# ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

## ARCHITECTURE

### *Rome: Carlo Maderno (1556–1629)*

IN the first chapter the broad pattern was sketched of the architectural position in Rome during the early years of the seventeenth century. The revolutionary character of Maderno's work has already been indicated. It was he who broke with the prevailing severe taste and replaced the refined classicism of an Ottavio Mascherino and a Flaminio Ponzio by a forceful, manly, and vigorous style, which once again, after several generations, had considerable sculptural and chiaroscuro qualities. Like so many masons and architects, Maderno came from the North; he was born in 1556 at Capolago on the Lake of Lugano, went to Rome before Sixtus V's pontificate, and together with his four brothers acquired Roman citizenship in 1588.[1] He began work in a subordinate capacity under his uncle, Domenico Fontana. After the latter's departure for Naples he was on his own, and before 1600 he had made a name for himself. But his early period and, in particular, his relationship to Francesco da Volterra remains to be clarified.[2]

The year 1603 must be regarded as a turning point in Maderno's career: he was appointed 'Architect to St Peter's' and finished the façade of S. Susanna (Plate 35).[3] To the *cognoscenti* this façade must have been as much of a revelation as Annibale Carracci's Farnese Gallery or Caravaggio's religious imagery. In fact, with this single work, Maderno's most outstanding performance, architecture drew abreast of the revolutionary events in painting. In contrast to so many Mannerist buildings, the principle governing this structure is easy to follow: it is based on an almost mathematically lucid progressive concentration of bays, orders, and decoration towards the centre. The triple projection of the wall is co-ordinated with the number of bays, which are firmly framed by orders; the width of the bays increases towards the centre and the wall surface is gradually eliminated in a process reversing the thickening of the wall – from the Manneristically framed cartouches to the niches with figures and the entrance door which fills the entire central bay. The upper tier under the simple triangular pediment is conceived as a lighter realization of the lower tier, with pilasters corresponding to the half- and three-quarter-columns below. In this façade North Italian and indigenous Roman traditions are perfectly blended.[4] Maderno imparted a clearly directed, dynamic movement to the structure horizontally as well as vertically, in spite of the fact that it is built up of individual units. Neither in his façade of St Peter's nor in that of S. Andrea della Valle – in its present form mainly the work of Carlo Rainaldi (p. 184) – did Maderno achieve an equal degree of intense dynamic life or of logical integration. Nor did he find much scope to develop his individuality in the interiors of S. Maria della Vittoria and

S. Andrea della Valle. But the dome of the latter church – the largest in Rome after that of St Peter's – shows Maderno's genius at its best. Obviously derived from Michelangelo's dome, it is of majestic simplicity. Compared with the dome of St Peter's Maderno raised the height of the drum at the expense of the vault and increased the area reserved for the windows, and these changes foreshadow the later Baroque development.

Long periods of his working life were spent in the service of St Peter's, where he was faced with the unenviable task of having to interfere with Michelangelo's intentions. The design of the nave, which presented immense difficulties,[5] proves that he planned with circumspection and tact, desirous to clash as little as was possible under the circumstances with the legacy of the great master. But, of course, the nave marred for ever the view of the dome from the square, with consequences which had a sequel down to our own days (p. 128). For the design of the façade (Plates 1, 65A, and 148) he was tied more fully than is generally realized by Michelangelo's system of the choir and transepts (which he had to continue along the exterior of the nave) and, moreover, by the ritual requirement of the large Benediction Loggia above the portico. The proportions of the original design are impaired as a result of the papal decision of 1612, after the actual façade was finished, to add towers, of which only the substructures – the last bay at each end – were built (Plate 63A). These appear now to form part of the façade. Looked at without these bays, the often criticized relation of width to height in the façade is entirely satisfactory. Maderno's failure to erect the towers was to have repercussions which will be reported in a later chapter [6] (p. 126).

As a designer of palaces Maderno is best represented by the Palazzo Mattei, begun in 1598 and finished in 1616.[7] The noble, austere brick façade shows him in the grip of the strong local tradition. In the courtyard he made subtle use of ancient busts, statues, and reliefs, and the connexion with such Mannerist fronts as those of the villas Medici and Borghese is evident. But the four-flight staircase decorated with refined stuccoes is an innovation in Rome.

It remains to scrutinize more thoroughly the major problem of Maderno's career, his part in the designing of the Palazzo Barberini (Plate 36A and Figure 1). The history of the palace is to a certain extent still obscure, in spite of much literary evidence, memoranda and drawings, and a large amount of documents which allow the construction to be followed very closely indeed.[8] The unassailable data are quickly reported. In 1625 Cardinal Francesco Barberini bought from Alessandro Sforza Santafiora, Duke of Segni, the palace at the 'Quattro Fontane'. A year later Cardinal Francesco presented the palace to his brother Taddeo. Pope Urban VIII commissioned Maderno to redesign the existing palace and to enlarge it. The first payment for the new foundations dates from October 1628. Maderno died on 30 January 1629, and the Pope appointed Bernini his successor. To all intents and purposes the palace was completed in 1633, but minor work dragged on until 1638. It is clear from these data that Bernini (who was assisted by Borromini) was responsible for almost the entire work of execution.

Maderno's design survives in a drawing at the Uffizi which shows a long front of fifteen bays, fashioned after the model of the Palazzo Farnese, and an inscription explains that the design was to serve for all four sides of the palace. In fact, with some not

unimportant alterations, it was used for the present north and east wings.[9] At this stage, in other words, Maderno made a scheme that by and large corresponded to the traditional Roman palace, consisting of a block with four equal sides and an arcaded courtyard. But there is no certainty that this was Maderno's last project. In the present palace, the plan of which may be likened to an H (Figure 1), the traditional courtyard is
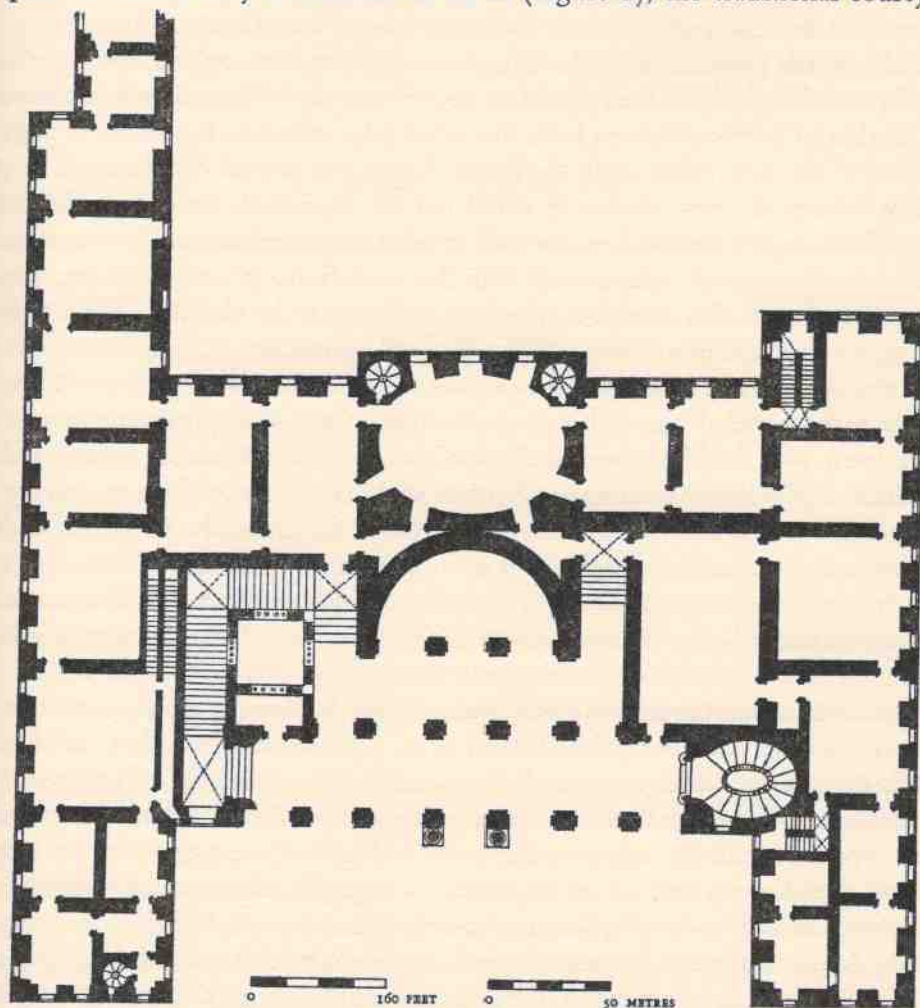


Figure 1. Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1628–33. Plan adapted from a drawing by N. Tessin showing the palace before rebuilding of c. 1670

abandoned and replaced by a deep forecourt. The main façade consists of seven bays of arcades in three storeys, linked to the entirely different system of the projecting wings by a transitional, slightly receding bay at each side. Who was responsible for the change from the traditional block form to the new plan?

At first sight, it would appear that nothing like this had been built before in Rome and, moreover, *qua* palace, the structure remained isolated in the Roman setting – it had no succession. Psychologically it is intelligible that one prefers to associate the change of plan with the young genius who took over from Maderno rather than with the aged

master. Yet neither the external nor the internal evidence goes to support this. In fact, there is the irrevocable document in Vienna (Albertina) of an unfinished elevation of half the façade (drawn for Maderno by Borromini) which, apart from minor differences, corresponds with the execution. If one regards the palace, as one should, as a monumentalized 'villa suburbana', the plan loses a good deal of its revolutionary character, and to attribute it to Maderno will then no longer surprise us.

