

A poem, a collection of antiquities and a *Saviour* by Raphael: a case-study in the visualization of sacred history in early seventeenth-century Rome

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AN ANONYMOUS POEM ON AN UNKNOWN PAINTING

Amongst the unpublished manuscripts that belonged to the Jesuit and Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607–67) now in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome there is a lengthy poem on imitative art which culminates in the description of a painting.¹ The poem bears no title and is not attributed.² The other material in the volume in which the poem can be found spans the whole seventeenth century, providing no indications that allow the poem to be dated more precisely.³

The poem seeks to demonstrate how art compensates for man's limited perception of the natural and supernatural world.⁴ Nature has condemned man to perceive everything that lies beyond the soul's confines of the body through five narrow windows—the senses—allowing only impure reflections to filter through. This confinement blinds man to the traces of celestial beauty that God has hidden in even the most vile of creatures (stanza 1). Man is not only limited when seeing into the future or even the past, but his sphere of perception is also narrowly restricted in the present. Meanwhile, the human intellect is helpless if it does not receive sense perceptions (stanza 2–3). Luckily, ingenious art can imitate nature's vigour to render things present; pen, chisel and brush recreate past and distant objects, people or events (stanza 4–5). Amongst these arts, sculpture lacks colour (stanza 6). Writing is done with complex characters that change with place and era, and therefore often become illegible (stanza 7). Painting, prone to none of the defects that hamper sculpture and writing, is the best helper for the confined human spirit. But precisely because it is so universal, and so powerfully moves the beholder, the greatest care should be taken when choosing a subject-matter. Lascivious and pagan subjects are abhorred (stanza 8–9). An excellent example of a good painting, amongst a thousand others, is to be found in the museum of a certain Gualdi (stanza 10). The poem then proceeds with a description of the painting, an exaltation of its painter, and a conceited comparison between the painting's subject-matter and divine creation. This comparison reflects the first stanza: this painting contains a trace of God's creativity (stanza 11–14).

The poem touches on several familiar themes: art's ability to transcend time and space, the *paragone* between poetry,

painting and sculpture, the risks presented by pagan and lascivious iconography and painting's ability to arouse its beholders to emulation of a painting's subject-matter. These issues gain weight because they are related to an eminent *exemplum*. The painting is a portrait of Christ; there are no references to other persons or actions and the poem focuses on the Saviour's face, which seems to diffuse light. The poem stresses how Christ's incarnation and the sacrifice it implies have allowed man to become immortal (stanza 11). It raises the question of how the painter has been able to find the *Idea* of such lofty subject-matter: could he have gathered the most beautiful parts from different faces (stanza 12)? The painting's creator is highly esteemed. He earns praise for 'the high city, which carries the oak as its weapon' and his work is admired on the Vatican hill. His mastery turns him into an example for all to follow (stanza 13). Amongst the hundreds of works he painted, the one described is his best. And amongst the marvels in Gualdi's museum, it is superior to the 'giant's bone' and produces greater *stupore* than 'the wood turned into stone' or 'the water transformed into diamond' that are there to be seen. For it seems that God himself has made the painting (stanza 14).

Notwithstanding the scarce information provided by the poem and the rather limited amount of available documentary evidence, it is possible to propose an identification of the painting. The arguments in favour of this identification will point towards two larger issues, which, as I hope to show, are closely related and lead towards the central argument of this essay: namely, to show how reflections on poetic, artistic and archeological artefacts produced in early seventeenth-century Rome suggest that these artefacts were considered as truthful representations of sacred history and, thereby, of divine truth. These reflections not only viewed the visual arts, poetry and archeology as equivalent visualizations of sacred history but, in doing so, also legitimized the contemporary Church and its visual splendour.

The first issue that arises when identifying the painting is a question of literary heritage. The painting I would like to propose as the subject of this poem, a *Bust of the Saviour* by Raphael, had been the object of an earlier poetic description. While this older poem gives a highly inaccurate description of

the painting, the manuscript poem excels in its faithfulness to the picture. The different attitudes towards the painting expressed by the two poems correspond perfectly with the two views on poetics championed by on the one hand the earlier poem's author, Giambattista Marino, and on the other by the intellectual amongst whose papers the manuscript poem was found, Sforza Pallavicino. This correspondence allows us to place the manuscript poem within contemporary literary debates, where the potential of poetry to represent the sacred formed a key issue. A closer look at the position of Sforza Pallavicino and one of his nearest friends, Giovanni Ciampoli, suggests that the manuscript poem espouses an aesthetics that considers poetry and the visual arts excellent artistic means to represent, or even re-enact, the progressive manifestation of divine truth in human history and creation. According to these authors, the culmination of history — and, therefore, the most perfect visual manifestation of the divine, celebrated in the best visual arts — is the present. The authority that shapes the present is the ruling pope, Urban VIII Barberini (1623–44).

This historical element brings us to the second issue. The manuscript poem mentions the museum where the painting was to be seen. It is the *museo* of Francesco Gualdi (1576–1657), famous for its antiquities and curiosities. A close examination of the available historical material shows that Francesco Gualdi was not only closely related to the court of Urban VIII and the countless *letterati* that flocked there, but also portrays his museum as a collection of historical relics. According to Gualdi and his circles, these relics testified to the progressive manifestation of true religion in history. This position parallels the contemporary views on poetry and the visual arts defended by Pallavicino and Ciampoli, which suggest that these arts and antiquities form as many visual expressions of sacred history. The position of Gualdi's collection within contemporary intellectual and literary life then provides yet another indication that in the Barberini era the visualization of sacred history was a central theoretical concern.

ONE PAINTING AND THREE POEMS

The identification of the museum mentioned in the poem as the collection of Francesco Gualdi da Rimini, who displayed antiques and *mirabilia* in his palace in the Via della Salita del Grillo near Trajan's column in Rome, is made possible by indications in the last stanza of the poem.⁵ A partial reconstruction of Gualdi's museum based on numerous contemporary descriptions and references lists a giant's bone.⁶ Moreover, Francesco Cancellieri's (1752–1826) manuscript account of Gualdi's collection mentions a 'very rare' treatise that can be related to the 'water transformed in diamond' of the poem.⁷ However, even if several visitors to Gualdi's museum mention the presence of 'not a few rare paintings', neither reconstruction nor manuscript lists any work of art that might fit the poetical description.⁸

The presence of a portrait of the *Saviour* in Gualdi's collection is confirmed by an intriguing passage in Giovanni Andrea Borboni's *Delle Statue*, a treatise on sculpture published in

1661. In an exalted description of Gianlorenzo Bernini's sculptural group *Apollo and Daphne*, Borboni asserts that the sculptor must have had the same words from Apuleius in mind as Raphael from Urbino, when the latter painted a portrait of the Saviour: 'his flowing hair unshorn, his cheeks blooming ... his body most pleasing, his limbs dazzling, his tongue prophetic'.⁹ A marginal annotation ascribes the quotation to *Ex Museo Gualdi super Imagin. Salvat.*, 'From Gualdi's museum on an image of the Saviour', a text of which all trace is lost.¹⁰ The identification of Raphael as the author of the painting fits with the summary indications provided by the poem in Pallavicino's papers. Raphael's native town Urbino carries the della Rovere oak in its arms.¹¹ Raphael indeed earned praise in the Vatican.

To identify the painting we must therefore turn to Raphael's established body of work. The hints provided by the poem and Borboni produce two possibilities. The literary heritage attached to one of these two paintings will allow a hypothesis for the identification, while providing a key to reading the manuscript poem. In the absence of documentary evidence, and with the current, rather fragmentary state of archival research into the collections and families involved, it is useful to present briefly the discarded possibility.

The poem probably does not describe Raphael's *Christ Blessing*, now in Brescia (figure 1). This painting, a small



Figure 1. *Christ Blessing* or *Pax Vobiscum*, now in Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, painted on wood 31.7 × 25.3 cm, generally dated 1505–06. By concession of the Civici Musei d'Arte e Storia di Brescia.

wooden panel, shows a half figure of Christ, who makes a blessing with his right hand. He bears the crown of thorns and the stigmata; a veil covers his right shoulder and envelops his lower body. The provenance of this painting is first recorded in an undated *Memoria*, written by Giovanni Battista Mosca, who recalls how 'Carlo Barzi Mosca, Cavaliere di S. Stefano' bought in 1770 a 'quadretto Ecce Uomo dipinto dal celebre Autore Raffaele di Urbino' from the antiquarian Antonio Furini in Pesaro. The antiquarian claimed that the painting then still belonged to the 'Casa Antica' for which Raphael had made the painting. Moreover, according to the note, the antiquarian stated that Raphael 'si ritrattò da se per *Ecce Homo* come infatti le sue carne', thus making a pun on his reputation as 'Eccelente Uomo'.¹² It cannot entirely be excluded that the Gualdi, one of the most respected families of Rimini, a short distance from Pesaro, are the 'old family' in question.¹³ However, the current state of research on both the Gualdi and provenance of the Brescia *Pax Vobiscum* does not allow us to draw a final conclusion.¹⁴

The painting I suggest to be the object of the poem in Pallavicino's papers is 'un quadretto in tavola con la testa di nostro Signore, con cornice indorate' recorded in the post mortem inventory of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani (1554–1621), drawn up in March 1621 following his death.¹⁵ The 'quadretto' then passed into the famous collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1638), where it is recorded in 1638 as 'Un quadro con la testa del Salvatore dipinto in tavola di mano di Raffaello d'Urbino alto pal. 3 di scarsa misura e larg. palmi 2 con sua cornice dorata'.¹⁶ Trace of the painting has been lost after the entire collection of Giustiniani paintings was sold to the king of Prussia in 1812. A list of the king's holdings from 1826 records the painting for the last time.¹⁷ Part of the collection found its way into the German museums which grew out of the Prussian royal holdings.¹⁸

The dispersed Giustiniani collection is progressively being retraced, but this painting has so far eluded identification.¹⁹ Although there are to my knowledge no documented exchanges between Gualdi and the Giustiniani, they must have known each other rather well, as prominent members of the tightly knit Roman circles engaged in the collecting and researching of archeological material.²⁰ The transfer of a piece from Gualdi's collection to the Giustiniani is far from improbable.

There are few traces of this painting. The only visible record is a small line engraving in a catalogue published when the Giustiniani collection went on sale in Paris, in 1812 (figure 2). It shows a bust of a bearded Christ, his head surrounded by a halo, looking heavenward, the lips slightly parted; the attribute of the *Salvator Mundi*, the globe crowned with a cross, is indicated in the lower right corner.²¹ This image shows Christ as the just and merciful ruler of a saved world.²²

As pointed out by Luigi Salerno and Silvia Danesi Squarzina, the painting was also the subject of a poem by Giovanni Michele Silos (1601–74), *Salvatoris Vultus. Raphaelis apud eundem Princ. Iustin.*, published in his *Pinacotheca sive Romana Pictura et*

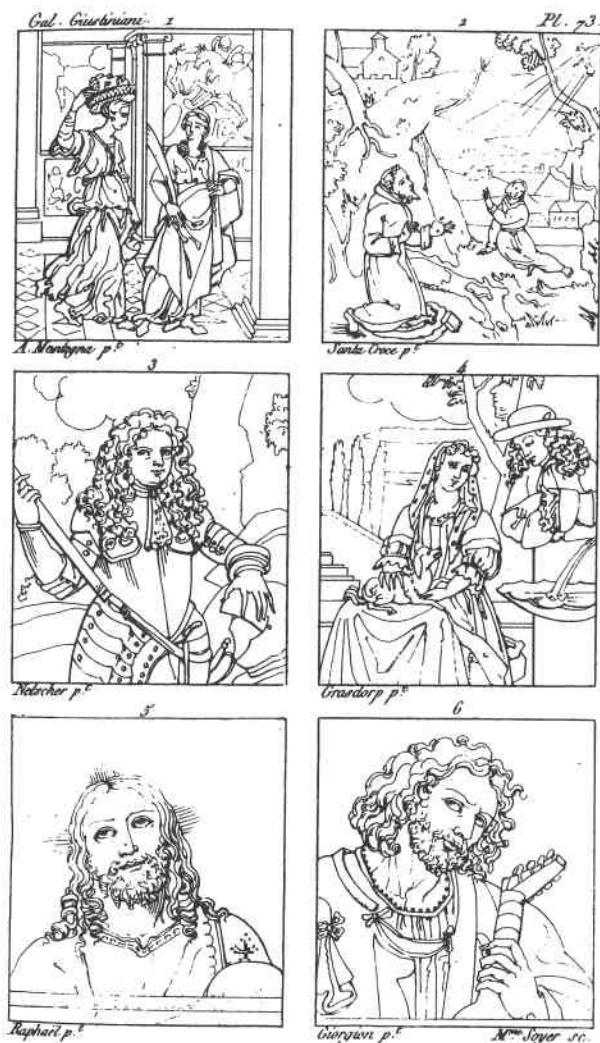


Figure 2. Charles Paul Landon, *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts. Seconde Collection. Partie ancienne. (Tome complémentaire). Galerie Giustiniani, ou catalogue figuré Des tableaux de cette célèbre Galerie, transportée d'Italie en France; accompagné d'Observations critiques et historiques, et de soixante-douze Planches gravées au trait, contenant environ cent cinquante sujets.* Paris, chez l'Auteur, 1812, p. 152, fig. 73. © Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Sculptura (Rome, 1673).²³ As we shall see, the problematic relation between this poem and the painting points back towards an earlier epigram on the same painting, penned by Giambattista Marino (1569–1625), which predates the manuscript poem. Marino allows himself considerable licence when addressing the painting's subject-matter and its actual appearance. While Silos's poem claims to describe the Raphael, it actually emulates Marino's poem, thus enlarging the gap between the painting and its description. Marino's and Silos's attitude towards the painting then suggests how the manuscript poem should be read: the careful exploration of the role of imitative arts in revealing the divine aspects of creation in the manuscript is a refutation of the poetic liberties that characterize Marino's earlier literary evocation of the same painting.

If it is the portrait from the Giustiniani inventories that Silos's poem describes and the 1812 engraving represents — and there is absolutely no reason to doubt this — then a closer look at Silos's epigram confronts us with two distinct but intertwined problems. First, the epigram offers to the reader a feature that is conspicuously absent from the portrait, Christ's bleeding forehead. The epigram, while referring to 'the face of the Saviour', actually evokes an image more closely akin to an *Ecce Homo*, where Christ is conventionally shown as bearing the traces of his torture and wearing the crown of thorns.²⁴ In other words, leaving aside the rather improbable hypothesis that Silos mistook one of the many *Ecce Homo* works in the Giustiniani collection for the Raphael,²⁵ the poet deliberately evokes iconographical elements that are absent from the painting. In doing so, he links two iconographies of Christ centred on his sacrificial role in the salvation of humanity by focusing on Christ's incarnation, the first instance of his sacrifice. Silos then compares the incarnation to the artifice of the painting.²⁶ In allowing himself this liberty, and this is the second issue, Silos not only perpetuates an important characteristic of the epigrammatic tradition, that is, the loose relation between the epigram and the object it claims to 'describe',²⁷ but also reflects on an earlier poetic attempt to deal with the same Raphael.

According to Daniela Danesi Squarzina, the Raphael is also the subject of Giambattista Marino's poem *Ecce Homo di Raffaello da Urbino*, published in his *Galeria* (1619).²⁸ Silos must have known this poem: it appears both in Marino's *Rime* (1602) and the *Galeria*.²⁹ These works were frequently reprinted until 1675.³⁰ This precedent could explain Silos's choice of his poem's theme. Just as his entire *Pinacotheca* entered into competition with Marino's *Galeria*, so Silos's epigram may be as much a poetical response to Marino's poem as an actual description of the Giustiniani painting.³¹ Indeed, Marino read Raphael's *Salvator Mundi* as an *Ecce Homo*.³² Central to his poem are two intertwined antitheses, one between the beauty of the face of Christ (vv. 1–8), now 'ragged and red', the other between the 'cruel hand' that committed Christ's torture and the pious painter of his effigy (vv. 9–11).³³ The image evoked by Marino seems a far cry from the definitely blessed expression on the Raphael's Christ in the Landon engraving.

