

BERNINI *and the Birth of* BAROQUE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

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CREATING A NEW LIKENESS

BERNINI'S TRANSFORMATION OF THE PORTRAIT BUST

• *Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess* •

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

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

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

*where to the contrary a man has one coulour in his face, another in his haire, a third in his lipps, and his eyes yett different from all the rest?*²

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

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

Fig. 2 EDMOND BOUCHARDON (1698–1762)
Bust of Scipione Borghese (after Bernini).
 Sanguine pencil on paper, 26 x 19 cm (10 ¼ x 7 ½ in.).
 Paris, Musée du Louvre (23987 recto).

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

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

Bernini’s entirely different critical appraisal of portraiture, known to us through Stone and Chantelou, is quoted in the biographies of the artist written by his son Domenico and by Filippo Baldinucci, two texts whose genesis might be linked to the sculptor’s own output.⁵ It is therefore significant that portraits (“portraits with head and bust”) are listed



first in the catalogue of Bernini’s works that Baldinucci included at the end of his biography, a catalogue based on a handwritten list of works (see appendix to checklist) that was drawn up at the sculptor’s home in the last years of his life; about 1675.⁶ Thereafter, not only was less attention paid to Bernini’s portraits, but his entire oeuvre would be increasingly ignored when not ferociously condemned. Given this, it was not surprising that Johann Winckelmann, following Bellori, actually went so far as to strike Bernini’s name from his list of great seventeenth-century sculptors, sparing only Alessandro Algardi and François Duquesnoy.⁷ In Leopoldo Cicognara’s *Storia della scultura*, first published in 1813–18 with the aim of celebrating Antonio Canova as the first sculptor decisively to break away from the Baroque tradition, Bernini, although acknowledged as



Fig. 3 EDMÉ BOUCHARDON

Bust of Scipione Borghese (after Bernini).

Sanguine pencil on paper, 25.8 x 19 cm (10 1/4 x 7 1/2 in.).

Paris, Musée du Louvre (23988 recto).

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

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

It is significant that, beginning in the eighteenth century, the most intelligent appraisals of Bernini's portraiture come from artists. When, in 1729, Montesquieu paused

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

MODELS AND PRECURSORS

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

Leoni’s extraordinary series of drawings, executed between about 1607 and 1625, provides “the finest gallery of faces of early Seicento Rome, from the days of Caravaggio until Bernini’s appearance on the scene.”¹⁸ These works present defining facial typologies for the features of aristocrats, cardinals, pontiffs, and noblewomen, as well as the individual characteristics of such well-known figures as the poets Giovan Battista Marino and Gabriello Chiabrera, the intellectual Giovanni Ciampoli, the scientist Galileo Galilei, and artists such as Caravaggio, Guercino, and Bernini himself.¹⁹ The scholarly inclination to put together galleries of illustrious men, based on the Cinquecento model inaugurated in Como by Paolo Giovio, is inextricably linked on occasion to the rather common desire to be immortalized in a portrait.²⁰ Like Giovan Battista Marino’s *Galeria*, Ottavio Leoni’s drawings bespeak an almost obsessive passion for the portrait, a passion not without precedent in Cinquecento Italy. Here it

Fig. 4 OTTAVIO LEONI (1578–1630)
Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo. Black and white pencil,
21.3 x 14.8 cm (8 3/8 x 5 7/8 in.). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett,
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 17115).

is enough to cite Pietro Aretino’s famous invective, a letter to Leone Leoni, in which he warned, “Style must not portray the head before it has portrayed the fame; nor should you reckon that the ancient tenets allow one to cast likenesses in metal of people unworthy of it. It is to your dishonor, oh century, that you tolerate tailors and even butchers appearing alive in painting.”²¹

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



Fig. 5 Attributed to TADDEO LANDINI (ca. 1550–1596)
Pope Gregory XIII, ca. 1580. Bronze, H: 76.5 cm (30 1/8 in.).
Berlin, Staatliche Museen (271).

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

In an attempt to set out a more precise context for Bernini's first busts, especially for his portrait of Giovanni Battista Santoni (ca. 1610–15; see fig. 8), Wittkower cited the case of the bust of Baldassare Ginanni (Rome, Sant'Agostino), attributed to Flaminio Vacca (1538–1605).²⁸ Because of the sober concision of the composition, Vacca manages to capture the physiognomic specificity of the

face with considerable expressiveness. In the end, however, the comparison only serves to "assess Bernini's advance towards a new interpretation of the human head."²⁹ Later, in 1623, when working on the monument to Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, Bernini chose to portray the figure in half-length, with his hands joined in prayer and turned toward the altar. Perhaps he was still thinking of models such as the half-figure in bronze of Elena Savelli, created shortly after 1580 by the brothers Giacomo and Ludovico del Duca in San Giovanni in Laterano, or of the image of Cardinal Girolamo Albani, executed by Valsoldo in Santa Maria del Popolo.³⁰ Both works were early attempts to renovate the relationship between the sculpted figure and the spectator. But these two portraits, because of their precise typological resemblance to the *Bellarmino*, reveal in the end only how radical the stylistic shift imposed by Bernini really was.





Fig. 6 FRANCESCO MOCHI

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

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

around the nose, and even the fleshy, sensual lips. The hair and beard, on the other hand, look like sharp metal shavings, best exemplifying the “powerful emotion expressed through abstract, ideal forms,”³³ characteristic of this artist.

Other works that seem relevant to Bernini's early development of the portrait bust come from the hand of another noteworthy sculptor of this period, Ippolito Buzio (1562–1634). Only one documented portrait, a head of Alessandro Farnese, is extant and this work, commissioned in 1592, was placed atop an ancient statue in the Campidoglio.³⁴ In addition, three busts in the Aldobrandini Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva³⁵ are likely attributable to him (see fig. 1.8.1).

