BERNINI *and the Birth of* BAROQUE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

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On the front and back cover: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Portrait of Costanza Bonarelli*, 1636–38. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (81.5). See cat. no. 4.3.

End pages: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1625, and *Self-Portrait*, ca 1665–70. See cat. nos. 3.1 and 3.13.

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CREATING A NEW LIKENESS

BERNINI'S TRANSFORMATION OF THE PORTRAIT BUST

• *Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess* •

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

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

> *I told his Holinesse that if he went into the next rome and whyted all his face over and his eyes, if possible were, and come fort againe nott being a whit leaner nor lesse beard, only the chaunging of his coulour, no man would know you, for doe not wee see y when a man is affrighted thare comes a pallnesse on the sudden? [P]resently wee say he likes nott the same man. How can itt than be possible that a marble picture can ressemble the nature when itt is all one coulour, where to the contrary a man has one coulor in his face, another in his haire, a third in his lipps, and his eyes yett different from all the rest?*[2]

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

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

Fig. 2 EDME BOUCHARDON (1698–1762)
Bust of Scipione Borghese (after Bernini).
Sanguine pencil on paper, 26 x 19 cm (10¼ x 7½ in.).
Paris, Musée du Louvre (23987 recto).

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

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

Bernini's entirely different critical appraisal of portraiture, known to us through Stone and Chantelou, is quoted in the biographies of the artist written by his son Domenico and by Filippo Baldinucci, two texts whose genesis might be linked to the sculptor's own output.[5] It is therefore significant that portraits ("portraits with head and bust") are listed first in the catalogue of Bernini's works that Baldinucci included at the end of his biography, a catalogue based on a handwritten list of works (see appendix to checklist) that was drawn up at the sculptor's home in the last years of his life; about 1675.[6] Thereafter, not only was less attention paid to Bernini's portraits, but his entire oeuvre would be increasingly ignored when not ferociously condemned. Given this, it was not surprising that Johann Winckelmann, following Bellori, actually went so far as to strike Bernini's name from his list of great seventeenth-century sculptors, sparing only Alessandro Algardi and François Duquesnoy.[7] In Leopoldo Cicognara's *Storia della scultura*, first published in 1813–18 with the aim of celebrating Antonio Canova as the first sculptor decisively to break away from the Baroque tradition, Bernini, although acknowledged as

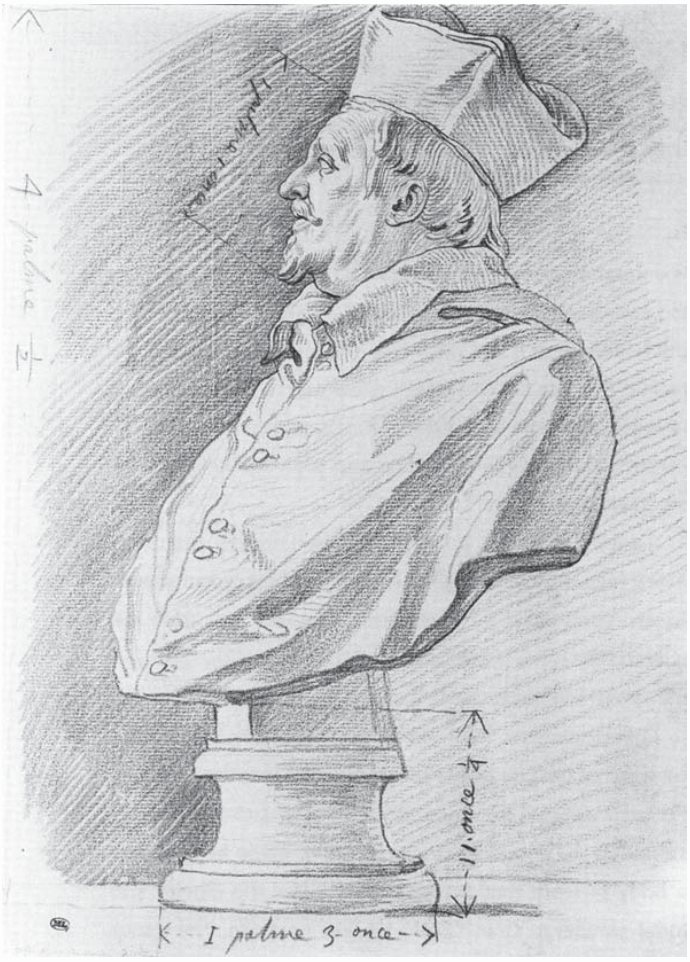


Fig. 3 EDME BOUCHARDON
Bust of Scipione Borghese (after Bernini).
Sanguine pencil on paper, 25.8 x 19 cm (10⅛ x 7½ in.).
Paris, Musée du Louvre (23988 recto).

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

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

It is significant that, beginning in the eighteenth century, the most intelligent appraisals of Bernini's portraiture come from artists. When, in 1729, Montesquieu paused with admiration in front of the *Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese* (cat. no. 4.1), recording that "his lips look alive, with saliva between them, and he seems to be speaking," we should not forget that his favorable evaluation was exceptional and that he was visiting Rome in the company of Lambert-Sigisbert Adam and Edme Bouchardon, two sculptors particularly fascinated by Bernini's work.[11] Bouchardon himself executed two magnificent sanguine drawings in which Bernini's bust of Scipione Borghese is depicted in such detail that even the most complex aspects of the composition, such as the depth and inclination of the bust, are represented (figs. 2 and 3).[12] A critical anthology of these opinions should be followed by the comments made about the bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya (fig. 1) by Joshua Reynolds, when he visited Rome in 1751: "The marble is so wonderfully managed that it appears flesh itself; the upper lip, which is covered with hair, has all the lightness of nature. He has a meagre, thin face but a vast deal of spirit in his look. This bust certainly yields in no respect to the best of the Antique: indeed I know none that in my opinion are equal to it."[13] In the nineteenth century, the Italian sculptor Vincenzo Vela reverently kept in his studio a cast of the *Portrait of a Gentleman* in Berlin—today variously attributed to Algardi or Finelli (cat. no. 5.2)—at that time believed to be by Bernini. Another cast of the same bust had earlier been kept by the Swedish sculptor Tobias Sergel.[14] During a visit to Rome in 1915, even Rodin, despite being, as Albert Besnard, director of the French Academy in Rome, observed, entirely devoted to the cult of Michelangelo, "never tired of admiring Bernini's busts. I can see well that what moves him most in them is the science of arrangement... He circles round them like a man looking for a secret."[15]

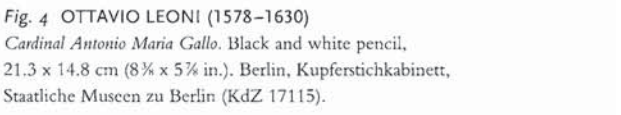


Fig. 4 OTTAVIO LEONI (1578–1630)
Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo. Black and white pencil, 21.3 x 14.8 cm (8⅜ x 5⅞ in.). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 17115).

MODELS AND PRECURSORS

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

Leoni's extraordinary series of drawings, executed between about 1607 and 1625, provides "the finest gallery of faces of early Seicento Rome, from the days of Caravaggio until Bernini's appearance on the scene."[18] These works present defining facial typologies for the features of aristocrats, cardinals, pontiffs, and noblewomen, as well as the individual characteristics of such well-known figures as the poets Giovan Battista Marino and Gabriello Chiabrera, the intellectual Giovanni Ciampoli, the scientist Galileo Galilei, and artists such as Caravaggio, Guercino, and Bernini himself.[19] The scholarly inclination to put together galleries of illustrious men, based on the Cinquecento model inaugurated in Como by Paolo Giovio, is inextricably linked on occasion to the rather common desire to be immortalized in a portrait.[20] Like Giovan Battista Marino's *Galeria*, Ottavio Leoni's drawings bespeak an almost obsessive passion for the portrait, a passion not without precedent in Cinquecento Italy. Here it is enough to cite Pietro Aretino's famous invective, a letter to Leone Leoni, in which he warned, "Style must not portray the head before it has portrayed the fame; nor should you reckon that the ancient tenets allow one to cast likenesses in metal of people unworthy of it. It is to your dishonor, oh century, that you tolerate tailors and even butchers appearing alive in painting."[21]

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

Fig. 5 Attributed to TADDEO LANDINI (ca. 1550–1596)
Pope Gregory XIII, ca. 1580. Bronze, H: 76.5 cm (30⅛ in.).
Berlin, Staatliche Museen (271).

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

In an attempt to set out a more precise context for Bernini's first busts, especially for his portrait of Giovanni Battista Santoni (ca. 1610–15; see fig. 8), Wittkower cited the case of the bust of Baldassare Ginanni (Rome, Sant'Agostino), attributed to Flaminio Vacca (1538–1605).[28] Because of the sober concision of the composition, Vacca manages to capture the physiognomic specificity of the face with considerable expressiveness. In the end, however, the comparison only serves to "assess Bernini's advance towards a new interpretation of the human head."[29] Later, in 1623, when working on the monument to Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, Bernini chose to portray the figure in half-length, with his hands joined in prayer and turned toward the altar. Perhaps he was still thinking of models such as the half-figure in bronze of Elena Savelli, created shortly after 1580 by the brothers Giacomo and Ludovico del Duca in San Giovanni in Laterano, or of the image of Cardinal Girolamo Albani, executed by Valsoldo in Santa Maria del Popolo.[30] Both works were early attempts to renovate the relationship between the sculpted figure and the spectator. But these two portraits, because of their precise typological resemblance to the *Bellarmino*, reveal in the end only how radical the stylistic shift imposed by Bernini really was.

Fig. 6 FRANCESCO MOCHI
Ranuccio Farnese (detail of face), 1612–20. Bronze. Piacenza, Piazza Cavalli.

Of course, sculptural portraiture of the first decade of the Seicento in Rome requires much further investigation and exploration, as we still cannot draw up a correct assessment of it without knowing if any work in this genre by such central figures as Stefano Maderno (ca. 1576–1636) or Camillo Mariani (1567–1611) ever existed.[31] We do not even know if Francesco Mochi made any portraits prior to his move to Piacenza in 1612. Moreover, of the works he executed in Emilia, the equestrian portrait of Ranuccio Farnese deserves consideration here (fig. 6). Before casting the statue, the sculptor tried in vain to see the duke in Parma in January 1619, but despite being unable to meet him Mochi achieved a rendering of Farnese's face that exudes an expressive power that is entirely modern and original.[32] Having left behind the Florentine model established by Giambologna, Mochi proves that he is as original as Bernini but in a different way, namely by creating an inventive stylization of naturalistic forms such as the receding hairline, the deep wrinkles etched under the eyes and around the nose, and even the fleshy, sensual lips. The hair and beard, on the other hand, look like sharp metal shavings, best exemplifying the "powerful emotion expressed through abstract, ideal forms,"[33] characteristic of this artist.

Other works that seem relevant to Bernini's early development of the portrait bust come from the hand of another noteworthy sculptor of this period, Ippolito Buzio (1562–1634). Only one documented portrait, a head of Alessandro Farnese, is extant and this work, commissioned in 1592, was placed atop an ancient statue in the Campidoglio.[34] In addition, three busts in the Aldobrandini Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva[35] are likely attributable to him (see fig. 1.8.1).

The known works of Nicolas Cordier are few beyond the statues of the parents of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini mentioned earlier. Cordier sculpted the bronze *Henry IV* (1606–9) for Saint John Lateran and *Paul V Enthroned*, for the main square in Rimini, a statue only completed from a model after his death in 1612.[36] Paid for in 1605, the noteworthy bust of Cardinal Domenico Toschi by Ambrogio Bonvicino (fig. 7), the author of the *Urban VII* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (1614), was intended for the cardinal's chapel in the Cathedral of Reggio.[37] The bust is made of polychrome marbles and the mozzetta is of ancient red stone, in keeping with a widespread practice in late-Cinquecento Rome. The face, explored in meticulous detail in such features as the beard, the heavy cheeks, and the deep eye sockets, is enlivened by the half-open, pitilessly toothless mouth, which endows the effigy with a singular realism not to be found in the cardinal's painted portrait, executed the previous year by Ottavio Leoni (Reggio Emilia, Galleria Fontanesi).[38]

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

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

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

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

SCULPTED LIVES: EARLY BERNINI PORTRAITS

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

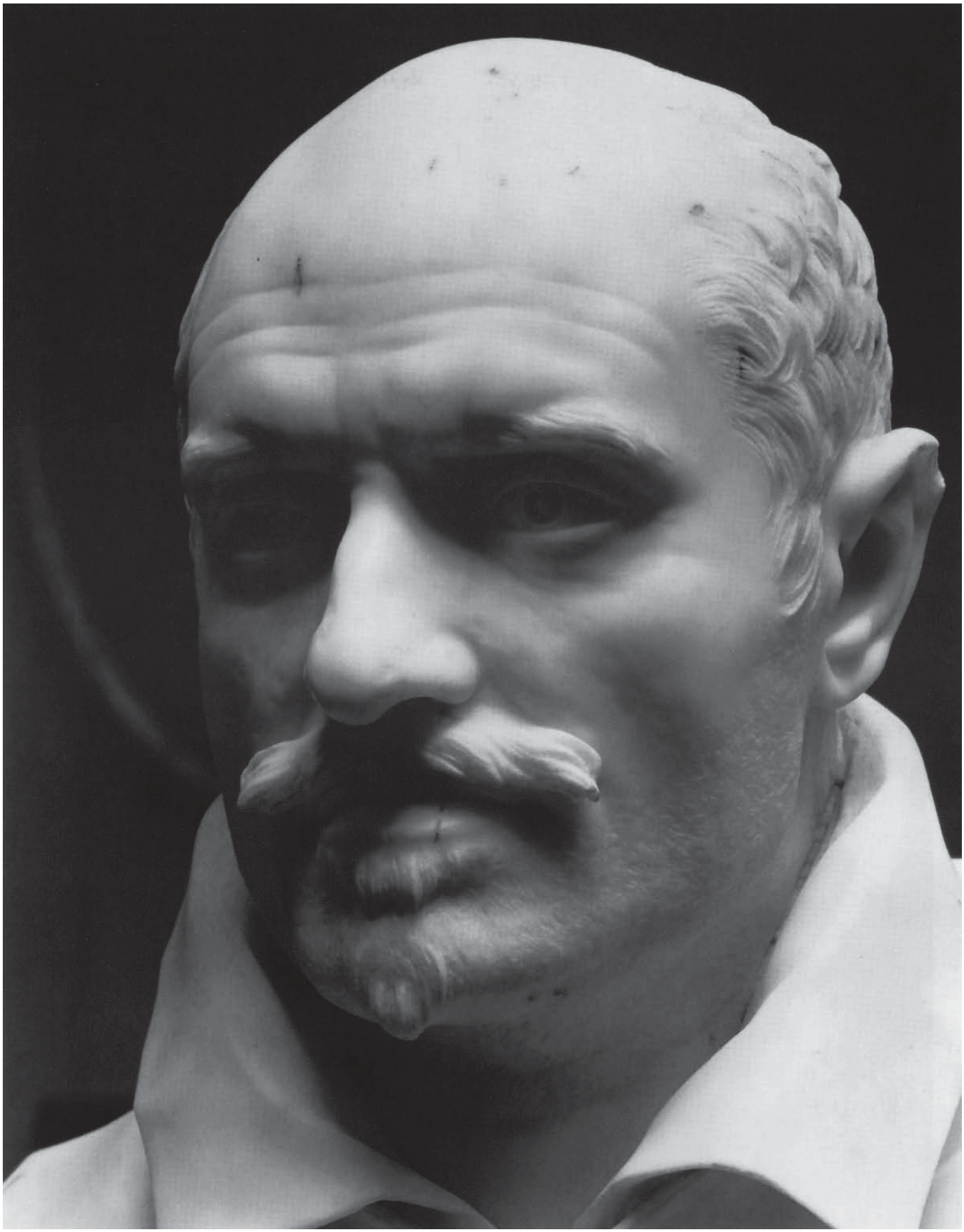
Bernini himself mentioned to his biographers that the bust of Giovanni Battista Santoni (fig. 8) was his earliest attempt at portraiture, and this work was most likely created

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

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

close in time to the *Coppola*. The Santoni bust, almost modest in execution, is sober in appearance, and the treatment of the hair and beard looks rough and barely finished—a far cry from the virtuoso feats that would repeatedly appear in Gian Lorenzo's later works. There are also lingering uncertainties about the date of the bust's execution. In old age, Bernini claimed to have sculpted the bust when he was eight years old, therefore in 1606 or 1607, but this is contradicted by the fact that the man who commissioned the monument, Giovanni Antonio Santoni, is recorded in the stone inscription as being the bishop of Policastro, an office he attained only in 1610. Any earlier dating than 1610 would thus seem highly unlikely and many scholars have therefore dated it to this year,[44] while others have suggested a date around 1615.[45] In any case the first half of the 1610s remains one of the most mysterious periods of Gian Lorenzo's entire career. If we are to believe the testimony of the artist and his biographers, during these same years he also collaborated with his father on a relief, almost surely the *Coronation of Clement VIII* (1612–14; fig. 9), sculpting one head sometimes identified with that of the pope.[46] Already by 1612, Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi, the future Pope Gregory XV, had supposedly asked for "his portrait by his [Gian Lorenzo's] hands," when departing for the legation at Bologna.[47]

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



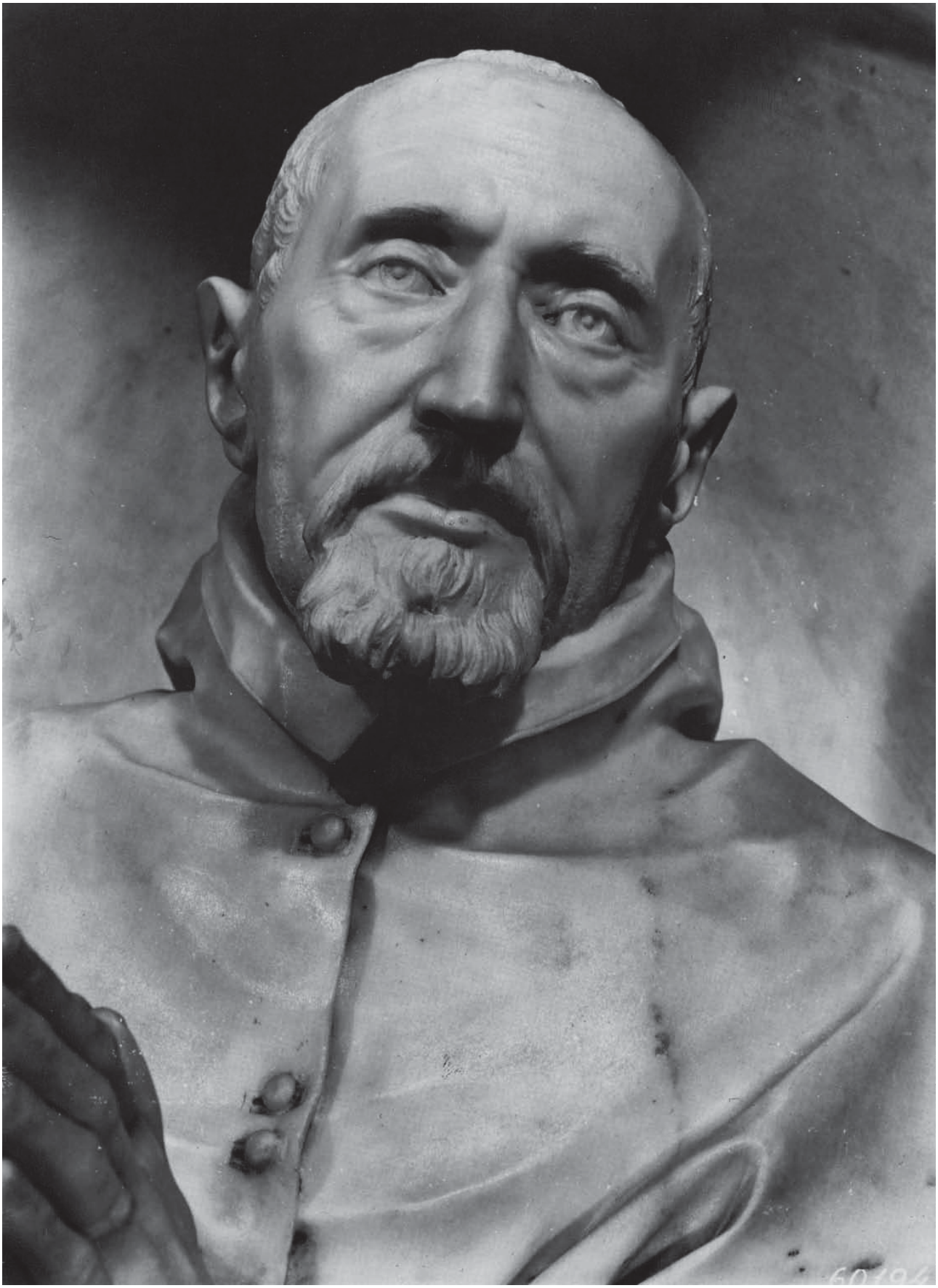


Fig. 11 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, 1623–24. Marble, H: 76.5 cm (30⅛ in.); W: 70 cm (27⅝ in.); D: 50 cm (19 11/16 in.). Rome, Il Gesù.

