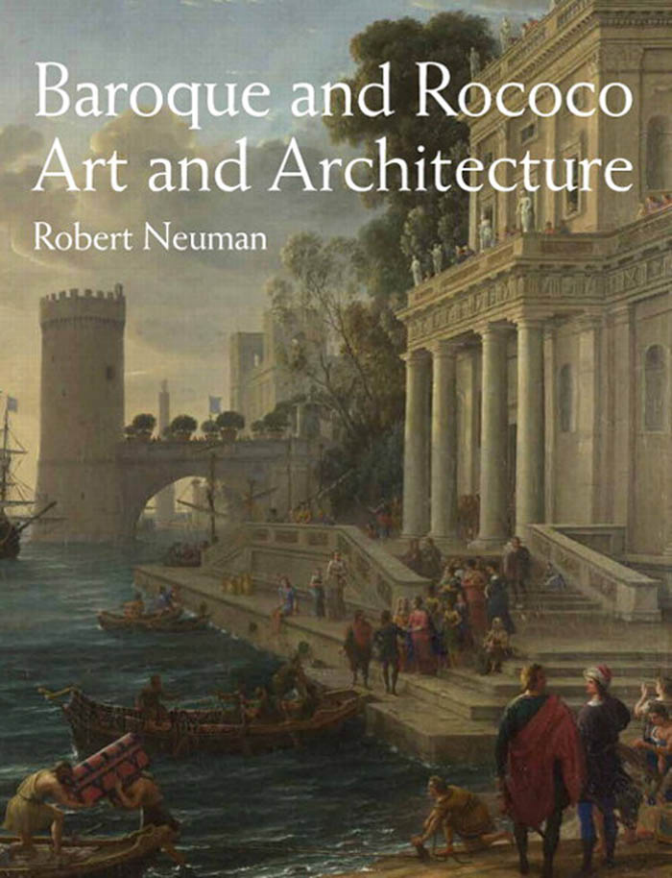# Baroque and Rococo Art and Architecture

Robert Neuman

Baroque and Rococo Art and Architecture

Baroque and Rococo Art and Architecture

Robert Neuman

Professor of Art History, Florida State University

PEARSON

Cover photo: **Claude Lorrain**, *Seaport with the Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 58½ × 76⅛″ (148.5 × 194 cm). National Gallery, London.

page 2: **Pietro Longhi**, *Masked Figures with a Fruit Seller*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 24⅜ × 20⅛″ (62 × 51 cm). Ca' Rezzonico, Museo del Settecento Veneziano, Venice.

PEARSON

Contents

Rococo 308

Preface

This book is intended to serve as a component of a course of study that involves two principal types of activities. First, the path to understanding Baroque and Rococo art and architecture begins by looking closely at individual artworks, describing salient features, and formulating questions based on observation. It is hoped that the reader will undertake this process by poring over the illustrations while also investigating the abundant visual resources in specialized publications and on the Internet. The activity of looking should also include firsthand experience with objects from the period, whether in a local art museum or by means of travel.

A second, corollary activity is the assembling and analysis of relevant information. The book contributes to this process by providing essential data along with the interpretation of key monuments. Chapter divisions are based on chronology, geography, and medium, with emphasis on the main centers of art production. A drawback of this approach has been the separation of media in a period that sought to achieve a synthesis of diverse arts, but the overriding consideration has been clarity of presentation.

One of the pleasures of writing has been the support and encouragement offered by so many individuals. The project depended on the initiative of two peerless editors-in-chief at Pearson: the late Bud Therien made the initial invitation, and Sarah Touborg saw the project to completion. Members of their staff, Helen Ronan and Carla Worner, offered many courtesies. In London, Kara Hattersley-Smith oversaw production by the exceptional team at Laurence King Publishing, among whom Donald Dinwiddie guided me through the various steps. I cannot fully express my debt to the copy editor, Tessa Clark, for whom my manuscript was the last assignment in a distinguished career, and who spared me innumerable infelicities of prose. My thanks go to the picture editor, Julia Ruxton, whose perspicacity proved valuable in tracking down images, and to Grita Rose-Innes of Rose-Innes Associates, who provided the handsome design.

At three signal stages over the years the publisher engaged scholars and teachers to critique groups of chapters. For their thorough reading of the various typescripts I am deeply indebted to Jill Blondin, University of Texas Tyler; Alden Cavanaugh, Indiana State University; Victor Coonin, Rhodes College; Stephanie Dickey, Queen's University; Alison Fleming, Winston-Salem University; Alejandra Giminez-Berger, Wittenberg University; Carl Goldstein, University of North Carolina Greensboro; Dorothy Habel, University of Tennessee Knoxville; Lisa Hanes, University of South Florida; Donald Harington, University of Arkansas; Heidi J. Hornik, Baylor University; Barbara Johnston, Columbus State University; Bonnie Kutbay, Mansfield University of Pennsylvania; Tony A. Lewis, Louisiana State Museum; John W. Myers, University of North Carolina Wilmington; Allison Palmer, University of Oklahoma; Catherine Puglisi, Rutgers; Lisa Rafanelli, Manhattanville College; Wendy Wassyng Roworth, University of Rhode Island; Nina E. Serebrennikov, Davidson College; Brian Steele, Texas Tech University; Janis Tomlinson, University of Delaware; Catherine Turrill, California State University Sacramento; and Jennifer Webb, University of Minnesota Duluth.

As the manuscript neared completion, many friends and colleagues generously undertook detailed readings of chapters in their area of expertise: Christopher Allen, Robert Berger, William Barcham, Kristin Lohse Belkin, Hugh Belsey, Wayne Franits, Jack Freiberg, Hilliard T.

www.MySearchLab.com
<http://www.mysearchlab.com>

Pearson's MySearchLab with eText is the easiest way for students to master a writing or research project. MySearchLab is available at no additional charge packaged with a Pearson textbook and is also available as a standalone product.

MySearchLab with eText provides **engaging experiences** that personalize, stimulate, and measure learning for each student.

- The **Pearson eText** lets students access their textbook anytime, anywhere, and any way they want. Just like the printed text, students can highlight relevant passages and add their own notes. For even greater flexibility, students can download the eText to a tablet using the free Pearson eText app.

- A variety **of research and writing tools, including *Writing About Art* by Henry Sayre,** help students hone key skills that can be used in the course and beyond. With access to various academic journals, Associated Press news feeds, and primary source readings, students are just a few clicks away from trusted source materials. And, a wide range of composition and grammar tools aid students throughout the writing process, helping them to produce more effective papers.

- **Assessment** is tied to every chapter, enabling both instructors and students to track progress and get immediate feedback.

- **Rich media links** engage students and help them apply course material.

- A **Gradebook** enables students to track progress and get immediate feedback. The Gradebook helps instructors identify student challenges early—and find the best resources with which to help students.

Introduction

0.1 **Norman Rockwell**, *The Art Critic*, 1955. Oil on canvas, 39½ × 36¼″ (100 × 91 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge.

Correggio, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1522–30. (Detail of FIG. 0.15)

In a *Saturday Evening Post* cover for 16 April 1955, entitled *The Art Critic*, a young artist holds a portable easel, paint box, and palette laid with colors as he intently examines with a magnifying glass a brooch on the bosom of the lively woman in the framed painting hanging in a museum (FIG. 0.1). Modeled after the female types of Peter Paul Rubens (see FIG. 8.13), she glances at him with bemusement, while the gentlemen in the portrait adjacent, adapted from a civic guard picture by Frans Hals, show their stern disapproval (see FIG. 6.10). In this amusing image the American illustrator Norman Rockwell (1894–1978) captured several of the principal goals of artists who lived during the Baroque and Rococo periods: to bring painted figures to life, to suggest a fleeting moment in time, to unify real and artistic space, and to portray various states of mind. The pearls worn by the woman are a reminder that the words *baroque* and *rococo*, like many art-historical terms, postdate the time period they now designate and were first used in a derogatory sense.

The French word *baroque* derives from a jeweler's term coined in the second half of the sixteenth century in Spain (*barrueco*) and in Portugal (*barroco*) to describe the highly prized bulbous or oddly shaped pearls imported by sea to western Europe. These pearls were often fixed in a bejeweled setting to combine an artifact of nature with one created by man, as in the *Swan Pendant* fashioned by an unknown Netherlandish artist in the 1590s (FIG. 0.2). By the eighteenth century this meaning of *baroque* was

0.2 Unknown Netherlandish artist, *Swan Pendant*, 1590s. Baroque pearls, gold, enamel, diamonds, rubies, 7½ × 2⁵⁄₁₆" (19.2 × 5.9 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The word *rococo* similarly originated as a term of derision, first used in 1796–7 by students in the studio of the Neoclassical painter Jacques-Louis David to describe the old-fashioned, "feminine" style of painting popular during the reign of Louis XV and associated with his most famous mistress, Madame de Pompadour. *Rococo* is evidently a synthesis of three words: *rocaille*, the French name for a decorative veneer of rocks and shells used in garden fountains and artificial grottoes; *coquillage*, decorative shell motifs in these ensembles; and *barocco*, in the sense of irregular or misshapen. Used in English in about 1835 to denote something out-of-style, *rococo* first entered the official French dictionary in 1842 to describe an outmoded ornamental style of the Louis XV period. In Germany it initially implied a late, decadent stylistic phase of art and by mid century more specifically the decadent phase of art that followed the Baroque. The word received major critical rehabilitation in 1943 with the publication of Fiske Kimball's book *The Creation of the Rococo*, which traces the evolution of wall paneling, first in eighteenth-century France and then in Germany. For example, the Gilded Chamber of Madame Adélaïde at Versailles contains the essential features of Rococo décor: sinuous lines, asymmetrical motifs, and naturalistic details like flowers and shells (Ange-Jacques Gabriel and Jacques Verberckt, 1753, 1759; FIG. 0.3). Kimball's restricted use of the word still prevails among many historians, and especially French scholars.

Here the words Baroque and Rococo do not signify stylistic designations, because attempts to define Baroque style or Rococo style usually falter—with the exception, as just mentioned, of the Rococo label for decorative arts during the eighteenth century. Rather, following a trend that has persisted in some scholarship for over

absorbed into the English and German languages, and by extension it came to mean anything bizarre, irregular, or eccentric, a figurative meaning still current today. Thus in the second half of the eighteenth century, French writers on music, art, and architecture used *baroque* in a pejorative sense to criticize compositions judged to be overly elaborate, rough, or complicated, citing in particular the seventeenth-century buildings of Francesco Borromini and Guarino Guarini (see FIGS. 4.12 and 4.23). In 1855 the Swiss cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt in his guide to the arts in Italy, *Der Cicerone*, used the word to characterize the overall visual style of the seventeenth century (*Barockstil*), implying a period of decline compared to the beauty and loftiness of Renaissance art. The word shed its negative association chiefly through the writings of Burckhardt's pupil Heinrich Wölfflin, whose *Renaissance und Barock* (1888) and *Principles of Art History* (1915) propose a system of comparative analysis to show that seventeenth-century art was different from but not inferior to that of the Renaissance.

0.3 Ange-Jacques Gabriel and Jacques Verberckt, Gilded Chamber of Madame Adélaïde, 1753, 1759. Palace of Versailles.

a half century, I employ the words Baroque and Rococo sparingly but broadly as a convenient way to designate two closely related periods, 1585 to 1700 and 1700 to 1785 respectively.

Often characterized as an age of crisis in Europe, the Baroque and Rococo periods witnessed dramatic changes that lacked clear-cut resolution in four broad geographical areas (FIG. 0.4).

0.4 Map of Europe in 1648.

Society

The Baroque inherited from the medieval and Renaissance periods the concept of the Great Chain of Being, according to which each individual had a preordained position within the social hierarchy. This status was ordained by God and confirmed by laws and traditions governing privileges, dress, comportment, and diet. At its most basic, the organization of society conformed to the three estates, each with further subdivisions: The first estate comprised men of the Church, the second the aristocracy, and the third the remaining majority, both middle class and peasantry. Crisis came in the form of upward movement within the estates, which was always considered a transgression but was easier to achieve over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, the purchase of land to which a title was attached improved one's status; a sovereign could fill the royal coffers through the sale of patents of nobility; investment in overseas colonization might be extremely profitable. On another front, women strove to break out of the confines of the home and the convent to acquire an education and a profession. Artists fought their own battles with the intent of elevating themselves socially, and a few, who lived a princely lifestyle and were attendant at court, even achieved knighthood.

Monarchical Government

Most Europeans accepted the concept that monarchy represented the most typical form of rule: A single person, through birth and the sanction of God, received the right to sovereignty. Whereas in England the king was increasingly contained by Parliament, in France the monarch and his ministers brought centralized government to its most perfect form, absolutism, in which the arts operated as an arm of government. As much a sovereign as head of the Catholic Church, the pope ruled the Papal States in central Italy on the monarchical model. Kings and queens identified themselves less by nationality ("king of France") than by dynasty ("Bourbon"), and thus many wars were initiated by rulers laying claim to foreign lands. However, it was not always good to be the king. Monarchy suffered upsets with the assassination of two French sovereigns—Henri III in 1589 and Henri IV in 1610—and the beheading of Charles I in England in 1649 and of Louis XVI in France in 1793. At the same time, alternative forms of government proved successful, notably the long-established republics of Venice and Genoa, and the newly established United Provinces in Holland.

Religion

At the beginning of the Baroque, Europe was still reeling from the effects of the Protestant Reformation, which began in 1517 with Martin Luther's protest against clerical abuses in the Catholic Church. The concept of a single, universal Church, based in the Vatican and grounded in the belief that St. Peter was the first pope, gave way to numerous Christian sects, which included Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican churches. These engaged in theological disputes with each other, and even in the Roman Church conflicts between religious orders and problems with new sects threatened stability. Religious divisions incited numerous wars—for example, the Dutch War of Independence from Spain (Eighty Years War, 1568–1648)—and triggered the flight of sections of society, such as the exodus in 1685 of Huguenots from Catholic France to avoid persecution. A ban on the use of religious imagery in most Protestant churches effectively erased a whole class of art commissions, while the Catholic Church pressed harder to control and harness devotional pictures in the interest of conveying articles of faith more effectively.

Science

Fragmentation within religious groups and alternative readings of scripture may have undermined faith, but the Church also suffered as a result of new tools and methods of scientific examination and the new scientific societies that were organized in the capitals of Europe. Scientists investigating the human body and the material world produced data that was out of sync with traditional perceptions that had been accepted for centuries and upon which the Church and monarchical government depended for support. On the grandest level, the geocentric concept of the universe was challenged by the German Johannes Kepler and the Italian Galileo Galilei, who confirmed Copernicus's heliocentric system. Demonstrating the laws of gravity in his *Principia Mathematica* (1687), Isaac Newton irreversibly demonstrated the mathematical–mechanical view of the universe.