The known works of Nicolas Cordier are few beyond the statues of the parents of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini mentioned earlier. Cordier sculpted the bronze *Henry IV* (1606–9) for Saint John Lateran and *Paul V Enthroned*, for the main square in Rimini, a statue only completed from a model after his death in 1612.³⁶ Paid for in 1605, the noteworthy bust of Cardinal Domenico Toschi by Ambrogio Bonvicino (fig. 7), the author of the *Urban VII* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (1614), was intended for the cardinal's chapel in the Cathedral of Reggio.³⁷ The bust is made of polychrome marbles and the mozzetta is of ancient red stone, in keeping with a widespread practice in late-Cinquecento Rome. The face, explored in meticulous detail in such features as the beard, the heavy cheeks, and the deep eye sockets, is enlivened by the half-open, pitilessly toothless mouth, which endows the effigy with a singular realism not to be found in the cardinal's painted portrait, executed the previous year by Ottavio Leoni (Reggio Emilia, Galleria Fontanesi).³⁸

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

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

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



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

missioned to make the new head of Paul V, would put an end to this project and result in the ones sculpted by Silla Longhi being saved.

SCULPTED LIVES: EARLY BERNINI PORTRAITS

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

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





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

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

close in time to the *Coppola*. The Santoni bust, almost modest in execution, is sober in appearance, and the treatment of the hair and beard looks rough and barely finished—a far cry from the virtuoso feats that would repeatedly appear in Gian Lorenzo’s later works. There are also lingering uncertainties about the date of the bust’s execution. In old age, Bernini claimed to have sculpted the bust when he was eight years old, therefore in 1606 or 1607, but this is contradicted by the fact that the man who commissioned the monument, Giovanni Antonio Santoni, is recorded in the stone inscription as being the bishop of Policastro, an office he attained only in 1610. Any earlier dating than 1610 would thus seem highly unlikely and many scholars have therefore dated it

to this year,⁴⁴ while others have suggested a date around 1615.⁴⁵ In any case the first half of the 1610s remains one of the most mysterious periods of Gian Lorenzo’s entire career. If we are to believe the testimony of the artist and his biographers, during these same years he also collaborated with his father on a relief, almost surely the *Coronation of Clement VIII* (1612–14; fig. 9), sculpting one head sometimes identified with that of the pope.⁴⁶ Already by 1612, Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi, the future Pope Gregory XV, had supposedly asked for “his portrait by his [Gian Lorenzo’s] hands,” when departing for the legation at Bologna.⁴⁷

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



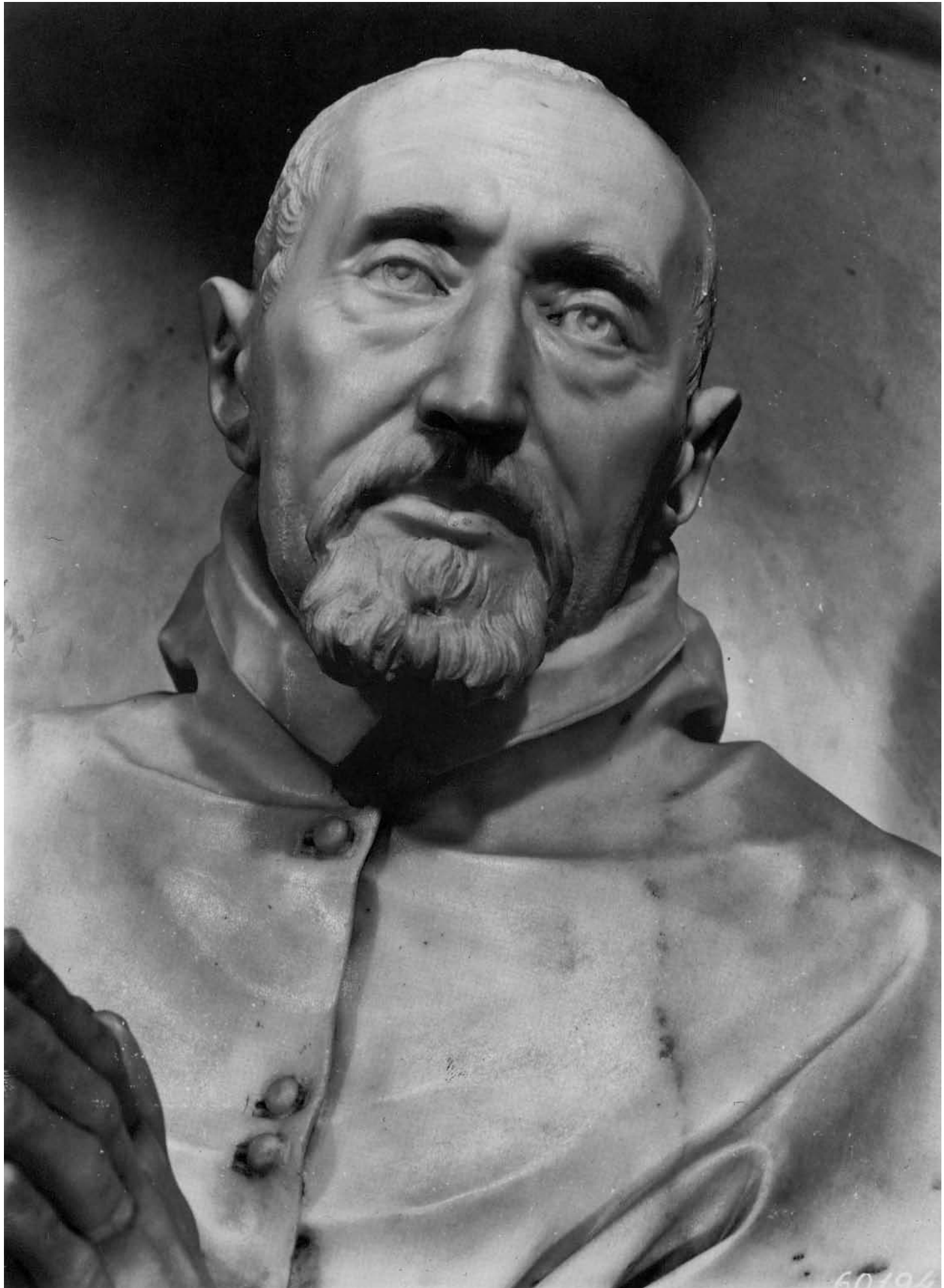


Fig. 11 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, 1623–24. Marble, H: 76.5 cm (30 ¼ in.); W: 70 cm (27 ⅞ in.); D: 50 cm (19 ⅞ in.). Rome, Il Gesù.

