



Bernini's Borghese Sculptures: Another View

Author(s): Joy Kenseth

Source: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Jun., 1981), pp. 191-210

Published by: [College Art Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3050112>

Accessed: 06/10/2011 16:41

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



College Art Association is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Art Bulletin*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Bernini's Borghese Sculptures: Another View

Joy Kenseth

Between the years 1621 and 1625, Gian Lorenzo Bernini executed three statues for his first important patron, Cardinal Scipione Borghese. The sculptures were meant from the time of their inception to stand in Borghese's sumptuous villa outside the Porta Pinciana in Rome and, in fact, soon after their completion, two of these statues, the *David* and the *Apollo and Daphne*, were installed in rooms on the villa's ground floor.¹ The earliest of the works, the *Pluto and Persephone*, did not reach its intended home until the early twentieth century because Borghese, in an apparent effort to restore himself to the good graces of Pope Gregory XV and his family, had it delivered in 1622 to the villa of the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.² Today the statues are centrally located in three separate rooms of the Villa Borghese but, as modern scholars of Bernini have correctly observed, such a display — the result of an eighteenth-century rearrangement of the villa's statuary — is both misleading and ultimately disillusioning: not only does it allow the visitor to regard the works entirely in the round, but it also

permits one to see what Bernini never intended to show — very unsatisfactory rear views.³ Indeed, the publication of documents in the 1950's brought to light the important information that the Borghese statues were not freestanding originally but placed next to walls.⁴ This discovery together with other, long-held attitudes about Baroque sculpture lent strong support to the idea that the three works in question were composed as images with a single, dominant aspect and that it was Bernini's aim to make their content comprehensible to the spectator in one dramatic and instantaneous vision. In other words, one of Bernini's most revolutionary steps as a sculptor was to eschew the principles of those Mannerist sculptures which offer a seeming infinite variety of views and send the beholder around and around their forms in an unending search for their meaning.

While in the last twenty-five years or so art historians have often noted that Bernini's Borghese statues show many interesting views and are richly and intricately worked on nearly all their sides, they also have claimed

This is an extended version of a paper delivered at the College Art Association meeting in Washington, D.C., February 1, 1979. I am grateful to Dartmouth College for a Faculty Research Grant which enabled me to carry out the research and photography for this project in Rome. Dott.ssa Sara Staccioli, Director of the Borghese Gallery, kindly gave me permission to photograph the sculptures by Bernini.

¹ The chronology of the works is as follows: *Pluto and Persephone*, 1621-22; *Apollo and Daphne*, begun 1622-23; completed 1624-25; *David*, 1623-24.

Documents and sources reporting these dates of execution as well as the installation of the *Apollo and Daphne* and the *David* were first published by Italo Falda and Howard Hibbard. See: Falda, 1953a, 140-146; Falda, 1953b, 310-316; Falda, 1954, 29-37; and Hibbard, 1958, 181-183.

The three statues considered here are, of course, not the only works executed by Bernini for Cardinal Borghese. In another article, now in preparation, I will discuss the earliest of the Borghese sculptures, the *Aeneas and Anchises*, as well as Bernini's *Neptune and Triton* for the Villa Montalto.

² For sources and documents reporting the transfer of the *Pluto and Persephone* to the Villa Ludovisi, see: Falda, 1953b, 312, 314; Falda, 1953a, 140, 143, 146; and Falda, 1954, 29-30.

As Howard Hibbard (1965, 48) explains, however, it may also be that "the *Apollo and Daphne*, once begun, seemed so promising that the Cardinal felt he could afford to give the *Pluto* away." That Borghese was in temporary disgrace with the Ludovisi family (and thus wished to make amends) is nonetheless clear. For accounts of his relations with the Ludovisi, see: Haskell, 27-28; N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti del secolo decimosettimo (Serie III — Italia relazione di Roma)*, 1877-78, 1, 158-59; and D. Memmoli, *Vita dell'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Gio. Garzio Mellino*, Rome, 1644, 42.

The statue of *Pluto and Persephone* remained at the Villa Ludovisi until 1908 at which time it was purchased by the State and installed in the Villa Borghese (see Falda, 1954, 30).

³ See esp. Falda, 1953a, 144; and Hibbard, 1965, 53. Related observations are made by Pope-Hennessy, 170; and Wittkower, 1955, 7. Wittkower (1977, 171) discussed this problem again in relation to Bernini's *Neptune and Triton*.

⁴ Of particular note is a drawing accompanying documents contained in the Borghese archives. Published by Hibbard (1958, 182), it shows that the pedestal designed for the *Apollo and Daphne* was planned to be very near a wall. As Hibbard remarked: "Il disegno ... è particolarmente interessante perché dimostra quanto il gruppo fosse vicino al muro, distando da esso meno di un mezzo palmo (10cm. circa)." In his article (1953a, 142-143) identifying the original cylindrical pedestal for an earlier statue by Bernini for Cardinal Borghese, the *Aeneas and Anchises*, Falda observes that it is "tagliata verticalmente per circa un quinto perché in origine appoggiata contro una parete della sala dell'Apollo e Dafne, dove il gruppo è ricordato dalle antiche guide. ..." In the same article (p. 144) Falda states: "... il gruppo dell'Apollo e Dafne, al pari dell'Enea e Anchise' e del 'David', non si presentava in antico isolato nel centro dell'ambiente, ma, secondo appare dalle descrizioni vecchie guide, appoggiato contro una parete." Falda does not indicate which old guidebooks he has consulted, however. Since he makes reference earlier in the article to J. Manilli's *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana* (Rome, 1650) and to D. Montelatici's *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana* (Rome, 1700), one might assume he had these guides in mind. In any event, as we shall see, it is especially significant that he did not quote Manilli's or Montelatici's descriptions of the locations for each of these statues.

With respect to the *Pluto and Persephone*, most historians agree that it, too, was originally meant to stand near a wall. See, e.g., the opinions of Wittkower (1955, 6) and Hibbard (1965, 48).

that each of these sculptures has a principal, dominant face and was meant to be seen from "one main aspect alone."⁵ However, the advocates of this single point of view theory have yet to agree which is the predominant view of each of these sculptures. In the case of the *Pluto and Persephone*, for example, three similar yet significantly different aspects have been favored: one, where the two protagonists but not the three-headed dog, Cerberus, are visible (Fig. 37); another, where the forms of Pluto and Persephone have almost equal compositional emphasis (Fig. 38); and last, that in which the balance shifts to Persephone's side, revealing not only more of her form but also a considerable part of the dog's body (Fig. 39).⁶ The two most popular proposals for *David*'s prominent view are again quite different: the first shows a compact and rather taut form (Fig. 9), while the second, by comparison, is wide and sweeping in its linear rhythms (Fig. 8).⁷ We encounter precisely the same problem with the *Apollo and Daphne*: the prominent point of view is alternatively said to be that wherein the two figures are drawn together in a closely unified mass (Fig. 25), that which displays a looser and more open association between the two figures (Fig. 24), or, finally, that which shows the statue as if it had been carved in high relief (Fig. 23).⁸ Even though the differences between some of these views may seem slight, it is nonetheless interesting that the "one, and only one predominant aspect" of the Borghese sculptures is not precisely the same for all the proponents of the single point of view theory.⁹ The question arises, then, whether such an aspect exists. Even if, as we now know, the three statues were not freestanding originally and were not intended to be seen entirely in the round, does it necessarily follow that they were meant to be seen from a single ideal viewpoint? It is the purpose of this essay to present an alternative way of seeing the Borghese sculptures and to propose, in the light of new evidence, that Bernini did adopt in part the multiple or kinetic views of Mannerist sculpture, and that he did not intend to have the meanings of these statues revealed in a sudden or dramatic moment.

Before pursuing this line of thought, however, it is

necessary to consider why the single point of view theory has been so vigorously maintained by critics of Bernini. Long ago Heinrich Wölfflin observed that there were fundamental differences between Classic (i.e., High Renaissance) and Baroque sculpture. For him the Classic statue displays a "firm silhouette" and has a "principal view," whereas Baroque statuary, such as Bernini's, is "plastically indeterminate" and "is no longer seen with a view to the silhouette."¹⁰ Ultimately, though, Wölfflin's argument that Bernini's statues have a multiplicity of views was less influential than his observation that Baroque sculpture has a "picture-like" (*Bildmassig*) character. The idea that the Borghese statues in particular have a "picture-like" character received considerable support when scholars noted that they were inspired in part by paintings. It followed then that these sculptures, like the paintings to which they refer, in order to be appreciated properly and fully, must be seen from a frontal standpoint.¹¹ Moreover, once critics recognized that Bernini's Borghese sculptures make numerous references to ancient statuary (as indeed they do), it was assumed that in accord with ancient classical principles of sculptural design they were meant to have one dominant face.¹²

The notion that Bernini's statues have a "picture-like" quality has been supported as well by old photographic procedures. Photographs taken in the late nineteenth century invariably show Bernini's sculptures from a frontal or near frontal view (such as those in Figs. 9, 24, and 38). However, this photographic approach to the Borghese statues was in part determined by the physical characteristics of the nineteenth-century camera. Large and unwieldy, such cameras encouraged a search for the single, most favorable aspect of each work.¹³ In fact, photographers such as the Alinari brothers and Brogi were merely following the practice of engravers from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries who, as illustrators for guidebooks or texts on art, were required to provide the single most informative and instantly recognizable image of a statue (Figs. 1 and 24).¹⁴ The photography of works of

⁵ Wittkower, 1955, 7. Wittkower first presented this theory in his article, "Le Bernin et le Baroque romain," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, xi, 1934, 327f. De Rinaldis (1942, 185f.) was the first to suggest that the *Apollo and Daphne* was against a wall and that it had one point of view. Ever since the publications of Faldi and Hibbard (see note 4), this theory has been even more vigorously asserted. Long discussions defending the one point of view are found in: Wittkower, 1958, 100-03; and Wittkower, 1977, 167-171. Hibbard (1965, 45-48 and 55-57) is equally adamant in defending the one or predominant point of view theory, as is Pope-Hennessy (107-08).

⁶ Pope-Hennessy (pl. 40) and Mariani (fig. 9), for example, favor the view that corresponds to our Fig. 37. Wittkower (1955, pl. 12) and Hibbard (1965, pl. 16) prefer the view that corresponds to our Fig. 38. Kauffmann's frontal view of the statue (fig. 26) accords with our Fig. 39. Martinelli (fig. 54) and De Rinaldis (1939, 74) offer yet another front view, corresponding to our Fig. 36.

⁷ Martinelli (fig. 59), for example, favors the first view (our Fig. 9). Pope-Hennessy's preference (fig. 157) is for a view between our Figs. 9 and 10. The second view (our Fig. 8) is the choice of Hibbard (1965, pl. 24), De Rinaldis (1939, 74), and Faldi (1954, 33). Wittkower (1955, 13) selected a view a few degrees to the left of our Fig. 8.

⁸ Martinelli (fig. 60) and De Rinaldis (1939, 75) favor the view corresponding to our Fig. 25. Hibbard (1965, pl. 20) and Wittkower (1955, pl. 14) argue for the view corresponding to our Fig. 24. Pope-Hennessy (pl. 142) favors the view that accords with our Fig. 23. The frontal view of the *Apollo and Daphne* illustrated by Kauffmann (fig. 32) and Mariani (fig. 13) corresponds to our Fig. 21.

⁹ Hibbard, 1965, 48.

¹⁰ Wölfflin, 54-57.

art was of course much influenced by an article published by Wölfflin in 1896-97. Referring to Hildebrand's theories of pure sculptural form, he argued that sculpture should be photographed from a full frontal view.¹⁵ This recommendation may very well have discouraged photographers from recording the Borghese sculptures from a wide range of views. Today, of course, long after the invention of small hand-held and single lens reflex cameras, Bernini's statues are photographed from every possible angle. Modern studies of Bernini's art often include unconventional side views of the statues; yet, in virtually every one of these texts the point is made that such views, however interesting, are nonetheless of secondary importance and clearly subordinate to the statues' dominant views.¹⁶ Even though this idea has enjoyed considerable popularity in recent times, no evidence has yet been produced to demonstrate unequivocally that it was Bernini's intention to render the Borghese statues with respect to a single, dominant view. Rather, it seems, he had something quite different in mind.