The new science was bolstered by the new philosophy, which centered on the work of the Frenchman René Descartes. Cartesianism provided a rational, nonsupernatural vision of man and the world that was refined by some, like Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza in Holland and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in Germany, and challenged by others, such as Thomas Hobbes in England. These developments have their corollary in art in the heightened investigation of the natural world, and the portrayal and utilization of scientific instruments.

Despite these crises, religion and science managed to coexist. Another belief inherited from the medieval period concerned the transcendental view of nature: the concept that the objects of visible reality are symbolic of a higher level of meaning. This accounts for the prevalence of allegorical subjects in art—the metaphorical use of personifications and symbols to convey ideas—for which artists consulted literary texts, emblem books, and dictionaries of symbols. Two great systems inherited from the past continued to provide meaning (and indeed they still resonate today): biblical subjects and classical mythology. Many artists and patrons embraced Cicero's dictum, *Historia*

magistra vitae est (History is life's teacher), choosing historical subjects that contained what the ancients referred to as an *exemplum virtutis*, a figure or theme providing an example of virtuous behavior. Within the hierarchy of subject categories for painting and sculpture, art theorists ranked historical and allegorical subjects highest, in the belief that images featuring the human figure were the most capable of conveying basic truths and teaching moral lessons.

Sources of Baroque and Rococo Art

Although the sphere of art was affected by social, religious, and scientific crises, what remained consistent was the strong desire on the part of artists and architects to emulate and compete with the great figures of antiquity and the Renaissance. Painters and sculptors embraced the concept of naturalism, whereby the figural arts were conceived as not an abstraction of nature but a reaffirmation of the visible world. Leaving aside issues regarding the way the eye perceives nature and the formal conventions that govern artistic expression, we can identify two opposing extremes within the broad continuum of naturalistic artworks: mimetic realism, defined as nature copied literally, with flaws intact; and classicism, the intellectualized perfection of nature in pursuit of transcendent Truth or the Ideal.

An important early step in the education of an artist was making copies from drawings, prints, and sculpture. This was a way to establish a visual repertory of great works that would serve as inspiration. It is essential to recall that the concept of the avant-garde did not exist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that artists saw themselves as inheritors of the tradition of ancient and Renaissance art. Whether designing a painting, sculpture, or building, the artist always consulted major exemplars from the past. Nowadays, copying a detail or entire composition may strike us at best as pastiche or at worst as plagiarism, but charges of the latter in the Baroque were exceptional. The cosmopolitan centers of Italy were commonly acknowledged as the fountainhead of art, prompting artists from throughout Europe to travel from site to site along the peninsula, observing and drawing as part of the process of finishing their professional education.

In order to learn the lessons of ancient sculpture, artists not only relied on reproductive prints and casts, but also went to Rome, Florence, and Mantua to see the great Greek and Hellenistic exemplars, usually known through Roman copies. Among the sculptures believed to set a universal standard of perfection, the *Laocoön*, with its dramatic presentation of the Trojan priest and his two sons killed by serpents, represented the highest achievement of the ancients (attributed to Hagesandros, Athanadoros, and Polydoros; second or first century BCE; FIG. 0.5). The group, discovered in a Roman vineyard to much acclaim in

0.5 Attributed to Hagesandros, Athanadoros, and Polydoros, *Laocöon*, second or first century BCE. Marble, height 8′ (244 cm). Vatican Museums, Rome.

1506, is carved in the round but conceived as a narrative in high relief to be placed against a wall, thus affording the best view of its stunningly naturalistic nudes shown in dynamic movement. The *Laocoön* enjoyed a reputation as the primary *exemplum doloris* (example of suffering) because of the emotional tension expressed in every part of the idealized bodies, and its ability to evoke a strong visceral reaction.

Baroque naturalism would not have been possible in painting, drawing, and other two-dimensional media without the formal solutions developed by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century artists to deal with the problem of portraying solid masses in a believable space.

The devices of naturalism include the anatomically correct figure, the draped figure, *contrapposto* poses to give the semblance of life, tonal modeling to convey volume, a consistent light source, foreshortening, and linear and atmospheric perspective. In order to link the figures psychologically with the viewer, artists also experimented with representing states of mind through posture, gesture, and facial expression, as well as the semblance of eye contact. In the third quarter of the fifteenth century an extraordinary synthesis of the devices of naturalism appeared in Andrea Mantegna's frescoed walls and vault of the Camera

0.6 Andrea Mantegna, Camera Picta, 1465–74. Fresco. Ducal palace, Mantua.

Using the oil medium, increasingly common in Italy from the 1470s, Leonardo achieved jewel-like colors and transparent glazes in the *Virgin of the Rocks*, the central panel of an altarpiece commissioned by the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception for their chapel in S. Francesco Grande, Milan (1483–5; FIG. 0.7). The work epitomizes the classicism of High Renaissance painting: The pyramidal grouping of the figures, the emphasis on the triad of primary colors, and the idealized figures (most evident in the perfect behavior of the Christ child and infant John the Baptist) create a perfect world that, unlike Mantegna's Camera Picta, holds the viewer at a respectful distance. The simple motif of Mary's downcast gaze suggests a complex inner emotional life. Initiating a trend toward dark paintings, Leonardo located his figures not in a typically bright space but in a shadowy, mysterious setting, shrouding them in *sfumato* ("smoky" blurring of the forms). Furthermore, he practiced an empirically based

Picta in the ducal palace of Mantua (1465–74; FIG. 0.6). Combining portraiture, ancient history, mythology, landscape, and feigned architecture, Mantegna (1431–1506) produced a landmark example of illusionism, a term used here to mean the rendering of a fictive world that gives the impression of being a literal extension of the real world. He accomplished this by taking into account the position of the observer with respect to the scale and location of painted figures and objects. His efforts astonish, especially the Pantheon-like oculus in the center of the vault, with its view of clouds and sky, figures smiling down at the spectator, and the stone balustrade rendered in one-point linear perspective, as if seen from below looking up (the Italian term is *di sotto in sù*, literally, from below upward).

The masters at the turn of the sixteenth century, the period traditionally called the High Renaissance (1475–1520), fully assimilated the devices of naturalism while taking them in the direction of classicism. Three brilliant artists, all with ties to Florence—Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), and Raphael (1483–1520)—left a body of work that subsequent Renaissance and Baroque painters admired greatly.

0.7 Leonardo da Vinci, *Virgin of the Rocks*, 1483–5. Oil on panel, 6′ 6½″ × 4′ (200 × 122 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

0.8 Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel ceiling, detail, 1508–12. Fresco. Vatican.

naturalism, seen here in the realistic details of anatomy, plant life, and geology.

Michelangelo, working as sculptor and painter in Florence and Rome, created a body of work that earned him the epithet "Divine" during his lifetime. Rejecting the foreshortening and consistent figural scale that are integral to the illusionism of the Camera Picta, Michelangelo created, like Leonardo, a perfected realm—naturalistic but of a higher order—in the Sistine Chapel ceiling in Rome (1508–12; FIG. 0.8). In part inspired by ancient sculpture, *The Creation of Adam* epitomizes his focus on the expressive human form, as may be seen in the contrasting pair of the idealized nude male, Adam, and the draped, explosive form of God the Father. Comparing Michelangelo's preparatory drawings after the model in the studio with these frescoed figures reveals that he tempered an exhaustive study of the body by simplifying and clarifying the musculature. The figures' sharp contours and bright tonalities are evidence of the central Italian emphasis on *disegno* (literally, design or drawing), the use of line to define form and create volume.

Although Raphael would create his most celebrated works in Rome, where he settled in 1508/9, his *Entombment*, the main panel of an altarpiece commissioned by Atalanta

0.9 Raphael, *Entombment*, 1507. Oil on panel, 5′ 11½″ × 5′ 9¼″ (174.5 × 178.5 cm). Borghese Gallery, Rome.

0.10 Parmigianino, *Madonna of the Long Neck*, begun 1534. Oil on wood, 85 × 52″ (219 × 135 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Baglioni for her family chapel in S. Francesco al Prato, Perugia, was conceived in Florence (1507; FIG. 0.9). It too demonstrates the High Renaissance trend toward idealization in its sculptural rendering of the bodies. The classicism of the piece is evident in many details: the relief composition of the figures located in the foreground space; the adoption of a motif, drawn from antique sculpture, of the dead hero transported by athletic males; the use of local color; and the stylized facial expressions comparable to those in the *Laocoön*.

After 1620 the influence of these artists and their contemporaries in central Italy and the province of Emilia, of which Parma and Bologna were the main centers, resulted in a shift toward a new approach to form called Mannerism by some historians, from the Italian *maniera* (manner, style). While Mannerist artists drew inspiration from both ancient statuary and High Renaissance classical sources, and maintained convincingly realistic details, overall they rejected naturalism in favor of a consciously affected aesthetic. The most famous example is the *Madonna of the Long Neck* by Parmigianino (Francesco Mazzola, 1503–40), who was born and trained in Parma and resided in Rome in 1524–7. Parmigianino originally conceived the altarpiece as a conventional enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by Sts. Jerome and Francis (commissioned by Elena Baiardo for her deceased husband's family chapel in Sta. Maria dei Servi, Parma; begun 1534; FIG. 0.10). However, he moved the saints to the background and left the work partly unfinished before his untimely death. Despite the downcast gaze of the Virgin, which shows the influence

of Leonardo, her attenuated proportions defy classical norms while insinuating a new canon of beauty through analogy with the sloping contours of the vase and the column. The space remains unresolved: The crush of youthful angels on the left opposes the illogical jump into the distance on the right, where the two diminutive saints stand (only one of St. Francis's feet was completed). The painting vacillates between an extreme form of sensuous beauty, incorporating potentially erotic details, and a rejection of the devices of naturalism, all in the interest of creating a tension appropriate for the painting's devotional content: the foreshadowing of Christ's death through his sleeping pose.

Michelangelo's work assumed *Maniera* traits as his figures became more exaggerated in their musculature and unnatural poses. When he returned to the Sistine Chapel to paint the large *Last Judgment* over the altar, more than two decades after working on *The Creation of Adam*, the tense climate in Rome, resulting from the Church's struggles with the Protestant revolt, impacted how the fresco was received (1536–41; FIG. 0.11). Although initially praised by artists and cognoscenti, it was soon vilified by art theorists

0.11 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, 1536–41. Fresco, 48 × 44′ (14.6 × 13.41 m). Sistine Chapel, Vatican.

and churchmen for the lack of accuracy and propriety in the details, and the potential lasciviousness of the nudes. At the same time, however, widely circulated prints of the work increased its popularity among artists, and for decades it influenced painters who strove to master the figure, not through life drawing but by quoting Michelangelo. For example, one of his Florentine followers, Agnolo Bronzino (1503–72), produced a large public altarpiece for Sta. Croce, *Christ in Limbo*, whose ravishing figures and conscious references to prototypes exemplify the dangerous path taken by *Maniera* painters in the second half of the century (1552; FIG. 0.12). Seeking to produce a work of unsurpassed beauty, Bronzino undermined its religious content through the blatant sensuality of the crowd of ornamental nudes that threatens to distract the worshiper.

Mannerism as a courtly style that appealed to a sophisticated audience fond of erudite subjects and cognizant of its peculiar relationship to the High Renaissance achieved success in the realm of mythological and allegorical subjects, represented by Bronzino's *Allegory with Venus and Cupid*,

probably commissioned by Cosimo I de'Medici as a gift for the French monarch Francis I (ca. 1545; FIG. 0.13). With its taut outlines and enamel-like color, the work is a model of Florentine *disegno*. The realistic details notwithstanding, the marmoreal flesh, claustrophobic space, and ornamental poses derived from Michelangelo transport the work to the realm of high art, where a lascivious painting—a pubescent Cupid kisses and fondles his mother, Venus—can masquerade as a didactic tool promoting virtuous behavior through a negative example.

Also residing in Parma, Correggio (Antonio Allegri; ca. 1489–1534) drew inspiration from High Renaissance paintings seen on brief trips to Rome and Florence, but he avoided Mannerist distortion while aiming for an ideal beauty and intense emotionalism. One of a pair of oil paintings for the side walls of the Del Bono Chapel in S. Giovanni Evangelistica, Parma, represents the Lamentation, which took place after the deposition of Christ from the Cross, with Jesus propped against the Virgin Mary's lap (1524–6; FIG. 0.14). Correggio brings immediacy to the event by organizing the figures in a daringly asymmetrical composition. The artist places the main group close to the observer, just behind the picture plane, and unites them along emphatic diagonals, implying a bond of intimacy through details like the anguished features of John the Evangelist, against whose chest the Virgin collapses in

0.13 (above) **Bronzino**, *Allegory with Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1545. Oil on panel, 57½ × 45¹¹⁄₁₆″ (146 × 116 cm). National Gallery, London.

0.14 (right) **Correggio**, *Lamentation*, 1524–6. Oil on panel, 61¾ × 71¹³⁄₁₆″ (157 × 182 cm). Galleria Nazionale, Parma.

0.15 Correggio, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1522–30. Fresco, 35′ 10″ × 37′ 11″ (1093 × 1155 cm). Duomo, cupola, Parma.

grief. To lend a sense of immediacy, Correggio dramatically crops the bodies of the holy woman in orange on the left and St. Mary Magdalen on the right. The artist's figural style is an adaptation of Michelangelo's muscularity, Raphael's sweetness, and Leonardo's psychological depth. Additionally, in adopting Leonardo's *sfumato*, he produces an appealing tactile gleam, bordering on the sensual, in the soft flesh and faceted planes of the cascading draperies.

In 1522 Correggio received the commission for the cupola fresco in the Duomo of Parma, representing the triumphal heavenward Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the city's patron saint (FIG. 0.15). Correggio adopts the illusionistic conceit, used by Mantegna at the Camera Picta, of the infinite view of clouds and sky, but here the parapet through which we look is located at the edge of the vastly larger and taller vault. The vista is organized clearly, with all elements uniform in scale and steeply foreshortened in order to preserve the *di-sotto-in-sù* perspective. The apostles, chief witnesses to the Virgin's death, establish the lowest register of space; reacting in astonishment, they stand in front of an octagonal parapet upon which youths light candelabra and generate clouds of incense. Further up, music-playing angels support the Madonna, who is flanked by Adam and Eve and surrounded by the arc of the blessed, from which the ranks of angels and puffy clouds rise in a spiral to meet Christ, floating in the center of the vault. Correggio conceived the human body in a fresh way by using vigorous *contrapposto*, violent foreshortening, enraptured facial features, and a sense of weightlessness. The most extreme example is the angel with head hidden in the clouds and genitals exposed, located near the figure of Christ.

0.16 Titian, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1520–3. Oil on canvas, 69 × 75″ (176.5 × 191 cm). National Gallery, London.