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

His activity in portraiture was thus concentrated in the same period in which he was engaged in the execution of secular monumental statuary. In fact, between 1618 and 1625, he sculpted such works as *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius Fleeing Troy; The Rape of Persephone; Apollo and Daphne; David* (today all in the Galleria Borghese in Rome); and the Villa Montalto *Neptune* (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London). These were the works that established his overwhelming success and led to his being dubbed the "Michelangelo of our century, both in painting and sculpture, who is second to none of the ancients in the excellence of his Art."⁴⁸ While this thrilling sequence of masterpieces still unfolds before our eyes in the rooms of the Galleria Borghese, the development of his less monumental portraiture remains more difficult to reconstruct, because of the dispersion of the busts Bernini made during those years, which have never been brought together in significant numbers until now. Unlike with the timeline of the monumental marbles, there are few chronological certainties in this series. The artist was paid for the *Camilla*

Barberini (cat. no. 2.1) in April 1619. The *Paul V* (cat. no. 1.3) and *Gregory XV* (cat. no. 1.4) are documented as being executed between 1621 and 1622. From April to September of 1622, Bernini sculpted the *Antonio Cepparelli* (cat. no. 1.8) and between 1623 and 1624 executed a "wax head" of Paolo Giordano Orsini to be cast into bronze.⁴⁹

It is primarily thanks to Irving Lavin⁵⁰ that we can now trace a reliable chronological sequence for the portraits realized during this period. When compared with the preceding tradition of portraiture, none of Bernini's early busts seem as explicitly revolutionary as the *Francesco I d'Este* (see fig. 23) or the *Louis XIV* (see fig. 24) will appear a few decades later. Nevertheless, though measuring himself against established typologies, Bernini already radically renovates these types in ways that will rapidly become canonical and prevail for the rest of the century and even longer. His production provides the last word on the typology of the pontiff with cope established by Guglielmo della Porta (*Paul V, Gregory XV*),⁵¹ exceptionally adapting it for a cardinal's portrait (*Cardinal d'Escoubleau de Sourdis*; cat. no. 1.7). In a growth process that can be followed step by step (*Cardinal Giovanni Dolfin*, cklst A6; *Monsignor Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo*, fig. 1.9.1; *Cardinal Peretti Montalto*, fig. 10; *Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino*, fig. 11; *Cardinal Agostino Valier*, cklst A21; *Cardinal Pietro Valier*, cklst A22; and *Cardinal Khlesl*, fig. 12), he also transforms the typology of the prelate with mozzetta. It is not surprising therefore that the transition from the portrait of Cardinal Dolfin (ca. 1621) to that of Cardinal Pietro Valier (1626–27) has an equivalent correspondence in painting, as evidenced by comparison of Scipione Pulzone's portrait of a man believed to be Cardinal Savelli (London, National Gallery, ca. 1596)⁵² with Van Dyck's *Domenico Rivarola* (Des Moines, Iowa State Education Association).⁵³

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

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

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

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

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

of portraits, as if Vittoria wanted to freeze the features of the Venetian aristocracy at the time of the Battle of Lepanto rather than capture the specific characteristics of some of its individual members.

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

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



Fig. 13 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI AND GIULIANO FINELLI
Antonio Barberini, ca. 1625–30. Marble, H: 65 cm (25 5/16 in.).
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (2499).

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

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

BERNINI AND FINELLI: A DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP

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

For this reason, the attribution of certain busts remains open to discussion. A particularly emblematic case is that of the *Virginio Cesarini* (ck1st D2), placed within an oval niche at the center of the monument built for him in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. This project received the approval of Pope Urban VIII immediately after Cesarini's death at the age of twenty-eight in April 1624. Long neglected, the bust was published in 1956 by Antonia Nava Cellini as a work by François Duquesnoy, a hypothesis rejected in 1989 by Ann Sutherland Harris, who for her part decisively attributed it to the young Bernini.⁶⁵ Sutherland Harris's proposal arises from a stylistic analysis but also from a reconsideration of the historical and cultural context in which the portrait was created. Its subject did enjoy close ties of friendship to Urban VIII, Galileo Galilei (who dedicated *The Assayer* to him in 1623), Federico Cesi, Agostino Mascardi, and also Cardinal Bellarmino, and he was a pivotal figure in that "wondrous juncture" that fed hope for a genuine dialogue between faith and science in the years prior to Galileo's condemnation in 1633 and the subsequent decline of the Accademia dei Lincei.⁶⁶

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



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

bust between 1625 and 1630. In this case the uncertainty has mostly to do with the possible participation of collaborators in its execution—a circumstance that, as we shall see, may also apply to other portraits made during the 1620s.⁷⁰

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

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

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

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

Finelli helped Bernini execute the *Apollo and Daphne* and the full-length figure of Saint Bibiana (1624; Rome, Santa Bibiana).⁷³ He was also involved in the creation of models for some of the putti that animate the columns of the *baldacchino* in Saint Peter’s. In 1626, after a brief stay in Carrara, Finelli returned to Rome: to the “house of Bernini, and here he was involved in a half-figure portrait of the niece of Pope Urban.”⁷⁴ This was the bust of Maria Barberini (see fig. 26), daughter of Urban VIII’s brother Carlo. Born in 1599 and married to the Bolognese nobleman Tolomeo Duglioli in 1618, she died during childbirth in 1621, at not much more than twenty years of age.