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

His activity in portraiture was thus concentrated in the same period in which he was engaged in the execution of secular monumental statuary. In fact, between 1618 and 1625, he sculpted such works as *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius Fleeing Troy*; *The Rape of Persephone; Apollo and Daphne*; *David* (today all in the Galleria Borghese in Rome); and the Villa Montalto *Neptune* (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London). These were the works that established his overwhelming success and led to his being dubbed the "Michelangelo of our century, both in painting and sculpture, who is second to none of the ancients in the excellence of his Art."[48] While this thrilling sequence of masterpieces still unfolds before our eyes in the rooms of the Galleria Borghese, the development of his less monumental portraiture remains more difficult to reconstruct, because of the dispersion of the busts Bernini made during those years, which have never been brought together in significant numbers until now. Unlike with the timeline of the monumental marbles, there are few chronological certainties in this series. The artist was paid for the *Camilla Barberini* (cat. no. 2.1) in April 1619. The *Paul V* (cat. no. 1.3) and *Gregory XV* (cat. no. 1.4) are documented as being executed between 1621 and 1622. From April to September of 1622, Bernini sculpted the *Antonio Cepparelli* (cat. no. 1.8) and between 1623 and 1624 executed a "wax head" of Paolo Giordano Orsini to be cast into bronze.[49]

It is primarily thanks to Irving Lavin[50] that we can now trace a reliable chronological sequence for the portraits realized during this period. When compared with the preceding tradition of portraiture, none of Bernini's early busts seem as explicitly revolutionary as the *Francesco I d'Este* (see fig. 23) or the *Louis XIV* (see fig. 24) will appear a few decades later. Nevertheless, though measuring himself against established typologies, Bernini already radically renovates these types in ways that will rapidly become canonical and prevail for the rest of the century and even longer. His production provides the last word on the typology of the pontiff with cope established by Guglielmo della Porta (*Paul V, Gregory XV*),[51] exceptionally adapting it for a cardinal's portrait (*Cardinal d'Escoubleau de Sourdis*; cat. no. 1.7). In a growth process that can be followed step by step (*Cardinal Giovanni Dolfin*, cklst A6; *Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo*, fig. 1.9.1; *Cardinal Peretti Montalto*, fig. 10; *Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino*, fig. 11; *Cardinal Agostino Valier*, cklst A21; *Cardinal Pietro Valier*, cklst A22; and *Cardinal Khlesl*, fig. 12), he also transforms the typology of the prelate with mozzetta. It is not surprising therefore that the transition from the portrait of Cardinal Dolfin (ca. 1621) to that of Cardinal Pietro Valier (1626–27) has an equivalent correspondence in painting, as evidenced by comparison of Scipione Pulzone's portrait of a man believed to be Cardinal Savelli (London, National Gallery, ca. 1596)[52] with Van Dyck's *Domenico Rivarola* (Des Moines, Iowa State Education Association).[53]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fig. 13 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI AND GIULIANO FINELLI
Antonio Barberini, ca. 1625–30. Marble, H: 65 cm (25⅝ in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (2499).

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

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

BERNINI AND FINELLI: A DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP

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

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

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

esis has been put forward. The lack of an opportunity to see this marble alongside contemporary documented busts by Bernini frustrates any contribution toward a solution to the problem. A different case is that of the portrait of Bartolomeo Roscioli (cklst A24), discovered in 1988 along with that of Roscioli's wife, Diana de Paulo (cklst A28).[68] Bartolomeo Roscioli was an important figure in the Barberini circle as "privy chamberlain" to the pope, and in May 1640, Roscioli's son, Giovan Pietro, gave Bernini "ten rods [of] black taffeta" and a "small basket of silver" for having made "a white marble head of my mother."[69] These gifts in kind confirm that the *Diana de Paulo* was made in Gian Lorenzo's workshop around 1640, whereas historical and, above all, stylistic considerations have led to the dating of Bartolomeo's bust between 1625 and 1630. In this case the uncertainty has mostly to do with the possible participation of collaborators in its execution—a circumstance that, as we shall see, may also apply to other portraits made during the 1620s.[70]

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

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

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

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

Finelli helped Bernini execute the *Apollo and Daphne* and the full-length figure of Saint Bibiana (1624; Rome, Santa Bibiana).[73] He was also involved in the creation of models for some of the putti that animate the columns of the *baldacchino* in Saint Peter's. In 1626, after a brief stay in Carrara, Finelli returned to Rome: to the "house of Bernini, and here he was involved in a half-figure portrait of the niece of Pope Urban."[74] This was the bust of Maria Barberini (see fig. 26), daughter of Urban VIII's brother Carlo. Born in 1599 and married to the Bolognese nobleman Tolomeo Duglioli in 1618, she died during childbirth in 1621, at not much more than twenty years of age. On the occasion of the sculpture's entry into the collection of Francesco Barberini, Maria's brother, in 1627, it was cited as "had from Cavaliere Bernini." In the same year the *Portrait of Francesco di Carlo Barberini* (cat. no. 2.2) was recorded as having been "made by Cavalier Bernino."[75] The distinction between "had" and "made" would seem to refer to the differing degree of Gian Lorenzo's involvement. In the latter case he was the author of the bust in all respects, whereas in the former, the testimony probably refers to the work's provenance from the "house of Bernini." Finelli managed to advance his own particular interpretation of the naturalism he had learned from the master and applied to this portrait the technical skills he had learned from sculpting monumental statues. This is confirmed by the incomparably elaborate sumptuousness of the clothing and the almost crystalline character of the marble. Utterly Finellian is the decision to make the portrait hinge on the meticulous, obsessive definition of the garments, based on the patient application of a technical virtuosity that is more showy than that revealed in Gian Lorenzo's works. As for the fixity of the gaze, this is no doubt accentuated by the fact that the pupils of the eye are not carved, a choice justified by its being a posthumous portrait.[76] By comparison, in the *Francesco Barberini* the uncarved pupils do not make the figure's gaze look empty but rather give it a sense of mysterious remoteness that does not undermine the expressive intensity of the effigy.[77]

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

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

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

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

This ranking is helpful in classifying Bernini's portraits. Some busts seem entirely the work of Bernini, such as the impressive portrait of Cardinal Khlesl in Wiener Neustadt, where the artist has concentrated on certain details to render diverse surface textures as well as the sitter's personality. While the eyes are left blank and the mustache and beard are rendered summarily, more attention is paid to the pouches under the sitter's eyes and to the hairline, left uncovered by the biretta that sits on animated curls which hint at the vitality of the man, as does his partly opened mouth. Other marble busts display the invention of Bernini but were rendered by collaborators. The nearly identical faces of Antonio Barberini and Agostino Valier, both produced about 1625–30, seem to indicate almost the "industrialization" of Bernini workshop production. One of these two busts was sent to Venice, while the other remained in Rome, a fact that may help explain how, in a moment of intense activity in the workshop, it was possible to copy the face of one model for two different portraits (both, moreover, posthumous). A few works, such as the bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (see fig. 26), appear to have been conceived and executed by Finelli.

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

Fig. 14 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (detail). See cat. no. 4.1.

"[. . .] fa miracoli facendo parlare i marmi"
[You] do miracles by making marble sculptures speak

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

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

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

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

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

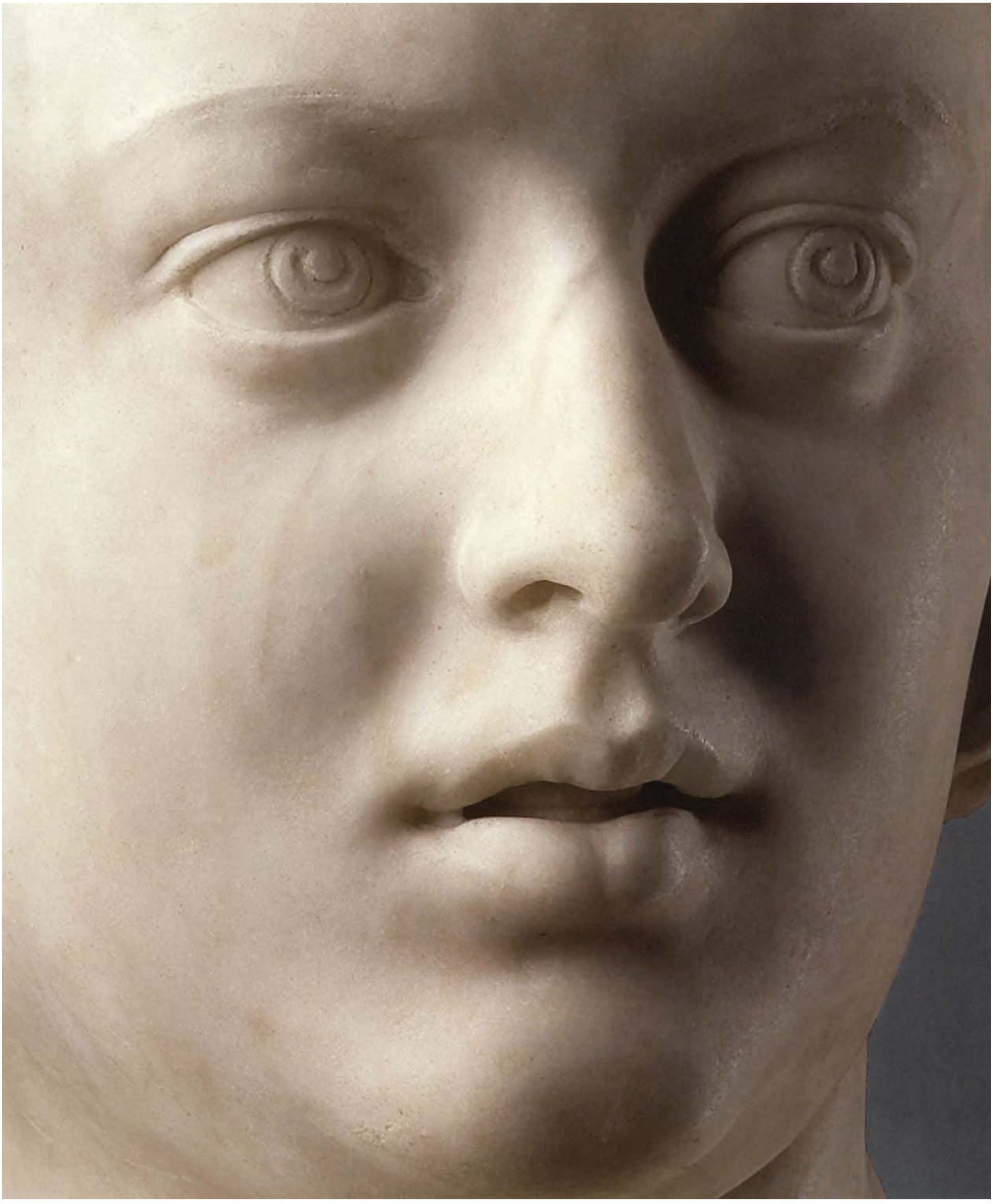


Fig. 15 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Portrait of Costanza Bonarelli (detail). See cat. no. 4.3.

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

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

What were the artist's intentions? To understand these, one might turn to Bernini's own words, recorded by his diarist Paul Fréart de Chantelou while Bernini was in Paris. As he was working on the bust of Louis XIV, Bernini specified his approach to portraiture, advising that "to make a successful portrait, one should choose an action and attempt to represent it well; that the best time to render the mouth is when [the subject] has just spoken or is just about to begin speaking; that one should try to catch this moment."[95] Whereas he explicitly recommends portraying the subject in action—the fleeting instant of heightened drama—he does not necessarily prescribe speaking as that action. Pointing out that one should choose the moment immediately before or after speech indicates that the subject should not be depicted uttering words but rather either engaged in conversation (while the other is speaking) or shown just before or after verbally responding to an event. In either case, the subject is to be portrayed in an activated moment of focused awareness.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fig. 17 CHRISTOPHE COCHET (d. 1634)
Giovan Battista Marino, 1625. Bronze. Naples, San Domenico.

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

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

A catalogue of Bernini's works that was likely dictated by the artist himself around 1675 lists roughly fifty portrait busts (see appendix, p. 296).[114] Of these, very few subjects are rendered with their mouths clearly open, the most obvious examples being Costanza Bonarelli and Scipione Borghese.[115] Several others, under close inspection, are depicted with their lips parted, such as the busts of Antonio dal Pozzo of about 1623 (fig. 1.9.1) and Francesco Barberini (cat. no. 2.2) of about 1623, but the effect is not one of captured speech but of a softening of what are otherwise distant expressions, a quality that may be due to the fact that both were executed posthumously. For his busts of Giovanni Vigevano (fig. 1.2.1), Gregory XV (cat. no. 1.4), and Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8), all dating to or just after 1620, Bernini chose to display the men with lips parted in quiet conversation or, perhaps, prayer; they appear caught in a moment of reflection rather than action. In contrast, the mouth of Thomas Baker's effigy of 1637–38 (cat. no. 6.1) suggests the man is involved in dialogue. Bernini hints at this by revealing a trace of teeth and tongue. Engaged in fashionable conversation is how one might expect to find this dandy whose image is nearly overwhelmed by lace and curls.

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

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

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

Similar to their Italian counterparts, Northern portraitists had an interest in naturalism that was symptomatic of the period's increasingly empirical scientific approach to knowledge. Like Boselli and Mancini, art theorists in the North—such as Karel van Mander, Joachim Sandrart, and Franciscus Junius[118]—acknowledged the importance of observation and promoted the expression of the nature of man and his emotions. However, the concern of Dutch portrait painters in rendering the physical reality and emotive intimacy of their middle-class subjects was very different from the concerns of Bernini in papal Rome. The "speaking likenesses" of Dutch portraiture reflect the desires of bourgeois patrons for images of themselves that would be captivating, immediate, and reflective of their newly moneyed circumstances, and portrait painters sought out

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

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

It has been noted that Bernini was most active as a portraitist early in his career[119] and that these early busts "are reserved and pensive in expression, introvert rather than extrovert."[120] His mid-career busts of Costanza Bonarelli

Fig. 18 DOMENICHINO (DOMENICO ZAMPIERI) (1581–1641)
A Prelate. Chalk on paper, 35.5 x 22.4 cm (13 15/16 x 8 13/16 in.).
Windsor Castle, Royal Library.

and Scipione Borghese mark a change in this portrait style; they are both a culmination of Bernini's exploration of portraiture that began even before adolescence[121] and a transition to his more grandiose portraits of the second half of his career. Bernini appears to have absorbed, before the 1630s, experiments that were being played out in two dimensions, such as the immediacy of certain portraits by Vouet and the engagingly informal speaking likenesses of drawings by Domenichino (fig. 18).[122] Bernini's portrait drawings, many of which date from the 1620s to roughly 1635, attest to his own experimentation with capturing the viewer's attention by depicting a spontaneous action, an informal pose, or a straightforward gaze. After the 1630s his portrait busts may have been fewer but they are commanding, ostentatious, and heroic—qualities that were certainly more suitable to his subjects: Cardinal Richelieu (cat. no. 6.4), Pope Innocent X (cat. no. 5.10.2), Pope Alexander VII (cat. no. 6.6), Francesco d'Este (see fig. 23), Louis XIV of France (see fig. 24), and Pope Clement X (cat. no. 6.12).

Bernini was not the first Baroque artist to capture his subjects in conversation. Moreover, it is possible that neither of his busts most commonly referred to as "speaking likenesses"—*Costanza Bonarelli* and, especially, *Scipione Borghese*—was intended to show the moment of speech. As recommended by the ancients, the open mouth was one device used to create a sense of liveliness. Bernini used others, however, such as capturing the sparkle of eyes[123] or fleeting movement.[124] The goal, regardless of method, was for a lifelike rendering. Leon Battista Alberti articulated this goal in his fifteenth-century *De statua*—first published, however, in 1568—in which he explains that sculptors began making "effigies and resemblances of bodies created by nature" by "making that effigy appear almost to be truly the thing itself."[125]

Much has been written on the associations between Michelangelo and Bernini, many fostered by Gian Lorenzo himself.[126] Bernini's son, for example, recounts that Paul V, patron of Gian Lorenzo's father, was eager to meet the young prodigy and witness proof of his talents. When asked to draw a head, Bernini chose the head of Saint Paul, the pontiff's namesake, which he did with such mastery (*maestrìa*) that the pope declared, "This young man will be the Michelangelo of his time."[127] These associations include Michelangelo's own references to a "speaking likeness" in bringing life to his statues, made explicit in a love sonnet that includes the phrase "If you were made of stone, I believe I could love you with so much faith that I could make you walk with me...and if you were dead, I could make you speak."[128] Poet Giovanni Strozzi repeats this motif in his famous epigram to Michelangelo's figure *Night* on the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici:

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

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

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

Fig. 19 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Urban VIII Barberini, 1631. Marble, H: 83 cm (32⅝ in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

THE PORTRAITS: WORKING PROCEDURE

If the most substantial and homogeneous nucleus of Bernini's busts consists of those made in the years around 1620, the majority of his most famous portraits nevertheless date from the period of his mature activity and are staggered over a span of nearly half a century, starting around 1630. By the latter half of the 1620s, Bernini was already the most renowned artist in Rome, and, owing to this fact, we possess a number of contemporary reports concerning his modus operandi. In some cases we can follow the execution of a work in all its different phases—that is, we can understand how Bernini, who "into his later years was in the custom, when not distracted by architectural concerns, of working for up to seven straight hours on sculpting marble," went about his work.[131] For example, Bernini's pupil Giulio Cartari records that his master met with Pope Alexander VII ten times while he was working on the pontiff's portrait. Moreover, for the portrait of Louis XIV (see fig. 24), which was executed in public at the French royal court—the most prestigious and demanding stage in Europe—the documentation handed down to us by Paul Fréart de Chantelou allows us to follow, day by day, the progress of an artwork that was completed in less than two months in the summer of 1665.[132]

Even Charles Perrault, the great French architect who replaced Bernini as designer of the Louvre, was astonished by the originality of the sculptor's working methods: "He worked on the marble first, making no clay model whatsoever, as other sculptors are accustomed to doing; he limited himself to drawing two or three portraits of the king in pastel, not, as he said, in order to copy them for his bust, but merely to refresh his mind from time to time."[133] Actually, in one respect this testimony appears to contradict the diary of Chantelou, where, on June 11, Bernini is said to have confided to his friend "that he'd asked for some clay in order to make studies of movement." This raises the question of how the busts were prepared, whether with just drawings or also with terra-cotta sketches and models. In the rich body of Bernini's drawings, which includes some twenty portrait drawings, only two can be connected to marble sculptures: the profile of Scipione Borghese at the Morgan Library of New York (cat. no. 3.6), and the sanguine drawing of Pope Clement X, now in Leipzig (fig. 6.12.1). Nevertheless, even these two drawings, as Jennifer Montagu has written, "appear to have been made to study the sitter, rather than as direct preparations for sculptures."[134] As Bernini himself stated, "he did not model his portraits from drawings, but from memory."[135]

A variety of seventeenth-century sources attest to the existence of a few terra-cotta portraits executed by Bernini. None, however, still survives. A document from the Confraternita della Pietà di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini mentions "two clay heads fashioned by Bernini's hand, which are kept at the hospital" (*che si tengono sotto lo spedale*)[136]—which were likely the models for the busts of Antonio Coppola and Antonio Cepparelli (cat. nos. 1.2 and 1.8). Two other terra-cotta portraits of Urban VIII, one of Scipione Borghese, and another of Cardinal Richelieu were also found at the sculptor's home just after his death, in 1681.[137] It is likely that the "heads" of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, as well as the busts at Bernini's house, were finished models of the sort realized during those same years by Alessandro Algardi, and thus were quite different from the "ébauches de l'action" for the bust of Louis XIV. These were probably sketches of a summary nature, in the manner of those he realized for the *Angels* of the Ponte Sant'Angelo or for the Altar of the Sacrament in Saint Peter's (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum). Although by 1681 they were probably

Fig. 20 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632. Marble, H (without base): 86 cm (33⅞ in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

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

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

The heads mentioned in connection with San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in 1634 were no doubt by Bernini, and similarly, the busts cited in the inventory of his home, though without indication of authorship, must have been made in his workshop. It is not, however, entirely by chance that eight terra-cotta portraits by Algardi[140] have come down to us over the years, whereas none by Bernini survive (see checklist, Lost Busts).[141] Algardi clearly regarded his terra-cottas in a way that Bernini did not, and this is why Perrault's statement that "he worked on the marble first" is not contradicted by Chantelou's comment that he wanted to make some studies in clay. In the case of the *Louis XIV*, there was no life-size terra-cotta model; on the contrary, the sculptor worked directly on the marble, with the sovereign in front of him, developing the composition without referring to a specific model. Bernini's working method was also witnessed on other occasions, as is clear from the often-cited letter by Lelio Guidiccioni in reference to the portraits of Urban VIII and Scipione Borghese. Guidiccioni, while making reference to a model, presumably of terra-cotta, specifies that the sculptor worked the marble with his subject sitting before him: "I shall never forget the delight I felt by always being privy to the work, seeing Your Lordship every morning execute a thousand different motions with singular elegance; discussing always appropriately about current matters and straying with your hands very far from the subject; crouching, stretching, running your fingers over the model, with the quickness and variation of someone touching a harp; marking the marble with charcoal in a hundred places, and striking with the hammer in a hundred others; that is, striking in one place, and looking in the opposite place; pushing the hand to strike before yourself, and turning the head to look behind."[142]

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

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

RE-CREATING PAPAL PORTRAITURE

It was with his portraits of Urban VIII that Bernini radically altered the typology of the papal portrait in sculpture. At first, in his portrayals of the Barberini pope, Gian Lorenzo kept to traditional choices, such as had already been tested with his busts of Popes Paul V and Gregory XV. About 1621–22 Bernini presented a different interpretation of the cope in his *Portrait of Cardinal de Sourdis* (cat. no. 1.7), the most immediate precedent for the bust of Urban VIII at San Lorenzo in Fonte (cklst D1). The quality of execution of the latter bust is, however, quite disappointing: there is a mechanical quality in the rendering of the individual details that seems to contradict the impressiveness of the conception. This portrait doubtless mirrors an original that Bernini executed in the very first years of the Barberini pontificate; it may possibly derive from the lost bronze portrait executed for the refectory of Trinità dei Pellegrini on the occasion of the 1625 jubilee.[144] Nevertheless, the cope is skillfully set in motion, suggesting the subject's living presence. This same solution, much more timidly expressed, can be found in the portraits of Paul V and Gregory XV of about 1621–22 (cat. nos. 1.3 and 1.4), in which it is difficult to make out either pontiff's body under the cope, which is still conceived as a kind of impenetrable armor.

