the sculpture of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the idea for the present exhibition was born. The four ensuing years have taken us on the fascinating and, at times, challenging road that has led to *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*. We owe a great debt of gratitude to many people who have helped us along the way.

First and foremost are the individuals at the J. Paul Getty Trust and the National Gallery of Canada who made possible such an undertaking. At the Getty, we would like to thank Trust President James Wood, Museum Director Michael Brand, and Associate Director of Collections David Bomford, along with Sophia Allison, Stephanie Baker, Jane Bassett, Stephen Bell, Anne Blecksmith, Antonia Boström, Julian Brooks, Alison Byrnes, Mary Beth Carosello, Carol Casey, Anna Cera Sones, Robert Checchi, Sue Ann Chui, Catherine Comeau, Brian Considine, Anne-Lise Desmas, Nina Diamond, Jay Gam, Maria Gilbert, John Giurini, Lee Hendrix, Sally Hibbard, Quincy Houghton, Gary Hughes, Everett Katigbak, Amber Keller, Laurel Kishi, Paco Link, Michael Lira, Susan McGinty, Bruce Metro, Mark Mitton, Adrienne Pamp, Merritt Price, Scott Schaefer, Eike Schmidt, Kirsten Seagren, Betsy Severance, Michael Smith, Stanley Smith, Ellen South, and Nancy Yocco. At the National Gallery of Canada, our sincere thanks go to Director Pierre Théberge and to Karen Colby-Stothart, Christopher Etheridge, David Franklin, Stephen Gritt, and Graham Larkin. The beautiful appearance and well-ordered text of this

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The exhibition would have been much less rich and much less interesting without the gracious help of Fausto Calderai. Our sincere thanks also go to Don Filippo Corsini, Gerolamo and Roberta Etro, Donna Iliara Barberini Jovane, Marchese Piero Misciatelli, and Marchesa Maria Aurora Misciatelli for their assistance and great generosity. Giovanni Pratesi's enlightened initiatives helped set this exhibition in motion.

We have many other people to thank, and we have listed them here alphabetically, by institution: Leopoldo Mazzetti and Don Luigi Veturi at the Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome; Christopher Brown, Catherine Whistler, and Timothy Wilson at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Hugo Chapman, Antony Griffiths, and Neil MacGregor at the British Museum, London; Marina Pacini, Kip Peterson, and Stanton Thomas of the Memphis Brooks Museum of Art, Memphis; Timothy Rub and Jon L. Seydl of the Cleveland Museum of Art; Anna Coliva at the Galleria Borghese, Rome; Angela Negro at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; Hubertus Gassner and Martina Sitt at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg; Michael Govan, J. Patrice Marandel, and Nancy Thomas of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art;

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ANDREA BACCHI, CATHERINE HESS,
and JENNIFER MONTAGU



CREATING A NEW LIKENESS

BERNINI'S TRANSFORMATION OF THE PORTRAIT BUST

• *Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess* •

In 1638, speaking to the young English sculptor Nicholas Stone, who was then visiting Rome, Bernini asserted that “itt is the [most] impossible thinge in the world to make a picture in stone naturally to resemble any person.”¹ By this date Gian Lorenzo’s fame as the greatest sculptor of the century and a prodigious portraitist had spread throughout Europe. He had already captured in marble the faces of three popes (Paul V, Gregory XV, Urban VIII) and Charles I of England, not to mention those of numerous cardinals and prelates. With the busts of Costanza Bonarelli and Scipione Borghese, both portrayed with their mouths half open as if about to speak to the onlooker, Bernini had achieved in sculpture something that nobody before him had ever attempted, not even in antiquity.

Not only could he convey a person’s physical attributes with mastery, but he outclassed all past masters with his ability to impart color and life to marble, a noble stone, of course, but one resistant to such results as these. Bernini was well aware of this fact and, when conversing with Stone, he cited the example that he would literally repeat thirty years later, in 1665, to Paul Fréart de Chantelou in Paris:

I told his Holinesse that if he went into the next rome and whyted all his face over and his eyes, if possible were, and come fort againe nott being a whit leaner nor lesse beard, only the chaunging of his coulour, no man would know you, for doe not wee see y when a man is affrighted thare comes a pallnesse on the sudden? [P]resently wee say he likes nott the same man. How can itt than be possible that a marble picture can ressemble the nature when itt is all one coulour,

*where to the contrary a man has one coulour in his face, another in his haire, a third in his lipps, and his eyes yett different from all the rest?*²

By the time he spoke with the young Englishman, Bernini was being kept away from portraiture—which he had practiced with feverish intensity in the years around 1620—by his ever-growing commitments, not only as a sculptor but also as an architect, in the exclusive service of Pope Urban VIII. After his achievements with the *Bonarelli* and *Scipione Borghese* busts, Bernini seemed to have become more and more reluctant to accept new commissions for portraits, possibly because they required more direct participation than other sculptural undertakings. Thus, it was hardly an accident that the portraits he executed after the beginning of Urban VIII’s pontificate in 1623 were—with

Fig. 1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pedro de Foix Montoya, ca. 1622–23. Marble.
Rome, Santa Maria di Monserrato.

Fig. 2 EDMOND BOUCHARDON (1698–1762)
Bust of Scipione Borghese (after Bernini).
 Sanguine pencil on paper, 26 x 19 cm (10 ¼ x 7 ½ in.).
 Paris, Musée du Louvre (23987 recto).

very rare exceptions—official commissions from sovereigns and popes that he could not refuse.

Even though he produced fewer portraits in his later career, it is clear that Bernini saw the genre as important—a view not widely shared by cognoscenti in the art world of the seventeenth century. The public’s unconditional appreciation of portraits and the fact that some of the period’s foremost artists, including Van Dyck and Velázquez, had indeed established themselves as portraitists were at variance with the general attitude of Roman art critics, especially those of a Classicist orientation, such as Giovanni Battista Agucchi and Giovan Pietro Bellori. Many writers on artistic matters continued to view the portrait’s dependence on reality as a kind of original sin and relegated the genre to a secondary role behind narrative painting. As for sculpture, there primacy was understood to belong to the statue or, at most, to the relief. Thus early in the century Vincenzo Giustiniani, one of the first and most intelligent admirers of Caravaggio, when ranking the different genres of painting in twelve ascending tiers, placed portraits only fourth, at a level inferior even to paintings of “flowers and other minor things.”³ Giustiniani’s point of view was largely shared by his contemporaries and often by artists themselves. Even a brilliant portraitist such as Rubens, when on a diplomatic mission to France and Spain for the Gonzagas in 1603, wrote back to Mantua that he found it “hardly honorable” to have been commissioned to paint portraits, “works of a lowly genre for my taste, and on a level with everyone’s talents.”⁴

Bernini’s entirely different critical appraisal of portraiture, known to us through Stone and Chantelou, is quoted in the biographies of the artist written by his son Domenico and by Filippo Baldinucci, two texts whose genesis might be linked to the sculptor’s own output.⁵ It is therefore significant that portraits (“portraits with head and bust”) are listed



first in the catalogue of Bernini’s works that Baldinucci included at the end of his biography, a catalogue based on a handwritten list of works (see appendix to checklist) that was drawn up at the sculptor’s home in the last years of his life; about 1675.⁶ Thereafter, not only was less attention paid to Bernini’s portraits, but his entire oeuvre would be increasingly ignored when not ferociously condemned. Given this, it was not surprising that Johann Winckelmann, following Bellori, actually went so far as to strike Bernini’s name from his list of great seventeenth-century sculptors, sparing only Alessandro Algardi and François Duquesnoy.⁷ In Leopoldo Cicognara’s *Storia della scultura*, first published in 1813–18 with the aim of celebrating Antonio Canova as the first sculptor decisively to break away from the Baroque tradition, Bernini, although acknowledged as



Fig. 3 EDMÉ BOUCHARDON

Bust of Scipione Borghese (after Bernini).

Sanguine pencil on paper, 25.8 x 19 cm (10 1/4 x 7 1/2 in.).

Paris, Musée du Louvre (23988 recto).

a great artist, was nonetheless cited principally as the object of polemical attacks.⁸

This critical assessment prevailed for a great length of time, until it was displaced in the mid-twentieth century by Rudolf Wittkower.⁹ As one leafs through the large printed plates illustrating Cicognara's work, the number of portraits reproduced can be counted on one hand, and none are by Bernini. If one imagines a history of printed reproductions of Bernini's work, something yet to be written, portraits would play an utterly marginal role, being reduced for the most part to small images, like those of the bust of Scipione Borghese found in the guides to the Villa Borghese.¹⁰

It is significant that, beginning in the eighteenth century, the most intelligent appraisals of Bernini's portraiture come from artists. When, in 1729, Montesquieu paused

with admiration in front of the *Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese* (cat. no. 4.1), recording that "his lips look alive, with saliva between them, and he seems to be speaking," we should not forget that his favorable evaluation was exceptional and that he was visiting Rome in the company of Lambert-Sigisbert Adam and Edmé Bouchardon, two sculptors particularly fascinated by Bernini's work.¹¹ Bouchardon himself executed two magnificent sanguine drawings in which Bernini's bust of Scipione Borghese is depicted in such detail that even the most complex aspects of the composition, such as the depth and inclination of the bust, are represented (figs. 2 and 3).¹² A critical anthology of these opinions should be followed by the comments made about the bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya (fig. 1) by Joshua Reynolds, when he visited Rome in 1751: "The marble is so wonderfully managed that it appears flesh itself; the upper lip, which is covered with hair, has all the lightness of nature. He has a meagre, thin face but a vast deal of spirit in his look. This bust certainly yields in no respect to the best of the Antique: indeed I know none that in my opinion are equal to it."¹³ In the nineteenth century, the Italian sculptor Vincenzo Vela reverently kept in his studio a cast of the *Portrait of a Gentleman* in Berlin—today variously attributed to Algardi or Finelli (cat. no. 5.2)—at that time believed to be by Bernini. Another cast of the same bust had earlier been kept by the Swedish sculptor Tobias Sergel.¹⁴ During a visit to Rome in 1915, even Rodin, despite being, as Albert Besnard, director of the French Academy in Rome, observed, entirely devoted to the cult of Michelangelo, "never tired of admiring Bernini's busts. I can see well that what moves him most in them is the science of arrangement. . . . He circles round them like a man looking for a secret."¹⁵

MODELS AND PRECURSORS

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Rome was the most important laboratory for the development of portraiture—an unprecedented situation, as in the previous century other cities such as Florence, Venice, and Antwerp fulfilled this function. It was in Rome that such painters as Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, Rubens, Vouet, and Van Dyck would radically redefine the genre. Even such a lesser-known artist as Ottavio Leoni played a significant role in these developments, as he was unequaled in what Giovanni Baglione defined as “sketch portraits” (*ritratti alla macchia*)¹⁶—likenesses the artist executed from memory after having had only a fleeting glance at the model. Leoni achieved his most telling results in drawings, rather than on canvas, these sketches being “for the most part in black pencil on blue paper with many graceful touches in chalk (*gesso*) and some similar touches in red pencil, which look colored and fleshy, so natural and alive are they.”¹⁷

Leoni’s extraordinary series of drawings, executed between about 1607 and 1625, provides “the finest gallery of faces of early Seicento Rome, from the days of Caravaggio until Bernini’s appearance on the scene.”¹⁸ These works present defining facial typologies for the features of aristocrats, cardinals, pontiffs, and noblewomen, as well as the individual characteristics of such well-known figures as the poets Giovan Battista Marino and Gabriello Chiabrera, the intellectual Giovanni Ciampoli, the scientist Galileo Galilei, and artists such as Caravaggio, Guercino, and Bernini himself.¹⁹ The scholarly inclination to put together galleries of illustrious men, based on the Cinquecento model inaugurated in Como by Paolo Giovio, is inextricably linked on occasion to the rather common desire to be immortalized in a portrait.²⁰ Like Giovan Battista Marino’s *Galeria*, Ottavio Leoni’s drawings bespeak an almost obsessive passion for the portrait, a passion not without precedent in Cinquecento Italy. Here it

Fig. 4 OTTAVIO LEONI (1578–1630)
Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo. Black and white pencil,
21.3 x 14.8 cm (8 3/8 x 5 7/8 in.). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett,
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 17115).

is enough to cite Pietro Aretino’s famous invective, a letter to Leone Leoni, in which he warned, “Style must not portray the head before it has portrayed the fame; nor should you reckon that the ancient tenets allow one to cast likenesses in metal of people unworthy of it. It is to your dishonor, oh century, that you tolerate tailors and even butchers appearing alive in painting.”²¹

Leoni’s engraved portrait of Gian Lorenzo Bernini is dated 1622. At this date, the two artists probably had already known each other for some time, because they both frequented the same noble families: the Borghese, the Ludovisi, the Peretti Montalto, the Orsini, and the Barberini. According to Roberto Longhi, the “deferential but keenly faithful portraiture” of Ottavio would have repercussions for sculpture “at least up until Bernini’s youth.”²² This is clearly demonstrated in the countless drawings Leoni made before 1620, a body of work that perhaps constitutes the closest pictorial parallel to Gian Lorenzo’s first portraits. The drawn portrait of Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo (fig. 4),²³ choosing almost at random a single example from Ottavio’s endless Roman gallery, looks like a perfect forerunner of Bernini’s works of the early 1620s, such as the portraits of Cardinal Peretti Montalto (cat. no. 1.9), Cardinal Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo (fig. 1.9.1), and Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (see fig. 11). Close similarities are found not only in the sharp focus of the physiognomy but likewise in the extraordinary *mise-en-scène* of the lighting, which plays on almost imperceptible reflections of the sort that Gian Lorenzo himself would miraculously succeed in transposing into marble. One even wonders whether, around 1620, Bernini did not play a part in Leoni’s process of maturation, as around this time he achieved a naturalism that was much livelier and more modern than that which we find in his earlier works, which were still influenced by Scipione Pulzone, Hendrick Goltzius, and Federico Zuccaro.²⁴



Fig. 5 Attributed to TADDEO LANDINI (ca. 1550–1596)
Pope Gregory XIII, ca. 1580. Bronze, H: 76.5 cm (30 1/8 in.).
Berlin, Staatliche Museen (271).

By contrast, the search for potential precedents in Roman sculpture of the early Seicento for the elements that characterize Bernini's portraiture has not yielded any outstanding results to date. Busts created in Rome between 1600 and 1620 were almost all destined for funerary contexts; indeed they constitute a small nucleus of little-known works in which a heraldic, almost abstract notion of the bust, often strongly subordinated to architectural structure,²⁵ still prevails. None of these portrait busts can compete with the painted or drawn portraits of the same period. When we look at the noble and austere, but in its facial rendering ultimately generic, *Silvestro Aldobrandini* by Nicolas Cordier (1567–1612), together with his *Lesa Deti Aldobrandini*,²⁶ the praise accorded the former by Pope Clement VIII ultimately sounds quite conventional: "the memorial statue of the Most Illustrious Signor Silvestro looks quite like him, and his Holiness was quite pleased with it."²⁷ Taddeo Landini, another sculptor who had worked with Clement VIII, might indeed have better merited lavish praise, if he is the author of the portrait of Pope Gregory XIII (fig. 5), executed around 1580. With its proud, striking vivacity, this bronze is perhaps the work that most anticipates Bernini's papal portraits. As for the hypothesis that Gian Lorenzo may have been familiar with portrait busts by the Venetian Alessandro Vittoria (1525?–1608), the most important and modern sculptor in late-sixteenth-century Italy, this seems rather unlikely, as Vittoria's fame remained almost exclusively confined to Venice and stylistic comparisons are unconvincing.

In an attempt to set out a more precise context for Bernini's first busts, especially for his portrait of Giovanni Battista Santoni (ca. 1610–15; see fig. 8), Wittkower cited the case of the bust of Baldassare Ginanni (Rome, Sant'Agostino), attributed to Flaminio Vacca (1538–1605).²⁸ Because of the sober concision of the composition, Vacca manages to capture the physiognomic specificity of the

face with considerable expressiveness. In the end, however, the comparison only serves to "assess Bernini's advance towards a new interpretation of the human head."²⁹ Later, in 1623, when working on the monument to Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, Bernini chose to portray the figure in half-length, with his hands joined in prayer and turned toward the altar. Perhaps he was still thinking of models such as the half-figure in bronze of Elena Savelli, created shortly after 1580 by the brothers Giacomo and Ludovico del Duca in San Giovanni in Laterano, or of the image of Cardinal Girolamo Albani, executed by Valsoldo in Santa Maria del Popolo.³⁰ Both works were early attempts to renovate the relationship between the sculpted figure and the spectator. But these two portraits, because of their precise typological resemblance to the *Bellarmino*, reveal in the end only how radical the stylistic shift imposed by Bernini really was.





Fig. 6 FRANCESCO MOCHI

Ranuccio Farnese (detail of face), 1612–20. Bronze. Piacenza, Piazza Cavalli.

Of course, sculptural portraiture of the first decade of the Seicento in Rome requires much further investigation and exploration, as we still cannot draw up a correct assessment of it without knowing if any work in this genre by such central figures as Stefano Maderno (ca. 1576–1636) or Camillo Mariani (1567–1611) ever existed.³¹ We do not even know if Francesco Mochi made any portraits prior to his move to Piacenza in 1612. Moreover, of the works he executed in Emilia, the equestrian portrait of Ranuccio Farnese deserves consideration here (fig. 6). Before casting the statue, the sculptor tried in vain to see the duke in Parma in January 1619, but despite being unable to meet him Mochi achieved a rendering of Farnese's face that exudes an expressive power that is entirely modern and original.³² Having left behind the Florentine model established by Giambologna, Mochi proves that he is as original as Bernini but in a different way, namely by creating an inventive stylization of naturalistic forms such as the receding hairline, the deep wrinkles etched under the eyes and

around the nose, and even the fleshy, sensual lips. The hair and beard, on the other hand, look like sharp metal shavings, best exemplifying the “powerful emotion expressed through abstract, ideal forms,”³³ characteristic of this artist.

Other works that seem relevant to Bernini's early development of the portrait bust come from the hand of another noteworthy sculptor of this period, Ippolito Buzio (1562–1634). Only one documented portrait, a head of Alessandro Farnese, is extant and this work, commissioned in 1592, was placed atop an ancient statue in the Campidoglio.³⁴ In addition, three busts in the Aldobrandini Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva³⁵ are likely attributable to him (see fig. 1.8.1).

The known works of Nicolas Cordier are few beyond the statues of the parents of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini mentioned earlier. Cordier sculpted the bronze *Henry IV* (1606–9) for Saint John Lateran and *Paul V Enthroned*, for the main square in Rimini, a statue only completed from a model after his death in 1612.³⁶ Paid for in 1605, the noteworthy bust of Cardinal Domenico Toschi by Ambrogio Bonvicino (fig. 7), the author of the *Urban VII* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (1614), was intended for the cardinal's chapel in the Cathedral of Reggio.³⁷ The bust is made of polychrome marbles and the mozzetta is of ancient red stone, in keeping with a widespread practice in late-Cinquecento Rome. The face, explored in meticulous detail in such features as the beard, the heavy cheeks, and the deep eye sockets, is enlivened by the half-open, pitilessly toothless mouth, which endows the effigy with a singular realism not to be found in the cardinal's painted portrait, executed the previous year by Ottavio Leoni (Reggio Emilia, Galleria Fontanesi).³⁸

Utterly unexpressive, by comparison, are the attempts at portraiture of Cristoforo Stati (ca. 1556–1619)³⁹ and Silla Longhi (ca. 1550–1617). The former was recruited to sculpt the statue of Francesco Barberini (1611–12) for the family chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle. In a letter to his brother

Fig. 7 AMBROGIO BONVICINO (ca. 1552–1622)
Cardinal Domenico Toschi, 1605. Reggio Emilia, Toschi Chapel.

Maffeo, Carlo Barberini judged this statue to be “quite imperfect, and even should he perfect it by retouching and refinishing it, the best he could do would be to make a statue worth in my opinion little money, as he didn’t proceed with great diligence.”⁴⁰ It was no accident then that, a few years later, in 1619, the commission for the busts of Maffeo’s parents, first given to Stati, was passed on to Bernini (see cat. no. 2.1). Equally modest are the statues by the Lombard Silla Longhi: the recumbent effigy of Cardinal Michele Bonelli, finished in 1604 (Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva), and the figures of Clement VIII (1606) and Paul V (1611) for the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore. In the latter case the results were disappointing, even in the eyes of the patron, Paul V, who in a notice (*Avviso*) from July 1612 indicated, “the order had been given to remake the heads of the two marble statues placed in the chapel, which Our Lord is having made [*fa fabricare*] in Santa Maria Maggiore, because they bore no resemblance.”⁴¹ A few months later the death of Cordier, who had been com-



Fig. 8 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Giovanni Battista Santoni, ca. 1610–15. Marble. Rome, Santa Prassede.

missioned to make the new head of Paul V, would put an end to this project and result in the ones sculpted by Silla Longhi being saved.

SCULPTED LIVES: EARLY BERNINI PORTRAITS

In 1612, Pietro Bernini received the payment for the *Portrait of Antonio Coppola* (cat. no. 1.2). The participation of the thirteen-year-old Gian Lorenzo in the execution of this bust has been the subject of much debate and remains controversial. There are those who maintain sole authorship for Pietro, on the basis of this documentary evidence of Gian Lorenzo’s youth, and on the fact that the portrait is not cited in any of the latter’s biographies.⁴² Supporters of this argument also point out the very close resemblance between the drapery of the bust—almost two-dimensional in its abstract, geometrical simplification—and that enfolding the allegory of winter in the Aldobrandini collection, sculpted a few years later by Pietro. Arguing in favor of a role for Gian Lorenzo is the fact that throughout his career Pietro never sculpted any portraits. The argument that only Pietro is cited as receiving payment is also weak, since according to guild rules the underage Gian Lorenzo could not have been paid directly for any work he might have done in his father’s workshop. Most importantly, however, one must recognize the almost disconcerting realism of this image, a realism only partially explained by the features’ having been drawn from a death mask, as the strongest argument for an attribution to Gian Lorenzo. The attribution of the bust to the younger Bernini was made initially by Irving Lavin, to whom we also owe its discovery.⁴³ Because this question still divides Bernini scholars we have chosen to exhibit the piece here under the names of both artists.

Bernini himself mentioned to his biographers that the bust of Giovanni Battista Santoni (fig. 8) was his earliest attempt at portraiture, and this work was most likely created





Fig. 9
 PIETRO BERNINI (1562–1629)
Coronation of Clement VIII, 1612–14.
 Marble relief. Rome,
 Santa Maria Maggiore.

Fig. 10
 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
*Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro
 Damasceni Peretti Montalto* (detail).
 See cat. no. 1.9.

close in time to the *Coppola*. The Santoni bust, almost modest in execution, is sober in appearance, and the treatment of the hair and beard looks rough and barely finished—a far cry from the virtuoso feats that would repeatedly appear in Gian Lorenzo’s later works. There are also lingering uncertainties about the date of the bust’s execution. In old age, Bernini claimed to have sculpted the bust when he was eight years old, therefore in 1606 or 1607, but this is contradicted by the fact that the man who commissioned the monument, Giovanni Antonio Santoni, is recorded in the stone inscription as being the bishop of Policastro, an office he attained only in 1610. Any earlier dating than 1610 would thus seem highly unlikely and many scholars have therefore dated it

to this year,⁴⁴ while others have suggested a date around 1615.⁴⁵ In any case the first half of the 1610s remains one of the most mysterious periods of Gian Lorenzo’s entire career. If we are to believe the testimony of the artist and his biographers, during these same years he also collaborated with his father on a relief, almost surely the *Coronation of Clement VIII* (1612–14; fig. 9), sculpting one head sometimes identified with that of the pope.⁴⁶ Already by 1612, Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi, the future Pope Gregory XV, had supposedly asked for “his portrait by his [Gian Lorenzo’s] hands,” when departing for the legation at Bologna.⁴⁷

Two circumstances, however, must be taken into account in any attempt to circumscribe Gian Lorenzo’s role in the



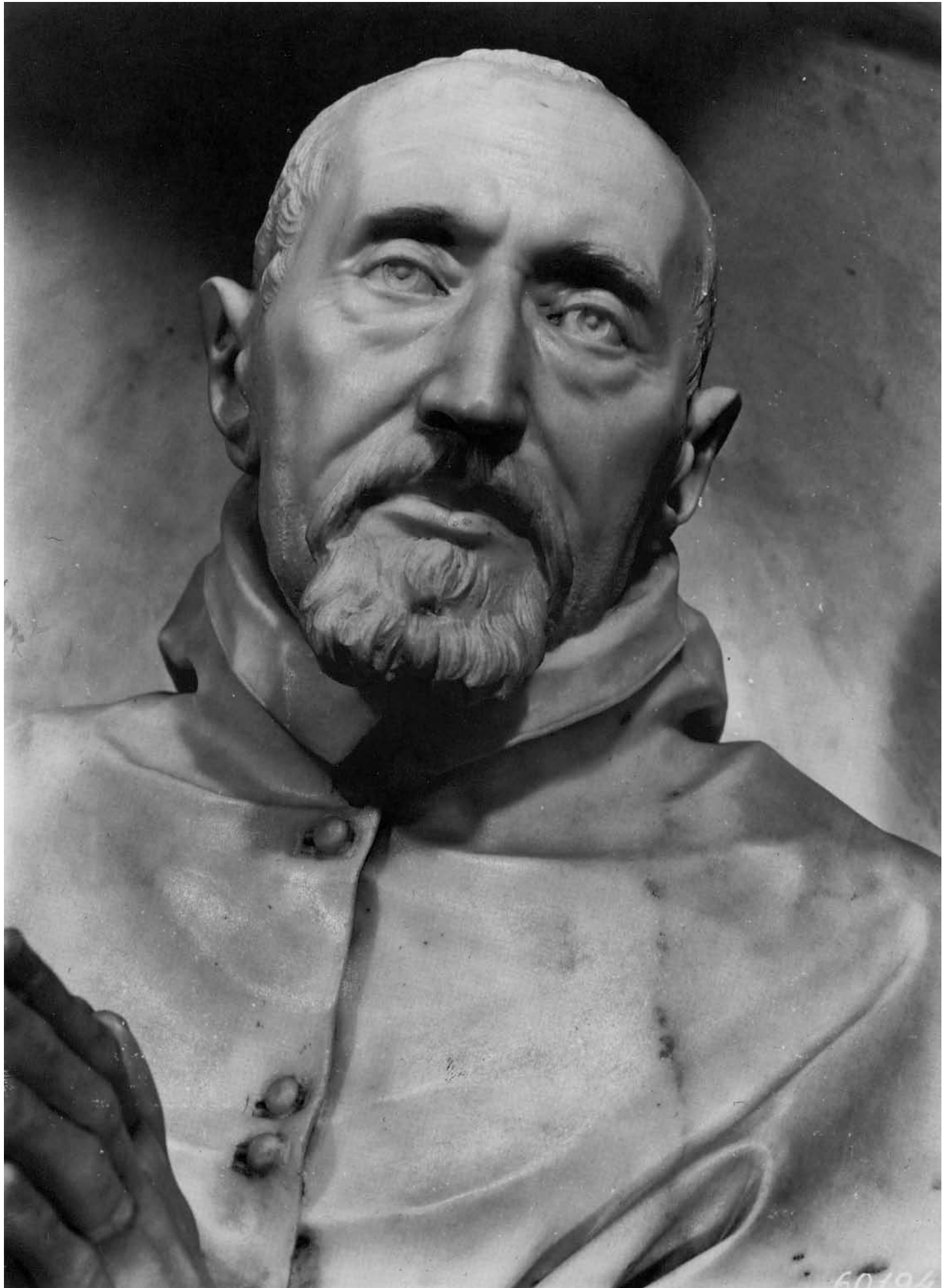


Fig. 11 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, 1623–24. Marble, H: 76.5 cm (30 ¼ in.); W: 70 cm (27 ⅞ in.); D: 50 cm (19 ⅞ in.). Rome, Il Gesù.

execution of the Coppola bust or to determine a date for the *Santoni*: the impossibility of precisely defining the terms of Gian Lorenzo's collaboration with his father from roughly 1610 to 1618 and the fact that his activity as an independent portraitist is documented only from 1619, the year that Maffeo Barberini commissioned the busts of his parents from Bernini (see cat. no. 2.1). In the years that followed, Gian Lorenzo would execute an impressive series of almost twenty busts that constitutes the most consistent nucleus of all his activity in portraiture. Maffeo Barberini's ascent to the papal throne in 1623 led to a radical change in Gian Lorenzo's artistic activities, as he became involved in the decoration of Saint Peter's, with tasks that went well beyond his expertise as a sculptor and thus gradually led to a diminished production of busts.

His activity in portraiture was thus concentrated in the same period in which he was engaged in the execution of secular monumental statuary. In fact, between 1618 and 1625, he sculpted such works as *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius Fleeing Troy*; *The Rape of Persephone*; *Apollo and Daphne*; *David* (today all in the Galleria Borghese in Rome); and the Villa Montalto *Neptune* (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London). These were the works that established his overwhelming success and led to his being dubbed the "Michelangelo of our century, both in painting and sculpture, who is second to none of the ancients in the excellence of his Art."⁴⁸ While this thrilling sequence of masterpieces still unfolds before our eyes in the rooms of the Galleria Borghese, the development of his less monumental portraiture remains more difficult to reconstruct, because of the dispersion of the busts Bernini made during those years, which have never been brought together in significant numbers until now. Unlike with the timeline of the monumental marbles, there are few chronological certainties in this series. The artist was paid for the *Camilla*

Barberini (cat. no. 2.1) in April 1619. The *Paul V* (cat. no. 1.3) and *Gregory XV* (cat. no. 1.4) are documented as being executed between 1621 and 1622. From April to September of 1622, Bernini sculpted the *Antonio Cepparelli* (cat. no. 1.8) and between 1623 and 1624 executed a "wax head" of Paolo Giordano Orsini to be cast into bronze.⁴⁹

It is primarily thanks to Irving Lavin⁵⁰ that we can now trace a reliable chronological sequence for the portraits realized during this period. When compared with the preceding tradition of portraiture, none of Bernini's early busts seem as explicitly revolutionary as the *Francesco I d'Este* (see fig. 23) or the *Louis XIV* (see fig. 24) will appear a few decades later. Nevertheless, though measuring himself against established typologies, Bernini already radically renovates these types in ways that will rapidly become canonical and prevail for the rest of the century and even longer. His production provides the last word on the typology of the pontiff with cope established by Guglielmo della Porta (*Paul V, Gregory XV*),⁵¹ exceptionally adapting it for a cardinal's portrait (*Cardinal d'Escoubleau de Sourdis*; cat. no. 1.7). In a growth process that can be followed step by step (*Cardinal Giovanni Dolfin*, cklst A6; *Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo*, fig. 1.9.1; *Cardinal Peretti Montalto*, fig. 10; *Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino*, fig. 11; *Cardinal Agostino Valier*, cklst A21; *Cardinal Pietro Valier*, cklst A22; and *Cardinal Khlesl*, fig. 12), he also transforms the typology of the prelate with mozzetta. It is not surprising therefore that the transition from the portrait of Cardinal Dolfin (ca. 1621) to that of Cardinal Pietro Valier (1626–27) has an equivalent correspondence in painting, as evidenced by comparison of Scipione Pulzone's portrait of a man believed to be Cardinal Savelli (London, National Gallery, ca. 1596)⁵² with Van Dyck's *Domenico Rivarola* (Des Moines, Iowa State Education Association).⁵³

With his *Antonio Barberini* (fig. 13) and *Bartolomeo Roscioli* (cklst A24) portraits, Bernini brings new life to the

Fig. 12 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, ca. 1627. Marble. Wiener Neustadt, Cathedral.

typology of the cloaked nobleman that was broadly practiced in Rome during the second half of the Cinquecento.⁵⁴ In so doing he blazed a trail that would be followed shortly thereafter by Giuliano Finelli and Alessandro Algardi.

There are two aspects above all that make this group of marbles and bronzes one of the great moments of sculpted portraiture. The first of these is the artist's unparalleled ability to bring out of the marble the physiognomies of the different personalities by bringing into focus their most distinguishing features. These results are all the more surprising when one realizes that Bernini rarely had the chance to work from sitters present in front of him. Some of these works (*Giovanni Battista Santoni*, *Camilla Barberini*, *Antonio Barberini*, *Francesco Barberini*, *Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo*) are portraits of individuals that Gian Lorenzo had never met, while other busts, although depicting individuals Bernini could have met in Rome, were commissioned posthumously (*Pope Paul V*, *Antonio Cepparelli*, *Roberto Bellarmino*, *Agostino Valier*). This was no small impediment to the sculptor who, many years later when asked for a portrait by the duke of Modena, Francesco I d'Este, wrote to him, saying that rendering the likeness of a person in white marble only from a painting was the most difficult thing.⁵⁵

Nourished by a strong sense of the challenge from contemporary painting, Bernini's early busts draw their great force of novelty from the ambitious aim of bestowing an immediately recognizable individuality on distinct subjects. However obvious this quality may seem, it gains significance when we consider that in the formidable gallery of portraits realized by Alessandro Vittoria just a few years earlier, it is not always easy to distinguish one person from another.⁵⁶ The Venetian sculptor's busts show a recurring series of characteristics—thick beards of varying length, the official garb of the Republic's nobility—which, at least at first glance, confer a sort of homogeneity on this group

of portraits, as if Vittoria wanted to freeze the features of the Venetian aristocracy at the time of the Battle of Lepanto rather than capture the specific characteristics of some of its individual members.

As has been recently observed, the Cinquecento was the century where "one explored the possibilities of introspection in order to capture and render the movements of the soul, but as the decades went by, one looked instead for ways of painting a garment or an attitude 'with gravity and decorum' where one went from mobility to calm, or even immobility, from personalization to impersonalization."⁵⁷ This is very different from what one sees in Bernini's portraits, where, even when compositional similarities are in evidence, one could never mistake the vigilant but suspicious gaze and the sullen, pockmarked face of Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto (cat. no. 1.9) for that of Antonio dal Pozzo (fig. 1.9.1), "of quite healthy aspect," a man "quite expert in drinking [and] eating,"⁵⁸ or with the spiritual intensity of Roberto Bellarmino, captured by Bernini with his mouth half-open, in the act of prayer. Bernini's gallery of characters is also an objective and rigorous, but never pitiless, investigation of the infinite ways one grows old. This exploration was carried out at the same time and in the same city where Federico Cesi and the Accademia dei Lincei, in the wake of Galileo's lessons, were observing nature in an entirely new way.⁵⁹

Above all else, however, this series of busts came to play a determinant role in the history of sculpted portraiture because of Bernini's unprecedented ability to create effigies so lifelike that they appear to breathe, despite the great impediments presented by a material naturally resistant to the expression of movement. The twisting of the heads, the endless variety of ways he sculpted the iris and pupil to capture the light, the suggestion of rotation in each bust, the movement of the arms underneath the clothing,



Fig. 13 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI AND GIULIANO FINELLI
Antonio Barberini, ca. 1625–30. Marble, H: 65 cm (25 5/16 in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (2499).

and the ability to adapt the lower part of the composition to every conceivable circumstance—these are the principal elements that Bernini combined to shape the viewer's perception of an illusory and impressive vitality. Thus Maffeo Barberini—according to Bernini's own testimony—went so far as to say: "I do think Monsignor Montoya looks like his portrait."⁶⁰

A fundamental factor in the honing of this "illusion" was naturally the specific setting for which each bust was intended. In planning his works, Bernini would carefully evaluate the height at which they would be placed, the way in which they would catch the light, and what would be the best viewpoint for the spectator, in order to heighten their "presence." Unfortunately, today very few of these busts are located in their original settings. Not one of the "gallery" busts remains in the exact location intended by Gian Lorenzo, and those made for churches have not fared any better. Only a visit to Santa Prassede to see the *Santoni*, to Santa Maria sopra Minerva to find the monument to Giovanni Vigevano (fig. 1.2.1) on the wall dividing two chapels in the left aisle, or to San Lorenzo in Lucina, which still houses the *Gabriele Fonseca* (see fig. 22), can give us a correct idea of the manner in which the artist intended these works to be viewed.⁶¹ On the other hand, an important yardstick for measuring the precocious success of Bernini's early busts consists in the very fact that on more than one occasion, portraits created for funerary purposes quickly became busts exhibited in galleries, as the high point of a palazzo's decoration—the most obvious instances of this being the busts of Urban VIII's parents (see cat. no. 2.1), the *Cardinal Montalto* (cat. no. 1.9) and *Monsignor Antonio dal Pozzo* (fig. 1.9.1).⁶²

BERNINI AND FINELLI: A DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP

Despite Gian Lorenzo's meticulous recollection of almost all the busts he made at a young age,⁶³ in Baldinucci's biography these marbles and bronzes are listed fully only in the catalogue appended at the end (see p. 296 in this volume), whereas in the main text only one specific passage is devoted to the *Montoya* (probably thanks to Maffeo Barberini's praise of the bust), while the *Santoni* (without mentioning the person portrayed), the *Bellarmino*, and the papal portraits of Paul V and Gregory XV are merely cited briefly. In Baldinucci's final catalogue the list of the works in marble ends with the famous statement: "Heads up to number 15. Different places."⁶⁴

For this reason, the attribution of certain busts remains open to discussion. A particularly emblematic case is that of the *Virginio Cesarini* (ck1st D2), placed within an oval niche at the center of the monument built for him in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. This project received the approval of Pope Urban VIII immediately after Cesarini's death at the age of twenty-eight in April 1624. Long neglected, the bust was published in 1956 by Antonia Nava Cellini as a work by François Duquesnoy, a hypothesis rejected in 1989 by Ann Sutherland Harris, who for her part decisively attributed it to the young Bernini.⁶⁵ Sutherland Harris's proposal arises from a stylistic analysis but also from a reconsideration of the historical and cultural context in which the portrait was created. Its subject did enjoy close ties of friendship to Urban VIII, Galileo Galilei (who dedicated *The Assayer* to him in 1623), Federico Cesi, Agostino Mascardi, and also Cardinal Bellarmino, and he was a pivotal figure in that "wondrous juncture" that fed hope for a genuine dialogue between faith and science in the years prior to Galileo's condemnation in 1633 and the subsequent decline of the Accademia dei Lincei.⁶⁶

Support for this attribution has not been unanimous,⁶⁷ but one has to admit that, so far, no more convincing hypoth-



esis has been put forward. The lack of an opportunity to see this marble alongside contemporary documented busts by Bernini frustrates any contribution toward a solution to the problem. A different case is that of the portrait of Bartolomeo Roscioli (cklst A24), discovered in 1988 along with that of Roscioli's wife, Diana de Paulo (cklst A28).⁶⁸ Bartolomeo Roscioli was an important figure in the Barberini circle as "privy chamberlain" to the pope, and in May 1640, Roscioli's son, Giovan Pietro, gave Bernini "ten rods [of] black taffeta" and a "small basket of silver" for having made "a white marble head of my mother."⁶⁹ These gifts in kind confirm that the *Diana de Paulo* was made in Gian Lorenzo's workshop around 1640, whereas historical and, above all, stylistic considerations have led to the dating of Bartolomeo's

bust between 1625 and 1630. In this case the uncertainty has mostly to do with the possible participation of collaborators in its execution—a circumstance that, as we shall see, may also apply to other portraits made during the 1620s.⁷⁰

Gian Lorenzo's principal collaborator during the 1620s was Giuliano Finelli. This fact was asserted by Giovan Battista Passeri many years later,⁷¹ and while Passeri was not always objective when it came to Bernini, in this case his report is confirmed by an authoritative contemporary source. In 1630 Virgilio Spada, writing from Rome, stated in a letter to his brother Cardinal Bernardino Spada, papal legate to Bologna at the time:

[T]he Cavalier Bernino, today a sculptor of great fame, has until now kept at his side a young man so skilled that

Bernini's rivals say the latter's credit derives from the former. Indignant that his skill should feed another's fortune and not his own, he left Bernini and set up his own shop, giving himself the opportunity to work and thus demonstrate that he was and is the author of those much-esteemed works: when the subject turned to this young man, Domenichino, the famous painter who a few days ago came to see me, so praised him for proving that the art of sculpture has never had a man who was his equal.⁷²

There can be no doubt that the “young man so skilled” is none other than Giuliano Finelli, who is documented as working in Gian Lorenzo’s workshop from the start of the 1620s. The fact that Domenichino, commonly held to be the standard-bearer of Classicism, could so appreciate a “baroque” sculptor like Finelli, might seem at first surprising. Domenichino’s judgment should, instead, alert us to the artificiality and occasionally misleading nature of critical categories established a posteriori, which often threaten to make us lose sight of the concrete relationships that existed between artists, and the manner in which they were viewed by their contemporaries—especially in a milieu as complex and inclined toward artistic exchange as was early Seicento Rome.

Finelli helped Bernini execute the *Apollo and Daphne* and the full-length figure of Saint Bibiana (1624; Rome, Santa Bibiana).⁷³ He was also involved in the creation of models for some of the putti that animate the columns of the *baldacchino* in Saint Peter’s. In 1626, after a brief stay in Carrara, Finelli returned to Rome: to the “house of Bernini, and here he was involved in a half-figure portrait of the niece of Pope Urban.”⁷⁴ This was the bust of Maria Barberini (see fig. 26), daughter of Urban VIII’s brother Carlo. Born in 1599 and married to the Bolognese nobleman Tolomeo Duglioli in 1618, she died during childbirth in 1621, at not much more than twenty years of age.

On the occasion of the sculpture’s entry into the collection of Francesco Barberini, Maria’s brother, in 1627, it was cited as “had from Cavaliere Bernini.” In the same year the *Portrait of Francesco di Carlo Barberini* (cat. no. 2.2) was recorded as having been “made by Cavalier Bernino.”⁷⁵ The distinction between “had” and “made” would seem to refer to the differing degree of Gian Lorenzo’s involvement. In the latter case he was the author of the bust in all respects, whereas in the former, the testimony probably refers to the work’s provenance from the “house of Bernini.” Finelli managed to advance his own particular interpretation of the naturalism he had learned from the master and applied to this portrait the technical skills he had learned from sculpting monumental statues. This is confirmed by the incomparably elaborate sumptuousness of the clothing and the almost crystalline character of the marble. Utterly Finellian is the decision to make the portrait hinge on the meticulous, obsessive definition of the garments, based on the patient application of a technical virtuosity that is more showy than that revealed in Gian Lorenzo’s works. As for the fixity of the gaze, this is no doubt accentuated by the fact that the pupils of the eye are not carved, a choice justified by its being a posthumous portrait.⁷⁶ By comparison, in the *Francesco Barberini* the uncarved pupils do not make the figure’s gaze look empty but rather give it a sense of mysterious remoteness that does not undermine the expressive intensity of the effigy.⁷⁷

We can imagine that Finelli, finally being in a position to demonstrate his own extraordinary technical capabilities, conceived this work from the outset as a deliberate tour de force of execution, intended to show the power of his talent, while at the same time keeping alive the dialogue with his master. These issues cannot have been the only ones that led Bernini to delegate this undertaking almost entirely to his most brilliant collaborator. In 1626, com-

pletely absorbed as he was in the titanic feat of founding the four gigantic columns for the *baldacchino*, Gian Lorenzo must have decreased his activity as a sculptor. This was no secret to his contemporaries—to the point that Lelio Guidiccioni, writing in 1633, in reference to the busts of Urban VIII (cat. no. 2.5) and Cardinal Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 4.1), stated that it had been some “six or seven years since he’d been seen touching a chisel.”⁷⁸ Indeed, with the exception of the head of Carlo Barberini (fig. 2.3.3), paid for in 1630,⁷⁹ there are no marbles by Bernini that can be dated with any certainty to the years from 1626 to 1632. On the other hand, beginning with the ascent of Maffeo Barberini to the papal throne in August 1623, it is quite likely that Giuliano Finelli’s participation in portraits from the “house of Bernini” constantly increased.⁸⁰

Included in such a group of works are a series of portraits datable around the years from 1624 to 1627: *Paolo Giordano Orsini* (ccklst A13), *Cardinal Agostino Valier* and *Cardinal Pietro Valier* (ccklst A21 and A22),⁸¹ *Cardinal Khlesl* (fig. 12; see also ccklst A23a), *Bartolomeo Roscioli* (ccklst A24), *Gregory XV* (ccklst A7b),⁸² and *Antonio Barberini* (fig. 13).

Wittkower proposed to divide Bernini’s production “into works designed by him and executed by his hands; those to a greater or lesser degree carried out by him; others where he firmly held the reins but actively contributed little or nothing to the execution; and finally those from which he dissociated himself after a few preliminary sketches.”⁸³

This ranking is helpful in classifying Bernini’s portraits. Some busts seem entirely the work of Bernini, such as the impressive portrait of Cardinal Khlesl in Wiener Neustadt, where the artist has concentrated on certain details to render diverse surface textures as well as the sitter’s personality. While the eyes are left blank and the mustache and beard are rendered summarily, more attention is paid to the pouches under the sitter’s eyes and to the hairline, left

uncovered by the biretta that sits on animated curls which hint at the vitality of the man, as does his partly opened mouth. Other marble busts display the invention of Bernini but were rendered by collaborators. The nearly identical faces of Antonio Barberini and Agostino Valier, both produced about 1625–30, seem to indicate almost the “industrialization” of Bernini workshop production. One of these two busts was sent to Venice, while the other remained in Rome, a fact that may help explain how, in a moment of intense activity in the workshop, it was possible to copy the face of one model for two different portraits (both, moreover, posthumous). A few works, such as the bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (see fig. 26), appear to have been conceived and executed by Finelli.

The *Maria Barberini Duglioli* marks the moment when the master passed on his commissions in portraiture to his pupil. Finelli would have known how to apply the tenets of Berninian naturalism to the portrait. He was thus given free rein in an area that, in the early 1620s, had been the exclusive monopoly of Gian Lorenzo. The impossibility of satisfying the demands of the Barberini circle in matters of portraiture would have significant consequences. Between about 1627 and 1630, Francesco Barberini would commission from Duquesnoy the busts of John Barclay (cat. no. 2.8) and Bernardo Guglielmi (fig. 2.8.2); Finelli would sculpt the effigies of two intellectuals closely associated with the papal family, Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (fig. 5.1.1) and Francesco Bracciolini (cat. no. 5.1), while to Mochi went the commissions for the portraits of Carlo Barberini (cat. no. 2.3) and Antonio Barberini the Younger (cat. no. 2.3.1). Although the long shadow of Bernini’s models inevitably falls on all these images, the marbles of Duquesnoy, Finelli, and Mochi would nevertheless manage to open new roads, each of them different, for Roman portraiture of the Seicento.

"[...] *fa miracoli facendo parlare i marmi*"

[You] do miracles by making marble sculptures speak

Lelio Guidiccioni in a letter to Bernini of December 2, 1633

"Speaking likeness" is one of two phrases, the other being "bel composto," that have come to represent two of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's innovative conceits. While "bel composto"—referring to Bernini's "beautiful integration" of architecture, sculpture, and painting—was penned by the artist's biographers around the turn of the eighteenth century,⁸⁴ "speaking likeness" was coined in the last century by art historian Rudolf Wittkower. In his 1931 catalogue raisonné of Bernini's drawings, Wittkower planted the seed of this expression. He noticed that in the artist's portrait sketch of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 3.6), "the Cardinal was being observed and sketched by someone, while he was speaking with a third person."⁸⁵ Then, in a lecture delivered at King's College, University of Durham, and published in 1951, Wittkower calls this same sketch, "a speaking likeness of the sitter, since he is clearly in conversation. The eye is sparkling and the mouth about to open. It is remarkable that the same liveliness emanates from the marble."⁸⁶ Four years later, in his monograph on Bernini, Wittkower uses this expression again, but this time for Bernini's bust of Costanza Bonarelli: "A fierce and sensual woman is shown in the grip of passion, and since the shoulders and breasts, loosely covered by a chemise, are merely hinted at in size, the beholder's attention is fully absorbed by this 'speaking' likeness...the spiritual barrier between onlooker and the portrait bust has fallen and contact is immediate and direct."⁸⁷ Since then, the expression has come to function as a kind of shorthand for the lifelike quality of Bernini's sculptural portraits, in particular as represented in *Cardinal Scipione Borghese* (cat. no. 4.1) and *Costanza Bonarelli* (cat. no. 4.3).⁸⁸

Other scholars as well have addressed the "speaking" aspect of Bernini's images of Scipione. In his commentary to the 1948 reprint of Filippo Baldinucci's life of Bernini, art historian Sergio Samek Ludovici compares Bernini's bust of Scipione with the artist's preparatory drawing (cat. no. 3.6): "There is the same intention to capture the cardinal while he is speaking, the same animation of the eye, the same softness of the gesture."⁸⁹ In 1967 Maurizio and Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco recognized that the putative dialogue between Scipione and the viewer is part of a larger issue concerning a viewer's active involvement with a work of art being necessary to complete it. They point out that Scipione presents "a real 'colloquium' with the world...[he] turns his face and opens his lips to speak, as if to answer someone's call" and that such busts "require our presence and our interpretation to truly come alive."⁹⁰ In a more recent monograph on the artist, Bernini is said to have sculpted "Scipione in animated conversation...that instantly engages the viewer and evokes an audible response."⁹¹

Scipione's direct gaze and pursed lips suggest such engagement, while the wrinkles and fatty pouches around his eyes that seem to shift and pulse capture a sense of movement. It is known that the cardinal was a garrulous man, and he is depicted in conversation on other occasions.⁹² However, according to his personal physician, Angelo Cardi, his mouth was naturally held open and pursed: "Regarding the size of his lips: the bottom one is larger than the top, and that above is dryer and shorter, so they do not fit together well...their shape is natural, that is semi-circular...full and somewhat open."⁹³ The correlation of this description to Bernini's bust is striking, leading us to wonder if perhaps the cardinal is shown as he appeared at rest rather than in mid-sentence (fig. 14).

Before Wittkower, in the first modern biography of the artist, Stanislao Frascchetti makes no mention of a "speaking"



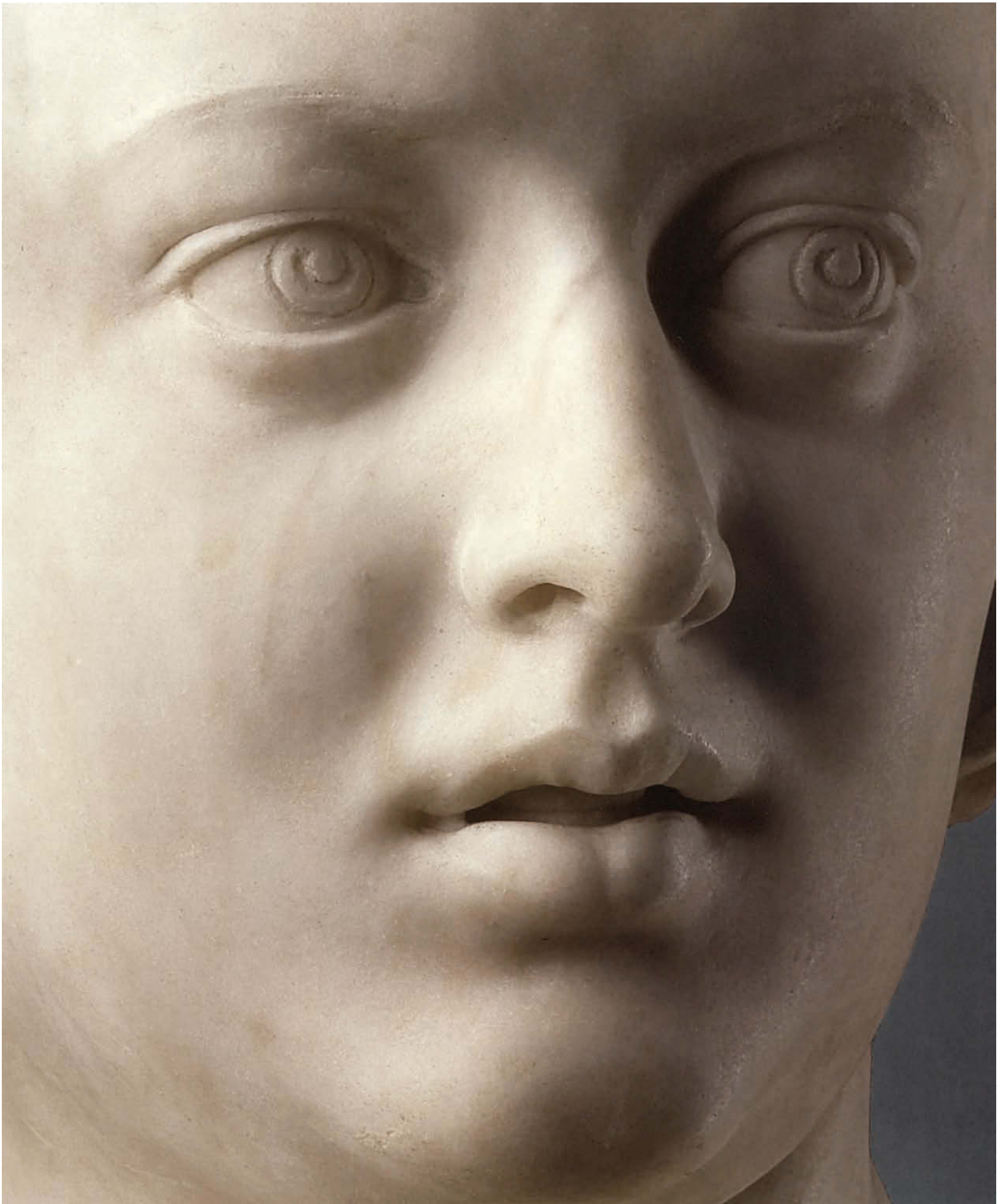


Fig. 15 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Portrait of Costanza Bonarelli (detail). See cat. no. 4.3.

likeness but hints at Cardì's description of the cardinal's "somewhat open mouth" while emphasizing its liveliness: "The corpulent face [of Scipione] is truly alive and pulsating with life . . . The mouth is shown partly open, in a most natural expression, and it almost seems as if it emits a rasping sigh drawn from his enormous chest, overwhelmed with fat." And, like Wittkower, Frascchetti highlights Costanza's steamy womanliness: "The beautiful woman wears a common undershirt immodestly open, uncovering the soft and round graces of her breast . . . The delicate mouth is half open and small teeth appear between her lips, swollen with sensuality" (fig. 15).⁹⁴

Swollen lips or not, Bernini has chosen to capture Costanza at an interesting moment of time: in a breathless attitude, as if she were caught unawares, turning to her left, her hair loosening from its coiffure. It is a famously sensual and intimate portrayal of the artist's lover that emphasizes the immediacy of her presence in an utterly transitory moment. Bernini made this singular bust for himself alone, and one can imagine that such a portrayal was intended to recall if not inflame his ardor. She is turning to him in passion, not conversation.

What were the artist's intentions? To understand these, one might turn to Bernini's own words, recorded by his diarist Paul Fréart de Chantelou while Bernini was in Paris. As he was working on the bust of Louis XIV, Bernini specified his approach to portraiture, advising that "to make a successful portrait, one should choose an action and attempt to represent it well; that the best time to render the mouth is when [the subject] has just spoken or is just about to begin speaking; that one should try to catch this moment."⁹⁵ Whereas he explicitly recommends portraying the subject in action—the fleeting instant of heightened drama—he does not necessarily prescribe speaking as that action. Pointing out that one should choose the moment immediately

before or after speech indicates that the subject should not be depicted uttering words but rather either engaged in conversation (while the other is speaking) or shown just before or after verbally responding to an event. In either case, the subject is to be portrayed in an activated moment of focused awareness.

The artist's interest in rendering action and expressive awareness is borne out by a passage in his son's biography concerning Bernini's custom of making portraits. Domenico writes that, in order to make a good likeness in a portrait "Bernini does not want the subject to remain stationary, but to move and speak naturally because, in this way, he is able to see all of the subject's beauty and replicate him; affirming that the subject does not ever resemble himself as much when he is immobile as when he is in motion, since motion consists of all of those qualities that are his alone and not of others."⁹⁶ Bernini himself seems to have been in constant motion when producing these portraits. Lelio Guidiccioni—a priest, poet, and close friend of Bernini's—compliments the artist's working method in a letter of 1633; speaking of his work on the bust of Scipione Borghese, he describes Bernini as moving in all directions with quick and animated grace, "marking the marble with charcoal in one hundred places, hitting it with the mallet in one hundred others."⁹⁷ Furthermore, Guidiccioni revealingly writes that Scipione, in his bust, "laughs, but with his most noble laugh; breathes, but with his most fresh breath; speaks, but with his most sweet charm."⁹⁸

The few art theorists of the period stipulate that art should capture action and expression.⁹⁹ In the decades before Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) published his *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Orfeo Boselli (1597–1667), who claimed to have been a pupil of François Duquesnoy and was active in Rome primarily as a restorer, wrote the only treatise on sculpture of the time. In it he

Fig. 16 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Cornaro Chapel (detail, west wall), 1647–52.
Rome, Santa Maria della Vittoria.

writes that, “a deliberate action produces the pose, the pose produces expression; a well-executed pose and expression produce the wonder of art.”¹⁰⁰ Further on he declares that “the beauty of a pose is in it being true and expressive of an action,” and it is such a pose that “makes manifest to others the passion of the soul.”¹⁰¹ Although the manuscript of his *Osservazioni della Scoltura antica* was not published in his lifetime, Boselli delivered the influential lectures that constitute the basis of this work at the Accademia di San Luca around the middle of the seventeenth century.

Giulio Mancini, dilettante art theorist and physician, who became personal physician to Pope Urban VIII in 1623, wrote his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* between 1617 and 1621. Like Boselli’s work, it remained unpublished until recently but, unlike the *Osservazioni*, Mancini’s writing was widely read in Italy and abroad in the seventeenth century, judging from the large number of manuscript copies that have survived. According to Mancini, there are two kinds of portraits: a simple portrait that records the details of a sitter’s outward appearance, and a more accomplished portrait of “*attion e affetto*” (action and emotion) that captures, in addition, emotional states and actions. Of this second type, Mancini cites a portrait of Sir Thomas More—perhaps identifiable as the one by Hans Holbein dated 1527 in the Frick Collection, New York—in which the sitter seems “about to speak to someone after having read a letter.”¹⁰²

The expressed virtue of the “speaking likeness” of a work of art—painting or sculpture—had many precedents. Pliny mentions the work of Aristides of Thebes, who “was the first of all painters who depicted the mind and expressed the feelings of a human being... He also painted... a Suppliant, who almost appeared to speak.”¹⁰³ Vasari quotes Angelo Poliziano’s epitaph for Fra Filippo Lippi, which includes the phrase “My touch gave life to lifeless paint, and long deceived the mind to think the forms would speak.”¹⁰⁴ In the generation



after Vasari, Francesco Bocchi, a Florentine art critic, wrote that “we take pleasure and are filled with sweetness, and our souls are moved, when [a sculpture] that we are admiring is so well crafted that it seems to live, move, and speak to us.”¹⁰⁵ In these instances, the impression of speech is evidence that the rendering of a figure is lifelike and expressive of *attion e affetto*. Baroque movement could be both physical and emotional.

It is worthy of note that one of Bernini’s most lifelike portrait busts is one of his most “silent.” Bernini executed a portrait bust for the tomb of Pedro de Foix Montoya from the live subject, sometime before the Spanish jurist’s death in 1630 (see fig. 1). Although animated by his head turning to the left and looking downward, with his cloak opened on one side as if caught in a breeze, Montoya appears stock still, his lips firmly shut. Nevertheless, a combination of Bernini’s grasp of physiognomy and fine chiseling of facial structure, piercing gaze, and bristling mustache conspire to bring the stone to life. Even Montoya’s cincture, which elegantly drapes over the bottom of the niche, seems to defy the reality that the bust is marble and not the man himself. In fact, Bernini’s biographers report that when the completed tomb was being inspected by church officials, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini turned to Montoya as he entered the chapel and greeted him with the words, “This is the portrait of Monsignor Montoya,” and turning to the bust, “And this is Monsignor Montoya.”¹⁰⁶ It is also worth noting that rendering the act of speech does not necessarily make a figure particularly lively, dynamic, or engaging. A good example of such an unnatural speaking likeness is the portrait bust of Cardinal Domenico Toschi in the Toschi Chapel of Reggio Emilia’s Duomo by Pope Paul V’s principal sculptor in Saint Peter’s, Ambrogio Bonvicino (see fig. 7).¹⁰⁷ Although the bust is elegant, its frozen expression renders the effigy seemingly, not only literally, petrified.

To confuse matters further, in Bernini’s most actively conversational figures—the Cornaro family members in reliefs flanking his *Saint Theresa in Ecstasy* of around 1650 in the family’s chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria—not one figure is shown with his mouth open (fig. 16). Conversation is indicated by their poses, leaning forward and back to view the scene, and by their gesticulating hands. Saint Theresa, the focal point of the chapel, is rendered in white marble that is surrounded by a polychromatic marble architecture concealing a window which theatrically lights the statue from above. Perhaps their banter was meant to be implied so as to not “interrupt” the viewer’s involvement in witnessing the saint’s rapture. The importance of hand gestures in service of oration had been codified in antiquity and was well known in Baroque Rome. In his formulation of the rules of rhetoric, Quintilian observed that “while the other parts [of the body] help the speaker, they [the hands] . . . speak by themselves.”¹⁰⁸ Gian Lorenzo’s father had included a much “louder” group of figures, posed in animated conversation in the foreground of his *Coronation of Clement VIII* relief of 1612–14 in the Paolina Chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore (see fig. 9). But, instead of yielding to the holy scene at hand, they detract from it, distracting even the standing cardinal on the right edge of the scene, who looks down at the group in annoyance.

To what degree was Bernini interested in capturing the act of speech, if at all, and does the depiction of an open mouth relate to this interest? Although rare, the portrayal in art of individuals with open mouths was not entirely new in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ Before 1600, this expression was used primarily for singing figures, mourners lamenting Christ’s death, ridiculous or common personages in genre scenes, or laughing or crying infants. Such renderings were intended to amuse or otherwise involve the viewer.¹¹⁰ In the first century, Pliny recorded as much when he wrote that

Polygnotus of Thasos “first contributed many improvements to the art of painting, as he introduced showing the mouth wide open and displaying the teeth and giving expression to the countenance in place of the primitive rigidity.”¹¹¹ Indeed, in Bernini’s oeuvre, an open mouth often signifies an emotional expression rather than speech. It can indicate a scream for help (Daphne in his *Apollo and Daphne* of 1622–23), a plaintive cry (Proserpina in his *Pluto and Proserpina* of 1622), a demonic shriek (*Damned Soul* of about 1620), a soft hymn (*Blessed Soul* of about 1620), an ecstatic moan (*Ludovica Albertoni* of the early 1670s), or a fervent prayer (*Gabriele Fonseca* of about 1668; see fig. 22).

Classical rhetoricians placed particular emphasis on the ability of the poet (or orator) to make his listener see as well as hear the topic, a concept that ancient writers coined as “*Ut pictura poesis*” (as is painting, so is poetry).¹¹² A similar concept was purportedly articulated hundreds of years earlier by the Greek poet Simonides of Keos as “*Poema pictura loquens, pictura poema silens*” (poetry is a speaking picture, painting a silent poetry).¹¹³ Bernini produces his own association of sister arts—which one might call *ut sculptura poesis*—in attempting to make the viewer hear his subjects as well as see them.

A catalogue of Bernini’s works that was likely dictated by the artist himself around 1675 lists roughly fifty portrait busts (see appendix, p. 296).¹¹⁴ Of these, very few subjects are rendered with their mouths clearly open, the most obvious examples being Costanza Bonarelli and Scipione Borghese.¹¹⁵ Several others, under close inspection, are depicted with their lips parted, such as the busts of Antonio dal Pozzo of about 1623 (fig. 1.9.1) and Francesco Barberini (cat. no. 2.2) of about 1623, but the effect is not one of captured speech but of a softening of what are otherwise distant expressions, a quality that may be due to the fact that both were executed posthumously. For his busts of Giovanni Vigevano (fig. 1.2.1), Gregory XV (cat. no. 1.4), and Antonio

Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8), all dating to or just after 1620, Bernini chose to display the men with lips parted in quiet conversation or, perhaps, prayer; they appear caught in a moment of reflection rather than action. In contrast, the mouth of Thomas Baker’s effigy of 1637–38 (cat. no. 6.1) suggests the man is involved in dialogue. Bernini hints at this by revealing a trace of teeth and tongue. Engaged in fashionable conversation is how one might expect to find this dandy whose image is nearly overwhelmed by lace and curls.

All of these examples, however, are predated by the three-quarter portrait bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (1568–1646) (fig. 5.1.1), sculpted in about 1630 by one of Bernini’s most skilled assistants: Giuliano Finelli. The subject, a poet, was the artist’s grandnephew, whom Carlo Barberini, Urban VIII’s brother, invited to Rome in 1629. While there, Buonarroti met Finelli and commissioned this effigy. It is an energetic and vivid portrayal, showing great attention to textural elements—such as hair, buttons, and facial lines—rendered in almost nervous detail. The subject is shown speaking, an action that is appropriate for the effigy of a poet whose occupation was rooted in his eloquence. Around 1615 Simon Vouet produced the first of a few of his portraits and self-portraits that show the subject, mouth open, in conversation. Off and on from 1614 to 1627 Vouet was in Rome, where, enjoying the patronage and protection of the Barberini family and becoming president of the Accademia di San Luca, he surely had occasion to associate with Bernini. Were these paintings the progenitors of Bernini’s “speaking likeness”? Without a doubt, Vouet’s portraits influenced Christophe Cochet (d. 1634), a sculptor who is documented as being in Rome from 1615 to 1624 and in close contact with the French painter, with whom he shared a house in the neighborhood of San Lorenzo in Lucina. In 1624, Cochet provided the model for a bronze bust of Giovanni Battista Marino (fig. 17). The vitality that emanates from this portrait—emphasized by the



hair in disarray, the wrinkled forehead, and the penetrating stare—is an aspect that one finds in Vouet’s portraits. Interestingly, Vouet himself, only a few years prior, also executed an effigy of Marino (private collection).¹¹⁶ And what of Finelli’s own version of a “speaking likeness,” completed one year after he had left Bernini’s studio and two years before Bernini’s bust of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 5.4)?

Another group of seventeenth-century artists were also fond of depicting “speaking likenesses” of their portrait subjects: Dutch painters from such towns as Haarlem, Leiden, and Delft. In addition to the many portraits of drinking, singing, and other genre subjects with their mouths open, a number of Dutch portraits and self-portraits exist that show the subject in conversation with the viewer, including works by Frans Hals (1580s–1666), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), Judith Leyster (1609–1660), and Johannes Vermeer (1631–1675).¹¹⁷ As is well known, the “Golden Age” of the Dutch Republic brought unprecedented wealth to the middle classes who were the new patrons of the arts. For them, portraiture was one way to establish and reinforce their social position and commemorate their lives.

Similar to their Italian counterparts, Northern portraitists had an interest in naturalism that was symptomatic of the period’s increasingly empirical scientific approach to knowledge. Like Boselli and Mancini, art theorists in the North—such as Karel van Mander, Joachim Sandrart, and Franciscus Junius¹¹⁸—acknowledged the importance of observation and promoted the expression of the nature of man and his emotions. However, the concern of Dutch portrait painters in rendering the physical reality and emotive intimacy of their middle-class subjects was very different from the concerns of Bernini in papal Rome. The “speaking likenesses” of Dutch portraiture reflect the desires of bourgeois patrons for images of themselves that would be captivating, immediate, and reflective of their newly moneyed circumstances, and portrait painters sought out



fresh modes of depiction—including nonchalant, conversational ones—to please their clients.

Bernini’s sculptural portraits, however, have different concerns. His clients were the most powerful men in Rome, if not in Europe: popes, cardinals, and kings, or those in their entourage. His are stunning, breathtaking effigies that, through the artist’s ingenious *concetti* (poetic conventions) and virtuosic control over his medium, reveal the palpable form and characteristic personality of the subject. Far from being middle-class burghers pleased with their accomplishments, Bernini’s Catholic and courtly sitters are individuals characterized by their specific temperament, religious passion, intellectual brilliance, and authority.

It has been noted that Bernini was most active as a portraitist early in his career¹¹⁹ and that these early busts “are reserved and pensive in expression, introvert rather than extrovert.”¹²⁰ His mid-career busts of Costanza Bonarelli

Fig. 18 DOMENICHINO (DOMENICO ZAMPIERI) (1581–1641)
A Prelate. Chalk on paper, 35.5 x 22.4 cm (13 1/16 x 8 1/16 in.).
 Windsor Castle, Royal Library.

and Scipione Borghese mark a change in this portrait style; they are both a culmination of Bernini's exploration of portraiture that began even before adolescence¹²¹ and a transition to his more grandiose portraits of the second half of his career. Bernini appears to have absorbed, before the 1630s, experiments that were being played out in two dimensions, such as the immediacy of certain portraits by Vouet and the engagingly informal speaking likenesses of drawings by Domenichino (fig. 18).¹²² Bernini's portrait drawings, many of which date from the 1620s to roughly 1635, attest to his own experimentation with capturing the viewer's attention by depicting a spontaneous action, an informal pose, or a straightforward gaze. After the 1630s his portrait busts may have been fewer but they are commanding, ostentatious, and heroic—qualities that were certainly more suitable to his subjects: Cardinal Richelieu (cat. no. 6.4), Pope Innocent X (cat. no. 5.10.2), Pope Alexander VII (cat. no. 6.6), Francesco d'Este (see fig. 23), Louis XIV of France (see fig. 24), and Pope Clement X (cat. no. 6.12).

Bernini was not the first Baroque artist to capture his subjects in conversation. Moreover, it is possible that neither of his busts most commonly referred to as “speaking likenesses”—*Costanza Bonarelli* and, especially, *Scipione Borghese*—was intended to show the moment of speech. As recommended by the ancients, the open mouth was one device used to create a sense of liveliness. Bernini used others, however, such as capturing the sparkle of eyes¹²³ or fleeting movement.¹²⁴ The goal, regardless of method, was for a lifelike rendering. Leon Battista Alberti articulated this goal in his fifteenth-century *De statua*—first published, however, in 1568—in which he explains that sculptors began making “effigies and resemblances of bodies created by nature” by “making that effigy appear almost to be truly the thing itself.”¹²⁵

Much has been written on the associations between Michelangelo and Bernini, many fostered by Gian Lorenzo himself.¹²⁶ Bernini's son, for example, recounts that Paul V,

patron of Gian Lorenzo's father, was eager to meet the young prodigy and witness proof of his talents. When asked to draw a head, Bernini chose the head of Saint Paul, the pontiff's namesake, which he did with such mastery (*maestria*) that the pope declared, “This young man will be the Michelangelo of his time.”¹²⁷ These associations include Michelangelo's own references to a “speaking likeness” in bringing life to his statues, made explicit in a love sonnet that includes the phrase “If you were made of stone, I believe I could love you with so much faith that I could make you walk with me...and if you were dead, I could make you speak.”¹²⁸ Poet Giovanni Strozzi repeats this motif in his famous epigram to Michelangelo's figure *Night* on the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici:

*La Notte, che tu vedi in sì dolci atti
 Dormire, fu da un angelo scolpita
 In questo sasso: e perchè dorme, ha vita:
 Destala, se no 'l credi, e parleratti.*

*Night, which you see sleeping in such a sweet pose
 Was sculpted in stone by an angel
 And because she sleeps, she has life.
 Wake her if you don't believe it and she will speak to you.*

A well-known precedent for this theme is surely Ovid's tale of the Cypriot sculptor Pygmalion, who fell in love with his creation: “When he returned he sought the image of his maid, and bending over the couch he kissed her, and with his hands also he touched her breast. The ivory grew soft to his touch and, its hardness vanishing, gave and yielded beneath his fingers, as wax from Hymettus grows soft under the sun and, molded by the thumb, is easily shaped to many forms and becomes usable through use itself.”¹²⁹ Bernini's “speaking likeness” was one technique that made him the Pygmalion of his time. As Baldinucci records, Bernini criticized sculptors who did not “have it in their heart to render stone as obedient to the hand as if it were dough or wax.”¹³⁰

Fig. 19 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Pope Urban VIII Barberini, 1631. Marble, H: 83 cm (32% in.).

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

THE PORTRAITS: WORKING PROCEDURE

If the most substantial and homogeneous nucleus of Bernini's busts consists of those made in the years around 1620, the majority of his most famous portraits nevertheless date from the period of his mature activity and are staggered over a span of nearly half a century, starting around 1630. By the latter half of the 1620s, Bernini was already the most renowned artist in Rome, and, owing to this fact, we possess a number of contemporary reports concerning his *modus operandi*. In some cases we can follow the execution of a work in all its different phases—that is, we can understand how Bernini, who “into his later years was in the custom, when not distracted by architectural concerns, of working for up to seven straight hours on sculpting marble,” went about his work.¹³¹ For example, Bernini's pupil Giulio Cartari records that his master met with Pope Alexander VII ten times while he was working on the pontiff's portrait. Moreover, for the portrait of Louis XIV (see fig. 24), which was executed in public at the French royal court—the most prestigious and demanding stage in Europe—the documentation handed down to us by Paul Fréart de Chantelou allows us to follow, day by day, the progress of an artwork that was completed in less than two months in the summer of 1665.¹³²

Even Charles Perrault, the great French architect who replaced Bernini as designer of the Louvre, was astonished by the originality of the sculptor's working methods: “He worked on the marble first, making no clay model whatsoever, as other sculptors are accustomed to doing; he limited himself to drawing two or three portraits of the king in pastel, not, as he said, in order to copy them for his bust, but merely to refresh his mind from time to time.”¹³³ Actually, in one respect this testimony appears to contradict the diary of Chantelou, where, on June 11, Bernini is said

to have confided to his friend “that he'd asked for some clay in order to make studies of movement.” This raises the question of how the busts were prepared, whether with just drawings or also with terra-cotta sketches and models. In the rich body of Bernini's drawings, which includes some twenty portrait drawings, only two can be connected to marble sculptures: the profile of Scipione Borghese at the Morgan Library of New York (cat. no. 3.6), and the sanguine drawing of Pope Clement X, now in Leipzig (fig. 6.12.1). Nevertheless, even these two drawings, as Jennifer Montagu has written, “appear to have been made to study the sitter, rather than as direct preparations for sculptures.”¹³⁴ As Bernini himself stated, “he did not model his portraits from drawings, but from memory.”¹³⁵

A variety of seventeenth-century sources attest to the existence of a few terra-cotta portraits executed by Bernini. None, however, still survives. A document from the *Confraternita della Pietà di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* mentions “two clay heads fashioned by Bernini's hand, which are kept at the hospital” (*che si tengono sotto lo spedale*)¹³⁶—which were likely the models for the busts of Antonio Coppola and Antonio Cepparelli (cat. nos. 1.2 and 1.8). Two other terra-cotta portraits of Urban VIII, one of Scipione Borghese, and another of Cardinal Richelieu were also found at the sculptor's home just after his death, in 1681.¹³⁷ It is likely that the “heads” of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, as well as the busts at Bernini's house, were finished models of the sort realized during those same years by Alessandro Algardi, and thus were quite different from the “*ébauches de l'action*” for the bust of Louis XIV. These were probably sketches of a summary nature, in the manner of those he realized for the *Angels* of the Ponte Sant'Angelo or for the Altar of the Sacrament in Saint Peter's (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum). Although by 1681 they were probably





Fig. 20 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632. Marble, H (without base): 86 cm (33 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

among a great “quantity of gesso heads and other human parts, along with some clay models” all mixed up in his studio—the terra-cotta works would prove to be, on the occasion of a subsequent inventory in 1706,¹³⁸ for the most part broken or lost. The terra-cottas kept at Bernini’s home might have been models, but they could also have been autonomous versions of his marble sculptures, possibly created as “mementos” of particularly significant achievements, with the intention of translating them into bronze, as happened with the busts of both Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Richelieu.

In the production of Alessandro Algardi there are some genuine terra-cotta study models that are characterized by a sometimes summary execution (*Cardinal Paolo Emilio Zacchia*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum), as well as highly finished models that appear to be second versions of their corresponding marbles (*Muzio Frangipane*, Bologna, Pinacoteca, and *Lelio Frangipane*, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage); then there are others for which no known marble version exists, such as the portrait of Gaspare Mola (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage) and that of Innocent X (fig. 5.10.1).¹³⁹ Bernini’s and Algardi’s differing approaches to using terra-cotta must have played an important role in their working process. Gian Lorenzo employed the material mostly in the planning phase of his sculptures, and he was well aware that in certain cases it was useless to test a whole series of details in terra-cotta when it might be more productive to conceive of them from the beginning in marble, a material that makes certain stylistic choices necessary. For Algardi, on the other hand, the terra-cotta version of a work already possessed full stylistic autonomy, and sometimes the marble edition betrays his desire to apply to this material a number of characteristics actually typical of terra-cotta.

The heads mentioned in connection with San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in 1634 were no doubt by Bernini, and simi-

larly, the busts cited in the inventory of his home, though without indication of authorship, must have been made in his workshop. It is not, however, entirely by chance that eight terra-cotta portraits by Algardi¹⁴⁰ have come down to us over the years, whereas none by Bernini survive (see checklist, Lost Busts).¹⁴¹ Algardi clearly regarded his terra-cottas in a way that Bernini did not, and this is why Perrault’s statement that “he worked on the marble first” is not contradicted by Chantelou’s comment that he wanted to make some studies in clay. In the case of the *Louis XIV*, there was no life-size terra-cotta model; on the contrary, the sculptor worked directly on the marble, with the sovereign in front of him, developing the composition without referring to a specific model. Bernini’s working method was also witnessed on other occasions, as is clear from the often-cited letter by Lelio Guidiccioni in reference to the portraits of Urban VIII and Scipione Borghese. Guidiccioni, while making reference to a model, presumably of terra-cotta, specifies that the sculptor worked the marble with his subject sitting before him: “I shall never forget the delight I felt by always being privy to the work, seeing Your Lordship every morning execute a thousand different motions with singular elegance; discussing always appropriately about current matters and straying with your hands very far from the subject; crouching, stretching, running your fingers over the model, with the quickness and variation of someone touching a harp; marking the marble with charcoal in a hundred places, and striking with the hammer in a hundred others; that is, striking in one place, and looking in the opposite place; pushing the hand to strike before yourself, and turning the head to look behind.”¹⁴²

It is therefore not surprising that, with commitments as extraordinary as those entrusted to him by Urban VIII for the renovation of Saint Peter’s, Bernini was unable to maintain the pace of production of artworks in marble that he had

set in the early 1620s. What most suffered was the production of portraits, which, over the course of the 1630s, was limited to those of the pope, Scipione Borghese, Charles I of England, Thomas Baker, and Costanza Bonarelli. During this same period, moreover, in the many efforts under Bernini's direction (especially those involved in decorating noblemen's chapels), the execution of portraits apparently was often carried out entirely by his collaborators. The most important examples of this can be found in the Cornaro, Pio, Naro, and Raimondi chapels, as well as the monuments to Ippolito Valtrini and Domenico Pimentel.¹⁴³ Thus, to use Jennifer Montagu's words, there came to life a gallery of "Bernini portraits not by Bernini," which to varying degrees conformed to the master's ideas but were largely the fruits of the autonomous creativity of his collaborators, especially Andrea Bolgi, Jacopo Antonio Fancelli, and Antonio Raggi. This nucleus of works certainly merits study, precisely to bring into better focus Gian Lorenzo's influence in this field.

RE-CREATING PAPAL PORTRAITURE

It was with his portraits of Urban VIII that Bernini radically altered the typology of the papal portrait in sculpture. At first, in his portrayals of the Barberini pope, Gian Lorenzo kept to traditional choices, such as had already been tested with his busts of Popes Paul V and Gregory XV. About 1621–22 Bernini presented a different interpretation of the cope in his *Portrait of Cardinal de Sourdis* (cat. no. 1.7), the most immediate precedent for the bust of Urban VIII at San Lorenzo in Fonte (cklst D1). The quality of execution of the latter bust is, however, quite disappointing: there is a mechanical quality in the rendering of the individual details that seems to contradict the impressiveness of the conception. This portrait doubtless mirrors an original that Bernini executed in the very first years of the Barberini pontificate; it may possibly derive from the lost

bronze portrait executed for the refectory of Trinità dei Pellegrini on the occasion of the 1625 jubilee.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the cope is skillfully set in motion, suggesting the subject's living presence. This same solution, much more timidly expressed, can be found in the portraits of Paul V and Gregory XV of about 1621–22 (cat. nos. 1.3 and 1.4), in which it is difficult to make out either pontiff's body under the cope, which is still conceived as a kind of impenetrable armor.

In portraying Urban VIII, to whom he was attached by special bonds of gratitude, admiration, and even friendship, Gian Lorenzo decided to renovate the most long-standing tradition of papal portraiture: the portrayal of the pontiff in alb and cope, by which he himself had abided in the early 1620s. By its very nature, the cope—adorned with embroidered figures of Saints Peter and Paul and closed with a richly decorated clasp—required careful, almost goldsmith-like, rendering of details that risked compromising the overall monumentality of the composition. About 1630 Bernini got the idea—simple yet ingenious—of adapting to the medium of sculpture a typology of papal portraiture that had already been canonical in painting for over a century, as established by Raphael's *Portrait of Julius II* (London, National Gallery) of around 1510, and that was to replace the cope with a mozzetta¹⁴⁵ worn with the red cap called a *camauro*.¹⁴⁶ From this moment on, Bernini would portray popes exclusively wearing the mozzetta and *camauro*,¹⁴⁷ inaugurating a tradition whose success remained uncontested for over two centuries, until the time of Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen.

The portraits of Urban VIII executed by Bernini remained unparalleled in quantity, variety, and quality in seventeenth-century Europe. Yet, despite the artist's importance and the official weight of the patron, almost none of these portraits can be linked unequivocally to a specific commission or a precise date—the exceptions being the bronze statue for the

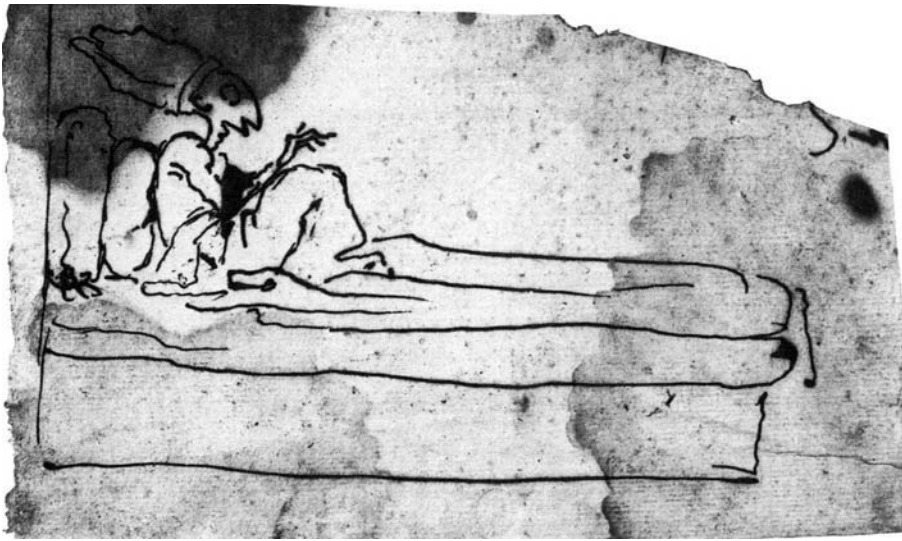


Fig. 21 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Pope Innocent XI, 1676–80. Pen and ink on paper, 11.4 x 18.2 cm (4½ x 7⅞ in.). Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste.

funerary monument in Saint Peter's (1629–31), the marble sculpture in the Campidoglio (1635–40),¹⁴⁸ and the bust in the Duomo of Spoleto (1640–44; cklst A19). In the letter Lelio Guidiccioni wrote to Bernini in 1633, already quoted several times, Guidiccioni mentions a bust of the pope "that has no arms, but a slight motion of the right shoulder and a lifting of the mozzetta [on this side] in conjunction with the inclination of the head... and the bending of the forehead clearly indicate the action of signaling with the arm to someone to get up."¹⁴⁹ Cesare D'Onofrio was the first to have no doubts in identifying this bust as the one that at the time belonged to Prince Enrico Barberini and was later passed on to the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica at the Palazzo Barberini (fig. 19). The bust now in Ottawa (cat. no. 2.5) constitutes a different autograph version and, despite Rudolf Wittkower's misgivings¹⁵⁰ as to the link between Guidiccioni's text and one of the two busts, this is the prevailing opinion today. The Ottawa and Palazzo Barberini busts rank among the most memorable of Bernini's effigies of the pontiff precisely because of the apparent simplicity of their compositions, which are practically devoid of any decorative elements. Examples of virtuosity that characterized the artist's youth are relegated to discrete areas such as the fur trim of the mozzetta and *camauro*, with their incomparable tactile quality, or the vigorous fold of the ever-so-slender collar of the vestment. Moreover, the mozzetta is conveyed with a masterly parsimony

of means: very few folds, some of them only hinted at, yet with a sense of vitality in no way inferior to what we see in the much more agitated but different vestment of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 4.1).

A more official version of the pontiff was provided by Bernini with another bust in the Palazzo Barberini. Here the sculptor represented a broader portion of the mozzetta, embellished by the presence of an embroidered stole, an ornament the pope was supposed to wear whenever he appeared in public (fig. 20).¹⁵¹ Sometimes considered to have been made by Bernini's workshop,¹⁵² this marble should instead be counted among Gian Lorenzo's autograph works, as much for the powerful monumental conception as for the extraordinary finish of the surface, particularly in the almost painterly rendering of the stole and the cordon holding it together on the pope's chest. As for the choice not to sculpt the irises of the eyes, this can be explained by a desire to underscore the hieratic nature of the papal figure. On the other hand, the mozzetta is grooved with deep, uneven folds whose expressiveness contrasts with the solemn impassivity of the face, a mountainous tumult of drapery that recalls similar passages in the *Saint Longinus* (1629–38) and suggests that it be dated sometime during the 1630s. The bust's composition is related to that of a number of bronzes (cklst 18b, 18c, 18d) and to the porphyry and bronze specimen exhibited here (cat. no. 2.7)—all of which distance themselves from the marble busts in the simpler treatment of the mozzetta and in the choice to sculpt the irises of the eyes. The porphyry and bronze portrait can be connected to a 1631 document in which Bernini stated that Tommaso Fedele should be paid for a "mozzetta in porphyry,"¹⁵³ and it follows that the marble version can also be dated around the early 1630s. It is, moreover, right around 1630 that Gian Lorenzo seems to have been most involved in portraying

the pontiff: in 1631, Claude Mellan published a print with a portrait of the Barberini pope based on a lost drawing by Bernini; in 1627 the city of Velletri had commissioned from the sculptor a bronze statue that would be completed in 1633;¹⁵⁴ and, in 1629–30, he had created the model for the statue for the funerary monument, which was cast in 1631. It is hardly surprising that at this very moment of feverish production revolving around the image of Urban VIII, Bernini's two most successful and copied portrait busts were also being worked out: the more public, serene, and triumphant one (fig. 20), and the more introspective, reflective one (fig. 19).