Venice offered its own formal tradition, exemplified by the work of Giorgione (ca. 1477/8–1510), as in the *Pastoral Concert*, painted on canvas rather than the wood support common in central Italy (ca. 1510; see FIG. 11.7). Advancing the point of view that there are no clear outlines in nature, Venetian painters rejected *disegno* in favor of *colorito*, the rendering of form through masses of color, blurred contours, and broad brushwork. Presented in both front and back views, the female nude appears in its characteristically Venetian form as a voluptuous figure whose flesh, made tantalizing by being partially draped, appeals to the tactile sense. Landscape, accorded low status in central Italian painting, is a significant element here, and the theme of music making adds to the sensory appeal of the work. Relatively few Venetian preparatory drawings remain. Instead, artists often sketched their compositions directly on the surface prior to working up the layers of paint with the knowledge that the oil medium facilitates changes (*pentimenti*) during execution.

Titian (1488/90–1576) enjoyed international stature during a long career in which he contributed to the Venetian revolution in medium and technique while producing a large body of work representing a variety of subjects. He established his reputation with portraits whose sitters possess a confident and sensitive air, and with a series of large, innovative altarpieces. He exploited the sensuous effects of the oil medium in his mythological subjects, such as the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, one of three large paintings based on ancient texts, installed in the Camerino of Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and later sequestered by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in 1598, who brought them to Rome, where their impact was considerable (1520–3; FIG. 0.16). Bacchus

leaps from his chariot, followed by the raucous sounds and joyous procession of his cohorts, while Ariadne withdraws defensively, her spiraling body captured in the lost profile, daringly foreshortened right arm, and looping red and blue drapery. The lush landscape takes the standard Venetian format—closed by a thicket of trees on one side and open to a narrow, distant view on the other. The luminosity, rich color, and variety of textures were made possible by the wide spectrum of pigments for sale at specialized vendors (*vendecolore*) and by varying layers of pigment—from thick impasto to thin, transparent glazes.

Over time Titian, like his compatriots, preferred a rougher weave of canvas, which holds impasto better and facilitates tonal gradation. In his later years he pushed loose brushwork toward the disintegration of form, as in *The Death of Actaeon*, intended for Philip II of Spain but kept in Titian's studio until his death (possibly unfinished; ca. 1559–75; FIG. 0.17). In relating Ovid's tragic narrative of the cruel goddess's punishment of the youthful hunter, who had accidentally spied on her bathing and whom she turned into a stag to be torn apart by his own hounds, Titian replicates the sense of rapid movement through broken touches of paint. The work shows Titian's late preference for dark tones to underscore the tragic theme while challenging the observer to imagine the unseen details. Contemporaries described the master's ability to render a convincing figure with just a few strokes, his compulsion to make changes while working, the use of coarse brushes

0.17 Titian, *The Death of Actaeon*, ca. 1559–75. Oil on canvas, 70½ × 78″ (179 × 198 cm). National Gallery, London.

0.18 Joachim Beuckelaer, *The Cook with Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, 1574. Oil on panel, 44 × 32" (112 × 81 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

and even his fingers in applying paint, and his habit of turning a partially completed canvas to the wall for several months before revisiting it afresh.

An alternative stylistic tradition, considered inferior by some Italians, attracted Baroque artists: painting in the Netherlands, based primarily in Antwerp. From the mid sixteenth century, many Italian collectors eagerly imported northern paintings and prints, and a significant number of Netherlandish artists forged careers in Italian cities. Northern painters enjoyed popularity particularly in the areas of portraiture and nonhistorical subjects, such as genre, landscape, and still life, and they deeply influenced the development of these categories during the Baroque. For example, as part of the trend toward increasing secularization of subjects, Joachim Beuckelaer of Antwerp

(ca. 1533–ca. 1574) followed the lead of his master and uncle Pieter Aertsen (1508–75) by creating kitchen and market scenes filled with realistic foodstuffs, often placing a barely glimpsed biblical scene in the background. Beuckelaer's *The Cook with Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* of 1574 incorporates the narrative from the life of Christ, implying that the foreground figure is a modern-day Martha (FIG. 0.18). The directness with which the figure addresses the spectator, and the careful description of still-life objects, yield a compelling image.
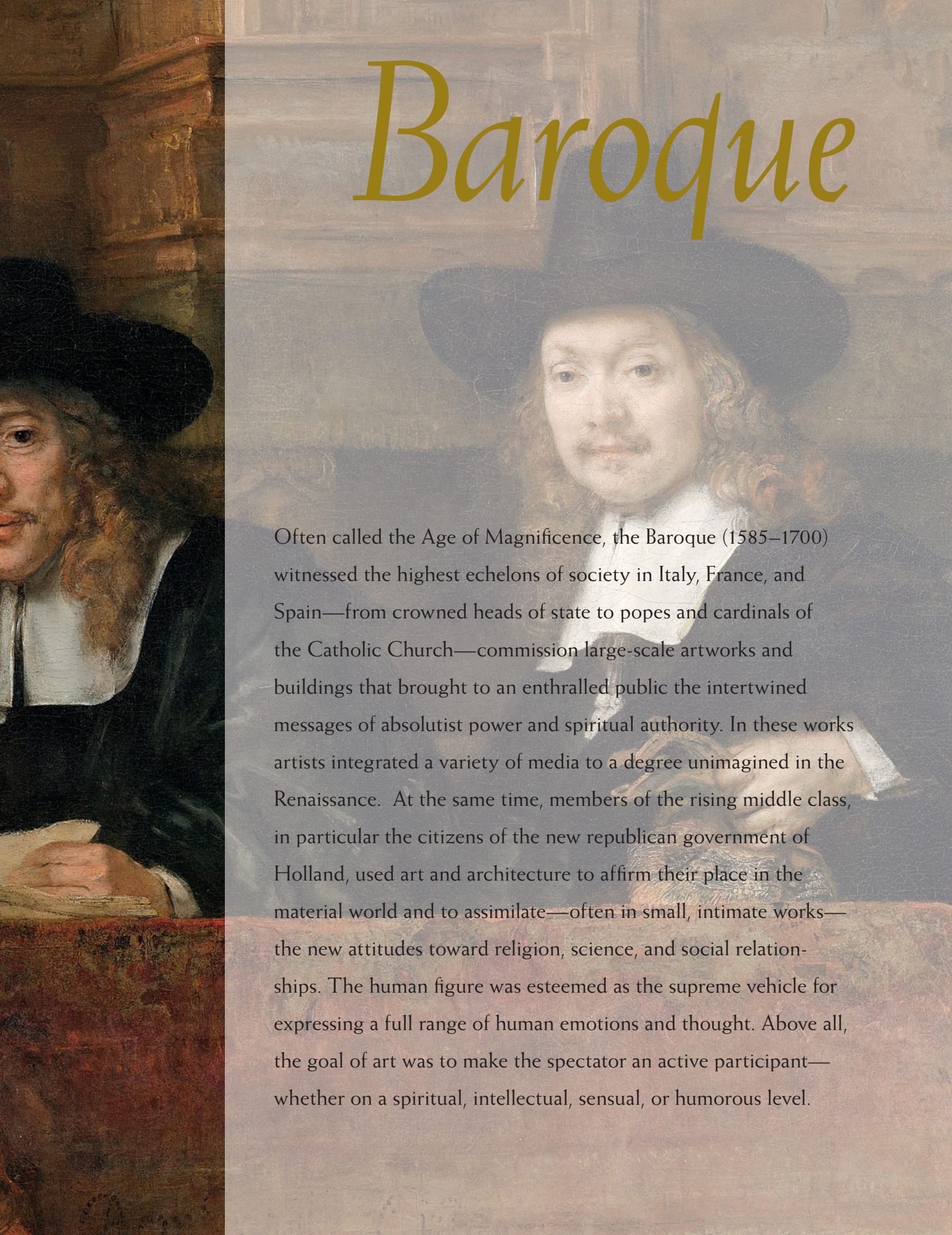
The first generation of Baroque artists in Italy founded their work on the close study of the masters discussed here. Whether they tended toward mimetic realism or idealizing classicism, they would take the devices of naturalism to new heights.

Baroque

Often called the Age of Magnificence, the Baroque (1585–1700) witnessed the highest echelons of society in Italy, France, and Spain—from crowned heads of state to popes and cardinals of the Catholic Church—commission large-scale artworks and buildings that brought to an enthralled public the intertwined messages of absolutist power and spiritual authority. In these works artists integrated a variety of media to a degree unimagined in the Renaissance. At the same time, members of the rising middle class, in particular the citizens of the new republican government of Holland, used art and architecture to affirm their place in the material world and to assimilate—often in small, intimate works— the new attitudes toward religion, science, and social relation- ships. The human figure was esteemed as the supreme vehicle for expressing a full range of human emotions and thought. Above all, the goal of art was to make the spectator an active participant— whether on a spiritual, intellectual, sensual, or humorous level.

The Birth of Baroque Painting in Italy

The Italian peninsula was a patchwork of self-governing states with a shared culture and language until 1861, when they were unified and Victor Emmanel II of Sardinia was crowned king. For example, in the fifteenth century "Italy" comprised some 20 independent political entities. The invasion by King Charles VIII of France in 1494 signaled a half century of war, when France and Spain vied for dominance over various states that were considered prizes for annexation and a bulwark against the Turks. The low point was reached in 1527 with the sack of Rome by the disgruntled troops of Charles V, Holy Roman emperor and king of Spain: Churches and palaces were pillaged and the pope was forced to take refuge in the Castel Sant'Angelo. By the mid sixteenth century, however, greater stability was achieved, particularly with the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis, when France yielded to Habsburg Spain (1559). Thus, by the seventeenth century relatively few powers controlled Italy. Spain ruled the kingdom of Naples, made up of the entire southern half of the peninsula and Sicily, and administered by a viceroy, and also controlled Milan, the capital of Lombardy in the north. In Rome the pope acted as absolutist monarch over the Papal States, a broad swath of territories consolidated from the eighth century onward in central Italy, which stretched from Bologna in the north to the Roman Campagna in the south. Venice and Genoa enjoyed a relatively stable existence as republics, while dukes held sway over smaller principalities—the Medici in Tuscany, the Este in Ferrara and Modena, the Farnese in Parma, the Gonzaga and their successors in Mantua, and the House of Savoy in the Piedmont.

Rome

Italian Baroque art was centered above all in Rome, which emerged from its doldrums in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Rejuvenation was the result of renewal within the Catholic Church and a bold public works campaign initiated by Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–90), who created new streets, brought fresh sources of water, and invested the urbanscape with a modern appearance (FIG. 1.1). What set Rome apart from other capitals was the intensely cosmopolitan nature of its citizenry, who hailed from other regions of Italy as well as of Europe. With opportunities for all classes of people to get rich, and with positive reports of Rome's revival circulating throughout the Continent, the resident population increased from about 45,000 in 1550 to almost 110,000 in 1600, and finally to 140,000 by 1700. In addition to nobles, lawyers, financiers, scientists, and businessmen, a large number of Rome's inhabitants were priests, who not only fulfilled their duties within the Church, but also administered the city and the state and

Caravaggio, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, 1599–1600. (Detail of FIG. 1.32)

1.1 *Pope Sixtus V Surrounded by the Churches, Buildings, and Monuments Built or Restored during his Pontificate*, 1589. Engraving, 20¹⁄₁₆ × 14″ (50.9 × 35.5 cm). Private Collection.

influenced cultural life through their relations with artists, playwrights, and scholars.

Straddling the banks of the Tiber River, Rome thus enjoyed its role as the international city par excellence, a magnet for religious pilgrims seeking indulgences and visiting its seven venerable basilicas. Perhaps as many as 30,000 of these passed through Rome in any given year, while for the Holy Year of 1600 some 500,000 visitors came to experience the city's wonders. Moreover, for an increasing number of tourists and antiquarians the Eternal City offered unparalleled treasures from the ancient, medieval, and Renaissance periods. Artists benefited from a large community in flux, as many travelers wished to take home a devotional work or perhaps a souvenir view of the city (see Giovanni Battista Falda's views, FIGS. 1.2 and 4.3). At the same time, however, an indigent population that desired public welfare also flooded into Rome, seeking the services provided by religious orders and charitable institutions.

Papal influence on the stage of international politics waned during the Baroque, but the pontiffs still maintained relations with Catholic sovereigns throughout Europe, and, as a center of international diplomacy, Rome received ambassadors from far and wide, according them the same privileges as the rulers they represented. The popes were fully aware of the need to underwrite public ceremonies and extravagant monuments to underscore their preeminence. Although the Commune and Senate of Rome had yielded their power to the papacy, the popes invested the resources of the Church in urban revitalization, fully aware of *Roma Sancta*'s capability to represent

1.2 Giovanni Battista Falda, *The Church Dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle of the Novitiate of the Jesuit Fathers on the Quirinal Hill*, from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edificii*, 1665–7. Etching, 7⅛ × 13½″ (181 × 344 cm). British Library, London.

Catholicism triumphant. For cardinals and nobles, a large palazzo, a prestigious art collection, family portraits, a chapel in a local church, and grandiose banquets were all means of self-promotion, especially for those seeking to elevate themselves within the social hierarchy. Thus Rome shone with a radiance not seen for a long time.

The international character of the city was also reflected in the fact that few of its artists were Roman-born. Most came from elsewhere in Italy, especially the northern provinces, to capitalize on the abundance of commissions, and artists from Spain, Holland, Flanders, and France traveled to the city, hoping to achieve acclaim, whether during a temporary sojourn or lifelong residence. Many foreign artists congregated in the region of the northern city portal, the Piazza del Popolo, where papal tax benefits made accommodations more affordable. Young artists arriving on the Roman scene, who sought to better themselves, completed their artistic education by studying the abundant remains of antiquity (FIG. 1.3) and the jewels of the High Renaissance. Rome held her artists in high regard, awarding considerable fees and allowing a lifestyle that in many cases mimicked that of the upper classes. But competition for commissions was fierce nonetheless, with the result that slander, backbiting, and humiliation—even the occasional poisoning or stabbing—were not unusual.

Artistic life in Rome revolved around the Accademia di San Luca, which was founded in 1577 and given, in 1588, the church of Sta. Martina for common devotions and a nearby abandoned granary as meeting space. Instituted as an alternative to the antiquated system of guilds (associations of craftsmen who specialized in particular areas), the academy comprised painters, sculptors, and architects—artisans and dealers were gradually eliminated from its ranks—as well as honorary members such as cardinals, princes, nobles, and literary figures. Its chief function was to raise the professional, social, and intellectual status of its members through various means: to provide a program of sound instruction for young artists that included drawing from the nude and regular lectures by its more renowned Fellows; to create a collection of reception pieces submitted by new members, drawings of the most notable Roman artworks, and casts of ancient statues and reliefs; to assemble a library that would ensure there was a theoretical basis to art production; and to organize periodic art exhibitions so that members' works were seen by the wider public. Membership included both Italian and foreign-born artists, as well as a few women—whose rights were severely restricted largely because it was deemed improper for them to study the nude model.