In portraying Urban VIII, to whom he was attached by special bonds of gratitude, admiration, and even friendship, Gian Lorenzo decide to renovate the most long-standing tradition of papal portraiture: the portrayal of the pontiff in alb and cope, by which he himself had abided in the early 1620s. By its very nature, the cope—adorned with embroidered figures of Saints Peter and Paul and closed with a richly decorated clasp—required careful, almost goldsmith-like, rendering of details that risked compromising the overall monumentality of the composition. About 1630 Bernini got the idea—simple yet ingenious—of adapting to the medium of sculpture a typology of papal portraiture that had already been canonical in painting for over a century, as established by Raphael's *Portrait of Julius II* (London, National Gallery) of around 1510, and that was to replace the cope with a mozzetta[145] worn with the red cap called a *camauro*.[146] From this moment on, Bernini would portray popes exclusively wearing the mozzetta and *camauro*,[147] inaugurating a tradition whose success remained uncontested for over two centuries, until the time of Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen.

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

Fig. 21 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Innocent XI, 1676–80. Pen and ink on paper, 11.4 x 18.2 cm (4½ x 7⅛ in.). Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste.

funerary monument in Saint Peter's (1629–31), the marble sculpture in the Campidoglio (1635–40),[148] and the bust in the Duomo of Spoleto (1640–44; cklst A19). In the letter Lelio Guidiccioni wrote to Bernini in 1633, already quoted several times, Guidiccioni mentions a bust of the pope "that has no arms, but a slight motion of the right shoulder and a lifting of the mozzetta [on this side] in conjunction with the inclination of the head . . . and the bending of the forehead clearly indicate the action of signaling with the arm to someone to get up."[149] Cesare D'Onofrio was the first to have no doubts in identifying this bust as the one that at the time belonged to Prince Enrico Barberini and was later passed on to the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica at the Palazzo Barberini (fig. 19). The bust now in Ottawa (cat. no. 2.5) constitutes a different autograph version and, despite Rudolf Wittkower's misgivings[150] as to the link between Guidiccioni's text and one of the two busts, this is the prevailing opinion today. The Ottawa and Palazzo Barberini busts rank among the most memorable of Bernini's effigies of the pontiff precisely because of the apparent simplicity of their compositions, which are practically devoid of any decorative elements. Examples of virtuosity that characterized the artist's youth are relegated to discrete areas such as the fur trim of the mozzetta and *camauro*, with their incomparable tactile quality, or the vigorous fold of the ever-so-slender collar of the vestment. Moreover, the mozzetta is conveyed with a masterly parsimony of means: very few folds, some of them only hinted at, yet with a sense of vitality in no way inferior to what we see in the much more agitated but different vestment of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 4.1).

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

Fig. 22 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Gabriele Fonseca, ca. 1668. Marble. Rome, San Lorenzo in Lucina.

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

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

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

NEW PATHS FOR THE PORTRAIT

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

Later in his career, however, Bernini very carefully savored the time he set aside for portraits, a difficult genre for which the master's direct participation was perhaps more crucial than in other sorts of sculptural undertakings. In the overwhelming majority of cases, therefore, the figures portrayed by Gian Lorenzo after 1626–27 were pontiffs and sovereigns. There was one exception, however, and a significant one. We do not know by what fortunate conjunction of circumstances Innocent X's old Portuguese doctor, Gabriele Fonseca (fig. 22), managed to secure Gian Lorenzo's direct intervention. Immortalized in a marble statue that revolutionized the traditional typology of the deceased depicted in the act of worship, Fonseca is shown as sorrowful and troubled. Perhaps to get around the problem of the shallowness of the niche in which the bust was to sit, Bernini played on the contrast between the subject's burning physical presence, the strong three-dimensionality of the face and hands, and the almost bodiless rendering of the bust, which, in a storm of "draperies...excessively folded and pierced,"[159] seems about to dissolve as though being sucked into the wall. Bernini had long "regarded garments and draperies as a means to sustain a spiritual concept by an abstract play of folds and crevasses of light and shade."[160]

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

Fig. 23 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Francesco I d'Este, 1650–51. Marble, H: 98 cm (38 7/16 in.); W: 106 cm (41 11/16 in.); D: 50 cm (19 11/16 in.). Modena, Galleria Estense (565).

Fig. 24 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Louis XIV, King of France, 1665. Marble. H: 105 cm (41 ⅜ in.); W: 95.5 cm (37 ⅝ in.); D: 46.5 cm (18 ⅜ in.).
Palace of Versailles (MV2040).

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

These were the years in which the theoretical debate about art in Rome was dominated by Giovan Pietro Bellori, whose aversion to the great artistic innovations wrought by Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona was no secret to anyone. In this debate, two "factions" emerged, if we are to believe the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin, who, visiting the Bolognese painter Carlo Cignani in 1677, wrote about him: "A most kind man, good French [*sic*], of the opposite faction to Bernini (fattione contraria de Bernini), he greatly esteems Le Brun, Poussin, and Van Dyck more than Rubens." Giovan Pietro Bellori surely belonged to the "faction"' of Poussin and Le Brun against Bernini and Rubens (not to mention Borromini and Pietro da Cortona).[164] And Bellori's ideas about portraiture were similarly very clear. While admiring the portrait Maratti had painted for him, which he described as "turning to face you in such lifelike fashion that, abandoning all artistic invention, it usurps all the power of nature," he seemed, however, to appreciate more portraits like Andrea Sacchi's *Marc'Antonio Pasqualini*, which was not "a simple portrait but an utterly charming composition," or Maratti's portraits of the marquis and the marquise de Mesfort, which were "so well ordered and painted that beyond their naturalness, they win merit even for their ornaments, so that you shall not praise them as simple portraits, [for] they may find equal standing among compositions of the figure."[165] Even though these two portraits are lost, the extraordinary, elaborated allegorical portrait of Niccolò Maria Pallavicini by the same Maratti (Stourhead-Wiltshire, The National Trust, Hoare Collection) can give us an idea of what Bellori thought should be a perfect portrait.

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

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

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

Actually, the *concetto*, as an interpretative key to the artwork, can also be easily applied to portraits. Louis XIV thus becomes an incarnation of the "ideal Christian monarch,"[170] absolutely superior, in the Olympian strength of mind expressed in his rapt yet serene face, to the impetuous whirlwind of history evoked by the majestic, agitated movements of the drapery. Above all, the conception of the base as a globe, with the inscription *picciola base*, was meant to suggest that the world was too small to support such a great man as Louis XIV.

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

NOTES

1. Walter Lewis Spiers, ed., "The Notebooks and Accounts of Nicholas Stone," *Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1918–19), p. 171.
2. Ibid., p. 171. Bernini made a similar statement to Chantelou in 1665; see Chantelou (1665) 2001, p. 47.
3. Giustiniani (ca. 1620–28) 1981, p. 42. On these subjects, see Bodart 2006. It is also interesting that in his "Discorso sopra la scultura," Giustiniani states that the work of a "modern" sculptor, even an "excellent" one like the "Cavaliere Bernino, will be highly esteemed and be worth much more than if it were ancient because of the difficulty and the great expense [*spesa*] that goes into the marble" (pp. 73–74).
4. Charles Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires, concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres: 1600–1608* (Antwerp, 1887), pp. 227–28; and Pommier 2003, p. 156.
5. Baldinucci (1682) 1948; Bernini 1713; and Montanari 2006.
6. This list was published for the first time by Cesare D'Onofrio (1967, pp. 432–38).
7. Johann Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764), p. 248.
8. Cicognara 1823–24, vol. 6, pp. 111–12.
9. Wittkower 1955.
10. Giacomo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana / descritta da Iacomo Manilli romano, guardarobba di detta Villa* (Rome, 1650), p. 73; Domenico Montelatici, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana: con l'ornamenti che si osseruano nel di lei palazzo e con le figure delle statue più singolare: all'illustriss…d. Gio:Battista Borghese* (Rome, 1700), pp. 232, 302. In the history of the reception of Bernini's portraits, an isolated but significant episode remains that of the numerous copies in marble and bronze of the Costanza Bonarelli, produced for the most part in Florence between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see Zanuso and Zikos 1999.
11. Charles-Louis de Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Roger Caillois (Paris, 1949–51), vol. 1, pp. 710–12; and Garms 2002, pp. 132–33.
12. The drawings are in the Cabinet des dessins at the Musée du Louvre (23987 recto and 23988 recto). See Jules Guiffrey and Paul Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, p. 88, nos. 504–5.
13. Reynolds 1859, p. 7.
14. For the bust that Vela owned, see Nancy Scott, *Vincenzo Vela, 1820–1891* (New York, 1979), p. 111; for Sergel's, see Rome 1999a, pp. 135–36.
15. Judith Cladel, *Rodin, sa vie glorieuse, sa vie inconnue* (Paris, 1936), p. 306.
16. Baglione 1642, p. 321.
17. Ibid.
18. Longhi 1951, p. 37.
19. Sani 2005 (with prior bibliography).
20. See Dionisotti 1984; Volpi 2001; Whitfield 2001; and Casini 2004, pp. 115–33.
21. *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, ed. Ettore Camesasca (Milan, 1957–60), vol. 2, p. 75, no. CCXXXVII.
22. Longhi 1951, p. 37.
23. The identification of the person portrayed in the Berlin drawing (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, 171115; black pencil and ceruse on gray paper, 21.3 x 14.8 cm [8¾ x 5⅞ in.]) is confirmed by the words "Sr. Card Gallo" that appear on the back of the sheet and by a comparison with other portraits of the cardinal, who was born at Osimo in 1553 and died in Rome in 1620. Gallo's apparent age in the drawing suggests, however, that the 1616 dating proposed by Bernardina Sani (2005, pp. 42, 52 n. 143, fig. 80) be moved up.
24. Sani 2005, p. 34.
25. The surveys made by Grisebach (1936) and Ferrari and Papaldo (1999) remain nevertheless essential.
26. Pressouyre 1984, figs. 79 and 82.
27. Pressouyre 1984, p. 248 (doc. of September 10, 1604; appraisal of the sculptural works executed in the Aldobrandini Chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva).
28. Originally from Ravenna, Ginanni died in 1599, and his brother saw to the construction of the little monument. The attribution to Vacca was made by Valentino Martinelli (1954, p. 162)
29. Wittkower 1981, p. 174.
30. For both works, see Grisebach 1936, pp. 162, 170–172, nos. 67, 72.
31. The attribution of the *Bust of Fabio de Amicis* to Mariani proposed by Valentino Martinelli (Martinelli 1956b, p. 351; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 279) remains to be entirely proven. We do know, on the other hand, that the sculptor was engaged in medal making before his time in Rome; see Toderi and Vannel 2000, p. 307.
32. De Luca Savelli in Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, p. 121.
33. Lavin 1970, p. 145.
34. Leuschner 1999, p. 150, fig. 4.
35. One of the busts portrays Lesa Deti Aldobrandini and can be connected with a document that mentions a portrait of this lady by Buzio. The other two busts of unidentified Aldobrandini men have been attributed to him on stylistic grounds (see fig. 1.8.1). See Pressouyre 1984, pp. 194–95, 248, 435–55; and Angelini 2005, p. 12. Also interesting is the attribution of the *Female Bust* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to Buzio; see Kessler 1997.
36. See Pressouyre 1984, figs. 136 and 168. Bacchi (1989, p. 28) suggests attributing to Cordier the *Bust of Paul V*, which was left to the Accademia Carrara of Bergamo by the Federico Zeri bequest.
37. On the sculptor, see Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 787–88 (with prior bibliography).
38. See Elio Monducci and Vittorio Nironi, *Il Duomo di Reggio Emilia* (Reggio Emilia, 1984), pp. 154–68; and Angelo Mazza, "Dipinti romani e veneziani per il Duomo di Reggio: le cappelle Toschi, Rangani e Brami agli inizi del Seicento," in Ceschi Lavagetto 1999, pp. 67–72.
39. On Stati, see Susanna Zanuso in Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 845 (with prior bibliography); and Ian Wardropper, "Cristoforo Stati's 'Samson and the Lion': Florentine Style and Spanish Patronage," *Apollo* 150 (1999), pp. 30–37. Stati worked as a portraitist not only in Rome but also in Florence, where he made a bust (now lost) of Ferdinand I; see Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th–18th Centuries* (Florence, 1981–87), pp. 754–55, no. 37.85.
40. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 413.
41. Johannes Orbaan, ed., *Documenti sul barocco in Roma: Con 7 tavole in fototipia* (Rome, 1920), p. 205; and Pressouyre 1984, p. 316, doc. 255.
42. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 106–13; Nava Cellini 1982, pp. 24, 30; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, p. 128; and Kessler 2005, pp. 319–22.
43. Lavin 1968, pp. 223–28; Hibbard 1968, p. 7; Avery 1997, p. 34; Bacchi 1999, pp. 66, 69–70; and Montanari 2004, p. 58.
44. Lavin 1968, pp. 228–29; Avery 1997, pp. 33–34; Bacchi 1999, pp. 69–70; and Montanari 2004, p. 59.
45. Wittkower 1982, p. 524; Wittkower 1981, p. 273; Angelini 1999, p. 14; and Pierguidi 2008. D'Onofrio (1967, pp. 114–21) dates it 1610 but attributes it to Pietro, whereas Kessler (2005, pp. 69–71 and 351–53) maintains it is a collaboration between the two sculptors, dating it 1610–13.
46. On this question, see Lavin 2004, pp. 39–45; and Pierguidi 2008.
47. Bernini 1713, p. 20. Tomaso Montanari (Milan 2002, p. 116) hypothesized that this might be a drawing, not unlike those of Ottavio Leoni.
48. The words are quoted from a letter written by the Modenese poet Fulvio Testi to Count Francesco Fontana on January 29, 1633, and made public by Campori (1855, pp. 65–67), and later by Fraschetti (1900, p. 108).
49. Haskell 1980, pp. 387–88; and Benocci 2006, pp. 77–78.
50. Lavin 1968.

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

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

The following pages are for image reference from the preceding chapter

1.2

PIETRO BERNINI (1562–1629)
and GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Antonio Coppola, 1612
Marble, H (with socle): 67 cm (26⅜ in.); W: 48 cm (19 in.)
Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini
Not in the exhibition

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE PAPAL SCHISM in the fifteenth century, Florentines had played a significant role in reestablishing Rome as city of political and artistic importance. In addition to the financial benefits of the activities of Florentine bankers, Rome also benefited from the infusion of Florentine intellectualism. Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici, second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, ascended to the papal throne as Leo X in 1513, becoming well known as a beneficent patron of the arts. In 1519, he granted the Florentine community—composed of pilgrims as well as bankers, merchants, and intellectuals—the right to build a parish church in their local neighborhood around the northwest end of the via Giulia. In 1606, the Confraternita della Pietà at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, a voluntary association established for the promotion of special works of Christian charity, decided to build a hospital against the south side of the church. Three men—Antonio Coppola, Antonio Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8), and Pietro Cambi[1]—were important early benefactors to the hospital. In recognition of their generosity, portrait busts to be placed in the hospital were ordered to commemorate them. Antonio Coppola (1533–1612), a respected Florentine surgeon living in Rome, was the first and most important of these benefactors, bequeathing all of his possessions to the hospital at his death.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES
1. Portrait by Pompeo Ferrucci, 1629–30; see Lavin 1968, p. 224, fig. 10.
2. Lavin 1968.
3. Lavin 1968, pp. 223–24 and docs. 1–3.
4. Lavin 1968, p. 244, docs. 4a and 4b.
5. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 432–38, esp. p. 434. For dating of the bust of Santoni, see Lavin 1968, p. 228 n. 35; and Wittkower 1955, p. 175 n. 2.
6. See, for example, Jacopo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori de Porta Pinciana* (Rome, 1650), p. 4, as cited in Olga Raggio, "European Sculpture and Decorative Arts," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (1991), p. 29 n. 1, regarding the Pair of Terms of 1616 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1990.53.1–2); see also Kessler 2005, pp. 203, 361–63, figs. 134 and 135.
7. Annette Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen im Hellenismus* (Hamburg, 1993), pp. 18–53: "Type I"; my thanks to Jens Daehner, J. Paul Getty Museum, for bringing this reference to my attention.
8. A bust of a man in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, in a pose similar to though less affecting than that of the Coppola bust, has been attributed recently to Pietro Bernini and dated ca. 1614–18; see Kessler 2005, pp. 25–26, no. A25, figs. 99 and 100.
9. See Kessler 2005, esp. pp. 92–98.
10. Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà a San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (ASGF) 651, folio 57 right: "...si faccia fare una statua di marmo co[n] inscrittione a detto s[ignor] Ant[onio] e metter nello spedale come quella del Coppola...che ne parlassi al Bernino scultore—che si facessi quanto p[oss]a"; and ASGF-207, 1648 (for 1634):...p[er] Mantenim[en]to delle due teste di Creta fatte di Mano del Bernino." See Lavin 1968, pp. 246–47, docs. 20 and 29.

1.3

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Pope Paul V Borghese, 1621–22
Bronze, H (with socle): 83 cm (32 11/16 in.); W: 74 cm (29 1/8 in.)
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (Dep. 47)

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

According to known documentation, Gian Lorenzo did not try his hand at official pontifical portraiture until the early months of Gregory XV's reign. Since the bronze portraits of Paul V and Gregory XV were created as a pair, it is no accident that they are so similar (see cat. no. 1.4). In conceiving them, Bernini consciously drew on an illustrious tradition that had been inaugurated around the mid-sixteenth century by Guglielmo della Porta with his portraits of Paul III (Naples, Capodimonte) and Paul IV (Rome, Saint Peter's). Important examples in this tradition are the busts the Florentine Taddeo Landini (ca. 1550–1596) made of Gregory XIII (Berlin, Staatliche Museen; see fig. 5) and Clement VIII (Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini).

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

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

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

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

PROVENANCE

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

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

NOTES

1. On Sebastiani, who was responsible for, among other things, the casting of the statue of Paul V in Rimini from a model by Nicolas Cordier, see Pressouyre 1984, pp. 304–7, 333–34, 405, 407–10, and Anna Maria Massinelli, "Sebastiano Sebastiani," in Paolo Dal Poggetto, ed., *Le arti nelle al tiempo di Sisto V*, exh. cat. (Milan, 1992), pp. 252–54. In 1623 he worked again with Bernini on the execution of the *Paolo Giordano II Orsini* (cklst A13). For this same patron (Orsini), he had also executed, in 1621–22, an unspecified "bronze statue" and, in 1621, a "bust and head of Our Lord Pope Gregory XV, made at the behest of the illustrious Messer Acquaviva," in all probability from the model by Bernini, which had already been cast for Scipione Borghese (see cat. no. 1.4 in this volume); see Benocci 2006, pp. 19, 57–60, 77–78. In 1624, while Bernini was executing a second bronze bust of Orsini, the founder called upon to work with him was Giacomo Laurenziano, not Sebastiani, about whose artistic activity there is no further documentation after 1623, and who died by 1626; see Adolfo Venturi, *La scultura del Cinquecento*, vol. 10 of *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1936), part 2, p. 111.
2. These payments were published by Italo Faldi (1953a, p. 315).
3. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177; for the guidebooks, see Faldi 1954a, p. 26 (with prior bibliography). Nicodemus Tessin also saw a bust of Paul V alongside that of Scipione Borghese at the Villa Borghese, and referred to it as a work "by the father of the cavaliere [Gian Lorenzo Bernini]": Tessin 2002, p. 324. Around 1650 Richard Symonds described a "Marble portrait of Paul V by Bernini" in the Palazzo Borghese: Anne Brookes, "Richard Symonds's Account of His Visit to Rome in 1649–1651," *Walpole Society* 69 (2007), p. 78. This can perhaps be identified as the small bust currently in the Villa Borghese. Symonds also describes "an old head painted by Cavaj. Bernino, good" in the Palazzo Farnese, ibid., p. 85. Further complicating the story of Bernini's portraits of this pope, Baldinucci, in his list of Bernini's "marble statues" (a list that also includes busts, such as that of Gabriele Fonseca at San Lorenzo in Lucina), mentions one "of Paul V" in the church of Il Gesù, which is not, however, recorded by any other source connected to that church.
4. Martinelli 1956b, p. 13. It is entirely difficult to share, simply on the basis of the photograph, Damian Dombrowski's hypothesis (1997, pp. 290–91) that Finelli participated in the execution of the marble portrait.
5. The statement was made by Giovan Battista Costaguti, the pontiff's majordomo; see Pastor 1944–63, vol. 12, p. 35.
6. "A metal bust [*petto*] above the ornament of Proserpina, above the pedestal of mottled marble, portrait of Pope Paul V": Palma 1983, p. 72. The bust appears as well in subsequent inventories, up until 1733, though Paul V is sometimes confused with Urban VIII or Gregory XV.
7. Maria Teresa Di Lotto in Vatican City 1981, pp. 99–100.

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

I.4

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi, 1621–22
Bronze, H (with socle): 78 cm (30¾ in.); W: 66 cm (26 in.); D: 24 cm (9½ in.)
Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André (MJAP-S 861)

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

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

Of the four bronze busts, the present example is the only one whose origin is certain. Documents in the Borghese Archive describe Cardinal Scipione Borghese's commission for two papal busts—one of Paul V and the other of Gregory XV—designed by Bernini and then cast in bronze by Sebastiano Sebastiani between September 1621 and September 1622.[4] The Jacquemart-André bust must be the one ordered by Cardinal Borghese since it is listed in the 1899 auction catalogue as "From the Borghese Collection, Rome." Moreover, it can be identified with the one mentioned in the 1762 inventory of the villa.[5] Bernini's busts of Gregory XV were his first official papal portraits, and it has been reasonably suggested that Cardinal Borghese's commission was a way of having Bernini create an official portrait, "after the fact," of Paul V, his maternal uncle, while highlighting the link between the previous and current pontiff.[6] In addition to the auction catalogue provenance, this bronze can be identified as one of the two busts of the Borghese commission because of the style and format correlations between it and that of Paul V, also sold from the Borghese collection (cat. no. 1.3).