1 Anonymous, *Bernini's "David,"* engraving, from Montelatici, *Villa Borghese*, 1700, opp. p. 253 (photo: author)



2 Anonymous, *Bernini's "Apollo and Daphne,"* engraving, from Montelatici, opp. p. 239 (photo: author)

¹¹ As Wittkower (1958, 100) explains: "It is one of the strange and ineradicable misapprehensions due, it seems, to Heinrich Wölfflin's magnetic influence, that Baroque sculpture presents many points of view." In the footnote to this statement (p. 346, n. 5), Wittkower goes on to say: "However, a passage in *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, first published in 1918 [sic], shows that Wölfflin was very well aware that Baroque sculpture has a 'picture-like' character and is therefore composed for one viewpoint." The passage to which Wittkower refers is not cited specifically by him but seems to be that in which Wölfflin discusses Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (Wölfflin, 61-62):

It is consistent for a type of sculpture which aims at pictorial [*Bildmassig*] effects that it must feel more attracted to the figure on the wall and in the niche than to the free-standing figure. In spite of that, it is precisely the Baroque... which escapes from the spell of the plane, and thus it is fundamentally in its interest to limit the possible points of view. For this, it is just Bernini's masterpieces which are characteristic, especially those which, after the style of the *Saint Teresa*, are enclosed in a half-open recess. Cut into by the enframing half-column and lighted from above by its own source of light, this group produces a thoroughly pictorial effect, that is, the effect of a thing which has, in a certain sense, been withdrawn from immediate tangibility.

If, indeed, this is the passage Wittkower had in mind, then I cannot agree with his conclusion that Wölfflin therefore believed Baroque sculpture is meant to be seen from one viewpoint. As Wölfflin remarks later on in his study (p. 114): "...there is another way of overcoming the plane, and that is to develop the niche into a real three-dimensional space, as Bernini did in his *Saint Teresa*. Here the ground plan is oval and opens — like a burst fig — forwards, not along the full breadth, but in such a way that it is overlapped at the sides. The niche forms a recess, in which the figures can move apparently freely, and *however limited the possibilities are, the spectator is challenged to take up his stand at various points*" (italics added). When speaking of Bernini's *David*, moreover, Wölfflin (p. 109) specifically comments upon the "multiplicity of its directions," adding that "Here we are really 'rushed round the figure,' for there is always something lacking which we feel impelled to seek." There does not seem to me to be any passage in Wölfflin's study that implies that the "pictorial" or "picture-like" character of Baroque sculpture demands that it be seen from one or a

predominant point of view. On the contrary, over and over again Wölfflin stresses that Baroque statuary is essentially aplanimetric and thus can be viewed from a multiplicity of viewpoints. His observations on this problem will be taken up again at the end of this study.

Wittkower's notion that, since Bernini's sculpture has a "picture-like" character, it was therefore composed for one viewpoint has been supported by many scholars. See, esp., Hibbard, 1965, 45, 48, 53, 62.

¹² See: Wittkower, 1955, 5-7; Hibbard, 1965, 62; and Pope-Hennessy, 107.

¹³ In the case of the *Apollo and Daphne*, this was probably especially true. In the late 19th century, it should be remembered, the *Apollo and Daphne* stood, as it does today, in the center of the northeast room, with the figure of Daphne facing the room's south door. This is not a very large room; with the *Apollo and Daphne* placed at its center, a distance of about eleven feet separates the statue from the walls parallel to it. Even today, with small hand-held cameras, it is difficult to get a proper distance from the statue to photograph its entire length. Modern and sophisticated wide-angle lenses now make this possible, of course. Early photographers must have encountered many problems, however, especially when we take into account the large size of their cameras. Very probably, then, they photographed the statue from the two doors (or most probably from the west door so that the figure of Apollo would be included) leading into the room. The resulting photographs would have given views such as those popularly proposed up to now.

I am indebted to my colleague John Jacobus, who first suggested to me that old photographic techniques may have been responsible in part for the single point of view theory of Bernini's Borghese statues.

¹⁴ Leopoldo Alinari, one of the founders of the famous photographic firm and its chief photographer, was trained as an engraver. For this and other information pertaining to the Alinari brothers, see esp. chap. 3 ("La Documentazione dell'Arte") in *Gli Alinari: Fotografi a Firenze — 1852-1920*, exh. cat., ed. W. Settimelli and F. Zevi, Florence, 1977, 116f.

¹⁵ H. Wölfflin, "Wie Man Skulpturen Aufnehmen Soll [Pt. 1]," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1896, 224-28.

¹⁶ For example: Hibbard, 1965, 44-61; Kauffmann, figs. 27-35; and Mariani, figs. 8-14. See also the discussions of Pope-Hennessy, 107-08, and Wittkower, 1955, 6. In the case of Hibbard, Wittkower, and Pope-Hennessy, new photographs of the statues' dominant views (generally a bit more frontal than in the old Alinari photos) were also published.

When it was discovered that Bernini's statues originally stood next to walls, the written authority of early guides to the Villa Borghese was cited. The relevant passages from these guidebooks were not quoted, however, and this is particularly curious since two of the guides — Jacomo Manilli (*Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Rome, 1650) and Domenico Montelatici (*Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Rome, 1700) — tell us precisely where the statues originally stood.¹⁷ This evidence proves to have immense significance, for it shows that the seventeenth-century visitor to the Villa Borghese could not have grasped the statues' meanings in one dramatic moment nor have seen them, upon entering their respective rooms in the villa, from an ideal frontal standpoint.

The first statue to be considered, the *David*, is found today in the middle room on the east side of the villa — a room to which it had been transferred after the renovation of the Villa Borghese in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁸ As is well known, the *David* originally stood in the corner room to the southeast. According to both seventeenth-century guides, Manilli and Montelatici, the statue was situated along the wall contiguous with the villa's long portico — a location, in other words, that faced neither of the two entrances to the room (Fig. 3).¹⁹ Thus, the visitor's first views of the statue would not have been those which are popularly proposed but those of the statue's right side (Figs. 4 and 5). To be sure David's right side displays an unintelligible action; at the same time, however, this action is provocatively assertive and encourages the spectator to move — to learn more of the statue's form and above all to discover its meaning. Following the great sweep of David's left leg and torso, the beholder gathers more information: he sees the hero sighting his adversary (Fig. 6) and summoning his strength (Figs. 7 and 8). In the

progression of views from right to left, David's facial expression becomes increasingly taut and fierce and his body more compact: like Annibale Carracci's *Polyphemus*, to which it specifically refers, David is a powerful figure who aims to destroy his enemy (Figs. 9, 10, and 14).²⁰ Following the downward curve of David's left arm, our attention is brought to the stone and the sling that holds it (Fig. 11). Moving farther to the left, one finally realizes how tightly the sling is held: a precise and taut gesture, it matches the firm contours of David's profile (Figs. 12 and 13). As the statue's left side expresses it, the tremendous physical energy and enormous spiritual will that David has summoned finally become powerfully concentrated and are, thus, ready to be released. Certainly the left side of the statue has some compositional weaknesses; nonetheless, it surely was open to view and, it seems, for a very important reason.²¹ The journey that we, the beholders, make about the statue leads us to a point where we become both physically and psychologically aligned with the *David*. Like the biblical hero, we turn our heads to sight Goliath and like David, too, we become potential champions against the Philistine.

The *Apollo and Daphne* was executed almost simultaneously with the *David*. Perhaps the most famous of the three Borghese sculptures, it illustrates a story told by Ovid: the pursuit of Daphne by Apollo, and Daphne's eventual metamorphosis into a laurel tree. After the eighteenth-century redecoration of Borghese's villa, the statue was returned to the room for which it was made — the corner room to the northeast (Fig. 3). Howard Hibbard has proposed that the statue originally stood near the east wall and opposite the room's two entrances, thus affording the visitor an instant frontal or nearly frontal view of the sculpture (Fig. 15).²² However, as the guidebooks of

¹⁷ See Faldi, 1953a, 144.

¹⁸ For a brief account of the redecoration of the Villa Borghese, see Paola della Pergola, *The Borghese Gallery in Rome*, Rome, 1951, 3-4.

¹⁹ For the location of the *David* according to Manilli and Montelatici, see Appendix. Diagrams I and IV, also in the Appendix, show the location of all the objects in the room as described by the two guides.

²⁰ Wittkower (1955, 6) was the first to point out the relation between the *David* and Carracci's *Polyphemus*.

²¹ Wittkower (1965, 236, n.55) states that the *David* "originally stood against a wall with large vases right and left that forestalled the wide range of views we now have." To be sure, Manilli and Montelatici mention the presence of alabaster vases to either side of the statue (see Appendix). Faldi (1954, 19) has suggested, with reservations, that the vases in question may have been those now in the Borghese Gallery (Inv. No. cxix) which measure 40cm in height. Such small objects hardly would have obscured the sides of the statue. Faldi's reservations seem justified, however, since Manilli gives the height of the vases as four palms (about 80cm). In any case, it is likely that such precious objects were placed at the spectator's eye-level (not more

than 1,70m) and hence would not have obstructed, in any serious way, the side views of the statue (the statue stands 1,70m; its present pedestal measures 1,03m. The original pedestal, as described in documents — see Faldi, 1953a, 146 — was a far more elaborate affair and perhaps taller than its modern substitute). Moreover, given the considerable length of the room's west wall (4.50m from the door of the Salone to the door corresponding to the villa's portico), it is very likely that the three objects — the *David* and the two vases — were spaced generously apart from one another. Thus, again, the sides of the *David* would have been open to view. Even if (unlikely as it seems) the three objects had been closely gathered along the west wall, it is probable that at least 160° of the *David*'s circumference would have been visible. What may well have been the case is that one of the vases (i.e., the vase to the right of the *David*) concealed the most extreme (and also, compositionally, the weakest) side view of the statue as the visitor entered the room from the Salone.

²² Hibbard, 1965, 54. Hibbard (1965, 235, n.34) also suggests, incorrectly, that the *Aeneas and Anchises* by Bernini "was placed in a corner of the room [the northeast room] in the Villa Borghese ... by the door leading outside." As we shall see, the *Aeneas and Anchises* originally stood in the place Hibbard proposed for the *Apollo and Daphne*.

1650 and 1700 make clear, the *Apollo and Daphne* did not stand next to the east wall but next to the west wall — midway between one of the room's entrances and a fake or illusionistic door that seemed to give access to the space occupied by the villa's spiral staircase (Fig. 16).²³ Thus, upon entering the room from either of its two doors, the spectator's first encounter with the sculpture would have been a most unexpected, indeed a very surprising, rear view of Apollo's body (Fig. 17). Such a view may not seem to conform to seventeenth-century rules of decorum but, it should be remembered, the man who commissioned this work did not have conventional tastes. Cardinal Borghese was an enthusiastic collector of paintings and sculpture representing pagan and quite sensual subject matter and in 1620 he had Bernini provide a marble mattress for his ancient statue of an hermaphrodite — a figure, by the way, that also has a most provocative rear view (Fig. 28).²⁴

Although the first view of Bernini's statue has a striking parallel in a mid-sixteenth-century painting of the Apollo and Daphne myth (Fig. 29), the image to which it specifically refers is found in Annibale Carracci's *Polyphemus and Acis* (Fig. 30).²⁵ The figure of Polyphemus, as we have already seen, was a source of inspiration for Bernini's *David*. At very nearly the same time, the figure of Acis, too, was considered by Bernini and employed by him as a model for the running form of Apollo with his back turned to the spectator. This striking and unusual view of Apollo immediately engages the beholder's attention and, as had been the case with the *David*, urges one to move about the statue to seek more of its form and to discover its meaning.²⁶ By means of the dynamic diagonal thrust of Apollo's body, Bernini guides us towards ever rich sculptural details and an increasingly interesting narrative (Fig. 18). Swift-moving Apollo is

seen to be in hot pursuit of slim-bodied Daphne. "He shadows her shoulder," as Ovid describes, and "breathes on her streaming hair" (Figs. 19 and 20).²⁷ Sweeping draperies and wide arching forms impel us forward and in the unfolding of the myth we see the two shapes running "foot to foot": "the closing in is at hand" (Figs. 21 and 22).²⁸ The rising arc of Daphne's long legs and torso directs our attention to her face and hands: we see her cry out and find that her fingers have changed to leaves (Figs. 23 and 24). At last approaching the statue's right side, we discover, like the young god, that Daphne, alas, is very definitely becoming a tree: her toes have already taken root and her lovely body yields to the enclosing bark (Figs. 25-27). It is from this point of view that Apollo gains our sympathy, for we see his hand feel "the trembling spirit" beneath the bark and notice too that the most poignant sense of loss has registered on his face.²⁹

The fable of Apollo and Daphne is disclosed then not in one dramatic vision but gradually and sequentially as one moves around the statue. Guided by the statue's fluid linear rhythms and merging silhouettes, we learn, moreover, that the phenomenon of metamorphosis occurs not only in the figure of Daphne but in the entire sculptural group as well. In the progression of views from extreme left to extreme right, the statue gradually changes from a human form — muscular and energetic in its diagonal thrust — to a tree-like form — vertical, upward-reaching, and firmly fixed to the ground. The gradual disclosure of the *Apollo and Daphne*'s meaning makes it an especially faithful visualization of Ovid's fable, but even more remarkable is its close correspondence to a poem by Bernini's contemporary, Giovanni Battista Marino. Published in 1620, only two years before Bernini began work on the *Apollo and Daphne*, Marino's "Dafne" from

²³ The most thorough description is given by Montelatici. Having just described the small chapel near the villa's *lumaco* or spiral staircase, he enters the Camera di Dafne by its west door. Of the two major statues in that room, he says that the first, the *Aeneas and Anchises*, is "quello, che stà di contro all' ingresso [i.e., next to the east wall]." "L'altro gruppo dalla parete opposta [i.e., next to the west wall], di due figure, dimostra la favola d'Apolline, edì Dafne." For Manilli's and Montelatici's descriptions of this room, see Appendix. Diagrams II and III, also in the Appendix, show the locations of all the objects in the room as described by the two guides.