Bologna

Although Rome prevailed as the most significant site for art patronage during much of the Italian Baroque, a new pictorial style also developed in Bologna, the chief town in the province of Emilia, whose origins may be traced back to the Etruscan settlement of Felsina. As the second most important city in the Papal States from 1506, Bologna was governed by a legate appointed by the pope. As a result, because it was subordinate to the Vatican, its senate, composed of noble families, wielded relatively little power. On occasion Bologna served as the locus of international activities, such as the coronation by the pope of Charles V as Holy Roman emperor in 1530. Most important, its stimulating, cultivated climate, with an emphasis on

1.3 *Apollo Belvedere*, ca. 120–40. Marble, height 7′ 4″ (2.2 m). Vatican Museums, Rome.

1.4 Elisabetta Sirani, *Portia Wounding Her Thigh*, 1664. Oil on canvas, 39¾ × 54¾″ (101 × 138 cm). Courtesy Sotheby's.

painters, the Arte de' Pittori. Sculpture on the other hand was not a medium widely practiced in Bologna. Having neither a ducal court nor the group of cardinals who comprised a major echelon of patrons in Rome, Bologna witnessed the rise of a new class of clients who included members of the senatorial circle, highly placed clerics, and university scholars. The university also prompted a strong antiquarian tradition among collectors, who sought out ancient sculpture and encouraged historical subjects in painting. Women artists, like Elisabetta Sirani, received exceptional support here (FIG. 1.4), and their considerable output had its corollary in the rise of women authors. The region's claim to artistic excellence, independent of Rome and Florence, was taken up by the writer Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616–93), in his *Felsina Pittrice* (1678), a history of Emilian painting.

scientific and literary inquiry, was due to the presence of its university, one of the oldest in Europe, founded in the eleventh century.

The spirit of scientific inquiry is best exemplified in the person of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), who used his position at the university to study the natural sciences. He founded Bologna's first botanical garden and wrote an encyclopedic catalog of all known animals, plants, and minerals, most of it published posthumously, for which he commissioned several thousand drawings and prints. He was also the author of a book detailing collections of antique sculpture in Rome, *Le statue antiche di Roma*. Another major figure was Aldrovandi's friend, Bishop Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), who exercised his pastoral duties in the city, not in Rome, at least until 1586, and pressed for reform in Bologna on all levels, including the institution of new religious schools for children, establishment of lay brotherhoods devoted to charitable works, and advancement of education for women. He completed two chapters and a table of contents for a projected five-volume treatise on painting, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane*, published in part in 1582, which, although directed at a Bolognese audience, had a great impact on artistic practice throughout the Italian peninsula.

In an effort to elevate the status of painting from that of manual labor to a liberal art, in 1569 the painters of Bologna left the Società delle Quattro Arti, a guild comprised of artisans working with leather and steel where they were classed with the shield-makers, to join the Compagnia dei Bombasari, and in 1600 they formed a professional organization exclusively for

Art for the Counter-Reformation Church

From the 1580s the renewal of the arts in Italy was closely allied with the revival of the Catholic Church during the period called by historians the Counter-Reformation (also, the Catholic Reformation). Hit hard by the Protestant

1.5 Carlo Maderno, nave and façade of St. Peter's, 1607–26, and Gianlorenzo Bernini, Piazza S. Pietro, 1656–67, Rome.

Reformation initiated by Martin Luther in 1517 in response to laxity and abuses centered in the Vatican, and smarting from the loss of great numbers of the faithful in northern Europe, the Catholic Church gathered strength and fought back. Beginning in 1545, the Council of Trent, an 18-year series of intermittent meetings of bishops and theologians held primarily in the north Italian town of Trento (Latin: Tridentium), had the purpose of reaffirming basic doctrine and instituting reforms. Whereas the Protestants believed in Christ as the sole mediator between God and man and rejected the clerical hierarchy of Rome, the Catholics reaffirmed the pope's authority through the principle of apostolic succession, whereby the pontiff is considered the heir of St. Peter to whom Christ gave the keys to the kingdom of Heaven and who he instructed to build his Church on earth (FIG. 1.5). They also stressed the pastoral role of bishops and priests at the local level.

The wide gulf that separated Protestants from Catholics was the result of further doctrinal conflicts. Whereas the northern reformers dismissed the idea of the unique sanctity of the Mass, the Catholics upheld veneration of the Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation, whereby the Host is transformed during the Mass into the body of Christ. The Roman Church also maintained the cult of the saints, insisting on their role as intercessors on behalf of the worshiper, and similarly defended the cult of relics, giving special status to those of early Christian saints (see "A Pantheon of Saints," below). Beatifications and

A Pantheon of Saints

1.6 Caravaggio, *The Stigmatization of St. Francis*, ca. 1594–5. Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 50⁵⁄₁₆" (92 × 128 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund.

came a new generation of holy figures who had made major contributions during the Tridentine era, most of them missionaries, mystics, and founders of new orders.

In response to the Protestant ban on saints, Catholics produced new publications that corrected and updated their lives, and emphasized mystical experiences over the traditional narrative scenes. St. Francis (ca. 1182–1226), founder of the Franciscan order, epitomizes the renewed efforts of the Church. Popular in art during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he became even more popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, due largely to the new reformed branch of Franciscans, the Capuchins, established in 1536. His role as *imitator Christi* is apparent in his resemblance to Christ, who inspired his choice of a life of poverty and chastity. The Church downplayed the picturesque events of his biography, such as his preaching to the birds, and focused on miraculous episodes.

Essential to an understanding of Italian Baroque painting is knowledge of the Catholic saints and their role in the Catholic universe. Although Protestants rejected the saints, the Council of Trent reaffirmed their importance in the devotional life of the laity, particularly through the decrees of the Twenty-Fifth Session, which are concerned with the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints, and sacred images. Saints were actual people throughout Church history who through the demonstration of "heroic" virtue were elevated to special status. As such, they constitute a Christian pantheon of archetypes, men and women who stand for different aspects of human behavior. They perform three principal functions. Following the ancient Roman ideal of the *exemplum virtutis*, they offer Catholics models of exemplary behavior in leading the devout life (*imitatio sancti*); they act as intercessors on behalf of the faithful, who may pray to God or the Virgin through a mediating saint; and they are associated with specific human needs, such as St. Roch, who is invoked against the plague.

Authority to grant sainthood, a process that originates with beatification, was given the pope alone during the Counter-Reformation. To the ranks of early Christian and medieval saints

Francis did not die a martyr, but the centerpiece of his existence was an analogous event, his stigmatization (from the Greek, to brand) while at prayer on Mount Alverna—the receiving of the marks of Christ's mortal wounds. Caravaggio's painting of this supernatural event was owned by the Roman banker Ottavio Costa (*The Stigmatization of St. Francis*, ca. 1594–5; Fig. 1.6). St. Francis lies on the ground, in the very midst of the stigmatization itself, as is evident from the appearance of the lance wound on his right side; the nail holes have yet to appear on the hands and feet. The comforting angel supporting the saint, derived from Caravaggio's early day-lit pictures of half-length youths, is not common in the pictorial tradition, but does accord with the saint's biographies, like the one by St. Bonaventure and *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, according to which he was frequently consoled by angels, including prior to his stigmatization.

canonizations became more frequent in the seventeenth century, as the Church moved from its so-called militant phase to its triumphant phase. The two factions also differed on the requirements for salvation; Catholics argued for both faith and good works, Protestants for faith alone (*sola fide*). The Protestants additionally took issue with the sacraments: They rejected five of the Catholic seven (confirmation, penance, marriage, extreme unction, and holy orders), and maintained two, baptism and the Eucharist—the only ones, they argued, established by Christ.

Equally important, the Catholics reaffirmed the use of art for didactic and inspirational purposes, as opposed to the Protestant ban on images in churches on the grounds that they encouraged idolatry. The decrees of the final session of the Council of Trent (December 1563), "On the Invocation and Veneration of Saints, on the Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images," claimed that the honor shown the figures in paintings reverted to the godhead and the saints. The council condemned pictures that represented false doctrines, failed to follow textual sources, or were lascivious by virtue of the incorporation of nude figures—a good example of the latter would be Bronzino's *Christ in Limbo*, in which the ideally beautiful figures carry an erotic charge (see FIG. 0.12)—and urged the representation of the lives of the saints as moral exemplars and indicated the role of bishops in monitoring art production.

Because the decrees were relatively brief, several writers attempted to set down rules in theoretical tracts. For

Altars and Altarpieces

Because our present-day experience of Baroque religious art takes place primarily in the museum or the classroom, we can easily forget that such works originally functioned as liturgical objects within a church or as devotional pieces in a private context. For the seventeenth-century artist, one of the most sought-after types of commission was for an altarpiece, most often a painting but sometimes a sculpture. This might be for a high altar in a sanctuary where High Mass is celebrated, in which case the artwork was usually quite large in order to render it visible from the nave, and its subject was derived from the dedication of the church. Alternatively, the commission might be for an altarpiece in a side chapel, as in the instance of the Contarelli Chapel in S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, where Caravaggio provided the altarpiece of *St. Matthew and the Angel* and lateral canvases with scenes from the saint's life (1599–1602; Fig. 1.7). In most basilicas, side chapels were sufficiently separated from the nave to allow for celebration of the Mass or private meditation in a relatively secluded space, as may be seen at the Jesuit church of Il Gesù in Rome (see Figs. 4.7–4.8). Church fathers normally lacked funds for decoration, and so they signed a contract giving rights of patronage for a side chapel to a wealthy benefactor, confraternity, or civic organization. Since the chapels were essentially public spaces, they acted as signs of social status and prestige, not only for the donor but for the artist as well.

An altar may take the form of a table or a block, and its function is to support the books and vessels used during the Mass, as well as the obligatory crucifix. Altars, which have a small relic embedded within or under them, are dedicated either to a saint or a Catholic mystery, usually identified by a small inscription. The front may receive decoration, called the frontal or antependium, such as an embroidered cloth or relief sculpture, like that in Bernini's Cornaro Chapel representing the Last Supper (see Fig. 3.16). The analogy between the block-altar type and a sarcophagus was exploited when a saint's relics were placed below the surface.

The Mass celebrated before the altar is the central act of Catholic worship, and its major component is the Eucharist, the symbolic re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The Mass also commemorates the Last Supper, when Christ instituted the Eucharist, giving his disciples the bread, saying "This is my body," and the wine, saying "This is my blood" (see Barocci's *The Last Supper*; Fig. 1.15). At the moment of the *elevatio* the celebrant,

1.7 Caravaggio, The Contarelli Chapel, 1599–1602. S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

or officiating priest, holds the consecrated Host, a thin wafer of unleavened bread, high above his head for the adoration of the congregation, signaling the process of transubstantiation, whereby the bread and wine have been mystically converted into the body and blood of Christ (the word "Host" comes from the Latin *hostia*, meaning sacrificial victim).

Depending on the dedication of the chapel, the subject of the altarpiece may be either iconic, representing some aspect of Catholic dogma, or a narrative, based on a biblical text or saint's biography. Correlation with the Mass is evident when the artist portrays the Last Supper or, more directly, the sacrament itself, as in the representations of *The Last Communion of St. Jerome* by both Agostino Carracci (see Fig. 1.26) and Domenichino (see Fig. 2.9).

example, in his *De picturis et imaginibus sacri* (1570), the Flemish theologian Johannes Molanus warned against the dangers of representing nude figures and potentially erotic narratives, and included a catalog of rejected subjects. Paleotti, the bishop of Bologna, and author of *Discorso interno*, also objected to nudity in religious paintings and proposed a list of banned subjects. His objections were clearly aimed at central and north Italian artists who worked according to Mannerist principles as exemplified by Parmigianino, and who, in their desire for originality and an extreme form of beauty, produced religious works that were confusing, overtly sensual, and lacking in emotional warmth (see *Madonna of the Long Neck*; FIG. 0.10). Championing the concept of art as the Bible of the illiterate, and pressing for the didactic function of art, Paleotti stressed the importance of truthful and historically accurate representations. In the architectural field, St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, wrote the only book devoted to church buildings and furnishings: *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*, which included a short section on altarpieces (begun after 1572, published in 1577).

It is worth summarizing the arguments of the Roman Church in advocating change in holy images. Certain key subjects signifying aspects of Catholic doctrine were recommended for altarpieces and devotional paintings—the Crucifixion, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the sacraments. In representing these, artists were urged to incorporate four general characteristics: clarity, accuracy, decorum, and emotional accessibility. Regarding clarity, critics of late sixteenth-century art, particularly of Mannerism, railed against the obscurity produced by works whose primary goal was to produce aesthetic pleasure, with a subsequent loss of religious content; thus, simplicity and directness were recommended as a means of achieving clarity. In demanding accuracy, the writers urged the strict following of biblical texts and accepted pictorial precedents (see "Altars and Altarpieces," opposite). The issue was most famously addressed in a diatribe by Giovanni Andrea Gilio, author of *Dialogo degli errori e degli abusi de' pittori* (1564), against Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco in the Sistine Chapel (see FIG. 0.11), on the grounds that he took liberties with generally accepted ideas regarding the Day of Judgment. The issue of decorum, whereby all details in a painting, such as costume and setting, must be appropriate to the subject, was raised in two well-documented cases. In 1573 the Holy Office brought the painter Paolo Veronese before the Inquisition tribunal over alleged unseemly details (such as an apostle cleaning his teeth with a toothpick) in the painting of *The Last Supper* intended for the refectory of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (FIG. 1.8; the title was changed to *The Feast in the House of Levi*). And again, Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* was the object of an attack in *Letters* written by the art critic Pietro Aretino for its alleged voluptuous and licentious portrayal of nude figures (1537, 1545; Gilio made the same criticism). Bishop Paleotti's dictum that the express purpose of religious imagery was to "incite devotion and sting the heart" suggests a rejection of the altarpieces of the late

1.8 Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573. Oil on canvas, 18′ 3″ × 42′ (5.5 × 12.8 m). Accademia, Venice.

sixteenth century in favor of an accessible art that would stimulate the worshiper emotionally, visually, intellectually, and spiritually—a wake-up call that seems indeed to have roused the early Baroque painters. Not only the Church, but also private patrons sensed that in the realm of secular subjects, such as Bronzino's *Allegory with Venus and Cupid* (see FIG. 0.13) central Italian *disegno* had worn out its welcome with its parade of fantastic human figures, abnormal colors, spatial ambiguity, and general departure from verisimilitude.