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

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

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

PROVENANCE

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

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Muñoz 1911; Faldi 1953a, p. 312; Faldi 1953b, p. 146; Wittkower (1955) 1997, pp. 88, 236–37, no. 12(2); Martinelli 1956b, p. 18 n. 27; La Moureyre-Gavoty 1975, pp. 193 verso, 194; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 778; Tomaso Montanari in Milan 2002, pp. 116–19, no. 19

NOTES

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

I.7

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Cardinal François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis, 1621–22
Marble, H (with socle): 75 cm (29½ in.); W: 61 cm (24 in.)
Bordeaux, Saint Bruno, on deposit at the Musée d'Aquitaine (Bx M 12563)

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

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

He also sponsored urban improvements such as draining swamps and renovating important architectural structures. One such project was the reconstruction of the Chartreuse of Bordeaux, a monastery originally founded in 1383 near the Garonne River, on a hill in a marshy area of the city, and the addition to its structure of the Hôpital Saint-Charles. De Sourdis had the area drained and on May 29, 1620, with financial assistance from Blaise de Gascq, a wealthy monk, consecrated the single-nave church of Notre-Dame de Miséricorde. The charterhouse was constructed to the south and east of the church and the hospital to the north and west. During the French Revolution, all of the structures were destroyed except for the church, which, after the reaffirmation of the Catholic faith in France with the Concordat of 1801, became part of the parish of Saint Vincent de Paul, was renamed the Church of Saints Vincent and Bruno in 1820, and is now known simply as Saint Bruno.

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

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

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

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

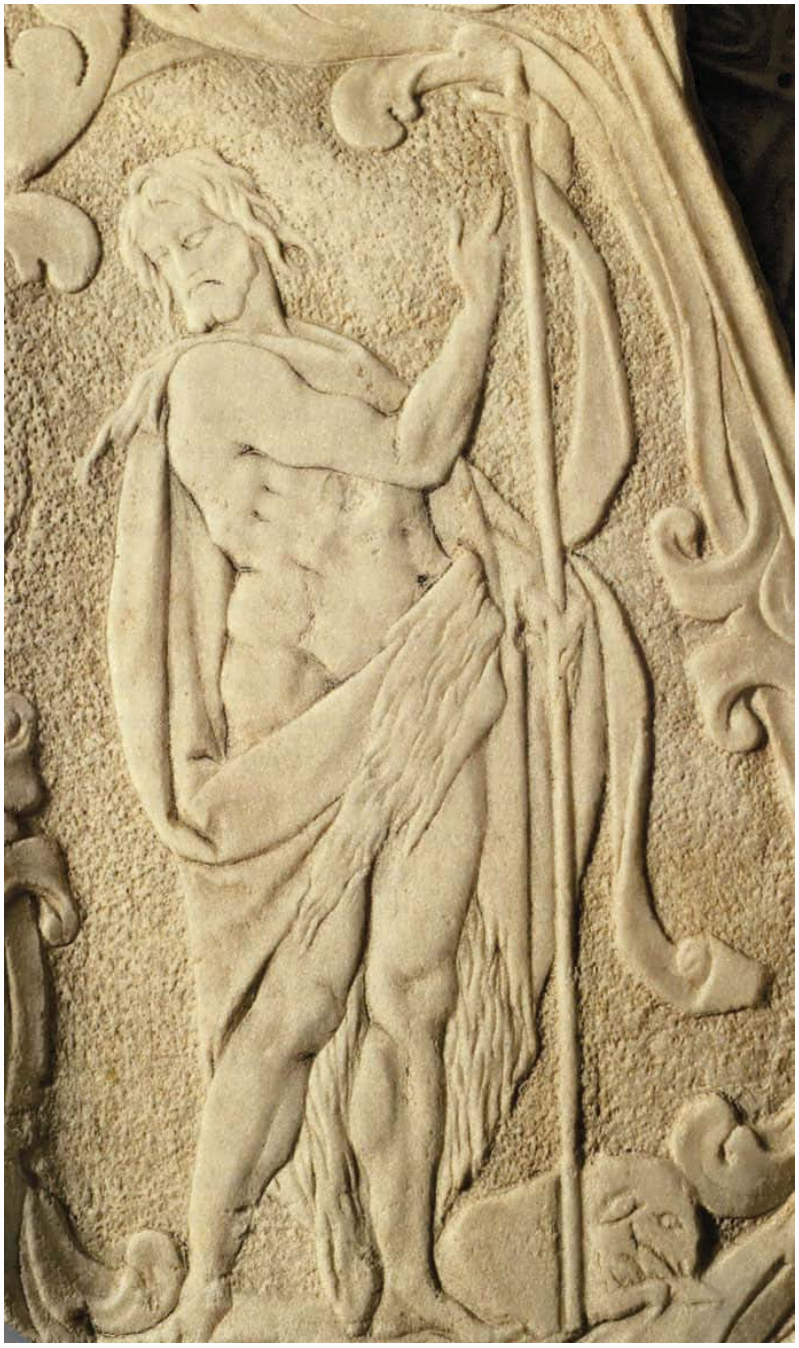

Fig. 1.7.1 PIETRO BERNINI
Angel from *The Annunciation*, 1622. Marble. Bordeaux, Church of Saint Bruno.

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

movement of 1793, the bust was taken and thrown into a nearby well ("un puits voisin"), where it remained until it was rescued and placed in the "Musée de la ville." In 1826, it was returned to Saint Bruno and by 1861 is documented to the north of the main door, where it remained until at least 1974.[10]

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

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

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

1.8

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Antonio Cepparelli, 1622
Marble, H (with socle): 70 cm (27 ⅝ in.); W: 60 cm (23 ⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo della Chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

A MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE of the Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà[1] led Irving Lavin in the mid-1960s not only to identify this bust but also to find it in an underground storeroom of the hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.[2] The story is much the same as that of Bernini's bust of Antonio Coppola (cat. no. 1.2). For reasons unknown, neither bust was mentioned by Bernini's biographers and they were lost when their move to the basilica's cellar at the demolition of the hospital in 1937 was unrecorded. A few pre-twentieth-century catalogues and handbooks mention both the Coppola and Cepparelli busts but without noting who produced them; curiously, one of these is a guidebook that dates to just seventy-five years after the *Cepparelli* was created.[3]

Both Coppola and Cepparelli were wealthy Florentine men living in Rome. Both bequeathed their patrimony to the hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini—whose construction began in 1606 on the south side of the eponymous basilica—and both were the subject of commemorative portrait busts placed, originally, in that hospital. Also, as for the bust of Antonio Coppola, documents tell us that "Bernini" was ordered to create the bust but do not identify which Bernini, father or son.[4] Fortunately, a receipt of 1622 survives recording that Gian Lorenzo was paid for the bust, while Pietro acted as agent, having countersigned the reverse.[5] Final payments were made to "Ca.re Bernini" on completion of the bust in December 1623.[6]

For this portrait of the Florentine gentleman, it appears that Bernini may have been influenced in some way by an undated but almost certainly earlier bust in the Aldobrandini Chapel of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, attributed to Ippolito Buzio (fig. 1.8.1).[7] Both busts depict their subjects wearing leather doublets, slashed and sewn at the shoulders to aid range of movement. Beyond the subjects' clothing, the depictions share similar physiognomy—with sunken cheeks and shallow-set eyes—and the same casually hung cloak over the left shoulder.

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

Fig. 1.8.1 ATTRIBUTED TO IPPOLITO BUZIO (1562–1634)
Bust of an Aldobrandini Family Member, early seventeenth century. Marble. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

PROVENANCE

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

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NOTES

1. Giuseppe Tomassetti, "Catalogo delle Posizioni, Pergamene e Scritture esistenti nell'Archivio dei Pii Stabilimenti di S. Giovanni della Nazione Fiorentina of compliato negli anni 1877–1879," cited in Lavin 1968, p. 225 n. 13.
2. Lavin 1968, pp. 224–25, 239, 241–43, 246.
3. Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio Romano ovvero delle Opere Pie di Roma* (Rome, 1698), p. 126; see also Carlo Luigi Morichini, *Degl'istituti di publica carità e d'istruzione primaria in Roma* (Rome, 1835), p. 65; Antonio Nibby, *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII* (Rome, 1841), vol. 4, p. 157; Forcella 1869–84, vol. 7, pp. 16 and 21.
4. Archivio della Confraternita della Pietà a San Giovanni dei Fiorentini-651, folio 57 right (April 23, 1622), as published in Lavin 1968, p. 246, doc. 20: "a statue of marble with inscription is to be made of the aforementioned Mister Antonio [Cepparelli] and it is to be placed in the hospital like that of Coppola, and Mr. Girolamo Ticci was told to speak to Bernini the sculptor that he should make it as soon as possible."
5. Lavin 1968, p. 246, doc. 22b.
6. Lavin 1968, p. 246, docs. 23a, 23b, and 23c.
7. Pressouyre 1984, vol. 2, p. 454; confirmed by Kessler 1997, pp. 77–84, who identifies the subject as possibly Silvio Aldobrandini; Alessandro Angelini identifies the subject as possibly Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini (Angelini 2005, pl. 5).
8. Lavin 1968, p. 242 n. 127.

I.9

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto, 1622–23
Marble, H (with socle): 79 cm (31 ⅛ in.); W: 65 cm (25 ⅝ in.)
Hamburg, Kunsthalle

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

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

Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti Montalto took possession of his granduncle's immense Villa Montalto, which the elder Peretti had built on a large estate he had acquired on the Esquiline Hill. On becoming pope, Peretti rebuilt an important aqueduct (Acqua Felice), bringing water from the Alban hills to the northern part of Rome, including the Villa Montalto and its formal gardens. After the death of Sixtus V, Alessandro and his brother Michele began projects to enrich the villa, including commissioning Gian Lorenzo Bernini to produce a magnificent fish-pond fountain on the property. *Neptune and Triton*, the great figure group from this fountain, was sold to Sir Joshua Reynolds at the end of the eighteenth century, eventually finding its way to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[2] It seems that this large-scale, dynamic sculpture pleased the cardinal since, soon after its completion, he commissioned Bernini to produce the life-size *David* that remained unfinished at the cardinal's death in 1623. The commission was taken over by Scipione Borghese, who was, apparently, eager to see it completed. Bernini finished the *David* in 1624, having had to interrupt his work on Scipione's commission for the *Apollo and Daphne*.[3]

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

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

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

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

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

Fig. 1.9.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo, ca. 1623. Marble, H (with socle): 82 cm (32 5/16 in.); W: 70 cm (27 9/16 in.). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (NG2436).

Fig. 1.9.2 GIULIANO FINELLI
Cardinal Damasceni Peretti Montalto, 1630s. Marble, H: 91 cm (35 7/8 in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

PROVENANCE

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

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NOTES

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

2.1

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Camilla Barberini (née Barbadori), 1619
Marble, H: 77 cm (30⅜ in.); W: 54 cm (21¼ in.)
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

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

On this occasion, however, Cardinal Barberini had requested, from Gian Lorenzo alone, marble portraits of his own parents: Camilla Barbadori and Antonio Barberini. Ten months after completing the bust of Camilla, in February 1620, Gian Lorenzo delivered the portrait of Antonio Barberini, which has since been lost. Maffeo, who was born in Florence in 1568, had lost his father at the age of three and was, therefore, very attached to his mother.[4] Belonging to a noble Florentine family (an ancestor of hers had commissioned Filippo Lippi to paint a celebrated altarpiece now at the Louvre), Camilla had entrusted her son's education to the Jesuits, later sending him to Rome, where he lived with her husband's brother, Francesco Barberini, whom Gian Lorenzo would portray in a bust now at the National Gallery in Washington (cat. no. 2.2). Maffeo's affection for his mother was such that he not only wrote a poetic composition on the death of his mother[5] but also often claimed that one of his greatest regrets in life was that Camilla (who died in 1609) did not see him ascend to the papacy.[6]

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

The commission for the two busts must have come in the final months of 1618 or in early 1619, at the very moment when Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V, was in the process of hiring the young sculptor to create the large mythological sculpture groups that would keep Gian Lorenzo busy at the Villa Borghese for the next several years. The present bust must therefore have been executed during the same months as the *Aeneas and Anchises*, and also around the same time as the *Blessed Soul* and the *Damned Soul*, already documented in the Montoya collection by 1619.[9]

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

installed in Sant'Andrea della Valle.[10] What is certain is that in 1626 Tommaso Fedele was commissioned to make two oval porphyry reliefs of the pontiff's parents; these were intended for the chapel as replacements for the marble busts (figs. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2).[11] The latter are mentioned in 1628 as being among the possessions belonging to Cardinal Francesco Barberini that came from the home of his father, Carlo, Pope Urban VIII's brother.[12] The small yellow marble pedestal, on which the portrait stands today is the very same one for which Bernini was paid in March 1629.[13] Its new location in a gallery necessitated a pedestal, whereas its original location in the chapel, most likely in an oval niche, had not. Indeed, if the base had been necessary from the start, Bernini would probably have sculpted it out of the same block of marble as the portrait, as was his practice.

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

Bernini had never met Camilla Barbadori, so when sculpting her bust he probably referred to the "two portraits of Signora Camilla, one when she was old, the other when she was a widow," mentioned among Maffeo's possessions in 1623 but since lost.[15] Presumably Gian Lorenzo drew inspiration from these paintings, both for the physiognomy and for the choice of clothing, just as he did in the case of the *Francesco Barberini* (fig. 2.2.1), for which a painted portrait served as a model.[16]

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

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

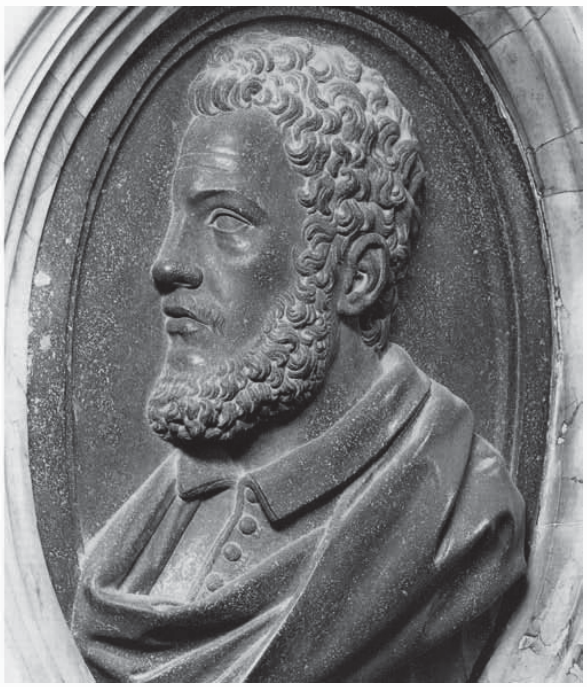

Fig. 2.1.2 TOMMASO FEDELE
Antonio Barberini, 1626–27. Porphyry relief. Rome, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Barberini Chapel.

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

PROVENANCE

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

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NOTES

1. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 166; and Lavin 1968, p. 246.
2. Testa 2001.
3. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 420–21.
4. Pastor 1944–63, vol. 13, p. 111.
5. *Poesie Toscane* (Rome, 1637), sonnet LXX.
6. Pastor 1943–66, vol. 13, p. 420.
7. D'Onofrio 1967, p. 411. On Cristoforo Stati and his role in the decoration of the Cappella Barberini, see Susanna Zanuso, "Cristoforo Stati," in Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, p. 845; and Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, pp. 40–42 (both with prior bibliography).
8. Domenico Bernini (1713, p. 11).
9. Lavin 1993, pp. 101, 125, doc. 1.
10. D'Onofrio (1967, pp. 166–68) hyphothesized that the two busts might form part of the "Ten marble heads with bust and pedestal arranged on golden stools for the Rooms of the Lord Cardinal," which appear in the 1623 inventory of the possessions of Maffeo Barberini passed on to his brother Carlo after his election as pope; see Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 71, no. 206. We should also bear in mind it was not until 1626 that the Barberinis acquired from the Rucellais the bay connecting their respective chapels, where the two reliefs by Tommaso Fedele are located today; see D'Onofrio 1967, p. 169.
11. Martinelli 1955a, pp. 40–41; and Aronberg Lavin 1975, pp. 15–16, docs. 127–30.
12. Fraschetti 1900, p. 140; and Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 79, no. 128.
13. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 5, doc. 32.
14. Martinelli 1956c, pp. 23–33.
15. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 68, no. 114.
16. Middeldorf 1971, pp. 542–44.
17. Lavin 1968, p. 237.
18. Pressouyre 1984, fig. 82.
19. Martinelli 1956c (1994, p. 266).

2.2

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Francesco di Carlo Barberini, ca. 1623
Marble, H (with socle): 80.3 cm (31⅝ in.); W: 66.1 cm (26⅛ in.)
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection (1961.9.102)

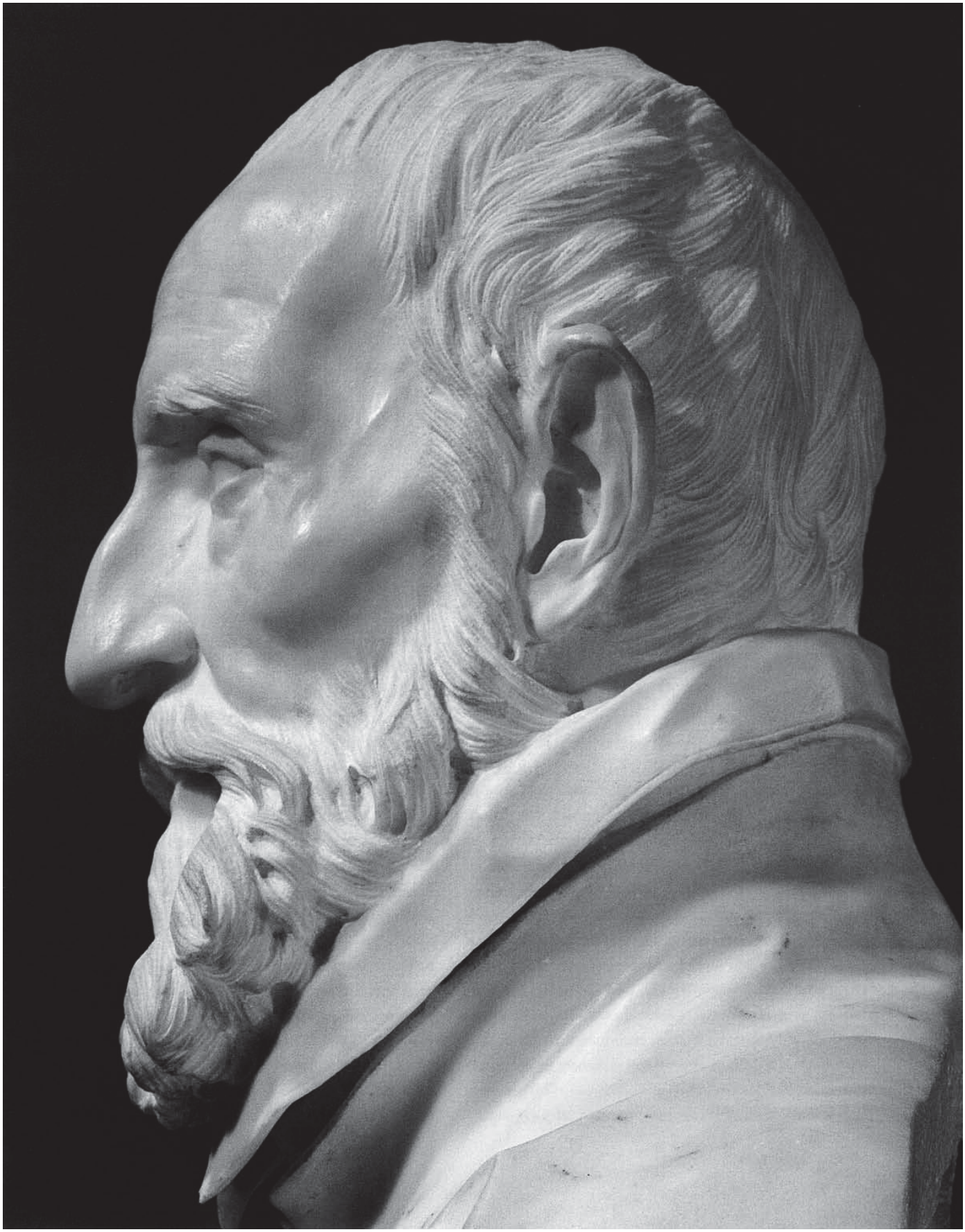
EVEN BEFORE HIS ELEVATION TO THE PAPACY in 1623 as Urban VIII, Maffeo Barberini asked Bernini to produce portraits of his ancestors, perhaps including this bust of his beloved uncle. Attribution to Bernini is confirmed not only by stylistic similarities with other busts of the 1620s (see discussion below) but also by an entry in the Barberini inventory of 1627[1] and by its inclusion in the list of works in Filippo Baldinucci's biography of the artist.[2] Since Barberini died more than twenty years before his effigy was sculpted, Bernini must have used a pictorial model, and this model appears to have been the late-sixteenth-century painted portrait of Francesco in the Corsini collection, Florence, in which the identity of the sitter is verified by an inscription on a letter in his right hand: *Alla Sig^ria Ill^ma Mons. Francesco Barberini* (fig. 2.2.1).

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

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

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

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



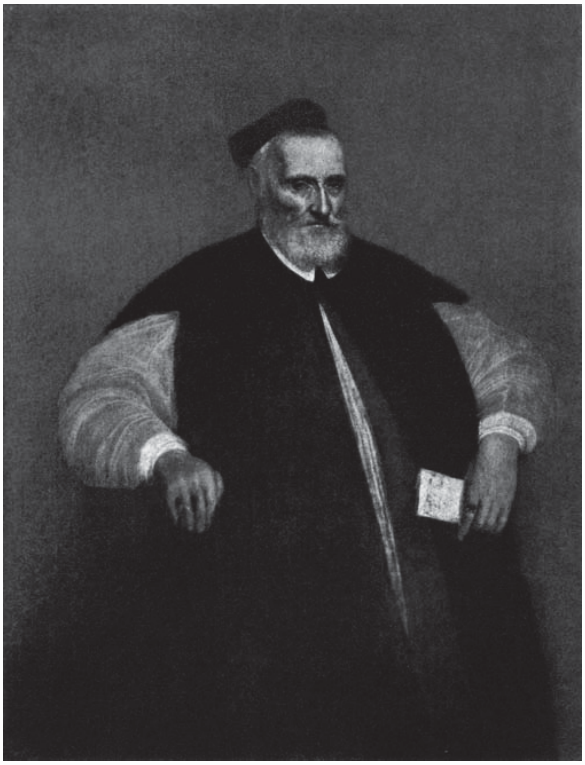


Fig. 2.2.1 NICODEMO FERRUCCI (1574–1650)
Francesco Barberini. Oil on canvas. Florence, Corsini Collection.