²⁴ Borghese's tastes and his habits as a collector are well known. "His villa on the Pincio — the 'delizia di Roma' — was the center of the most hedonistic society that Rome had known since the Renaissance" (Haskell, 28). "The enthusiastic art collector overlooked the fact that representations of Venus were hardly suitable for the rooms of a Cardinal" (Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. E. Graf, London, 1937, xxvi, 450). See as well Pastor, xxvi, 448-460.

Wittkower (1955, 180) gives the relevant information regarding Bernini's restoration of the *Hermaphrodite*.

²⁵ The painting of *Apollo and Daphne* was discussed by W. Stechow in his

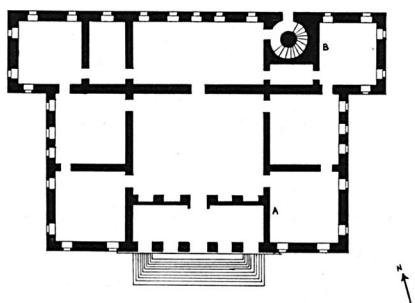
study, *Apollo und Daphne* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg herausgegeben von Fritz Saxl*), Berlin, 1932, 33. Fig. 39 in that text, it is attributed with reservation to Andrea Schiavone.

²⁶ As had been the case with the *David*, objects were placed to the sides of the *Apollo and Daphne*. As Manilli and Montelatici report, these were antique busts raised on *termini* or *scabelloni* (see Appendix). As it is most likely that the busts were placed at the spectator's eye-level (no more than 1,70m), they would have obscured only partially the side views of the statue (the statue together with its original pedestal stands 3,58m). It is probable, moreover, that the busts were placed at a generous distance from the *Apollo and Daphne* (the west wall from the *porta finta* to the door leading to the chapel measures approximately 3,50m). Thus, no doubt, the statue's sides (or, at least, their greatest part) were open to view.

²⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries, Bloomington, Ind. 1957, 19f.

²⁸ Giovanni Battista Marino, "Dafne," in *Opere scelte*, I: *Marino*, 193-98, ll. 153-55 (hereafter Marino, *Dafne*). Marino's poem is a much elaborated version of Ovid's fable.

²⁹ Marino, *Dafne*, l. 167.

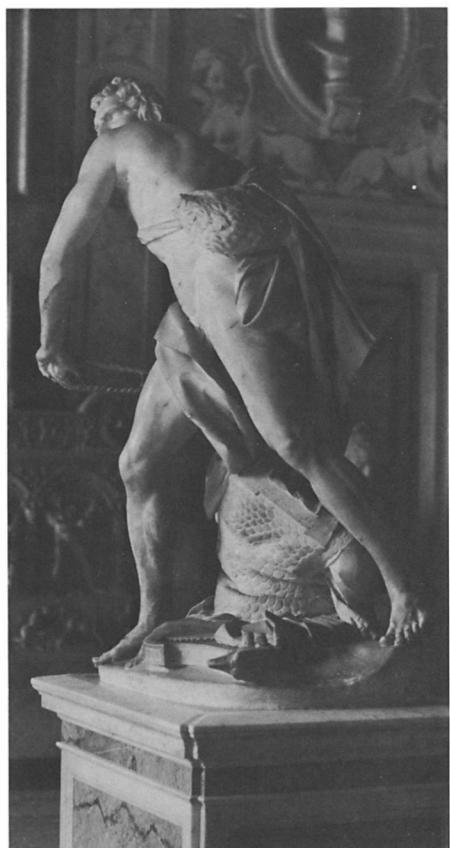


3 Ground-floor plan of the Villa Borghese, Rome (drawing: author)
 (A) Original location of *David*; (B) Original location of *Apollo and Daphne* and proposed intended location of *Pluto and Persephone*

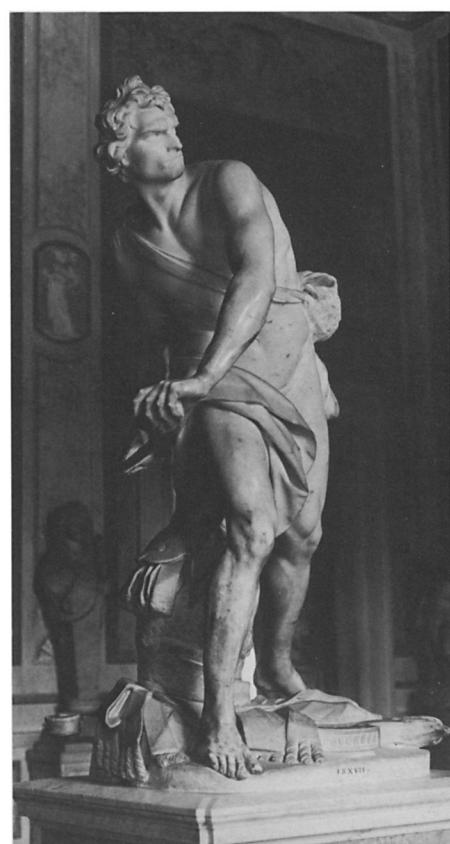
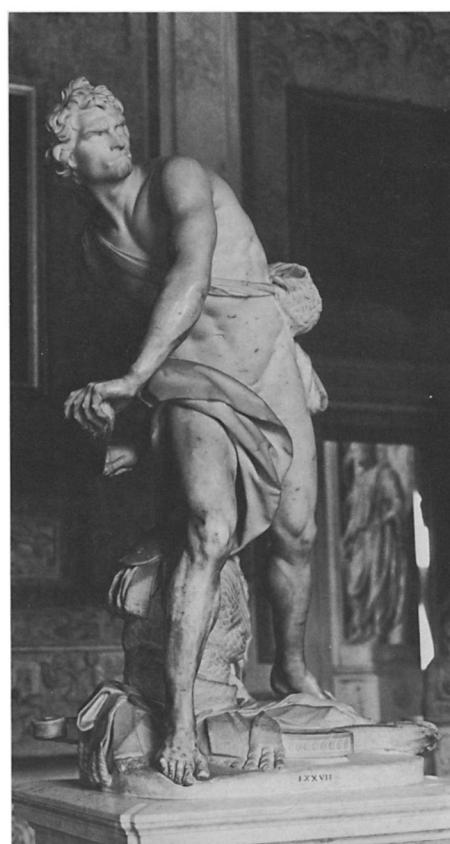
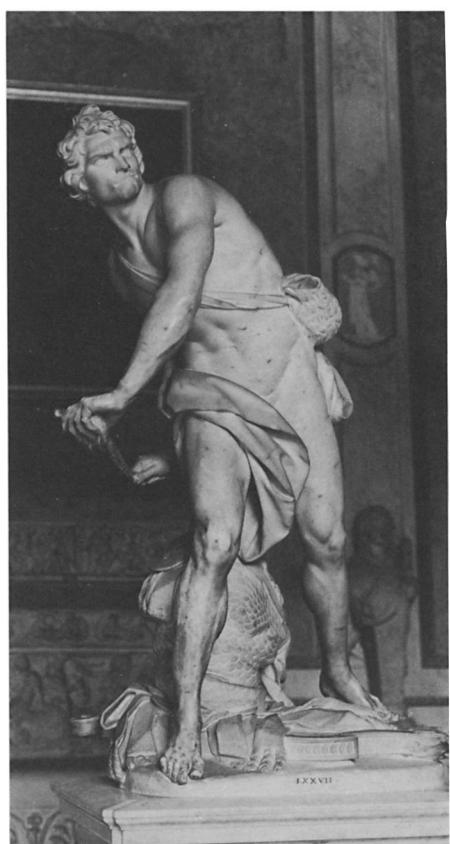


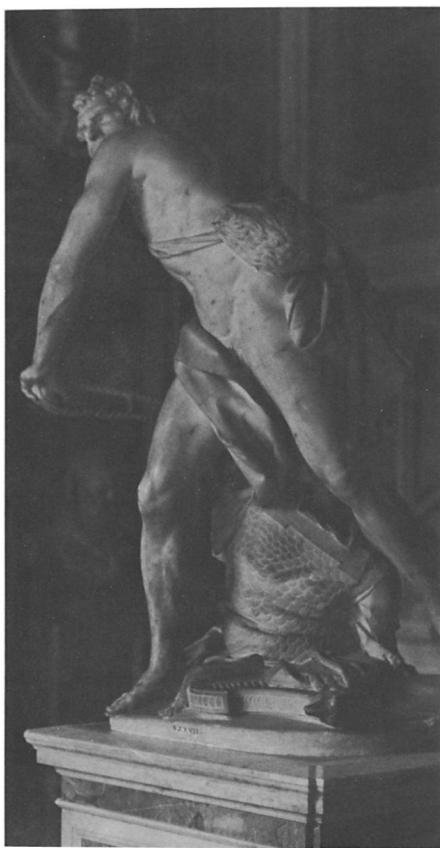
4–13 Bernini, *David*. Rome,
 Borghese Gallery (photos: author)