The old Sforza palace which Maderno had to incorporate into his design rose on elevated ground high above the ruins of an ancient temple.[10] The palace overlooked the Piazza Barberini but could never form one of its sides. Nor was it possible to align the west front of the new palace with the Strada Felice (the present Via Sistina). In other words, whatever the new design, it could not be organically related to the nearest thoroughfares. A block-shaped palace with arcaded courtyard cannot, however, be dissociated from an intimate relationship with the street front. It was, therefore, almost a foregone conclusion that the block-shape would have to be abandoned and replaced by the type which became traditional for the 'villa suburbana' from Peruzzi's Farnesina on and which only recently Vasanzio had used for the Villa Borghese (Plate 6B). In addition the arcaded centre between containing bays and projecting wings was familiar from such buildings as Mascherino's *cortile* of the Quirinal Palace and the garden front of the Villa Mondragone [11] (Plate 36B). There is, therefore, no valid reason why Maderno should not be credited with the final design of the Palazzo Barberini: all its elements were ready at hand, and it is the magnificent scale rather than the design as such that gives it its grand Baroque character and places it in a class of its own. It is even questionable whether Bernini, given a free hand, would have been satisfied with designing three arcaded tiers of almost equal value.

On the other hand, it is certain that adjustments of Maderno's design outside as well as inside were made after Bernini had taken over. The celebrated windows of the third tier, set in surrounds with feigned perspective, are, however, Maderno's. The device, used by Maderno on at least one other occasion,[12] made it possible to reduce the area of the window-openings; this was necessary for reasons of internal arrangement. One may assume that even the enrichment of the orders – engaged columns in the second tier, pilasters coupled with two half-pilasters in the third tier – occurred while Maderno was still alive. Another external feature is worth mentioning. The ground floor and *piano nobile* of the long wings are articulated by framing bands, a device constantly employed by Late Mannerist architects and also by Maderno.[13] Although in a rather untraditional manner, Borromini often returned to it. It is therefore not at all unlikely that it was Borromini's idea to articulate the bare walls of Maderno's design in this way. To what extent the internal organization deviates from Maderno is difficult to determine.[14] As far as the details are concerned we are on fairly firm ground, and Bernini's as well as Borromini's contribution to the design of doors will be discussed later (p. 131). But the large staircase with the four flights ascending along the square open well, traditionally ascribed to Bernini, may well be Maderno's. It is as new as the deep portico, the enormous hall of the *piano nobile* lying at right angles to the front, and the interconnected oval hall at its back. One is tempted to believe that Bernini assisted by Borromini had here

a freer hand than on the exterior, but at present these problems are still in abeyance and may never be satisfactorily solved.

By the time Maderno died, he had directed Roman architecture into entirely new channels. He had authoritatively rejected the facile academic Mannerism which had belonged to his first impressions in Rome, and, although not a revolutionary like Borromini, he left behind, largely guided by Michelangelo, monumental work of such solidity, seriousness, and substance that it was equally respected by the great antipodes Bernini and Borromini.[15]

## Architecture outside Rome

In the North of Italy the architectural history of the second half of the sixteenth century is dominated by a number of great masters. The names of Palladio, Scamozzi, Sanmicheli, Galeazzo Alessi, Luca Cambiaso, Pellegrino Tibaldi, and Ascanio Vittozzi come at once to mind. By contrast, the first quarter of the seventeenth century cannot boast of names of the same rank, with the one exception of F. M. Ricchino. On the whole, what has been said about Rome also applies to the rest of Italy: the reaction against the more extravagant application of Mannerist principles, which had generally set in towards the end of the sixteenth century, led to a hardening of style, so that we are often faced in the early years of the new century with a severe form of classicism, which, however, was perfectly in keeping with the exigencies of the counter-reformatory church. On the other hand, the North Italian architects of this period also transformed their rich local tradition more imaginatively than the Romans. The work of Binago, Magenta, and Ricchino is infinitely more interesting than most of what Rome had to offer, and it was to a large extent they who prepared the stylistic position of the High Baroque.

In Venice Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616) remained the leading master after the turn of the century. It is immediately apparent that his dry Late Mannerism is the Venetian counterpart to the style of Domenico Fontana and the elder Martino Longhi in Rome. Just as his great theoretical work, the *Idea dell'Architettura Universale* of 1615, with its hieratic structure and its codification of classical rules, concluded an old era rather than opened a new one, so his architecture was the strongest barrier against a turn towards Baroque principles in all the territories belonging to Venice. One should compare Sansovino's Palazzo Corner (1532) with Scamozzi's Palazzo Contarini dagli Scrigni of 1609 [16] in order to realize fully that the latter's academic and linear classicism is, as far as plastic volume and chiaroscuro are concerned, a deliberate stepping back to a pre-Sansovinesque position. Moreover, in many respects Scamozzi's architecture must be regarded as a revision of his teacher Palladio by way of reverting to Serlio's conceptions. Their calculated intellectualism makes Scamozzi's buildings precursors of eighteenth-century Neo-classicism. His special brand of frigid classicism, a traditional note of Venetian art, was not lost upon his countrymen and left its mark for a long time to come.[17] But in the next generation the rising genius of Baldassare Longhena superseded the brittle, linear style of his master and reasserted once again the more vital, exuberant, imaginative, and painterly facet of the Venetian tradition.

Even where Scamozzi's influence did not penetrate in the *terra ferma*, architects turned in the same direction. Thus Domenico Curtoni, Sanmicheli's nephew and pupil, began in 1609 the impressive Palazzo della Gran Guardia at Verona, where he applied most rigidly the precepts of his teacher, ridding them of any Mannerist recollections.[18]

Milan, in particular, became at the turn of the century the stronghold of an uncompromising classicism. It was probably St Charles Borromeo's austere spirit rather than his counter-reformatory guide to architects, the only book of its kind,[19] that provided the keynote for the masters in his and his nephew's service. The Milanese Fabio Mangone (1587–1629), a pupil of Alessandro Bisnati, was the man after Cardinal Federico's heart. As a sign of his appreciation he appointed him in 1620 Professor of Architecture to the newly founded Accademia Ambrosiana. Throughout the seventeenth century the cathedral still remained the focus of Milanese artistic life, and every artist and architect tried there to climb the ladder to distinction. Mangone achieved this goal; in 1617 he succeeded Bisnati as Architect to the Cathedral and remained in charge until his death in 1629. Assisted by Ricchino, the portals were executed by him during this period (with Cerano in charge of the rich decoration, p. 62), but his severe design of the whole façade remained on paper. Mangone's earlier activity was connected with the (much rebuilt) Ambrosiana (1611), which Lelio Buzzi had begun. The façade of the original entrance is as characteristic of his rigorous classicism as is the large courtyard of the Collegio Elvetico (now Archivio di Stato; Plate 37A) with its long rows of Doric and Ionic columns in two tiers under straight entablatures, begun in 1608.[20] His façade of S. Maria Podone (begun 1626) with a columned portico set into a larger temple motif points to a knowledge of Palladio's church façades, which he transformed and submitted to an even sterner classical discipline. Thus Milanese architects revert via Palladio to ancient architecture in search of symbols which would be *en rapport* with the prevailing harsh spirit of reform in the city.[21]

A different note was introduced into Milanese architecture by Lorenzo Binago (called Biffi, 1554–1629),[22] a Barnabite monk, who built S. Alessandro, one of Milan's most important churches (begun 1601, still unfinished in 1661). Mangone's architecture is strictly Milanese, setting the seal, as it were, on Pellegrino Tibaldi's academic Mannerism. Binago, by contrast, created a work that has its place in an all-Italian context. Like a number of other great churches of this period, the design of S. Alessandro is dependent on the Bramante–Michelangelo scheme for St Peter's.[23] In order to be able to assess the peculiarities of Binago's work, some of the major buildings of this group may be reviewed. In chronological sequence they are: the Gesù Nuovo at Naples (Giuseppe Valeriano, S.J., 1584); S. Ambrogio at Genoa (also G. Valeriano, 1587);[24] S. Alessandro at Milan; S. Maria della Sanità, Naples (Fra Nuvolo, 1602); the Duomo Nuovo at Brescia (G. B. Lantana, 1604); and S. Carlo ai Catinari in Rome (Rosato Rosati, 1612). All these buildings are interrelated; all of them have a square or rectangular outside shape and only one façade (instead of four); and all of them link the centralized plan of St Peter's with an emphasis on the longitudinal axis: the Gesù Nuovo by adding a pair of satellite spaces to the west and east ends, S. Ambrogio by adding a smaller satellite unit to the west and extending the east end; the Duomo Nuovo at Brescia and S. Carlo ai Catinari by

prolonging the choir, the latter, moreover, by using oval-shaped spaces along the main axis; S. Maria della Sanità by enriching the design by a pair of satellite units to each of the four arms; S. Alessandro, finally, by adding a smaller centralized group with saucer dome to the east (Figure 2). S. Alessandro, therefore, is in a way the most interesting of this series of large churches. It contains another important feature: the arches of the crossing rest on free-standing columns. Binago himself recommended that these be used with discretion. The motif was immediately taken up by Lantana in the Duomo Nuovo at Brescia and had a considerable following in Italy and abroad, down to Hardouin Mansart's dome of the Invalides.

The joining of two centralized designs in one plan had a long pedigree. In a sense, the problem was already inherent in Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy of S. Lorenzo; but it was only in the North Italian circle of Bramante that the



Figure 2. Lorenzo Binago: Milan, S. Alessandro, begun 1601. Plan

fully developed type emerged in the form of a co-ordination of two entirely homogeneous centralized domed spaces of different size,[25] an arrangement, incidentally, which had the support of classical authority.[26] Binago's S. Alessandro represents an important step towards a merging of two previously separate units: now the far arm of the large Greek-cross unit also belongs to the smaller domed space. In addition, the spacious vaulting between the two centralized groups makes their separation impossible. Thus the unification of two centralized groups results in a longitudinal design of richly varied character.