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

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

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

2.3

FRANCESCO MOCHI (1580–1654)
Portrait of Carlo Barberini, ca. 1630
Marble, H (without socle): 84 cm (33 1/16 in.); W: 80 cm (31 1/2 in.); D: 36 cm (14 1/16 in.); socle: 23 x 23 cm (9 1/16 x 9 1/16 in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma, Palazzo Braschi (MR 1097)

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

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

A print in Hieronymus Tetius's *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*, printed in Rome in 1642, documents the appearance of this bust, which is known to have entered the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane by 1641 (fig. 2.3.2). The print shows that the bust originally had a collar, which may have broken and then been ground down. A version of the Museo di Roma bust—with collar intact—exists in the Barberini collection at Palestrina but is of inferior quality, lacking the vigor and elegance of the Museo di Roma portrait.[1] A similar collar was included on a bust of the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni (1592–1657), attributed to Mochi, in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. This bust shows the subject in a cuirass analogous to that of Carlo Barberini. The bust, however, is more highly truncated, with a less dramatic sash and a more nervously articulated series of facial wrinkles and creases.[2]

Carlo Barberini died in the company of his son on a peaceful mission to Bologna during the War of the Mantuan Succession (1628–31), a dispute that arose from the extinction of the house of Gonzaga and was fought between France and the Holy Roman Empire over the succession to the duchy of Mantua and Montferrat. Three projects were planned to commemorate him: an elaborate plaque and a funeral catafalque designed by Bernini for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, and a life-size statue composed of an ancient torso restored and completed by Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, for the Sala dei Capitani in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (see fig. 48). Bernini was responsible for producing the head of this statue, which, in spite of the physical similarities, presents a very different image of the man (fig. 2.3.3) than that in Mochi's almost contemporary bust. Bernini's is a softer, more pictorial and classicizing presentation, while Mochi's is a more intensely psychological image. Mochi's bust, also probably posthumous, differs as well from an exquisite small bronze he produced of Carlo Barberini on horseback. The composition of this work derives from his Farnese equestrian monuments in Piacenza, which occupied the sculptor in that city from 1612 to 1629.[3] In particular, the Alessandro Farnese monument (see fig. 49) shares with this bronze an assertive and powerful dynamism, very different from the tense composure of his portrait bust.

Fig. 2.3.1 FRANCESCO MOCHI
Portrait of Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Younger, 1628–29, Marble, H (with base): 99 cm (39 in.). Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (1965.176).

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

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

PROVENANCE

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

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NOTES

1. Martinelli 1946, pl. XXXI; Lavin 1970, pp. 140–42; Di Gioia 2002, p. 46, fig. 12.

2. I would like to thank Evonne Levy for bringing this bust to my attention. See Francesco Santi, "Un inedito marmo di Francesco Mochi a Perugia," *Paragone* 26, no. 299 (1975), pp. 82–85. Why Mochi chose to portray a lawyer in a cuirass is not known.

3. The bronze is in the Barberini collection, Rome, and its wax model exists in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; see Maddalena De Luca Savelli in Montevarchi, Piacenza, and Rome 1981, pp. 59 and 70, nos. 12 and 17.

4. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 335, no. 986; p. 448, no. 519.

5. Lavin 1970, p. 140.

6. For information on this project, see Martinelli 1955, pp. 32–52.

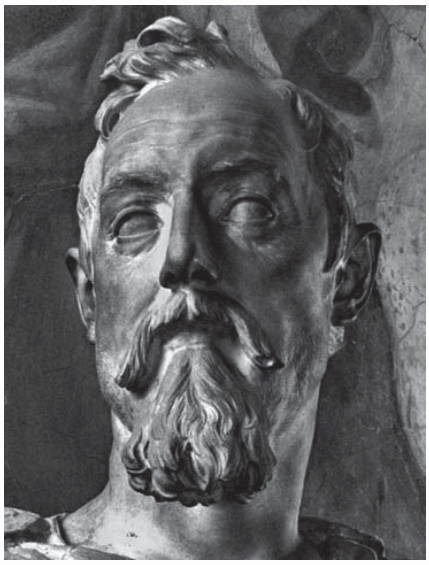

Fig. 2.3.2 Engraving from HIERONYMUS TETIUS (GIROLAMO TETI)
Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem (Rome, 1642).

Fig. 2.3.3 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Carlo Barberini (detail; see fig. 48), 1630. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

2.5

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632
Marble, H (with base): 94.7 cm (37¼ in.); W: 68.8 cm (27⅛ in.); D: 34.3 cm (13½ in.),
Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (18086)

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

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

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

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

by the Barberini some time before November 1632.[9] It was set in the paneling of the library of the Palazzo Barberini before 1642, when it was recorded there by Teti.[10] In 1902 it entered the collection of the Vatican Library (cklst A17d). Another bronze now in the Palazzo Comunale in Camerino (although lacking the distinctive crease in the mozzetta) was likely also cast from the same model, the intermediate wax having been subtly modified (cklst A17e).[11]

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

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

PROVENANCE

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

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NOTES

1. See Wittkower 1955, p. 184; and Wittkower 1969.
2. See Lavin 1956, p. 259; Martinelli 1956, pp. 37–38; and Hibbard 1965, p. 105.
3. Wittkower 1966, p. 185.
4. Guidiccioni's text was first published in D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 381–88. A new transcription is given in Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 179–83.
5. D'Onofrio 1966b, p. 131.
6. P. Santa Maria Mannino in Vatican City 1981, p. 81, with bibliography.
7. Zitzlsperger 2002, pp. 166–67, no. 8.
8. "La luce augustissima che emana dalla fronte, dagli occhi, dal volto / qui ci chiarisce che l'opera non è di mano d'artista; / vediamo un Palladio caduto dal Cielo, / per essere ornamento eterno e sostegno di questa casa": Italian translation of the Latin from the reprint of *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae* edited by Lucia Faedo and Thomas Frangenberg (Pisa, 2005), p. 170. Teti gives its location as the Stanze di Parnasso, one of Cardinal Antonio Barberini's suites of rooms.
9. The evidence is circumstantial; see Lavin 1970, p. 141 n. 65. For the bronze, see Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 167, no. 9.
10. See *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae* (see note 8 above), p. 31.
11. Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 170, no. 15. Cast in 1643.
12. See Martinelli 1996, pp. 254 and 256.
13. Guidiccioni describes Bernini as "bending, stretching, moulding the model with [his] hands"; see Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 181. Charles Avery in Edinburgh 1998, p. 69.
14. What may be the Galleria Nazionale version is first noted in a 1644 inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, "a portrait of Our Lord Pope Urban VIII, marble…by Bernini"; see Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 182, no. 684. It is not possible to clearly distinguish the Ottawa version amongst the other busts of Urban listed in the Barberini inventories, presuming it remained in the possession of the family. See Aronberg Lavin 1975 for the various busts of Urban VIII listed on pp. 662–63 of the index.

Fig. 2.5.2 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632. Marble, H: 83 cm (32 7/16 in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

2.7

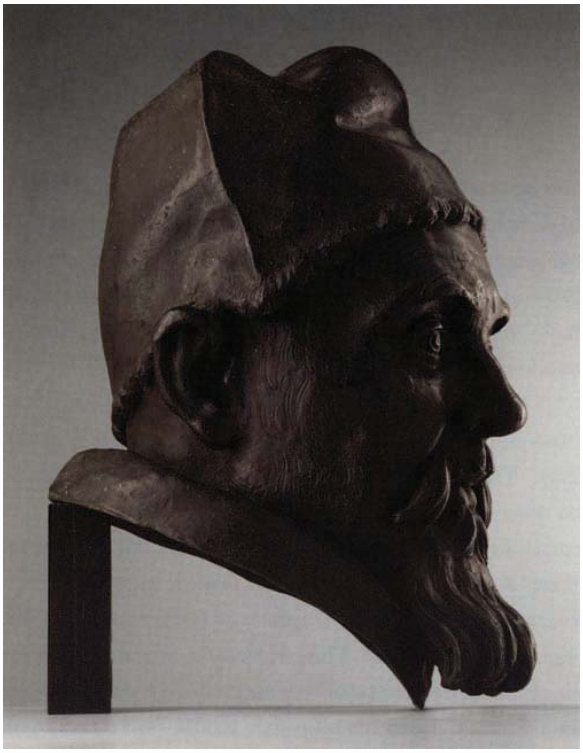
GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632
Bronze and porphyry, H (without green marble base): 81 cm (31 ⅞ in.); W: 80 cm (31 ½ in.); D: 35 cm (13 ⅞ in.)
Rome, Private Collection

THE EARLIEST MENTION OF THIS BUST is found in the travel notes of Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, who saw it in a room in the Palazzo Barberini during his Roman sojourn in 1687–88. He described it as follows: "Urban VIII bust by Cav. Bernin, with head in bronze, and the rest in porphyry."[1] The portrait then appears in the inventory of the possessions of Cardinal Carlo Barberini, the pontiff's grandnephew, drawn up between 1692 and 1704: "A Portrait of Urban VIII with chest in porphyry, head of metal, base of serpentine, with the pedestal veiled in crimson, with arabesques of laurel, bees, lilies and gilded festoons."[2] Next we find it cited several times in guides to Rome, from the 1693 *Mercurio errante* by Pietro Rossini to Gregorio Roisecco's 1745 *Roma antica e moderna*—which mentions it as having been executed "from a drawing by Bernini"—to Antonio Nibby's *Itinerario di Roma*, from 1827.[3]

Stanislao Fraschetti considered it "executed in Bernini's workshop from his studies in clay."[4] For Rudolf Wittkower, on the other hand, "an antique porphyry bust was worked over in the studio," while "the bronze head is a cast from the model that had previously served for the Louvre bust but the bronze was left unpolished. Difficult to date; but probably very late."[5] Valentino Martinelli's approximately contemporary judgment was almost as brusque, calling the bust "a bronze and porphyry replica that in the past was for the most part admired as an original of Bernini, whereas today we can see that it is nothing but a mediocre and unrefinished bronze head, perhaps drawn from the original model, hoisted onto a red porphyry bust that is a summary and approximate imitation of the bronze one."[6] Later historians, up to the present day, have been in general agreement, suggesting a dating around 1640.[7] We should bear in mind, however, that the scholars did not all have the opportunity to see the bust in person, since it was and still is kept by the pontiff's descendants.

The bronze head is indeed connected to those of the busts in the Louvre (cklst A18c) and in Florence (cat. no. 2.6).[8] The quality of the cast is in every way comparable to what we see in those two busts; there is nothing that might suggest the possibility of a later execution or something done outside the master's control. Indeed, the virtually unworked quality of the cast confers considerable vigor on the portrait. This, moreover, was the first time since antiquity[9] that porphyry and bronze were combined in a portrait, a combination that would find rather scant favor thereafter, being limited to the portrait of Pope Innocent X by Alessandro Algardi (fig. 5.10.2). Bernini therefore deserves the credit for renewing, through the combination of the two materials, the typology of the porphyry bust, which first arose in grand-ducal Tuscany. The preciousness and ancient imperial significance of porphyry, whose color, among other things, makes it the ideal stone for rendering a pope's mozzetta, and the choice to execute the head in bronze—a material also rich in ancient echoes—made it possible to eliminate the static expression typical of porphyry, which is very hard to sculpt and would have been particularly out of place in Berninian portraiture.

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



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

PROVENANCE

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

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NOTES

1. Tessin 2002, p. 306.
2. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 450, no. 559.
3. Rossini (edition of 1700), p. 51; Roisecco, vol. 2, p. 111; Nibby, p. 222.
4. Fraschetti 1900, pp. 145–46.
5. Wittkower (1955) 1997, p. 244, no. 19(7).
6. Martinelli 1955a (1994, pp. 88–89).
7. Schütze in Rome 1999b, p. 428; and Zitzlsperger 2002, p. 169.
8. See Wittkower 1981, p. 186.
9. An ancient bust of Marcus Aurelius in bronze and porphyry, which was kept in the Villa Ludovisi (see D'Onofrio 1969, p. 318), was probably known to Bernini.
10. Aronberg Lavin 1975, p. 475, doc. 132.

2.8

FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY (1597–1643)
Portrait of John Barclay, 1627–28
Marble, H (with socle): 79 cm (31 ¼ in.);
W: 64 cm (25 ¼ in.); D: 32 cm (12 ⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo Tassiano a Sant'Onofrio

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

Maffeo's nephew Francesco Barberini asked Pietro da Cortona in 1623 to design pendant funeral monuments in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome, for two of his beloved and erudite teachers: one for John Barclay, his master of literature, and the other for Bernardo Guglielmi, his master of canon law (fig. 2.8.2). Both busts display a similarly angular three-sided truncation that elegantly complements the form of the square socles on which both are placed. Duquesnoy used this same format for his bust of the dwarf in the service of the duke of Créquy (cat. no. 2.9). This idealized rendering of the poet shows him with a clear gaze, smoothly articulated face, and subtle smile—betraying the satirist's sharp intelligence and wit—under an elegant mustache. The wide, smooth collar above his cloak-draped doublet further emphasizes the almost romantic beauty of Barclay's head. For this composition, Duquesnoy may have been looking at Bernini's bust of Antonio Cepparelli, which was installed in the hospital of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome in the early 1620s (cat. no. 1.8). As in Bernini's *Cepparelli*, Barclay's right arm moves back in space as the head turns off the central axis, providing animation to the bust. However, in place of Cepparelli's casually slung cloak, Barclay has been swathed diagonally in antique style, which creates a greater sense of spiral movement and classical grandeur.

According to the account books of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, "Francesco Chente" (François Duquesnoy) received payment for the two busts in October 1628.[1] Four years later, however, Barclay's French wife, Louise Debonaire, asked to have the bust of her deceased husband removed from the church and transported to her house "near the pawn-shop."[2] According to Barclay's biographer, Janus Nicius Erythraeus, Debonaire found the monument unworthy, requesting, as well, that Barclay's remains be transferred to the Church of Sant'Onofrio and placed near the tomb of Torquato Tasso, the great sixteenth-century Neapolitan poet who died in Rome. The bust was documented in the library of this church in 1679;[3] at some point it was moved to the Museo Tassiano next door, where it remains today. In 1660 Cardinal Barberini commissioned Antonio Giorgetti to replace the Barclay monument with one dedicated to his personal secretary, Girolamo Aleandro, who had died in 1629. Still wanting to honor the Scottish poet, Barberini ordered Giorgetti in 1667 to produce a tomb-slab in Barclay's memory, but this work has not come to light.

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

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

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

PROVENANCE

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

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Noehles 1964, pp. 87–90; Nava Cellini 1966a, pp. 34–36; Hadermann-Misguich 1970, pp. 20–21; Ficacci 1989, pp. 252–53; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 318, 797; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, pp. 184 and 526; Marion Boudon in Rome 2000, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 10; Boudon-Machuel 2005, pp. 329–30; no. DE.121; Lingo 2007, pp. 95–101

NOTES

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

3.6

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1632
Red chalk and graphite, 25.3 x 18.4 cm (9 15/16 x 7 1/4 in.)
New York, Morgan Library and Museum (IV. 176)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


CLEMENS XI

4.1

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1632
Marble, H (without base): 80.1 cm (31 ⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese (CCLXVI)

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

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

Scipione's patronage launched Bernini's great career. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bernini's bust of the cardinal became one of his most important and groundbreaking. A letter sent to the Este court on January 8, 1633, announced that "Cavaliere Bernini, at the request of the pope, had just made in marble the head of Cardinal Borghese for which he was paid 500 zecchini and a diamond of 150."[5] Whether Pope Urban VIII ordered the bust or simply allowed his protégé to sculpt an effigy of Scipione—the pope's friend and Bernini's first patron—is unclear. Nevertheless, this letter, together with a documented payment (published by Hibbard), establishes 1632 as the date for this bust; the sitter would then have been fifty-six years old, a believable age for this effigy of an aged but still lively individual.

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

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

> *When the bust was nearly completed, a mishap occurred: a crack [*un pelo*] was discovered in the marble across the most beautiful part of the forehead . . . Without telling a soul, [Bernini] worked for fifteen nights*[7] *. . . on another bust exactly like the first and not one bit less in beauty. He then had this bust transported to his studio, well wrapped, so that no one in his household could see . . . At first glance*

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

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

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

PROVENANCE

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

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

NOTES

1. Bernini's biographers record Pope Paul V's remark: "This young man will be the Michelangelo of his time"; see Baldinucci (1682) 1966, p. 10; and Bernini 1713, p. 9.

2. After the death of Paul V, in a move to maintain at least a portion of his status, Scipione gave this work to Ludovico Ludovisi, the nephew of the new pontiff, Gregory XV, and it remained in the Villa Ludovisi until 1911, when it was returned to the Galleria Borghese; see D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 277–78.

3. Scipione took over the *David* commission from Cardinal Damasceni Peretti Montalto at the cardinal's death in 1623; see Rome 1998, p. 218.

4. Baldinucci (1682) 1966, p. 13.

5. Fraschetti 1900, p. 107.

6. For more on his character, see Haskell 1963, pp. 27–28; and Anna Coliva in Rome 1998, pp. 287–88, no. 29.

7. According to Domenico Bernini, the second bust was produced in just three days; see Bernini 1713, p. 10.

8. Baldinucci (1682) 1966, pp. 76–77.

Fig. 4.1.1 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1632. Marble, H: 100 cm (38 ¾ in.);
W: 82 cm (32 ⅜ in.); D: 48 cm (18 ⅞ in.). Rome, Galleria Borghese.

4·3

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Costanza Bonarelli, 1636–38
Marble, H: 72 cm (28¾ in.)
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (81.5)

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

The second document, a letter among the Barberini papers at the Vatican that was sent by Bernini's mother, Angelica, to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, tells of Gian Lorenzo's attempt to harm his brother with a sword, pursuing him through his mother's house and then, without any respect ("senza nessun rispetto"), through Santa Maria Maggiore. She begs the cardinal to reign in her impetuous son ("raffrenare l'impeto di questo suo figlio"). She also begs for leniency.[2] Pope Urban VIII fined Bernini 3,000 scudi and advised him to take a wife. Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini also document this affair, but in a more cloaked manner, appropriate for works intended to laud the artist for posterity.[3] It is unclear how the bust arrived in Florence from Rome. One archival document recounts that Bernini gave the bust to Giovanni Carlo de' Medici, while another source, a seventeenth-century letter, maintains that Monsignor Annibale Bentivoglio gave the bust to Francesco I d'Este, who may have presented it to the Medici as a diplomatic gift.[4] Most recently, it has been proposed that Bentivoglio gave the bust to the Medici in exchange for Van Dyck's portrait of his brother, Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (1579–1641).[5]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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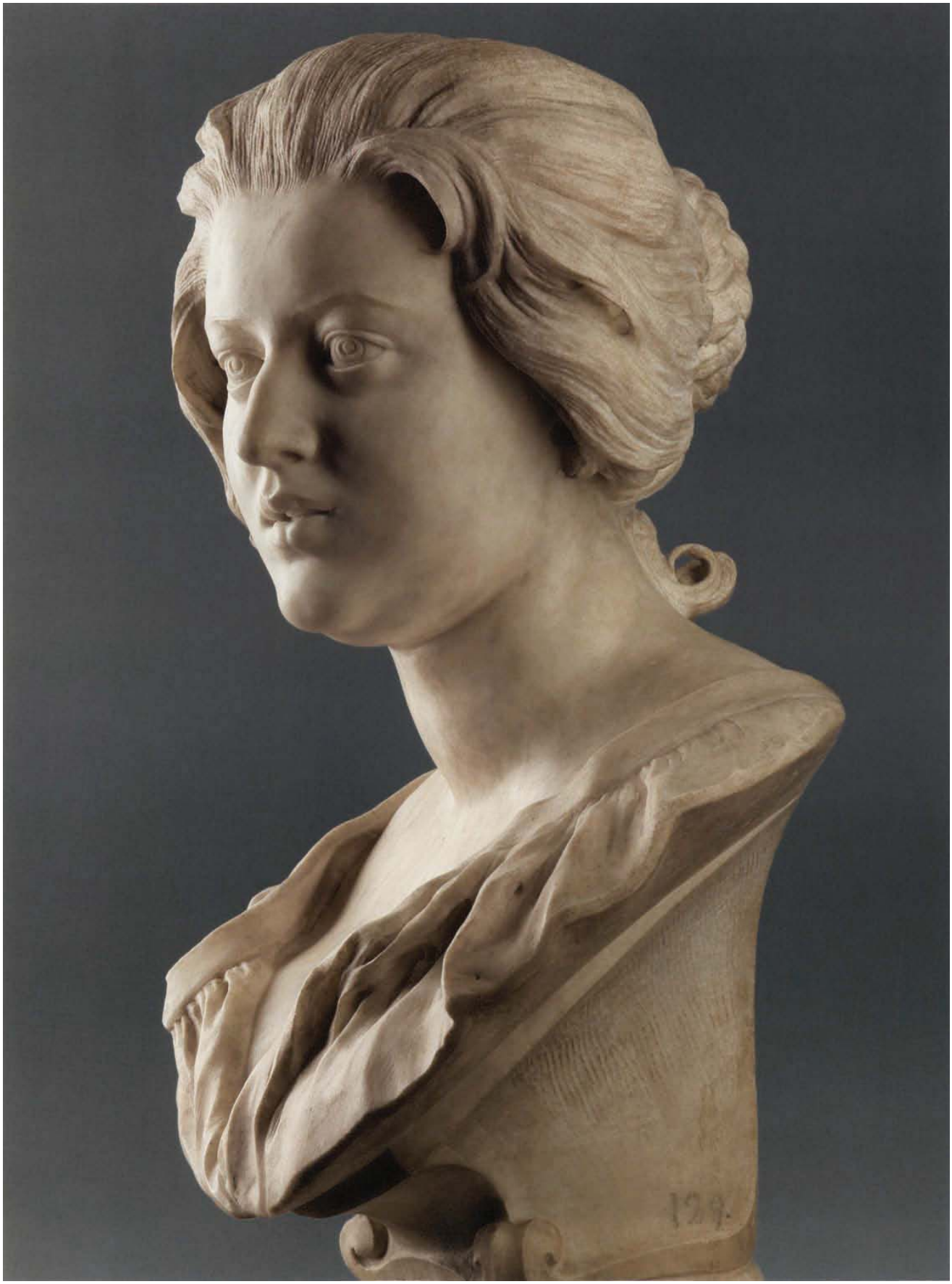
NOTES
1. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 131–33; McPhee 2006, pp. 320–21 n. 10. The Florentine document also indicates that for his bust of Costanza, Bernini had painted the pupils black and chiseled the hair in an atypical style ("maniera").
2. D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 131–33; McPhee 2006, p. 321 n. 11.
3. For instance,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



5.1

GIULIANO FINELLI (1601–1653)
Portrait of Francesco Bracciolini, 1630–31
Marble, H: 66 cm (26 in.)
London, Victoria and Albert Museum

TODAY NEARLY FORGOTTEN, the Pistoian poet Francesco Bracciolini (1566–1645) enjoyed considerable fame in Pope Urban VIII's Rome.[1] Secretary to Maffeo Barberini when the latter was still a cardinal, Bracciolini followed him to Paris, and there published in 1605 the first cantos of his *Croce racquistata* (*The Recaptured Cross*), an epic poem completed in 1611 and inspired by Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. In September 1605, after the death of Clement VIII Aldobrandini and the election of Paul V Borghese, Bracciolini, perhaps doubting the Barberini's fortunes under the new pontiff, left Maffeo's service and went back to Pistoia to join the priesthood. He would not return to Rome until 1623, immediately after his former protector's ascension to the papal throne. During his years in Pistoia, Bracciolini wrote his most famous work, *Lo scherno degli dei* (*The Derision of the Gods*), a mock epic published in 1618 and intended to poke fun at the passion of literati for mythology, as well as to arouse greater attention to the "natural" world. Back in Rome, and once again in the good graces of the Barberini family, having even become secretary to the pope's brother, Antonio, Bracciolini composed an extremely long heroic poem of nearly five hundred pages devoted to the pontiff: *L'Elettione di Urbano VIII*. At the heart of this epic, whose main characters are allegories of the vices and virtues, is the personification of divine providence, which is held responsible for Barberini's ascent to the papal throne. This was a theme that the writer would develop further in his program for the fresco decorations of the grand hall of the Palazzo Barberini, which was executed by Pietro da Cortona in the 1630s. The pontiff would later reward Bracciolini by granting him the right to include the Barberini bees in his coat of arms.