After this period, Gian Lorenzo would return to the image of his great patron only two more times: in 1635, when he was commissioned to create the large marble statue for the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and in 1640, for the monumental bust in bronze destined for the Duomo of Spoleto. The first is a cloying apotheosis of a triumphant Urban, eternally young and spared the passage of time; the second, the lucid but affectionate registration of the aging process of the sculptor's friend. In the bronze, Urban appears weary, disillusioned, and almost fragile under the overwhelming weight of his tiara and cope. Indeed, the fascination of this portrait springs precisely from the contrast between the impersonal hieratic majesty of the liturgical ornaments and the painful reality of the face, in which we can now read the failure of one of the most ambitious papacies of modern history. Having begun under the best of auspices, with a pope who was a poet and intellectual, who was a friend and admirer of Galileo Galilei and apparently determined to reconcile science and the truth of faith, the long reign of Urban VIII Barberini drew to a close in 1644, with the pontifical state not only having definitively closed its doors to the developments of science but also having suffered a number of important military and political defeats.

In none of the subsequent papacies would Bernini experience such a varied range of possible interpretations for portraiture. Indeed, the two variants of the Barberini pope, the one with the *mozzetta* and *camauro* and the one with the stole, would be presented again in the portraits of Innocent X and Alexander VII, respectively. While that of the Chigi pope Alexander VII (cat. no. 6.6) is more directly linked to the Barberini model, the Innocent X portrait is less so (fig. 5.10.3). Departing from the Barberini bust, the portrait of Innocent is the most boldly heroic papal effigy ever produced by Bernini's chisel, and indeed the marble was sculpted at a dramatic moment in the history of the Church. Following the end of the Thirty Years' War, and despite Innocent's vehement protests, the papal state had in fact been driven from the international stage as a political power, and its economic situation was also very dire. By the time of the pope's death, the state's deficit had reached an astronomical figure.¹⁵⁵ Just as with the Fountain of the Four Rivers in the Piazza Navona, where Bernini had deceptively transformed humiliation in Europe into the Church's triumph over the four corners of the earth, so with the bust, he exorcised the stinging disillusion of a nearly eighty-year-old pontiff, handing down to posterity a victorious effigy. To find the marks of such tribulations in the pope's face, one has to look to a more colloquial image created by Algardi (Rome, CREDIOP), in which one sees more clearly the fragile but mistrustful old age of the Pamphilj pope, or, of course, to the striking likeness painted by Velázquez (fig. 4.4.1). Bernini cast an equally corrosive eye on his subjects only in his caricatures, such as that of Innocent XI, whom he portrayed as a sort of ghostly grasshopper, pitilessly giving him impressively grotesque features (fig. 21).¹⁵⁶



NEW PATHS FOR THE PORTRAIT

In 1647, Nicolas Poussin wrote to Paul Fréart de Chantelou in Paris, complaining that at that moment there were no good portraitists in Rome.¹⁵⁷ The statement is hardly surprising, since it is quite likely that the French painter did not take sculptural portraiture into consideration. Yet in Rome, in 1647, in the field of portraiture, primacy belonged to none other than the sculptors. This, in fact, was the moment of fiercest competition between Bernini and Algardi. Both working between Rome and Naples, Finelli and Bolgi were also creating extraordinary busts of great originality.¹⁵⁸

Later in his career, however, Bernini very carefully savored the time he set aside for portraits, a difficult genre for which the master's direct participation was perhaps more crucial than in other sorts of sculptural undertakings. In the overwhelming majority of cases, therefore, the figures portrayed by Gian Lorenzo after 1626–27 were pontiffs and sovereigns. There was one exception, however, and a significant one. We do not know by what fortunate conjunction of

circumstances Innocent X's old Portuguese doctor, Gabriele Fonseca (fig. 22), managed to secure Gian Lorenzo's direct intervention. Immortalized in a marble statue that revolutionized the traditional typology of the deceased depicted in the act of worship, Fonseca is shown as sorrowful and troubled. Perhaps to get around the problem of the shallowness of the niche in which the bust was to sit, Bernini played on the contrast between the subject's burning physical presence, the strong three-dimensionality of the face and hands, and the almost bodiless rendering of the bust, which, in a storm of "draperies...excessively folded and pierced,"¹⁵⁹ seems about to dissolve as though being sucked into the wall. Bernini had long "regarded garments and draperies as a means to sustain a spiritual concept by an abstract play of folds and crevasses of light and shade."¹⁶⁰

In the portraits, this aspect had started to become crucial with the busts of Urban VIII and Scipione Borghese and would reach its peak in the busts of the duke of Modena, Francesco I d'Este (1650–51; fig. 23), and Louis XIV (1665; fig. 24). Beginning with the portraits of Charles I and Richelieu (cat. no. 6.4), Bernini had to test his mettle at a task that until then was unheard of for sculptors: portraying a living figure whom one has never met, having at one's disposal only a painted image.¹⁶¹ The two busts mentioned above were enormous successes, but in the case of Richelieu, there were rumors of dissatisfaction, concealed behind comments about the sculptor's supposedly insufficient adherence to the model sent to Bernini, a portrait probably painted by Philippe de Champaigne (cat. no. 6.3).¹⁶² Such rumors must have reached Bernini's ears, and he must have been well aware that he had put his extraordinary reputation on the line by accepting such an undertaking. Thus his hesitation at acquiescing to the requests from Modena to execute a portrait of the duke was not just an expression of his consummate courtly rhetoric—and the



Fig. 23 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Francesco I d'Este, 1650–51. Marble, H: 98 cm (38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); W: 106 cm (41 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); D: 50 cm (19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Modena, Galleria Estense (565).



Fig. 24 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Louis XIV, King of France, 1665. Marble, H: 105 cm (41 3/8 in.);

W: 95.5 cm (37 3/8 in.); D: 46.5 cm (18 3/8 in.).

Palace of Versailles (MV2040).

same is true of the letter that accompanied the bust, considered by Irving Lavin to be a veritable declaration of poetics: “Making a block of white marble assume the likeness of a person, who is [made of] color, spirit, and life, while the person is present and one can imitate him in all his parts and proportions, is a most difficult thing. Thinking that one can create a resemblance having only a painting before one’s eyes, without seeing or ever having seen the person naturally, is almost impossible, and whosoever undertakes to do so could be called more foolhardy than valiant.”¹⁶³

These were the years in which the theoretical debate about art in Rome was dominated by Giovan Pietro Bellori, whose aversion to the great artistic innovations wrought by Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona was no secret to anyone. In this debate, two “factions” emerged, if we are to believe the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin, who, visiting the Bolognese painter Carlo Cignani in 1677, wrote about him: “A most kind man, good French [*sic*], of the

opposite faction to Bernini (*fattione contraria de Bernini*), he greatly esteems Le Brun, Poussin, and Van Dyck more than Rubens.” Giovan Pietro Bellori surely belonged to the “faction” of Poussin and Le Brun against Bernini and Rubens (not to mention Borromini and Pietro da Cortona).¹⁶⁴ And Bellori’s ideas about portraiture were similarly very clear. While admiring the portrait Maratti had painted for him, which he described as “turning to face you in such lifelike fashion that, abandoning all artistic invention, it usurps all the power of nature,” he seemed, however, to appreciate more portraits like Andrea Sacchi’s *Marc’Antonio Pasqualini*, which was not “a simple portrait but an utterly charming composition,” or Maratti’s portraits of the marquis and the marquise de Mesfort, which were “so well ordered and painted that beyond their naturalness, they win merit even for their ornaments, so that you shall not praise them as simple portraits, [for] they may find equal standing among compositions of the figure.”¹⁶⁵ Even though these two portraits are lost, the extraordinary, elaborated allegorical portrait of Niccolò Maria Pallavicini by the same Maratti (Stourhead-Wiltshire, The National Trust, Hoare Collection) can give us an idea of what Bellori thought should be a perfect portrait.

In Bellori’s eyes, therefore, only by being embellished with elements that liken them to historical painting can portraits redeem themselves from their subservient position. Such a position may be derived from the fact that “the makers of portraits . . . nourish no idea whatsoever and are subject to the ugliness of the face and body, being unable to add any beauty themselves, nor to correct natural deformities, without diminishing the likeness, for in this case the portrait would be more beautiful but less like [its subject].”¹⁶⁶ Thus Rubens, envious of the younger Van Dyck’s success, praised him as a portraitist just “to take him away from the figure,” and declared that he “was not as capable

of invention, nor was his spirit or facility in bountiful and great works equal [to Rubens's]. . . He won greater merit in portraits, in which he was unique."¹⁶⁷ Bellori did not shrink from making specific critical judgments, defining Velázquez as a "very excellent portrait painter," an assertion he would later repeat, but without the "very excellent."¹⁶⁸ Clearly, for Bellori, a "portrait painter" was thus to be placed in a position subordinate to that of the history painter.

It goes without saying that, in sculpture, it was almost impossible to "historiate" a portrait—that is, to decorate it with historical scenes. Nevertheless, this too must have been a subject that Bernini mused about. As we have seen, many of the sculptor's mature portraits, unlike the early busts, display a desire to capture the person in action, freezing him at an apparently random moment, to emphasize the immediacy of the pose. Only on one occasion did Bernini use an allegorical symbol to enrich one of his own portraits: Based on what the sources tell us with regard to the portrait of Louis XIV and its "picciola base," Bernini aspired to bestow "color, spirit, and life" through a conceptual complexity aimed at making this work a "composition." Wittkower wrote decisive pages on the role of the *concetto* in the work of Bernini, explaining that "a work of art must be informed by a literary theme, a characteristic and ingenious *concetto* which is applicable only to the particular case in hand," and observing that this *concetto* need not necessarily be associated with factual historical events. "A poetical *concetto* contained no less intrinsic historical truth if chosen with proper discrimination. This applies to such works as fountains, the equestrian statue of Louis XIV, and the Cathedra."¹⁶⁹

Actually, the *concetto*, as an interpretative key to the artwork, can also be easily applied to portraits. Louis XIV thus becomes an incarnation of the "ideal Christian monarch,"¹⁷⁰ absolutely superior, in the Olympian strength of mind expressed in his rapt yet serene face, to the impetuous

whirlwind of history evoked by the majestic, agitated movements of the drapery. Above all, the conception of the base as a globe, with the inscription *picciola base*, was meant to suggest that the world was too small to support such a great man as Louis XIV.

Later, for the not-so-well-beloved Clement X, Bernini conceives an utterly new imagery for papal iconography (cat. no. 6.12). Impassive and seemingly immobile, even as his mozzetta appears to be stirred up by the wind, Clement is presented in half-length, his arm wearily raised, about to confer benediction. For the first time in a bust portrait, the pope is captured while exercising his highest office, that which in the eyes of Christians represents tangible testimony to his role as Vicar of Christ on earth and which in the past had been reserved for full-length statues. In his other portraits Bernini does not rely on this ploy but attempts to translate concept directly into form. Without relying on an allegorical device, as he did for the *Louis XIV*, or on an innovative typology, as for the *Clement X*, Bernini was able to express a *concetto* in a portrait using only his exquisite artistic talents. In the portrait of Fonseca, he reclaims a portrait type whereby a pious sitter is rendered half-figure in the act of prayer but succeeds in making this modest figure of a Portuguese doctor the epitome of Catholic devotion in the Baroque age. Not simply a portrait of a religious man, the entire work, from the drapery to the hands clutching the rosary, seeks to communicate the idea of absolute faith. So, throughout his entire career Bernini's principal goal remained to make "white marble" become, in ways different from those tried over half a century earlier, "color, spirit, and life."

NOTES

1. Walter Lewis Spiers, ed., "The Notebooks and Accounts of Nicholas Stone," *Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1918–19), p. 171.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 171. Bernini made a similar statement to Chantelou in 1665; see Chantelou (1665) 2001, p. 47.
3. Giustiniani (ca. 1620–28) 1981, p. 42. On these subjects, see Bodart 2006. It is also interesting that in his "Discorso sopra la scultura," Giustiniani states that the work of a "modern" sculptor, even an "excellent" one like the "Cavaliere Bernino, will be highly esteemed and be worth much more than if it were ancient because of the difficulty and the great expense [*spesa*] that goes into the marble" (pp. 73–74).
4. Charles Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires, concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres: 1600–1608* (Antwerp, 1887), pp. 227–28; and Pommier 2003, p. 156.
5. Baldinucci (1682) 1948; Bernini 1713; and Montanari 2006.
6. This list was published for the first time by Cesare D'Onofrio (1967, pp. 432–38).
7. Johann Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764), p. 248.
8. Cicognara 1823–24, vol. 6, pp. 111–12.
9. Wittkower 1955.
10. Giacomo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana / descritta da Iacomo Manilli romano, guardarobba di detta Villa* (Rome, 1650), p. 73; Domenico Montelatici, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana: con l'ornamenti che si osservano nel di lei palazzo e con le figure delle statue più singolare: all'illustriss. . . d. Gio: Battista Borghese* (Rome, 1700), pp. 232, 302. In the history of the reception of Bernini's portraits, an isolated but significant episode remains that of the numerous copies in marble and bronze of the Costanza Bonarelli, produced for the most part in Florence between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see Zanuso and Zikos 1999.
11. Charles-Louis de Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Roger Caillois (Paris, 1949–51), vol. 1, pp. 710–12; and Garms 2002, pp. 132–33.
12. The drawings are in the Cabinet des dessins at the Musée du Louvre (23987 recto and 23988 recto). See Jules Guiffrey and Paul Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, p. 88, nos. 504–5.
13. Reynolds 1859, p. 7.
14. For the bust that Vela owned, see Nancy Scott, *Vincenzo Vela, 1820–1891* (New York, 1979), p. 111; for Sergel's, see Rome 1999a, pp. 135–36.
15. Judith Cladel, *Rodin, sa vie glorieuse, sa vie inconnue* (Paris, 1936), p. 306.
16. Baglione 1642, p. 321.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Longhi 1951, p. 37.
19. Sani 2005 (with prior bibliography).
20. See Dionisotti 1984; Volpi 2001; Whitfield 2001; and Casini 2004, pp. 115–33.
21. *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, ed. Ettore Camesasca (Milan, 1957–60), vol. 2, p. 75, no. CCXXXVII.
22. Longhi 1951, p. 37.
23. The identification of the person portrayed in the Berlin drawing (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, 171115; black pencil and ceruse on gray paper, 21.3 x 14.8 cm [8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.]) is confirmed by the words "Sr. Card Gallo" that appear on the back of the sheet and by a comparison with other portraits of the cardinal, who was born at Osimo in 1553 and died in Rome in 1620. Gallo's apparent age in the drawing suggests, however, that the 1616 dating proposed by Bernardina Sani (2005, pp. 42, 52 n. 143, fig. 80) be moved up.
24. Sani 2005, p. 34.
25. The surveys made by Grisebach (1936) and Ferrari and Papaldo (1999) remain nevertheless essential.
26. Pressouyre 1984, figs. 79 and 82.
27. Pressouyre 1984, p. 248 (doc. of September 10, 1604; appraisal of the sculptural works executed in the Aldobrandini Chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva).
28. Originally from Ravenna, Ginanni died in 1599, and his brother saw to the construction of the little monument. The attribution to Vacca was made by Valentino Martinelli (1954, p. 162).
29. Wittkower 1981, p. 174.
30. For both works, see Grisebach 1936, pp. 162, 170–172, nos. 67, 72.
31. The attribution of the *Bust of Fabio de Amicis* to Mariani proposed by Valentino Martinelli (Martinelli 1956b, p. 351; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 279) remains to be entirely proven. We do know, on the other hand, that the sculptor was engaged in medal making before his time in Rome; see Toderi and Vannel 2000, p. 307.
32. De Luca Savelli in Monteverchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, p. 121.
33. Lavin 1970, p. 145.
34. Leuschner 1999, p. 150, fig. 4.
35. One of the busts portrays Lesa Deti Aldobrandini and can be connected with a document that mentions a portrait of this lady by Buzio. The other two busts of unidentified Aldobrandini men have been attributed to him on stylistic grounds (see fig. 1.8.1). See Pressouyre 1984, pp. 194–95, 248, 435–55; and Angelini 2005, p. 12. Also interesting is the attribution of the *Female Bust* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to Buzio; see Kessler 1997.
36. See Pressouyre 1984, figs. 136 and 168. Bacchi (1989, p. 28) suggests attributing to Cordier the *Bust of Paul V*, which was left to the Accademia Carrara of Bergamo by the Federico Zeri bequest.
37. On the sculptor, see Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 787–88 (with prior bibliography).
38. See Elio Monducci and Vittorio Nironi, *Il Duomo di Reggio Emilia* (Reggio Emilia, 1984), pp. 154–68; and Angelo Mazza, "Dipinti romani e veneziani per il Duomo di Reggio: le cappelle Toschi, Rangani e Brami agli inizi del Seicento," in Ceschi Lavagetto 1999, pp. 67–72.
39. On Stati, see Susanna Zanuso in Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 845 (with prior bibliography); and Ian Wardropper, "Cristoforo Stati's 'Samson and the Lion': Florentine Style and Spanish Patronage," *Apollo* 150 (1999), pp. 30–37. Stati worked as a portraitist not only in Rome but also in Florence, where he made a bust (now lost) of Ferdinand I; see Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th–18th Centuries* (Florence, 1981–87), pp. 754–55, no. 37.85.
40. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 413.
41. Johannes Orbaan, ed., *Documenti sul barocco in Roma: Con 7 tavole in fototipia* (Rome, 1920), p. 205; and Pressouyre 1984, p. 316, doc. 255.
42. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 106–13; Nava Cellini 1982, pp. 24, 30; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 128; and Kessler 2005, pp. 319–22.
43. Lavin 1968, pp. 223–28; Hibbard 1968, p. 7; Avery 1997, p. 34; Bacchi 1999, pp. 66, 69–70; and Montanari 2004, p. 58.
44. Lavin 1968, pp. 228–29; Avery 1997, pp. 33–34; Bacchi 1999, pp. 69–70; and Montanari 2004, p. 59.
45. Wittkower 1982, p. 524; Wittkower 1981, p. 273; Angelini 1999, p. 14; and Pierguidi 2008. D'Onofrio (1967, pp. 114–21) dates it 1610 but attributes it to Pietro, whereas Kessler (2005, pp. 69–71 and 351–53) maintains it is a collaboration between the two sculptors, dating it 1610–13.
46. On this question, see Lavin 2004, pp. 39–45; and Pierguidi 2008.
47. Bernini 1713, p. 20. Tomaso Montanari (Milan 2002, p. 116) hypothesized that this might be a drawing, not unlike those of Ottavio Leoni.
48. The words are quoted from a letter written by the Modenese poet Fulvio Testi to Count Francesco Fontana on January 29, 1633, and made public by Campori (1855, pp. 65–67), and later by Fraschetti (1900, p. 108).
49. Haskell 1980, pp. 387–88; and Benocci 2006, pp. 77–78.
50. Lavin 1968.

51. In this context, one should not forget the problematic bust portraying Pope Urban VIII at San Lorenzo in Fonte.
52. Christopher Baker and Tom Henry, *The National Gallery: Complete Illustrated Catalogue* (London, 1995), p. 551.
53. Barnes et al. 2004, p. 199, fig. 58.
54. Grisebach 1936, pp. 66–71, 80–83, 142–43 nn. 17–20, 26, 57.
55. Venturi 1893, p. 213; and Lavin 1998a, p. 65 n. 43.
56. Thomas Martin, *Alessandro Vittoria and the Portrait Bust in Renaissance Venice: Remodeling Antiquity* (Oxford, 1998).
57. Enrico Castelnuovo, “Fortuna e vicissitudini del ritratto cinquecentesco,” in *Tiziano e il ritratto di corte da Raffaello ai Caracci*, ed. Nicola Spinosa (Naples, 2006), p. 29.
58. See Sparti 1992, p. 37.
59. The indispensable reference is David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago, 2002), without forgetting Edio Raimondi, *Il romanzo senza idillio: saggio sui Promessi sposi* (Turin, 1974).
60. Chantelou (1665) 2001, p. 123.
61. The bust of Cardinal Dolfín (Venice, San Michele) and the large bronze portrait of Urban VIII in the Duomo of Spoleto are still in their originally intended settings, but we do not know—especially in the case of the former—what sort of control Bernini may have had of the use of the two busts. There are no extant documents attesting to his having visited the two cities.
62. Rinehart 1967.
63. The only busts missing from Baldinucci’s biography and the Stockholm list are the *Coppola*, the *Cepparelli*, the *Khlesl*, the second *Valier*, the *Antonio Barberini*, and the *Roscioli*.
64. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 179.
65. Nava Cellini 1956, pp. 27–28; Sutherland Harris 1989.
66. Freedberg 2002 (see note 59 above).
67. It was refuted by Casale 1988. Bacchi cautiously proposed Mochi (Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 13), while Ferrari and Papaldo (1999, p. 480) refrain from giving a judgment. Angelini (1999, pp. 25–26) and Montanari (2005b, pp. 278–79) essentially agree with Sutherland Harris.
68. Casale 1988.
69. Casale 1988, p. 20.
70. Doubts as to the full authorship of the two busts were raised by Montanari (2005b, p. 278).
71. Passeri 1772, pp. 256–58.
72. The letter was published by Heimbürger Ravalli (1977, p. 77), who correctly identified the sculptor as Finelli, whereas Githlein (1978, p. 150 n. 83) claimed that it referred to Algardi. Jennifer Montagu (1985a, pp. 244–45) reaffirmed the identification with Finelli.
73. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 27–30.
74. Passeri 1772, p. 257.
75. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 77, no. 60 (“havuta dal Cav.re Bernini”); p. 78, no. 85 (“fatta dal Cavaliere Bernin”).
76. Bernini, however, had also sculpted this part of the eye in the *Portrait of Camilla Barberini* (cat. no. 2.1 in this volume).
77. One should not take literally, especially as regards the execution, the fact that the bust is cited in Baldinucci’s catalogue of Bernini’s works, despite the mistaken identification as Lucrezia Barberini (Baldinucci [1682] 1948, p. 176). The bust was also called “Lucretia Barberina” in the Stockholm list of ca. 1675 (D’Onofrio 1967, p. 434).
78. The letter was published by Cesare D’Onofrio (1967, p. 387).
79. Wittkower 1981, p. 196. Baglione (1642, p. 352) had already pointed out the role of the collaborators in the commemorative *Monument to Carlo Barberini*, situated on the inner facade of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.
80. Damian Dombrowski (1997, pp. 289–308), on the other hand, maintains that Finelli also had a hand in many of Bernini’s busts executed between 1621 and 1624.
81. The documented Roman sojourn of Pietro Valier, who was probably responsible for the commission for both busts, provides an important clue for a plausible dating of the two busts; see Susanna Zanuso, entries on the busts of Cardinal Agostino Valier and Cardinal Pietro Valier, in Rome 1999b, pp. 320–21 (with prior bibliography).
82. About this bust I fully share the opinion of Tomaso Montanari (Milan 2002, pp. 117, 118) that it should be identified as the one intended for the Villa Ludovisi at Zagarolo, for which Bernini was paid by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi in July 1627 with a gold necklace; see Wood 1988, p. 154.
83. Wittkower 1999, vol. 2, p. 21.
84. Filippo Baldinucci uses the expression “bel composto,” while Domenico Bernini uses “maraviglioso composto”; see Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 140; and Bernini 1713, pp. 32–33. For a discussion of the differences in these passages, see Delbecke 2006. For a revised interpretation, see Tomaso Montanari, “Il ‘bel composto’: nota su un nodo della storiografia berniniana,” *Studi seicenteschi* 46 (2005, pp. 194–210).
85. Brauer and Wittkower 1931, p. 30.
86. Wittkower 1951a, p. 7.
87. Wittkower 1955, p. 15. In the 1981 edition of this work, Wittkower, recognizing as rather too explicit the comment that Costanza’s breasts “are merely hinted at in size,” notes instead that they are “handled like a mere sketch.”
88. See, for example, Sutherland Harris 1992; Whitfield 2001; and Boudon-Machuel 2004.
89. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 201.
90. Fagiolo dell’Arco 1967, p. 149.
91. Scribner 1991, p. 80.
92. Such as in the fresco in the second Sala Paolina of the Vatican Library, which depicts the cardinal conversing with Pope Paul V; see Jacob Hess, *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien zu Renaissance und Barock* (Rome, 1967), p. 127, fig. 33.
93. “Idea della sanità e del male cavata dal progresso della vita dell’Ill. Sig. Cardinale Scipione Borghese . . . da Angelo Cardì”: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Borghese, IV, 151, 91 verso and 92 recto (cited in Hill 1998, pp. 15 and 22 n. 45).
94. Fraschetti 1900, pp. 49–50 (Costanza) and 109 (Scipione).
95. Chantelou (1665) 2001, p. 154.
96. Bernini 1713, pp. 133–34.
97. As cited in D’Onofrio 1967, p. 384.
98. As cited in D’Onofrio 1967, p. 386.
99. Artists such as Caravaggio and the Carracci “were so deeply involved in the foundation and consolidation of a new art based on observation that they had neither the inclination nor the leisure for speculation or history”: Friedländer 1962; see also Delbecke 2000, p. 179.
100. Boselli (ca. 1657) 1994, book 2, chapter 4 on p. 229.
101. *Ibid.*, book 2, chapter 5 on p. 231.
102. Mancini (1630) 1956, vol. 1, p. 116 (folio 62 verso). For more on *attion e affetto*, see Jacobs 2005, pp. 176–85.
103. Pliny *Natural History* 35.98–99.
104. Vasari 1987, vol. 1, p. 222.
105. Bocchi 1961.
106. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 76; Bernini 1713, p. 16.
107. See Ceschi Lavagetto 1999, p. 69, fig. 55.
108. As cited in Julius S. Held, *Rembrandt Studies* (Princeton, 1991), p. 167 n. 6.
109. The rarity of such depictions is mentioned by Ann Sutherland Harris (1992, p. 194).

110. Giancarlo Gentilini discusses the preponderance of such images in the more informal medium of terra-cotta and notes that such depictions of strong emotions were thought to both transmit the correct iconography of the narrative content and foster “the observer’s emotional and ‘empathic’ involvement in the scene that was essential for the communicative effectiveness of the works of art”: “La terracotta: volti e passioni,” in *La scultura al tempo di Andrea Mantegna*, ed. Vittorio Sgarbi (Milan, 2006), p. 50.
111. Pliny *Natural History* 35.59.
112. Most famously in line 36 of Horace’s *Ars Poetica*; see Lee 1967, pp. 199–201.
113. According to Plutarch; as cited by Stephen Larrabee, “Ut pictura poesis,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger (Princeton, 1974), pp. 881–82.
114. This important document was published by Cesare D’Onofrio (1967, pp. 432–38). Thirty-five works are included under the category of “retratti” (portrait busts), while three-quarter figures, such as the *Gabriele Fonseca* and *Roberto Bellamino*, are included under the category of “statues of marble.” The three-quarter *Pope Clement X* does not appear, as it postdates the list. Roughly six of Bernini’s portrait busts are not included and are probably part of the final entry under the status of marble category: “Heads up to number fifteen. Different places.”
115. The appearance of the lost bust of Don Antonio Barberini, Urban VIII’s father, must correspond to Tommaso Fedele’s porphyry relief that copies it, showing the man with his lips firmly closed (see fig. no. 2.1.2).
116. For Vouet and Bernini, see Sutherland Harris 1992; for the bust of Marino, see Bacchi 2008.
117. Sec, for example, Hals’s *Portrait of Isaac Abrahamsz Massa* of ca. 1635 in the San Diego Museum of Art; Rembrandt’s *Self-Portrait* of 1629 in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Leyster’s *Self-Portrait* of ca. 1630 in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and Vermeer’s *Girl in a Red Hat* of ca. 1665 in the National Gallery, London. See, further, Julius S. Held, “Rembrandt and the Spoken Word,” in *Rembrandt Studies* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 164–83.
118. Karel van Mander, *Het schilderboek* (Haarlem, 1604); Joachim Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* (Nuremberg, 1675–79); and Franciscus Junius, *De pictura veterum* (Amsterdam, 1637).
119. See, for example, Sutherland Harris 1992, p. 204.
120. Wittkower 1953, p. 20.
121. Filippo Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini record that at the age of eight the artist carved a beautiful marble head of a child. Baldinucci ([1682] 1948, p. 73) calls it a *fanciullino*; Bernini (1713, p. 3) calls it a *puttino*.
122. See also John Pope-Hennessy, *The Drawings of Domenichino in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London, 1948), fig. 30, no. 1 recto.
123. For the issue of Bernini’s concern with the depiction of eyes, see Boudon-Machuel 2004, pp. 65–75.
124. For the issue of Bernini’s concern with the depiction of movement, see Delbeke 2000, esp. pp. 215–21.
125. “. . . da far apparire quasi vera et propria quella tale effigie”: Alberti 1998, p. 10.
126. See, for example, Soussloff 1989.
127. Bernini 1713, p. 9.
128. James M. Saslow, *The Poetry of Michelangelo* (New Haven and London, 1991), no. 54, lines 1–4 on p. 140; conversely, Michelangelo refers to figures in nature as “living sculptures”; as quoted by Giovanni Battista Armenini (Armenini [1586] 1988, p. 92).
129. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.280–86.
130. “dependere dal non essere dato loro il cuore di rendere i sassi così ubbidienti alla mano quanto se fossero stati di pasta o cera”: Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 141.
131. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 139.
132. Chantelou (1665) 2001. See cat. no. 6.8.
133. Perrault (1759) 1909, p. 61.
134. Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 158–59.
135. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 144.
136. Lavin 1968, p. 247, doc. 29.
137. Martinelli 1996, pp. 254, 256.
138. Martinelli 1996, pp. 251–72; regarding the 1706 inventory, see Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, pp. 103–44.
139. On the terra-cotta busts by Algardi, see Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 426 (Frangipane), 431 (Innocent X), 439 (Mola), 447–48 (Zacchia), and Jennifer Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 65, 132–33 (Frangipane), 135–36 (Zacchia), 152–53 (Mola), and 158–59 (Innocent X).
140. Aside from those cited above, there are portraits of Benedetto Pamphili (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum) and Giacinta Sanvitale (Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia); see Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 157–78; and Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 61–67.
141. In fact, the attribution of the *Alexander VII* at the Galleria Corsini in Rome and that of the so-called *Self-Portrait* in St. Petersburg remain entirely problematic.
142. D’Onofrio 1967, p. 384.
143. Lavin 1980; Wittkower 1997.
144. The relationship between the two busts was also pointed out by Zitzlsperger (2002, p. 165).
145. On the mozzetta, see Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario d’erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostril giorni*, vol. 47 (1847), pp. 27–28.
146. On the *camauro*, see Moroni (see note 145 above), vol. 5 (1840), p. 308.
147. The one exception is the bronze bust of Urban VIII for the Duomo of Spoleto, in which the pontiff is portrayed with tiara and cope.
148. For the tomb, see Tomaso Montanari in Pinelli 2000, vol. 2, nn. 825–33; for the Campidoglio statue, see Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 258, no. 38.
149. D’Onofrio 1967, p. 382 (translation by Wittkower 1969).
150. Wittkower 1969, p. 64.
151. Moroni (see note 145 above), vol. 49 (1854), p. 75.
152. Fraschetti 1900, p. 146; Wittkower 1997, p. 242; and Sebastian Schütze in Rome 1999b, pp. 328–29 n. 44.
153. Aronberg Lavin 1975, pp. 16 and 485.
154. Wittkower 1997, pp. 258, 301, nos. 38 and 81 (the statue was destroyed in the late eighteenth century).
155. Olivier Poncet, “Innocenzo X,” in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62 (2004), pp. 466–78.
156. Brauer and Wittkower 1931 and Lavin 1981, pp. 27–54, 336.
157. Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting* (Princeton, 2000), p. 185.
158. For Bolgi and Finelli in Naples, see Dombrowski 1997 and 1998b.
159. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 111.
160. Wittkower 1999, p. 7.
161. Lavin 1998a, pp. 86–87; also Bodart 2006, p. 56 n. 22, which mentions Boselli’s chapter on the busts based on paintings.
162. Laurain-Portemer 1976.
163. Lavin 1998a, p. 65 n. 43.
164. Tessin (1677) 2002, p. 106. For a different interpretation, see Tomaso Montanari’s introduction to Bellori (1672) 2005, pp. 1–39.
165. Bellori (1672) 1976, p. 606 (the two portraits have since been lost).
166. Bellori (1672) 1976, p. 19. In this connection, see also Bodart 2006.
167. Bellori (1672) 1976, p. 272.
168. Bellori (1672) 1976, p. 272.
169. Wittkower 1999, vol. 1, pp. 19–20.
170. Lavin 1968.



D O M
PROSPER SANCTA CRUCIUS MARCHIO
FACTUS AC NATALIS ROMANVS
ORIGATOR MILITVM COHORTES DVX LOCVTENENS
TERRVM PERO EC GLESIADIVICANS
POST WILLIAM HOSTIVM CAESARIS
LITTORE ERIDANTINCA
TRIVIAVIA SORTITIVS ERIT
DIGNVS NISI POTIVS INVIDEVS
QVIA CIVM IN REGE COMPLORARE VIT
HONORIS PTEM MDCXII
ALTISS VAL ANNVM MVDXV
LIVIA PRIMA SANCTA CRUCIUS
MATER MOESTISSIMA
ROMAM VO CVM MAGNO DOLORE
FERRARIATRAM SMITTI CVM
EODEM CONDERETVR SEVLCRO
QVOD IPSA SIBI DESIGNAVERAT
VIII ALDI CEMERIS CXLII

INNOVATION AND EXCHANGE

PORTRAIT SCULPTORS OF THE EARLY ROMAN BAROQUE

• Jennifer Montagu •

Death is universal. It always has been so, and in seventeenth-century Rome, where cremation was not an option, death would be followed by burial. Many of those who are buried in Roman churches (or, of course, their heirs) wished for some kind of memorial, perhaps no more than a tomb-slab with an inscription, or a small tablet affixed to the wall, but often it would be something more elaborate incorporating a bust. Those portrayed in these memorials cover a range of social and economic classes; it was not necessary to acquire the patronage of a whole chapel, and few of those who required such monuments were in a position to employ a sculptor of the rank of Bernini.

There was no lack of other sculptors to choose from: Roman church monuments provide by far the largest free museum in which one can study the portrait sculpture of the period and, indeed, the oeuvre of most of the lesser sculptors. Many of them spent a large part of their lives working under Bernini, but in those instances, even though the tomb might sometimes have been designed by an architect, the bust would usually be their independent work. Some specialized in such activity: Bernardo Fioriti (documented from 1643 to 1677) was recorded as having produced almost exclusively portrait busts.¹ Numerous busts are anonymous (in some cases, one may feel, mercifully so), and those who expect every bust in a sale catalogue or even in a museum to be ascribed to a sculptor should remember how many tombs, inscribed with the name of the deceased and date of death (which usually provides at least an approximate date of execution), remain unattributed.²

So, while a tomb was a necessity (though not necessarily one incorporating a bust), a portrait to display in one's home was not. Indeed, if one wished to have a portrait, a painting would not only be much cheaper but would also be much easier to house in anything smaller than a palazzo. Independent, freestanding busts are therefore less common, and relatively few represent any but members of the aristocracy. Some, particularly of members of the ruling class (which in Rome meant the papal families), were carved during the sitter's lifetime, but others, like the vast majority of tomb busts, were produced to commemorate someone recently deceased or even, on occasions, an ancestor.

If the subject were no longer alive, the sculptor would be dependent on an earlier portrait, a death mask, or even on his imagination. Sometimes the bust on a tomb would be copied from one made earlier from life. Alessandro Algardi's striking portrait of Antonio Cerri (cat. no. 5.6)

Fig. 25 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Tomb of Prospero Santacroce, ca. 1643.
Rome, Santa Maria della Scala.



Fig. 26 GIULIANO FINELLI

Maria Barberini Duglioli, 1626. Marble, H: 69 cm (27 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.); W: 54 cm (21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre (RFR66).

was reproduced on Cerri's tomb in the church of Il Gesù (fig. 5.6.1), and Giuseppe Giorgetti copied Giuliano Finelli's portrait of Maria Barberini Duglioli (fig. 26) for her tomb in Bologna (fig. 27),³ wisely simplifying an original that was so delicately carved that it had to be protected within a wire cage or a glass case.

Busts incorporated in church monuments were not intended to be moved and are therefore usually unavailable for exhibitions. But one cannot attempt to understand sculpted portraiture without bearing them in mind. They constituted by far the most important area for the portraitist's work, the one in which he could most easily demonstrate his inventive powers, and one that provided employment for a host of worthy practitioners who could seldom hope for commissions from those whose social rank allowed them to have themselves portrayed in freestanding busts.

It would, however, be a mistake to believe that the few sculptors represented in this exhibition were the only ones of note. Fortunately, it has been possible to show at least some works by most of the best, but a host of lesser talents were capable on occasion of producing a portrait worthy to set beside those of the better-known names.

Since modern art historians are obsessed with style, it is worth noting that this seems seldom to have been a factor in choosing a sculptor in the seventeenth century. When one finds a list of potential artists who might be commissioned to produce a work, it is usually extremely heterogeneous:⁴ an important question was the standing of the man—what he had already produced indicating his capacity and his fame—but the decisive factor was generally price.⁵ So, if Bernini might be wistfully included as the dream candidate, it was well known that his prices were extremely high (and that he would usually refuse on grounds of overwork or at least be most unlikely to deliver within a reasonable time). Those more realistically considered would not necessarily

Fig. 27 GIUSEPPE GIORGETTI (d. 1669)

Maria Barberini Duglioli, 1670. Marble. Bologna, Certosa cemetery.

be artists whom we should now regard as representing the same stylistic current.⁶

Unfortunately, it is not possible to say how much one might expect to pay for a bust in Seicento Rome: no contract was required (and for a tomb only rarely, and in such cases it is seldom possible to estimate the cost of the bust); the few records are not always easy to interpret, nor is it always clear whether the payments include the materials used. What is evident (but hardly surprising) is that a sculptor's prices would increase with his fame. For example, Irving Lavin has shown how the young Bernini's prices increased in his early years: in 1612 for the bust of Antonio Coppola (cat. no. 1.2) he received 50 scudi, and in 1619–20 the same sum for those of Camilla Barberini (cat. no. 2.1) and Antonio



Barberini; by 1622 he was paid 70 scudi for that of Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8).⁷ In 1630 he received 150 scudi for the head of Carlo Barberini (fig. 2.3.3), to be attached to an antique torso restored and completed as an entire statue by Alessandro Algardi for a total of 180 scudi.⁸

François Duquesnoy was paid only 80 scudi for the two busts of John Barclay (cat. no. 2.8) and Bernardo Guglielmi (fig. 2.8.2) carved in 1627–28.⁹ It is not known how much Finelli was paid for the original bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli, but Giuseppe Giorgetti was to receive only 35 scudi for his simplified replica of 1670 (though he had asked for 50), plus 2 scudi for the socle. Ten years previously his rather more talented brother Antonio had been given 75 scudi for the bust of Girolamo Aleandro, which replaced Duquesnoy's portrait of Barclay in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, an original work, even if strongly dependent on Algardi's bust of Roberto Frangipane.¹⁰ It appears that, as the century advanced, the standard price rose.

Valuable insight into far more than the basic price of a portrait bust is provided by a letter of July 16, 1650, in which Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este reports back to his brother Francesco, the duke of Modena, on the information he had received as to the conditions under which Bernini and Algardi would carve portrait busts, the idea being that each should carve the portrait of one of the brothers:

The sculptor Cavalier Algardi charges for a marble portrait, meaning a bust or half-length figure, one hundred and fifty scudi, apart from the marble, which is either supplied to him or paid for. If one were to be ordered he could have it finished by the end of next August, and would block out and model the clay from a picture and perfect it in the presence of the subject, so as then to make it more exactly in marble. He has two other persons working under him of lesser skill in their profession, from whom the work could be had for half the above price, or perhaps less.¹¹

On the verso of the covering letter is a note to say that Bernini “works only as a favor for friends, or at the command of important personages,” and that he will not quote a delivery time or a price; however, the cardinal thought that if the price were right he might yet be persuaded. It was not till August 3 that the cardinal wrote to say he had spoken to Bernini, and that, though the sculptor had made a solemn vow not to undertake such work, he would agree to serve the duke.¹²

Most obviously these documents show the very differing ways in which the two leading sculptors of the day responded to such a request. At least as interesting is the information Algardi provided as to how he might use assistants (in this case surely Ercole Ferrata and Domenico Guidi), and we can be sure that he was not the only sculptor to do this, and that Bernini, as well as many lesser figures, would frequently have done the same. This provides an explanation for the existence of a number of works that fit squarely into the stylistic canon of a particular sculptor without meeting the criteria of quality that one would expect. From this correspondence one can also infer that Cardinal Rinaldo was using a method that was apparently not uncommon at the time:¹³ artists would charge whatever they thought the patron might pay, but the patrons knew of this game, and how to get round it, so they might send a stooge who would claim that he was inquiring on behalf of “a friend” who was interested in commissioning such a work. The cardinal must have done this, for surely Algardi could never have imagined that the Este would have wanted a mainly workshop product, while the two responses from Bernini show that the first was made to an approach that did not mention that the patron and subject of the bust was to be the duke of Modena.

But Bernini could play his own game: by making it quite clear that he was doing the duke a favor in even considering

such a commission but refusing to name a price, he was taking a gamble.¹⁴ In this case it paid off beyond what he could possibly have hoped: the staggering sum of 3,000 scudi, the same amount that he had received for the *Four Rivers Fountain* in the Piazza Navona in Rome. Remarkable as his portrait of Francesco I d'Este undoubtedly was (see fig. 23), clearly this gives no indication of the payment that he, or any other sculptor of the time, could expect.

The information, however, was primarily about Algardi, and the impression it provides of an unpretentious straightforward approach is matched by his portraiture: this records, without embellishment or idealization, the physiognomies he saw before him. Comparing the busts of Pope Innocent X by Bernini (fig. 5.10.3) and Algardi (cat. no. 5.10), one sees that neither could totally disguise the sitter's ugliness, or the prominent bumps above his eyebrows, but the former depicts a resolute and decisive leader, the wispy beard filled out, and the mouth firmly set. Algardi's pope is shifty and devious, reluctant to meet our gaze, and the mustache covering the corners of his mouth suggests indecisiveness. Algardi's faithfulness to the appearance of the pope is attested to by the great painting by Velázquez in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj (fig. 4.4.1), while history confirms the truth of the character his bust conveys.

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654) was born in Bologna and trained under both the minor sculptor Giulio Cesare Conventi and the painter Ludovico Carracci;¹⁵ although there is no record that he ever painted, he was (unlike most sculptors of his time) a prolific and highly competent draftsman. The influence of the Bolognese style, in particular that of Ludovico, can be seen in the work of the sculptor whom a contemporary described as “the new Guido [Reni] in marble,”¹⁶ and not least in his portraiture, which conformed to that objective simplicity characteristic of Emilia.

After some five years at the court of Mantua, he arrived in Rome in 1625 and, like most sculptors trying to earn a living, restored antique statues and provided models for silversmiths. Coming from a city where there was no stone suitable for carving, he had to overcome a belief that he was not capable of carving marble; although this prejudice was quite unfounded, it is true to say that he remained at his best and most characteristic in modeling clay—and he was also the most prolific and successful creator of models for small bronze statuettes in Seicento Rome.

Sculpture in the Eternal City at the time was entirely dominated by Bernini, who created obstacles to the advancement of all potential rivals. Most were obliged to work under his direction, and Algardi did so too, on the catafalque of Carlo Barberini of 1630, but, for the reasons stated above, tombs provided one area where a relatively unknown newcomer to the city could find employment and show his mettle. Among the first of Algardi's tomb busts are those of the three Frangipani brothers, probably carved in the mid-1630s, which are interesting because, according to the contemporary biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri, there was no record of their appearance.¹⁷ So in this case, contrary to what has been stated above, Algardi has created three types: Muzio is a hard-bitten soldier, Lelio (who died in battle aged only twenty-six), a young hero, and Roberto, a serious man of peace. All the busts are set only slightly above eye-level, and only Roberto leans forward so as to be fully visible to those standing on the floor of the chapel. In all the sculptor has arranged their cloaks to fit harmoniously into their circular niches.

It is probable that the Frangipani busts were made before 1634, because in that year Algardi received what was one of the most desirable commissions any sculptor could hope for: a tomb of a pope for Saint Peter's Basilica.¹⁸ That so prestigious a work should be entrusted to an artist



Fig. 28 GIULIO FINELLI
Cardinal Domenico Ginnasi, 1640–45. Marble. Rome,
Palazzo Ginnasi, chapel.

who had almost nothing on public view is quite remarkable (he had already received the commission for the altar with *The Beheading of Saint Paul* for Bologna, but one can at least suggest reasons why the patron there, Virgilio Spada, should have turned to Algardi, reasons that are harder to find for Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini, the heir of Leo XI). Neither the remarkable tomb of Leo XI, nor the full-length seated statue, are within the scope of this exhibition, but the head of the old and weary pope is a striking portrait, the forms treated broadly to be visible at a distance, while the sagging flesh, and in particular the puckered skin below the eyes, is depicted in a way that would be typical of Algardi's later images and conveys the calm benevolence of the pontiff. Although Leo had died in 1605, the sculptor must have had a painting to work from, and this head is far from the idealized images of the Frangipani.

The tomb of Leo XI was not set up till 1652, and very few of Algardi's portraits can be firmly dated, so it is fortunate that a contract, dated March 16, 1637, exists for the tomb of Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini (which should have been completed within eight months, though in fact the final payment was not made till December 1638);¹⁹ the contract thus provides a convenient touchstone for establishing a chronology of the sculptor's busts. This representation of the cardinal (fig. 5.2.1), shown as if praying at his *prie-dieu*, is taken from Finelli's tomb of Giulio Antonio Santori (see fig. 35),²⁰ but, instead of the hands being joined in prayer, one hand clasps his prayer book, while the other is pressed to his breast in a gesture of devotion. It is typical of the way that sculptors interacted with one another that Finelli should have taken over this gesture in his tomb of Domenico Ginnasi (fig. 28) (and Finelli's preliminary drawing is even closer to the prototype),²¹ giving it an added emotional intensity, and that Bernini should use it with even more dramatically intense fervor in his tomb of Gabriele Fonseca (see fig. 22).

Here, at closer range than the head of Leo XI, one can see the typical signs of Algardi's manner. At his best in images of men of at least late middle age, Algardi is attentive both to the structure of the head, its bones and muscles, and the way the flesh sags in age, falling away along the jawbone beneath the ear and thickening below the jaw, puckering below the eyes, forming small folds on their upper lids and wrinkling at their corners, and furrowing on the brow. This ability to convey the structure and volume of the head, together with a close attention to the surface of the skin, and also its luminosity, together with the fine silky texture of the hair, set Algardi off from his rivals and produced a series of striking and characterful images.

Many of these were carved during the decade from the mid-1630s to 1644, when Pope Urban VIII Barberini died, to be succeeded by Innocent X Pamphilj. With the change of regime, all those associated with the previous pope fell into disgrace, and this inevitably included Bernini—though he was gradually to regain papal favor, something that he was henceforth to retain until his death. But meanwhile Algardi saw his chance.

In fact, it was not much of a chance, for Innocent had little interest in the arts. Algardi did have friends at the Pamphilj court, and he received a few commissions—a fountain in an inner courtyard of the Vatican, designs for coaches, and so on—but nothing to compare with what Bernini had created for Urban VIII. No one would have recognized him as the pope's sculptor, and this failure to achieve a position comparable to that which his rival had enjoyed under the previous papacy probably explains—even if it does not excuse—his open and shameless theft of the commission for an over-life-size seated statue of Innocent X, given by the Conservatori of Rome, from his friend Francesco Mochi. The resulting bronze, despite the vicissitudes of its making, is one of his noblest portrait sculptures. Only with

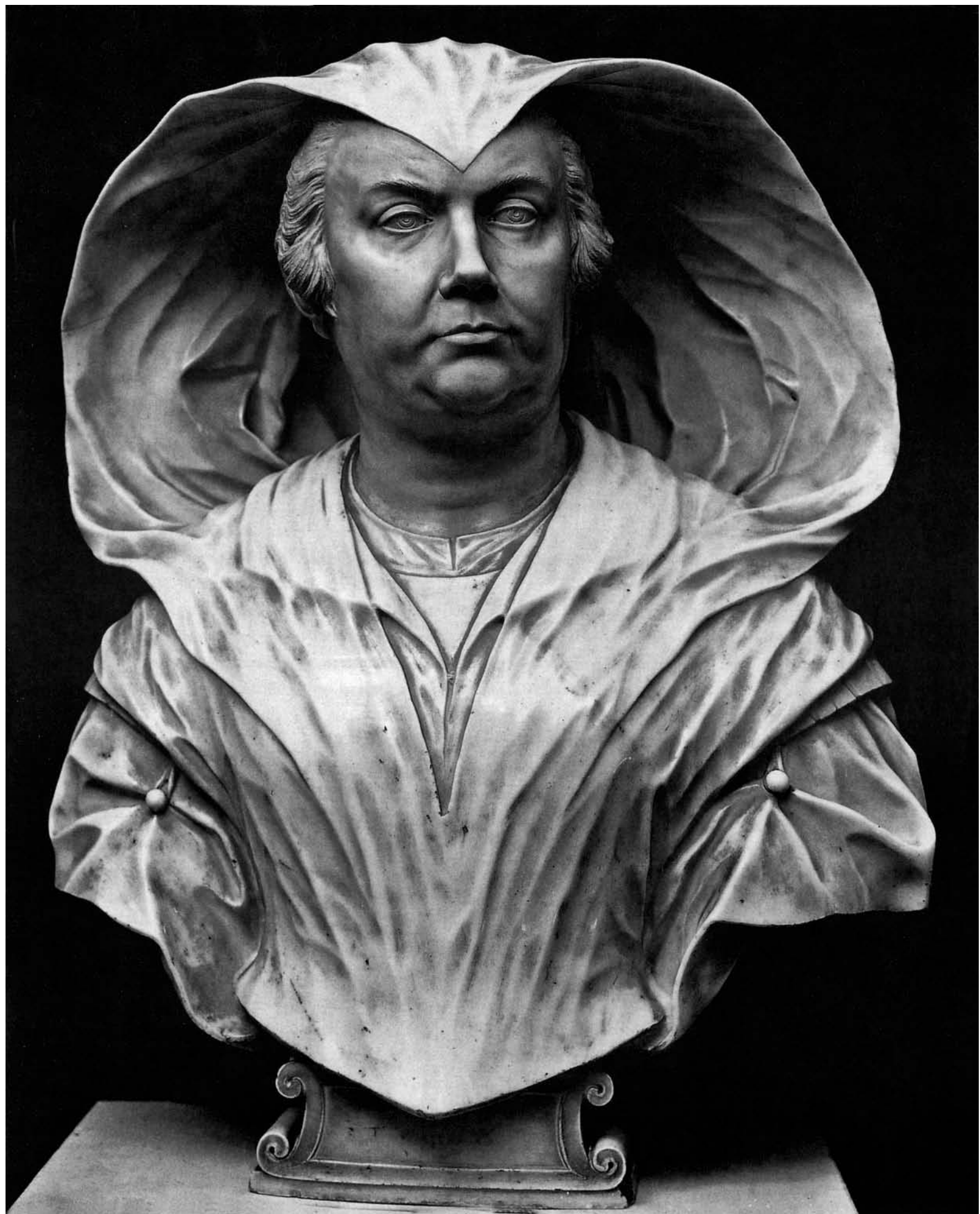


Fig. 29 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Olimpia Maidalchini, 1646–47(?) Marble, H: 74 cm (29¼ in.).
Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj.

his decision to commission a marble relief altarpiece for Saint Peter's, *The Encounter of Pope Leo the Great and Attila*, did Innocent provide the sculptor with the opportunity to create something worthy of his genius.

The pope's nephew Camillo Pamphilj was considerably more cultured than his uncle, and the contribution of Algardi to the villa that Camillo built just outside Rome, in particular the stucco decoration, is one of his most original and influential achievements, an ensemble of extreme refinement and aristocratic elegance. Camillo also owned, and presumably commissioned, at least two busts of his uncle by Algardi, and it was apparently for him that the sculptor carved the portrait of Olimpia Maidalchini, Camillo's mother (fig. 29).²² As a depiction of character this work has no rival among Roman seventeenth-century portraits: it is bad temper, arrogance, and greed personified. This is conveyed by what appears to be an accurate transcription of her features, to which the sculptor has given added meaning by the imperiously raised head; even the cutoff of the arms (far less standardized in the relatively rare busts of women) subtly suggests that she has her hands on her hips, a pose impossible in a woman of her class, but we can read into the bust something of the same attitude. Yet this terrible image is carved with the greatest delicacy, the thinnest of marble depicting her widow's veil, and its transparent cloth revealing her collar below as it passes over her breast.

Many portraits ascribed to Algardi, particularly those of Innocent X, were clearly produced with workshop assistance. A number must have been made by the process outlined in the information given to Francesco I d'Este, and one can judge the results by comparing the master's own terra-cotta bust of Giacinta Sanvitale Conti, duchessa di Poli (fig. 30), with the marble carved by Domenico Guidi for her tomb in Parma (fig. 31).²³

WHEREAS PORTRAIT BUSTS constitute an important part of both Bernini's and Algardi's output (and only a few of Algardi's are mentioned here), the third member of the best-known triumvirate of Roman seventeenth-century sculptors, François Duquesnoy (1597–1643), is recorded as producing only four; but he died relatively young and was a notoriously slow worker.²⁴

Born in Flanders, Duquesnoy went to Rome in 1618, originally with the intention of learning his art, and certainly Archduke Albert of Austria, who supported him, intended that he should return; however, the archduke's death in 1621 left the sculptor free, and he remained in the city until summoned to work at the court of France, dying on the way there. At first he earned a living in Rome and sought patronage there by the production of carvings in ivory, a typical Northern specialty, and he worked under the wood-carver Claude Pernet. It was Pernet who introduced him to the Colonna, who were to be faithful patrons, and possibly aroused his interest in the antique, though the sculptor's close friendship with Nicolas Poussin was certainly important in fostering this. By 1625 he, like so many other young or struggling sculptors, was assisting Bernini with the creation of the great bronze *baldacchino* for Saint Peter's, and he must have been responsible for the models of some of the putti who play among the olive branches on the supporting columns.

It was for his putti that Duquesnoy was most famous in his own day, and ever afterward. The three tombs that he made on his own designs are adorned exclusively with putti, that of Adrian Vryburch in Santa Maria dell'Anima of 1628–29, that of Ferdinand van den Eynden, which is attached to a similar pilaster but is undated (Van den Eynden died in 1634), and all that remains of the uncompleted tomb of Jacob de Hase in the Campo Santo Teutonico; he



Fig. 30 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI

Giacinta Savvitale Conti, 1652(?) Terra-cotta, H: 63 cm (24³/₁₆ in.). Rome, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia (79).

Fig. 31 DOMENICO GUIDI (1625–1701)

Giacinta Savvitale Conti, 1653. Marble. Parma, San Rocco.



also contributed a relief of music-making putti to the tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino in Santi Apostoli in Naples. But in 1627 Cardinal Francesco Barberini commissioned tombs for two of his protégés, John Barclay and Bernardo Guglielmi, in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura; the tombs were designed by Pietro da Cortona,²⁵ and each contained a bust (that of Barclay subsequently removed) by Duquesnoy. Perhaps one should bear in mind that these were not major commissions: Cortona was already a famous artist, but he was working for the Barberini, and designs cost little; it is likely that the cardinal wanted a sculptor who would not cost too much, and the almost unknown young Fiammingo (as he was usually called in Rome) would produce them for a modest fee. Cortona's drawing shows only a generalized bust within the architecture, and it was left for the sculptor to create the image.

How successfully he did so can be seen by visitors to the exhibition, at least in the case of the Barclay (cat. no. 2.8). The bust of Guglielmi (fig. 2.8.2) is harder to judge because there are chips in the edge of the upper eyelids and the eyes have large saucer-cut pupils, appearing both blind and surprised; as the same pupils are to be found on the bust of Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia (fig. 32), they must be accepted as original. But it is not only the eyes (slanted down toward the nose) that are a problem: the whole modeling of the face is bland and lacking in any suggestion of the underlying structure. Strangely, the portrait of Barclay, which must have been carved at the same time, is very different. Not only are the eyes cut with a small section of marble left to suggest a reflection of light, but the mouth indicates an alert intelligence that is entirely lacking in the Guglielmi. This disparity may be due to the quality of the portraits from which the sculptor was working: no image of Guglielmi has so far been identified, whereas Claude Mellan's print of Barclay (fig. 2.8.1) is strikingly similar to the marble and

Fig. 32 FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY

Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia, 1635. Marble, H (with socle): 90.8 cm (35¾ in.).
Turin, Galleria Sabauda (722).

conveys the same sense of character. The carving too is masterly, in the handling of the varied stuffs of the drapery, the skillfully rendered hair (softer and rather fluffier than that in Mellan's print), and the deeply luminous flesh.

By the time the maréchal de Créquy visited Rome in 1633–34, and presumably commissioned a bust of his accompanying dwarf (cat. no. 2.9) as a gift for Cardinal Antonio Barberini (the brother of Cardinal Francesco), Duquesnoy's situation had changed, for in 1633 he had completed his *Saint Susanna*. The other three statues in the apse of Santa Maria di Loreto were carved by Domenico de Rossi, the rather younger Giuliano Finelli, and the considerably older Pompeo Ferrucci, with angels by the leading sculptor of that older generation, Stefano Maderno. The ensemble might have raised no more than mild admiration had it not been for the *Saint Susanna*, a classically draped and gently swaying maiden of extraordinary grace and beauty, that was to captivate the influential writer on art Giovan Pietro Bellori and become the icon of so-called Baroque classicism.

It was also in 1633 that the sculptor began work on the great statue of Saint Andrew for the niche in one of the piers in the crossing of Saint Peter's. That Bernini should have called upon him to undertake so prominent a sculpture demonstrates the reputation that he must have achieved since his minor work on the *baldacchino*. Despite the problems involved in its execution, which dragged on till 1640, this too has become a canonical image, both in the iconography of the saint and the stylistic history of the period.

As for the portrait of the dwarf, it is as unique and extraordinary as its subject, as hard to fit into the mainstream of Roman Baroque portrait sculpture as into the oeuvre of Duquesnoy.

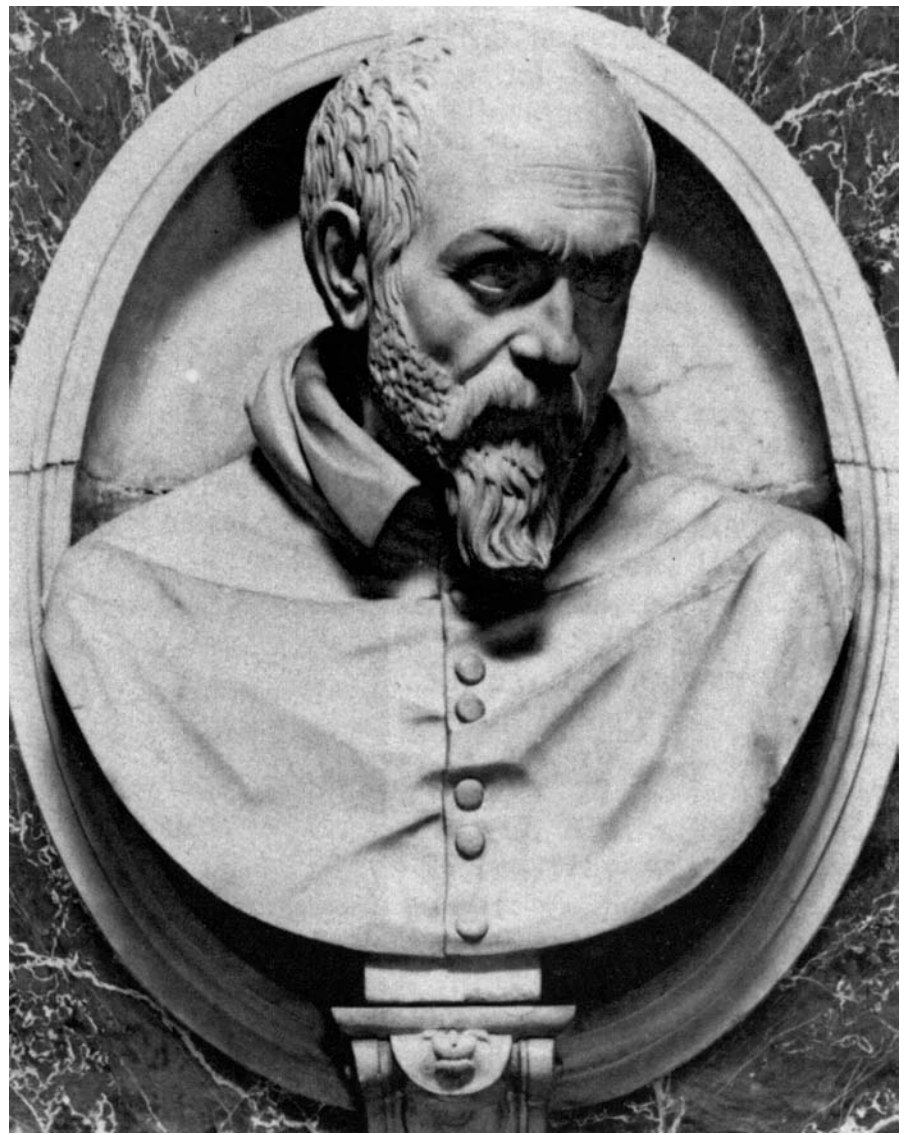
It was followed in 1635 by the bust of Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia, which compares more comfortably with the two busts of 1627.²⁶ Here it is the dignity of the sitter that comes



across, helped by the imposing mass of the body, perhaps more powerfully than any marked depiction of character, though the bust was almost certainly carved from life when the cardinal visited Rome. This may help to explain how, as in the bust of the dwarf, the sculptor has succeeded in conveying not only a sense of life but also of the skull beneath the skin.

These few busts, Duquesnoy's only securely documented portraits (though others have been ascribed to him), do not indicate a great gift for the genre, though perhaps more opportunity to work from life would have resulted in a more impressive corpus of work. It is not only the virginal head of the *Saint Susanna*, which was repeated in a small bust and copied by innumerable later artists, but also the broadly modeled and dramatic face of the *Saint Andrew* that manifest his capacity for depicting the human head. He was an artist who worked laboriously, perfecting his models and polishing the forms. When challenged that surely the work was finished, he would reply that it might appear so to someone who had not seen the original, but that he labored to copy the original and model that he had in his mind's eye ("nella mente"). It was these models that he reproduced more successfully than those seated before him.

TO THESE THREE SCULPTORS, Bernini, Algardi, Duquesnoy, who epitomized the best of the Roman Baroque for many generations, recent art historians would add a fourth, Francesco Mochi (1580–1654),²⁷ whose art is so unlike that of any of his contemporaries that it requires a modern acceptance of the eccentric, and even bizarre, to appreciate its beauty, an acceptance that was lacking in many of the sculptor's patrons, who in two or three cases rejected the finished statues. As Irving Lavin has written, Mochi's "are the only sculptures produced in Rome after about 1625 which one could imagine would have looked no different



had Bernini never been born."²⁸ Indeed, their styles could hardly have been more different: where Bernini regarded it as a particular merit that he could "render the stone as obedient to the hand as if it were dough or wax,"²⁹ with Mochi one is always aware that it is stone. Even in works cast in bronze from a wax or clay model, where the ductile material facilitated the creation of more open and curling forms, there is something hard and metallic, particularly in the folds of the draperies.

Mochi was born in Montevarchi, and his Tuscan origins remain visible in many of his works. He received his first training in Florence under the painter Santi di Tito and possibly the sculptor Giovanni Caccini, coming to Rome around the end of the century, where he is first found

working under Camillo Mariani, a sculptor from Vicenza. Throughout his life Mochi was supported by the Farnese, and it was Mario Farnese who secured him his first known independent commission, the *Annunciation* group for Orvieto Cathedral (1603–5), a work of astounding originality and maturity; he was to continue to produce further statues for the cathedral until 1644.³⁰ It was most likely on the recommendation of the same patron that Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, called Mochi to Piacenza in 1612 to execute the great bronze equestrian statue of Ranuccio himself, which was followed by a similar statue of his father, Alessandro (see fig. 49).³¹ These extraordinary monuments, that of Alessandro breathtaking in its bravura movement and the windswept cloak of the rider, were set on pedestals, each decorated with two large bronze reliefs and four putti bearing coats of arms. They kept the sculptor occupied till 1629 (together with a stucco kneeling figure of Ranuccio Farnese, also in Piacenza), though he may have returned briefly to Rome in 1621, when he received a payment for setting up the marble statue of Saint Martha in the Barberini Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, which he had carved before leaving for Piacenza. He may then have carved the tomb bust of Ladislao d'Aquino (fig. 33),³² who had died in that year.

Basically, Mochi had been out of Rome for some seventeen years, at just the time that Bernini was transforming the art of sculpture. This might be one reason why his art was so little touched by that of the younger genius, but the marble statues Mochi completed before Bernini emerged from his father's shadow are already imbued with his highly individual style, one of great tension, combining a strong feeling for line with a sure grasp of three-dimensional form that takes full advantage of the play of light and shadow.

It was in the year following his return from Piacenza that Mochi carved the seated *Saint John the Baptist* now in

the Hofkirche in Dresden for Carlo Barberini. The statue's purpose is much debated. Sebastian Schütze has argued that its intended site was a tomb for Antonio Barberini, the great-uncle of Pope Urban VIII, planned for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini but never erected because of Carlo's death.³³ However, Passeri believed that it was intended to replace Pietro Bernini's seated *Baptist* in the family chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, but that this substitution was successfully opposed by Gian Lorenzo;³⁴ no doubt this misinterpretation of the facts reflected the known hostility between Mochi and Bernini. Arguments can be adduced against both these, and other, proposed solutions, and the question of where it was to go remains open.

Certainly Bernini and Mochi disliked each other, and it was Urban VIII, rather than Bernini, who in the same year, 1630, called Mochi back to Rome to carve the *Saint Veronica* for one of the four niches in the piers of the crossing of Saint Peter's. Again, he produced a wholly exceptional figure, iconographically as well as aesthetically, as the saint rushes forward excitedly, showing off the vernicle on which is imprinted the face of the Savior. Bernini's *Saint Longinus* for another of the niches is also in action, gazing in the ecstasy of the moment of his conversion at the Christ whose side he has pierced with his lance (originally there was to be a figure of Christ atop the *baldacchino*), but his feet are immobile and planted firmly on the ground, whereas *Veronica* is in full movement. While many admired Mochi's figure, Bernini was not alone in his scornful distaste, but the enmity was not one-sided. Mochi, advising against a weekly dusting of his statue, also pointed out that it would not require such attention as it was fully polished—a clear jibe at Bernini's use of ridged marble for his figure of Longinus.

It must also have been in 1630, immediately after the death of Carlo Barberini, that Mochi carved his bust (cat. no. 2.3); even though the work is surely posthumous, Carlo

Fig. 34 FRANCESCO MOCHI

Pompilio Zuccarini, 1638(?) Marble. Rome, Santa Maria ad Martyres.

must have been well known to the sculptor. The simple planes of the armor, enlivened by the dynamic folds of the sash, were well suited to the sculptor's temperament, and the head, for all its more schematized modeling as compared to that which Bernini made for the memorial statue now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 2.3.3), conveys as much of the general's character. Also made for the Barberini, but more controversial in its dating, is the bust of Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger (fig. 2.3.1).

Mochi's increasingly eccentric style is evident in the *Baptism of Christ* left unfinished at the sculptor's death, but accepted by the patrons, the Falconieri, even if they refused to place it in their chapel, and now in the Museo di Roma. It can also be seen in the last pair of statues sent to Orvieto and the *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* (Museo di Roma) com-

missioned by the monks of Monte Cassino but rejected by them. It is evident too in his last portraits, the extraordinary bust of Pompilio Zuccarini (fig. 34)³⁵ and the ruined torso which is all that remains of the standing figure of Cardinal Richelieu (Château de Meilleraie). Zuccarini's mop of tight curls might almost be a wig, and even more remarkable is the treatment of the lace cotta, not only in the rather schematically arranged drill holes but even more in the hard zigzags of its crisply pleated material, falling almost as if it were a type of armor, in total contrast to the impressionistic manner in which other sculptors reproduced this soft material. Yet there is pathos, even a touch of humor, in the face of this canon of the church, who was also a member of the Barberini court—which may explain the commission.

Mochi's sculpture differed radically from that of Bernini, but he remained an isolated figure, with no successors following in his path.³⁶ Giuliano Finelli, one of the most inventive portraitists of the younger generation, had, however, worked extensively for Bernini and, although they too quarreled, there was no difference in their approach to art. While Finelli's may not have been the easiest of personalities, it was Bernini's jealousy, and his unwillingness to share praise with anyone else, that led to the break.³⁷

FINELLI (1602–1653) WAS BORN IN MASSA but left at an early age to work in Naples, first with his uncle, and then with the leading Neapolitan sculptor, Michelangelo Naccherino. In about 1618 he moved to Rome and during the 1620s gravitated to the Bernini workshop, contributing to the monument to Roberto Bellarmine in the Gesù (see fig. 11), where the unusually long bust (originally set into a much more elaborate tomb) may have made a lasting impression on him. For Bernini he carved one (or possibly both) of the angels over the high altar in Sant'Agostino and made important contributions to the *baldacchino*; it has been





Fig. 35 GIULIANO FINELLI
 Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, ca. 1633–34. Marble.
 Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano.

assumed that he assisted the master in the carving of a number of portrait busts, though scholars disagree as to how many. His greatest skill was in the use of the drill and the carving of fine and fragile details, and the sources write of his use of this skill in the production of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* (Villa Borghese) and *Santa Bibiana* for the church of the same name. This assistance was not acknowledged by Bernini, and when Finelli was (it seems) entirely responsible for the remarkable bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (see fig. 26), which the Barberini had commissioned from Bernini, and the master reneged on his promise to present the sculptor to the pope, taking instead his conational and rival Andrea Bolgi, this, on top of other deliberate acts of hostility, led to a breakdown in relations, and the younger sculptor left the studio in anger.

In the same year as his break with Bernini (1628), Finelli received the commission for the statue of Saint Cecilia, which stands opposite Duquesnoy's *Saint Susanna* in the apse of Santa Maria di Loreto, a work that took some five years to complete. During those years, and prior to his departure for Naples in 1634, Finelli produced a number of highly original and influential busts, most of them for tombs, employing formulas never before seen in Rome. The splendid and fiery portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti

junior (fig. 5.1.1)³⁸ makes more complex use of the encircling cloak than previous busts, and the right hand does not merely appear over the edge of a fold, as in so many classical busts and their descendants, but emerges almost as a counterpoint to the head. Several portraits make use of a half-length figure similar to Bernini's *Bellarmino*, many of them repeating his gesture of prayer, but those of the two brothers Alessandro and Michele Damasceni Peretti (Berlin, Bode Museum) hold attributes indicative of their social ranks.³⁹ The groundbreaking image of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (fig. 35),⁴⁰ represented as if kneeling behind his prie-dieu, converted the praying half-length figure into something new, and immensely influential.

One of the most fascinating of these portraits is that of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 5.4). The fleshy jowls, the ruffled collar that reveals the fat neck, one button slipping, and others slipped through their buttonholes, and the parted lips—all were to reappear in the busts of Scipione that Bernini carved a few months later (cat. no. 4.1). Finelli's is a splendid portrait, and yet, justifiably, it was of Bernini's masterpiece, and not Finelli's bust, that a contemporary wrote in amazement, "it is truly alive and breathing."⁴¹

Never quite as subtle as Bernini or Algardi in modeling the softness of flesh or the texture of skin, Finelli differed most notably in his treatment of the hair, depicting it in clumps, and making extensive use of the drill; the beard of his freestanding portrait of Domenico Ginnasi (1628–29?; Rome, Galleria Borghese)⁴² looks almost like strands of spaghetti. The relatively hard handling of the marble means that his depiction of fur, seen at its best in the bust of Francesco Bracciolini (cat. no. 5.1), never achieves the softness to be found in an Algardi bust from Berlin (cat. no. 5.2), into which it seems that one could sink one's fingers.

In 1634 Finelli returned to work in Naples, this time as a fully fledged and respected sculptor. He was, however,

Fig. 36 GIULIANO FINELLI and GIULIO MENCAGLIA
Tomb of Cesare Firrao, 1640–42. Marble. Naples, San Paolo Maggiore.

Fig. 37 ANDREA BOLGI (1606–1656)
Laura Frangipane, 1637. Marble. Rome, San Francesco a Ripa.

quick to take up a number of Neapolitan schemata, such as the kneeling or half-kneeling figure, which he used on the tomb of Emanuel de Fonseca y Zuñigo, the count of Monterrey (1634–37; Salamanca, Las Agustinas Recoletas)⁴³ and on those of Cesare and Antonio Firrao (fig. 36) (the latter figure was executed on Finelli's design by Giulio Mencaglia).⁴⁴ Of the many tombs and freestanding busts of varying quality that Finelli produced in Naples, several should be ascribed to his workshop, for he had need of assistants for his various major undertakings, in particular the decoration of the Cappella del Tesoro in the cathedral, with the marble *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* on the facade and the series of bronze statues of standing saints within.

While in Naples, Finelli sent back to Rome the bust of Domenico Ginnasi for the tomb (the other figures being carved by assistants) already mentioned above. Around 1650 he returned to Rome, but for the remainder of his life the only portrait mentioned in the sources is the tomb bust of Giuseppe Bonanni in Santa Caterina in Magnanapoli; his responsibility for that of Bonanni's wife, Virginia Primi, has been questioned.⁴⁵

THE SCULPTOR TO WHOM IT HAS ALSO BEEN ATTRIBUTED is Andrea Bolgi (1606–1656),⁴⁶ whose best-known work is the *Saint Helena* in the crossing of Saint Peter's and whose only certain Roman portrait is the charming bust of Laura Frangipane (fig. 37), signed and dated 1637. Like Finelli, he was born in Carrara and worked extensively under Bernini, for whom he probably carved a number of busts, those of the Raimondi brothers on their tombs in San Francesco a Ripa being generally accepted; it is probable that he also completed the master's bust of Thomas Baker (cat. no. 6.1), but there are widely divergent opinions as to the corpus of his Roman portraiture.⁴⁷

His stuccos *The Church* and *Divine Justice* over the arcades of the nave of Saint Peter's were modeled with so



much personal vigor that they stood out from the rest of the series, and so displeased the pope that in 1648 he ordered their destruction (which fortunately was not carried out). Enraged, Bolgi left Rome for Naples. Among the portraits that he carved there the most outstanding are those for the Cacace Chapel in San Lorenzo Maggiore (fig. 38). The chapel had been designed by Cosimo Fanzago, and Finelli had produced a portrait drawing of Giovanni Camillo Cacace, but all four busts in the chapel show Bolgi's love of rounded forms and energetically flapping draperies and are undoubtedly to be seen as his own inventions. Regrettably, none of Bolgi's busts were available for the exhibition.

Others among Bernini's assistants also produced works of quality, and in some cases real originality, most notably Antonio Raggi and Giulio Cartari, as did Algardi's, the aforementioned Ercole Ferrata and Domenico Guidi; but they could hardly be said to have been among the "inventors" of the Baroque portrait bust.



Fig. 38 ANDREA BOLGI

Tomb of Giuseppe de Caro and Francesco Antonio de Caro, 1652–53. Marble. Naples, San Lorenzo Maggiore.

NOR, STRICTLY SPEAKING, does Melchiorre Cafà fall into that category, being of an even younger generation.⁴⁸ Born in Malta in 1636, he belongs to what one might call the third generation, but his early death in 1667, only fifteen years after Algardi's, puts him out of step with his contemporaries. It was probably in 1658 that he arrived in Rome and worked in the studio of Ercole Ferrata. Quick and fertile in invention, but slow and reluctant to see through the carving of large-scale sculpture, he is said to have made a number of models for Ferrata, but it was left to this less original sculptor to complete many of Cafà's unfinished marbles. The only major works entirely from his own hand are the remarkable *Saint Catherine* relief (Santa Caterina a Magnanapoli) and the highly original *Saint Rose of Lima* (1665; Lima, San Domingo).

It is not easy to speak of Cafà's portraiture, since the large seated statue of Pope Alexander III (Siena, Cathedral) was completed by Ferrata, and, while he may have made the terra-cotta models that served for the bronze portrait medallions in Santa Maria della Vittoria in Milan,⁴⁹ the only work on which his abilities can really be judged is the bust of Alexander VII cast by Giovanni Artusi (cat. no. 6.7). In its strong, almost caricatural modeling of the physiognomy, in the clear evidence of the clay-working tools in the wrinkles around the eyes, the furrowed brows, and the fur edging of the mozzetta, and in the deeply modeled folds designed for their sculptural effect rather than to indicate the body within, this is one of the most remarkable busts of the time. Despite its originality, or perhaps because of it, this portrait shows too how the influence of Bernini lived on in the work of a sculptor who should have transmitted it to the following century.

Sculptors in early-seventeenth-century Rome were like those of all times and places. They looked at each other's work, and there was a constant give-and-take between them.



Bernini's greatness is beyond dispute, but it is in no way lessened by the recognition that he too took up and expanded on ideas invented by his rivals. And our own enjoyment and understanding of the heritage of art left by past centuries are greatly enhanced by a willingness to look at the picture as a whole, rather than only its supreme genius.

NOTES

1. He also copied antique portraits. For Fioriti (and all the other sculptors mentioned in this essay), see Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, which also includes illustrations of the sculptures referred to.
2. For the fluid state of attributions of Roman portraits of this period, see Dombrowski 1998b. Apart from attributions to Bolgi (and subtractions from his oeuvre), the author proposes many attributions to other sculptors, some highly contentious.
3. Montagu 1970, pp. 290–91.
4. See item 28 of the contract of April 10, 1636, between Francesco d’Aste and Sante Ghetti for the construction of his chapel in the apse of Santa Maria in Via Lata, transcribed in Lavin 1980, vol. 1, p. 177.
5. See the negotiations for a sculptor to carve a statue in honor of Urban VIII recounted in Brancati 1981.
6. However, when in 1652 Bernini sent a list of the best sculptors working in Rome to the court at Modena it is not surprising that all those named should have been currently working for him; see Montagu 1985b, pp. 30–31.
7. Lavin 1968, p. 241 n. 121; see also his documents 4, 17, 18, and 23.
8. Montagu 1985a, p. 402.
9. This sum was a repayment to the man who had passed the money to the sculptor some months before; see Boudon-Machuel 2005, pp. 329–30.
10. Montagu 1970, p. 281.
11. This folded and undated document, now in Modena (Archivio di Stato, Per Materia, Scultori, busta 17), must be the information previously attached to the letter preserved in Modena: Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Marchionale poi Ducale Estense – Ramo Ducale (Principi non regnanti), busta 119b (236/10).
12. Archivio di Stato (Modena), busta 119b (see note 11 above).
13. Compare the rather similar way in which Virgilio Spada hoped to get a relatively cheap design from Bernini for their projected chapel in Sant’Andrea della Valle; see Montagu 1985b, pp. 35–36.
14. Melchiorre Cafà did the same for his bust of Alexander VII; see Golzio 1939, p. 302.
15. For fuller information on the sculptor, see Montagu 1985a and Rome 1999a.
16. *Malvasia* (1694) 1841, vol. 2, p. 26.
17. On these busts, see Montagu 1985a, pp. 151–52.
18. Montagu 1985a, pp. 434–36.
19. Montagu 1985a, pp. 437–38.
20. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 100–104, 335–36, figs. 95–98.
21. For the tomb, see Dombrowski 1997, pp. 106–7, 369, figs. 104–8; Dombrowski’s doubts as to the relationship of the drawing in Besançon (his fig. 103) to the tomb, amplified on pp. 454–55, are unconvincing.
22. Montagu 1985a, p. 437.
23. Montagu 1985a, pp. 443–44; Maria Giulia Barberini in Rome 1999a, pp. 204–5.
24. The most reliable source for the artist and his work is Boudon-Machuel 2005.
25. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 2651; see Noehles 1964, pp. 86–96, fig. 27b.
26. See Boudon-Machuel 2005, pp. 169–72, 331–32.
27. There is one monograph (Siemer 1989). The catalogue for the photographic exhibition held in 1981 (Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981) provides good coverage, and documentation of his work.
28. Lavin 1970, p. 146.
29. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 141; see also Bernini 1713, p. 149.
30. Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, pp. 36–38, 40–41, 44–46, 82–84.
31. Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, pp. 51–57, 60–64.
32. Lavin 1970, pp. 137–38; Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, p. 58.
33. Schütze 2007, p. 85.
34. Passeri 1934, p. 133.
35. Lavin 1970, pp. 142–44; Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, pp. 79–80.
36. The portrait sculptor Bernardo Fioriti (mentioned above) was said to have studied under Mochi, but there is no sign of this in his few known works.
37. On Finelli, see, most recently, Dombrowski 1997.
38. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 78–81, 325–27.
39. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 70–73, 337–38.
40. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 100–104, 335–36.
41. Campori 1855, pp. 66–67; Faldi 1954a, p. 38.
42. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 64–66, 316–17.
43. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 146, 342–43.
44. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 155–58, 365–67.
45. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 262–63, 416–17.
46. There is no monograph on the sculptor; see, however, Dombrowski 1998.
47. One has only to compare the three articles devoted to the subject: Martinelli 1959; Nava Cellini 1962; and Dombrowski 1998b.
48. The latest study of the artist is Sciberras 2006.
49. Sciberras 2006, pp. 13–14.



“SCULPTORS PURSUE LIKENESSES”

THE TYPOLOGY AND FUNCTION OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PORTRAIT SCULPTURE IN ROME

• Steven F. Ostrow •

Early on in his fifteenth-century treatise *De Statua*, Leon Battista Alberti wrote, rather matter-of-factly, “Since sculptors pursue likenesses, I must start by discussing likeness.”¹ Although, historically, sculptors pursued considerably more than just likenesses—by which Alberti meant portraits—it is fair to say that in Baroque Rome portraiture was the most widely produced genre of sculpture. Sculptors populated Roman churches with great numbers of sculpted and cast portraits for tombs; they filled the palaces of Rome’s aristocracy with freestanding portrait busts; churches and governmental buildings were adorned with honorific and memorial images of the institutions’ benefactors; and private homes, not only of the wealthy, were the repositories of small wax portraits and medals bearing portraits.

The purpose of this essay is to provide a broad overview of sculpted portraiture in Seventeenth-century Rome, focusing on the typology and various functions of portrait sculpture produced in the papal capital. The independent, freestanding portrait bust will not be included in my discussion, however, for this type is the subject of the essays in the present volume by Catherine Hess, Andrea Bacchi, and Jennifer Montagu and is treated in the catalogue entries. Nor will I address “portraits” of contemporary saints (such as the many examples of Filippo Neri and Carlo Borromeo), which, although they share many similar traits, were created to serve a devotional purpose. What I will consider are portrait medals and medallions, small wax portraits, portraits created for a funerary context, honorific and memorial portraits, and equestrian statues. Of particular concern within this essay

are the myriad variations on the form of the portrait within these categories, as well as the media used. Lastly, I will address the iconography of portraiture, for it is inseparable from the function of the various portrait types considered.

PORTRAIT MEDALS

The portrait medal, as a type, has its origins in early Renaissance Italy and, like ancient Roman imperial coins, from which it derived, served a commemorative function.² Commissioned primarily by rulers, such medals ordinarily display a profile portrait and inscription on the obverse and an additional image and/or inscription pertaining to the sitter on the reverse. In Rome, although cardinals and members of the aristocracy occasionally commissioned medals, the vast majority were produced for popes, and beginning with

Fig. 39 COSIMO FANCELLI (1620–1688)

Recumbent Statue of Giovanni Spada

ECOLE FERRATA and others

Medallion Portraits of Spada Family Ancestors, 1654–57.

Marble. Rome, San Girolamo della Carità, Spada Chapel.

Paul III (r. 1534–49) commemorative medals were made on a more regular basis than previously. Issued as instruments of papal propaganda, they proclaimed Church doctrine, papal victories, and Church programs through their portraits and reverse imagery. In the seventeenth century, papal medals assumed unprecedented importance when Paul V (r. 1605–21) initiated a much wider and more systematic production of medals than his predecessors. The *Annuale* (annual medal), introduced every year on June 29, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, celebrated what was considered to be the most significant event—artistic, political, or religious—of the previous year. Other papal medals were issued to mark the papal election, the *Possesso* (the pope's taking possession of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran as bishop of Rome), the *Lavanda* (the yearly ritual of the washing of the feet on Holy Thursday), Holy Years, Jubilees, and other special events. So-called extraordinary medals were also produced to celebrate particular events, such as the inception of significant architectural undertakings (foundation medals), the canonization of new saints, and the visits of foreign dignitaries. Regardless of type, their obverses invariably featured portraits of the popes, and they were produced by the papal mint (the *Zecca*), the master and other medalists of which were paid directly by the pope.³

Throughout the seventeenth century, papal medals were made from bronze, silver, and gold, the majority being struck from engraved dies. Some, however, were cast using the lost-wax method, which resulted in more pronounced relief than when struck. While the number of medals issued was not fixed, the average Seicento edition of *annuali* was 200 gold, 350 silver, and perhaps as many as 1,000 bronze, the number increasing in an inverse proportion to the preciousness of the metal.⁴ Their sizes vary considerably, with diameters ranging between about 35 and 58 mm ($1\frac{3}{8}$ and

$2\frac{1}{4}$ in.), with some from the second half of the century as large as 75 to 98 mm (3 to $3\frac{7}{8}$ in.).

Given the range of occasions for their production and the size of their editions, papal medals constitute—quantitatively—the largest category of Roman Seicento sculpted portraits. As they were issued with great frequency and nearly always dated, they serve as reliable papal documents and, as such, help to date nonmedallic portraits of the popes.⁵ But papal medals go beyond mere documentation; they are objects of art, and in many instances the images they bear are extremely refined and vivid likenesses of the pontiffs. With few exceptions, the master of the mint was responsible for the design of papal medals, often signing his name on the obverse. These masters, although little known today, were artists of the highest rank, and some of them also worked as goldsmiths or sculptors. In chronological order, the primary papal medalists of the century were Paolo Sanquirico (1565–1630), master from 1612 to 1613; Giacomo Antonio Moro (d. 1624), master from 1613 to 1624; Gaspare Mola (ca. 1580–1640), master from 1625 to 1640; Gaspare Morone (d. 1669), Mola's nephew, master from 1640 to 1669; Gioacchino Francesco Travani (d. 1675), an engraver at the papal mint from about 1655 to 1674; Girolamo Lucenti (1627–1698), master from 1670 to 1676; and Giovanni Hamerani (1646–1705), master from 1676 to 1704.

On occasion, the leading sculptors in Rome provided designs for papal medals. For instance, Jennifer Montagu has proposed that Alessandro Algardi designed the reverses of two medals of Innocent X, and an autograph drawing (sold at Christie's, New York, in 1998) proves that he did so for at least one of them.⁶ Graphic and documentary evidence confirms that Gian Lorenzo Bernini designed a number of reverses and that in 1657 Alexander VII asked

Fig. 40 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
and GIROLAMO LUCENTI (1627–1692)

Medallion of Pope Clement X, ca. 1670. Bronze, Diam: 27.8 cm (10¹⁵/₁₆ in.).
Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia (PV 1637).

him to produce a portrait drawing for medals executed by Gaspare Morone.⁷ In the vast majority of cases, however, the obverse portraits were designed by medalists. That they often bear close resemblance to painted and sculpted portraits of the popes is merely indicative of the fact that medalists looked closely at and drew inspiration from the work of the leading sculptors and painters of the day.