On the occasion of the sculpture’s entry into the collection of Francesco Barberini, Maria’s brother, in 1627, it was cited as “had from Cavaliere Bernini.” In the same year the *Portrait of Francesco di Carlo Barberini* (cat. no. 2.2) was recorded as having been “made by Cavalier Bernino.”⁷⁵ The distinction between “had” and “made” would seem to refer to the differing degree of Gian Lorenzo’s involvement. In the latter case he was the author of the bust in all respects, whereas in the former, the testimony probably refers to the work’s provenance from the “house of Bernini.” Finelli managed to advance his own particular interpretation of the naturalism he had learned from the master and applied to this portrait the technical skills he had learned from sculpting monumental statues. This is confirmed by the incomparably elaborate sumptuousness of the clothing and the almost crystalline character of the marble. Utterly Finellian is the decision to make the portrait hinge on the meticulous, obsessive definition of the garments, based on the patient application of a technical virtuosity that is more showy than that revealed in Gian Lorenzo’s works. As for the fixity of the gaze, this is no doubt accentuated by the fact that the pupils of the eye are not carved, a choice justified by its being a posthumous portrait.⁷⁶ By comparison, in the *Francesco Barberini* the uncarved pupils do not make the figure’s gaze look empty but rather give it a sense of mysterious remoteness that does not undermine the expressive intensity of the effigy.⁷⁷

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

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

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

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

This ranking is helpful in classifying Bernini’s portraits. Some busts seem entirely the work of Bernini, such as the impressive portrait of Cardinal Khlesl in Wiener Neustadt, where the artist has concentrated on certain details to render diverse surface textures as well as the sitter’s personality. While the eyes are left blank and the mustache and beard are rendered summarily, more attention is paid to the pouches under the sitter’s eyes and to the hairline, left

uncovered by the biretta that sits on animated curls which hint at the vitality of the man, as does his partly opened mouth. Other marble busts display the invention of Bernini but were rendered by collaborators. The nearly identical faces of Antonio Barberini and Agostino Valier, both produced about 1625–30, seem to indicate almost the “industrialization” of Bernini workshop production. One of these two busts was sent to Venice, while the other remained in Rome, a fact that may help explain how, in a moment of intense activity in the workshop, it was possible to copy the face of one model for two different portraits (both, moreover, posthumous). A few works, such as the bust of Maria Barberini Duglioli (see fig. 26), appear to have been conceived and executed by Finelli.

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

"[...] *fa miracoli facendo parlare i marmi*"

[You] do miracles by making marble sculptures speak

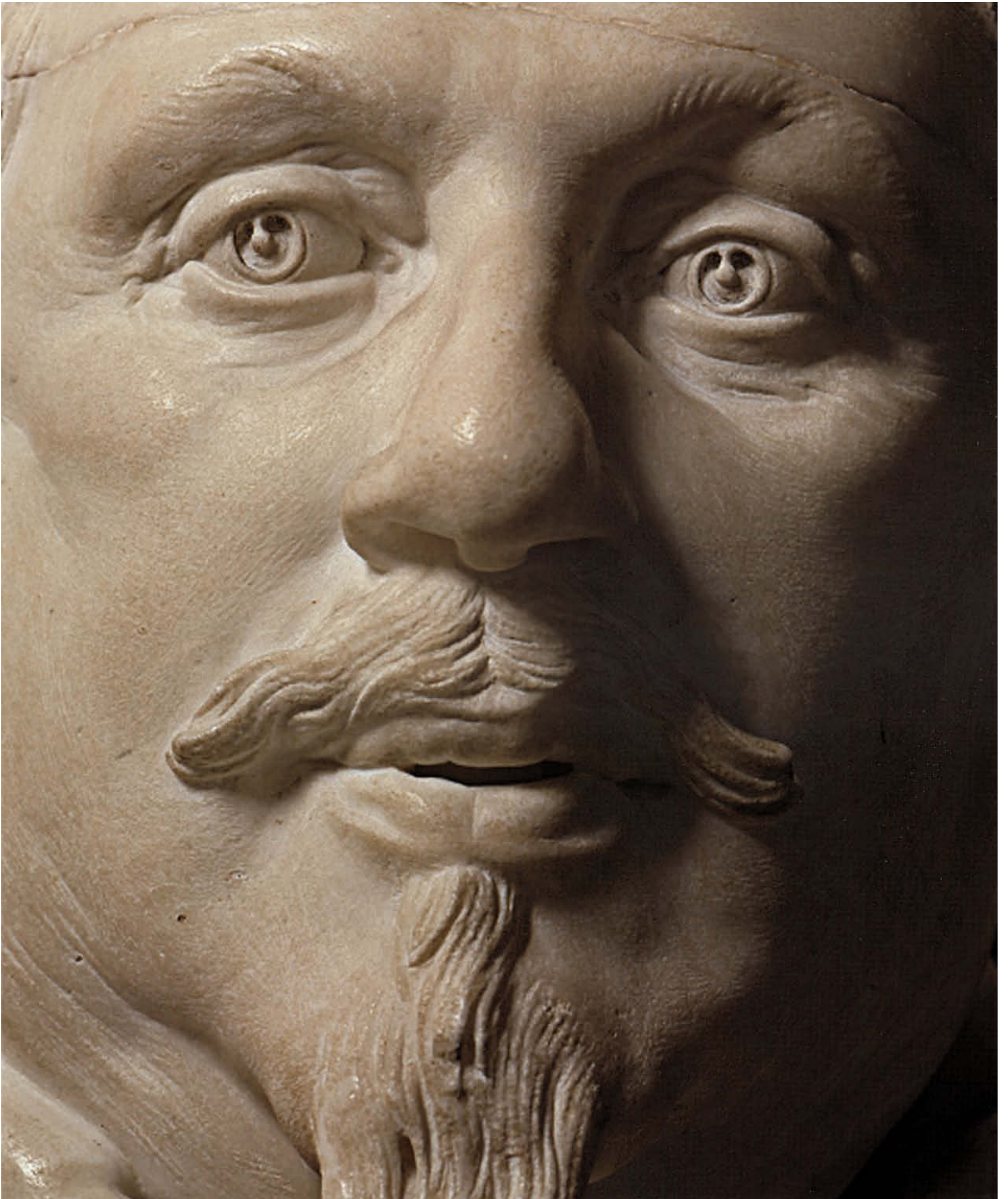
Lelio Guidiccioni in a letter to Bernini of December 2, 1633