In 1644, after Urban's death, the poet returned to Pistoia, where he died the following year. Bracciolini was portrayed a surprising number of times: aside from the bust on exhibit here, Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630) did two drawings of him, one of which was made into an engraving in 1626 and also turned into a painting, now lost, by Andrea Sacchi (ca. 1599–1661). Bracciolini was also portrayed in a painting attributed to Pier Andrea Bufalini (b. 1621), then in Cassiano dal Pozzo's picture gallery and now in a private collection.[2] During the 1620s Bracciolini was in contact with Bernini, to whom he dedicated a poem inviting the sculptor to look at the works of Michelangelo. This was in keeping with Gian Lorenzo's reputation as the Michelangelo of his century ("Now, Bernini, follow in my footsteps and venerate the master of sculpture").[3]

The portrait of Bracciolini was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1863 with an attribution to Bernini.[4] Until just a few years earlier it had remained in Pistoia with the poet's descendants, where it was mentioned in a number of nineteenth-century guides to the city as a work by Alessandro Algardi.[5] This attribution, shared as late as 1958 by Rudolf Wittkower,[6] had been rejected the previous year by Antonia Nava Cellini, who ascribed the bust to Finelli on stylistic grounds, comparing it with the latter's *Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger* (fig. 5.1.1). The discovery of a poetic composition dedicated "Al Signor Giuliano Scultore" and celebrating this very bust definitively confirmed this hypothesis:

> *An impious, stubborn Death the marble*
> *Lends to Bracciolini; yet by the iron*
> *With which you, O Giuliano, portray him in this*
> *Stone, do you make him live, so that, if I'm not wrong,*
> *Having no less pity than you have wisdom and strength,*
> *With your marble you snatch him away from that Death.*[7]

Further archival discoveries[8] have also made it possible to establish the date of its execution around 1630–31, close to the date of the bust of Buonarroti, who was another important figure in the Barberini cultural circle.

Over the course of the 1620s Giuliano Finelli had worked for Bernini, who appreciated his extraordinary virtuosity in working marble and his ability to imitate with his chisel the most diverse sorts of surfaces. After Maffeo Barberini's election to the papacy, as Bernini was engaged almost full-time on the monumental projects assigned to him by the pontiff, he had to count more and more on Giuliano's help. But at this very moment relations between the two sculptors began to deteriorate; the definitive break probably came when Bernini chose Andrea Bolgi over Finelli to execute one of the four statues placed in the niches set into the pilasters under the dome of Saint Peter's. Thus shortly before 1630, Giuliano began working on his own, and, as his early portraits attest, he might well have become the most sought-after sculptural portraitist at a time when Bernini seemed almost to have abandoned the genre. Taking Bernini's busts of the 1620s as a point of comparison, in his works Finelli aims at dazzling the viewer through a visual tour de force that spares no detail—from the disheveled hair, to an unevenly shaven beard, to the relaxing of the facial muscles—rendering every centimeter of the marble surface in a different, animated, almost pulsating way. Not even in Bernini's own work had sculpture ever been brought so close to the mimetic rendering of the skin of a face. Thus it was not simply a poetic metaphor when, in an acclamation celebrating the bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, Alessandro Adimari praised the "audacious marble, that looked like wax, Oh Finelli, to your chisel."[9]

This kind of mimesis is already evident in the bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (see fig. 26), sculpted in 1626, when Finelli was still working for Bernini. In the Bracciolini bust, the sculptor again works wondrous feats with the chisel, for example, "embroidering" with a drill the lace border of the alb under the collar. Compared with the *Buonarroti*, sculpted just a few months earlier, the *Bracciolini* is more lifelike, his pupils and irises having been carved to confer on his gaze greater realism. The poet is caught with his mouth half open in the act of speaking, a composition that repeats Finelli's 1629 portrait of Ottavio Bandini at San Silvestro al Quirinale.[10]

The considerable emphasis given to the fur inside the figure's cape is a device that echoes a Bernini model of the previous decade, such as *Bartolomeo Roscioli* (ca. 1627; cklst A24). Such a choice would repeatedly recur in Finelli's portraiture of the 1630s, in pieces such as the *Bust of a Nobleman* formerly in the Palazzo Collicola at Spoleto and the *Girolamo Manili* in Santa Maria Maggiore (1634).[11] AB

PROVENANCE

Castello Traetti, Pistoia, until at least 1853; acquired in Florence by Gagliardi for the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1863

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[I. Margarucci], *Rime dell'Anonimo consecrate a Giesu Maria* (Rome, 1648), p. 126; Francesco Tolomei, *Guida di Pistoia per gli amanti delle belle Arti* (Pistoia, 1821), pp. 139–40; Giuseppe Tigri, *Pistoia e il suo territorio* (Pistoia, 1853), pp. 252–53; Posse 1919; Nava Cellini 1957; Wittkower 1958, pp. 174, 335; Nava Cellini 1960; Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 609–11; Pizzorusso 1985; Pizzorusso 1989, p. 115; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 88–90, 330, no. A.39; Francesco Solinas in Edinburgh 1998, pp. 70–71, 203, no. 25

NOTES

1. Michele Barbi, *Notizie della vita e delle opere di Francesco Bracciolini* (Florence, 1897); Lovanio Rossi, "Bracciolini (Dell'Api) Francesco," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13 (1971), pp. 634–36.

2. One of Ottavio Leoni's drawings portraying Bracciolini, dated May 1625, is now in the Accademia Colombaria of Florence, and a second, a mirror image, is at the Biblioteca Marucelliana, also in Florence; the engraving was used as the frontispiece for *Elettione di Urbano VIII papa di Francesco Bracciolini*, published in 1628; see Sani 2005, p. 179; for Sacchi's painting, see Sutherland Harris 1977a, p. 94; for the Dal Pozzo canvas, see Francesco Solinas, "Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657): il Ritratto di Jan van den Hoecke e 'l'Orazione' di Carlo Dati," *Bollettino d'Arte* 92 (1995), p. 333.

3. "Hor t'unisci Bernin, co' passi miei / A venerar della scultura il maestro." The line is from *Canzone con la quale s'invita il S.Cav. Bernino a veder l'opere di Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Song with which il Signor Cavalier Bernino is invited to look at the works of Michelangelo Buonarroti), the manuscript of which is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, as was mentioned in Fraschetti 1900, p. 222, and published by Catherine M. Sousloff, "Imitatio Buonarroti," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989), pp. 601–2.

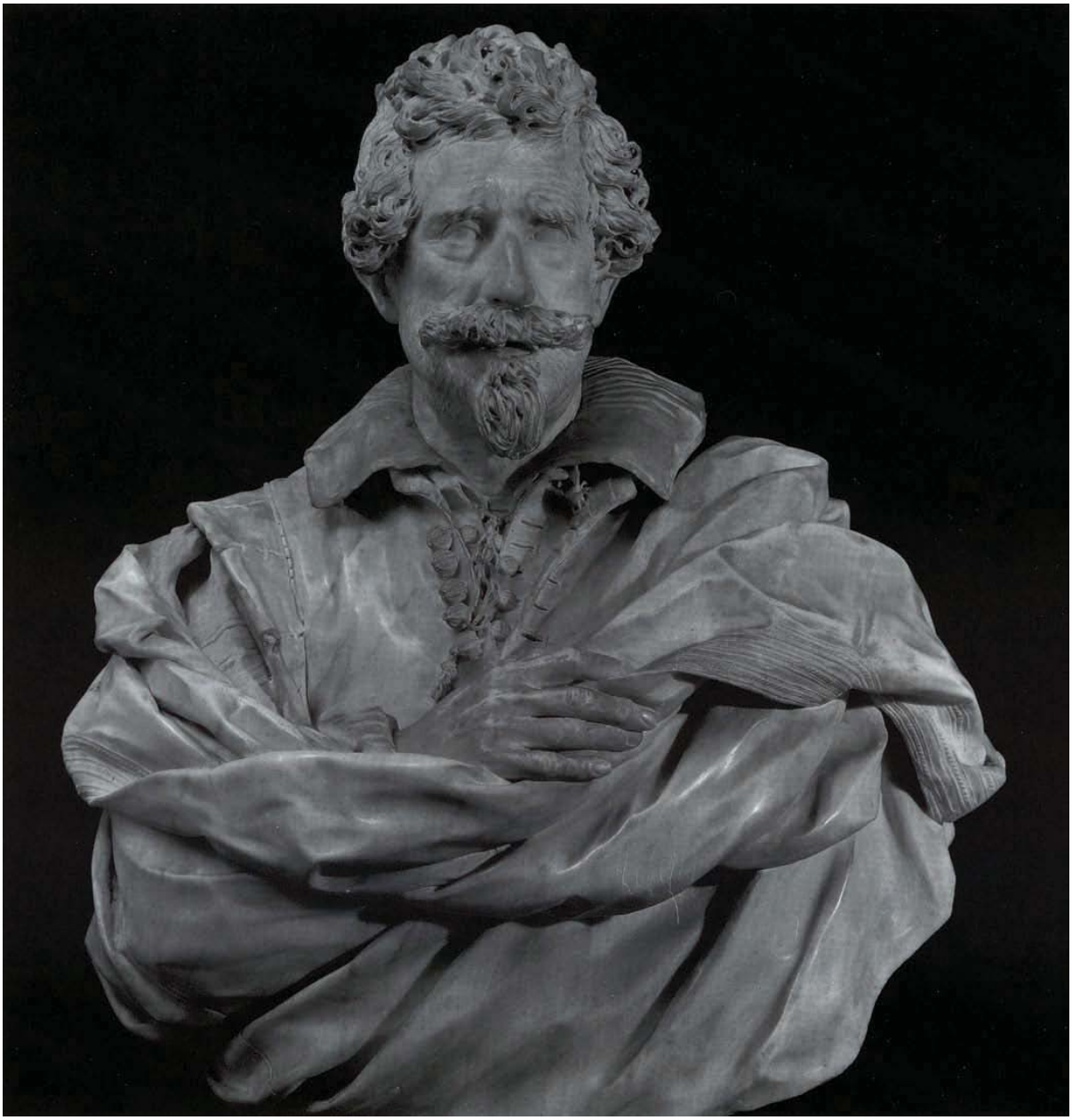

Fig. 5.1.1 GIULIANO FINELLI
Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, ca. 1630. Marble,
H (with base): 87 cm (34¼ in.). Florence, Casa Buonarroti.

4. In 1861 it had been exhibited at the Casa Guastalla in Florence, as part of the Esposizione di oggetti d'arte del Medioevo e dell'epoca del risorgimento dell'arte (Exhibition of Art Objects of the Middle Ages and the Era of the Rebirth of Art), with an attribution to Bernini; see Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 609.

5. Tolomei, *Guida di Pistoia per gli amanti delle belle Arti* (Pistoia, 1821), pp. 139–40; and Tigri, *Pistoia e il suo territorio* (Pistoia, 1853), pp. 252–53. See also Pope-Hennessy 1964, pp. 609–11.

6. Wittkower 1958, pp. 174, 335. In the second edition (1982), Wittkower accepted the attribution to Finelli.

7. *Rime dell'Anonimo consecrate a Giesu Maria* (Rome, 1648), p. 126, quoted in Pope-Hennessy 1964, p. 610.

8. Pizzorusso 1985, pp. 37–38.

9. Pizzorusso 1989, p. 115. It is important to note that the Italian word *cera*, as used here by the poet, is a play on its double meaning as "mien or countenance" and "wax," which yields to the sculptor's will (translator's note).

10. See Dombrowski 1997, pp. 323–25, no. A.32, fig. 87.

11. See Dombrowski 1997, pp. 309, 338–39, no. A.47.

5.2

ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (1598–1654)
Portrait of a Gentleman (Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia?), ca. 1635–40
Marble, H (without base): 71.1 cm (28 in.)
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung (2765)

UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THE MASTERPIECES of Seicento portraiture, this bust has in recent years been the subject of heated debate, both in terms of its author and in terms of the person portrayed. The marble was acquired by the Berlin museum in 1903 from the Galleria Sangiorgi in Rome; it came from the villa of the Rondinini family in Faenza but must have been in Rome before that.[1] In fact, it may be possible to identify it as the "Modern bust containing a Cardinal of the Family itself, dressed in a larger than life-size cloak, undoubtedly the work of Cavalier Langardi,"[2] mentioned in the appraisal of the sculptures of the Palazzo Rondinini, drafted in 1807 by Carlo Albacini and Giovanni Pierantoni. During those same years, moreover, the bust was well known in Rome. In fact, the Swedish sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel, in Italy from 1767 to 1779, owned a cast of it, claiming it portrayed Primaticcio.[3] In the nineteenth century, the Italian sculptor Vincenzo Vela apparently owned another copy of the bust, believed at that time to be a work by Bernini.[4]

Having entered the Bode Museum with a pedestal bearing the inscription LAUDIVIUS CARD.ZACCHIA ANNO MDCXXVI, the marble was published by Hans Posse as a portrait of Cardinal Zacchia, and this identification was not questioned until Damian Dombrowski pointed out that the person portrayed seemed not to be wearing any of the signs of the office of cardinal and, furthermore, bore a strong facial resemblance to Hans Kevenhüller, as one can see from Kevenhüller's funerary statue in the church of Saint Jerome in Madrid. Dombrowski suggested, moreover, that both works (the Berlin bust and the Madrid statue) be attributed to Giuliano Finelli.[5] Kevenhüller, an Austrian ambassador to Madrid, died in 1606, and his funerary monument was made in 1616. Dombrowski proposed that Cardinal Khlesl, a fellow Austrian who was in Rome around 1627, might have commissioned Finelli to produce the bust, but this proposal is not supported by any evidence. The statue has not enjoyed a happy fate. The available photographs of the sculpture date from around 1900, and all that remains of it today is a part of the body, without the head. According to Margarita Estella, it is, moreover, possible that the statue was damaged at an even earlier date, at the time of the French invasion in the early nineteenth century, when the interior of the church of Saint Jerome was almost completely destroyed.[6] Sometime during the course of the nineteenth century, the statue's head may have been replaced by a copy of the Berlin bust, of which a number of casts are documented to have been made.[7] Given that the head has disappeared, such a hypothesis is impossible to prove. For stylistic reasons, however, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to imagine that the head formerly in Madrid could have been sculpted in 1616. Moreover, as Jennifer Montagu has observed, the appearance of the person portrayed seems irreconcilable with the features of Kevenhüller, whom we know from a number of medals that show a gentleman with hair, beard, and mustache rather different from what we see here.[8]

What makes the positive identification of the person portrayed in the Berlin marble as Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia (ca. 1565–1637) problematic is the fact that it bears no trace of a cardinal's vestments. On the other hand, as far as one can tell from the photographs, the mausoleum of Cardinal de Bérulle at the Collège de Juilly, sculpted by Jacques Sarazin in 1658–59, also shows a cardinal wearing a fur-trimmed cloak similar to the one in our bust and, apparently, with no trace of a cardinal's vestments.[9] Thus it seems that the identification of the person portrayed as Laudivio Zacchia cannot be definitively dismissed.

Fig. 5.2.1 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini, 1637–38. Marble.
Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo.

Fig. 5.2.2 ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Ulpiano Volpi, ca. 1640. Bronze, H: 57.5 cm (22⅝ in.). Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli.

As for the author of the bust, the attribution to Alessandro Algardi remains convincing, especially based on comparisons with the busts of *Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini* (fig. 5.2.1), *Ulpiano Volpi* (fig. 5.2.2), and *Antonio Cerri* (cat. no. 5.6). The noble dignity of the composition, a rather more restrained use of the drill than in Finelli's known busts, and a different treatment of the surfaces, particularly noticeable in the fur (borne out by a close comparison with the rendering of the fur in the bust of Francesco Bracciolini; cat. no. 5.1), are but a few examples of the evidence supporting an attribution to Algardi. It is nevertheless interesting to note that, especially over the course of the 1630s, the portraiture produced by the two artists presents some surprising points of similarity, probably owing, initially at least, to the apparent influence that the busts Finelli made around 1630 had on Algardi. AB

PROVENANCE
Identifiable perhaps as the bust documented in 1807 at Palazzo Rondinini in Rome;[10] Faenza, Villa Rondinini, ca. 1900; Rome, Galleria Sangiorgi, 1902; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung, 1903

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NOTES
1. Posse 1905, pp. 169–175; Contardi 1994, pp. 70–71.
2. Salerno 1965, p. 315.
3. Josephson 1956, vol. 1, pp. 255–57, 337; Montagu in Rome 1999a, pp. 134–35.
4. Scott 1979, p. 111.
5. Dombrowski 1997, pp. 77–78, 315–16.
6. Estella 2006, pp. 311–12.
7. Rome 1999a, p. 136; Estella 2006, p. 312.
8. Toderi and Vannel 2000, nos. 109, 420, 421, 440.
9. See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier in *Jacques Sarazin: Sculpteur du roi 1592–1660*, exh. cat. (Noyon, Musée du Noyonnais, 1992), pp. 72–73.
10. See Salerno 1965, p. 315.

5·4

GIULIANO FINELLI (1601–1653)
Portrait of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 1631–32
Marble, H (with base): 99.1 cm (39 in.)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Purchase, Louisa Eldridge McBurney Gift, 1953 (53.201)

"SIGNOR GIULIANO, SCULPTOR . . . has made Signor Bracciolini very well, and is making . . . Signor Cardinal Borghese, which will be a very beautiful thing."[1] With these words, on October 18, 1631, the Florentine Tommaso Salviati informed Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, one of Finelli's biggest supporters, who had been portrayed by him the previous year, about the latest artistic developments in Rome. The bust of Cardinal Borghese would be completed in the months that followed, and the sculptor was paid 90 scudi in the month of June of the subsequent year.[2]

The increasingly absolutist character of the papacy under Urban VIII was probably the principal reason for Scipione Borghese's withdrawal from public life after having been one of the most powerful men in Rome, even after the death of his uncle, Pope Paul V, in 1621.

Bernini's growing commitments in the service of Urban VIII, who went so far as to forbid the sculptor to work for any other patrons, made it impossible for him to work for Scipione, even though the latter had commissioned some of Gian Lorenzo's most memorable sculptures, from the second decade of the century onward. Everything leads us to believe that Scipione no longer expected his now inaccessible protégé to ever portray him, and this was perhaps why he decided to avail himself of a sculptor then becoming well known as a possible alternative to Gian Lorenzo, especially in the field of portraiture.

The very fact that this portrait was commissioned from Finelli would indicate that nobody, not even Scipione, thought that he could have his portrait made by Gian Lorenzo—which nevertheless actually did occur in the months that immediately followed (see cat. no. 4.1)—perhaps even "by order of the Pope," as certain sources from the period affirm.[3] Bernini was to receive a payment of 500 scudi from Scipione almost seven months later, on December 23, 1632, and it is therefore possible that Giuliano completed his bust before Gian Lorenzo ever started working on his project. And while the decision to portray the prelate with his mouth half open, in the act of speaking, might suggest a borrowing from Gian Lorenzo, we must not forget that Finelli's *Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger* (fig. 5.1.1), sculpted about 1630, had already been presented in the same manner. Moreover, the conception of the bust—whose lower portion continues beyond the edge of the mozzetta, revealing the vestment beneath—seems to underscore the massive, static physicality of the sitter, whereas Bernini, by raising the mozzetta on the sides, gives the composition an entirely different energy and dynamism. This is to say nothing of Finelli's insistence on such details as leaving tufts of hair uncovered by the pope's biretta, the visibility of the drill work in the beard, the embroidered border of the alb, and the little laces sticking out of the mozzetta, all elements that Gian Lorenzo would eschew to create a more essential and powerful portrait of the man.