This disjunction between poem and painting perfectly corresponds to Marino's own stated literary aims. Marino himself defined his goal in the *Galeria* as 'to let the mind play about certain few [works of art] in accordance with poetic ideas which are produced in the fancy'.³⁴ It would therefore be wrong to interpret Marino's poems as objective descriptions of specific works of art, an argument bolstered by the fact that numerous editions of the *Rime* simply do not mention the paintings that are later 'described' in the *Galeria* with exactly the same poems.³⁵ Marino's *Galeria* challenges painting on precisely those grounds where poetry is thought to be superior to painting, privileging the 'narrative succession over pictorial simultaneity in a type of painting that is least narrative [the

portrait]', while reproducing pictorial effects in language to attain the immediacy painting usually claims as its prerogative.³⁶ Marino's poetical reaction to the painting is less a subservient rendering of its subject-matter, disposition and effect, than a '[celebration] of *Idea* with his own poetic recreation of painting'.³⁷ In this particular case, it is not impossible to read Marino's poem as a reflection on an exceptionally beautiful image of Christ, which in the ambiguous act of seizing the celestial beauty of God into an image made by human hands parallels Christ's incarnation, thus foreboding his deformation at the hand of his torturers. The line 'Ahi fu ben empio/l'uom, ch'a Dio tolse d'uom forma e sembiante!' can refer to both painter and torturer, and the effect of this equivocation would be much reinforced if the pious painter actually showed Christ as beautiful as imaginable.³⁸

If the manuscript poem describes the same painting, then of the three poems encountered so far it follows most closely the Giustiniani painting. It does not refer to any signs of Christ's torture or mocking, and seems to present a radiating picture of Christ, just like the citation used in Borboni's *Delle Statue*, which, we should remember, is taken from a text on a 'Saviour'. The poem also points out that it seems as if Christ opens his mouth, to invite us to heaven.³⁹ The manuscript also seems to echo Marino. The line 'Ecco c'huomo, e mortal mi son fatt'io' forms part of a *concetto* on the parallel between the act of painting and Christ's incarnation, an idea which also informed Marino's poem. The same idea motivates the use of the word 'spoglia', a reference to Christ's triumph and sacrifice, to denote both Christ's body and its depiction.⁴⁰ This *concetto* underlines the importance of the incarnation for man's salvation, 'mortal mi son fatt'io/Per far l'huomo immortal per farlo un Dio', which can be read as referring to the *Salvator Mundi* iconography. Moreover, the manuscript poem pays the same close attention to the eyes and brows of Christ as Marino's poem, presenting it as a literally glowing example.⁴¹ The power of creation, however, resides with God: 'Da divino Pittor veggio Dio stesso'.

Considered against this background, it becomes likely that, just like Silos's epigram, the manuscript poem should be read as an answer to Marino's poetical invention, taking the same painting by Raphael as its starting point. The question then is: What does the manuscript poem want to demonstrate by emulating or criticizing Marino? A start of an answer is provided by Marino's and Silos's liberties when 'describing' Raphael's painting. If a *Salvator Mundi* can become an *Ecce Homo*, if a glowing face can become a ragged effigy, where do the limits of poetic invention lie? The manuscript poem may well be a corrective to this, by closely adhering to the actual painting. Furthermore the poem as a whole hints of issues related to Marino's poetry. In the manuscript poem, the description of the painting does not stand by itself, but concludes a more elaborate argument on the subservience of the imitative arts — sculpture, writing and painting — to attaining knowledge of the highest forms of truth, the knowledge of God. At the same time, amongst these subservient arts those that appeal to 'seeing', as

opposed to 'touching', are clearly favoured, and painting, the art with the most universal scope, is privileged. In other words, the poem suggests that the visual is the privileged means of communicating divine truth, on the condition that visual expression limits the freedom of its invention.

PAINTING, POETRY AND THE VISUAL

The two different poetic reactions to the same painting exemplify two positions on the role of poetry and the visual arts as a means to address divine truth. While both positions celebrate the inherent viscosity of poetry, they profoundly and explicitly enter in conflict when trying to define what constitutes the basis, the aims and the limits of this viscosity. This difference brings us to the heart of an important literary controversy in early seventeenth-century Rome. Giambattista Marino and Sforza Pallavicino — amongst whose papers the manuscript poem was found — are key players in this debate. A closer analysis of their — and their allies' — thoughts on viscosity and the arts provides a theoretical framework not only for the manuscript poem but also for the reception of Raphael's *Bust of the Saviour*. Moreover, it opens the way towards the larger theoretical issue at stake, which is the significance of visual objects as testimonies to sacred history and the divine.

Marino's poem on the Raphael in the *Galeria* exemplifies a general characteristic of his poetry, and the challenges it imposes on contemporary artistic canons, both in poetry and in painting. Rather than carefully evoking the image it refers to, Marino's poetry departs from the painting in order to celebrate the liberties that language affords him. As has been pointed out by several authors, one of Marino's techniques to do so is precisely to use explicit references to actual works of art. These artworks serve to focus on a detail of the action. Furthermore, they allow the poet to fully explore the paradoxes of life, liveliness and death, and its correlated effects in marble or paint. These paradoxes are developed in endless variations on speaking likeness *topoi* and arguments taken from the *paragone* discussion.⁴² It is no accident then that his challenge was widely picked up by artists, for Marino's poetry goes beyond the descriptive to such a degree that it elicits a pictorial response. As has been shown by Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, in the case of Marino's *Strage degl'innocenti*, posthumously published in 1632, his poetry so eagerly pushes the limits of pictorial expression that it induced painters 'to rival in paint the poet's copiousness of invention and expressive energy, to capture in another medium the excitement and sparkle of his poetry'.⁴³ Cropper and Dempsey convincingly demonstrate how painters, spurred by Marino's poetry to test the limits of pictorial invention, refrain from the sometimes excessive pictoriality Marino eagerly employs to marvel his reader. In other words, painters recognize both the extreme ambitions of Marino's expressiveness and the unsuitability of his excessive use of 'poetical colour' when applied in painting. In reaction to this excess of expressiveness they try to claim as theirs the ability 'to give life to shades, and to animate canvases' and

seize 'the palm of immortality, the symbol of the achievement of heavenly perfection'. In the artist's contest with Marino in the depiction of sacred subject-matter, Cropper and Dempsey note, 'the work of salvation comes perilously close to being an artistic enterprise'.⁴⁴

The manuscript poem is found amongst the papers of Sforza Pallavicino. This Jesuit and Cardinal has produced a voluminous theological, historical and controversial oeuvre rich in reflections on poetry and the visual arts.⁴⁵ It can be argued that claiming 'heavenly perfection' achieved in art can equal divine powers of creation is one of the major assumptions on art that Sforza Pallavicino ardently attacks throughout his entire oeuvre. In his *Trattato dello stile e del dialogo* (1646/1662) Pallavicino severely criticizes a verse taken from Marino, 'Tu pur Dio sei; Che Dio sol è chi può dar vita ai marmi', precisely because it transforms a divine quality a poet can metaphorically ascribe to a sculptor into a real attribute of man, who thereby gains 'divine powers'.⁴⁶ This remark is only an instance of Pallavicino's much larger attempt to contradict the claim that 'the work of salvation' could be considered 'an artistic enterprise'.⁴⁷ Subsequently, for Pallavicino, poetical depiction — especially in the case of sacred subject-matter — is not the *locus* of an invention that seeks to dazzle the reader by using every poetical trick in the book. It should present the reader with a safe means to gather some otherwise unattainable truth.

According to Pallavicino, the functionality of art is determined by its ability to render visible what can — and should — not be understood by the intellect, the truths of faith. Pallavicino proposes the arts aimed at attaining *evidenza* or actuality, those arts that put their subject in front of the reader's, listener's or beholder's eyes, as the best instruments to express these truths.⁴⁸ The arts that produce *evidenza* comprise painting and sculpture, but also the different forms of poetry, all treated by Pallavicino as 'visual' arts. According to Pallavicino, an 'actual' image should open a window allowing the perception of otherwise unattainable truths of faith in a pre-rational moment and deeply moving the beholder — or the reader — to rediscover the higher truths of faith that lie hidden in his/her own heart.⁴⁹ Likewise, a painting like Raphael's Christ, and any poem devoted to that painting, should induce the reader or beholder to see Christ's suffering, and thus recall Christ's role in his own redemption. As Sforza Pallavicino suggests in his 1644 *Del Bene*, when a portrait of the tortured Redeemer moves us to tears it is not because he appears to be standing in front of us and we re-experience his suffering as a real event, but because the actuality of the painting calls his suffering to mind in an overwhelming way, and offers a glimpse into the history of salvation.⁵⁰

If in his times Pallavicino was probably the thinker who devoted most energy in trying to theorize the limits and the possibilities of poetry and the other 'visual' arts to explore the truths of faith, he was not alone in practising these tenets.⁵¹ In his *Arte della Perfezion Cristiana* (1664) Pallavicino makes a reference

to his intellectual milieu of the 1620s to condemn the poetical excesses committed out of 'vaghezza per la sola eccellenza dell'arte', a criticism clearly aimed at Marino and his followers. Pallavicino praises the Jesuits Famiano Strada (1572–1649) and Vincenzo Guinigi (c. 1588–1653), Pope Urban VIII and his good friend Giovanni Ciampoli (1590–1643) as the most worthy defenders of sacred poetry.⁵² These writers are closely linked to the court of Urban VIII and the Jesuit Collegio Romano, where Famiano Strada and Vincenzo Guinigi laid down the precepts for sacred rhetoric based on reformed ciceronianism.⁵³ At the same college, the *Poemata* written by Urban VIII is used to teach poetry. The 1631 edition of Urban's Latin poetry carries an introductory elegy that exhorts the reader to emulate Urban's noble example, and lend the pen only to sacred subject-matter.⁵⁴

Together with Virginio Cesarini and Agostino Mascardi, the last author listed by Pallavicino in this passage of the *Arte della Perfezion Cristiana*, Giovanni Ciampoli, forms part of the circles that try to define a poetics that moderates the perceived excesses of Marino's work.⁵⁵ After Giovanni Ciampoli lost his assignment as Urban's secretary of the breviary in 1632, his subsequent banishment from Rome and his death in 1644,⁵⁶ Pallavicino took care of Ciampoli's literary heritage.⁵⁷ Pallavicino's papers in the Biblioteca Casanatense contain an unpublished dialogue by Ciampoli, featuring Pallavicino as one of the interlocutors.⁵⁸ The work referred to in the *Arte della Perfezion Cristiana* is Ciampoli's *Poetica sacra*, which Pallavicino published in the *Rime* (Rome, 1648), a collection of Ciampoli's poetry.⁵⁹ Written between 1625 and 1629,⁶⁰ the *Poetica sacra* forms the culmination of Ciampoli's efforts since the 1610s to redefine sacred poetry, an effort explicitly directed against the work of Giambattista Marino.⁶¹ It is one of the most important manifestos of poetical reform of the 1620s.⁶²

A closer analysis of the *Poetica sacra* will offer a more detailed view of the ideas on sacred painting and poetry that underlie the manuscript poem. Moreover, the *Poetica sacra* not only clarifies how the manuscript poem attempts to recast the description of Raphael's painting according to the tenets of sacred poetry, but also evokes the literary and historical contexts in which the poem should be read: the group of intellectuals and *letterati* who flocked around Maffeo Barberini, later Urban VIII, and their perspective on the papacy and the place of Urban's reign in sacred history.

The *Poetica sacra* is a dialogue in verse between personifications of Devotion and Poetry. As Sforza Pallavicino stresses in his introduction to the *Rime*, one of the main principles of the *Poetica sacra* is to teach by example.⁶³ Indeed, the most elaborate poetic digressions are recited by Devotion. With the first of these she aims to convince Poetry of the beauty of truth. The interest of the passage lies in Ciampoli's choice of an *ekphrasis* of two statues, pronounced by Devotion, as the means to win over Poetry. Devotion tells how one day she visited the lonely cave of a hermit, who dedicated his life to 'sculpting

new hymns'.⁶⁴ With such a song, he invites Devotion to see — 'fecero al *guardo* mio leggiardi inviti' — 'two carved stones', 'where Truth and Deceit appeared clothed in different habits'.⁶⁵ Truth is represented as a woman standing on a heavenly globe, holding a lighting bolt and a sceptre in her right hand. From within her breast shines the sun, visible through a heart-shaped glass. The passage emphasizes the subtle veil which is cast by the shining heart, revealing the parts of her body as if they were 'the stars in the sky'. The shape is surrounded by beams, and speckled by ruby lips, starry eyes and the splendour of her hair.⁶⁶ Next to the figure, the viewer discovers a 'beautiful theatre'. A silver river leads to a small lake. Doves are playing in the water and they seem to open their snow-white wings as in a dance. The misty drops of water they splash around reinforce the suggestion of a uniform, glowing haze. Herds of all sorts of animals gather together. Even the lion and the leopard are tame and innocent.⁶⁷

Only two animals are excluded from this scene, the fox and the serpent, and they appear as attributes to the other sculpture, Deceit. Devotion starts by stressing the intimate link between the lying heart, the face and the whole body of this figure. The temperament of falsehood generates a repulsive person, who is forced to hide from head to toe in an ever-changing cloth, 'monstrous to look at'. Just as Truth is qualified by a uniform white glow, so Deceit's main aspect is an ever-changing colour: 'Oh how many various aspects are to be admired in [its cloth]', exclaims Devotion. Now it appears as a sapphire sky, now as an emerald meadow, now as a wheatfield on a hot day, now as flames or ashes or like a silver wave, and often it blurs into thousand appearances of different colours. The flaws of her face are hidden by a mask. Idly she invents apemen, centaurs and other *chimere*.⁶⁸ The scene represented next to Deceit, the 'counterfeited theatres', shows a labyrinth of caves immersed in eternal night, a lair of treason. A meander braids between woody shores, turning and hiding its source and mound.

After the two lengthy descriptions, Devotion admits how she managed only with difficulty to turn away from the work, which left her both glad and sad. The hermit, too, was pleased to see her enjoyment.⁶⁹ Thus it is made clear that the *ekphrasis* of the two sculptures serves a double purpose: first, it demonstrates the revealing powers of poetry, by giving an accurate and gripping description of the statues that produces *evidenza*. Devotion's rendering of the two statues in her conversation with Poetry actually doubles the hermit's song about the two sculptures, which she praises as 'pittura bella'.⁷⁰ Second, the *ekphrasis* shows how these descriptions relate to either truth or falseness. Truth is revealed by the light it emanates, and invites the poet to describe carefully every single component of a harmonious whole, generating *stupore* and joy. When describing Deceit, Ciampoli is careful to use verbs that indicate how her veil resembles or imitates other materials or objects, leaving open the question as to whether the impression of changing variety is caused by the transformation of the veil

or by the perception of the beholder.⁷¹ This causes the beholder — and the poet — to be confused and sad, unable to seize the image.

To explain this difference between truth and deceit, after the *ekphrasis* Devotion elaborates on the revelatory powers of truth. She exalts truth as the queen and producer of all that exists on earth and in heaven. Because she brings forth creation and tinges it with beauty, she reveals the divine.⁷² When asked how deceit is conceivable if every object stems from truth, Devotion states that man has to grasp the world through appearances seized by the senses, which are then presented to the intellect. If every object is 'truth in action' and celebrates God, then every 'fantasma' in the human mind is 'a true effigy'. And it is there that falseness can occur. The liveliness of the mental effigies allows them to change shape and to form 'unknown monsters', just as the wind shapes clouds into recognizable figures, 'senz'arte'.⁷³ Falseness can lure man because it dresses itself in the outward signs of beauty, like gold and exuberant colours, thus imitating 'the voice and the aspect' of truth.⁷⁴

The fact that man never seizes an actual object but always its appearance leads Devotion to admit that all the imitative arts, such as painting and poetry, necessarily 'are forced to lie', for they can never completely reveal the truth.⁷⁵ The only way to guarantee that the artful semblance of truth partakes in truth and not in deceit, Devotion suggests, is to root invention in sacred history.⁷⁶ Ciampoli states how the poetry of Urban VIII and the marvelous paintings of Titian, Raphael and Michelangelo show the results of this procedure.⁷⁷ Conversely, and Ciampoli deals with this issue at great length, idolatry does not stem from a perverse desire to worship images but from the use of images, the 'guise of truth', to represent false gods. The statues and temples of Egyptians and Romans abuse the falseness that is an inevitable part of every image.⁷⁸ According to Ciampoli the 'falseness' of the image does not turn it into an inappropriate means to worship and explore the divine; man cannot escape the image, it is his only access to God. But precisely because of that the image should be used for only the most noble of missions. The arts fall under the moral obligation to render the divine visible. This mechanism is perverted by idolatrous practices and negated by iconoclasts. On the other hand, this appraisal of the image leaves the door open for the appreciation of classical forms, as long as they are used in the service of a rightful message.⁷⁹ Ciampoli's attitude thus accords to the visual an essential role in the communication and manifestation of divine truth, an issue, as we have seen, Sforza Pallavicino develops theoretically in his own work.⁸⁰

The argument of Ciampoli's *Poetica sacra* calls to mind the manuscript poem on Raphael's *Saviour*. Like the *Poetica sacra*, this poem assumes that God's beauty is visible in Creation, but that man has only a limited ability to grasp it. Because man needs images to seize the divine, every art that produces these images is exhorted to help man with this daunting task.