Patronage: The Pope and His Cardinals

As the main center of Italian art production, Rome counted among its patrons the nobility, churchmen, businessmen, ambassadors, humanists, and acclaimed visitors. But above all, it was the pope and his relatives who dominated the art scene as they strove to enhance the prestige of the papacy and expand the power of their individual dynasties, goals that were facilitated by ready access to the papal coffers. In the Baroque age the pope functioned in three capacities: as chief of the revived Catholic Church centered in

1.9 Guido Reni, *Portrait of Cardinal Roberto Ubaldino, Papal Legate to Bologna*, 1627. Oil on canvas, 77½ × 58¾" (196.8 × 149.2 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation.

Rome; as absolutist monarch ruling the Papal States; and as head of his own ambitious family. His seat of power was the Vatican palace, located adjacent to the basilica of St. Peter's, itself built over the apostle's tomb as the most potent symbol of the doctrine of apostolic succession.

The papal court was unique insofar as its courtiers were celibate males. Because the pope lacked an heir, the papacy constituted an elective monarchy: The death of each pope set into motion the selection of a new pontiff from the ranks of the College of Cardinals. Wishing to have trusted associates occupying the chief administrative positions, the popes exploited a system of nepotism whereby *nipoti*—not only nephews, but also brothers, cousins, and intimates—received lucrative offices and benefices, both ecclesiastic and secular. Ideally, two *nipoti* were elevated to the highest rank: One, the cardinal-nephew (*cardinale nipote*), was induced into a life in the Church and became in effect secretary of state overseeing the Papal States, and the other would be married to an aristocratic family in order to perpetuate the line and elevate the family's status. The result was a series of sudden shifts of power at the Vatican, as each new pope surrounded himself with family and friends, as well as local artists from the clan's homestead, all of whom might get rich until the pontiff's death, at which time a quick exit was prudent.

The pope was expected to follow a modest lifestyle and exhibit pious virtue. Thus, in his stead the cardinal-nephew adopted the trappings of secular power, namely, courtly ceremony, reception of ambassadors and dignitaries, palatial residences and villas, titled estates, and an art collection representing the taste and wealth of the family (FIG. 1.9). Cardinals lived in grand palazzos at the center of their own courts, each with a *famiglia* (household) numbering between 100 and 200 persons. Through the purchase of titled fiefs, often from impoverished nobility, and the sponsoring of dynastic marriages, they assimilated themselves as ecclesiastical aristocracy into the ancient baronial aristocracy. Called "princes of the Church," cardinals were expected to live lavishly, sponsoring churches, chapels, and charitable works that would benefit the populace and bring magnificence to Rome. As members of the College of Cardinals, their single major function was the election of the pope, as they had gradually lost their position as policy-makers. The pope alone could grant the red hat, with the maximum number of 70 cardinals fixed in 1585.

Patronage: Religious Orders and Confraternities

Two further classes of patron deserve mention. Both the new religious orders that flourished during the Counter-Reformation and the lay confraternities devoted to good works were instrumental in commissioning artworks for churches and chapels. Three orders in particular, while different in character and goals, played an active role in

1.10 Guercino, *St. Gregory with Sts. Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier*, ca. 1625–6. Oil on canvas, 9′ 8½″ × 6′ 11″ (2.9 × 2.1 m). National Gallery, London.

members of the middle or lower classes, although some included women and a few comprised female-only sororities. In line with the Catholic emphasis on faith and good works, members carried out charitable acts that might include medical services, the establishment of orphanages, assistance to prisoners, and burial of the dead. The locus of their communal devotions was a chapel or oratory whose decoration and altarpiece they oversaw.

The subject of private patronage will be addressed later in this chapter in connection with specific collections. Although many of the works discussed in these pages were commissioned, it should be borne in mind that great quantities of pictures were sold by minor artists on the open market, often in stalls or on the street, or directly from the studio (FIG. 1.11). Art exhibitions became increasingly prevalent by the mid seventeenth century, while commercial dealers grew in number, and often combined selling art objects with the sale of luxury items or religious goods, as a wider public sought to purchase small, portable easel paintings.

In exploring the above issues regarding site and patronage, this chapter focuses on the work of five artists. The first, Federico Barocci, represents the transition from Renaissance to Baroque. The other four typify the first generation of Italian Baroque painters: two brothers, Annibale and Agostino Carracci, their cousin Ludovico Carracci, and the best known of the group, Caravaggio. Rejecting the widely practiced formal idiom of Mannerism, these artists looked to more naturalistic sources—Venetian and Lombard models as well as the ideal realms of Correggio and the High Renaissance—to create a visual language that corresponded to the real world, both

urban communities and developed ways to enhance spiritual growth through images: the Theatines, an order of secular clergy established in 1524 by four members of the Roman branch of the Oratory of Divine Love, including St. Cajetan and Giovanni Pietro Carafa (later Paul IV); the Jesuits, founded in 1534 by Sts. Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier (FIG. 1.10); and the Oratorians, another body of secular clergy instituted in 1575 by St. Philip Neri. Their formative years allowed relatively little time or money for large-scale projects, but by 1600 each had a mother church in Rome and houses springing up elsewhere in Europe. Invariably the orders depended on the sponsorship of wealthy benefactors, which often resulted in richly outfitted buildings seemingly at odds with the ascetic rule of the community.

Confraternities also formed an important sector of patronage. In the Baroque age a complex relationship existed between the rich and the poor: while the latter were dependent on the generosity of the former, it was understood that they were themselves the divinely appointed agents of salvation for the wealthy. Thus numerous brotherhoods flourished, primarily composed of lay male

1.11 Simon Guillain, *Picture Seller, from the Arti di Bologna (after Annibale Carracci)*, 1646. Etching, 10³⁄₈″ × 6¹⁄₈″ (26.3 x 15.5 cm). British Museum, London.

physically and emotionally. The bulk of their commissions came from patrons connected with the reinvigorated Catholic Church, and thus they strove to satisfy Counter-Reformation requirements in the areas of clarity, accessibility, and orthodoxy. Their influence on subsequent generations, into the eighteenth century, marks them as pioneers of a new naturalistic style. Barocci, born circa 1535, worked independently in Urbino and had the longest career of anyone in the group. The Carracci, born just after mid century, were based primarily in Bologna, where they founded an art academy and trained many distinguished painters of the next generation. Caravaggio, whose life unfolded along the length of the Italian peninsula, was the youngest, and his earliest known paintings appeared after the careers of the others were underway.

Federico Barocci

Born into a family of sculptor-craftsmen, Federico Barocci (ca. 1535–1612) trained in his native town of Urbino in central Italy with the Venetian painter Battista Franco. Eager to establish himself as a major figure in the art world and to profit from study of the High Renaissance masters, Barocci made two trips to Rome, the first in about 1555, and the second in 1560–3, when he worked collaboratively at the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican gardens. It was there that a disastrous event occurred: his biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori tells us that envious painters poisoned Barocci's salad, inducing an incurable sickness that affected him for the remainder of his life. Barely able to eat, the artist could work only one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening. He retreated to the isolation of Urbino, where he was closely associated with the court of Francesco Maria II delle Rovere, duke of Urbino, and engaged for the most part in a mail-order business of altarpieces which were sent to churches across the peninsula. Such was his fame that, in addition to numerous ecclesiastical authorities, his patrons included Pope Clement VII, the Habsburg emperor Rudolf II, Duke Francesco I de'Medici of Tuscany, and King Philip II of Spain.

Although Barocci outlived all but one of the artists in this chapter, the fact that he was confidently producing works as early as the 1560s raises the question of whether he belongs in the history of Baroque art. He is included here because he did not follow contemporary *Maniera* models except in some details, and instead sought a high degree of naturalism based on reality tempered by a certain idealization. The evidence lies in his legacy of over 2,000 surviving drawings, a testament to the extreme care that went into his work, from initial compositional sketches to individual studies from nature for heads, hands, and drapery. The biggest impact on his formation came from Correggio, who died about the time that Barocci was born but whose works he may have studied

firsthand in Parma and certainly knew through drawings and prints. Barocci was the earliest painter of his generation to turn to Correggio for pictorial ideas that would render religious subjects more accessible—for example, cropping the image to give a greater impression of immediacy, projecting a sense of the figures' emotional state, and energizing figures and draperies with dramatic movement. A devout Catholic who lived during the final years of the Council of Trent, Barocci was the first major artist to respond to the demands of the Counter-Reformation Church by replacing nudity and eroticism with decorum and emotional stimuli.

The masterpiece of Barocci's first decade of activity is the altarpiece of *The Deposition* commissioned by the merchants' confraternity of Perugia for the chapel of San
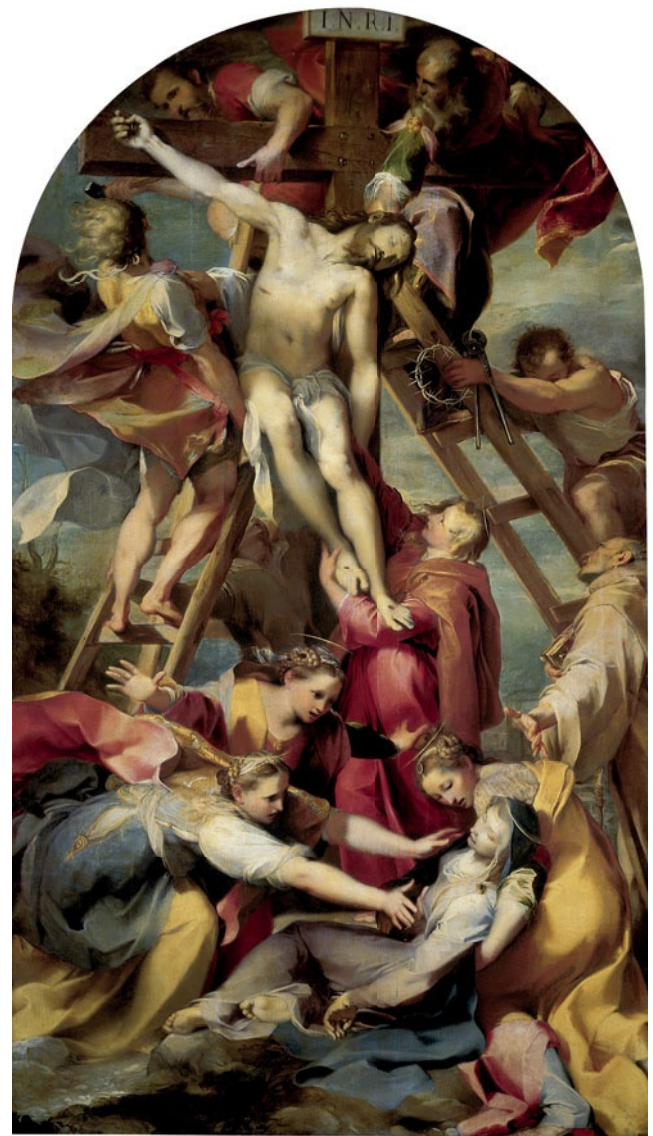
1.12 Federico Barocci, *The Deposition*, 1567–9. Oil on canvas, 162 × 91⁵⁄₁₆″ (412 × 232 cm). Cathedral, Perugia.

Bernardino in the cathedral (1567–9; FIG. 1.12). This stirring vision of the dead Christ, set on a windswept Golgotha, engages the viewer in the dramatic act of his removal from the cross by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, who reach forward at the top of the canvas. The youthful John the Evangelist, dressed in red, receives the body from below. Behind him, in an anachronism common to altarpieces, the fifteenth-century St. Bernardino acts as an astonished witness. Barocci adds the intensely emotional vignette of the Virgin collapsing from grief on the ground among female attendants, the so-called Three Maries.

Although the painting shows traces of Mannerist elements, such as the spiraling surface composition and piquant color contrasts, Barocci's figural style, the use of atmosphere and light (in particular the shadow cast across Christ's torso), and the persuasive movements of the figures are natural and convincing. Raphael's Baglioni *Entombment*, located in Perugia, inspired Barocci's depiction of the struggle to support the heavy body and the emotional response to the Virgin (see FIG. 0.9). But its primary visual source is the work of Correggio, such as the *Lamentation* of 1524–6 for the Del Bono Chapel (see FIG. 0.14), for the powerful sense of drama, the emotional linking of the figures through gesture, and the *sfumato* that softens and idealizes the women's faces.

For the chapel of the Confraternity of the Madonna della Misericordia in Arezzo Barocci created the immense *Madonna del Popolo* in 1575–9 (FIG. 1.13). Native son Giorgio Vasari had already completed the architecture and fresco decoration, but he died before painting the altarpiece; thus Barocci received the job on the advice of the local representative at the Medici court. The original contract for the altarpiece also called for a small tondo placed above the panel (*God the Father*, completing the Trinity with Christ and the dove of the Holy Spirit below).

In the heavenly sphere Barocci shows the Virgin Mary in a dual role, first as Madonna della Misericordia, patron of the confraternity below, which she protects with her cloak, and second as the Madonna Mediatrix, interceding before Christ on behalf of the populace. In the mundane sphere, on the steps of the fraternity's house in the Piazza Grande of Arezzo, members of the city's most prominent charitable group administer alms to the needy, who are characterized in terms of three archetypes: a reclining beggar, a blind hurdy-gurdy player, and a gypsy mother with infant, handed a coin by a curly-haired boy. In the left rear we see figures administering to someone at a window.

Barocci includes a symbolic figural group in the lower left: The mother with two charming children derives from the personification of Charity,

1.13 **Federico Barocci**, *Madonna del Popolo*, 1575–9. Oil on panel, 141⁵⁄₁₆ × 99¼" (359 × 252 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

traditionally shown as a woman suckling two infants, but in response to the Church's insistence on modesty and decorum, the artist clothes her breasts and shifts the action to devotion. The *colori cangianti* (shot or changing colors) of their costumes might appear artificial or decorative in a Mannerist context, but Barocci uses them to model the figures and keep the colors bright. The soft flesh tones also show his innovative and influential use of bluish tints and rosy bloom, based on his practice of drawing with pastels, to simulate blood veins and flushed skin. Reflecting his knowledge of Correggio's dynamic compositions, he unifies the piece by means of the underlying X-shaped composition, the spiral of interlinked gestures and glances, and the pattern of shimmering light and color. Finally, he successfully combines idealized female heads and abstract drapery forms with details of extreme realism, such as the little dog in the lower right who peers out of the painting at the viewer.

The medium of printmaking allowed Barocci to enhance his reputation and secure further income through the dissemination of his compositions in the form of multiple impressions. In addition to sanctioning the reproduction of his designs by other printmakers, including Agostino Carracci, he produced four superb prints, employing etching as the primary technique and adding some engraving and drypoint to broaden the range of silvery grays (for the different media, see "Rembrandt and Netherlandish Print Culture," p. 199). The last of the four, the *Annunciation* (ca. 1582–4; FIG. 1.14), replicates his painted altarpiece for the duke of Urbino's chapel in the basilica of Loreto (now in Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana). It was still fairly unusual at this time for a renowned painter to make his own prints, and so it is significant that Barocci mastered the medium fully, using parallel, cross-hatched, and stippled lines to create the effect of brilliant light falling from overhead and subtly contrasting textures of different fabrics.