PORTRAIT MEDALLIONS

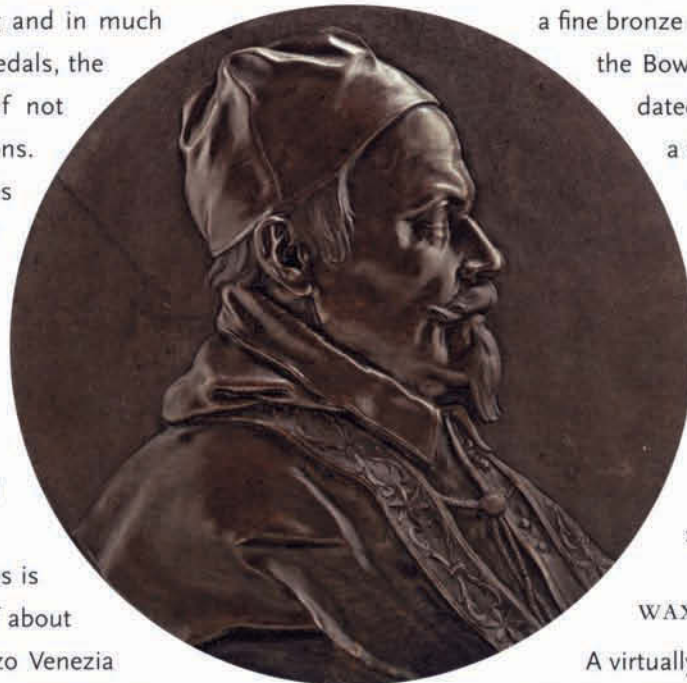
Medallions are closely related to medals in their shape and media but are larger, lack reverses, and were produced exclusively by casting and in much smaller numbers. As with medals, the popes were the primary (if not exclusive) patrons of medallions. The only Seicento examples known to me are papal and date from the pontificate of Alexander VII (1655–67) and afterward, which suggests that, even if they were made earlier, they enjoyed greater popularity during the second half of the century.

One of the finest examples is a medallion of Clement X of about 1670 in the Museo di Palazzo Venezia (fig. 40), which almost certainly corresponds to the work described in a document of 1677 as “A very beautiful image of Clement X by Cavaliere Bernini; without an inscription and without a reverse. A very large medallion.”⁸ Measuring 27.8 cm (10¹⁵/₁₆ in.) in diameter, this remarkable bronze was most likely cast by Girolamo Lucenti, the pope’s primary medalist, who often collaborated with Bernini as his

founder. Although the relationship of this medallion to two profile portraits of Clement in Leipzig (one by Bernini and the other by his workshop; fig. 6.12.1) remains unclear, Bernini’s authorship of this portrait is almost certain.

Other notable examples of this genre include the gilt-bronze medallion of Clement IX in the Fogg Art Museum (30.8 cm [12¹/₈ in.]) and the bronze medallion of Innocent XI in the National Gallery of Scotland (25.5 cm [10¹/₁₆ in.]). Not surprisingly, Bernini has been credited with designing both, although no proof of his authorship exists, and both are also assumed to have been cast by Lucenti.⁹ Finally,

a fine bronze medallion of Alexander VIII in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, dated 1689, has been attributed to a member of the Travani family. Measuring 16.3 cm (6⁷/₁₆ in.), it is smaller than all other Roman Baroque medallions but larger than all medals from the period, thereby, as Nathan Whitman and John Varriano have noted, “blurring... the distinction between separate artistic types.”¹⁰



WAX PORTRAITS

A virtually forgotten category of Roman Baroque portraits is that made from colored wax.¹¹ This highly specialized genre appears to have been invented in the mid-sixteenth century. Antonio Abondio (1538–1591) was among the pioneers of this new form of portraiture and one of its best-known practitioners. There can be little doubt that his training as a medalist, which involved making wax models for casting, led to his



producing polychrome wax portraits as independent works of art. Owing to their novelty and the technical virtuosity evidently required in their making, they became extremely popular throughout Europe, coveted by collectors, who exhibited them in their galleries and *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern*.

Evidence of the vogue they enjoyed in Seicento Rome is provided by Giovanni Baglione, who tells us in reference to Ludovico Leoni, the father of Ottavio, “There was neither a Prince... nor Princess, or Roman Noblewoman, who would not be portrayed” by the artist, for his portraits in colored wax were executed “with great care and finished with naturalness” and to see them “was a thing of amazement.” Similarly, Rosato Rosati, originally from Macerata, produced “portraits in colored wax” that were “very precise and extremely life-like; and for these images... he was

exceptionally well known and esteemed above the others.” And, according to Baglione, Paolo Sanquirico, presumably early in his Roman career before he went to work at the papal mint, “devoted himself to making small portraits in colored wax.”¹² Although no extant wax portraits can be securely attributed to any one of these three artists, anonymous examples attest to why they were so appreciated: clearly made from life, they are works of exquisite vividness and naturalism—painstakingly modeled likenesses of the highest quality.

FUNERARY PORTRAITS

Whereas medals and medallions, with very few exceptions, show their subjects bust-length and in profile, portraits adorning funerary monuments in Roman churches assume

Fig. 41 FRANCESCO CAPORALE (active 1606–1611)
Antonio Emanuele Ne Vunda, 1608–9. Colored marbles.
Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore.

a remarkable variety of forms. They are presented in profile, in three-quarter view, and frontally—both in relief and fully in the round—and as busts (cut off at the shoulders), as *mezzo busti* (half-length), and as full-length figures. Some simply gaze out from their niches, while others are presented in a variety of attitudes: they sit, stand, recline, kneel, genuflect, read, bless, and pray. Their materials are less varied; most were carved in white marble, although bronze and, less frequently, colored marbles were also employed.

The form selected for the effigy was determined by both artist and patron, depending upon the size and shape of the tomb in which the portrait would be placed, the amount of money the patron wished to spend, and the symbolic meaning the tomb was intended to express. The rank and social class of the deceased also played a role, for certain forms of funerary images were associated with and considered more appropriate to specific types of individuals. In all cases the funerary portrait was intended to commemorate the individual represented—to guarantee his or her liturgical and historical memory—and to showcase the sculptor's artistic talents.

The simplest type of funerary portrait in Roman churches is the bust—including the head and only the upper portion of the torso—in an oval niche. Bernini's bust of Monsignor Giovanni Battista Santoni (ca. 1610–15; see fig. 8) in Santa Prassede conforms to this type, as do Francesco Mochi's bust of Cardinal Ladislao d'Aquino (1621; see fig. 33) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva and Algardi's bust of Costanzo Patrizi (ca. 1630) in Santa Maria Maggiore. In their general form, they are closely related to the ubiquitous examples produced in the sixteenth century, the subject of August Grisebach's fundamental catalogue,¹³ but all three are more vividly characterized and more animated than their predecessors, with their heads projecting forward and turned to the side. Busts that include more of the torso (extending

to the middle of the chest), but which also inhabit oval or circular niches, proliferate as well. François Duquesnoy's bust of Bernardo Guglielmi (1627–28; see fig. 2.8.2) in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (the original pendant to his bust of John Barclay, cat. no. 2.8) and Domenico Guidi's bust of Monsignor Antonio Cerri (ca. 1657; see fig. 5.6.1), a copy of Algardi's portrait in Manchester (cat. no. 5.6), exemplify this type, as do Francesco Caporale's bust of Antonio Emanuele Ne Vunda (1608–9) in Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 41) and Pompeo Ferrucci's bust of Cardinal Girolamo Vidoni (ca. 1632) in Santa Maria della Vittoria. These latter two are striking for their polychromy. Following a convention that has its origins in ancient Roman portraiture and was widely used in the sixteenth century for portraits of cardinals, Ferrucci carved the head in white marble and the *mozzetta* in porphyry. In his effigy, which depicts the Congolese ambassador, who died in Rome, Caporale carved the head and torso in black *marmo lidio*, the mantle in yellow marble, and the quiver and bow encircling the socle in other colored marbles, achieving an unusual, and somewhat unnerving, verisimilitude.

One of the most important developments in funerary portraiture was the inclusion of a greater proportion of the body to activate the effigy and heighten the illusion of its being a living person. Although this portrait type existed in its basic form in antiquity and was adopted for funereal imagery in the Quattro- and Cinquecento, in seventeenth-century Rome sculptors developed it in entirely new ways. In his bust of Antonio Coppola (1612) in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (cat. no. 1.2), Bernini depicted the right hand emerging from the cloak, grasping the edge of the drapery.¹⁴ He repeated this gesture in his bust of Giovanni Vigevano (ca. 1620; see fig. 1.2.1) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, as did Pompeo Ferrucci in his bust of Pietro Cambi (1629–30) in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and, much later in the century,



Bernardo Fioriti in his bust of Pietro da Cortona (ca. 1677) in Santi Luca e Martina. Whereas the inclusion of the hand in these portraits gives a more complete sense of the person represented, it does not imply any specific action. In contrast, in a long series of funereal busts the deceased were portrayed half-length, with their arms and hands clasped in prayer, holding prayer books or rosaries, or pressing their breast in a gesture of devotion. This motif (in its various forms)—which Leo Bruhns called the “motif of eternal adoration”—also had an earlier history in funerary art, with Giacomo del Duca’s bust of Elena Savelli (1570) in the Lateran and Valsoldo’s bust of Cardinal Giovanni Girolamo Albani (1590s) in Santa Maria del Popolo being the most prominent Roman examples.¹⁵ In the hands of seventeenth-century sculptors, however, the busts were activated in increasingly dynamic ways, engaging the spectator and the space around them in an unprecedented fashion. Among the earliest Seicento examples of this type are Bernini’s

bust of Roberto Bellarmino (1623–24), in which the figure inclines his head toward the worshipper and prays toward the altar (see fig. 11), and Teodoro della Porta’s bust of Lucrezia Tomacelli (1625) in the Lateran, in which the gilt-bronze effigy (cast by Giacomo Laurenziano) leans out from her oval niche and joins her hands in prayer. In his bust of Giulio Antonio Santori (ca. 1633–34) in the same church (see fig. 35), Giuliano Finelli further developed this motif, showing the figure as if kneeling behind a prie-dieu, turning toward the altar, with his hands resting on a cushion and clasped in prayer. Algardi’s bust of Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini (1637–38) in Santa Maria del Popolo (fig. 5.2.1) introduced a new variation of this motif in portrait busts, with the figure holding a prayer book in his right hand, and his left hand pressing his breast as he gazes at the altar.¹⁶ Bernini further developed this general typology in a number of works, culminating in his bust of Gabriele Fonseca (ca. 1668) in San Lorenzo in Lucina (see fig. 22), in which

the effigy clasps a rosary in his right hand, presses his left hand to his breast, and gazes in near rapture at the altar.¹⁷ Numerous other sculptors in Rome, among them Ercole Ferrata, Domenico Guidi, Lorenzo Merlini, Cosimo Fancelli, and Filippo Carcani, made additional contributions to this typology. The most concentrated and dynamic grouping of this type of effigy, however, is to be found in the church of Gesù e Maria, where in the 1680s the entire nave was transformed into a Bolognetti family mausoleum. On two of the four tombs that line the nave, the sculptors Francesco Aprile and Lorenzo Ottoni depicted paired members of the family, Pietro and Pier Francesco Bolognetti (fig. 42) and Ercole and Giovan Luigi Bolognetti, respectively, each seen in half-length behind a cushion, variously conversing, praying, holding a rosary or a prayer book, or pressing a hand against his breast. Although all of these attitudes had been seen before, never had such sepulchral effigies assumed so strong a physical, seemingly living presence in the nave of a Roman church—a presence heightened by the effigies on the two other tombs, discussed below.

A correlative to the funerary busts I have been discussing are medallion portraits in relief, a type that derives from the ancient *imago clipeata* (shield or framed portrait), symbolizing the ascent of the soul to heaven.¹⁸ As with the busts, one finds among medallion portraits virtually every possible variation, from the simplest head with upper shoulders to half-length figures with arms engaged in a variety of activities. Whether of the simpler or more elaborate type, the effigies appear in profile, in three-quarter view, or frontally, sometimes as isolated medallions, at other times as medallions held by allegorical figures or angels. Most of the medallions feature the portrait of a single figure, but paired portraits are also common. The medallions on the walls of the Spada Chapel in San Girolamo della Carità, executed by Ercole Ferrata, Giuseppe Peroni, Paolo Naldini, Antonio

Raggi, and Francesco Baratta between 1654 and 1657, bearing ideal (imagined) portraits of the family's early ancestors, exemplify many of the variations within this typology (see fig. 39). Other notable examples include the porphyry portrait medallions of Antonio Barberini and Camilla Barbadori in the Barberini Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, carved in 1626–27 by Tommaso Fedele after Bernini's busts of these individuals (figs. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2); Domenico Guidi's *Portrait Medallion of Orazio Falconieri and Ottavia Sacchetti* (1669) in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, which is held by a figure of Charity and an angel; and Ferrata's bronze *Portrait Medallion of Cardinal Carlo Bonelli* (ca. 1676) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which is transported by Eternity and an angel. Bernini's *Cenotaph of Alessandro Valtrini* (1639–41) in San Lorenzo in Damaso (carved by Giacomo Razzinello and Nicolas Sale) offers a more inventive variation of this type—not in terms of the medallion itself but, rather, in the way it is presented. Here a winged skeleton—the personification of death—hovering against a black marble curtain holds the portrait in its right hand and points its left index finger at the bust, bestowing immortality upon Valtrini's soul.¹⁹ Other sculptors were slow to adopt Bernini's conceit, but in the latter part of the century Domenico Guidi developed Bernini's novel invention in his *Tomb of Carlo Emanuele Vizzani* (after 1661) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, with a winged skeleton embracing the medallion portrait of the deceased, and also in his *Tomb of Monsignor Camillo del Corno* (1686) in the church of Gesù e Maria, where a skeleton bearing an hourglass rises from the sarcophagus bearing aloft the portrait medallion.²⁰

We turn now to full-figure portraits in funereal contexts, which were produced in a range of poses even more varied than is found in funerary busts and medallion portraits. Whether carved in relief or in the round, the vast majority of full-figure portraits show the deceased either blessing or in

Fig. 43 ANTONIO RAGGI (1624–1686)
Tomb of Cardinal Marzio Ginetti, 1683–84;
 at right: ALESSANDRO RONDONE (active 1674–1710)
Portrait Bust of Monsignor Paolo Ginetti, 1703. Marble.
 Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Ginetti Chapel.



some attitude of prayer.²¹ Although there were no written laws governing the types of funerary portrait that one could commission, generally full-figure effigies were considered more appropriate to cardinals, popes, and other high-ranking individuals.²²

One sub-category of this type is the recumbent statue, usually shown lying on the top of a sarcophagus, which has its origins in Etruscan art and reemerged in the Middle Ages. After enjoying a sort of vogue in the Renaissance, first in Spain and France and then in Italy, it declined in popularity in Sixteenth-century Rome, but notable examples were produced. Among the earliest are Nicolas Cordier's *Silvestro Aldobrandini* (ca. 1604) and *Lesa Deti Aldobrandini* (1604–8)—Pope Clement VIII's parents—which adorn their tombs in the Aldobrandini Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Silvestro is portrayed as a jurist, with his elbow resting on a pile of books, while Lesa is depicted lost in thought, her left index finger marking her spot in

a prayer book.²³ Later examples include Cosimo Fancelli's *Giovanni Spada* (see fig. 39) and Ercole Ferrata's *Bernardino Lorenzo Spada* (both 1656–59) in the aforementioned Spada Chapel; Giovanni depicted gazing at the altar, Bernardino asleep, his head resting on his hand; in the case of Domenico Guidi's *Cardinal Giovan Francesco Guidi di Bagno* (ca. 1650) in Santi Bonifacio e Alessio, the cardinal appears with his left elbow resting on a pillow and hands joined in prayer; and Giovanni Francesco De Rossi's *Cardinal Francesco Cennini de' Salamandri* (1668) in San Marcello al Corso, depicts a strange, squat-headed figure who looks toward the altar. The most innovative recumbent effigies of the century are those of Girolamo and Francesco Raimondi (ca. 1640–47) in the Raimondi Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio. Designed by Bernini and carved by Nicolas Sale, these figures—which accompany more traditional activated busts placed in niches above them—revive the medieval *transi* type, appearing as corpses in their open sarcophagi.²⁴



Fig. 44 ALESSANDRO RONDONE
 Tomb of Cardinal Giovan Francesco Ginetti, 1703;
 at left: ALESSANDRO RONDONE
 Portrait Bust of Marchese Marzio Ginetti, 1703. Marble.
 Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Ginetti Chapel.

With respect to other, nonrecumbent full-figure funerary portraits, the first to consider are those of popes. The most common type of papal tomb portrait presents the pontiff seated *in cathedra* with his right hand raised in a sign of blessing—the papal *Ehrenstatue* (honorific statue) adapted to a sepulchral context.²⁵ A type that first appeared in the late thirteenth century, it symbolizes the pope's temporal and spiritual authority, especially his role as *vicarius Christi*; owing to its specific association with the papacy, it was not used for nonpapal effigies. Among the nine papal funerary statues produced in the seventeenth century, seven depict the pope in this manner, the earliest being Giacomo Silla Longhi da Viggìu's *Statue of Clement VIII* (1606) in the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, the last Pierre-Étienne Monnot's *Statue of Innocent XI* (1697–1700) in Saint Peter's.²⁶ The other, far less common way in which the pope was represented on seventeenth-century tombs is as a kneeling and praying figure, a type that derives from royal

effigies, especially in France, Germany, and Spain, which expresses the idea of “eternal adoration” and supplication to God.²⁷ It was in this way that Giacomo Silla Longhi da Viggìu depicted Paul V on his tomb in the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore (1608–10) and, much later in the century, Bernini (with the assistance of Michel Maille) portrayed Alexander VII on his tomb in Saint Peter's (1675–76).²⁸

As we have already seen, throughout the century sculptors in Rome employed variations of the gesture of prayer for funerary busts, portrait medallions, and recumbent effigies of clerics and lay patrons alike. For full-figure effigies, which (as noted above) most often depict high-ranking churchmen and their relatives, gestures of prayer and devotion were almost *de rigueur*.²⁹ Among such figures carved in relief, the *Statue of Cardinal Domingo Pimentel* (ca. 1655), designed by Bernini and executed by Ercole Ferrata, in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, closely follows the model of the *Paul V*.³⁰ Like the pope, the cardinal is shown as a *priant*

Fig. 45 FRANCESCO CAVALLINI (1640–1709)
Statue of Cavalier Mario Bolognetti, 1686. Marble. Rome, Gesù e Maria.

kneeling on a cushion, with his hands joined in prayer and his biretta (instead of the pope's tiara) placed in front of him. He kneels atop his sarcophagus at the summit of his tomb and is seen in profile, his deeply carved form seeming to project out from the wall. Given the location of the tomb, however, in the vestibule area at the left side of the presbytery, the gesture of prayer seems without direction. In contrast, Cosimo Fancelli's statues of Cardinal Francesco Adriano Ceva and Canon Francesco Adriano Ceva (ca. 1673–86) in the Lateran's Oratory of San Venanzio are far more effective in their presentation. Each figure, carved in high relief and depicted in profile, occupies an aedicule at either side of (but on the same wall as) the oratory's altar. The cardinal, at the left, kneels at a prie-dieu, his hands pressing his breast, as he gazes at the image of the Virgin on the altar. In turn, the canon, at the right, also kneels at a prie-dieu, directing his gaze at the image and joining his hands in prayer. The altar and flanking effigies are thus seen as mutually dependent parts of a remarkably unified ensemble.

A similar conception informs the effigies in the Ginetti Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle.³¹ Here the tombs fill the chapel's lateral walls, with the effigies—carved in the round—directing their prayers to the altarpiece, a high relief by Antonio Raggi representing the Glory of Saint Joseph. Raggi's *Statue of Cardinal Marzio Ginetti* and Alessandro Rondone's *Statue of Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Ginetti* (1683–84 and 1703, respectively) depict their subjects bareheaded and kneeling on cushions, within rectangular niches veneered in black marble. Marzio gazes and prays toward the altar, while Giovanni Francesco also looks at the altar, while pressing his hands against his breast (figs. 43 and 44). What adds to the effect of the ensemble is the inclusion of additional portraits, those of Monsignor Paolo and Marchese Marzio Ginetti (1703), executed by Alessandro Rondone, which appear as “flying effigies”—

independent busts of the deceased borne aloft by small marble angels in front of the pilasters flanking the altar. The busts appear as lifeless objects, the kneeling effigies as real individuals, and together they make the chapel, as it was described soon before its completion, “like no other,” for its “capriciousness [*bizzaria*] of invention, nobility of thought, and rarity of material.”³²

The final examples to be considered of this type of funerary portrait return us to the church of Gesù e Maria. Whereas two of the tombs in the nave, as we have seen, feature paired busts of the Bolognetti family, the other two tombs are adorned with single full-figure effigies. The first is Francesco Cavallini's *Statue of Bishop Giorgio Bolognetti* (1686–87), which closely resembles the works discussed above. Bolognetti is shown frontally, kneeling on a cushion, praying and looking at the altar. The second (of the same date) is



Cavallini's *Statue of Cavalier Mario Bolognetti* (fig. 45). A figure of extraordinary—even exaggerated—torsion, he is shown genuflecting, with his right hand pressed to his breast, his left arm outstretched, and his gaze directed toward the altar. Although this was, as far as I am aware, the first appearance of this pose in Roman Baroque funerary portraiture, it was commonly used in this context in Naples, for example in works by Michelangelo Naccherino (*Statue of Fabrizio Pignatelli*, 1607) and his student Giuliano Finelli (*Statue of Emanuel de Fonseca y Zuñigo*, 1634–37, and *Statue of Cesare Firrao*, 1640–42), the latter of whom could well have been the conduit for its introduction to the papal capital.³³ With the addition of the genuflecting full-figure statue to the already rich vocabulary of funerary effigies, this category of imagery had become, by century's end, by far the richest of all in portraiture.

EPHEMERAL PORTRAITS

Ephemeral decorations were widely produced in Baroque Rome, especially for celebrating noteworthy events, such as canonizations, the birth of foreign princes, papal *possessi*, and feasts. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the catafalque emerged as one of the most popular ephemeral creations, erected primarily in conjunction with the obsequies of popes, cardinals, and foreign rulers, and throughout the Seicento catafalques designed by some of Rome's most distinguished artists were erected in churches across the city. Although most catafalques were adorned with allegorical figures, in a number of instances their decorations included portraits, as we know from engravings and written descriptions, and just as busts, medallion portraits, and kneeling, praying statues figured prominently in sepulchral art so they were the mainstay of portraiture on catafalques. For example, the catafalques erected in conjunction with the death in 1665 of Philip IV of Spain in Santa Maria

Maggiore and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, designed by Carlo Rainaldi and Antonio del Grande, respectively, featured medallion portraits of the king, the latter held by skeletons, standard figures on such funereal *apparati*.³⁴ One year later, when Rome marked the death of Anne of Austria, the sister of Philip IV and mother of Louis XIV, the catafalque erected in San Luigi dei Francesi, designed and executed by Elpidio Benedetti and Antonio Giorgetti, was crowned by “the figure of the Queen, entirely gilt, in the act of praying.” And in that erected in 1667 for Anne in the Lateran basilica, the work of Giovan Francesco Grimaldi and Elpidio Benedetti, in a niche flanked by skeletons was a statue of the queen depicted as kneeling at a prie-dieu, with her head turned toward the high altar. The bust also made its appearance, albeit on a much larger scale than on tombs, on Bernini's catafalque erected for François Guiron de Ville in Santa Maria Maggiore in 1669 and on the catafalque designed by Sebastiano Cipriani for Giorgio Bolognetti (the patron of the tombs discussed earlier), erected in 1686 in the church of Gesù e Maria.

One of the grandest catafalques erected in Rome was that for François de Vendôme, duc de Beaufort, in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in 1669. Designed by Bernini and documented in his drawing in the British Museum and several engravings, it featured a tall pyramid borne by skeletons above trophies of Beaufort's military victories, the latter in reference to his role as commander of the papal fleet under Pope Clement IX. At the summit of the pyramid stood a statue of the duke, clad in armor, with a sword in his right hand and in his left a shield emblazoned with a cross. Like the effigy of Anne of Austria cited earlier, the statue was entirely gilt, thus endowing this funerary-cum-commemorative portrait with the character of a cult image of a saint.

HONORIFIC AND MEMORIAL PORTRAITS

In his *Osservazioni della Scoltura antica* (ca. 1657), the sculptor and theorist Orfeo Boselli defined sculpture as “the imitative art of the marvelous things of nature, the purpose of which is to immortalize the images and heroic actions of great men.”³⁵ While such a definition could pertain to virtually every portrait sculpture, it has particular applicability to those portrait busts and statues of popes, kings, and other noteworthy individuals that were erected as public monuments to honor and commemorate their beneficence and accomplishments. Throughout the seventeenth century, numerous such monuments were created in Rome to adorn churches and governmental buildings, both in the papal capital and other Italian cities, which, not surprisingly, assume a variety of types.

Among those created to honor popes, the most common type was the *Ehrenstatue* (honorary statue). The two best-known examples are Bernini’s *Statue of Urban VIII* (1635–40) and Algardi’s *Statue of Innocent X* (1645–50) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which were erected by the Conservatori of Rome. Bernini’s marble was commissioned in recognition of the pope’s efforts to protect the city from the plague—but only after the revocation of the decree of 1590 that had prohibited the erection of memorial statues to living popes. Urban appears much as he does on his tomb, enthroned, garbed in his tiara and cope, with his right hand raised in benediction. Algardi’s bronze was commissioned in gratitude for Innocent’s rebuilding of the Capitoline Palace and conforms to the same conventions of pose and gesture.

All of the other papal *Ehrenstatuen* created in Rome also follow these conventions. These include the flaccid bronze *Statue of Paul V* (1615–20) by Paolo Sanquirico, commissioned by the canons of Santa Maria Maggiore to honor the pope for his patronage of the basilica; Nicolas Cordier’s

spirited and dynamic *Statue of Paul V* (1611–14), a bronze cast by Sebastiano Sebastiani, commissioned by the city council of Rimini and erected in that city’s central piazza (now Piazza Cavour); Bernini’s bronze *Statue of Urban VIII* (1627–33) for the city of Velletri, which was described in the seventeenth century as being like the effigy on his tomb (and was destroyed by the French in 1798); and the series of marble statues of Sienese popes in the Duomo of Siena.³⁶ This series, consisting of four statues, constitutes the richest grouping of papal statues outside of Saint Peter’s.³⁷ The first, representing Alexander VII, was designed by Bernini, at the request of the pope, and carved by Antonio Raggi. Soon after its completion in 1663, the pope commissioned a second statue, that of the twelfth-century pope Alexander III, from Melchiorre Cafà. Upon Cafà’s death in 1667, the Opera del Duomo gave the commission to Ercole Ferrata, who completed the carving and polishing; it was installed in 1675. The last two of the series represent the two fifteenth-century Piccolomini popes, Pius II and Pius III. Although part of Alexander VII’s original scheme, they were not commissioned until 1691, with the financial support of the Congregazione di San Pietro, an association of priests that included a number who were canons of the Sienese cathedral. Giuseppe Mazzuoli completed the *Statue of Pius II* in 1695, whereas owing to monetary issues Pietro Balestra’s *Statue of Pius III* was not begun until 1703 and was erected three years later.

In addition to papal *Ehrenstatuen*, other types of commemorative monuments to popes were commissioned to adorn Roman (and non-Roman) churches. In 1609–10, Giorgio Rancetti, one of Paul V’s primary medalists, designed and cast the bronze bust of Paul V for the Sacristy of the Beneficiati at the Lateran, in gratitude for the pope’s financial support of the basilica’s chapter. Algardi’s bust of Gregory XV in the Sacristy of the Chiesa Nuova was commissioned in



Fig. 47 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Statue of Philip IV, 1664–66. Bronze, H: approx. 2.5 m (8 ft.).
Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore.

1639 to honor the pope who canonized Saint Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratory. Cast in 1640 by Ambrogio Lucenti, it depicts the pope leaning out from his oval niche and gazing downward, directing his gesture of prayer at the statue of Neri carved just a few years earlier by Algardi. Unquestionably one of the most accomplished papal commemorative images is Bernini's bronze bust of Urban VIII (1640–44) adorning the inner facade of the Duomo of Spoleto (fig. 46), which was a gift from the pope in his own honor and in memory of his restoration of the cathedral in which he formerly served as bishop. This work, considered by Rudolf Wittkower to be Bernini's grandest surviving portrait of the pope, depicts Urban in his tiara and cope, as on his tomb and in the Capitoline statue. The bronze, cast by Ambrogio Lucenti and almost certainly finished under Bernini's direction, is nearly flawless, the face of the pope one of his most vividly characterized visages.

While other commemorative papal portraits do not measure up to the quality of the *Urban VIII*, they are nevertheless worthy of notice. The large stucco medallion portrait of Innocent X in the side aisle of the Lateran was designed by Michel Anguier and executed by Pietro Sasseti in 1649 in anticipation of the Holy Year and as part of Borromini's renovation of the basilica. It depicts the pope wearing a tiara and cope, with his right hand raised in blessing—a sort of abbreviated *Ehrenstatue*. The three Seicento papal memorial busts erected in the Ospizio di Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini formed part of a series—initiated in 1597 with a bust of Clement VIII—created to honor living popes at the time of Holy Years. Bernini designed a bronze of Urban VIII in 1625; Algardi designed a bronze of Innocent X in 1650 (cast by Ambrogio Lucenti); and Bernini carved a marble of Clement X (completed in 1679), which was a close variant of the version in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (cat. no. 6.12).³⁸ Unfortunately, all were destroyed



in the late eighteenth century and replaced by mediocre stuccos. One final example of a papal commemorative bust is that of Alexander VII in the Palazzo della Sapienza, completed in 1661 in honor of the pope for his support of the institution. The work of Domenico Guidi, this impressive marble, a three-quarter-length figure in an oval niche, depicts the pontiff in his tiara and cope, looking upward, his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing.

Just as popes were honored as founders and benefactors, so too were cardinals and other high-ranking clerics. The most significant example of such portraits is a series executed by Carlo Spagna and collaborators in the church of the Re Magi in the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide. The series comprises six busts that depict Monsignors Juan Bautista Vives and Giovanni Savenier, and Cardinals Antonio Barberini, Agostino Galamini, Federico Cornaro, and Roberto Ubaldini, all founders and benefactors of the Congregazione di Propaganda Fide. Although none is a particularly inspiring work, together they are of interest because they are all

Fig. 48 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
and ALESSANDRO ALGARDI

Statue of Carlo Barberini, 1630 (head, arms, and legs added to a first-century A.D. Roman torso). Marble, H: 2.3 m (7 ½ ft.). Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

derived from other busts—for example, the *Savenier* from Algardi's in Santa Maria dell'Anima and the *Cornaro* from Bernini's in the side "loggia" of the Cornaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria.

Although the practice of honoring foreign rulers as founders and benefactors was highly unusual, two of Rome's most important basilicas did just that. In the first decade of the century, the canons of the Lateran, in gratitude to Henry IV of France for ceding the Abbey of Clairac to their chapter, decided to erect a statue of the French king in the lateral portico of the basilica. In 1606 they commissioned Nicolas Cordier to design the statue, which was then cast by Gregorio De' Rossi and put in place in 1609.³⁹ A work of considerable force and acute characterization, it depicts Henry as a military commander *all'antica*, dressed in



ancient armor, wielding a baton in his upraised right hand, his left holding the hilt of his sword.⁴⁰ This decision to erect a statue to a foreign monarch in a Roman basilica was an unprecedented act and carried a specific political message: it demonstrated the Lateran's historical ties to the French crown and its opposition to Spanish efforts to influence the papacy. Exactly fifty years after the *Statue of Henry IV* was erected, the chapter of Santa Maria Maggiore, a long-standing Hispanophilic body, decided to erect a statue of the Spanish king Philip IV in the portico of their basilica.⁴¹ Ostensibly to thank the king for his generous benefactions, in reality it was as blatant a political act as that carried out by the Lateran chapter. Five years later, after the necessary funds were secured, Girolamo Lucenti was commissioned to execute a bronze statue of Philip IV, which he completed in 1666. For political reasons, however, it was not set up in the basilica until 1691. Based on drawings furnished by Bernini, the *Statue of Philip IV* (fig. 47), much like Cordier's *Henry*, presents the king—as the contract dictated—"in armor like that of the Emperors, with a royal mantle and scepter." The face of the king, based in all likelihood on engravings, reveals a combination of realism and idealization that is typical of Lucenti's portrait busts and medals.

In addition to honoring reigning pontiffs, the city government of Rome erected statues to commemorate so-called *Capitani*, generals of the Holy Roman Church.⁴² This tradition began in 1593 with Ippolito Buzio's *Statue of Alessandro Farnese* and continued with the anonymous statues honoring Marcantonio Colonna and Gian Francesco Aldobrandini in 1595 and 1602, respectively. In 1630, soon after the death of Carlo Barberini, the brother of Urban VIII, the Conservatori of Rome decided to erect a statue in his honor (fig. 48). Like the earlier statues in the series, this one too was created by fitting an ancient Roman cuirassed torso of an emperor with a new portrait head and appendages.



Fig. 49 FRANCESCO MOCHI
Equestrian Monument of Alessandro Farnese, 1612–25. Bronze. Piacenza,
Piazza dei Cavalli.

Algardi was commissioned to restore the torso and to add the arms and legs, and Bernini—already famous for his portraiture—was entrusted with the head. The portrait, which should be compared with Francesco Mochi's bust of Carlo Barberini (cat. no. 2.3), although somewhat small in relation to the body, is a finely carved and rather idealized portrayal of the sixty-eight-year-old general. One additional work was added to the series in 1669, Ercole Ferrata's *Statue of Tommaso Rospigliosi*, which, in contrast to the earlier statues, did not incorporate an ancient fragment, but was carved entirely *ex novo*.

On two other occasions the city of Rome honored individuals with commemorative monuments in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The first was in 1624, when, on the suggestion of Federico Cesi, the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, a memorial was erected to the poet, and *cameriere segreto* (private chamberlain) to Pope Urban VIII, Virginio Cesarini. The bust at the summit of the monument, which has been attributed (unconvincingly, in my view) to Bernini or Duquesnoy, is one of the finest portraits produced in the century (cklst D2). The second was in 1656, when the senators of Rome commissioned Francesco Maria Nocchieri to erect a wall monument in honor of Queen Christina of Sweden after her visit to the Campidoglio. Conceived in the form of seven *monti* (hills) topped by a star, the coat of arms of Alexander VII, it features a nearly grotesque relief portrait of the queen.

The last honorific portrait to consider takes us out of Rome to the city of Piacenza, where, in 1616, Duke Ranuccio Farnese was honored with a commemorative statue in the central nave of the church of Santa Maria di Campagna. Commissioned by the Capuchin fathers of the church, the stucco statue is the work of Francesco Mochi, who as we shall see shortly, was working for the duke at this time.

Ranuccio is shown wearing ancient armor, similar to that of Cordier's *Henry IV*. With his crown beside him, he genuflects on a cushion, gazing at the altar and pressing his left hand to his breast—a pose later adopted by Cavallini for his *Statue of Cavalier Mario Bolognetti*.⁴³

EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT STATUES

Although Rome was the birthplace of the equestrian portrait statue, not a single equestrian monument was erected in the city in the seventeenth century, although (as noted below), a project for one was initiated. However, three such monuments were created, two by Francesco Mochi and one by Bernini. In 1612 the Consiglio Generale of Piacenza, on the recommendation of Duke Ranuccio Farnese, commissioned two bronze equestrian monuments from Mochi, one of the reigning duke and the other of his father, Alessandro (d. 1592), to be erected in the central piazza of the city. The *Equestrian Monument of Ranuccio Farnese* was the first to be completed and was unveiled in 1620. The second, the *Equestrian Monument of Alessandro Farnese* (fig. 49), was unveiled in 1625.⁴⁴ Among the finest such monuments in the long history of the type, these images of dynastic authority were conceived as complementary pendants. Both figures, as the contract specified, wear armor *all'antica*, and both of their horses are shown in full stride, with one of their front hoofs raised off the ground. Of the two, the *Alessandro* is the more dynamic; the figure gazes to the left and twists his torso to the right, while his cloak billows behind him as if blown by the wind.

Bernini's *Equestrian Monument of Louis XIV* at Versailles is arguably the best-known and most thoroughly studied Seicento example of this type. First conceived in 1665 when Bernini was in Paris, soon after the completion of his bust of Louis XIV, it was officially commissioned in 1667,

completed in the late 1670s, and finally delivered to France in 1685. Louis was deeply disappointed with the work, and in 1688 he commissioned François Girardon to transform it into a Marcus Curtius. Far less known is the fact that in 1659 Bernini was commissioned by Alfonso IV, duke of Modena, to design an equestrian monument—intended for the Piazza del Castello—of his recently deceased father, Francesco I d'Este, the subject of the sculptor's masterful bust in Modena (see fig. 23). Owing to the death of Alfonso in 1662, however, the project was abandoned.⁴⁵

Had certain events not intervened, an equestrian statue of Louis XIV might have been erected at the site of the later Scalinata di Spagna. In 1660 Cardinal Jules Mazarin conceived the idea of systematizing the slope of the hill beneath the French church of Trinità dei Monti and asked his agent, Elpidio Benedetti, to solicit projects from several architects. One such project, which Benedetti claimed as his own but almost certainly was designed by Bernini, included an equestrian statue of the French king at the center of a grand staircase. Pope Alexander VII vehemently opposed such a monument in the papal capital, as he perceived it to be a political affront, and Mazarin's death in 1661 put an end to the project.⁴⁶

As I hope I have been able to show in this brief survey, Roman Seicento sculpted portraits were remarkably varied, with respect to the range of types created, the media in which they were produced, and the functions they were intended to serve. In several instances one type of image, pose, or gesture could serve different functions, as we saw with the *Ehrenstatue*, which was employed on tombs as well as for honorific purposes; the genuflecting figure, which appeared on tombs as well as in Mochi's commemorative statue of Ranuccio Farnese; the motif of hands joined in prayer, which was most common for tomb effigies but was also used for memorial and catafalque portraits; the kneeling figure, which

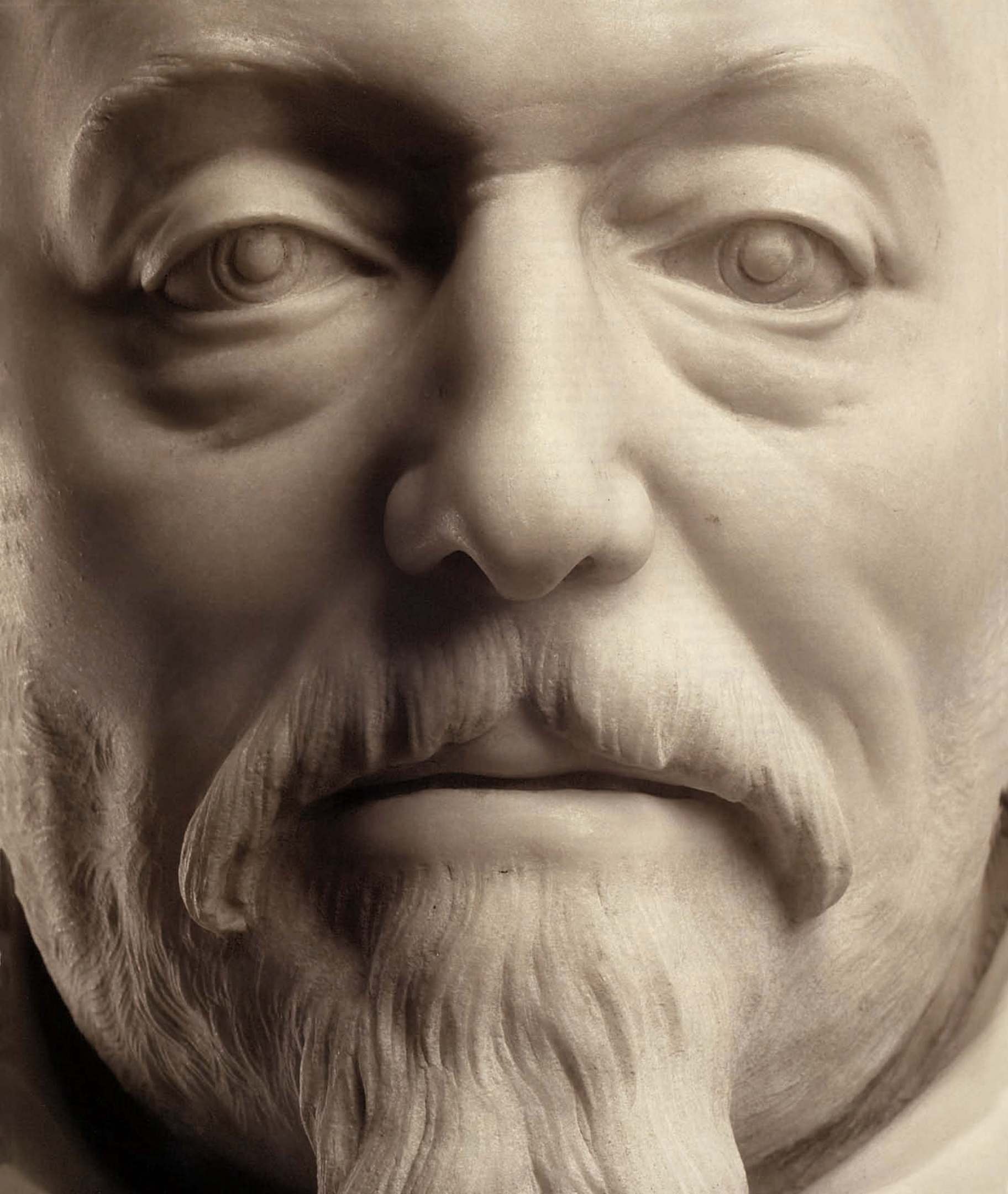
appeared both on tombs and on catafalques; and the figure in armor, which was used for catafalque portraits, honorific statues, and equestrian monuments.

But for as varied as sculpted portraiture was in seventeenth-century Rome, virtually every type, pose, and gesture had an earlier history, dating back to either antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the Renaissance. What Baroque sculptors contributed to the art of the portrait was, first of all, a substantial increase in production, carving and casting more likenesses (to use Alberti's term) than ever before in response to an increasing demand for them. Perhaps more significantly, they endowed the sculpted portrait with an unprecedented sense of individuality, in terms of both physiognomy and psychology. And in conjunction with this new sense of characterization, artists introduced to the art of portraiture a much greater dynamism—an animation and vitality that had previously been lacking—thus activating the sculpted portrait and heightening the illusion of its being a living presence.

NOTES

The vast majority of the works cited in this essay, excluding medals, medallions, and wax portraits, are illustrated in Bacchi and Zanuso 1996 and Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, two indispensable sources for the study of Roman Seicento sculpture.

1. Alberti 1972, p. 123.
2. On the Renaissance portrait medal, see Scher 1994 and Scher 2000.
3. Ann Arbor 1983, pp. 9–15. On *annuali*, see Bartolotti 1967.
4. Ann Arbor 1983, p. 13.
5. Montagu 1996, p. 74.
6. Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, p. 93; Montagu 1996, p. 79. I am grateful to Jennifer Montagu for informing me about the drawing that sold in 1998.
7. See Michelini and Worsdale 1981, pp. 281–308; Edinburgh 1998, p. 108.
8. So recorded by Carlo Cartari, the cousin of Bernini's pupil Giulio Cartari, who served as the librarian for Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri, the pope's nephew: "Effigie di Clemente decimo assai bella, del Cavaliere Bernino; senza lettere e senza rovescio. Medaglione assai grande." See Balbi de Caro 1974, pp. 16–21; and Villa 1996, pp. 145–46.
9. See, respectively, Lee Bimm 1974, pp. 72–76; and Fagiolo dell'Arco 2002, p. 66. For the medallion of Innocent X, see Edinburgh 1998, p. 190, no. 168.
10. Ann Arbor 1983, p. 148, no. 133.
11. See Ostrow 1998, pp. 28–30, with additional bibliography.
12. Baglione 1642, pp. 145, 174, and 322–23.
13. Grisebach 1936.
14. See Lavin 1968, pp. 226–27.
15. Bruhns 1940.
16. The hand-on-breast motif (on which, see Bruhns 1940, p. 320) had appeared in Naples in full-figure funerary sculpture but never before in Rome and in a portrait bust. Giuliano Finelli's *Portrait of Cardinal Domenico Ginnasi* (ca. 1640–45), in the chapel of the Palazzo Ginnasi (see fig. 28 in the present volume), shows the immediate impact of Algardi's Mellini bust.
17. For a recent overview of the "motif of eternal adoration" in Roman funerary busts, with a focus on Giuliano Finelli's contributions, see Dombrowski 1997, pp. 96–112.
18. See s'Jacob 1954, pp. 190–98; Panofsky 1964, p. 36; and Grisebach 1936, pp. 10ff and passim.
19. See Bernstock 1981, esp. pp. 216–32.
20. Related to the funerary portrait medallion is the independent marble portrait medallion (not to be confused with the cast portrait medallion discussed above). Two noteworthy examples are Pierre-Étienne Monnot's white marble *Portrait Medallion of Livio Odesalchi* (signed and dated 1695) from the Collezione Lemme (now in Paris, Musée du Louvre), and Lorenzo Ottomi's extraordinary *Portrait Medallion of Alexander VIII* (ca. 1691) in the J. Paul Getty Museum, a white marble medallion mounted on a *bigio antico* socle, carved in the form of a double-headed eagle, part of his Ottoboni family arms. For these marble medallions, see Philippe Malgouyres in Gaborit 2002, pp. 42–43, no. 17; and Fogelman and Fusco 2002, pp. 230–31, no. 28.
21. Two exceptions are the statues of Monsignor Francesco Barberini (1611–12) and Carlo Barberini (1675–77) by Cristoforo Stati and Giuseppe Giorgetti, respectively, in the Barberini Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, which are simple, seated figures placed in deep niches.
22. As noted by Cavazzini 1999, p. 409.
23. Pressouyre 1984, vol. 2, pp. 380–84, nos. 6 and 7.
24. See Lavin 1980, pp. 28–32, with additional bibliography on the *transi* image.
25. On this type, discussed further below, see Hager 1929.
26. See Muñoz 1918, pp. 78–104. The other five are: Algardi's *Statue of Leo XI* (1634–44), Bernini's *Statue of Urban VIII* (1627–47), and Ercole Ferrata's *Statue of Clement X* (1685–86), all in Saint Peter's; Ambrogio Bonvicino's *Statue of Urban VII* (1606) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva; and Domenico Guidi's *Statue of Clement IX* (1671) in Santa Maria Maggiore.
27. See Panofsky 1964, pp. 76–80. Owing, no doubt, to its popularity in Spain, the kneeling and praying effigy was widely depicted in Naples from the sixteenth century on, with notable examples by Giovanni da Nola, Michelangelo Naccherino, and Giuliano Finelli.
28. As far as I can determine, Valsoldo's *Statue of Sixtus V* (1587) in the Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, which provided the model for the *Paul V*, is the earliest independent full-figure kneeling papal funerary statue.
29. For excellent overviews of this type of effigy, see Ruggiero 2002 and Ruggiero 2005.
30. See Bernstock 1987.
31. See Cavazzini 1999.
32. Quoted in Schütze 2007, p. 135 n. 597.
33. See Borelli 1985.
34. See Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carrandini 1977.
35. Quoted in Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. xxvi: "è Arte imitatrice delle Cose meravigliose della Natura, la quale hà per oggetto di eternare li Simulacri et l'attioni Heroiche degli Huomini grandi."
36. On these and other *Ehrenstatuen*, a number of which were made for other Italian cities, see Hager 1929. On Sanquirico's statue, see Ostrow 1998, pp. 34–42; on Cordier's statue, see Pressouyre 1984, vol. 2, pp. 405–10, no. 19.
37. See Butzek 2000.
38. See Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 124–25; vol. 2, pp. 430–31, no. 155; Villa 1996, p. 139–41; and Montagu 2001, pp. 11–35, esp. pp. 12–15.
39. See Pressouyre 1984, vol. 2, pp. 401–5, no. 18.
40. On sixteenth-century examples of this type, see Keutner 1956.
41. See Ostrow 1991.
42. On this series, see Pietrangeli 1962, pp. 643–46.
43. See De Luca Savelli 1981, p. 49, no. 8.
44. See De Luca Savelli 1981, pp. 51–57, no. 10, and pp. 60–64, no. 13; Lavin 1970, pp. 125–46 n. 78; and Pope-Hennessy 1996, pp. 535–36. Mochi's medals of Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese, of 1615, which show on their reverses his designs for the monuments, should also be noted, as should the small bronze equestrian statuette of Carlo Barberini in the Collezione Barberini, Rome, which closely follows the *Equestrian Monument of Alessandro Farnese* and was most likely made in 1630, after Mochi's return to Rome and the death of Carlo.
45. See Fraschetti 1900, p. 226.
46. See Marder 1998, pp. 159–63, with additional bibliography.

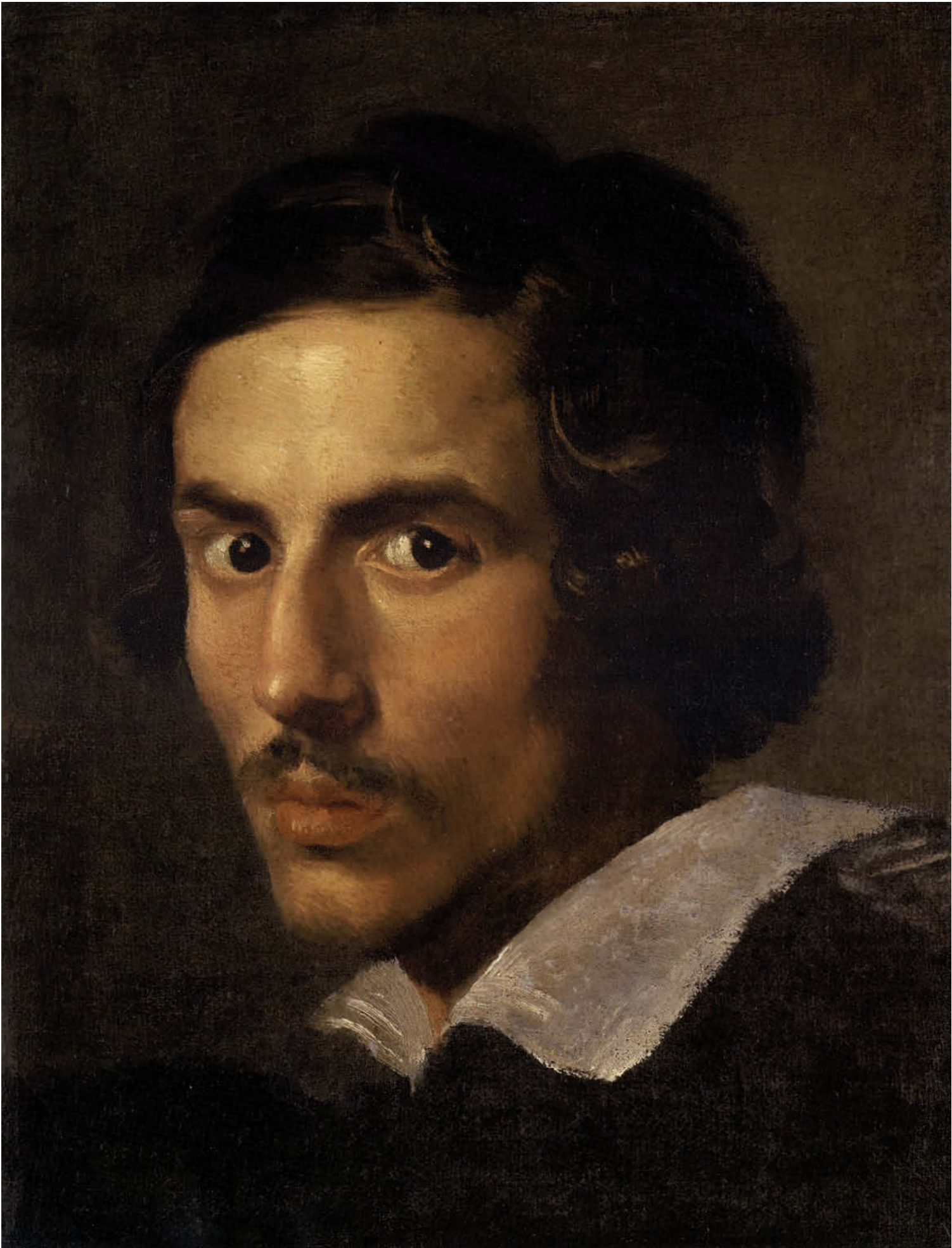


I EARLY BERNINI

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI BEGAN HIS CAREER AS A PORTRAITIST and considered portraiture one of his principal activities. An anecdote in Domenico Bernini's biography of his father relates that an early proof of Gian Lorenzo's skill was the masterful drawing of the head of Saint Paul he produced when he was a child for Pope Paul V, to which the pontiff reacted by exclaiming, "This young man will be the Michelangelo of his time." Large portions of text in both the biography of Gian Lorenzo by his son Domenico (1713) and the one produced by Filippo Baldinucci at the behest of Queen Christina of Sweden (1682) are dedicated to Bernini's portrait sculpture. Indeed, the very first objects listed in the catalogue of works by the artist at the end of Baldinucci's volume—a list that derives from a document dictated, it seems, by Bernini himself around 1675—begins with his "portrait heads with bust."

The first on this list—and "the first work produced by his chisel," according to Baldinucci—is the bust of Giovanni Santoni (see fig. 8) that Bernini claimed to have produced when he was just eight years old. Although the claim was blatant self-promotion, the bust must date to circa 1610–15, when Bernini was a young teenager, preserving, therefore, his reputation as a child prodigy. The bust of Antonio Coppola (cat. no. 1.2) dates to this period (1612) but was not included in Baldinucci's catalogue. Apparently a collaboration of father and son, the searingly realistic portrayal of old age is only partly explained by its derivation from a death mask. Indeed, a number of these early busts are all the more remarkable given that the subjects were already deceased by the time that Bernini was called upon to register their lifelike effigies (cat. nos. 1.3, 1.6, 1.8).

During the 1620s, when Bernini was most active as a sculptural portraitist, he produced roughly twenty marble and bronze busts of members of the Barberini family, men of the Church, and others. When these are viewed chronologically, one witnesses a general development toward greater dynamism and keener acuity in depicting individualized character. Of Bernini's bust of Antonio Cepparelli of 1622–23 (cat. no. 1.8) it has been observed that, "Perhaps for the first time in the history of sculptured busts, the whole body is conceived as if it were in motion" (Lavin 1968, p. 242), while his bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya of the same date (see fig. 1) was deemed so lifelike that it was said, wittily, "Mr. Montoya resembles his bust."



I. I

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Self-Portrait, ca. 1623

Oil on canvas, 39 x 31 cm (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.) (unframed)

Rome, Galleria Borghese (554)

BERNINI'S ROLE AS A PAINTER remains the least well-understood part of his career, although scholars such as Grassi, Martinelli, Petrucci, Sutherland Harris, and Montanari have brought significant clarity to this aspect of his work. Unlike his highly public sculpture and architecture, Bernini's paintings are consistently small in scale and appear to have circulated mostly among an intimate group of friends and colleagues, or been used to pay respect to his sitters.¹ Even during his lifetime and just after his death, disagreement about his contributions as a painter arose. Already in 1633, Gian Battista Pianello dedicated a comedy to Bernini, praising his contributions in painting above those in architecture. In 1682, his biographer Filippo Baldinucci cited over 150 paintings by the artist, and Bernini's son Domenico attested to more than 200. On the other hand, Paolo Falconieri claimed in 1674 that the artist had painted practically nothing, and Joachim von Sandrart asserted that Bernini's contributions in the field of painting hardly constituted anything significant.² Today Bernini's oeuvre of paintings comprises less than twenty canvases, and while he seems never to have completely abandoned painting, most date from the start of Pope Urban VIII Barberini's pontificate.

Bernini brings a startling intensity to this work, the earliest of several self-portraits executed across his career. The summary brushwork, the dramatic contrast of his face with the neck and background, and the wide-open eyes, gazing intently out of the picture, all suggest that the artist has been interrupted, turning suddenly to engage the viewer personally. Moreover, the intense light from

the right enlivens his hair, and the slight lean of the head, coupled with the artist's full lips—gleaming from the use of glazes and slightly open on the right—implies that the artist has just stopped moving and speaking.

No documents have emerged testifying to the date or early provenance, but Grassi first dated the self-portrait to around 1623, a dating that has, with a few dissenting voices, generally held.³ Why Bernini would have turned to self-portraiture at this moment is not clear, but Marder has provocatively suggested that the Borghese portrait responds to the stiff, inadequate print of the young artist produced by Ottavio Leoni in 1622.⁴ Visual sources for Bernini's portraiture remain equally difficult to fix, particularly since his paintings stand apart sharply from the more self-aggrandizing and profession-specific self-portraits that dominated the 1620s. Bernini rarely commented on contemporary artists, but as Baldinucci and others noted, he professed interest in Venetian High Renaissance painting, visible in the *Self-Portrait's* colorism, chiaroscuro, and glazes.⁵ The pioneering caricatures and remarkably frank painted portraits by Annibale Carracci must have reverberated with Bernini,⁶ and the astonishingly direct portraits developed by French Caravaggesque artists in Rome in the 1610s also need to be considered, particularly Simon Vouet's self-portraits.⁷ JLS

PROVENANCE

Alvise Ruggieri; sold to the Galleria Borghese, 1919

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Muñoz 1920, pp. 146–48; Longhi 1928, p. 357; Grassi 1945, p. 19; Martinelli 1950/2003; Martinelli 1987; Sutherland Harris 1992, pp. 196–205; Hermann Fiore 1998; Petrucci 2003; Petrucci 2006, pp. 310–11; Tomaso Montanari in Rome 2007, pp. 88–89, no. 1

NOTES

1. Petrucci 2003, pp. 121–22.

2. For the seventeenth-century critical reception of Bernini as a painter, see Hermann Fiore 1988, pp. 233–34.

3. For the dating of the *Self-Portrait*, see Hermann Fiore 1988, pp. 236–37.

4. Montanari in Rome 2007, pp. 88, 220, fig. 1.

5. For more on Bernini's interest in Venetian painting, see Petrucci 2003, pp. 124–25.

6. Petrucci 2003, pp. 130–31.

7. Sutherland Harris, 1992, pp. 196–205. For a more skeptical view on the rapport with Vouet, see Petrucci 2003, pp. 132–34.



I.2

**PIETRO BERNINI (1562–1629)
and GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)**

Portrait of Antonio Coppola, 1612

Marble, H (with socle): 67 cm (26 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); W: 48 cm (19 in.)

Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

Not in the exhibition

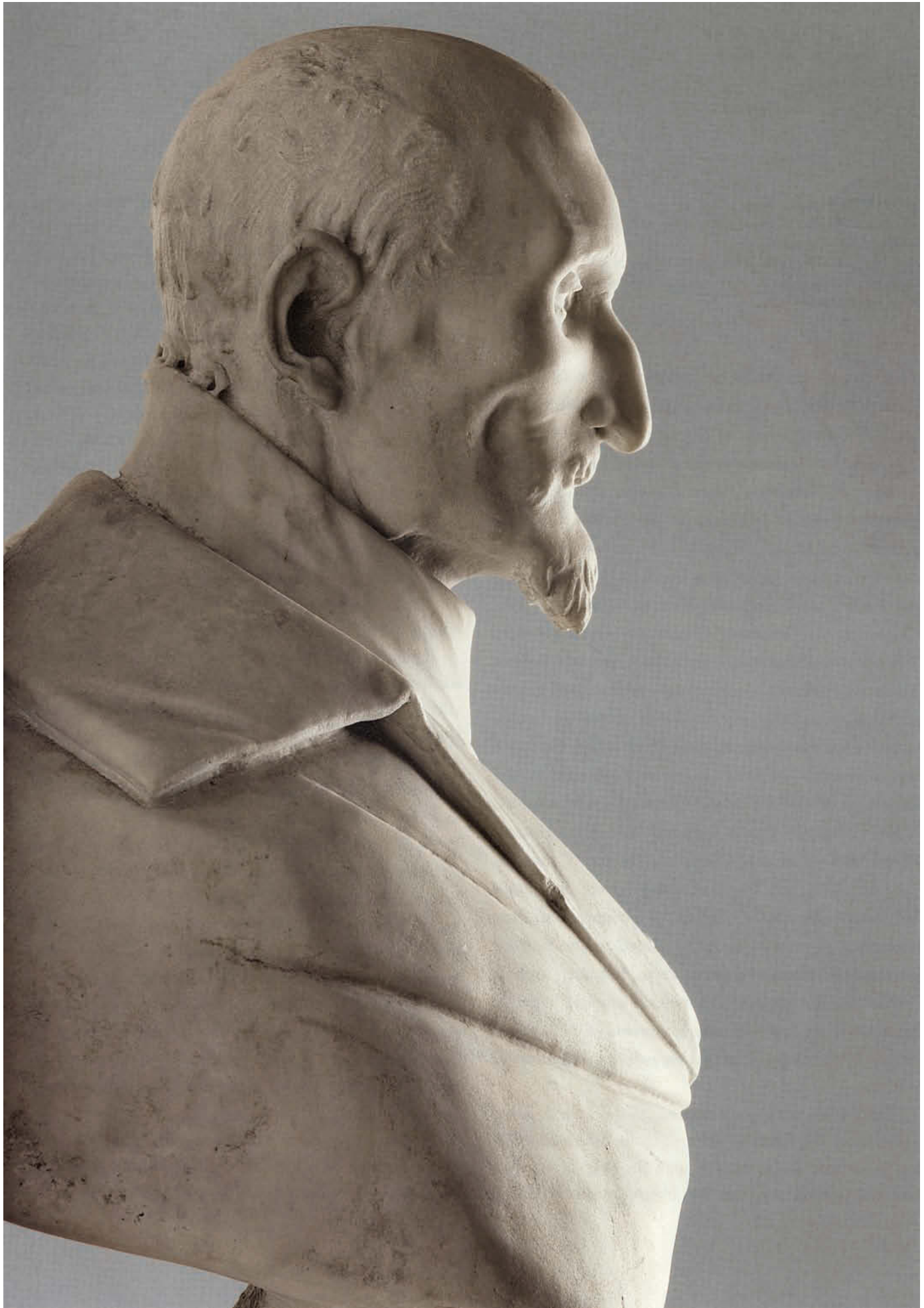
FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE PAPAL SCHISM in the fifteenth century, Florentines had played a significant role in reestablishing Rome as city of political and artistic importance. In addition to the financial benefits of the activities of Florentine bankers, Rome also benefited from the infusion of Florentine intellectualism. Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici, second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, ascended to the papal throne as Leo X in 1513, becoming well known as a beneficent patron of the arts. In 1519, he granted the Florentine community—composed of pilgrims as well as bankers, merchants, and intellectuals—the right to build a parish church in their local neighborhood around the northwest end of the via Giulia. In 1606, the Confraternita della Pietà at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, a voluntary association established for the promotion of special works of Christian charity, decided to build a hospital against the south side of the church. Three men—Antonio Coppola, Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8), and Pietro Cambi¹—were important early benefactors to the hospital. In recognition of their generosity, portrait busts to be placed in the hospital were ordered to commemorate them. Antonio Coppola (1533–1612), a respected Florentine surgeon living in Rome, was the first and most important of these benefactors, bequeathing all of his possessions to the hospital at his death.

This haunting image of Antonio Coppola is a searing portrayal of introspective old age, all the more astounding given that it was created with the help of an artist who was just thirteen years old. Identification and dating

of this bust were secured in the mid-1960s when Irving Lavin found and published the documents that led to its rediscovery in the cellar of the Basilica of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.² As to authorship, scholars are divided in crediting the bust to Pietro, Gian Lorenzo, or both. Archival documents tell us that just after Coppola's death, a wax and gesso death mask was taken of his head and "the sculptor Bernini" was commissioned to make the marble bust. On the completion of the project four months later, agents were issued a blank check with directions to pay Bernini "as little as possible." Lavin has interpreted these unusual instructions as indicating that the then-famous Pietro Bernini must have been acting as an agent for his precocious son Gian Lorenzo, aged thirteen years and four months and not yet a member of the marble workers' guild.³ Indeed, it is Pietro Bernini who received the final payments for the bust.⁴

It might seem outlandish that a child just entering adolescence could be credited with making such an affecting image of an important personage in the challenging medium of marble carving. The fascinating catalogue of Gian Lorenzo's works drawn up during his lifetime and published for the first time in 1967,⁵ includes a bust of Giovanni Battista Santoni, an aide to Pope Sixtus V, located in Santa Prassede, Rome, and dated anywhere between 1610 and 1615. It appears that Bernini was eager to inflate his already hard-to-believe youthful talents. In the margins next to the entry for the bust "del Maggior d'homo di Sisto V" appears a note, probably written by or under the dictation of the artist himself, that Bernini was "di anni otto"—eight years of age—when the bust was created. Although certainly exaggerated, such a notation builds upon what must have been widely known at the time: that Bernini was a great talent at a very young age.

Documentary evidence indicates that Pietro assisted Gian Lorenzo on many of his son's earliest projects,⁶ and the bust of Antonio Coppola may be one such



collaboration. Pietro might have had a hand in the rendering of the drapery, since the linear, radiating folds of the surgeon's cloak strongly recall similar angular folds in Pietro's *Assumption of the Virgin* relief in the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, of 1607–10.

Nevertheless, the inventive conception of this bust can be seen as a hallmark of Gian Lorenzo's sculptural portraits. For example, on several occasions he adopted the classical motif of a hand emerging from drapery to clasp the robe, a common convention in Greek portraiture,⁷ namely for his busts of Giovanni Vigevano of about 1620 (fig. 1.2.1) and Thomas Baker (cat. no. 6.1) of about 1638. More telling, however, the artist imbues this otherwise spectral image with a lifelike quality, a feature for which Gian Lorenzo became duly famous. In spite of the bust's self-containment, Bernini has subtly shifted the forms away from a static composition: the head turns slightly to the right, bringing the collar off-center, while the eyes glance down and to the left; the right hand reaches forward, pulling the right shoulder down, with symmetry maintained by the presence of the edge of the cloak tossed over that shoulder. Such manipulation of the composition gently animates this contemplative image without compromising its sobriety.

Gian Lorenzo's involvement is further supported by the fact that he was renowned as a portraitist, while his father was not.⁸ Moreover, given the difficulty in distinguishing the hand of the young sculptor from that of his father,⁹ particularly for an effigy based on a death mask, written evidence helps corroborate Gian Lorenzo's authorship of at least parts of this bust. A document of 1634 in the Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà specifies payment to maintain the clay models for the Coppola and Cepparelli busts, both "by the hand of Bernini."¹⁰ Since it is known that Gian Lorenzo executed the bust of Antonio Cepparelli in 1622–23, the documentary reference suggests that both works were done by the younger master at a time when such knowledge must have been current. CH

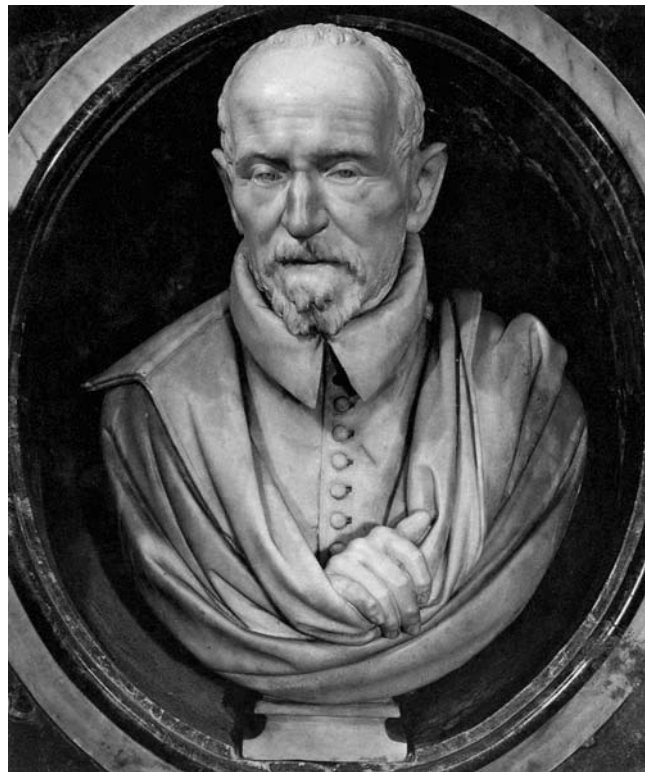


Fig. 1.2.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Giovanni Vigevano, ca. 1620. Marble. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

PROVENANCE

Hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 1612; cellar of the Basilica of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 1937; sacristy of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 1967; Museo di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 2001

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D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 106–13; Hibbard 1967; Lavin 1968; Fagiolo dell'Arco 1981, p. 44; Wittkower 1981, p. 278(1); Nava Cellini 1982, pp. 24, 27; Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 171, 174, 260; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 777; Avery 1997, p. 35; Dombrowski 1997, p. 19; Edinburgh 1998, p. 67; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 128; Hans-Ulrich Kessler in Rome 1999b, pp. 318–19, no. 33; Kessler 2005, pp. 319–22, no. A23

NOTES

1. Portrait by Pompeo Ferrucci, 1629–30; see Lavin 1968, p. 224, fig. 10.
2. Lavin 1968.
3. Lavin 1968, pp. 223–24 and docs. 1–3.
4. Lavin 1968, p. 244, docs. 4a and 4b.
5. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 432–38, esp. p. 434. For dating of the bust of Santoni, see Lavin 1968, p. 228 n. 35; and Wittkower 1955, p. 175 n. 2.
6. See, for example, Jacopo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori de Porta Pinciana* (Rome, 1650), p. 4, as cited in Olga

Raggio, "European Sculpture and Decorative Arts," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (1991), p. 29 n. 1, regarding the Pair of Terms of 1616 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1990.53.1–2); see also Kessler 2005, pp. 203, 361–63, figs. 134 and 135.

7. Annette Lewercenz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen im Hellenismus* (Hamburg, 1993), pp. 18–53: "Type I"; my thanks to Jens Daehner, J. Paul Getty Museum, for bringing this reference to my attention.

8. A bust of a man in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, in a pose similar to though less affecting than that of the Coppola bust, has been attributed recently to Pietro Bernini and dated ca. 1614–18; see Kessler 2005, pp. 25–26, no. A25, figs. 99 and 100.

9. See Kessler 2005, esp. pp. 92–98.

10. Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà a San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (ASGF) 651, folio 57 right: "... si faccia fare una statua di marmo co[n] iscrizione a detto s[ignor] Ant[onio] e metter nello spedale come quella del Coppola... che ne parlassi al Bernino scultore—che si facessi quanto p[oss]a"; and ASGF-207, 1648 (for 1634): "... p[er] Mantenim[en]to delle due teste di Crcta fatte di Mano del Bernino." See Lavin 1968, pp. 246–47, docs. 20 and 29.



I.3

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Paul V Borghese, 1621–22

Bronze, H (with socle): 83 cm (32 1/8 in.); W: 74 cm (29 1/2 in.)

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (Dep. 47)

OVER A PERIOD OF ALMOST ONE YEAR, from October 31, 1621, to September 3, 1622, Sebastiano Sebastiani,¹ a founder from the Marches, received a series of payments from Cardinal Scipione Borghese “by command of Cavalier Bernini, sculptor” for the execution of “two portraits in metal cast for our use, that is, 150 scudi for one in Happy memory of Pope Paul V, our uncle, and 130 scudi for another of Pope Gregory XV.”² By commissioning both papal busts together, Scipione wanted to underscore the continuity between their two pontificates, though this was more a matter of intention than of fact. The bust today in Copenhagen remained in the Borghese family until 1892, when it was put up for sale as the work of Alessandro Algardi, an attribution corrected by Mario Krohn in 1916. This bronze repeats, almost exactly, the composition of a marble bust of the pontiff for which Bernini was paid by Scipione in June 1621, that is, five months after the pontiff’s death (fig. 1.3.1). Customarily identified as a bust mentioned by Baldinucci, and cited in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century guides to the Villa Borghese as being set alongside the bust of Scipione,³ the marble was acquired by a Viennese collector from the Borghese family in 1893, but its current whereabouts are unknown.⁴

According to known documentation, Gian Lorenzo did not try his hand at official pontifical portraiture until the early months of Gregory XV’s reign. Since the bronze portraits of Paul V and Gregory XV were created as a pair, it is no accident that they are so similar (see cat. no. 1.4). In conceiving them, Bernini consciously drew on an illustrious tradition that had been inaugurated around the mid-sixteenth century by Guglielmo della

Porta with his portraits of Paul III (Naples, Capodimonte) and Paul IV (Rome, Saint Peter’s). Important examples in this tradition are the busts the Florentine Taddeo Landini (ca. 1550–1596) made of Gregory XIII (Berlin, Staatliche Museen; see fig. 5) and Clement VIII (Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini).

Bernini had the opportunity to meet Paul V (1552–1621), who had become pope in 1605 and was described by contemporary sources as “a tall man with a handsome presence, pleasant and grave.”⁵ He would also have known and studied a variety of painted and sculpted portraits of the pontiff, perhaps the most important of which were those realized by Nicolas Cordier (Rimini, Piazza Cavour; Bergamo, Accademia Carrara; Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano) and Paolo Sanquirico (Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore).

Bernini’s bust is not, however, derived from any of these works and shows qualities that are unique to him. The perfectly symmetrical, almost abstract geometry that characterizes its form contrasts with the subtle naturalism displayed in the rendering of the cope, which is slightly different from that of the *Gregory XV*, both in the figures of the apostles and in the more strictly decorative elements. In these details we still seem to see, perhaps more incisively than in the Paris bronze (cat. no. 1.4), the pliability and plastic exuberance of the wax or clay models. The decorative motif running along the borders of the cope looks richer and more ornate; the broach is enriched by the presence of scrolls and seashells; the figures of Saints Peter and Paul stand no longer precariously on the swirls of the embroidery, as in the portrait of the Ludovisi pope, but on a thin rectilinear frame that makes them more stable and monumental. The rendering of the two figures is richer in detail and has more subtle naturalistic touches than in the *Gregory XV*: the fingers of Paul’s hand, which are spread to depict a better grip on the sword, and the sinuous display of bones and tendons



in Peter's feet are but two of a series of variants that can be fully appreciated when the two busts are brought back together.

A second bronze bust of Paul V, now lost, appears in a 1633 inventory of the Villa Ludovisi,⁶ while a plaster bust in the canons' sacristy in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome was probably cast from the Copenhagen bronze.⁷ AB

PROVENANCE

Rome, Borghese collection; acquired by the Statens Museum for Kunst in 1911

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Borghese 1892, p. 94, no. 587, pl. V; Krohn 1916; Muñoz 1917, p. 51; Faldi 1953a, pp. 311, 315; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 233, no. 6(2); Martinelli 1955b; Martinelli 1956b, pp. 17–19; Olsen 1980, p. 20; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 106, 778; Michela Ulivi et al. in Coliva 2002, pp. 104–15; Montanari 2002, p. 119; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 163–64, no. 2

NOTES

1. On Sebastiani, who was responsible for, among other things, the casting of the statue of Paul V in Rimini from a model by Nicolas Cordier, see Pressouyre 1984, pp. 304–7, 333–34, 405, 407–10, and Anna Maria Massinelli, “Sebastiano Sebastiani,” in Paolo Dal Poggetto, ed., *Le arti nelle al tempo di Sisto V*, exh. cat. (Milan, 1992), pp. 252–54. In 1623 he worked again with Bernini on the execution of the *Paolo Giordano II Orsini* (cklst A13). For this same patron (Orsini), he had also executed, in 1621–22, an unspecified “bronze statue” and, in 1621, a “bust and head of Our Lord Pope Gregory XV, made at the behest of the illustrious Messer Acquaviva,” in all probability from the model by Bernini, which had

already been cast for Scipione Borghese (see cat. no. 1.4 in this volume); see Benocci 2006, pp. 19, 57–60, 77–78. In 1624, while Bernini was executing a second bronze bust of Orsini, the founder called upon to work with him was Giacomo Laurenziano, not Sebastiani, about whose artistic activity there is no further documentation after 1623, and who died by 1626; see Adolfo Venturi, *La scultura del Cinquecento*, vol. 10 of *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1936), part 2, p. 111. 2. These payments were published by Italo Faldi (1953a, p. 315). 3. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177; for the guidebooks, see Faldi 1954a, p. 26 (with prior bibliography). Nicodemus Tessin also saw a bust of Paul V alongside that of Scipione Borghese at the Villa Borghese, and referred to it as a work “by the father of the cavaliere [Gian Lorenzo Bernini]”: Tessin 2002, p. 324. Around 1650 Richard Symonds described a “Marble portrait of Paul V by Bernini” in the Palazzo Borghese: Anne Brookes, “Richard Symonds’s Account of His Visit to Rome in 1649–1651,” *Walpole Society* 69 (2007), p. 78. This can perhaps be identified as the small bust currently in the Villa Borghese. Symonds also describes “an old head painted by Cavaj. Bernino, good” in the Palazzo Farnese, *ibid.*, p. 85. Further complicating the story of Bernini’s portraits of this pope, Baldinucci, in his list of Bernini’s “marble statues” (a list that also

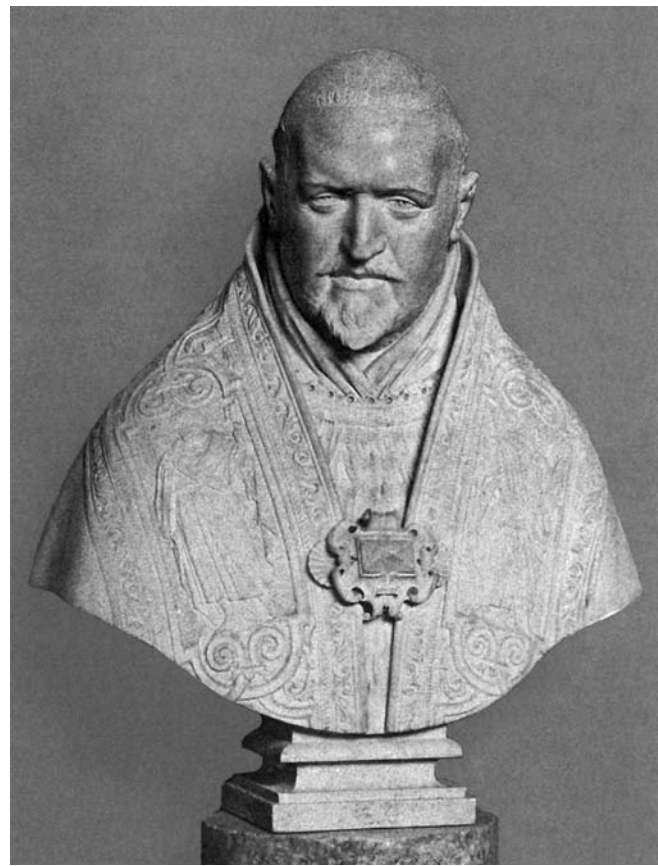


Fig. 1.3.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Paul V, ca. 1620. Marble. Location unknown.

includes busts, such as that of Gabriele Fonseca at San Lorenzo in Lucina), mentions one “of Paul V” in the church of Il Gesù, which is not, however, recorded by any other source connected to that church. 4. Martinelli 1956b, p. 13. It is entirely difficult to share, simply on the basis of the photograph, Damian Dombrowski’s hypothesis (1997, pp. 290–91) that Finelli participated in the execution of the marble portrait. 5. The statement was made by

Giovan Battista Costaguti, the pontiff’s majordomo; see Pastor 1944–63, vol. 12, p. 35. 6. “A metal bust [*petto*] above the pedestal of Proserpina, above the ornament of Proserpina, above the pedestal of mottled marble, portrait of Pope Paul V”: Palma 1983, p. 72. The bust appears as well in subsequent inventories, up until 1733, though Paul V is sometimes confused with Urban VIII or Gregory XV. 7. Maria Teresa Di Lotto in Vatican City 1981, pp. 99–100.



I.4

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi, 1621–22

Bronze, H (with socle): 78 cm (30¾ in.); W: 66 cm (26 in.);

D: 24 cm (9½ in.)

Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André (MJAP-S 861)

IN 1622, PIETRO BERNINI, GIAN LORENZO'S FATHER, told his cousin Francesco di Zanobi that his son had just made three busts of the pope in "marmo e metallo" and that, in thanks, Gian Lorenzo was granted the cross of the "Cavaliere di Cristo." Francesco recorded this information in his diary on November 18 of that year.¹ One must assume that the busts were produced sometime in the months before that date but after February 9, 1621, when Alessandro Ludovisi (1554–1623) ascended to the papal throne as Gregory XV. Details about these "marble and metal" busts are not specified, but it has been reasonably proposed that at least one of the three, probably in marble, had been produced before Bernini received the cavalier's cross on June 30 and that this marble likely served as the prototype for the two in bronze.²

Today, one marble and four bronzes of Gregory XV are known and are found in the following collections: the marble one in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (cklst A7e), and the bronze in the Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh (fig. 1.4.1), Museo Civico, Bologna (cklst A7c), Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome (cklst A7d), and, the present example, in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris. How these five busts reconcile with the three cited in Francesco di Zanobi's diary is uncertain, but some ideas have been put forward. For example, the relatively weak rendering of the Toronto marble may indicate that, rather than the prototype for the metal busts, it is the marble bust ordered by Ludovico Ludovisi in 1627 "in memory of [his then-dead uncle] Pope Gregory XV, to be sent to Zagarolo,"³ the cardinal's duchy outside Rome. If this is the case, the location of the original marble bust is unknown.

Of the four bronze busts, the present example is the only one whose origin is certain. Documents in the Borghese Archive describe Cardinal Scipione Borghese's commission for two papal busts—one of Paul V and the other of Gregory XV—designed by Bernini and then cast in bronze by Sebastiano Sebastiani between September 1621 and September 1622.⁴ The Jacquemart-André bust must be the one ordered by Cardinal Borghese since it is listed in the 1899 auction catalogue as "From the Borghese Collection, Rome." Moreover, it can be identified with the one mentioned in the 1762 inventory of the villa.⁵ Bernini's busts of Gregory XV were his first official papal portraits, and it has been reasonably suggested that Cardinal Borghese's commission was a way of having Bernini create an official portrait, "after the fact," of Paul V, his maternal uncle, while highlighting the link between the previous and current pontiff.⁶ In addition to the auction catalogue provenance, this bronze can be identified as one of the two busts of the Borghese commission because of the style and format correlations between it and that of Paul V, also sold from the Borghese collection (cat. no. 1.3).

The bust's high level of quality further supports identifying it as one of the originals executed by Bernini between 1621 and 1622. While rendering the subject's advanced age and ill health realistically, Bernini confers upon the figure a clear sense of the pope's majesty and dignity. The subtle lifting of his eyebrows and slight opening of his lips fix the viewer in conversation with the pontiff and bring life to an otherwise static bust, fashioned as a stately and simplified conical mass. Furthermore, Bernini renders details such as the crinkled alb, wisps of hair, and delicate wrinkles with great virtuosity. The weight of the pope's rigid pluvial—heavily embroidered with images of Saints Peter and Paul within decorative borders—is especially palpable. In this engulfing cope, the gathered linen vestments beneath seem to support his head, which leans forward as if bowing under the weight of office.

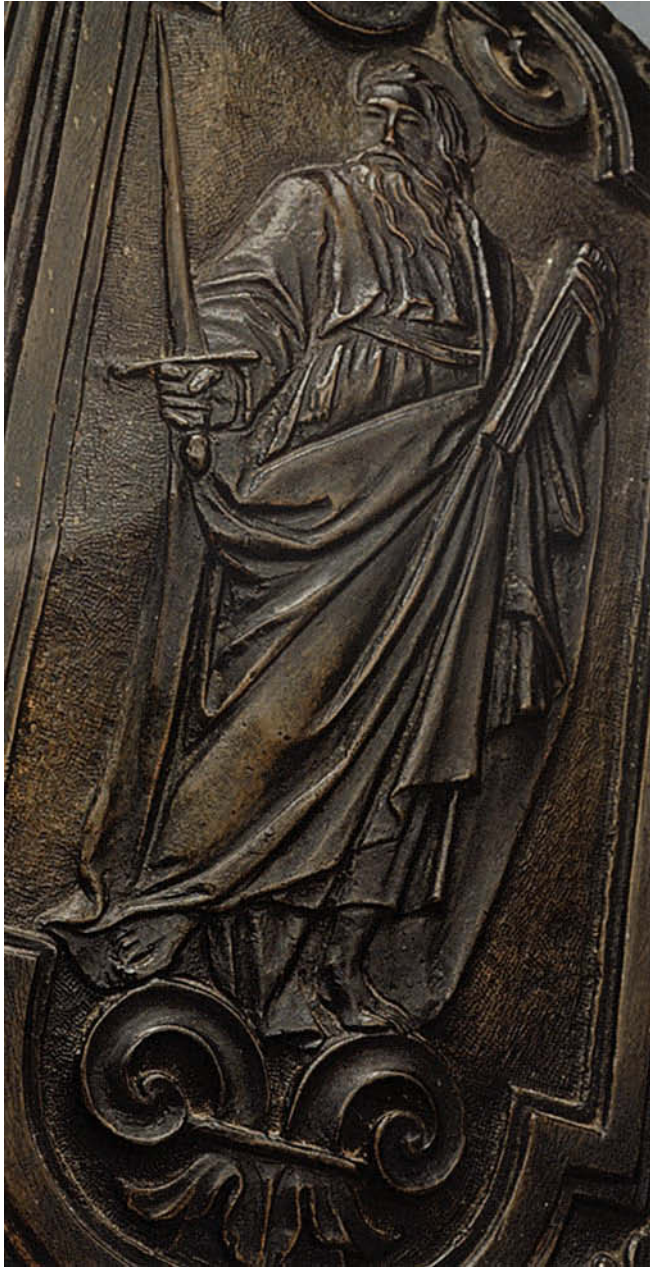


Fig. 1.4.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Gregory XV, 1621–22. Bronze, H: 64 cm (25 ¼ in.).
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Art.

Gregory XV's papacy lasted a mere two and a half years after he assumed the role in 1621 as a sixty-seven-year-old man in poor health. Recognizing that he was in need of assistance, he immediately appointed his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi cardinal. His pontificate is remembered for two principal reasons: the introduction of secrecy into papal elections in an attempt to abolish abuses and the effective interjection of the Church into world politics when the interests of Catholicism were involved. He gave financial assistance to Emperor Ferdinand II in regaining the kingdom of Bohemia and the hereditary dominions of Austria and then sent Carlo Carafa as nuncio to Vienna, to assist the emperor in his efforts to suppress Protestantism. CH



PROVENANCE

Borghese collection, Rome; Stefano Bardini, Florence; sold, Christie's, London, June 5, 1899, lot 479 (reproduced as no. 370 on pls. 21 and 71 in catalogue), for £650 to Colnaghi & Co., London, who sold it to Nélie Jacquemart André, Paris

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NOTES

1. Frascchetti 1900, p. 32.
2. Tomaso Montanari in Milan 2002, p. 116.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–18; and Wood 1988, p. 154.
4. Faldi 1953a, pp. 312–13.
5. Faldi 1953b, p. 146.
6. Montanari in Milan 2002, p. 119.