If the arts perform this operation, they parallel the revelatory activity of truth in creation. In the *Poetica sacra*, this process is exemplified in an *ekphrasis* of Truth. This description demonstrates how Truth can be rendered visible in the act of faithful description, an impossible task when confronted with Deceit. Truth can then be equated to sacred history, and its resplendent *ekphrasis* to the expression of sacred history in objects, works of art or poetry, for both Truth and sacred history produce harmonious and self-revealing images, resplendent and harmonious. These are the qualities the manuscript poem attributes to Raphael's *Saviour*.⁸¹

THE EVIDENZA OF SACRED HISTORY

The identification of the painting has allowed an assessment of the larger argument in the manuscript poem, on the relation between divine truth and imitative art. This argument applies as much to the poem itself as to Raphael's painting. Now, as we have seen, the manuscript not only offers a theoretical context for the painting, it also says that the Raphael can be seen in the *museo* of Francesco Gualdi. This contextual element, too, ties in with the argument of Ciampoli's *Poetica sacra*. Both Gualdi's museum and Ciampoli's poem offer a specific view on the relation between visual objects and sacred history, and both do so within the context of the pontificate of Urban VIII. Contemporary literature, sponsored by Urban and often immediately linked to Gualdi's *museo*, accords this papacy precisely the visuality that the manuscript poem attributes on a much smaller scale to the Raphael, and that Gualdi himself, with the help of the *letterati* of Urban's court, claims for his collection of antiquities and *mirabilia*.

As we have seen, Ciampoli considers the image justified when it parallels the manifestation of the divine in the world. Likewise, the historical revelation of the divine is visible in the progressive establishment of the true rites and their righteous splendor, as enacted in sacred history and the establishment of the Church.⁸² In the *Poetica sacra*, the ultimate proof of sacred history's potential as a source for poetic invention is an evocation of important ceremonies on the Vatican during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Devotion recalls among other things pope Adrian VI's coronation of Charles V, before presenting the events orchestrated by Urban VIII, such as the canonization of Elizabeth of Portugal in 1625, as the apex of Vatican glory.⁸³ She describes the new Saint Peter's, reserving a central place for Urban's bronze *baldacchino*.⁸⁴ By emphasizing the important role of Urban VIII in both the realization of a new sacred poetry and of the baldachin, the bronze structure is presented as the perfect subject-matter for good poetry and as its visual counterpart.⁸⁵ This ultimate enumeration finally convinces Poetry to declare her subservience to the ideals of sacred poetry, and with Devotion she concludes that 'of resounding verse Christ, who is the new Apollo, carries the crown'.⁸⁶

Urban's pontificate is presented as the endpoint of a process fusing the — originally pagan — artifice of poetry with sacred

subject-matter, a synergy successfully employed in contemporary religious pageantry. This culmination is expressed with an interesting metaphor which leads us back to Raphael's *Saviour*. The closing lines of the *Poetica sacra* clearly refer to the identification of Saint Peter's as a christianized shrine of Apollo,⁸⁷ while Apollo himself becomes an image for Christ and Pope Urban VIII. This *topos* has a high currency during Urban's reign. Urban cultivates an image of poet-pope, a key aspect of the exemplary ruler who will bring about a christianized Golden Age.⁸⁸ The same fusion of Christ and Apollo is suggested by the text quoted in Borboni's *Delle Statue* assessing the presence of Raphael's *Saviour* in Gualdi's collection,⁸⁹ since the passage cites from Marsyas's mock praise of Apollo: 'his hair arranged in curls and beads fall on his forehead and float on his temples; his body most pleasing, his limbs dazzling, his tongue prophetic, as you wish, in prose or poetry, with equal eloquence',⁹⁰ qualities which the unknown author attributes to Raphael's *Saviour*, and Borboni to Bernini's *Apollo* (figure 3).



Figure 3. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*, Villa Borghese, Rome. © ICCD, Rome.

It is hard to fathom the extent to which Borboni, writing some 40 years after the Raphael was seen in Gualdi's collection, consciously quoted the comparison between Raphael's *Saviour* and Apollo to cast also the *Apollo and Daphne* in a religious light.⁹¹ Likewise, until further documentation is unearthed, it is impossible to know whether Raphael's *Saviour* once shared the rooms of Gualdi's museum with the statues of Apollo, the muses and the busts of the exemplary poets Dante, Petrarca and Tasso that Silos saw there.⁹²

However, the close association of Raphael's *Saviour* with sacred poetry established by the manuscript poem does find a close parallel in Bernini's sculptural group, commissioned by Cardinal Scipio Borghese in 1622. Bernini's statue has convincingly been related to contemporary poetical debates. Andrea Bolland writes how the Latin diptych Urban VIII composed to defend the *Apollo and Daphne* against accusations of lasciviousness 'has its place in the opposition between Petrarchan poetics [i.e. a poetics in which the sensual pleasure of touch is superseded by a vision of beauty] and Marinismo', and she considers it 'equally likely that Bernini made his statue ... in full awareness of the literary debates going on around him'.⁹³ Just like Raphael's painting, Bernini's sculpture thus takes up its place in discussions on sacred poetry that greatly occupied the intellectual elite gathered at Urban's court.⁹⁴

This parallel can be taken one step further. In line with Ciampoli's argument in the *Poetica sacra*, the interest of *letterati* in paintings of Christ and sculptures of Apollo may well stem from the essential role they attribute to visual testimonies of history, sacred and profane. The preoccupation of these literary circles with the revitalization of the tenets of classical poetry in the service of religion and the papacy often assumes the shape of descriptions and literary celebrations of objects testifying to the Christian victory over paganism and the historical continuity of the Roman Church.⁹⁵ An important example of the spoliation of ancient monuments and the restoration of early Christian churches by the Barberini in order to legitimize their authority and the political claims of Urban's papacy, Cardinal Francesco Barberini's conspicuous restoration of the triclinium of Leo III in the Lateran,⁹⁶ spurs the publication of Niccolò Alemanni's *De Lateranensibus parietinis ... dissertatio historica* (Rome, 1625). This book intertwines archeological, historical, philological and visual evidence to underscore the legitimacy of the ecclesiastical aspirations on temporal power under Urban's reign.⁹⁷ The preoccupations of the Barberini thus closely parallel the activities of the Milanese Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1563–1631), who shared the ambition to reform poetry according to Christian tenets with an active interest in sacred archaeology.⁹⁸

An important intersection point between the poetical and archeological preoccupations of the Barberini *letterati* is the collection of Francesco Gualdi, himself a papal *cameriere* closely associated with the court of Urban VIII. Pieces of Gualdi's collection are used to document translations of classical texts made under the auspices of Francesco Barberini.⁹⁹ The

public image of Urban VIII is largely constructed by the same authors who sing the praise of Francesco Gualdi's collection. The writer Antonio Querengho (1546–1633), held in the highest esteem by Urban VIII, devotes a poem to the museum.¹⁰⁰ Another *letterato*, Ignazio Bracci, who in one work uses the Barberini papacy to explain the etymology of the word 'papa', publishes several pieces of Gualdi's collection on single folios.¹⁰¹ On a folio dedicated to Urban VIII the Jesuit Alessandro Donati compares a medal from Gualdi's collection with other archeological material to establish the medal's iconography, 'l'Adorazione dei Magi', which in turn serves as the subject-matter for a poetical exhortation for peace.¹⁰² The same interest in the testimonial value of the artefact underpins Donati's *Roma vetus ac recens*, first published in 1639, a historical description of Rome. This guidebook culminates in the new buildings erected by the Barberini offering early descriptions of the baldachin and palazzo Barberini alle Quattro fontane, and gives Gualdi's museum pride of place.¹⁰³

Exactly the same interests manifest themselves in Gualdi's museum, one of the earliest collections of Christian antiquities. According to Tempesta and Franzoni, in the *museo* antiquities become a 'testimonium' and 'tropheum', living and actual signs of history, establishing visual proof of the historical continuity that leads to the triumph of the Roman Church.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile Gualdi's own activities closely mirror the historical preoccupations of the Barberini. When in 1640 Gualdi exhorts the city of Rimini (the exact addressee is unknown) not to destroy an ancient Roman bridge, he uses the patronage of Urban VIII, and the Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini, as an eminent example of a good attitude towards the past.¹⁰⁵ Strikingly, Gualdi selects his examples not only from antiquities, such as the tomb of Cecilia Metella, or even early Christian objects, sometimes venerated as relics, such as the Lateran triclinium, the *cella* of Gregory the Great on the Celio and the room of Saint Catherine transferred to Santa Maria sopra Minerva by Antonio Barberini in 1638. He also refers to modern interventions, such as Urban's tomb and fresco decorations for Mathilda of Canossa, an *exemplum* of a secular ruler who devoted herself to the defence of the Church,¹⁰⁶ or Urban's tomb in Santa Maria Maggiore for Antonio Nigrita, the Congolose ambassador to Paul V, a testimony to the worldwide expansion of the Catholic faith.¹⁰⁷ Thus Gualdi justifies the conservation of past artefacts because they are valuable testimonies of important events and virtuous persons, just like contemporary tombs and monuments. This same belief in the testimonial value of ancient artefacts seems to underlie a gesture that remains unique in the Roman Seicento. Gualdi permanently displays pieces of his collection in public places. In 1630 he installs in the portico of SS. Apostoli the paleochristian sarcophagus that provides the image to identify the iconography of the medal published by Donati.¹⁰⁸ In the same year an inscription dedicated to Antonio Barberini heralds the installation of another paleochristian sarcophagus in S. Maria Maggiore, and in 1646 a sarcophagus decorated with biblical

scenes is placed in the portico of the Pantheon.¹⁰⁹ The inscription adorning this monument espouses the violent anti-iconoclastic message voiced earlier in Paolo Giuseppe Merone's elegy on the sarcophagus in Santa Maria Maggiore, praised as incontrovertible evidence for the rites of the early Christian Church.¹¹⁰ These sarcophagi then are doubly revelatory images: they show the truth about the sacred past and, therefore, show the true practice of religion, inspiring the contemporary beholder to emulate the example they display.

CONCLUSION

The presence in Sforza Pallavicino's papers of a poem on Raphael's *Saviour* in the collection of Francesco Gualdi reveals the intimate relation between poetics, the visual arts, antiquities and sacred history in Rome, in 1610–30. In its implicit dismissal of marinist poetry the manuscript poem closely adheres to the literary tenets championed in the vicinity of the Barberini family and the papal court. In its exaltation of a Raphael shown amidst antiquities the poem also indicates Gualdi's collection as a site where art, poetry and sacred history intertwine. Similar to Giovanni Ciampoli's description of Truth, and linked to an ancient description of Apollo, Raphael's *Saviour* emerges as a perfect example of sacred art. As one of the artefacts that Gualdi shows to the Roman public the painting belongs to the imagery sampled by the Barberini *letterati* to demonstrate that righteous imitative art expresses the teleology of history itself, since it reproduces the manifestation of the divine in creation. Gualdi's collection and patronage then visibly demonstrate the argument of Ciampoli's *Poetica sacra*: the progressive emergence of divine truth in images and artefacts parallels the emergence of true faith and its *custos*, the Roman Catholic Church, a process that culminates in the pontificate of Urban VIII.

The poem also mentions the *mirabilia* in Gualdi's museum, and thus points towards another rather virulent debate during Urban's pontificate, which involved the actors presented here and bears upon related issues. While Francesco Gualdi himself stood in close contact with the Accademia dei Lincei, Ciampoli and Pallavicino were actual members of this centre of scientific endeavour in Barberini Rome.¹¹¹ A medal from Gualdi's collection features in *Apes Dianiae in monumentis veterum noviter observatae* (Rome, 1625), a poem by the Lincean Justus Riquius that fuses new scientific observations with the genre of classical panegyric to appease Urban VIII in favour of Galileo Galilei.¹¹² The academy, an ardent supporter of Galileo, was deeply intertwined with the literary milieu of the Barberini, while pursuing its own agenda of research based on accurate observation of the natural world, a pursuit in which visual evidence obviously played a central role.¹¹³ These endeavours, in turn, reflected back into literary practices of the day, as much in Ciampoli's 'dramatic' descriptions of the universe — notably absent from the *Poetica sacra* — as in Marino's fascination with the telescope or his frenetic urge to enumerate and catalogue.¹¹⁴

In this respect it is striking that while the manuscript poem implicitly connects Gualdi's museum with contemporary discussions on sacred poetry, and thus establishes an intimate link between poetics, the visual arts, antiquities and sacred history, the text only refers explicitly to the *mirabilia* in the museum, the giant's bone and the transformations of water and wood. While these references may be explained by the notoriety of these objects, they are also used to emphasize the superiority of the sacred painting over this kind of *mirabilia*.¹⁵ It is therefore possible that the poem's author is well aware of the not always smooth relationship between the sacred history as told by historical artefacts and the natural history that emerges from the gathering of empirical evidence. Remarkably, in his writings other than the *Poetica sacra*, Giovanni Ciampoli goes to great pains to distinguish and separate the realms of the writer, the theologian and the natural philosopher.¹⁶ Ultimately, the conflict between these disciplines comes to a rather violent manifestation in the controversy surrounding Galileo Galilei, an important factor in the closure of the Accademia dei Lincei after the death of its founder Federico Cesi in 1630. This controversy inaugurates a crackdown on Galileo's Roman friends, first among them Giovanni Ciampoli and Sforza Pallavicino.¹⁷ Even if the manuscript poem significantly predates these dramatic events, it already points towards the faultline along which the intellectual elite of Urban VIII's court will be divided.

NOTES

The author would like to thank Karen Junod, Luisa Cale and Fabio Barry for their help and comments.

1 – Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2121, ff. 448r–451r, see Appendix. The Casanatense contains a series of volumes with Pallavicino's papers, see *Bibliografia romana. Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori romani dal secolo xi* (Rome, 1880), pp. 196–200, which gives the old shelfmarks. On Pallavicino, see the literature *infra*, note 45.

2 – An inscription attributing the poem to Sforza Pallavicino has been crossed out and overwritten with a statement that Pallavicino is *not* the author. As will become clear, there is reason to believe that this correction is right.

3 – See for instance ms. cit., ff. 160r–166r: 'Alla Santità di N.ro Sig.re sopra la fortezza di castel S. Angelo ridotta dalla primiera fiachezza à somma perfectione da S. Beat.ne', which must date from 1625–26; ff. 442r–447r, a poem on the death of Carlo Barberini, the brother of pope Urban VIII, in 1630, an event Pallavicino dwells upon in the letters published in Antonio De Luca, 'Lettere inedite di Sforza Pallavicino a Fabio Chigi', *Rassegna della letteratura italiana*, 38 (1974), pp. 31–42, letter of 9 March 1630; but also, f. 235r: 'Alla Santità di papa Paolo V. nell'apparire della Cometa', i.e. during the reign of Paul V (1605–22); and on f. 50r a poem by Agostino Favoriti in honour of Alexander VII (1655–67).

4 – See Appendix.