4



5

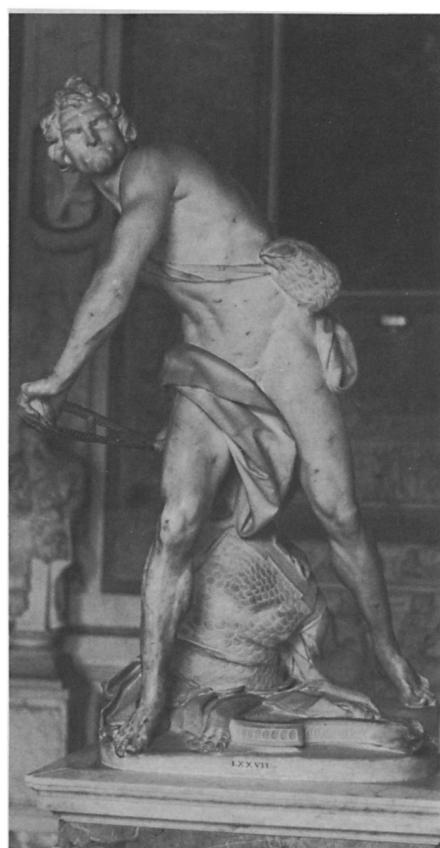




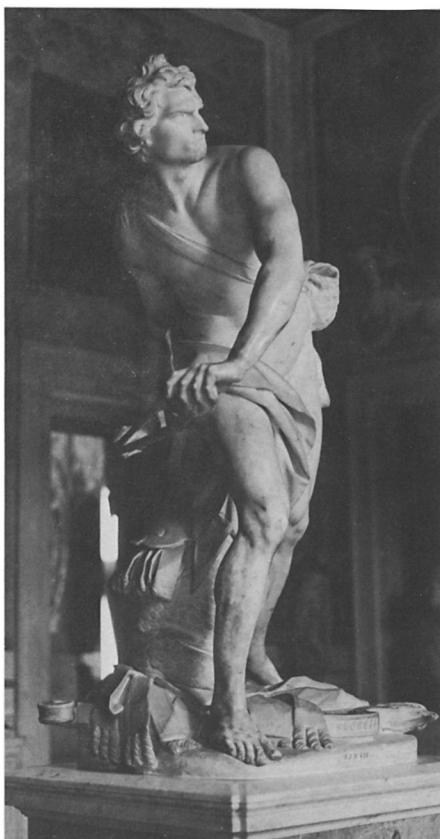
6



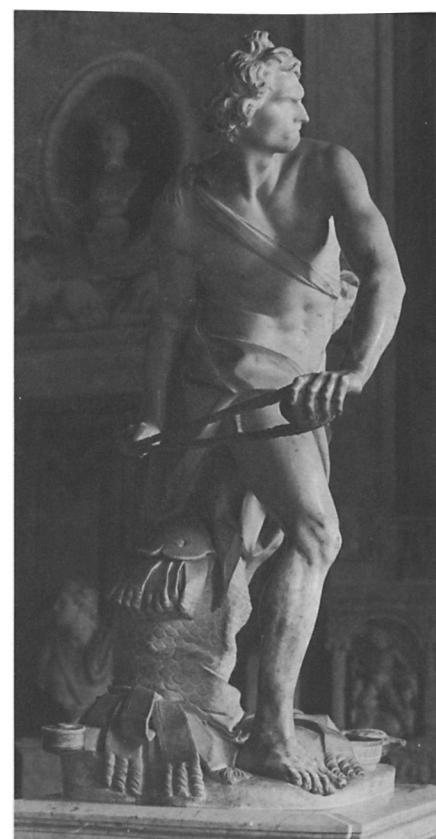
7



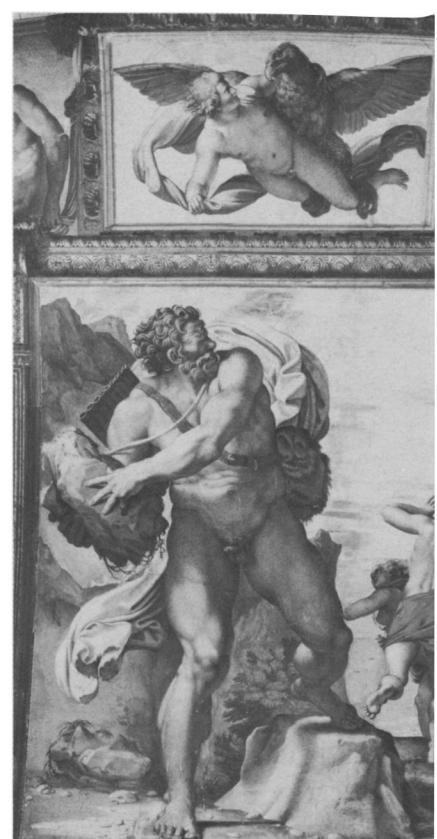
8



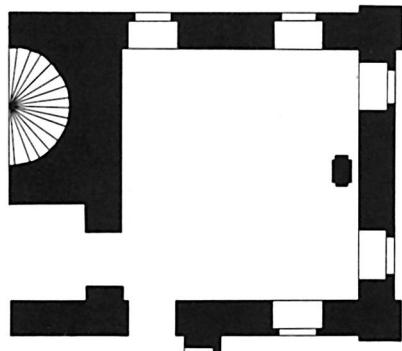
12



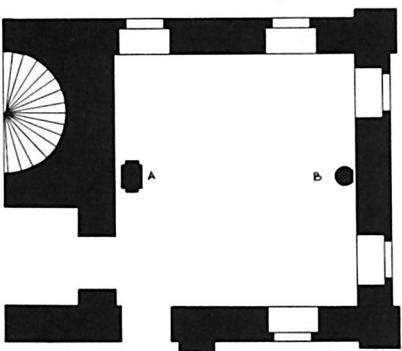
13



14 Annibale Carracci. *Polyphemus and Acis*, detail of Gallery ceiling, Rome, Palazzo Farnese (photo: Alinari)



15 Floor plan of the northeast room, Villa Borghese, showing Hibbard's proposed location of the *Apollo and Daphne* (drawing by author after Hibbard, *Bernini*, 1965, 54, fig. 1)



16 Floor plan of the northeast room, Villa Borghese (drawing: author) (A) Original location of *Apollo and Daphne*; (B) Original location of *Aeneas and Anchises*



17-27 Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*. Rome, Borghese Gallery (photos: author)



18



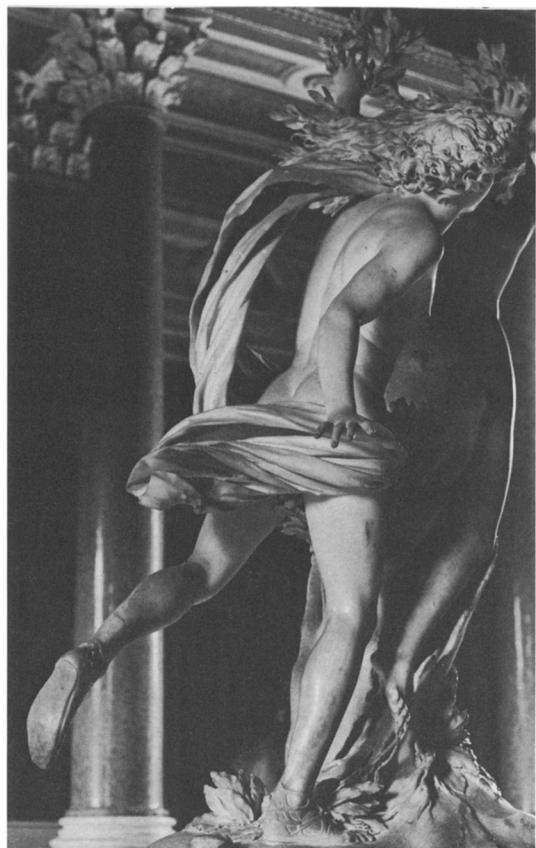
22



23



24



19



20



21



25



26



27

the *Egloghe boscherecce* is notable for its dynamic rhythm and crescendo-like form.³⁰ For the most part, this poem is Apollo's lament and after a brief introduction he begins to speak:

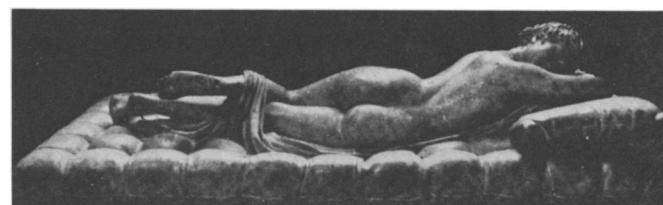
O fugace, o superba, o più che vento
rapida e lieve, o più che marmo dura
a le mie voci, o a l'incendio mio
via più fredda che neve, o ninfa, o ninfa,
ove fuggi? o chi fuggi? o perché fuggi?³¹

More than half the poem (lines 17 to 113) is devoted to Apollo and the frustration he feels in attempting to catch the running Daphne. After a long description of himself, his divine lineage and his immortal powers, he again cries out, beseeching the nymph to stop and to listen to him:

Deh ferma, Dafne, il piè, deh ferma il passo,
.....
Forse ti pose amor l'ale a le piante,
ch'io non ti giunga or che ti seguo? aspetta,
o ninfa, aspetta. Ascolta, o ninfa, ascolta,
ove ne vai così sicura e sola
a celarti fra' rami? ove ricovri?
.....
Non fuggir, non fuggir, perfida, ascolta,
odi, Dafne mia cara, odimi, o ninfa,
o ninfa, o Sol del Sol, volgi quegli occhi,
gli occhi sì dolci e sì leggiadri a cui,
.....³²

In the following passage Apollo seeks to comprehend Daphne's disdain for him, her reason for not halting:

Deh ferma, Dafne, ohimè, deh ferma il passo,
deh perché mi disdegni? or sei tu nata
di rigid' alno o di pungente scoglio?
Ma se sei scoglio o d'alno, ahi lasso, or come
come sì mobil sei, come sì lieve
che non sei pur, sì come alpestra e dura,
così di loro a par stabile e salda?
Almeno avessi, Dafne, avessi almeno
immobil anco il piè, com'hai la voglia.
Deh vedi, ohimè, non qualche spina o sterpo
il tuo tenero piè punga ed offenda,
deh guarda, ohimè, non qualche biscia od angue
il tuo tenero piè morda e traffiga.



28 *Hermaphrodite* (with mattress carved by Bernini). Paris, Louvre (formerly in the Villa Borghese), from Wittkower, *Bernini*, 1955, 108, fig. 12 (photo: Elizabeth O'Donnell)



29 Andrea Mantegna?, *Apollo and Daphne*. Modena, Pinacoteca, from Stechow, *Apollo und Daphne*, 1932, fig. 39 (photo: Elizabeth O'Donnell)

30 Annibale Carracci, *Polyphemus and Acis*, detail. Rome, Palazzo Farnese, from Annibale Carracci (*Classici dell'arte*), 1976, pl. XLVII (photo: Elizabeth O'Donnell)

Guarda quel cespo di pungenti stecchi
che non t'involi il crin, che vola sparso
su per la fronte e per le spalle intorno.
O se per mia cagion verrà che 'ntroppi
in alcun tronco o 'n alcun sasso e caggi,
o qual martir, qual duol mi fora, o quanto
d'esser nume celeste e d'esser dio
per non poter morir più mi dorrebbe.³³

With these lines an important transition is made in the poem: even though Apollo's unhappy state is still the focus of attention, frequent allusions now are made to the

³⁰ On the publication of the *Egloghe boscherecce*, see: James Mirolo, *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino*, New York, 1963, 66. The volume of poems was published by Scipione Bonino in Naples. "In a manner typical of the time," states Mirolo, "a publisher had gathered together and printed some poems dating back to Marino's Neapolitan apprenticeship [i.e., between the years 1570-1600]." It is possible then that the poem "Dafne" may have been known to Bernini before the year 1620.

Kauffmann (p. 73) relates this poem to Bernini's statue but quotes it only in part.

³¹ Marino, *Dafne*, ll. 17-21.

³² *Ibid.*, ll. 83, 90-94, and 105-08.

³³ *Ibid.*, ll. 114-134.

ultimate form of Daphne's metamorphosis. The special irony of this passage, with its many references to trees, shrubbery, thorns, and brushwood, is understood, of course, by the reader alone — Apollo as yet is unaware of Daphne's fate and once again begs her to stop, saying: "ma quanto tu più fuggi io più ti seguo;/ma quanto più ti seguo men t'aggiungo —."³⁴

Here Apollo's lament comes to an end. From this point onwards, the reader no longer shares the point of view of Apollo but, rather, that of the poet. Like Marino, the reader observes both protagonists at the climax of the story: he regards Daphne's metamorphosis into laurel and sees as well the effect this change has had on the immortal god.

Così piangea l'addolorato amante;
ma ecco già l'avea presso che giunta,
e 'l piè con piè e con la mano il tergo
a lei vicino ad or ad or premea:
quando repente (oh meraviglia) vide,
vide cangiarsi in nova forma e strana
la bella Dafne e verdeggiar le chiome
di mille fronde e volgersi le braccia
in rozzi tronchi e stabilirsi in terra
fatta radice il piè e farsi un lauro
leggiadro e schietto: ohimè, da quanti ei fue
dolori oppresso e quante strida in vano,
allor ch'egli sentì forte stringendo
tra le sue braccia il caro amato stelo,
sotto la viva e tenerella scorza
tremar gli spiriti e palpitar le fibre
de la già tanto sospirata ninfa!³⁵

Throughout the first two thirds of the poem, there is an insistent repetition of verbs such as *fuggi* and *aspetta* — one of several literary devices employed by Marino to create the sensation of rapid flight, of running, and of crescendoing movement. Then, as Edouardo Taddeo mentions in his analysis of the poem, "dopo la corso affanosa, la trasformazione sembra compiersi quasi nell'immo-

bilità."³⁶ This shift from action to stasis and the corresponding shift in attention from Apollo alone to the two figures, Apollo and Daphne, have striking parallels in Bernini's statue when it is seen from sequential points of view. As Howard Hibbard once remarked, "the *Apollo and Daphne* is Bernini's closest approach to Marinism."³⁷ Indeed, so alike are the two works, Marino's poem and Bernini's statue, that it is hard to believe the former was not an important source of inspiration for the latter.³⁸ In both cases, great value is placed upon the virtuoso description of forms; in both instances the particular presentation of these forms leads to a surprising and marvelous conclusion. Like Marino's eclogue and Ovid's fable, too, Bernini's statue has a beginning and an end. It describes all the essentials of the pagan myth but at the same time requires that the sum of its meaning be understood in time. To achieve this poetic effect in sculpture, Bernini has necessarily adopted the kinetic views or "multi-faciality" of Mannerist statuary but, significantly, he has limited these merging views to an arc of about 180°.³⁹ In contrast to the meaningless spiraling of works such as Giovanni Bologna's *Rape of the Sabine* or *Mercury* (Figs. 31 and 32), Bernini's statue is infused with marvelous content. A thoroughly intelligent and novel application of a Mannerist device, the *Apollo and Daphne* surely is, as seventeenth-century critics claimed, a "miracle of art."⁴⁰

The *Apollo and Daphne*, as we know, was a substitute for the statue of *Pluto and Persephone* which Borghese had given away to Cardinal Ludovisi. Considering this as well as the fact that the two works are almost exactly the same height, it can reasonably be argued that Bernini had planned to install the *Pluto and Persephone* in precisely that space where the *Apollo and Daphne* originally stood — that is, along the west wall of the villa's northeast corner room (Fig. 3).⁴¹ If this was the case, then the visitor, upon entering the room, would not have seen the statue's front face but its left side, where Pluto's aggressive stride is prominently displayed (Fig. 33). It has been noted previously that the statue's composition of figures engaged in struggle owes much to Giovanni Bologna's

³⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 150-51.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 152-168.

³⁶ E. Taddeo, *Studi sul Marino (Collana di cultura storica e letteraria)*, Florence, 1971, 23.