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

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

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

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



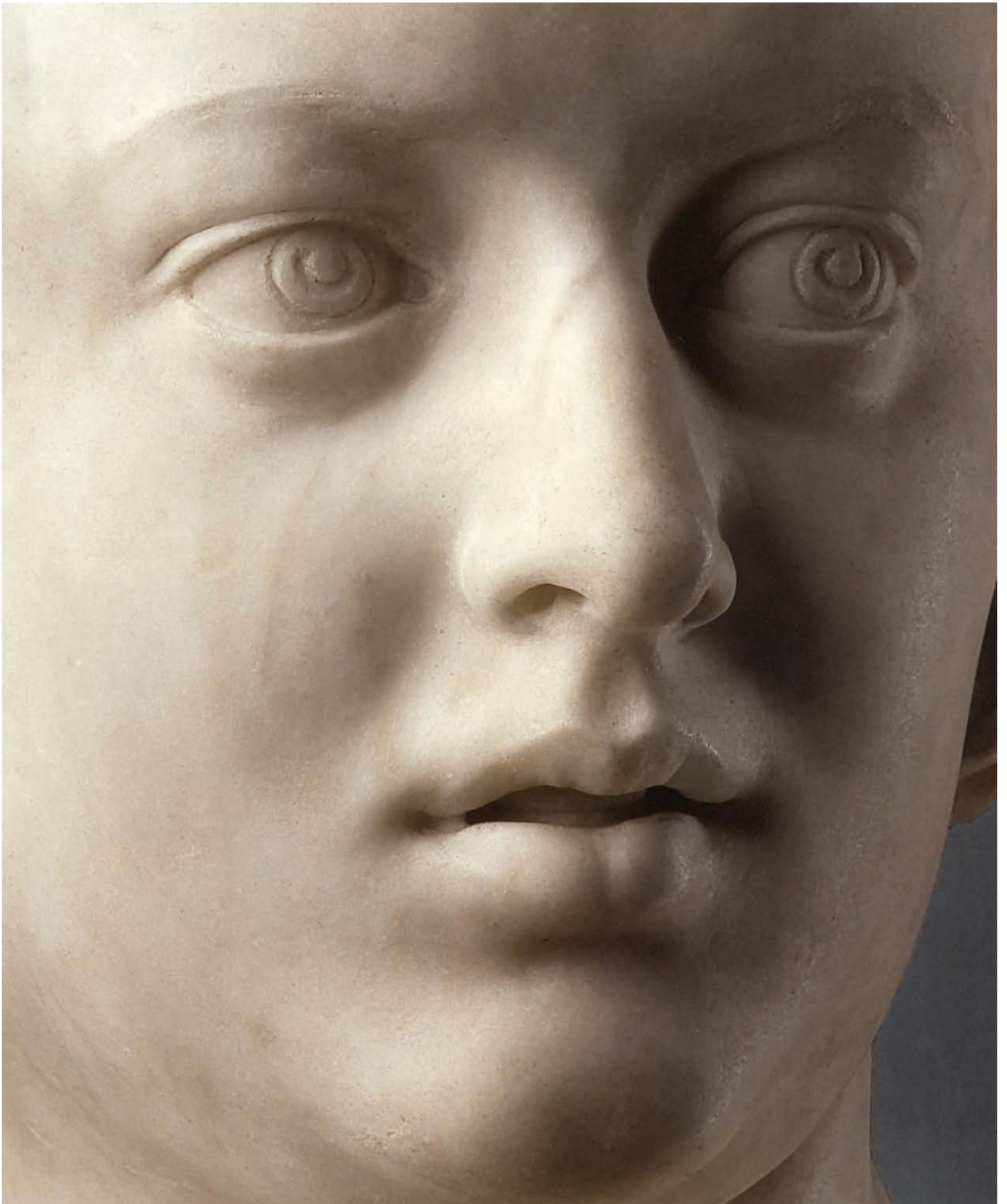


Fig. 15 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Portrait of Costanza Bonarelli (detail). See cat. no. 4.3.

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

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

What were the artist's intentions? To understand these, one might turn to Bernini's own words, recorded by his diarist Paul Fréart de Chantelou while Bernini was in Paris. As he was working on the bust of Louis XIV, Bernini specified his approach to portraiture, advising that "to make a successful portrait, one should choose an action and attempt to represent it well; that the best time to render the mouth is when [the subject] has just spoken or is just about to begin speaking; that one should try to catch this moment."⁹⁵ Whereas he explicitly recommends portraying the subject in action—the fleeting instant of heightened drama—he does not necessarily prescribe speaking as that action. Pointing out that one should choose the moment immediately

before or after speech indicates that the subject should not be depicted uttering words but rather either engaged in conversation (while the other is speaking) or shown just before or after verbally responding to an event. In either case, the subject is to be portrayed in an activated moment of focused awareness.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

A catalogue of Bernini’s works that was likely dictated by the artist himself around 1675 lists roughly fifty portrait busts (see appendix, p. 296).¹¹⁴ Of these, very few subjects are rendered with their mouths clearly open, the most obvious examples being Costanza Bonarelli and Scipione Borghese.¹¹⁵ Several others, under close inspection, are depicted with their lips parted, such as the busts of Antonio dal Pozzo of about 1623 (fig. 1.9.1) and Francesco Barberini (cat. no. 2.2) of about 1623, but the effect is not one of captured speech but of a softening of what are otherwise distant expressions, a quality that may be due to the fact that both were executed posthumously. For his busts of Giovanni Vigevano (fig. 1.2.1), Gregory XV (cat. no. 1.4), and Antonio

Cepparelli (cat. no. 1.8), all dating to or just after 1620, Bernini chose to display the men with lips parted in quiet conversation or, perhaps, prayer; they appear caught in a moment of reflection rather than action. In contrast, the mouth of Thomas Baker’s effigy of 1637–38 (cat. no. 6.1) suggests the man is involved in dialogue. Bernini hints at this by revealing a trace of teeth and tongue. Engaged in fashionable conversation is how one might expect to find this dandy whose image is nearly overwhelmed by lace and curls.

