

CHAPTER 17
ARCHITECTURE IN PIEDMONT

THE PRELUDE

THE extraordinary part played by Piedmont in the art and architecture of the Seicento and Settecento cannot be dissociated from the country's rapid political development. It began with the energetic Emanuele Filiberto, who made Turin his capital in 1563. The rebuilding and enlarging of the town gathered momentum under his successor Carlo Emanuele I (1580-1630). For about three generations building activity in Turin was mainly in the hands of three architects in succession: Ascanio Vittozzi (1539-1615), Carlo di Castellamonte, and his son Amedeo (d. 1683). Turin was a Roman *castrum* town, and its chessboard layout survived the Middle Ages. Carlo Emanuele I pursued with energy the modernization of the whole city, first with Vittozzi and, after the latter's death, with Carlo Castellamonte as his architect. Castellamonte was in charge of all building activity when in 1620 the ceremonial foundation of the new town was laid. It was he who was responsible for one of the first coherent street-fronts in Italy (Via Roma) and for the entirely unified Piazza S. Carlo (1638). While Central Italian architects hardly ever abandoned the individual palazzo front, the break with that old-established tradition in Turin suggests a strong French influence. Under Carlo Emanuele II (1638-75) Amedeo di Castellamonte carried on the enlargement of the town in the direction of the River Po (1673).¹ Next to the leading architect, Francesco Lanfranchi showed more than ordinary ability in transforming Turin after the middle of the seventeenth century into a great Baroque city.² Under Vittorio Amedeo II followed the third great systematization of the city in the direction of the Porta Susina with Juvarra in charge (begun 1716). This programme was extended later in the eighteenth century, and during the twentieth century Turin's great Baroque tradition was continued by one of the most extensive town-planning schemes of modern times.³

These few remarks indicate that there was an adventurous and vigorous spirit alive in seventeenth-century Turin.⁴ Nevertheless, what Castellamonte and Lanfranchi had to offer was somewhat provincial in spite of real distinction; they skilfully combined Roman and North Italian with French aspirations. But in 1666 Guarini appeared on the Turinese stage, with consequences of the utmost importance. In fact, in matters of architecture Turin became the most advanced Italian city almost precisely at the moment when creative energies in Rome began to decline. Guarini's settling in Turin opens the era of the extraordinary flowering of Piedmontese architecture which lasted for about a hundred years and is epitomized by the names of three men of genius: Guarini himself, Juvarra, and Vittone.

GUARINO GUARINI (1624-83)

It may be reasonably argued that Guarini's architecture belongs to a late stage of the High Baroque and that it has certain qualities in common with the Roman architecture of the mid seventeenth century, such as the full-blooded vigour and the preference for determined articulation and for strong and effective colour schemes. But while nobody will doubt that his architecture is nearer to that of Borromini and Cortona than to that of Juvarra, his aims transcend those of the Roman masters, from whom he is separated by a deep gulf. There is considerable justification, therefore, for discussing his work at this late stage. Guarini was born at Modena on 17 January 1624.⁵ In 1639 he entered the Order of the Theatines and in the same year moved to Rome, where he studied theology, philosophy, mathematics, and architecture. At this period the interior of Borromini's S. Carlino (Plate 69A) as well as the façade of the Oratory of St Philip Neri (Plate 77A) were finished, and these events were certainly not lost upon him. Back at Modena in 1647, he was ordained priest and soon appointed lecturer in philosophy in the house of his Order. During these years he began architectural work in a modest way at S. Vincenzo, the church of the Theatine Order.⁶ When in 1655 differences arose between him and the ducal court, he left Modena. In 1660 he settled in Messina, teaching philosophy and mathematics.

It was then that he began his literary career with a tragi-comedy⁷ and his architectural career with two important buildings. While his design of the church of the Padri Somaschi was never executed, the façade of the SS. Annunziata together with the adjoining Theatine palace were certainly built. What was standing of his work was destroyed in the earthquake of 1908,⁸ but his designs are preserved in the plates in his *Architettura civile*, posthumously published by Vittone in 1737. The Annunziata façade, raised over a concave ground-plan, is strongly influenced by traditional Roman church façades and shows a distinct retrogression to Mannerist compositional and decorative principles. The church of the Padri Somaschi is more revealing; its regular hexagonal plan with ambulatory is strange enough.⁹ Even stranger is the elevation (Plate 154A), for the transition from the hexagonal body of the church to the zone of the dome is accomplished by pendentives above which is a circular cornice but not – as one would expect – a cylindrical drum. Instead of the normal drum and dome, the design shows a hybrid structure consisting of a hexagon with six large windows and parabolic ribs spanned between them in such a way that a kind of diaphanous dome is created: drum and dome are telescoped into one and the same structural zone. The novelty of this is no less surprising than Guarini's use of pendentives for the transition of the hexagon into the round, only to return to the hexagon again. Crowning the pseudo-dome is another hybrid motif, a proper small drum and dome, together exactly as high as the pseudo-dome and therefore much too large as a lantern.

Reminiscent of centralized churches of the Renaissance, the exterior is identical on all six fronts, and this contrasts with the Roman Baroque tendency to regard the façade as an essential manifestation of the spatial movement and direction of the interior. The

ample use of free-standing columns links the building superficially to the main current of Baroque architecture, but the superimposition of three unrelated tiers as well as the carpentry-like detail recall – at least in the engraving – Late Mannerist tabernacles rather than a church. Had Guarini stayed on at Messina, his buildings would probably have remained extravagant freaks.

In 1662 he was back at Modena, from where he soon moved to Paris. During his stay there he built the Theatine church, *Sainte-Anne-la-Royale*, and wrote an immensely learned mathematical-philosophical tome, *Placita philosophica* (1665), in which he defended, rather surprisingly at this late date, the geocentric universe against Copernicus and Galilei. The church (Plate 154B), not finished until 1720 with considerable changes and entirely destroyed in 1823,¹⁰ was erected over a fairly normal Greek-cross plan with undulating façade, similar to that of *S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*. Once again Guarini's extravagance is most apparent in the zone of the vaulting. In this case he built a

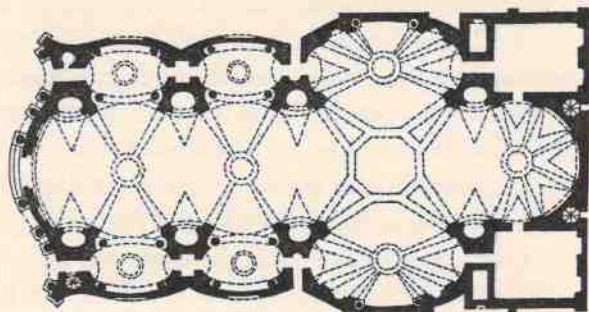


Figure 31. Guarino Guarini: Lisbon, S. Maria della Divina Provvidenza. Plan

real drum above pendentives but crowned it by a dwarf dome which he decorated with a system of interlaced double ribs. This dome is topped by a smaller truncated dome with lantern of traditional design, to be seen from the floor of the church through the large octagonal opening of the dwarf dome.¹¹ Externally the church rose pagoda-like in five tiers,¹² and the encased dwarf dome with windows reminiscent of bellies of violins looked like a second drum above the principal one. Guarini had certainly studied Borromini's use of bandlike ribs for vaults (p. 145), but while the latter introduced this device in order to tie together a whole structure, no such idea guided the former. On the contrary, each of the major units of the church strikes an entirely new note. Far from being a provincial 'atomization', it will soon be seen that this was a deliberate artistic principle.

Guarini may have travelled again before settling in Turin. Although this is unrecorded, he may have gone to Spain and Portugal, where *S. Maria della Divina Provvidenza* at Lisbon was erected from his design (Figure 31).¹³ Destroyed in the earthquake of 1755, this important church is known only from the engravings of the *Architettura civile*. Like *St Mary of Altötting* in Prague (1679) and *S. Filippo* in Turin, the church

has a longitudinal plan which derives from the traditional North Italian type showing a sequence of domed units; but here the walls undulate, and the salient points across the nave are no longer linked by an arch; they contain instead, in the zone of the vaulting, windows set into lunettes. An intricate and baffling combination of spatial shapes results which one cannot easily visualize or describe in simple geometrical terms. This architecture required a new kind of mathematics, and Guarini himself laid the foundation for it by devoting long passages of his treatise to conic sections. Although they must be regarded as essential for the development of the German and Austrian Baroque, Guarini's longitudinal churches take up a place secondary in importance compared with his centralized buildings.

When Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy called him to Turin, Guarini had still seventeen years to live, and in these years he erected the structures for which he is mainly famous. Apart from S. Filippo Neri, which remained unfinished, collapsed, and was finally replaced by Juvarra's church,¹⁴ he built two great palaces, the Collegio dei Nobili (1678, now the Academy of Science and Art Gallery) and the magnificent Palazzo Carignano (1679),¹⁵ and three centralized churches: the Cappella della SS. Sindone, S. Lorenzo, and the sanctuary La Consolata. The latter is the least interesting of these buildings and not much of the present structure is by Guarini.¹⁶ His two other ecclesiastical works, however, belong to the finest class of Italian Seicento architecture.

After his arrival at Turin, Guarini was appointed architect of the Cappella della SS. Sindone, itself the size of a church (Plates 155, A and B, and 156 and Figure 32). The House of Savoy possessed one of the holiest relics, the Holy Shroud, which Emanuele Filiberto transferred from Chambéry to the new capital with the intention of having a church erected for it. But finally it was decided to build a large chapel at the east end of the

cathedral and in close conjunction with the palace. In 1655 Carlo Emanuele II commissioned Amedeo di Castellamonte, and work was begun in 1657. When Guarini took over, ten years later, the structure was standing up to the entablature of the lower tier.¹⁷ The cylindrical space of the chapel was articulated by the regular sequence of an order of giant pilasters and, placed between them, a smaller order forming the so-called Palladio motif. According to Castellamonte's design, the cylindrical body of the chapel was probably to continue into a spherical dome. Guarini disturbed this perfectly normal design. He introduced the convex intrusions of three circular vestibules into the main space; he entirely changed the meaning of the regular articulation by creating above the cylinder a zone with pendentives; and he spanned every two bays by a large arch, three in all, and these 'enclosed' bays alternate with the 'open' bays in which lie the segmental projections of the entrances. All this led to

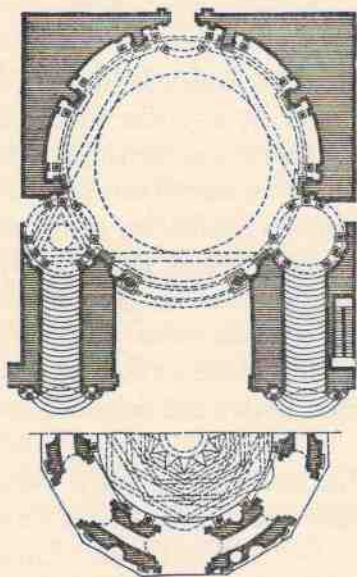


Figure 32. Guarino Guarini: Turin, Cappella SS. Sindone, 1667-90. Plan

peculiar contradictions. Now the giant pilaster in the centre of each large arch has no function; he crowned it with a complex ornamental motif. The three pendentives open into large circular windows, corresponding to those set into the arches. Thus, reversing the division into arches and pendentives, the sequence of six windows produces a regular rhythm. It is even more puzzling that Guarini borrowed the pendentives from the Greek-cross design, adapted them to three instead of four arches – an unheard-of idea – and used them, paradoxically, as a transition between the circular body of the chapel and the circular ring of the drum.

Guarini's name is often coupled with that of Borromini. It is, indeed, not unlikely that in his design of the Sindone chapel Guarini was influenced by Borromini as regards triangular geometry, the unorthodox insertion of the pendentive zone, and even the opening up of the pendentives;¹⁸ but even if such influence will be admitted, it has to be emphasized once again that the aims of the two architects were entirely different. Borromini strove for the creation of homogeneous structures which, in spite of all their complexities, can be 'read' along the walls without encountering difficulties. Guarini, on the other hand, worked with deliberate incongruities and surprising dissonances. One zone of his structures contains no indication of what the next is going to reveal; and it is only safe to say that the unlikely and improbable are going to happen. The stimuli to conflict and unrest which his architecture contains link it with the Mannerist tradition, and on the level of decoration these connexions are evident beyond any doubt. He clearly returns to the doughy forms of Buontalenti and his school, but he juxtaposes these forms with the crystalline star-hexagons and cross-patterns of the arches, the pendentives, and the pavement, and the different austere, geometrical shapes placed side by side increase the impression of unrest.¹⁹

The next zone above the pendentives consists of a high drum where six large arched openings alternate with solid pillars which contain Borrominesque convex tabernacle niches. With this unbroken rhythm of pillar and arch the turmoil of the lower tiers seems resolved, and one would expect a spherical dome above this drum. Yet once again we are faced with an entirely unexpected feature, in fact the most extraordinary of the building. Segmental ribs are spanned from centre to centre of the six arches, resulting in a hexagon. By spanning other ribs from the centre of the first series of ribs and by repeating this method six times in all, a welter of thirty-six arches is created, of which three are always on the same vertical axis. Since each rib has a vertical spine (bisecting a segmental window), no less than twelve vertical divisions result, which are clearly visible outside as the structural skeleton of the dome (Plate 155B).

Objectively, Guarini's cone-shaped dome is not very high; but subjectively, seen from the floor of the chapel, the diminution of the ribs appears to be due to perspective foreshortening so that the dome looks much higher than it is. This impression is supported by the judicious use of colour. The contrast between the black marble and gilding below and the grey of the dome seems to result from the softening of tone values at great distance. At the summit the dome opens into a twelve-edged star, at the centre of which there hovers the Holy Dove strongly lit by the twelve oval windows of the lantern.