It is at once evident that this form of spatial integration was a step forward into new territory, full of fascinating possibilities. For a number of reasons one may regard the whole group of churches here mentioned as Late Mannerist, not least because of the peculiar vacillation between centralization and axial direction. It is precisely in this respect that Binago's innovation must be regarded as revolutionary, for he decisively subordinated centralized contraction to axial expansion. The future lay in this direction. On the other hand, the derivations from the centralized plan of St Peter's found little following during the seventeenth century, and it was only in the eighteenth century that they saw a limited revival,[27] probably because of their Late Mannerist qualities.

The next step beyond S. Alessandro was taken by Francesco Maria Ricchino (1584–1658), through whom Milanese architecture entered a new phase. It was he, a contemporary of Mangone, who threw the classicist conventions of the reigning taste overboard and did for Milan what Carlo Maderno did for Rome. Although almost a generation younger than Maderno, his principal works, like Maderno's, fall into the first
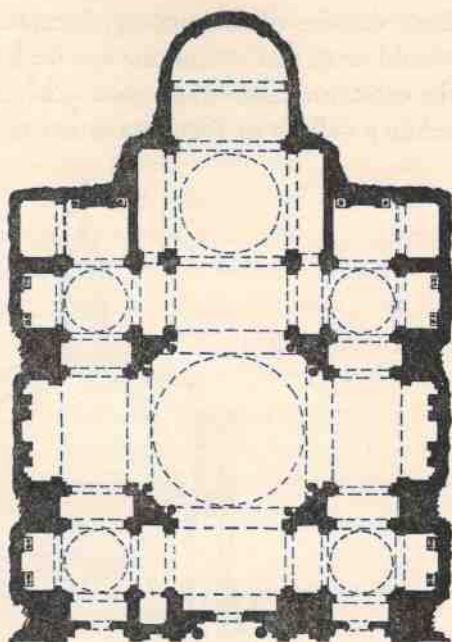
three decades of the century. Ricchino's work has never been properly studied, but it would seem that, when one day the balance sheet can be drawn up, the prize for being the most imaginative and most richly endowed Italian architect of the early seventeenth century will go to Ricchino rather than Maderno. Beginning work under Binago, he
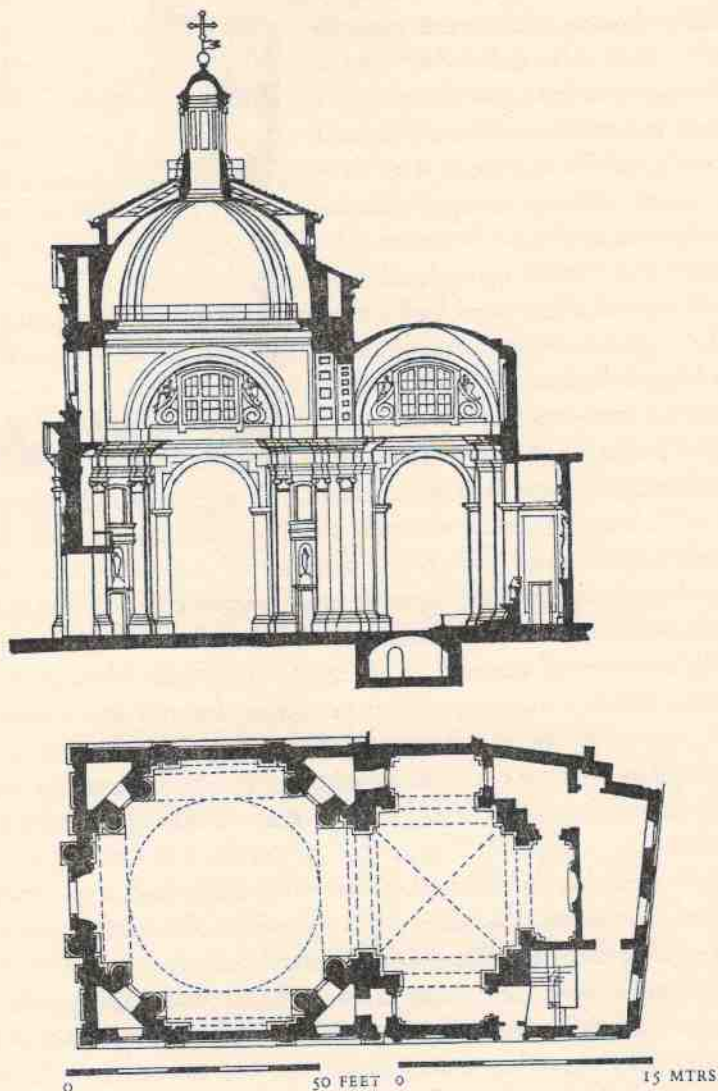


Figure 3. Francesco Maria Ricchino: Milan, S. Giuseppe, begun 1607.
Section and plan

was sent by his patron, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, to Rome to finish his education. After his return in 1603 he submitted his first design for the façade of the cathedral. In 1605 he was *capomastro*, a subordinate officer under Aurelio Trezzi, who was Architect to the Cathedral in 1598 and 1604–5. Much later, between 1631 and 1638, Ricchino himself held this highest office to which a Milanese architect could aspire.

In 1607 he designed his first independent building, the church of S. Giuseppe, which was at once a masterpiece of the first rank.[28] The plan (Figure 3) consists of an extremely simple combination of two Greek-cross units. The large congregational space is a Greek cross with dwarfed arms and bevelled pillars which open into *coretti* above niches and are framed with three-quarter columns; four high arches carry the ring above which the dome rises. The small square sanctuary has low chapels instead of the cross arms. Not only does the same composite order unify the two spaces, but also the high arch between them seems to belong to the congregational room as well as to the sanctuary. Binago's lesson of S. Alessandro was not lost. Ricchino employed here a similar method of welding together the two centralized spaces, which disclose their ultimate derivation from Bramante even after their thorough transformation. This type of plan, the seventeenth-century version of a long native tradition, contained infinite possibilities, and it is impossible to indicate here its tremendous success. Suffice it to say that the new fusion of simple centralized units with all its consequences of spatial enrichment and scenic effects was constantly repeated and, mainly in Northern Italy, revised and further developed; but Ricchino had essentially solved the problem.

S. Giuseppe was finished in 1616; the façade, however, was not completed until 1629–30, although it was probably designed at a much earlier date[29] (Plate 39A). It represents a new departure in two respects: Ricchino attempted to give the façade a unity hitherto unknown and at the same time to co-ordinate it with the entire structure of the church. As regards the latter point, the problem had never been squarely faced. By and large the Italian church façade was an external embellishment, designed for the view from the street and rather independent of the structure lying behind it. Ricchino determined the height of the lower tier by the height of the square body of the church and that of the upper tier by the octagonal superstructure; at the same time, he carried the order of the façade over into the rest of the structure, as far as it is visible from the street. Despite this significant integration of the 'show-front' with the whole building, Ricchino could not achieve a proper dynamic relationship between inside and outside, a problem that was solved only by the architects of the High Baroque. As to the first point, the façade of S. Giuseppe has no real precursors in Milan or anywhere in the North. On the other hand, Ricchino was impressed by the façade of S. Susanna, but he replaced Maderno's stepwise arrangement of enclosed bays by one in which the vertical links take prominence, in such a way that the whole front can and should be seen as composed of two high aedicules, one set into the other. The result is very different from Maderno's: for instead of 'reading', as it were, the accretion of motifs in the façade in a temporal process, his new 'aedicule front' offers an instantaneous impression of unity in both dimensions. It was the aedicule façade that was to become the most popular type o church façade during the Baroque age.[30]

Fate has dealt roughly with most of Ricchino's later buildings. He was, above all, a builder of churches, and most of them have been destroyed;[31] many are only known through his designs;[32] some have been modernized or rebuilt, while others were carried out by pupils (S. Maria alla Porta, executed by Francesco Castelli and Giuseppe Quadrio). In addition, there was his interesting occasional work[33] which needs, like the

rest, further investigation. In his later centralized buildings he preferred the oval and, as far as can be judged at present, he went through the whole gamut of possible designs. Of the buildings that remain standing, five may cursorily be mentioned: the large courtyard of the Ospedale Maggiore (1625–49), impressive in size, but created in collaboration with G. B. Pessina, Fabio Mangone, and the painter G. B. Crespi, and therefore less characteristic of him than the grand aedicule façade of the monumental entrance to the Hospital; the palaces Annoni (1631) and Durini (designed 1648), which look back by way of Meda's Palazzo Visconti (1598) to Bassi's Palazzo Spinola;[34] the Palazzo di Brera (1651–86), built as a Jesuit College, with the finest Milanese courtyard which, having arches on double columns in two tiers, marks, after the severe phase, a return to Alessi's Palazzo Marino;[35] and finally, the façade of the Collegio Elvetico, designed in 1627, a work of great vigour which has, moreover, the distinction of being an early, perhaps the earliest, concave palazzo façade of the Baroque (Plate 38). With Ricchino's death we have already overstepped the chronological limits of this chapter. Nobody of his stature remained in Milan to carry on the work he had so promisingly accomplished.