The Annunciation is extremely popular in Catholic art because it celebrates the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God and visualizes in simple terms the doctrine of the Incarnation, according to which the conception took place at the moment of the Annunciation. Barocci follows the biblical narrative by showing the archangel Gabriel, who has just alighted, extending a hand in salutation, while the kneeling Virgin, turning from her reading, raises her hands in a subtle gesture of amazement while maintaining her composure. The dark clouds and streaming celestial rays overhead refer to the imminent arrival of the dove of the Holy Spirit. Barocci includes the traditional accessories: the lilies symbolizing Mary's purity; the open book in which she was reading Isaiah's prophecy, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son"; and the sewing basket signifying her spinning the wool for the veil of the temple of Jerusalem, which would be split in half upon Christ's death. The mundane world appears in the guise of the slumbering cat, a symbol perhaps of fertility, and

1.14 Federico Barocci, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1582–4. Etching, engraving, and drypoint, 17¼ × 12½″ (43.7 × 31.6 cm). British Museum, London.

the emblematic two-towered façade of the ducal palace of Urbino visible through the window, a reminder of the patron of the Loreto altarpiece.

Barocci's *The Last Supper*, a large oil measuring some 9 feet square (1590–9; FIG. 1.15), decorates a lateral wall of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Urbino cathedral, which enjoyed the patronage of the duke of Urbino. The composition pays homage to Leonardo's *Last Supper*, in its symmetrical organization, placement of the table parallel to the picture plane, differentiated reactions of the 12 apostles, and classical detailing of the room. At the same time, the genrelike activities of the servants, clearing dishes and serving wine, belong to the north Italian pictorial tradition. Barocci engages us through numerous details that convey a sense of movement and change: the gestures of the foreground figures, who stride through space and glance powerfully toward each other, the fluttering edges of the garments, the spotlighting of pure tones of red and yellow against the monochromatic background, and (again) a dog who glances in our direction. He integrates these jostling elements along the intersecting diagonals of an X-shaped composition, and uses the orthogonals of the

1.15 Federico Barocci, *The Last Supper*, 1590–9. Oil on canvas, 117¾ × 126¾″ (299 × 322 cm). Cathedral, Urbino.

one-point system of linear perspective—to which even the angels conform—to carry the spectator's eye from the foreground to the figure of Christ, the central focal point.

Barocci highlights the institution of the Eucharist: by placing the wine and bread at the painting's center, he underscores the importance of the Last Supper as the first Mass. The image thus reinforces the central role of the Eucharist in Catholicism, as well as the doctrine of transubstantiation, according to which the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of Christ at the moment of consecration. This is in strict opposition to the Protestant point of view, which denies any such transformation. Judas plays a minor role in the drama

as the darkly bearded male of satyrlike physiognomy, dressed in bright yellow, who regards his unsheathed knife ominously.

Barocci was the dominant painter in Italy outside of Venice between the death of Michelangelo in 1564 and the rise of the Carracci in the mid 1580s. By combining *disegno* (skillful figural drawings from life) with *colorito* (a vibrant palette and stunning textural effects) and by maintaining decorum and avoiding the nude body unless strictly required by the subject, he avoided the Church's charge of lasciviousness and answered the call for truly engaging, devotional works. Barocci initiated the flowing, dynamic style that reinvigorated the altarpiece as a thrilling event,

and in the process influenced many Baroque artists, such as the Carracci and Peter Paul Rubens.

The Carracci

Simultaneous with the career of Barocci in Urbino, another challenge to the *Maniera* and concomitant response to Counter-Reformation requirements for religious art was formulated in Bologna, where three members of the Carracci family, which had its origins in Cremona, banded together to seek a return to naturalism in painting. The Carracci brothers, Annibale (1560–1609) and Agostino (1557–1602), and their cousin Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619), whose biographies were recorded by Malvasia in his *Felsina pittrice*, were aware of their mission as reformers. They traveled widely in order to experience the work of the great sixteenth-century masters, and collaborated on many of their early works. In 1582 they founded a professional art school, first named the Accademia dei Desiderosi (those desiring to learn) and then the Accademia degli Incamminati (the progressives), which was initially informal in character and later provided a full curriculum of art study.

Unlike the rival Bolognese workshops of Bartolomeo Passarotti (1529–92) and the Fleming Denis Calvaert (ca. 1540–1619), which operated on the traditional master–apprentice system, the Carracci academy placed emphasis on study from nature, which included male and female models, anatomical dissections, and other elements of the natural world. In addition they collected casts of antique sculpture and drawings by Old Masters for the purpose of study. Like Barocci, they worked out their images through a full complement of drawings, from ink compositional

1.16 Ludovico Carracci, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1583–4. Oil on canvas, 82⅝ × 90½″ (210 × 230 cm). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.

sketches to chalk studies of figural details; indeed, several thousand drawings have survived from the three. In addition, the trio shared a keen interest in architecture, geometry, perspective, optics, and literature. They were also fascinated by pictorial riddles consisting of a few strokes that could be interpreted as representing different things, and may have produced the first true caricatures—line drawings that exaggerate for amusing and satirical ends.

Ludovico Carracci

Despite a short trip to Rome in 1602, Ludovico resided in Bologna, where he headed the Carracci academy and produced a large number of paintings, including many altarpieces for Bolognese churches. Because he was the oldest of the three, he was legally the only one in a position to be the *caposcuola* of the workshop, and he assumed his duties as head of the academy with pride and gusto, delegating commissions and embracing the assistance of pupils. As a teacher, he exerted a profound influence on the next generation of Bolognese artists.

He trained in Bologna under the Mannerist Prospero Fontana (1512–97), but his earliest extant works demonstrate an interest in genre subjects and a strongly realistic approach. Taking an anti-Mannerist stand, he developed into a major force in promoting the dynamic Baroque style practiced by Barocci. Ludovico traveled widely, presumably in the 1570s, to Florence, Parma, Venice, and Mantua, in order to study the masters of the past. His formation, like that of his cousins, depended on the acquisition of a full repertory of visual ideas developed earlier in the sixteenth century, and the manipulation of these according to the requirements of the commission.

Ludovico's early religious works show a combination of naturalism, decorum, and emotional fervor befitting the requirements of the Post-Tridentine Church (the Church after the Council of Trent). For the meeting room of the Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento in Bologna, he painted his first large-scale religious subject, *The Annunciation*, later transferred to the society's chapel in the new church of San Giorgio in Poggioreale (ca. 1583–4; FIG. 1.16). As in the instance of Barocci's roughly contemporary print of *The Annunciation* (see FIG. 1.14), the altarpiece displays the doctrinal significance of the Incarnation and minimizes the element of confrontation. With a flutter of wings and draped cloth, Gabriel alights in the room as Mary kneels demurely before a *prie-dieu*, with her sewing basket and distaff for spinning at her side. Unlike the master of Urbino, Ludovico included the third element normally present in the scene, the dove of the Holy Spirit, agent of the miraculous impregnation. The dramatic telling of the narrative, combined with the warm, sympathetic portrayal of the protagonists, has the effect of drawing in the viewer.

The one-point system of linear perspective defines the space with precision and simplicity. The heavy application

1.17 Ludovico Carracci, *The Holy Family with St. Francis and Donors*, 1591. Oil on canvas, 88⅝ × 65⅜″ (225 × 166 cm). Pinacoteca Civica, Cento.

of paint lends a physical presence to objects represented, further encouraged by the close observation of such details as the still life. Ludovico's indebtedness to Correggio is most evident in sweet, idealized faces and faceted drapery patterns (compare FIG. 0.14). Visible through the window are the leaning towers of Bologna, a localizing detail comparable to the two-towered façade of the ducal palace of Urbino seen in Barocci's version.

In *The Holy Family with St. Francis and Donors* Ludovico employed the iconic tradition of the *sacra conversazione* (holy conversation), in which the enthroned Madonna and Child are surrounded by saints from different periods who meditate or communicate silently with one another (1591; FIG. 1.17). (On the Catholic devotion to the Virgin Mary, see "Singing the Madonna's Praises," p. 46.) The donors, depicted in a subordinate position at lower right as if on the same level as the viewer, were relatives of Giuseppe Piombini, who commissioned the work as the altarpiece for the family chapel and had his name saint, Joseph, included on the right as part of the Holy Family. The church, located in the town of Cento, some 20 miles north of Bologna, was overseen by the Capuchin order, and so

St. Francis appears on the left wearing the patched habit of the reformed Franciscans. Despite the axial placement of the Queen of Heaven, Ludovico introduces a lively asymmetry through the angled postures of the two male saints. The fervent exchange of glances and gestures, echoed by rippling draperies, carries the eye rapidly around the picture, injecting a strongly emotional element in the manner of Correggio (see FIG. 0.14) and Barocci.

A possible second trip to Venice in the early 1590s may have prompted a new interest in Venetian models, evident in the rough and varied application of paint, which leaves the canvas showing through in places, and the intensified color, like the brilliant red swath of Joseph's garment. The bold tenebrism, with highlighted forms emerging from the dark background as if by a flash of lightning, reveals Ludovico's study of Tintoretto and late Titian (compare the latter's *The Death of Actaeon*; FIG. 0.17). The close-up position of life-size figures and the cropping of the image by the frame give the impression of immediacy, as if the divine personages impinged upon the worshiper's world. The holy figures are presented not as static types but as real people involved in action—even the pair of angels engages in lively discourse. Thus the emphasis is not on ideal beauty, as in Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks* (see FIG. 0.7) or refined beauty, as in such Mannerist examples as Parmigianino's *Madonna of the Long Neck* (see FIG. 0.10), but on the naturalism of the group, making the saints accessible, and stimulating the piety of the worshiper.

Annibale Carracci

Annibale, whose biography was recorded by Malvasia and Bellori, was trained possibly by Passarotti or by his cousin Ludovico, who encouraged him to take a study trip in 1580: first to Parma and Venice, then probably to Florence

Singing the Madonna's Praises

For the Baroque age, Mary—mother of God, vessel of the Incarnation, and mediatrix between worshiper and the divine—was a subject without parallel for works of religious art due to her presumed role in the salvation of mankind. Within the broad range of personality types that constitute the pantheon of saints, the Virgin offers the most accessible of human traits: maternal love, evident in scenes from the Nativity and of Christ's death. As the object of veneration, the Madonna appears in iconic images, whether enthroned as Queen of Heaven with the Christ child, a type of image popularized in the seventh century, or as the Madonna of Mercy who oversees religious confraternities, or as the essence of virginal purity itself in the Immaculate Conception (see "The Immaculate Conception," p. 148).

Mention of Mary in the Gospels is relatively scant, largely restricted to the beginning and the end of the life of Christ. In particular the Bible does not treat the final days of her life, so that representations of various stages in this particular narrative depend on a literary tradition dating back to fourth-century apocryphal writings. Much of this material was presented in a coherent way by Jacobus da Voragine in *The Golden Legend*, a thirteenth-century compendium of lives of the saints. According to Voragine, in her old age the Virgin longed to be reunited with Christ, with the result that an angel visited her to announce her forthcoming death. Since she desired to see the disciples one last time, they were miraculously transported on clouds to her side from their worldwide missions. At the moment of her death, Christ came down with a bevy of angels to take her soul. Once he had departed, she was truly dead, and the apostles mourned her passing—the scene depicted in Caravaggio's *The Death of the Virgin* (see Fig. 1.34).

After three days Christ came again to reunite the Virgin's corporal remains with her soul, and she was assumed into heaven, leaving only her clothing in the tomb, as represented by Annibale Carracci in his *The Assumption of the Virgin* (ca. 1590; Fig. 1.18). In his depiction Annibale borrowed from Venetian pictorial tradition, in such details as the excited reaction of the apostles, the cloud of angels who bear the Virgin heavenward, and the loose brushwork, which increases the sense of a spontaneous view. Annibale was

1.18 Annibale Carracci, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1590. Oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 38¼″ (130 × 97 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

also influenced by Correggio's *Assumption* in the dome of Parma cathedral (1522–30; see Fig. 0.15) in his depiction of the sweet revery and sense of surrender registered on the face of the Virgin, who seems, like a bird, to fly voluntarily out of the upper limits of the frame.

1.19 Annibale Carracci, *The Bean Eater*, 1583–4. Oil on canvas, 22½ × 26¾″ (57 × 68 cm). Galleria Colonna, Rome.

and Urbino, where he may have met Barocci. His earliest paintings and drawings of 1582–3 are marked by a strident realism similar to that in Ludovico's early works. *The Bean Eater* is an astonishing effort as a genre subject (1583–4; FIG. 1.19). A gluttonous country bumpkin dressed in a tattered, feathered straw hat and loosely fitting vest, stares directly at the viewer with open mouth, grasping a spoon in his right hand and tightly holding a crust of bread in the left. Despite the importance of eating as a basic human activity, relatively few works of art actually show a figure partaking of food, much less this typically Baroque desire to depict a split second in time—specifically, the instant in which a figure is about to shovel a spoonful of beans into his mouth. Annibale presents a half-length figure seated in a shallow space behind a table laden with still-life objects that impinge on the viewer's space. Light emerges from the window on the diagonally receding wall to the left. The meal of wine, beans, scallions, and flatbread with greens, identifies the figure as a rural peasant, not a city dweller.

Annibale's brushwork, inspired like that of Ludovico by Venetian technique, calls attention to itself, and the seemingly spontaneous strokes suggest spontaneous movement. His palette is limited, emphasizing somber earthen tones appropriate to this low-class figure. He was familiar with northern Italian genre painting and its Netherlandish sources, such as Joachim Beuckelaer's *The Cook with Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, which combines a genre subject with still life (see FIG. 0.18). Although he produced relatively few genre paintings, primarily early in his career, the earthiness and direct contact with visual reality remained a major component of his output, whether in classical or religious subjects.

Rejecting the glossy artificiality of Mannerist altarpieces, like Bronzino's *Christ in Limbo* (see FIG. 0.12),

1.20 Annibale Carracci, *Crucifixion with Saints*, 1583. Oil on canvas, 120 × 82¹¹⁄₁₈″ (305 × 210 cm). Sta. Maria della Carità, Bologna.

Annibale used this realistic idiom in his first commissioned altarpiece, dated 1583, the *Crucifixion with Saints* for the Machiavelli Chapel in the church of S. Nicolò di San Felice, Bologna (presently in Bologna, Sta. Maria della Carità; FIG. 1.20). This is not a narrative scene of the Crucifixion but a typically Catholic iconic subject that combines the crucifix, emblematic of Christ's sacrifice which is re-enacted before the altar during the Mass, with an assemblage of saints from various centuries. On the left, the twelfth-century Francis of Assisi, recognizable from his brown habit with the knotted cord and the stigmata visible on the feet, kneels in adoration, while the fourteenth-century Capuchin Bernardino of Siena, holding his book of writings, gestures toward Christ. The bearded saint wearing ecclesiastical vestments—a long chasuble over a dalmatic and alb, and a miter on his head—is the fourth-century Petronio, bishop and patron saint of Bologna. An acolyte carries the saint's crozier, or staff; his attribute, a model of the city, complete with its leaning towers, lies at his feet. The city also appears in the background to confirm the immediacy of this redemptive image.