Put up for sale by Prince Paolo Borghese in 1892 as a work by Alessandro Algardi, the bust reappeared in 1919 at the sale of the collection of Gustav Manskopf in Frankfurt, before it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1953. The attribution to Algardi was accepted by Olga Raggio, who called attention to some strong points of similarity with the *Francesco Bracciolini* (cat. no. 5.1), which at the time was believed to be by the Bolognese sculptor.[4] It would be up to Jennifer Montagu, who discovered the June 7, 1632, payment to Finelli, to return the bust to its rightful author.[5]

Together with the *Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger*, the *Ottavio Bandini* of San Silvestro al Quirinale, and

the *Francesco Bracciolini*, the *Scipione Borghese* belongs to a group of busts constituting one of the crucial turning points of Seicento portraiture. They are in fact the first works sculpted by Finelli after his definitive break from Bernini's workshop, and they exemplify a kind of portrait that, without denying the inescapable influence of Berninian models of the prior decade, developed in a new direction at a time—around 1630—when Gian Lorenzo seemed almost to have abandoned the genre. A strong point of this nucleus of works was, on the one hand, their spectacular technical virtuosity, and, on the other, a total adherence to the painterly conception of sculpture learned from Bernini and interpreted with an even more daring and obsessive style in the endless variation of the different surfaces. As the contemporary sources themselves testify, these portraits enjoyed tremendous success, and at that very moment Monsignor Alessandro Bichi, on his way to Paris as papal nunzio, had decided "once he arrived there, to have stucco models of their Majesties made, so as to have them done by him"—that is, to commission Finelli to make busts of Louis XIII of France and perhaps his consort, Anne of Austria.[6] Although this undertaking was probably never realized, the episode unequivocally documents the degree to which the Carrarese sculptor's fortunes had risen during those years. It was, moreover, at that same moment that the young Alessandro Algardi was beginning his own activity as a portraitist. It is therefore interesting to find the name of the Bolognese sculptor in a letter from Finelli, written in December 1630, together with those of the Cavalier d'Arpino and Pietro da Cortona, among the people sending best wishes to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.[7] The two sculptors were good friends at that time, and Finelli probably influenced Algardi in the field of portraiture. AB

PROVENANCE

Rome, Borghese sale, 1892; Frankfurt, Gustav D. Manskopf auction, 1919; New York, French and Company, ca. 1950 (acquired by Mrs. E. Drey); Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953

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Borghese 1892, no. 340; Raggio 1956; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, pp. 97–99; Montagu 1977, p. 323; Montagu 1985a, pp. 472–73; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, pp. 408, 806; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 68–70, 332, no. A.41, 473 (with prior bibliography)

NOTES

1. Quoted in Dombrowski 1997, p. 473.
2. Montagu 1985a, pp. 472–73; and Dombrowski 1997, p. 473.
3. The information was contained in a notice sent to Modena in January 1633; see Fraschetti 1900, p. 107. Lelio Guidiccioni, in the June 1633 letter addressed to Bernini, states that the bust of the cardinal would be executed "by my fortunate instigation": D'Onofrio 1967, p. 384.
4. Raggio 1956, p. 205.
5. Montagu 1977, p. 323; and Montagu 1985a, pp. 472–73.
6. Pizzorusso 1989, p. 114; and Dombrowski 1997, p. 329.
7. In the letter, published in Lavin 1968, p. 227, no. 27; see also Dombrowski 1997, p. 472, doc. D.22, where the sculptor's name appears as "Ligardi."

6.1

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Thomas Baker, 1637–38
Marble, H: 81.6 cm (32⅛ in.)
London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A.3-1921)

THOMAS BAKER (1606–1658) was a minor English squire from Whittingham Hall, Suffolk,[1] who, while in Rome in the late 1630s, successfully convinced Bernini to sculpt his effigy. The resulting sculpture is one of the first examples of a bust whose only function is as a work of art rather than as a celebratory or commemorative image of an important, powerful, or lauded figure. It is also the only documented bust by Bernini of a fairly young man.[2]

Why the sculptor accepted such an inconsequential commission that, he must have known, would upset his protector, Pope Urban VIII can be explained by three motives: resignation, money, and fame. Nicholas Stone (1586–1647), sculptor and master mason to Charles I, records in a 1638 interview with Bernini that "an English gent" (almost surely Baker) "wooed him a long time to make his effiges in marble, and after a great deale of intreaty and the promise of a large sum of money he did gett a mind to undertake itt because itt should goe into England, that thay might see the difference of doing a picture after the life or a painting."[3] Baker wore the sculptor down with his persistence, offered him a tempting payment (6,000 scudi, compared to the 4,000 Bernini received for his bust of the king of England),[4] and, most importantly, provided him the opportunity to prove to the English his ability to capture a person's appearance from life, rather than from a painting, as was the case with Bernini's only other bust of an English subject at this time, that of Charles I. Incidentally, according to English antiquarian George Vertue (1684–1756), it was Baker who took Van Dyck's portrait of the king to Rome in 1636.[5] Bernini's statement that Baker commissioned his bust after having seen that of Charles I, presumably in London in 1637, means that Baker must have returned to London that year. How these claims reconcile with Bernini's statement in 1638 that Baker had wooed him "a long time" is unclear.

Urban VIII was duly annoyed with this project. Not only was Bernini in his service as the pontiff's official sculptor and architect, but Urban saw the commission as an unworthy undertaking that would denigrate the Church's act of goodwill toward the English in allowing Bernini to sculpt their king. Cardinal Francesco Barberini was sent to forbid Bernini to continue work on Baker's bust. Consequently, according to Stone, Bernini "defaced the modell in divers places."[6] Yet the bust was completed. It is surmised that the sculptor either repaired the terra-cotta or created another and then executed the marble, leaving much of the work to an assistant in order to elude reprisal. Most scholars believe that this assistant was Andrea Bolgi (1605–1656), the only "man of consequence" in Bernini's studio at the time.[7]

Baker is portrayed wearing a fancy collar of Venetian lace, his head turned sharply to his left under a bulky mop of curls, his left hand poking out from his cloak and resting heavily on a ledgelike fold. There is general agreement that Bernini was responsible for the head and, perhaps, the lace, while he may not have been for the lower portion of the bust. The termination is too regular, with no hint of Bernini's signature suggestion of movement and anatomical continuity. Likewise, the folds of the cloak are regular and uniform. These points are made clear when one compares this work with Bernini's earlier bust of Giovanni Vigevano in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (fig. 1.2.1), for which he adopted the same classicizing pose of a hand protruding from drapery to rest on the folds of a cloak. Although the Vigevano bust conveys a still presence and fixed expression, the weight of the figure's right hand realistically hangs on bunches of folds, and his arm convincingly disappears back into the niche.

In contrast, the Baker head, in spite of its high polish and pupil-less eyes, is full of life. The voluminous curls seem to bounce about, masterfully undercut and delineated with the drill. Yet the face beneath appears small and smooth with fine features and carefully groomed mustache and *mouche*; the mouth is set in a self-satisfied smile with the suggestion of dimples on the youthful cheeks. These features and the exaggerated coiffure and elaborate lace present the impression that Baker was a fashionable, perhaps frivolous, dandy. It is not known whether the bust passed at Baker's death directly into the collection of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), a Dutch portrait painter active in England, or whether there had been an intermediary owner. Nevertheless, from Lely's collection the bust passed to the present day without a break in its provenance. CH

PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Lely, London, by 1680; sold from Lely's collection, London, April 18, 1682, lot 3 (under "Statues of Marble"), to Anthony Grey (Earl of Kent); inherited by his son Henry Grey (12th Earl, later Duke, of Kent); inherited by his granddaughter Jemima Yorke (2nd Marchioness Grey and Countess of Hardwicke) and her husband, Philip Yorke (Lord Royston, later 2nd Earl of Hardwicke); inherited by his daughter Anne Florence Cowper (6th Baroness Lucas of Crudwell); inherited by her son Francis Thomas de Grey Cowper (7th Earl Cowper and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland); sold at his death in 1905 to Charles Henry Alexander Paget (6th Marquess of Anglesey); sold, July 25, 1921, lot 1127, to Durlacher Brothers, London, for the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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NOTES

1. More biographical information on the sitter, including his activities as a collector of Italian sculpture and paintings, is available in Lightbown 1981.
2. Sutherland Harris 1989, p. 19.
3. W. L. Spiers, ed., "The Notebook and Account Book of Nicholas Stone," *Walpole Society* 7 (1917–18), p. 170. Much of this information is also recorded by Filippo Baldinucci, Domenico Bernini, and Paul Fréart de Chantelou.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 89.
5. "Notebooks," *Walpole Society* 18 (1930), p. 27.
6. "The Notebook" (see note 3 above), p. 170.
7. Wittkower 1953, pp. 18–22.

6.3

PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE (1602–1674)
Portrait of Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, 1640 or 1642
Oil on canvas, 67 x 46 cm (26⅜ x 18⅛ in.)
Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts (44.987.2.1)

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT political and cultural figures in seventeenth-century Europe, Armand-Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, cardinal and duc de Richelieu (1585–1642), played a pivotal role in consolidating absolutist power by the French monarchy in his role as first minister to King Louis XIII. A powerful supporter of the arts and the founder of the Académie française, he profoundly influenced the development of French art, music, and literature across his career, and his patronage was especially instrumental for the painter Philippe de Champaigne.

The history of this portrait underscores a very practical problem: a famous artist and a famous sitter who could not travel to meet one another. As far back as 1634, plans to have a bust of Cardinal Richelieu made in Rome were under serious consideration. However, the commission offered to Bernini came into focus only in 1640, when Cardinal Jules Mazarin and the French ambassador to Rome, François Annibal, maréchal d'Estrées, worked with Elpidio Benedetti, an agent in Rome close to Bernini, to secure the services of the artist. As the vicissitudes surrounding the portrait bust of King Charles I of England demonstrate (cat. no. 6.2), the Barberini considered Bernini exclusive to them, and any work for a foreigner—especially someone with such a problematic relationship to Pope Urban VIII as Richelieu had in the early 1640s—needed to be approached with particular care.

Bernini, having found the triple portrait by Van Dyck (cat. no. 6.2) useful for his bust of the English monarch, asked to have portraits of Richelieu sent to him in Rome. Gaps still exist in the documentation of the commission, and open questions remain regarding the connection of the triple portrait in London (fig. 6.3.1) to the work in Strasbourg, as well as the relationship of either painting to Bernini's sculpture.

Originally, Bernini was expected to produce a full-length statue of the cardinal, but the artist elected instead to make a bust (cat. no. 6.4), without declining to execute the larger commission. Received in Paris as a tour de force of carving, Bernini's sculpture nonetheless drew fire for its lack of verisimilitude, blamed at least in part on the inadequacy of the model on which he based his work.[1]

According to Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, after the marble bust arrived in Paris Mazarin initially sought out Van Dyck to create the model for the full statue to be done by Bernini, but his 1641 death cut off that possibility.[2] However, it appears that Bernini had by that point in fact already been provided with a likeness of Richelieu. One possibility is that Philippe de Champaigne created this first model, but it is more likely that another, lost, work served as Bernini's original source, given the incisiveness and attentive description of Richelieu's features in both the London and Strasbourg paintings.[3] In any case, returning to Bernini for the full-length work seems to have been abandoned by April 1641, and Mazarin turned to Francesco Mochi in Rome for the full-scale sculpture.[4]

In Rome, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who also took part in the negotiations, wrote in June 1641 to Mazarin asking for both profile and full-face portraits.[5] Although no documents record Champaigne's engagement in the commission, both the Strasbourg and London paintings surely emerged from this second phase of the commission, a supposition reinforced by an inscription on the London painting, testifying to its use by Mochi.

The relationship between the painting in Strasbourg and the much better-known portrait in London has not yet been fully determined, but the connection has come into focus in recent years. At first, the present painting

was thought to be a copy after the work in London, but scholars also began to question the full authenticity of the triple portrait, now widely acknowledged as having heavy input from Champaigne's studio.[6] Recent critical opinion, especially owing to the work of Sylvain Laveissière, has swayed in favor of the Strasbourg picture, now recognized as fully autograph on account of its high quality and consistency across the surface. Moreover, X radiographs reveal considerable changes, with Champaigne painting one head in three-quarter profile and another facing forward. He then painted over these heads and added a strip of canvas to center the profile in the middle of the composition. These alterations do not appear in the London picture, indicating that the Strasbourg canvas is the first version, probably retained by Champaigne in his studio while he created the second triple portrait and sent it to Mochi in Rome. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot has suggested plausibly that Champaigne himself cut up the painting in light of the bust's failure, retaining the fragment in his studio.[7] JLS

Fig. 6.3.1 PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE and studio
Triple Portrait of Cardinal Richelieu, ca. 1640 or 1642. Oil on canvas, 58.4 x 72.4 cm (23 x 28½ in.). London, National Gallery of Art.

PROVENANCE

Possibly retained by Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674), Paris, in his studio; possibly, upon his death, held in trust by the estate; Alfred Seymour; by inheritance to Miss Seymour; sold, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, January 23, 1920, lot 80; Vere Harmsworth, 3rd Viscount Rothermere (1925–1998); d'Estainville family; sold to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, 1987

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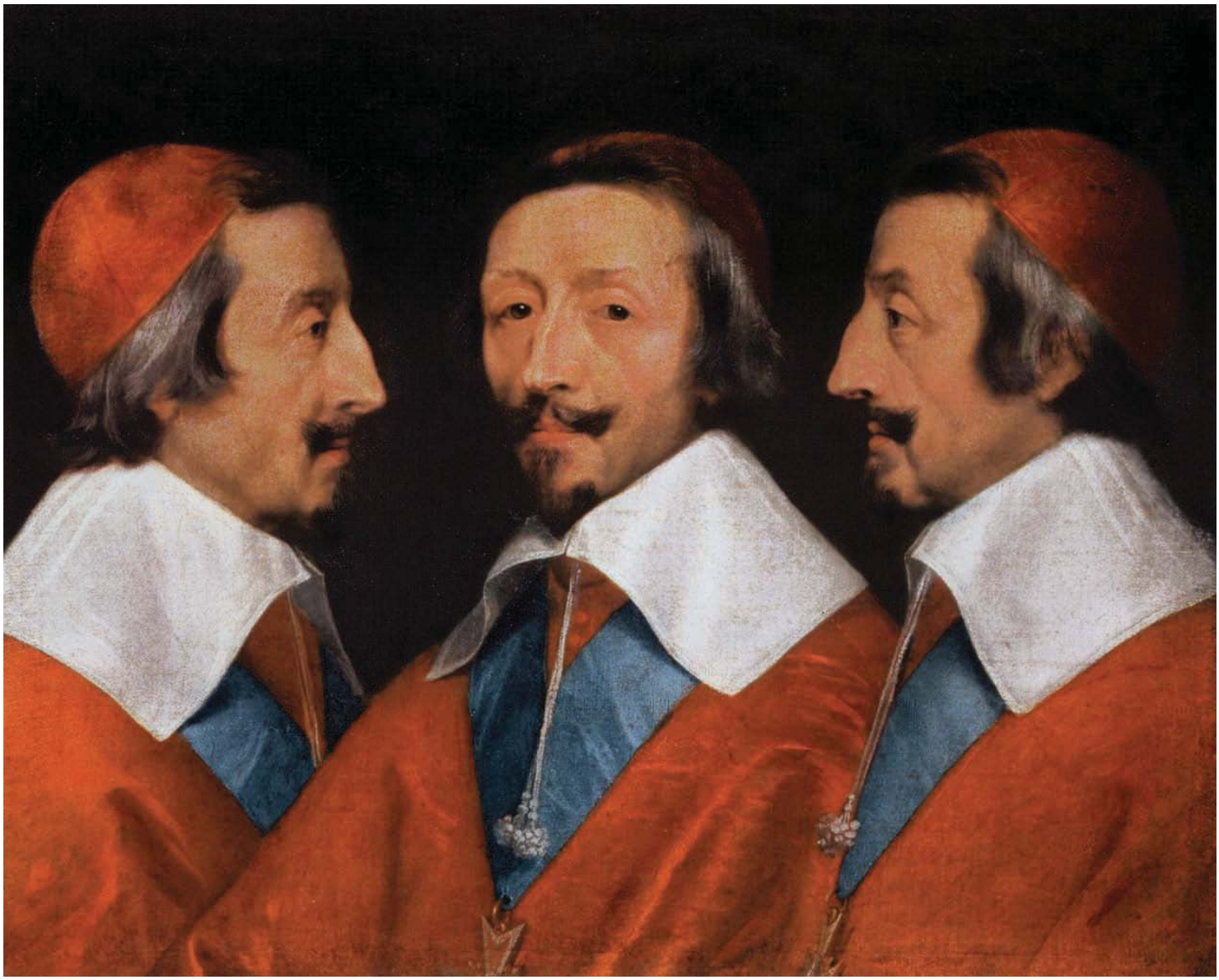
Dorival 1976, vol. 2, p. 182; Dorival 1992, p. 18; Patrick Ramade in Montreal and Paris 1993, p. 138; Wine 2001, pp. 38–43; Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Sylvain Laveissière, and Humphrey Wine in Montreal and Cologne 2002, pp. 261–66; Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot in Lille and Geneva 2007, pp. 122–23, no. 18

NOTES

1. Bresc-Bautier in Montreal and Cologne 2002, p. 261.
2. Laurain-Portemer 1976.
3. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, on the other hand, disagrees with this line of thinking, arguing that Champaigne was commissioned to do the original views sent to Bernini that led to the failure of the bust, citing a passage by Domenico Bernini asserting that Van Dyck was engaged to repair the problematic image; see note 1 above.
4. Mochi's sculpture was vandalized in the French Revolution so that only the body survives, now in the Musée du Pilori, Niort; see Wine in Montreal and Cologne 2002, p. 266. For more on the complex history of the works by Bernini and Mochi, see Laurain-Portemer 1976 and Gaborit 1979.
5. De Luca Savelli 1981, p. 97 n. 124.
6. Wine 2001, pp. 42–43.
7. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot in Lille and Geneva 2007, pp. 122–23, 132–33, nos. 18 and 22.



6.4

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, 1640–41
Marble, H: 83 cm (32 11/16 in.); W: 65 cm (25 5/16 in.); D: 33 cm (13 in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre (MR 2165)

IN SPITE OF THE AMPLE DOCUMENTATION surrounding the commissioning, execution, and reception of this work, it remains somewhat of a curiosity among Bernini's portrait busts: was the bust a success or a failure? Starting in 1634 there was talk in Rome of interest in commissioning a Roman sculptor to produce an effigy of Cardinal Richelieu. Five years later, Jules Mazarin wrote to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the informal representative of France to the papal court, of Richelieu's interest "in having a statue made by one of these masters."[1] In 1640, Barberini informed Mazarin of a perfect candidate: *Cavaliere* Bernini.

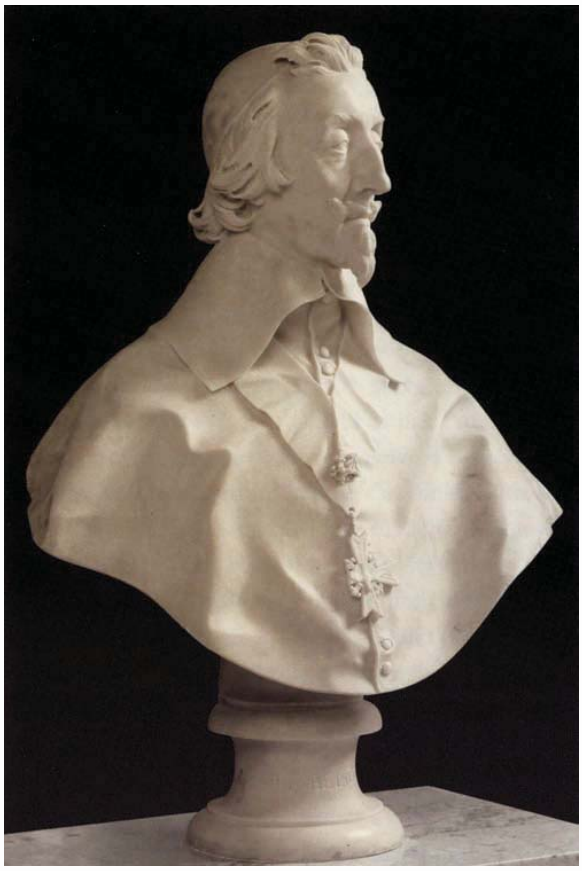
The moment was ripe for such a long-distance project since in the meantime, in 1636, Bernini had produced the reportedly brilliant bust of Charles I, king of England, now lost, with the sitter *in absentia*, using a triple portrait by Anthony van Dyck as a model (cat. no. 6.2). Mazarin's artistic agent in Rome, Elpidio Benedetti, wrote to Mazarin that Bernini preferred to start with a portrait bust of the cardinal before embarking on a full-length statue. This decision, whether it was Bernini's or not, was politically important in appeasing Pope Urban VIII, who was not happy about the project. Not only had Antonio Barberini neglected to inform the pontiff of his sculptor's venture with Richelieu, but it was also unthinkable that the French cardinal would be memorialized in a portrait statue when the king of England had received a simple bust.

As in the case of the bust of Charles I, Bernini required images of the cardinal from which to work. The ones he received in September 1640 were perhaps the three views that Philippe de Champaigne painted of the cardinal (see cat. no. 6.3, fig. 6.3.1). In July 1641, the bust, finished some months earlier, was delivered to Paris by two of Bernini's apprentices, Giacomo Balsimello and Niccolò Sale. Before leaving Rome, the bust was described as "miraculous" and so lifelike that "it seems to speak."[2]

In Paris, however, a different assessment was put forward. Richelieu's own reaction is not documented, although he is said to have been unable to recognize himself in the work.[3] Mazarin officially praised Bernini's bust, but he candidly admitted to his brother Michele Mazzarini that "it doesn't look like him. I am extremely displeased because . . . it will not be as admired here as it would have been if it had resembled him."[4] This displeasure did not harm Bernini's reputation in Paris because the disappointment in Richelieu's portrait bust was blamed more on the painted model's failure to resemble the sitter than on any fault in Bernini's talent. Nevertheless, at the same moment, Mazarin engaged medalist and sculptor Jean Warin (1607–1672) to produce another bust of Richelieu, now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, suggesting he was not satisfied with Bernini's efforts.[5]

Such criticism seems excessive. Although it lacks any of the characteristics of the "speaking likeness" that Bernini developed to spectacular effect in the 1630s, it is a formal and reserved rendering that Bernini was to further develop in other official portraits to follow. Here, Bernini's great innovation is the subtle but unmistakable suggestion of movement in an otherwise static image: with his head turned to his left, Richelieu's arms under his mozzetta appear to move back and forward as if he is striding ahead, unlimited by the bust's termination. The cardinal's admittedly dour facial expression—emphasized by his high, starched collar—makes it look as if he is lost in important thought.