No less remarkable than the interior is the exterior, where again one unexpected feature follows another. The principal motif in the lower zone is the six large windows of the drum, united under an undulating cornice. Above it, without transition and even without any intelligible reason (in any case for the beholder who does not know the interior), appears the exciting maze of zigzag steps, which are actually the segmental ribs of the dome. Finally, there is the serene horizontal motif of rings diminishing in size, crowned by the pagoda-like structure to which nothing corresponds inside.

It may be noticed that a trinitarian concept pervades the whole building: witness the triangular geometry of the plan, the intrusion of the three satellite structures into the main space with their columns arranged in triads, the multiples of three in the drum, dome, and lantern; further the three circular steps and three-storeyed 'pagoda' of the exterior. The whole building therefore assumes an emblematical quality: in ever new geometrical realizations the all-embracing dogma of the Trinity is reasserted.²⁰

Hardly less exciting than the Cappella della SS. Sindone is the nearby church of S. Lorenzo.²¹ Guarini began work on it in 1668; in 1679 the building was standing, but it was not entirely finished until 1687 (Plates 157 and 158 and Figure 33). The basic form of the plan is an octagon with the eight sides curving into the main space. Each of these sides consists of a 'Palladio motif' with a wide open arch. For this reason it is difficult or even impossible to perceive the octagon as the constituent shape of the congregational room. The eye is led past the arches to the real boundary of the church. Behind the screen of sixteen red marble columns are niches with statues, white before a black background and framed by white pilasters. Thus there exists a certain continuity of motifs along the boundary, but they complicate rather than simplify an understanding of the structure; for so many different units and so many similar motifs are found side by side and at odd angles that no coherent vision is possible.²² The strong, uninterrupted entablature above the arches emphasizes and clarifies the octagonal shape. But in the next zone there is an unexpected change of meaning similar to that in the Cappella della SS. Sindone. Pendentives are placed in the diagonal axes, and at this level the octagon is transformed into a Greek cross with very short arms. The extraordinary fact must be clearly grasped that the pendentives and arches of the cross are functionally divorced entirely from their supports, which belong, as we have seen, to another spatial entity. How revolutionary Guarini's conception is will be realized when one compares it with the slightly earlier Greek cross of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona (Plate 72B). Above the pendentive zone there is a gallery with oval windows, and between them are eight piers from which the ribs of the vaulting spring. These ribs are arranged in such a way that they form an eight-pointed star and a regular open octagon in the centre. We are thus faced with a hybrid feature similar to that planned for the Church of the Somascian Fathers at Messina. And precisely as in the design of that church, there rises above the central opening a lantern – consisting of drum and dome – just as high as the main dome itself. Also, outside, the dome has again the appearance of a drum which is crowned by a second small drum and dome. In spite of these similarities, S. Lorenzo is infinitely more complex. Particular reference may be made to the insertion of a zone with windows between the dome and the lantern. These cast their light through an open ring of segments laid round the inner

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octagon of the dome. By this device the diaphanous and mysterious quality of the dome is considerably enhanced.

In the longitudinal axis of the church, the circular Cappella Maggiore with a simpler ribbed dome is added to the congregational room. The chapel is delimited by two Palladio motifs, one opening into an altar recess with oval vaulting, the other into the main space. Thus the same Palladio motif which appears as a convex penetration into the main

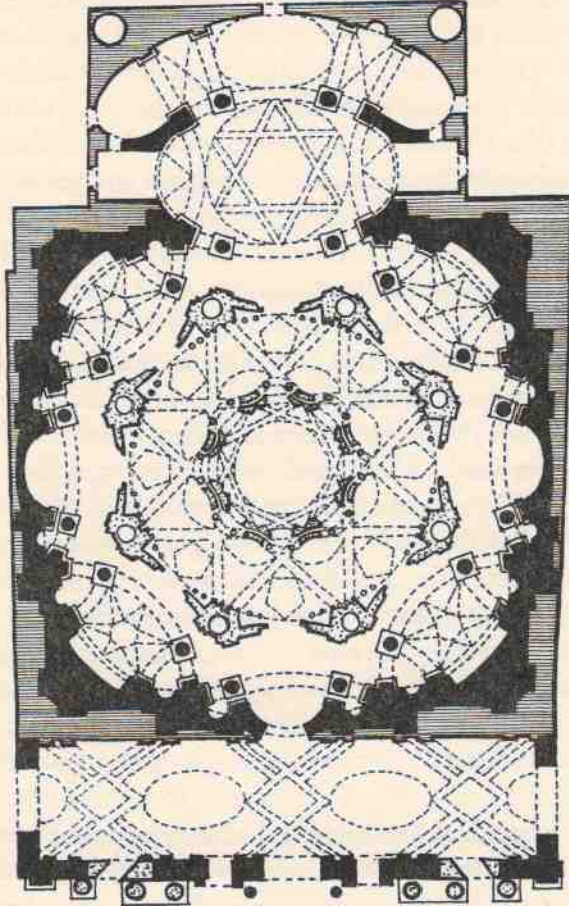


Figure 33. Guarino Guarini: Turin, S. Lorenzo, begun 1668.
Plan

room forms the concave boundary of the chapel. In spite of such interpenetrations of different spatial entities, each of the three domed spaces forms a separate unit with architectural characteristics of its own. With this arrangement Guarini kept well within the North Italian tradition; moreover the scenic effect produced by the longitudinal vista links his plan to the tradition leading from Palladio to Longhena.

We can now summarize a few of the principles which seem to have guided Guarini. Domes have pride of place in his system of architecture. Guarini opened the chapter on

vaulting in his *Architettura civile* with the remark 'Vaults are the principal part in architecture', and expressed surprise that so little had been written about them.²³ What is so new about Guarini's own domical structures? The Baroque dome, continuing and developing the formula of the dome of St Peter's, was of classical derivation. Although Borromini broke with this tradition, he too relied on classical prototypes and maintained the solidity of the domical surface. It is this principle that Guarini abandoned. Of course, the models of his diaphanous domes were not Roman. The similarity of the dome of S. Lorenzo to such Hispano-Moresque structures as the eighth-century dome in the mosque at Cordova has often been pointed out; but even if an influence from this side can be admitted,²⁴ it is the differences rather than the similarities that are important. The Hispano-Moresque domes are not diaphanous, for their vaults rest on the structural skeleton of the ribs. Guarini's domes are infinitely bolder than any of the Spanish models: he eliminated the wall surface between the ribs and perched high structures on their points of intersection.

It is clear then that Guarini, far from being an imitator, turned over a new leaf of architectural history. A passage in the *Architettura civile* seems to reveal his intentions. With a perspicacity unknown at that date, he analysed the difference between Roman and Gothic architecture. He maintained that in contrast to the qualities of strength and solidity aimed at by Roman architects, Gothic builders wanted their churches to appear structurally weak so that it should seem miraculous how they could stand at all. Gothic builders – he writes – erected arches 'which seem to hang in the air; completely perforated towers crowned by pointed pyramids; enormously high windows and vaults without the support of walls. The corner of a high tower may rest on an arch or a column or on the apex of a vault. . . . Which of the two opposing methods, the Roman or the Gothic, is the more wonderful, would be a nice problem for an academic mind.' It does not appear far-fetched to conclude that the idea of his daring diaphanous domes with their superstructures, which seem to defy all static principles, was suggested to Guarini by his study and analysis of Gothic architecture. And he also used the formula of Hispano-Moresque domes to display structural miracles as astonishing as those of the Gothic builders.²⁵

But his domes are more than structural freaks. They seem the result of a deep-rooted urge to replace the consistent sphere of the ancient dome, the symbol of a finite dome of heaven, by the diaphanous dome with its mysterious suggestion of infinity. If this is correct, not only his domes but also the other essential characteristics of his architecture become intelligible. The element of surprise, the entirely unexpected, the seemingly illogical, the reversal of accustomed values, the deliberate contradictions in the elevation, the interpenetration of different spatial units, the breaking up of the coherent wall boundary with the resulting difficulty of orientation – all this may be regarded as serving the same purpose.

It would be futile to search in Guarini's treatise for a single sentence in support of this interpretation. And yet the treatise contains an indirect clue. More than one-third of the text is concerned with a new kind of geometry, namely the plane projection of spherical surfaces and the transformation of plane surfaces of a given shape into corresponding sur-

faces of a different shape. Guarini was perhaps the only Italian architect who had studied Desargues's Projective Geometry,²⁶ first published in Paris in 1639, which was informed by the modern conception of infinity.

As a writer²⁷ Guarini sides with seventeenth-century rationalism, but for him as a priest²⁸ the suggestion of infinity by architectural devices must have been a pressing religious problem. We may surmise that it was the balance between the new rationalism and the modern mathematical mysticism epitomized in Guarini's work that made his architecture so attractive to the masters of the Late Baroque in Austria and southern Germany.

FILIPPO JUVARRA (1678-1736)

When Guarini died in 1683, Juvarra was five years old. He came to Turin as a fully fledged architect in 1714, thirty-one years after Guarini's death.²⁹ Thus there is no trace of continuity in Piedmontese architecture, nor do Juvarra's buildings at Turin show any Guarinesque influence. On the contrary, Juvarra's conception of architecture was diametrically opposed to that of Guarini. And yet there is a peculiar link between them, for Juvarra was born at Messina and grew up with Guarini's buildings before his eyes. His father was a silversmith of distinction, and Juvarra's life-long interest in designing works of applied art and in rich decorative detail probably dates back to these years.³⁰ His early training and impressions were, however, overshadowed by a ten years' stay in Rome (1703/4-14). He joined Carlo Fontana's studio, and it is reported that his teacher advised him to forget what he had learned before. Juvarra followed this advice, absorbed Fontana's academic Late Baroque, and studied ancient, Renaissance, and contemporary architecture with enthusiasm and impartiality (p. 240). His immense gift as a draughtsman, his extraordinary imagination, and his ceaselessly active mind prevented him from perpetuating his master's manner. He gave proof of his great and original talent when in 1708 he entered the service of Cardinal Ottoboni, for whose theatre in the Cancelleria he poured out stage design after stage design of unmatched boldness.³¹ Many hundreds of drawings show, moreover, that from as early as 1705 onwards he directed his creative energies towards the most diverse enterprises, such as the vast plans for the systematization of the area round the Capitol, the designs for the completion of the Palazzo Pubblico at Lucca,³² for a palace of the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel, and the altars in S. Martino at Naples; in addition there are designs for innumerable occasional works like the funeral decorations for Emperor Leopold I, King Peter II of Portugal, and the Dauphin; for coats of arms, cartouches, tabernacles, lamps, and even book illustrations. Very little of all this, however, was executed.

Juvarra's great opportunity came in 1714 when Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy (recently created King of Sicily) asked him to enter his service at Messina.³³ At the end of the year we find him at Turin, and with his appointment as 'First Architect to the King' he was immediately raised to a position which had no equal in Italy. He soon enjoyed a unique international reputation, to be compared only with that of Tiepolo a generation later. As early as 1711 Emperor Joseph I of Austria had asked him for stage designs

for the Vienna theatre. Between 1719 and 1720 he spent a year in Portugal planning the palace at Mafra for King John V.³⁴ The year 1720 also saw him in London³⁵ and Paris. He dedicated a volume with drawings to August the Strong of Saxony; finally, in 1735, he was given permission to go to Madrid in order to design a royal palace for Philip V.³⁶ In Madrid he suddenly died on 31 January 1736.

When Juvarra settled in Turin, he had only twenty-two years to live, but what he accomplished in this relatively brief span seems almost superhuman. It is impossible to give even a remote idea of his splendid achievement. Leaving aside the work done or planned outside Turin and its neighbourhood – at Como, Mantua, Belluno, Bergamo, Lucca, Chambéry, Vercelli, Oropa, and Chieri; leaving aside also the many important projects for Rome³⁷ and omitting the mass of minor and occasional work at Turin, there still remains an imposing array of buildings, all in or near the Piedmontese capital. The list contains five churches³⁸ apart from the façade of S. Cristina (1715–28); four royal residences;³⁹ four large palaces in town;⁴⁰ and finally the entire quarters of Via del Carmine-Corso Valdocco (1716–28) and Via Milano-Piazza Emanuele Filiberto (1729–33). The building periods of many of these structures are long and overlap, and it is therefore difficult to see a clear development of Juvarra's style. It would seem more to the point to differentiate between the styles used for different tasks, such as the richly articulated façade of the royal palace in town, the Palazzo Madama (Plate 159A), in contrast to the classical simplicity of the royal hunting 'lodge', Stupinigi (Plate 159B), or the relative sobriety of aristocratic residences. Moreover, with his absolute mastery of historical and contemporary styles, Juvarra, with admirable ease, used what he regarded as suitable for the purpose. Thus when designing the façades of S. Cristina or S. Andrea at Chieri (1728) he turned to Rome, while the Palazzo Madama was fashioned on the model of Versailles. The way he absorbed and transformed the models from which he took his cue shows that he was more than an immensely gifted practitioner. In this respect a comparison of the front of the Palazzo Madama with the garden front of Versailles is most illuminating. It cannot be doubted that the former is much superior to the latter. Instead of the petty co-ordination of tiers in Versailles, Juvarra's *piano nobile* dominates the design; and by introducing bold accents and a determined articulation he creates an essentially Italian palace front.⁴¹ The interior is independent of French sources; it contains one of the grandest staircase halls in Italy, taking up almost the whole width of the present façade. It also affords an excellent opportunity for studying Juvarra's decorative style, which is entirely his own. It derives from a fusion of Cortonesque and Borrominesque conceptions; boldly treated naturalistic motifs appear next to flat dynamic stylizations; exuberant ornament next to chaste, almost Neo-classical wall treatment.