5 – A comprehensive study on Francesco Gualdi fails. The most valuable research on Gualdi and his collection is Claudio Franzoni, 'Ancora sul museo di Francesco Gualdi (1576–1657)', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 17 (1991), pp. 561–72; and Claudio Franzoni and Alessandra Tempesta, 'Il museo di Francesco Gualdi nella Roma del Seicento tra raccolta privata ed esposizione pubblica', *Bollettino d'Arte*, LXVII, s. 6, 73 (1992), pp. 1–42. I will refer to

the entries in this catalogue by their number. On Gualdi's intellectual and cultural background, see also Marco Gallo, 'Orazio Borgianni, L'Accademia di S. Luca e l'Accademia degli Humoristi: documenti e nuove datazioni', *Storia dell'Arte*, 76 (1992), pp. 296–345: 308–10. Apparently Gualdi wrote a 'rara, ed imperfetta raccolta de'vecchi monumenti letterati ... per illustrare le Famiglie Romane', see Gaetano Marini, *Degli architetti pontifici. Volume primo. Nel quale sono i supplimenti e le correzioni all'opera del Mandosio* (Rome, 1784), p. 230, note.

6 – Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, p. 11, nr. 46, based on Ignazio Bracci, *Phoenicis effigies in numismatis* [sic], *et in gemma, quae in Museo Gualdino asservator, & parietibus indicata, & eiusdem avis vindiciae Ignatii Bracci Presbyteri Recinetensis S. Theol. Mag.* (Rome, Typis Vitalis Mascardi, 1637), pp. 10–11: 'Quam denique eandem qui ut incredibilem asperantur, Museum ipsum fateri, & probare cogit Gualde tuum, in quo vastum Polyphemi, seu alterius cuiuspiam Siculi Gigantis os, quo femori popoles iungitur, contemplari, & contrectare nemini non licet'. This bone is also mentioned in John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn: Now Printed in Full from the Manuscripts Belonging to Mr. John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 2000) [henceforth: Evelyn, *Diary*], vol. 2, p. 314, on 26 January 1645: [Gualdi] shewed us also the knee Bone of a Gyant 23 Inches in compass all Anatomists concluding it to have been of a Man, twas found at Trepone in Sicilea'. Girolamo Gualdo Jr., 1650. *Giardino di Chà Gualdo*, a cura di Lionello Puppi, (Florence, [1970]), p. xlvii, mentions that the Wunderkammer of Girolamo Gualdi (1599–1656, of the Vicenza branch of the Gualdi) contained a tooth of a Giant. Girolamo makes a copie 'in aqueta' to send it to Francesco, to unite the tooth with Francesco's bone, 'uno ginocchio di gigante che è cosa famosa non solo in Roma, ma in Italia ancora' (ibid., p. xxxix and xlvii, n. 118) and to present it to Urban VIII. 7 – Francesco Cancellieri, *Bibliotheca Corsiniana* (Rome), ms. Lincei 42, p. 1166 mentions how Gualdi is praised by Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc 'nella sua rarissima Dissertazione *De aqua Claudia intra suum tubum in lapidem Alabastritem conversa, et aliis rebus in saxum mutatis ab Equite Fr. Gualdo*, qui Romae, apud Vitalem Mascardi 1636 fol.' The true author of the work seems to be Ignazio Bracci, who published *De aqua claudia intra suum tubum in lapidem alabastritem conversa...* (Rome, Vitalis Mascardi, 1636), single folio sheet, according to the library catalogue of the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities 'an essay on the transformation of cavern water into alabaster, based on examples in the museum of Francesco Gualdi, dedicated to Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini'. While the title of the folio clearly refers to calcium, it was commonly believed that also rock crystal was frozen water; this probably explains the reference to diamond in the poem.

8 – The quote is taken from: Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. II, p. 315.

Cancellieri, ms. cit., p. 1139 gives Francesco Stelluti's praise: 'et ci ha pitture, et altre sculture in marmo, e bronzi, e gemme & molto stima'. Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, p. 10, nr. 42, include only one modern painting in their catalogue, a 'Polifemo di chiaro oscuro' by Orazio Borgianni, mentioned in Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori, scultori et architetti dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642* (Rome, 1642), pp. 142–3. According to Giovanni Michele Silos, *Pinacotheca sive Romana Pictura et Sculptura* (Rome, 1673), ed. and trans. M. Basile Bonsante [henceforth: *Pinacotheca*], vol. I, pp. 281–3, Gualdi's museum also shows — inevitably modern — busts of Dante, Petrarca and Tasso, cf. Tempesta and Franzoni 1992, p. 4, nr. 15 and p. 12; and *infra*. Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, ded. 7, mention a wooden bust of the Virgin, now in the transept of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, donated by Gualdi. An inventory of cardinal Francesco Barberini from 1649 contains 'Un Quadretto in carta tirata in tela con cornice di pero tinta negra col disegno d'un parte dato dal Cav.re Gualdi alto palmi uno e mezzo longo palmo doi davantaggio', Marilyn Aaronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth-century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), p. 236, III, inv. 49, nr. 521.

Gualdi is mentioned as the patron of a chapel dedicated to Carlo Borromeo in Rimini, see Carlo Francesco Marcheselli, *Pitture delle chiese di Rimini 1754. Ristampa anastatica ... In appendice, il manoscritto di Marcello Oretto sulle 'Pitture nella città di Rimini' (1777)*, a cura di Pier Giorgio Pasini, Bologna, 1972, pp. 105–6, 59/26: 'qui [in Rimini] particolarmente sendogli più capelle, altari, pale o icone erette [to honour Carlo Borromeo], e fra le principali e per avventura di tutte l'altre prima, quella nella Cattedrale di Francesco Gualdi, cavaliere di Santo Stefano da eccellentissimo maestro dipinta'. The 'eccellentissimo maestro' is possibly Cristoforo Roncalli, detto il Pomarancio.

9 – Giovanni Andrea Borboni, *Delle Statue*, (Rome, Iacomo Fei d'And F. 1661), p. 82: 'O qui si, che resterà coronata la fama dell'Artefice [Bernini] finché verdeggiarà sì nobile pianta d'alloro. Sotto l'ombra d'albero si fortunato, siccome saranno sempre premiato i sudori delle sue tempie dalla gloria; così saranno difese da i fulmini della maledicenza; anzi accioche l'Artefice potesse più degnamente portar simil Corona; credo certo gli sarebbe messa in testa da Apolline, a cui tocca di compartir gli allori, se l'effigie di questo Dio delle Muse scolpito, vicino a Dafne, avesse vita, che altro appo(n)tono gli manca. Parve che il ritraesse dal discorso di Apuleio, come all'altrui racconto impressogli nell'immaginativa, dicesi che ritraesse Raffaello d'Urbino il Volto del Salvatore, *coma intonsus, & genis gratus; Corpus totum gratissimum, membra nitida, lingua fatidica*'. [margin: Ex Museo Gualdi super Imagin. Salvat.]. The passage is translated in George Bauer, *Bernini in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1976), p. 43, who mentions the marginal annotation. The quote is taken from Apuleius, *Florida*, III, 9–10, and not *Florida*, I as Bauer writes.

10 – It is not improbable that the text is taken from an engraving of the painting, inscribed with Apuleius' verses, see the comparable representations of gems published in Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, cat. 29 and 30.

11 – Giacomo C. Bascapè and Marcello Del Piazzo, with Luigi Borgia, *Insegne e simboli. Araldica pubblica e privata, medievale e moderna* (Rome, 1983), p. 312.

12 – *Christ Blessing or Pax Vobiscum*, now in Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, painted on wood 31.7 × 25.3 cm, generally dated 1505–06, of unknown provenance. See Renata Stradiotti, 'I dipinti di Raffaello nella Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo', in *Raffaello e Brescia. Echi e presenze*, ed. B. Passamani (Brescia, 1986), pp. 33–4. The citations are taken from the document published on p. 37, n. 3. This document is not mentioned by Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael. The Paintings*, (Landshut, 2001) inv. 22, who, like Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael. A Critical Catalogue of his Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries* (London/New York, 1971), only lists this portrait of Christ. The same goes for Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffaello: nei documenti nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo* (Farnborough, 1971) (corrected reprint of the 1936 edn), p. 346, where it is mentioned as a *Pax Vobis*.

13 – Stradiotti 1986, p. 34 argues that the painting originally belonged to the family that eventually buys the painting, the Barzi Mosca, because no other local family could claim to be a 'casa antica'; according to Stradiotti, a predecessor of the Barzi could have been in contact with Raphael in Urbino. It should be noted, however, that Carlo Tonini, *La coltura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini Dal Secolo XIV ai Primordi del XIX* (Rimini, 1884), vol. II, p. 132 refers to the Gualdi as a 'nobile e antica famiglia riminese'.

14 – There is little material available on the Gualdi family. See Tonini 1884, pp. 132–6 and Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, p. 35, note 4. Information on a different branch of the Gualdi family, with which Francesco Gualdi entertained intensive contacts, can be found in the 'Introduction' to Puppi (ed.) [1970].

15 – Silvia Danesi Squarzina, 'Documents for the History of Collecting: 24. The Collections of Benedetto Giustiniani. Part I', *Burlington Magazine*, 1136 CXXXIX (1997), pp. 766–91, II. Post mortem inventory of Benedetto Giustiniani, 1621, p. 790, nr. 217.

16 – Luigi Salerno, 'The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani III: The Inventory, part II', *Burlington Magazine*, 685 CII (1960), pp. 135–48, inventory of 1638, 'Nella Stanza Grande de Quadri Antichi', Inv. No. II, p. 136, nr. 15: 'Un quadro con la testa del Salvatore dipinto in tavola di mano di Raffaello d'Urbino alto pal. 3 di scarsa misura e larg. palmi 2 con sua cornice dorata', as also mentioned by Danesi Squarzina 1997, as in the preceding note.

17 – *Verzeichniss der ehemals zu der Giustinianischen, jetzt zu den Königlichen Sammlungen gehörigen Gemälde* (Berlin, 1826), p. 10, nr. 23, as mentioned by Salerno 1960 and Danesi Squarzina 1997.

18 – Luigi Salerno, 'The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani I: Introduction', *Burlington Magazine*, 682 CII, (1960), pp. 26–7.

19 – Danesi Squarzina 1997, p. 778. For the history of the Giustiniani collection, see now *Caravaggio e i Giustiniani. Toccar con mano una collezione del Seicento*, exh. cat., ed. Silvia Danesi Squarzina (Milan, 2001).

20 – In general, see Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, pp. 1–3 and *passim*. Key players were Cassiano dal Pozzo, like Gualdi a knight of Santo Stefano, the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher and the cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini, nephews of pope Urban VIII, cf. also *infra*. On Gualdi and dal Pozzo see Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, note 17; Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* [Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Bd. 28], 1999, pp. 77 and 155; and Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 13–14. Cropper here deals with Pietro Testa's first print, representing the small elephant shown in Rome March 1630. This engraving was possibly made after a lost painting in the collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo, and dedicated to Gualdi: *Perill'ri D. Equiti Gualdo Ariminensi. nuper Romae visi Elephantis effigiem typis excusam. Petrus Testa pictor Lucensis. DDD. 1630*. The engraving served as frontispiece for the *Epistula de elephanto Romae viso*, published by the antiquarian Giulio Cesare Bottifango (1559–1630) and addressed to his *nipote* Domenico Salvati; see also *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [henceforth: *DBI*], 13, pp. 456–7, s.v. 'Bottifango, Giulio Cesare'. The Italian version of the *Epistula* is dated 15 June 1630, the much rarer Latin version is undated. This text is also mentioned by Cancellieri, ms. cit., p. 1161. According to Cropper, it might have been Gualdi who introduced Testa to dal Pozzo. There exists an engraving of Gualdi's famous *sistro* (not by Testa) for Cassiano dal Pozzo's *museo cartaceo*, see Herklotz 1999, p. 113 and Elizabeth Cropper, ed., *Pietro Testa. Prints and Drawings* (Philadelphia, 1988–89), figs iii–k. A correspondent shared by dal Pozzo and Gualdi was Peiresc; on Gualdi's correspondence with Peiresc, see Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, 'Cassiano del Pozzo and Pietro Testa: New Documents Concerning the Museo cartaceo', in: Cropper (ed.) 1988–89, p. lxxxiv, n. 45 and Herklotz 1999, p. 151.

21 – Charles Paul Landon, *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts. Seconde Collection. Partie ancienne. (Tome complémentaire). Galerie Giustiniani, ou catalogue figuré Des tableaux de cette célèbre Galerie, transportée d'Italie en France; accompagné d'Observations critiques et historiques, et de soixante-douze Planches gravées au trait, contenant environ cent cinquante sujets* (Paris, chez l'Auteur, 1812), p. 152, fig. 73 (5), as mentioned in Salerno 1967 and Danesi Squarzina 1997. The catalogue describes the painting as: 'Le buste du Sauveur. Très-belle étude, d'un grand caractère, d'une grande simplicité de ton, et d'un effet vigoureux. Ce morceau précieux rappelle le pinceau de Léonard de Vinci ou de Raphael. Le catalogue de la galerie Giustiniani le donne à ce dernier maître. Peint sur bois: hauteur 24 pouces; largeur 18 pouces'. The painting is also recorded in *Verzeichnis* 1926, as 'Das Brustbild des Erlösers. Ihm zur Linken ist die Weltkugel mit einem Kreuze darauf, als Sinnbild seiner erduldeten Leiden'; and in H. Delaroche, *Catalogue Historique et Raisonné de Tableaux par les plus grands peintres des écoles d'Italie composant la rare et célèbre Galerie Giustiniani* (Paris, 1812), pp. 18–19, nr. 23: 'Le buste du Sauveur représenté de face; la boule du monde, surmontée d'une croix, emblème des

souffrances qu'il a essuyées pour racheter les hommes, est placée à sa gauche. *Raphaël*, toujours grand dans les moindres sujets, nous offre, dans cette simple figure, le sublime de l'art, du côté de la pensée et de l'exécution'. In his introduction, p. xvj, Delaroche praises the engravings Landon has used to reproduce the Giustiniani painting as a new and promising method to communicate works of art to a larger audience.

22 – *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome, 1968–76) [henceforth: *Lexikon*], vol. I, k. 423–5.

23 – *Pinacotheca*, vol. I, p. 93, liber primus, epigr. CLXVII, *Salvatoris Vultus. Raphaelis apud eundem Princ. Iustin.*; vol. II, p. 91: 'Traduzione', where Basile Bonsante follows the identification of the Raphael with the epigram proposed by Salerno 1967, as in note 16. This identification is also accepted by Danesi Squarzina 1997, as in note 15.

24 – *Pinacotheca*, vol. I, p. 93: 'Hic caput augustum, rorantem & sanguine frontem, / Aeterniq; Dei hic ora cruenta vides. / Ipse sui pictor, minio haec velamina finxit / Ipse suo; externae nil valnere manus. / Pellaeus se dat Iuvenis pingendus Apelli: / Illum qui posset pingere, nullus erat. / Nullus erat, Raphael, qui Numinis ora verendi / Exprimeret; tuus est nobilis iste labor' [emphasis added]. In Bonsante's translation, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 91: 'Qui puoi vedere l'augusto capo e la fronte che gocciola sangue, / qui il volto insanguinato dell'eterno Iddio. / Lui stesso si è dipinto, Lui stesso ha rappresentato queste spoglie / col suo minio: mani estranee non vi hanno concorso per nulla. / Il giovane Alessandro si rivolse ad Apelle per farsi ritrarre: / non vi era nessuno che potesse ritrarlo. / Raffaello, non vi era nessuno che potesse rendere l'aspetto / di Dio venerabile: è tua questa nobile fatica'. On the iconography of the *Ecce Homo*, see *Lexikon*, vol. I, k. 557–61. Landon's catalogue gives a number of engravings of portraits of a bleeding Christ, all of which clearly show the drops of blood; see Landon 1812, nrs 33–1, 59–1, 64–4, 70–5 and 6, 72–3, 6. It is therefore highly unlikely that the engraving of the Raphael would have omitted any traces of blood, moreover a feature that does not fit into the *Salvator Mundi* iconography.

25 – See Salerno 1967, nrs 50, 52 (both of which are described in Silos), 129, 169, 178, 183, 188, 197, 250.

26 – *Pinacotheca*, as in note 24: 'Ipse sui pictor, minio haec velamina finxit / Ipse suo; externae nil valnere manus', in the translation of Bonsante: 'Lui stesso si è dipinto, Lui stesso ha rappresentato queste spoglie'.