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



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

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

Similar to their Italian counterparts, Northern portraitists had an interest in naturalism that was symptomatic of the period’s increasingly empirical scientific approach to knowledge. Like Boselli and Mancini, art theorists in the North—such as Karel van Mander, Joachim Sandrart, and Franciscus Junius¹¹⁸—acknowledged the importance of observation and promoted the expression of the nature of man and his emotions. However, the concern of Dutch portrait painters in rendering the physical reality and emotive intimacy of their middle-class subjects was very different from the concerns of Bernini in papal Rome. The “speaking likenesses” of Dutch portraiture reflect the desires of bourgeois patrons for images of themselves that would be captivating, immediate, and reflective of their newly moneyed circumstances, and portrait painters sought out



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

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

It has been noted that Bernini was most active as a portraitist early in his career¹¹⁹ and that these early busts “are reserved and pensive in expression, introvert rather than extrovert.”¹²⁰ His mid-career busts of Costanza Bonarelli

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

and Scipione Borghese mark a change in this portrait style; they are both a culmination of Bernini's exploration of portraiture that began even before adolescence¹²¹ and a transition to his more grandiose portraits of the second half of his career. Bernini appears to have absorbed, before the 1630s, experiments that were being played out in two dimensions, such as the immediacy of certain portraits by Vouet and the engagingly informal speaking likenesses of drawings by Domenichino (fig. 18).¹²² Bernini's portrait drawings, many of which date from the 1620s to roughly 1635, attest to his own experimentation with capturing the viewer's attention by depicting a spontaneous action, an informal pose, or a straightforward gaze. After the 1630s his portrait busts may have been fewer but they are commanding, ostentatious, and heroic—qualities that were certainly more suitable to his subjects: Cardinal Richelieu (cat. no. 6.4), Pope Innocent X (cat. no. 5.10.2), Pope Alexander VII (cat. no. 6.6), Francesco d'Este (see fig. 23), Louis XIV of France (see fig. 24), and Pope Clement X (cat. no. 6.12).

Bernini was not the first Baroque artist to capture his subjects in conversation. Moreover, it is possible that neither of his busts most commonly referred to as “speaking likenesses”—*Costanza Bonarelli* and, especially, *Scipione Borghese*—was intended to show the moment of speech. As recommended by the ancients, the open mouth was one device used to create a sense of liveliness. Bernini used others, however, such as capturing the sparkle of eyes¹²³ or fleeting movement.¹²⁴ The goal, regardless of method, was for a lifelike rendering. Leon Battista Alberti articulated this goal in his fifteenth-century *De statua*—first published, however, in 1568—in which he explains that sculptors began making “effigies and resemblances of bodies created by nature” by “making that effigy appear almost to be truly the thing itself.”¹²⁵

Much has been written on the associations between Michelangelo and Bernini, many fostered by Gian Lorenzo himself.¹²⁶ Bernini's son, for example, recounts that Paul V,

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

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

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

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

Fig. 19 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Pope Urban VIII Barberini, 1631. Marble, H: 83 cm (32% in.).

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

THE PORTRAITS: WORKING PROCEDURE

If the most substantial and homogeneous nucleus of Bernini's busts consists of those made in the years around 1620, the majority of his most famous portraits nevertheless date from the period of his mature activity and are staggered over a span of nearly half a century, starting around 1630. By the latter half of the 1620s, Bernini was already the most renowned artist in Rome, and, owing to this fact, we possess a number of contemporary reports concerning his *modus operandi*. In some cases we can follow the execution of a work in all its different phases—that is, we can understand how Bernini, who “into his later years was in the custom, when not distracted by architectural concerns, of working for up to seven straight hours on sculpting marble,” went about his work.¹³¹ For example, Bernini's pupil Giulio Cartari records that his master met with Pope Alexander VII ten times while he was working on the pontiff's portrait. Moreover, for the portrait of Louis XIV (see fig. 24), which was executed in public at the French royal court—the most prestigious and demanding stage in Europe—the documentation handed down to us by Paul Fréart de Chantelou allows us to follow, day by day, the progress of an artwork that was completed in less than two months in the summer of 1665.¹³²

Even Charles Perrault, the great French architect who replaced Bernini as designer of the Louvre, was astonished by the originality of the sculptor's working methods: “He worked on the marble first, making no clay model whatsoever, as other sculptors are accustomed to doing; he limited himself to drawing two or three portraits of the king in pastel, not, as he said, in order to copy them for his bust, but merely to refresh his mind from time to time.”¹³³ Actually, in one respect this testimony appears to contradict the diary of Chantelou, where, on June 11, Bernini is said

to have confided to his friend “that he'd asked for some clay in order to make studies of movement.” This raises the question of how the busts were prepared, whether with just drawings or also with terra-cotta sketches and models. In the rich body of Bernini's drawings, which includes some twenty portrait drawings, only two can be connected to marble sculptures: the profile of Scipione Borghese at the Morgan Library of New York (cat. no. 3.6), and the sanguine drawing of Pope Clement X, now in Leipzig (fig. 6.12.1). Nevertheless, even these two drawings, as Jennifer Montagu has written, “appear to have been made to study the sitter, rather than as direct preparations for sculptures.”¹³⁴ As Bernini himself stated, “he did not model his portraits from drawings, but from memory.”¹³⁵