While planning Stupinigi, Juvarra wavered for a time between the French and the Italian tradition. He considered both the French château type with the staircase hall adjoining the vestibule and the Italian star-shaped plan, where corresponding units are grouped round a central core.⁴² He chose the latter type of design (Figure 34), extended it to a scale which has no parallel in northern Italy, and transformed it so thoroughly that Stupinigi is really in a class of its own.

If it is difficult to discern a development of Juvarra's architecture in the traditional

sense, an evolution – or even revolution – of certain fundamental spatial conceptions may yet be observed. On the one hand, Juvarra must be regarded as the most distinguished legate of architectural thought accumulated in Italy in the course of the previous 300 years. On the other hand, he broke away from that tradition more decisively than any other Italian architect since the Renaissance. This may first be demonstrated by comparing his design of S. Filippo Neri (1715)⁴³ with that of the Chiesa del Carmine (1732–5; Plate 161A and Figure 35).⁴⁴ Despite the ample and airy proportions, the design of S. Filip-

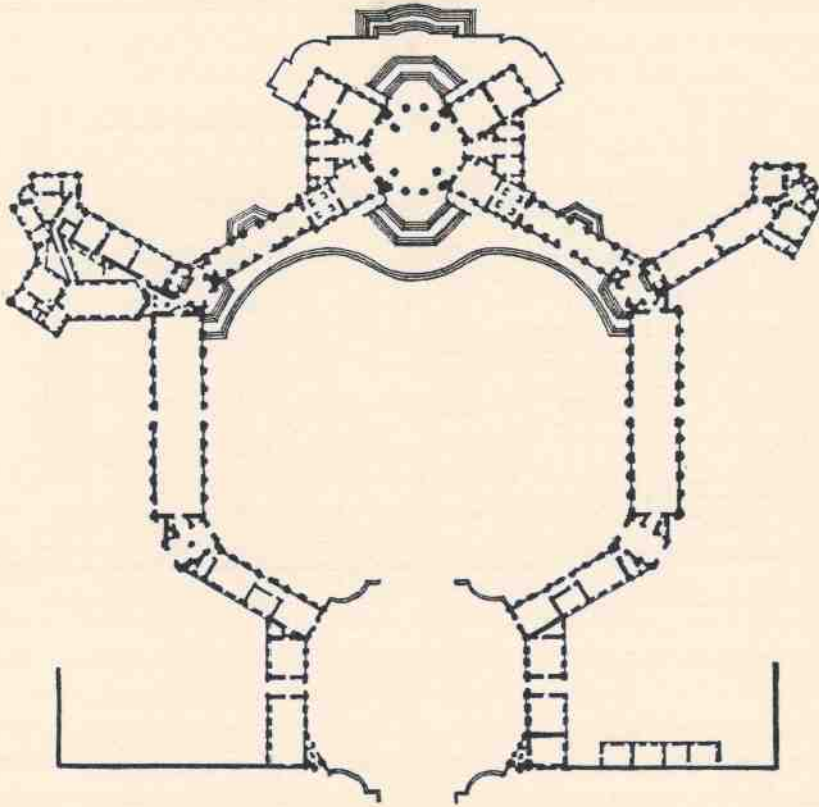


Figure 34. Filippo Juvarra: Stupinigi, Castle, 1729–33. Plan

po does not depart from the old tradition which goes back through Alberti to ancient *thermae* and is epitomized in Palladio's *Redentore*. The Chiesa del Carmine also has a wide nave and three chapels to each side, but the design has been fundamentally changed. Here there are high open galleries above the chapels, creating the following result: (i) along the nave two arches always appear one above the other, that of the chapel and that of the gallery; (ii) the clerestory is eliminated, and the nave is lit through the windows of the gallery; (iii) and most important, the wall as a boundary of the nave has been replaced by a skeleton of high pillars.

All this is without precedent in Italy. No Italian architect of the Renaissance or the Baroque had wanted or dared to sacrifice the coherent enclosure of the wall and to create

such immensely high openings resulting in a shift of importance from the vaulting to the slender supports. This was a thorough reversal of the Italian tradition, indeed, of the classical foundation of Renaissance architecture. Where did Juvarra turn for inspiration? High open galleries are well known from the architecture of the Middle Ages, even in Italy (e.g. S. Ambrogio, Milan); but their first monumental appearance in Renaissance architecture in connexion with the classical barrel vault is to be found in the crypto-Gothic design of St Michael, Munich (1583-97). The type remained common in Germany, and one cannot doubt that Juvarra was aware of it. For the first time since the Renaissance, the North had a vital contribution to make to Italian architecture.

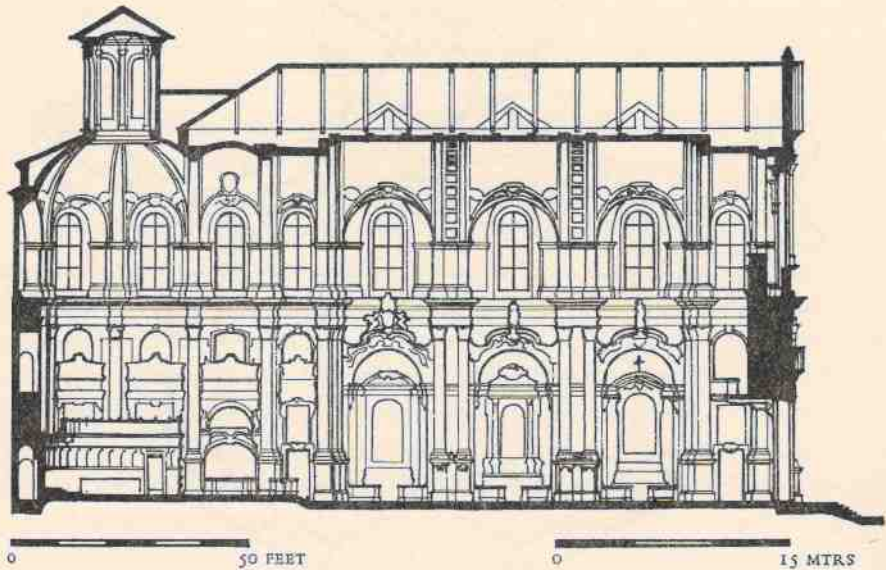


Figure 35. Filippo Juvarra: Turin, Chiesa del Carmine, 1732-5. Section

Another point deserves close attention. The chapels of the Chiesa del Carmine are not self-contained units with their own source of light but have oval openings through which light streams from the windows of the gallery. The idea of using hidden light and conducting it through an opening behind or above an altar was conceived by Bernini (St Teresa altar); it was acclimatized in Austria through Andrea Pozzo and Fischer von Erlach⁴⁵ and was at the same time transferred from altars to whole chapels. It is plausible that this happened first in the North,⁴⁶ for the simple reason that there was no tradition in Italy for churches with galleries. So we see Italian ideas adapted in the North to the traditional longitudinal nave with galleries, and although the chapel fronts of the Chiesa del Carmine preserve something of the character of the Italian altar, it seems safe to assume that Juvarra was guided also for this device by German or Austrian examples.

The highest aspirations of Italian architects were always focused on the centralized church with dominating dome. True to that tradition, Juvarra was constantly engaged on fresh solutions of the old problems. Characteristically, the series begins with an ideal

project which he presented in 1707 to the Accademia di S. Luca on his election as academician. And typical of his Late Baroque versatility, he integrates in this project the most diverse tendencies without, however, eclipsing the customary approach to centralized planning.⁴⁷ The same applies to his first executed centralized structure, the church of the Venaria Reale near Turin (1716-21-28). He combined here the Greek cross of St Peter's with ideas derived from S. Agnese and also introduced the scenographic element of screening columns in analogy to Palladio's Redentore.⁴⁸

In the same year in which he was engaged on this design, he also began his masterpiece, the Superga, high up on a hill a few miles east of Turin (Plate 160 and Figure 36).⁴⁹ The Superga is by far the grandest of the great number of Baroque sanctuaries on mountains, of which I have spoken before (p. 255f.). Again, the church contains little that would point into the future, but it is the brilliant epitome of current ideas, brought together in an unexpected way. While a part of the church is enclosed by the short side of an extensive rectangular monastery, three-quarters of its circular exterior jut out from the straight line of this building. This side, facing the plain of Turin and a glorious range of Alpine peaks, is stone-faced and treated as a coherent unit which conceals the long brick fronts of the monastery. The principal ratios used are of utter simplicity: the square portico in front of the church has sides corresponding in length exactly to the straight walls adjoining the church, a measure which is half that of the church's diameter; the body of the church, the drum, and the dome are of equal height. Similar to the Venaria Reale, the ground plan shows large openings in the cross-axes and satellite chapels in the diagonals. One tends to read into the plan the bevelled pillars of a Greek cross with columns in recesses (reminiscent of S. Agnese). But the elevation reveals that there is no pendentive zone and that the columns which, in analogy to S. Agnese, one would expect to support the high arches of the Greek-cross arms, carry instead the uninterrupted ring of the entablature, on which rests the high cylinder of the drum. In contrast to many of Guarini's structures, in which a pendentive zone is unexpectedly introduced, here, equally unexpectedly, it has been suppressed. But Juvarra's design lacks the quality of contradiction which we found in Guarini. Juvarra has combined in one building the two principal types of domical structure: the Pantheon type, where the dome rises from the cylindrical body, and the Greek-cross type; and these two different centralized systems remain clearly discernible. The body of the church is octagonal, as it should be in a Greek cross with bevelled pillars; and the transition from the octagon to the circle is boldly conceived,⁵⁰ for the circular entablature is set into the octagon touching it only in the centre of the four arches.

The decoration of the church owes as much to Borromini as to Bernini. Borrominesque are the undulating windows of the drum, while the combination of ribs and coffers in the dome is close to Bernini's Castelgandolfo. But the colour scheme with its prevailing light bluish and yellowish tones has no relationship to the past and is typically eighteenth-century. A small centralized altar room, attached to the congregational room, is treated as an isolated unit. Without being attracted by Guarini's pioneering interpenetration of spatial entities, Juvarra returns in this respect to the North Italian Renaissance tradition.

LATE BAROQUE AND ROCOCO

In the exterior he took up the old problem of the high dome between flanking towers. Although the latter are clearly indebted to those of S. Agnese, he returned to Michelangelo's design of St Peter's for the alternating rhythm of wide and narrow bays in the

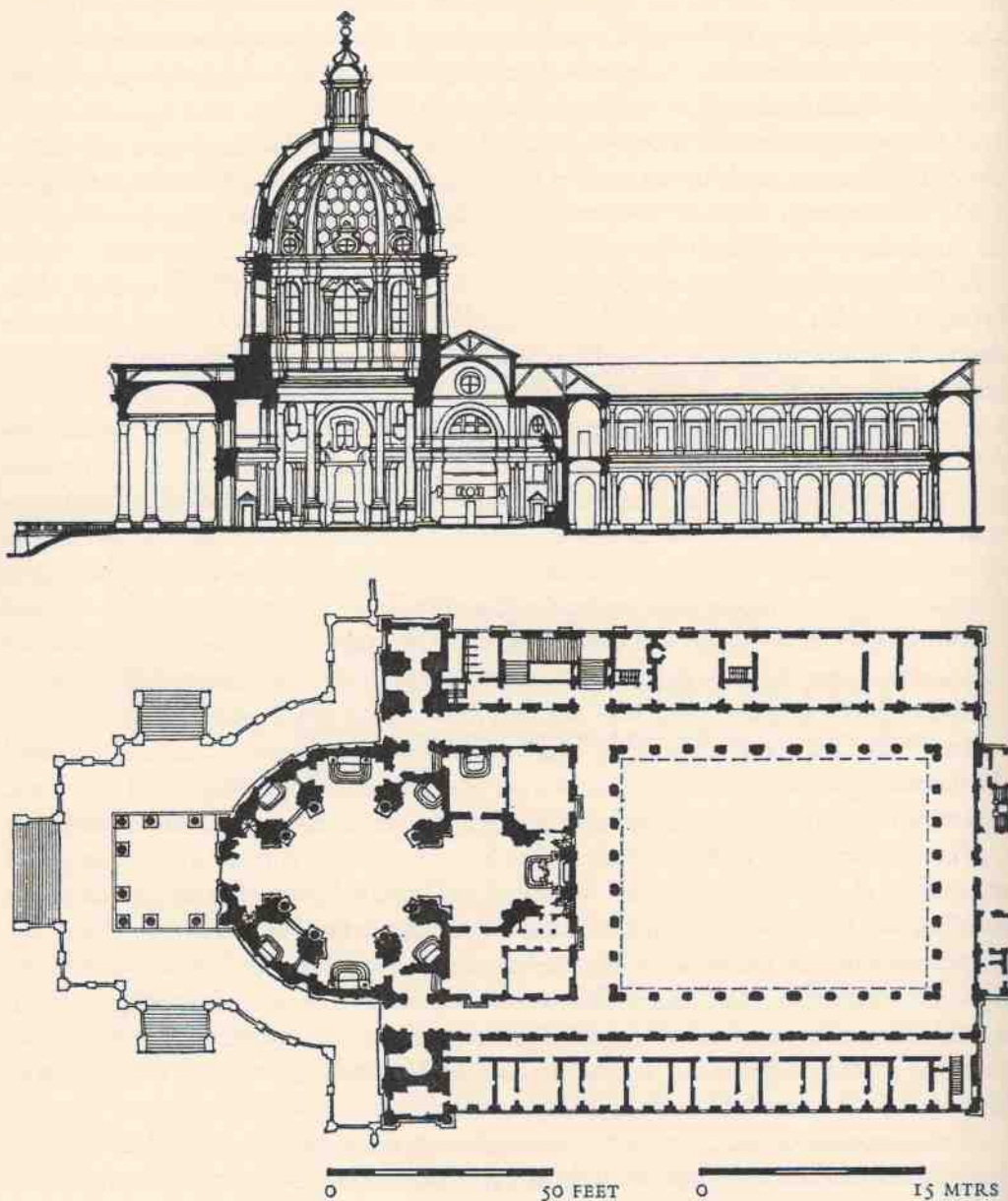


Figure 36. Filippo Juvarra: Turin (near), Superga, 1717-31. Section and plan

body of the church as well as for the vertical continuation of the pilasters into the double columns of the drum and the ribs of the dome. If Michelangelo, therefore, informed the principle of unification, the relationships are utterly different. In keeping with a Baroque tendency which has been discussed (p. 142), Juvarra increased the height of the

drum and dome at the expense of the body of the church, and in this respect he went far beyond the position reached in S. Agnese.¹⁵

Indirectly the portico also stems from Michelangelo's St Peter's. In 1659 Bernini had tried to revive Michelangelo's idea, and from then on all classically-minded architects placed a portico in front of centralized buildings. The example of the Pantheon was, of course, close at hand, and it is characteristic of Juvarra's classicizing Late Baroque that he took his cue from the ancient masterpiece. But he went even further and endeavoured to improve upon it, firstly by integrating his portico with the body of the church, and secondly by reducing the number of columns. This enabled him to fulfil Vitruvius's demand for a wider central intercolumniation and, moreover, to create a light and airy structure, true to eighteenth-century aspirations.