I.5

GUERCINO (GIOVANNI FRANCESCO BARBIERI) (1591–1666)

Portrait of Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi, ca. 1622–23

Oil on canvas, 133.4 x 97.8 cm (52½ x 38½ in.) (unframed)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (87.PA.38)

BORN ALESSANDRO LUDOVISI in Bologna in 1554 (d. 1623), the future Pope Gregory XV initially trained in law. Steadily rising to posts of increasing political importance, he was named archbishop of Bologna in 1612 by Pope Paul V Borghese and through the unflagging support of the Borghese family was elected pope in 1621. Despite the brevity of his pontificate, his two years on the papal throne were pivotal for the development of the arts in the seventeenth century, especially painting. Gregory XV favored artists from Emilia Romagna, and he took a profound interest in a new generation of artists that had trained with the Carracci, particularly Guercino.

The artist rarely turned to portraiture, although this affecting and startling work demonstrates his great ability in this genre, as do the enormous number of his life drawings. Guercino appears only to have engaged in portraits as testaments of close personal relationships with the sitters, which may explain the absence of any documents regarding a commission for this work, as well as the frank, direct, and intimate tone of the work, a deeply personal image.¹

Many aspects of this picture conform to Baroque ecclesiastical portrait conventions, with Gregory XV seated at three-quarter length, on a luxurious chair before a desk, in a sober but richly appointed room, gazing out at the beholder. Yet rather than projecting grandeur, power, and commanding authority—the expected convention of this format as established by Raphael and Titian—the cleric’s sunken eyes, shadowed torso and face, and pallor, as well as the delicate treatment of the enervated hands, express fragility, profound intellect, and even a note of fear of impending death, conveying the immense pressure and weight of the papal post. Moreover, the slightly off-angle position of the tapestry hanging behind the pontiff

injects a note of instability to the picture, accentuated by the careful alignment of the armrest with the table’s edge, locking the pope uncomfortably into place. Guercino’s confident, creamy, and abstract handling of paint in the luxurious textiles surrounding the pope’s frail body energizes the work, especially in the thick brushstrokes making up the white garments as well as the brocade of the chair and table.

Denis Mahon has reasonably dated the picture to the latter half of Gregory XV’s pontificate, based on the worn and aged appearance of the sitter, in contrast to a portrait drawing by Ottavio Leoni (British Museum). Other portraits of the pope by Domenichino (Musée des Beaux-Arts de Béziers) and Guido Reni (Lord Methuen, Corsham Court, Wiltshire) appear to idealize the pontiff and are less useful for comparanda.

The deeply personal nature of this portrait is underscored by a critique published by the biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri, who claimed that the portrait was “not much appreciated, because his dark manner is contrary to the proper ordering of portraits.”² Passeri, who was tied to the theorist Giovanni Battista Agucchi, generally held that portraits should aim to idealize sitters in order to convey their best qualities, a Neoplatonic approach that Guercino rejects,³ seeing a more naturalistic representation of old age as a more powerful way to convey the interiority of the pontiff and the challenges of the position. JLS

PROVENANCE

Probably commissioned by Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi (1554–1623), Rome, ca. 1622–23; probably by inheritance to the Ludovisi family, 1623; William Humble, 11th Baron Ward, later 1st Earl of Dudley (1817–1885), Witley Court, Hereford and Worcester, England, by 1854; by inheritance to his son, William Humble, 2nd Earl of Dudley (1867–1932), Witley Court, Hereford and Worcester, England, and Rome; sold, Christie’s, London, June 16, 1900, lot 30, to S. T. Smith & Son, London; Thomas Agnew & Sons, Ltd., London, 1900; Ralph Cross Johnson (1843–1923), Washington, D.C., by 1908; by gift to

the National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution (later the National Collection of the Fine Arts and the National Museum of American Art), 1919; sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mahon 1981; Denis Mahon in Washington 1986, pp. 471–73; Denis Mahon in Bologna 1991, pp. 160–62

NOTES

1. For more on Guercino and portraiture, see San Diego 2006, pp. 31–38, especially p. 45 n. 61.
2. Passeri 1772, p. 355.
3. Mahon 1991, p. 161.



I.6

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Paul V Borghese, ca. 1622–23

Marble, H (without *giallo antico* base): 33.6 cm (13¼ in.)

Rome, Galleria Borghese (CCXLVIII)

THE EARLIEST INDISPUTABLE MENTION OF THIS BUST is the one found in the 1763 inventory of the Casino del Graziano.¹ The bust cannot be connected with any certainty to two passages concerning a portrait of the pope in the biographies of Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini. While Filippo Baldinucci simply noted that “Paul V wanted his own portrait by his [Bernini’s] hand,”² Domenico Bernini wrote that the pope, “having summoned him, ordered first his own portrait in marble . . . In a short time Gian Lorenzo translated to perfection the Portrait in such good taste, that the Pope kept it for himself in his own Chambers until his death.”³ Both biographies are not without imprecisions and chronological inconsistencies, especially in the parts dealing with the artist’s early work. Suffice it to say that both Baldinucci and Domenico wrongly situate the execution of the busts of Cardinal Scipione Borghese during the years of the Borghese papacy and that Domenico links the execution of the Borghese sculptural groups to a commission made directly by the pope, when in fact they were commissioned by the pope’s nephew.⁴ Moreover, the only payments ever identified relating to a Borghese papal portrait (cat. no. 1.3) were those made between June and September 1621 by Scipione, for a “Bust of Paul V in marble”⁵—documents that can be connected to the portrait that was put up for sale in 1893 by the Borghese family and has since vanished from circulation.

A comparison of this small marble with that bust, known only from a photograph (fig. 1.3.1), and with the bronze bust in Copenhagen (cat. no. 1.3) seems to suggest that it was executed at a slightly later date. Despite the reduced dimensions, Gian Lorenzo has managed to

render the cope in more animated, dynamic terms; it convincingly suggests the body’s forms, protruding in irregular fashion along the edges and conveying the slope of the shoulders. Similarly, the figures of Saints Peter and Paul and the decorative motifs on the stole appear less rigid and angular. One notes as well a sense of increased vitality in the dense folds of the alb and its embroidered border, carved with a drill, whose supple folding back toward the edge of the cope is conveyed with peerless virtuosity by the sculptor. Even more striking is the almost painterly rendering of the flesh tones as well as the different fabrics, which are all the more spectacular when one considers the modest size of the marble.

Comparing this bust with the Copenhagen bronze helps make clear their chronological relationship. Taking as established fact the connection between the Borghese marble and the testimony of Domenico Bernini concerning the fact that Paul V supposedly kept a bust by Bernini in his own chambers, historians beginning with Stanislaw Frascchetti have proposed dating the sculpture around 1617–18.⁶ However, given the observations above, it seems more likely that this bust, like the Copenhagen one and the lost portrait, was commissioned by Scipione in the years immediately following his uncle’s death, which would move its date of execution forward a few years. When the artist’s biographies were being written, it would have been natural to connect all the busts of Paul V, as well as those of the cardinal, to the most brilliant period of Borghese patronage. Even for the elderly Gian Lorenzo, it must have seemed almost imperative to have his long period of papal service begin with Paul V. Documents have shown that the other two busts were made after the pope’s death in 1621, and thus it would not be implausible to imagine that this one could actually date from 1622–23, around the same time as, for example, the *Portrait of Cardinal François d’Escoubleau de Sourdis* (cat. no. 1.7).



The rather unusual format of this bust does have a few precedents in Cinquecento papal portraiture, especially in bronze. While today the authenticity of the small bust portraying Paul III and attributed to Guglielmo della Porta (Hamburg, Kunstgewerbemuseum) is called into question,⁷ the same cannot be said for his *Gregory XIV* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), which is, however, considerably smaller (roughly 24 cm [9⁷/₁₆ in.]) than Bernini's marble. At the level of portrait typology, this work represents a novelty for Bernini, who would almost never again use such a format. The sole likely exceptions would be the small bronze bust of Paolo Giordano Orsini, from about 1623 (cklst A13) and that of Alexander VII (cklst D6) in Vienna, whose attribution remains, however, uncertain. AB

PROVENANCE

Casino del Graziano at Villa Borghese, by 1765; Villa Borghese, 1833; later in the Palazzo Borghese; back in the villa as of 1889

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Venturi 1893, p. 50; Frascetti 1900, pp. 16–17; Longhi 1926, p. 67; Faldi 1954a, p. 26; Martinelli 1955b, pp. 647–66; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 13, 88, 233, no. 6(1); Martinelli 1956b, pp. 13–14; D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 277–83; Lavin 1968, p. 239; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 105, 778; Avery 1997, pp. 37–39; Anna Coliva in Rome 1998, pp. 102–9; Angelini 1999, p. 17; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 464; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 163; Montanari 2004, p. 64

NOTES

1. See Marina Minozzi, "Appendice documentaria," in Rome 1998, p. 445.
2. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 76.
3. Bernini 1713, p. 17.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 76; Bernini 1713, p. 17.
5. Faldi 1953b, p. 146; Faldi 1953a, p. 314.
6. See Wittkower 1955, p. 177, no. 6; and Anna Coliva in Rome 1998, pp. 102–9 (with prior bibliography).
7. The authenticity of the small bronze in Hamburg, attributed by Gramberg (1959) to Guglielmo della Porta, has been recently questioned following a scientific analysis of the metal.





I.7

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Cardinal François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis, 1621–22

Marble, H (with socle): 75 cm (29½ in.); W: 61 cm (24 in.)

Bordeaux, Saint Bruno, on deposit at the Musée d'Aquitaine (Bx M 12563)

BORN TO A NOBLE FAMILY with ties to the monarchy, François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis ascended quickly within the ecclesiastical state. In 1599, he was elected archbishop of Bordeaux, with a dispensation for not having yet reached canonical age, and Pope Clement VIII elevated him to cardinal. In 1607, he had the honor of baptizing the duc d'Orléans, second son of Henri IV of France, and, in 1615, he officiated at the weddings of Elisabeth of France and Prince Felipe of Spain and of King Louis XIII of France and Infanta Anne of Austria, Felipe's sister.

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, at a time of religious tension and dispute in France, de Sourdis made several trips to Rome.¹ In the papal city he came into contact with the teachings of Carlo Borromeo and Filippo Neri, men of great piety and religious fervor (they were beatified in 1602 and 1615, respectively). On his return to Bordeaux, de Sourdis brought renewed religious commitment as shaped by the Council of Trent, becoming one of the French Counter-Reformation's most ardent promoters.

He also sponsored urban improvements such as draining swamps and renovating important architectural structures. One such project was the reconstruction of the Chartreuse of Bordeaux, a monastery originally founded in 1383 near the Garonne River, on a hill in a marshy area of the city, and the addition to its structure of the Hôpital Saint-Charles. De Sourdis had the area drained and on May 29, 1620, with financial assistance from Blaise de Gascq, a wealthy monk, consecrated the single-nave church of Notre-Dame de Miséricorde. The

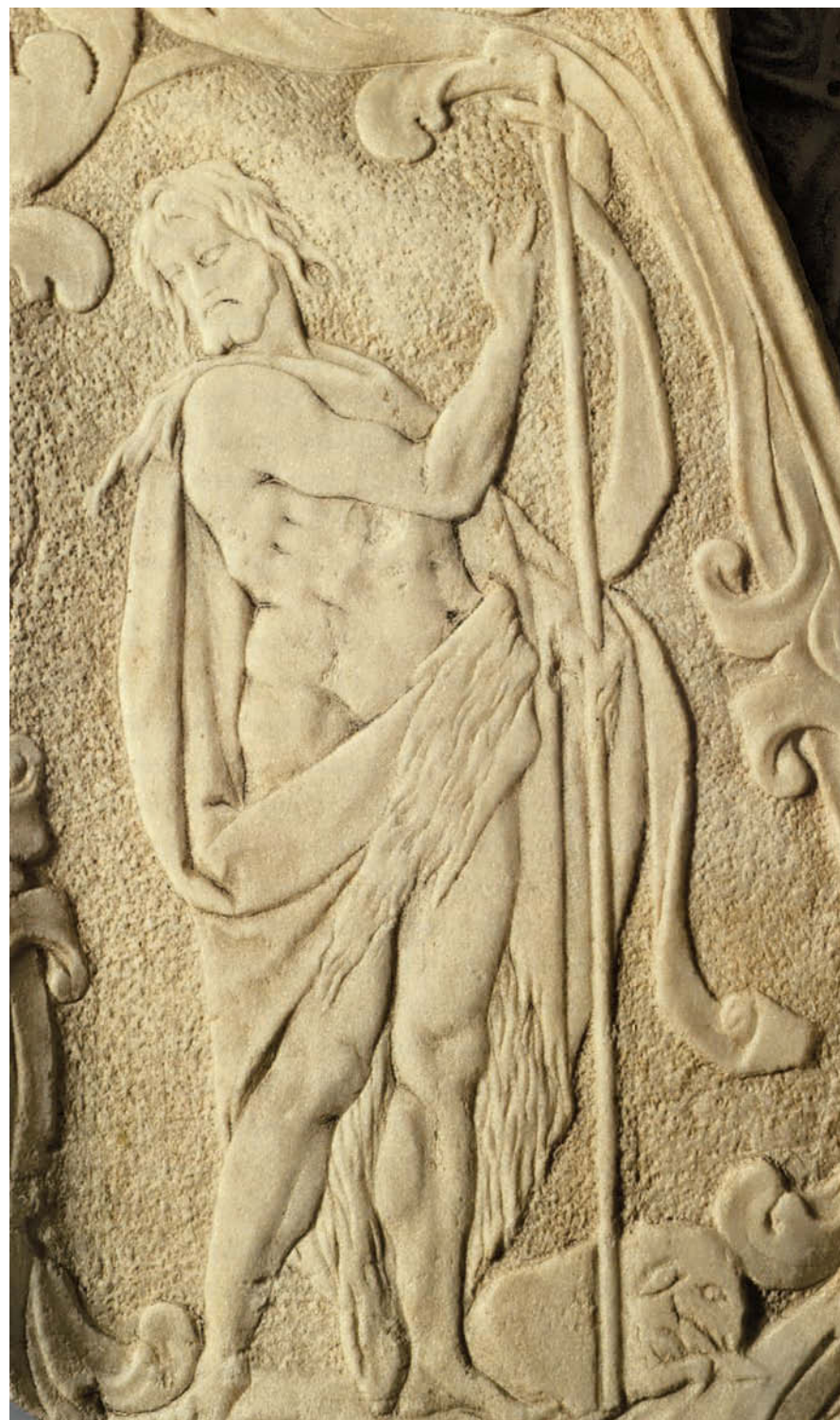
charterhouse was constructed to the south and east of the church and the hospital to the north and west. During the French Revolution, all of the structures were destroyed except for the church, which, after the reaffirmation of the Catholic faith in France with the Concordat of 1801, became part of the parish of Saint Vincent de Paul, was renamed the Church of Saints Vincent and Bruno in 1820, and is now known simply as Saint Bruno.

The structure of Notre-Dame de Miséricorde, based on Roman models, in particular Giacomo della Porta's church of Il Gesù,² reflects the artistic impact of de Sourdis's Roman sojourn. De Sourdis's artistic sensibilities were not limited to architectural form. He amassed a large and important collection of paintings, illuminated manuscripts, and religious objects that glorify the Catholic Church, an objective of the Counter-Reformation. His goal of leaving this legacy to his native city was foiled when, at the death of his brother and successor, Henri de Sourdis, in 1645, the decision was made to sell most of his collection at auction.³

The visit of François de Sourdis to Rome in 1621–22 is memorialized in the 1665 diary of Bernini's sojourn in France written by Paul Fréart de Chantelou. According to Bernini, de Sourdis visited his studio in the company of Maffeo Barberini, not yet pope, and Scipione Borghese. On seeing the newly finished marble group of Apollo and Daphne, the French prelate was purportedly scandalized. Chantelou writes that "he would have misgivings keeping such a sculpture in his house, because the figure of a young and beautiful nude could put in turmoil those that saw her."⁴ To rectify the situation, Cardinal Barberini composed the moralizing verse that now ornaments the figural group's pedestal: QVISQVIS AMANS SEQVITVR FVGITIVAE GAVDIA FORMAE FRONDE MANVS IMPLET BACCAS SEV CARPIT AMARAS.⁵

Bernini's memory of an event forty years prior is called into question since it is documented that Bernini acquired the block of marble for this sculpture a month after de Sourdis had departed for Bordeaux.⁶ Nevertheless, de Sourdis came into contact with both Gian Lorenzo and his father, Pietro, during this, the cardinal's last visit to Rome. At that time he commissioned his bust as well as an Annunciation group by Bernini's father, whose *Angel* and *Virgin* still flank the altar of Saint Bruno (figs. 1.7.1 and 1.7.2).

Listed in Baldinucci's inventory as "Del Cardinal Serdi... in Parigi," this bust has been documented in various locations since it left Bernini's shop.⁷ One source mentions that it was placed early on in the pharmacy of the Hôpital Saint-Charles.⁸ In 1669, Charles Perrault remembers it in the sanctuary of the church of Notre-Dame de Miséricorde.⁹ During the Jacobin federalist





movement of 1793, the bust was taken and thrown into a nearby well (“un puits voisin”), where it remained until it was rescued and placed in the “Musée de la ville.” In 1826, it was returned to Saint Bruno and by 1861 is documented to the north of the main door, where it remained until at least 1974.¹⁰

Despite the damage it has sustained, this is arguably one of Bernini’s most affecting and powerful early busts. Like others dating to the 1620s, it displays an elegant cartouche on its socle and its form is contained, with movement suggested by the turn of the head off the central axis and subtle shifting of the arms beneath the cardinal’s cope. Weathering of the surface does not hide the extremely fine chiseling of the silky beard, embroidered vestment, and tufts of hair. Particularly moving is the intense and thoughtful gaze that communicates the cardinal’s piety and religious commitment. CH

Fig. 1.7.1 PIETRO BERNINI
Angel from The Annunciation, 1622. Marble. Bordeaux, Church of Saint Bruno.

Fig. 1.7.2 PIETRO BERNINI
Virgin from The Annunciation, 1622. Marble. Bordeaux, Church of Saint Bruno.

PROVENANCE

Notre-Dame de Miséricorde (later Saint Bruno), Bordeaux (on deposit at the Musée des Beaux-Arts and, later, Musée d’Aquitaine, Bordeaux)

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Perrault (1669) 1909, p. 202; List of ca. 1675 (D’Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 5); Balducci (1682) 1975, p. 695; Marionneau 1861, p. 161; Raymond 1914, pp. 48–49; Sarrau 1945 pp. 25–30; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 238(14); Boutruche 1966, p. 429, pl. 13; Laroza 1974, pp. 21–22 (un-numbered); Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 778; Favreau 1999, p. 139; Verona 1999, p. 120; Favreau 2001, p. 321

NOTES

1. De Sourdis was, perhaps, in Rome as early as 1593; he was certainly there in 1601, 1605, and 1621–22; see Verona 1999, p. 120, no. 122.
2. Entry by Daniela Scaglietti Kelesian in Verona 1999, pp. 120–22.
3. Verona 1999, pp. 120–22; see also Favreau 1999, pp. 138–44; and Favreau 2001, pp. 303–23.
4. Chantelou (1665) 2001, p. 57.
5. “Whoever, loving, pursues the joys of fleeting beauty fills his hands with leaves or seizes bitter berries.”
6. Lavin 1968, p. 238 n. 102.
7. Balducci (1682) 1948, p. 176.
8. Marionneau 1861, p. 161.
9. Perrault (1669) 1909, p. 202.
10. Marionneau 1861, p. 161; Laroza 1974, p. 21 (un-numbered).



I. 8

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Antonio Cepparelli, 1622

Marble, H (with socle): 70 cm (27 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); W: 60 cm (23 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

A MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE of the Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà¹ led Irving Lavin in the mid-1960s not only to identify this bust but also to find it in an underground storeroom of the hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.² The story is much the same as that of Bernini's bust of Antonio Coppola (cat. no. 1.2). For reasons unknown, neither bust was mentioned by Bernini's biographers and they were lost when their move to the basilica's cellar at the demolition of the hospital in 1937 was unrecorded. A few pre-twentieth-century catalogues and handbooks mention both the Coppola and Cepparelli busts but without noting who produced them; curiously, one of these is a guidebook that dates to just seventy-five years after the *Cepparelli* was created.³

Both Coppola and Cepparelli were wealthy Florentine men living in Rome. Both bequeathed their patrimony to the hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini—whose construction began in 1606 on the south side of the eponymous basilica—and both were the subject of commemorative portrait busts placed, originally, in that hospital. Also, as for the bust of Antonio Coppola, documents tell us that “Bernini” was ordered to create the bust but do not identify which Bernini, father or son.⁴ Fortunately, a receipt of 1622 survives recording that Gian Lorenzo was paid for the bust, while Pietro acted as agent, having countersigned the reverse.⁵ Final payments were made to “Ca.re Bernini” on completion of the bust in December 1623.⁶

For this portrait of the Florentine gentleman, it appears that Bernini may have been influenced in some way by an undated but almost certainly earlier bust in the Aldobrandini Chapel of Santa Maria sopra Minerva

in Rome, attributed to Ippolito Buzio (fig. 1.8.1).⁷ Both busts depict their subjects wearing leather doublets, slashed and sewn at the shoulders to aid range of movement. Beyond the subjects' clothing, the depictions share similar physiognomy—with sunken cheeks and shallow-set eyes—and the same casually hung cloak over the left shoulder.

While the Aldobrandini bust may have served as a point of departure, Bernini imbues his image of Antonio Cepparelli with a sense of meditative introspection that does not exist in Buzio's more static effigy. The eyes, bulging slightly with puffy bags, hint at an illness that Cepparelli suffered but did not name.⁸ The convex rendering of his pupils increases this impression while rendering his gaze unfocused, as if the sitter were weary, an aspect further emphasized by the slack mouth with lips parted. This is one of Bernini's first and most marked examples of a portrait bust that incorporates the suggestion of real movement. Cepparelli's chest faces to his right, while his head and gaze are turned left, his head tipping slightly in that direction. His left shoulder juts gently forward, while the bit of exposed sleeve suggests that the right arm swings back. While the figure is composed and calm, it is in motion. This motion does not capture a stride or active movement but rather suggests the animate form, the complicated shifting of a man managing his weight in space. CH





Fig. 1.8.1 ATTRIBUTED TO IPPOLITO BUZIO (1562–1634)

Bust of an Aldobrandini Family Member, early seventeenth century. Marble. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

PROVENANCE

Hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 1622; cellar of the Basilica of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 1937; passage leading to the sacristy of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 1967; Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, 2001

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NOTES

1. Giuseppe Tomassetti, "Catalogo delle Posizioni, Pergamene e Scritture esistenti nell'Archivio dei Pii Stabilimenti di S. Giovanni della Nazione Fiorentina of compiato negli anni 1877–1879," cited in Lavin 1968, p. 225 n. 13.

2. Lavin 1968, pp. 224–25, 239, 241–43, 246.

3. Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio Romano ovvero delle Opere Pie di Roma* (Rome, 1698), p. 126; see also Carlo Luigi Morichini, *Degl'istituti di pubblica carità e d'istruzione primaria in Roma* (Rome, 1835), p. 65; Antonio Nibby, *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII* (Rome, 1841), vol. 4, p. 157; Forcella 1869–84, vol. 7, pp. 16 and 21.

4. Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà a San Giovanni dei Fiorentini-651, folio 57 right (April 23, 1622), as published in Lavin 1968, p. 246, doc. 20: "a statue of marble with inscription is to be made of the aforementioned Mister Antonio [Cepparelli] and it is to be placed in the hospital like that of Coppola, and Mr. Girolamo Ticci was told to speak to Bernini the sculptor that he should make it as soon as possible."

5. Lavin 1968, p. 246, doc. 22b.

6. Lavin 1968, p. 246, docs. 23a, 23b, and 23c.

7. Pressouyre 1984, vol. 2, p. 454; confirmed by Kessler 1997, pp. 77–84, who identifies the subject as possibly Silvio Aldobrandini; Alessandro Angelini identifies the subject as possibly Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini (Angelini 2005, pl. 5).

8. Lavin 1968, p. 242 n. 127.



I.9

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto, 1622–23

Marble, H (with socle): 79 cm (31 1/4 in.); W: 65 cm (25 3/8 in.)

Hamburg, Kunsthalle

IN FILIPPO BALDINUCCI'S BIOGRAPHY OF BERNINI written at the behest of Queen Christina of Sweden in 1681 and published a year later, the catalogue of the artist's works of art includes a bust of Cardinal Montalto "in casa Peretti."¹ This bust was unknown until the 1980s, when Georg Symaken, curator of the Hamburger Kunsthalle, sent pictures to Jennifer Montagu and Irving Lavin of a bust in the collection that was believed to date to the nineteenth century. The bust had entered the collection in a bequest of 1910 from Baron Sir Henry Schröder (1825–1910), which comprised primarily nineteenth-century paintings. Symaken's idea of approaching the two great experts of seventeenth-century sculpture was inspired, since both scholars, independently and immediately, recognized the bust as the missing Montalto.

Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto (1571–1623) was raised to the purple at the age of fourteen, when his granduncle Cardinal Felice Peretti (1521–1590) became pope as Sixtus V in 1585. At the age of seventeen he succeeded Cardinal Gianfrancesco Gambara as apostolic administrator of Viterbo and commissioned the construction and decoration of a casino in the nearby gardens of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia. He was also responsible for building the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, where, in the first decades of the seventeenth century, he financed Carlo Maderno's construction of the second-largest dome in Rome.

Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto took possession of his granduncle's immense Villa Montalto, which the elder Peretti had built on a large estate he had acquired on the Esquiline Hill. On becoming pope, Peretti rebuilt an important aqueduct (Acqua Felice), bringing water from the Alban hills to the northern part

of Rome, including the Villa Montalto and its formal gardens. After the death of Sixtus V, Alessandro and his brother Michele began projects to enrich the villa, including commissioning Gian Lorenzo Bernini to produce a magnificent fish-pond fountain on the property. *Neptune and Triton*, the great figure group from this fountain, was sold to Sir Joshua Reynolds at the end of the eighteenth century, eventually finding its way to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.² It seems that this large-scale, dynamic sculpture pleased the cardinal since, soon after its completion, he commissioned Bernini to produce the life-size *David* that remained unfinished at the cardinal's death in 1623. The commission was taken over by Scipione Borghese, who was, apparently, eager to see it completed. Bernini finished the *David* in 1624, having had to interrupt his work on Scipione's commission for the *Apollo and Daphne*.³

Around the purported time of this commission, in the early 1620s, Cardinal Montalto also commissioned this portrait bust. The dating of the portrait is supported by the existence of the small cartouche on the front of the socle, which is carved from the same block of marble as the bust. Similar cartouches appear on other early busts by Bernini, including the busts of Antonio Coppola (cat. no. 1.2); Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8); François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (cat. no. 1.7); Giovanni Dolfino, in a simplified version (cplst A6); in a more elaborate form, Antonio Barberini (attributed to Bernini, possibly with the assistance of Giuliano Finelli; see fig. 13), and Francesco Barberini (cat. no. 2.2).

One bust of this period that does not bear a socle cartouche but to which the bust of Cardinal Montalto is most closely similar is Bernini's bust of Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo of circa 1623 (fig. 1.9.1). Probably commissioned by the Pisan archbishop's erudite nephew Cassiano dal Pozzo to honor the memory of his uncle, the effigy is remarkably lively given that it was executed from a death mask more than a dozen years after the



archbishop's death. Both busts show their subjects as intelligent, intensely thoughtful men wearing similar, gently gathered mozzettas with a symmetrically flaring termination and the same crease above the lower two buttons. Animation is insinuated as their heads turn off the central axis. It has been noted that the similarity of the darkly veined stones might indicate that the two busts were, indeed, carved from the same block of marble.⁴

Distinctive to the sculpture of Cardinal Montalto, however, is the diminutive size of the socle with respect to the bust. Lavin ventures that a proportionately small socle may have been necessary if the bust had been intended for display in a tomb niche. A document published by Lavin describes Montalto's funeral, which took place in 1623. According to this source, "the body was carried to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore where the funeral procession ended and it was buried in a rich and sumptuous chapel... [The cardinal's spirit] will live on in the sculpted marbles [there], but even more so in the bosom of men,"⁵ suggesting that an effigy of the deceased was, at least, intended for the tomb. It seems that such a tomb project was not undertaken and, by the early 1660s, according to a contemporary guidebook, the bust was in Villa Montalto, and perhaps had been for many years.⁶

As in other busts Bernini executed in the 1620s, the pose of the subject—established by the turn of the head and asymmetrical folds of the mozzetta—subtly suggests movement. However, the cardinal's expression of concentration and deep thought—with his furrowed brow and penetrating gaze—imparts the greatest sense of animation to this bust. Bernini has included remarkably naturalistic details, such as the fine hair of his unshaven cheeks, the fleshy lower lip made evident by his prominent chin, and the pockmarks flanking his nose. The verisimilitude of the cardinal's vigorous appearance, though at a more advanced age, is confirmed by a three-quarter bust of the man, attributed to Giuliano Finelli, in Berlin (fig. 1.9.2). CH



Fig. 1.9.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo, ca. 1623. Marble, H (with socle): 82 cm (32 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.); W: 70 cm (27 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (NG2436).

Fig. 1.9.2 GIULIANO FINELLI

Cardinal Damasceni Peretti Montalto, 1630s. Marble, H: 91 cm (35 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

PROVENANCE

Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti, Villa Montalto, Rome; by descent until the villa changed ownership to Cardinal Negroni in 1696; probably sold from the villa when Marchese Francesco Massimo acquired the property in the 1780s, possibly to an English collector; Baron Sir Henry Schröder, The Dell, Berkshire, England;⁷ bequeathed to the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, 1910

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List of ca. 1675 (D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 7); Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 176; Helmut Leppien in Hamburg 1984, p. 17; Lavin 1984; Lavin 1985, pp. 32–38; Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, p. 259 n. 21; vol. 2, pp. 475–76, no. R51; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 120, 778; Timothy Clifford and Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 68; Angelini 1999, p. 24

NOTES

1. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 176.
2. Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 596–600, no. 637; Collier 1968.
3. Anna Coliva in Rome 1998, p. 261.
4. Edinburgh 1998, p. 68.
5. Lavin 1985, p. 38 n. 10.
6. Fioravante Martinelli, "Roma ornata dall'architettura, pittura e scoltura (1660–1663)," manuscript in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; published in D'Onofrio 1969, p. 326.
7. Although born in Hamburg, von Schröder spent his life in England on an estate outside London. Since a number of works that were sold from the Villa Montalto were acquired by collectors through dealers in England, this may be how von Schröder acquired the bust of Montalto; see Hamburg 1984, pp. 5–17.



III ROME OF THE BARBERINI

THE BARBERINI WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT FAMILY IN ROME DURING THE BAROQUE PERIOD. Members of this family rose to positions of great authority within the Catholic Church, whose central administration, the papal curia, exerted influence on the European stage, particularly during this time of religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics. Although he was spiritual leader of the Church, the pope also had temporal authority that extended throughout the Papal States, covering a wide area of central Italy. Also worldly was the pope's great wealth, which came, primarily, from investments and high finance. For the papal court, power was a means to religion and religion a means to power.

The Barberini originated from the small Tuscan town of Barberino in the Elsa Valley, where they were farmers. Ambitious to better their lot, members of the family had moved to Florence by the fourteenth century and became prosperous wool and silk merchants. At some point, they changed their original name from Tafani to Barberini, replaced the three horseflies (*tafani* in Italian) on their coat of arms with three gold bees, and eliminated the wool shears that had been a symbol of the humble source of their wealth.

Unhappy with the tyranny of the Medici family in Florence, Antonio Barberini (1494–1559; see fig. 13) decided to take the next step up the social ladder and relocate to the seat of power: Rome (he was later assassinated by the Medici). In 1555, he sent for his nephew Francesco Barberini (1528–1600; see cat. no. 2.2), who obtained lucrative offices at the papal court, amassed a fortune, and purchased a palace in the center of the city. Monsignor Francesco was a mentor to his late brother's son Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), whom he urged to attend the university in Pisa. After graduation and with his uncle's help, Maffeo rose quickly within ecclesiastical ranks and, at the age of fifty-five, was elected pope as Urban VIII (see cat. nos. 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7).

Known for his unbridled nepotism, Urban greatly enriched his family and named its members, among them his brother Carlo (see cat. no. 2.3) and nephew Antonio (see fig. 2.3.1), to influential posts within the Church. To acknowledge the support of his family and celebrate his heritage, he also commissioned portrait busts of many of them just after his election to the papacy. This practice recalls the custom in antiquity whereby aristocratic families ordered portrait busts of their deceased relatives to honor them.

Urban's twenty-one-year rule fell within the period of the Thirty Years War. But, rather than wielding his influence to strengthen Catholicism, Urban VIII was more interested in promoting the independence of his territory. He extended and strengthened the area of the Papal States, building fortifications and supplying armaments. Urban VIII, a man of great erudition and culture, also patronized art on a grand scale, providing important commissions to the greatest painters, sculptors, and architects of his time, including Nicolas Poussin, Pietro da Cortona, and Francesco Borromini, as well as Bernini.



2. I

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Camilla Barberini (née Barbadori), 1619
Marble, H: 77 cm (30³/₁₆ in.); W: 54 cm (21¹/₄ in.)
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

ON APRIL 26, 1619, Bernini was paid 50 scudi by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (later Pope Urban VIII) for having sculpted “a head in white Marble which he made for me . . . of my mother Signora Camilla, which he must transport at his expense to my chapel at Sant’Andrea della Valle.”¹ This is one of the earliest documents in which Gian Lorenzo is recorded as being independently remunerated for a sculptural commission, without any mention being made of his father, Pietro, with whom he had been working as a minor until the previous year. The only previous payment made to Gian Lorenzo alone is that of December 1618 for a lost *Saint Sebastian* that was ordered by Pietro Aldobrandini.² In February 1618 the elder Bernini had contracted with Cardinal Maffeo to sculpt four putti for the Barberini Chapel, promising to “make and furnish, by my own hand and Gian Lorenzo, my son’s . . . the said four putti.”³

On this occasion, however, Cardinal Barberini had requested, from Gian Lorenzo alone, marble portraits of his own parents: Camilla Barbadori and Antonio Barberini. Ten months after completing the bust of Camilla, in February 1620, Gian Lorenzo delivered the portrait of Antonio Barberini, which has since been lost. Maffeo, who was born in Florence in 1568, had lost his father at the age of three and was, therefore, very attached to his mother.⁴ Belonging to a noble Florentine family (an ancestor of hers had commissioned Filippo Lippi to paint a celebrated altarpiece now at the Louvre), Camilla had entrusted her son’s education to the Jesuits, later sending him to Rome, where he lived with her husband’s brother, Francesco Barberini, whom Gian Lorenzo would portray in a bust now at the National

Gallery in Washington (cat. no. 2.2). Maffeo’s affection for his mother was such that he not only wrote a poetic composition on the death of his mother⁵ but also often claimed that one of his greatest regrets in life was that Camilla (who died in 1609) did not see him ascend to the papacy.⁶

The occasion for which the two busts were commissioned was the decoration of the family chapel that Maffeo had begun in 1609. In 1611 he decided to have a statue of his uncle, Monsignor Francesco Barberini, placed in the tiny chapel of Saint Sebastian adjacent to the Barberini Chapel itself. Francesco had long followed and encouraged Maffeo’s ecclesiastical career, naming him his heir upon his death in 1600 and entrusting him with the task of building and decorating the chapel in the church of Sant’Andrea della Valle. The statue of Francesco was executed in 1611–12 by Cristoforo Stati, who was initially commissioned to make a bust of Maffeo and two other busts as well, perhaps those of his parents.⁷ The disappointing quality of Stati’s marble prompted Maffeo to look elsewhere. Indeed, as soon as he discovered how extraordinarily talented Gian Lorenzo was, “he appropriated him entirely as his own.”⁸

The commission for the two busts must have come in the final months of 1618 or in early 1619, at the very moment when Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V, was in the process of hiring the young sculptor to create the large mythological sculpture groups that would keep Gian Lorenzo busy at the Villa Borghese for the next several years. The present bust must therefore have been executed during the same months as the *Aeneas and Anchises*, and also around the same time as the *Blessed Soul* and the *Damned Soul*, already documented in the Montoya collection by 1619.⁹

The documents do not establish where the busts of Maffeo’s parents were placed in the chapel, and it has even been suggested that the two marbles never were

installed in Sant'Andrea della Valle.¹⁰ What is certain is that in 1626 Tommaso Fedele was commissioned to make two oval porphyry reliefs of the pontiff's parents; these were intended for the chapel as replacements for the marble busts (figs. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2).¹¹ The latter are mentioned in 1628 as being among the possessions belonging to Cardinal Francesco Barberini that came from the home of his father, Carlo, Pope Urban VIII's brother.¹² The small yellow marble pedestal, on which the portrait stands today is the very same one for which Bernini was paid in March 1629.¹³ Its new location in a gallery necessitated a pedestal, whereas its original location in the chapel, most likely in an oval niche, had not. Indeed, if the base had been necessary from the start, Bernini would probably have sculpted it out of the same block of marble as the portrait, as was his practice.

Valentino Martinelli recognized the similarities between the porphyry relief by Fedele and the bust in Copenhagen, hitherto considered an anonymous work, making it possible for him to identify the bust as that of Camilla made by Bernini, as mentioned in Filippo Baldinucci's 1682 biography of the sculptor.¹⁴ Even before this identification, however, in Copenhagen the marble was tentatively classified as a portrait of Camilla Barbadori. The bust had been acquired in 1890 from the Palazzo Sciarra in Rome, to which at least some of the Barberini collection had been apportioned following the marriage of Cornelia Barberini to Cesare Colonna di Sciarra in the second half of the eighteenth century. Apparently the name of the artist had been forgotten, but not that of the person portrayed.

Bernini had never met Camilla Barbadori, so when sculpting her bust he probably referred to the "two portraits of Signora Camilla, one when she was old, the other when she was a widow," mentioned among Maffeo's possessions in 1623 but since lost.¹⁵ Presumably Gian Lorenzo drew inspiration from these paintings, both for the physiognomy and for the choice



of clothing, just as he did in the case of the *Francesco Barberini* (fig. 2.2.1), for which a painted portrait served as a model.¹⁶

However, in contrast to his procedure in the bust of Francesco Barberini, in portraying Camilla, Bernini sculpted the irises of her eyes, thus enlivening a face otherwise characterized by an almost hieratic severity.



Fig. 2.1.1 TOMMASO FEDELE (active 1619–1631)
Camilla Barbadori, 1626–27. Porphyry relief. Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Barberini Chapel.

The bust's appeal also lies in the balance between its pronounced frontality, the stark rendering of the clothing, the "tense, almost geometric abstraction"¹⁷ of the veil, the proud impenetrability of the expression, and the evocative directness visible in the powerful profile of the aquiline nose and the magisterially sensitive rendering of the skin. All of this is achieved through a technical execution far removed from that of Gian Lorenzo's father but no less virtuosic, as witnessed by the tapering of the veil over the forehead. A comparison of this bust with its possible precedent, the *Portrait of Lesa Deti Aldobrandini* (Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva), sculpted by Nicolas Cordier around 1605, reveals the distance separating the two sculptors.¹⁸ Gian Lorenzo interprets Cordier's meticulous rendering of the facial features and the folds of the veil with such concision that it confers an almost mystical tension on this image of Camilla, who "looks as though she has returned from the shadows of the after-life into the light, restored to how she was before, but only briefly, to the sight of her loved ones."¹⁹ AB



Fig. 2.1.2 TOMMASO FEDELE
Antonio Barberini, 1626–27. Porphyry relief. Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Barberini Chapel.

PROVENANCE

Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Cappella Barberini (?), 1619–27; Rome, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, first in the Palazzo ai Giubbonari, then in the Palazzo della Cancelleria from 1632, then in the Palazzo Barberini, until 1679; Rome, Barberini Colonna di Sciarra collection, 1728; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1890; Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1929

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NOTES

1. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 166; and Lavin 1968, p. 246.
2. Testa 2001.
3. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 420–21.
4. Pastor 1944–63, vol. 13, p. 111.
5. *Poesie Toscane* (Rome, 1637), sonnet LXX.
6. Pastor 1943–66, vol. 13, p. 420.
7. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 411. On Cristoforo Stati and his role in the

decoration of the Cappella Barberini, see Susanna Zanuso, "Cristoforo Stati," in Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 845; and Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, pp. 40–42 (both with prior bibliography).

8. Domenico Bernini (1713, p. 11).
9. Lavin 1993, pp. 101, 125, doc. 1.
10. D'Onofrio (1967, pp. 166–68) hypothesized that the two busts might form part of the "Ten marble heads with bust and pedestal arranged on golden stools for the Rooms of the Lord Cardinal," which appear in the 1623 inventory of the possessions of Maffeo Barberini passed on to his brother Carlo after his election as pope; see Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 71, no. 206. We should also bear in mind it was not until 1626 that the Barberinis acquired from the Rucellais the bay connecting their respective chapels, where the two reliefs by Tommaso Fedele are located today; see D'Onofrio 1967, p. 169.
11. Martinelli 1955a, pp. 40–41; and Aronberg Lavin 1975, pp. 15–16, docs. 127–30.
12. Frascchetti 1900, p. 140; and Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 79, no. 128.
13. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 5, doc. 32.
14. Martinelli 1956c, pp. 23–33.
15. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 68, no. 114.
16. Middeldorf 1971, pp. 542–44.
17. Lavin 1968, p. 237.
18. Pressouyre 1984, fig. 82.
19. Martinelli 1956c (1994, p. 266).



2.2

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Francesco di Carlo Barberini, ca. 1623

Marble, H (with socle): 80.3 cm (31 ¼ in.); W: 66.1 cm (26 ½ in.)

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection (1961.9.102)

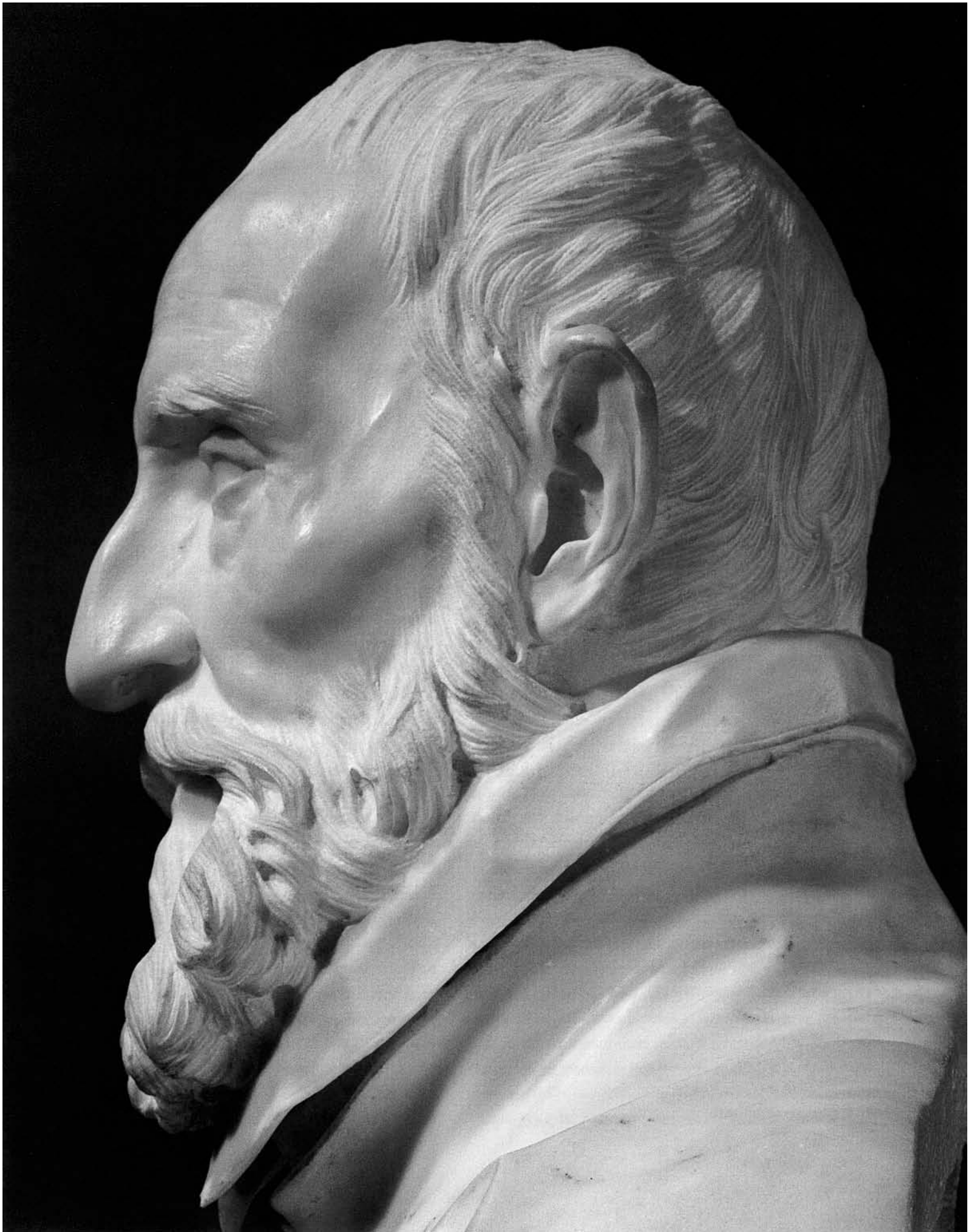
EVEN BEFORE HIS ELEVATION TO THE PAPACY in 1623 as Urban VIII, Maffeo Barberini asked Bernini to produce portraits of his ancestors, perhaps including this bust of his beloved uncle. Attribution to Bernini is confirmed not only by stylistic similarities with other busts of the 1620s (see discussion below) but also by an entry in the Barberini inventory of 1627¹ and by its inclusion in the list of works in Filippo Baldinucci's biography of the artist.² Since Barberini died more than twenty years before his effigy was sculpted, Bernini must have used a pictorial model, and this model appears to have been the late-sixteenth-century painted portrait of Francesco in the Corsini collection, Florence, in which the identity of the sitter is verified by an inscription on a letter in his right hand: *Alla Sig^{ria} Ill^{ma} Mons. Francesco Barberini* (fig. 2.2.1).

Maffeo's motivation for celebrating his uncle in this way is clear. When Maffeo's father died in 1559, his mother sent the very young Barberini to Rome to live with his uncle. Francesco Barberini (1528–1600) was then prothonotary apostolic and referendary of the Collegio Romano, where Maffeo was educated under the direction of the Jesuits. Francesco was also extremely wealthy, and at his death, he bequeathed his considerable fortune and the Barberini residence, the Casa Grande ai Giubbonari, to Maffeo.³ Francesco thus played the role of mentor and advocate but also benefactor to the future pontiff, propagating the wealth that was to be the basis for the family fortune. Maffeo commissioned Cristoforo Stati to produce Francesco's tomb sculpture in the family chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, evidence of his gratitude and an indication of his future interest in art patronage.

This bust of Francesco Barberini is one of a series of posthumous portraits Bernini made of Maffeo's forebears that includes the busts of his mother, Camilla Barbadori Barberini (cat. no. 2.1), and his father, Antonio Barberini (now missing). A fascinating bust of his granduncle, Antonio Barberini (1494–1559), formerly in the collection of Principessa Henrietta Barberini, is believed by various scholars to be the work of Bernini or Giuliano Finelli, or the two artists working together (see fig. 13).

Francesco's bust sits on a socle ornamented with a particularly beautiful cartouche: its undulating shape clings to the socle as if it were a vine, a single bee perched between the upper scrolling flaps. This organic quality has been compared to the elaborate dragonlike cartouche inscribed with Maffeo's cautionary couplet that was added to the base of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* of 1622–25 (see cat. no. 1.7).⁴ More closely similar cartouches appear on socles that support the busts of Antonio Barberini (mentioned above), Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8), Cardinal de Sourdis (cat. no. 1.7), and Cardinal Montalto (cat. no. 1.9), all of which date to the early 1620s. Stylistic features further link this bust with other early examples, such as the austere realism and flipped-back cloak, also seen in Bernini's bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya of circa 1622–23 in Santa Maria di Monserrato, Rome (see fig. 1), and the implied movement of the torso rendered by torquing the shoulders, as in the Cepparelli bust.⁵

Although this is not the only instance in which Bernini made use of a pictorial portrait as a model for a marble bust (see cat. nos. 6.2 and 6.4), it may be one of his most successful. Francesco displays the regal bearing of an erudite nobleman. The formality and austerity of his expression, with pupil-less eyes and firm set of the jaw, may have been deemed appropriate for a posthumous work; it is also possible that Bernini was hindered in bringing immediacy to a bust whose subject was not sitting before him. Nevertheless, in the obdurate material



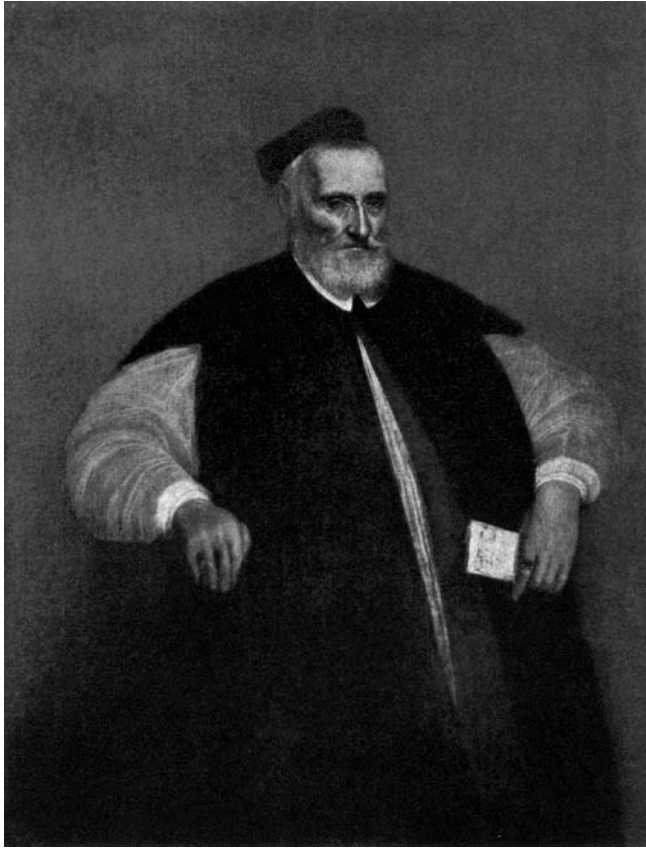


Fig. 2.2.1 NICODEMO FERRUCCI (1574–1650)
Francesco Barberini. Oil on canvas. Florence, Corsini Collection.

of stone he has succeeded in rendering the thin and pliable sagging skin and the soft and velvety tufted beard. He has also differentiated between the deep, heavy folds of the mantle and the delicate almost puckered crinkles of the linen surplice. This is a dignified and elegant portrait of Maffeo's admired ancestor. CH

PROVENANCE

Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), Rome; located in Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, Rome, by 1627; transferred to the Barberini's Palazzo alla Cancelleria, Rome, in 1635; returned to Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, Rome; sold to Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Florence; sold to Samuel H. Kress, New York, 1950; given to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1952

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Lavin 1968, pp. 240–41; Middeldorf 1971; Middeldorf 1976, pp. 80–81; Michael P. Mezzatesta in Fort Worth 1982, no. 14; Pope-Hennessy 1986, pp. 429–30; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 141–42, 780; Avery 1997, pp. 84–85; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 21, 38, 43; Sebastian Schütze in Rome 1999b, p. 333, no. 48

NOTES

1. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 78, no. 85.
2. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 176.
3. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1968), vol. 28, pp. 27–28.
4. Middeldorf 1976, p. 81.
5. On this point, see also Lavin 1968, pp. 241–42.



2.3

FRANCESCO MOCHI (1580–1654)

Portrait of Carlo Barberini, ca. 1630

Marble, H (without socle): 84 cm (33 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.); W: 80 cm (31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.);

D: 36 cm (14 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.); socle: 23 x 23 cm (9 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Rome, Museo di Roma, Palazzo Braschi (MR 1097)

CARLO BARBERINI (1562–1630) WAS THE ELDEST SON OF Camilla Barbadori and Antonio Barberini, who, like his younger brother Maffeo (the future Pope Urban VIII), benefited from the protection of his uncle Monsignor Francesco Barberini (see cat. no. 2.2). In Florence, Carlo was involved in the family's commercial activities, and when Maffeo moved to Rome Carlo followed him, managing the Barberini assets as Maffeo rose rapidly within the Church administration. As soon as Maffeo became pope in 1623, he designated his brother commander of the papal armed forces, a post that involved military and diplomatic duties, reflecting the temporal, rather than spiritual, functions of the ecclesiastic state.

It is in this role that Francesco Mochi depicted him: his cuirass is articulated at the shoulders by transverse lames (strips) attached to the underlying leather harness with rivets. The scalloped border of soft leather flaps and the ample, heavily gathered diagonal sash that is knotted above his left hip provide a foil for the crystalline sharpness and geometric simplicity of his armor's patterned elements. However, rather than displaying the fearsome demeanor of a military man, he appears introspective, fixing his gaze beyond the spectator, his brow creased, anxious. This is a noble and powerful image of a man respected for his civil and military virtue but in turmoil.

A print in Hieronymus Tetius's *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*, printed in Rome in 1642, documents the appearance of this bust, which is known to have entered the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane by 1641 (fig. 2.3.2). The print shows that the bust originally had a collar, which may have broken and then been ground down. A version of the Museo di Roma bust—with

collar intact—exists in the Barberini collection at Palestrina but is of inferior quality, lacking the vigor and elegance of the Museo di Roma portrait.¹ A similar collar was included on a bust of the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni (1592–1657), attributed to Mochi, in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. This bust shows the subject in a cuirass analogous to that of Carlo Barberini. The bust, however, is more highly truncated, with a less dramatic sash and a more nervously articulated series of facial wrinkles and creases.²

Carlo Barberini died in the company of his son on a peaceful mission to Bologna during the War of the Mantuan Succession (1628–31), a dispute that arose from the extinction of the house of Gonzaga and was fought between France and the Holy Roman Empire over the succession to the duchy of Mantua and Montferrat. Three projects were planned to commemorate him: an elaborate plaque and a funeral catafalque designed by Bernini for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, and a life-size statue composed of an ancient torso restored and completed by Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, for the Sala dei Capitani in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (see fig. 48). Bernini was responsible for producing the head of this statue, which, in spite of the physical similarities, presents a very different image of the man (fig. 2.3.3) than that in Mochi's almost contemporary bust. Bernini's is a softer, more pictorial and classicizing presentation, while Mochi's is a more intensely psychological image. Mochi's bust, also probably posthumous, differs as well from an exquisite small bronze he produced of Carlo Barberini on horseback. The composition of this work derives from his Farnese equestrian monuments in Piacenza, which occupied the sculptor in that city from 1612 to 1629.³ In particular, the Alessandro Farnese monument (see fig. 49) shares with this bronze an assertive and powerful dynamism, very different from the tense composure of his portrait bust.



Fig. 2.3.1 FRANCESCO MOCHI

Portrait of Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger, 1628–29, Marble, H (with base): 99 cm (39 in.). Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (1965.176).

This bust of Carlo Barberini and the one of Carlo's nephew Antonio Barberini (fig. 2.3.1) sit on identical black socles with yellow veining. Entries for these busts in early Barberini inventories indicate that the socles are original,⁴ which, together with their similar size and outline, led Irving Lavin to believe that the two busts were made as pendants.⁵ Indeed, both are neatly inscribed within an oval format and display the same measured contrast between abstraction and naturalism. They were almost certainly part of the pontiff's project at this time to commission portrait busts of his ancestors for a gallery in their honor in the Palazzo Barberini.⁶

Lavin believes that this grand and expansive bust betrays the influence of Mochi's Tuscan origins. Mochi

seems to have absorbed the Mannerist sophistication and stylishness, not to mention the sense of action and drama, of Giambologna. In addition, several earlier Florentine portrait busts, such as Baccio Bandinelli's marble of Cosimo I of 1544, are similarly commanding effigies that include a broad and proudly displayed cuirass with the head turned sharply to one side, one arm moving forward in space to animate an otherwise static image of authority. However, rather than portraying Carlo Barberini as imperious or unassailable, Mochi concentrates on his emotional and psychological state. CH



PROVENANCE

Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, Rome, 1641; Antonio Barberini (1607–1671), Rome, by 1671; by inheritance to Carlo Barberini, Rome, by 1692; by inheritance within the Barberini family; acquired by the Governatorato of Rome through the art dealer Sestieri, for the Museo di Roma, 1934; Palazzo Braschi, Museo di Roma

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NOTES

1. Martinelli 1946, pl. XXXI; Lavin 1970, pp. 140–42; Di Gioia 2002, p. 46, fig. 12.
2. I would like to thank Evonne Levy for bringing this bust to my attention. See Francesco Santi, “Un inedito marmo di Francesco Mochi a Perugia,” *Paragone* 26, no. 299 (1975), pp. 82–85. Why Mochi chose to portray a lawyer in a cuirass is not known.
3. The bronze is in the Barberini collection, Rome, and its wax model exists in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; see Maddalena De Luca Savelli in Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, pp. 59 and 70, nos. 12 and 17.
4. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 335, no. 986; p. 448, no. 519.
5. Lavin 1970, p. 140.
6. For information on this project, see Martinelli 1955, pp. 32–52.

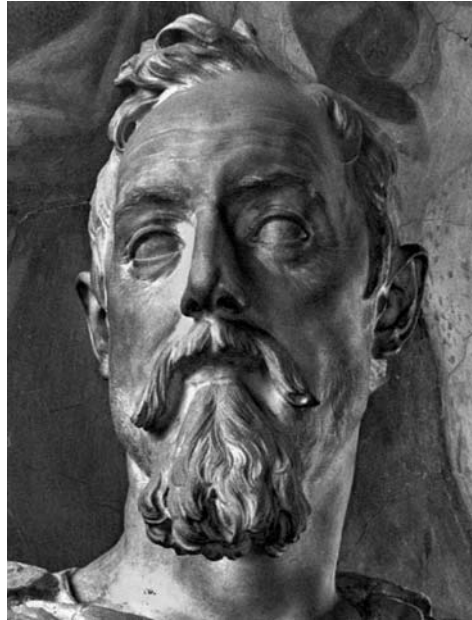


Fig. 2.3.2 Engraving from HIERONYMUS TETIUS (GIROLAMO TETI)

Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem (Rome, 1642).

Fig. 2.3.3 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Carlo Barberini (detail; see fig. 48), 1630. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.



2.4

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1631–32

Oil on canvas, 67 x 50 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini

AS THE NUMEROUS SCULPTED PORTRAITS of Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), Pope Urban VIII, by Bernini in this exhibition testify (cat. nos. 2.5, 2.6, 2.7), Bernini enjoyed a long, close, and complex relationship with the pontiff, and this portrait reveals a frankness and immediacy that transform the traditional mode of papal portraiture from its formal, hieratic role, established in the Renaissance, to one that engages personally and directly with the beholder.

Pulled directly to the front of the canvas before a steely, blank background, Urban VIII turns his body slightly to the picture plane—a note of animation, enhanced by the summary handling of the mozzetta and collar. Yet, despite the torque of the pope's torso, he gazes head-on—directly and calmly—at the viewer. The animated handling of the eyes and lips, along with the slight disorder of the facial hair, which gives the impression of having just been in motion, suggests that the pope has at this very moment completed speaking, directly addressing the viewer, a strategy the artist had already exploited in his earlier *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 1.1). The portrait also stands out for its coloristic richness, looking to a Venetian mode of building the composition out of hues and light.

As this exhibition demonstrates, the ecclesiastical portrait developed in new ways in the first decades of the seventeenth century. However, despite the psychological sensitivity and formal innovations Bolognese artists such as Guercino and Guido Reni brought to the genre (cat. nos. 1.5, 5.8),¹ Bernini's portrait of Urban VIII brought profound intimacy and immediacy to the likeness, moving papal portraiture in an entirely different direction, hardly dependent on articulating status

and power and conveying instead the closeness of artist and sitter as well as a deeply sympathetic sense of the sitter's interiority.

Fritz Erwin Baumgart first published this painting as Bernini upon its acquisition by the Galleria Nazionale in 1930, and while the work later took on an attribution to Andrea Sacchi, Valentino Martinelli definitively brought it back to Bernini.² Martinelli has also connected the Palazzo Barberini portrait to a similar painting of the pontiff—only known from a black-and-white photograph—of similar dimensions, but with drapery enlivened differently, and seemingly not a stiff copy. Based on formal analysis, a plausible connection to a 1631 print of the pope by Claude Mellan (see fig. 2.5.1), and a reconstruction of the painting's possible provenance in the Barberini family (the work was last recorded in the Palazzo Colonna in Marino, before the Allied bombardment of the palace and collections), Martinelli has authenticated and dated the lost work to 1629–30, but this analysis remains conjecture.³ Two other portraits of the pope, in Roman and Parisian private collections, have occasionally been attributed to Bernini, but their stiff and less powerful handling indicates that they are probably works coming out of Bernini's studio. While the dating of the Palazzo Barberini painting has generally hovered in the early 1630s, Tomaso Montanari has plausibly maintained that among all the images of the Barberini pope, the likeness most similar to the pontiff in terms of age is the 1631 print by Mellan, suggesting a date of 1631 or 1632 for the painting.⁴ JLS

PROVENANCE

Leggieri; sold to the Galleria Nazionale, 1930

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Baumgart 1930; Grassi 1945, pp. 19–20; Martinelli 1950/2003; Martinelli 1987; Sutherland Harris 1992; Martinelli 1994, pp. 455–62; Schütze 1998; Petrucci 2003; Petrucci 2006, p. 329; Tomaso Montanari in Rome 2007, pp. 108–11, no. 11

NOTES

1. For the portraits of Urban VIII by Bernini and other artists, see Schütze 1988.
2. For the attribution history, see Martinelli 1950/2003, p. 24 esp. n. 12.
3. Martinelli 1994, pp. 456–62.
4. Montanari in Rome 2007, pp. 108–11.



2.5

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632

Marble, H (with base): 94.7 cm (37 ¼ in.); W: 68.8 cm (27 ⅞ in.);

D: 34.3 cm (13 ½ in.),

Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (18086)

THE PRESENT WORK is generally accepted as the first of two autograph versions of a bust of Pope Urban VIII, both carved about 1632. What is understood to be the second version is now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome (fig. 2.5.2). The Rome version was the first to be published and set the terms for the reception of the Ottawa bust, which was only discovered some fifteen years later.¹ Rudolf Wittkower correctly dated the Galleria Nazionale bust to “about 1630” on the strength of its resemblance to contemporaneous printed portraits of Urban. This dating was challenged by Valentino Martinelli and Irving Lavin, who placed it around 1640, arguing from what they saw as the advanced age of the sitter and (for Martinelli and later Howard Hibbard) from his evident fatigue from the weight of office.² In response to these readings of physiognomy and character, Wittkower ultimately settled on a date of 1637–38, now seeing the pope as gaunt, “gravely ill” and “on the brink of death,” matching his known poor health at that time.³

Cesare D'Onofrio's publication of a June 1633 letter by Lelio Guidiccioni subsequently confirmed Wittkower's earlier date. It describes busts of Urban and Scipione Borghese, by implication carved the previous year.⁴ In another text, Guidiccioni dates the papal bust more precisely, claiming that Bernini began it the day Urban left for his summer retreat at Castel Gandolfo and completed it before he returned.⁵ For the pose, Bernini evidently returned to a drawing, known only through a 1631 engraving by Claude Mellan (fig. 2.5.1).⁶ (A painting attributed to Bernini, which may be contemporary, repeats the composition [cat. no. 2.4].)

Aside from a recent claim that the Ottawa bust is a later autograph copy,⁷ the priority of the Ottawa version has generally been assumed. A flaw in the marble, discovered late in the process of the bust's execution, is understood as having necessitated a second version. The example of the two versions of the Scipione Borghese bust, the first damaged by a crack in the marble, immediately comes to mind as a comparison (see cat. no. 4.1). But we should be cautious about embracing this convenient parallel, and not simply because there is no mention of any remaking in early descriptions. The extent of the damage to the Urban bust is also not comparable. Bernini would doubtless have been aware of the compromised nature of the block from which he carved the Ottawa version. The prominent gray vein running across the cape would have been evident during the roughing-out. The block was likely oriented to ensure that the vein would enliven the drapery rather than mar the face—a decision exploited to amazing effect. The zone of shifting density within the marble, running roughly across the back of the sitter's head and down through his left shoulder, would have been of greater concern. The artist may have subtly modulated the detail and finish in order to accommodate these irregularities. Though there is now a clearly visible series of fractures in this zone, it is entirely possible that the flaw was less prominent, and hence of minimal concern, at the time the bust was carved. And we should bear in mind that any fractures would have been not only visible but also audible during carving, due to changes in the resonance of the marble.

Hieronymus Teti's 1642 description of the Palazzo Barberini records what may be the Galleria Nazionale version and invokes the trope of the miracle to describe it: impossible to have been made by human hands, it is instead a kind of awesome talisman, a palladium fallen from heaven, the symbolic foundation and defense of the family.⁸ A bronze version of the bust was commissioned

by the Barberini some time before November 1632.⁹ It was set in the paneling of the library of the Palazzo Barberini before 1642, when it was recorded there by Teti.¹⁰ In 1902 it entered the collection of the Vatican Library (cklst A17d). Another bronze now in the Palazzo Comunale in Camerino (although lacking the distinctive crease in the mozzetta) was likely also cast from the same model, the intermediate wax having been subtly modified (cklst A17e).¹¹

Two terra-cotta busts of Urban are noted in Bernini's postmortem inventory; one is appropriately paired with a clay bust of Scipione Borghese.¹² Guidiccioni implies that Bernini made a clay model of the Scipione bust in preparation for carving it, and we might assume the same for the bust of Urban. Charles Avery has connected the inventory reference with such a bust.¹³ The precise date of these terra-cottas remains unclear, as does their relationship to the marble busts and bronze versions. DF



Fig. 2.5.1 CLAUDE MELLAN (1598–1688)
Pope Urban VIII, 1631. Engraving. Rome, Gabinetto della Stampe.

PROVENANCE

(?) Barberini family, Rome;¹⁴ Castelbarco-Albani family, Varese; private collection, Switzerland, before 1969; Robert Leclerc, Geneva, by 1969; Eugene Thaw, New York, by 1973; bought by the National Gallery of Canada in 1974

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Wittkower 1955, p. 184; Lavin 1956, p. 259; Martinelli 1956b, p. 37; Wittkower 1966, p. 185; D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 381–88; Wittkower 1969; Lavin 1970, p. 141 n. 65; Maria Teresa de Lotto in Vatican City 1981, pp. 114–15, no. 94; Wittkower 1981, p. 274; Olga Raggio in New York 1982, p. 84; Catherine Johnston in Ottawa 1986, pp. 76–79; Catherine Johnston in Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, s.v. "Bernini"; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 779; Pope-Hennessy 1996, p. 430; Avery 1997, pp. 88–90; Wittkower 1997, pp. 241–42; Charles Avery in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 69–70; Sebastian Schütze in Rome

1998, pp. 242–50; Zitzlsperger 2001; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 55–87, 166–67

NOTES

1. See Wittkower 1955, p. 184; and Wittkower 1969.
2. See Lavin 1956, p. 259; Martinelli 1956, pp. 37–38; and Hibbard 1965, p. 105.
3. Wittkower 1966, p. 185.
4. Guidiccioni's text was first published in D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 381–88. A new transcription is given in Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 179–83.
5. D'Onofrio 1966b, p. 131.
6. P. Santa Maria Mannino in Vatican City 1981, p. 81, with bibliography.
7. Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 166–67, no. 8.
8. "La luce augustissima che emana dalla fronte, dagli occhi, dal volto / qui ci chiarisce che l'opera non è di mano d'artista; / vediamo un Palladio caduto dal Cielo, / per essere ornamento eterno e sostegno di questa casa": Italian translation of the Latin from the reprint of *Aedes Barberinae*

ad Quirinalem descriptae edited by Lucia Faedo and Thomas Frangenberg (Pisa, 2005), p. 170. Teti gives its location as the Stanze di Parnasso, one of Cardinal Antonio Barberini's suites of rooms.

9. The evidence is circumstantial; see Lavin 1970, p. 141 n. 65. For the bronze, see Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 167, no. 9.

10. See *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae* (see note 8 above), p. 31.

11. Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 170, no. 15. Cast in 1643.

12. See Martinelli 1996, pp. 254 and 256.

13. Guidiccioni describes Bernini as "bending, stretching, moulding the model with [his] hands"; see Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 181. Charles Avery in Edinburgh 1998, p. 69.

14. What may be the Galleria Nazionale version is first noted in a 1644 inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, "a portrait of Our Lord Pope Urban VIII,

marble... by Bernini"; see Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 182, no. 684. It is not possible to clearly distinguish the Ottawa version amongst the other busts of Urban listed in the Barberini inventories, presuming it remained in the possession of the family. See Aronberg Lavin 1975 for the various busts of Urban VIII listed on pp. 662–63 of the index.



Fig. 2.5.2 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632. Marble, H: 83 cm (32 ⁵/₁₆ in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.



2.6

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1658

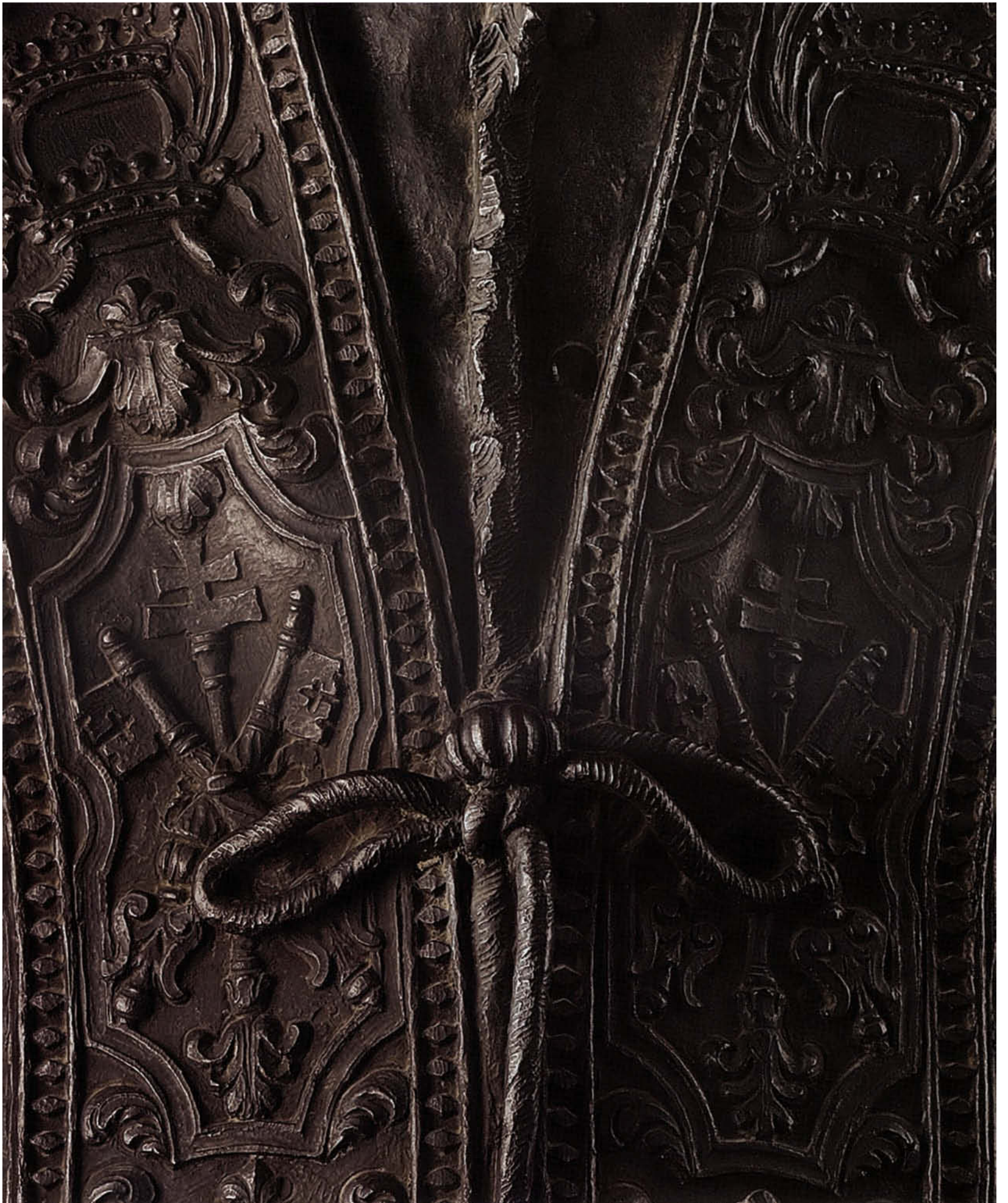
Partly gilt bronze, H: 101.5 cm (40 in.); W: approx. 78 cm (30¾ in.).
Florence, Private Collection

THIS BRONZE BUST SHOWS GILDING IN THE PEDESTAL and the little bee just above it, a heraldic allusion to the Barberini family. While the bust was not carefully refinished in all its details after casting, the quality of the casting is very high, and the sculpture maintains intact the expressive power of a terra-cotta. Executed with a virtuosity aimed principally at bringing out the slightest chromatic modulation despite the bronze medium, the bust combines descriptive subtleties, such as the little veins in relief under the eyes, with details rendered in summary yet efficient fashion, such as the eyebrows—which are barely sketched—or the fur trimmings of the *mozzetta* and *camauro*, which are handled almost impressionistically. The portrait became part of the Corsini collection in Florence in the second half of the nineteenth century following the marriage of Anna Barberini and Tommaso Corsini (1835–1919). First noticed by Ludwig von Pastor in his *History of the Popes*,¹ it elicited no significant attention in subsequent Bernini studies. For Valentino Martinelli, it was merely a “mediocre replica” of the bronze in the Louvre (cckst A18c),² while Rudolf Wittkower termed it and the lost bust that we know about from a plaster copy at Santa Maria di Montesanto in Rome, “casts from Bernini’s model corresponding to the Louvre bust.”³ The latter was commissioned from the sculptor in 1656 by Antonio Barberini, who made a gift of it to the king of France: “Please,” he wrote, “cast me the other head of the Most Serene Memory of Urban.”⁴

The bronze here on exhibit, originally with the Barberini family, can be linked to the payment ordered by Bernini himself in July 1658, for “Jacomo Erman, Cabinetmaker...for making an ebony Stool for his

Highest Eminence Signor Cardinal Antonio Barberini... to set thereupon a half Statue in bronze representing the effigy of the glorious memory of Urban the 8th.”⁵ In the inventory of the estate of Cardinal Antonio Barberini at the Palazzo Barberini ai Giubbonari near Campo dei Fiori, drafted in 1671, we thus find a “Head and Bust and Metal Pedestal Portraying the Happy Memory of Urban VIII with its Stool of Fluted Ebony, with three Metal Bees in relief...By the Hand of Cavalier Bernino.”⁶ Marilyn Aronberg Lavin hypothesizes this to be the same bust present in 1692 in the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane, in the *prima stanza dell’audienza* [first audience chamber]: “a Portrait of Urban VIII in metal with a pedestal in gilded metal with a small metal bee in the middle with its pedestal of Fluted ebony and gilt with three little bees of gilt metal under the base of the bust.”⁷ The presence of the little bee in the pedestal would appear to confirm this is indeed the Corsini collection bronze, since this detail is not to be found in the Louvre bust, nor in the version at Blenheim Palace (cckst A18d).⁸ The bronze mentioned in the 1692 inventory is also, in all likelihood, the same as that seen just a few years earlier at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane (in the “audience hall of cavaliers and prelates” [*sala d’audienza dei cavallieri e prelati*]) by Nicodemus Tessin during his Roman sojourn in 1687–88: “vom Cav: Bernini...Urbano VIII in brontz.”⁹ The bust was placed alongside the marble bust of the pope’s brother, Carlo Barberini, which Tessin also believed to be by Gian Lorenzo, when it was in fact by Francesco Mochi (cat. no. 2.3).

The fact that the pedestal ordered by Bernini was created in 1658 would seem to imply that the bust was also made at the same moment, and thus came shortly after the one commissioned by Antonio in 1656 for the purpose of sending it to France. Although the version for Santa Maria in Montesanto was not cast until 1678, there is nevertheless no doubt that the model for this



composition must have been among the papal portraits made by Gian Lorenzo around 1630. The structure of the bust, with the stole adorning the mozzetta, is related to—though not exactly the same as—the marble today in Palazzo Barberini (cklst A18a). The pontiff’s face, on the other hand, can be likened to that of the bust today in the Vatican Library (which can probably be connected to a 1632 document; cklst A17d) and that of the porphyry bust (cat. no. 2.7), for which an equally early dating has been hypothesized. As late as 1681, there were still two terra-cotta busts of the pontiff in Bernini’s house, one noted in generic terms, the other described as “a portrait of Pope Urban the Eighth made of fired clay consisting of a bust and gilded pedestal.”¹⁰ Perhaps one of these was the very model from which Bernini was able to draw the different bronze versions over the years. AB



PROVENANCE

Rome, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Palazzo Barberini ai Giubbonari, 1671; Rome, Cardinal Carlo Barberini, Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, 1688; Florence, Palazzo Corsini, second half of the 19th century; Florence, Corsini Collection

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Pastor 1944–63, vol. 13, p. 253; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 243, no. 19(4a); Martinelli 1956b, p. 31; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 170, no. 16

NOTES

1. Pastor 1944–63, vol. 13, p. 253.
2. Martinelli 1956b, p. 31, no. 57.
3. Wittkower 1955, p. 186, no. 19 (4a).
4. Barberini’s letter, published by Bandera 1999, p. 60, was transcribed by Anne-Lise Desmas.
5. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 15, doc. 118.
6. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 331, IV, inv. 71, no. 875.
7. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 449, no. 529.
8. Avery 1997, pp. 90, 281.
9. Tessin 2002, p. 305.
10. Martinelli 1996, pp. 254, 256.



2.7

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632

Bronze and porphyry, H (without green marble base): 81 cm (31 ¾ in.);

W: 80 cm (31 ½ in.); D: 35 cm (13 ⅙ in.)

Rome, Private Collection

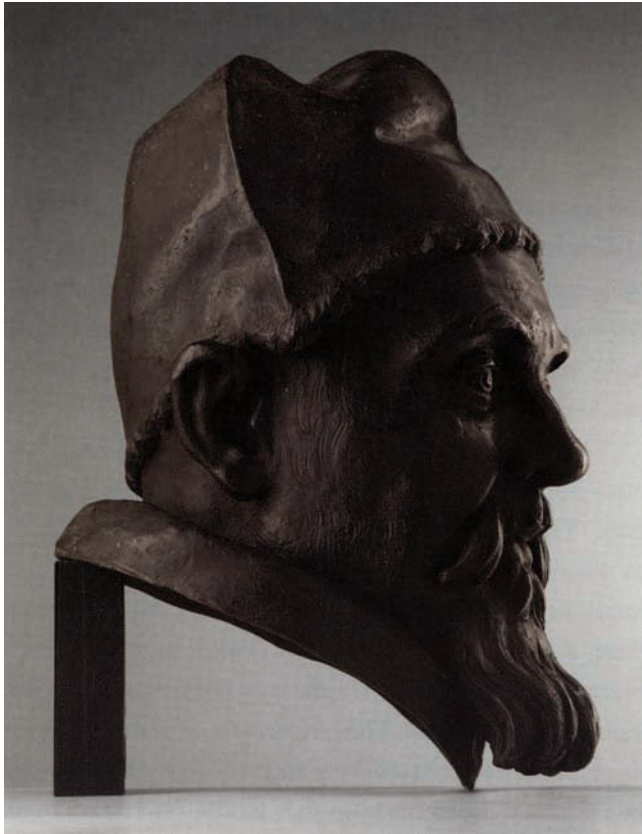
THE EARLIEST MENTION OF THIS BUST is found in the travel notes of Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, who saw it in a room in the Palazzo Barberini during his Roman sojourn in 1687–88. He described it as follows: “Urban VIII bust by Cav. Bernin, with head in bronze, and the rest in porphyry.”¹ The portrait then appears in the inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Carlo Barberini, the pontiff’s grandnephew, drawn up between 1692 and 1704: “A Portrait of Urban VIII with chest in porphyry, head of metal, base of serpentine, with the pedestal veiled in crimson, with arabesques of laurel, bees, lilies and gilded festoons.”² Next we find it cited several times in guides to Rome, from the 1693 *Mercurio errante* by Pietro Rossini to Gregorio Roisecco’s 1745 *Roma antica e moderna*—which mentions it as having been executed “from a drawing by Bernini”—to Antonio Nibby’s *Itinerario di Roma*, from 1827.³

Stanislao Frascchetti considered it “executed in Bernini’s workshop from his studies in clay.”⁴ For Rudolf Wittkower, on the other hand, “an antique porphyry bust was worked over in the studio,” while “the bronze head is a cast from the model that had previously served for the Louvre bust but the bronze was left unpolished. Difficult to date; but probably very late.”⁵ Valentino Martinelli’s approximately contemporary judgment was almost as brusque, calling the bust “a bronze and porphyry replica that in the past was for the most part admired as an original of Bernini, whereas today we can see that it is nothing but a mediocre and unfinished bronze head, perhaps drawn from the original model, hoisted onto a red porphyry bust that is a summary

and approximate imitation of the bronze one.”⁶ Later historians, up to the present day, have been in general agreement, suggesting a dating around 1640.⁷ We should bear in mind, however, that the scholars did not all have the opportunity to see the bust in person, since it was and still is kept by the pontiff’s descendants.

The bronze head is indeed connected to those of the busts in the Louvre (cklst A18c) and in Florence (cat. no. 2.6).⁸ The quality of the cast is in every way comparable to what we see in those two busts; there is nothing that might suggest the possibility of a later execution or something done outside the master’s control. Indeed, the virtually unworked quality of the cast confers considerable vigor on the portrait. This, moreover, was the first time since antiquity⁹ that porphyry and bronze were combined in a portrait, a combination that would find rather scant favor thereafter, being limited to the portrait of Pope Innocent X by Alessandro Algardi (fig. 5.10.2). Bernini therefore deserves the credit for renewing, through the combination of the two materials, the typology of the porphyry bust, which first arose in grand-ducal Tuscany. The preciousness and ancient imperial significance of porphyry, whose color, among other things, makes it the ideal stone for rendering a pope’s mozzetta, and the choice to execute the head in bronze—a material also rich in ancient echoes—made it possible to eliminate the static expression typical of porphyry, which is very hard to sculpt and would have been particularly out of place in Berninian portraiture.

There are also other elements suggesting an earlier dating than what has been hypothesized up to now. The work may, in fact, be linked to a March 26, 1631, document contained in the account books of Taddeo Barberini, the pontiff’s nephew, who that same year was named prefect of Rome. The document states that Bernini ordered that a “mozzetta of porphyry”¹⁰ be furnished to the sculptor Tommaso Fedele, the same man



responsible for the execution of the porphyry medallions with portraits of the pope's parents (see cat. no. 2.1). If one accepts the connection between the document and this bust, then the work would be one of the earliest datable portraits of this pope by Bernini, and one could thus situate it around the time of the portrait of the pope engraved by Claude Mellan (fig. 2.5.1) from a drawing by Gian Lorenzo. AB

PROVENANCE

Rome, Palazzo Barberini; collection of Prince Enrico Barberini, ca. 1955

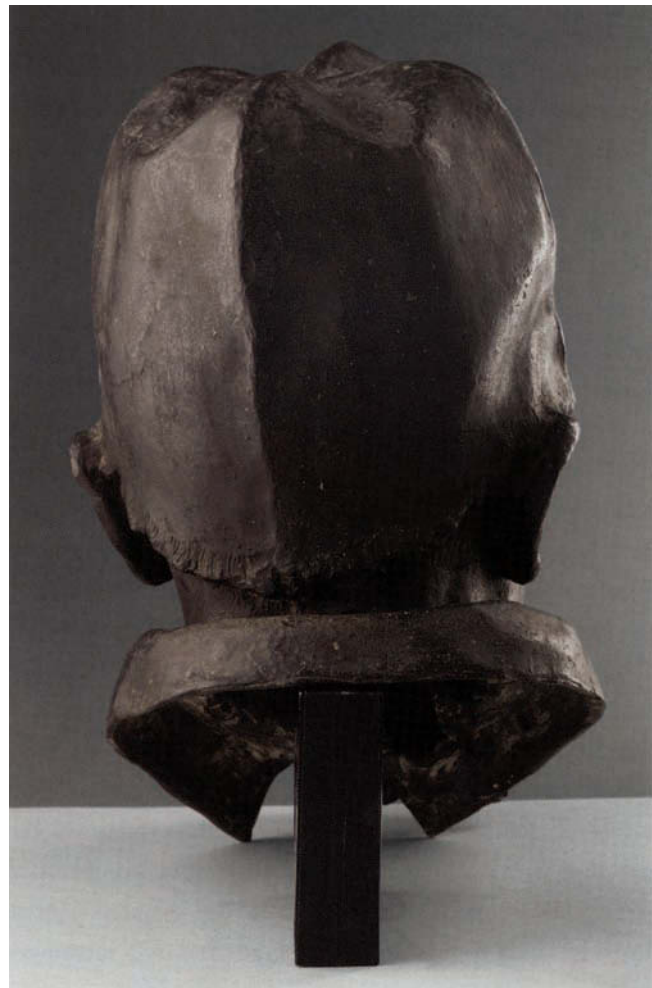
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Tessin (1687–88) 2002, p. 306; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 145–46; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 244, no. 19(7); Sebastian Schütze in Rome 1999b, p. 328; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 169, no. 13

NOTES

1. Tessin 2002, p. 306.
2. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 450, no. 559.

3. Rossini (edition of 1700), p. 51; Roisecco, vol. 2, p. 111; Nibby, p. 222.
4. Frascchetti 1900, pp. 145–46.
5. Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 244, no. 19(7).
6. Martinelli 1955a (1994, pp. 88–89).
7. Schütze in Rome 1999b, p. 428; and Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 169.
8. See Wittkower 1981, p. 186.
9. An ancient bust of Marcus Aurelius in bronze and porphyry, which was kept in the Villa Ludovisi (see D'Onofrio 1969, p. 318), was probably known to Bernini.
10. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 475, doc. 132.







2.8

FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY (1597–1643)

Portrait of John Barclay, 1627–28

Marble, H (with socle): 79 cm (31 1/4 in.);

W: 64 cm (25 1/4 in.); D: 32 cm (12 3/4 in.)

Rome, Museo Tassiano a Sant'Onofrio

THE SUBJECT OF THIS BUST was a Scottish writer and sophisticated man of letters. His most famous work, *Argenis*, was a long poem written in modern Latin verse that deals with the reigns of the French kings Henri III and Henri IV and combines romantic adventure, allegory, and political satire. It influenced the development of the romance novel in the seventeenth century and was known to literary figures such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Barclay served as a minor court official in London before moving in 1616 permanently to Rome, where he was supported by Pope Paul V and frequented the literary circles of Maffeo Barberini.