Mention has been made of the Sanctuary at Varese near Milan which Cardinal Federico Borromeo had very much at heart. The architectural work began in 1604 and was carried out through most of the century.[36] As one would expect, the fifteen chapels designed by Giuseppe Bernasconi from Varese correspond to the severe classicism practised in Milan at the beginning of the seventeenth century. To the modern visitor there is a peculiar contrast between the classicizing chastity of the architecture and the popular realism of the *tableaux vivants* inside the chapels. If anywhere, the lesson can here be learned that these are two complementary facets of counter-reformatory art.

In the Duomo Nuovo Brescia has an early Seicento work of imposing dimensions (p. 74). But just as so often in medieval times, the execution of the project went beyond the resources of a small city. After the competition of 1595 the design by Lantana (1581–1627) was finally chosen in 1603. The next year saw the laying of the foundation stone, but as late as 1727 only the choir was roofed. Until 1745 there was a renewed period of activity due to the initiative of Cardinal Antonio Maria Querini. The Michelangelesque dome, however, was erected after 1821 by Luigi Cagnola, who introduced changes in the original design.[37]

To the names of the two able Barnabite architects Rosato Rosati and Lorenzo Binago, working at the beginning of the Seicento, that of Giovanni Magenta (1565–1635)[38] must be added. He was the strongest talent at Bologna during the first quarter of the century. A man of great intellectual power, engineer, mathematician, and theoretician, he even became in 1612 General of his Order. In 1605 he designed on a vast scale the cathedral of S. Pietro at Bologna, accomplishing the difficult union with Domenico Tibaldi's choir (1575), which he left untouched. The design differs from St Peter's and the great Roman congregational churches in the alternating high and low arches leading into the aisles. With its brilliant light and the eighteenth-century *coretti*, added by Alfonso Torreggiani (1765), the church looks much later than it is. The execution lay in the hands of Floriano Ambrosini and Nicolò Donati. While they changed to a certain

extent Magenta's project,[39] the latter is fully responsible for the large church of S. Salvatore, designed in 1605 and erected by T. Martelli between 1613 and 1623 (Figure 4). Inspired by the large halls of Roman thermae, Magenta here monumentalized the North Italian tradition of using free-standing columns in the nave.[40] By virtue of this motif, the nave appears isolated from the domed area. In addition, the large central chapels with arches rising to the whole
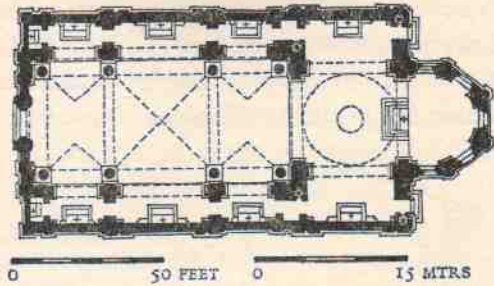


Figure 4. Giovanni Magenta: Bologna, S. Salvatore, 1605–23. Plan

height of the vaulting of the nave look like a transverse axis and strengthen the impression that the nave is centred upon itself. In fact, on entering the church one may well believe oneself to be in a Greek-cross unit (without dome), to which is added a second, domed unit. Whether one may or may not want to find in Magenta's ambiguous design a Late Mannerist element, it is certain that he imaginatively transmuted North Italian conceptions. Early Baroque in its massiveness, S. Salvatore was destined to exercise an important influence on the planning of longitudinal churches. Magenta's church of S. Paolo, begun in 1606, shows that he was even capable of enlivening the traditional Gesù type, to which Roman architects of this period did not really find an alternative. By making space for confessionals with *coretti* above them between the high arches leading into the chapels, he created, more effectively than in the cathedral, a lively rhythm along the nave, reminiscent of Borromini's later handling of the same problem in S. Giovanni in Laterano.

Parma, flourishing under her Farnese princes, had in Giovan Battista Aleotti (1546–1636) and his pupil Giovan Battista Magnani (1571–1653)[41] Early Baroque architects. The former, assisted by Magnani, built the impressively simple hexagon of S. Maria del Quartiere (1604–19),[42] the exterior of which is an early example of the pagoda-like build-up of geometrical shapes taken up and developed later by Guarino Guarini (p. 394, Note 12). Aleotti was for twenty-two years in the service of Alfonso d'Este at Ferrara, where he erected, among others, the imposing façade of the University (1610), together with Alessandro Balbi, the architect of the Madonna della Ghiara at Reggio Emilia (1597–1619), a building dependent on the plan of St Peter's though less distinguished than the series of buildings mentioned above. In Ferrara Aleotti also made his debut as an architect of theatres,[43] an activity that was crowned by his Teatro Farnese, built at Parma between 1618 and 1628. The Farnese theatre, exceeding in size and magnificence any other before it, superbly blends Palladio's and Scamozzi's archaeological experiments with the progressive tendencies evolved in Florence.[44] The wide-open, rectangular proscenium-arch together with the revolutionary U-shaped form of the auditorium contained the seeds of the spectacular development of the seventeenth-century theatre. Heavily damaged during the last war, it has now been largely rebuilt.

Genoa's great period of architectural development is the second half of the sixteenth century. It was Galeazzo Alessi who created the Genoese palazzo type along the Strada

Nuova (now Via Garibaldi), begun by him in 1551.[45] But to his contemporary Rocco Lurago must be given pride of place for having recognized the architectural potentialities which the steeply rising ground of Genoa offered. His Palazzo Doria Tursi in Via Garibaldi (begun 1568) shows for the first time the long vista from the vestibule through



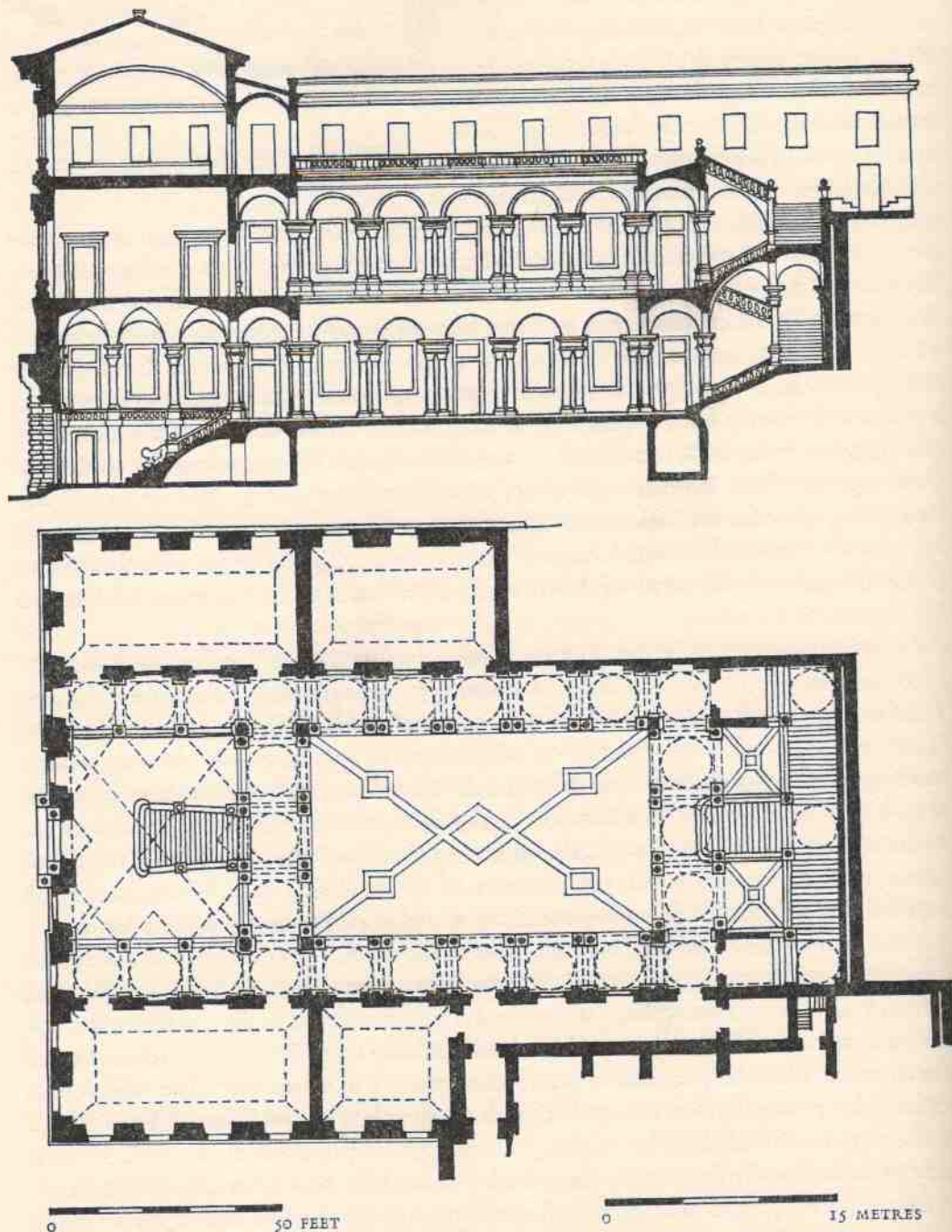0             50 FEET           0          15 METRES

Figure 5. Bartolomeo Bianco: Genoa, University, planned 1630. Section and plan

the *cortile* to the staircase ascending at the far end. Bartolomeo Bianco (before 1590–1657), Genoa's greatest Baroque architect,[46] followed the lead of the Palazzo Doria Tursi. His most accomplished structure is the present University, built as a Jesuit College (planned 1630)[47] along the Via Balbi (the street which he began in 1606 and opened in 1618); it presents an ensemble of incomparable splendour (Plate 37B and Figure 5). For the first time he unified architecturally the vestibule and courtyard, in spite of their different levels; in the *cortile* he introduced two tiers of lofty arcades resting on twin columns;[48] and at the far end he carried the staircase, dividing twice, to the whole height of the building. Fully aware of the coherence of the whole design, the eye of the beholder is easily led from level to level, four in all. The exterior contrasts with the earlier Genoese palazzo tradition by the relative simplicity of the design without, however, breaking away from the use of idiomatic Genoese motifs.[49]