³⁷ Hibbard, 1965, 235-36, n.50. Hibbard quotes Marino's very short poem on the same subject, "Dafne in Lauro." Another poem by Marino on this subject, "La Trasformazione di Dafne," is also quite short and can be found in *Giambattista Marino: Poesie varie*, ed. Benedetto Croce, Bari, 1913, 175.

³⁸ No evidence has been found to prove this was so, yet when one considers the great fame of Marino in his own time and his close association with the Roman clergy, including Scipione Borghese, it seems very possible. For Marino's connections with the clergy, esp. Cardinal Aldobrandini and Maffeo Barberini, see: Haskell, 38; A. Borzelli, *Il Cavalier Marino con gli artisti e la "galeria,"* Naples, 1891, *passim*; G. Ackerman, "Gian Battista Marino's Contribution to Seicento Art Theory," *Art Bulletin*, XLIII, 1961,

326f.; and Miroollo (as in note 30), 21f. Most important is Marino's connection with Cardinal Scipione Borghese. In 1614, Marino dedicated his three *Dicerie sacre* to Pope Paul V (Borghese), in which he refers to the Pope's "magnanimo nipote — cardine del Vaticano." See: Marino, *Opere scelte*, I: *Marino*, 113.

³⁹ Or, as suggested in notes 21 and 26, the presence of flanking objects may have restricted these merging views to an arc of about 160°.

⁴⁰ See esp. the effusive praise of this statue by F. Baldinucci, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Florence, 1682; *The Life of Bernini by Filippo Baldinucci*, trans. C. Enggass, University Park, Pa. and London, 1966, 13.

The rear view of Giovanni Bologna's *Mercury* also could have been in Bernini's mind at the time he began work on the *Apollo and Daphne*.

⁴¹ The *Pluto and Persephone* (without its pedestal) measures 2.55m, while the *Apollo and Daphne* (without its pedestal) stands 2.43m.

Rape of the Sabine (Fig. 32).⁴² It is not, however, just the composition but also the "multi-faciality" of that earlier work that has inspired the *Pluto and Persephone*.⁴³ In this, one of Bernini's earliest adaptations of the aesthetic of Giovanni Bologna, varieties of view are made to correspond with a fascinating story. Pluto's lunging form instantly captures the beholder's imagination and initiates a drama that unfolds in subsequent views. A powerful man, we see, is abducting a young and full-bodied woman (Figs. 34-36). Guided by the curving rhythms of drapery and arms, we are led to the front of the statue and there learn that while Persephone struggles to be released from Pluto's firm grasp, Pluto is only bewildered and a bit amused that she should try to do so (Figs. 37-39). The young woman attempts to push herself free and turns her face away from the abductor-king. Following the direction of her gaze, we move to the statue's right side (Figs. 40-42). Here Persephone utters an anguished cry and appeals to us — as if we were her mother, Ceres — for help. And surely she needs our aid, for not only has the mighty god pressed his fingers deeply into Persephone's thigh but also, as we learn from this point of view, he is carrying her to Hades where the guardian of that infernal world ferociously snaps at her feet.

With all three statues for Cardinal Borghese, Bernini has so exploited the three-dimensionality of the marble block that we are encouraged to "enjoy its roundness by moving round it."⁴⁴ In the course of our journey before the statues, "a wealth of charming views unfolds, each of which is equally significant."⁴⁵ Yet, as Heinrich Wölfflin observed — and this is especially applicable to the Borghese sculptures: "The all-the-way-round, free-standing group is not typical of the baroque. It certainly avoids the impression of strict frontality, as though the figure had a decisive main direction and required to be seen in this direction. Its recession always implies the view from different angles. It would seem to the baroque a sin against life if sculpture were to settle into a definite plane. It does not only look to one side but possesses a much greater area of radiation."⁴⁶ In the case of the Borghese statues, as we have seen, this area of radiation is about 180°.⁴⁷ "We can call the art of the baroque consciously aplanimetric," states Wölfflin. "It repudiates the obligation

to the compelling frontality of the work, because only in this freedom did the semblance of living movement seem to it accessible."⁴⁸ Indeed, it is this living movement which informs the *David*, the *Apollo and Daphne*, and the *Pluto and Persephone*. The three famous statues for Scipione Borghese demonstrate most vividly Bernini's deep interest in the relation between art and life, between the fiction he has made and the beholder of that fiction. With great wit and novelty of design, the sculptor captures our attention, sustains our interest, and seeks our sympathetic response. Requiring us to be related both physically and temporally to his unfolding dramas, Bernini makes us witnesses not to "picture-like" forms but, rather, to marvelous performances.

Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH 03755

Appendix

The Sources

A. Jacomo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Rome, 1650.

(The author moves about the villa in a counter-clockwise direction. He describes first the portico of the villa, then its entrance hall, and then turns to the first room on the right, the southeast corner room, Diagram I.) Pp. 61-65:

Nella prima Stanza dell'Appartamento verso Mezzogiorno, la Statua grande di David in atto di combattere co'l gigante Golia, è del Cavaliere Lorenzo Bernini, il quale nella testa di David ha ritratto sestesso. Posa questa Statua sopra un gran piedestallo quadro di marmo guarnito d'alabastro, lavorato à cartocci. Dalle bande, hà due vasi tondi d'alabastro orientale, co'l piede, e co'l coperchio, lavorati à spicchi, d'altezza di quattro palmi; i quali posano sopra scabelloni di marmo bianco, incorniciato di pietre varie, con capitello bianco d'ordine Corinthio. Segue al David, dall'istessa banda, un Leone di mezzana grandezza, d'alabastro cotognino, che posa sopra uno scabellone di noce intagliato, e messo à oro. All'altra faccia del muro, trà le due finestre, si vede la Statua antica di Seneca, che stà morendo nel Bagno. Il Seneca è di marmo nero con una fascia d'alabastro cotognino, sotto la cintura. Il Bagno è di porfido, per meglio esprimere il colore, for-

⁴² Bernini's drawing after Giovanni Bologna's statue was first published by H. Brauer and R. Wittkower in *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, 18 and pl. 5a.

⁴³ Bernini also considered, apparently, the bronze relief made by Giovanni Bologna for the base of the *Rape of the Sabine*. The nude figure of a Roman abducting a Sabine woman in this relief is almost the mirror image of the left side of Bernini's statue.

⁴⁴ Wölfflin, 110.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁴⁷ Or somewhere between 160° and 180° as suggested previously in notes 21, 26, and 39.

⁴⁸ Wölfflin, 109. Modern scholarship (notably the studies of Hibbard, Wittkower, and Pope-Hennessy) has shown, of course, that more often than not Bernini did seek a "compelling frontality" in his work. It is undeniably true, for example, that sculptures such as the *Saint Longinus*, the *Constantine*, and the *Ludovica Albertoni* are strongly frontal, but, as I will attempt to show in a forthcoming study, frontality or the single, dominant view was not always Bernini's desired end, and, chiefly because of his deep interest in the relation between spectator and sculpture, he was led to give many of his sculptures, in addition to those discussed here, a "multifaciality."

mato dall'aqua meschiata co'l sangue: è l'vaso, che lo contiene, è opera moderna di pietra d'Africano. Il piedestallo, sù'l quale posa questa Statua, è di marmo bianco à cartocci, con le facce, e co'l piano di sopra, di verde antico: & il zoccolo, che gli stà di sotto, è di porfido. Vien questa famosa Statua in mezzo à due colonne antiche di marmo nero, alte dieci palmi; le quali han di sopra, in luogo di capitelli, due Statuette di Gladiatori, di quattro palmi d'altezza. All' altro muro si vede sopra uno scabellone di noce, intagliato e messo à oro, una Lupa antica di marmo rosso, con Romolo, e Remo bambini, di marmo bianco; e posa sopra un zoccolo similmente di marmo bianco, guarnito di giallo, co'l piano di sopra di paragone. Dalle bande del camino son' alzate sopra due scabelloni di noce, le teste d'Adriano giovane, e di Macrino, con i petti di pietra mischia. Sopra l'camino si vede in un basso rilievo, alto due palmi e un terzo, Venere in piedi, con Cupido sopra un Delfino; opera secondo alcuni antichissima di Prassitele. All' altro muro è alzata sopra uno scabello di noce la Statuetta di Diana, alta quasi cinque palmi. In faccia al Seneca, si vede la Statua di Giunone Regina, assai più grande del naturale, di marmo bianco, con una vesta di porfido, e con le calighe di serpento. Mà alcuni, dal vedere questa statua in atto humile di supplicare, non punto convenevole alla Dea delle ricchezze, e sorella, e moglie di Giunone, vanno stimando, ch' essa rappresenti, ò la moglie, ò la madre di Dario, quando furon fatte prigioni d'Alessandro Magno. Posa questa statua sopra un'Ara antica triangolare di marmo, la quale hà in faccia scolpito uno, che sacrifica al Dio Apollo, con due Lauri, vicino all'Ara. In uno delle altre facce, si vede il Tripode d'Apollo, co'l Corvo di sopra: e nell' altra faccia, una Corona di spighe, coll' Aquila in cima. Sotto l'Ara è posto un zoccolo di pietra mischia, con trè piedi sopra à cipolle, corrispondenti alli trè angoli del Tripode. Vien messa in mezzo questa Statua da due colonne di Breccia diasprata di colori diversi, alte dodici palmi l'una, con due Statuette sopra, di Bacco fanciullo, e d'Hercole bambino, quando uccide i serpi; ognuna di quattro palmi d'altezza. L'ultima Statua di questa camera, è quella d'Apollo co'l plettro, e co'l serpe avvolto nel tronco; la quale corrisponde all' altra di Diana.

Sopra la Statue sudette son' appese diverse Pitture. E cominciando dalla porta della Sala, il David coll' harpa, è del Cavaliere Giuseppe. La Venere, con due Ninfe, è di Tiziano. Il tondo di sotto, della Madonna, con Christo, e San Giovanni, è maniera di Raffaelle. Il Christo alla colonna, è del Caravaggio. Lo sposalizio di S. Caterina Martire, è del Parmigianino. Il quadro del Concilio di Trento, è d'Incognito. Quello che gli sia sotto, della Vergine con Christo in braccio, è, secondo alcuni, del Sodoma: altri pensano che sia di Iacopo da Pontormo. L'altro della Pietà, che è sopra la statua della Lupa, è stimato da alcuni, di Lionardo da Vinci: e da altri, del Sodoma. Il quadro sopra la Porta del Giardino, è di Sofonisba Anguisciola; dove ella ritrasse sestessa, co'l padre, e con un fratellino. Il Baccanale posto sopra l'camino, è di Tiziano. Il San Girolamo, è del Muziano. Il quadro del Pregadi di Venezia, è del Palma Giovane: e quello di S. Caterina di Siena, è del Cavaliere Giuseppe.

(Manilli then goes on to describe the objects in the middle room on the villa's east side. He next enters the northeast corner room by its south door, Diagram II.) Pp. 68-71:

Nella terza Stanza si vede una tavola di Paragone, fregiato di verde, e broccatello, con la cornice biaca di marmo, lunga undici palmi, e mezzo, e larga sei, con piedi di noce tutto incorniciato. Sopra questa tavola è posta una testa di Giove, opera Greca, co'un picciolo piedestallo di pietra mischia. Doppo la tavola

seguono due teste: la prima delle quali, con un petto di marmo mischio, è d'Ottaviano Augusto: l'altra, tutta biaca, e di Lucio Vero. Vien questa testa à stare à un de' lati d'un Gruppo grande di marmo, d'Enea co' Anchise sù le spalle, che porta i Dei Penati, seguitato dal picciolo Ascanio; opera moderna del Cavaliere Bernini. Il piedestallo tondo, sù'l quale posa il gruppo, è antico, di marmo bianco, con due festoni, e tre teste di toro. Dall' altra banda del gruppo è posta un' altra testa di Lucio Vero. L'altra testa, che segue, co'l petto mischio, è stimata di Marco Aurelio, quando era giovane: e la quinta, posta all' altro muro è di qualche Heroe Greco. Tutte queste cinque teste posano sopra scabelloni di noce intagliati. La testa, che segue, passata la Porta, co'l petto cotognino, è di Giulia Mesa; & è posta sopra un Termine à testa, e zampa di Tigre, parte di marmo giallo, e parte di breccia, co'l capitello Ionico di marmo bigio. L'altra testa è di Bruto giovinetto; e posa sopra un Termine à testa e zampa di Lione, d'alabastro cotognino, co'l capitello di marmo bigio. In mezzo à queste due teste è alzato un Gruppo grande di Dafne, seguitata da Apollo, la quale comincia à mutarsi in Lauro; opera del Cavaliere Bernini. Posa questo gruppo sopra un grá piedestallo quadro di marmo bianco, ornato di broccatello, con una cartella di marmo in faccia, sostenuta in bocca dalla testa d'un Lione; detro alla quale si legge il Distico, che segue:

Quisquis amans sequitur fugitivae gaudia
formae,
Fronde manus implet, baccas seu carpit
amaras.