Maffeo's nephew Francesco Barberini asked Pietro da Cortona in 1623 to design pendant funeral monuments in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome, for two of his beloved and erudite teachers: one for John Barclay, his master of literature, and the other for Bernardo Guglielmi, his master of canon law (fig. 2.8.2). Both busts display a similarly angular three-sided truncation that elegantly complements the form of the square socles on which both are placed. Duquesnoy used this same format for his bust of the dwarf in the service of the duke of Créquy (cat. no. 2.9). This idealized rendering of the poet shows him with a clear gaze, smoothly articulated face, and subtle smile—betraying the satirist's sharp intelligence and wit—under an elegant mustache. The wide, smooth collar above his cloak-draped doublet further emphasizes the almost romantic beauty of Barclay's head. For this composition, Duquesnoy may have been looking at Bernini's bust of Antonio Cepparelli, which

was installed in the hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome in the early 1620s (cat. no. 1.8). As in Bernini's *Cepparelli*, Barclay's right arm moves back in space as the head turns off the central axis, providing animation to the bust. However, in place of Cepparelli's casually slung cloak, Barclay has been swathed diagonally in antique style, which creates a greater sense of spiral movement and classical grandeur.

According to the account books of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, "Francesco Chente" (François Duquesnoy) received payment for the two busts in October 1628.¹ Four years later, however, Barclay's French wife, Louise Debonaire, asked to have the bust of her deceased husband removed from the church and transported to her house "near the pawn-shop."² According to Barclay's biographer, Janus Nicius Erythraeus, Debonaire found the monument unworthy, requesting, as well, that Barclay's remains be transferred to the Church of Sant'Onofrio and placed near the tomb of Torquato Tasso, the great sixteenth-century Neapolitan poet who died in Rome. The bust was documented in the library of this church in 1679;³ at some point it was moved to the Museo Tassiano next door, where it remains today. In 1660 Cardinal Barberini commissioned Antonio Giorgetti to replace the Barclay monument with one dedicated to his personal secretary, Girolamo Aleandro, who had died in 1629. Still wanting to honor the Scottish poet, Barberini ordered Giorgetti in 1667 to produce a tomb-slab in Barclay's memory, but this work has not come to light.

In 1622, Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, the publisher in Paris of Barclay's *Argenis*, commissioned Claude Mellan to produce an engraved portrait of Barclay for inclusion in later editions of the work (fig. 2.8.1).⁴ Mellan may have relied on a death mask of Barclay for his effigy. It appears that Duquesnoy relied on Mellan's print for his bust. CH





Fig. 2.8.1 CLAUDE MELLAN (1598–1688)
John Barclay, 1623. Engraving. Rome, Gabinetto delle Stampe.



Fig. 2.8.2 FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY
Bernardo Guglielmi, 1627–28. Marble. Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

PROVENANCE

Entrance to the Chapel of Santa Ciriaca, Basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome, 1628; Louise Debonaire (John Barclay's widow), near the Monte di Pietà, Rome, by 1632; Convent of Sant'Onofrio (location of Barclay's remains); Museo Tassiano a Sant'Onofrio, Rome

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and 526; Marion Boudon in Rome 2000, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 10; Boudon-Machuel 2005, pp. 329–30; no. DE.121; Lingo 2007, pp. 95–101

NOTES

1. Boudon-Machuel 2005, p. 329.
2. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 17, doc. 137; Janus Nicius Erythraeus, *Pinacotheca tertia Imaginum Virorum* (Cologne, 1648), no. 17, as cited in Noehles 1964, pp. 88 and 95 n. 11.
3. In a poem by Orazio Quaranta, 1679, as cited in Boudon-Machuel 2005, p. 330.
4. Boudon-Machuel 2005, p. 330.





2.9

FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY (1597–1643)

Portrait of the Dwarf in the Service of the Duke of Créquy, 1633–34
Marble, H (with socle): 49 cm (19 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.); W: 31.2 cm (12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (2578)

THIS CAPTIVATING PORTRAIT DEPICTS AN UNNAMED MAN in the service of Charles I de Blanchefort (1578–1638) of Picardy. Cardinal Antonio Barberini's inventory of 1644 identifies the sitter and author of this bust. It lists "a portrait of the dwarf of the Duke of Créquy, with its chest, and pedestal of white and black, made by Francesco Fiamengo," the name by which Duquesnoy was known at the time.¹ This work also appears in Antonio's inventory of 1671 and in that of Antonio's nephew Carlo Barberini (1630–1700) in 1692.² Many gifts passed between the duke of Créquy and members of the Barberini household and, although precise documentation has not been found, it is reasonable to assume that this bust served as one such offering.³

Charles de Blanchefort was seigneur de Créquy, de Fressin et de Canaples, prince de Poix, duc de Lesdiguières, and marshal of France. Louis XIII sent him to Rome in 1633 to serve as ambassador in hopes of encouraging the pope to join France in an alliance against Spain, a task at which he failed. He was ambassador to Venice in 1636 and fought in several Italian campaigns, dying in one of them outside Crema in Lombardy. Créquy's choice of Duquesnoy as a portraitist is understandable given that Duquesnoy was the most important franco-phone sculptor active in Rome in the 1630s. Moreover, the artist had just enjoyed great success with his *Saint Susanna* (1627–33) for Santa Maria di Loreto and was in the process of producing the *Saint Andrew* for the crossing of the transept in Saint Peter's. The duke's interest in art patronage betrays his interest in art collecting in general. In the mere thirteen months he spent in Rome, he lost no time in amassing a fine art

collection in this important center during the first bloom of the Baroque.⁴

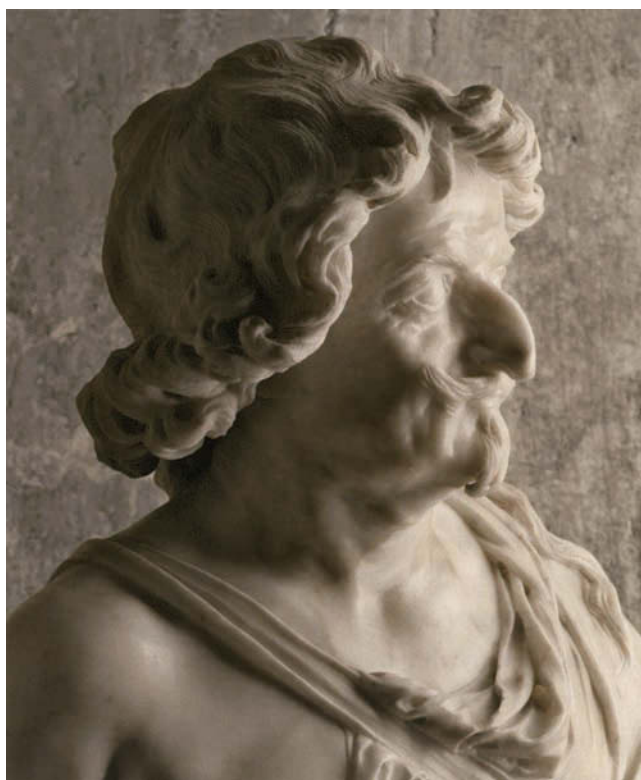
Créquy's retinue in Rome was very large, comprising numerous pages and other attendants, including the man represented here, who had proportionate dwarfism, a condition that causes a person's arms, legs, and trunk to be shortened but remain in proportion to the overall body size. The man's appearance is described in a 1633 festival book celebrating Créquy's entry into Rome: "the dwarf of His Excellence marveled all of Rome because of his small size and perfectly proportioned limbs."⁵ The Roman intellectual Giacinto Gigli (1594–1671) confirms this description in his *Diario romano*, where he writes that "this dwarf was very pleasant to see because he was so graciously proportioned."⁶ In addition to having an agreeable appearance, the man played an important role in Créquy's entourage. An essential part of the ambassador's activity in Rome involved diplomatic visits and, as mentioned, gift giving. He served as a ceremonial courier and gift-giving emissary and his importance is underlined by his placement during the *cavalcata*: in one he traveled on horseback at the head of the other attendants traveling on foot, and in another he sat in the place of the coachmen who led the horses, again, on foot.⁷

The subject of this bust is particularly intriguing since men and women with dwarfism were usually appreciated as sources of entertainment or as examples of the oddities of nature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁸ rather than as valued members of court, as was this individual. Rather atypical for this classicizing artist, Duquesnoy has captured the subject's appearance with great naturalism, realistically rendering his large heavy-lidded eyes, crooked aquiline nose, pursed lips, elegantly upturned mustache, crown of flouncing curls, and soft yet virile flesh. The expression on his face imparts a sense of wit, dignity, and sharp intelligence. Indeed,

given these qualities, one can understand that the bust was once attributed to Bernini.⁹

At the same time, the pupils are left blank, as in ancient portraiture, and the subject is costumed in ancient garb, revealing his right shoulder, pectoral muscle, and nipple. His baldric presses the fluidly gathered amictus against his chest and these drapery folds play against his soft curls that fall long over his left shoulder, becoming one with the drapery. This elegant *all'antica* presentation provides a curious foil for the incisive naturalism of the bust. While the classical dress presents the subject as heroic, it also works against the strong and particularized description of his physical presence and personality. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painted portraits of the more humble members of court do exist.¹⁰ Indeed, painted portraits exist of this subject, including a full-length example that was given to Francesco Barberini in 1633.¹¹ However, sculptural portraits, particularly life-size ones, of such subjects are very rare, suggesting that this example was made because of the subject's celebrity and appeal. Nevertheless, we do not know his name.

In addition to its subject and naturalistic treatment, the bust's composition is likewise noteworthy, which Irving Lavin associates with the innovations of Duquesnoy's sixteenth-century compatriot Giambologna.¹² Although essentially frontal, the bust is also conceived as a work to be viewed in the round, like one of Giambologna's *figure serpentine*. The dropping of the right shoulder, tipping of the chin upward to the left, and shifting forward of the right shoulder create one spiral, while the baldric falling from left shoulder to right armpit and upswept hair on the left provide a countervailing spiral. This double-spiral composition works together with the keen rendering of physical details to animate and make lively this small effigy. CH



PROVENANCE

Possibly given by Charles de Blanchefort (1578–1638) to Antonio Barberini (1607–1671), Rome; located in the Barberini Casa Grande ai Giubbonari, Rome, by 1671; by inheritance to Carlo Barberini, Rome, by 1692; by inheritance to Prince Urbano Barberini, Rome, by 1970 and at least until 1988; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sestieri 1957; Wittkower 1966, p. 303, no. 5; Lavin 1970, pp. 132–37; Boyer and Volf 1988; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 335, 798; Wind 1998, p. 26; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 495; Boudon-Machuel 2005, pp. 165–72 and 330–31, no. DE.122; Lingo 2007, pp. 102–6

NOTES

1. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 183, no. 710.
2. Aronberg Lavin 1975, vol. 4, p. 327, inv. 71.765; vol. 6, p. 450, inv. 92-04.555.

3. Lavin 1970, p. 133.

4. See Boyer and Volf 1988.

5. *Relatione della venuta e solenne entrata dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Carlo Sire de Crequy... Ambasciatore straordinario d'ubbidienza appreso la Santità di N.S. Papa Urbano VIII* (Rome, 1633), fol. 12.

6. Giacinto Gigli, *Diario romano, 1608–1670*, edited by Giuseppe Ricciotti (Rome, 1958), p. 135.

7. Lavin 1970, p. 133.

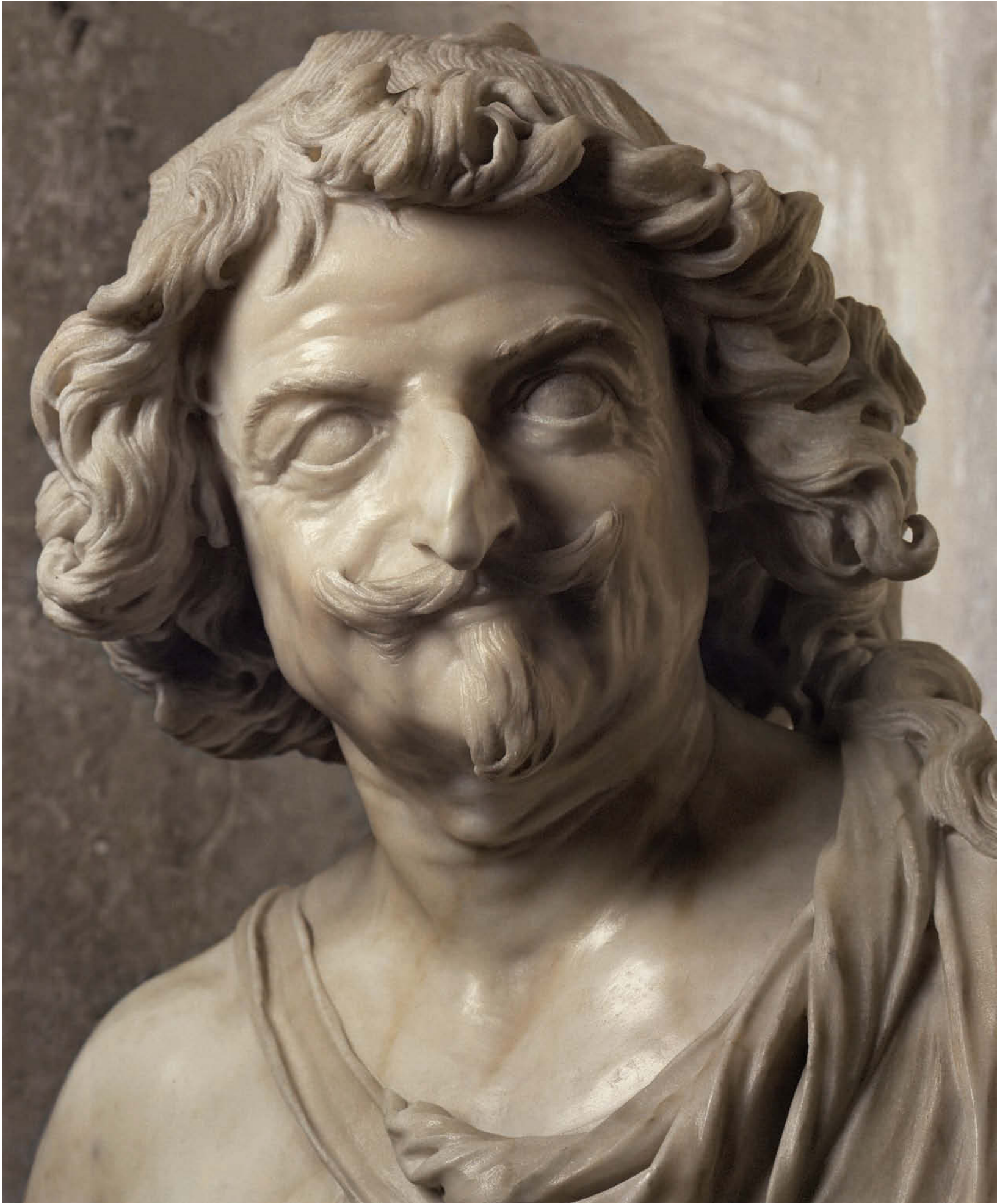
8. See, for example, Agostino Carracci's *Hairy Harry, Mad Peter, and Tiny Amon* of about 1598 in the Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

9. Sestieri 1957. Sestieri did not know that the subject was a dwarf and so believed that the effigy was caricatural.

10. See Silvia Meloni Trkulja, *Al servizio del Granduca. Ricognizione di cento immagini della gente di corte* (Florence, 1980); and Wind 1998, esp. chapter 4.

11. Lavin 1970, p. 133; Petrucci 2006, pp. 332–33, no. 22, fig. 121.

12. Lavin 1970, pp. 135–36.





2. IO

ANDREA SACCHI (ca. 1599–1661)

Portrait of Cardinal Lelio Biscia, ca. 1630

Oil on canvas, 134.3 x 99.7 cm (52 7/8 x 39 1/4 in.)

Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (305)

ACQUIRED AS A CARAVAGGIO, this painting was first attributed in print to Andrea Sacchi in 1924 by Hermann Voss. A letter of 1924 from National Gallery director Eric Brown to Charles Ricketts reveals that the dealer Colin Agnew was of the same opinion, apparently independently. The painting was not mentioned in Hans Posse's monograph on Sacchi, published the next year, but he firmly attributed it to Sacchi in his entry in the Thieme-Becker dictionary in 1935. The attribution was not widely accepted, however, and the portrait was subsequently ascribed to a variety of artists, including Domenico Fetti, Bernardo Strozzi, and Giovanni Gaulli (called Baciccio), before Robert Enggass revived the earlier opinion with authority in 1964. Ann Sutherland Harris fully endorsed it in her monograph on the artist, published in 1977, and it has since never been seriously doubted.¹

According to Sutherland Harris, the work represents Cardinal Lelio Biscia (1573–1638), who was closely linked to the Camaldolese order and was its vice-protector at the time of Sacchi's commission for his most important altarpiece—*The Vision of Saint Romuald*, now in the Vatican Pinacoteca, in 1631. William McGuire (in a private communication to Sutherland Harris) supported her original identification, based on inspired guesswork, by comparison to an engraved portrait of Cardinal Biscia printed in J. F. Tomasini's *Elogia Virorum Literis et Sapientia Illustrium* (Padua, 1644). An even earlier publication of a portrait in Pope Urban VIII's book of images of his cardinals, which appeared in 1628 (plate LXI) reinforces this hypothesis.

Born in Rome, Biscia studied to be a consistorial lawyer. Named cardinal by Urban VIII in 1626, he was

an administrator in the Congregazione della Fabbrica of Saint Peter's and so would have interacted with Bernini and many major contemporary artists in Rome. He had a noteworthy collection of books and manuscripts and was also known to have sophisticated antiquarian interests. However, Biscia seems never to have been a favorite of Urban VIII, and his financial situation apparently grew precarious, although it should be stressed that he continued to hold ecclesiastical offices until his death. He was buried near the main altar in San Francesco a Ripa.

His lack of favor with the pope has been thought to have direct relevance for this painting, as an inventory drafted after Sacchi's death cites the existence of a portrait of Cardinal Biscia without a frame in the artist's house. One conclusion entertained by Sutherland Harris is that the painting remained with Sacchi because the sitter was unable to pay and, given the appearance of the cardinal's vestments, that the painting was not finished as a consequence. This theory has certain difficulties, however, and Sutherland Harris notes a more plausible explanation: that this portrait was retained by the artist as part of his collection of patron's portraits.² Not only is this a more generous interpretation, as the open and exuberant handling can be seen as deliberate, but it is also one borne out by examination of the painting. Sacchi clearly returned to the surface at least three times, and in these retouching sessions, no attempt was made to make the painting appear any more finished; on the contrary, he employed a technical trick of fusing later touches to enhance the impression of spontaneous virtuosity. DF

PROVENANCE

Evariste Luminais (1822–1896), Paris; Trotti & Cie., Paris, 1909; Blakeslee Gallery, New York, 1911; purchased by the National Gallery of Canada in 1911

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Enggass 1964, p. 164; Sutherland Harris 1968, p. 490 n. 13; Sutherland

Harris 1969, pp. 9–15; Sutherland Harris 1977a, p. 62, no. 21, pls. 46–47; Catherine Johnston in Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, s.v. "Sacchi"

NOTES

1. See Catherine Johnston in Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, s.v. "Sacchi," for a complete bibliography.
2. Sutherland Harris 1969, p. 15 n. 19.



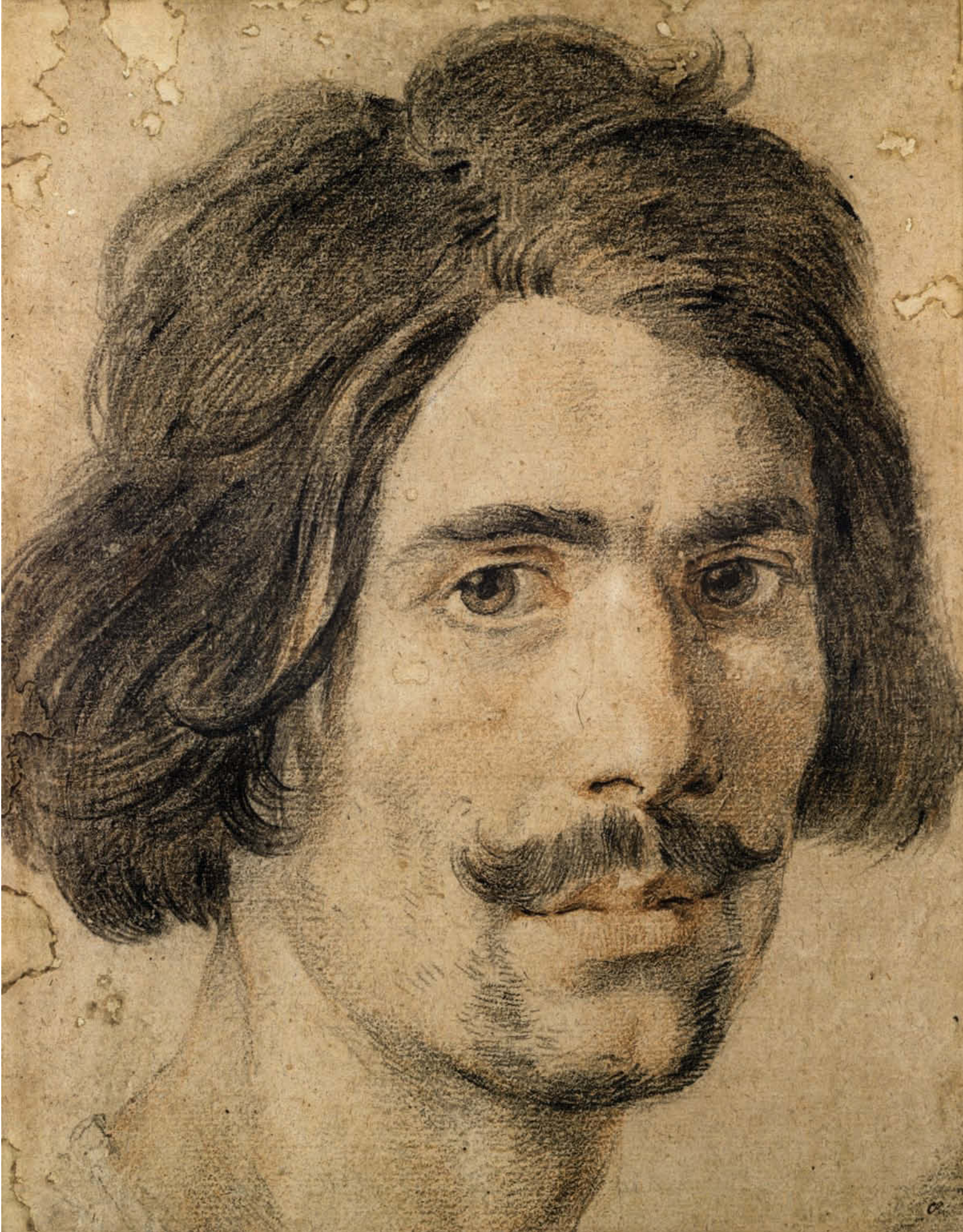
III BERNINI'S PORTRAIT DRAWINGS

IN DAILY LIFE WE TYPICALLY ENCOUNTER DOZENS OF FACES, and our brain is accustomed to discerning the tiniest variations of type and expression. While photography can now capture fleeting expressions and record features with precision, it is difficult for us to conceive how miraculous a convincing image of a human face would have seemed in the 1600s. Gian Lorenzo Bernini's astonishing portrait drawings bring their sitters to life even these many centuries later. Along with Bernini's portrait sculpture, they reveal an artist determined to approach people less as impassive subjects and more as engaged humans, aware of being observed and capable of responding.

This engagement with the sitter is a hallmark of Bernini's drawn portraits, and it results in an intensity normally found only in self-portraits. It must partly explain why, out of the thirteen drawings studied here, no fewer than eight have at one time or another been considered to be self-portraits by Bernini. Only two now bear up to scrutiny (cat. nos. 3.1 and 3.13). The intensity derives principally from the artist's exceptional observational and descriptive powers combined with an image held close to the picture plane, drawn on a relatively large scale, and with intelligent eye contact. Bernini generally worked on buff or off-white paper, occasionally preparing it with a light brown or gray wash. While he most often combined the use of red and black chinks, he also employed them independently, and he always added white heightening at the end for bravura light effects.

Most artists' drawings are the key to their working practice, but this is not the case with Bernini. Although he trained himself thoroughly in the discipline—apparently sketching daily from the sculptures in the Belvedere Court when he was a youth—he used drawing inconsistently throughout his career. While most artists worked out ideas via sequences of drawings, Bernini avoided this practice, declaring that he saw no advantage in copying himself. Even given this, there must have been early losses of Bernini's drawings, and it has been noted that relatively few sheets survive: 320 drawings made over sixty-seven very active years, the equivalent of less than 5 per year. These relate mainly to his larger artistic and architectural projects and come from later in his career. Bernini's twenty-or-so portrait drawings—clearly made as works of art in themselves—stand as a distinct group. Only two sheets relate directly to Bernini's production of portrait busts, and these are quick sketches (see cat. no. 3.6). They both show their sitters while speaking, apparently following Bernini's request that his subjects keep talking while he studied them.

Other drawings show the sitter when about to speak—the time when, Bernini believed, a person's character showed through most clearly. The choice of these moments should also be understood in the wider context of the Baroque interest in capturing the precise “moment of action.” The sense of acquaintance in the drawn portraits makes it likely that most of Bernini's sitters were friends or family, relaxed and casually dressed, as opposed to formal patrons. It is a testament to Bernini's extraordinary talent that while he was remarkably adept at dealing with large spaces and monumental projects, he should also be so sensitive to the tiniest subtleties of human characterization.



3. I

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Self-Portrait, ca. 1625

Black and red chalks, heightened with white chalk,

27.5 x 21.5 cm (10 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology
(WA1944.132 / P.II 792)

THIS SELF-PORTRAIT STANDS AS A TESTAMENT to Bernini's superlative observational and artistic skills. A close-up view, lacking any background or distractions for the eye, it leaves the viewer no option but to confront and engage the artist. He returns our examining gaze confidently and relentlessly. The likeness is conveyed with the subtle observation of detail that provides a key sense of verisimilitude. In particular, there is a sensitive treatment of light on the face, the morphology of which is crafted in faint lines and rubbed areas of mixed black and red chalks. As in several other drawings from the period, short parallel strokes of black chalk recall the marks of a sculptor's claw chisel, except that here Bernini is creating form from blank paper rather than solid marble.

The handling of the eyes and eyelids is particularly sensitive; the artist has rubbed the dark blacks of the eye pupils, giving a watery impression. The artist sports an immature wispy mustache, the bristles made from short lines. Dashing black flecks of the darkest chalk mimic individual hairs in the eyebrows, in contrast to firm long lines for lanky hair strands falling across the temple. The stacked mop of hair on the artist's head has been worked up from a base of red chalk by adding gradually darkening shades of black, but the effect remains somewhat two-dimensional and does not fully reflect the rounding of his head in space. The overly stark junction of hair and forehead, found in several other drawings of the period (for example, cat. no. 3.4), gives a further sense of disconnection yet still does not dull the powerful impact of the sheet.

Bernini's features are well known today through a slew of painted and drawn portraits, many from his own hand.¹ These seem to have been made as gifts for friends and patrons, but they also afforded a chance to study an inevitably patient and agreeable sitter. This drawing features his squared chin, dimple, and prominent nose, and that it is both of and by Bernini is almost universally accepted.² Although the image pushes the edges of the paper on the right and left, it does not seem to have been cut down. It is usually dated about 1625–30, and a date close to 1625 is preferable since the sitter seems unlikely to be older than his mid- to late twenties (although such estimations are admittedly speculative).

The drawing is an exemplary account of Bernini working in the twin media of black and red chalk. He used these in many of his portraits, relishing the ability to create chromatic effects through their combination. Although there are traces of white heightening on the nose and forehead, it was used sparingly and seems to have been added as a final flourish rather than being integrated into the basic creative process, as it later would be in eighteenth-century France. JB

PROVENANCE

Francesco Maria Niccolo Gabburri (d. 1742); Charles Rogers (Lugt 624); William Young Ottley; Ashmolean Museum

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 2, p. 15; Parker 1956, p. 417, no. 792; Sutherland Harris 1977b, pp. xv, no. 23; Turner 1993; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 50, no. 2; Ann Sutherland Harris in Rome 2007, p. 184, no. 25

NOTES

1. See the excellent discussion in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 47–56.
2. Only Sutherland Harris (1977b, p. xv) has questioned the traditional identification as Bernini. An old inscription on a copy in the Farnesina—long thought to be the original—identifies the sitter as Bernini (Wittkower 1931, pp. 50–52; Parker 1956, p. 417). See further the discussion by Sutherland Harris in Rome 2007 (p. 184), which was published after this text was prepared. The excellent introductory essay (pp. 173–81) skillfully places the drawings in their Roman context.



3.2

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Boy, ca. 1625–30

Black and red chalks, with highlights of white chalk,
20.5 x 17.7 cm (8 1/8 x 6 1/8 in.)

Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 5543)

APPARENTLY JUST INTERRUPTED, the boy looks up, strands of his hair dangling loose. Although he wears a formal wide white collar, the portrait is given a casual air by the immediacy of the engagement. The boy is seen from slightly above, emphasizing his lack of stature and perhaps suggesting that he was drawn while seated.

The visual immediacy of the sheet belies the considerable time and trouble the artist has expended on it. It is carefully worked, with numerous subtle gradations and fine areas of hatching, visible particularly in the shaded area of the face. The light falls from the upper left, and a soft shadow of red chalk is cast by the intensely black strand of hair nearest the viewer. The clothes have only been roughed out, and pentimenti (minor changes) are visible in the collar on the right side of the sheet. The background is filled in with various intensities of hatching. The effect of the portrait is somewhat marred by water damage to the paper, which has left it blotchy, and the previously torn top of the sheet has been repaired.

The darkest chalk, used in the principal strand of hair, has also been employed on the boy's pupils, in stark contrast with the other chalk work. Although some traces of white heightening remain in the face and on the edge of his collar, much seems to have been rubbed away. Interestingly, Bernini has gone over some of the black lines in the collar with white chalk, to produce a lighter gray effect, but the condition of the sheet makes this less obvious than it would once have been.

One thing that almost all Bernini's drawn portraits have in common is the engagement of eye contact with the viewer.¹ In this drawing, the boy's right eye meets

our gaze, but the left eye is not aligned with the right one, and seems to look upward, giving him a slightly squint-eyed appearance. Yet one does not notice this immediately, and it is to Bernini's credit that the portrait is still perfectly convincing. Often in his portrait drawings Bernini draws the viewer's gaze initially to the front-most eye (the human gaze can focus on only one point at a time), just as would happen when one looks a person "in the eye."

The drawing was once considered to be a self-portrait by Bernini, but this idea is no longer tenable.² Notwithstanding this boy's more rounded face and pointed chin, the stylistic similarity to both the Ashmolean *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 3.1) and the *Portrait of a Man* (cat. no. 3.3) suggests a date of about 1625–30, when Bernini would have been in his late twenties, considerably older than the youth pictured. JB

PROVENANCE

[Probably Albani collection, purchased 1762 by] King George III

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 14, pl. 1; Blunt 1960, p. 26, no. 55; Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xv, no. 24; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 59, no. 12; Ann Sutherland Harris in Rome 2007, p. 186, no. 26

NOTES

1. Exceptions include the Morgan Library portrait of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 3.6), and a red chalk *Portrait of a Boy* at Christ Church, in which the protagonist looks diagonally down. While the latter work's attribution has been disputed (see the discussion in Edinburgh 1998, p. 59), it compares well with the Getty Museum drawing. I am not convinced by the attribution to Bernini of a red chalk *Profile Portrait of a Boy* in a London private collection (Edinburgh 1998, p. 58, no. 10), which seems to be of a substantially later date.
2. Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 14; Edinburgh 1998, p. 59.



3.3

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Man, ca. 1625–30

Black and red chalks, with highlights of white chalk, on light brown paper,
41 x 26.7 cm (16 1/4 x 10 1/2 in.)

Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 5540)

ON A LARGE SHEET OF PAPER, the unknown sitter is rendered almost life-size. This scale adds almost as much to the power of the image as its intense animation. The sitter is drawn as if caught in mid-sentence, and the viewer sees not only his open mouth but even the red of his tongue inside it, an astonishing feature not found in any other surviving Bernini portrait drawing. As is recounted in the story of Bernini's manufacture of the two busts of Scipione Borghese (see the essay by Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess in this volume), the artist apparently encouraged his sitters to talk freely while he made sketches of them. In preparation for a sculpture of another high-profile sitter, King Louis XIV of France, he made two finished drawings, one face-on and the other in profile, and then supplemented these with numerous rapid sketches. Yet the present sheet seems of a different character, with an informal three-quarter view as the sitter turns to face us.

Given the large scale of the sheet, the artist has been forced to adopt a relatively free technique, but it is still closer to the "representational" mode of his earlier drawings (in particular, *Portrait of a Boy*, cat. no. 3.2, and *Self-Portrait*, cat. no. 3.1) than to his later loose sheets (for example, *Self-Portrait*, cat. no. 3.13). In general, the viewer can see each line drawn with pointed chalk, compared to the later blurry, rough chalk technique. The spatial setting of the lower part of the figure—with a rough line of buttons—is not fully resolved and seems to be unfinished (perhaps deliberately so). There is relatively little white heightening on the face, but bold strokes of it are visible at the lower right corner of the sheet.

The face is powerfully articulated, with some compelling details, such as the extraordinary series of short parallel lines that make up the sitter's lips, with only a few blanks to create their roundness. There are subtly conveyed wrinkles at the edge of his left eye, and soft grayish areas beneath, while his lustrous, thick black curls catch the light at the top right of the sheet. Particularly impressive is the way that the sitter's right eye is "set back" slightly by being less intensively drawn.

It is hardly a surprise that this drawing was formerly identified as a Bernini self-portrait, despite only a superficial similarity in the features.¹ The engagement of the sitter is as intense as that of many self-portraits, and the sideways glance is similar to that in Bernini's painted self-portrait in the Palazzo Borghese.² Further, there is something curious about the presentation of the sitter in this drawing that makes one think the composition has somehow been reversed, as it would have been in a mirror. There is no sign that the drawing is a counterproof, which could have been one explanation, but the lighting does fall strongly from the right-hand side, which is unusual but not unprecedented in Bernini's work (see, for example, cat. nos. 3.11 and 3.12). JB

PROVENANCE

[Probably Albani collection, purchased 1762 by] King George III

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 16, pl. 9; Blunt 1960, p. 26, no. 53; Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xvii, no. 34; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 58, no. 11; Ann Sutherland Harris in Rome 2007, p. 192, no. 29

NOTES

1. Starting with Brauer and Wittkower 1931, p. 16; it was denied by Sutherland Harris (1977b, p. xvii) and Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh 1998, p. 58).
2. One can compare them easily in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 50, 58.



3.4

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Young Man, ca. 1625–30

Black and red chalks, heightened with white, on buff paper,
31.7 x 23.1 cm (12 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 9 in.)

Inscribed in pencil, lower right: *da Cav. Bernini*

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund,
1971 (1971.66.1)

THIS BRIGHT-EYED YOUNG SITTER—maybe twelve or fourteen years old—looks alertly back at the viewer, the hint of a smile perhaps playing at the corners of his mouth. In a virtuoso demonstration of the portrait draftsman’s art, Bernini characterizes the young man, providing a semblance of concrete reality and more than a hint of human nature. Although the portrait has in the past been identified as a self-portrait, this idea has now been discarded, and even the suggestion that it is a sketch of one of Bernini’s younger brothers seems wide of the mark.¹ That Bernini would have been capable of making a self-portrait at such a young age cannot, however, be doubted, since he trained with his father from an early age and won his first public sculpture commission aged only thirteen.

As is often the case in his portrait drawings, the artist uses a visual trick to help create an immediate and intense image. The sitter is held as close as possible to the picture plane, so that the point of his face nearest us—his nose—seems to touch the surface of the paper. From that point, the face is modeled steadily “backward” into pictorial space, rather than being portrayed at a distance. This device has the effect of bringing the sitter as close as possible to the viewer’s space; when the drawing is viewed from a natural distance (arm’s length or so) the sitter is closer to being in the space occupied in daily human interaction by friendly acquaintances rather than strangers.

The portrait is direct and straightforward. Mixed media of red and black chalks are used effectively to

model the face and to provide a multicolored image; a series of curving parallel lines in red chalk gently rounds the features. The strongest lines on the face are the two used to represent the shadows directly under the eyelids, highlighting the eyes with their gray irises and intense black pupils. An axis with occasional white highlights lies down the center of the face, complementing accents on the brow and eyelids, while further white lines dance on the fringes of the sketchily indicated clothing. The strong V-shape of the neckline is echoed in the V of the dimpled chin and mirrored on the top of the head by the stark hairline. The hair falls in weighty clumpy strands, masterfully built with thick—occasionally forceful—black lines over a base of red chalk. The red is then used further for color modulation.

Stylistically the drawing is closest to sheets such as the Ashmolean *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 3.1), particularly in the relatively precise modeling of the features, stacked hair, and distinct hairline. Thus a date of about 1625–30 would seem to be most convincing for it, although those as early as 1615 and 1618 have been proposed.² JB

PROVENANCE

Mr. and Mrs. Lester F. Avnet, Long Island, New York; purchased by the National Gallery in 1971

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

New York 1967, no. 67; Zeri 1969, pp. 63–64, pl. 42; Los Angeles 1976, no. 118; Sutherland Harris 1977b, pp. vii, xiv, no. 9; Bloomington 1983, pp. 64–65, no. 25; Walker 1984, p. 671, no. 1070

NOTES

1. Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xiv. The facial type seems different from the Bernini family mold; for example, when compared to the Ashmolean *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 3.1), this face has lower cheekbones and a more rounded chin.
2. Jacob Bean and Felice Stampfle in New York 1967, p. 52.



3.5

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Young Man, ca. 1630

Red and white chalks, 33.2 x 21.8 cm (13 1/16 x 8 5/8 in.)

Recto: at top right corner, inscribed *LC* in red chalk; at bottom left corner, inscribed *L. Carache* in dark brown ink; at bottom right corner, inscribed *938* in brown ink (the 3 and 8 reinforced in darker brown ink)

Verso: inscribed *Lud. Car.* in red chalk

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (82.GB.137)

THE INFORMALITY AND IMMEDIACY OF THIS DRAWING are striking. Although the sitter has not been identified, the curl of his mouth and his apprehensive engagement with the viewer provide a sense of reality. The gaze is intense and observant. His unbuttoned shirt and tousled hair make him seem unprepared for having his likeness captured, giving the image a disarming domesticity and the impression that the young man is already our acquaintance. Further freshness results from the excellent preservation of the off-white paper and the fine state of the red chalk, which has not been weakened or damaged by rubbing. The youth is viewed close up; indeed, he is so close to the picture plane that his nose seems to touch the paper. Although it remains relatively large, the sheet has been trimmed on all sides; this cropping exacerbates the intensity of the image and adds a further “photographic” spontaneity.

Light falls from the upper right, not from the upper left as in most of Bernini’s drawn portraits. The impression that it is bright sunlight is given by the areas of paper left deliberately blank, as seen in his upper cheeks, neck, shirt or doublet, and—boldly—in the hair (where there would have been a temptation to fill in a few strands). The artist is not depicting precisely what is in front of him but investigating what lines and spaces he has to place on the paper to give the semblance of the sitter’s presence. It seems that Bernini had a real understanding of how each line would change the effect of the drawing. The startling reserves of blank paper are complemented by a delicate reflected light on the sitter’s

neck and cheek, subtly created with variable shades of hatching and by careful rubbing with an artist’s stump (roll of tightly packed paper) or finger. Touches of white heightening are found on the forehead, bridge of the nose (unexpectedly, since one would not expect this to catch the light), tip of the nose, eyes, upper cheeks, lower lip, and edges of the collar. The white highlights are superfluous in compositional terms but provide excitement for the viewer’s gaze, forcing it to move around the sheet.¹ Further, they help to convey the smooth nature of the sitter’s skin.

The drawing is very freely handled with bold strokes of red chalk. A jumble of lines of different lengths shows spiky hair on top of the sitter’s head. At left, long drags of blunt chisel-edged chalk make long strands of hair, while numerous short heavy lines constitute eyebrows. For articulation around the nose, mouth, and chin, patches of short hatching and cross-hatching are uncannily reminiscent of the marks left on marble by a sculptor’s claw chisel.

Several inscriptions and initials on the sheet show that it was once attributed to Ludovico Carracci, and—as it often is—this previous attribution is telling.² Certainly, the drawing’s casual theme and confidently natural draftsmanship stand firmly within the Bolognese/Roman/Carracci drawn portrait tradition, and Bernini idolized Annibale and would have known his drawings. A date of about 1625–30 has usually been assigned to this sheet, and the confident handling, particularly of the hair, suggests a date at the end of that spectrum.³ JB

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Paris; J. Petit-Horry Collection, Paris; purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1982

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Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xiv, no. 10; Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85, no. 9; Goldner 1988, pp. 32–33, no. 7; New York and London 1993–94, no. 11 (New York), no. 7 (London)

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Zhenya Gershtman for her illuminating insights into this drawing.
2. The facture is similar to a life study in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, inv. P.II 171), for which, see Babette Bohn, *The Drawings of Ludovico Carracci* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 164, no. 52; although Sutherland Harris (1977b, p. xiv) and Goldner (1988, p. 32) see a greater resemblance to the work of Annibale Carracci.
3. Sutherland Harris (1977b, p. xiv) first proposed the date of ca. 1625–30.



3.6

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1632

Red chalk and graphite, 25.3 x 18.4 cm (9 1/16 x 7 1/4 in.)

New York, Morgan Library and Museum (IV. 176)

WHILE IT IS LIKELY THAT BERNINI MADE SKETCHES related to most of the portrait busts he executed, only two such drawings survive, of which this is one.¹ Bernini probably saw no point in keeping them after he had made the marble, and threw them away. Indeed, Bernini's biographer-son Domenico tells of a servant who lived for twenty years by selling drawings he had picked up in Bernini's studio.²

Yet this sheet is today one of the most famous Bernini drawings. This is partly a result of its rarity but also likely stems from the fame of the sitter—Scipione Borghese—who was one of Bernini's greatest champions and most consistent patrons. The artist actually made a second bust of Cardinal Borghese for this commission after a crack appeared in the first (see cat. no. 4.1), and the existence of this drawing enables the viewer to begin to understand how Bernini made marble appear so lively. Apparently Bernini would ask his sitters to continue talking, moving, and gesturing while he studied them. This drawing is the result of such an interaction, and from the cardinal's open mouth it seems as if he is caught in the act of speaking. The keen sense of animation provided by this detail is carried over into Bernini's two busts, where indeed the cardinal's mouth is open rather wider than in the drawing. Multiple red chalk lines on the forehead and profile of the nose “blur” the outlines, adding an impression of movement. It is interesting that such drawings were not direct, carefully planned, precise models for the sculpted bust in the traditional sense. Rather, they were used by the artist to gain a convincing idea of the cardinal's character and likeness from which to work. The animation of the sitter is almost palpable,

and the realistic nature of the likeness remains even when carried over into the marble.

One would expect this sheet to have been one of a number Bernini made of the cardinal that day. It was quickly made but nevertheless provides a solid description of the texture of the mustache and beard. Yet the drawing stands well apart from Bernini's other portrait drawings, which were instead made as finished works in their own right, and on which the artist clearly spent more time.

While much of the drawing is made in red chalk, a medium that Bernini often used with black chalk or sometimes employed on its own, some parts are drawn in graphite. The use of graphite is unusual in Bernini's work and also for that period in Rome, where it was not widely used until later in the century; it has been suggested that the artist was acquainted with it through his architectural studies.³ Its texture has here been exploited by Bernini with typical brio in the rendering of the facial hair. His perception of the specific advantages of a “new” medium is further evidence—if any were needed—of Bernini's talent and versatility. JB

PROVENANCE

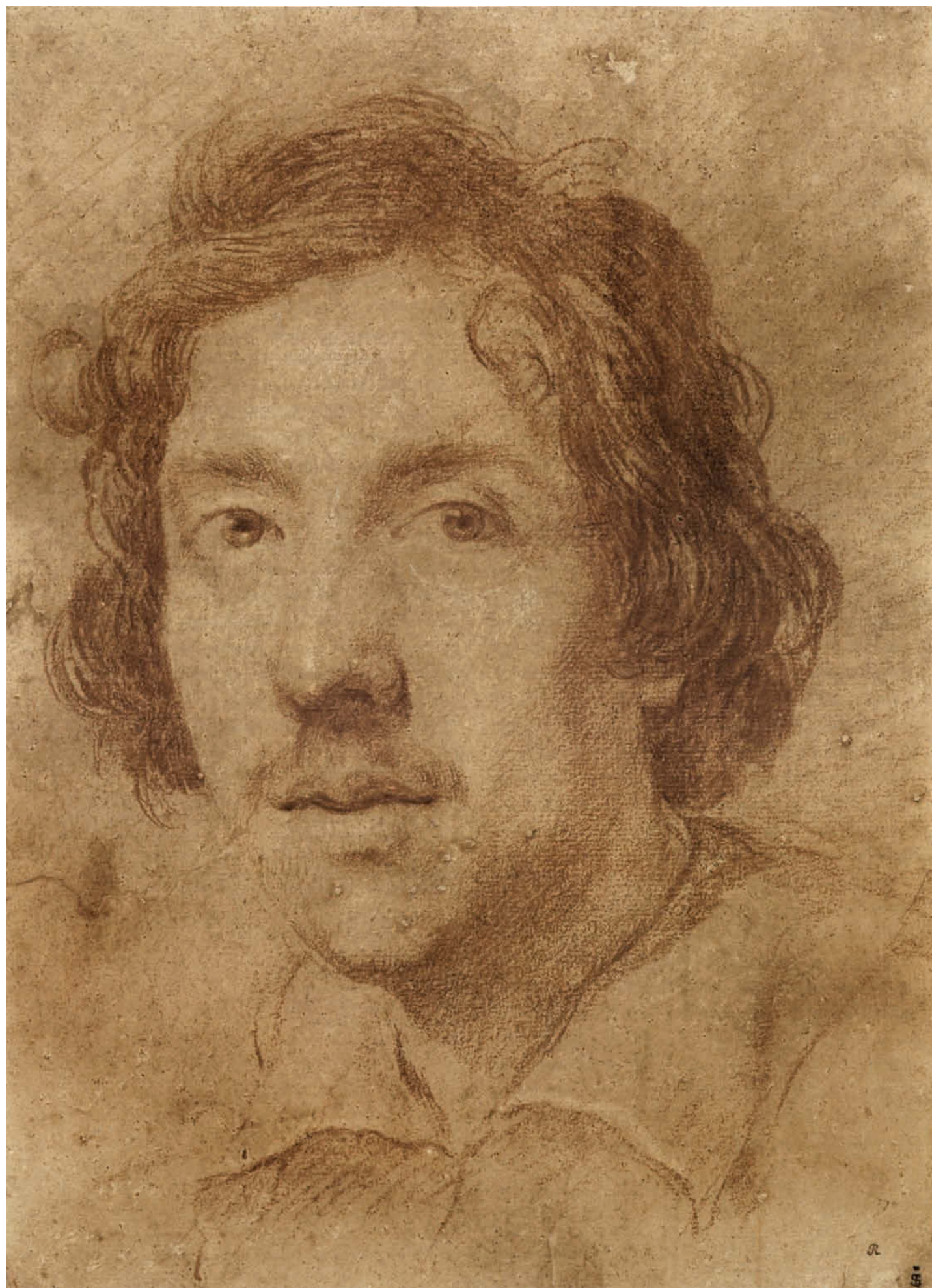
Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (Lugt 2184);
Sir Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445);
Hope sale, London, Sotheby's, June
20, 1891, lot. 185; Charles Fairfax
Murray, London; from whom pur-
chased in 1910 by J. Pierpont Morgan

NOTES

1. The second is a study for a bust of Clement X Altieri (fig. 6.12.1 in this volume); see Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xxiii, no. 91.
2. Bernini 1713, pp. 161–62.
3. New York 1967, p. 53.

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Brauer and Wittkower 1931, pp. 29, 30, 156, pl. II; New York 1967, vol. 2, no. 68; Sutherland Harris 1977b, pl. 28; Denison and Mules 1981, no. 45; Lavin 1981, pp. 30, 294; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 48, fig. 34



3.7

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Man, ca. 1635

Red chalk, with highlights of white chalk,

36.4 x 26.4 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Numbered in pencil at lower right: 170

London, British Museum (1897-4-10-10)

WHILE THE GREATER PROPORTION of Bernini's portrait drawings are made in mixed black and red chinks, this is one of a number drawn only in red chalk with white highlights. Its effect is spoiled by the dark color of the paper, which has yellowed substantially as a result of damage by daylight. The color subsumes a good deal of the more subtle red chalk work and dulls the impact of bravura touches, such as the lines of white chalk on the nose and the front of the collar. Yet this is still an impressive drawing, created on a large scale. As so often in the portrait drawings, the sitter is seen from close quarters and is depicted in a casual state, with active hair and a simple shirt. The sitter's mouth is slightly open, as Bernini perhaps tries to capture the moment just before he speaks, the time that the artist felt people were at their most individual.

The sheet is remarkable for the absence of drawing in the face, which we understand to be rounded through visual cues—such as the positions of the facial features—rather than having the topography specifically described. The sitter's eyes seem to be looking in slightly different directions; while his right eye seems to engage us, the left one appears to be looking off the page. When the viewer concentrates on Bernini's depiction of eyes in his drawn portraits there seem to be such inconsistencies, and the two eyes are frequently not placed on the horizontal axis generally favored by portrait artists. In general, any distortion is negated by the effect of the whole and by the fact that the viewer can look specifically at only one point of the drawing at any given moment.

While the drawing has—along with many of Bernini's drawn portraits of youths—been traditionally identified

as a self-portrait, there are good reasons to doubt it in this case.¹ In particular, the chin does not seem as angular as that in the Ashmolean self-portrait (cat. no. 3.1), which is the most secure of all of them, and the face lacks a trace of Bernini's telltale dimple. Nevertheless, it has been observed that there is a broad familial resemblance to Bernini, and there is a suggestion that the drawing could depict a member of his family.² If that is the case, then it is also worth pointing out the similar cast of features in the Ashmolean portrait of a man (cat. no. 3.12), although that was most likely drawn at a later date.

Surprisingly, it has been claimed that this drawing is a copy of a lost original, along with a version—of poor quality—formerly in a Roman private collection.³ Yet there is no trace of the hesitation in line or misunderstandings of space generally found in such sheets, and the quality, in terms of both use of technique and characterization, seems excellent. More difficult is the dating of the drawing, which is normally assigned to the early 1620s on the basis of its “relatively precise and literal touch.”⁴ Although there is some precise chalk work in the clumps of hair, this is intelligently mixed with hatching and the use of blank reserves of paper to create a thoroughly convincing effect. There is rough hatching on the neck, and the portrayal of the eyebrows and wispy mustache is broadly, rather than specifically, handled. The intention and effect are much more complex than in Bernini's early precisely observed drawings, and it seems likely to fall in the mid-1630s, as the artist moved toward his freer, more tonal works. JB

PROVENANCE

Possibly Padre Sebastiano Resta; possibly Lord J. Somers; J. Richardson, Sen. (Lugt 2184); Earl Spencer (Lugt 1531); W. Esdaile; P. & D. Colnaghi, London;⁵ British Museum

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 2, p. 14, pl. 2; Aidan Weston-Lewis in *Edinburgh* 1998, p. 57, no. 9; Turner 1999, pp. 10–11, no. 13

NOTES

1. Modern writers disagree on this point, while citing the same comparisons. Turner (1999, p. 11) upholds the traditional identification as a self-portrait, while Weston-Lewis (*Edinburgh* 1998, p. 57)—more convincingly—rejects it.
2. *Edinburgh* 1998, p. 57.
3. Ann Sutherland Harris, opinion of 1981 quoted in Turner 1999, p. 11.
4. *Edinburgh* 1998, p. 57.
5. For full details, see Turner 1999, p. 10.



3.8

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Boy, ca. 1635

Black, red, and white chalks on light gray-brown paper,
21.7 x 17.2 cm (8⁵/₁₆ x 6³/₄ in.)

London, British Museum (1980-1-26-69)

ALONG WITH THE *PORTRAIT OF A MAN* in the Ashmolean (cat. no. 3.9), this lively sheet is one of a small group of Bernini drawings distinguished by their relatively careful execution; it is clear that the artist has spent more time on them than usual. The unidentified subject is shown in a more formal presentation than in most of the drawn portraits, and it seems from the viewpoint that he is seated in front of the artist. He wears crisply tidy clothes that are clearly articulated (again in contrast to the rough indications found in other sheets). A background has been indicated through rough black chalk hatching; a shadow at lower right seems to reveal that this is a wall. Adding to the sense that this was a “presentation sheet” are the remnants of original black chalk lines that framed the composition at the edges.

Yet the artist’s care with this sheet can be distinguished from the precision found in his earliest drawings. Whereas in his early sheets Bernini tended to carefully describe what he saw (for example, hair was created with a succession of individual strokes), in sheets such as this the focus is more on effect and impression. Hair is shown in strands and clumps; the concern is with overall texture, and chalk lines show only shade. A dating of the sheet in the mid-to-late-1630s seems quite possible.

Unusually, the sitter does not look directly at the viewer but turns his gaze elsewhere, giving a sense of youthful insecurity. There is a strong and careful analysis of the boy’s face, visible particularly in the study of patches of light on his left cheek and chin. As in many of the portraits, the darkest points on the sheet are the boy’s eyes, lending intensity to the image. Except for a

little foxing the sheet is in excellent condition: the artist has been keen to exploit the color available, using a rich red for the lips and a brilliant fleck of white highlight on the nose. The large, white-highlighted collar provides a foil. Further, in no other Bernini drawing are the texture and brown color of hair so skillfully conveyed. Soft red chalk was used as a base in conjunction with the off-tone of the paper showing through, and then strands were built up by adding black chalk strokes of various intensities.

The top of the boy’s right arm has been left unresolved but seems oddly positioned in relation to the collar. That the collar seemed “especially flat and shapeless” was given as a reason for considering this drawing a copy of a lost original, but the high quality of the draftsmanship overall makes this unlikely.¹ JB

PROVENANCE

Sale, Christie’s, London, December 11, 1979, lot 85; British Museum

NOTES

1. Ann Sutherland Harris, opinion of 1980, cited in Turner 1999, p. 11.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 60, no. 15; Turner 1999, p. 11, no. 14



3.9

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Man, ca. 1635

Black, red, and white chalks on light gray-brown paper,

25 x 18.5 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology

(WA 1951.4 / P.II 795)

PRESERVED IN IMMACULATE CONDITION, with no signs of rubbing or fading, this sheet gives an indication of how fresh other Bernini portrait drawings must have looked just after they were made. Almost more than in any other sheet, the strong personality of the sitter seems to speak through the centuries, and the strong sense of animation is reinforced by the traces of a smile in the sitter's lips and eyes. Although the identity of the subject has not been established, it has been suggested that he might have been an artist within Bernini's circle of friends in Rome.¹

As with many other sheets, this drawing was initially sketched out with rough lines in red chalk. It seems to have been drawn with great care and taken to a relatively high state of finish. The format and presentation of the sitter are more conventional than Bernini's often-truncated forms, and they are close to the standard used by Ottavio Leoni for his numerous drawn portraits in the same period. In this case the background has been filled out with hatching, and the delicate shading in a circle around the head, which gets darker at a precise distance, creates the effect of a halo.

The sitter's goatee was drawn initially in red chalk and then gone over in black chalk, simultaneously giving it volume, texture, and color. Many of the black chalk lines used for hair on the top of the head seem to possess the properties of real individual hairs, tapering at the tip; they combine to create a convincing tuftiness. The sitter's wild mustache is carefully rendered, and his spiky eyebrows are also a superlative detail.

One aspect of the sheet that is revealed by its perfect state of preservation is the adept use of color, sometimes gained through the mixing of chalks. While white heightening was used generously on the edges of the collar, chin, forehead, and nose, it has also been mixed and smudged with red chalk under the mustache to give a convincing pinky hue. This contrasts with the rosy cheeks, drawn solely in soft red chalk, and the startling red found near the eyes and in the lips. The work in black chalk is a careful combination of broad gray made with light pressure on the chalk and precise black pointy jots of harder pressure. Jerky black lines in the sitter's cloak seem to show the artist dragging the chalk across the paper automatically even as he was looking at his subject. JB

PROVENANCE

Giuseppe Vallardi (his mark, Lugt 1223, truncated at lower left);

C. R. Rudolf; Ashmolean Museum

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Parker 1956, p. 418, no. 795;

Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh

1998, p. 61, no. 16

NOTES

1. Parker 1956, p. 418, under no. 795, on the basis of "his appearance"; while this might seem a vague justification at first, one should give Karl Parker's *instinct due credit*.



3.10

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Man with a Mustache, ca. 1640

Black and red chalks, with highlights of white chalk,
20.6 x 15.4 cm (8 1/8 x 6 1/16 in.)

Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 5542)

THE LIVELY ATTITUDE OF THIS SITTER—caught as if on the verge of speaking—characterizes well the “speaking likeness” for which Bernini is rightly famous (see the essay by Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess in this volume). Whereas the artist normally uses a thin black line between a sitter’s lips, a much thicker black line is employed here to convey the opening of the mouth. The uncertain cast of the sitter’s gaze adds a further sense of motion to the head. The farthest eye is slightly larger than that nearer the viewer but is unsuccessfully placed within its socket recess and thus makes the sitter appear bug-eyed. In his portrait of Sisinio Poli (fig. 3.10.1), Bernini attempts the same scale-disparity of the eyes, but in that case he is far more successful.

The Windsor drawing is also stylistically similar to that of Sisinio Poli, leaning toward a tonal treatment rather than a precisely observational interest.¹ Since the Sisinio Poli portrait is one of very few securely datable drawings—an inscription dates it to 1638—this makes a date of about 1640 probable for the Windsor sheet. This would also fit with the apparent stylistic progression of Bernini’s portrait drawings, which in the 1620s seem concerned more with line and observational detail and later in the artist’s life become almost exclusively drawn with tonal effects in mind (see, for example, cat. no. 3.13).

The tonal elements in this portrait are perhaps exacerbated by damage from the rubbing of the sheet’s surface, which has smudged the chalk. Yet there are still strong areas, such as the beautifully rendered red around the eyes. As often, the hair has been started with an underlayer of red chalk, but in this portrait it is less fully

described than in most Bernini sheets. White highlights have been added on the edge of the collar, lower lip, forehead, and cheek.

The sitter is unknown but has in the past been identified as Bernini himself.² While there is a superficial resemblance to some renditions of his features—for example to those in an Ashmolean copy of a self-portrait—this seems more related to hair and clothing fashions rather than anything else.³ JB



Fig. 3.10.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Sisinio Poli, 1638. Black and red chalks with highlights of white chalk, 26.8 x 20.7 cm (10 5/16 x 8 3/16 in.). New York, Morgan Library and Museum (IV-174).

PROVENANCE

[Probably Albani collection, purchased 1762 by] King George III

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blunt 1960, p. 57; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 61, no. 17

NOTES

1. As observed by Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh 1998, p. 61).
2. Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh 1998, p. 61).
3. As observed by Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh 1998, p. 61).



3. I I

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Man, ca. 1645

Black and red chalks, with highlights of white chalk,

32.7 x 24.4 cm (12 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 5541)

DRAWN ON A RELATIVELY LARGE SCALE, and with an extreme lightness of touch, this sheet shows well the loosening of Bernini's graphic style later in his career. The morphology of the upper face is more indicated than described, essentially comprising blank patches of paper facilitated by areas of parallel hatching, and stabilized by the eyes, nose, and mouth.

The identity of the sitter is unknown, and he has a steadfast—perhaps haughty—air, characterized by the tightly pursed lips and a guarded, impassive gaze. There is nevertheless a characteristic intensity to the sheet, which gives a convincing sense of personality. The closer one looks, the more one can admire the skill used to create the likeness. The drawing seems to have been made quickly, and it is partly the speed and judicious placing of line, and its interaction with patches of shade, that is impressive. Two lines (one deliberately smudged) make up the profile of the sitter's right cheek and—slightly nearer the viewer—his bulging jowl, while modulated hatching rounds out the hefty shadows of his lower chin. A succession of curving lines below the eyes provides a realistic touch. The mustache and beard are created largely from blanks of paper with white heightening added for texture. White is used more freely in this drawing than in many, and it supplements a subtle coordination of red and black chalks.

The lack of pressure applied to the chalk while drawing, very unusual in Bernini's oeuvre, makes one wonder if the sheet was made at a time when he was ill and rather weak. In fact, the absence of Bernini's characteristic dashes of dark chalk for details of hair or shadow,

combined with the liberal use of white heightening, gives the sitter a ghostlike quality. There are no signs that the drawing has lost chalk from the surface, and so it is not condition problems that create this effect. The sheet is nevertheless of high quality, and so is not the work of an imitator. Bernini is reported to have been seriously ill in the late 1630s or early 1640s, but it would be too absurd to date the drawing on this basis. A somewhat later date of about 1645—as Bernini moves into his freer drawing style—seems to fit better. Perhaps the closest drawing in stylistic terms is one from Windsor (cat. no. 3.10), which on account of various weaknesses in the draftsmanship has been dated to the period of Bernini's illness, but even this work seems to be made with a firmer touch.¹ In the past it has been argued that the present drawing was made around 1630 on the basis of the sitter's flat white collar, which was a style popular at that time, but it has been pointed out that this fashion persisted into the 1640s.² JB

PROVENANCE

[Probably Albani collection, purchased 1762 by] King George III

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 156; Blunt 1960, p. 26, no. 58; Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xv, no. 22; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 62, no. 18

NOTES

1. Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 16.
2. Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xv, no. 22; Edinburgh 1998, p. 62.



3.12

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Man with a Mustache, ca. 1650

Red chalk, heightened with white chalk, on light gray-prepared paper,
29.9 x 20.8 cm (11¾ x 8⅝ in.)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology
(WA1947.252 / P.II 793)

THIS DRAWING WAS ONCE IDENTIFIED AS A SELF-PORTRAIT by Bernini, but this is no longer considered to be the case.¹ In particular, the rounded chin is distinct from the artist's own squarer jawline, and the flaring, softer type of nose differs from Bernini's, which was prominent and bony (compare cat. no. 3.1). Since the identification as a self-portrait has generally led to the drawing being dated to the 1630s, this can now be abandoned, and the much broader, impression-led style of the sheet can be fully recognized, resulting in a considerably later date.

The authority with which this sheet is drawn reveals an artist entirely comfortable with his media, using the red chalk in a free, loose manner.² There is a widespread use of a stipple effect on the rough surface of the paper, particularly noticeable on the sitter's right cheek and the side of his nose. This is incredibly subtle, especially on the bulge and roundness of the nose, where it is applied less fully. In contrast, the artist has used a single delicate line—as if the point of the chalk was merely dragged down the paper—to make the outline of the side of the nose not in shadow. The freedom of draftsmanship is further evident in the lack of precision found in features such as the eyes and lips, which are nevertheless still fully convincing. The head is topped by an animated mop of hair, with numerous blanks of paper retained to give the effect of lighter areas, a device Bernini used throughout his career.

Bernini generally seems to have preferred using off-white paper to make his drawings, and the most common kind is of a buff (light brown-gray) tone. This gave a softer base, closer to the flesh tones he sought than

pure white paper, and also enabled the use the different colors of chalk to work lighter or darker from the mid-tone. In the case of this sheet, the artist has prepared the paper with a light gray wash to create his desired background. Nevertheless, he has used relatively little white heightening, which is found only on the lower lip, the nose, and the forehead, where it has partly oxidized. The sheet was cut on all four sides after the drawing was made, probably at a substantially later date, giving it a further—somewhat artificial—intensity. JB

PROVENANCE

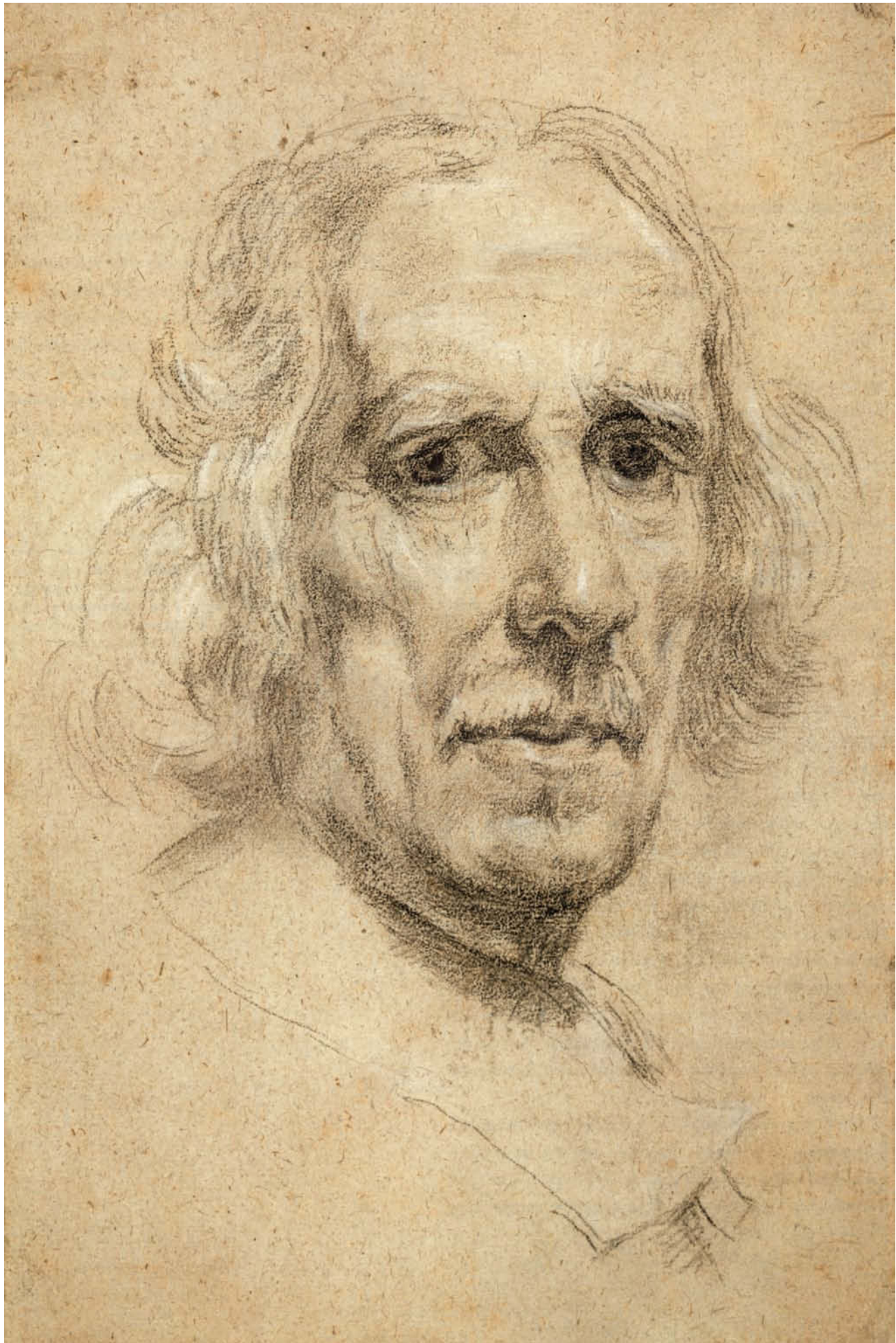
Purchased 1947 for the Hope
Collection, Ashmolean Museum

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Wittkower 1951, p. 55; Parker 1956,
pp. 417–18, no. 793; Aidan Weston-
Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, p. 60, no. 14

NOTES

1. Wittkower 1951, p. 55; Parker 1956, pp. 417–18. Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh 1998, p. 60) follows Fagiolo dell'Arco in denying it.
2. *Pace* Sutherland Harris, who has suggested that this drawing is a copy of a lost drawing (note in Ashmolean file, 1992).



3.13

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Self-Portrait, ca. 1665–70

Black chalk with white heightening on light brown paper,

41.5 x 27 cm (16 3/8 x 10 3/4 in.)

Windsor Castle, Royal Library (RL 5539)

OF ALL BERNINI'S SELF-PORTRAITS—both painted and drawn—this must be the most compelling. The life-size image invites psychological interpretation, and most viewers see a frail, worried man, world-worn and uncertain. His glance seems to move between meeting the viewer's gaze and looking beyond into space. Nevertheless, one senses a certain nobility behind these fleeting expressions, as if the cloud could soon pass and the artist could re-engage with the world around him.

As with his earlier self-portrait (cat. no. 3.1)—made some forty years before—the artist again pushes into the viewer's personal space. Yet this time it is not with a confident, challenging nature, but with a searching, investigative air. Perhaps it is this that makes the drawing reminiscent of Rembrandt's late self-portraits, which have the same atmosphere of detached self-examination. In deciding to make this drawn portrait on such a large scale, Bernini gave himself a task that was bound to be punishing, and he seems to have investigated his own features with great honesty. He has, unusually, used black chalk with white highlights, eschewing red chalk entirely, and this is the case with another drawing made when he was slightly older.¹

The drawing has been made with great freedom and bravura, and the morphology of the face is conveyed through broad chalk effects on the slightly rough paper. The effect is impression-led, with the emphasis on carving the features out of the paper “in negative” by showing only patches of shadow. This contrasts markedly with Bernini's earlier line-based technique, as can be seen, for example, in the complexity of the *Portrait of a Man*

from about 1625–30 (cat. no. 3.3), which is drawn on a scale similar to the present sheet, and yet in which each individual chalk line is visible.

To ensure that the chalk was suitable for the part he was about to draw, Bernini tested it at upper right. His deeply furrowed brow, hollow cheeks, sagging eyelids, and wispy hair are all revealed with intensity; his lips are pursed and his mouth very slightly open. The “lost profile” of his nose is beautifully rendered, as are the delicate variations in the tone of the pupil, iris, and eye-white. The darkest point on the page is the pupil of the artist's right eye, which is noticeably darker than the left. White heightening was applied with the point of a brush on the chin, lower lip, mustache, tops of the cheek bulge, eyebrows, forehead, and hair, always placed with intuitive accuracy. The most bravura placement is on the curling white collar at lower right, placed perfectly in space.

Bernini lived to be eighty-one, dying just over a week before his eighty-second birthday. JB

PROVENANCE

[Probably Albani collection, purchased 1762 by] King George III

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brauer and Wittkower 1931, vol. 1, p. 16; Blunt 1960, p. 26, no. 54; Sutherland Harris 1977b, p. xxii, no. 84; Roberts 1986, p. 115, no. 85; Aidan Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 53–54, no. 5

NOTES

1. Known via what I consider to be a copy in the British Museum (inv. 1890-10-13-5), which presumably reflects the media of the original (discussed in Edinburgh 1998, p. 56, no. 8).



IV

“SPEAKING LIKENESS”

INTIMACY AND IMMEDIACY IN BERNINI’S PORTRAITURE

IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 1600S, A TYPE OF PORTRAITURE EMERGED in which the sitters are depicted directly engaging the viewer, as if they were speaking to or being interrupted by him or her. Among the first artists to experiment, in self-portraits or in informal subjects, with this idea of capturing the subject in conversation was the painter Simon Vouet. Other painters exploited different aspects of rendering a fleeting instant, such as a moment of breathless intimacy (cat. no. 4.4) or a disrupted action (cat. no. 4.2). Such emotional immediacy had been promoted by the concerns of the Council of Trent, the primary deliberative body of the Counter-Reformation, which stipulated that art should capture the imagination of the viewer in order to impart a spiritual message. And within the close-knit artistic community of early-seventeenth-century Rome—where the Accademia di San Luca, an association of artists founded in 1593, was concerned with elevating the status of all artists—the interests of painters became those of sculptors.

Gian Lorenzo Bernini was the most renowned Baroque artist to develop this type of immediately absorbing portraiture and he did so in sculpture. In relation to this aspect of Bernini’s production, the term “speaking likeness” was coined by art historians to refer to the lifelike quality the sculptor was able to elicit from stone. It refers to two subjects in particular—Cardinal Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 4.1) and Costanza Bonarelli (cat. no. 4.3)—whose portrait busts date to the 1630s. Bernini was most active as a portraitist early on in his career, before, it seems, his attentions were taken over by large and important projects such as those for Saint Peter’s Basilica. In these early busts, Bernini explores various methods of animating the subject and capturing his or her liveliness.

Before the 1630s, Bernini experimented in the medium of drawing with seizing the viewer’s attention by depicting a spontaneous action, casual pose, or straightforward gaze. His mid-career busts of Costanza Bonarelli and Scipione Borghese mark a culmination of this experimentation in presenting effigies of great immediacy, informality, and lifelike effect. That the former subject was his lover and the latter his first important patron helps explain the stunning intimacy of these images. The great art historian Rudolf Wittkower called the bust of Scipione Borghese “the first High Baroque portrait bust,” while he lauded the *Costanza Bonarelli* as “one of the most remarkable portrait busts of the whole history of art.”



4. I

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1632
Marble, H (without base): 80.1 cm (31 1/16 in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese (CCLXVI)

WITHIN BERNINI'S OEUVRE, this bust is noteworthy for many reasons: it depicts the artist's first important patron, it marks a significant innovation in Bernini's portrait style, and the circumstance of its making is the stuff of legend. Scipione Caffarelli (1576–1633) was a favored nephew of his maternal uncle Camillo Borghese, who paid for Scipione's education: studies in philosophy at the Collegio Romano and in law at the university of Perugia. Upon Camillo's election to the papacy as Pope Paul V in 1605, he raised his nephew to the cardinalate and allowed him to use the Borghese name and coat of arms. Scipione served as the pope's secretary and managed the Vatican government. With the collection of papal fees and taxes, he amassed great personal wealth and expanded the family's land holdings.

Impressed with Bernini's early works, as was his uncle,¹ Scipione commissioned the young artist to produce a series of sculptures for his *villa suburbana*, the Villa Borghese. These works—the *Aeneas*, *Anchises*, and *Ascanius Fleeing Troy* (1619), *Pluto and Proserpina* (1621–22),² *Apollo and Daphne* (1622–24), and *David* (1623–24)³—were Bernini's first important life-size sculptural groups and first public triumph. Baldinucci writes that, “as soon as [the Daphne] was finished, such acclamation arose that all Rome rushed to view it as though it were a miracle. When he walked about the city, the young artist . . . attracted everyone's eye.”⁴

Scipione's patronage launched Bernini's great career. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bernini's bust of the cardinal became one of his most important and groundbreaking. A letter sent to the Este court on January 8, 1633, announced that “Cavaliere Bernini, at the request

of the pope, had just made in marble the head of Cardinal Borghese for which he was paid 500 zecchini and a diamond of 150.”⁵ Whether Pope Urban VIII ordered the bust or simply allowed his protégé to sculpt an effigy of Scipione—the pope's friend and Bernini's first patron—is unclear. Nevertheless, this letter, together with a documented payment (published by Hibbard), establishes 1632 as the date for this bust; the sitter would then have been fifty-six years old, a believable age for this effigy of an aged but still lively individual.

In 1632, Bernini had not been active as a portrait sculptor for six or seven years. Rather than having fallen out of form, for his bust of Scipione, like the various busts of Urban VIII produced around this time, Bernini produced an innovative portrait type that might have been developing in his mind during those years: one that portrays the sitter's personality with psychological intimacy in a frozen moment of transitory time and action. Furthermore, the bust is the epitome of what became known as Bernini's “speaking likeness.” Scipione is captured in mid-sentence as he directly engages the viewer in conversation. The moment is spontaneous and fleeting—his biretta shifts back on his head and his shoulders animate the creases of his mozzetta. We see the man as it seems he was: gregarious, if somewhat imperious, sybaritic, lively, and candid.⁶ A rare preparatory drawing for the bust in the Morgan Library (cat. no. 3.6) corroborates this effect.

Bernini's biographers document the circumstances of the portrait's creation.

When the bust was nearly completed, a mishap occurred: a crack [un pelo] was discovered in the marble across the most beautiful part of the forehead . . . Without telling a soul, [Bernini] worked for fifteen nights⁷ . . . on another bust exactly like the first and not one bit less in beauty. He then had this bust transported to his studio, well wrapped, so that no one in his household could see . . . At first glance

the cardinal became agitated but he masked it in order not to distress Bernini. The astute artist, meanwhile, pretended to be unaware of the cardinal's disappointment, and since relief is more satisfying when the suffering has been most severe [più grato gli giungnesse il sollievo, ove più grave era stata la passione], he engaged the cardinal in conversation before finally uncovering the other beautiful portrait.⁸

Bernini was clever and ever ready to promote his own talents; his choice to replicate his first bust almost overnight and then tease the cardinal in presenting to him this new, unblemished version was surely meant to redouble appreciation of Bernini's brilliance and skill.

Nevertheless, there are differences in these two versions other than the crack. The mozzetta of the second version (fig. 4.1.1) includes a fold mark at the bottom and is more simply rendered—there are fewer and deeper creases around the buttons, which appear to pull on them more strongly—while the head is slightly more vertical. Most importantly, the face is more summarily sculpted. Bernini's rendering of subtle details of the face—the fleshy jowls, the pursing lips, and the direct gaze—brings the first version to life in an almost inscrutable way. CH



PROVENANCE

Scipione Borghese, Rome, 1632; remained in his Villa Borghese on the Pincian Hill, Rome, which was acquired by the Italian government in 1902 and turned into the public Galleria Borghese

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List of ca. 1675 (D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 15 or 16); Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177; Bernini 1713, pp. 10–11; Frascetti 1900, pp. 107–10; Faldi 1954a, no. 36; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 88, 253, no. 31; Hibbard 1961; Hibbard 1965, pp. 89–96; D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 384–86; Fagiolo dell'Arco 1967, p. 149, no. 69; Sutherland Harris 1992; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 146, 780; Avery 1997, pp. 86–88; Anna Coliva in Rome 1998, pp. 276–89, no. 29; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 465; Anna Coliva in Rome 1999b, pp. 326–27, no. 42; Michele Ulivi et al. in Coliva 2002, pp. 216–33; Zitzlperger 2002, pp. 61–65

NOTES

1. Bernini's biographers record Pope Paul V's remark: "This young man will be the Michelangelo of his time"; see Baldinucci (1682) 1966, p. 10; and Bernini 1713, p. 9.
2. After the death of Paul V, in a move to maintain at least a portion of his status, Scipione gave this work to Ludovico Ludovisi, the nephew of the new pontiff, Gregory XV, and it remained in the Villa Ludovisi until 1911, when it was returned to the Galleria Borghese; see D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 277–78.
3. Scipione took over the *David* commission from Cardinal Damasceni Peretti Montalto at the cardinal's death in 1623; see Rome 1998, p. 218.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1966, p. 13.
5. Frascetti 1900, p. 107.
6. For more on his character, see Haskell 1963, pp. 27–28; and Anna Coliva in Rome 1998, pp. 287–88, no. 29.
7. According to Domenico Bernini, the second bust was produced in just three days; see Bernini 1713, p. 10.
8. Baldinucci (1682) 1966, pp. 76–77.



Fig. 4.1.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1632. Marble, H: 100 cm (38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.);
W: 82 cm (32 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.); D: 48 cm (18 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.). Rome, Galleria Borghese.



4.2

ANDREA SACCHI (ca. 1599–1661)

Portrait of Monsignor Clemente Merlini, ca. 1631–32

Oil on canvas, 150 x 137 cm (59 1/8 x 53 1/8 in.)

Rome, Galleria Borghese

LIKE MOST OF THE PAINTERS IN THIS EXHIBITION, Andrea Sacchi turned to portraits rarely, concentrating on more prestigious history and religious painting. Sacchi's rare ventures nonetheless attracted considerable notice, to judge from Giovan Pietro Bellori's brief account of Sacchi's portraiture, which comes at the end of his life of the artist. According to Bellori, Sacchi "had a rare talent owing to his good use of color, and he was excellent also in these, executed in person of illustrious subjects." Bellori described five portraits in detail, including this painting: "Monsignor Merlini, a judge of the Rota and eminent in legal theory, posed sitting in his study, wearing ermine, while he touches a page of an open book as if noting a passage of theory."¹

The format of a cleric seated in a study, gazing out while engaged with a text, has its roots in High Renaissance portraiture, surely Sacchi's point of departure, particularly given the artist's belief in his status as the heir to Raphael's legacy. This work gains considerable power from the subtlety with which Sacchi renders the flesh tones of the face and hands. However, it is Merlini's astonishing pose that transforms this likeness in a novel direction. Instead of sitting upright, Merlini leans back in a surprisingly casual manner, although Sacchi stabilizes the diagonal of his torso between strong verticals: the bookcase and front chair post at left and the chair back and molding at right. Merlini holds his head bolt upright, a position accentuated by the stark molding of the wall behind him and the bookcase brace, whose shapes echo that of his head and biretta, bringing further stability to the informal pose. The dynamic handling of the crisp collar further activates Merlini's piercing glance. The cardinal's arms extend in an unusual parallel to the picture plane,

with Sacchi capturing extraordinary tension in his large hands and prominent wrists. His left palm and middle finger perceptibly squeeze the armrest; his other fingers tensely wrap around it. Simultaneously, the fingers of his right hand touch the open book on his desk, while he gracefully lifts his wrist in a way that conveys the vivid intellectual energy of his reading. Despite this forceful pose, Sacchi marshals the same delicate command in rendering the geography of his sitter's face as he did in his portrait of Cardinal Biscia (cat. no. 2.10), here conveying Merlini's alertness, acumen, and intellectual spark.

Monsignor Clemente Merlini (1590–1642) came from Forlì and maintained a close friendship with Cardinal Antonio Barberini. He surely made contact with Sacchi—heavily patronized by the Barberini—through this connection, but the artist became a close friend of the cleric. According to Ann Sutherland Harris, Merlini probably commissioned a major altarpiece depicting Saint Peter for the San Pietro de' Battuti Biggij confraternity in Forlì from the artist in 1631 or 1632 (a work with unusual iconography emphasizing Saint Peter's charitable works), and primarily for this reason, she dated the portrait to the same period, when Sacchi otherwise had a dearth of commissions. No documents have yet surfaced discussing the portrait's commission, although the work was probably willed to Antonio Barberini—along with Merlini's other paintings—upon his 1642 death, explaining its documentation in Antonio's collection in 1644 and its appearance in the 1671 inventory of the same collection.² JLS

PROVENANCE

Probably commissioned by Clemente Merlini (1590–1642); probably by bequest to Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1608–1671), Rome, 1642; by inheritance to Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), Rome, 1671; by inheritance to Cardinal Carlo Barberini (1630–1706), Palestrina, 1679; by inheritance through the Barberini family, Palestrina, 1706; Borghese family, by 1833

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Incisa della Rocchetta 1924; della Pergola 1959, vol. 2, p. 132; Sutherland Harris 1977a, pp. 64–65

NOTES

1. Bellori (1672) 2005, p. 390.
2. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 165, no. 195, p. 314, no. 446; Sutherland Harris 1977a, pp. 64–65.



4.3

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Costanza Bonarelli, 1636–38

Marble, H: 72 cm (28¾ in.)

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (81.5)

AS THE ONLY SCULPTURE BERNINI MADE FOR HIMSELF, this is a singular work of art and a rarity for seventeenth-century portraiture in general. It was intended not for public display in a sculpture gallery or tomb setting but, rather, for the artist's private delectation, to indulge his amorous feelings for the sitter. The story of this love affair has become notorious, and although much has been surmised or fabricated, two documentary sources reveal a few of the facts. A note from an unknown author among the Baldinucci documents in Florence explains that Bernini was in love ("era innamorato") with Costanza, the wife of a sculptor from Lucca named Matteo. Bernini spied on her and discovered his brother Luigi leaving her house, accompanied to the door by Costanza, who was half dressed, having just come from bed ("meza vestita per essere allora uscita del letto"). Bernini followed his brother and beat him savagely. He then gave a razor to his servant and ordered him to find Costanza and slash her ("sffregiala").¹

The second document, a letter among the Barberini papers at the Vatican that was sent by Bernini's mother, Angelica, to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, tells of Gian Lorenzo's attempt to harm his brother with a sword, pursuing him through his mother's house and then, without any respect ("senza nessun rispetto"), through Santa Maria Maggiore. She begs the cardinal to reign in her impetuous son ("raffrenare l'impeto di questo suo figlio"). She also begs for leniency.² Pope Urban VIII fined Bernini 3,000 scudi and advised him to take a wife. Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini also document this affair, but in a more cloaked manner, appropriate for works intended to laud the artist for posterity.³ It is

unclear how the bust arrived in Florence from Rome. One archival document recounts that Bernini gave the bust to Giovanni Carlo de' Medici, while another source, a seventeenth-century letter, maintains that Monsignor Annibale Bentivoglio gave the bust to Francesco I d'Este, who may have presented it to the Medici as a diplomatic gift.⁴ Most recently, it has been proposed that Bentivoglio gave the bust to the Medici in exchange for Van Dyck's portrait of his brother, Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (1579–1641).⁵

This bust is also singular for its immediacy and sensuality, both qualities that arrest the attention of the viewer. It was in reference to this portrait that Rudolf Wittkower coined the term "speaking likeness" in his 1955 monograph *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, referring to its similarity to that of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 4.1), who appears to be "engaged in animated conversation."⁶

The bust's immediacy is due to the spontaneity and informality of Costanza's attitude as well as to its almost painterly shifting of forms, textures, and chiaroscuro tonalities. Costanza looks not at but beyond the viewer, as if she were caught unawares by someone entering her room, an impression reinforced by her wide-eyed gaze and the turn of her head to the left, shifting her garment to the right. Her lips are parted in a manner that makes her seem breathless rather than in the process of "speaking" to anyone. Her luxuriant hair is tumbling free of its coiffure, and her chemise falls open to reveal her breast. She is a beautiful woman whose full corporeal presence seems impossibly tangible in the block of stone. Her informality betrays her intimacy with the sculptor, who captured a fleeting moment of time as she reacted to a sight or thought, leaving the viewer to wonder what followed.

Many art historians and writers have recorded fanciful stories of Costanza's character and social rank, preferring

to imagine her as a lusty commoner. Moreover, that her husband, Matteo Bonarelli, was one of Bernini's assistants might have one assess him as a pathetic cuckold. However, recent scholarship, with attention to archival documents, has corrected this patronizing image. Costanza was born a Piccolomini, a noble family, though her father was a footman. She was wealthy, admired, and generous. Her art collection was extensive and valuable. Far from being a libertine and pariah, she lived with her husband in a lavish house in Rome. Matteo continued working for Bernini until his death and apparently made a sizable income restoring marble sculpture and casting his own bronzes.⁷ This respectable picture does not diminish the obvious passion and scandalous behavior that Bernini exhibited for Costanza, which ultimately says more about his temperament than hers.

An after-death inventory taken of Bernini's possessions in 1681 records a canvas holding two painted portraits: one depicting "Signor Cavaliere" and the other a half-portrait of a woman.⁸ Another inventory, of 1731, describes the work in the same way, except that by that date the canvas had been cut in half; the one double portrait "had been made two [single portraits]."⁹ Almost twenty years earlier, Domenico Bernini had confirmed the identity of the woman and documents that, by 1713, the canvas had already been split. In extolling the talents of his father as a painter, he writes, "One can still see that highly praised [portrait] of Costanza in Casa Bernini."¹⁰ Although scholars have tried to identify the self-portrait among existing examples, no painting of Bernini's beloved has come to light.

The production of later copies testifies to the continuing appeal of Bernini's *Costanza Bonarelli*, especially in Florence, where the bust was on display. A particularly beautiful example by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi was found in the storerooms of the Museo di Arti Applicate in Milan and published in 1999 (fig. 4.3.1).¹¹ A version in marble has been improbably attributed to Costanza's husband, Matteo Bonarelli.¹² CH



Fig. 4.3.1 MASSIMILIANO SOLDANI BENZI (1656–1740)
Costanza Bonarelli (copy after Bernini). Bronze, H: 49 cm (19 3/16 in.).
Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Museo di Arti Applicate.