Compared with the University, Bianco's Palazzi Durazzo-Pallavicini (Via Balbi 1, begun 1619) and Balbi-Senarega (Via Balbi 4, after 1620) are almost an anticlimax. While the latter was finished by Pier Antonio Corradi (1613–83), the former was considerably altered in the course of the eighteenth century by Andrea Tagliafichi (1729–1811), who built the grand staircase. Apart from the balconies and the cornices resting on large brackets, both palaces are entirely bare of decoration. This is usually mentioned as characteristic of Bianco's austere manner. It is, however, much more likely that these fronts were to be painted with illusionist architectural detail (such as window surrounds, niches, etc.) and figures in keeping with a late sixteenth-century Genoese fashion.[50]

In contrast to the north of Italy, the contribution of Tuscan architects to the rise of Baroque architecture is rather limited. One is inclined to think that Buontalenti's ample and rich decorative manner might have formed a starting point for the emergence of a proper Seicento style. Yet Ammanati's precise Late Mannerism and, perhaps to a larger extent, Dosio's austere classicism corresponded more fully to the latent aspirations of the Florentines. It is hardly an overstatement to say that towards 1600 an academic classicizing reaction against Buontalenti set in. Nevertheless, Buontalenti's decorative vocabulary was never entirely forgotten; one finds it here, there, and everywhere till the late eighteenth century, and even architects outside Florence were inspired by it.

Thus the Florence of the early seventeenth century developed her own brand of a classicizing Mannerism, and this was by and large in keeping with the all-Italian position. But Florence never had a Maderno or a Ricchino, a Bianco or Longhena; she remained to all intents and purposes anti-Baroque and hardly ever broke wholly with the tenets of the early seventeenth-century style. The names of the main practitioners at the beginning of the seventeenth century are Giovanni de' Medici (d. 1621),[51] Cosimo I's natural son, who supervised the large architectural undertakings during Ferdinand I's reign (1587–1609); Lodovico Cigoli (1559–1613), the painter (p. 60) and architect,[52] Maderno's unsuccessful competitor for St Peter's, the builder of the choir of S. Felicità, of a number of palaces, and according to Baldinucci also of the austere though unconventional courtyard of Buontalenti's Palazzo Nonfinito; and Giulo Parigi (1571–1635) and his son Alfonso (1600–c. 1656),[53] famous as theatrical designers of the Medici court, who imparted a scenographic quality to the *Isolotto* and the theatre in the Boboli

gardens. Giulio exerted a distinct influence on his pupil Callot and also on Agostino Tassi, whose scenic paintings reveal his early training.[54] Finally, Matteo Nigetti (1560–1649),[55] Buontalenti's pupil, must be added, whose stature as an architect has long been overestimated. His contribution to the Cappella dei Principi is less original than has been believed, nor has he any share in the final design of S. Gaetano, for which Gherardo Silvani alone is responsible (p. 197).[56] His manner may best be judged from his façade of the Chiesa di Ognissanti (1635–7). Here, after forty years, he revived with certain adjustments [57] the academic Mannerism of Giovanni de' Medici's façade of S. Stefano dei Cavalieri at Pisa (1593). In order to assess the sluggish path of the Florentine development, one may compare the Ognissanti façade with that of Ascanio Vittozzi's Chiesa del Corpus Domini at Turin, where it can be seen how by 1607 the theme of S. Stefano was handled in a vigorously sculptural Early Baroque manner.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the erection of the huge octagonal funeral chapel (Cappella dei Principi) absorbed the interest and exhausted the treasury of the Medici court. Lavishly incrusted with coloured marbles and precious stones, the chapel, lying on the main axis of S. Lorenzo, was to offer a glittering viewpoint from the entrance of the church. Since the wall between the church and the chapel remained standing, this scenic effect, essentially Baroque and wholly in keeping with the Medicean love of pageantry and the stage, was never obtained. As early as 1561 Cosimo I had planned a funeral chapel, but it was only Grand Duke Ferdinand I who brought the idea to fruition. After a competition among the most distinguished Florentine artists, Giovanni de' Medici together with his collaborator, Alessandro Pieroni, and Matteo Nigetti prepared the model which was revised by Buontalenti (1603–4). The latter was in charge of the building until his death in 1608, when Nigetti continued as clerk of works for the next forty years.[58] If in spite of such activity the chapel remained a torso for a long time to come, it yet epitomizes Medici ambition of the early seventeenth century. In the interior the flat decorative quality takes precedence over the structural organization, and by Roman standards of the time the exterior (Plate 39B) must have been judged as a shapeless pile. Rather sober and dry in detail, the large drum and dome do not seem to tally with their substructure. Windows of different sizes and in different planes are squeezed in between the massive and ill-articulated 'buttresses'. There is, in fact, no end to the obvious incongruities which manifest a stubborn adherence to the outmoded principles of Mannerism.

Naples saw in the last two decades of the sixteenth century a considerable intensification of architectural activity, due to the enthusiasm of two viceroys. Lacking native talents, architects had to be called from abroad. Giovan Antonio Dosio (d. 1609) and Domenico Fontana (d. 1607) settled there for good. The former left Florence in 1589; [59] the latter, running into difficulties after Sixtus V's death, made Naples his home in 1592, where as 'Royal Engineer' he found tasks on the largest scale, among them the construction of the Royal Palace (1600–2). Thus Florentine and Roman classicism were assimilated in the southern kingdom. A new phase of Neapolitan architecture is linked to the name of Fra Francesco Grimaldi (1543–1613), a Theatine monk who came from Calabria.[60] His first important building, S. Paolo Maggiore (1581/3–1603), erected

over the ancient temple of Castor and Pollux, proves him an architect of uncommon ability. In spite of certain provincialisms, the design of S. Paolo has breadth and a sonorous quality that may well be called Early Baroque. The wide nave with alternating high and low arches, opening respectively into domed and vaulted parts of the (later) aisles, is reminiscent of Magenta's work in Bologna and more imaginative than Roman church designs of the period. In 1585 Grimaldi was called to Rome, where he had a share in the erection of S. Andrea della Valle. He must have had the reputation of being the leading Theatine architect. Among his post-Roman buildings, S. Maria della Sapienza (begun 1614, with façade by Fanzago) returns, more sophisticated, to the rhythmic articulation of S. Paolo, while S. Maria degli Angeli (1600–10), the Cappella del Tesoro, which adjoins the cathedral and is itself the size of a church (1608–after 1613), and SS. Apostoli (planned c. 1610, executed 1626–32) are all thoroughly Roman in character and succeed by their scale and the vigorous quality of the design.

Next to Grimaldi, Giovan Giacomo di Conforto (d. 1631) and the Dominican Fra Nuvolo (Giuseppe Donzelli) should be mentioned. Conforto began under Dosio, was after the latter's death architect of S. Martino until 1623, and built, apart from the campanile of the Chiesa del Carmine (1622, finished by Fra Nuvolo, 1631), three Latin-cross churches (S. Severo al Pendino, S. Agostino degli Scalzi, 1603–10, and S. Teresa, 1602–12). A more fascinating figure is Fra Nuvolo. He began his career with S. Maria di Costantinopoli (late sixteenth century), where he faced the dome with majolica, thus inaugurating the characteristic Neapolitan type of colourful decoration. His S. Maria della Sanità (1602–13) has been mentioned (p. 74); his S. Sebastiano, with a very high dome, and S. Carlo all'Arena (1631), both elliptical, are uncommonly interesting and progressive.

These brief hints indicate that by the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century Naples had a flourishing school of architects. By that time the great master of the next generation, Cosimo Fanzago, was already working. But it was then that Rome asserted her ascendancy, and Naples as well as the cities of the North, which had contributed so much to the rise of the new style, were relegated once again to the role of provincial centres.

## SCULPTURE

### Rome

We have seen in the first chapter that sculpture in Rome had reached a low-water mark during the period under review. By and large the work executed in the Chapel of Paul V in S. Maria Maggiore during the second decade of the seventeenth century was still tied to the Late Mannerist standards set in Sixtus V's Chapel, and none of the sculptors of the Carracci generation – Cristoforo Stati,[61] Silla da Viggiù, Ambrogio Bonvicino, Paolo Sanquirico, Nicolò Cordier, Ippolito Buzio – showed a way out of the impasse in which sculpture found itself landed. Among this group there was hardly an indication that the tired and facile formalistic routine would so soon be broken by the rise of a young genius, Bernini, who was then already beginning to produce his juvenilia. It

cannot be denied that the older masters also created solid work. In particular, some of Buzio's, Cordier's, and Valsoldo's statues and busts have undeniably high qualities, but that does not impair the assessment of the general position. In a varying degree, they all translated the models they followed into a tame and frigid style. This is true for Buzio's Sansovinesque St James of c. 1615 (S. Giacomo degli Incurabili) as well as for Cordier's Luisa Deti Aldobrandini (c. 1605, Aldobrandini Chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva), which goes back to Guglielmo della Porta,[62] and for Valsoldo's St Jerome (c. 1612, S. Maria Maggiore), so clearly dependent on Alessandro Vittoria. If one adds the tradition of the style of Flemish relief one has accounted, it would seem, for the primary sources of inspiration of these sculptors.