It may well be said that this building represents the apogee of a long development: the problems of centralized planning, the double-tower façade, the high drum and dominating dome, the tetrastyle portico and its wedding to the church – all this was carried a step beyond previous realizations, in a direction which one might expect if the whole evolution were before one's mind. Yet there is something un-Italian about this work. It is mainly the way in which the monastic buildings have been connected with the church. One cannot avoid recalling the large monastic structures north of the Alps such as Weingarten, Einsiedeln, and Melk, the dates of which, incidentally, almost correspond with that of the Superga. It is hardly possible to doubt that Juvarra was conversant with such works. And it was precisely the impact of the North that also revolutionized his approach to centralized building.

His late centralized church designs were not executed. Most important among them are the many projects for the new cathedral, dating from 1729, in which essentially he returned to the grouping of Leonardo's schemes. But this is true only for the plans and not for the elevations. The strangest among the latter (Figure 37) shows a skeleton structure with immensely high piers and arched openings in two tiers between them.⁵² The dome as an independent, dominating feature has been eliminated. Nor has the drum a *raison d'être* in such a design. It is now clear that in his late work Juvarra applied the same revolutionary principles to the planning of both longitudinal and centralized buildings. The volte-face expressed in the designs for the new cathedral corresponds exactly to that of the Chiesa del Carmine.

Once again German buildings provide the key to this development. When uninfluenced by Italy, German architects never accepted the southern drum and dome, not even for their centralized churches. They always preferred (essentially anti-Renaissance) skeleton structures capped by low vaults.⁵³ While the late Juvarra consented to this principle of spatial organization, he still adhered to the Italian articulation of his units and sub-units. No vaulted structures corresponding to his cathedral designs will be found in Germany.

In the central hall of Stupinigi Juvarra's new ideas reached the stage of execution (Plate 161B). And in this hall one will also understand why he was so much attracted by the northern approach to planning. These skeleton structures, with their uninterrupted vertical sweep and the unification of central and subsidiary rooms, have a marked

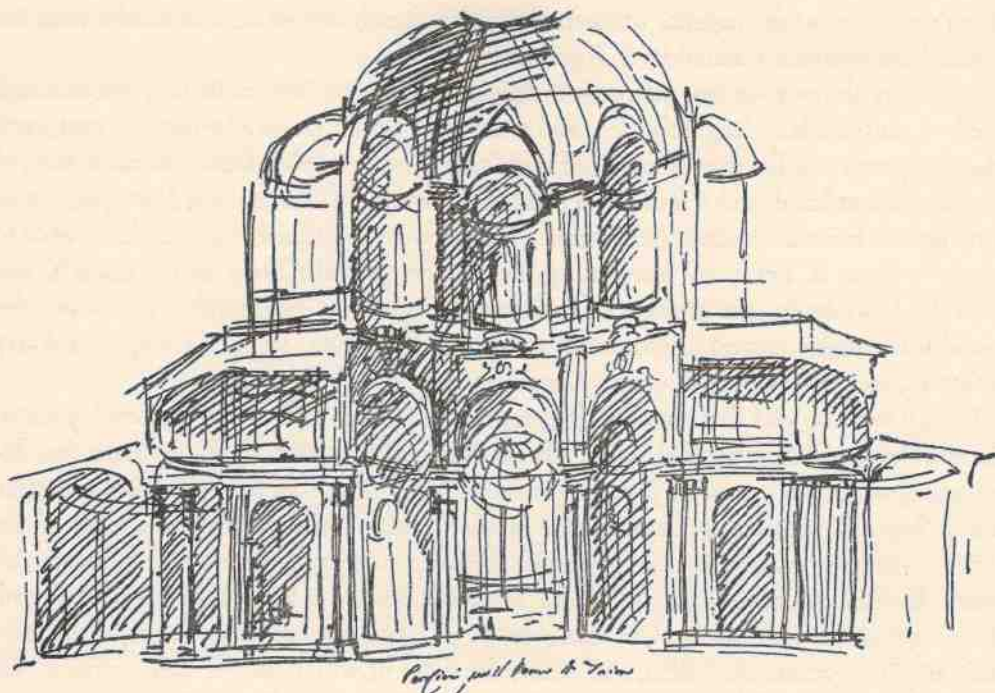


Figure 37. Filippo Juvarra: sketch for the Duomo Nuovo, Turin, after 1729

scenic quality. In spite of his classical leanings, Juvarra never ceased to think in terms of the resourceful stage designer.

When all is said and done, it remains true that Juvarra not only perfected the most treasured of Italian architectural ideals, but also abandoned them. Just because he was the greatest of his generation, this surrender is more than a matter of local or provincial import. It adumbrates the end of Italian supremacy in architecture.⁵⁴

BERNARDO VITTORE (1702, not 1704/5-70)

The improbable rarely happens, but it does happen sometimes. An architect arose in Turin who reconciled the manner of Guarini with that of Juvarra. His name is Bernardo Vittone, and he was, unlike Guarini and Juvarra, a Piedmontese by birth.⁵⁵ Outside Piedmont Vittone is still little known, and yet he was an architect of rare ability, full of original ideas and of a creative capacity equalled only by few of the greatest masters. His relative obscurity is certainly due to the fact that most of his buildings are in small Piedmontese towns, seldom visited by the student of architecture. He studied in Rome, where he won a first prize in the Accademia di S. Luca in 1732.⁵⁶ Early next year he returned to Turin, in time to witness the rise of Juvarra's late works. The Superga had just been completed, the large hall at Stupinigi was almost finished, and the Carmine was going up. It was this architecture that made an indelible impression upon him.⁵⁷

Shortly after his return from Rome, the Theatines who owned Guarini's papers won Vittone's collaboration in editing the *Architettura civile*, which appeared in 1737. In this way he acquired his exceptional knowledge of Guarini's work and ideas; nor did he fail to learn his lesson from the long chapters on geometry. On this firm foundation he set out on his career as a practising architect,⁵⁸ and from shortly after Juvarra's death until his own death in 1770 we can follow his activity almost year by year. His few palaces are without particular distinction. His interest was focused on ecclesiastical architecture, and it is a remarkable fact that, with one or two exceptions, his churches – and they are many – are centralized buildings or derive from centralized planning. One would therefore presume that as a rule he followed his own counsel and that the clergy of the small communities for which he worked hardly interfered with his ideas.

His first building, to our knowledge, the little Sanctuary at Vallinotto near Carignano (south of Turin), is also one of his most accomplished masterpieces (Plates 162A and 163, A and B). It was erected between 1738 and 1739 as a chapel for the agricultural labourers of a rich Turin banker.⁵⁹ The exterior immediately illustrates what has just been pointed out: it combines features of both Guarini's and Juvarra's styles. From Guarini's specific interpretation of the North Italian tradition derives the pagoda-like diminution of tiers.⁶⁰ But in contrast to Guarini's High Baroque treatment of the wall with pilasters and columns, niches and pediments, ornament and statues, we find here walls of utter simplicity, accentuated only by unobtrusive pilasters and plain frames and panels. Obviously this was done under the influence of Juvarra's classicist detail such as the exterior of Stupinigi. In spite of the utmost economy of detail, the church makes a gay and cheerful Rococo impression, and this is due not only to its brilliant whiteness, also to be found in Stupinigi, but above all to the lively silhouette and the undulating rhythm of the walls.

If anything, the impression of the interior surpasses that of the exterior. All the characteristic features of Vittone's style are here assembled – it is a climax right at the beginning. The plan consists of a regular hexagon with six segmental chapels of equal width spanned by six equal arches. But the treatment of the chapels varies; for open chapels alternate with others into which convex *coretti* have been placed. Since, therefore, non-corresponding chapels face each other across the room, the geometrical simplicity and regularity of the plan is not easily grasped.⁶¹ The glory of this little church is its dome. Following Guarini, Vittone formed its first diaphanous shell of intersecting ribs. Through the large hexagonal opening appear three more vaults, one above the other: two solid ones with circular openings, diminishing in size, and, capping them, the hemisphere of the lantern.

The idea of a solid spherical dome with a large opening, allowing a view into a second dome, is also Guarini's,⁶² but the latter never combined this type with the diaphanous dome, and neither Guarini nor any other architect ever produced a dome with three (or, counting the lantern, which forms part of the scheme, four) different vaults. The adaptation and fusion of Guarinesque domical structures was for Vittone a means to a different end. It will be recalled that Guarini always separated the zone of the dome from the body of the church, true to his principle of working with isolated and contrasting units.

Not so Vittone; in his case the ribs of the vaulting are continuations of the pillars. He even omits the traditional entablature above the arches of the hexagon, thus avoiding any break in continuity. Instead, he introduces a second ring of high arches above the arches of the chapels. Thus he creates a lofty system of arches with which the ribbed vaulting forms a logical entity. The second ring of arches has a further purpose: it conducts the light from the large windows of the first 'drum' into the main room and under the ribbed vault. At the same time these windows supply a strong sky-light for the chapels, the vaults of which have oval apertures.

It is evident that the arrangement of the arches as well as the lighting of the main room and the chapels derive from Juvorra's Carmine. We are faced with the extraordinary fact that the northern nave type with galleries, introduced by Juvorra into a longitudinal building, has here been transferred to a centralized structure. No stranger and more imaginative union of Guarinesque and Juvorresque conceptions could be imagined.

While the ribbed dome is lit by a strong indirect light, the second dome has no source of light at all. By contrast, the third dome is directly lit by circular windows, but they are invisible to the beholder from any point in the church. Precisely the same type of lighting was used by Guarini in his design of S. Gaetano at Vicenza. The two forms of concealed lighting to be found in the Sanctuary derive therefore from Juvorra's Carmine and Guarini's S. Gaetano. Their common source is, of course, Bernini. But while Bernini focuses the concealed light on one particular area, the centre of dramatic import, no such climax is intended by Vittone. A gay and festive bright light fills the whole space and the differently lit realms of the dome are only gradations of this diffuse luminosity. Vittone himself made it clear that he wanted the different vaults to be seen as one unified impression of the infinity of heaven. On the vaults is painted the hierarchy of angels, of which Vittone writes in his *Istruzioni diverse*: 'The visitor's glance travels through the spaces created by the vaults and enjoys, supported by the concealed light, the variety of the hierarchy which gradually increases' (i.e. towards the spectator).

The altar in this church stands free between two pillars through which one looks into a space behind. Thus even Vittone, who always concerned himself with strict centralized planning, accepted the Palladian tradition of a screened-off space, a tradition with which he was conversant through both Juvorra and Guarini. But we have seen (p. 120) that this device made it possible to preserve the integrity of the centralized space and, at the same time, to overcome its limitations. Vittone, in fact, more than once used and varied this motif and thoroughly exploited its scenic possibilities and mysterious implications.⁶³

In a small sanctuary of this character a high standard of finish cannot be expected. All the architectural ornaments are rather roughly painted. The colours used here and in other churches by Vittone are predominantly light grey and reddish and greenish tones, in other words typical Rococo colours somewhat similar to those used by Juvorra, but entirely different from the heavy and deep High Baroque colour contrasts with which Guarini worked.

The church of S. Chiara at Brà of 1742 is probably Vittone's most accomplished work (Plates 162B and 164A). Here four identical segmental chapels are joined to a circular core. As in the Sanctuary at Vallinotto, the external elevation follows the basic shape of

the plan. S. Chiara is a simple brick structure, and only the top part is whitewashed, emphasizing the richly undulating quatrefoil form of the building. Inside, four relatively fragile pillars carry the vaulting. The section (Plate 162B) immediately recalls Juvarra's designs for the new cathedral (Figure 37). But Vittone introduced a nuns' gallery with high arches which correspond exactly to the arches of the chapels beneath and cut deeply into the lower part of the vault. Much more closely than at Vallinotto, Vittone adjusted the system of Juvarra's Carmine to his centralized plan.⁶⁴ Of the low domical vault little remains, and what there is seems to hover precariously above the head of the beholder. This impression is strengthened by an extraordinary device: each of the four sectors of the vault has a window-like opening through which one looks into the painted sky with angels and saints in the field of vision. Sky and figures are painted on the second shell, which forms the exterior silhouette of the dome, and receive direct and strong light from the nearby windows. And these windows also serve as sky-lights to the gallery.