The painting includes two figures mentioned in the Bible (John 19:26) as having stood by the cross during the Crucifixion: On the left, the Virgin Mary looks upward with a disconsolate gesture, while on the far right, John the Evangelist gazes directly at the viewer. The skull at the base of the cross, rendered in striking foreshortening, identifies the site as Golgotha (as indicated in Matthew 27:33; from the Greek, meaning skull), the presumed burial site of Adam, whose fall from grace necessitated Christ's death. According to Christian legend, the wood of the cross was a branch of the tree of knowledge taken by Adam after the expulsion from Paradise. The altarpiece, which is based on a composition engraved by Agostino after Veronese, rejects the ornamental character of contemporary Bolognese painting. Annibale rendered some parts with transparent glazes to depict the quality of reflected light, while in others he used heavy impasto to imitate the texture and weight of surfaces. As in *The Bean Eater,* the figures are drawn with a deliberate coarseness that contrasts with the suave figures of contemporary Mannerist painting. The naturalistically rendered body of Christ is based on a model in the studio, not on prototypes in Renaissance art or antique sculpture. The older generation of Bolognese artists criticized the work for its slapdash execution and lack of artifice and decorum, even though the painter was clearly working within the spirit of the Church's dictates for simplicity, emotional accessibility, and ease of comprehension.

Annibale's work of 1584–8 shows the impact of his study of Correggio, most particularly in *Pietà with Saints,* painted for the high altar of the Capuchin church in Parma (dated 1585; FIG. 1.21). The painting is not a true pietà (from the Italian word for pity) used to designate the two-figure composition of the Madonna mourning the dead body of her son, but, like the *Crucifixion with Saints,* the altarpiece is an iconic image that brings together figures from different centuries into a unified whole. The dead Christ, seated on an altarlike sarcophagus, rests against the lap of the Virgin, who has collapsed from grief like the Mary in Barocci's *The Deposition* (see FIG. 1.12). As would be appropriate for a church of the reformed Franciscan order, St. Francis kneels on the left, his attributes of the stigmata, patched habit, and skull clearly visible, as he gazes directly through the picture plane and presents the dead savior to the viewer. Behind him St. Clare, his thirteenth-century contemporary and founder of the order of Poor Clares for women, may be recognized by her attribute, a monstrance (a windowed box containing the consecrated Host) with which she saved the people of Assisi from Saracen attack. On the right the titular saint of the church, Mary Magdalen, identifiable by her streaming hair and ointment jar, and the youthful St. John the Evangelist react with sorrow at the sight. Overhead a glory of angels bears the most significant of the instruments of the Passion: the cross. The activity takes place in front of the tomb, with a hint of

1.21 Annibale Carracci, *Pietà with Saints*, 1585. Oil on canvas, 147¼ × 93¾" (374 × 238 cm). Galleria Nazionale, Parma.

landscape with a rising sun, symbolizing the Resurrection, visible in the distance.

Unlike High Renaissance and Mannerist pictures, which normally bar the imaginative and emotional entry of the worshiper into the pictorial space, the Parma *Pietà* invites the spectator to engage in a profound drama. The painting reveals the influence of Correggio in a manner similar to Barocci's *The Deposition*: the physical linking of the figures through gaze and gesture, the stylized drapery patterns, the somewhat idealized heads of the female figures, and the strong emotional undercurrent all derive from Correggio's *Lamentation* for the Del Bono Chapel (see FIG. 0.14). At the same time, the heavenly vision, with the active, *contrapposto* poses of the angels and their legs dangling through the clouds, takes its cue from the swirl of angels surrounding the Madonna in Correggio's frescoed dome of Parma cathedral (see FIG. 0.15). The rough brushwork of the previous works has given way to smoother modeling, suggesting a soft, sensuous character to the skin and fabrics.

Annibale's work from the mid 1580s to the mid 1590s shows an interest in the Venetian Late Renaissance, as may be seen in his oil painting of *The Assumption of the Virgin* of circa 1590 (taken to Spain some time before the mid seventeenth century; see FIG. 1.18). Subsequently, while retaining elements of Venetian *colorito*, notably expressive color, dynamic figural groups, and broken brushwork, in the 1590s he explored another formal tradition, central Italian classicism, incorporating the ideals of *disegno* and focusing especially on the masters of the High Renaissance and on ancient sculpture.

This stylistic shift reached its apogee in Rome, where Annibale worked during the remaining years of his career, 1595–1609, executing the extraordinary vault of the Farnese Gallery (1597–1600; FIG. 1.22). The patron, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, second son of Alessandro

1.22 Annibale Carracci, Farnese Gallery ceiling, 1597–1600. Fresco, ca. 68 × 21′ (20.7 × 6.4 m). Palazzo Farnese, Rome.

1.23 Annibale Carracci, *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, detail of Farnese Gallery ceiling, 1597–1600.

Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza, had followed a church career for political reasons while his older brother, Ranuccio, assumed the title of duke and resided in the palace in Parma upon their father's death in 1592. The cardinal, having received the right to live in the family palace in Rome, determined to add new decorations. An ambitious project for which Annibale received limited assistance from his brother Agostino, the vault of the Farnese Gallery consists of some 227 *giornate*, the individual sections of fresh plaster that constitute a day's work. The gallery—the term is used here in the contemporary sense of an architectural space, longitudinal in layout, that is primarily ceremonial in function—was the site of the family's extraordinary collection of ancient marble sculptures. Measuring 66 feet long and 32 feet high, it is located on the *piano nobile* (principal floor) of one of the largest and most impressive Roman palazzos, completed by Antonio da Sangallo and Michelangelo.

Although the initial impression is one of Mannerist complexity, in fact the main compositional units are simple, consisting of three simulated framed narrative scenes lining the crown of the vault and four feigned easel pictures propped on the cornice at the cardinal points. The scheme is illusionistic, which is to say that the entire vault is frescoed with figures and objects of human scale to give the sense that actual seated youths, satyrs, putti, antique

regardless of where one stands or walks within the room. Only at the four corners is the architecture discontinuous, giving the viewer a glimpse of blue sky and clouds beyond a confining balustrade and cavorting putti.

The subject of the feigned paintings and relief sculptures is the loves of the gods, based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and other antique literary sources and presented in a tone that is both mocking and good-humored. Annibale may have sought the assistance of the cardinal's librarian, Fulvio Orsini, in devising the elaborate scheme of classical allusions. The large central field represents the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, a raucous bacchanalian procession that includes maenads playing a tambourine and cymbals and fauns blowing horns (FIG. 1.23). Four smaller narrative scenes encased in marble frames and bracketed by sculpted muscular figures show the ancient gods and goddesses as the victims of love, hopelessly giving in to erotic desire. The Roman poet Virgil's dictum, *Omnia vincit amor* (Love conquers all) was never more persuasively argued.

That the house of a cardinal of the Roman Church would contain such a profusion of voluptuous images may seem shocking at first, but it should be borne in mind that this was a private commission for the family palace, and that the nudes on the ceiling were an adjunct to the sculpted nudes in the gallery. The cardinal saw himself as an intelligent, sophisticated humanist who, like the heads of other Roman families, participated in the revival of the antique world that continued unfettered from the Renaissance into the Baroque, and who defined himself and his family's wealth and power through works of art.

Annibale clearly followed two High Renaissance models so closely that we can assume he intended an act of homage. From Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling he derived the motif of framed paintings in an architectural setting, interspersed with bronze medallions, putti, and seated nude males, with the significant difference that he exchanged the sacred subject for a profane one and rejected the nonillusionistic, unattainable ideal for a believable, habitable space. He drew the theme of the loves of the gods and the bulky, idealized figures from Raphael's frescoes in the Loggia di Psiche, located in the Farnese's own villa, the Farnesina, across the Tiber from the palazzo (1518–19). The Atlantes are based on a type of muscular male epitomized by antique sculpture. For the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* Annibale studied ancient relief sculptures of bacchanalian processions, and incorporated motifs from Titian's paintings of bacchanals, like the *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1520–3; see FIG. 0.16), which could be seen in the Roman collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.

Despite their monumental character, Annibale's figures possess a form of naturalism that is different from either Michelangelo's or Raphael's, due to his having filtered his sources through the medium of the model in the studio. Although based conceptually on the male nudes of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, the life drawing of a *Seated*

sculptures, and framed paintings of mythological narratives all exist in the area above the cornice. Light entering the windows along the west wall seemingly penetrates a thin atmospheric veil to cast shadows on the vault and reflect lustrous tones of yellow, green, pink, and blue. The illusion is heightened through many witty details: Satyrs leer directly at the viewer, the sculpted Atlantes seemingly supporting the vault are broken in places, some of the bronze relief medallions and the putti who recline on them are partially covered by the framed paintings, and in a famous detail, a putto pisses into the room. For the most part the feigned decoration lies within the spatial limits of the real vault, and for this reason the illusion is effective

1.24 Annibale Carracci, *Seated Ignudo Looking Upward*, ca. 1598–9. Black chalk heightened with white on gray-blue paper, 19½ × 15⅛″ (49.5 × 38.4 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Ignudo Looking Upward shows that the artist never lost a sense of his roots in the realistic depiction of the natural world (ca. 1598–9; FIG. 1.24). The bold contour line, drawn in black chalk, suggests the latent energy of the body, while delicate white highlights combined with dark hatching describe the play of light and shadow over the skin. Notwithstanding the sensuality of Annibale's figures, he consciously rejected the strained conventions and unhealthy eroticism of the *Maniera* painters, as exemplified by Bronzino's *Allegory with Venus and Cupid* (see FIG. 0.13).

Although the human form was Annibale's principal preoccupation, he also made important contributions to the subject category of landscape. His many surviving landscape drawings, boldly executed, attest to his interest in depicting the features of the outdoor world. In Rome, where northern-born artists like the Fleming Paul Bril (1553/4–1626) and the German Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610) developed a market for views of nature, Annibale produced the first classical landscape, by definition an ideal view that captures nature's timeless, majestic essence in a rigorously structured composition. A classical landscape must also incorporate a historical, biblical, or mythological narrative, usually placed front and center, so that the heroic events of the past may elevate the status of what was usually considered a low subject category.

Commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to paint a series of six lunettes depicting the life of Christ and Mary for his refurbished palace chapel, Annibale finished two paintings, of which the *Landscape with the Flight*

1.25 Annibale Carracci, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, before 1603. Oil on canvas, 48 × 90½″ (122 × 230 cm). Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome.

into Egypt has attained the status of a paradigm within the genre (before 1603; FIG. 1.25). The landscape mirrors the contemporary Roman Campagna, with a *castello* (medieval castle or fief-town) of the type still visible today, to which Annibale added a Pantheon-like domed rotunda to evoke the grandeur of the ancient world. At the time that the painting was created, the Aldobrandini had staked a claim on the Campagna by acquiring numerous titled properties in an effort to elevate the family's social status.

Like a stage flat, the large dark shape of trees on the left forms a *repoussoir* (from the French, *repousser*, to push back) by establishing the foreground space and creating through contrast the illusion of depth. The pair of trees on the right frames the middle ground. The stable horizontals and verticals of the massive architecture, the foliage, and the figures lend a sense of calm, immutable order to this perfected world and hold in check the zigzagging diagonals of the overlapping hills, which carry the eye into the spacious distance. The subject, from the Gospel of St. Matthew (2:13–15), concerns the flight into Egypt of the Virgin, St. Joseph, and the Christ child in order to escape the massacre of innocent children ordered by King Herod in a vain attempt to slay the king of the Jews. Details within the landscape support the theme: The shepherd with his flock is a reminder of the future Christ as the Good Shepherd, and the oarsman recalls the pagan god Charon, who ferries the dead across the river Styx to the Underworld, an allusion to the death of Christ.

Although he received room and board during the years that he worked in the Palazzo Farnese, for his work on the vault Annibale was paid only 500 *scudi*, a sum so paltry that historians have judged it the cause of a severe depression that increasingly immobilized him in his later years, when he turned work over to his pupils.

Agostino Carracci

Less well known nowadays than his younger and more famous brother, Agostino Carracci achieved fame in his own time as both painter and printmaker. Recognizing the lucrative benefits of producing prints, he took up the medium in the mid 1570s and opened a print shop in Bologna perhaps in the mid 1580s. Trained by Prospero Fontana and possibly by Passarotti, he played an active role in the Carracci triumvirate as collaborator on numerous decorative cycles. Like Ludovico and Annibale he traveled widely in northern Italy to study earlier sixteenth-century art and to arrange for the creation of reproductive prints, dealing firsthand with such luminaries as Veronese and Tintoretto, who were still working in Venice at the time. With Ludovico overseeing the family workshop, Agostino, like Annibale, was barred from heading a studio in Bologna and essentially had to leave the city in order to define himself as an independent master. Thus he moved to Rome in 1598 to assist Annibale with the Farnese Gallery vault. In 1599, perhaps because of friction with

his brother, he went to work for Ranuccio Farnese at the ducal seat in Parma, executing frescoes in the Palazzo del Giardino. He died there prematurely in 1602.

The most polished and erudite of the Carracci, Agostino played the part of the academician ably, and his painted works are a demonstration of the academy's method. *The Last Communion of St. Jerome* for the Carthusian monastery in Bologna displays the same rejection of Mannerism and comparable devotion to nature of earlier masterworks seen in the other Carracci output (ca. 1594–5; FIG. 1.26). The painting was the product of an extensive design process involving numerous compositional and figural studies. With its occult symmetry, the classical backdrop giving onto a calm landscape, and a suave arrangement of gracefully articulated figures, whose poses and facial expressions suggest various passions of

1.26 Agostino Carracci, *The Last Communion of St. Jerome*, ca. 1594–5. Oil on canvas, 148 × 88¼″ (376 × 224 cm). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.

the soul, the painting reflects the serene monumentality and *disegno* of Raphael's compositions. At the same time, the loose and varied brushwork, the detailed rendering of textures, and the splendid color accents reflect Venetian *colorito*. Agostino makes the holy event an extension of the viewer's space through various devices: his unexpected foreshortening of the heads on the left, the cropping of the edges to imply the presence of unseen peripheral figures, and the random fall of shadows across the forms, all based on observation of the natural world.