Four other artists, also engaged on the Chapel of Paul V, have not yet been discussed, namely Stefano Maderno, Pietro Bernini, Camillo Mariani, and, above all, Francesco Mochi, though it is they who had a considerable share in the revitalization of Roman sculpture after 1600. Stefano Maderno from Bissone in Lombardy (1576–1636) appeared in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century. He soon made a name for himself with the marble statue of St Cecilia (in S. Cecilia, 1600) which depicts according to a persistent legend the body of the youthful saint exactly in the position in which it was found in 1599.[63] The sentimental flavour of this story apart, which helped to secure for Maderno his lofty place in the history of sculpture, the statue is imbued with a truly moving simplicity, and many later statues of recumbent martyr saints followed this model. His later monumental work in marble for Roman churches is not particularly distinguished; [64] but in his small terracotta models, bronzes, and (rare) marbles (Cà d'Oro, Venice; Palermo; Dresden; London; Oxford; etc.),[65] which derive from famous antiques, he combines a carefully studied classicism with solid realistic observations (Plate 40A). This was the artistic climate in which Bernini's early work was to rise.

As the father of the great Gianlorenzo, Pietro Bernini (1562–1629) commands special interest.[66] His career unfolds in three stages: the early years in Florence and Rome, the twenty-odd years in Naples (1584–1605/6), and the last decades in Rome, mainly in the service of Paul V. The Neapolitan setting held no surprise for a Florence-trained sculptor, and during the full years of his sojourn he adjusted himself without reservation to the pietistic climate of the southern metropolis, notable in the work of Naccherino, with whom he also collaborated. In Rome he changed to a more boisterous manner, no doubt through contact with Mariani and Mochi, and produced work in which he combined the new Early Baroque *brio* with a painterly approach which is not strange to find in the pupil of Antonio Tempesta (*Assumption of the Virgin*, Baptistery, S. Maria Maggiore, 1607–10; *Coronation of Clement VIII*, Cappella Paolina, S. Maria Maggiore, 1612–13). But the bodies of his figures lack structure and seem boneless, and the texture of his Roman work is soft and flaccid (Plate 40B). All this is still typically Late Mannerist, and indeed between his slovenly treatment of the marble and the firm and precise chiselling found in the early work of his son there is an almost unbridgeable gulf. Nor is the dash to be observed in his Roman work purposeful and clearly defined. He prefers to represent unstable attitudes which baffle the beholder: his *St John* in S. Andrea della Valle is rendered in a state between sitting, getting up and hurrying away.

Camillo Mariani's (1565?–1611) work was of greater consequence in revitalizing Roman sculpture.[67] He was born in Vicenza and had in the studio of the Rubini the inestimable advantage of going through the discipline of Alessandro Vittoria's school. Shortly after his arrival in Rome he executed his masterpieces, the eight simple and noble monumental stucco figures of saints in S. Bernardo alle Terme (1600), in which the Venetian nuance is obvious for anyone to see (Plate 41A); but it is strengthened by a new urgency and a fine psychological penetration which make these works stand out a mile from the average contemporary production and ally them to the intensity of the transitional style in painting in which we found crystallized the true spirit of the great reformers.

Mariani was also the strongest single factor in shaping the style of Francesco Mochi (1580–1654).[68] Born at Montevarchi near Florence, Mochi had his early training with the Late Mannerist painter Santi di Tito before studying under Mariani in Rome. His first independent work of importance, the large marble figures of the *Annunciation* at Orvieto (1603–8), show in a fascinating mixture the components of his style: linear Tuscan and realistic North Italian Mannerism. Mochi knew how to blend these elements into a manner of immense vitality; the *Annunciation* is like a fanfare raising sculpture from its slumber (Plate 41B). It is clearly more than a coincidence that on Roman soil the new invigorating impetus appears in the three arts almost simultaneously: Mochi's *Annunciation* is informed by a bold spirit, freshness, and energy similar to Caravaggio's Roman grand manner (1597–1606), Annibale's Farnese ceiling (1597–1604), and Maderno's S. Susanna (1597–1603). From 1612 to 1629 Mochi stayed with brief interruptions at Piacenza in the service of Ranuccio Farnese and created there the first dynamic equestrian statues of the Baroque, breaking decisively with the tradition of Giovanni Bologna's school. The first of the two monuments, that of Ranuccio Farnese (1612–20), is to a certain extent still linked to the past, while the later, Alessandro Farnese's (1620–5), breaks entirely new ground (Plate 42). Imbued with a magnificent sweep, the old problem of unifying rider and horse is here solved in an unprecedented way. Never before, moreover, had the figure of the rider held its own so emphatically against the bulk of the horse's body.

After his return to Rome he executed his most spectacular work, the giant marble statue of St Veronica (St Peter's, 1629–40), which seems to rush out of its niche driven by uncontrollable agony. In this work Mochi already reveals a peculiar nervous vehemence and strain. A stranger in the changed Roman climate, outclassed by Bernini's genius and disappointed, he protested in vain against the prevalent tide of taste. Frustrated, he renounced everything he had stood for and returned to a severe form of Mannerism. His later statues, such as the Christ (Plate 41C) and St John from the Ponte Molle (1634–c. 1650), the Taddaeus at Orvieto (1641–4), and the St Peter and St Paul of the Porta del Popolo (1638–52), are not only an unexpected anachronism, but are also very unequal in quality. Always alone among his contemporaries, first the sole voice of uninhibited progress, then the sole prophet of bleak despair, he was utterly out of tune with his time. His Baroque works antedate those of the young Bernini, whose superiority he refused to acknowledge – and it was this that broke him.[69]

## Sculpture outside Rome

Florentine sculptors of the first half of the seventeenth century faithfully nursed the heritage of the great Giovan Bologna. Pietro Francavilla (c. 1553–1615) and Giovanni Caccini (1556–1612), characteristic exponents of this often very engaging *ultima maniera*, belong essentially to the late Cinquecento. The same applies to Antonio Susini (d. 1624), Bologna's collaborator, who went on selling bronzes from his master's forms, a business which his nephew Francesco Susini continued until his death in 1646.[70] The latter's 'Fountain of the Artichokes', erected between 1639 and 1641 on the terrace above the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti, is in the draughtsman-like precision of the architectural structure closely linked to similar sixteenth-century fountains, while decorative elements such as the four shell-shaped basins derive from Buontalenti's Mannerism. Similarly, Domenico Pieratti's and Cosimo Salvestrini's Cupids on the fountains placed along the periphery of the large basin of the *Isolotto* in the Boboli, designed by the Parigi between 1618 and 1620, have the precious poses of Late Mannerist figures. Even Pietro Tacca (1577–1640),[71] certainly the greatest artist of this group and the most eminent successor to Giovanni Bologna, is not an exception to the rule. First, from 1598 onwards he was a conscientious assistant to the master; later he finished a number of works left in various stages of execution at the latter's death.[72] Deeply steeped in Giovanni Bologna's manner, he began work on his own. His most celebrated figures are the four bronze slaves at the base of Bandini's monument to Ferdinand I de' Medici at Livorno (1615–24).[73] Such figures of subdued captives, of classical derivation, played an important part in the symbolic Renaissance representations of triumphs,[74] and we know them in Florentine sculpture from Bertoldo's battle-relief and Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II down to Giovanni Bologna's (destroyed) equestrian monument of Henry IV of France. Here too, as in the case of Tacca's work, the four chained captives at the corners of the base were a polite metaphor rather than a conceit laden with deep symbolism. Two of these captives, for which Francavilla was responsible, have survived; by comparison Tacca's figures show a fresh realism [75] and a broadness of design which seem, indeed, to inaugurate a new era. But one should not be misled. These captives not only recall the attitudes imposed on models in life drawing classes, but their complicated movement, the ornamental rhythm and linear quality of their silhouettes are still deeply indebted to the Mannerist tradition, and even older Florentine Mannerists such as the engraver Caraglio come to mind. Later works by Tacca confirm this view. The famous fountains in the Piazza Annunziata at Florence, originally made for Livorno in 1627, with their thin crossing jets of water, the over-emphasis on detail (which presupposes inspection from a near standpoint and not, as so often in the Baroque, from far away), the virtuosity of execution, and the decorative elegance of monstrous formations are as close to the spirit of Late Mannerism as the over-simplified gilt bronze statues of Ferdinand I and Cosimo II de' Medici in the Cappella dei Principi in S. Lorenzo (1627–34).[76] Even his last great work, the Philip IV of Spain on the rearing horse in Madrid (1634–40; Plate 43),[77] is basically akin to Giovanni Bologna's equestrian monuments with the customary trot-

ting horse. The idea of representing the horse in a transitory position on its hindlegs – from then on *de rigueur* for monuments of sovereigns – was forced upon Tacca by Duke Olivarez, who had a Spanish painting sent to Florence to serve as model.[78] But Tacca's equestrian statue remains reserved and immobile and is composed for the silhouette. It lacks the Baroque momentum of Mochi's Alessandro Farnese and Bernini's Constantine.

In Giovanni Bologna's wake, Florentine Mannerist sculpture of the *fin-de-siècle* had, even more than Florentine painting of the period, an international success from the Low Countries to Sicily. Also Neapolitan sculpture at the turn of the century was essentially Florentine Mannerist in character. Two artists, above all, were responsible for this trend: Pietro Bernini, whom we found leaving Naples for Rome in 1605/6, and Michelangelo Naccherino, a pupil of Giovanni Bologna, who was the strongest power in Naples for almost fifty years, from his arrival in 1573 till his death in 1622. He never abandoned his intimate ties with Florentine Mannerism, but owed more to the older generation of Bandinelli, Vincenzo Danti, Vincenzo de' Rossi, and even to Donatello than to his teacher, whom he accused of irreligiosity.[79] In the pietistic climate of the Spanish dominion his figures are often imbued with a wholly un-Florentine religious mood and a mystic sensibility, eloquent testimonies of the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Characteristic examples are his tombs of Fabrizio Pignatelli in S. Maria dei Pellegrini (1590–1609), Vincenzo Carafa in SS. Severino e Sosio (1611), and Annibale Cesareo in S. Maria della Pazienza (1613). In all these tombs the deceased is represented standing or kneeling, one hand pressed against the chest in devotional fervour.[80] Naccherino anticipated here a type of sepulchral monument that was to become of vital importance in the different atmosphere of Rome during the 1630s and 1640s.