Vittone found in this church a new and unexpected solution for Guarini's idea of the diaphanous dome: a fragile man-made shell seems to separate constructed space from the realm in which saints and angels dwell. Although structurally insignificant, the dome is still the spiritual centre of the building. By means of a transformed Guarinesque conception, the anticlimax of Juvarra's late designs was here endowed with new meaning.

Also in Vittone's later work hardly any fully developed dome will be found. This is paralleled in Austrian and German church building where the native tradition led to a general acceptance of low vaults. But Vittone's designs are so different from those of the North that a direct contact must be excluded. The stimulus received from Juvarra's Chiesa del Carmine, from the latter's late centralized projects, and the great hall at Stupinigi, in combination with ideas derived from Guarini, fully account for Vittone's strange development. In his later buildings he found ever new realizations of the same problem. S. Gaetano at Nice shows the adaptation of the design of S. Chiara at Brà to an oval plan. In S. Bernardino at Chieri (1740-4) he was handicapped by an existing building and was forced to use a more traditional form of dome. But he made the dome appear to hang weightless in space above the chapels and created diaphanous pendentives through which fall the rays of the sun. In other designs he transformed the dome into a shaftlike feature. This may be studied in his relatively early project for S. Chiara at Alessandria:⁶⁵ its diaphanous vault owes a very great deal to Guarini and is, indeed, far removed from the broad stream of the northern development.

The next important step, which further widened the gap with northern designs, was taken by Vittone in 1744 in the church of the Ospizio di Carità at Carignano⁶⁶ which shows a new concept brought to full fruition two years later in the choir of S. Maria di Piazza at Turin (1751-4; Figure 38). Here he designed a normal crossing with four arches and pendentives between them. But instead of separating the zone of the pendentives from the drum by a circular ring, he fused pendentives and 'drum' indissolubly. This he achieved by hollowing out the pendentives and giving them a deep concave shape; in other words, he transformed them into a kind of inverted squinches. Thus the medieval squinch, which had been swept away by the Renaissance and was revived by Borromini in some marginal works (p. 139), found a strange resuscitation just

before the close of a long epoch. As a result of the new motif it was possible to arrange the piers of the 'drum' in the form of an octagon and to let the tall windows between them return to the square of the crossing: there are two windows at right angles above each pendentive. Entirely unorthodox, Vittone's domical feature, so rich in spatial and geometrical relations, belongs in a class with Guarini's hybrid dome conceptions.

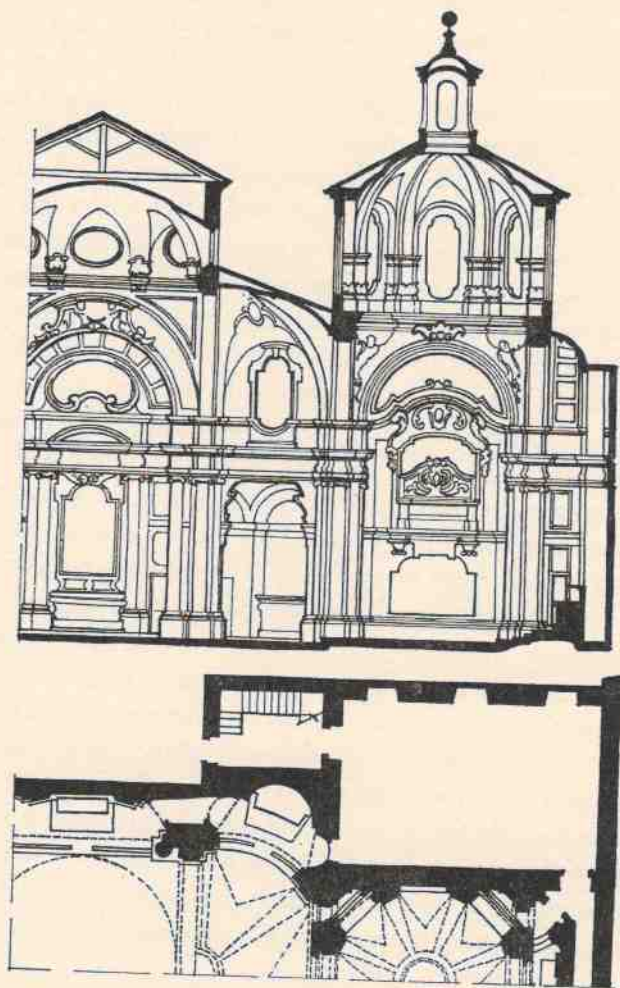


Figure 38. Bernardo Vittone: Turin, S. Maria di Piazza, part of the church and choir, 1751-4. Section and plan

Vittone availed himself of the infinite possibilities which the inverted squinch offered, and it is remarkable that no other architect, to my knowledge, took up the idea. The maturest manifestation of the new concept is to be found in S. Croce at Villanova di Mondovì (1755; Plate 164B).⁶⁷ In this church the square of the crossing consists of very wide and high arches. By widening the 'pendentive-squinch', Vittone found an entirely new way of transforming the square into a regular octagon. Thus arches, pendentives, drum, and dome merge imperceptibly into an indivisible whole.

Towards the end of his life Vittone seems to have returned to more conventional designs (church at Riva di Chieri, begun 1766).⁶⁸ This phase is reflected in the work of pupils and followers such as Andrea Rana from Susa, the architect of the impressive Chiesa del Rosario at Strambino (1764-81),⁶⁹ or Pietro Bonvicini (1741-96), who built S. Michele in Turin (1784).⁷⁰ It was these men, among others, who carried on Vittone's Piedmontese Late Baroque almost to the end of the eighteenth century.

When Vittone died, Neo-classicism was conquering Europe. In historical perspective his intense Late Baroque may therefore be regarded as a provincial backwater. But judged on its own merits, his work is of rare distinction. He attacked centralized planning, that old and most urgent problem of Italian architects, with boldness and imagination; and perhaps no architect before him, not even Leonardo, had studied it with equal devotion and ingenuity. His architecture could be conceived only on the broadest foundation. Through the merging of Guarini and Juvarra he looked back to the 'bizarre' as well as the 'sober' tradition in Italian architecture - to Borromini on the one hand; to Carlo Fontana, Bernini, and Palladio on the other. He himself differentiated between the classical trend and the architecture 'di scherzo e bizzaria', for which he named Borromini and Guarini. Moreover he incorporated in his work the scenic qualities of the North Italian Palladian tradition. Finally, Juvarra familiarized him with Germano-Austrian conceptions of planning, and Guarini with a theoretical knowledge of modern French geometry. It was this knowledge that enabled him to discover the potentialities of a combination of pendentive with squinch, a combination geometrically extremely intricate, used neither by French nor German eighteenth-century architects.

What little we know about him suggests that his was an obsessed genius. This is also the impression one carries away from reading his two treatises, the *Istruzioni elementari* of 1760 and the *Istruzioni diverse* of 1766. The earlier treatise is one of the longest ever written, and the later consists to a large extent of appendices to the first. But the published work is only a small part of his literary production. Large masses of manuscripts existed which have so far not been traced. Now the extraordinary thing about his treatises is that basically he has not moved far from Alberti's position. To be sure, the language has changed: where Alberti wanted to elevate and inform the mind, Vittone wants to delight. He also incorporates recent research - but for what purpose? Newton's splitting up of white light into the colours of the rainbow is for him the supreme confirmation of the old musical theory of proportion. Proportion is the one and all of these treatises, and Vittone's terms of reference are precisely those of Renaissance theory. He even intersperses his text with musical notations, and by squaring his paper he claims to have found an infallible method of ensuring the application of correct proportions. He concludes the second treatise with a special long paper on music, written by his assistant Giovanni Galletto, whom he never paid for the contribution.⁷¹

Thus in spite of all the formal development during 300 years of Italian architectural history, beginning and end meet. And it is also in the spirit of the Renaissance treatises that Vittone dedicated his first work to the 'Signore Iddio', to God Himself, and the second to 'Maria Santissima, Madre di Dio'.⁷²

CHAPTER 18
SCULPTURE

ROME

TOWARDS the end of the seventeenth century French influence, particularly on sculptors, increased rapidly. The reason for it seems obvious. After the foundation of the French Academy in Rome (1666), French sculptors went to the Eternal City in great numbers, often not only to study but to stay. But this is only part of the story. It would appear that Rome was no longer strong enough to assimilate the national idiosyncrasies of the Frenchmen. It may be recalled that during the preceding 150 years hardly any Roman artist had been a Roman by birth. Bernini was half Tuscan, half Neapolitan; the Carracci, Domenichino, and Algardi came from Bologna; Duquesnoy from Brussels; Caravaggio, Borromini, and a host of others from Northern Italy; and this list could be continued indefinitely. Yet since the days of Bramante, Raphael, and Michelangelo, Rome had had a most extraordinary formative influence on artists: they imbibed that specifically Roman quality which is described by the word *gravità* – a grandeur and severity that stamp all these artists as typically Roman, however widely their personal styles may differ. In Bernini's immediate circle we find Germans and Frenchmen, but without documentary evidence¹ it would be entirely impossible to discover their non-Roman or even non-Italian origin. Now, at the end of the seventeenth century, the position changed. In the works of a Monnot, a Théodon, a Legros (Plate 165A), or later of a Michelangelo Slodtz (Plate 165B), we sense something of the typically French *bienséance* and linear grace. In spite of these un-Roman qualities, however, the artists just mentioned absorbed so much of the Roman Baroque spirit that one feels inclined to talk of them as semi-Romans. It is not until after the middle of the eighteenth century that French works like Houdon's *St Bruno* in S. Maria degli Angeli break away from the Roman tradition entirely.

Support for French influence came from the Italians themselves, and in particular from an artist from whom we should expect it least, namely Domenico Guidi, the only important sculptor of his generation who was still alive in 1700. After the deaths of Ferrata and Raggi in the same year, 1686, he was generally acknowledged as the first sculptor in Rome. In a previous chapter we have discussed the somewhat dubious practices of this artist, whose workshop supplied the whole of Europe with sculpture. His social ambition led him into the higher regions of official academic art; he was *principe* of the Academy of St Luke in 1670 and again in 1675, while Bernini was still alive, and his position put him on an equal footing with Charles Lebrun, the embodiment of the suave and accomplished professional artist. It was Guidi who proposed Lebrun for the post of *principe* of the Academy of St Luke, an honour which the latter accepted for 1676 and 1677. But since he could not leave Paris, it was arranged that Charles Errard, the Direc-

tor of the French Academy in Rome, should act as his deputy. Thus a mere decade after Bernini had made the Paris academicians and courtiers recoil in fear before Italian genius, the same academicians were, symbolically at least, the masters of Rome – due to the initiative of the unsophisticated Guidi who began as the arch-enemy of the *professori*. The academic ties between Rome and Paris were further strengthened when the French reciprocated by appointing Guidi one of the Rectors of the Paris Academy and by asking him to keep an eye on the work of the French students in Rome. Lebrun, moreover, repaid Guidi's compliment by obtaining for him in 1677 the commission for a group at Versailles. In accordance with French custom, Lebrun himself supplied a drawing from which Guidi was expected to work. The wheel had turned full circle; never before had a Roman artist taken his cue from Paris. Guidi, however, was still steeped in the Roman grand manner, and the Baroque exuberance of his group gave little satisfaction after its arrival in Versailles.²

It must not be forgotten that the exchange of Academic niceties between Lebrun and Guidi took place at a time when Bernini was still vigorously active. Bernini himself was surrounded by friends, old and young, who always remained true to the art of their master. Among the older men there was Lazzaro Morelli (1608–90), the faithful collaborator on the Cathedra, the tomb of Alexander VII, and many other works; among the younger there were Giulio Cartari, who had accompanied Bernini to Paris, Michele Maglia, Filippo Carcani, and above all Giuseppe Mazzuoli. The last three were actually Ferrata's pupils, but Bernini employed them on more than one occasion and particularly for the tomb of Alexander VII. The most important artist of this group was Mazzuoli (1644–1725),³ a slightly older contemporary of the Frenchmen Théodon, Monnot, and Legros; and it was he rather than anybody else who kept the Berninesque tradition alive into the eighteenth century and entirely by-passed fashionable French classicism. Instead of illustrating one of his many monumental works, we show on Plate 166A a detail of the two angels who carry the ciborium above the main altar in S. Martino at Siena (c. 1700); here the spirit of the Cathedra angels is still alive. Another of Ferrata's pupils, Lorenzo Ottoni, one of the most prolific artists of the generation born towards the middle of the seventeenth century (1648–1736), remained Berninesque in his many stucco works but followed the classical French trend in his monumental marbles;⁴ the same observation may be made in the case of some minor artists of the period. Works by Ottoni found their way to all parts of Italy, from Montecassino (destroyed) to Rieti, Pesaro, Ancona, and Mantua.