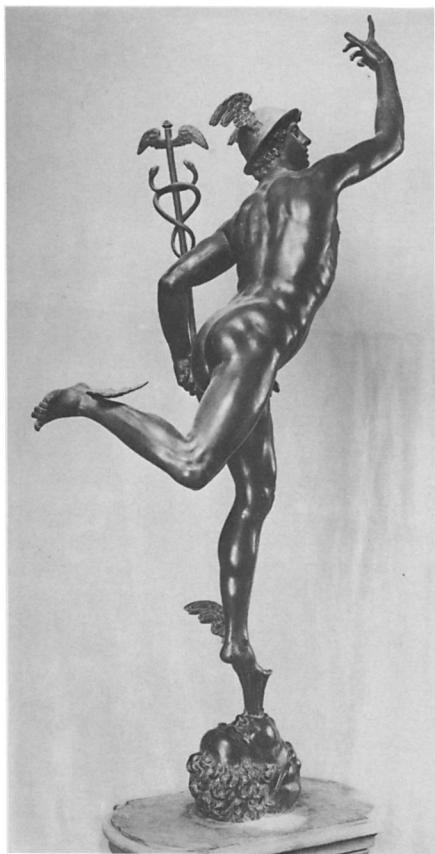
Sopra uno scabellone di noce, à foggia di piedestallo, posa un Frôtespizio similmente di noce, con uno sportello in mezzo, opera d'intaglio antico di due, ò trè secoli; dal quale, nell' aprire che si fa, sbuca fuori la testa spaventosa d'un Mostro, che strida con voce horrenda.

Sopra la Porta, per la quale s'entra in questa camera, il quadro della Madonna con Christo, e San Giovannino, con altre figure, è di Scipion Gaetano. Sù la tavola di Paragone, il quadro picciolo della Vergine, con Christo, e con altre figure, è dei Dossi. Il quadro disopra, di S. Gio. Battista, che predica nel deserto, è di Paulo Veronese. Quello, che segue, passata la finestra, d'un Bacanale, con più figure, è copia di Tiziano, fatta dal Cavaliere Giuseppe. Sopra la Porta del viale, il Christo, che porta la Croce, è di Frà Bastiano del Piombo. L'Incendio di Troia, con la fuga d'Enea, è del Barocci. Il quadretto d'un putto morso da un granchio, è del Caravaggio. L'Assunzione della Vergine, quadro d'Altare, è di Girolamo da Carpi. Il Letto da riposo, che vi stà sotto, intagliato con diverse storie, è opera di Giovanni Angiulla, Scultore in legno de' nostri tempi assai famoso. Il David, che uccide Golia, si crede che sia di Giulio Romano. Il quadro di Caino, che uccide Abel, è d'un allievo d'Annibale Carracci. In mezzo a questi due quadri, quello d'una Roma, che è sopra il Gruppo di Dafne, è del Cigoli.

B. Domenico Montelatici, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Rome, 1700.

(The author describes the rooms of the villa in a clockwise direction. He first discusses the large gallery on the villa's north side and then moves to the small chapel adjacent to the villa's spiral staircase. He leaves the chapel by its east door and enters the northeast corner room; Diagram III.) Pp. 238-245:

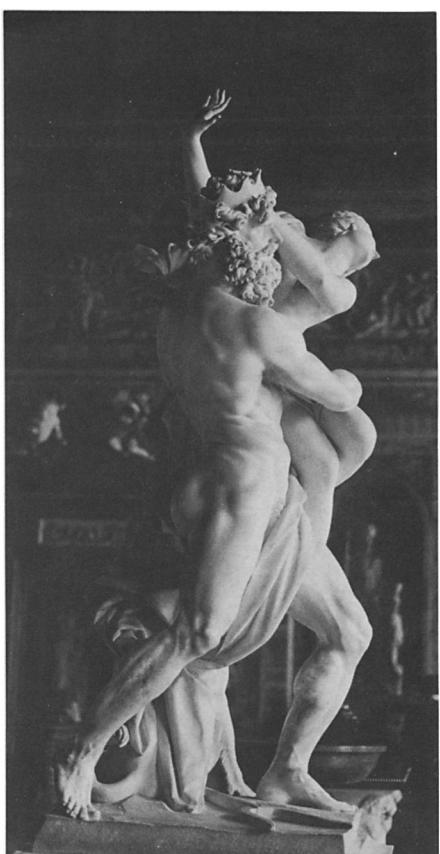
Nella Camera, che segue, s'ammirano in primo luogo due Gruppi grandi di marmo, figurati del naturale, ciascuno d'un sol pezzo, & ambedue mirabilmente scolpiti dal Cavalier Lorenzo Bernini. Quello, che stà di contro all'ingresso, di trè figure ignude, due



31 Giovanni Bologna, *Mercury*. Florence, Bargello (photo: Anderson)



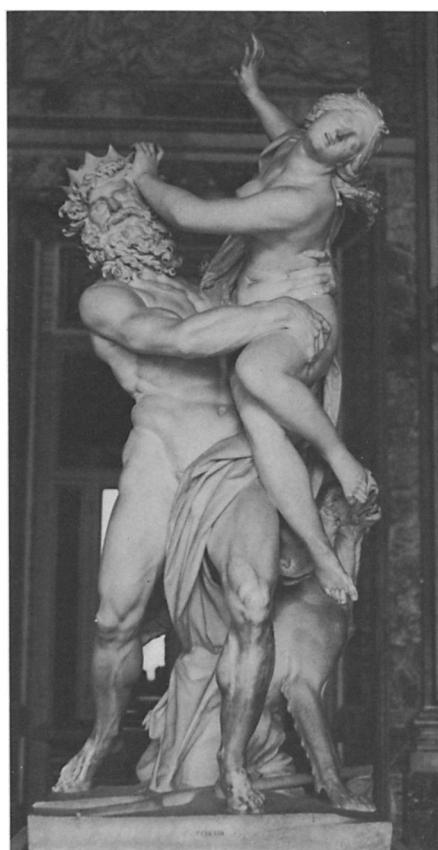
32 Giovanni Bologna, *Rape of the Sabine*. Florence, Piazza della Signoria (photo: Alinari)



33-42 Bernini, *Pluto and Persephone*. Rome, Borghese Gallery (photos: author)



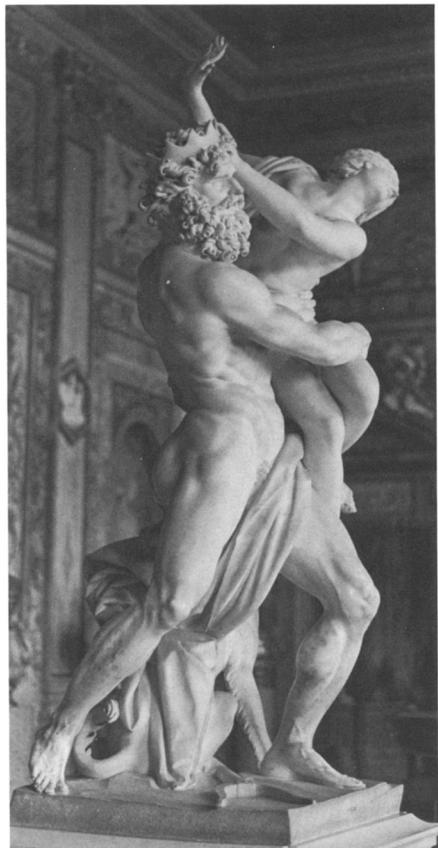
37



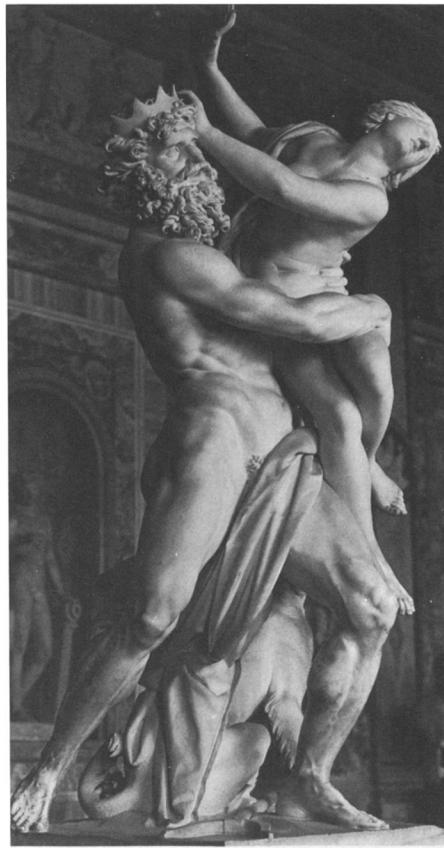
38



39



34



35



36



40



41



42

ricoperte solo in qualche parte con la spoglia d'un Leone, rappresenta Enea, che porta sopra gl'homeri Anchise suo Padre, liberandolo dalle fiamme di Troia. Osservasi il vecchio padre, che sostiene li Dei patrii posandoli sopra 'l capo del figliuolo; è soprafatto, dal timore, e dallo spavento, s'appoggia sopra la spalla di Enea, anch' egli intimorito dall' eccidio della Patria, presso 'l quale vedesi il figliuolino Ascanio parimente afflitto, e mesto, portando nella sinistra il fuoco sacro di Vesta, del qual fatto Virgilio, nel. 2. dell' Eneide parla in persona d'Enea, che sollecita il Padre a fuggir seco.

Ergo age care pater cervici imponere nostrae,
Ipse subibo humeris, nec me labor iste gravabit.
Tu genitor cape sacra manu, patrosque Penates,
Me bello e tanto digressum, & caede recenti
Atrectare nesas, donec me flumine vivo abluerio.
Haec fatus, latus humeros, subiectaque collo
Veste super, fulvique insternor pelle Leonis
Succedoque oneri: destrae se parvus Iulus
Implicituit, seuiturque patrem non passibus aequis.

Posa questa Gruppo sopra un piedestallo tondo do marmo, scolpito intorno con due festoni di frondi, e frutti, di quercia, e con tre teste di Tori. L'altro Gruppo dalla parete opposta, di due figure, dimostra la favola d' Apolline, e di Dafne. Era nata contesa fra Cupidine, & Apollo, chi di loro più valesse in usare l'arco, vantandosene questi superiore per saettato, e morto il Serpente Pitone; onde l'irritato fanciullo per avvertirlo d'esser' egli in ciò più potente, drizzò verso di lui una saetta d'oro, con la quale amorosamente ferédo, lo sè invaghire di Dafne, che punta poi anch'ella da Cupidine con la strale di piombo, ogn' altr' amor sdegnava, che d'andare à caccia, seguitando Diana per le selve. La vidde Apolline, e compiaciutosi della sua bellezza, la segue per abbracciarla, mentre essa fuggendo, aborre il divino Amante, essendo consacrata alla Dea più casta. Onde il marmo, come si vede dal presente disegno, la rappresenta in quel punto, che Apolline la raggiunge, e ritiene dal sinistro fianco, abbracciandola, e spiegando la destra in atto di stupore, mostra l'ardente brama di rapirla, quando che essa, stanca dal corso, non potendo più sfuggire gl'odiati amplessi del celeste Nume, e per ciò mesta, e dolente volgendosi alquanto in dietro, con le braccia, e mani aperte sollevate all' aria, e con i crini sparsi al vento, invoca l'aiuto dal fiume Peneo suo Padre, presso del quale cangiando le delicate membra in dura corteccia, trasformasi in lauro, in quello guisa appunto, che la descrive Ovidio nel primo delle Metamorfosi:

Viribus absuntis, expalluit illa; citaeque,
Victa labore fugae, spectans Peneidas undas
Fer pater, inquit, opem, si flumina numen habetis.
Qua nimium placui, tellus, ait, hisce, vel istam,
Quae facit, ut laedar, mutando perde figuram.
Vix prece finita, torpor gravis occupat artus,
Mollia cinguntur tenui praecordia libro,
In frondem crines, in ramos brachia crescunt,
Pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret;
Ora cacumen habent, remanet nitor unus in illa.

Quanto poi sia bella, quest' opera, non vi ha penna, che possa à bastanza descriverlo, perche se si confidera la viva espressione d' ambedue le figure, la delicatezza, e contorni delle membra, gl' effetti naturali della speranza, e del timore, con altre passioni, che in ciascuna di esse distintamente si scorgono; e molto più le difficoltà superate dall' Artefice nel condurre à fine un si eccellente lavoro, con quella diligenza, e perfettione, che per avviso degl' Intendenti più si può commendare, che imitare, senza dubio si deve dire, esser questa una dell' opere megliori del Cavalier Bernini, per cui habbia

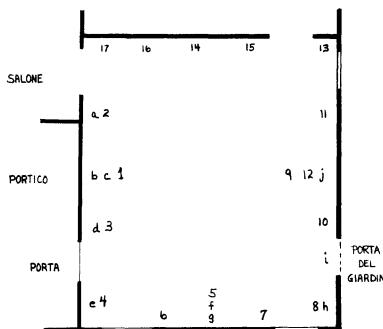


Diagram I Southeast room according to Manilli (author's drawing)

- 1 David
- 2, 3 Oriental vases
- 4 Alabaster lion
- 5 Seneca
- 6, 7 Columns with statuettes of gladiators
- 8 She-wolf with Romulus and Remus
- 9 Fireplace
- 10, 11 Busts of the young Hadrian and Macrinus
- 12 Bas-relief of Venus and Cupid
- 13 Statuette of Diana
- 14 Juno
- 15, 16 Columns with statuettes of the infant Bacchus and the infant Hercules
- 17 Statue of Apollo

(a-g, exact locations unknown but probably as indicated in diagram.)