27 – See the remarks in Périne Galand-Hallyn, 'Autour de la Vénus d'Amboise (1530): une reffloraison du genre de l'Ekphrasis', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance*, LXI/2 (1999), pp. 343–74. 28 – Giovanni Battista Marino, *La Galeria*, a cura di Marzio Pieri, (Padova, 1979) [henceforth: *Galeria*], vol. I, Pitture - Historie, p. 67, [33]. The reference is made in Danesi Squarzina 1997, as in note 15. It should be noted that the catalogue of artworks described by iconic poetry in Marianne Albrecht-Bott, *Die bildende Kunst in der italienischen Lyrik der Renaissance und des Barock: Studie zur Beschreibung von Portraits und anderen Bildwerken unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von G.B. Marinos Galleria* [Mainzer romanistische Arbeiten, Bd. 11] (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 221–2, does not consider the subject of Marino's and Silos's poem to be identical. However, it is safe to say that this catalogue is rather a list of the subjects mentioned by the poems than a thorough attempt to retrace the objects involved.

29 – Daniela Danesi Squarzina does not mention that Marino's poem first appeared in the 'sacred' section of the first volume of the *Rime* (1602), where the painting is said to belong to the collection of Matteo di Capua Principe di Conca (1568?–1607), one of Marino's earliest benefactors and a collector of renown, see *Galeria*, vol. II, pp. 40–1: *Per una immagine d'Ecce homo, di mano di Raffaello di Urbino, ch'è nella Galeria del Principe Grande Ammiraglio*. Albrecht-Bott (1976), p. 198 gives a not entirely reliable concordance between the *Rime* and the *Galeria*. On Matteo di Capua, see *DBI*, 39, pp. 718–20. Marino frequented di Capua's court from 1592, became his secretary in 1596

and was ousted in 1599, after second arrest in Naples, see *ibid.*, p. 791b. This sheds some light on the provenance of the Raphael. After Marino's ignominious departure from Naples in 1600, di Capua died amidst gigantic debts, leading to the progressive sale of the family's possessions. Ottavio Gentile, an agent for the Gonzaga, was probably not the only prospective buyer who visited the family palace in early 1608 on the lookout for paintings; see Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga Duchi di Mantova nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Bologna, [1970]), p. 45. Angelo Borzelli, *La Galeria del Cavalier Marino* (Naples, 1923), pp. 5–6, note 1, states that he has looked in vain for a complete inventory of di Capua's paintings allegedly drawn up in 1608 by Gentile. It should be noted that no painting fitting Marino's poem appears in the Gonzaga inventory of 12 March 1627, as published in Alessandro Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28* (Milan, 1913), pp. 89–136. In 1636, the di Capua family palace was sold; see Antonio Colombo, 'Il palazzo dei principi di Conca alla strada di S. Maria di Constantinopoli', *Napoli Nobilissima. Rivista di Topografia ed Arte Napoletana*, IX (1900), pp. 187–8; summarized in Gérard Labrot, *Baroni in città. Residenze e comportamenti dell'aristocrazia napoletana 1530–1734* (Naples, 1979), pp. 127–8, who, on p. 57, n. 60, misquotes the year of Colombo's publication. If the identification proposed here is correct, the di Capua Raphael was sold to Gualdi somewhere after 1607, to reach the Giustiniani collection before 1621. Even if Gualdi's museum only hit the guidebooks in the late 1620s, he had already obtained an esteemed position long before, as *cameriere* of Leo XI, Paul V, Gregory XV and Urban VIII, i.e. from 1605 onwards. The fact that this painting must have left Gualdi's collection by 1621 could also explain why it is never mentioned in eulogies of the museum, all of which are of a later date. The possession of a Raphael would hardly have gone unnoticed. In 1650 Francesco's relative Girolamo Gualdi bemoans the fact that he is unable to obtain a good Raphael for his own museum: 'Di questo rarissimo spirito poco mi trovo havere, perché le opere maggiori furono per gran principi e con fatica fatte, e la maggior parte a fresco', see Puppi (ed.) [1970], p. 22. If the Raphael was in Gualdi's possession between 1607 and 1621, then Sforza Pallavicino, born in 1607, would almost certainly not be the author of the poem, however precocious he was.

30 – Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Giambattista Marino* [Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, CLXI], (Florence, 2000), vol. I, pp. 107–61, nr. 90–165, for the *Rime*; and nr. 49–69, pp. 77–91 for the *Galeria*.

31 – M. Basile Bonsante, 'Poesia come pittura', in *Pinacotheca*, pp. xli–l.

32 – It is unlikely that the Brescia *Christ Blessing* could be the Raphael from the Di Capua collection mentioned in Marino's *Rime*. As mentioned in note 12, according to the eighteenth-century dealer the *Christ Blessing* never left the family that commissioned it from Raphael. If this is true, it cannot have been in the possession of the di Capua, since that family lost its collection and became extinct in the seventeenth century.

33 – *Galeria*, vol. I, Pitture – Historie, p. 67, [33], as in note 28: 'È questa (oimè) del tuo celeste figlio / l'imgo, o Re del Ciel? son queste quelle / guance sì care agli Angeli, e sì belle, / che diè l'ostro a la rosa, il latte al giglio? / Son questi i seren'occhi? è questo il ciglio, / ond'ebbe il Sole i raggi e le fiammelle? / Questo il crin, da cui l'or trasser le stelle, / or tutto (ahi lasso!) lacero e vermiglio? / Qual cruda man commise il crudo scempio? / E qual, pietosa de le membre sante, / ritrasse in vivo lino il caro essemio? / Questo sol ti sia specchio, anima errante: / Dio novo Dio fe' l'uomo. Ahi fu ben empio / l'uom, ch'a Dio tolse d'uom forma e sembante!'

34 – Quoted and translated in Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts. The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago, 1958), p. 103.

35 – See, for instance, *Rime di Gio. Battista Marino* (Venice, 1606), Parte prima, p. 201, where 'È questa, oimè, del tuo celeste figlio'

appears without reference to the Raphael. Moreover, Marino seems to have used the same poem to 'describe' different paintings. In the *Galeria*, vol. I, p. 71, [37b], 'Questa, che 'n atto supplice e pentita', is dedicated to a *Maria Magdalena* by Titian, a painting that turns up in the collection of Benedetto Giustiniani, see Danesi Squarzina 1997, nr. 150. As correctly indicated in Albrecht-Bott (1976), p. 200, this poem appears in the *Rime*, 1602, vol. II, 'Madriali & Canzoni', pp. 186–90, 'Stanze Per una immagine di Maddalena di mano di Titiano'. In other words, in this case the same poem describes the same painting in 1602 and 1619. However, in the *Rime* the same painting — 'Per una immagine di Maddalena dipinta da Titiano, laquale è nella galleria del Principe Grande Ammiraglio' — is also described with 'L'angu dal su'Amor lunge afflitta e sola', a poem that also appears in the *Galeria*, vol. I, p. 70 [37a]. Here the poem is dedicated to an *Immagine di Maddalena piangente di Raffaele da Urbino*. Albrecht-Bott (1967), p. 198 mistakenly states that this poem in the *Rime* refers to a Raffael, while Marzio Pieri points out the anomaly, which was confirmed by a double check on the 1602 edition of the *Rime*. While it cannot be excluded that this switch should be attributed to a mistake of the editor, rather than to a deliberate choice by Marino, such a switch is not at all improbable, and would surely not be impeded by the content of the poems in question. The Magdalen and the *Salvator Mundi* are two paintings from the Di Capua collection that ended up with the Giustiniani. For all the not always ground-breaking discussion on Marino's activities as an art collector — for a good assessment of these activities, see Gianni Viola, 'Marino e le arti figurative', in *Il verso di Narciso. Tre testi sulla poetica di Giovan Battista Marino* (Rome, 1978), pp. 17–25 and Marzio Pieri's annotation of the *Galeria* — there is a glaring need for a thorough cross-referencing of the paintings Marino mentions, their whereabouts during his lifetime, his own travels and the different episodes in the composition and edition of the *Rime* and the *Galeria* (see also the remarks in Viola (1978), pp. 35–7). This would be greatly assisted by research into the Di Capua collection.

36 – Gavriel Moses, "'Care Gemelle d'un Parto Nate". Marino's *Picta Poesis*', *Modern Language Notes*, 100/1 (1985), pp. 82–110, with the quote on p. 101. See also Hagstrum (1958), pp. 102–4; Albrecht-Bott (1976), pp. 80–7; Viola (1978), pp. 9–61; Eugenio Paulicelli, 'Parole e spazi visivi nella *Galeria*', in *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts and Music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani (Ottawa/New York, 1994), pp. 255–65.

37 – Linda Nemerow-Ulman, 'Narrative Unities in Marino's *Galeria*', *Italica*, 64/1 (1987), pp. 76–86, quote on p. 77.

38 – This equivocation is suggested by the parallel in lines 9–10: 'Qual cruda man commise il crudo scempio? / E qual, pietosa de le membre sante, / ritrasse in vivo lino il caro esempio?' See Albrecht-Bott (1976), pp. 55–6.

39 – Appendix, lines 117–19. These characteristics can actually be brought in against an identification with the *Christ Blessing* in Brescia, where Christ bears traces of his torture and closes his mouth.

40 – *Galeria*, as in note 33, lines 8–9: 'or tutto (ahi lasso!) lacero e vermiglio? / Qual cruda man commise il crudo scempio?';

Appendix, lines 112–13: 'effigiato è qui l'eterno figlio / Dal Ciel diceso entro ad humana spoglia'. Silos will use the word 'velamina', or 'spoglie', as well.

41 – *Galeria*, loc. cit., lines 5–7: 'è questo il ciglio, / ond'ebbe il Sole i raggi e le fiammelle? / Questo il crin, da cui l'or trasser le stelle'; Appendix, lines 114–16: 'Qual mentre in terra ei fù // superno lume / spirò dal sacro ciglio, / Tal sembra qui, che ne le luci accoglia'. It should be noted that light is an important attribute of the *Salvator Mundi*, whose globe is traditionally transparent, as a reference to his role as 'lux mundi' (John, 8, 12), see Carla Gottlieb, 'The Mystical Window in Paintings of the *Salvator Mundi*', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, s. 6/56 (1960), pp. 313–32, esp. 315–16.

42 – On Marino's use of the visual arts and related topoi in his work, see Ottavio Besomi, *Ricerche intorno alla 'Lira' di G.B. Marino* (Padua, 1969), pp. 143–50; Viola (1978), p. 57; Paulicelli (1994), pp. 263–4; James Ward, 'Marino and St. Gregory of Nazianzus', in Guardiani (ed.) (1994), pp. 235–53, esp. p. 238.

43 – Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin.*

Friendship and the Love of Painting (Princeton, 1996), pp. 253–78, *passim*, with the quote on p. 262. See also Viola (1978), pp. 37–8.

44 – Cropper and Dempsey (1996), pp. 276–7.

45 – On the work of Pallavicino, see most recently Eraldo Bellini, 'Scrittura letteraria e scrittura filosofica in Sforza Pallavicino', in Claudio Scarpato and Eraldo Bellini, *Il Vero e il falso dei poeti. Tasso, Tasso, Pallavicino, Muratori* (Milan, 1990), pp. 73–189; Tomaso Montanari, 'Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Sforza Pallavicino', *Prospettiva*, 87–88 (1997), pp. 42–68; Sven Knebel, *Wille Würfel und Wahrscheinlichkeit. Das System der moralischen Notwendigkeit in der Jesuitenscholastik 1550–1700* (Hamburg, 2000); Maarten Delbeke, 'La fenice degl'ingegni'. Een alternatief perspectief op Gianlorenzo Bernini en zijn werk in de geschriften van Sforza Pallavicino (Ghent, 2002).

46 – Sforza Pallavicino, *Trattato dello stile e del dialogo del padre Sforza Pallavicino* (Roma 1662), (Reggio Emilia, 1824, reprint: Modena, 1994), ch. 17, p. 106. Ezio Raimondi, *Trattatisti e narratori del Seicento* (Milan, 1960), p. 203, note 1; Mercedes Blanco, *Les Rhétoriques de la poëte. Baltasar Gracián et le conceptisme en Europe* (Paris, 1992), p. 334 and Elena Mazzocchi, 'La riflessione secentesca su retorica e morale', *Studi Secenteschi*, 38 (1997), pp. 11–56: 36 all point out that Pallavicino misquotes Marino to stress his point.

47 – Maarten Delbeke, 'The pope, the bust, the sculptor and the fly', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge à Rome*, LXX (2000), pp. 179–223; idem 2002, pp. 226–8.

48 – The notion of *evidenza* is derived from rhetoric. The bibliography on the subject is rather vast. Classical sources are given in Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (München, 1973), pp. 399–407 & 810–19. For a well-documented treatment of the notion, see Perrine Galand-Hallyn, *Le reflet des fleurs. Description et métalangue poétique d'Homère à la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1994), pp. 36–48; idem, *Les yeux de l'éloquence: poétiques humanistes de l'évidence* (Orléans, 1995), pp. 97–184, both with abundant literature. For the common epistemological and rhetorical roots of its cognate *enargeia*, see Alessandra Manieri, *Immagine poetica nella teoria degli antichi: phantasia ed enargeia* (Pisa, 1998). A well-documented analysis of the role of *evidenza* and *enargeia* in the visual arts can be found in Valeska von Rosen, 'Die Enargeia des Gemäldes. Zu einem vergessenen Inhalt des *Ut-pictura-poesis* und seiner Relevanz für das cinquecenteske Bildkonzept', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 27 (2000), pp. 171–208: 171–86.

49 – This issue is developed at length in Maarten Delbeke, 'Evidence as art, art as evidence. Bernini, Pallavicino and the paradoxes of Zeno', in *Estetica barocca*, acts of the international conference, Rome, 6–9 March 2002, forthcoming.

50 – Sforza Pallavicino, *Del Bene libri quattro del P. Sforza Pallavicino della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome, 1644), in *Opere del Cardinale Sforza Pallavicino* (Milan, 1834) [henceforth: *Opere*], vol. II, p. 527b: 'E pur le figure dipinte, benchè per dipinte sien ravvisate, pungono acutamente l'affetto. Il dimostrano con buona e con rea operazione e le divote lagrime che spesso traggono dagli occhi alle persone spirituali i ben formati ritratti del tormentato Redentore, ...'

51 – During the 1630s Pallavicino works on an ambitious poetical description of the Catholic feasts, the *Fasti sacri*. He interrupted and allegedly destroyed the work when he entered the Jesuit order in 1637, see Irene Affò, *Memorie Della Vita e degli Studi di Sforza Cardinale Pallavicino* (Parma, 1794), p. 9. A part of the *Fasti* were published in Francesco Baglioni, *Scelta di poesie italiane Non mai per l'addietro stampate de' più nobili autori del secolo* (Venezia, 1686), pp. 160–335.

52 – Sforza Pallavicino, *Arte della Perfezion Cristiana del cardinale Sforza Pallavicino* (Rome, 1664), book II, ch. 10, in *Opere*, vol. II, p. 695a–b:

'Nè t'assolve il dire, che tu sei mosso a ciò [i.e. lascivious poetry] da onesta vaghezza per la sola eccellenza dell'arte: manca forse l'arte e più nobile e più ingegnosa in materie eroiche, morali e sante? Perché potendo tu ritrarre più bella luce dalla purità della cera, la cerchi dall'immondizia del sevo? Sopra quest'argomento, per quanto appartiene a'libri, hanno scritto egregiamente in prosa due uomini del mio Ordine, Famiano Strada con tre delle sue *prolusioni*, e Vincenzo Guinigi con una sua *allocuzione*: e in verso sì un mio benignissimo principe Urbano VIII, che alzò l'inclita bandiera contro a'corruttori di Parnaso nella prima elegia posta in fronte delle sue poesie; sì un mio familiarissimo amico Giovanni Ciampoli suo seguace e familiare, nella poetica sacra'. This passage is read as an anti-marinist statement in Franco Croce, *La critica dei barocchi moderati* (Milan, 1955), p. 76.