A variety of seventeenth-century sources attest to the existence of a few terra-cotta portraits executed by Bernini. None, however, still survives. A document from the *Confraternita della Pietà di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* mentions “two clay heads fashioned by Bernini's hand, which are kept at the hospital” (*che si tengono sotto lo spedale*)¹³⁶—which were likely the models for the busts of Antonio Coppola and Antonio Cepparelli (cat. nos. 1.2 and 1.8). Two other terra-cotta portraits of Urban VIII, one of Scipione Borghese, and another of Cardinal Richelieu were also found at the sculptor's home just after his death, in 1681.¹³⁷ It is likely that the “heads” of *San Giovanni dei Fiorentini*, as well as the busts at Bernini's house, were finished models of the sort realized during those same years by Alessandro Algardi, and thus were quite different from the “*ébauches de l'action*” for the bust of Louis XIV. These were probably sketches of a summary nature, in the manner of those he realized for the *Angels* of the Ponte Sant'Angelo or for the Altar of the Sacrament in Saint Peter's (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum). Although by 1681 they were probably





Fig. 20 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Pope Urban VIII Barberini, ca. 1632. Marble, H (without base): 86 cm (33 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

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

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

The heads mentioned in connection with San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in 1634 were no doubt by Bernini, and simi-

larly, the busts cited in the inventory of his home, though without indication of authorship, must have been made in his workshop. It is not, however, entirely by chance that eight terra-cotta portraits by Algardi¹⁴⁰ have come down to us over the years, whereas none by Bernini survive (see checklist, Lost Busts).¹⁴¹ Algardi clearly regarded his terra-cottas in a way that Bernini did not, and this is why Perrault’s statement that “he worked on the marble first” is not contradicted by Chantelou’s comment that he wanted to make some studies in clay. In the case of the *Louis XIV*, there was no life-size terra-cotta model; on the contrary, the sculptor worked directly on the marble, with the sovereign in front of him, developing the composition without referring to a specific model. Bernini’s working method was also witnessed on other occasions, as is clear from the often-cited letter by Lelio Guidiccioni in reference to the portraits of Urban VIII and Scipione Borghese. Guidiccioni, while making reference to a model, presumably of terra-cotta, specifies that the sculptor worked the marble with his subject sitting before him: “I shall never forget the delight I felt by always being privy to the work, seeing Your Lordship every morning execute a thousand different motions with singular elegance; discussing always appropriately about current matters and straying with your hands very far from the subject; crouching, stretching, running your fingers over the model, with the quickness and variation of someone touching a harp; marking the marble with charcoal in a hundred places, and striking with the hammer in a hundred others; that is, striking in one place, and looking in the opposite place; pushing the hand to strike before yourself, and turning the head to look behind.”¹⁴²

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

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

RE-CREATING PAPAL PORTRAITURE

It was with his portraits of Urban VIII that Bernini radically altered the typology of the papal portrait in sculpture. At first, in his portrayals of the Barberini pope, Gian Lorenzo kept to traditional choices, such as had already been tested with his busts of Popes Paul V and Gregory XV. About 1621–22 Bernini presented a different interpretation of the cope in his *Portrait of Cardinal de Sourdis* (cat. no. 1.7), the most immediate precedent for the bust of Urban VIII at San Lorenzo in Fonte (cklst D1). The quality of execution of the latter bust is, however, quite disappointing: there is a mechanical quality in the rendering of the individual details that seems to contradict the impressiveness of the conception. This portrait doubtless mirrors an original that Bernini executed in the very first years of the Barberini pontificate; it may possibly derive from the lost

bronze portrait executed for the refectory of Trinità dei Pellegrini on the occasion of the 1625 jubilee.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the cope is skillfully set in motion, suggesting the subject's living presence. This same solution, much more timidly expressed, can be found in the portraits of Paul V and Gregory XV of about 1621–22 (cat. nos. 1.3 and 1.4), in which it is difficult to make out either pontiff's body under the cope, which is still conceived as a kind of impenetrable armor.

In portraying Urban VIII, to whom he was attached by special bonds of gratitude, admiration, and even friendship, Gian Lorenzo decided to renovate the most long-standing tradition of papal portraiture: the portrayal of the pontiff in alb and cope, by which he himself had abided in the early 1620s. By its very nature, the cope—adorned with embroidered figures of Saints Peter and Paul and closed with a richly decorated clasp—required careful, almost goldsmith-like, rendering of details that risked compromising the overall monumentality of the composition. About 1630 Bernini got the idea—simple yet ingenious—of adapting to the medium of sculpture a typology of papal portraiture that had already been canonical in painting for over a century, as established by Raphael's *Portrait of Julius II* (London, National Gallery) of around 1510, and that was to replace the cope with a mozzetta¹⁴⁵ worn with the red cap called a *camauro*.¹⁴⁶ From this moment on, Bernini would portray popes exclusively wearing the mozzetta and *camauro*,¹⁴⁷ inaugurating a tradition whose success remained uncontested for over two centuries, until the time of Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen.

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

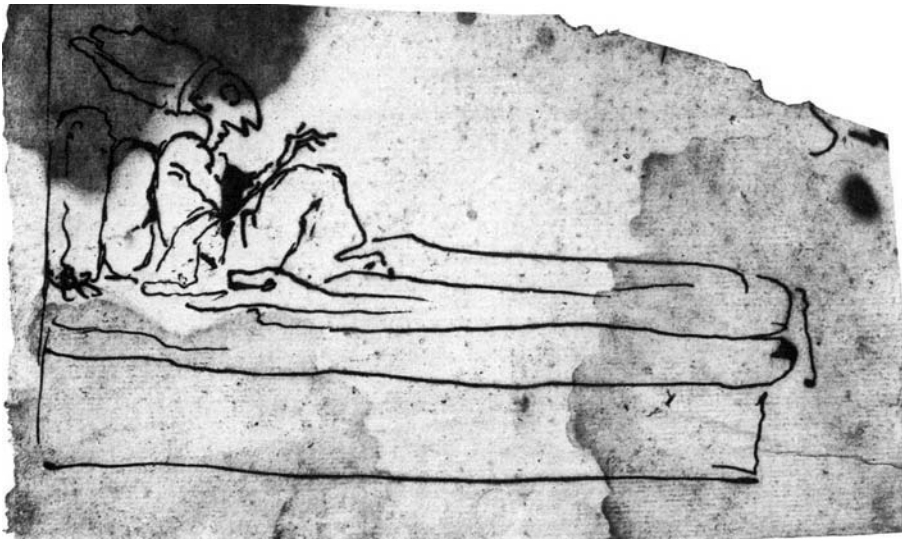


Fig. 21 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Pope Innocent XI, 1676–80. Pen and ink on paper, 11.4 x 18.2 cm (4½ x 7⅞ in.). Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste.