- a Cavaliere Giuseppe, *David with His Harp*
- b Titian, *Venus with Two Nymphs*
- c Manner of Raphael, *The Virgin with Christ and Saint John*
- d Caravaggio, *Christ at the Column*
- e Parmigianino, *The Marriage of Saint Catherine*
- f Unknown artist, *The Council of Trent*
- g Sodoma? Pontormo? *The Virgin with Christ*
- h Leonardo da Vinci?
Sodoma? *Pietà*
- i Sofonisba Anguiscola, *Self-Portrait with Her Father and Brother*
- j Titian, *Bacchanal*
(k-m, exact locations not indicated, perhaps all on the north wall)
- k Muziano, *Saint Jerome*
- l Palma Giovane, *Venetian Prelates*
- m Cavaliere Giuseppe, *Saint Catherine of Siena*

fatto conoscere più che per ogn' altra l'intendimēto grande del suo spirito. Sollevasi questo Gruppo sopra un' piedestallo quadro di marmo fregiato, e ricoperto nelle faccie, e negli angoli, di brocatello, e nella parte anteriore contiene una cartella pur di marmo, espressa entro la spoglia d'un Drago, in cui notansi questi due Esametri, che moralmente alludono alla sudetta favola, composti come dicono, dall' ingegno sublime di Papa Urbano VIII. d'eterna memoria.

QUISQUIS. AMANS. SEQUITUR. FUGITIVAE. GAUDIA.
FORMAE FRONDE. MANUS. IMPLET. BACCAS. SEU.
CARPIT. AMARAS.

Presso 'l medemo Gruppo dall'uno, e l'altro lato miransi due teste antiche di marmo, l'uno di Marco Bruto giovinetto, quello che in età adulta congiuro; & uccise in Senato Giulio Cesare; e l'altra di Giulia Pia moglie dell' Imperatore Settimio Severo, ambedue col petto d'alabastro di diversa qualità, sostenute da scabelloni fatti à branca, e testa di Tigre, uno d'alabastro venato, e l'altro di porta santa, e granito orientale, ciascuno con li zoccoli sotto di bigio, e bianco, ornati di giallo, e broccatello, e con li capitelli ancor di bigio, d'ordine Ionico, guerniti di broccatello, e d'alabastro. Seguono intorno altre sette teste alzate sopra scabelloni di noce fregiati di piccioli intagli, tutte di marmo bianco, & alcune di esse co' peducci di porta santa, di breccia, di bigio, e di nero, e giallo, e due col petto d'africano, e porta santa. La prima accanto la finestra, dopo una porta finta, è ritratto incognito di qualch' Eroe, come ancora è la seconda nell'angolo corrispondente; l'altre due da i lati del Gruppo d'Enea, rappresentano l'una, e l'altra, Settimio Severo; la quinta è d'Augusto; e la sesta, e settima, sono di Marco Aurelio, e di Lucio Vero. Frà queste due ultime teste vien collocata una tavola d'alabastro di Moricone, lunga palmi sette, e tre quarti, e larga cinque, e un quarto, fregiata di giallo, e verde antico, con cornice di nero mischio, sostenuto da piè di noce intagliato; sopra di cui posa un piccolo Cavallo di bronzo, posto sopra un piedestallo in mezzo à due colonette, che reggono un frontespizio, con una Statuetta in cima di Pallade, espressa parimente in bronzo, e con due piccioli vasi dalle bande, tutto d'acciaio fregiato con fogliami, e rabešchi d'oro. Di rincontro à questa tavola stà un cassone di noce, che serve per letto da riposo, con spalliera, & appoggii dalle bande, intagliato tutto, & abbellito con figurine, e statuette di putti, fogliami, festoni, e bassi rilievi di gentilissimo lavoro.

Miransi poi li quadri, che affissi in numero di dieci alle pareti di questa Camera, gli arrecano maggior spendore, due de' quali ornati con cornici di vago intaglio, ricoperte d'oro, rappresentano Donna Eleonora Boncompagni moglie del Signor Principe, di felice memoria; & i Principini suoi figliuoli, quando erano giovinetti, ambedue nobilmente figurati da Monsù Ferdinando. Quello sopra 'l Gruppo d'Enea, opera del Barrocci, dimostra il medemo Enea, che fugge dall' incendio di Troia col suo padre Anchise in spalla, e con Creusa, la moglie, & il piccolo Ascanio, che lo seguono. Sopra la porta accanto osservasi quello del Santo Rè David, che affiso sopra un sasso con la faccia rivolta al cielo, onde viene un splendore, stà benedicendo, e lodando dio col suono dell'arpa, ch'egli gentilmente tocca, dipinto dal Cavalier Giuseppe d'Arpino. Dall' altra parte incontro, vedonsene tre altri; quello in cui si rappresenta la gran Sala, del Consiglio Veneto, con l'assistenza del Doge, presso 'l quale stà sedendo il Nuntio del Papa, & intorno li Senatori, e Consiglieri, vien colorito dal Palma Giovine. Il secondo, di Roma Trionfante con l'elmo in testa, & un ramo di palma nella destra, con altri simboli, e opera del Cigoli. Il terzo, che esprime l'apparato maestoso del Concilio Tridentino, col congresso, & adunanza de Dottori, Padri, ed altri, che v'intervennero, è fatto dall' Incerto; e tralasciando gl' altri, prima d'entrar nella terza Camera, osservasi presso la porta un scabellone di noce intagliato con figure, & altro, da cui sporgesi in fuori nell'aprir d'un sportello la testa mostruosa

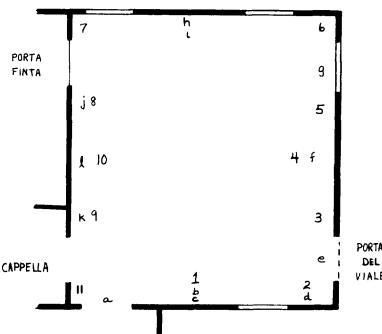


Diagram II Northeast room according to Manilli (author's drawing)

- 1 Table
 - 2 Bust of Octavius Augustus
 - 3 Bust of Lucius Verus
 - 4 *Aeneas and Anchises*
 - 5 Bust of Lucius Verus
 - 6 Bust of the young Marcus Aurelius
 - 7 Bust of an unknown Greek hero (exact location not given but probably as indicated in diagram)
 - 8 Bust of Giulia Mesa
 - 9 Bust of the young Brutus
 - 10 *Apollo and Daphne*
 - 11 Wood-carving of a monster's head (exact location not given but probably as indicated in diagram)
-
- a Scipione Gaetano, *The Virgin and Christ with Saint John*
 - b Dossi, *The Virgin and Christ with Other Figures*
 - c Veronese, *Saint John the Baptist Praying in the Desert*
 - d Cavaliere Giuseppe after Titian, *Bacchanal*
 - e Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ Carrying the Cross*
 - f Barocci, *Aeneas Fleeing Troy*
 - g Caravaggio, *Putto Being Bitten by a Crab* (exact location not given but probably as indicated in diagram)
 - h Girolamo da Carpi, *Assumption of the Virgin*
 - i Daybed
 - j Giulio Romano? *David and Goliath*
 - k Student of Annibale Carracci, *Cain and Abel*
 - l Cigoli, *Allegorical Figure of Rome*

d'un Mascherone scolpita di rilievo in legno, e colorita, che gridando con voce horribile causata da vento, serve d'un piacevole scherzo à che v'affissa lo sguardo arrecandogli improvvisamente spavento.

(Montelatici next describes the middle room on the east side of the villa, and then enters the southeast corner room by its north door. Diagram iv) Pp. 251-58:

La quarta, & ultima Camera, detta di Seneca, vien principalmente ornata con tre Statue, che per esser tutte di pregio, e bellezza non ordinaria, meritano somma lode, onde per maggior diletto degl' Intendenti se ne riportano qui di ciascuna li disegni. La prima di esse, maggior del naturale, con testa, mani, e piedi di marmo bianco, con le caglighi di serpentino, e la veste di Porfido di nobile artificio, rappresenta, secondo l'opinione d'alcuni, Giunone: ma perche riflettendo all' atto di questa figura, stando in piedi con le braccia aperte, e con la faccia sollevata, e mesta, in atto di dolersi, si può ben' anco credere, che denoti Didone Regina di Cartagine con la corona in capo, in atto di querelarsi contro Enea, credendo con le lacrime, & i prieghi di rimuovere l'animo suo deliberato d'abbandonarla per passar nel Latio, come Virgilio nel 4. dell' Eneide:

Quis tibi tunc Dido cernenti talia sensus?
Quosve dabas gemitus? cum litora fervore late
Prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
Misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor?
Improbè amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis?
Ire iterum in lacrymas, iterum tentare precando
Cogitur, & supplex animos submittere amori,
Nequid in expertum frustra moritura relinquit.

Hà questa Statua sotto li piedi un zoccolo di giallo brecciatto, col quale vien' ella à posare sopra un piedestallo triangolare antico di marmo, scolpito negl' angoli con fogliami, & uccelli, e nelle faccie, che sporgono in dentro, contiene, cioè, nell' anteriore, un' huomo in piedi in mezzo à due lauri in atto di voler far sacrificio sopra un' Ara; e nell' altre due, il Tripode d'Apollo col Corvo sopra parimente frà due lauri, & una corona di spighe con un'Aquila in cima, venendo poi sostenuto da tre piedi di bigio sopra un piano dell' istessa pietra.

L'altra Statua è di David, scolpita del naturale in marmo dal Cavalier Lorenzo Bernini, il quale dicono, che nel volto di questa figura ritraesse se medesimo. Rappresentasi David in quell' atto, che ce lo descrive il Sacro Testo nel primo de Rè, quando confidato nel Dio d'Israele, e per ciò munito di semplice fionda con alcune pietre, esce incontro al Gigante Golìa, sfidandolo à combatter seco, onde poi s'arresta con stendere in dietro il piè sinistro, e con sporgere avanti il destro, sopra di cui si sostiene, e tenendo con ambe le mani la fionda già carica d'un sasso, prende con sguardo severo la mira verso l' nemico Gigante per colpirlo nella fronte. Egli è tutto ignudo, fuor che dal mezzo in giù vien ricoperto in qualche parte dal lato destro con un panno, e dal fianco sinistro tiene una tasca pastorale allacciata sù la spalla destra; frà li piedi posa in terra l'arpa, & anco la corazza datagli con altr' armi militarsi dal Rè Saul, à cui s'offerse di cimentarsi contro Golìa, de i quali essendosi armato, nò potendo sopportarne l'incarco, li depose dicendo: *Non possum sic incedere, quia usum non habeo.* La bellezza di questa Statua si rende molto degna, per esser' ella condotta dal Bernini con quell' intelligenza, e perfezione d'arte maggiore, che si riconosce, nell' altre opere sue più singolari. Vien' ella sostenuta da un piedestallo quadro di marmo, ornato nelle facce d'alabastro, con altre pietre nella parte anteriore, e da i lati con due cartelle pur di marmo.