The contribution of Lombardy to the history of the Baroque consists to a considerable extent in the constant stream of stonemasons, sculptors, and architects to Rome, where they settled. In Milan itself seventeenth- as well as eighteenth-century sculpture is disappointing. The reasons are difficult to assess. They may lie in the permanent drain on talents, in the petrifying influence of the Ambrosian Academy, or in the bureaucracy which had developed in the works of the cathedral. For generations the great sculptural tasks were connected with the cathedral, and it was only there and, to a more limited degree, in the Certosa of Pavia that sculptors could find rewarding employment. Thus the academic Late Mannerist tradition of Pellegrino Tibaldi and the younger Brambilla was continued by the latter's pupil Andrea Biffi (d. 1631) and others, and by Biffi's pupils Gaspare Vismara (d. 1651) and Gian Pietro Lasagni (d. 1658), the leading masters, who perpetuated the stylistic position of about 1600 until after the middle of the seventeenth century. Even an artist like Dionigi Bussola (1612–87), whose dates correspond almost exactly with those of the romanized Lombard Ercole Ferrata (p. 201), did not radically change the position [81] in spite of his training in Rome before 1645. It seems hardly possible to talk of a Milanese High Baroque school, and we may therefore anticipate later events by mentioning Giovan Battista De Maestri, called Volpino, who executed about a dozen statues for the cathedral between 1650 and 1680. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries more than 150 sculptors worked in the cathedral studio.

Art historians have scarcely begun to sift this material, and one may well ask whether such an undertaking would not be love's labour lost.

Like Bologna and Venice, Genoa hardly had an autonomous school of sculptors during the first half of the seventeenth century. Production was partly under the influence of Lombard academic Mannerism, partly derived from Michelangelo's pupil Montorsoli. The far-reaching impact of Florentine sculpture at this moment may be judged from the fact that Francesco Camilliani's and Naccherino's fountain in the Piazza Pretoria at Palermo, Naccherino's and Pietro Bernini's Fontana Medina at Naples, and Taddeo Carloni's (1543–1613) weak Neptune fountain of the Palazzo Doria at Genoa – all depend on Montorsoli's Orion fountain at Messina.[82]

# THE AGE OF THE HIGH BAROQUE

## CIRCA 1625–CIRCA 1675

### CHAPTER 7

### INTRODUCTION

THE Second Part of this book, with the generic title 'The Age of the High Baroque', comprises many different artistic tendencies; but the period receives its imprint from the overpowering figure of Bernini, who for more than half a century dominated Italian artistic life at the focal point, Rome. His success was made possible because he had the good fortune to serve five popes who showed the highest regard for his genius.

The new era begins with the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623–44), whose strong but refined features survive in a number of magnificent busts by Bernini (Plate 44). Quite different from the austere popes of the Counter-Reformation, Urban saw himself as a Julius II re-born. In his early youth he had written poems in Latin and Italian modelled on Horace and Catullus.[1] As pope he revived the humanist interest in learning and surrounded himself with a circle of poets and scholars, and superficially his court assumed something of the freedom and grandeur of his Renaissance forerunners. But it would be wrong to see either Urban's reign or those of his successors simply in terms of an increasing secularization. On the contrary, Urban VIII confirmed the decrees of the Council of Trent, and not only maintained the peace with the Jesuits but regarded them as his foremost allies in consolidating the results of the Counter-Reformation. The words with which he registered the memory of St Ignatius in the Roman martyrology are characteristic of his attitude: 'On the 31 July is celebrated in Rome the feast of St Ignatius, Confessor, Founder of the Society of Jesus, illustrious for his holiness, his miracles, and his zeal in propagating the Catholic religion throughout the world.'[2] It is equally characteristic that the Pamphili Pope Innocent X, Urban's successor (1644–55), was attended on his death-bed by none but the general of the Jesuit Order, Padre Oliva, who was also on intimate terms with Bernini.

Once again, therefore, the question asked in the first chapter of this book arises during the new period; did the Jesuits and, for that matter, any other of the vigorous new Orders such as the Carmelites and Theatines take an active part in shaping not only their own but also the papal art policy? No one can doubt that a considerable change occurred in artistic interpretation of religious experience; but it was not a change in one direction. The bow stretches from an appealing worldliness (Plate 31B) to tender sensibility (Plate 100), to sentimental and mawkish devotion,[3] bigoted piety (Plate 121B), and mystic

elation (Plate 49) – sufficient evidence that we face the artists' reactions to the protean temper of the age rather than a deliberate policy. In actual fact, religious institutions accepted whatever was in the power of the artists to offer.

## Seicento Devotion and Religious Imagery

One must probe into the religious tendencies which developed in the course of the seventeenth century in order to gain an understanding of the character and diversity of religious imagery.[4] During the first half of the century, casuistry and, in its wake, the various forms of probabilism became the widely accepted patterns of theological thought and conviction, principles to which the masses of the faithful reacted by laxity of morals.[5] It would be difficult to assert that morality sank to a lower level than ever before; what took on a new and morally perilous aspect was that the Church now not only connived at, but even supported, individual decisions of convenience at variance with the letter and the spirit of dogmatic religion. This was the hard core of probabilism. To be sure, in the second half of the century probabilism lost ground, but a public figure such as Padre Oliva, General of the Jesuits from 1664 to 1681, gave it his full support.

At the same time quietism, a new form of mysticism, swept through Spain, France, and Italy. Its chief prophet was the Spanish priest Miguel de Molinos (d. 1697), whose *Guida spirituale*, published in 1675, took Rome by storm.[6] Molinos, it is true, ended his life in prison; yet quietism had come to stay. Catholic historians describe it as a perversion of the mystical doctrine of interior quiet. Molinos's 'soft and savoury sleep of nothingness' of the soul in the state of contemplation led, in the view of traditional ecclesiasticism, to the exaltation of an empty consciousness and consequently to immoral apathy. In contrast to 'classical' mysticism, quietism was theological rather than metaphysical, obscurantism rather than enlightenment, an escapist form of devotion produced at will rather than a spontaneous condition of sublime union with God.

It seems not far-fetched to conclude that the mentality which informed probabilism and quietism found an echo in religious imagery. Much that strikes the modern observer as hypocritical piety in Seicento pictures stems no doubt from the general attitude towards confession and devotion at the time of the Catholic Restoration.

It must also be emphasized that in the course of the seventeenth century the Order of the Jesuits itself went through a characteristic metamorphosis: under the generals Muzio Vitelleschi (1615–45), Vincenzo Caraffa (1645–9), and Giovan Paolo Oliva, mundane interests in wealth, luxury, and political intrigue, and a frivolity in the interpretation of the vows replaced the original zealous and austere spirit of the Order. Moreover, the Catholic Restoration had led to a consolidation of doctrine and authority, expressed by the glamour of the High Baroque papal court, which vied with those of the absolute monarchies. As a result of such developments one finds, broadly speaking, that inside the Church the anti–aesthetic approach to art of the period of the militant Counter-Reformation was now replaced by an aesthetic appreciation of artistic quality. This readiness to discriminate, which began under Pope Paul V, coincided in the pontificates of

Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Alexander VII (1655–67) with the maturity of the great Baroque individualists, Bernini, Cortona, Borromini, Sacchi, and Algardi, who received full official recognition.

The turn to aestheticism in official religious circles is one of the distinguishing marks of the new era. Even if the arts remained an important weapon in the post-counter-reformatory arsenal, they had no longer the sole function to instruct and edify, but also to delight. Every official pronouncement bears this out, beginning with Urban VIII's well-known words, which he supposedly addressed to Bernini after ascending the papal throne. 'It is your great good luck, Cavaliere,' he is reported to have said, 'to see Matteo Barberini pope; but we are even luckier in that the Cavaliere Bernini lives at the time of Our pontificate' – an unambiguous homage to artistic eminence. To what length aesthetic appreciation was carried becomes apparent from some highly interesting documents which, though rather late, yet characterize the new attitude. A controversy arose between the Jesuits and the sculptor Legros regarding the placing of his statue of the Blessed Stanislas Kostka in S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome.[7] The Jesuits rejected the artist's request to move the statue from the little room of the Novitiate into one of the chapels of the church, advancing the argument, among others, that there would be no relationship between the size of the figure and that of the chapel and, in addition, that the figure would interfere with the uniformity of the church, a principle on which Bernini, the architect, had insisted and which Prince Camillo Pamphili, the patron, had fully accepted.

The course taken by Seicento devotion, the 'secularization' of the Jesuit Order and the papal court, the aesthetic aspirations in clerical circles – all this would seem to militate against a resurgence of mysticism in art. Yet it happened, as is evidenced by a number of Roman sculptures and paintings roughly between 1650 and 1680, from Bernini's St Teresa (Plate 51) to Gaulli's frescoes in the Gesù (Plate 125). The same tendency is to be found outside Rome; as proof may be mentioned only the late paintings of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione or the works of Mattia Preti's middle period (Plate 141A). Bernini's late manner, in particular, reveals an intense spirituality at variance with the laxity of official devotion. I have pointed out that Bernini had close contacts with the Jesuits (p. 5) and regularly practised St Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises. While the Exercises owed their unparalleled success to the vivid appeal they made to the senses, which is also a hall-mark of Bernini's work, their practical psychology, centred in the deliberate evocation of images, was essentially non-mystical.