funerary monument in Saint Peter's (1629–31), the marble sculpture in the Campidoglio (1635–40),¹⁴⁸ and the bust in the Duomo of Spoleto (1640–44; cklst A19). In the letter Lelio Guidiccioni wrote to Bernini in 1633, already quoted several times, Guidiccioni mentions a bust of the pope "that has no arms, but a slight motion of the right shoulder and a lifting of the mozzetta [on this side] in conjunction with the inclination of the head... and the bending of the forehead clearly indicate the action of signaling with the arm to someone to get up."¹⁴⁹ Cesare D'Onofrio was the first to have no doubts in identifying this bust as the one that at the time belonged to Prince Enrico Barberini and was later passed on to the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica at the Palazzo Barberini (fig. 19). The bust now in Ottawa (cat. no. 2.5) constitutes a different autograph version and, despite Rudolf Wittkower's misgivings¹⁵⁰ as to the link between Guidiccioni's text and one of the two busts, this is the prevailing opinion today. The Ottawa and Palazzo Barberini busts rank among the most memorable of Bernini's effigies of the pontiff precisely because of the apparent simplicity of their compositions, which are practically devoid of any decorative elements. Examples of virtuosity that characterized the artist's youth are relegated to discrete areas such as the fur trim of the mozzetta and *camauro*, with their incomparable tactile quality, or the vigorous fold of the ever-so-slender collar of the vestment. Moreover, the mozzetta is conveyed with a masterly parsimony

of means: very few folds, some of them only hinted at, yet with a sense of vitality in no way inferior to what we see in the much more agitated but different vestment of Scipione Borghese (cat. no. 4.1).

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

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

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

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



NEW PATHS FOR THE PORTRAIT

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

Later in his career, however, Bernini very carefully savored the time he set aside for portraits, a difficult genre for which the master's direct participation was perhaps more crucial than in other sorts of sculptural undertakings. In the overwhelming majority of cases, therefore, the figures portrayed by Gian Lorenzo after 1626–27 were pontiffs and sovereigns. There was one exception, however, and a significant one. We do not know by what fortunate conjunction of

circumstances Innocent X's old Portuguese doctor, Gabriele Fonseca (fig. 22), managed to secure Gian Lorenzo's direct intervention. Immortalized in a marble statue that revolutionized the traditional typology of the deceased depicted in the act of worship, Fonseca is shown as sorrowful and troubled. Perhaps to get around the problem of the shallowness of the niche in which the bust was to sit, Bernini played on the contrast between the subject's burning physical presence, the strong three-dimensionality of the face and hands, and the almost bodiless rendering of the bust, which, in a storm of "draperies...excessively folded and pierced,"¹⁵⁹ seems about to dissolve as though being sucked into the wall. Bernini had long "regarded garments and draperies as a means to sustain a spiritual concept by an abstract play of folds and crevasses of light and shade."¹⁶⁰

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



Fig. 23 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Francesco I d'Este, 1650–51. Marble, H: 98 cm (38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); W: 106 cm (41 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); D: 50 cm (19 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Modena, Galleria Estense (565).



Fig. 24 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Louis XIV, King of France, 1665. Marble, H: 105 cm (41 3/8 in.);

W: 95.5 cm (37 3/8 in.); D: 46.5 cm (18 3/8 in.).

Palace of Versailles (MV2040).

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

These were the years in which the theoretical debate about art in Rome was dominated by Giovan Pietro Bellori, whose aversion to the great artistic innovations wrought by Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona was no secret to anyone. In this debate, two “factions” emerged, if we are to believe the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin, who, visiting the Bolognese painter Carlo Cignani in 1677, wrote about him: “A most kind man, good French [*sic*], of the

opposite faction to Bernini (*fazione contraria de Bernini*), he greatly esteems Le Brun, Poussin, and Van Dyck more than Rubens.” Giovan Pietro Bellori surely belonged to the “faction” of Poussin and Le Brun against Bernini and Rubens (not to mention Borromini and Pietro da Cortona).¹⁶⁴ And Bellori’s ideas about portraiture were similarly very clear. While admiring the portrait Maratti had painted for him, which he described as “turning to face you in such lifelike fashion that, abandoning all artistic invention, it usurps all the power of nature,” he seemed, however, to appreciate more portraits like Andrea Sacchi’s *Marc’Antonio Pasqualini*, which was not “a simple portrait but an utterly charming composition,” or Maratti’s portraits of the marquis and the marquise de Mesfort, which were “so well ordered and painted that beyond their naturalness, they win merit even for their ornaments, so that you shall not praise them as simple portraits, [for] they may find equal standing among compositions of the figure.”¹⁶⁵ Even though these two portraits are lost, the extraordinary, elaborated allegorical portrait of Niccolò Maria Pallavicini by the same Maratti (Stourhead-Wiltshire, The National Trust, Hoare Collection) can give us an idea of what Bellori thought should be a perfect portrait.

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

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

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

Actually, the *concetto*, as an interpretative key to the artwork, can also be easily applied to portraits. Louis XIV thus becomes an incarnation of the "ideal Christian monarch,"¹⁷⁰ absolutely superior, in the Olympian strength of mind expressed in his rapt yet serene face, to the impetuous

whirlwind of history evoked by the majestic, agitated movements of the drapery. Above all, the conception of the base as a globe, with the inscription *picciola base*, was meant to suggest that the world was too small to support such a great man as Louis XIV.

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

NOTES

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

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

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