Filippo Carcani, most of whose work was carried out in the twenty years between 1670 and 1690, commands particular interest. Imbued with Bernini's late style, he was attracted by Raggi, and it was Carcani, above all, who carried on Raggi's highly-strung manner – but with this difference: in Raggi's as well as in Bernini's late style the structure of the body remained important; one can always sense the classical model even if the body is hidden under a mass of drapery and even if the drapery contrasts with the stance. Carcani, however, was no longer interested in classical structure. In his stuccoes, bodies are immensely elongated and fragile, as if they were without bones, while draperies laid in masses of parallel folds envelop them (Plate 167A). Some of Carcani's work,

particularly the stuccoes in the Cappella Lancellotti in S. Giovanni in Laterano (c. 1685),⁵ can only be described as a strange proto-Rococo, and the eighteenth-century charm of the sweet heads of his figures would easily deceive many a connoisseur. It is surprising that this 'Rococo' transformation of Bernini's late manner could be performed, so soon after the latter's death, by a sculptor who had worked in close association with him. Carcani's proto-Rococo, however, had no immediate following in Rome.

Despite the continuity of Bernini's late style, at the close of the century it was the French who were given the best commissions. They had the lion's share in the most important sculptural work of those years, the altar of St Ignatius in the left transept of the Gesù.⁶ Confidence in the victory of Catholicism had never been expressed so vigorously in sculptural terms and with so much reliance on overpowering sensual effects. Unrivalled is the colourful opulence of the altar, its wealth of reliefs and statues; but a typically Late Baroque diffuse, picturesque pattern replaces the dynamic unity of the High Baroque. In this setting one is apt to overlook the mediocre quality of the over-life-size marble groups supplied by the main contributors, the Frenchmen Legros and Théodon. Next to the Frenchman Monnot, the Italians Ottoni, Cametti, Bernardo Ludovisi,⁷ Angelo de' Rossi, Francesco Moratti, and Camillo Rusconi were given subsidiary tasks, which show, however, more distinction than the work of their French colleagues.

Rusconi (1658-1728), who had first been selected for one of the large marble groups but was replaced by his contemporary Legros, re-asserted his position at the beginning of the next century. To be sure, he was the strongest personality among Roman sculptors in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.⁸ After an early and brief 'Rococo' phase (Cardinal Virtues, Cappella Ludovisi, S. Ignazio, 1685), deriving like Carcani's style from Raggi rather than from his Roman teacher Ferrata, he reverted, perhaps under the influence of his older friend Carlo Maratti, to Duquesnoy and Algardi and also absorbed the teachings of the French artists in Rome without, however, discarding the Berninesque heritage. The result can be studied in the heroic Late Baroque classicism of his four Apostles for Borromini's tabernacles in S. Giovanni in Laterano (1708-18; Plate 168). They form part of the series of twelve monumental marble statues, the largest sculptural task in Rome during the early eighteenth century.⁹ These statues provide an opportunity of assessing the prevalent stylistic tendency between 1700 and 1715, and the distribution of commissions is, at the same time, a good yardstick for measuring the reputation of contemporary sculptors. Rusconi has pride of place with four figures. Legros and Monnot executed two statues each, and only one was assigned to each of the following: Ottoni, Mazzuoli, Angelo de' Rossi, and Francesco Moratti. Of the two latter, Angelo de' Rossi was by far the more distinguished artist.¹⁰ Born in Genoa in 1671, he had imbibed Bernini's manner under Filippo Parodi, but after his arrival in Rome in 1689 had turned more and more towards the classicizing French current. Moratti from Padua was also Parodi's pupil; he died young, in about 1720, and his *œuvre* is therefore rather small. Though not uninfluenced by Monnot, his *Apostle Simon*, next to Mazzuoli's *Philip*, is the only other Berninesque statue of the whole series. With eight of the twelve statues the work of Rusconi, Legros, and Monnot, this survey confirms the preponderance of

different facets of a Late Baroque classicism, a style anticipated in the painting of Carlo Maratti, but exactly paralleled in contemporary architecture.

The next generation (born between 1680 and 1700) did not pursue wholeheartedly the powerful Late Baroque for which Rusconi stood. Among the many practitioners of that generation four names stand out by virtue of the quality and quantity of their production: those of Agostino Cornacchini (1685–after 1754), Giovanni Battista Maini (1690–1752), Filippo della Valle, and Pietro Bracci (1700–73). Cornacchini, educated in Foggini's studio at Florence, came to Rome in 1712 working in a manner which watered down his teacher's reminiscences of Ferrata and Guidi. His work often has a mawkish flavour, and if he occasionally aspired to grandeur in the Roman artistic climate, he became guilty of grave errors of taste, as is proved by his *St Elijah* (St Peter's, 1727) with its borrowings from Michelangelo as well as by the equestrian monument of Charlemagne under the portico of St Peter's (1720–5), which is nothing but a weak and theatrical travesty of its counterpart, Bernini's *Constantine*.¹¹ The less pretentious Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the cathedral at Orvieto (1729; Plate 166B) show that he could command a typically eighteenth-century charm, and in such works his manner is close to that of Pietro Bracci. Giovanni Battista Maini,¹² coming from Lombardy and, like Rusconi, learning his art from Rusnati in Milan, was for a time associated in Rome with his older compatriot, and it was he together with Giuseppe Rusconi (1687–1758, not related to Camillo) who upheld Camillo's heroic classicism during the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century. Maini's most important works are in Galilei's Cappella Corsini in S. Giovanni in Laterano: the bronze statue of Clement XII (1734), almost a straight classicizing copy after the pope of Bernini's Urban tomb, and, more characteristic, the monument to Cardinal Neri Corsini¹³ (1732–5; Plate 172A), in which the Marattesque figure of the Cardinal recalls Philippe de Champaigne's Richelieu in the Louvre, while the allegory of Religion is closely related to that of Rusconi's tomb of Gregory XIII.

The rich sculptural decoration of the Cappella Corsini is as vital for our understanding of the position in the 1730s as the Lateran Apostles were for that of about 1710. No less than eleven sculptors were employed and at least six of them were directly or indirectly indebted to Rusconi.¹⁴ But they tend to transform Rusconi's 'classicist Baroque' into a 'classicist Rococo' (Plate 169), very different from Carcani's passionate 'Rococo' of almost fifty years before. Most characteristic of this style is perhaps Filippo della Valle's *Temperance*. Like Cornacchini, this artist (1698–1768)¹⁵ had gone through Foggini's school at Florence; in Rome he attached himself closely to Camillo Rusconi. He is certainly one of the most attractive and poetical sculptors of the Roman eighteenth century. But the French note in his work is very marked, and there cannot be any doubt that Frenchmen like his contemporary Michelangelo Slodtz – with whom he collaborated in about 1728 in S. Maria della Scala – brought him in contact with recent events in Paris.¹⁶ His monumental relief of the Annunciation in S. Ignazio (1750), a counterpart to the relief created fifty years earlier by Legros (Plate 165A), illustrates, however, that Filippo della Valle, for all his engaging and craftsmanlike qualities, was an epigone: this relief, embodying a late version of Algardi's painterly relief style, shows

an accretion of subordinate detail not dissimilar to the manner introduced by Guidi in the first phase of the Late Baroque.

Finally, there is Pietro Bracci,¹⁷ the most prolific artist of this group. He made a great number of tombs, among them those of the Popes Benedict XIII (Plate 173B) and Benedict XIV, and many portrait busts with a fine psychological penetration and a masterly vibrating treatment of the surface. Still dependent on Bernini's idiom, he transformed it into a tender and lyrical, though sometimes sentimentalizing, eighteenth-century style. Filippo della Valle and Bracci represent most fully the Rococo phase in Roman sculpture. They belonged to the generation of the masters who brought about the brief flowering of the Rococo in Roman architecture. Both artists were, of course, the chief contributors to the sculptural decoration of the last great collective work of the Roman Late Baroque, the Fontana Trevi (Plate 170).¹⁸ The legend is difficult to kill that only Bernini could have designed the combination of figures, masses of rock, sculptured vegetation, and gushing waters; similarly, he is also made responsible for the design of the figures themselves. But Bracci's slightly frivolous *Neptune*, standing like a dancing master on an enormous rocaille shell, is as far removed from the spirit of Bernini's works as is the picturesque quality of the many rivulets or the artificial union of formalized basins with natural rock. Nevertheless, the Fontana Trevi is the splendid swansong of an epoch which owed all its vital impulses to one great artist, Bernini.

Typological Changes: Tombs and Allegories

Instead of pursuing further individual contributions by minor masters, it may be well to turn to a few specific problems and discuss from another angle the change that took place from the High to the Late Baroque. The papal tomb remained, of course, the most important sculptural task right to the end of the eighteenth century. Its history is a touchstone not only for assessing the contributions of the leading sculptors, their style, and the quality of their work, but also for an appreciation of the profound spiritual development that occurred at this period. Between 1697 and 1704 Pietro Stefano Monnot erected the tomb of Innocent XI (Plate 97B) in a niche opposite Algardi's tomb of Leo XI.¹⁹ Features deriving both from Bernini and Algardi are here combined: the tomb of Urban VIII served as model for the polychrome treatment, as the dark bronze sarcophagus with large scrolls clearly shows; but for the types of the allegories and the narrative relief Monnot followed Leo XI's tomb. He placed the relief, however, not on the sarcophagus itself, but on the pedestal of the papal statue. The insertion of this pedestal made it necessary to reduce considerably the size of the papal figure, compared with Algardi's. The latter's Leo XI fills the whole niche; the weak and somewhat gaunt figure of Innocent XI, by contrast, seems rather too small for its niche. To be sure, one of the statues is by a great master, the other by a mediocre follower; but apart from this, the increased importance of decorative elements at the expense of the figures illuminates the stylistic change from the High to the Late Baroque. Precisely the same observations apply to Angelo de' Rossi's tomb of Alexander VIII in St Peter's (1691-1725), the design of which closely follows that of Urban VIII; but again the addition of a high pedestal

with a narrative relief results in figures of considerably shrunken volume and an undue emphasis on the architectural and decorative parts.

More interesting than these monuments is Camillo Rusconi's tomb of Gregory XIII (Plate 172B), erected between 1719 and 1725 in a niche in the right aisle of St Peter's corresponding to Monnot's tomb in the left aisle. While being profoundly indebted to Bernini's conception of sculpture, Rusconi blended elements from Algardi's Leo XI and Monnot's Innocent XI. The allegories and their position on the scrolls reveal Monnot's influence; from Algardi derive the unrelieved whiteness of the whole monument, the trapezoid sarcophagus with relief, and the idea of placing the seated pope on the sarcophagus without an isolating pedestal. Rusconi's design is, however, not a simple repetition of the pattern established by Algardi and modified by Monnot. His monument is asymmetrically arranged: the pope does not sit on the central axis, nor do the allegories follow the customary heraldic arrangement.²⁰ The tomb was evidently composed to be seen as a whole from one side. This is proved not only by the attitude and gesture of the blessing pope and the postures of the allegories, but also by such details as the direction given to the realistic dragon, the armorial animal of the Buoncompagni. Moreover, 'Courage' lifts high a large piece of drapery (the pall that had covered the sarcophagus, a motif taken from Bernini's tomb of Alexander VII); viewed from the left, this creates a dominating diagonal which links the allegory to the figure of the pope. Rusconi composed for the side view because the passage is so narrow that a comprehensive view on the central axis is not possible. By taking such issues into consideration and limiting himself to one main view, Rusconi had recourse to principles which we associate with Bernini rather than Algardi.²¹ The spirit of Bernini's High Baroque has also come to life again in the powerful gesture of the blessing hand which recalls the attitude of Urban VIII. If this tomb represents a rare synthesis of the classicizing and Baroque tendencies of Algardi and Bernini, successfully accomplished only in what I have called Rusconi's 'heroic Late Baroque', it yet exhibits a new departure of great importance. Whereas in the older tombs allegories were personal attributes expressing particular virtues of the deceased by their presence and actions, 'Courage' here raises a curtain in order to be able to study the relief celebrating Gregory's reform of the calendar. This implies a change in the meaning of allegories, to which we shall presently return.

The history of papal tombs continues with those of Clement XII by Maini and Mondaldi in the Cappella Corsini of the Lateran (1734) and of Innocent XII by Filippo della Valle in St Peter's (1746; Plate 173A), the former with a tendency towards classicizing coolness, the latter showing almost Rococo elegance.²² These monuments repeat the structure of papal tombs, by then conventionalized from the type created by Bernini at the height of the Catholic Restoration as an adequate expression of papal power. In Rusconi's work something of this spirit had been kept alive – one might almost say – anachronistically; for in the course of the seventeenth century the political influence of the Papacy had been gradually waning, and this is reflected in the papal monuments of the period. Already Guidi's Clement IX in S. Maria Maggiore (1675) and Ferrata's Clement X in St Peter's (c. 1685) had shown a considerably weakened energy of the blessing gesture

and a shrinking of volume; this process went on, though not without interruption, until Filippo della Valle made his Innocent XII a fragile old man rather than the symbolic head of Christianity. Shortly before, Pietro Bracci had replaced the ritualistic gesture by a purely human attitude. His Benedict XIII on the tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva (1734; Plate 173B)²³ is bare-headed, sinks on one knee, and turns towards the altar of the chapel in deep veneration. The type had been anticipated about sixty years before by Bernini in the tomb of Alexander VII (Plate 52B) though it had not been followed in any of the later papal tombs. But where Bernini's kneeling pope shows an unshaken confidence, an almost impersonal and eternal attitude of prayer, Bracci portrayed his Benedict XIII as a man of a less stable constitution, who seems aware of the troubles of the human heart and the frailty of man's existence. It was left to Canova to carry this development to a logical conclusion. In his tomb of Clement XIII (1788-92) he even discarded the customary Baroque allegories.²⁴ What remains is the unheroic figure of the custodian of Faith lost in deep prayer.