53 – On this aspect of Guinigi's and Strada's work, see Marc Fumaroli, 'Cicero Pontifex Romanus. La tradition rhétorique du Collège Romain et les principes inspireurs du mécénat des Barberini', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française à Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Moderne*, XL (1978), pp. 797–835; 809–20; idem, *L'âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et res literaria de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva, 1994 [1980]), pp. 175–202; idem, *L'école du silence. Le sentiment des images au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1994), pp. 106 and 329. On Strada's *Prolusiones Academicæ* (1617), the text Pallavicino refers to, see Ezio Raimondi, *Anatomie Secentesche* (Pisa, 1966), p. 30; Croce (1955), pp. 57–8 and 63; F. Malterre, 'L'esthétique romaine au début du XVII^e siècle d'après les *Prolusiones academicæ* du P. Strada', *Vita Latina*, 66 (1977), pp. 20–30; Jozef Ijsewijn, 'Scrittori Latini a Roma dal Barocco al Neoclassicismo', *Studi Romani*, 36 (1988), pp. 229–51; 242–3; Eraldo Bellini, *Umanisti e Lincei. Letteratura e scienza a Roma nell'età di Galileo* (Padua, 1997), pp. 30 and 109. General bio-bibliographical information on Guinigi and Strada can be found in A. De Backer and C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussels/Paris, 1960) [henceforth: DBS], III, k. 1941–1943 and VII, k. 1605–1617.

54 – Pallavicino refers to the introduction to the *Poemata* of Urban VIII in the edition of 1631, translated and commented upon in Andrée Thill, *La lyre jésuite. Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620–1730). Notices biographiques et bibliographiques par Gilles Banderier. Préface de Marc Fumaroli* (Geneva, 1999), p. 242–7. On Urban's *Poemata*, see Bellini (1997), pp. 5 and 144–5; Tristan Weddigen, 'Tapisserie und Poesie. Gianfrancesco Romanelli's *Giocchi di Putti* für Urban VIII', in Joseph Imorde, Fritz Neumeyer and Tristan Weddigen, eds, *Barocke Inszenierung: Akten des Internationalen Forschungssymposiums an der Technischen Universität Berlin 20.–22. Juni 1996* (Emsdetten/Zürich, 1999), pp. 72–103. An interesting confrontation of Maffeo Barberini's early poetry with the epigrams of Marino can be found in Maria Castagnetti, 'Variazioni su una statua di Amore dormiente. A proposito di alcuni epigrammi latini di Maffeo Barberini', in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco* (Palermo, 1991), vol. IV, pp. 1693–1703. On the reform of poetry under Urban VIII, see also Fumaroli (1994), pp. 94–116; John K. Newman and Frances Stickney Newman, *Leio Guidiccioni. Latin Poems: Rome 1633 and 1639. Introduction and Translation* (Hildesheim, 1992), pp. 78–106.

55 – For an overview of this milieu, see Raimondi (1966), esp. pp. 1–41; Costanzo (1970), pp. 39–41; Fumaroli (1978); Bellini (1997), pp. 85–145.

56 – A good biography of Ciampoli can be found in DBI, XXV, pp. 147–52. A contemporary perspective is offered by Alessandro Pozzobonelli, 'Vita di Giovanni Ciampoli', in Giovanni Ciampoli, *Lettere di Monsignor Giovanni Ciampoli segretario de brevi di Gregorio XV e Urbano VIII. Con aggiunta in questa ultima impressione di molte altre lettere del medesimo, e d'una sua Canzone non più stampata, insieme con la Vita dell'autore, descritta dal Signor Alessandro Pozzobonelli* (Venice, 1676), pp. 221–41. The most extensive bibliography of Ciampoli's work is Mario Costanzo, *Critica e Poetica del primo Seicento*, vol. I (Rome, 1969). Valuable additions in Bellini (1997), *passim*; and Idem,

'Federico Borromini, Giovanni Ciampoli e l'accademia del Lincei', *Studia Borromiaica*, 13 (1999), pp. 203–34, esp. p. 227, note 2. Ciampoli's disgrace is generally seen as a punishment for his involvement with Galileo Galilei; see Pietro Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic* (Princeton, 1987) (see also *infra*). Even if this undoubtedly played a role, the exact circumstances of Ciampoli's fall are far from clear, see the assessment in Ezio Raimondi, *Letteratura Barocca. Studi sul Seicento italiano* (ristampa aggiornata) (Florence, 1982), pp. 331–3.

57 – Pallavicino's editions of Ciampoli's poetry are listed in Affò (1794), pp. 51–3; Costanzo (1969) pp. 5–10; and DBI, XXV, p. 151b, where the Venetian edition of 1648 is omitted. Pallavicino's editions of Ciampoli's writings have now extensively been dealt with in Federica Favino, 'Sforza Pallavicino editore e "Galileista ad un modo"', *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, s. 6, 20 (2000), pp. 288–96, who reassesses earlier literature on Pallavicino's editorial interventions, most importantly Ezio Raimondi (1966), pp. 114–18.

58 – Montanari (1997), p. 64, note 11. Federica Favino is preparing an edition of the dialogue.

59 – *Poetica sacra, ovvero Dialogo* [sic] *tra la poesia, e la devotione*, in Giovanni Ciampoli, *Rime. Dedicate all'eminentiss. Sig. Card. Colonna* (Rome, Heredi Corbelletti, 1648), pp. 235–350 [henceforth: *Poetica sacra*]. The second part starts on p. 301. The *Poetica sacra* is also included in Ciampoli's posthumously published *Poesie Sacre* in Venice, 1648, 1662 and 1676. Contrary to the Roman edition, the Venetian version is divided into chapters.

60 – The text must have been written between 22 March 1625 and 22 April 1629, since it mentions the canonization of Elizabeth of Portugal on the earlier date, but not Andrea Corsini's reception in the heavenly hierarchy, even though Ciampoli was actively involved in this celebration; see Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome. Barberini patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven/London, 1994), pp. 76 and 264, nr. XIX.

61 – Marziano Guglielminetti and Mariarosa Masoero, 'Lettere e prose inedite (o parzialmente edite) di Giovanni Ciampoli', *Studi Secenteschi*, 19 (1978), pp. 131–237; 136–41; Marzio Pieri, *Per Marino* (Padua, 1976), pp. 128–29; Bellini (1997), as in note 55. Ciampoli's role in the establishment of the *Poesia Sacra* is also celebrated in Sforza Pallavicino's introduction to Ciampoli (1648), p. [6]: 'Et aggiugnendosi [il Ciampoli] agli spiriti del nativo suo genio gl'incitamenti, e gli esempj del gran Cardinal Maffeo Barberino, adorato poscia dal Mondo col nome d'Urbano Ottavo, machinò egli à pro de mortali una nuova lega non pur fra le Muse, e la Verità, ma fra le Muse, e la Pietà', quoted in Affò (1794), p. 8, who leaves out the phrase 'egli à pro de mortali'. Affò continues: 'Sentendosi quindi Sforza eccitato a poetare, ed avendo già gustato le pure fonti de' Scrittori de' buoni secoli per ciò che appartiene allo stile; per l'innocenza de' suoi costumi, e la pietà che gli fu sempre compagna, s'invaghi d'imitar Ciampoli nella scelta de' soggetti o sacri, o morali'. Comparable statements can be found in Leone Allacci, *Apes Urbanae sive de Virus Illustribus* (Rome, 1633), pp. 155–7 or Lorenzo Crasso, *Elogii d'Huomini Letterati* (Venice, 1666), pp. 271–87.

62 – The *Poetica sacra* has never been studied thoroughly, although it is often mentioned, as for instance in Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. XIII (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929), p. 234. Interesting remarks can be found in the DBI, XXV, p. 151; Giuseppe Inzitari, *Poesia e scienza nelle opere di Giovanni Ciampoli* (Vibo Valentia, 1962); Costanzo (1969), pp. 78–9; idem, *Critica e Poetica del primo Seicento*, vol. II (Rome, 1970), p. 41, note 7; Guglielminetti and Masoero (1978), pp. 144–6; Ezio Raimondi, *Il colore eloquente* (Bologna, 1995), pp. 26–8; Newman and Newman (1992), p. 248; Bellini (1997), pp. 95–6, 120–32 and 163; idem (1999), pp. 211–12.

63 – Ciampoli (1648). Dedication to cardinal Girolamo Colonna, p. [6].

64 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 250: 'L'otio schivando, ei si prende a piacere / Tal'hor negli arbocelli / Scolpire hinni novelli: / Spesso in concave rupi Echo l'udia / D'angeliche preghiere / Con devota armonia / A

celebrar GIESV sfidar gli augelli; / Nè d'industrie pennelli / Fù per diporto suo la gloria ignota / Alla grotta rimota'.

65 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 250: 'D'ellera incoronate / Fecero al guardo mio leggiadri inviti / Due Pietre effigiate. / Bel diletto a vedersi! / Il Vero e'l Falso ivi apparian vestiti / Con arnesi diversi'. The ambiguity whether Devotion actually sees the statues or only hears a description is resolved at the end of the passage, see *infra*, note 70.

66 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 250–51: 'Sovra un globo celeste / Ricca di rai la Verità sorgea, / E con fiamme modeste / D'adorata beltà l'anime ardea. / Suoi labbri eran rubini / Gli occhi stelle apparian, splendori i crini: / E par dal seno al piè ch'ella somigli / Albor di neve, e purità di gigli. / Odi stupor, ch'ogni stupor eccede: / Dal petto trasparente / Qual per vetro lucente / Fatto in forma di cuore il sol si vede: / Scende dal collo in sù l'eburneo piede / Sottilissimo velo, / Che di modestia è dono: / Mā celate ivi sono / Le membra sue come le stelle in cielo / Croci di lampi ardente / Fulmine, e scettro è nella mano possente: / Fulmine di vendetta, / Che di Giganti, e Dei l'armi saetta, / Scettro pomposo oltre ogn'human costume, / Scettro stelligemmato, / Ch'al sol comparte il lume, / Il moto al Cielo, e da le leggi al Fato'.

67 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 251–2: 'Presso alla bella imago / Apre gioconde scene / Un Teatro ben vago'. The 'colombe alabastrine' have 'Non men semplici il cor, che bianco il petto'. They open their 'ali nevoce, / Spruzzando in aria perle / Di stille ruggiadose'.

68 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 252–3: 'Ove con altre tempre è colorita / La bugia cuor mentita. / Mā che mentita il cor? Mentita il volto, / Mentita il corpo tutto; / Perche à i guardi si celi horror si brutto / Ella lo tiene involto / Dalle spalle alle piante / In un drappo cangiante / Mostruoso a vedersi. / Oh quanti aspetti varij ivi rimiri! / Hor par ciel di zaffiri / Hor prato di smeraldi, / Sembra hor campo di biade à di più caldi, / Tal hor ceneri, e fiamme io vi scopersi, / Altre volte argentato imita l'onde; / E spesso in un confonde / Mille apparenze di color diversi, / Qual pompa ivi non mente? / Della faccia i difetti ivi nasconde / Maschera fraudulente; / Mā fuor che larve, e vesti / Null'altro in lei vedresti; / Che sol ne i lisci, e nel gli ammantanti è vaga / Quella sì falsa maga'; *ibid.*: 'E con industria vana / Studia in fingersi un huom Scimmia Africana. / Centauri, e Gerioni / Enceladi, e Chimere'.

69 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 254: 'Io non sapea levarmi / Con faccia hor lieta, hor trista / Dalla curiosa vista / De' figurati marmi. / Godea nel mio diletto / Il Santo Eroe del solitario tetto'.

70 – The description concludes, p. 254: 'Mā pittura men bella / non fù per l'alma mia la sua favella'.

71 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 253: 'Sembra hor campo di biade ... Altre volte arentato imita l'onde, ... Mille apparenze di colore diversi' [emphasis added].

72 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 255–6: 'Nel basso mondo, e sù nel Ciel superno: / Ad ogni nostro oggetto / Di Verità prodotta il nome io metto. / Non ti stupir; nessuna lingua il niega. / Verace all'hor trà noi si chiama un detto / Quando del cuore interno / Nuntio leale occulti sensi ei spiega: / E Verità s'appelli anco ogn'effetto. / Mentr'ei parla con l'opre, / E gli arcani di DIO nel mondo scopre' ... 'Non vedi tū, che Verità vi regna, / e con veduti accenti / Al guardo de i viventi / Del Nume regnator le glorie insegna!' ... 'Mā che? non sol nello stellato impero / Ella si fè palese; / Manifestando il vero; / In terra anco discese; / Nè si scura caverna / Additar mai potrai / Ov'ella Alba di DIO non sparga rai'.

73 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 264–5: 'Dentro al globo rotondo / Ove lo spirito human formai pensieri, / con simulacri veri / Splendon le stelle, e si compendia il mondo. / Sai che se sogni, ò pensi / Trovi sì chiaro il sol, tant'alto un monte / Dentro la propria fronte, / Quanto apparir lo fanno / Della terra, e del ciel gli spatij immensi. / Per natura sempr'hanno / Arte da DIO così stupenda i sensi: / Là dentro d'ogn'oggetto / La veritiera imagine si forma. / E nel vasto Intelletto. / Che d'infini mondi anco è capace, / Entra sol di

sensibil apparenza / Simulacro verace, / Il falso, che fù sempre orbo d'essenza, / Di sua sembianza finta / Introdur non vi può larva dipinta. / Così del mondo ogni corporea mole / E Veritate in atto; / Così dell'alma ogni fantasma intatto / È vera effigie, che del Vero è prole / Senti hor come si suole / Produrre il Falso entro alla fronte humana / Con forza di parole. / Quella plebe infinita / D'immagini animate / Con meraviglia strana / Là dentro hà moto, e vita: / I membri suoi sconette / In cento parti, e cento, / E ne sà fabbricar larve inusate. / Poi, se vuol, gli rimette / Nel primiero sembiante in un momento, / Hora in esse produr quei mostri ignoti / Può facondia eloquente, / Che trà i nembi sovente / Con variati moti / Forma senz'arte il vento'. This metaphor has a longstanding tradition, see most recently Giacomo Berra, 'Immagini casuali e natura antropomorpha nell'immaginario artistico rinascimentale', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 43/2–3 (1999), pp. 358–419: 370–6.

74 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 268: 'Solo hà di bello il Volto / Quanto al tesoro di Veritate hà tolto'. *ibid.*, p. 270: 'Così di verità voce, & aspetto / Di prendere hà costume / Se l'humano Intelletto / Cauta Bugia tir anneggiar presume'.

75 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 318–20, cf. pp. 319–20: 'Non hà mortale ingegno occhi lincei / Di sì fina acutezza. / Che attenebrati dal corporeo velo / Possan di Dio mirar là sovra il Cielo / L'invisibil bellezza. / Dunque ò sepolti entro al silenzio eterno / De i secoli infiniti / Staran quei sacri arcani, O di fregi non suoi sian revistiti, / Se nel Teatro interno / Introdur gli vorrai de i petti humani. / Solo da quei colori, / Che in tavoletta angusta uniti accoglie / Immitator fedele, / I lumi, e l'ombre toglie / Per figurar le tele: / E l'humano Intelletto / Per dipinger di Dio gli eterni honori, / E dal senso mortal foschi splendori / A mendicar costretto'.

76 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 272: [Poesia] 'Mā se in Parnaso insegna, / Che i prodigij non falsi IDDIO produce, / Sacro Oriente di novella luce / Hoggi s'apre à gl'Ingegni, / E con celeste suono / Di nuova Cetra à Verità fai dono'. Devotion then proceeds by explaining how every mythological story can be substituted with a biblical one, which will arouse equal admiration. cf. p. 281, 'hor s'io / Credibili stupori / Al mondo espor desio, / Convien, che vada dove / Onnipotente forza hoggi s'adori; / Ch'in luce addure le meraviglie nuove / & solo arte di Dio'. See also p. 316: 'Già non ti concede / Falsar gli annali all'immuatbil Fede'. Then, pp. 317–18, John's Apocalypsis is praised as a poetic masterpiece.

77 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 275: 'Mā chi le mani all'Invention qui lega? / E dove mai si niega, / Quando il Zeusi d'Urbino storie colori, / Che di fregi inventati / Ei non v'aggiunga incogniti stupori? / Certo il pennel dell'Arno, / Ornando in Vatican muri ammirati, / Con destra immitatrice / Non desiava in darno, / Mentre il ver coloria palma inventrice'.

78 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 305–28.