To what extent Bernini himself and others were captivated by quietist mysticism is a question that would need further investigation. Italy produced no great mystics during the seventeenth century, but there seems to have existed a popular undercurrent which kept the mystic tradition alive. It is more than likely that Bernini had studied the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite,[8] and we have his own word for it that the Imitation of Christ, written by the late medieval mystic Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), was his favourite book, from which he used to read a chapter every night.[9] It is in this direction, I believe, that one has to look in order to explain the alliance in many High Baroque works between Jesuit psycho-therapeutic directness and non-Jesuit mysticism.

## Rhetoric and Baroque Procedure

Ecstasies and raptures are the psycho-physical conditions which designate the culmination of mystical activity. At many periods artists endeavoured to render not only these conditions themselves but also the visions experienced in that exalted state of perception. What distinguishes the Baroque from earlier periods and even the High from the Early Baroque is that the beholder is stimulated to participate actively in the supra-natural manifestations of the mystic act rather than to look at it 'from outside'. This is meant in a very specific sense, for it is evident that in many works from about 1640 on a dual vision is implied, since the method of representation suggests that the entire image of a saint and his vision is the spectator's supra-natural experience. Bernini's St Teresa, shown in rapture, seems to be suspended in mid-air (Plates 50 and 51), and this can only appear as reality by virtue of the implied visionary state of mind of the beholder. Or to give a later example: in Pozzo's ceiling of S. Ignazio (Plate 129) 'illumination' is granted to the saint in ecstasy, but to see the heavens open with the saint and his disciples riding on clouds – that is due to revelation granted to the spectator.[10] Scarcely known to the Early Baroque, the dual vision was often pressed home with all the resources of illusionism during the High Baroque and supported by drama, light, expression, and gesture. Nothing was left undone to draw the beholder into the orbit of the work of art. Miracles, wondrous events, supra-natural phenomena are given an air of verisimilitude; the improbable and unlikely is rendered plausible, indeed convincing.

Representations of dual visions are extreme cases of an attempt to captivate the spectator through an appeal to the emotions. It is worth-while seeking a common denominator for this approach so obvious in a prominent class of High Baroque religious imagery. The technique of these artists is that of persuasion at any price. Persuasion is the central axiom of classical rhetoric. In an illuminating paper G. C. Argan [11] has therefore rightly stressed the strong influence of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* on Baroque procedure. Aristotle devotes the entire second book of his *Rhetoric* to the rendering of the emotions because they are the basic human stuff through which persuasion is effected. The transmission of emotive experience was the main object of Baroque religious imagery, even in the works of such Baroque classicists as Andrea Sacchi.[12] With his technique of persuasion the artist appeals to a public that wants to be persuaded. In rhetoric, Aristotle asserts, the principles of persuasion, in order to be persuasive, must echo common opinions. Similarly, the Baroque artist responded to the affective behaviour of the public and developed a rhetorical technique that assured easy communication. Thus the artists of this period made use of narrative conventions and a rhetorical language of gestures and expression that often strike the modern observer as hackneyed, insincere, dishonest, or hypocritical.[13]

On the other side of the balance sheet are the growing awareness of personal style and the role assigned to inspiration and imagination and consequently the value put on the sketch, the bozzetto, and the first rough idea, unchecked by the encumbrances of execution. These new values, often uncommitted to current rhetorical usage, were to attain prominence during a later phase.

## *Patronage*

Nothing could be more misleading than to label – as has been done [14] – the art of the entire Baroque period as the art of the Counter-Reformation. The austere popes of the late sixteenth century and the great counter-reformatory saints would have been horrified by the sensuous and exuberant art of Bernini's age and would also have been out of sympathy with the art policy of the popes of the Catholic Restoration. It was mainly due to Urban VIII Barberini (1623–44), Innocent X Pamphili (1644–55), and Alexander VII Chigi (1655–67), and their families that Rome was given a new face, an appearance of festive splendour which changed the character of the city for good. In order to assess this transformation, one need only compare the gloomy 'counter-reformatory' palazzo type, exemplified by Domenico Fontana's Lateran palace and the family palace of the Borghese Pope Paul V, with such exhilarating structures as the Palazzo Barberini (Plate 36A) and the Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi (Plate 67B), or the sombre church façades of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with the imaginative and sparkling creations of a slightly later period, such as S. Andrea al Quirinale (Plate 60B), S. Agnese (Plate 73), SS. Martina e Luca (Plate 82), and S. Maria della Pace (Plate 83); one need only think of Bernini's fountains (Plate 53), of the elation experienced by generation after generation on the Piazza del Popolo (Plate 107), the Piazzas Navona and Campitelli, and, above all, of the jubilant grandeur pervading the Piazza of St Peter's (Plate 65). These prominent examples give an idea of the character and extent of papal patronage during the period under review. They also indicate that from Urban VIII's reign on the most important building tasks were handed on to the most distinguished architects, in contrast to the lack of discrimination often to be found in the earlier period; further, that the patrons sympathetically accepted personal idiosyncrasies of style and the determination of artists and architects to solve each problem on its own merits. In contrast to the equalizing tendencies of the earlier phase, the variety of manner now becomes almost unbelievable, not only between architect and architect and not only between the early and late works of one master, but even between one master's works of the same years (cf. Plate 60B with 64B and 76A with 78B). Strong-willed individualists make their entry.

If all this be true, some popular misunderstandings should yet be corrected. Contrary to general opinion, most of the new churches built in Rome during this period were small, even very small, in size; the need for large congregational churches was satisfied at an earlier period. Many of the finest structures of the Roman High Baroque, and precisely those which had also the greatest influence inside and outside Italy, are monumental only in appearance, not in scale. Moreover, compared with the extension and diversity of papal, ecclesiastical, and aristocratic patronage under Paul V, artistic enterprises under the following popes were considerably more limited. It would not be possible, for instance, to list a series of frescoes between 1630 and 1650 comparable to those of the years 1606–18 (p. 47).

The High Baroque popes lavished vast sums on their private undertakings: Urban VIII on the Palazzo Barberini and Innocent X on the 'Pamphili Centre', the Piazza Navona

with the family palace and S. Agnese.[15] But their primary objective, enhancing the glamour and prestige of the papal court, remained St Peter's, and it was the magnitude of this task that depleted their resources. Immediately after Urban's accession Bernini began work on the Baldacchino (Plate 56) and was soon to be engaged on the reorganization of the whole area under the dome as well as on the pope's tomb (Plate 52A). Regarding the pictorial decoration of the basilica, Urban's policy was less clear-sighted. Although Andrea Sacchi began to paint in 1625 and was kept busy for the next ten years, at first the pope also fell back on older Florentine painters like Ciampelli and Passignano; Baglione too and even the aged and entirely outmoded Cavaliere d'Arpino received commissions for paintings. But apart from Sacchi's, the main burden lay on Lanfranco's and Cortona's shoulders. Other distinguished artists such as Domenichino, Valentin, Poussin, and Vouet had their share and, in addition, the very young Pellegrini, Camassei, and Romanelli, who held out hopes of great achievement but in the light of history must be regarded as failures.[16] In any case, during Urban's pontificate the work of decoration in St Peter's never stopped, and almost every year saw the beginning of a new enterprise. The tempo slackened under Innocent X, but Alexander VII once again pursued the continuation of the work with the utmost energy. Under him the two most prodigious contributions, the Cathedra of St Peter (Plate 57) and the Piazza, took shape.

Compared with St Peter's, the patronage bestowed on the two papal palaces, the Vatican and the Quirinal, was negligible. In the Vatican Urban had rooms painted by Abbatini and Romanelli, and although the latter's frescoes in the Sala della Contessa Matilda [17] (1637–42) are not devoid of charm, it is obvious that they cannot vie with the monumental works of these years. On the whole, it can be stated that during this period the less distinguished commissions were in the hands of minor artists. This does not apply, however, to the one major operation in the Quirinal palace, the decoration of the Gallery, accomplished in Alexander's reign by all available talents under Pietro da Cortona's supervision (p. 218).

The outstanding achievement of the entire epoch remains Bernini's work in and around St Peter's, executed over a period of almost two generations. Though undertaken without a premeditated comprehensive programme on the part of the popes, this work embodies the spirit of the Catholic Restoration and, implicitly, that of the High Baroque more fully than any other complex of works of art in Rome, Italy, or Europe.[18] In ever new manifestations the perpetuity and triumph of the Church, the glory of faith and sacrifice are given expression, and these highly charged symbols impress themselves on the beholder's eye and mind through their intense and impetuous visual language.[19]

Yet, while this cycle of monumental works seemed to propound Rome's final victory, the authority of the Holy See had already begun to wane. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), ending the Thirty Years War in Europe, made it evident that henceforth the powers would settle their quarrels without papal intercession. Moreover, in the course of the century 'the authority of the Holy See' – in Ranke's words – 'changed inevitably, if gradually, from monarchic absolutism to the deliberative methods of con-

stitutional aristocracy'. Not unexpectedly, therefore, after the age of Bernini, Cortona, and Borromini Rome could no longer maintain her unchallenged artistic supremacy. Although Rome preserved much of her old vitality, a centrifugal shift of gravity towards the north and south may be observed in the latter part of the seventeenth century: Venice, Genoa, Piedmont, and Naples began to take the leading roles.

I