PROVENANCE

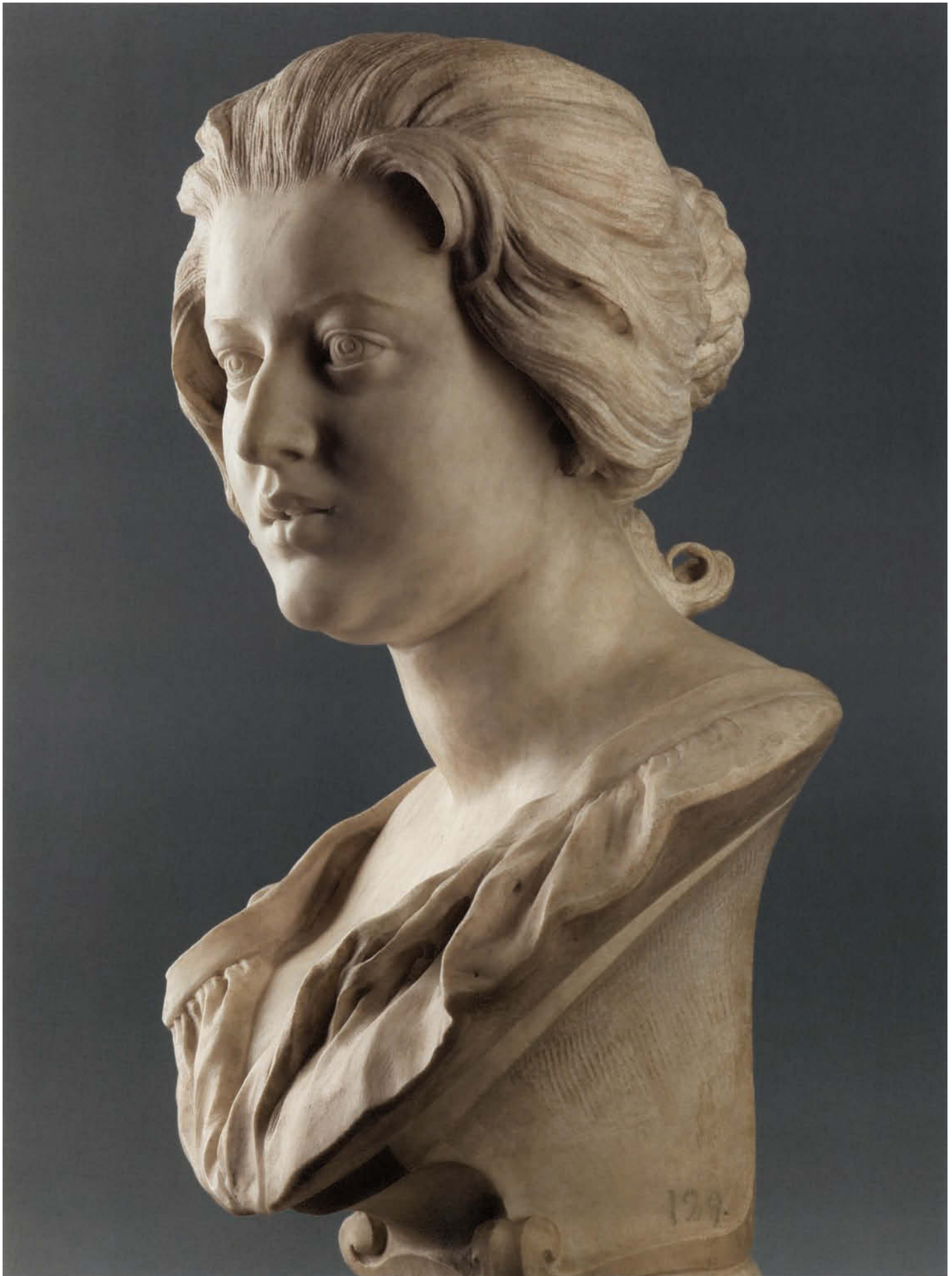
Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Rome; possibly given by Bernini to Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici (1611–1663), Rome; sent by the cardinal to Florence, where it was displayed in the Galleria degli Uffizi by 1645; transferred to the newly founded Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, in 1865

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List of ca. 1675 (D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 23); Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177; Tessin (1687–88) 2002, p. 256; Bernini 1713, p. 27; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 48–50; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 88, 256, no. 35; Martinelli 1956; Hibbard 1965, pp. 101–3; D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 130–38; Fagiolo dell'Arco 1967, no. 70; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 140, 780; Bellesi 1999; Oreste Ferrari in Rome 1999b, pp. 307–8; Zanuso and Zikos 1999; Rebecchini 2005, p. 338; McPhee 2006; Petrucci 2006, esp. pp. 45 and 429; Tomaso Montanari in Rome 2007, p. 121, no. 19

NOTES

1. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 131–33; McPhee 2006, pp. 320–21 n. 10. The Florentine document also indicates that for his bust of Costanza, Bernini had painted the pupils black and chiseled the hair in an atypical style ("maniera").
2. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 131–33; McPhee 2006, p. 321 n. 11.
3. For instance, Domenico writes that his father "was jealous or otherwise beside himself, being blind in love, he ordered his servant to do to [Costanza], I don't know what offense": Bernini 1713, p. 27.
4. See Rome 2007, p. 121 n. 12.
5. Rebecchini 2005, p. 338.
6. Wittkower 1955, p. 13.
7. McPhee 2006, pp. 315–76.
8. Martinelli 1996, p. 255.
9. Frascchetti 1900, p. 48.
10. Bernini 1713, p. 27.
11. Bellesi 1999, p. 84 and pl. 89.
12. Schlegel 1994, p. 433, fig. 2.





4.4

DIEGO VELÁZQUEZ (1599–1660)

Allegory of Artistic Creation (Sibyl with Tabula Rasa), ca. 1648–51

Oil on canvas, 64.8 x 58.4 cm (25½ x 23 in.)

Dallas, Southern Methodist University, Meadows Museum,

Algur H. Meadows Collection (MM.74.01)

BEFORE A BLANK BACKGROUND, a young woman appears at half length in profile, her unruly black hair streaming backward and grazing her long neck. Lifting her chin, she gazes intently downward at a rectilinear object held in her left arm, pressing on it firmly with her right index finger. The surface of the object bears no marks, and there is no tool of creation visible; this neutral shape thus remains ambiguous: it could represent a book, a stone slab, a canvas, a mount for embroidery, or a piece of paper. The young woman's open mouth suggests that she is speaking aloud, perhaps dictating or divining an invisible text. The gauzy white garment, which binds around her waist and extends at least to her knees, also eludes easy interpretation and adds to the painting's uncertainty, since the garb appears to be neither contemporary nor obviously classicizing.

Because of the profile's specificity and the tangibility of her body, some scholars have interpreted this unconventional image as a portrait. The painting was first identified in a Milanese private collection in the late seventeenth century, and this provenance, as well as its stylistic correspondence with paintings by the artist from the late 1640s, has led most scholars to date the picture around the time of Velázquez's second sojourn in Rome from 1649 to 1651.¹ In this period, the Spanish painter rapidly absorbed and powerfully expanded upon the new approaches toward portraiture forged by painters and sculptors in Rome in the 1630s and 1640s, with such works as the *Portrait of a Man, called the Pope's Barber* (Madrid, Museo del Prado), the *Portrait of Juan de Pareja* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), and the *Portrait of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj* (fig. 4.4.1), highly

influential works for their brilliant, summary brushwork, profound interiority, and reduced palettes.² Because the Dallas picture corresponds in these qualities to those of Velázquez's second Roman period, the sitter has been at times tentatively identified as Flaminia Triunfi, an Italian painter that the writer Antonio Palomino recorded as having sat for Velázquez in Rome during these years, although no other evidence can support this connection.³

Most scholars have interpreted this work as an allegory on the subject of creation and invention. The woman has most commonly been understood as a sibyl, one of the prophetesses of antiquity who presaged Christ's coming, an identification first proposed by William Jordan. Iconographic figures best known from Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel, sibyls were generally elaborately coiffed, classicizing female figures who held texts, yet these signifiers do not appear here. Further complicating this identification, Velázquez painted a canvas (Madrid, Museo del Prado) securely identified as a sibyl (using his wife Juana Pacheco as a model), which draws on more traditional attributes, including more obviously classicizing garb, although the hairstyle, blank surface, and profile format correspond loosely to the Dallas painting.⁴

The tabula rasa, on the other hand, points to an allegory of painting, a subject that enjoyed wide circulation in seventeenth-century Italy. Again, the absence of a brush or pencil mitigates this identification, although the disheveled hair, signaling artistic fervor, follows the traditional iconography laid out by Cesare Ripa in the late sixteenth century.⁵ Another figure connected to artistic inspiration to which the image may allude, as Julián Gállego noted, has its roots in a legend about the origin of painting recorded by Pliny the Elder, in which the Corinthian woman Dibutade, in order to retain the memory of her departing lover, traced his outline as thrown against the wall in candlelight, an image her father later used to make the first painted representation.⁶ Expanding in another direction, Jonathan Brown suggested

that the figure could possibly represent Clio, the Muse of history, although the figure lacks the pen and inkwell, laurel crown, and trumpet so fundamental to that muse's identity.⁷

August Mayer noted that Velázquez appears to have used the same model for the protagonist of *The Fable of Arachne* (Madrid, Museo del Prado). This work describes the legend of the weaver Arachne, who claimed her skill surpassed that of Athena, the goddess of weaving, which provoked a face-off with the deity. While Arachne created a work of perfection, she was so humiliated by Athena's anger that she hanged herself, but Athena took pity on her and transformed her into a spider. This narrative, especially in Velázquez's hands, became an allegory of creation, and—coupled with the stylistic similarity of the paintings—led José López-Rey to identify the subject of the Dallas picture as Arachne.⁸

In the most productive avenue of interpretation, Salvator Salort Pons has argued that rather than attempting to fix a single identification of the figure, the work deliberately draws on a more open-ended approach to the notion of artistic creativity. Through the blankness of the surface and the fact that the woman holds no tool,

Velázquez moves the notion of artistic genius away from facture entirely and argues that creation is an act of the intellect, a poetic creation that springs from the mind.⁹ Furthermore, since the woman gazes directly at the surface, rather than out to the surrounding world, the artist further removes the act of creation from the imitation of nature. Given Velázquez's adventurous approach to portraiture and his known reliance on living models, as well as his long-established interest in metanarratives about art, this use of a model to create a sophisticated commentary on the act of creation indeed seems to be the most helpful avenue into this work.

Finally, in a relationship especially important for the themes of this exhibition, as Alvar González Palacios and Tomaso Montanari have argued, Velázquez's painting bears a compelling relationship to Bernini's portrait bust of Costanza Bonarelli (cat. no. 4.3). Both works share the swept-back hair and the low neckline, but it is especially the open mouth that places the works squarely in the tradition of the speaking likeness. Moreover, like the Bonarelli portrait, the Dallas painting thematizes the idea of a beautiful female model serving as the inspiration for a work of art and a commentary on the nature of beauty itself.¹⁰ JLS

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Milan, late 17th century; Julius Böhlér (1860–1934), Munich; sold to Reinhardt Gallery, New York; sold to Edward Drummond Libbey (1854–1925), Toledo; John North Willys (1873–1935) and Isabel Irene van Wie Willys, Toledo and New York; upon their divorce in 1934, retained by Isabel van Wie Willys, Center Island, New York, and New York City; upon her death (1945), held in trust by the estate; sold, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 25, 1945, lot 20, to Wildenstein; sold to the Meadows Museum, 1974

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Parke-Bernet 1945; Jordan 1974; López-Rey 1996, pp. 268–69; González Palacios 2005; Salvator Salort

Pons in Naples 2005, p. 110; Simona Di Nepi in London 2006, p. 218

NOTES

1. For Velázquez in Italy, see Salort Pons 2002.
2. For these works, see López-Rey 1996, pp. 278–83.
3. Antonio Palomino des Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1724), translated in Enriqueta Harris, *Velázquez* (Ithaca, NY, 1982), p. 209; and Salort Pons in Naples 2005, p. 110.
4. Jordan 1974, pp. 20–21; Brown 1986, p. 178; For this work, see López-Rey 1996, p. 118.
5. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, ed. Piero Buscaroli (Milan [1618], 1970), p. 357.
6. Entry by Julián Gállego in New York 1989, p. 227. However, this

theme only gained wide circulation starting in the later seventeenth century, making Velázquez's use of the theme either pioneering or perhaps simply an optimistic interpretation; see Francis Muecke, "'Taught by Love': The Origin of Painting Again," *Art Bulletin* (June 1999), pp. 297–302.

7. Brown 1986, pp. 178–81; Salort Pons in Naples 2005, p. 110.

8. Mayer 1936, p. 570; for *Arachne*, see López-Rey 1996, pp. 264–67. Since Arachne is seen in lost profile, any comparison of the models remains purely speculation, although the use of shadowed profile in the Dallas picture is strikingly similar.

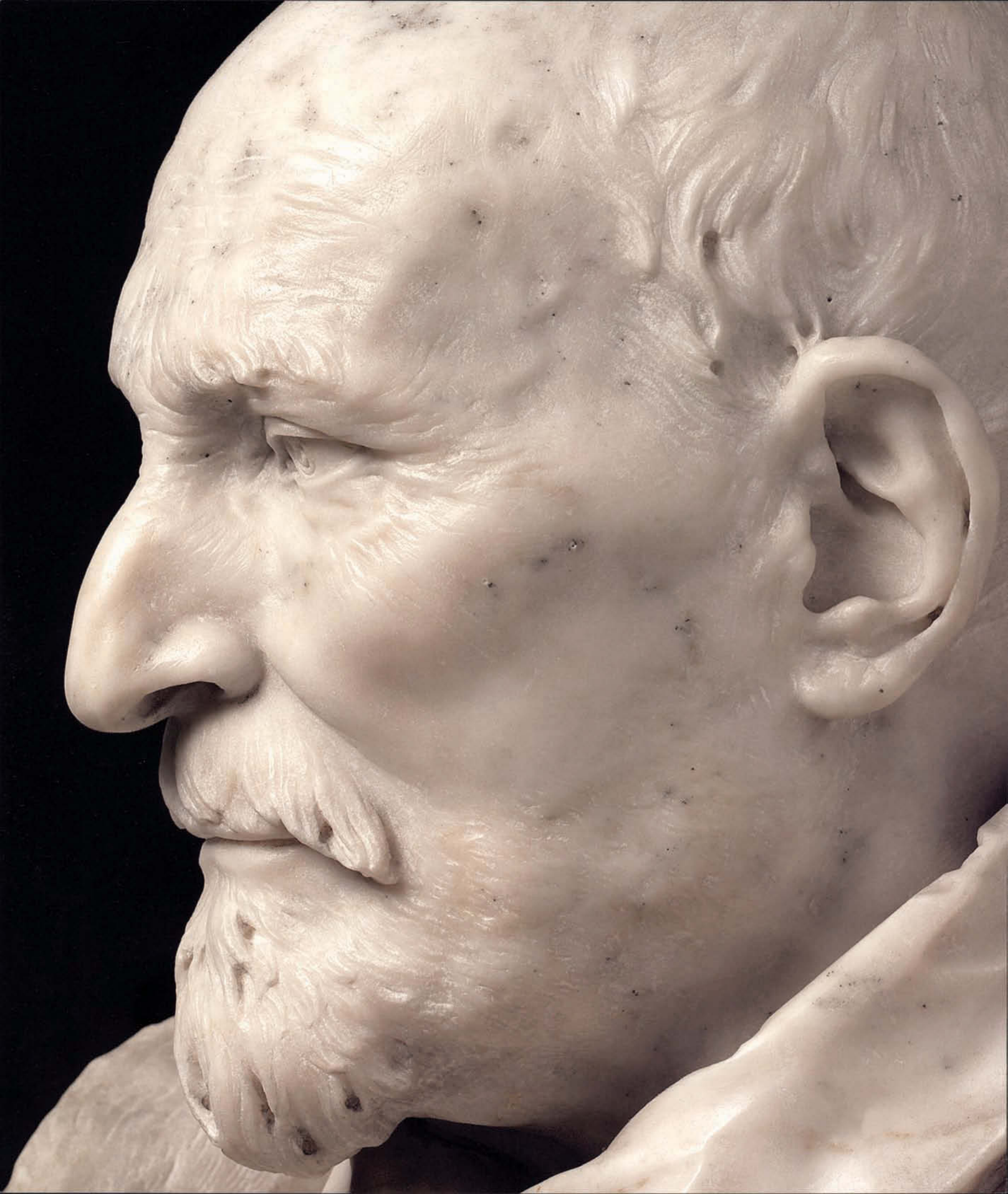
9. Salort Pons in Naples 2005, p. 110. At the same time, Artemisia Gentileschi also created, in her so-called *Self-Portrait as Painting*, a similarly complex and

multivalent work—with notable similarities in the use of the profile, disheveled hair, and the tabula rasa—that intersects traditional allegories and portraiture to create a sophisticated reflection on the act of creation. See Mary D. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 337–70.

10. González Palacios 2005, pp. 227–28; Tomaso Montanari in Rome 2007, pp. 118–21. For more on this notion of beauty, see the essential article: Elizabeth Cropper, "On Beautiful Women, Parmigianino, *Petrarchismo*, and the Vernacular Style," *Art Bulletin* 58 (September 1976), pp. 374–94.



Fig. 4.4.1 DIEGO VELÁZQUEZ (1599–1660)
Portrait of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj, 1649–50. Oil on canvas, 141 x 119 cm
(55½ x 46¾ in.). Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj.



ALTERNATIVE PATHS

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI AND GIULIANO FINELLI

WHEN MAFFEO BARBERINI—BERNINI'S MENTOR, PROTECTOR, AND GREATEST PATRON—became pope in 1623 as Urban VIII, he engaged the artist in many important commissions, one of the most important being the project to decorate the crossing of Saint Peter's Basilica with an enormous *baldacchino* over the high altar and pier statues. This prestigious undertaking took ten years to complete and occupied Bernini almost completely, taking him away from the less prominent activity of portrait sculpture. The gap in Bernini's production of portraits gave Giuliano Finelli—Bernini's workshop assistant from 1622 to about 1628—and Alessandro Algardi, Bernini's rival, who had been largely occupied with the conservation of ancient sculpture after arriving in Rome in 1625—the opportunity to flourish as portraitists. The situation improved further for Algardi when Finelli left Rome for Naples in 1634.

Finelli had made a name for himself in Bernini's workshop as a virtuoso marble carver by the time he left the studio in about 1628. After that date, with Bernini largely unavailable, Finelli was the sculptor most in demand for the production of portrait busts. In 1631 Scipione Borghese turned to Finelli for his effigy (cat. no. 5.4), after, it appears, the cardinal had given up on hoping that Gian Lorenzo would create one for him. As luck would have it, the pope finally allowed Bernini to sculpt Scipione's effigy (cat. no. 4.1) later that same year. Finelli's masterful portraits of the 1630s, such as that of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (fig. 5.1.1), the artist's grandnephew, and of Francesco Bracciolini (cat. no. 5.1), not only display tour de force carving of detail and surface texture but also reveal the sculptor's popularity among the Roman elite: both men were erudite literary figures in the circle of the Barberini.

Others selected Algardi for their portraits either because of personal alliances or because they simply preferred Algardi's refined and emotionally restrained treatment of portrait subjects. The stately bearing and quiet introspection of Algardi's subjects resonate with certain paintings of the period, such as Guido Reni's portrait of Cardinal Ubaldini (cat. no. 5.8). Count Malvasia noted this relationship already in the seventeenth century when he referred to Algardi as "Guido dei marmi" (Guido Reni in marble). Nevertheless, Reni's naturalistically draped robes and highly theatrical setting provide a counterpoint to Algardi's more sober, classicizing portrayals. Roman born, although not active in the city, Domenico Fetti developed a style that resonated with the concerns of Roman artists. His portrait of a man, perhaps an actor (cat. no. 5.5), displays the same informality of pose and engaging gaze that one finds in Finelli's direct and absorbing images of artistic figures.



5.1

GIULIANO FINELLI (1601–1653)

Portrait of Francesco Bracciolini, 1630–31

Marble, H: 66 cm (26 in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

TODAY NEARLY FORGOTTEN, the Pistoian poet Francesco Bracciolini (1566–1645) enjoyed considerable fame in Pope Urban VIII's Rome.¹ Secretary to Maffeo Barberini when the latter was still a cardinal, Bracciolini followed him to Paris, and there published in 1605 the first cantos of his *Croce racquistata* (*The Recaptured Cross*), an epic poem completed in 1611 and inspired by Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. In September 1605, after the death of Clement VIII Aldobrandini and the election of Paul V Borghese, Bracciolini, perhaps doubting the Barberini's fortunes under the new pontiff, left Maffeo's service and went back to Pistoia to join the priesthood. He would not return to Rome until 1623, immediately after his former protector's ascension to the papal throne. During his years in Pistoia, Bracciolini wrote his most famous work, *Lo scherno degli dei* (*The Derision of the Gods*), a mock epic published in 1618 and intended to poke fun at the passion of literati for mythology, as well as to arouse greater attention to the "natural" world. Back in Rome, and once again in the good graces of the Barberini family, having even become secretary to the pope's brother, Antonio, Bracciolini composed an extremely long heroic poem of nearly five hundred pages devoted to the pontiff: *L'Elettione di Urbano VIII*. At the heart of this epic, whose main characters are allegories of the vices and virtues, is the personification of divine providence, which is held responsible for Barberini's ascent to the papal throne. This was a theme that the writer would develop further in his program for the fresco decorations of the grand hall of the Palazzo Barberini, which was executed by Pietro da Cortona in the 1630s. The pontiff would later reward Bracciolini by granting him the right to include the Barberini bees in his coat of arms.

In 1644, after Urban's death, the poet returned to Pistoia, where he died the following year. Bracciolini was portrayed a surprising number of times: aside from the bust on exhibit here, Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630) did two drawings of him, one of which was made into an engraving in 1626 and also turned into a painting, now lost, by Andrea Sacchi (ca. 1599–1661). Bracciolini was also portrayed in a painting attributed to Pier Andrea Bufalini (b. 1621), then in Cassiano dal Pozzo's picture gallery and now in a private collection.² During the 1620s Bracciolini was in contact with Bernini, to whom he dedicated a poem inviting the sculptor to look at the works of Michelangelo. This was in keeping with Gian Lorenzo's reputation as the Michelangelo of his century ("Now, Bernini, follow in my footsteps and venerate the master of sculpture").³

The portrait of Bracciolini was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1863 with an attribution to Bernini.⁴ Until just a few years earlier it had remained in Pistoia with the poet's descendants, where it was mentioned in a number of nineteenth-century guides to the city as a work by Alessandro Algardi.⁵ This attribution, shared as late as 1958 by Rudolf Wittkower,⁶ had been rejected the previous year by Antonia Nava Cellini, who ascribed the bust to Finelli on stylistic grounds, comparing it with the latter's *Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger* (fig. 5.1.1). The discovery of a poetic composition dedicated "Al Signor Giuliano Scultore" and celebrating this very bust definitively confirmed this hypothesis:

*An impious, stubborn Death the marble
Lends to Bracciolini; yet by the iron
With which you, O Giuliano, portray him in this
Stone, do you make him live, so that, if I'm not wrong,
Having no less pity than you have wisdom and strength,
With your marble you snatch him away from that Death.*⁷

Further archival discoveries⁸ have also made it possible to establish the date of its execution around 1630–31, close to the date of the bust of Buonarroti, who was another important figure in the Barberini cultural circle.

Over the course of the 1620s Giuliano Finelli had worked for Bernini, who appreciated his extraordinary virtuosity in working marble and his ability to imitate with his chisel the most diverse sorts of surfaces. After Maffeo Barberini's election to the papacy, as Bernini was engaged almost full-time on the monumental projects assigned to him by the pontiff, he had to count more and more on Giuliano's help. But at this very moment relations between the two sculptors began to deteriorate; the definitive break probably came when Bernini chose Andrea Bolgi over Finelli to execute one of the four statues placed in the niches set into the pilasters under the dome of Saint Peter's. Thus shortly before 1630, Giuliano began working on his own, and, as his early portraits attest, he might well have become the most sought-after sculptural portraitist at a time when Bernini seemed almost to have abandoned the genre. Taking Bernini's busts of the 1620s as a point of comparison, in his works Finelli aims at dazzling the viewer through a visual tour de force that spares no detail—from the disheveled hair, to an unevenly shaven beard, to the relaxing of the facial muscles—rendering every centimeter of the marble surface in a different, animated, almost pulsating way. Not even in Bernini's own work had sculpture ever been brought so close to the mimetic rendering of the skin of a face. Thus it was not simply a poetic metaphor when, in an acclamation celebrating the bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, Alessandro Adimari praised the “audacious marble, that looked like wax, Oh Finelli, to your chisel.”⁹

This kind of mimesis is already evident in the bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (see fig. 26), sculpted in 1626, when Finelli was still working for Bernini. In the Bracciolini bust, the sculptor again works wondrous feats

with the chisel, for example, “embroidering” with a drill the lace border of the alb under the collar. Compared with the *Buonarroti*, sculpted just a few months earlier, the *Bracciolini* is more lifelike, his pupils and irises having been carved to confer on his gaze greater realism. The poet is caught with his mouth half open in the act of speaking, a composition that repeats Finelli's 1629 portrait of Ottavio Bandini at San Silvestro al Quirinale.¹⁰

The considerable emphasis given to the fur inside the figure's cape is a device that echoes a Bernini model of the previous decade, such as *Bartolomeo Roscioli* (ca. 1627; cklst A24). Such a choice would repeatedly recur in Finelli's portraiture of the 1630s, in pieces such as the *Bust of a Nobleman* formerly in the Palazzo Collicola at Spoleto and the *Girolamo Manili* in Santa Maria Maggiore (1634).¹¹ AB

PROVENANCE

Castello Traetti, Pistoia, until at least 1853; acquired in Florence by Gagliardi for the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1863

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[I. Margarucci], *Rime dell'Anonimo consacrate a Giesu Maria* (Rome, 1648), p. 126; Francesco Tolomei, *Guida di Pistoia per gli amanti delle belle Arti* (Pistoia, 1821), pp. 139–40; Giuseppe Tigri, *Pistoia e il suo territorio* (Pistoia, 1853), pp. 252–53; Posse 1919; Nava Cellini 1957; Wittkower 1958, pp. 174, 335; Nava Cellini 1960; Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 609–11; Pizzorusso 1985; Pizzorusso 1989, p. 115; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 88–90, 330, no. A.39; Francesco Solinas in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 70–71, 203, no. 25

NOTES

1. Michele Barbi, *Notizie della vita e delle opere di Francesco Bracciolini* (Florence, 1897); Lovanio Rossi, “Bracciolini (Dell'Api) Francesco,” in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13 (1971), pp. 634–36.

2. One of Ottavio Leoni's drawings portraying Bracciolini, dated May 1625, is now in the Accademia Colombaria of Florence, and a second, a mirror image, is at the Biblioteca Marucelliana, also in Florence; the engraving was used as the frontispiece for *Eletione di Urbano VIII papa di Francesco Bracciolini*, published in 1628; see Sani 2005, p. 179; for Sacchi's painting, see Sutherland Harris 1977a, p. 94; for the Dal Pozzo canvas, see Francesco Solinas, “Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657): il Ritratto di Jan van den Hoecke e 'l'Orazione' di Carlo Dati,” *Bollettino d'Arte* 92 (1995), p. 333.

3. “Hor t'unisci Bernin, co' passi miei / A vener della scultura il maestro.” The line is from *Canzone con la quale s'invita il S. Cav. Bernino a veder l'opere di Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Song with which the Signor Cavalier Bernino is invited to look at the works of Michelangelo Buonarroti), the manuscript of which is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, as was mentioned in Frascchetti 1900, p. 222, and published by Catherine M. Sousloff, “Imitatio Buonarroti,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989), pp. 601–2.



Fig. 5.1.1 GIULIANO FINELLI
Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, ca. 1630. Marble,
 H (with base): 87 cm (34 1/4 in.). Florence, Casa Buonarroti.

4. In 1861 it had been exhibited at the Casa Guastalla in Florence, as part of the Esposizione di oggetti d'arte del Medioevo e dell'epoca del risorgimento dell'arte (Exhibition of Art Objects of the Middle Ages and the Era of the Rebirth of Art), with an attribution to Bernini; see Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 609.

5. Tolomei, *Guida di Pistoia per gli amanti delle belle Arti* (Pistoia, 1821), pp. 139–40; and Tigri, *Pistoia e il suo territorio* (Pistoia, 1853), pp. 252–53. See also Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 609–11.

6. Wittkower 1958, pp. 174, 335. In the second edition (1982), Wittkower accepted the attribution to Finelli.

7. *Rime dell'Anonimo consacrate a Giesu Maria* (Rome, 1648), p. 126, quoted in Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 610.

8. Pizzorusso 1985, pp. 37–38.

9. Pizzorusso 1989, p. 115. It is important to note that the Italian word *cera*, as used here by the poet, is a play on its double meaning as “mien or countenance” and “wax,”

which yields to the sculptor's will (translator's note).

10. See Dombrowski 1997, pp. 323–25, no. A.32, fig. 87.

11. See Dombrowski 1997, pp. 309, 338–39, no. A.47.



5.2

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654)

Portrait of a Gentleman (Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia?), ca. 1635–40

Marble, H (without base): 71.1 cm (28 in.)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung (2765)

UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THE MASTERPIECES of Seicento portraiture, this bust has in recent years been the subject of heated debate, both in terms of its author and in terms of the person portrayed. The marble was acquired by the Berlin museum in 1903 from the Galleria Sangiorgi in Rome; it came from the villa of the Rondinini family in Faenza but must have been in Rome before that.¹ In fact, it may be possible to identify it as the “Modern bust containing a Cardinal of the Family itself, dressed in a larger than life-size cloak, undoubtedly the work of Cavalier Langardi,”² mentioned in the appraisal of the sculptures of the Palazzo Rondinini, drafted in 1807 by Carlo Albacini and Giovanni Pierantoni. During those same years, moreover, the bust was well known in Rome. In fact, the Swedish sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel, in Italy from 1767 to 1779, owned a cast of it, claiming it portrayed Primaticcio.³ In the nineteenth century, the Italian sculptor Vincenzo Vela apparently owned another copy of the bust, believed at that time to be a work by Bernini.⁴

Having entered the Bode Museum with a pedestal bearing the inscription LAUDIVIUS CARD.ZACCHIA ANNO MDCXXVI, the marble was published by Hans Posse as a portrait of Cardinal Zacchia, and this identification was not questioned until Damian Dombrowski pointed out that the person portrayed seemed not to be wearing any of the signs of the office of cardinal and, furthermore, bore a strong facial resemblance to Hans Kevenhüller, as one can see from Kevenhüller’s funerary statue in the church of Saint Jerome in Madrid. Dombrowski suggested, moreover, that both works (the Berlin bust and the Madrid statue) be attributed to Giuliano Finelli.⁵

Kevenhüller, an Austrian ambassador to Madrid, died in 1606, and his funerary monument was made in 1616. Dombrowski proposed that Cardinal Khlesl, a fellow Austrian who was in Rome around 1627, might have commissioned Finelli to produce the bust, but this proposal is not supported by any evidence. The statue has not enjoyed a happy fate. The available photographs of the sculpture date from around 1900, and all that remains of it today is a part of the body, without the head. According to Margarita Estella, it is, moreover, possible that the statue was damaged at an even earlier date, at the time of the French invasion in the early nineteenth century, when the interior of the church of Saint Jerome was almost completely destroyed.⁶ Sometime during the course of the nineteenth century, the statue’s head may have been replaced by a copy of the Berlin bust, of which a number of casts are documented to have been made.⁷ Given that the head has disappeared, such a hypothesis is impossible to prove. For stylistic reasons, however, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to imagine that the head formerly in Madrid could have been sculpted in 1616. Moreover, as Jennifer Montagu has observed, the appearance of the person portrayed seems irreconcilable with the features of Kevenhüller, whom we know from a number of medals that show a gentleman with hair, beard, and mustache rather different from what we see here.⁸

What makes the positive identification of the person portrayed in the Berlin marble as Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia (ca. 1565–1637) problematic is the fact that it bears no trace of a cardinal’s vestments. On the other hand, as far as one can tell from the photographs, the mausoleum of Cardinal de Bérulle at the Collège de Juilly, sculpted by Jacques Sarazin in 1658–59, also shows a cardinal wearing a fur-trimmed cloak similar to the one in our bust and, apparently, with no trace of a cardinal’s vestments.⁹ Thus it seems that the identification of the person portrayed as Laudivio Zacchia cannot be definitively dismissed.



Fig. 5.2.1 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini, 1637–38. Marble.
Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo.

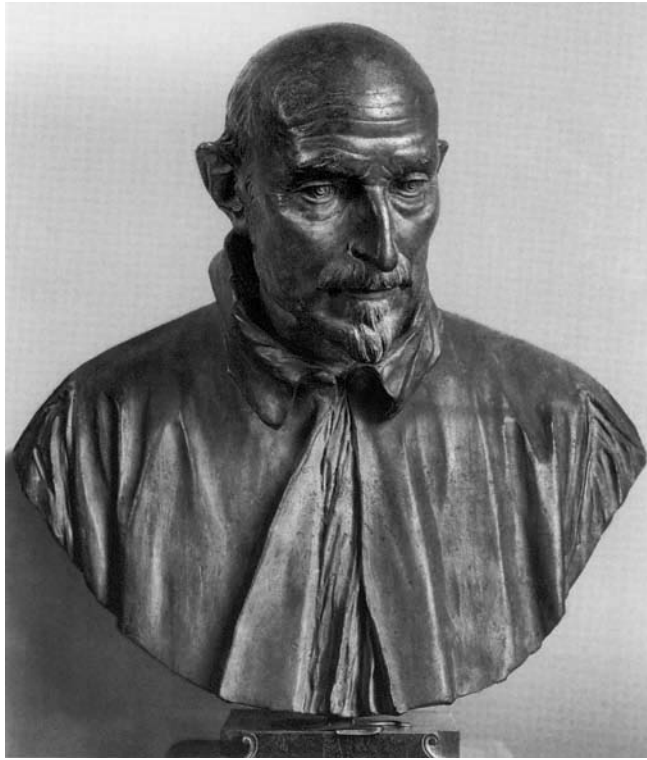


Fig. 5.2.2 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Ulpiano Volpi, ca. 1640. Bronze, H: 57.5 cm (22 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).
 Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli.

As for the author of the bust, the attribution to Alessandro Algardi remains convincing, especially based on comparisons with the busts of *Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini* (fig. 5.2.1), *Ulpiano Volpi* (fig. 5.2.2), and *Antonio Cerri* (cat. no. 5.6). The noble dignity of the composition, a rather more restrained use of the drill than in Finelli's known busts, and a different treatment of the surfaces, particularly noticeable in the fur (borne out by a close comparison with the rendering of the fur in the bust of Francesco Bracciolini; cat. no. 5.1), are but a few examples of the evidence supporting an attribution to Algardi. It is nevertheless interesting to note that, especially over the course of the 1630s, the portraiture produced by the two artists presents some surprising points of similarity, probably owing, initially at least, to the apparent influence that the busts Finelli made around 1630 had on Algardi. AB

PROVENANCE

Identifiable perhaps as the bust documented in 1807 at Palazzo Rondinini in Rome;¹⁰ Faenza, Villa Rondinini, ca. 1900; Rome, Galleria Sangiorgi, 1902; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung, 1903

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Posse 1905, pp. 169–75; Muñoz 1920, p. 294; Pope-Hennessy (1963) 1996, pp. 537–38; Nava Cellini 1964, p. 25; Pope-Hennessy 1974, pp. 38–47; Hcimbürger Ravalli 1973, p. 19; Schlegel 1978, pp. 27–31 (with prior bibliography); Montagu 1985a, pp. 164, 171, 446–47; Contardi 1993, pp. 70–71; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 771; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 76–77, 315–16, no. F.24; Bacchi 1999b, p. 696; Jennifer Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 135–37, no. 18

NOTES

1. Posse 1905, pp. 169–175; Contardi 1994, pp. 70–71.
2. Salerno 1965, p. 315.
3. Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 255–57, 337; Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 134–35.
4. Scott 1979, p. 111.
5. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 77–78, 315–16.
6. Estella 2006, pp. 311–12.
7. Rome 1999a, p. 136; Estella 2006, p. 312.
8. Toderi and Vannel 2000, nos. 109, 420, 421, 440.
9. See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier in *Jacques Sarazin: Sculpteur du roi 1592–1660*, exh. cat. (Noyon, Musée du Noyonnais, 1992), pp. 72–73.
10. See Salerno 1965, p. 315.



5.3

PIETRO DA CORTONA (PIETRO BERRETTINI) (1597–1669)

Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Maria Borghese, ca. 1624–25

Oil on canvas, 135 x 100 cm (53 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Minneapolis Institute of Arts (65.39)

THIS PAINTING APPEARS in none of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lives of Pietro da Cortona, nor do any currently known documents connected to the Borghese family record any clear reference to this portrait. From its earliest known provenance in the collection of the earls of Harrington, the work held a long-standing attribution to Carlo Maratti, and it only came to be attributed to Pietro da Cortona after its acquisition by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, thanks to observations by Giulio Briganti and Hermann Voss. At the same moment, Milton Lewine identified the sitter based on the eagle and dragon on the inkwell, an identification further clarified by the resemblance of the sitter to a print of Pietro Maria Borghese by an anonymous engraver, published in 1628.¹

Born around 1600 in Siena into the Saraceni family, Pietro Maria Borghese was the grandnephew of Pope Paul V Borghese. After the death of the pontiff, the young man moved to Rome along with his father and there came under the protection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese. In 1624 Pope Urban VIII Barberini named Borghese cardinal. While not a particularly notable patron of the arts, Pietro Maria Borghese did support building works projects in various cities across Italy, most significantly the restoration of the campanile of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome.² He died in Rome in 1642.

Anthony Clark speculated that the portrait dates after the 1633 death of Scipione Borghese, when the younger man came into considerable wealth (and this chronology was accepted by Giuliano Briganti). However, Anna Lo Bianco has more convincingly suggested that Borghese commissioned the portrait to commemorate his election to the cardinalate in 1624, particularly given the prominence Cortona gives to the biretta and ecclesiastical garb.

Pietro da Cortona, like the majority of the upper tier of seventeenth-century Italian painters, generally preferred the more prestigious and better-remunerated genres of religious and history painting. Nonetheless, the artist's relatively few forays into the genre of portraiture demonstrate a deft facility for effectively capturing the vivacity of his sitter as well as awareness of the newer developments in portraiture in the 1620s, despite his reliance on the tried-and-true format of the standing ecclesiastical portrait. Cortona's depiction of the cardinal standing at three-quarter length before a sumptuously appointed desk was in any case entirely appropriate to mark Borghese's prestigious appointment. One of the earlier known portraits by the artist, this work introduces Pietro da Cortona's characteristic approach to the genre, including his predilection for blank backgrounds, activated surfaces, and tender facial expressions—in this case a hint of a smile. He also added a tone of emotional intensity through the hand gestures, especially the way the cardinal clutches his biretta, a formula Pietro da Cortona varied and refined for his slightly later *Portrait of Giulio Sacchetti* (Rome, Palazzo Sacchetti). JLS

PROVENANCE

Leicester Fitzgerald Charles Harrington, 5th Earl Harrington (1784–1862), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, by 1854; by bequest to his son, Seymour Sidney Hyde Harrington, 6th Earl Harrington (1845–1866), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, 1862; by inheritance to his cousin Charles Wyndham Harrington, 7th Earl Harrington (1809–1881), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, 1866; by inheritance to his son Charles Augustus Harrington, 8th Earl Harrington (1844–1917), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, 1881; by inheritance to his brother, Dudley Henry Eden Harrington, 9th Earl Harrington (1859–1928), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, 1917; by inheritance to his son, Charles Joseph Leicester Harrington, 10th Earl Harrington

(1887–1929), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, 1928; by inheritance to his son, William Henry Leicester Harrington, 11th Earl Harrington (born 1922), Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire, 1929; sold, Sotheby's, London, April 22, 1964, lot 23; Patch Collection, by 1964; Julius H. Weitzner (1896–1986), by 1965; sold to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1965

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Clark 1965; Briganti 1982, pp. 149–50; Lo Bianco 1997, pp. 307–8

NOTES

1. Clark 1965; Lo Bianco 1997, pp. 307–8.

2. Entry in Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 5 (Venice, 1840), p. 44.



5.4

GIULIANO FINELLI (1601–1653)

Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1631–32

Marble, H (with base): 99.1 cm (39 in.)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Purchase, Louisa Eldridge McBurney Gift, 1953 (53.201)

“SIGNOR GIULIANO, SCULPTOR... has made Signor Bracciolini very well, and is making... Signor Cardinal Borghese, which will be a very beautiful thing.”¹ With these words, on October 18, 1631, the Florentine Tommaso Salviati informed Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, one of Finelli’s biggest supporters, who had been portrayed by him the previous year, about the latest artistic developments in Rome. The bust of Cardinal Borghese would be completed in the months that followed, and the sculptor was paid 90 scudi in the month of June of the subsequent year.²

The increasingly absolutist character of the papacy under Urban VIII was probably the principal reason for Scipione Borghese’s withdrawal from public life after having been one of the most powerful men in Rome, even after the death of his uncle, Pope Paul V, in 1621.

Bernini’s growing commitments in the service of Urban VIII, who went so far as to forbid the sculptor to work for any other patrons, made it impossible for him to work for Scipione, even though the latter had commissioned some of Gian Lorenzo’s most memorable sculptures, from the second decade of the century onward. Everything leads us to believe that Scipione no longer expected his now inaccessible protégé to ever portray him, and this was perhaps why he decided to avail himself of a sculptor then becoming well known as a possible alternative to Gian Lorenzo, especially in the field of portraiture.

The very fact that this portrait was commissioned from Finelli would indicate that nobody, not even Scipione, thought that he could have his portrait made by Gian Lorenzo—which nevertheless actually did occur in

the months that immediately followed (see cat. no. 4.1)—perhaps even “by order of the Pope,” as certain sources from the period affirm.³ Bernini was to receive a payment of 500 scudi from Scipione almost seven months later, on December 23, 1632, and it is therefore possible that Giuliano completed his bust before Gian Lorenzo ever started working on his project. And while the decision to portray the prelate with his mouth half open, in the act of speaking, might suggest a borrowing from Gian Lorenzo, we must not forget that Finelli’s *Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger* (fig. 5.1.1), sculpted about 1630, had already been presented in the same manner. Moreover, the conception of the bust—whose lower portion continues beyond the edge of the mozzetta, revealing the vestment beneath—seems to underscore the massive, static physicality of the sitter, whereas Bernini, by raising the mozzetta on the sides, gives the composition an entirely different energy and dynamism. This is to say nothing of Finelli’s insistence on such details as leaving tufts of hair uncovered by the pope’s biretta, the visibility of the drill work in the beard, the embroidered border of the alb, and the little laces sticking out of the mozzetta, all elements that Gian Lorenzo would eschew to create a more essential and powerful portrait of the man.

Put up for sale by Prince Paolo Borghese in 1892 as a work by Alessandro Algardi, the bust reappeared in 1919 at the sale of the collection of Gustav Manskopf in Frankfurt, before it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1953. The attribution to Algardi was accepted by Olga Raggio, who called attention to some strong points of similarity with the *Francesco Bracciolini* (cat. no. 5.1), which at the time was believed to be by the Bolognese sculptor.⁴ It would be up to Jennifer Montagu, who discovered the June 7, 1632, payment to Finelli, to return the bust to its rightful author.⁵

Together with the *Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger*, the *Ottavio Bandini* of San Silvestro al Quirinale, and

the *Francesco Bracciolini*, the *Scipione Borghese* belongs to a group of busts constituting one of the crucial turning points of Seicento portraiture. They are in fact the first works sculpted by Finelli after his definitive break from Bernini's workshop, and they exemplify a kind of portrait that, without denying the inescapable influence of Berninian models of the prior decade, developed in a new direction at a time—around 1630—when Gian Lorenzo seemed almost to have abandoned the genre. A strong point of this nucleus of works was, on the one hand, their spectacular technical virtuosity, and, on the other, a total adherence to the painterly conception of sculpture learned from Bernini and interpreted with an even more daring and obsessive style in the endless variation of the different surfaces. As the contemporary sources themselves testify, these portraits enjoyed tremendous success, and at that very moment Monsignor Alessandro Bichi, on his way to Paris as papal nunzio, had decided “once he arrived there, to have stucco models of their Majesties made, so as to have them done by him”—that is, to commission Finelli to make busts of Louis XIII of France and perhaps his consort, Anne of Austria.⁶ Although this undertaking was probably never realized, the episode unequivocally documents the degree to which the Carrarese sculptor's fortunes had risen during those years. It was, moreover, at that same moment that the young Alessandro Algardi was beginning his own activity as a portraitist. It is therefore interesting to find the name of the Bolognese sculptor in a letter from Finelli, written in December 1630, together with those of the Cavalier d'Arpino and Pietro da Cortona, among the people sending best wishes to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.⁷ The two sculptors were good friends at that time, and Finelli probably influenced Algardi in the field of portraiture. AB



PROVENANCE

Rome, Borghese sale, 1892; Frankfurt, Gustav D. Manskopf auction, 1919; New York, French and Company, ca. 1950 (acquired by Mrs. E. Drey); Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Borghese 1892, no. 340; Raggio 1956; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, pp. 97–99; Montagu 1977, p. 323; Montagu 1985a, pp. 472–73; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 408, 806; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 68–70, 332, no. A.41, 473 (with prior bibliography)

NOTES

1. Quoted in Dombrowski 1997, p. 473.
2. Montagu 1985a, pp. 472–73; and Dombrowski 1997, p. 473.
3. The information was contained in a notice sent to Modena in January 1633; see Fraschetti 1900, p. 107. Lelio Guidiccioni, in the June 1633 letter addressed to Bernini, states that the bust of the cardinal would be executed “by my fortunate instigation”: D’Onofrio 1967, p. 384.
4. Raggio 1956, p. 205.
5. Montagu 1977, p. 323; and Montagu 1985a, pp. 472–73.
6. Pizzorusso 1989, p. 114; and Dombrowski 1997, p. 329.
7. In the letter, published in Lavin 1968, p. 227, no. 27; see also Dombrowski 1997, p. 472, doc. D.22, where the sculptor's name appears as “Ligardi.”





5.5

DOMENICO FETTI (ca. 1588/89–1623)

Portrait of a Man with a Sheet of Music, ca. 1620
Oil on canvas, 173 x 130 cm (68 1/4 x 51 1/6 in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (93.PA.17)

IN CONTRAST TO THE OTHER PAINTINGS in this exhibition, this work represents an unidentified sitter, and Fetti inserts the sitter in a narrative that has yet to be properly deciphered. Turned to the side and seated outdoors, among classicizing, overgrown ruins, the sitter gazes intently at the viewer. He holds a sheet of music in his left hand while pointing to the ground below, either to the overturned bowl at bottom left or perhaps out of the picture plane entirely. Two men stand in the background, one with his fingers to his lips, asking his companion to keep quiet. The sitter's open mouth must therefore mean he is in the act of performing, probably indicating song.

Although Fetti is generally associated with the city of Mantua, where he indeed spent most of his career, the artist was initially trained in Rome, only leaving for the north in 1614. He therefore would have been well aware of the sea change in portraiture emerging in early Seicento Rome. Yet, portraits make up only a small portion of Fetti's overall output, and they generally emerge out of personal relationships with the artist. Eduard A. Safarik has stressed Fetti's strong ties to the theater, especially while the artist worked for the Gonzaga court in Mantua. In this connection, Safarik has interpreted the portrait's setting, indeed highly artificial, as a stage set. He has further suggested—although this assertion has not been supported through documentary evidence—that the sitter is Francesco Rasi (1574–1621), a writer and tenor at the Mantuan court, an identification he secures through the unusual detail of the upturned bowl, which he sees as a play on the word *raso*, both the supposed sitter's last name and a unit of liquid measurement

(“brimful”).¹ The garments—with the large flat collar and sleeves emerging from shoulder panels—as well as the distinctive facial hair have likewise not yet been fully deciphered, although it is certainly a simplified version of the costume worn in the more securely documented portrait of a friend of Fetti's, the actor Francesco Andreini (1548–1644) (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage). This connection suggests that the present work may well be—if not Rasi—then another actor in the Gonzagan court.

A second version of this painting exists in the Castle Howard Collection, a work that, despite pentimenti, Safarik has interpreted as a copy.² JLS

PROVENANCE

Possibly Lorenzo De Mari, Genoa, by 1818; by inheritance to the De Mari family, Genoa; Carlo De Mari, Genoa; Ida Uzielli De Mari (1871–1952), Florence, by 1922; Giovanni Tribolati (1906–1982), Lugano; by inheritance to his wife, Sybille Tribolati Baar von Baarenfels, Lugano, 1982; M. Roy Fisher Fine Arts, Inc., New York, by 1993; sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1993

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Safarik 1990, pp. 28–30, 180; Safarik 1996, pp. 296–97

NOTES

1. Safarik 1996, pp. 28, 30.
2. Safarik 1990, p. 297.



5.6

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654)

Portrait of Antonio Cerri, ca. 1640

Marble, H: 85.5 cm (33 3/8 in.)

Manchester (England), City Art Gallery (1981.305)

ANTONIO CERRI WAS BORN ABOUT 1569 NEAR PAVIA, where he studied law. After moving to Rome in the early seventeenth century, he began his career as an attorney in service to the Barberini family. When his friend Maffeo Barberini was elected to the pontificate as Urban VIII in 1623, Cerri's importance to the Curia was secured. Urban VIII appointed him his personal chamberlain, one of the highest honors that could be bestowed on a Catholic layman by the pope, and auditor of the Papal States, a delicate and critical political role. In 1637, Antonio began sharing his duties as consistorial attorney with his son Carlo (1611–1690), whose future held even greater ecclesiastical glories, as he became a cardinal in 1669 under Clement IX.

Antonio's fatherly concern was expressed years earlier in the 1620s, when, in gratitude for Carlo's recovery from a grave illness, he initiated plans to construct a family chapel. Originally intended for Sant'Andrea della Valle, the chapel was ultimately incorporated into the church of Il Gesù in 1640. After Antonio's death two years later, the project, based on designs by Pietro da Cortona, was completed by his son. A contract of October 10, 1645, documents the venture, as does a drawing in the style of Pietro da Cortona in the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin.¹

Although it was "ascribed to Algardi" in a 1979 auction catalogue, Jennifer Montagu first secured the attribution to the artist in her monograph of 1985. The forward projection of Cerri's head in this bust suggests it was meant to adorn his tomb in the chapel of Il Gesù. That it was never installed there has been plausibly explained by its superb quality: it was too fine for placement in a tomb niche and was kept by the family, to

be replaced by a copy.² The copy that was installed in the Cerri Chapel has been reasonably attributed to Domenico Guidi (1625–1701),³ one of Algardi's main assistants (fig. 5.6.1).

The copy is a very summary rendering of the original, which is a stunning depiction of a distinguished individual facing his advancing years. The artist has carved the stone with masterful subtlety to render the details of Cerri's appearance—fine, almost wispy hair, delicate wrinkles around the eyes, and gently pulsing veins at the temples—as well as the texture of his garments: the smooth and freely folded cloak provides a foil for the animated pleats of his cotton surplice and finely drilled tassel and lace. However, the sensitive rendering of physical details does not detract from the subject's dignified bearing. Indeed, it is the restrained form and high quality of carving that support Algardi's authorship of the bust. Although no documentation of the commission has come to light, it is known that Cerri assisted in the settlement of a lengthy dispute regarding the inheritance of Algardi's mother.

In a 1926 auction catalogue the bust was thought to depict a della Rovere cardinal owing to the similarity between the coat of arms of the della Rovere and Cerri families: both depict oak trees. However, the della Rovere arms show an oak tree with twined branches, while those of the Cerri family depict a turkey oak (*cerro* in Italian) with bare roots. The identification of the sitter was corrected by the time the bust appeared at auction in 1979. CH

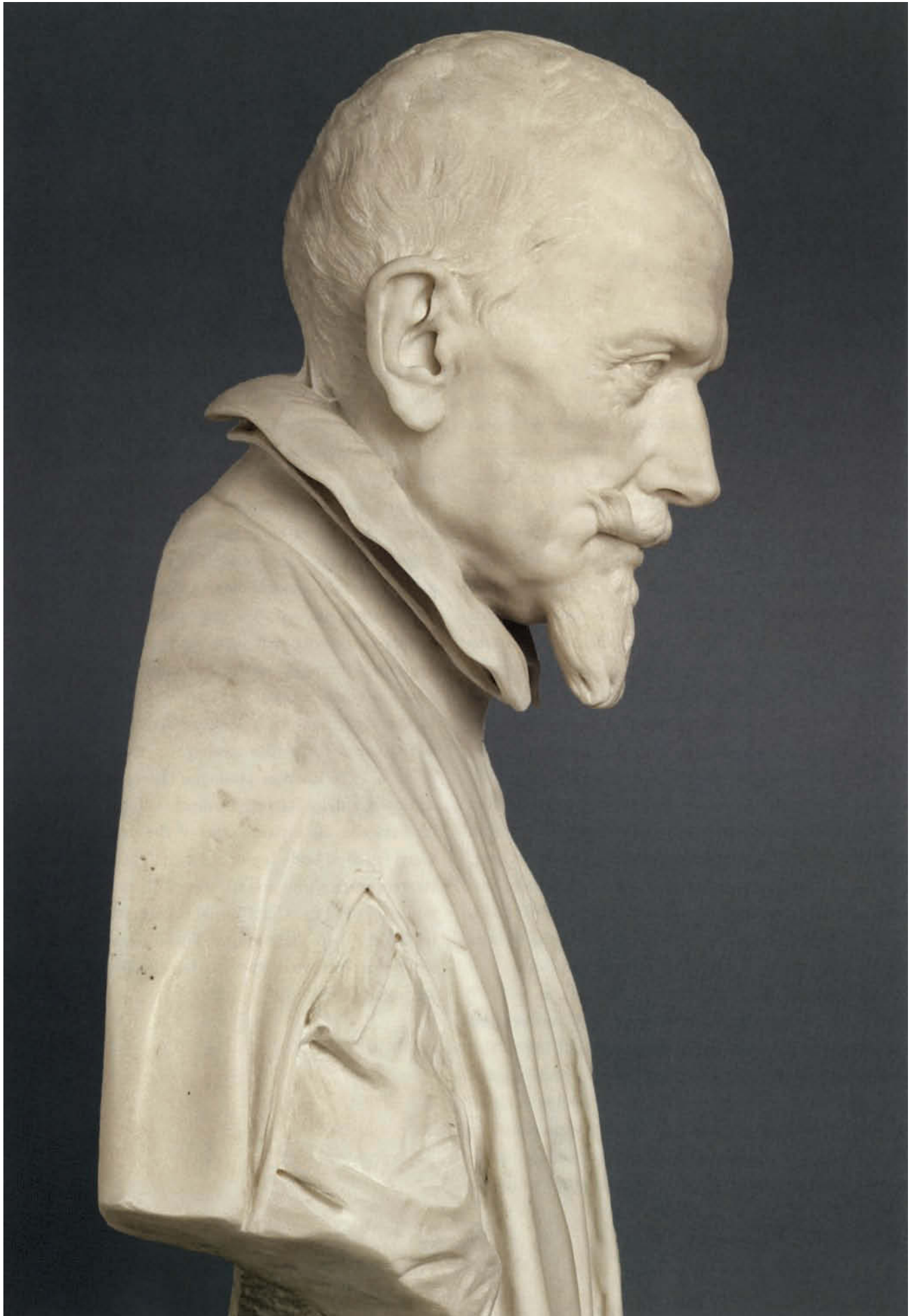




Fig. 5.6.1 DOMENICO GUIDI (1625–1701)
Antonio Cerri, ca. 1657. Marble. Rome, Il Gesù, Cerri Chapel.

PROVENANCE

Perhaps acquired in Rome by Henry Thomas Beresford Hope (1808–1862) in the nineteenth century; by descent to Lord Francis Pelham Clinton Hope, Deepdene, Dorking, England; sold, Christie's, London, July 18–19, 1917, lot 267, to Mrs. Walter Burns, North Mymms Park, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, England; offered, Christie's, London, May 2, 1926, lot 30, apparently bought in; sold, Christie's, London, September 24, 1979, lot 14, to Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, who sold it to the Manchester City Art Gallery, 1981

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, pp. 112–13, no. 34; Heimbürger Ravalli 1975; Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 171–75; vol. 2, pp. 423–24, no. 144; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 34, 771; Timothy Clifford in Edinburgh 1998, p. 76, no. 28

NOTES

1. Cited in Edinburgh 1998, p. 203 nn. 6 and 7.
2. Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, p. 171.
3. Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 424–25, no. 144.A.I.



5.7

ATTRIBUTED TO GIULIANO FINELLI (1601–1653)

Portrait of Maria Cerri Capranica, ca. 1640

Marble, H: 90 cm (35⁷/₁₆ in.); W: 62.2 cm (24¹/₂ in.);

D: 29 cm (11⁷/₁₆ in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (2000.72)

THIS BUST DEPICTS A YOUNG NOBLEWOMAN, ornately dressed, coiffed, and bejeweled. She wears a prominent relief pendant of the Holy Family, tortuously entwined sash and beads, a lace-trimmed *bàvera* (an ample collar with pleats to cover a *décolletage*), and elaborately drilled snail-like curls.¹ Her accouterments give her an air of sophistication and wealth, while her facial expression and bearing give her a rectitudinous, solemn appearance. The socle displays the impaled arms of her family, Cerri, with those of her husband's family, Capranica, both of noble Roman origin.

Archival evidence informs us that Maria Maddalena Cerri (1618–1643), daughter of Antonio Cerri (see cat. no. 5.6), married Bartolomeo Capranica on October 15, 1637.² On June 4 of the following year, Maria gave birth to their only child, daughter Dianora. Maria and Bartolomeo resided in the Roman parish of San Salvatore in Campo and, on October 3, 1643, Maria died at the age of twenty-five and was buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Bartolomeo lived for a few years “alone with his servants” before remarrying, in 1647, the daughter of Pompeo di Giulio Madaleni Capodiferro, Lucrezia de Madaleni. On June 26, 1689, Bartolomeo died and was also buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Although Maria's father, Antonio (ca. 1569–1642), had made his fame and fortune in the service of the Barberini,³ it was her brother Carlo (1611–1690) who gained true renown as a cardinal under Pope Clement IX.⁴

In the first appearance of this bust in print, the subject was tentatively identified as “Isabella Celsi.”⁵ As can happen, published information about the bust was unthinkingly maintained over the years. Apparently, the similar

coats of arms of the Celsi and Cerri families—both feature single trees—had been confused (*celso* or *gelso*, meaning mulberry tree, and *cerro*, meaning turkey oak in Italian). Documentary research had, indeed, found that a woman named Isabella Celsi (1544–1621) married Domenico Capranica, with whom she had at least three sons. Nevertheless, the type of dress and hairstyle, the conception of the bust, and the style of carving of the Getty Museum marble do not coincide with Isabella's life dates. Curiously, Bartolomeo Capranica's mother was Dianora Celsi, niece of Isabella Celsi Capranica and apparent namesake of Maria Maddalena and Bartolomeo's daughter.

The authorship of this bust has been a subject of some discussion since it was acquired by the Getty Museum in 2000. The sculptor has combined the straightforward rendering of a penetrating character—investing his subject with a powerful psychological presence—with a virtuoso display of marble carving, transforming stone into a satiny bow, a sinuous string of beads, stiff lace, and curly ringlets of hair. The perceptive and sober rendering of personality is a characteristic of portrait busts by Alessandro Algardi, while dazzling marble carving technique is a specialty of works by Giuliano Finelli. The relationships between Giuliano Finelli and Bernini, for whom Finelli served as a principal studio assistant during the 1620s, and between Alessandro Algardi and Bernini, notorious rivals with divergent stylistic approaches, are fairly well understood. Much, however, remains to be discovered about the relationship between Finelli and Algardi, including potential artistic influences on each other.⁶ Perhaps Algardi, arriving in Rome in 1625, came under the influence of Finelli, whose virtuosic contributions were evident in Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*, finished that same year.⁷ The close relationship between this bust and Algardi's late bust of Elisabetta Contucci Coli (1648; fig. 5.7.2) in the church of San Domenico, Perugia, is particularly intriguing.⁸



Another intriguing aspect of this bust is the appearance at auction in late 2003 of a copy (fig. 5.7.1).⁹ The sales catalogue described this second bust—which had spent time outdoors for a number of years—as “a weathered marble bust of a young noblewoman” and dated it to the nineteenth century. The Florentine art dealer Giovanni Pratesi acquired it at the sale and had it cleaned. In a dramatic transformation that surprised everyone, it seems, except Mr. Pratesi, the bust is now generally accepted as the work of an artist active in mid-seventeenth-century Rome.¹⁰ Furthermore, it was Giovanni Pratesi’s insight that led to the correct identification of the subject (see note 2). AB *and* CH





Fig. 5.7.1 ARTIST ACTIVE IN ROME (mid-seventeenth century)
Maria Cerri Capranica. Marble. Florence, Giovanni Pratesi.

Fig. 5.7.2 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Elisabetta Contucci Coli, 1648. Marble. Perugia, San Domenico.

PROVENANCE

Sir Robert Abdy, Cornwall, until 1936; sold from his collection at Sotheby's, London, May 28, 1936, lot 34; acquired by William Randolph Hearst through his agent William Permain, located in Hearst's San Donat's Castle, Wales, by March 1939;¹¹ offered for sale by Mary Bellis, Charnham Close, Hungerford, Berkshire, 1952; acquired in that year by Carlos de Beistegui through art dealers Leggatt Brothers, London, for 220 pounds sterling,¹² displayed in de Beistegui's Palazzo Labia, Venice, at least until 1964;¹³ ownership passed to de Beistegui's nephew, Juan de Beistegui;¹⁴ sold, Sotheby's, Château de Groussay, June 3, 1999, lot 460, to Danny Katz, Ltd., London; acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 2000

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Connoisseur 1939; *Connoisseur* 130 (November 1952), fig. 37; Finarte, Palazzo Labia, Venice, April 6–10, 1964, auction cat., pls. 8 and 9; Johannes von Auersperg in *Danny Katz: European Sculpture*, sales cat. (London, 2000), no. 32; Marietta Cambareri in Fogelman and Fusco 2002, pp. 208–

16, no. 26; Levkoff 2007, pp. 295 and 303 nn. 1 and 2

NOTES

1. The form represented here corresponds most closely to that popular in the 1630s to the 1650s; see Ferruccio Cappi Bentivegna, *Abbigliamento e costume nella pittura italiana* (Rome, 1962–64), vol. 2, fig. 65; and André Blum, *L'oeuvre gravé d'Abraham Bosse* (Paris, 1924), figs. 116, 119, 1020, and 1034. In France such a collar was called a *rabat* and came into style around 1625; see Mireille Canet, *Si Jacques Callot m'était conté* (Nancy, 1992), pp. 16–17.
2. Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, S. Stefano in Piscinola (Sta. Cecilia in Montegiordano), *Matrimoni*, p. 62 r and v. Thanks to the initiative of Giovanni Pratesi, Florence, these documents were located by Luca Chiarini and the sitter was correctly identified for the first time in seventy years.
3. See cat. no. 5.6.
4. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960–), vol. 24, pp. 8–10. As one scholar has pointed out, "since a [Roman] political career is necessarily also an ecclesiastical one with the

cardinalate as its final goal, the family member who has taken holy orders often takes over the role of head of the family": Renata Ago, "The Family in Rome: Structure and Relationships," in *Rome-Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Amsterdam, 1997), p. 87.

5. Sotheby's, London, *Catalogue of the Important Pictures and Works of Art. The Property of Sir Robert Abdy, Bt.* (May 28, 1936), lot 34.

6. See cat. no. 5.4 and various discussions on the topic of the Finelli-Algardi relationship in Dombrowski 1997.

7. Dombrowski 1998, esp. p. 826 n. 11.

8. The little that is known of this bust is derived from an inscription on Elisabetta's tomb, which tells of her untimely death in December 1647, aged twenty-seven, and her husband's commissioning of the tomb the following year. Algardi's authorship was published in 1683 when Giorgio Morelli mentioned it, "il Deposito della Sig. Elisabetta moglie del Sig. Baldo Coli con il Busto di essa scolpito in marmo da Alessandro Algardi": *Brevi notizie delle pitture e sculture che adornano l'augusta città di Perugia* (Perugia), p. 63. Recent scholarship questions to what degree the bust is the product of Algardi's workshop; see Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, no. 145.

9. Sold, Sotheby's, London, October 28, 2003, lot 48.

10. According to unofficial information provided by Sotheby's, the Pratesi bust was consigned by an elderly woman

whose father purportedly had acquired it around 1950 in Kings Cliffe, Northampton, England. How it is that these two related seventeenth-century busts reached small towns in central England that are just 140 kilometers apart and did so at the same time is not known.

11. According to a handwritten notation on the auction catalogue in the collection of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. A published note of March 1939 locates the bust in Hearst's St. Donat's Castle, Wales, and mentions that it was to be offered for sale at Sotheby's the following month, but no evidence of the bust appearing at a subsequent sale has come to light; see *Connoisseur* 1939; our thanks to Mary Levkoff, curator of sculpture, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, for bringing this article to our attention and Carolyn Miner, formerly of the Getty Museum, for helping to reconstruct the bust's provenance.

12. Original bill of sale from Leggatt Brothers of March 14, 1953, dating the purchase to December 3, 1952, and describing the bust as "17th century marble bust and plinth, said to be Isabella Celci [sic]."

13. The bust appears in two overall photographs (pls. 8 and 9) of Palazzo Labia interiors reproduced in the catalogue of the 1964 sale of de Beistegui's collection, but it was not offered in any of the lots.

14. Juan also took possession of his uncle's Château de Groussay outside Paris, to which the bust was moved.





5.8

GUIDO RENI (1575–1642)

Portrait of Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini, 1625

Oil on canvas, 196.9 x 149.2 cm (77 ½ x 58 ¾ in.)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.83.109)

THE GRANDNEPHEW OF POPE LEO XI MEDICI, Roberto Ubaldini (also spelled Ubaldino) (1581–1635) became a cardinal in 1615 and served as papal nuncio in France; he returned to Emilia in 1623 as papal legate to Bologna, then moved again to Rome in 1627. Aside from his important political roles, he also commissioned Alessandro Algardi in 1634 to create the tomb for Leo XI in Saint Peter's. No documents related to the inception of this present portrait have yet been uncovered, but while not recorded as a major collector of Bolognese pictures, Ubaldini did have considerable connections to Guido Reni, helping the artist secure a contract for his altarpiece in Saint Peter's.¹ D. Stephen Pepper first speculated that the sitter commissioned this work in Bologna in connection with the 1625 Jubilee, and, as Pepper also determined, the history of this work had long been interwoven with a seventeenth-century copy of the painting with a long provenance, destroyed during World War II at Monte Cassino.²

In an often-repeated anecdote, Reni's biographer Carlo Cesare Malvasia reported: "Summoned to France to paint the portrait of the king with the offer of a thousand doubloons and another thousand for provisions for the journey, he replied that he was not a painter of portraits."³ Indeed, like Guercino and the Carracci, Reni generally declined requests for portraits, although Malvasia records more than thirteen works in this genre. In the case of Reni, his resistance to portraiture as recorded by Malvasia intersected several concerns, including Reni's desire to concentrate on historical and religious subjects, the genres most valorized in Seicento theoretical approaches to painting; his personal distaste for extended contact with patrons; and his discomfort with travel.

Yet Malvasia does not mention Ubaldini among Reni's recorded sitters, although the writer Filippo Baldinucci described the copy in his *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno*, published beginning in 1681.

Set in the middle of an enormous canvas, Ubaldini sits erect in a velvet chair trimmed in gold brocade, whose glint captures the reds of the cardinal's vestments. The scale of the picture, combined with the unusually low viewpoint of the beholder and the sitter's impassive gaze out of the picture beyond the viewer, creates an astonishing sense of the sitter's power. The Ubaldini arms combined with the insignia of a cardinal appear on the inside lid of the open writing box.

This portrait, despite the distinctive treatment of the sitter's eyes, nose, and lips, privileges performative and hieratical qualities of power and grandeur over spontaneity and naturalism. In this way, the work looks back to the format for formal High Renaissance ecclesiastical portraiture developed by Raphael and Titian, rather than engaging many of the newer ideas about portraiture explored by other artists in this exhibition. However, Reni also betrays his awareness of developments in portraiture pioneered by Rubens and Van Dyck, especially the theatricality and sumptuousness of the image and the use of rich color. JLS

PROVENANCE

Probably commissioned by Roberto Ubaldini (1581–1635), Bologna, ca. 1625; probably by inheritance to the Ubaldini family, Bologna, 1635; Dr. Somerville, England, 1821; George James Welbore Agar-Ellis, Baron Dover (1797–1833), England; by inheritance to his wife, Georgiana Howard, Lady Dover (1804–1860), England, 1833; by inheritance to her son, Henry Agar-Ellis, 3rd Viscount Clifden of Gowran (1825–1866), England, 1860; probably by inheritance to his son, Henry George Agar, 4th Viscount Clifden of Gowran (1863–1895), England, 1866; upon his death, probably held in trust by the estate; sold, Robinson and Fisher, London, May 15, 1896, lot 731; Sabin, London, 1895; Robert Goelet,

Newport, R.I., by gift to Salve Regina College, Newport, R.I., 1947; sold, Sotheby's, New York, January 21, 1982, lot 87, to Brancaglie, Rome; Colnaghi, London; sold to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983

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Pepper 1984, pp. 251–52; Scott Schaefer in Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85, pp. 144–46; Conisbee, Levkoff, and Rand 1991, pp. 112–14

NOTES

1. For Ubaldini a key source is Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 39–42, esp. p. 242 nn. 5–6.
2. Pepper 1984, p. 251.
3. Malvasia 1980, pp. 113–14.



5.9

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654)

Portrait of a Gentleman (formerly identified as *Ambrogio Spinola*), ca. 1650

Marble, H (with base): 83 cm (32¹/₁₆ in.); W: 80 cm (31¹/₂ in.);

D: 45 cm (17³/₄ in.)

Milan, Private Collection

IN AN EDITION OF A GUIDE TO GENOA published in 1766, Carlo Giuseppe Ratti mentioned the existence, in the Palazzo of Stefano Spinola in Strada degli Orefici, of “a rather singular bust of a man of this family, by the chisel of Algardi.”¹ In the 1780 edition of the same guide, in what was probably a printer’s error owing to the fact of its being listed beside a “Nativity” by Rubens, this “marble portrait of a man of this family” was also cited as the work of the Flemish painter.² The mistake would not be without consequences: a guide to Genoa published by Federico Alizeri in 1875 states that, in the palazzo that once belonged to the Dorias and was then in the possession of one “Marchese fratelli Spinola di Luigi,” there was a bust “that was identified as Ambrogio Spinola: a stupendous marble that would be the envy of any learned person. By whose hand might it be? Very hard to know: but in these rooms, there is its model, all in clay, which beats even the marble, and since it is certain it is by Rubens, it wouldn’t take much to say that the Fleming was a sculptor before he was a painter.”³ Later both the marble and the terra-cotta (known only from an old photograph in the photo library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut of Florence; fig. 5.9.1)⁴ would elude scholars of Baroque sculpture until Jennifer Montagu rediscovered the marble and examined it for her monograph on Algardi.⁵

Although Montagu considered the marble “in many ways . . . typical of Algardi’s portraiture,” in other respects she did not find it totally compatible with the sculptor’s other works of portraiture. Thus, she suggested the hypothesis that “the marble was carved by another hand from a model provided by Algardi.”⁶ Recognizing the marked differences of execution compared to the *Giacinta Sanvitale Conti* (see fig. 30) and the *Paolo Emilio*

Zacchia (Florence, Bargello), in all likelihood executed by Domenico Guidi from models by Algardi, Montagu believed that the Spinola bust might have been sculpted by a Genoese sculptor.

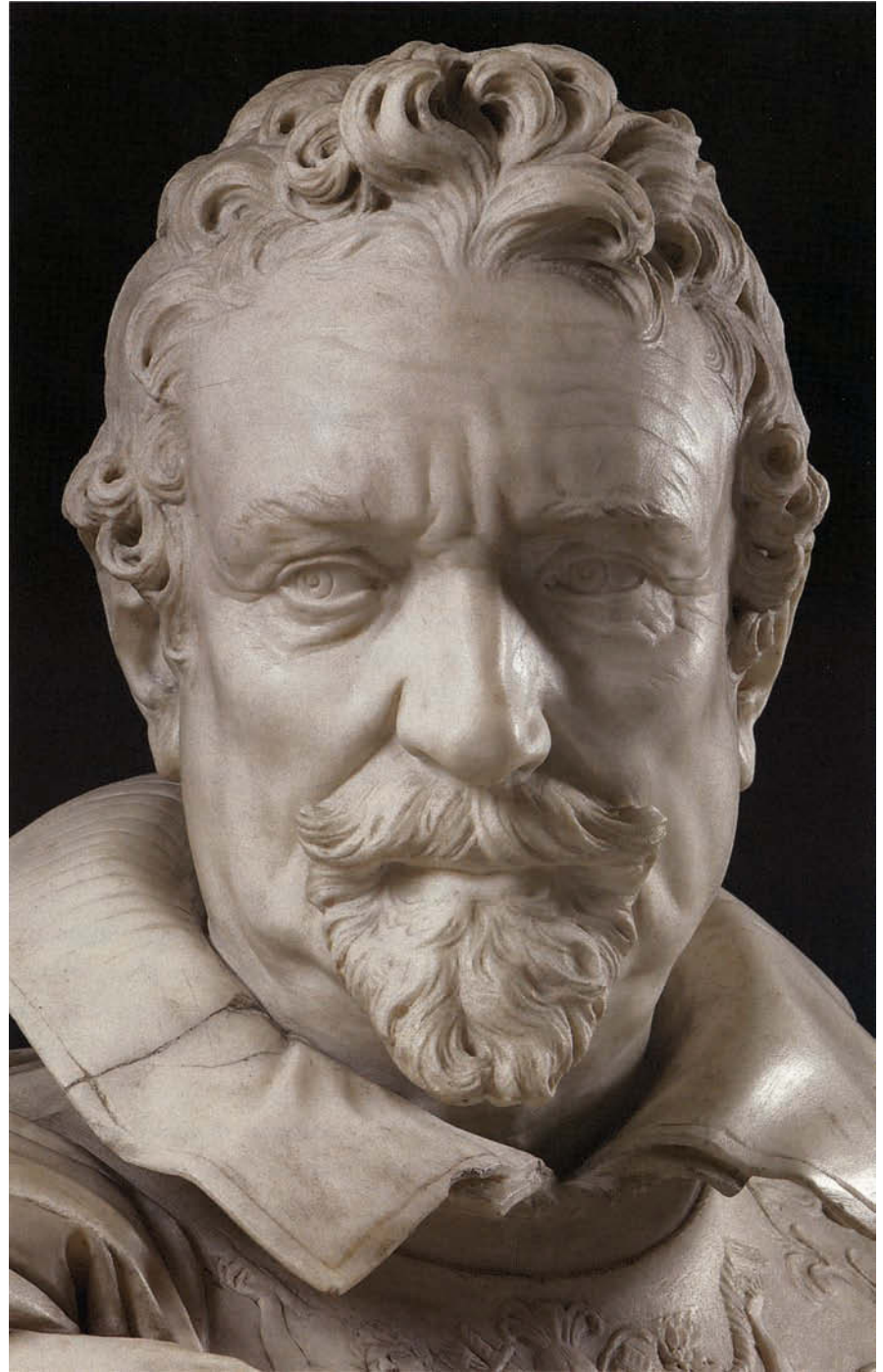
It is possible that certain parts of the bust, especially the cloak and the beard, were never given a perfect finish. Nevertheless, as already proposed elsewhere,⁷ not only the compositional features but also the overall complexity of the execution suggests Algardi as its author. The monumental, almost overflowing fullness of the cloak seems indeed an entirely natural outgrowth of Algardi’s conceptions for the *Benedetto Pamphilj* (Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj) and for the bronze Apostles sculpted for the Franzones (Genoa, Santi Vittore e Carlo).⁸ The extraordinary sensitivity of the skin displayed in the rendering of the face compares quite favorably with the very finest of the sculptor’s efforts at portraiture (starting with the *Cardinal Garzia Mellini*; fig. 5.2.1) and bears witness to the enduring influence of Giuliano Finelli on this aspect of Algardi’s production. The hair, whose disorderly locks create an elegant vitality, appears almost identical to that of the *Benedetto Pamphilj*. Also speaking in Algardi’s favor is the psychological intensity of the gaze, in which restlessness and melancholy cannot hide the untamed, fearsome pride emanating from the eyes and from the sudden furrowing of this commander’s brow.

This bust’s likeness to the *Benedetto Pamphilj* and some of the Genoese Apostles implies that it should be dated to the later phase of the sculptor’s activity, around 1650. The identity of the person portrayed remains entirely open. Jennifer Montagu remarked that “the head bears no resemblance to other portraits of Ambrogio Spinola,”⁹ whereas the low relief of Tritons carved on the gorget of the armor (stylistically rather similar to that of the *Urbano Mellini*; fig. 5.9.2), leads to the possibility that the man portrayed is an admiral. Given the work’s Genoese provenance one must remember the bust mentioned in the Algardi inventory, drafted immediately following his



Fig. 5.9.1 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Bust of a Gentleman. Terra-cotta. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

death, in June of 1654, as “a portrait in marble of some-
one of the house of Lomellini.”¹⁰ One should not forget
that a Stefano Maria Lomellini became admiral of the
pontifical fleet (“luogotenente generale e comandante
della squadra navale”) at the beginning of the same year.¹¹
The listing of the bust in the 1654 inventory is further
evidence in favor of giving a late date to the Lomellini
portrait, one therefore contemporaneous with that of
the marble on exhibit here. AB



PROVENANCE

Genoa, Palazzo Spinola (Strada degli
Orefici), 1766; Genoa, Palazzo Spinola
(Via all'Acquarola), 1766; Milan,
private collection, 2003

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Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 445–46,
no. 179; Bacchi 1999b, pp. 696–97;
Orlando in Genoa 2004, p. 48,
no. IV.1

NOTES

1. Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto può vedersi di più bello in Genova in pittura, scultura, ed architettura* (Genoa, 1766), p. 213.
2. Ibid.

3. Federigo Alizeri, *Guide illustrative del cittadino e del forestiero per la città de Genova e sue adiacenze* (Genoa, 1875), p. 240.

4. Bacchi 1999b, p. 696.

5. Montagu 1985a, vol. 2,
pp. 445–46, no. A.179.

6. Ibid.

7. Bacchi 1999b, pp. 696–97.

8. See Montagu 1985a, vol. 2,
pp. 385, 439–40.

9. Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 446.

10. Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, p. 234;
vol. 2, p. 437.

11. Alberto Guglielmotti, *La squadra ausiliaria della marina romana a Canolia ed all' Morea: storia dal 1644 al 1699* (Rome, 1883), p. 161.



Fig. 5.9.2 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Urbano Mellini, mid-1630s. Marble, H: 66 cm (26 in.).
Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo, Chapel of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino.



5.10

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654)

Portrait of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj, late 1640s

Bronze, H (without base): 78.1 cm (30¾ in.); W: 83.8 cm (33 in.)

Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Rosenberg and Stiebel, Inc.,
in honor of William M. Milliken (57.496)

GIOVANNI BATTISTA PAMPHILJ (1574–1655), born in Rome into a family from Gubbio in Umbria, was trained as a lawyer and was made a cardinal in 1629. He was elected pope in 1644, after a long and difficult conclave at the death of Urban VIII. Although he was already seventy years old when he sat on Saint Peter's throne, he was a very active politician, who was able to increase the power of the Holy See. After his election, he accused the Barberini family of being responsible for the deficit spending policies of Urban VIII, with the result that Urban's nephews fled to France. Before the rehabilitation of the Barberini in 1647, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who was the privileged artist of this family, was likewise out of favor.

Alessandro Algardi easily took advantage of this situation. His biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri recounts that the sculptor was introduced to Innocent X's family by Prince Nicolò Ludovisi. Bolognese like Algardi and married to Costanza Pamphilj, the pope's niece, Ludovisi had employed the sculptor to restore antiquities from his collection. Algardi first worked for Camillo Pamphilj, Innocent X's nephew, conceiving the decoration for his Villa del Bel Respiro, and soon became the principal artist of the Pamphilj pontificate.¹

By 1646 Algardi was already working on a portrait of Innocent X: the monumental bronze seated statue that the Roman Conservatori wanted to erect in the Palazzo Capitolino in gratitude for the pope's rebuilding of the palace.² The sculptor also carved portraits of the most important members of the pontiff's family, such as his brother Benedetto and his sister-in-law Olimpia

Maidalchini (both in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj; see fig. 29)³ and created several busts of Innocent X.

Arguably the most striking and beautifully rendered of these papal busts is the terra-cotta of about 1650, painted white and originally partially gilded (fig. 5.10.1).⁴ Deriving from this model are versions in marble (Acquapendente, Cathedral; Rome, CREDIOP S.p.A), in bronze and porphyry (Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj), and in bronze (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, both ascribed to Domenico Guidi).⁵

From a different model come the beautiful bronze in Cleveland and another in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj. The latter is cited in a 1666 inventory after the death of Camillo Pamphilj at the Villa Bel Respiro.⁶ The Cleveland bust, which is similar in form to the Doria Pamphilj bronze bust, was probably cast from the same mold.⁷ It was formerly in the collection of Baron Gustave de Rothschild together with three other papal busts (see cat. no. 6.7),⁸ but nothing is known of its previous provenance.

The attribution of the Doria Pamphilj bronze to Domenico Guidi, which was previously proposed by David Bershad,⁹ cannot be accepted for stylistic reasons, but the working of the surface of the busts in Cleveland and Rome is close to that of other bronze portraits by Guidi. Only the casting of these bronzes could thus be attributed to this sculptor, who joined Algardi's studio in 1647–48. The fact that they differ from the terra-cotta model in the Palazzo Odescalchi leads one to think they were made at an earlier date. An impressive profile drawing in pen by Alessandro Algardi in the Academia di San Fernando in Madrid may have been made in the course of preparing the model used for these two bronzes.¹⁰

Although in different media with the sitter wearing different vestments, all the busts of Innocent X by Algardi share a sensitive and finely wrought depiction

Fig. 5.10.1 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Pope Innocent X, ca. 1650. Terra-cotta painted
 white, H: 85 cm (33 ½ in.); W: 82 cm (32 ¾ in.).
 Rome, Musco Nazionale del Palazzo Venezia.

Fig. 5.10.2 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Pope Innocent X Pamphilj (or Pamphili), ca. 1650.
 Bronze head on a porphyry bust with bronze
 trimmings, H: 74 cm (29 ¼ in.).
 Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj.



of the man's straggly beard and thin, sagging skin. His heavy jaw and brow, coupled with the posture of his head, tilted forward as if it were weighed down, make his heavy-lidded gaze appear tired and mean. The verisimilitude of this depiction can be ascertained by comparison to the portrait of the pope by Diego Velázquez (fig. 4.4.1)¹¹ and is even more evident in the porphyry and bronze bust of Innocent X now in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj (fig. 5.10.2), which is described in the 1666 after-death inventory of Camillo Pamphilj in the Pamphilj Villa del Bel Respiro. The casting of the head is rough and fresh, providing a dynamic and immediate quality to the face without overwhelming the differentiation of texture, while the porphyry cape with bronze trimmings gives a particularly rich and coloristic sense of the pontiff's crimson velvet and ermine-trimmed mozzetta. It has been noted that the shape of the porphyry mozzetta is not typical of Algardi's terminations, and it is likely that Algardi left the carving of the hard stone to a specialist, as he had done on other occasions.¹²

The combination of bronze and stone for portrait busts, as in Bernini's *Urban VIII* (cat. no. 2.7), dates to antiquity, and such a reference, alluding to the artistic and intellectual achievements of ancient Rome, would have been well understood in seventeenth-century Italy.

Though the Pamphilj family always privileged Alessandro Algardi, Gian Lorenzo Bernini succeeded in making the pope recognize his talents. In 1647 Innocent X organized a competition for the design of a fountain to be erected in the Piazza Navona in front of the church of Sant'Agnese in Agone. As Baldinucci documents:

So strong was the sinister influence of the rivals of Bernini on the mind of Innocent X that when he planned to set up in Piazza Navona the great obelisk brought to Rome by the Emperor Caracalla...for the decoration of a magnificent fountain, the Pope had designs made by the leading architects of Rome without an order for one by Bernini... Prince Niccolò Ludovisi...persuaded Bernini to prepare a model...and had it secretly taken to the Pamphilj house.



[On] seeing such a noble creation, [Innocent X] stopped almost in ecstasy. Being prince of the keenest judgment and the loftiest ideas, after admiring it, he said: "This is a trick... It will be necessary to employ Bernini in spite of those who do not wish it, for he who desires not to use Bernini's designs, must take care not to see them."¹³

After the commission of his Four Rivers Fountain, Bernini began frequenting papal circles once more and was even commissioned to sculpt portraits of Innocent X. Baldinucci lists two busts of this pope by Bernini: one "in casa Pamphilia" and another "per la casa Bernina," identified in the 1950s and both now in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj.¹⁴ One shows the pope slightly younger and has a break through the chin and lower jaw: the appearance of this fault may be evidence of a scenario similar to that involving the two busts of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (see cat. no. 4.1). It may be that Bernini executed a bust of Innocent X that developed a break soon after its completion, probably around 1647, and was, therefore, kept by the artist. Bernini then successfully completed a second version that was accepted by the pope.¹⁵

This latter effigy of about 1650 shows clearly how different from Algardi's was Gian Lorenzo Bernini's conception of portraits (fig. 5.10.3).¹⁶ The pontiff—captured around his seventy-fifth year—appears stern, authoritative, and combative. The head, assertively protruding from his collar with a deep channel encircling his neck, and the entangled strands of his long beard, has been elongated in order to be more impressive. The broad, protruding, almost simian brow, jutting chin, and harsh gaze emphasize this aspect. Bernini has animated the bust by showing the buttons pushed partly in and out of the buttonholes and by the elegant flip of drapery on the right, echoing the direction of the turn of Innocent's head. Furthermore, Bernini achieves dramatic contrasts of light and dark through the use of intricate drill work that renders the border of fur spiraling downward on the front of the pontiff's mozzetta.