The series of papal tombs represents the most coherent group of Baroque monuments, the high political character of which did not, however, admit too many expressions of personal idiosyncrasies either of patron or artist. On the other hand, turning to the tombs of the higher and lower clergy, of aristocracy and bourgeoisie, we find that the variety of types is immense. In spite of the kaleidoscopic picture some significant changes in the broad development from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century can be discovered. The leading motif in tombs from about 1630 onwards is the figure of the deceased represented in deep adoration, turned towards the altar. This type of tomb lived on into the eighteenth century, but already in the 1670s and 80s such figures began to lose their devotional fervour, and during the eighteenth century they appear more often than not like fashionable courtiers attending a theatrical performance. A comparison between Bernini's Fonseca bust (Plate 117B) and Bernardo Cametti's²⁵ bust of Giovan Andrea Giuseppe Muti in S. Marcello, Rome (1725; Plate 174B), illuminates the change. On the opposite wall Cametti represented Muti's much younger and equally fashionable wife. The whole chapel forms an architectural and colouristic unit of a light and airy character, and the new eighteenth-century spirit is as perfectly expressed by the graceful elegance of the worshippers behind their prie-dieus as was that of the seventeenth century by mystic devotees in profound contemplation.

Besides the kneeling worshipper, the seventeenth century knew the completely different type of tomb which Bernini introduced in the Valtrini and Merenda monuments. In the former, a winged skeleton, seemingly flying through space, carries a medallion with the portrait in relief to which it directs the beholder's attention by a pointing gesture. The tomb, therefore, contains two different degrees of reality, that of the 'real' skeleton and that of the 'image' of the departed. We are, as it were, given to understand that it would be anachronistic to represent a dead person 'alive' and that his likeness can be preserved for us only in a portrayal. This idea shows a new rational approach to the conception of funeral monuments, and its occurrence simultaneously with the type of the mystical worshipper is more revealing for the seventeenth-century dichotomy between reason and faith than would at first appear. It was not, however, until the end of

the seventeenth century that the medallion type began to gain prominence, while in the course of the eighteenth century it entirely supplanted the tomb with the deceased in devotional attitude. At the end of this process belong tombs like that of Cardinal Calca-gnini by Pietro Bracci, in S. Andrea delle Fratte (1746; Plate 174A), where even low relief seemed too realistic and so was replaced by a painted portrait²⁶ set in a pyramid on which a flying figure of Fame writes the memorial inscription. From about 1600 onwards the pyramid,²⁷ the symbol of Eternity, was used for tombs in ever-increasing numbers in Rome and Italy, and soon also in the rest of Europe; but the combination with the painted portrait hardly ever occurred before the early eighteenth century. Although in the personification of Fame Bracci employed the traditional Baroque language of forms, the spirit of such tombs is very different from that of the High Baroque. What is expressed through the paraphernalia of Bracci's monument is the somewhat trite assurance that the memory of the deceased will be kept alive in all eternity. No longer is the monument concerned with the union of the soul with God – it is now purely commemorative, a memorial made for the living. No longer can the 'dead' worshipper and the beholder meet in the same reality. The commemorative picture is far removed from our sphere of life, it cannot step out of its frame and turn in adoration towards the altar. The magic transformation of time and space was a thing of the past. We are in the age of reason, and the new approach to the problem of death, an approach much closer to our own than to that of the broad current of the seventeenth century, admitted neither the High Baroque conception of space nor the more elaborate type of Baroque allegory.

Allegory was, of course, not banned from eighteenth-century monuments, but it underwent a characteristic change. High Baroque allegory, for all its realism, was meant to convey in visual terms notions of general moral significance. Though its realism aimed at pressing home convincingly the timeless message, the allegory never acted out a scene. This was precisely the eighteenth-century procedure and consequently allegory lost in symbolical meaning what it gained in actuality. 'Liberty' now hands a coin to her child-companion, 'Disinterestedness' refuses with violent gestures to accept any of the treasures from an overflowing cornucopia, or 'Justice' orders the little bearer of the fasces to carry his load to the place which seems proper to her. We found even in Rusconi's tomb of Gregory XIII (Plate 172B) that 'Courage' was engaged in an activity which lay outside her allegorical vocation. When allegory was turned into genre, a visual mode of expressing abstract concepts – peculiar to the arts from ancient times onwards – began to disintegrate.

A similar change may be observed in eighteenth-century religious imagery. A poignant incident replaced, whenever possible, the simple rendering of devotion and vision. When Michelangelo Slodtz was commissioned to execute the statue of St Bruno for one of the niches of the nave of St Peter's (1744; Plate 165B),²⁸ he chose for representation the saint's dramatic refusal of the bishop's mitre and staff. Interest in the episode seems to weaken the supra-personal content. This does not mean, of course, that Slodtz's statue lacks quality. The graceful curve of the saint's body, the elegant sweep of his cowl, the precious gesture as well as the putto who forms part of the movement – all this must be

valued in its own right and not judged with Bernini's work before one's mind. Such a figure illustrates extremely well the elegant French Rococo trend in Roman sculpture of the mid eighteenth century. Obviously this style was not possible without Bernini's epoch-making achievement, but it stands in a similar relation to his work as did Giovanni Bologna's refined Mannerism to Michelangelo's *terribilità* two hundred years before.

SCULPTURE OUTSIDE ROME

In contrast to the flowering of Baroque painting in many regions of Italy throughout the seventeenth century, it is peculiar to Baroque sculpture that its wide dissemination in Italy and the rest of Europe coincides with the waning of the High Baroque in Rome. It has been mentioned that no coherent school of High Baroque sculpture existed outside Rome. But from the late seventeenth century onwards we find hundreds of names of sculptors and scores of thousands of plastic works all over Italy. As before, Rome remained the centre – different from the development in the other arts. Every provincial sculptor endeavoured to receive his training there or, failing that, in the school of a master who had worked in a Roman studio. The artistic pedigree of most provincial sculptors leads back, directly or indirectly, to Bernini; he was the ancestor of the largest school of sculptors that ever existed. However, no attempt can here be made to give even a vague impression of the diffusion of the Berninesque idiom. In fact the details of this story are, with few exceptions, of no more than marginal interest.

It characterizes the situation that it remained customary for commissions of outstanding importance to be placed in Rome. Thus, when Vittorio Amedeo II wanted to decorate the Superga with large reliefs, he turned to Rome and placed the work with Cornacchini and Cametti, the former born in Tuscany, the latter a Piedmontese, and both at the height of their reputation in about 1730. A little earlier, the monks of Montecassino asked Roman and not Neapolitan sculptors to carry out their vast sculptural programme; masters like Ottoni, Legros and his collaborator Pier Paolo Campi, Francesco Moratti, and Maini worked for them. Needless to say, all the memorial statues of popes for cities of the papal state were carved in Rome, and so were many portrait busts and tombs commissioned not only from all over Italy but also by foreign admirers of Roman art.²⁹

And yet at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century most Italian centres had sculptors who were capable of satisfying up-to-date taste. These artists kept abreast of the stylistic development in Rome. The most distinguished Florentine sculptor of the period, Ferrata's pupil Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1737),³⁰ introduced to his native city a style which combined details reminiscent of his teacher with the discursive painterly compositions characteristic of Guidi's work.³¹ If his Cappella Corsini in the Carmine (1677–91; Plate 175A) and his Cappella Feroni in SS. Annunziata (1691–3) were in Rome, one would regard them as somewhat exaggerated products of that rather crude, patchy, crowded, and disorderly manner which we associate with the first phase of the Late Baroque. In Florence, however, these chapels are the

high-water mark of Berninesque sculpture.³² Ferrata also instructed Massimiliano Soldani (1656, not 58, -1740), who led the native tradition of working in bronze to new heights; his rich *œuvre* has been masterly reconstructed by K. Lankheit.³³ The older sculptors of Foggini's school were mediocre talents.³⁴ The best among his younger pupils was Giovanni Baratta (1670-1747), a member of the great family of sculptors from Carrara; in his painterly Baroque a typically Florentine reserve may be detected.³⁵ It was a pupil of the Roman Maini, Innocenzo Spinazzi (d. 1798), who brought about the change to Neo-classicism in Florence.

We have seen how Late Mannerist traditions in Lombardy lived on virtually into the second half of the seventeenth century. With sculptors like Giuseppe Rusnati (d. 1713), the pupil of Ferrata in Rome and teacher of Camillo Rusconi, the situation had changed. Rusnati's *Elijah* on the exterior of Milan Cathedral looks like an anticipation of Rusconi's *St Matthew* in the Lateran, while Carlo Simonetta (d. 1693) seems to have come under the influence of Puget.³⁶ Other slightly younger masters perform the transition to the lighter rhythm of the eighteenth century. This process may have begun with Francesco Zarabatta and can be followed to the Late Baroque charm of Carlo Francesco Mellone (d. 1736), to the easy elegance of Carlo Beretta, and the typically mid-eighteenth-century fragility of Elia Vincenzo Buzzi.³⁷ But it cannot be maintained that all this has more than strictly limited interest.³⁸ A master in his own right was Andrea Fantoni from Rovetta (1659-1734) who worked exclusively in the provinces. His wooden confessional in S. Maria Maggiore, Brescia, as well as his celebrated pulpit in S. Martino at Alzano Maggiore, both richly decorated with statues, reliefs, and flying putti, have an almost un-Italian Rococo quality and are probably unmatched by anything produced at the same period in Milan.

The impact of the Roman High Baroque first came to Genoa through Algardi's work for the Cappella Franzoni in S. Carlo. In 1661 the French sculptor Pierre Puget settled in Genoa and stayed for six years. He had absorbed Bernini's and Cortona's style in Rome, and his works at Genoa with their Berninesque vigour and fire of expression had a decisive influence on the formation of a school of sculptors in that city.³⁹ But even more important was Filippo Parodi (1630-1702), Genoa's first and greatest native Baroque sculptor; he had studied for six years with Bernini (1655-61),⁴⁰ and on his return to Genoa met in Puget an artist with tendencies similar to his own. Some of his works of the 1660s and 70s still have a High Baroque flavour. They correspond to the emotional and sensitive style of Melchiorre Caffà and Raggi (see his *Ecstasy of St Martha*, S. Marta, Genoa, and *St John*, S. Maria di Carignano); he often introduced a graceful note (*Virgin and Child*, S. Carlo, Genoa) which occasionally endows his works with an un-Roman, rather French elegance. Later, in his tomb of Bishop Francesco Morosini (d. 1678) in S. Nicolò da Tolentino at Venice, he combines recollections of Bernini with proto-Rococo features (Plate 167B) not unlike the style of the Roman Filippo Carcani. At the same time, the picturesque composition of this tomb is characteristic of the new tendencies of the Late Baroque.⁴¹

Filippo Parodi was the man of destiny for the further development of Genoese sculpture. Among his pupils were Angelo de' Rossi (whom we found working in Rome),

Giacomo Antonio Ponsonelli (1651-1735) who accompanied him to Venice and Padua, his son Domenico (1668-1740), sculptor, painter, and architect, and the two Schiaffino.⁴² Bernardo Schiaffino (1678-1725) and his younger brother Francesco (1689-1765) gave the style the lighter eighteenth-century touch of the Rusconi school. In fact, Francesco went to Rome, studied with Rusconi, and after his return to Genoa executed from the latter's model the celebrated *Pluto and Proserpina* group of the Palazzo Reale.⁴³ The last great name of the Genoese school of Baroque sculptors is Bernardo Schiaffino's pupil Francesco Queirolo (1704-62). But he hardly ever worked in his native city. He soon went to Rome where he spent some time in Giuseppe Rusconi's studio and also had independent commissions until, in 1752, he was called to Naples to take part in the sculptural decoration of the Cappella Sansevero. Genoa also had a flourishing school of woodcarvers,⁴⁴ but it was only Anton Maria Maragliano (1664-1739) who raised a popular tradition to the level of high art. He often worked from designs of his teacher, the painter Domenico Piola. The style of his many multi-figured pictorial groups is close to that of the Schiaffino: he knew how to combine the expression of ecstatic devotion with true Rococo grace.

Sculpture in wood had a home in Piedmont too. The principal practitioners were Carlo Giuseppe Plura (1655-1737)⁴⁵ and Stefano Maria Clemente (1719-94) who continued a popular Late Baroque far into the eighteenth century. In view of the architectural development in Turin, it is strange that a local school of sculptors arose only towards the end of the period with which we are concerned. Next to Francesco Ladatte (1706-87),⁴⁶ who studied in Paris and was entirely acclimatized to France but was appointed court sculptor in Turin in 1745, the most distinguished names are those of Giovanni Battista Bernero (1736-96) and of the brothers Ignazio (1724-93) and Filippo Collini;⁴⁷ but most of their work belongs to the history of Neo-classicism.