Nevertheless, even before the bust arrived in Paris, the project to produce a full-length statue of Richelieu was taken up again. Mazarin intimated his dissatisfaction with



the triple portrait that had been supplied to Bernini in a letter of December 18, 1641, informing the sculptor that, for the statue, "Van Dyck will come here as promised in order to perfectly produce profiles of His Eminence."[6] Mazarin did not know that Van Dyck had died in London fourteen days earlier. The project for a statue was abandoned.

Bernini kept the preparatory model for his marble effigy of Richelieu, and it is from this he may have cast the bronze versions in Potsdam (cklst A29a) and Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria).[7] Other versions in marble of varying quality exist: Cummer Art Gallery, Jacksonville, Florida (formerly Heim Gallery, London); private collection, New York (formerly David Schaff Fine Arts, Delaware); and location unknown (sold, Sotheby's, March 21, 2007, lot 27, formerly Principe Don Marcantonio Doria D'Angri, Naples); as well as a version by Luigi Secchi (1853–1921) in the Musée Baron-Gérard in Bayeux. CH

PROVENANCE

Cardinal Richelieu, Palais Cardinal, Paris, 1641; by inheritance to the duchesse d'Aiguillon, Petit Luxembourg, by 1675; chapter room, Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, by 1786; seized 1792 (during the Revolution); Mazarine Library, Paris, until 1795; Musées des Monuments Français, Paris, until 1817; Musée du Louvre, Paris

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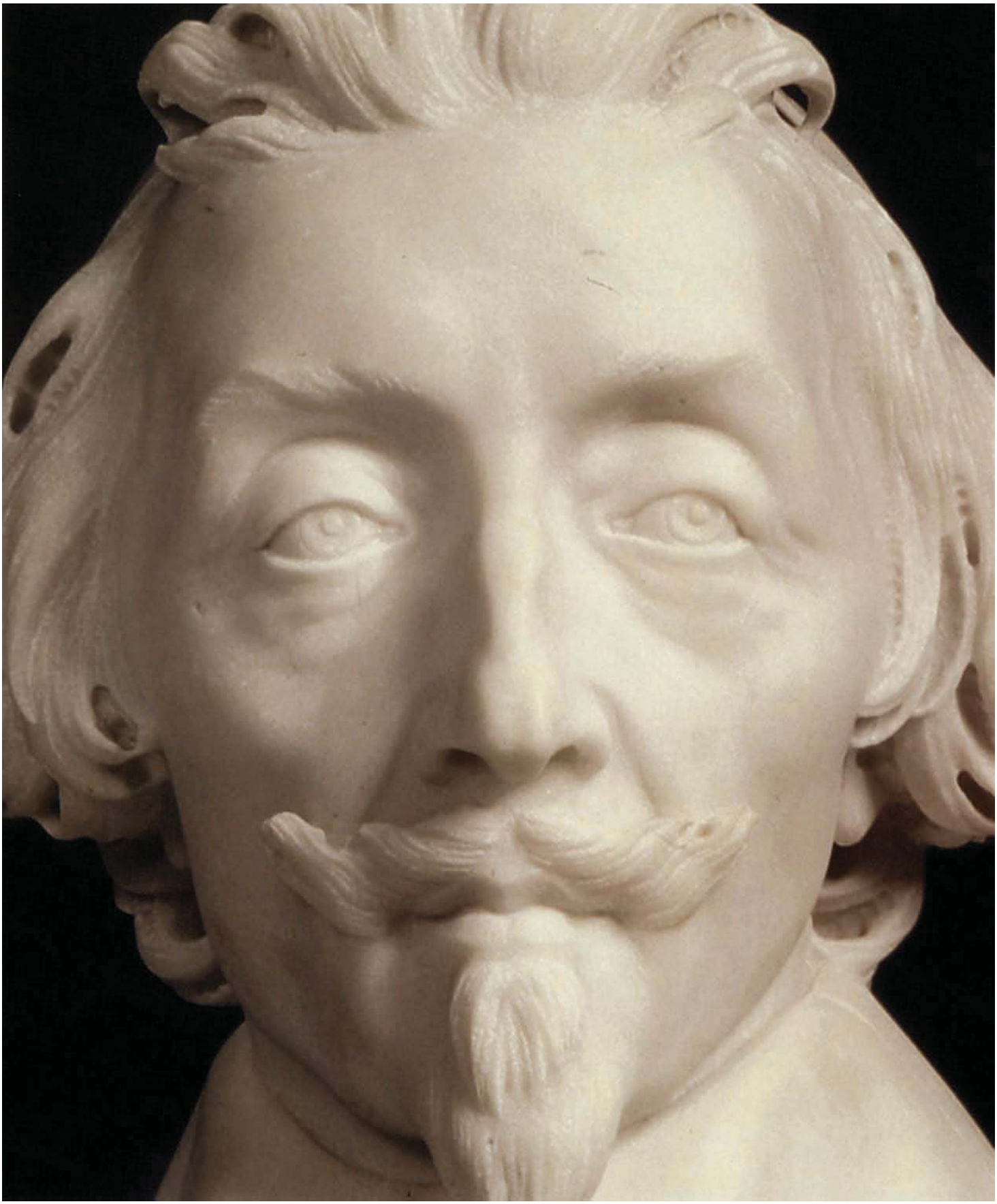
NOTES

1. Laurain-Portemer 1976, n. 120.
2. Laurain-Portemer 1976, p. 97 nn. 119 and 120.
3. Avery 1997, p. 233.
4. Archival document cited in Hendler 2005, n. 17.
5. Hilliard Todd Goldfarb in Montreal and Cologne 2002, pp. 72–73, no. 1.
6. Letter to Louis Courajod as cited in Laurain-Portemer 1976, p. 98 n. 137.
7. Wittkower 1970–71; Gaborit 1979, p. 87, fig. 5.



6.6

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Pope Alexander VII Chigi, 1657
Marble, H: 82 cm (32⅛ in.); W: 45 cm (17¾ in.); D: 31 cm (12⅜ in.)
Private Collection

NEXT TO POPE URBAN VIII, Alexander VII Chigi was Bernini's most important patron, commissioning, for instance, the colonnade of Saint Peter's square (1656–67) and the *Cathedra Petri* (Chair of Saint Peter) in the Basilica (1657–66). Fabio Chigi (1599–1667) studied philosophy, law, and theology in his native Siena. He was elected pope after the death of Innocent X in 1655, following a long conclave, although he had received his cardinal's hat only three years earlier. He appears to have been less inclined to deal with political business than he was to write poetry and was known in intellectual circles by the nom de plume Filomato. A student of architecture, geometry, and engraving, he often took part in the development of the projects he assigned to Bernini.[1]

Following a personal code of righteousness and Christian abnegation, Alexander VII initially refused to be portrayed in a statue that the citizens of Rome wanted to erect on the Campidoglio in acknowledgment of the sanitary measures he took to save the city from the plague.[2] However, by 1657 he had capitulated and allowed Bernini to begin work on his effigy. From the pope's own diary it is known that the sculptor visited him on July 5, 1657, and made "some sketches in pencil for my portrait that will be made first in clay and then in marble." Three days later for two hours in the afternoon, Bernini returned to touch up "the model in clay." Finally on October 2, the pope notes that "Cavalier Bernini brings the full-scale marble of my portrait and it is seen by many."[3]

In his 1682 inventory of Bernini's works, Filippo Baldinucci lists three marble busts of the pope (two with the Chigi family and one in Bernini's house);[4] three successive Chigi inventories (1667, 1678, and 1693) cite at least one marble of Alexander VII by Bernini, which was inherited by Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the pope's nephew;[5] and the 1706 inventory of the contents of Bernini's house mentions one autograph bust of Alexander VII in marble.[6] None of these sculptural portraits had come to light until Alessandro Angelini found the present bust in a private collection in Siena,[7] thus filling a significant gap in the scholarship of Bernini's works.

The provenance linking the piece to the Chigi family supports the attribution of the work to Bernini, and the apparent age of the sitter corresponds to the dating of 1657—in that year the pope would have been fifty-eight years old.[8] Moreover, the back of the marble is carved out except for a projecting blocklike shape along the central axis that is common in busts by Bernini,[9] as is the elongated front portion (see, for example, cat. no. 6.4). Also typical of Bernini is the drape of the mozzetta, with a triangular depression beneath the left shoulder that creates dark shadows and a crumpling on the opposite side as if the pope had moved his right arm. Similar drapery organized in deep waves is evident in later busts, such as those of Innocent X (fig. 5.10.3) and Clement X (cat. no. 6.12), and seems to have influenced such artists as Melchiorre Cafà (see cat. no. 6.7), Domenico Guidi, and Giuseppe Mazzuoli.

Nevertheless, the exceedingly high quality of the portrait is the factor that most strongly suggests Bernini as author. The stole—ornamented with the Chigi coat of arms of stars and oak branches and symbols of the Church—is carved with such mastery that it not only contrasts with the smoothly polished mozzetta but also simulates an embroidered textile of a different color from the cape.

Bernini's masterful carving has imbued the pontiff's effigy with nobility and liveliness, enhanced by the slight turn of the head to the right, while the distant gaze and

delicate execution of the wrinkles around the eyes give him a philosophical air. In addition, Alexander VII's concern for a neat appearance, a quality that many ambassadors recorded,[10] appears in the fine chiseling of his carefully kept goatee and whiskers and freshly shaved skin. Obviously greatly admired, the bust is inscribed with an homage, in contemporary Latin verse and Italian prose, to both sitter and artist[11] and was displayed on a precious ebony pedestal designed by Bernini himself.[12] ALD

PROVENANCE

Presumably the bust listed in the 1693 inventory of the palace of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, Piazza Santi Apostoli, Rome;[13] by inheritance to members of the Chigi Zondadari family, Siena;[14] private collection

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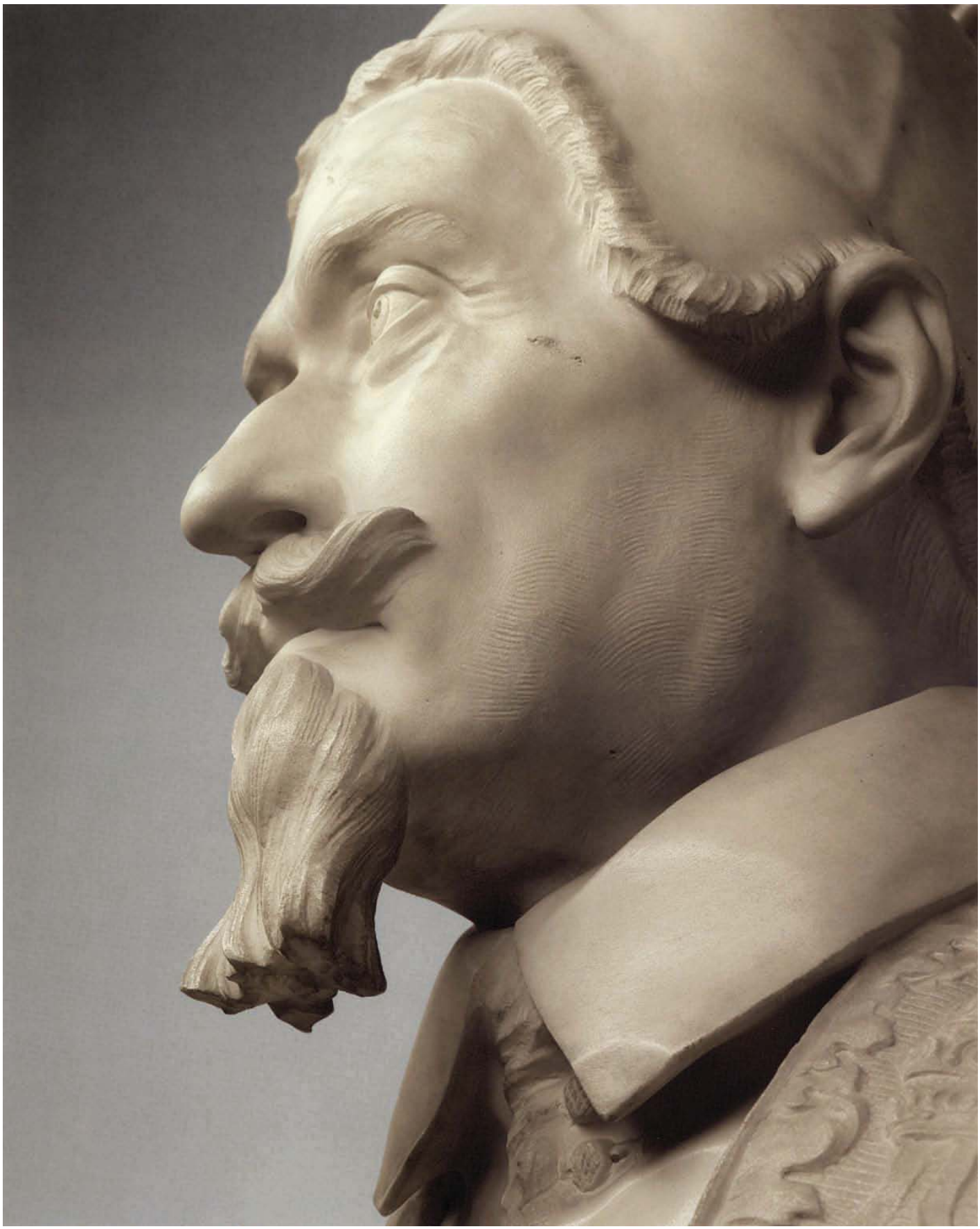
NOTES

1. On Pope Alexander, see, above all, Angelini 1998a and Siena 2000–2001.
2. Angelini 1998b, p. 184.
3. The diary is preserved in the Chigi Archives in the Biblioteca Apostolica at the Vatican; see Krautheimer and Jones 1975, pp. 205–6.
4. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 177 (included also in the list of Bernini's works owned by Queen Christina of Sweden; see D'Onofrio 1967, pp. 432–38).
5. Raggio 1983, pp. 368–79; Petrucci 1997, p. 177; Angelini 1998b, p. 191 n. 19.
6. Borsi, Acidini Luchinat, and Quinterio 1981, pp. 51 and 108.
7. Wittkower (1966) 1997, p. 283, no. 65; Angelini 1998b; and Angelini in Siena 2000–2001, pp. 164–65, no. 92 (whose dating and attribution are followed here). Maurizio Fagiolo (2002, p. 59, fig. 26) published a marble version that is close to this bust, with an attribution to Bernini. Only the ornamentation of the stole differs. The bust, the present whereabouts of which are unknown, was previously in the collection of the architect Armando Brasini (cklst D6).
8. A terra-cotta bust in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome, showing the pope at the same age, but in appearance not close to this marble, was attributed to Bernini by Valentino Martinelli (1956b) but rejected by Wittkower (1966); see Oreste Ferrari in Rome 1999b, pp. 341–42, no. 56, with previous literature. See Petrucci 1997 for the two bronze versions (completely different from the terra-cotta and the marble) in a private collection and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (cklst D5–D7).
9. Lavin 1968, p. 241, and Lavin 1985, p. 37.
10. See Angelini 1998b, p. 192 n. 30.
11. Montanari 1997, p. 57; and Montanari 1998b, pp. 152–54.
12. The payment for this pedestal is dated March 5, 1658; see Petrucci 1997, p. 177.
13. See Angelini 1998b, p. 191 n. 19.
14. The bust is mentioned by Fraschetti in his monograph on Bernini (1900, p. 289) with the portraits "executed under the direction" of the sculptor and as being owned by the Marchese Chigi Zondadari in Siena. The Chigi Zondadari family had their palace in the Piazza del Campo in Siena built at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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6.12

GIAN LORENZO BERNINI (1598–1680)
Portrait of Pope Clement X Altieri, 1676–77
Marble, H: 110 cm (43⅜ in.)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (4568)

THE EARLIEST INFORMATION ON THE PORTRAITS that Bernini made of Pope Clement X is contained in the pages of the diary of Carlo Cartari, librarian of the Altieri family, who on May 5, 1676, wrote: "I was with Monsignor Montecatini in the room where Signor Cavalier Bernini makes his sculptures; in that room he was working on a bust of Pope Clement X and said that Signor Cardinal Altieri wanted it to keep in his Chamber. Another marble was being roughed out to make another one like it, to be placed in the Refectory of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini; and he said that he would make one for the library."[1] Bernini was thus working on a bust of Clement X for the Palazzo Altieri, on another version of this for Trinità dei Pellegrini, and was supposed to begin a third for the library of the Palazzo Altieri.

On July 22, 1676, Clement X died, but a few months later, on December 10, we find, as confirmation that the project for the bust for the library had not been abandoned, a payment to Filippo Schor for having executed the drapery in stucco, from a design by Gian Lorenzo, to decorate the niche in the library (fig. 6.12.2). According to the documents found by Armando Schiavo, the bust was apparently already in the niche by the end of September 1677.[2] We know, however, that in 1681, a few months after Bernini's death, the sculptor Giovan Battista Giorgi was paid 10 scudi "for having worked on finishing the marble Alb and Stole, and having made the scroll in front of the Portrait in the blessed memory of Clement X fashioned by the late s.r. Cavaliere Bernini."[3] The fact that the "scroll" was mentioned—an element entirely unusual in busts—fully confirms the identification of this work with the Palazzo Barberini bust, and it is equally clear that the format of the bust shows that the sculpture was conceived from the start for the niche in the library. In 1688, moreover, Nicodemus Tessin, when visiting the palazzo, noticed that the niche was empty but stated that it was supposed to house a half-length bust of the pontiff which at that time was positioned in one of the great rooms on the *piano nobile*, a bust he described as unfinished[4]—a description still applicable today. In the marble one can make out little bridges of material joining the fingers of the right hand and another connecting the arm to the bust, not to mention the fact that the rather striking marks of the toothed chisel on the face—conceived by Bernini to be viewed from afar—could, from close up, look like further signs that the marble was unfinished.

The question of Bernini's portraits of Clement X is a complicated one. We know that the sculptor did indeed make the one for Trinità dei Pellegrini—now lost—whose half-length composition and gesture of benediction, as attested by a rather modest plaster copy still in situ, seem in fact to have been the model for the piece here on display. Various documents of the Confraternita della Trinità dei Pellegrini state that in June 1677, the block of marble "for making a copy of the portrait of Pope Clement X" had been delivered to Bernini sometime before, and that the architectural decoration still present today in the refectory had already been prepared by the architect Giovan Battista Contini and the stonecutter Gabriele Renzi.[5] Moreover, another document attests that on April 9, 1680, the confraternity paid Bernini 150 scudi "for the kindness of donating his work to the Arciconfraternita. Effort and for time used in making a statue or portrait in holy memory of Pope Clement X, to be placed in the first refectory . . . inside the decoration of inlaid marbles made also from his design and with his assistance; and for being so good as to be paid only for the marble and the efforts and roughing out of said

Fig. 6.12.1
GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Pope Clement X, 1670–76.
Drawing. Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste.

Fig. 6.12.2
Bust with drapery by Filippo Schor, in its original location in the library of the Palazzo Altieri.

portrait made by his pupil, for this we all thank him."[6] In other words, he was paid for a faithful replica, realized by a collaborator of his, of the statue in the library.

On the other hand, there is no precise information on the bust that Paluzzo Altieri, a powerful cardinal and Clement's nephew, wanted for his own room—a bust that we cannot with any certainty identify with the marble one left to the cardinal by the sculptor in his will.[7] Some have indeed hypothesized that this is the one from the library, which was not completely finished at the moment of the artist's death. It should be remembered, however, that in his description of Palazzo Altieri, aside from the marble destined for the library, the only work of Bernini's that Tessin mentions is a bronze bust of the pontiff, sometimes identified with the one now in Minneapolis (cklst D10).

The library bust quickly fell into oblivion before it was rediscovered by Valentino Martinelli, who published it in 1955, with the full agreement of Rudolf Wittkower, for whom "the conception is most extraordinary and typically Berninesque."[8] In fact, despite its unfinished aspect, this piece, sculpted in 1676–77, holds an important place in the artist's catalogue that is justified by its lofty inventiveness: the figure's sacred immobility is animated by the broad, majestic movement of the mantle's folds, without, however, hiding the arthritic gesture of the hand raised in blessing and the heaviness marking the pontiff's physiognomy. The pope's face—on which Giorgi, we must remember, did not intervene—displays the aging sculptor's extraordinary ability to express the psychology of his subjects. Like the *Portrait of a Gentleman* (cat. no. 6.10), this late work is characterized by a severe formal syntax that reduces the composition to the essentials, eschewing, for example, the sculpting of the pupil inside the eye, but that is nevertheless able to bring certain details into focus. Here Bernini folds the shirt collar in a crisp, hard manner, as if in counterpoint to the modeling of the face, which, in the drooping musculature and the bags under the eyes, does not hide but rather openly displays the ravages of time. AB

PROVENANCE
Rome, Palazzo Altieri, until 1997; Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini

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NOTES
1. Martinelli 1955b, pp. 647–66.
2. Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri* (Rome, 1963), p. 93.
3. Villa 1996, pp. 137–59.
4. Osvald Siren, *Nicodemus Tessin d. y.s. Studieresor* (Stockholm, 1914), p. 179; and Tessin 2002, pp. 316–18.
5. Martinelli 1959.
6. Barletta 1965.
7. Baldinucci (1682) 1948, p. 63; whose mention is confirmed by a "Notice" [Avviso] dated November 30, 1680, and published by Martinelli (1959) 1994, p. 261.
8. Martinelli 1955b; and Wittkower (1966) 1997, pp. 298–99.