In marked contrast to this idealized image of the pope created by his rival, Algardi's bust of Innocent X provides a representative sample of his approach to the art of portraiture, displaying a sober and fixed composition, a faithful representation of the pontiff's physiognomy, a delicate naturalistic rendering, and an air of quiet introspection. As Jennifer Montagu writes, "the calm, meditative heads sculpted by Algardi make no such immediate impact [as those of Bernini], but it is the individual personality of the sitter rather than his rank and estate which these portraits convey."¹⁷ CH and ALD

PROVENANCE

Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris, and Palais Lambert, Brussels; Rosenberg and Stiebel [dealer], New York; donated to the Cleveland Museum of Art

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Hawley 1962, pp. 80–82; Nava Cellini 1964, pp. 17–18; Bershada 1970, p. 809; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, p. 118; Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 430, no. 154.C.1; John Spike in Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85, pp. 48–49, no. 3; Jennifer Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 63–64

NOTES

1. Passeri 1772, pp. 201–2.
2. Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 428, no. 152. The statue was finished in 1650.
3. For these busts, see Nava Cellini 1964, pp. 17–18; and Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 437, 439–40, nos. 165 and 169.
4. Montagu in Rome 1999a, p. 158, no. 29. Cardinal Nicolò Ludovisi had given the terra-cotta to Maria Pamphilj—niece of Innocent X, daughter of Olimpia Maidalchini and Pamphilo Pamphilj, and wife of Andrea Giustiniani—sometime before the princess's death in 1684. Ludovisi, born Nicolò Albergati in Bologna, was elevated to the purple in 1645 by Innocent X. Prince Nicolò Ludovisi declared him his "brother" and allowed Albergati to use the Ludovisi name; see Francesca Cappelletti in Rome 1999a, p. 158.
5. See Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 431–32, nos. 156.A.1, A.158, 157, and 156.D.1–2. Another marble bust in Rome (Palazzo Doria Pamphilj) is

likely a workshop production from a different lost model (Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 429, no. A.153). For the marble bust from Viterbo, see Jennifer Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 160–61, no. 30. For the bust in London, see Charles Avery in Edinburgh 1998, p. 78, no. 29.

6. Nava Cellini 1964, pp. 16–17; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, pp. 117–18, no. 36a. Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 429–30, no. 154.
7. Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 430, no. 154.C.1.
8. On these four busts, see John T. Spike in Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85, pp. 34–41.
9. Bershada 1970, p. 809.
10. For the attribution of the cast to Domenico Guidi, the dating, and the comparison with the drawing, see Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, pp. 429–30, nos. 154 and 154.C.1.
11. Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, p. 159. The painting is in Rome (Galleria Doria Pamphilj).
12. Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, p. 120; Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 430, no. 154.C.1.
13. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, pp. 101–2.
14. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177. Faldi 1955b, pp. 47–52; Martinelli 1955a, pp. 32–52; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 270–71, no. 51.
15. Alessandro Angelini in Rome 1999b, pp. 339–40, no. 54.
16. For a more detailed comparison between Bernini's and Algardi's busts of the same pontiff, see Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, pp. 158–64.
17. Montagu 1985a, vol. 1, p. 162.





VI ABSOLUTE ART FOR ABSOLUTE POWERS

THE 1630S MARK THE MIDDLE OF BERNINI'S CAREER and the climax of his early development as a portraitist. After this decade, his portrait busts may be fewer but they are commanding, ostentatious, and heroic—qualities that were certainly suitable to his regal and papal subjects: Cardinal Richelieu, Charles I of England, Pope Alexander VII, Francesco d'Este, and Louis XIV of France. Once he became involved in large-scale architectural projects, his time for the less celebrated endeavor of portrait sculpture was limited to accepting commissions from only the most important of patrons.

A few exceptions exist and in the second half of his career, Bernini sculpted three busts of individuals who were neither royal nor noble: Thomas Baker (cat. no. 6.1), Gabriele Fonseca (fig. 22), and an unidentified gentleman (cat. no. 6.10). The first resulted when Baker offered Bernini a large sum of money; the second resulted, perhaps, from a friendship between patron and artist. The reasons for the third are not known.

Once Cavaliere Bernini's fame had spread throughout Europe, with patrons hailing from cities other than Rome, Bernini was forced to adopt a process he had already used in the portrayal of a deceased subject: sculpting the bust after a painted model. Bernini used painted sources for his busts of King Charles I of England, Cardinal Richelieu (cat. no. 6.4), and Duke Francesco d'Este of Modena (fig. 6.5.1), since none could travel to Rome. This practice is noteworthy because the "models" were produced by painters celebrated in their own right, such as Justus Sustermans, Anthony van Dyck (cat. no. 6.2), and Philippe de Champaigne (cat. no. 6.3). Bernini complained on several occasions of the difficulty of capturing a person's likeness in sculpture, especially a subject whom he was unable to meet. And after sculpting the bust of Francesco d'Este he vowed that he would never again carve a bust without the subject himself having posed. He was true to his promise: Bernini created the bust of Louis XIV while in Paris working on the reconstruction of the Louvre palace.

One consequence of sculpting a portrait without the subject present was an inevitable lack of verisimilitude. Bernini's solution was to idealize the subject, an approach lauded by seventeenth-century theorists, including Giovan Pietro Bellori, who criticized naturalism in portraiture for favoring "resemblance to beauty." Idealization was also a suitable means of portraying the nobles and kings who were Bernini's subjects during this period. And, ever experimental, Bernini chose to place Francesco d'Este and Louis XIV on dramatic swirls of drapery, presenting the subjects as majestic, flawless, and floating in a noble realm above that of the everyday. Bernini's remarkable rendering of Pope Clement X (cat. no. 6.12), also raised on a kind of cloud, was originally placed high up in the library of the Palazzo Altieri below billowing drapery in painted and gilt stucco. A late variation of Bernini's "speaking likeness," the pontiff is presented in perpetual benediction of the people below.



6.1

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Thomas Baker, 1637–38

Marble, H: 81.6 cm (32 1/4 in.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A.3-1921)

THOMAS BAKER (1606–1658) was a minor English squire from Whittingham Hall, Suffolk,¹ who, while in Rome in the late 1630s, successfully convinced Bernini to sculpt his effigy. The resulting sculpture is one of the first examples of a bust whose only function is as a work of art rather than as a celebratory or commemorative image of an important, powerful, or lauded figure. It is also the only documented bust by Bernini of a fairly young man.²

Why the sculptor accepted such an inconsequential commission that, he must have known, would upset his protector, Pope Urban VIII can be explained by three motives: resignation, money, and fame. Nicholas Stone (1586–1647), sculptor and master mason to Charles I, records in a 1638 interview with Bernini that “an English gent” (almost surely Baker) “wooded him a long time to make his effiges in marble, and after a great deale of intreaty and the promise of a large sum of money he did gett a mind to undertake itt because itt should goe into England, that thay might see the difference of doing a picture after the life or a painting.”³ Baker wore the sculptor down with his persistence, offered him a tempting payment (6,000 scudi, compared to the 4,000 Bernini received for his bust of the king of England),⁴ and, most importantly, provided him the opportunity to prove to the English his ability to capture a person’s appearance from life, rather than from a painting, as was the case with Bernini’s only other bust of an English subject at this time, that of Charles I. Incidentally, according to English antiquarian George Vertue (1684–1756), it was Baker who took Van Dyck’s portrait of the king to Rome in 1636.⁵ Bernini’s statement that Baker commissioned his bust after having seen that of Charles I,

presumably in London in 1637, means that Baker must have returned to London that year. How these claims reconcile with Bernini’s statement in 1638 that Baker had wooed him “a long time” is unclear.

Urban VIII was duly annoyed with this project. Not only was Bernini in his service as the pontiff’s official sculptor and architect, but Urban saw the commission as an unworthy undertaking that would denigrate the Church’s act of goodwill toward the English in allowing Bernini to sculpt their king. Cardinal Francesco Barberini was sent to forbid Bernini to continue work on Baker’s bust. Consequently, according to Stone, Bernini “defaced the modell in divers places.”⁶ Yet the bust was completed. It is surmised that the sculptor either repaired the terra-cotta or created another and then executed the marble, leaving much of the work to an assistant in order to elude reprisal. Most scholars believe that this assistant was Andrea Bolgi (1605–1656), the only “man of consequence” in Bernini’s studio at the time.⁷

Baker is portrayed wearing a fancy collar of Venetian lace, his head turned sharply to his left under a bulky mop of curls, his left hand poking out from his cloak and resting heavily on a ledge-like fold. There is general agreement that Bernini was responsible for the head and, perhaps, the lace, while he may not have been for the lower portion of the bust. The termination is too regular, with no hint of Bernini’s signature suggestion of movement and anatomical continuity. Likewise, the folds of the cloak are regular and uniform. These points are made clear when one compares this work with Bernini’s earlier bust of Giovanni Vigeveno in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (fig. 1.2.1), for which he adopted the same classicizing pose of a hand protruding from drapery to rest on the folds of a cloak. Although the Vigeveno bust conveys a still presence and fixed expression, the weight of the figure’s right hand realistically hangs on bunches of folds, and his arm convincingly disappears back into the niche.

In contrast, the Baker head, in spite of its high polish and pupil-less eyes, is full of life. The voluminous curls seem to bounce about, masterfully undercut and delineated with the drill. Yet the face beneath appears small and smooth with fine features and carefully groomed mustache and *mouche*; the mouth is set in a self-satisfied smile with the suggestion of dimples on the youthful cheeks. These features and the exaggerated coiffure and elaborate lace present the impression that Baker was a fashionable, perhaps frivolous, dandy. It is not known whether the bust passed at Baker's death directly into the collection of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), a Dutch portrait painter active in England, or whether there had been an intermediary owner. Nevertheless, from Lely's collection the bust passed to the present day without a break in its provenance. CH

PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Lely, London, by 1680; sold from Lely's collection, London, April 18, 1682, lot 3 (under "Statues of Marble"), to Anthony Grey (Earl of Kent); inherited by his son Henry Grey (12th Earl, later Duke, of Kent); inherited by his granddaughter Jemima Yorke (2nd Marchioness Grey and Countess of Hardwicke) and her husband, Philip Yorke (Lord Royston, later 2nd Earl of Hardwicke); inherited by his daughter Anne Florence Cowper (6th Baroness Lucas of Crudwell); inherited by her son Francis Thomas de Grey Cowper (7th Earl Cowper and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland); sold at his death in 1905 to Charles Henry Alexander Paget (6th Marquess of Anglesey); sold, July 25, 1921, lot 1127, to Durlacher Brothers, London, for the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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no. 638; Fagiolo dell'Arco 1967, p. 209, no. 81; Lightbown 1981; Wittkower 1981, p. 208, no. 40; Avery 1997, pp. 228–31; Desmond Shawe-Taylor in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 74–75, no. 27; Angelini 1999, pp. 39–40; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 106–9, 178, no. 27

NOTES

1. More biographical information on the sitter, including his activities as a collector of Italian sculpture and paintings, is available in Lightbown 1981.
2. Sutherland Harris 1989, p. 19.
3. W. L. Spiers, ed., "The Notebook and Account Book of Nicholas Stone," *Walpole Society* 7 (1917–18), p. 170. Much of this information is also recorded by Filippo Baldinucci, Domenico Bernini, and Paul Fréart de Chantelou.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 89.
5. "Notebooks," *Walpole Society* 18 (1930), p. 27.
6. "The Notebook" (see note 3 above), p. 170.
7. Wittkower 1953, pp. 18–22.







6.2

ANTHONY VAN DYCK (1599–1641)

Portrait of King Charles I in Three Positions, 1635

Oil on canvas, 84.4 x 99.4 cm (33 3/16 x 39 1/8 in.)

Windsor Castle, Royal Collections (RCIN 404420)

BEFORE A TURBULENT, CLOUDY BACKGROUND, King Charles I of England (1600–1649) appears in three positions: one in profile seen from the right, another facing forward, and the third in a three-quarter view from the left. Van Dyck varies the position of the monarch's arms, with his left arm crossing his chest in the profile and his right arm crossing in the three-quarter view: both hands thus appear. Moreover, Van Dyck varies the costume and lace collar with each likeness, including a sober black garment with cut sleeves; a crimson, buttoned jacket; and a theatrically gathered plum mantle (with the star of the Order of the Garter on the visible sleeve). A pearl earring appears only in the portrait at right, while the blue Garter ribbon is in all three images.

This painting emerged in response to Queen Henrietta Maria's desire for Bernini to create a bust of her husband. Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome and Gregorio Panzani, a papal diplomat in London, negotiated the commission, and Pope Urban VIII Barberini—who guarded Bernini's time—supported the project as part of his interest in bringing England back into the Catholic orbit. Van Dyck must have been engaged to paint the work immediately upon returning to London in March 1635, for that same month, the king wrote to Bernini urging him to make the bust, referring to a painted portrait that could be sent at once.¹ By April 1637, Bernini had sent the bust from Rome to Britain, but this work, now known only from copies, burned in a 1698 fire.² The painting, however, remained with Bernini in Rome, where the biographer Giovan Pietro Bellori must have seen it, since he mentions it in his life of Van Dyck, beginning his account of the artist's numerous portraits of the monarch as follows: “The king deigned to be

portrayed by his hand, and when Cavaliere Bernini was to sculpt a portrait of him in marble, he had no difficulty obtaining three of him painted on one canvas, in three different views, full face, profile, and semiprofile.”³ The work far exceeds the requirements of the picture as a tool for a sculptor, and its sophisticated layering of paint and coloristic richness shows Van Dyck engaging the paragon of painting and sculpture, pitching up the painterly qualities, rather than simply conveying three dimensions in two.

Millar noted that the canvas, a working document rather than an independent artistic enterprise, shows unusual restraint for Van Dyck,⁴ and he indeed painted the king's face with particular precision. Yet, the handling has real vivacity, and the balance of the textured sky, the band of thickly described lace that bifurcates the composition, and the saturated color harmonies in the bottom third of the picture bring excitement to the surface, a provocative foil for the sober, melancholic expression on the king's faces.

The work takes as its point of origin Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Positions* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), a work then attributed to Titian and in Charles I's collection, although Van Dyck enhanced the colors and rich handling considerably. The painting inspired significant works in its wake, chiefly another commission (cat. no. 6.3)—originally planned for Van Dyck, but eventually taken up by Philippe de Champaigne's studio—for Bernini to use as a model for the Cardinal Richelieu bust (cat. no. 6.4) as well as Van Dyck's projected triple portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria. JLS

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by King Charles I (1600–1649), London, 1635; by gift to Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), Rome; by inheritance to his sons, 1680; sold through James Irvine to William Buchanan (1777–1864) and Arthur Champenowne, London, 1802; sold to Walsh Porter (died 1809); by inheritance to his son, by 1809; sold to William Wells, Redleaf (1768–1847); sold to King

George IV (1762–1830), 1822; by inheritance through the British royal family

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Millar 1963, pp. 96–97; Barnes et al. 2004, pp. 464–66

NOTES

1. Barnes et al. 2004, p. 465.
2. For the history of the bust and its copies, see Raatschen 1996.
3. Bellori (1672) 2005, p. 218.
4. Millar 1963, p. 96.



6.3

PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE (1602–1674)

Portrait of Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, 1640 or 1642

Oil on canvas, 67 x 46 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts (44.987.2.1)

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT political and cultural figures in seventeenth-century Europe, Armand-Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, cardinal and duc de Richelieu (1585–1642), played a pivotal role in consolidating absolutist power by the French monarchy in his role as first minister to King Louis XIII. A powerful supporter of the arts and the founder of the Académie française, he profoundly influenced the development of French art, music, and literature across his career, and his patronage was especially instrumental for the painter Philippe de Champaigne.

The history of this portrait underscores a very practical problem: a famous artist and a famous sitter who could not travel to meet one another. As far back as 1634, plans to have a bust of Cardinal Richelieu made in Rome were under serious consideration. However, the commission offered to Bernini came into focus only in 1640, when Cardinal Jules Mazarin and the French ambassador to Rome, François Annibal, maréchal d'Estrées, worked with Elpidio Benedetti, an agent in Rome close to Bernini, to secure the services of the artist. As the vicissitudes surrounding the portrait bust of King Charles I of England demonstrate (cat. no. 6.2), the Barberini considered Bernini exclusive to them, and any work for a foreigner—especially someone with such a problematic relationship to Pope Urban VIII as Richelieu had in the early 1640s—needed to be approached with particular care.

Bernini, having found the triple portrait by Van Dyck (cat. no. 6.2) useful for his bust of the English monarch, asked to have portraits of Richelieu sent to him in Rome. Gaps still exist in the documentation of the commission, and open questions remain regarding

the connection of the triple portrait in London (fig. 6.3.1) to the work in Strasbourg, as well as the relationship of either painting to Bernini's sculpture.

Originally, Bernini was expected to produce a full-length statue of the cardinal, but the artist elected instead to make a bust (cat. no. 6.4), without declining to execute the larger commission. Received in Paris as a tour de force of carving, Bernini's sculpture nonetheless drew fire for its lack of verisimilitude, blamed at least in part on the inadequacy of the model on which he based his work.¹

According to Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, after the marble bust arrived in Paris Mazarin initially sought out Van Dyck to create the model for the full statue to be done by Bernini, but his 1641 death cut off that possibility.² However, it appears that Bernini had by that point in fact already been provided with a likeness of Richelieu. One possibility is that Philippe de Champaigne created this first model, but it is more likely that another, lost, work served as Bernini's original source, given the incisiveness and attentive description of Richelieu's features in both the London and Strasbourg paintings.³ In any case, returning to Bernini for the full-length work seems to have been abandoned by April 1641, and Mazarin turned to Francesco Mochi in Rome for the full-scale sculpture.⁴

In Rome, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who also took part in the negotiations, wrote in June 1641 to Mazarin asking for both profile and full-face portraits.⁵ Although no documents record Champaigne's engagement in the commission, both the Strasbourg and London paintings surely emerged from this second phase of the commission, a supposition reinforced by an inscription on the London painting, testifying to its use by Mochi.

The relationship between the painting in Strasbourg and the much better-known portrait in London has not yet been fully determined, but the connection has come into focus in recent years. At first, the present painting

was thought to be a copy after the work in London, but scholars also began to question the full authenticity of the triple portrait, now widely acknowledged as having heavy input from Champaigne's studio.⁶ Recent critical opinion, especially owing to the work of Sylvain Laveissière, has swayed in favor of the Strasbourg picture, now recognized as fully autograph on account of its high quality and consistency across the surface. Moreover, X radiographs reveal considerable changes, with Champaigne painting one head in three-quarter profile and another facing forward. He then painted over these heads and added a strip of canvas to center the profile in the middle of the composition. These alterations do not appear in the London picture, indicating that the Strasbourg canvas is the first version, probably retained by Champaigne in his studio while he created the second triple portrait and sent it to Mochi in Rome. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot has suggested plausibly that Champaigne himself cut up the painting in light of the bust's failure, retaining the fragment in his studio.⁷ JLS

Fig. 6.3.1 PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE and studio
Triple Portrait of Cardinal Richelieu, ca. 1640 or 1642. Oil on canvas,
 58.4 x 72.4 cm (23 x 28½ in.). London, National Gallery of Art.

PROVENANCE

Possibly retained by Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674), Paris, in his studio; possibly, upon his death, held in trust by the estate; Alfred Seymour; by inheritance to Miss Seymour; sold, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, January 23, 1920, lot 80; Vere Harmsworth, 3rd Viscount Rothermere (1925–1998); d'Estainville family; sold to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, 1987

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Dorival 1976, vol. 2, p. 182; Dorival 1992, p. 18; Patrick Ramade in Montreal and Paris 1993, p. 138; Wine 2001, pp. 38–43; Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Sylvain Laveissière, and Humphrey Wine in Montreal and Cologne 2002, pp. 261–66; Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot in Lille and Geneva 2007, pp. 122–23, no. 18

NOTES

1. Bresc-Bautier in Montreal and Cologne 2002, p. 261.
2. Laurain-Portemer 1976.
3. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, on the other hand, disagrees with this line of thinking, arguing that Champaigne was commissioned to do the original views sent to Bernini that led to the failure of the bust, citing a passage by Domenico Bernini asserting that Van Dyck was engaged to repair the problematic image; see note 1 above.
4. Mochi's sculpture was vandalized in the French Revolution so that only the body survives, now in the Musée du Piloni, Niort; see Wine in Montreal and Cologne 2002, p. 266. For more on the complex history of the works by Bernini and Mochi, see Laurain-Portemer 1976 and Gaborit 1979.
5. De Luca Savelli 1981, p. 97 n. 124.
6. Wine 2001, pp. 42–43.
7. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot in Lille and Geneva 2007, pp. 122–23, 132–33, nos. 18 and 22.





THE LALU

6.4

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, 1640–41
Marble, H: 83 cm (32¹/₆ in.); W: 65 cm (25⁵/₁₆ in.); D: 33 cm (13 in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre (MR 2165)

IN SPITE OF THE AMPLE DOCUMENTATION surrounding the commissioning, execution, and reception of this work, it remains somewhat of a curiosity among Bernini's portrait busts: was the bust a success or a failure? Starting in 1634 there was talk in Rome of interest in commissioning a Roman sculptor to produce an effigy of Cardinal Richelieu. Five years later, Jules Mazarin wrote to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the informal representative of France to the papal court, of Richelieu's interest "in having a statue made by one of these masters."¹ In 1640, Barberini informed Mazarin of a perfect candidate: *Cavaliere* Bernini.

The moment was ripe for such a long-distance project since in the meantime, in 1636, Bernini had produced the reportedly brilliant bust of Charles I, king of England, now lost, with the sitter *in absentia*, using a triple portrait by Anthony van Dyck as a model (cat. no. 6.2). Mazarin's artistic agent in Rome, Elpidio Benedetti, wrote to Mazarin that Bernini preferred to start with a portrait bust of the cardinal before embarking on a full-length statue. This decision, whether it was Bernini's or not, was politically important in appeasing Pope Urban VIII, who was not happy about the project. Not only had Antonio Barberini neglected to inform the pontiff of his sculptor's venture with Richelieu, but it was also unthinkable that the French cardinal would be memorialized in a portrait statue when the king of England had received a simple bust.

As in the case of the bust of Charles I, Bernini required images of the cardinal from which to work. The ones he received in September 1640 were perhaps the three views that Philippe de Champaigne painted of the cardinal (see

cat. no. 6.3, fig. 6.3.1). In July 1641, the bust, finished some months earlier, was delivered to Paris by two of Bernini's apprentices, Giacomo Balsimello and Niccolò Sale. Before leaving Rome, the bust was described as "miraculous" and so lifelike that "it seems to speak."²

In Paris, however, a different assessment was put forward. Richelieu's own reaction is not documented, although he is said to have been unable to recognize himself in the work.³ Mazarin officially praised Bernini's bust, but he candidly admitted to his brother Michele Mazzarini that "it doesn't look like him. I am extremely displeased because . . . it will not be as admired here as it would have been if it had resembled him."⁴ This displeasure did not harm Bernini's reputation in Paris because the disappointment in Richelieu's portrait bust was blamed more on the painted model's failure to resemble the sitter than on any fault in Bernini's talent. Nevertheless, at the same moment, Mazarin engaged medalist and sculptor Jean Warin (1607–1672) to produce another bust of Richelieu, now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, suggesting he was not satisfied with Bernini's efforts.⁵

Such criticism seems excessive. Although it lacks any of the characteristics of the "speaking likeness" that Bernini developed to spectacular effect in the 1630s, it is a formal and reserved rendering that Bernini was to further develop in other official portraits to follow. Here, Bernini's great innovation is the subtle but unmistakable suggestion of movement in an otherwise static image: with his head turned to his left, Richelieu's arms under his mozzetta appear to move back and forward as if he is striding ahead, unlimited by the bust's termination. The cardinal's admittedly dour facial expression—emphasized by his high, starched collar—makes it look as if he is lost in important thought.

Nevertheless, even before the bust arrived in Paris, the project to produce a full-length statue of Richelieu was taken up again. Mazarin intimated his dissatisfaction with



the triple portrait that had been supplied to Bernini in a letter of December 18, 1641, informing the sculptor that, for the statue, “Van Dyck will come here as promised in order to perfectly produce profiles of His Eminence.”⁶ Mazarin did not know that Van Dyck had died in London fourteen days earlier. The project for a statue was abandoned.

Bernini kept the preparatory model for his marble effigy of Richelieu, and it is from this he may have cast the bronze versions in Potsdam (cklst A29a) and Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria).⁷ Other versions in marble of varying quality exist: Cummer Art Gallery, Jacksonville, Florida (formerly Heim Gallery, London); private collection, New York (formerly David Schaff Fine Arts, Delaware); and location unknown (sold, Sotheby’s, March 21, 2007, lot 27, formerly Principe Don Marcantonio Doria D’Angri, Naples); as well as a version by Luigi Secchi (1853–1921) in the Musée Baron-Gérard in Bayeux. CH

PROVENANCE

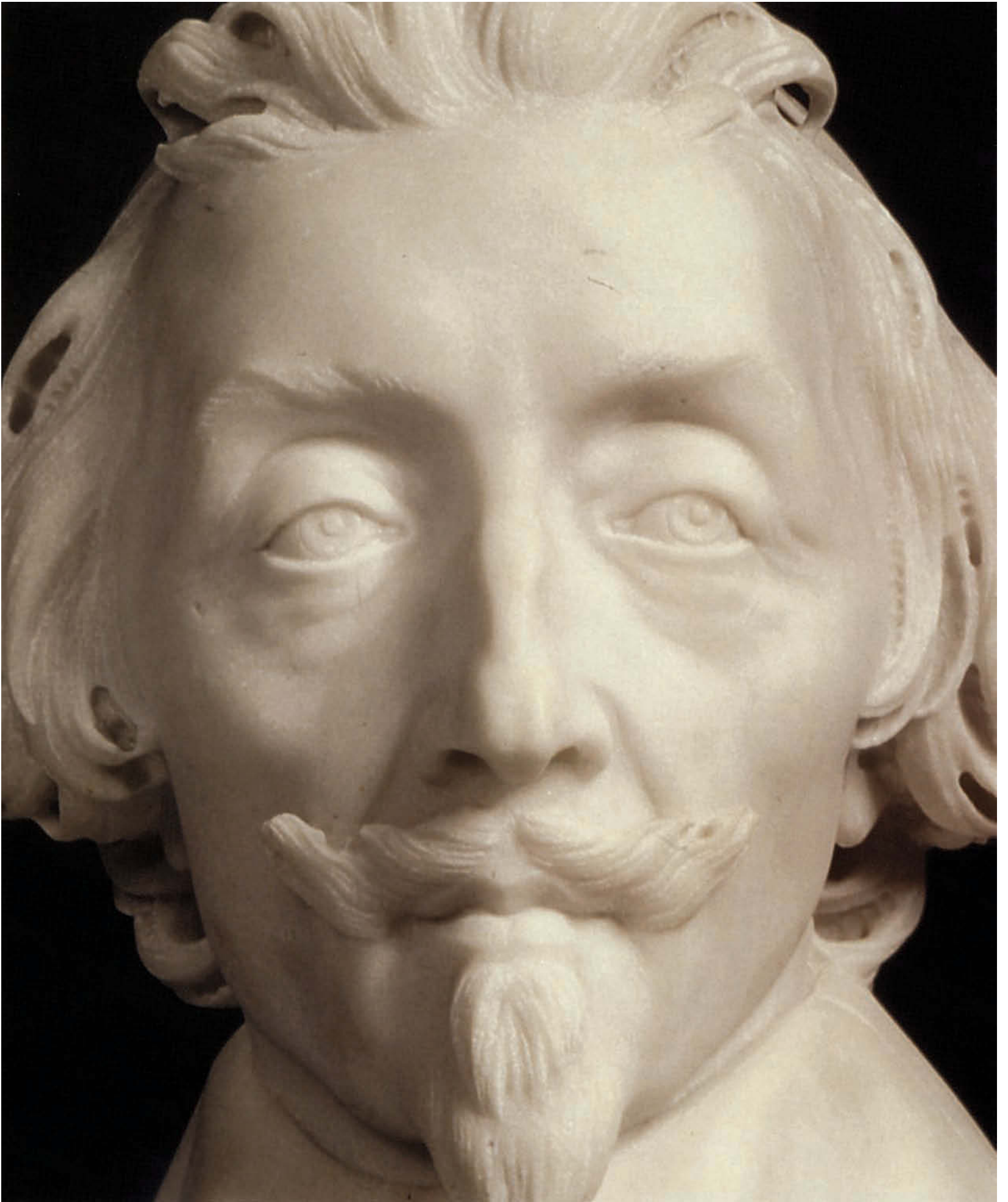
Cardinal Richelieu, Palais Cardinal, Paris, 1641; by inheritance to the duchesse d’Aiguillon, Petit Luxembourg, by 1675; chapter room, Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, by 1786; seized 1792 (during the Revolution); Mazarine Library, Paris, until 1795; Musées des Monuments Français, Paris, until 1817; Musée du Louvre, Paris

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List of ca. 1675 (D’Onofrio 1967, p. 435 n. 31); Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177; Reymond 1910; Ingersoll-Smouse 1922, p. 402; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 202–3, no. 42; Paris 1962, p. 186; Fagiolo dell’Arco 1967, p. 119, no. 105; Laurain-Portemer 1975; Charageat 1976; Gaborit 1979; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 149, 780; Avery 1997, pp. 231–34; Alessandro Angelini in Rome 1999b, pp. 111, 338–39, no. 53; Geneviève Bresc-Bautier in Montreal and Cologne 2002, pp. 261–63, no. 110; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 177–78, no. 26; Hendler 2005

NOTES

1. Laurain-Portemer 1976, n. 120.
2. Laurain-Portemer 1976, p. 97 nn. 119 and 120.
3. Avery 1997, p. 233.
4. Archival document cited in Hendler 2005, n. 17.
5. Hilliard Todd Goldfarb in Montreal and Cologne 2002, pp. 72–73, no. 1.
6. Letter to Louis Courajod as cited in Laurain-Portemer 1976, p. 98 n. 137.
7. Wittkower 1970–71; Gaborit 1979, p. 87, fig. 5.





6.5

ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCESCO STRINGA (1635–1709)

Allegorical Still Life with Bernini's Bust of Francesco I d'Este,

late seventeenth century

Oil on canvas, 135.9 x 101.9 cm (53½ x 40¼ in.)

Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund (38.38)

THIS LARGE AND ENIGMATIC STILL LIFE, a work that plays in myriad ways with the complexities of art and nature, has confounded scholarly efforts to identify its author and decipher its iconography. What is certain is that the focus of the painting is one of Bernini's most celebrated ruler portraits, his bust of Francesco I d'Este, the duke of Modena, which the sculptor executed in 1650–51 on the basis of two profile portraits by Justus Sustermans, which were sent from Modena to Rome as surrogates for the sitter himself (fig. 6.5.1).

Currently catalogued by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts as an anonymous French work of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, this painting has been attributed to no fewer than nine different artists over the course of the last 106 years. In the very first published notice of the canvas in 1902, Stanislaw Frascchetti attributed it—unconvincingly—to Bernini's frequent collaborator Guidobaldo Abbatini (ca. 1600–1656).¹ It entered the MIA's collection in 1938 with an equally untenable attribution to the French painter Pierre Subleyras (1699–1749).² Since that time, it has been credited variously to Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671), Cesar Boetius van Everdingen (1617–1678), Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818), Meiffren Conte (1630–1705), Pier Francesco Cittadini (ca. 1613–1681), and Jean Boulanger (1606–1660).³ None of these attributions is credible; however, the recent attribution to the Modenese painter Francesco Stringa is compelling on stylistic grounds and the most convincing proposal to date.⁴

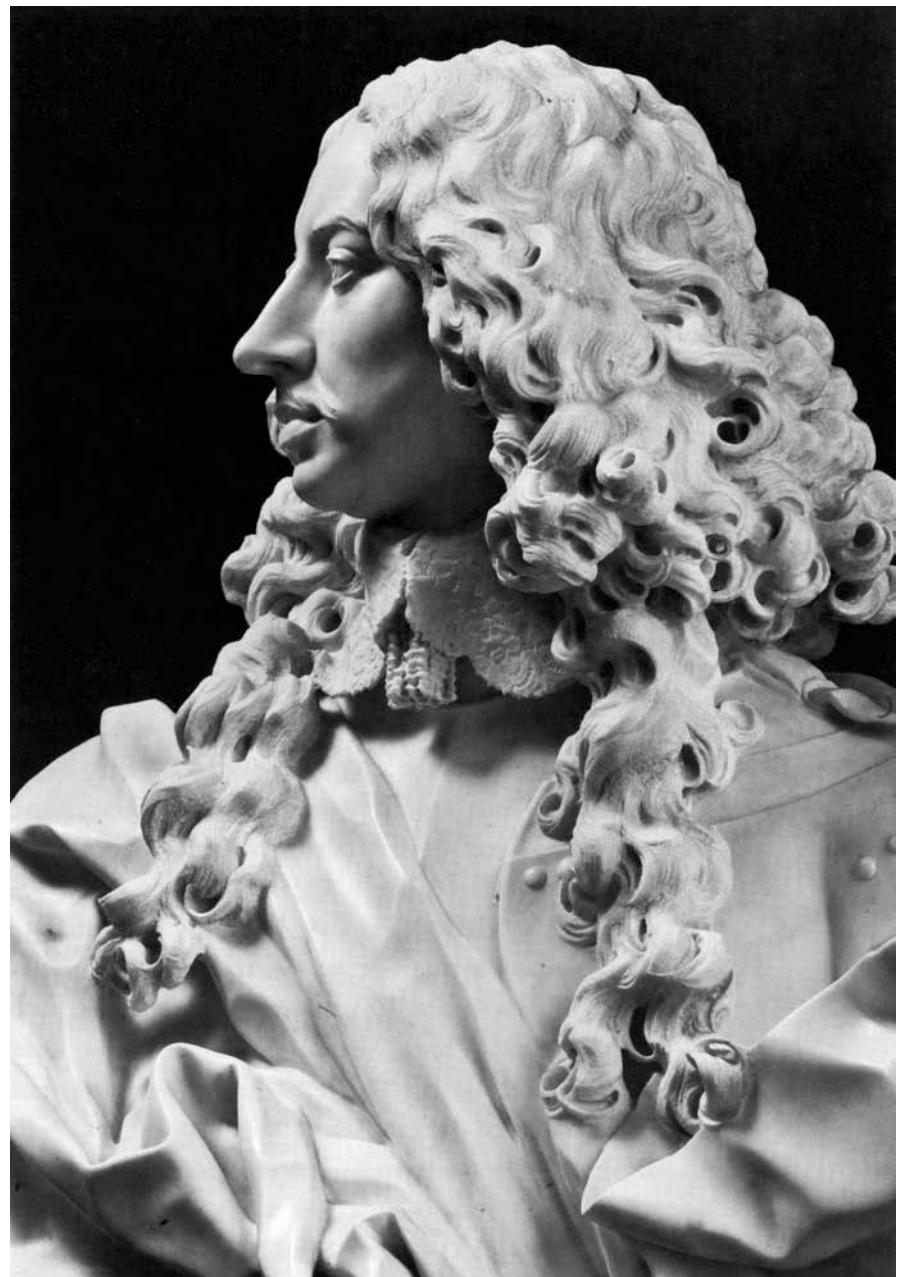
Stringa entered the service of Francesco I's son and successor, Alfonso IV d'Este (duke from 1658 to 1662), in 1659 and went on to assume the roles of court painter

and curator of the Este family's art collection in 1661, as well as other important positions in the Modenese art world under the ducal rule of Francesco II (1662–94). A master of many genres, including altarpieces, portraits, mythological paintings, fresco decorations, and still lifes—all characterized by a pronounced naturalism and rich use of color—he was also an accomplished designer of engravings, producing (among other works) the frontispieces for Cornelio Malvasia's astronomical text, *Ephemerides novissimae motuum coelestium* (Modena, 1662), and for Domenico Gamberti's *Idea di un Principe et Eroe Cristiano in Francesco I d'Este* (Modena, 1659), which comprised an encomiastic biography of the duke, a record of his funeral, and a manual of princely education (fig. 6.5.2).⁵ Significantly, this frontispiece presents Bernini's bust of Francesco I (in reverse) surrounded by allegorical figures and putti bearing medallion portraits of earlier Este rulers. Thus, Stringa is a likely candidate for the author of the painting, as the Minneapolis picture is stylistically close to his other works; he was intimately associated with the Este dukes; he had access to Bernini's bust in the ducal palace; and he was well versed in Este iconography.

If we may tentatively accept the attribution to Stringa, we are left to ponder the painting's meaning as well as the date and circumstances of its execution. Although recent scholarship has argued that it is a *vanitas* image, or a *memento mori*,⁶ there is little to suggest that it was meant to convey such a moralizing message. Rather, the work is decidedly more eloquent as a dynastic image, one that commemorates the glorious rule of the Este's most illustrious ruler as well as that of his son and successor. That ruler appears in the form of his most canonical image—Bernini's bust—a vivid simulacrum of the duke, which fills the pictorial field as if it were the sitter himself, surrounded by objects that may be read as his own attributes as well as those of his son.

In the most general sense, the instruments (an *astrarium* in the form of a figure of Hercules supporting the celestial sphere, a planispheric astrolabe, a magnetic compass, and a semicircular graduated arc),⁷ sculpture, and silver platter comment on Francesco's princely virtues as a man of the arts and sciences, in a manner similar to the way Louis XIV was celebrated by Jean-Baptiste Garnier as "protecteur des arts et des sciences" in his painting of 1672 at Versailles. The armor, like that in Bernini's bust and many other portraits of Francesco, may allude to his military prowess, and to his titles of Admiral of the Atlantic Fleet and Commander of French Troops in Italy. The gloves, traditional symbols of aristocracy and virtue, connote Francesco's noble status and appear as extensions, so to speak, of the duke embodied in the bust. And the figure of Hercules bearing the celestial globe may be read as a symbol of Francesco's worldly dominion and his heroic efforts to support the ducal state.

Several of the objects resonate in other ways as well and may suggest the circumstances of the painting's origins. The armor, for example, although rather generic, closely resembles that worn by Alfonso IV in Justus Sustermans's portrait of about 1657 in the Galleria Estense.⁸ The astronomical instruments, which obviously allude to Francesco's being a man of science, take on more specific reference to his son, for Alfonso was renowned for his support of the astronomical research of Geminiano Montanari and Cornelio Malvasia, the author of the *Ephemerides*. The Hercules-borne sphere can also be identified as a version of the famous *Globo Andante*, an invention of the Florentine astronomer Francesco Generini, who in 1645 dedicated a volume describing his instrument to Grand Duke Ferdinando II of Tuscany, another great patron of astronomical study.⁹ Its appearance in the painting, beyond its generic connotations, may point to the existence of such an *astrarium* in the Este collection—a gift, perhaps, from the Medici duke to either Francesco or Alfonso, both of whom had close



ties to the Florentine court.¹⁰ While the significance of the carnations and the sculptural group at the right of the painting is unclear, the bird—a Eurasian hoopoe—is a traditional symbol of filial devotion and gratitude (because it feeds and preens its parents in their dotage)¹¹ and thus may also refer to Alfonso, who tended his father at the end of his life and, after his death in 1658, endeavored to carry on his legacy.

During his short reign as duke, Alfonso was virtually obsessed with his father's image, initiating a plan for Bernini to execute an equestrian monument of Francesco and installing Bernini's bust in a room contiguous to



Fig. 6.5.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Francesco I d'Este (detail), 1650–51. Marble, 98 cm (38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); W: 106 cm (41 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); D: 50 cm (19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Modena, Galleria Estense (565).

Fig. 6.5.2 FRANCESCO STRINGA

Frontispiece from Domenico Gamberti, *Idea di un Principe et Eroè Christiano in Francesco I d'Este* (Modena, 1659).

his new apartment within the ducal palace.¹² Based on the above reading of the objects surrounding the bust, the *Allegorical Still Life* may be interpreted as a work that celebrates the continuity of the Este dynasty from Francesco I to Alfonso IV. Like Stringa's frontispiece to Gamberti's volume, the painting emphasizes family lineage and nobility, presenting Bernini's bust as an embodiment of Francesco, whose fame and virtues were transmitted to his son. It seems reasonable to propose, therefore, that the Minneapolis painting was commissioned by Alfonso to honor his father and as a "record" of dynastic succession. SFO

PROVENANCE

Unknown before 1902; Naples, private collection, 1902; Lady Harcourt, London, until 1938; sold by Arnold Seligmann, Rey, and Co., Inc., New York, in 1938 to Minneapolis Institute of Arts

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Fraschetti 1902; *MLA Bulletin* 1939; Pittsburgh 1951, no. 74; Wittkower 1955, p. 215; Baltimore 1959, p. 30, no. 31; *Burlington Magazine* 1965; Poughkeepsie 1965, no. 13; *MIA* 1970, p. 153, no. 81; Elsen 1972, p. 339; Milwaukee 1985, p. 15; Lucia Peruzzi in Modena 1998, p. 410, no. 157; Benati and Peruzzi 1998–99, pp. 54–55; Mancini 2000, p. 213

NOTES

1. Frascchetti 1902, pp. 109–11.
2. For the Suleybras attribution, see *MLA Bulletin* 1939; Pittsburgh 1951, no. 7; Elsen 1972, p. 339; and Baltimore 1959, p. 30, no. 31.
3. All of these attributions, except that to Cittadini (which was given to me by Keith Christiansen, Jayne Wrightsman Curator of European Paintings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in a written communication), are noted in the painting's curatorial file. Interestingly, Boulanger was connected with Bernini's bust of Francesco I, as he was commissioned to paint a frontal portrait of the duke (to accompany the two profile portraits made by Susermans) to be sent to Bernini in Rome as a model. Boulanger's portrait was apparently not produced in time, however, and Bernini had to rely solely on Susermans's works.
4. See, especially, Peruzzi 1998, p. 410, no. 157; Benati and Peruzzi 1998–99, pp. 54–55; and Mancini

2000, p. 213 (where she argues that the painting was a collaboration between Francesco Stringa and his brother Agostino).

5. On Gamberti's volume and Stringa's frontispiece, see Venturi 1998, pp. 296–99, no. 87; Lavin 1999, pp. 451–55; and Jarrard 2003, pp. 164–66.

6. See, among others, Lucia Peruzzi in Modena 1998, p. 410, no. 157.

7. I wish to express my gratitude to Giorgio Strano, curator of early modern scientific instruments at the Istituto e Museo di Storia delle Scienze, Florence, for helping me to identify these instruments.

8. See entry by Graziella Martinelli Braglia in Modena 1998, p. 412, no. 158. This portrait also explains

the ribbon beside the carnations: it is part of late-seventeenth-century ceremonial costume, hung between the armored tassets (or hip and upper thigh plates), as worn by Alfonso in Susermans's painting.

9. Francesco Generini, *Disegno del globo andante di Francesco Generini scultor fiorent. formato da lui per mostrare il moto diurno lunare et annuo con l'inequalità dei giorni e dell'ore naturali e artificiali sinora per alcuno strumento non veduta operare* (Florence, 1645). On the globo, see G. Boffito, *Gli strumenti della scienza e la scienza degli strumenti* (Florence, 1929), p. 23.

10. On Francesco's ties to the court of Ferdinando, see Southern 1988, pp. 28, 32, 40–42. Alfonso visited Florence in 1661 to attend the wedding of Ferdinando's son Cosimo III, to Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans.

11. See Friedman 1980, pp. 225–26.

12. On the plan for the equestrian monument, see Frascchetti 1900, p. 226. On Alfonso's relocation of the bust and his exploitation of Francesco's image, see Jarrard 2003, pp. 164–65.



6.6

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Alexander VII Chigi, 1657

Marble, H: 82 cm (32 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.); W: 45 cm (17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); D: 31 cm (12 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Private Collection

NEXT TO POPE URBAN VIII, Alexander VII Chigi was Bernini's most important patron, commissioning, for instance, the colonnade of Saint Peter's square (1656–67) and the *Cathedra Petri* (Chair of Saint Peter) in the Basilica (1657–66). Fabio Chigi (1599–1667) studied philosophy, law, and theology in his native Siena. He was elected pope after the death of Innocent X in 1655, following a long conclave, although he had received his cardinal's hat only three years earlier. He appears to have been less inclined to deal with political business than he was to write poetry and was known in intellectual circles by the nom de plume Filomato. A student of architecture, geometry, and engraving, he often took part in the development of the projects he assigned to Bernini.¹

Following a personal code of righteousness and Christian abnegation, Alexander VII initially refused to be portrayed in a statue that the citizens of Rome wanted to erect on the Campidoglio in acknowledgment of the sanitary measures he took to save the city from the plague.² However, by 1657 he had capitulated and allowed Bernini to begin work on his effigy. From the pope's own diary it is known that the sculptor visited him on July 5, 1657, and made "some sketches in pencil for my portrait that will be made first in clay and then in marble." Three days later for two hours in the afternoon, Bernini returned to touch up "the model in clay." Finally on October 2, the pope notes that "Cavalier Bernini brings the full-scale marble of my portrait and it is seen by many."³

In his 1682 inventory of Bernini's works, Filippo Baldinucci lists three marble busts of the pope (two with the Chigi family and one in Bernini's house);⁴ three

successive Chigi inventories (1667, 1678, and 1693) cite at least one marble of Alexander VII by Bernini, which was inherited by Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the pope's nephew;⁵ and the 1706 inventory of the contents of Bernini's house mentions one autograph bust of Alexander VII in marble.⁶ None of these sculptural portraits had come to light until Alessandro Angelini found the present bust in a private collection in Siena,⁷ thus filling a significant gap in the scholarship of Bernini's works.

The provenance linking the piece to the Chigi family supports the attribution of the work to Bernini, and the apparent age of the sitter corresponds to the dating of 1657—in that year the pope would have been fifty-eight years old.⁸ Moreover, the back of the marble is carved out except for a projecting blocklike shape along the central axis that is common in busts by Bernini,⁹ as is the elongated front portion (see, for example, cat. no. 6.4). Also typical of Bernini is the drape of the mozzetta, with a triangular depression beneath the left shoulder that creates dark shadows and a crumpling on the opposite side as if the pope had moved his right arm. Similar drapery organized in deep waves is evident in later busts, such as those of Innocent X (fig. 5.10.3) and Clement X (cat. no. 6.12), and seems to have influenced such artists as Melchiorre Cafà (see cat. no. 6.7), Domenico Guidi, and Giuseppe Mazzuoli.

Nevertheless, the exceedingly high quality of the portrait is the factor that most strongly suggests Bernini as author. The stole—ornamented with the Chigi coat of arms of stars and oak branches and symbols of the Church—is carved with such mastery that it not only contrasts with the smoothly polished mozzetta but also simulates an embroidered textile of a different color from the cape.

Bernini's masterful carving has imbued the pontiff's effigy with nobility and liveliness, enhanced by the slight turn of the head to the right, while the distant gaze and



delicate execution of the wrinkles around the eyes give him a philosophical air. In addition, Alexander VII's concern for a neat appearance, a quality that many ambassadors recorded,¹⁰ appears in the fine chiseling of his carefully kept goatee and whiskers and freshly shaved skin. Obviously greatly admired, the bust is inscribed with an homage, in contemporary Latin verse and Italian prose, to both sitter and artist¹¹ and was displayed on a precious ebony pedestal designed by Bernini himself.¹² ALD

PROVENANCE

Presumably the bust listed in the 1693 inventory of the palace of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, Piazza Santi Apostoli, Rome;¹³ by inheritance to members of the Chigi Zondadari family, Siena;¹⁴ private collection

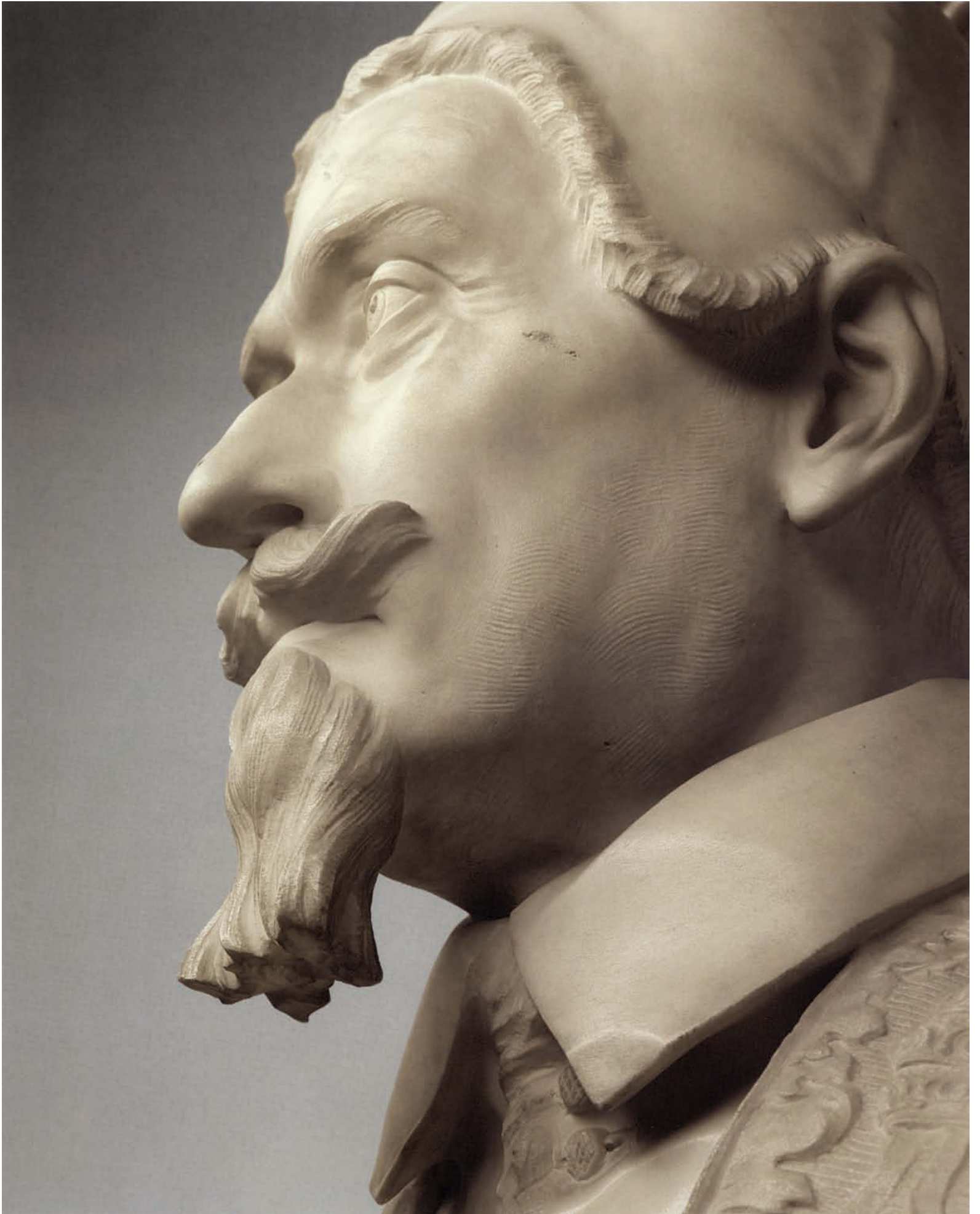
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NOTES

1. On Pope Alexander, see, above all, Angelini 1998a and Siena 2000–2001.
2. Angelini 1998b, p. 184.
3. The diary is preserved in the Chigi Archives in the Biblioteca Apostolica at the Vatican; see Krautheimer and Jones 1975, pp. 205–6.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177 (included also in the list of Bernini's works owned by Queen Christina of Sweden; see D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 432–38).
5. Raggio 1983, pp. 368–79; Petrucci 1997, p. 177; Angelini 1998b, p. 191 n. 19.
6. Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, pp. 51 and 108.
7. Wittkower (1966) 1997, p. 283, no. 65; Angelini 1998b; and Angelini in Siena 2000–2001, pp. 164–65, no. 92 (whose dating and attribution

- are followed here). Maurizio Fagiolo (2002, p. 59, fig. 26) published a marble version that is close to this bust, with an attribution to Bernini. Only the ornamentation of the stole differs. The bust, the present whereabouts of which are unknown, was previously in the collection of the architect Armando Brasini (cklst D6).
8. A terra-cotta bust in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome, showing the pope at the same age, but in appearance not close to this marble, was attributed to Bernini by Valentino Martinelli (1956b) but rejected by Wittkower (1966); see Oreste Ferrari in Rome 1999b, pp. 341–42, no. 56, with previous literature. See Petrucci 1997 for the two bronze versions (completely different from the terra-cotta and the marble) in a private collection and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (cklst D5–D7).
 9. Lavin 1968, p. 241, and Lavin 1985, p. 37.
 10. See Angelini 1998b, p. 192 n. 30.
 11. Montanari 1997, p. 57; and Montanari 1998b, pp. 152–54.
 12. The payment for this pedestal is dated March 5, 1658; see Petrucci 1997, p. 177.
 13. See Angelini 1998b, p. 191 n. 19.
 14. The bust is mentioned by Frascchetti in his monograph on Bernini (1900, p. 289) with the portraits “executed under the direction” of the sculptor and as being owned by the Marchese Chigi Zondadari in Siena. The Chigi Zondadari family had their palace in the Piazza del Campo in Siena built at the beginning of the eighteenth century.





6.7

MELCHIORRE CAFÀ (1636–1667)

Portrait of Pope Alexander VII Chigi, 1667

Bronze, H (without base): 100.3 cm (39½ in.)

Signed on the back: MELCHIOR. CAFÀ / MELITENSIS /

FAC. AN. DOM. / MDCLXVII.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edith Perry

Chapman Fund, 1957 (57.20)

THIS PORTRAIT OF POPE ALEXANDER VII, executed ten years after Bernini's image of a mature but lively pontiff (cat. no. 6.6), depicts him at the end of his life, having suffered from a long disease. The pope's diary reports that on December 19, 1666, he sat for both a portrait in clay by Melchiorre Cafà and a profile by the painter Giovanni Battista Gaulli.¹ Alexander VII died six months later in May 1667, followed in September of that year by Cafà.

Just before his death, the sculptor had delivered a bronze version of the bust to Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the pope's nephew, as attested by a payment to the artist on August 8, 1667.² According to the payment document, the cast was executed by the founder Giovanni Artusi, who had collaborated with Bernini on the Chair of Saint Peter (the *Cathedra Petri*) in the Basilica of Saint Peter's, and parts of the bronze bust were gilded. The specification of gilding identifies the bronze bust mentioned in the payment with the one that was given by Prince Sigismondo Chigi to Siena Cathedral (now in the Sala del Capitolo dei Canonici; fig. 6.7.1) in 1857, which includes a gilded stole.³ The Siena bust was executed after a "beautiful model" in terra-cotta that Filippo Baldinucci states belonged to the Chigi family, and which is currently in the family palace in Ariccia (fig. 6.7.2).⁴

Two other bronzes are known: one was formerly in the collection of W. Don Dirksen and appeared at the Rudolf Lepke auction in Berlin in 1931. It differs from the Siena bronze and the terra-cotta in the details of the stole and the laces of the mozzetta, which have been

revised; it is considered to be a late cast after Cafà.⁵ The second is the bronze under discussion. This bronze was purchased by a New York dealer from the Rothschild collection, which also included a bust of Pope Innocent X by Algardi (Cleveland Museum of Art; cat. no. 5.10),⁶ a bust of Pope Clement IX, attributed to Bernini and cast by Girolamo Lucenti (Detroit Institute of Arts),⁷ and an anonymous bust of Pope Clement X (Minneapolis Institute of Arts).⁸ There is no evidence, however, that these four papal bronzes constituted a series.⁹ Although it has been suggested that these busts were once displayed in the choir of Santa Maria in Montesanto in Rome,¹⁰ only the Detroit bust seems to actually have originated from that church.¹¹

The lack of gilding is the only significant difference that distinguishes the New York bronze from the Siena version. An identical signature can be read on the reverse of each, prompting the conclusion that the same mold was used for the respective wax models.¹² The beautiful chiseling of the details of the face and clothes of both the New York and Siena busts is the result of the sculptor perfecting each wax model before it was cast and finishing and chasing the bronze after casting. A detailed survey of the New York bust reveals an important technical detail: a break visible only from the back indicates that it emerged from the furnace in two parts. It was then carefully joined together in order to hide the fault from the front view. This casting fault led Rudolf Wittkower to conclude that the New York bust might have been the first cast, while the Siena version was the successful second cast, which, furthermore, was gilded.¹³ A more recent suggestion is that the Siena bust was the first cast, made for Cardinal Flavio Chigi, and that the New York bust is a second cast, commissioned shortly thereafter by a member of the Chigi family.¹⁴ Nonetheless, both bronzes closely follow the terra-cotta model and are of high quality, especially in the chasing.

According to Wittkower, Cafà's "Alexander VII should be called the most Berninesque papal portrait bust of the second half of the seventeenth century."¹⁵ A comparison of the portrait bust of Alexander VII by Bernini (cat. no. 6.6) with this one by Cafà demonstrates clearly that the latter sculptor modeled the drape of the mozzetta after Bernini's invention. This is illustrated in the wrinkle rolling up the hypothetical right arm, which is an ingenious solution Bernini developed to give the bodies of his busts an illusion of movement. The pope's face, with its intense gaze emerging from tired and wrinkled features, is an exceptional witness to the great talent of the sculptor as a portraitist. It is therefore unfortunate that the terra-cotta and the two bronze busts of the pope constitute the only examples of this genre by Cafà which survive today. *ALD*

PROVENANCE

The Chigi family (?); Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris, and Palais Lambert, Brussels; Rosenberg and Stiebel [dealer], New York; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, with monies from the Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1957

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Wittkower 1959; John T. Spike in *Sarasota and Hartford* 1984–85, pp. 66–67, no. 12; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 267, 792; Monika Butzek in *Siena* 2000–2001, p. 188; Sciberras 2006, pp. 13–15, 261, fig. 43

NOTES

1. Morello 1981, p. 340; Ursula Schlegel in *Ariccia* 1998, p. 77.
2. The document was first published by Golzio (1939, p. 302). The sculptor was paid 200 scudi, including the payment to the metalworker and to get the gold.
3. On this bust see Monika Butzek in *Siena* 2000–2001, pp. 188–89, no. 109.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177. On the terra-cotta, see Petrucci 1993, pp. 91–92; Ursula Schlegel in *Ariccia*

- 1998, pp. 76–77; and for technical observations, Tony Sigel in *Sciberras* 2006, pp. 218–22, no. 13.
5. *Sciberras* 2006, p. 261 ("cast after"). This bust is not the one owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts, as Monika Butzek mistakenly indicated in *Siena* 2000, pp. 188–89, no. 109.
6. Olga Raggio in *Detroit* 1965, pp. 56–57, no. 41; *Sarasota and Hartford* 1984–85, pp. 48–49, no. 3; Montagu 1985a, vol. 2, p. 430, no. 154.C.I.
7. Olga Raggio in *Detroit* 1965, pp. 57–58, no. 44; Alan P. Darr in *Darr, Barnet, and Boström* 2002, pp. 42–44, no. 141.
8. This bust has been attributed to Domenico Guidi since its acquisition by the museum; see John T. Spike in *Sarasota and Hartford* 1984–85, pp. 98–99, no. 28. A highly contentious attribution to Gian Lorenzo Bernini was given by Eleonora Villa (1996, pp. 145–46) and proposed again by Francesco Petrucci in *Rome* 1999b, pp. 345–46, no. 59.
9. These four busts were displayed in an exhibition organized by John T. Spike (*Sarasota and Hartford* 1984–85); for the problem of their





provenance, see his essay, pp. 34–41.

10. Documents attest that bronzes of Popes Alexander VII, Clement IX, and Clement X were cast by Girolamo Lucenti for the choir of Santa Maria in Montesanto; another one of Innocent XI [*sic*] was cast by Travani. Guidebooks cite them until the nineteenth century. We do not know when they were replaced by the stucco casts now displayed in the choir; see note 9 above.

11. Raggio first proposed the attribution of the Detroit bust to Bernini and connected the bust to the series the Roman church owned

by comparing it to the stucco cast of Clement IX currently displayed; see note 7 above. The other stucco busts do not match the bronzes now in American collections.

12. Monika Butzek in Siena 2000–2001, p. 189, fig. 109. Rudolf Wittkower (1959, pp. 200–202, fig. on p. 200) thought only the New York bust was signed.

13. Wittkower 1959, pp. 201–2.

14. Monika Butzek in Siena 2000–2001, pp. 188–89, no. 109, followed by Maria Giulia Barberini in Sciberras 2006, pp. 43–44.

15. Wittkower 1959, pp. 203–4.



Fig. 6.7.1 MELCHIORRE CAFÀ
Pope Alexander VII, 1667. Bronze. Siena, Cathedral.

Fig. 6.7.2 MELCHIORRE CAFÀ
Pope Alexander VII, 1667. Terra-cotta, H: 76 cm (29¹/₁₆ in.); W: 81 cm (31¹/₁₆ in.); D: 42.5 cm (16¹/₁₆ in.). Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi.



6.8

AFTER GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Portrait of Louis XIV, King of France, ca. 1700 (after marble of 1665)
Bronze, H: 84.2 cm (33 1/4 in.); W: 100 cm (39 3/8 in.); D: 43.2 cm (17 in.)
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection
(1943.4.87)

WHEREAS GIAN LORENZO BERNINI HAD TO CARVE the busts of Francesco I d'Este, duke of Modena (see fig. 23), and Charles I, king of England, without having ever met the sitters, he worked from life to create his portrait of one of the most powerful rulers of Europe, Louis XIV (1638–1715). In 1665 the sculptor accepted the Sun King's invitation to come to France and work on a new project for the royal residence of the Louvre. Thanks to several letters and, above all, the diary written by Paul Fréart de Chantelou, every step in the creation of the marble portrait (fig. 6.8.1) is known.¹ Arriving in Paris on June 2, Bernini was officially commissioned to execute the bust eighteen days later. He first made sketches (all lost), taking care, during five sittings, to catch the expression of Louis XIV while the king was moving about in order to “imbue himself with the King's features.” Then, without consulting the drawings, he produced clay models to clarify his general idea and “try out a pose while waiting to start work on a likeness.” On July 14, Bernini began sculpting the marble that had been roughed out previously by his assistant Giulio Cartari. He first “worked entirely from his imagination, looking only rarely at his drawings; he had searched chiefly within, tapping his forehead, where there existed the idea of His Majesty; had he done otherwise his work would have been a copy instead of an original.” Bernini was afforded twelve sittings with the king to perfect the marble carving. Because the sculptor considered that “these details would help him to get a resemblance,” he studied all the king's facial characteristics so closely that Louis XIV and the nobles present during the sittings had difficulty in keeping from laughing. While carving the mouth, he explained that “to be successful in a portrait,

a movement must be chosen and then carried through; the best moment for the mouth, is just before or just after speaking.” Finally, Bernini rendered the eyes during the last sitting on October 5.²

The bust was first displayed in the Louvre and then in Versailles, where the king moved his residence in 1682. However, the rich pedestal Bernini had planned was never completed: a globe with parts gilded or enameled in blue, a drapery with emblems of Victory and Virtue and an inscription reading *picciola base*, meaning that the world was but a “small base” for such a monarch.³

Bernini tells in two letters that many princes asked him to provide them with bronze casts of the bust.⁴ Although he had not kept any mold, he explained that “the portrait was so permanent in his mind that he felt as if he had it in front of his eyes and more in his heart, [and that his heart] was so satisfied with it that he would not have found any difficulties in making a model for bronze versions.”⁵ However, it is unlikely that Bernini made any casts once he was back in Rome. And there is no evidence to show that the bust mentioned without an indication of the material in an inventory of the French Academy in Rome in 1684⁶ was a version after Bernini, although it was modeled by Giovanni Rinaldi, a French collaborator of the maestro.⁷

In France, as early as 1666, Guillaume Cassegrain made a mold of the marble bust; two years later, the sculptor Thibault Poissant delivered four plaster casts to the king, while in 1669 Philippe de Buyster was paid for three other plaster versions of the bust.⁸ Among them was probably the one offered by Louis XIV to the Académie de peinture et sculpture in Paris.⁹ The bronze version brought to Quebec by Louis XIV's intendant and erected in the city's Place Royale in 1686 was perhaps cast from Poissant's mold.¹⁰

The only known early version in a precious medium is the National Gallery's bronze.¹¹ Duveen Brothers claimed (1944), without any proof, that the bust,

Fig. 6.8.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Louis XIV, King of France, 1665. Marble, H: 105 cm (41 3/8 in.);
 W: 95.5 cm (37 3/8 in.); D: 46.5 cm (18 3/8 in.).
 Versailles, Palace of Versailles (MV2040).

published as by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, was a gift from Louis XIV to his brother Philippe, duke of Orléans, and was kept in the latter's Château de Saint-Cloud before it was destroyed by fire in 1870. But no bronze of the bust is cited as being there nor in the royal residences by any of the existing guidebooks¹² or inventories,¹³ and there would be no reason to think that Orléans had left the bust in the château when Louis XVI bought it in 1784 for Marie-Antoinette. Charles Seymour (1949) has suggested that the bronze bust is the one offered to Quebec, but this hypothesis is not supported by any documentation.

The bust in Washington remains a mysterious piece for other reasons. The casting technique would lead one to consider it French and from around 1700, but the thinness of the bronze and the fact that the base is cast in one piece with the portrait are surprising. Flaws in the cuirass and in the hair and patches in the back show it to have been repaired, but it is hard to know whether the damage occurred during or after casting.¹⁴ And although it was possible to chisel metal in order to reproduce what Bernini was able to create with the drill in marble, the texture of the hair and the collar are strangely rough in the bronze.

Indeed, the bronze was probably not cast directly from a mold of the original nor was it supposed to be a faithful reproduction. The disposition of the drapery folds, the cuirass, and, above all, the lace stock does not exactly follow that of the marble. In the face, the representation of the pupils, eyebrows, and mustache is systematic and dry, far from Bernini's accurate carving of the marble. But, the cast maintains, although in a sloppy rendering, the curl of hair in the middle of the forehead that had been harshly criticized in the original marble. Bernini was accused of having carved away too much marble from the forehead and of not having followed the French fashion for bangs. In his defense, the artist explained that, "the King had a forehead of

great beauty," "like Alexander [the Great]," and that "the sculptor was not so fortunate as the painter who, by means of different colors, could make [it] so that the forehead could be seen even when depicted with the hair falling over it."¹⁵

Although the bronze is not a slavish copy of the original marble, it reflects the brilliant conception Bernini was able to create for a prince whom he greatly esteemed,¹⁶ in order to "bring out the qualities of a hero as well as make a good likeness." Many in Paris remarked that "the King looked as if he were giving a military command" and that "though it had neither arms nor legs, it seemed to move and walk." Joking with his friend Chantelou, the sculptor even said that "if the King wished to come more often, the portrait would not only resemble him, it would speak."¹⁷ Whereas many questions remain unanswered, the bronze cast in Washington is a rare example of a copy in this medium and is evidence of the success enjoyed by Bernini's marble bust of Louis XIV, in contrast to the equestrian statue sent to France in 1685, which did not please the king. **ALD**

PROVENANCE

(?) E. Williamson, Paris; Sir Stewart M. Samuel, Bt., London; George J. Gould, Lakewood, New Jersey, by at least 1920 (lent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Duveen Brothers, New York; Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 1941; given to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1943

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Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1920), p. 135; *Duveen Sculpture* 1944, no. 230; Seymour 1949, p. 182 n. 49; Wittkower 1955, p. 230, no. 70; Middeldorf 1976, p. 81; NGA 1994, p. 29; Wittkower 1997, pp. 286–87, no. 70

NOTES

1. The most complete study of the marble bust is still Wittkower 1951a.
2. For these quotations, see Chantelou (1665) 1985, pp. 8, 28, 38, 53, 60, 89, 115, 120, 121, 131, 165, 187, 241; see also Bernini 1713, pp. 135–36.
3. Chantelou (1665) 1985, pp. 186–87, 194–95, and 209. The base had been in part planned to prevent people from touching it; see Zitzlsperger 2006. Bronze ornaments were done for the installation in Versailles in 1685; see Guiffrey 1881–1901, vol. 2 (1887), pp. 621 and 627.
4. A letter of December 14, 1665, is published by Lalanne 1885, p. 180, and another, without date (possibly October 1665), by Audisio 1985, p. 40; see also Bandera Bistoletti 1985, p. 73 n. 108.



5. For the original text in Italian, see Audisio 1985, p. 40.

6. *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des Bâtimens*, Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, eds., vol. 1 (1887), p. 88. The bust was probably lost when the academy moved, for in 1740 the director purchased a plaster cast in Rome; *ibid.*, vol. 9 (1899), p. 442.

7. On Rinaldi (known also as Jean Regnaud and Jean de Champagne), see Chiara Basa, "Un artistica berniniano in Umbria," *Esercizi* 9 (1986), pp. 73–82; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 838; Montagu 1996, p. 222

n. 115; and Bresc-Bautier 2007.

8. We know, moreover, that in 1671 François Langlois made another mold and in 1673 Antoine Poissant delivered six plaster versions of the bust; see Guiffrey 1881–1901, vol. 1 (1881), pp. 150, 209, 277, 359, 553, 735. On the Poissant, see La Moureyre and Dumuis 1989, p. 55.

9. Guillet de Saint-Georges 1854, vol. 1, p. 236.

10. This bust, now lost, attributed to Jérôme Derbais by Stanislas Lami (1906, p. 144), was removed around 1700 for it was obstructing traffic in the market held in the square. For the copies erected in the

twentieth century to replace the first one, see the *Inventaire des lieux de mémoire de la Nouvelle-France* (www.memoirenfc.cieq.ulaval.ca).

11. The marble busts in the Vanderbilts' Marble House in Newport, Rhode Island, and in the Salon of Hercules in the castle of Vaux-le-Vicomte are late versions, unfaithful and of low quality.

12. This is an unlikely oversight, given that the guides always mention the marble bust by Bernini in the Salon de Diane in the palace of Versailles.

13. Successive inventories of the Garde Meuble Royal and the 1701 inventory of the duke of Orléans make

no mention of the bust. I am grateful to Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Stéphane Castelluccio, Olivier Guérin, and Karen Serres for their help.

14. See the description in Middeldorf 1976. I thank Jane Basset for her observations and Alexandre Maral for measuring the base of the marble bust, which at 35.5 by 34.5 cm (14 by 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.) differs from the bronze: 20.6 by 37.2 cm (8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.).

15. Chantelou (1665) 1985, respectively pp. 131, 121, 69, and 88. On this matter, see Bodart 2006.

16. Zarucchi 2006.

17. Chantelou (1665) 1985, respectively pp. 89, 125, 182, 131.



6.9

PIETRO DA CORTONA (PIETRO BERRETTINI) (1597–1669)

Portrait of Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi, 1669

Oil on canvas, 75 x 61 cm (29 3/8 x 24 in.)

Private Collection

ALTHOUGH PIETRO DA CORTONA PAINTED few portraits across his long career, this work and the *Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Maria Borghese* (cat. no. 5.3) demonstrate the artist's remarkable range. The small, tightly cropped work gains its power from the psychological intensity with which the artist conveys the pope's personality and the sophisticated play of color he uses to convey the relationship of sitter and artist, both in the last months of their long lives.

Rediscovered on the art market in 1989, the work was known only by a copy in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery), whose handling suggested no specific artist.¹ Strinati first published the work here as Cortona, identifying it as the portrait recorded in the artist's death inventory. Lo Bianco confirmed the attribution, but not the connection to the inventory.²

Giulio Rospigliosi (1599–1669) came from a noble family in Pistoia, and he began his career at the university of Pisa. His fortunes were closely tied to the Barberini family, especially Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and Rospigliosi came into prominence in the court of Urban VIII. Deeply interested in the arts, Rospigliosi was a key patron of Poussin and Claude in Rome, and he authored widely circulated poems and sacred operas, including *Sant' Alessio*, with sets designed by Bernini, for the Barberini court.³ Under Pope Alexander VII Chigi, Rospigliosi became cardinal and secretary of state, and—supported by Barberini interests—he was elected pope in 1667. However, by that time, at the age of sixty-eight, he was unwell and wracked with gout, and he died two years later.

Cortona pulls the sitter close to the picture plane. A lively play of reds dominates, describing his cope, cap, and other vestments with bravura assurance. In sharp

contrast, the pope's icy blue eyes, painted with much more exactitude, pierce the picture plane. This astonishing contrast of warm against cool, stasis against energy, and fixity against fleetingness powerfully conveys the sense of an alert mind in a failing physical shell. The portrait—in an entirely different manner than Guercino's *Portrait of Pope Gregory XV* (cat. no. 1.5), a work that also plays with the traditional papal portrait format to convey that pope's physical decline—also movingly addresses the complex emotions of a life coming to conclusion.

As Lo Bianco observed, the pope's gaze both captures Clement IX's physical suffering and points to a close relationship between painter and sitter. Cortona executed the work in the last year of his own life, and the lack of finish may indicate that the image was literally unfinished because of the incapacity of either sitter or artist, or it may be a conscious metaphor for their aging processes. Moreover, with the pope's closed lips, the artist transforms the speaking likeness into a silent conversation—a personal, quietly shared understanding between painter and sitter. This intense, private collaboration may explain the work's absence in the contemporary literature as well as Rospigliosi or Berrettini documents. Moreover, this deeply intimate approach, surely owing to Velázquez's *Portrait of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj* (Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj; fig. 4.4.1), stands in contrast to other known portraits of Clement IX by Maratti (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage) and Gaulli (Rome, Accademia di San Luca), which adopt an impersonal, authoritative mode to convey the pope's position and personality. JLS

PROVENANCE

Possibly retained by the artist; upon his death, by inheritance to the Berrettini family; Cardinal Girolamo Gastaldi (died 1685); private collection, France; private collection, United Kingdom, by 1989; private collection

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lo Bianco 1997, pp. 386–87;
Strinati 1997

NOTES

1. Zeri 1976, pp. 454–55.
2. Strinati 1997, p. 221; Lo Bianco 1997, p. 386.
3. For Rospigliosi patronage, see Haskell 1980, pp. 56–59; and Pistoia 2000.



6.10

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of a Gentleman, ca. 1670–75

Marble, H: 54.5 cm (21 ¼ in.)

Private Collection

THE PERSON PORTRAYED IN THIS BUST is captured with lips slightly open, as he forcefully turns his head to the right toward an invisible interlocutor who has just addressed him. The head is rotated away from the bust, while, over the shirt and tunic—both with collars open—the cloak, as though blown by the wind, is grooved by deep folds in sculpted relief, underscoring the informality of the encounter.

On the back of the bust, the marble shows considerable differentiation between the different types of finish: the hair, for example, is one of the more carefully worked areas, with separate locks individually described, whereas the collar appears less finished around the right ear, under which one can clearly see the typical parallel lines of the toothed chisel; the back part of the garment shows only the beginnings of the rough-hewing of the block. It is therefore clear that the bust was not intended to be seen from all sides, and that the sculptor had its final destination in mind when he favored a single point of view, one that emphasizes the sitter's left profile. A slight difference of finish between the left and right ears, as well as in the hair, constitutes yet another element arguing in favor of this hypothesis.

The marble was attributed to Gian Lorenzo Bernini by Ursula Schlegel, who maintains that it is a portrait of the artist's father, Pietro Bernini (1562–1629), basing her claim on its likeness with a painting depicting Pietro (Rome, Accademia di San Luca), formerly also attributed to Gian Lorenzo.¹ In her judgment, the bust was not executed while Pietro was still alive, but later, around 1640, that is, during the period when Gian Lorenzo was completing, among other things, the *Portrait of Cardinal*

Richelieu (cat. no. 6.4), the *Portrait of Pope Urban VIII* (c. 1675, cat. no. A17c), and the *Monument to Lorenzo Valtrini* (Rome, San Lorenzo in Damaso). Charles Avery agrees with Schlegel's hypothesis concerning the attribution, the identification of the person portrayed, and the dating. On the other hand, since the sitter appears to be about fifty years old in the bust, he has hypothesized that Gian Lorenzo may have created a terra-cotta model around 1612, now lost, which he later used as the basis for representing his father in the marble here.² Schlegel's attribution seems convincing on the basis of this portrait's similarity to the *Richelieu* in the treatment of the hair, sculpted in broad locks amidst which the perforations of the drill stand out quite visibly, or in its conception of the drapery. What remains unanswered, however, is the question of the identity of the person portrayed, especially as serious misgivings have been frequently expressed as to his identification as Pietro Bernini.³

What is most striking about this marble is the impressive life force emanating from the sitter—an intensity which takes advantage of a simplicity of execution that does not concern itself too much with details. Within the context of Bernini's production, the works that come closest to this bust are not so much those created in the early 1640s but the few portraits dating from the 1670s.⁴ What appears most decisive is the bust's likeness to two sculptures: the monumental portrait of Pope Clement X (cat. no. 6.12) and the kneeling figure of Alexander VII for the monument to this pontiff in Saint Peter's, sculpted around 1675 by Bernini's pupils with the help of Bernini himself in the depiction of the face. Although different in sculptural type, what these portraits have in common is the marked three-dimensionality of the draperies, which are cadenced by broad, deep folds and closed, rounded contours. Furthermore, the collar, crushed down by a few folds in this bust, is extremely similar to that on the *Clement X*. In the faces of the two popes, as well as



that of this unidentified gentleman, we can see the same ability to bring out a distinct psychology through the use of an essential, and sober, formal syntax. Also almost identical in the three works is the rendering of the hair, where the small, regular perforations, produced by the drill, are deliberately left visible.

Bernini's skill in modulating the appearance of the marble's surface also emerges in seemingly secondary details, such as the rendering of the neck muscles, whose sagginess betrays, with subtle clarity, the sitter's advanced age, or the ears, which are carved with a virtuosity that recalls what one sees in some of the artist's most spectacular early works. It is in comparison with these masterpieces of the master's old age—works that only in recent years have been adequately understood and appreciated—that this bust finds a fully convincing frame of reference. AB

PROVENANCE

Antonio Muñoz, Rome, in the 1920s; Antonia Nava Cellini and Pico Cellini, Rome, acquired in the late 1920s or 1930s; Taddei family, Lugano, acquired sometime prior to World War II, remained with the family until its sale by Madeline de Loriol, widow of Enzo Taddei, in the early 1990s; Giancarlo Gallino, Turin, late 1991; private collection

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Schlegel 1992, pp. 103–9; Avery 1997, p. 14; Montanari 2004, p. 29; Bacchi 2005, pp. 33–50; Kessler 2005, pp. 263, 414–15; McPhee 2005, pp. 53–66; Montanari 2005a, pp. 9–31; Montanari 2005b, p. 279

NOTES

1. Schlegel 1992, pp. 103–9.
2. Avery 1997, p. 111.
3. See Bacchi 2005, McPhee 2005, and Montanari 2005a; also Kessler 2005, pp. 263, 414–15.
4. Bacchi 2005, pp. 33–38.





6.11

GIOVAN BATTISTA GAULLI, called BACCICCO (1639–1709)

Portrait of Giuseppe Renato Imperiali, ca. 1686

Oil on canvas, 104.8 x 79.4 cm (41 ¼ x 31 ¼ in.)

Memphis, Tennessee, Memphis Brooks Museum of Art, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation (61.209)

DISCUSSION OF THIS RIVETING PORTRAIT has centered mostly around attribution. Hermann Voss attributed this portrait to Carlo Maratti, which held until Anthony Morris Clark gave the picture to Jacob-Ferdinand Voet in 1968. Jacques Wilhelm reaffirmed the attribution to Voet in 1971, while Giancarlo Sestieri returned the work to Maratti in 1994.¹ Francesco Petrucci, who has begun to untangle Voet, Gaulli, Maratti, Pierre Mignard I, and Giovanni Maria Morandi, among others, first suggested in 1995 that the canvas is by Gaulli, sustained by Stella Rudolph and the organizers of this exhibition.

Although fewer than twenty securely attributed portraits have been published, this paucity diverges considerably from how Gaulli's oeuvre was understood just after the artist's death. The biographer Lione Pascoli, for example, claimed Gaulli painted seven popes and that his portraits were "innumerable."²

Petrucci identified the sitter as Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali.³ From a Genoese noble family, Imperiali heavily supported Gaulli, who also had come from Genoa to Rome. Imperiali's death inventory recorded, in addition to a portrait of Imperiali's uncle, a "portrait on canvas by Baciccio, measuring about three palmi, depicting the most eminent Imperiali while he was a prelate." These dimensions match those of the Memphis portrait.⁴

Renato Imperiali was a significant patron of art and scholarship. Born in Puglia in 1651, Imperiali quickly drew the attention of his powerful uncle, Cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali, who promoted his nephew in the papal bureaucracy. He became a cardinal in 1690 and assumed his most significant post vis-à-vis the arts in 1696, when he was named head of the Congregazione del Buon Governo, which supervised building projects across the Papal States. A great architectural patron,

Imperiali particularly supported Filippo Barigioni and Gabriele Valvassori, and he assembled one of the most important libraries in Rome.⁵

Since no documents regarding the commission have yet emerged, the portrait's date remains open. However, since Imperiali appears without cardinal's robes, the portrait must date before 1690, probably commemorating the new posts he secured in 1686.

While other portraits in this exhibition use intense colors to enliven the composition and articulate the splendor of the sitter, none uses color contrasts in Gaulli's symphonic way. Red unifies the portrait, with the darker shade of Imperiali's cope lining set off against the carmines of the curtain and his full lips. He deploys a rich navy for the cope's outer layer, with a red undertone. Gaulli enlivens every surface, and his handling—with visible brushstrokes throughout and white dashes shot through the garments implying a flickering motion—conveys a fleetingness that is Gaulli's own expansion of the speaking likeness.

In a rare strategy for a large, formal portrait, Gaulli pulls Imperiali to the front of the picture plane and places his head daringly close to the top edge, creating a powerful intimacy. Yet amidst this sea of activity, Imperiali holds his head erect, emphasizing his decorum, control, and elegance. While Gaulli has often been characterized as bridging the Flemish and Italian Baroque, this work underscores Gaulli's unique voice and his progressive interest in experimenting with the boundaries of the clerical portrait, as Bernini and Cortona had done before him. JLS

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by the sitter, around 1686; after his death, held in trust by the estate, 1709; private collection, Paris; Enrico Sestieri, Rome, in 1952; Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1961; by bequest to the Memphis Brooks Museum, 1961

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Eisler 1977, p. 125; Petrucci 1995; Petrucci 1996; Petrucci 1999

NOTES

1. Petrucci 1996, p. 57.
2. The most definitive study is Petrucci 1999.
3. Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti viventi* (Rome, 1730; repr. 1933), vol. 1, p. 207; Petrucci 1999, pp. 89–90.
4. Petrucci 1996, p. 59.
5. Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "Il Cardinale Renato Giuseppe Imperiali committente e collezionista," *Bollettino d'Arte* 41 (January–February 1987), p. 54.



CLEMENS X P M

6.12

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)

Portrait of Pope Clement X Altieri, 1676–77

Marble, H: 110 cm (43 3/8 in.)

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (4568)

THE EARLIEST INFORMATION ON THE PORTRAITS that Bernini made of Pope Clement X is contained in the pages of the diary of Carlo Cartari, librarian of the Altieri family, who on May 5, 1676, wrote: “I was with Monsignor Montecatini in the room where Signor Cavalier Bernini makes his sculptures; in that room he was working on a bust of Pope Clement X and said that Signor Cardinal Altieri wanted it to keep in his Chamber. Another marble was being roughed out to make another one like it, to be placed in the Refectory of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini; and he said that he would make one for the library.”¹ Bernini was thus working on a bust of Clement X for the Palazzo Altieri, on another version of this for Trinità dei Pellegrini, and was supposed to begin a third for the library of the Palazzo Altieri.

On July 22, 1676, Clement X died, but a few months later, on December 10, we find, as confirmation that the project for the bust for the library had not been abandoned, a payment to Filippo Schor for having executed the drapery in stucco, from a design by Gian Lorenzo, to decorate the niche in the library (fig. 6.12.2). According to the documents found by Armando Schiavo, the bust was apparently already in the niche by the end of September 1677.² We know, however, that in 1681, a few months after Bernini's death, the sculptor Giovan Battista Giorgi was paid 10 scudi “for having worked on finishing the marble Alb and Stole, and having made the scroll in front of the Portrait in the blessed memory of Clement X fashioned by the late s.r. Cavaliere Bernini.”³ The fact that the “scroll” was mentioned—an element entirely unusual in busts—fully confirms the identification of this work with the Palazzo Barberini

bust, and it is equally clear that the format of the bust shows that the sculpture was conceived from the start for the niche in the library. In 1688, moreover, Nicodemus Tessin, when visiting the palazzo, noticed that the niche was empty but stated that it was supposed to house a half-length bust of the pontiff which at that time was positioned in one of the great rooms on the *piano nobile*, a bust he described as unfinished⁴—a description still applicable today. In the marble one can make out little bridges of material joining the fingers of the right hand and another connecting the arm to the bust, not to mention the fact that the rather striking marks of the toothed chisel on the face—conceived by Bernini to be viewed from afar—could, from close up, look like further signs that the marble was unfinished.

The question of Bernini's portraits of Clement X is a complicated one. We know that the sculptor did indeed make the one for Trinità dei Pellegrini—now lost—whose half-length composition and gesture of benediction, as attested by a rather modest plaster copy still in situ, seem in fact to have been the model for the piece here on display. Various documents of the Confraternita della Trinità dei Pellegrini state that in June 1677, the block of marble “for making a copy of the portrait of Pope Clement X” had been delivered to Bernini sometime before, and that the architectural decoration still present today in the refectory had already been prepared by the architect Giovan Battista Contini and the stonemason Gabriele Renzi.⁵ Moreover, another document attests that on April 9, 1680, the confraternity paid Bernini 150 scudi “for the kindness of donating his work to the Arciconfraternita. Effort and for time used in making a statue or portrait in holy memory of Pope Clement X, to be placed in the first refectory . . . inside the decoration of inlaid marbles made also from his design and with his assistance; and for being so good as to be paid only for the marble and the efforts and roughing out of said

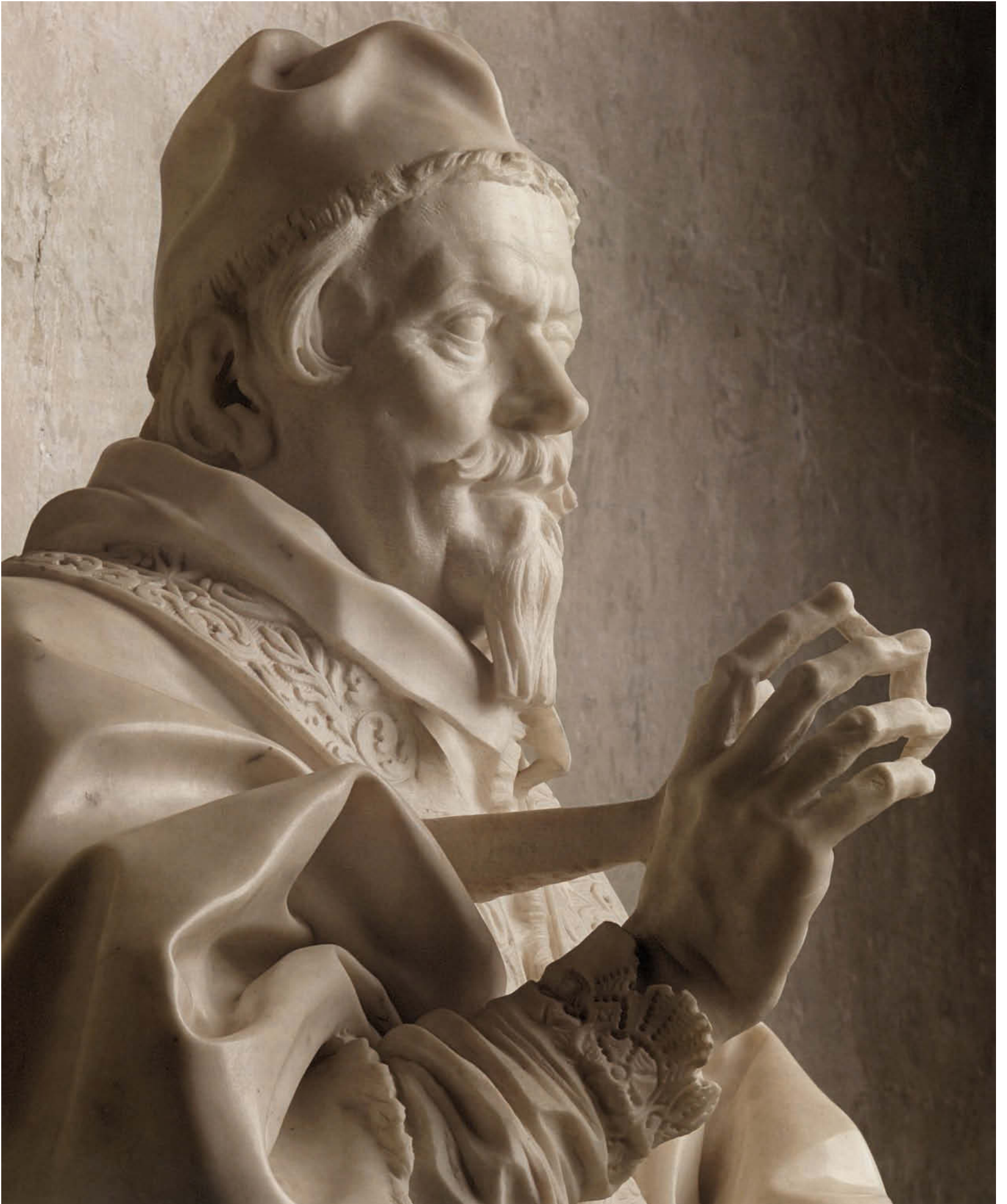


Fig. 6.12.1

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Clement X, 1670–76.
Drawing, Leipzig, Museum
der Bildenden Künste.