79 – Fundamental to Ciampoli's oeuvre, this idea serves elsewhere to justify the use of classical eloquence in the defence of the faith and the admission of 'newness' to clarify the truths of faith; see Giovanni Ciampoli, *Prose* (Rome, 1649). The use of classical eloquence is justified in 'Discorso quattro: Delle lettere sacre e profane', esp. chs 4–6, pp. 114–20, where it is compared to the spoliation of idolatrous temples and objects to honour God, cf. pp. 115–16: 'In una contingenza assai proportionale si trova in materia di lettere il Christianesimo presente. L'eloquenza risplende nell'Idolatria. Gran disavventura del Mondo, che la dottrina dei Platoni, e de gli Aristotili; la facondia di Demostene, e di Cicerone; l'acutezza di Livio, e di Tacito siano vivande profanate con i riti sacrilegi! Non per questo si pensi il Demonio ò di affamare l'appetenza de gl'ingegni, ò di sconvertire la religione de gli affetti. Entriamo o pure con le spoglie d'Egitto in quella terra, dove scaturisce il latte della sapienza, & il mele della facondia. Ne scaccieremo gl'Idoli, e la consacreremo à Dio. Vadano i carriaggi in

Tiro, & i navilij in Osir per portarci le verghe d'oro & i legnami di cedro. Sapremo co i tesori delle nationi profane fabbricare il palazzo & il tempio in Gierusalem. Nè sarà Idolatria l'adorare in quelle materie trasfigurate la Deità verace, mentre il medesimo bronzo, che fù Giove in Campidoglio, si adora hoggi con effigie trasformata per Pietro in Vaticano'. The next chapter points out that also holy scripture used ancient verse, while, in turn, authors like Homer or Pindar offer models for the 'Istoria mosaica' and the exaltation of martyrs. It concludes, p. 117: 'Pare finalmente, che non si riverisca per maestevole la letteratura, se non è Religiosa, e che riuscisse meno gradibile la religione, quando non fusse letteratura'. Chapter 6 demonstrates the same 'truth' with historical examples, such as the writings of Augustinus. 'Discorso sesto, della novità', pp. 131–72, actually forms part of the same argument (see the remark on p. 131), and explores whether 'novità' are permitted in 'materie sacre'. This pertains to the matters discussed here, since Ciampoli argues that also immutable things can be expressed in different forms (pp. 166–8), an argument based on an apology of metaphor, ch. 11, 'Della metafora, e come in essa s'ammetta la falsità', pp. 149–51. The argument here is in essence the same as in the *Poetica sacra*: metaphor renders visible, and even if it does not correspond exactly to the object or concept it represents, and therefore contains falsity, it is a legitimate means to show sacred subject-matter. Ciampoli argues that idolatry or heresy stems from the tendency to read metaphors literally: 'In questa maniera la metafora sarebbe una Magia, che, superando le forze della natura, e le consuetudini dell'onnipotenza, con improprietà di parolette accattate sarebbe metamorfosi repentine'. In the Bible, Ciampoli argues, 'Vissi forma la metafora, non vi si idolastra la proprietà' (p. 150). The issue of idolatry appears very frequently in Ciampoli's poetic oeuvre, see for instance Giovanni Ciampoli, *Poesie Sacre* (Venice, Zaccaria Conzatti e Fratelli, 1662), pp. 119–23: 'Meditationi Sopra il Salmo 113. Contro all'Idolatra con occasione della Provvidenza Divina manifesta al popolo Ebreo nella partenza d'Egitto'.

80 – The familiarity between Ciampoli's and Pallavicino's aesthetics has been stressed by Costanzo (1970), p. 133, note 8 and pp. 158–67; and Mazzocchi (1997), pp. 37–8. As pointed out, *supra*, Pallavicino deals with these issues most thoroughly in his 1644 *Del Bene*, where he provides a solution to the fundamental weakness in Ciampoli's argument: if art necessarily lies, it can never liberate itself entirely from the suspicions raised by iconoclasts. Pallavicino suggests that art is not true or false, but 'untrue', perceived in a realm where no judgement is made on the veracity of the object. On this issue, see the literature quoted in note 45 and Delbeke (forthcoming).

81 – This calls to mind the identification of Christ as Truth, most famously expressed in the gospel of John 14, 6: 'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life'; and Psalm 84 (85), 12.

82 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 313: 'Con pompe così belle / l'humana meraviglia / Immita i rai delle dorate stelle, / E splendida ricchezza [sic] / Merta applauso, e corona / Se quel, che l'huomo ammira, à Dio si dona'. This idea is further developed, and Devotion concludes on p. 317: 'Sol per farsi [le vere Idee della splendor divino] palese à nostre menti Pigliò meravigliose / Di creata beltà pompe apparenti'.

83 – *Poetica sacra*, pp. 330–42: pp. 333–40, the coronation of Charles V; p. 341, the description of Saint Peter's; pp. 342–7, the ceremonies under Urban VIII.

84 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 341: 'Mà dove lascio voi, bronzi dorati, / Alle cui glorie vinto / L'antiche palme sue cede Corinto. / Con due colonne in mar se già si vede / Ai vascelli spalmati / Porre i confini Alcide, / Qui del gran Tempio in maestrevol parte, / Quattro colonne con stupor ben raro, / Quasi termine all'Arte / Dal magnanimo Urbano al Ciel s'alzaro'. Also partly quoted in Bellini (1997), p. 163.

85 – Delbeke (2002), pp. 81–3.

86 – *Poetica sacra*, p. 350: 'mà de i carmi sonori / CHRISTO, ch'è il vero Apollo, habbia gli allori'.

87 – This theme is elaborated in Pallavicino's own piece of sacred poetry, the *Fasti sacri*, see Baglioni (1686), p. 327. See for instance also Gaspare Alveri, *Roma in ogni stato* (1664), II, pp. 141–2: 'Fù quivi in tempo de' Gentili il Tempio d'Appoline oltre à molt'altri superbo di marmi, e d'oro, e famoso per gli Oracoli, che supersticiosamente se ne prendevano. Hoggi hà contegno il Tempio di S. Pietro miracolo dell'arte, e della magnificenza, e degno d'ogni maggior honor per le gratie celesti, chi vi s'impetrano da chi divotamente lo venera, e visita'.

88 – On the history of this *topos*, see Elisabeth Schröter, 'Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons und der Musen. Kunst und Panegyrik von Nikolaus V. bis Julius II', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 75 (1980), pp. 208–40. Its importance in the imagery of Urban VIII is stressed by Sebastian Schütze, 'Urbano inalza Pietro, e Pietro Urbano. Beobachtungen zu Idee und Gestalt der Ausstattung von Neu-St. Peter unter Urban VIII', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 29 (1994), pp. 213–87: 233–53 and 268–73. On the historical syncretism of Christ and Apollo, see Schröter (o.c.), pp. 233–4 and Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zürich, 1966), pp. 99–100. The sun is an attribute of both Apollo and Christ, and appears as such in the Barberini heraldry. On Christ and the sun, see Franz J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster, 1918); and idem, *Sol Salutatis. Gebet und gesang im christlichen Altertum* (Münster, 1925), esp. pp. 364–79 on Christ as *Sol Invictus*, as Gottlieb (1960), p. 316 notes, a prototype for the *Salvator Mundi* iconography.

89 – See *supra*, note 9.

90 – The original text goes as follows: '9. contra Apollinem — ridiculum dictu — adversis virtutibus culpabat, quod Apollo esset et coma intonsus et genis gratus et corpore glabellus et arte multiscius et fortuna opulentus. 10 'Iam primum', inquit, 'crines eius praemulsis antiis et promulsis anteuentuli et propenduli, corpus totum gratissimum, membra nitida, lingua fatidica, seu tute oratione seu versibus malis, uturbique facundia aequipari' [emphasis added], taken from *Apulie, Apologies. Florides*, texte établi et traduit par Paul Valette, 2nd edn (Paris, 1960), pp. 128–9, where the following translation is given: 'sa chevelure vierge du fer, ses joues fraîches, ses membres lisses, la variété de ses talents, l'opulence de sa condition. 'Et d'abord, disait-il, ses cheveux disposés en boucles et ses accrochements retombent sur son front et flottent sur ses tempes; son corps est la grâce même; ses membres sont éblouissants; sa langue fatidique vaticine, à votre gré, soit en prose, soit en vers, avec une égale éloquence.'

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90 – The original text goes as follows: '9. contra Apollinem — ridiculum dictu — adversis virtutibus culpabat, quod Apollo esset et coma intonsus et genis gratus et corpore glabellus et arte multiscius et fortuna opulentus. 10 'Iam primum', inquit, 'crines eius praemulsis antiis et promulsis anteuentuli et propenduli, corpus totum gratissimum, membra nitida, lingua fatidica, seu tute oratione seu versibus malis, uturbique facundia aequipari' [emphasis added], taken from *Apulie, Apologies. Florides*, texte établi et traduit par Paul Valette, 2nd edn (Paris, 1960), pp. 128–9, where the following translation is given: 'sa chevelure vierge du fer, ses joues fraîches, ses membres lisses, la variété de ses talents, l'opulence de sa condition. 'Et d'abord, disait-il, ses cheveux disposés en boucles et ses accrochements retombent sur son front et flottent sur ses tempes; son corps est la grâce même; ses membres sont éblouissants; sa langue fatidique vaticine, à votre gré, soit en prose, soit en vers, avec une égale éloquence.'

91 – A thorough study of Borboni's book is long overdue. Brief remarks can be found in Philippe Sénéchal, 'Restaurations et remploi de sculptures antiques', *Revue de l'Art* 79 (1988) pp. 47–51; *L'Ariccia del Bernini* [cat., Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, 10 October – 31 December 1998] (Rome, 1998), p. 173. Borboni treats sculpture mainly as a legitimate means to celebrate glory and virtue through the establishment of an artificial and eternal likeness, which imitates God's creative prowess. The last chapter of his book, however, in what Sénéchal termed an ideologically inspired 'pirouette', celebrates rulers who refuse to have their statue erected, because they attach greater value to the effigy their subjects carry in their heart. The most eminent example is Alexander VII's refusal to allow the Popolo Romano to erect a statue on the Capitol hill in honour of his efficient measures to counteract the plague that ravished central Italy in 1656; see Borboni (1661), pp. 338–44. Rather predictably, this refusal becomes a major theme in the panegyric devoted to Alexander; see Sforza Pallavicino, *Della Vita di Alessandro VII. Libri cinque. Opera inedita del P. Sforza Pallavicino della compagnia di Gesù* (Prato, 1839–1840), vol. II, pp. 167–9; Alveri (1664), I, p. 429; *Ariccia* (1998), nr. 22; *Gianlorenzo Bernini. Regista del Barocco* (Milan, 1999), nrs 172–5. Borboni concludes this chapter, and his book, with

a passage that extols Christ as the most perfect sculpture ever made, the only effigy worthy to be held in front of one's eyes at all time and to be emulated by all, in wordings that do not stray far from the ideals espoused by Ciampoli: 'Io fra tanto, che fin' adesso impresi a favellare de' marmi effigiati, tocco dal consiglio del Vangelo Profeta; metto d'avanti a gli occhi dell'intelletto di chi che sia, quella Pietra viva, di cui favella Paolo, effigiata per opra dello Spirito Santo nell'Utero Vergine di Maria, appunto, per parlar con Bernardino Santo da Siena, *Tamquam in officina suae stupendae operationis*. Dirò dunque con Esaia, *Attendite ad petram, unde excisi estis* [Cap. 51]; accioche a simigliante consideratione, ogniuno si studij per mezzo delle virtuose operationi di rassomigliarsi a quell'Immagine Divina; poiche allhora saremo degni ritratti di esser collocati nel Tempio dell'Eterna Gloria; che saremo *conformes Imaginis Filij Dei, cui soli honor, & Imperium* [Ad. Rom. 8]'.
 92 – Silos describes sculptures of the muses and Apollo under the heading 'Musarum Chorus in Musaeo Francisci Gualdi', together with effigies of the poets Anacreon and Sappho, *Pinacotheca*, I, pp. 263–6; the modern poets, *ibid.*, I, pp. 281–2, see also Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), nrs 13–15. It should be noted that long before the publication of Silos's work, in the 1650s, during the last years of Gualdi's life, the museum is dispersed and ends up in the Minim convent of Trinità dei Monti, where it is visited by Christina of Sweden in 1656, see Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), p. 2. Silos stayed in Rome between 1640 and 1660 in the Theatine convent of S. Andrea della Valle, then again from 1668 until his death in 1674, see Basile Bonsante in *Pinacotheca*, vol. 1, pp. lviii–lix.

93 – Andrea Bolland, 'Desiderio and Diletto: vision, touch, and the poetics of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*', *Art Bulletin*, 82 (2000) pp. 309–30, p. 317. Urban's verses are (in the translation provided by Bolland): 'Whoever loving, pursues the joys of fleeting beauty fills his hands with leaves or seizes bitter berries'. On p. 309 and footnotes Bolland gives an overview of the literature on the subject of the relation of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* and contemporary literary debate. It should be noted that Bolland convincingly argues that Bernini's statue comments upon the fundamental rift between the arts of vision, poetry and painting, and the art of touch, sculpture, a division superseded in 'a particular poetic ideal' expressed in Urban's diptych, creating 'a linkage to an illustrious Tuscan tradition [petrarchism] that intertwined spirituality, poetry and the laurel' (p. 323). In this respect it is worth mentioning that Pallavicino dedicates Ciampoli's *Rime* to cardinal Girolamo Colonna because his family supported 'Petrarch's Parnassus'.
 94 – The parallel between Raphael's *Saviour* and Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* also suggests an interesting aspect of the widespread identification of Bernini with Michelangelo. On this identification, see Cesare d'Onofrio, *Roma vista da Roma* (Rome, 1967), pp. 172–87; Catherine M. Soussloff, 'Imitatio Buonarroti', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XX (1989), pp. 581–602. Against the background of the rather important body of criticism voiced against the later work of Michelangelo, Bernini was profiled as a new Michelangelo who had been able to cast aside the excesses of his Cinquecento model, a process that went hand in hand with a reappraisal of Michelangelo's work; see Christof Thoenes, 'Bernini architetto tra Palladio e Michelangelo', in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini architetto e l'architettura europea del Sei- Settecento*, eds Gian Francesco Spagnesi and Maurizio Fagiolo (Rome, 1983), pp. 105–34; Delbeke (2002), pp. 33–58. In Cinquecento literature directed against Michelangelo, Raphael was used as the counter-example of the 'rightful' artist; see Tristan Weddigen, 'Federico Zuccaro zwischen Michelangelo und Raffael', in *idem* (ed.), *Federico Zuccaro: Kunst zwischen Ideal und Reform* (Basel, 2000), pp. 195–268; 196–201. It is this pattern that we see emerging here.