Bologna had a first-rate sculptor of Rusconi's generation in Giuseppe Mazza (1653-1741), who harmoniously fused the general stylistic tendencies with local traditions. His Late Baroque classicism has nothing of Roman grandeur, and the emotional moderation of his work reveals that he had imbibed the 'academic' atmosphere of Bologna. In his many statues and reliefs in stucco, marble, and bronze, to be found not only in his native city but also at Ferrara, Modena, Pesaro, and above all Venice, he appears to perpetuate the classical current coming down from Algardi, but it is a classicism drained of High Baroque vigour. This is fully proved by his masterpiece, the six monumental bronze reliefs of the Cappella di S. Domenico in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Plate 175B).⁴⁸

Baroque sculpture in Venice does not begin until the middle or second half of the seventeenth century. Alessandro Vittoria (d. 1608), Tiziano Aspetti (d. 1607), and even Girolamo Campagna (d. 1623) belong to a history of sixteenth-century sculpture; with them a glorious development of almost two hundred years comes to an end. Just as in the history of Venetian painting, the continuity was broken, and hardly a bridge exists to later Seicento sculpture. The only name of distinction belonging to the first half of the century is that of Nicolò Roccatagliata (1539-1636) who, Genoese by birth, was thoroughly acclimatized to Venice; but in his many bronzes he adhered faithfully to the

older tradition and even reverted to Jacopo Sansovino, in other words to pre-Vittoria tendencies in Venetian sculpture.⁴⁹

Up-to-date ideas reached Venice belatedly through two different channels: first, through sculptors coming from North of the Alps,⁵⁰ and secondly through Italians who, for longer or shorter periods, resided in Venice. Of the latter, both the Genoese Filippo Parodi and the Bolognese Giuseppe Mazza have been mentioned; they exerted a strong influence on further events in Venice which is not yet sufficiently investigated. The most vigorous among the northern artists who settled in Venice was Josse de Corte (1627-79), in Italy called Giusto Cort or Lecurt, who was born at Ypres and, after a stay in Rome, made Venice his home from 1657 onwards. Many of his numerous works are for buildings by Longhena, who seems to have preferred him to any other sculptor. His style may best be studied in Longhena's S. Maria della Salute where Giusto's rich sculptural decoration of the high altar (1670; Plate 176B) perpetuates in marble the theme of the dedication of the church: 'Venice' kneels as a suppliant before the Virgin who appears on clouds while the horrifying personification of the 'Plague' takes to flight, gesticulating wildly. Though the style of this *tableau vivant* is characteristically Late Baroque in the sense which we have indicated in these pages, the soft surface realism, the almost Gothic brittleness of the picturesque drapery, and the weakness in composition give this and others of his works a distinctly Flemish quality. In a detail like that of one of the caryatids from the Morosini monument in S. Clemente all'Isola (1676), shown on Plate 176A, this Flemish note is very obvious.⁵¹

De Corte's collaborators and pupils continued his manner to a certain extent until after 1700. Among them were artists of considerable merit, such as Francesco Cavrioli from Treviso (who worked in Venice between 1645 and 1685), Francesco Penso, called Cabianca (1665?-1737),⁵² Orazio Marinali (1643-1720),⁵³ and others. These sculptors, together with some foreigners,⁵⁴ were responsible for the rich sculptural decoration of the exterior of S. Maria della Salute. Profuse sculptural decoration of church façades became fashionable from Tremignon's S. Moisè on. Giuseppe Sardi's façades of S. Maria del Giglio (1678-83) and of the Chiesa degli Scalzi (1672-80) as well as Domenico Rossi's façades of S. Stae and the Chiesa dei Gesuiti (1714-29; executed by G. B. Fattoretto) and Massari's Chiesa dei Gesuati (1726-43) are characteristic examples. For all these commissions the collaboration of many hands was required. The large Valier monument in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, designed by Tirali in 1705, and the façade of S. Stae of 1709 give a good idea of the position at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was mainly sculptors born in the 1660s who were responsible for the somewhat bombastic, painterly, and refreshingly unprincipled Late Baroque of these monuments.⁵⁵ Most of us no longer have the eye to see and savour the magnificent scenic spirit that made possible the creation of the tightly intertwined group which balances precariously free in space upon an enormous bracket high above the portal of S. Stae.

Twenty years later the situation had changed. The sculptors born in the 1680s and 90s brought about a refined and serene style parallel to, but quite independent of, the Filippo della Valle and Bracci style in Rome. The transition to the new manner may be observed in such works as the Cappella del Rosario in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1732) or

the façade of the Gesuati (1736).⁵⁶ It was mainly three artists on whom the change depended. The oldest of them, Antonio Corradini⁵⁷ (1668–1752), belongs to the generation of the well-known Andrea Brustolon⁵⁸ (1662–1732), who never broke away from the early phase of the international Late Baroque. Corradini began in this manner, to which he still adhered in his monument of Marshal von der Schulenburg⁵⁹ in Corfù of 1718. But his allegory of *Virginité* (Plate 177A) in S. Maria del Carmine, Venice, of 1721, shows the new idiom. This style is precious, harking back not to antiquity but to Alessandro Vittoria – it is, in other words, a sentimental revival of the Venetian brand of Late Mannerism. Corradini's *neo-Cinquecentismo* even led him back to Sansovino (*Archangel Raphael* and *Sarah* at Udine), but he combined this archaism with a typically post-Berninesque virtuosity of marble treatment.⁶⁰ If my analysis is correct, one cannot regard this style as an anticipation of Canova.

A similar development may be observed with Giovanni Marchiori (1696–1778) and Gian Maria Morlaiter (1699–1781).⁶¹ Only fairly recently more than a hundred bozzetti from Morlaiter's studio were discovered: their style, highly sensitive, ranges from a light imaginative touch like German Rococo and from what might be called a sculptural interpretation of Tiepolo to an elegant classicism comparable to the early Canova. Marchiori, the pupil of Andrea Brustolon, developed towards a refined 'classicist Rococo' after a neo-Cinquecentesque phase. Although his style seems to contain all the formal elements of Neo-classicism, it is again precious and picturesque and not unlike Serpotta's. This is shown by his figures of *St Cecilia* and *David* (Plate 177B) in S. Rocco, Venice (1743). It appears, then, that the general trend in Venetian sculpture is close to that in Venetian painting. Also in sculpture is the eighteenth century more specifically Venetian than the seventeenth, and this 'home-coming' was achieved by reviving the local tradition of Vittoria and Jacopo Sansovino.

The great and notorious monument of the late Neapolitan Baroque is the Cappella Sansevero de' Sangri, called Pietatella, founded in 1590, continued in the seventeenth century, and decorated for Raimondo del Sangro between 1749 and 1766.⁶² There were older monuments in the chapel, but they were entirely eclipsed by the rich sculptural decoration of the eighteenth century. At this time the chapel was transformed into a veritable Valhalla of the del Sangro family, but the allegorical statues before the pillars overshadow the medallion portraits of the dead to such an extent that the beholder is in doubt as to the primary function of the place. Nothing is left of the spiritual unity of the great Roman Baroque churches and chapels, and the monuments excel by virtue of their technical bravura rather than through Christian spirituality. Emphatically Late Baroque in character, the chaotic and unrelated impression of the chapel seems closer to the mentality of the nineteenth than to that of the eighteenth century. Queirolo and Corradini, the main contributors to the sculptural decoration, have been mentioned. The former is responsible for the group of the *Disinganno* (Plate 178), representing a personification of the human mind in the shape of a winged angel who liberates a nude man, the personification of humanity, from the entanglement of the symbolically significant net of deception. With such a work, which is matched only by other *tours de force* in the same chapel, we have reached the end of a development. While Bernini used realism

and surface refinement to express convincingly the ethics of the Catholic Restoration, here the shallow symbolical genre seems to be a pretext for a display of technical bravura. A piece of similar hypertrophic virtuosity is Corradini's *Chastity*, where the thin veil through which the body is visible as if nude, belies the theme of the figure.⁶³ The same device was imitated by the prolific Giuseppe Sammartino (1720?-93?) in his *Christ lying under the Shroud* (1753).⁶⁴ Sammartino's contemporary Francesco Celebrano (1729-1814) executed, among others, the heavy and crowded relief of the Pietà over the altar, concluding the stylistic epoch begun with Guidi's relief compositions. Sammartino and Celebrano had many other notable commissions which show that they retained their Late Baroque style right to the end of the eighteenth century.⁶⁵

As in Rome, the last great Baroque achievement of the Neapolitan circle is connected with fountains. Caserta follows the example of Versailles, and the garden too with its long avenues and parterres is fashioned after this model, although an English landscape garden was added at a late date (1782). Even the mythological programme of the nineteen fountains, planned by Vanvitelli from 1752 onwards, is reminiscent of Versailles. What was eventually carried out (1776-9) under Luigi's son Carlo is much less elaborate than the original projects, but the fountains which exist surpass in extent and grandeur anything that had been done in Italy before. There are, above all, the multi-figured groups of *Diana and Actaeon* at both sides of the great cascade (Plate 171). These elegant, pseudo-classical, white marble figures play out their roles as if in a pantomime, in a way that immediately recalls Girardon's Apollo group in the garden at Versailles. There is, however, an important difference. Girardon's group stood originally not in a cave of natural rock (executed by Hubert Robert, 1778) but under an isolating canopy. The figures in Caserta form part of the landscape. They seem to move freely over the open rocks; water, hill, woods, rocks, and figures combine in a great Arcadian *ensemble*. Superficially it might seem that Bernini's principles of sculpture had been carried to their fullest conclusion - that this is not so is due to the lack of seriousness and organic integration. The cascade is nicely terraced, the approach laid out with ruler and square, and we cannot help being very conscious of the artifice which has gone into giving an appearance of reality: the groups of Diana and Actaeon are, in fact, *tableaux vivants*,⁶⁶ and we know we are spectators, not participants.

A few words must be added about the picturesque art of making Christmas cribs; they form part of an old tradition of popular polychrome sculpture and, though they were created in many Italian towns particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Naples has pride of place.⁶⁷ These cribs, often consisting of hundreds of small, even tiny, figures, gaily dressed and placed in painstakingly realistic architecture and landscape, are the last buoyant descendant from the medieval miracle plays; this truly popular art of vivid narrative power and intense liveliness developed into a great industry requiring the specialized skill of many hands. Even sculptors of repute like Celebrano, Vaccaro, Sammartino, and Matteo Bottiglieri did not hesitate to work in this modest medium. It is significant that there is no antagonism between the boundless realism of their small figures for cribs and the virtuosity of their works in marble. Their monumental sculpture

may perhaps appear in a new light if regarded as no more and no less than the sophisticated realization of a style which has its roots in an old and popular traditional art.

Sicily's one great boast during this period was the sculptor Giacomo Serpotta (1656-1732), an exact contemporary of Camillo Rusconi. Serpotta appears to us now as an isolated figure, a meteor in the Sicilian sky. This is probably not consistent with the historical facts. It is true that after the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century work of the Gagini, immigrants from Lombardy, Sicily had no great sculptors. There were, however, local schools throughout the seventeenth century working primarily in wood and stucco, and masters like Tommaso and Orazio Ferraro, active at the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, foreshadowed the climax reached with Serpotta's activity. But that tradition alone would perhaps not have sufficed to develop Serpotta's genius. Although a stay in Rome is not documented, there are sufficient indications⁶⁸ that he spent a few years there in his youth and so studied sculpture at the fountain-head. His name first appears in Palermo in 1682 in connexion with the equestrian statue of Charles II, German Emperor and King of Spain and Sicily. Of this statue, which was cast in bronze by Gaspare Romano from Serpotta's model and destroyed in 1848, a small cast survives (Trapani, Museum), which shows that Serpotta was an artist conversant with Pietro Tacca's monument of Philip IV in Madrid as well as with Bernini's *Constantine*. Soon afterwards, with the decoration of the Oratory of S. Lorenzo at Palermo (1687?-96?) he inaugurated that long series of church interiors where he covered the walls with stucco figures, and it is for these decorations that he is famed. The highlights of his later activity are the decoration of S. Orsola (1696; much ruined and badly restored); the Chiesa dell'Ospedale dei Sacerdoti (1698; partly executed by Domenico Castelli); the Chiesa delle Stimate (1700, now Museo Nazionale, Palermo); the Oratories of S. Cita (begun 1686-8, continued 1717-18, execution partly by Domenico Castelli), del Rosario in S. Domenico (1714-17), and di S. Caterina all'Olivella (1722-6); and the churches of S. Francesco d'Assisi (1723) and S. Agostino (1726-8, with the help of pupils).

His figures are often reminiscent of Roman Baroque sculpture, some of Raggi, others of Ferrata; some are extremely elongated, elegant, and *mouvementé*; others follow antique prototypes so closely that they look almost Neo-classical. All of them, however, are imbued with a delicacy and fragility, a simple sensual charm and grace far removed from the dynamic power of the Roman High Baroque. Possibly nowhere else has Italian sculpture come so close to a true Rococo spirit (Plate 179). Serpotta was a great master of the putto; playing, laughing, weeping, flying, and tumbling, they accompany every one of his decorations, spreading a cheerful and festive atmosphere. If his individual figures show a connexion with Rome, the context in which they are placed does not. As a rule, his principle of organization is simple: the stuccoes - statues, reliefs, and decoration - seem to cover the walls like creepers, producing the effect of a rich and diffused pattern. A part of this pattern is often formed by deeply receding reliefs in which tiny figures appear as if in a peep-show. This, too, is entirely un-Roman and evidently continues the Lombard tradition which the Gagini had brought to Sicily. In the course of his development Serpotta tended to an increase in the realism of his figures, coupled

with a bias towards dressing them in contemporary costume. At the same time the programmes of his decorations grew more rather than less complicated, and his charming allegories show that to the end he remained deeply steeped in Baroque *concettismo*.

None of his Sicilian contemporaries comes anywhere near equalling his quality, neither his collaborator Domenico Castelli, whose figures entirely lack Serpotta's grace, nor his son Procopio who carried on the paternal tradition; nor even contemporary masters of some merit like Carlo d'Aprile and Vincenzo di Messina, although the latter's stuccoes in the church of Partanna (1698) reveal something of Serpotta's spirit. With Serpotta's school the particular Sicilian expression of the Late Baroque came to an end. Ignazio Marabitti (1710-97),⁶⁹ the last great Sicilian sculptor of the Baroque, closely imitated his master Filippo della Valle, and maintained this manner to the end of the century.