La terza Statua è la famosa di Seneca, antica, di marmo nero, con

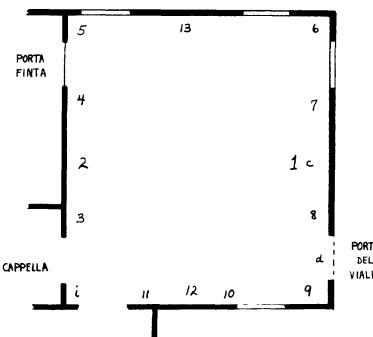


Diagram III Northeast room according to Montelatici (author's drawing)

- 1 *Aeneas and Anchises*
- 2 *Apollo and Daphne*
- 3, 4 Busts of the young Marcus Brutus and Giulia Pia
- 5 Bust of an unknown Greek hero
- 6 Bust of an unknown Greek hero
- 7, 8 Busts of Septimius Severus
- 9 Bust of Augustus (exact location not given but probably as indicated in diagram)
- 10, 11 Busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus
- 12 Table
- 13 Cassone or daybed

(a, b, exact locations not given; most likely on the south wall.
a Monsù Ferdinando, *Portrait of Eleonora Boncompagni*

b Monsù Ferdinando, *Portrait of the Boncompagni Princes*

c Barocci, *Aeneas Fleeing Troy*

d Giuseppe d'Arpino, *David* (e.g., on the north wall; exact locations not given)

e Palma Giovane, *Venetian Council*

f Cigoli, *Allegory of Rome Triumphant*

g Unknown artist, *Council of Trent*

h three other paintings (most likely on the west wall; exact locations not given)

i Wood-carving with the head of a monster

una fascia intorno d'alabastro sotto la cintura, scolpita anch' ella del naturale. Si rappresenta Seneca in atto di morire nel bagno, essendosi fatto tagliar le vene, quando per ordine di Nerone, di cui egli era stato maestro, gli fù denuntiata la morte, la qual mostra di sopportare con intrepidezza d'animo, come di lui riferisce Tacito, all' hor che rivolta à gl'amici, che lo compassionavano, così prese à dirli, consolandoli, & esprimendo insieme la sua costanza: *Ubi praecepta sapientiae? Ubi tot per annos meditata ratio adversus imminentia? cui enim ignaram fuisse saevitiam Neronis? neque aliud superesse post matrem, fratremque intersectos; quam ut*

educatoris, praceptorisque necem adiiceret. Et novissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentia advocatis scriptoribus, pleraque tradidit. Questa Statua, oltre la bellezza grande, esprime al vivo gl'effetti dell' età senile di Seneca, e nella languidezza delle membra lo spirito, che l'abbandona, per somma virtù dell' artefice. Il vaso grande in cui si vede, è opera moderna di marmo africano, scolpito cō due teste d'ariete, e l piedestallo, sopra cui posa, è di marmo bianco, incrostanto nelle faccie, e nel piano di sopra di verde antico, col zoccolo sotto di rosso mischio scuro.

Accanto alle predette Statue osservansi altri ornamenti, e cominciando dalla prima di Giunone, vengon' alzate da lati di essa due Colonne di breccia verde orientale, di dodici palmi l'una d'altezza, sù le quali posano due statuette di marmo antiche, una d'Hercole fanciullo, che strangola due serpe, che hā nelle mani, e l'altra è di Bacco ancor fanciullo, con una piccola Tigre in braccio, & un grappo d'uva. Negl' angoli, dall' istessa banda, sollevansi sopra scabelloni di legno finti di pietre mischie, e tocchi d'oro, due statue di marmo di mediocre grandezza; la prima verso la finestra, esprime Diana, e la seconda Apolline con la lira. Presso la Statua di David vengon collocati due bellissimi vasi tondi d'alabastro orientale, col piedi, e col coperchio, lavorati à spicchij, sostenuti da due piedestalli di marmo bianco in forma di Termini, scolpiti con mascheroni, & altre gentilezze, & ornati di breccia, porta santa, lumachella, e giallo antico, con li capitelli ancor di marmo, espressi con mascheroni, Aquile, festoni, ed altro, e con cimase sopra di nero mischio. Dopo la porta, che segue, corrispondente nel portico del Palazzo, si vede un Leone d'alabastro fiorito, che giace sopra un piano di marmo bianco, sostenuto tutto da un scabellone di noce, guernito con intagli, e messo à oro. Dalle bande della Statua di Seneca, miransi alzate altre due Colonne di marmo nero alte nove palmi, e un quarto, le quali reggono due Statuette di Gladiatori, antiche; dopo di esse vedesi dall' altra parete, in corrispondenza del Leone, una Lupa di marmo rosso, antica, con Romolo, e Remo latitanti, di marmo bianco, la qual posa sopra un piano di paragone con cornice intorno di giallo brecciato, e con zoccolo sotto di marmo biāco, posato sopra tutto da un scabellone di noce tocco d'oro, & ornato con mascheroni, & altro. Passata la porta corrispondente nel Giardino de fiori, seguono due teste antiche di marmo, collocate sopra scabelloni di legno finti di pietre mischie; la prima col busto di nero, e bianco, guernito anco d'alabastro, e col peduccio di breccia, rappresenta l'Imperatore Adriano; e la seconda l'Imperador Macrino, col petto d'africano, e l peduccio parimente di breccia. Frà queste evvi un cammino con cornice di bigio, scolpita con due Draghi, & un' Aquila nel mezzo; e sopra di essa viene appeso un quadro d'un basso rilievo antico di marmo di Venere Afrodite in piedi, con un' Amorino accanto sopra un Delfino.

Abbelliscono in oltre le pareti di questa Camera dodici quadri, frà i quali osservasi il maggiore sopra l' cammino opera di Pietro Sigismondo Pittor Lucchese, in cui vien figurato Sansone, che con una mascella di giumento in mano fà strage de Filistei, alcuni de i quali fortemente l'abbracciano per trattenerlo, mentr' egli animosamente combatte, altri si pongono in fuga cercando lo scampo dalli suoi colpi, & altri giaciono per terra di già abbattuti, e morti. Sopra la porta accanto vedesi quello di Sofoniba Anguisciola, dov' ella ritrasse se stessa, col suo padre sedente, & un fratello. L'altro sopra la Statua di Seneca, rappresentante li due Santi Cosmo, e Damiano, che curano un'infermo, con una donna in piedi in atto di prestarvi assistenza, vien dipinto da Dossi. Quello, che segue dopo l'altra fenestra, esprimente la sposalito di Santa Caterina Martire, con Gesù bambino in braccio à Maria Vergine, il quale prende la mano alla Santa per metterle in dito l'anello, si crede del Correggio. Il quadro sopra la statua di David, in cui mirasi Venere sedente, con un'Amorino, che le s'appoggia con le mani sopra una spalla, mentre'ella benda Cupido legandogli

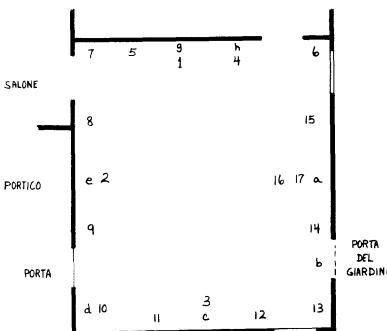


Diagram IV Southeast room according to Montelatici (author's drawing)

- 1 Juno
- 2 David
- 3 Seneca
- 4, 5 Columns with statuettes of the infant Hercules and the infant Bacchus
- 6 Statue of Diana
- 7 Statue of Apollo with his lyre
- 8, 9 Alabaster vases
- 10 Alabaster Lion
- 11, 12 Columns with statuettes of gladiators
- 13 She-wolf with Romulus and Remus
- 14, 15 Busts of Hadrian and Macrinus
- 16 Fireplace
- 17 Bas-relief with Venus and an amorino
- a Pietro Sigismondo, *Samson and the Philistines*
- b Sofonisba Anguiscola, *Self-Portrait with Her Father and Brother*
- c Dosso, *Saints Cosmas and Damian*
- d Correggio? *Marriage of Saint Catherine*
- e Copy after Titian, *Venus Blindfolding Cupid*
- f Battistello, *Saint Catherine of Siena* (exact location not indicated)
- g Nicholas Poussin, *Bacchanal*
- h Luca Cangiassi, *Saint Jerome* (exact location not given; most likely as indicated in diagram)

una fascia intorno al capo, e con due Ninfe avanti, che portono l'arco, e la faretra, vien ricavato dall'originale del Titiano, che si conserva nel Palazzo in Roma del Signor Principe. La Santa Caterina da Siena coronata di spine in atto d'orare con le mani giunte d'avanti al Crocefisso, è dipinta da Battistello di Napoli. Il Baccanale sopra la Statua di Giunone, giudicata opera di Nicolò Pussino. E quello, che segue, di S. Girolamo à sedere, col Crocifisso in mano in atto di meditare la passione, e morte di Christo, è opera di Luca Cangiassi. Qui poi termina l'Appartamento posto à Mezzogiorno.

Bibliography

- De Rinaldis, Aldo, 1939, *La Galleria Borghese in Roma*, Rome.
- _____, 1942, "Il Luminismo del Bernini," *Primato*, III, 185f.
- Faldi, Italo, 1953a, "Note sulle Sculture Borghesiane del Bernini," *Bollettino d'arte*, xxxviii, ser. IV, 140-46.
- _____, 1953b, "Nuove Note sul Bernini," *Bollettino d'arte*, xxxviii, ser. IV, 310-316.
- _____, 1954, *Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome.
- Haskell, Francis, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (Icon edition), New York, 1971.
- Hibbard, Howard, 1958, "Nuove note sul Bernini," *Bollettino d'arte*, xlII, ser. IV, 181-83.
- _____, 1965, *Bernini*, Baltimore.
- Kauffmann, Hans, *Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini: Die figürlichen Kompositionen*, Berlin, 1970.
- Mariani, Valerio, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Naples, 1974.
- Marino, Giovanni Battista, *Opere scelte di Giovan Battista Marino e dei Marinisti*, 2nd ed., ed. Giovanni Getto, Vol. I: *Marino*, Turin, 1966.
- Martinetti, Valentino, *Scultura italiana dal Manierismo al Rococò*, Milan, 1968.
- Pope-Hennessy, John, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 2nd ed., London and New York, 1970.
- Wittkower, Rudolf, 1955, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, London.
- _____, 1958, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600 to 1750*, Harmondsworth.
- _____, 1977, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles*, foreword Margot Wittkower, New York.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, *Principles of Art History* (Dover edition), trans. M.D. Hottinger, New York, 1950.

Bernini's Memorials to Ippolito Merenda and Alessandro Valtrini

Judith E. Bernstock

The memorial to Ippolito Merenda, designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini but then executed by his workshop, is generally dated 1640-41 (Fig. 1)¹. It is located above a doorway along the wall at the right of the main altar in the church of S. Giacomo alla Lungara. The monument, a white marble relief, consists of a winged skeleton holding a fictive cloth with its teeth and hands. Only the head and extremities of the skeleton are visible; the rest is hidden behind the drapery. The skeleton's outspread wings imply its ascent; its feet anchor it to the architecture. An undated inscription, following the folds, seems to float in the center of the cloth.

A related memorial to Alessandro Valtrini is on the wall immediately at the right as one enters the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (Fig. 2).² Like the *Merenda*, it was designed by Bernini but then executed by his workshop.³ It is datable by its inscription to 1639. The memorial consists of a low-relief, marble bust of Valtrini, seen in three-quarter view, surrounded by an ornate oval frame; he faces a relief of a winged skeleton that in turn stares out at us.⁴ The skeleton holds the portrait in its right hand and points the index finger of its left hand directly into the frame of the relief. Skeleton, portrait, and frame, all of the same white marble, seem to drift diagonally up-

This article is adapted from a chapter in my dissertation, "Five Sepulchral Monuments by Bernini," Columbia University, 1979. I thank Howard Hibbard for his generous assistance. I am also grateful to James Beck, Eileen Corrigan, Gino Corti, Don Guglielmo Füssganger, David Hinkle, Anne Lowenthal, Michèle and Vittorio Messina, and Eugene Rice. Unless otherwise stated, collections and monuments are in Rome.

¹ See Wittkower, No. 43; Fagiolo dell'Arco, No. 102.

Jennifer Montagu kindly reminded me of her citation ("Antonio and Giuseppe Giorgetti: Sculptors to Cardinal Francesco Barberini," *Art Bulletin*, lII, 1970, 282, n. 29) of payments listed in the Barberini archives; on Dec. 3, 1641, Lorenzo Florij was paid 180.85 scudi for expenses incurred in work on *Merenda*.

² See Wittkower, No. 43; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 101.

³ *Ibid.* In the archives of S. Lorenzo in Damaso is a two-volume compilation of the documents of the church. The title page reads: "Notizie

Storiche della Basilica Collegiata Insigne di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, con la serie del Clero della medesima, raccolta d'iscrizioni, appendice di documenti dal principio della sua fondazione a tutto l'anno 1792. Dedicata ai Reverendissimi Signori Canonici Della stessa Basilica. In 9172) mentions Giuseppe Bitozzi (1741-1806) as the author of this manuscript. It appears that Michel Angelo Borio, canon of the church, provided Bitozzi with all the information. The books were written before Roma 31 Dicembre 1799." According to A. Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria*, Rome, 1964, 26, n. 1, Francesco Cancellieri (Cod. Vat. lat. 282, n. 29) cites payments on May 22, 1640: 100 scudi to Jacomo Razzinello and Nicola Sale for sculpture and carving, and 50 scudi to the scarpellino Giovanni Frappi; Lorenzo Florij received 80.20 scudi on July 24, 1640.

⁴ Montagu, 282, n. 29, cites payments on May 22, 1640: 100 scudi to Jacomo Razzinello and Nicola Sale for sculpture and carving, and 50 scudi to the scarpellino Giovanni Frappi; Lorenzo Florij received 80.20 scudi on July 24, 1640.