Fig. 6.12.2

Bust with drapery by Filippo Schor,
in its original location in the
library of the Palazzo Altieri.



portrait made by his pupil, for this we all thank him.”⁶ In other words, he was paid for a faithful replica, realized by a collaborator of his, of the statue in the library.

On the other hand, there is no precise information on the bust that Paluzzo Altieri, a powerful cardinal and Clement’s nephew, wanted for his own room—a bust that we cannot with any certainty identify with the marble one left to the cardinal by the sculptor in his will.⁷ Some have indeed hypothesized that this is the one from the library, which was not completely finished at the moment of the artist’s death. It should be remembered, however, that in his description of Palazzo Altieri, aside from the marble destined for the library, the only work of Bernini’s that Tessin mentions is a bronze bust of the pontiff, sometimes identified with the one now in Minneapolis (cklst D10).

The library bust quickly fell into oblivion before it was rediscovered by Valentino Martinelli, who published it in 1955, with the full agreement of Rudolf Wittkower, for whom “the conception is most extraordinary and typically Berninesque.”⁸ In fact, despite its unfinished aspect, this piece, sculpted in 1676–77, holds an important place in the artist’s catalogue that is justified by its lofty inventiveness: the figure’s sacred immobility is animated by the broad, majestic movement of the mantle’s folds, without, however, hiding the arthritic gesture

of the hand raised in blessing and the heaviness marking the pontiff’s physiognomy. The pope’s face—on which Giorgi, we must remember, did not intervene—displays the aging sculptor’s extraordinary ability to express the psychology of his subjects. Like the *Portrait of a Gentleman* (cat. no. 6.10), this late work is characterized by a severe formal syntax that reduces the composition to the essentials, eschewing, for example, the sculpting of the pupil inside the eye, but that is nevertheless able to bring certain details into focus. Here Bernini folds the shirt collar in a crisp, hard manner, as if in counterpoint to the modeling of the face, which, in the drooping musculature and the bags under the eyes, does not hide but rather openly displays the ravages of time. AB

PROVENANCE

Rome, Palazzo Altieri, until 1997;
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte
Antica, Palazzo Barberini

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Tessin (1687–88) 2002, pp. 316–18;
Martinelli 1955b, pp. 647–66;
Martinelli (1959) 1994, pp. 204–27;
Wittkower (1966) 1997, pp. 298–99,
no. 78a; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996,
p. 783; Villa 1996; Avery 1997, p. 266;
Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 494;
Francesco Petrucci in Rome 1999b,
pp. 345–46; Beaven 2004

NOTES

1. Martinelli 1955b, pp. 647–66.
2. Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri* (Rome, 1963), p. 93.
3. Villa 1996, pp. 137–59.
4. Osvald Siren, *Nicodemus Tessin d. y.s. Studieresor* (Stockholm, 1914), p. 179; and Tessin 2002, pp. 316–18.
5. Martinelli 1959.
6. Barletta 1965.
7. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 63; whose mention is confirmed by a “Notice” [Avviso] dated November 30, 1680, and published by Martinelli (1959) 1994, p. 261.
8. Martinelli 1955b; and Wittkower (1966) 1997, pp. 298–99.

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CHECKLIST OF BERNINI'S PORTRAIT BUSTS

WHILE FOR ALESSANDRO ALGARDI AND GIULIANO FINELLI it is possible to refer to up-to-date publications by Jennifer Montagu (1985, 1999) and Damian Dombrowski (1997), the only catalogue raisonné of the portrait busts by Gian Lorenzo Bernini is that first published in 1955 by Rudolf Wittkower in his monograph on Bernini, which has been updated over the years (1966, 1981, 1997). In addition, the recent volume by Philipp Zitzlsperger on portraiture (2002) takes into consideration only a portion of Bernini's busts (those of pontiffs, Cardinal de Sourdis, Scipione Borghese, Thomas Baker, Cardinal Richelieu, Francesco I d'Este, and Louis XIV). The intention of the present checklist is to list all of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's portrait busts, excluding only those busts that are contained within chapels designed by him (Pio, Naro, d'Aste, Raimondi) but cannot be attributed to him.

The checklist is organized in three sections, arranged chronologically. Each entry includes a selected bibliography citing only the main sources and the most significant articles on the bust in question; for those works included in the present exhibition, the information given in the catalogue entries is not repeated.

The first section (**A**) includes **autograph** busts and those executed after Bernini's design. In cases where multiple autograph versions of a composition are extant (*Paul V*, *Gregory XV*, *Scipione Borghese*, *Innocent X*), the same number has been assigned to all the versions, which are then individually identified by letter and arranged alphabetically (e.g., A5a, A5b, A5c for *Paul V*). In the case of portraits for which a principal version and one or more copies possibly executed in Bernini's workshop exist (*Pietro Valier*, *Melchior Khlesl*, *Antonio Barberini*), the principal version has been assigned a number, with secondary versions assigned the same number followed by a letter and arranged alphabetically (e.g., A22, A22a for *Pietro Valier*). In the case of the portraits of Urban VIII, a number has been assigned to each composition and where there is more than one version, the system described

above (for the popes) is followed. The bust of Paolo Giordano Orsini has been included in this first section, since it is widely agreed that this composition is one created by Bernini, even though no universally accepted autograph version exists. The bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (fig. 26, p. 46) has not been included, although listed by Baldinucci with the works by Bernini, for it has been universally accepted as by Giuliano Finelli since its rediscovery (see Jennifer Montagu above, p. 59).

The second section (**D**) lists busts whose attribution to Bernini is **debated** and includes some works for which the attribution is extremely uncertain, reflecting the ongoing nature of scholarly discussion of the artist's oeuvre.

The third and last section (**L**) presents busts made by Bernini, as attested by documents, that have been **lost** or destroyed.

The two most important sources for cataloguing works by Bernini are the list of his works from the papers of Queen Christina of Sweden (ca. 1675) and the list from Filippo Baldinucci's life of the sculptor. The first list, probably a version of the catalogue Pier Filippo Bernini, the sculptor's eldest son, drafted in 1674, was published by Cesare D'Onofrio in 1967 (it is still conserved among the papers of Queen Christina in Stockholm, Riksarkivet 436k). The second list, most probably inspired by the list of ca. 1675, is the one Filippo Baldinucci added as an appendix to the life of Bernini he published in Florence in 1682, with Queen Christina named as the dedicatee and patron. Baldinucci's life has been published in several modern editions; the one used here is Baldinucci 1975. Transcriptions of both these lists are given in the appendix to this checklist.

Regarding the various biographies of Bernini and the lists of his works, see, above all, D'Onofrio 1966a; D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 432–38; Audisio 1985; Montanari 1998a, pp. 400–409; Montanari 1999; Delbeke, Levy, and Ostrow 2006; Montanari 2006. AB and ALD

A.
**AUTOGRAPH WORKS
 AND WORKS AFTER
 BERNINI'S DESIGNS**



A1 Giovanni Battista Santoni

ca. 1610–15
 Marble, life-size bust
 Rome, Santa Prassede

In old age, Bernini claimed to have sculpted this bust at the age of eight, therefore in 1606 or 1607, but this is contradicted by the fact that the nephew who commissioned the monument, Giovanni Antonio Santoni, is recorded in the stone inscription as being the bishop of Policastro, an office he attained only in April 1610.

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 1; Balduino (1682) 1975, p. 695; Bernini 1713, pp. 9–10; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 9–12; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 231, no. 2; D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 114–21; Lavin 1968, pp. 228–29



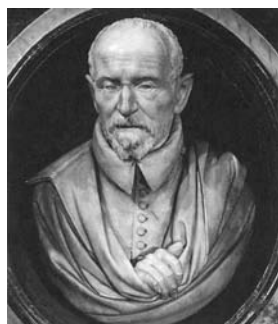
A2 Antonio Coppola

1612
 Marble, H (with socle): 67 cm (26 3/8 in.); W: 48 cm (19 in.)
 Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini
 See cat. no. 1.2



A3 Camilla Barberini (née Barbadori)

(mother of Pope Urban VIII)
 1619
 Marble, H: 77 cm (30 3/16 in.);
 W: 54 cm (21 1/4 in.)
 Copenhagen, Statens Museum
 for Kunst
 See cat. no. 2.1



A4 Giovanni Vigevano

ca. 1620
 Marble, life-size bust
 Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva

In his will, drawn up in May 1622, Vigevano stipulates that he is to be buried in his tomb "newly made" in the Minerva ("nella mia sepoltura fatta di novo": Lavin 1968, p. 238 n. 98).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 2; Balduino (1682) 1975, p. 695; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 86–87; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 232, no. 5; Lavin 1968, pp. 237–38

A5 Pope Paul V Borghese

Balduino cites one marble bust of the pope by Bernini "in the villa Borghese" and Domenico Bernini speaks of a marble bust that the pope appreciated so much he kept it in his personal living quarters until his death.

Balduino (1682) 1975, p. 696;
 Bernini 1713, p. 17



A5a

1621
 Marble, H: 35 cm (13 1/16 in.)
 Vienna, private collection (formerly
 Rome, Borghese Collection, 1892)

Italo Faldi published a series of payments to the sculptor dating from June to September 1621. Fioravante Martinelli cited the bust as in the Villa Borghese in his guide. It is not clear whether it can be identified with the one Richard Symonds saw earlier in the Palazzo Borghese during his visit in Rome between 1649 and 1651 (account quoted in Brookes 2007, p. 78).

Fioravante Martinelli (1662) in D'Onofrio 1969, p. 304; Balduino (1682) 1975, p. 696; Faldi 1953a, p. 146; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 233, no. 6



A5b

1621–22
 Bronze, H (with base) 83 cm (32 1/16 in.); W: 74 cm (29 1/8 in.)
 Copenhagen, Statens Museum
 for Kunst
 See cat. no. 1.3



A5c

ca. 1622–23
 Marble, H (without *giallo antico*
 base): 33.6 cm (13 1/4 in.)
 Rome, Galleria Borghese
 See cat. no. 1.6



A6 Cardinal Giovanni Dolfin

ca. 1621
 Marble, H: 80 cm (31 1/2 in.);
 W: 60 cm (23 3/8 in.); D: 37 cm
 (14 1/16 in.)
 Venice, San Michele in Isola

Dolfin arrived in Rome around 1595, was made bishop of Vicenza in 1603, and then cardinal in 1604. He returned to Venice in May 1621, where he died one year later. The architectural design of the tomb has been attributed to Girolamo Rainaldi (Hibbard 1965, p. 377) and the two statues of *Faith* and *Prudence* in niches on each side to Pietro Bernini (Baglione 1642, p. 305). According to the list of ca. 1675 (D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 4) and to Balduino (1682) 1975, p. 695, Bernini also made a profile of the cardinal (probably in marble, formerly in Venice).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 3; Balduino (1682) 1975, p. 695; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 35–36; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 239, no. 16; Zanuso in Rome 1999b, pp. 319–20, no. 34

A7 Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi
1621–22

From a diary entry of November 18, 1622, by Francesco Bernini in Florence, we know that his cousin Pietro informed him that Gian Lorenzo Bernini, at the request of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, had made three portraits of the pope in marble and metal and that the pope had thus, in recognition, bestowed upon him the cross of the “Cavalierato di Cristo” (Fraschetti 1900, p. 32). The list of ca. 1675 and Filippo Baldinucci cite a marble and a bronze bust both in the Casa Ludovisi. Domenico Bernini mentions three busts (marble and bronze) in the Casa Ludovisi. A payment dated November 9, 1621, found by Carla Benocci attests that Sebastiano Sebastiani cast a Gregory XV bust, most likely from Bernini’s model, “per servizio di messer illustrissimo Acquaviva.” While the marble bust cited by the documents is lost (see below, no. L3), four bronzes and one marble version are known.

List of ca. 1675 in D’Onofrio 1967, pp. 434–35 nn. 26–27; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, pp. 22–23; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 236–37, no. 12; Montanari in Milan 2002; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 164, no. 4; Benocci 2006, pp. 19, 57



A7a
1621–22
Bronze, H (with socle): 78 cm (30¾ in.); W: 66 cm (26 in.); D: 24 cm (9½ in.)
Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André
See cat. no. 1.4



A7b
1621–22
Bronze, H: 64 cm (25¼ in.)
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Art (formerly in Rome, Muñoz Collection)

Muñoz considered this bust to be the one from Casa Ludovisi.
Muñoz 1911, p. 183; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 236–37, no. 12(1); Montanari in Milan 2002, pp. 116–19; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 164, no. 4



A7c
1621–22
Bronze, H: 60 cm (23¾ in.)
Bologna, Museo Civico
The arms of the Ludovisi family appear on the base of the bust.
Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 236–37, no. 12(3); Montanari in Milan 2002, pp. 116–19; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 164, no. 4



A7d
1621–22
Bronze, H: 59 cm (23⅝ in.)
Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj

The arms of the Ludovisi family appear on the base of the bust.

Fraschetti 1900, p. 32; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 236–37, no. 12(3); Montanari in Milan 2002, pp. 116–19; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 164, no. 4



A7e
1627?
Marble, H: 63.5 cm (25 in.); W: 62.5 cm (24⅝ in.); D: 32.4 cm (12¾ in.); H (of base): 20 cm (7⅞ in.)
Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario

This bust is probably identifiable with the marble portrait made for the Palazzo Ducale in Zagarolo, for which Bernini was given a gold chain by Cardinal Ludovisi in 1627 (according to documents found by Carolyn Wood).

Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Fraschetti 1900, p. 32; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 236–37, no. 12(3); Wood 1988, pp. 154 and 177 n. 86; Montanari in Milan 2002, pp. 116–17; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 164, no. 4



A8 Pedro de Foix Montoya
ca. 1622
Marble, life-size bust
Rome, Santa Maria in Monserrato (refectory adjoining the church)

Montoya died in 1630. But documents from the Confraternity of the Resurrection indicate that in September 1622 he offered to found a chaplaincy and that the act of donation was drawn up in 1623; in it the location of his tomb is established, and the church agrees to care for the portrait, which seems to have been already extant (Lavin 1968, p. 240).

List of ca. 1675 in D’Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 13; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, p. 16; Fraschetti 1900, pp. 11–14; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 237–38, no. 13; Lavin 1968, pp. 239–40



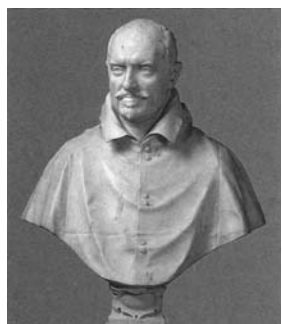
A9 Cardinal François d’Escoubleau de Sourdis
1621–22
Marble, H (with socle): 75 cm (29¾ in.); W: 61 cm (24 in.)
Bordeaux, Saint Bruno, on deposit at the Musée d’Aquitaine
See cat. no. 1.7



A10 Antonio Cepparelli

1622

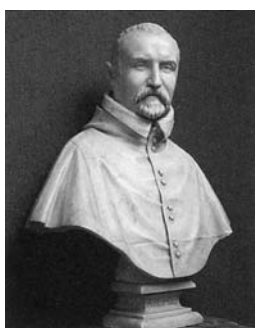
Marble, H (with socle): 70 cm (27 3/8 in.); W: 60 cm (23 3/8 in.)
Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini
See cat. no. 1.8



A11 Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto

ca. 1623

Marble, H (with socle): 79 cm (31 1/8 in.); W: 65 cm (25 5/8 in.)
Hamburg, Kunsthalle
See cat. no. 1.9



A12 Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo

ca. 1623

Marble, H (with socle): 82 cm (32 3/8 in.); W: 70 cm (27 5/8 in.)
Inscribed around the truncation at the back: CA.ANT.PVTEVS.PIS.ARCH.; and around the socle: CA.PVT/ARCHIEP/PISAN

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo (1547–1607) became *gran consigliere* to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1571 and archbishop of Pisa in 1582. His cousin was the father of Cassiano dal Pozzo, the famous antiquarian. Nothing is known about the commission, but Cassiano was probably responsible for it, as he knew Bernini. Perhaps the sculptor worked from the death mask of the archbishop that was done in 1607. The bust, first published in 1967 by Sheila Rinehart, is cited in inventories of the Palazzo dal Pozzo in Rome dated 1657 and 1695. It may have been acquired by Henry Howard during his visit in Rome in 1717 to furnish Castle Howard in Yorkshire.

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 8; Balducci (1682) 1975, p. 695; Frascchetti 1900, p. 405; Rinehart 1967; Wittkower 1997, p. 301, no. 81(7); Clifford and Weston-Lewis in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 65–68, no. 22

A13 Paolo Giordano II Orsini, Duke of Bracciano
1623–24

A letter indicates that by June 1623, Bernini had executed a portrait of the duke of Bracciano (Haskell [1963] 1980, pp. 96–97, 388; Benocci 2006, p. 77, doc. 2). Other documents provide the information that a first cast was done from the wax model by Bernini, under his direction, for which Sebastiano Sebastiani was paid in 1623. Second and third casts, still from the wax model by Bernini, were done by Giacomo Laurenziani in 1624 and in 1626. It is not known whether the bronze busts known today correspond with those casts. The bronze busts have sometimes been attributed to the goldsmith and medalist Johann Jakob Kornmann, on the basis of a print representing a similar bust (“busto di metallo fatto dal Gorman”).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 22; Balducci (1682) 1975, p. 695; Frascchetti 1900, p. 405; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 256–57, no. 36; Haskell (1963) 1980, pp. 96–97, 388; Draper 1984; Benocci 2006



A13a

1623

Bronze, H: 18.5 cm (7 3/8 in.)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982

This bust is the most beautiful and original of the known Orsini busts. Benocci proposes that it corresponds to the first cast by Sebastiani.

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 22; Balducci (1682) 1975, p. 695; Frascchetti 1900, p. 405; Haskell (1963) 1980, pp. 96–97, 388; Wittkower (1966) 1981, pp. 203–4, no. 36a; Draper 1984; Wittkower 1997, pp. 256–57, no. 36a; Benocci 2006, pp. 57–65, 77, docs. 2–4



A13b

Bronze, H: 19.3 cm (7 5/8 in.)
Plymouth (England), City Museum and Art Gallery, Cottonian Collection

An inscription on the base says that this was added and cast in 1675 by Bernardino Danese and that Danese offered the piece to the Bavarian priest J. A. Gugler in Rome for the year of the Jubilee. The bust was subsequently in the collection of the marchese Leonori di Pesaro (before 1772).

Haskell (1963) 1980 p. 388; Radcliffe 1978; Wittkower 1997, p. 257, discussed in no. 36b; Benocci 2006, pp. 57, 60–61, 66–68, 78, docs. 8–9



A13c

Bronze

Private Collection
(sale, London, Sotheby's, 1971, lent to the Victoria and Albert Museum until 1998)

This bust is of lower quality than the others. Benocci proposes that it is the third cast, done by Laurenziani in 1626.

Radcliffe 1978; Wittkower 1997, p. 257, discussed in no. 36b; Benocci 2006, pp. 57, 68–69, 78, doc. 12



A13d

Marble, H (with base): 88 cm (34 5/8 in.); W: 74.5 cm (29 3/8 in.); D: 31.5 cm (12 3/8 in.); H (of base): 11 cm (4 3/8 in.)
Rome, Museo della Villa Doria Pamphij

This bust arrived in the Pamphilj family because of a wedding between an Orsini and a Pamphilj in 1808. It is the best marble version, even though its surface is damaged due to a long stay outside. Valentino Martinelli, who first published the bust, attributed it to Francesco Baratta. Marcello and Maurizio Fagiolo have proposed an attribution to Andrea Bolgi, as does Elena Di Gioia, although tentatively (see previous bibliography in Rome 1999b). Carla Benocci gives it to an unknown sculptor of Bernini's school.

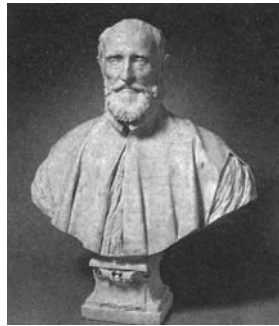
Martinelli 1959, pp. 148–49; Petrucci in Rome 1999b, pp. 334–35, no. 50; Benocci 2006, pp. 65, 68



A13e
Porphyry
Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci

This bust, very similar to the Bracciano marble, was probably carved from the same model by a specialist of porphyry carving, such as Tommaso Fedele.

Fraschetti 1900, p. 405; Posse 1909, p. 462; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 257, discussed in no. 36b; Benocci 2006, p. 72



A14 Francesco di Carlo Barberini
(uncle of Urban VIII)
ca. 1623
Marble, H (with socle): 80.3 cm (31 3/8 in.); W: 66.1 cm (26 1/4 in.)
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection
See cat. no. 2.2



A15 Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino
1623–24
Marble, H: 76.5 cm (30 1/8 in.); W: 70 cm (27 1/8 in.); D: 50 cm (19 1/8 in.)
Rome, Il Gesù

Bellarmino died in 1621 and was buried in a common grave with his Jesuit brothers in the church of Il Gesù. Documents in the Jesuit archives show that his body was exhumed on September 1622 and the monument was begun in August 1623. It was unveiled in August 1624 (Lavin 1968) and included two statues, *Religion* and *Wisdom*, created by Pietro Bernini with the help of Giuliano Finelli (Baglione 1642, p. 305). It was destroyed during the rebuilding of the apse (ca. 1843) but a seventeenth-century drawing gives an idea of the bust's original appearance (National Library, Rome).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 435 n. 36; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, p. 16; Fraschetti 1900, pp. 33–36; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 238, no. 14; Lavin 1968, pp. 242–43

A16–A19 Pope Urban VIII Barberini
The list of ca. 1675 cites one bust “in casa Giori” (see below, no. L11), two marbles and one bronze “in casa Barberina,” and another bronze “dall’abbate Braccese” (see below, no. L12). Baldinucci mentions two busts of Urban VIII in marble and one in bronze “in casa Barberina,” and Domenico Bernini cites a bust in marble and one in bronze, saying that the sculptor did many other portraits of the same sitter. Tessin only mentions one bust by Bernini in the Palazzo Barberini. A letter from Lelio Guidiccioni to Bernini reveals that one bust was made during the summer of 1632 (see below, no. A17b), and letters of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, published by Bandera, attest that a bust was offered to Louis XIV in 1656 (see below, no. A18c). A payment attests that Bernini did another bust for Gian Maria Roscioli, now lost (see below, no. L10). Lacking any further documentation, it has not always been possible to determine which of the existing busts match these citations.

Guidiccioni 1633, pp. 33–34; list of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 nn. 17–21; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Tessin (1687) 2002, pp. 301–2; Bernini 1713, p. 42; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 240–44, no. 19; Corradini 1977, p. 85, no. 57; Bandera 1999, pp. 60–61; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 165–71, nos. 5–18



A16 Pope Urban VIII Barberini
Marble, H (with base): 68 cm (26 3/8 in.)
Rome, Barberini Collection (formerly Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane)

Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 241, no. 19(1); Sebastian Schütze in Rome 1998, pp. 240–51, no. 25; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 166, no. 7

A17 Pope Urban VIII Barberini
(wearing just the mozzetta)



A17a
ca. 1632
Marble, H (without base): 76.2 cm (30 in.)
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada
See cat. no. 2.5



A17b
ca. 1632
Marble, H: 83 cm (32 3/8 in.)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (formerly Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane)

A letter by Lelio Guidiccioni to Bernini (published by D'Onofrio) reveals that the bust was made during the summer of 1632 while the pope was in residence in Castel Gandolfo. The bust cited by Teti is perhaps the same one.

Guidiccioni 1633, pp. 33–34; Teti 1642 (2005), pp. 466–67; Fraschetti 1900, p. 146; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 241, no. 19(2a); D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 381–86 and 434; Schütze in Rome 1998, pp. 242–51, no. 26; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 166, no. 7



A17c

ca. 1640
Marble, H (with base): 94 cm (37 in.); W: 71 cm (28 in.);
D: 40 cm (15 3/4 in.); H (of base
with bee): 23 cm (9 1/16 in.)
Rome, Palazzo Spada

For this bust, first published by
Faldi in 1965, one cannot exclude
the intervention of the workshop.

Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 242,
no. 19(2c); Faldi 1965, pp. 79–80;
Schütze in Rome 1999b, pp. 328–
29, no. 44; Zitzlsperger 2002,
pp. 169–70, no. 14



A17d

1632
Bronze, H: 81 cm (31 3/8 in.)
Vatican City, Vatican Library
(formerly in the Palazzo Barberini)

This bust is likely the one cited in
payments found by Lavin and dated
November 1632 and January 1633.
In November 1632 it was in the
library of the Palazzo Barberini,
which was acquired by the Vatican
Library in 1902.

Teti (1642) 2005, pp. 220–21;
Fraschetti 1900, p. 146; Wittkower
(1955) 1997, p. 242, no. 19(2b);
Lavin 1970, p. 141 n. 65;
Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 167, no.



A17e

1643
Bronze, H: 81 cm (31 3/8 in.)
Camerino, Palazzo Comunale

This bronze was commissioned in
1643 by the town of Camerino
through Cardinal Angelo Giori.

Fraschetti 1900, p. 406; Aleandri
1902; Wittkower (1955) 1997,
pp. 243–44, no. 19(6); Zitzlsperger
2002, p. 170, no. 15

A18 Pope Urban VIII Barberini
(with mozzetta and stole)



A18a

ca. 1632
Marble, H (without base): 86 cm
(33 3/8 in.); H (of base): 16 cm
(6 1/16 in.)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte
Antica, Palazzo Barberini

Fraschetti 1900, p. 146; Wittkower
(1955) 1997, p. 242, no. 19(3);
Schütze in Rome 1998, pp. 242–51,
no. 26; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 168,
no. 1



A18b

ca. 1658
Partly gilt bronze, H: 101.5 cm
(40 in.); W: approx. 78 cm
(30 3/4 in.)
Florence, Private Collection
See cat. no. 2.6



A18c

ca. 1656
Bronze, H (with socle): 101.5 cm
(39 13/16 in.); W: 75 cm (29 3/16 in.);
D: 42 cm (16 5/16 in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre

Letters of Cardinal Antonio
Barberini show that this bust was
probably offered to Louis XIV in
1656 (Bandera 1999).

Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 242,
no. 19(4); Bandera 1999, pp.
60–61; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp.
167–68,
no. 10; Bresc-Bautier and Colas
de La Noue in Bresc-Bautier 2006,
p. 7



A18d

Bronze, H (including socle):
104.5 cm (41 1/8 in.)
Blenheim Palace (Great Britain,
Oxfordshire)

This portrait was probably cast from
the same model used for the two
other bronzes (nos. A18b and A18c
above) that Bernini carved in 1632.
Although a plaster bust, probably
cast from the same model, is now
in Rome, S. Maria in Montesanto,
the Blenheim bronze could not
come from that church (as Avery
proposed), since Urban VIII was
not one of the popes portrayed in
the series of busts cast by Lucenti
for the choir (on this series see Spike
in Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85,
pp. 34–41; see below in D9).

Avery 1997, pp. 90, 281; Charles
Avery in Edinburgh 1998,
pp. 69–70, no. 24; Zitzlsperger
2002, p. 168, no. 11



A18e

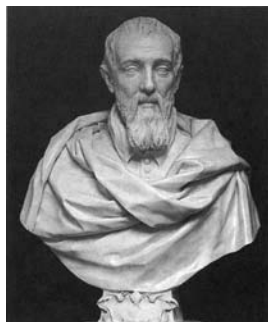
ca. 1632
Bronze and porphyry, H (without
green marble base): 81 cm (31 3/8 in.)
Rome, Private Collection
See cat. no. 2.7



A19 Pope Urban VIII Barberini
1640–44
Bronze, H: 132 cm (52 in.)
Spoleto, Cathedral

Bernini was paid in February 1640 for a bronze bust destined for Spoleto (Fraschetti). Other payments to Bernini and to the bronze caster Ambrogio Lucenti were made until 1644 (published by Martinelli), the year in which the bust was sent to Spoleto and installed in the cathedral.

Bertolotti 1879, p. 315; Fraschetti 1900, pp. 146–47; Martinelli 1955a (1994, pp. 151–57); Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 243–44, no. 19(5a); Casale in Rome 1999b, pp. 329–31, no. 45; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 170–71, no. 17



A20 Antonio Barberini
(great-uncle of Pope Urban VIII)
ca. 1625–30
Marble, H: 65 cm (25 1/8 in.)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini

The bust of Antonio Barberini (1494–1559), the great-uncle of Pope Urban VIII, was originally planned for the funerary monument in the Roman church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, erected by Carlo Barberini, the pope's brother, in 1629–30 (see below, no. 20A). Later it was decided to make a copy for the monument and to keep the original bust for inclusion in a portrait series of the family; the bust is cited for the first time in a 1651 inventory of the galleria in the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 263 n. 23). The collaboration of Giuliano Finelli in carving this bust is usually accepted by scholars, except Valentino Martinelli and Alessandro Angelini, who consider it entirely by Bernini.

Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 246–47, no. 24(b); Martinelli 1956b, p. 34; Dombrowski 1997, p. 298, no. A.B.12; Anglini 1999, pp. 32–33; Schütze in Rome 1999b, pp. 331–32, no. 46



A20a
after 1630
Marble, life-size bust
Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

This bust is a copy after Bernini's *Antonio Barberini* (see above), which was substituted for the latter in the funerary monument conceived by the architect Felice Della Greca. According to a letter dated February 23, 1630, and found by Pio Pecchiai in 1956, the monument was finished at that time but was still missing the "head" (Schütze in Rome 1999b, pp. 332, no. 46).

Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 247, in no. 24(b); Dombrowski 1997, p. 298, n. 1; Schütze in Rome 1999b, pp. 331–32, in no. 46



A21 Cardinal Agostino Valier
1626–27
Marble, H: 65 cm (25 1/8 in.);
W: 59 cm (23 3/8 in.); D: 30 cm
(11 1/8 in.)
Venice, Ca' d'Oro (formerly
Venice, Santa Maria in Isola,
Valier Chapel)

Agostino Valier (1531–1606) was made cardinal in 1583 and bishop of Palestrina in 1605; he very often traveled to Rome, where he died in 1606. A 1663 guide to Venice attributes both this bust and the *Cardinal Pietro Valier* listed below to Gian Lorenzo Bernini, but Baldinucci lists only one bust of a Cardinal Valier. Wittkower proposed a date of ca. 1627, based on the date of Pietro Valier's second documented stay in Rome. Scholars generally agree that the bust was made either with the collaboration of Andrea Bolgi (Wittkower, Nava Cellini) or Giuliano Finelli (Martinelli, Dombrowski).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 6? ["card. Valerio in Venetia"]; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Fraschetti 1900, pp. 405–7; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 249, no. 25; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 312–13, no. B.21; Zanuso in Rome 1999b, pp. 320–21, no. 35



A22 Cardinal Pietro Valier
1626–27
Marble, H: 59 cm (23 3/8 in.);
W: 59 cm (23 3/8 in.); D: 28 cm
(11 1/8 in.)
Venice, Ca' d'Oro (formerly
Venice, Santa Maria in Isola,
Valier Chapel)

Pietro Valier (1575–1629) was Agostino's nephew; he was made cardinal in 1621 and bishop of Padova in 1625; he stayed in Rome first between June 1624 and April 1626, and then from May 1626 until May 1627. A 1663 guide to Venice attributes both busts to Gian Lorenzo Bernini, but Baldinucci lists only one bust of a Cardinal Valier. Documents indicate that Cardinal Pietro Valier was responsible for commissioning the Valier Chapel, and thus probably also the two busts. Wittkower proposed a date of ca. 1627, based on Pietro Valier's second stay in Rome. Wittkower and Nava Cellini believe that Andrea Bolgi collaborated on the execution of the carving, while Martinelli identifies the bust of Pietro as the autograph bust cited by Baldinucci.

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434, n. 6? ["card. Valerio in Venetia"]; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Fraschetti 1900, pp. 405–7; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 249, no. 25; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 312–13, no. B.21; Zanuso in Rome 1999b, p. 321, no. 36



A22a
Marble, life-size bust
Padova, Cathedral

Pietro Valier was buried in Padova, and a monument was erected in the choir of the cathedral in 1651. The bust on this monument is another version of the one in Venice, possibly done in Bernini's workshop. It is attributed with doubts to Giuliano Finelli by Dombrowski.

Dombrowski 1997, p. 312



A23 Cardinal Melchior Khlesl
ca. 1627
Marble, life-size bust
Wiener Neustadt, Cathedral

Cardinal Khlesl (1552–1630), bishop of Vienna in 1598 and cardinal in 1616, stayed in Rome from 1622 to 1627. In his will (1630), he asked for two identical monuments, one for his heart in the cathedral of Wiener Neustadt and one for his body, to be entombed with his mother in Saint Stephen's in Vienna. The former bust, first published by Kurz in 1939, is certainly by Bernini himself. Wittkower proposed that the style of the marble carving should be attributed to Giuliano Finelli, an interpretation accepted by Dombrowski.

Kurz 1939; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 245–46, no. 22; Morpurgo 1962, vol. 2, pp. 85–86; Dombrowski 1997, p. 311, no. B.20



A23a
Marble, life-size bust
Vienna, Saint Stephen's Cathedral

This bust is possibly a version done, but in reverse, in Bernini's workshop from the same model as the other bust. It was made before 1639 as it was erected by Khlesl's successor, Anton von Wolfpath, who died in that year.

Kurz 1939, p. 75



A24 Bartolomeo Roscioli
ca. 1627
Marble, H: 90 cm (35 3/8 in.);
W: 80 cm (31 1/2 in.)
Foligno, Museo Diocesano
(previously in the cathedral)

This bust does not appear in the inventory of Bartolomeo Roscioli (d. 1637) nor in that of his son. Since Roscioli obtained the location in Rome where he would build his house in 1627, it seems likely that he might have requested Bernini to create his bust at the same time (Casale 1988, pp. 12–13). Archives inform us that busts of Bartolomeo and his wife (see below, no. A28) were inherited by the cathedral in Foligno and set up in the sacristy in 1709 (Casale 1988, p. 4). Tomaso Montanari suggests that the busts were made with workshop intervention.

Casale 1988; Wittkower 1997, p. 305, no. (9); Montanari 2005b, p. 278

A25a Cardinal Scipione Borghese



A25a
1632
Marble, H: 100 cm (38 3/8 in.);
W: 82 cm (32 1/4 in.); D: 48 cm
(18 15/16 in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese (CCLXV)

A payment to Bernini for this bust is dated December 23, 1632 (Hibbard 1965, p. 101).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 15 or 16; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, pp. 10–11; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 107–10; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 253, no. 31(a); Hibbard 1965, pp. 89–96, 101; Coliva in Rome 1998, pp. 276–89, 440, no. 29; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 176, no. 25



A25b
1632
Marble, H (without base): 80.1 cm
(31 1/8 in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese (CCLXVI)
See cat. no. 4.1



A26 Costanza Bonarelli
1636–38
Marble, H: 72 cm (28 3/4 in.)
Florence, Museo Nazionale
del Bargello
See cat. no. 4.3



A27 Thomas Baker
1637–38
Marble, H: 81.6 cm (32 1/8 in.)
London, Victoria and Albert
Museum
See cat. no. 6.1



A28 *Diana de Paulo Roscioli*
before 1640
Marble, life-size bust
Foligno, Museo Diocesano
(previously in the cathedral)

Diana de Paulo Roscioli died in June 1631. On May 28, 1640, her son made a gift to Bernini "to have me done a marble head of Madame [my mother]" (Casale 1988, pp. 13, 20, docs. 2–3). See also *Bartolomeo Roscioli*, no. A24.

Casale 1988; Montanari 2005b, p. 278



A29 *Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu*
1640–41
Marble, H: 83 cm (32 1/16 in.); W: 65 cm (25 5/16 in.); D: 33 cm (13 in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre
See cat. no. 6.4



A29a
Bronze
Potsdam, Schloss

This bust was perhaps cast from the terra-cotta model cited in the inventories of Bernini's workshop in 1681 and 1706. It might be the bronze cited by Baldinucci. The bronze in Sanssouci comes from the collection of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (1742).

Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 699; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 260–61, no. 42(2); Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 177–78, no. 26



A29c
Marble, H: 67 cm (26 in.)
New York, Private Collection
(formerly David Schaff Fine Arts, Delaware)

This is the finest of the various marble versions. However, it is not known whether it can be identified with the one executed for Cardinal Mazarin by one of Bernini's collaborators (Niccolò Sale or Giacomo Balsimello), which is cited in a letter by the cardinal's agent, Elpidio Benedetti, dated July 1641 (Laurain-Portemer 1976, pp. 77, 97 n. 127)



A30a
Marble, H (with base): 93 cm (36 3/4 in.); H (of base): 15 cm (5 1/16 in.)
Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj

This bust, found in 1955 by Faldi while it was in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Piazza Navona, is perhaps the one Bernini left in his will to Cardinal Azzolino. The bust probably did not reach the Pamphilj collection before the nineteenth century. It has a break through the chin and lower jaw.

Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, p. 93; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 210–11; Faldi 1955a, pp. 50–51; Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 270, no. 51(2); Angelini in Rome 1999b, pp. 339–40; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 171–72, no. 19



A29b
Bronze, H: 87.7 cm (34 3/16 in.); W: 73.9 cm (29 1/16 in.); D: 33 cm (13 in.)
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria

This bust was perhaps cast from the terra-cotta model cited in the inventories of Bernini's workshop in 1681 and 1706.

Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 261, in no. 42; Wittkower 1971, pp. 13–18; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 177–78, no. 26

A30 *Pope Innocent X Pamphilj*
ca. 1650

The list of ca. 1675 cites one bust "in casa Panphilia" and another one in "casa Bernina." Domenico Bernini says that a few were "in Casa Panfilia" and another one in "Casa Bernini." Tessin mentions one terra-cotta bust in the Palazzo Giustiniani and another one (in marble?) in the Villa Pamphilj (the other one in the Villa Pamphilj, in porphyry and bronze, that he attributes to Bernini is surely the one made by Alessandro Algardi).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 nn. 24–25; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Tessin (1687–88) 2002, pp. 310, 328–29; Bernini 1713, p. 93



A30b

Marble, H: 100 cm (39 3/8 in.);
W: 70 cm (27 1/8 in.); D: 30 cm
(11 1/8 in.)

Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj

This bust is surely the one recorded as being “in casa Pamphilj.”

Alessandro Angelini proposed that Bernini carved this version because of the break that appeared in the first bust he made, which he then kept (see above, no. A30a).

Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696;
Bernini 1713, p. 93; Frascchetti
1900, pp. 210–11; Faldi 1955a,
pp. 50–51; Martinelli 1955a;
Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 270,
no. 51(2); Angelini in Rome 1999b,
pp. 339–40, no. 54; Zitzlsperger
2002, pp. 171–72, no. 19



**A31 Francesco I d'Este,
Duke of Modena**

1650–51

Marble, H: 98 cm (38 1/8 in.);
W: 106 cm (41 1/8 in.); D: 50 cm
(19 1/8 in.)

Modena, Galleria Estense

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967,
p. 435 n. 33; Baldinucci (1682)
1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, p. 64;
Frascchetti 1900, pp. 221–26;
Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 272,
no. 54; Lavin 1998a; Zitzlsperger
2002, pp. 173–74, no. 21



A32 Pope Alexander VII Chigi
1657

Marble, H: 82 cm (32 1/8 in.);
W: 45 cm (17 3/8 in.); D: 31 cm
(12 1/8 in.)

Private Collection

See cat. no. 6.6 and below, D6



A33 Louis XIV, King of France
1665

Marble, H (with base): 105 cm
(41 3/8 in.); W: 95.5 cm (37 3/8 in.);
D: 46.5 cm (18 3/8 in.); H (of the
base): 21.5 cm (8 3/8 in.)

Versailles, Musée national du
domaine et du château, salon de
Diane (from 1685)

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967,
p. 435, n. 35; Baldinucci (1682)
1975, p. 696; Chantelou (1665)
2005 passim; Perrault (1759)
1909, pp. 61–62, 63; Bernini
1713, pp. 132–37; Wittkower
1951; Wittkower (1955) 1997,
pp. 286–87, no. 70; Hoog 1993,
p. 238, no. 1077; Zitzlsperger
2002, pp. 174–75, no. 22



A33a

ca. 1700 (after the 1665 marble)
Bronze, H: 84.2 cm (33 1/8 in.);
W: 100 cm (39 3/8 in.);
D: 43.2 cm (17 in.)

Washington, D.C., National
Gallery of Art

See cat. no. 6.8



A35 Portrait of a Gentleman

ca. 1670–75

Marble, H: 54.5 cm (21 1/4 in.)

Private Collection

See cat. no. 6.10



A36 Pope Clement X Altieri
1676–77

Marble, H: 110 cm (43 3/8 in.)

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte
Antica, Palazzo Barberini

See cat. no. 6.12

A34 Gabriele Fonseca

ca. 1668

Marble, over-life-size bust
Rome, San Lorenzo in Lucina
(fourth chapel to the right)

New documents reveal that the
decoration of the Fonseca Chapel
was executed by Bernini's team
between 1662 and 1665. How-
ever, no payments to Bernini are
listed, either in Gabriele Fonseca's
accounts (Fonseca died in 1668),
nor in the ones of his heir, Gasparo
Fonseca. The bust is cited by G. A.
Bruzio in a text drafted in 1670
(see Barry 2004, p. 398).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967,
p. 436 n. 63; Baldinucci (1682)
1975, p. 697; Wittkower (1955)
1997, p. 294, no. 75; Barry 2004

D.
**BUSTS OF DEBATED AND
UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION**



D1 Pope Urban VIII Barberini
1623–24

Marble, H (with socle): 82.5 cm
(32 1/16 in.); W: 65.5 cm (25 1/16 in.);
D: 30 cm (11 1/16 in.)
Rome, San Lorenzo in Fonte

Martinelli argued for the authentic-
ity of this bust and proposed that
it was perhaps the one cited in an
inventory of the Quirinal Palace in
1626. Wittkower suggested that the
bust was executed with the help of
Giuliano Finelli (see above, p. 24).

Fraschetti 1900, pp. 141 n.1 and
149; Martinelli 1955a, pp. 34–35,
38–39; Wittkower (1955) 1997,
p. 241, no. 19(1a); Dombrowsi 1997,
pp. 23, 266–67, no. B.11; Schütze
in Rome 1999b, pp. 327–28, no.
43; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 165, no. 5



D2 Virginio Cesarini
1624

Marble, life-size bust
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo
dei Conservatori, Sala dei Capitani

Virginio Cesarini, a poet and scholar
and “cameriere segreto” to Pope
Urban VIII, died on April 11, 1624.
This bust, first attributed to François
Duquesnoy by Nava Cellini when
she published it in 1956, was then
given to Bernini by Ann Sutherland
Harris. Ferrari preferred to leave the
attribution as “unknown sculptor.”
In any case, various aspects of this
portrait lead to speculation that
it could be by Francesco Mochi
(Bacchi in Bacchi and Zanuso 1996).

Nava Cellini 1956, pp. 27–29;
Sutherland Harris 1989; Bacchi and
Zanuso 1996, p. 13; Ferrari and
Papaldo 1998, p. 480; Angelini 1999,
p. 25; Montanari 2005b, p. 278



**D3 Paolo Giordano II Orsini,
Duke of Bracciano**
1629–31

Marble, over-life-size bust
Bracciano (Italy), Castello
Orsini-Odescalchi

This bust is cited in an inventory
of the Castle Orsini in Bracciano in
1698 as “a marble bust over life-size
of Don Paolo Giordano, copied from
the model of Bernini, with the ad-
dition of the coat” (Rubsamen 1980,
p. 45). It was made from Bernini’s
model, perhaps by “Guglielmo
fiammingo,” a sculptor paid by the
Orsini family between 1629 and
1631 (Benocci).

Faldi 1954b, pp. 13–15; Wittkower
(1955) 1997, no. 36b, p. 257;
Benocci 2006, pp. 71–72, 79,
doc. 13



D4 Isabella Orsini

ca. 1630
Marble, H (with base): 84 cm
(33 1/4 in.)
Rome, Odescalchi Collection

Faldi 1954b; Wittkower 1997,
p. 257

D5–D7 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

The list of ca. 1675 and Baldinucci
both cite two busts of Alexander VII
“in Casa Chigi” and one “in casa
Bernini,” while the inventories of
Bernini’s house list two busts of the
pope (see below, nos. L18–L20).
Tessin mentioned a marble bust
and a bronze bust of Alexander VII
in Palazzo Chigi. Except for the
marble bust in a private collection
(cat. no. 6.6), the authorship of all
the other known busts of Alexander
VII is debated.

List of ca. 1675 in D’Onofrio 1967,
p. 435, nn. 28–29; Baldinucci
(1682) 1975, p. 696; Tessin (1687)
2002, p. 312



D5 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

ca. 1657–67
Terra-cotta, H: 68 cm (26 3/4 in.)
Rome, Palazzo Corsini (formerly
Pollack and Muñoz collections
[1939])

Martinelli 1955a; Wittkower
(1955) 1997, p. 283, no. 65(1);
Ferrari in Ariccia 1998, pp. 70–73,
no. 13; Ferrari in Rome 1999b,
pp. 341–42, no. 57



D6 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

ca. 1657
Marble
Formerly collection of architect
Armando Brasini

This bust, published in 2002 by
Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco with
the attribution to Bernini, was
sold with the Brasini collection in
Rome, 1937. The bust is very close
to the one in Siena (cat. no. 6.6),
but the ornamentation of the
stole differs.

Fagiolo 2002, p. 59, fig. 26



D7 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

before 1659

Bronze, H: 33 cm (13 in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

The bust is cited in the collection of Leopold Wilhelm von Habsburg in a 1659 inventory.

Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 283; Petrucci 1997, pp. 177–81; Ferrari in Rome 1999b, pp. 341–42



D8 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

ca. 1657–67

Bronze

Rome, Private Collection

This bust was surely cast from the same model as the one in Vienna (see above, no. D7). It was owned by Sigismondo Chigi and then by the Roman antiquarian Di Castro (in 1977).

Petrucci 1997, pp. 178–81; Ferrari in Rome 1999b, pp. 341–42



D9 Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi

ca. 1667–69

Bronze, H (with base): 96.5 cm (37 7/8 in.); W: 82.6 cm (32 1/2 in.); D: 30.5 cm (12 in.)

Detroit Institute of Arts

This bust is possibly the one cast by Girolamo Lucenti for the series in the choir of Santa Maria in Montesanto in Rome. It has been attributed to Bernini because of its many Berninesque qualities and because Lucenti often worked as Bernini's technical assistant. Moreover, as pointed out by Olga Raggio, the bust is similar to a plaster cast now in the church.

Documents reveal that casts of popes Alexander VII, Clement IX, and Clement X by Lucenti were once located in the church, the architects of which were Carlo Rainaldi and Mattia de' Rossi, the latter Bernini's principal assistant for architecture. These busts were lost and replaced by plaster casts sometime between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There is no reason to think, as proposed by Lee Bimm (1974, pp. 73–74), that the Detroit bust derives from the marble listed in the Rospigliosi inventories from 1818 to 1900. Since Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini do not mention a marble bust of Pope Clement IX, the citations in these nineteenth-century documents cannot be taken as conclusive.

Raggio in Detroit 1965; Spike in Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85, p. 122, no. 40; Darr in Darr, Barnett, and Boström 2002, pp. 42–44, no. 141



D10 Pope Clement X Altieri

not before 1670

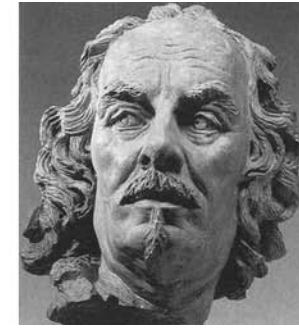
Bronze, H: 91.4 cm (36 in.);

W: 73.6 cm (28 5/8 in.)

Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Villa believes that the lost bronze bust cited by Tessin (see below, no. L23), the one for which payment was made to Giovanni Battista Gaulli in 1671 (although the payment does not mention Bernini), and the bust in Minneapolis are one and the same. Petrucci proposes that the Minneapolis bust was cast from the same model used for the bronze cited by Tessin (in which the *stola* is gilt).

Spike in Sarasota and Hartford 1984–85, p. 98, no. 28; Villa 1996; Petrucci in Rome 1999b, pp. 344–45, no. 59



D11 Self-Portrait

(Gian Lorenzo Bernini)

ca. 1670

Terra-cotta, H: 46 cm (18 1/8 in.);

W: 23 cm (9 1/8 in.); D: 22 cm

(8 3/4 in.)

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum (formerly Venice, Farsetti Collection)

The bust was published in 1945 and 1960 by Gianetta Mazulevitch as a self-portrait by Bernini, destined for the sculptor's own collection. This attribution was not accepted by Wittkower, while Montanari thinks it possible. Androssov preferred to propose it as a workshop bust.

Wittkower (1955) 1990, p. 304, no. 10; Montanari 1998a, p. 391; Sergej Androssov in Rome 1999b, p. 451, no. 230 (with previous bibliography)

L. LOST BUSTS

L1 *Antonio Coppola*

1612
Terra-cotta
Formerly Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

A document found by Lavin and dated 1634 mentions the installation in the church of two terra-cotta heads made by Bernini, doubtless models for the marble busts of Coppola (cat. no. 1.2) and Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8).

Lavin 1968, pp. 226 and 247, no. 29

L2 *Antonio Barberini*

(father of Pope Urban VIII)
1619–20
Marble
Formerly Barberini Collection

The bust is cited in an inventory of June 1628. Bernini was paid for the pedestal in March 1629. The porphyry profile in the Barberini Chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, made in 1627 by Tommaso Fedele, likely derives from this lost bust.

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 11; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Frascchetti 1900, p. 140; Aronberg Lavin 1975, pp. 5, doc. 32, and 79 n. 127

L3 *Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi*

1621
Marble
Formerly Ludovisi Collection

From a diary entry of November 18, 1622, by Francesco Bernini in Florence, we know that his cousin Pietro informed him that Gian Lorenzo Bernini had made three portraits of the pope in marble and metal and that the pope had thus, in recognition, bestowed upon him the cross of the "Cavalierato di Cristo" (Frascchetti 1900, p. 32). A marble bust is cited in the Ludovisi collection by the list of ca. 1675, as well as by Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini. It can be dated between the election of Pope Gregory XV in February 1621 and September 1621, when Bernini was first called "Cavaliere." The marble bust was

most likely used as a model for the bronze cast by Sebastiano Sebastiani (see cat. no. 1.5).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 434–35 nn. 26–27; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, pp. 22–23; Frascchetti 1900, p. 32; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 236–37 and 301, nos. 12 and 81(5); Montanari 2002

L4 *Count Pompeo Ludovisi*

(father of Pope Gregory XV)
1621–23
Bronze
Formerly Rome, Villa Ludovisi

The bust is cited by Fioravante Martinelli in his 1662 description of the Villa Ludovisi as by Bernini and cast by Gregorio de Rossi. It also appears in the Ludovisi inventories in 1623, 1633, and 1665 (published by Palma).

Fioravante Martinelli (1662) in D'Onofrio 1969, p. 317; Martinelli 1955a; Palma 1983, pp. 70, no. 164; 72, no. 49; and 96, no. 135; Montanari in Milan 2002, pp. 118–19

L5 *Pope Paul V Borghese*

1621–23
Bronze
Formerly Rome, Villa Ludovisi

This bust is cited in a 1633 Ludovisi inventory (published by Palma).

Martinelli 1955a; Palma 1983, p. 72, no. 56; Montanari in Milan 2002, p. 119

L6 *Antonio Cepparelli*

1622
Terra-cotta
Formerly Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

A document published by Lavin and dated 1634 mentions the installation in the church of two terra-cotta heads made by Bernini, doubtless models for the marble busts of Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8) and Antonio Coppola (cat. no. 1.2).

Lavin 1968, pp. 226 and 247, no. 29

L7–L12 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

L7 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

1624–25
Bronze
Formerly Rome, Trinità dei Pellegrini

Documents attest that the bronze was cast by Giacomo Laurenziano but do not mention Bernini, although Baglione attributes the project to Bernini.

Baglione 1642, p. 327; Frascchetti 1900, p. 146; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 242–43, no. 19.4; Montagu 2001, pp. 12–13; Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 164, no. 6

L8 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

Terra-cotta, with a gilt base
Formerly Rome, Bernini's house

A terra-cotta bust of the pope with a gilt base was kept in Bernini's house, as cited in the 1681 and 1706 inventories. There is no evidence to show for which marble or bronze bust it was the model.

Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, p. 108; Martinelli and Marchionne Gunter 1996, p. 254

L9 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

Terra-cotta
Formerly Rome, Bernini's house

A bust of the pope in terra-cotta was kept in Bernini's house, as cited in the 1681 and 1706 inventories. There is no evidence to show for which marble or bronze bust it was the model.

Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, p. 111; Martinelli and Marchionne Gunter 1996, p. 254

L10 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

1643
Bronze
Formerly Rome, Roscioli Collection

Bernini was paid 88.20 scudi for a bronze bust of the pope in 1643 by Gian Maria Roscioli, son of Bartolomeo and Diana Roscioli.

Casale 1988, pp. 18–19 and 21, doc. 4

L11 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

Marble
Formerly Rome, Collection of Cardinal Angelo Giori

A 1669 inventory of the effects of Cardinal Angelo Giori published by Corradini confirms the information given by the list of ca. 1675 and by Baldinucci.

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 17; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Corradini 1977, p. 85, no. 57

L12 *Pope Urban VIII Barberini*

Bronze
Formerly Rome, Collection of the Abate Braccese

The collector abate Giovanni Braccese (see Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli Musei...*, Rome 1664, reed. Rome 1976 by Emma Zocca, pp. 13–14, 27) was Bernini's neighbor near Santa Maria Maggiore (see Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, p. 121).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 434 n. 21; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696

L13 *Cardinal Scipione Borghese*

1632–33
Terra-cotta, with a gilt base
Formerly Rome, Bernini's house

A terra-cotta bust of the cardinal with a gilt base was kept in Bernini's house, as cited in the 1681 and 1706 inventories. This bust is perhaps the model for the marble busts of the cardinal (cat. no. 4.1. and no. A25a)

Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, p. 108; Martinelli and Marchionne Gunter 1996, p. 254

L14 *Orazio Spada*

ca. 1635

Documents attest that in 1635 Cardinal Bernardino Spada planned to commission a bust of his nephew Orazio from Bernini. It is not known if the bust was ever executed.

Neppi 1975, p. 131; Schütze in Rome 1999b, p. 328

L15 Vincenzo Giustiniani

before 1637

Marble?

Formerly Rome, Giustiniani

Collection

The bust is mentioned by Joachim van Sandrart, who was in Rome till 1635 and was a close friend of the marques Vincenzo Giustiniani (d. 1637).

Sandrart (1675) 1925, p. 285; Montanari 2004b, p. 23

L16 Charles I, King of England

1637

Marble

Formerly London, Whitehall Palace, Royal Collection

This bust, commissioned in 1635–36 and executed after the triple portrait of Charles I painted by Van Dyck, was destroyed by a fire in Whitehall Palace, 1698. Its appearance is known by derivations in clay (Raatschen 1996; Charles Avery in Edinburgh 1998, p. 72, no. 26). Queen Henrietta wrote on June 26, 1639, from Whitehall Palace, requesting Bernini to make a bust of her based on Van Dyck's two pictures. A letter published by Laurain-Portemer (1991, p. 202) from Lord Montagu to Mazarin, dated July 21, 1640, deals with "the portrait of the Queen that is being worked now." But Domenico Bernini wrote that the bust was never finished ("nè hebbe compimento alcuno questo ritratto"; 1713, p. 66).

List of ca. 1675 in D'Onofrio 1967, p. 435 n. 32; Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, pp. 64–66; Frascchetti 1900, pp. 110–11; Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 172–73, no. 20

L17 Cardinal Richelieu

1641

Terra-cotta

Formerly Rome, Bernini's house

A terra-cotta bust was kept in Bernini's house, as cited in the 1681 and 1706 inventories.

Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, pp. 49 and 111; Martinelli and Marchionne Gunter 1996, p. 256

L18–L20 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

L18 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

1657

Terra-cotta

In his diary, the pope indicates that on July 8, 1657, Bernini during two hours in the afternoon "touches up the model in clay of our portrait." This terra-cotta bust was probably the model used for the marble bust now in Siena (cat. no. 6.6). Some scholars, however, believe the terra-cotta in the Palazzo Corsini was the model (see above, no. D5).

Krautheimer and Jones 1975, pp. 294–95; Angelini 1998b; Oreste Ferrari in Rome 1999b, p. 341; Alessandro Angelini in Siena 2000, pp. 164–65

L19 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

Terra-cotta?

Formerly Rome, Bernini's workshop

A bust of the pope ("mezza figura"), probably in terra-cotta, was kept in Bernini's workshop, as cited in the 1681 and 1706 inventories. There is no evidence to indicate which marble or bronze bust it was the model for. The 1706 inventory says it was given by Pietro Filippo Bernini to Pope Alexander VIII.

Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, p. 107; Martinelli and Marchionne Gunter 1996, p. 254.

L20 Pope Alexander VII Chigi

Terra-cotta?

Formerly Rome, Bernini's house

A bust of the pope, probably in terra-cotta, with a base in gilt wood, was kept in Bernini's house, as cited in the 1681 and 1706 inventories. There is no evidence to indicate for which marble or bronze bust it was the model.

Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, p. 108; Martinelli and Marchionne Gunter 1996, p. 254

L21–L23 Pope Clement X Altieri

L21 Pope Clement X Altieri

Marble?

According to Carlo Cartari (1676; see cat. no. 6.12), Bernini made a marble bust of Clement X "that Signor Cardinal Altieri wanted to keep in his Chamber." Baldinucci mentions a bust of Pope Clement X in his list, but there is a blank for its location. Domenico Bernini says that the sculptor left a bust of Clement X to Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri.

Baldinucci (1682) 1975, p. 696; Bernini 1713, p. 176

L22 Pope Clement X Altieri

1685

Marble

Previously Rome, Trinità dei Pellegrini (refectory)

Bernini was paid in 1685 for the cost of the marble for this bust.

Aleandri 1902; Barletta 1965; Villa 1996; Montagu 2001, pp. 14–15

L23 Pope Clement X Altieri

Bronze with gilt parts

Formerly Rome, Palazzo Altieri

Tessin saw the bust during his stay in Rome in 1687 and said it was gilt.

Tessin (1687) 2002 p. 316; Villa 1996

L24 Pierre Cureau de La Chambre

Marble?

Previously Paris, collection of Pierre Cureau de La Chambre

In 1685, Le Maire's guidebook cites this bust as being in Cureau de La Chambre's house, together with a bust of Pierre's father (see below, no. L25) and a bust of Bernini. Cureau de La Chambre, in his life of the sculptor, cites "a bust of him [Bernini] recently arrived here [in Paris]." (See also Jacques Vanuxem, "Quelques témoignages français sur le Bernin et son art au XVIIe siècle en France : l'abbé de la Chambre," in *Journées internationales d'étude du Baroque* [1963]; Toulouse 1965,

pp. 160–63). This bust is likely the one represented in the *Allegory of the Arts of Gian Lorenzo Bernini* by Sébastien Leclerc, which served as the frontispiece of Cureau de La Chambre's *Eloge*. Andrea Bacchi (forthcoming publication) identifies it with the one now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (acc. no. 1956-108-1).

Cureau de La Chambre 1685, p. 26; Le Maire 1685, vol. 1, pp. 302–3; Irving Lavin, *Bernini e il Salvatore. La 'buona morte' nella Roma del Seicento* (Modena, 1998), p. 56; Montanari 1999, pp. 128 n. 19, 132 n. 130

L25 Marin Cureau de La Chambre

(father of Pierre)

Marble?

Previously Paris, collection of Pierre Cureau de La Chambre

In 1685, Le Maire's guidebook cites the bust as being in Cureau de La Chambre's house. See above, L24.

Cureau de La Chambre 1685, p. 26; Le Maire 1685, vol. 1, pp. 302–3; Irving Lavin, *Bernini e il Salvatore. La 'buona morte' nella Roma del Seicento* (Modena, 1998), p. 56; Montanari 1999, pp. 128 n. 19, 132 n. 130

APPENDIX

Transcriptions of the Lists of Portrait Busts of ca. 1675 and 1682

Transcription, regarding only the portrait busts, of the **list of ca. 1675**. See D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 432–38 (the numeration is the one adopted by D'Onofrio).

[p. 434] *Retratti*

1. Busto del Maggior d'omo di Sisto V, in S.a Prassede [di anni otto]
2. Il retratto di Gio. Vigna, alla Minerva [di anni nove e fu quello che cominciò a dargli plauso in Roma]
3. Il retratto del Card.l Delfin, in Venetia
4. Altro del detto in profilo, in Venetia
5. Retratto del Card.l Serdi, in Parigi
6. Retratto del Card.l Valerio, in Venetia
7. Retratto del Card.l Montalto, in Casa Peretti
8. Retratto di Monsig.re del Pozzo
9. Retratto di Mons.re Fran.co Barberino zio di Urb.o 8.o, in casa Barb.a
10. Retratto della Madre di P.P. Urb.o 8.o, in casa Barber.a
11. Retratto del Padre di P.P. Urb.o 8.o, in casa Barber.a
12. Retratto di D.a Lucretia Barnerina, in casa Barber.a
13. Retratto del Montoia, S. Jacomo de Spag.i
14. Retratto di Paolo Vo, alla Villa Borghese
15. Retratto del Card.l Scipione Borghese, alla Villa Borghese
16. Altro del sud.o, in Casa Borghese
17. Retratto di Urbano 8.o, in casa Giori
18. Altro del d.o, in Casa Barb.a
19. Altro del d.o, in Casa Barb.a
20. Altro in metallo, in Casa Barb.a
21. Altro di metallo, dall'Abb.e Braccese
22. Retratto di D. Paolo Giordano Duca di Bracc.o, Casa Orsina
23. Retratto di Costanza Piccolomini, Nella Galler.a del G.D.
24. Retratto di Innocentio X.o, in Casa Panfilia
25. Altro del detto, in Casa Bernina
26. Retratto di Gregorio XV.o, in Casa Lodovisi

[p. 435]

27. Altro del detto di metallo, in Casa Lodovisi
28. Retratto di Alessandro VII.o, in Casa Chigi
29. Altro del sud.o, in Casa Chigi
30. Altro del sud.o, in Casa Bernina
31. Retratto del Card.l de Richelieu, in Parigi
32. Retratto di Carlo II.o Ré d'Inghilterra, in Londra
33. Retratto di Fran.co Duca di Modena, in Modena

[...]

35. Retratto di Luigi XIV.o Ré di Francia, in Parigi Statue di marmo
36. Il Card.l Bellarmino, al Gesù [D'anni 12 in circa]

[...p. 436]

63. Il Dottor Fonseca con la corona in mano, in S. Lorenzo in Lucina
78. Altre teste in n.o di 15 in varij loghi

Transcription, regarding only the portrait busts, of the **list published by Baldinucci in 1682**. See Baldinucci (1682) 1975, pp. 695–99.

[p. 695]

- Ritratti, teste con busto
- Del Majordomo di Sisto V, in S. Prassede
- Di Gio. Vigena, alla Minerva
- Del cardinal Delfino, in Venezia
- Del cardinal Serdi, in Parigi
- Del cardinal Valiero, in Venezia
- Del cardinal Montalto, in casa Peretti
- Di Monsignor del Pozzo, in...

[p. 696]

- Di Monsignor Francesco Barberino zio di Urbano VIII, in casa Barberini
- Della madre d'Urbano VIII, in casa Barberini
- Del padre del medesimo, in casa Barberini
- Di D. Lucrezia Barberina, in casa Barberini
- Due di papa Urbano VIII, in casa Barberini
- Altro del medesimo, in casa Barberini
- Altro di metallo, in casa Barberini
- Di monsignor Montoja, in S. Jacopo degli Spagnuoli
- Di papa Paolo V, alla villa Borghese
- Del cardinal Scipione Borghese, alla villa Borghese
- Altro del medesimo cardinale, in casa Borghese
- Di Urbano VIII, in casa Giori
- Altro di metallo, all'abate Braccesi
- Di D. Paolo Giordano duca di Brac., in casa Orsina
- Di Costanza Piccolomini, in Galleria del G.D.
- D'Innocentio X, in casa Panfilia
- Altro del medesimo, per la casa Bernina
- Di Gregorio XV, in casa Ludovisi
- Altro di metallo, in casa Ludovisi
- Di Alessandro VII, in casa Chigi
- Altro del medesimo, in casa Chigi
- Altro del medesimo, per la casa Bernina
- Del cardinal di Richelieu, in Parigi
- Di Carlo I re d'Inghilterra, in Londra
- Di Francesco duca di Modena, in Modena
- Di D. Carlo Barberino, in Campidoglio
- Di Luigi XIV re di Francia, in Parigi
- Di Clemente X, in...
- Di un cavaliere inglese, in Londra
- Del cardinal Bellarmino, al Gesù

[...] [p. 697]

- Di Paolo V, al Gesù

[...]

- Fonseca con la corona in mano, in S. Lorenzo in Lucina

[p. 698]

- Teste fino al num. Di 15, in luoghi diversi

[p. 698]

- Statue di metallo

[...] [p. 699]

- Ritratto del cardinal di Richelieu, Parigi

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BIOGRAPHIES

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI

(Bologna, 1598–Rome, 1654)

Alessandro Algardi was born in Bologna, where he trained with the painter Ludovico Carracci and the sculptor Giulio Cesare Conventi. After a few years in Mantua, in the service of Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga, he arrived in Rome in 1625. He first worked for Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, restoring his antique sculpture, including the *Torchbearer* (Rome, Museo di Palazzo Altemps). The pair of stucco statues *Saint Mary Magdalene* and *Saint John*, made in 1628–29 for San Silvestro in Quirinale, was his first public commission. Before the end of the 1620s, he carved the bust of Costanzo Patrizi in Santa Maria Maggiore. He also took part in the decoration of the catafalque of Carlo Barberini (see cat. no. 2.3), erected in 1630 by Bernini. He probably completed the three busts of the Frangipane family in San Marcello al Corso before 1634. From that date he was increasingly involved in important commissions, including the tomb of Pope Leo XI in Saint Peter's, the marble group of *The Beheading of Saint Paul* in the church of San Paolo Maggiore in Bologna, and the statue *Saint Philip Neri with an Angel* in the sacristy of Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome. During the same period he worked for the Borghese family, providing the models for terms to be cast in bronze to support a table (Sovereign Military Order of Malta) and carving the *Allegory of Sleep* (Rome, Villa Borghese) in black marble. In 1637, Algardi received the commission for the portrait of Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini for his tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo, and he probably carved the portrait of Urbano Mellini (fig. 5.9.2) for the same chapel at around the same time. In 1640, Ambrogio Lucenti cast the *Portrait of Gregory XV* after the model by Algardi for the sacristy of Santa Maria in Valicella.

Under the pontificate of Innocent X (1644–55), Algardi became the favorite artist of the papal circle.

For Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj, the pope's nephew, he decorated the Villa Bel Respiro with stucco reliefs inspired by antique and Renaissance models. He made the Fountain of Saint Damasus for the courtyard in the Vatican Palace (1646–48) and carved the enormous marble relief *The Encounter of Pope Leo the Great and Attila* in Saint Peter's (1646–53). He portrayed Pope Innocent X (cat. no. 5.10), as well as members of his family, such as Camillo Pamphilj's mother, Olimpia Maidalchini (Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj; see fig. 29). The busts of Antonio Cerri (cat. no. 5.6) and an unknown gentleman (cat. no. 5.9) date from this same period. Replacing Francesco Mochi, who had initially been selected, in 1645 Algardi was commissioned to cast a bronze seated statue of Innocent X for the Palazzo dei Conservatori in the Capitol, which was unveiled in 1650. Algardi's last important commission in Rome, again for the Pamphilj family, was the high altar of the church of San Nicola da Tolentino (1651–54), for which he designed *The Virgin with the Child Appearing to Saint Nicola, with Saints Augustine and Monica*. In addition to these monumental works, Algardi produced several models for decorative objects and small-scale figures in bronze or silver. He also restored many antique sculptures, such as the *Athena Ludovisi* and *Hermes Logios* (both in Rome, Museo delle Terme). ALD

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

(Naples, 1598–Rome, 1680)

Gian Lorenzo Bernini, whose strength of character can be detected from his impressive self-portraits (cat. no. 1.1), was characterized by his contemporaries as the new Michelangelo. His career was unusually full as a sculptor, architect, draftsman, painter, stage designer, and writer of comedies. Born in Naples, his mother's native city, and trained by his father, Pietro, a famous Florentine

sculptor, he arrived with his parents in Rome in 1605/6. During his youth he worked alongside his father, and at a very young age he created some extraordinary works, such as the *Faun Teased by Children* (ca. 1615; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and the portrait bust of Giovanni Battista Santoni (ca. 1610–15; Rome, Santa Prassede; fig. 8). Early in his career Bernini attracted the patronage of prominent members of the Borghese family, including Pope Paul V and his nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, providing them with portraits (cat. nos. 1.3, 1.6, 4.1) and over-life-size marble groups for the Villa Borghese, such as *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius Leaving Troy* (1618–19), *Pluto and Proserpina* (1621–22), *Apollo and Daphne* (1622–24), and *David* (1623–24). Each sculpture demonstrates his astonishing abilities as a marble carver.

Recognizing Bernini's inventive genius, Pope Urban VIII and his successors employed him for monumental projects intended to enhance the status of the Roman Catholic Church. At the Vatican, as architect in charge of Saint Peter's from 1629, Bernini was responsible for most of the interior decoration, in particular the bronze *baldachino* (1624–35) and the four marble pillars that support the crossing, for which he also carved one of the four accompanying statues, *Saint Longinus* (1628–38). He decorated the principal Roman piazzas with highly original fountains, including the Triton Fountain and Fountain of the Bees in the Piazza Barberini, and the Fountain of the Moor and the Four Rivers Fountain in the Piazza Navona. As an architect he built churches, such as Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (1658–61), on an oval plan with the transverse axis longer than the main axis between the entrance and the altar, and several palaces, including the Palazzo Barberini, the Collegio di Propaganda Fide, and the Palazzo Ludovisi (now the Palazzo Montecitorio). In his designs for private chapels he conceived elaborate theatrical altars that take advantage of hidden sources of light to emphasize the effect of abandon displayed in his sculpted figures of saints. This approach resulted in masterpieces such as *The Ecstasy of Saint Theresa* in the Cornaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria (1647–51) and the *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* in San Francesco a Ripa (1673–74).

Bernini was famous throughout Europe. King Charles I of England commissioned his portrait bust in 1635 (destroyed; see cat. no. 6.2). Louis XIV of France summoned him to France to design extensions to his palaces at the Louvre. The sculptor spent five months in Paris in 1665, providing many drawings for the Louvre (though his projects were replaced by French designs as soon as he left) and carving the marble bust of Louis XIV now at the Palace of Versailles (see fig. 6.8.1). Only in 1685 did he ship the equestrian statue of the French king, which had been completed in 1677, to Paris from Rome.

After his return to Rome, Bernini completed the commission for the Chair of Saint Peter (the *Cathedra Petri*) for the high altar of Saint Peter's (1657–66). He also completed the Scala Regia in the Vatican Palace (1666); the monumental marble relief, *Constantine the Great*, at the bottom of those stairs was unveiled in 1670. The ceremonial oval square with its colonnade in front of Saint Peter's was completed in 1667. His last important project in the basilica was the Chapel of the Sacrament (1673–74) and the polychrome marble tomb of Pope Alexander VII (1672–78). Bernini's plans for the Ponte Sant'Angelo included statues depicting angels holding the instruments of the Passion (1667–71), of which the two carved by him (1669) have been transferred to the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte. He also restored many antique sculptures, such as the *Hermaphrodite* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and the *Ludovisi Mars* (Rome, Museo delle Terme). He carved impressive portraits for tombs and for private interiors and conceived several ephemeral decorations for Roman festive occasions. His powerful creativity was fundamental to the development of the Italian Baroque style. ALD

MELCHIORRE CAFÀ

(Vittoriosa, on Malta, 1636–Rome, 1667)

Melchiorre Cafà, whose brother was the Maltese architect Lorenzo Cafà, trained on the island of Malta with the Casanova family of sculptors, who were active

within the harbor area. The young artist collaborated on the decorative carving in Syracuse Cathedral in Sicily. Probably in 1658 he arrived in Rome and entered the workshop of Ercole Ferrata, a sculptor with whom he always remained on good terms. His first important Roman commissions were for the Pamphilj family. In 1660 he was asked to carve the marble relief *The Martyrdom of Saint Eustace* for the basilica of Sant'Agnese in the Piazza Navona and, in 1663, the marble group *The Charity of Saint Thomas of Villanova*, for the Pamphilj family chapel in the church of Sant'Agostino.

Around 1662 he began the high relief *The Ecstasy of Saint Catherine of Siena* for the high altar of Santa Caterina in Magnanapoli in Rome (finished in 1667), and in 1665 he created the marble *Death of Saint Rosa* for the church of Santo Domingo in Lima, Peru. These two masterpieces are the only important works completed by the artist before his premature death. In January 1666 he went back to his native Malta to pursue commissions from the Knights of Malta, thanks to the order's ambassador in Rome, who had heard that Bernini himself had confessed to having been surpassed in the profession by the young Maltese. The sculptor was asked for a two-figure marble group *The Baptism of Christ* for the order's church, Saint John's in Valletta, a commission he never finished, and created the statue of Saint Paul for the Grotto of Saint Paul in Rabat. Shortly thereafter, in May 1666, Cafà was back in Rome, where he provided a wax model for the shrine and the "gloria" around the miraculous image of the Virgin for the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli. The church was designed by architect Carlo Rainaldi, who also directed the completion of Cafà's projects according to the sculptor's intentions after Cafà died. The bust of Alexander VII that Cafà completed in 1667 is the only portrait known by his hand (cat. no. 6.7). Probably in the same year he received a commission for a seated statue of Pope Alexander III for the Siena Cathedral but did not finish it before his death.

Cafà died prematurely at the age of thirty-one when a statue fell on him while he was working in the foundry of Saint Peter's Basilica; he never recovered from his

injuries. At the time of his death he was already one of the most famous sculptors in Rome. Ercole Ferrata (1610–1686) and Cafà's pupil Giuseppe Mazzuoli (1644–1725) completed most of his sculptures, which makes it hard to distinguish Cafà's exact authorship in some works. ALD

FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY

(Brussels, 1597–Livorno, 1643)

François Duquesnoy grew up in a family of artists: his father, Jérôme the Elder, was a sculptor (creator of the famous *Manneken-Pis* in Brussels) as was his brother, Jérôme the Younger, who produced many works in Flanders. Thanks to a scholarship from Albert VII, archduke of Austria and governor general of the Habsburg Netherlands, Duquesnoy traveled to Rome in 1618, and, after the death of his protector in 1621, he decided to stay on in Italy. During his first ten years in Rome, in order to earn a living, he concentrated on small-format works in wood, ivory, or bronze. He also restored many antique works, such as the *Rondinini Faun* (1620s; London, Victoria and Albert Museum). He was a close friend of a number of artists, among them the painter Nicolas Poussin, with whom he shared a house.

The earliest of his marble works that survive date from 1627–28. These are the busts of John Barclay (cat. no. 2.8) and Bernardo Guglielmi (fig. 2.8.2) for two tombs in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. Beginning in the mid-1620s, he became famous for the new style he had created in the traditional genre of the infant figure, so famous that he was given the nickname *fattore di putti* (creator of puttos). He was particularly talented in conveying babies' extraordinary softness. He developed the putti theme for single pieces such as the *Child Carving His Bow* (around 1626; Berlin, Bode Museum), as well as in reliefs such as the *Bacchanale of Putti* and *Divine Love Overcoming Profane Love* (1626 and around 1630; Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj). He even used children as the main decorative components in several of the tombs for which he was commissioned, such as the funerary

monuments to Adrian Vryburch (finished by 1628–29) and Ferdinand van den Eynden (1633/35–40) in Santa Maria dell’Anima and the monument to Jacob de Hase in Santa Maria della Pietà in Camposanto Teutonico (after 1634).

During his career Duquesnoy carved only two large-scale marble sculptures. He was one of the four sculptors involved in the over-life-size statues for the niches on the piers supporting the crossing in Saint Peter’s. Perhaps due to his collaboration with Bernini on the *baldacchino* in the same basilica, he was asked to provide the *Saint Andrew* (1628–40). His masterpiece is the *Saint Susanna* for Santa Maria di Loreto (1629–33), which is a milestone in the history of art. This statue, inspired by the antique *Urania* on the Capitoline, is the finest sculptural example of the classicizing current that developed in Rome, in opposition to the Baroque manner, around 1630. The sculptor portrayed the dwarf in the service of the duke of Créquy (cat. no. 2.9), and in 1635 he carved the bust of Maurice of Savoy (marble, Turin, Galleria Sabauda; terra-cotta model, Museo di Roma). He also carved a marble relief of an *Angels’ Choir* for the Filomarino altar by Francesco Borromini in Santi Apostoli in Naples (1640–42).

By the end of the 1630s Duquesnoy had been offered the opportunity to work for King Louis XIII in Paris, and he finally decided to leave Rome in 1643. He was not yet fifty when he died in the harbor of Livorno before boarding the ship to France. **ALD**

GIULIANO FINELLI

(Torano, 1601–Rome, 1653)

Born near Carrara, Giuliano Finelli practiced his profession from an early age, since his father, Domenico, was a marble merchant. In 1612 he moved to Naples, where he worked first with his uncle Vitale Finelli and then with Michelangelo Naccherino (1550–?1622). In about 1618, the young artist decided to go to Rome to gain better training, a goal he achieved when he entered Pietro and Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s workshop and col-

laborated on the monument to Roberto Bellarmino in the church of Il Gesù (1623–24). Bernini appreciated Finelli’s great virtuosity in carving marble and, according to Giovanni Battista Passeri, employed his brilliant assistant to good effect on such works as *Santa Bibiana* (1624–26) and *Apollo and Daphne* (1622–25). Finelli was one of the sculptors hired for the bronze *baldacchino* Bernini conceived for Saint Peter’s.

Finelli, most likely offended that his master did not present him to the pope as he had promised nor involved him in the statues for the piers supporting the dome of Saint Peter’s, decided to set up his own workshop, assisted by two of his friends, the painters Cavalier d’Arpino and Pietro da Cortona. Finelli was commissioned to carve the statue of Saint Cecilia (completed in 1633) for Santa Maria di Loreto. He carved the bust of Cardinal Ottavio Bandini for his chapel in San Silvestro al Quirinale (1629) as well as the bust of Michelangelo Buonarrotti the Younger (1630, fig. 5.1.1). In 1632 he was paid for a bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 5.4) and by 1633–34 had completed the tomb of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran (see fig. 35). Each of Finelli’s busts is a tremendous tour de force of carving: his chisel easily delineating beard and whiskers, tufts of hair, lace, and fur.

In 1634, Finelli moved back to Naples, where he lived with his uncle, in order to carve two colossal marble statues, *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, for the Cappella del Tesoro (Chapel of the Treasure) in the Cathedral of San Gennaro (finished 1639/40). He was also asked to produce thirteen bronze statues representing the patron saints of Naples for the same chapel, a series he would complete in 1648, thanks to the help of sculptors he summoned from Rome. He married the daughter of painter Giovanni Lanfranco and was involved in the decoration of other Neapolitan churches. During this period he also carved many portraits, including those for the monument to the viceroy Emanuel de Fonseca and his wife for the church of Las Agustinas Descalzadas in Salamanca, Spain (1634–37), the tomb of Cardinal Domenico Ginnasi, for the family chapel

of the Ginnasi palace in Rome (1640–42), and the tomb of Gennaro Filomarino for the church of Santi Apostoli in Naples (1640–45). He finished his career in Rome, where he had been sent by the viceroy of Naples to oversee a commission of twelve bronze lions for King Philip IV of Spain, cast by Matteo Bonarelli, husband of Costanza (cat. no. 4.3) (now in Madrid, Museo del Prado, and the Alcazar). Only a few busts are known from his later Roman years: the portraits of Giuseppe and Virginia Bonanni in Santa Caterina in Magnanapoli, and the one of Egidio Orsini in Santa Maria in Montesanto. ALD

FRANCESCO MOCHI

(Montevarchi, 1580–Rome, 1654)

Francesco Mochi, born in Montevarchi, a Tuscan town south of Florence, first trained in the Florentine studio of the painter Santi di Tito (1536–1602), and perhaps with the sculptor Giovanni Caccini (1556–1613). In about 1600 he moved to Rome, where he worked with the sculptor Camillo Mariani (1567?–1611). Thanks to the support of Mario Farnese, duke of Latera, Mochi received his first independent commission in 1603, for the marble Annunciation for Orvieto Cathedral. *The Virgin* (1603–5) and the *Angel* (1608–9) display the dramatic effects—figural movement, expressive faces, and animated drapery—that announce the advent of Roman Baroque sculpture. The sculptor gave the same characteristics to his first major Roman piece: the *Saint Martha* for the Barberini Chapel in Sant’Andrea della Valle (1610–17). During this period Mochi was also involved in the Paoline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore (1607–12), finishing some works by his late master, Mariani, as well as carving four *Putti* (now lost) and a *Saint Matthew* for an external niche.

In 1612, Mochi moved to Piacenza to execute two bronze equestrian statues, one of Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, and one of the duke’s late father, Alessandro Farnese. Within this noble genre Mochi created two masterpieces, which, more-

over, he cast himself—an extremely rare case of a sculptor rather than a founder casting sculpture. Mochi returned permanently to Rome in 1629, where the younger Gian Lorenzo Bernini already dominated the artistic scene. He was commissioned to create one of the four over-life-size figures for the crossing piers of Saint Peter’s: the *Saint Veronica*, which he began to carve in 1635, according to a stucco model delivered in 1631. His impressive statue, unveiled in 1640, represents Saint Veronica as if she were bolting out of her niche to show the precious veil imprinted with the face of Christ and brought the sculptor critical success. Around 1630 Mochi executed a small equestrian bronze of Carlo Barberini, and two busts in marble, one of the same sitter (cat. no. 2.3), and one of Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger (fig. 2.3.1). Close to the latter is the recently attributed bust of Bishop Arcasio Ricci in the Cathedral of Gravina. In 1629 he began a figure of Saint John the Baptist for Carlo Barberini, now in the Hofkirche in Dresden. It was still in the sculptor’s studio when he died.

In 1634, Mochi delivered a stucco model for the two-figure group *The Baptism of Christ*, commissioned by Orazio Falconieri for the high altar of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. The large marble version was left unfinished in Mochi’s studio at his death, and although the patrons retrieved the two statues, they were never placed in the church (both are now in the collection of the Museo di Roma in the Palazzo Braschi). His last known portraits are the bust of Pompilio Zuccarini (Rome, Pantheon) and the ruined figure of Cardinal Richelieu (France, Château de la Meilleraie). Around 1638, he received a commission for statues of Saint Peter and Saint Paul from the monks of Monte Cassino, though these were rejected. Bought after Mochi’s death by Pope Alexander VII, the figures were set into the external niches of the Porta del Popolo, where until 1980 they welcomed foreign visitors arriving in Rome from the north. They have been replaced by copies, and the originals are now in the Museo di Roma. ALD

GLOSSARY OF ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS AND PAPAL CHRONOLOGY

Alba (*alb* in English): A long, white robe-like vestment with long sleeves worn by all clerics at liturgical celebrations.

Amitto (*amice* in English): A white oblong cloth with two long ribbon-like attachments, which are used to fasten it around the cleric's shoulders.

Biretta: A square cap with three ridges or peaks on its upper surface, commonly worn by clerics of all grades from cardinal downward.

Camauro: A cap made of red wool or velvet with white ermine trim, traditionally worn by the pope in winter, in place of the zucchetto (see below).

Emblem of the Papacy: An image of the papal tiara over crossed keys, one in gold and one in silver. The silver key symbolizes the power to bind and loose on Earth, and the gold key the power to bind and loose in Heaven.

Mozzetta: A short cape-like garment with a very small and purely ornamental hood. The mozzetta covers the shoulders, reaching only to the elbows, and has an open front, which may be fastened by means of a row of small buttons. It is draped over the cassock (ankle-length robe) and the rochet (light, gathered linen or cotton garment adorned with a lace fringe). The color of the mozzetta reflects the hierarchical rank of the person wearing it—purple for bishops and scarlet for cardinals. The pope's mozzetta is always red (except for the white one he wears during Easter week), of satin or fine woolen material in summer, of velvet edged with ermine in winter, perhaps to commemorate its first use, in the fourteenth century, during the Avignonese captivity, when its function was to protect from the cold.

Papal Coat of Arms: Since the late twelfth century, each pope has had a personal coat of arms composed of his family coat of arms surmounted by the Emblem of the Papacy (see above). Listed below are significant elements of the coats of arms of the popes for whom Bernini worked:

PAUL V BORGHESE, 1605-21: crowned eagle
and winged dragon

GREGORY XV LUDOVISI, 1621-23: dragon

URBAN VIII BARBERINI, 1623-44: three bees

INNOCENT X PAMPHILJ, 1644-55: dove with
a fleur-de-lis

ALEXANDER VII CHIGI, 1655-67: six mountains
surmounted by a star and an oak

CLEMENT IX ROSPIGLIOSI, 1667-69: rhombus

CLEMENT X ALTIERI, 1670-76: six stars

Pluviale (*cope* in English): A very long mantle or cloak, open in front and fastened at the breast with a band or clasp. It may be of any liturgical color and worn by any rank of the clergy. The papal mantle, usually red, is a bit longer than an ordinary cope, with a more elaborate clasp.

Stola (*stole* in English): A band of colored cloth worn around the neck with the two ends hanging down parallel to each other in front, either attached to each other or loose. The pope's stole is almost always ornamented with embroidery, usually a cross or some other significant religious design, such as the Emblem of the Papacy, the figures of Saints Peter and Paul, or the pope's familial coat of arms.

Tiara: The papal crown, with a small cross at its highest point, is equipped with three diadems. It represents the pope's three functions as "supreme pastor," "supreme teacher," and "supreme priest."

Zucchetto: The small round skull cap of the ecclesiastic. The pope's zucchetto is white, that of a cardinal red, that of a bishop purple.

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