95 – On the close involvement of the Barberini circles, and especially Francesco Barberini's household, with sacred archaeology, see Herklotz (1999), *passim*; and *idem*, 'Cassiano and the Christian tradition', in *Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum*, vol. 1 (1992), pp. 31–48.
 96 – The most famous example is the use of the bronze of the Pantheon for Urban's artillery and the *baldachino*. Alessandro Donati, *Roma vetus ac recens* (Rome, 1648 [1639]), pp. 283–4, deals at great length with this 'restoration' of the Pantheon; on Donati, see note 103. Other restorations or reconstructions of churches include Santa Agata (1633–37), San Caio (1635), Santa Bibiana (1624–30), SS. Cosma e Damiano (1626–32), S. Theodoro (1643–44).
 97 – Ingo Herklotz, 'Francesco Barberini, Nicolò Alemanni, and the Lateran Triclinium of Leo III: an episode in restoration and Seicento medieval studies', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 40 (1995), pp. 175–96.
 98 – Bellini 1999; Barbara Agosti, *Collezionismo e archeologia cristiana nel Seicento. Federico Borromeo e il Medioevo artistico tra Roma e Milano* (Milan, 1996), pp. 9–36. It should be noted that Gualdi dedicated a chapel to Federico's uncle, Carlo; see note 8. During his stay in the eternal city, Borromeo stood in close contact with the Roman circles sketched here. In 1616 Ciampoli sends Borromeo an essay of his sacred poetry. Ciampoli's *Poemetto sacro* portrays Borromeo as the new Moses, who is spurred to form an alliance with the David from Bologna, Maffeo Barberini, later Urban VIII; see Guglielminetti and Masoero (1978), pp. 136–8. The *Poemetto* is published in Costanzo (1969), pp. 97–104. Eraldo Bellini has detected a strong parallel between Borromeo's treatise on sacred painting, *De pictura sacra libri duo* published in 1624, and Ciampoli's *Poetica sacra*; see Bellini (1999), esp. pp. 211–12.
 99 – Herklotz (1999), p. 210 refers to Francesco Stelluti, *Persio tradotto in verso sciolto* (Rome, 1630), pp. 187–8 and Alessandro Adimari, *Ode di Pindaro, antichissimo poeta* (Pisa, 1631). Stelluti's and Adimari's references to Gualdi are noted by Cancellieri, ms. cit., pp. 1139–44 and 1145 and the subsequent literature.
 100 – Antonio Querenghio writes a poem on Gualdi's collection for Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma Antica* (Rome, 1633); the poem is given by Cancellieri, ms. cit., pp. 1124–25; see also Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), p. 35, note 24 and p. 42, note 203; Gallo (1992), p. 326, note 146. Querenghio also had close contacts with Paolo Gualdi, a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi; see Umberto Motta, *Antonio Querenghi (1546–1633). Un letterato padovano nella Roma del tardo Rinascimento* (Milan, 1997), pp. 320–21.
 101 – For Bracci's publications on Gualdi's museum, see note 7, and *Remorae pisciculi effigies a Francesco Gualdo Arminen. S. Stephani equite de familia Urbani VIII. Pont. M. Romae in suo musaeo adservati* (Rome, Ex typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1634), single folio sheet, mentioned by Evelyn, *Diary*, II, p. 314 and published in Franzoni (1991), p. 566 and Appendice I. Neither this or the folio is mentioned in Giammaria Mazzucchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia cioè Notizie Storiche, e Critiche intorno alle Vite, e agli Scritti dei letterati Italiani*, vol. II, 2 (Brescia, 1763), p. 1948 (s.v. 'Bracci, Ignatio'). The etymological treatise is: Ignazio Bracci, *La etimologia de 'nomi Papa, e, Pontifex del Sig. Ignatio Bracci, Preposto di Ricanati, e Protonotario Apostolico* (Rome, Francesco Corbelletti, 1630), esp. pp. 200–11.
 102 – Alessandro Donati, *Vetus sacrum munisma sub ipsum pacis Italicae Nuncium Romae inventum à Francisco Gualdo ... Et ab eodem Bibliothecae Vaticanae dono datum* (Rome, Ex typographia R. Camerae Apostolicae, 1630), shown in Franzoni and Tempesta 1992, Ded. 1a, fig. 15, and Appendice I, without mention of the author. This sheet is probably listed in *DBS*, III, k. 133, nr. 15 as *Carmen de veteri numismate*, Rome.
 103 – I consulted the edition of 1648, where Gualdi's museum is mentioned on p. 266. On Donati, see Mario Costanzo, *Critica e poetica del primo Seicento*, vol. III (Rome, 1971), pp. 75–88; On *Roma vetus ac recens*, see the remarks in Gérard Labrot, *Roma 'caput mundi'. L'immagine barocca della città santa 1534–1677* (Naples, 1997 [1987]), pp. 65 and 285.

96 – The most famous example is the use of the bronze of the Pantheon for Urban's artillery and the *baldachino*. Alessandro Donati, *Roma vetus ac recens* (Rome, 1648 [1639]), pp. 283–4, deals at great length with this 'restoration' of the Pantheon; on Donati, see note 103. Other restorations or reconstructions of churches include Santa Agata (1633–37), San Caio (1635), Santa Bibiana (1624–30), SS. Cosma e Damiano (1626–32), S. Theodoro (1643–44).
 97 – Ingo Herklotz, 'Francesco Barberini, Nicolò Alemanni, and the Lateran Triclinium of Leo III: an episode in restoration and Seicento medieval studies', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 40 (1995), pp. 175–96.
 98 – Bellini 1999; Barbara Agosti, *Collezionismo e archeologia cristiana nel Seicento. Federico Borromeo e il Medioevo artistico tra Roma e Milano* (Milan, 1996), pp. 9–36. It should be noted that Gualdi dedicated a chapel to Federico's uncle, Carlo; see note 8. During his stay in the eternal city, Borromeo stood in close contact with the Roman circles sketched here. In 1616 Ciampoli sends Borromeo an essay of his sacred poetry. Ciampoli's *Poemetto sacro* portrays Borromeo as the new Moses, who is spurred to form an alliance with the David from Bologna, Maffeo Barberini, later Urban VIII; see Guglielminetti and Masoero (1978), pp. 136–8. The *Poemetto* is published in Costanzo (1969), pp. 97–104. Eraldo Bellini has detected a strong parallel between Borromeo's treatise on sacred painting, *De pictura sacra libri duo* published in 1624, and Ciampoli's *Poetica sacra*; see Bellini (1999), esp. pp. 211–12.
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95 – On the close involvement of the Barberini circles, and especially Francesco Barberini's household, with sacred archaeology, see Herklotz

104 – Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), p. 32; see also John Osborne, 'The christian tradition in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome', in John Osborne and Amanda Claridge, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, Series A – Antiquities and Architecture, part Two, Early christian and medieval antiquities* (London 1996) vol. 1, pp. 43–52: 50. On the role of 'history' in the construction of early modern collections of curiosities and antiquities, see Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton, 1995).

105 – Franzoni (1991), pp. 564–5 and Appendice II; Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), pp. 31–2.

106 – See, most recently, Beth Holman, 'Exemplum and Imitatio: Countess Matilda and Lucrezia Pico della Mirandola at Polirone', *Art Bulletin*, 81 (1999), pp. 637–64.

107 – On this episode, see Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. XII (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928), pp. 260–1; also Michelangelo Lualdi, *La propagazione del vangelo nell'occidente. Istoria Ecclesiastica di Michelangelo Lualdi Romano* (Rome, Gio. Pietro Colligni, 1651), pp. 267–268.

108 – Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), Ded. 1 b. According to the same catalogue, Gualdo also installs three 'arae', dedicated to San Lodovico, San Francesco di Paola and the Virgin and Child, *ibid.*, Cat. ded. 4d, e, f.

109 – *Ibid.*, p. 561; Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), Ded. 2 and 3. The inscription in Santa Maria Maggiore is also recorded in Evelyn, *Diary*, II, p. 245; on this sarcophagus, also Osborne and Claridge (1996), vol. 2, nr. 225.

110 – Part of the inscription, quoted from Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), p. 14, reads: 'hanc arcam marmoream veteris et novi Testamenti / figuris caelatae tanquam nascentis Ecclesiae / adversus iconomachus testimonium'. On Gualdi's iconophile agenda and its propagation, Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), pp. 16–17 and 32. Cancellieri, ms. cit., pp. 1147 quotes by the same Merone the oration *De Christianae Antiquitatis Reliquis, quae sacras imagines praeseterunt habita in aedibus Ill.me Patritii Romani Petri a Valle*, published in Rome 'apud Haeredes Iac. Mascardi' in 1635, which describes 'un antica immagine dipinta in un Vetro Cimiteriale'. Cancellieri, p. 1148 also mentions that Gio. Battista Casali, *De veteribus Aegyptiorum ritibus* (Rome, 1644), p. 84 praises 'una sua [Gualdi's] lucerna con l'effigie di Giona ignudo,

disteso all'ombra delle frondi di una Zucca, per simbolo della Risurrezione di Gesù Cristo, benchè abbia male interpretata la figure del Profeta per quella di Venere e il Monogramma (chiro) per una Rota, su cui si volge la vita, ...'. It should be noted that also Casali fervently attacks the 'heretics' who deny that the early Christian Church venerated images; see Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), p. 17; William Heckscher, 'Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk', *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947), pp. 155–82: 178, note 4 mentions Casali's defence of the erection of christianized obelisks.

111 – See Favino (2000). It has often wrongly been assumed that Gualdi was a member of the Lincei (see Marini [1784], vol. 1, p. 493, who contradicts this), but he was closely connected to a lot of its members; see Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), p. 1 and notes 15–16, 112 – David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx, Galileo, his friends, and the beginning of modern natural history* (Chicago, 2001, p. 163). For the provenance of the medal, see Cancellieri, ms. cit., pp. 1129–30; also Franzoni and Tempesta (1992), nr. 44, who do not mention the publication.

113 – Bellini (1997), *passim*; also Lina Bolzoni, 'Un modo di commentare alla fine dell'umanesimo: *Commentaria* del Campanella ai *Poëmata* di Urbano VIII', *Annali della scuola normale di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia*, s. III, XIX–1 (1989), pp. 289–311, esp. pp. 302–11.

114 – Andrea Battistini, 'Il molteplice e l'uno. La cultura barocca tra vocazione al disordine e ricerca dell'ordine', *Intersezioni*, 22 (2002), pp. 189–206: 199. On Ciampoli, Raimondi (1982), pp. 327–56; On Marino, see Andrea Battistini, 'Introduzione', in Galileo Galilei, *Sidereus Nuncius*, a cura di Andrea Battistini, traduzione di Maria Timparano Cardini (Venice, 1993), esp. pp. 25–35.

115 – Appendix, lines 144–52. On the popularity of the *mirabilia*, see note 6. In 1637 Francesco Stelluti publishes an unfinished manuscript by Federico Cesi on 'wood turned into stone', *Trattato del legno fossile minerale nuovamente scoperto* (Rome, Vitale Mascardi), dedicated to Francesco Barberini, 'che per la novità sarebbe stata una lettura gustosissima, & curiosissima' (p. 11). The frontispice is adorned with the *impresa* of the Accademia dei Lincei.

116 – Inzitari (1962), pp. 1–12, who, on p. 4, refers to Giovanni Ciampoli, *Frammenti dell'Opere postume* (Bologna, 1654), I, 'Della filosofia naturale'; Raimondi (1982), pp. 335–52; Bellini (1997).

117 – On these events, see Redondi (1987), *passim*.

1 Quando tra i ceppi avvinse

De le membra terrene in antro osceno
forme celesti il Regnator Superno,
Cinque anguste fenestre ci vi distinse,
Onde un riflesso impuro
Lor tralucesse almen del sole eterno:
E in ogni opra più vil, che'l senso
apprende
Pose un vestigio interno
De la beltà, che nel suo volto splende.
Die Natura però troppo severa
A i sensi in luogo, e in tempo angusta
sfera.

12 Nè pur dentro a gli horrori

Di folta notte ascose i sacri arcani
De l'incerto futuro a noi Mortali,
Mà del passato ancor gli ampi tesori
Ritolti à i sensi humani
Danno in preda a l'oblio gli ordin fatali
forse almen del presente i campi
immensi
Scorrer con rapid'ali.
Ponno in un'Sol momento i nostri sensi?
Ciò è hora alberga in ogni Ciel remoto
forse al gran lume lor non resta ignoto?
(445v) 23 Ah [che] nò, fiera natura
A'l infelice senso avara meta
Negli spatij del luogo hai tu prescritto
Circondi il Regno a lui d'anguste mura
e'l piede estrar gli vieta
Da quei confini con tuo severo editto
Sol la mente far può per Mari, e Regni
Momentaneo tragitto
Nullo esiglio al suo volo impone i segni.
Mà cieca ell'è, mentre quaggiù e'n giace
Se del senso non splende a lei la face

34 Onde aita pietosa

L'animo havrà trà questi horror
sepolto?
Dura legge natia troppo gli ceta.
Di natura il vigore arte ingegnosa
Sua prisca emula ha tolto;
e'l passato, e'l remoto à gli occhi suela:
Per lei nobil pennello estinsi Eroi
Ravviva in vago tela

E fa veder il Tago à i Regni Eoi,
Quai sarian senza lei penne faconde?
Spirto ella à i marmi, à i bronzi, à i legni
infonde

(446r) 45 finse Grecia mendace
Che in Lidia, già prodigioso anello
Asconde de'presenti ancor l'aspetto:
E a noi d'arti gentil magia verace
Con incanto più bello
Mostra ogni antico, ogni lontano oggetto.
Le celesti a i nostri sensi ascose,
A l'humano intelletto,
Ch'opre co i sensi pur chi fù ch'espone?
Con mirabil pennel condotta penna,
E con scalpello industrie arte le accenna.

56 Però scultor sublime

I simulacri tuoi, benche spiranti
Ignudi d'ogni color più vago
Nè Fidia mai s'aspra battaglia esprime,
fà splendor d'oro i manti,
O sù l'herbe ondeggier vermiglio lago.
Chi non vide, Ivi bella i tuoi colori
Ne cerca in van l'imago
D'ammirato scalpello entro i lavori.
Nè stranio fiore à gli occhi espor gli lice.
Alà ben l'arte d'Apelle è in ciò felice.?

67 Spiega penna eloquente

Con difforni figure i propri oggetti,
E varia' al variar d'anni, e di Regni.
oscuri² hor sono alla Pelarga gente
Del prisco Omero i detti
Over l'indice³ noto a i Toschi ingegni.
Contempla occhio affannato a parte
Mille intricati segni
Per luce trar da le profonde carte:
Mà dove, o quando mai tela faconda
E chi i suoi sensi a un girar d'occhi
asconda?

78 Cedan la prima gloria

Nobil pittura a te le due sorelle;
Tu la sola a l'alma oppressa a pien
soccorri;
Mà, deh, nel fango di lasciva historia
Le tue sembianze belle
Macchiar, per Dio, Vergine illustre
abborri.
Se di lisci impudichi appanni il viso
Per gli occhi al cor te'n corri;

Che resta al fin da la tua peste ucciso.
Ridite a voi del laico antiche scene
Quanto avvelenin l'alma effigie
oscene.

89 Da dotta man dipinto

Mira Garzon incanto il falso Giove
Da fuoco impuro in pioggia d'or disfatto;
E vero ardor da quel diluvio finto
s'accende in lui, che'l muove
Ad imitar l'esempio ivi ritratto.
Qual sia stupor, se germogliarci in seno
Mille desiri hà fatto
Chi pone ancora al natio corso il freno?
Tu'l sai Clorinda, à cui bianca pittura
Tolse il color, che ti dovea Natura.

100 Sù misteri del Cielo

Dunque imprimi ò bell'arte in tele illustri;
Onde sien poscia a le nostre alme
impressi.
Ò come ardono i cuor d'empireo zelo,
Quando da mani industri
Miran divini oggetti al vivo espressi?
frà mille opre più rare, una hor ne
ammira,
E di carmi le intessi
Mia Clío, fregio immortal con l'aurea
lira.
Gualdi, in tuo bel museo questa risiede
Ove altre meraviglie han chiara sede.

111 D'omnipotente Nume

effigiato è qui l'eterno figlio,
Dal Ciel diceso entro ad humana
spoglia;
Qual, mentre in terra ei fù superno lume
spirò dal sacro ciglio,
Tal sembra qui, che ne le luci accoglia:
Par, se à gli occhi dai fè, che in tali
accenti
Ver noi le labbra scioglia:
Venite al Ciel, ch'io v'apro alme viventi;
Ecco c'huomo, e mortal mi son fatt'io,
Per far l'huomo immortal per farlo un Dio.

122 D'elette Ninfe un Choro

Uni Pittor sovrano all'hor, ch'ei volse
effigiar la celebrata Achea.
E da varie beltà divise in loro

Alto esempio ei raccolse,
 Per ritrar pari al ver l'empia Ledea
 Mà tu, ch'espreso hai sacro⁴ Nume eterno
 Onde havesti l'Idea?
 Più che mortal bellezza io qui discerno.
 Ei che le stelle, e'l sol pinse, i celesti
 Color ti diede, e l'arte onde il pingesti
 (448r) 133 Si nobil tela è prole
 Di quel moderno Apelle, onde si pregia
 L'alta Città, cui l'aurea⁵ quercia impresa.
 fosti ben tu de la Pittura un sole

fù la tua destra egregia
 De'tesori dell'arte ampia miniera.
 Prodigio sembra un colorito sino
 In provincia straniera,
 che parto sia del tuo pennel divino.
 E tua gloria immortal vie più lampeggia
 Nel solio Vatican, come in sua Reggia.

144 Mà cento opre stupende

Che contro al muto⁶ oblio t'ergon trofeo

Quest'una di beltà vince in battaglia.
 Più ch'ossa di Giganti ella risplende
 Nel mirabil museo.
 Nè Gualdi, altro stupore ivi l'agguaglia:
 Legno in pietra converso, acqua in
 diamante,
 Chi dirà che prevaglia
 La tela al suo fattor fatta sembiente?
 La veggio opre di Dio, qui dentro
 espresso.
 Da divino Pittor veggio Dio stesso.

1 – Replaces an illegible word.

2 – E oscuri.

3 – gl'indice.

4 – Replaces an illegible word.

5 – Replaces an illegible word.

6 – del maligno?