St. Jerome was a favored subject during the Catholic Reformation, when the Church revived the great figures of its early history in an attempt to establish precedence over the Protestants. The fourth-century Jerome was revered because of his status as one of the four Latin Fathers who defined Catholic doctrine (the others were Ambrose, Gregory, and Augustine). In Agostino's picture the saint's red drapery refers to the cardinal's robes he traditionally wore in images and thus to his scholarly achievements, especially his translation of the Bible into Latin—the Vulgate, declared by the Council of Trent to be the official Catholic version. Jerome was in fact never a cardinal, since that office was a later creation, but he did spend a period in Rome in the papal administration. Here his nakedness and the skull allude to the ascetic life of his later years in the desert, when he meditated on death and mortified his flesh in an act of penance. The lion at lower right recalls the legend of Jerome's having extracted a thorn from the paw of a lion, who became his constant companion.

According to the medieval writings of the pseudo-Eusebius, before his death Jerome, aged 90, requested to be taken to church to receive the sacrament one last time. Angels appeared as he expired. Agostino shows him surrounded by his disciples dressed in the habit of the Hieronymite order, one of whom commits to paper the saint's last words. The accouterments of the Mass are described clearly: the consecrated wafer held above the paten, the chalice, a crucifix, lit candles, and a censor. The painting thus mirrors the ritual enacted before the altar, while it celebrates such anti-Protestant ideals as sainthood, the central role of the Eucharist, holy orders, and the sacrament of penance.

Caravaggio

Few Baroque artists had so wide an impact as Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio after his ancestral hometown, some 20 miles east of Milan (1571–1610). His success derived in part from the fact that he was born and trained in northern Italy, where he learned and absorbed the Late Renaissance traditions of Lombardian and Venetian art. He then carried these visual ideas southward, establishing himself in Rome at a time when the *Maniera* painters were still in favor. Thus he created what appeared to be a new visual idiom based on naturalism that struck Roman contemporaries as astonishingly different from the grand traditions of the sixteenth century.

We know much about Caravaggio's life, thanks to surviving documents and biographies, sometimes derivative and fictionalized, by seven authors: Karel van Mander (1604), Giulio Mancini (ca. 1620), Giovanni Baglione (1642), Francesco Scanelli (1657), Bellori (1672), Joachim von Sandrart (1675), and Francesco Susinno (1724). The artist was born in Milan, where his family was then based. His father worked as a mason for Francesco Sforza, marchese di Caravaggio. Much of the artist's childhood was spent in Milan, and it was there that he was apprenticed to the Bergamesque painter Simone Peterzano for four years. Caravaggio must have traveled to Venice to visit the great artistic sites, possibly in 1588. None of the early works from this period has survived.

Seeking a successful career, he traveled to Rome, aged 21, and arrived there probably in fall 1592. After a few meager years, he entered the studio of Rome's most successful *Maniera* painter, Giuseppe d'Arpino (1568–1640) for about eight months in 1593, during which time he seems to have painted small figural and still-life pieces. His fortunes rose when he received the patronage of one of Rome's most progressive collectors, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, the envoy of the Medici to the papal court, who installed the young artist in the Palazzo Madama from 1595 to 1600 and introduced him to potential patrons. The artist's public commissions for religious works commenced in 1599.

Despite Caravaggio's growing success as an artist, mounting evidence of his unruly and argumentative behavior appears in police records of around 1600. For example, he was accused of attacking the captain of the guards of the Castel Sant'Angelo with his sword in 1601; in 1603 he and two artist friends were sued for libel for circulating scurrilous poems that lampooned the reputation of fellow painter Giovanni Baglione; in 1605 he wounded a notary with his sword over an argument in the Piazza Navona concerning a woman. These incidents culminated in a fight on 28 May 1606 when Caravaggio and a certain Ranuccio Tomassoni, to whom it was rumored he owed money over a wager concerning a tennis game, engaged in a brawl in which the painter killed his opponent with a sword thrust and was himself wounded.

As a result of Tomassoni's death, Caravaggio, assisted by friends in high places, fled southward from Rome, to which, against all hope, he would never return. After hiding out on the Colonna estates, he went to Naples in late 1606, where he completed several paintings. From there he traveled to the island of Malta in 1607, where the knights of St. John admitted him into their military order. An armed fight, followed by incarceration and escape, resulted in his fleeing to Sicily, where he stopped in turn

1.27 Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1595–6. Oil on canvas, 37 × 46⅞″ (94 × 119 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Read the document related to Caravaggio on mysearchlab.com

at Syracuse, Messina, and Palermo, leaving a trail of commissioned paintings in his wake. Back in Naples in 1609 he was caught by pursuers and badly disfigured. As Cardinal Fernando Gonzaga worked to achieve a pardon for him from Pope Paul V, Caravaggio journeyed by boat to Palo, north of Rome. A victim of mistaken identity, he was arrested and then released, but after attempting to catch a boat that had sailed to Port' Ercole with his possessions, he caught a fever and died a few days later in July 1610, at the age of 39. Compared to other artists of his time, Caravaggio was unusually prone to antisocial and violent behavior, which has led some historians to interpret his work using a psychoanalytical approach.

The Lute Player of circa 1595–6 (FIG. 1.27), one of a group of Caravaggio's early Roman paintings that featured one or more adolescent males accompanied by a still life, was created while he was living in the house of Cardinal del Monte, who owned a variant of this work. The canvas was originally in the collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani, a wealthy banker to the papacy, ennobled in the early seventeenth century, who possessed some 13 paintings by the artist amid a huge collection of around 600 artworks. An erudite connoisseur, he authored essays on art and published his collection of antique statuary in a two-volume illustrated set. The format of the half-length figure positioned close to the picture plane, appearing as an extension of the viewer's space, is typical of Caravaggio's early works. The boy's gaze meets the viewer's, thus creating a psychological bond between the two. The setting is simple: A blank wall, parallel to the picture plane, closes off any extraneous details of the outside world, thus riveting our attention to the objects in the foreground. The day-lit scene is marked by the presence of an unseen light source directed from the upper left, resulting in the smooth modeling that gives a sculptural presence to the figure.

The startlingly realistic depiction, which depends on the close observation of nature and a wide range of local color, astonished contemporaries in Rome. It is generally

1.28 (top) **Caravaggio**, *The Cardsharps*, ca. 1595. Oil on canvas, 36 × 50½" (91.5 × 128.2 cm). Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth.

1.29 (bottom) **Caravaggio**, *The Gypsy Fortuneteller*, ca. 1596–7. Oil on canvas, 39 × 51⅝" (99 × 131 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

👁—⎸**Watch** a video on oil painting on mysearchlab.com

assumed that Caravaggio painted from life in the studio, although he was working within the conceit of a beautiful youthful type. He rejected both idealizing classicism and artificial Mannerism as stylistic options and embraced the naturalism of his native Lombardy and Venice, where half-length youths playing musical instruments or bearing fruit and flowers had been popular subjects. The painting also reflects his knowledge of the sixteenth-century Northern Renaissance tradition of genre scenes with still life, exemplified by Joachim Beuckelaer's *The Cook with Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (see FIG. 0.18).

The intent of the painter has been the subject of much discussion by historians. The quasi-antique garb suggests an attempt to evoke the classical world, and the extreme realism of the still-life elements brings to mind Pliny the Elder's description of a contest between the ancient painters Zeuxis and Parrhasio, whose still lifes were so realistically rendered that they fooled the eye. Alternatively, the painting may belong to a class of *vanitas* images that comment subtly on the vanity of earthly pursuits through such devices as the temporary bloom of youth, flowers that will soon wither and die, and the intangible, fleeting pleasure

of music. The boy accompanies himself while singing a madrigal, the lyrics of which typically comprised a sorrowful love poem. Some of the still-life objects resemble male and female genitalia. The youth is one of several seemingly alluring and androgynous figures in Caravaggio's paintings, partially draped or nude. This element, combined with some evidence in the painter's behavior of what today would be termed bisexual or homosexual leanings, raises the question of a possible homoerotic content, but without a conclusive answer.

In addition to the single-figure half lengths, Caravaggio produced multi-figure genre works designed according to a similar format. Two of these, *The Cardsharps* (ca. 1595; FIG. 1.28) and *The Gypsy Fortuneteller* (ca. 1596–7; FIG. 1.29), represent young people in brightly colored contemporary dress and incorporate amusing narratives. Although Renaissance humanistic tradition had designated historical scenes the most eminent and challenging subject category for artists, it is significant that Caravaggio and his patrons eagerly embraced a relatively low subject, genre—loosely defined as a scene from everyday life (the term was not coined until the late eighteenth century). They knew the descriptions of lost Greek genre paintings in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, the sole surviving history of ancient art. Both of Caravaggio's works represent a naïve, innocent youth out in the world, who is being duped by one or more confidence tricksters.

Cardinal Paleotti referred to paintings of this type as *pitture ridicole*, moralizing pictures that instruct by "ridiculing" or satirizing human foibles. Our delight derives from the recognition of the trick being perpetrated and the amusing details through which the story is told. The theme of Caravaggio's pictures ultimately derives in part from the parable of the Prodigal Son told by Christ in the New Testament, in particular the scene commonly portrayed in northern sixteenth-century painting, in which the son wastes his patrimony on nefarious activities in the company of charlatans and prostitutes (see "The Parable of the Prodigal Son," p. 185). Here, however, the biblical references are completely absent, and the moralizing element is purely secular.

In *The Cardsharps* three young men occupy a shallow space around a table placed before a neutral background. A still life of a backgammon game projects toward the picture plane. Young men of this type, called *bravi*, wore fancy striped costumes, carried swords, and lived a dangerous life in street gangs—not unlike Caravaggio himself. The viewer can easily sort out the story: The innocent youth on the left is duped by two charlatans, the one in the center signaling to the other on the right, who draws a winning card from his belt. Over 30 copies of the work are known, a testament to its great popularity. Caravaggio evidently based his composition on the sixteenth-century tradition of comparable northern European genre scenes, and their northern Italian offshoots of gamblers and game players.

The Cardsharps was purchased from a dealer by Cardinal del Monte, who ultimately owned eight works by the artist. Typical of the worldly cardinals who supported the contemporary art scene, del Monte was a protector of the painters' organization, the Accademia di San Luca. Born in Venice, he had a penchant for north Italian naturalism in painting, having collected Venetian works and promoted the new realism in the Roman art scene. He also owned one of two versions executed by Caravaggio of the comparable scene, *The Gypsy Fortuneteller* (ca. 1593–4; Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina). The other version was in the collection of the Vittrici family and shows a duplicitous young woman wearing the traditional garment of a gypsy reading the love line on the palm of a sweet but foolish *bravo* dressed in a plumed hat and expensive jacket. Bellori alleged that the origin of the painting lay in Caravaggio's claim that nature was his only source of inspiration, not the sculptures of antiquity, and that as proof of this the artist supposedly took a gypsy passing by on the street to a tavern and posed her before his canvas.

Caravaggio's early genre paintings typically incorporate a still life, an element that he continued to use in both secular and religious scenes throughout his career. No doubt familiar with the still-life paintings produced by Lombard artists, as well as with literary descriptions of antique examples, Caravaggio painted a few independent still lifes, although only one is documented and universally accepted: the *Basket of Fruit* (ca. 1595–1601; FIG. 1.30). Countering the position of art theorists who put still life at the bottom of the subject hierarchy because it lacks the human figure, he claimed that this subject was as difficult to paint as a figural work, and that a now lost still life in the del Monte collection was his finest painting. The apples, pears, figs, and white and purple grapes in the *Basket of Fruit* also appear prominently in other works by the master.

1.30 Caravaggio, *Basket of Fruit*, ca. 1595–1601. Oil on canvas, 12³⁄₁₆ × 18½″ (31 × 47 cm). Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

The slight spoiling of the fruit, the wormhole in the apple, and the curling of the dry leaves comprise a trademark of Caravaggio, increasing the sense of verisimilitude and suggesting the passage of time. Since the flat edge of the table is contiguous with the picture plane and the light background contrasts strongly with the silhouetted edges of the objects, the basket and the fruit appear to project into the viewer's space.

Cardinal Federico Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, may have received the *Basket of Fruit* as a gift from his friend and colleague del Monte, or he may have commissioned it himself in Rome. Borromeo was keen on acquiring examples of landscape and still-life painting from northern Europe, where these subjects flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century; for example, he possessed some six still lifes by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625). Although it may seem inappropriate for a leader of the Counter-Reformation Church to devote himself to art collecting, Borromeo believed that these subjects exemplified the goodness bestowed by God on mankind.

One of Caravaggio's earliest history paintings, *Judith and Holofernes* plunges the viewer into a dark, violent world (ca. 1599; Rome, FIG. 1.31). The work was probably commissioned by a wealthy banker of Genoese origins, Ottavio Costa, who in his will instructed his heirs not to sell any of the family's Caravaggios, especially this painting. Here the day-lit ambience of the earlier pictures gives way to the tenebrism of Caravaggio's mature style, in which the figures exist in a dark space. The single beam of light from the upper left increases the sculptural solidity and physicality of the figures, and the strong contrast between highlights and dark ground pushes the figures forward. Caravaggio's use of tenebrism reflects his training as a north Italian artist: he was familiar with the darkened spaces portrayed by such artists as Leonardo (see FIG. 0.7), Moretto da Brescia, Tintoretto, and Titian (see FIG. 0.17).

The source of the narrative is the book of *Judith*, one of 14 apocryphal Old Testament books that were omitted from Protestant versions of the Bible but incorporated in the Sixto-Clementine Bible of 1592. It tells the story of how the Jewish heroine, a beautiful widow, saved the Israelites of Bethulia, who had been surrounded by the armies of the Assyrian general Holofernes, by making herself attractive and going out to his tent with her maidservant, Abra:

1.31 Caravaggio, *Judith and Holofernes*, ca. 1599. Oil on canvas, 57 × 76¾" (145 × 195 cm). Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

And she got up and dressed herself beautifully with all her feminine finery, and her slave went and spread fleeces on the ground for her before Holofernes. . . . So Judith went in and lay down, and Holofernes' mind was amazed at her and his heart was stirred, and he was exceedingly desirous of intimacy with her. . . . And Holofernes was delighted with her, and he drank a very great deal of wine, more than he had ever drunk on one day since he was born. . . . But when evening came on . . . Judith was left alone in the tent, with Holofernes prostrate upon his bed, for he was drenched with wine. . . . And she went up to the rail of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down from it his scimitar, and went close to the bed and grasped the hair of his head, and said "Give me strength, Lord, God of Israel, today!" And she struck him on the head twice, with all her might, and severed his head from his body. Then she rolled his body off the bed, and pulled the canopy down from the pillars, and after a little while she went out and gave Holofernes' head to her maid, and she put it in her bag of food, and they both went out together as they were accustomed to do, to offer their prayer. (Goodspeed, pp. 156–7)

The Assyrian soldiers were so unnerved by this deed that they released the city and fled.

Judith had a long presence in Western art, beginning as early as the ninth century and figuring prominently in medieval manuscript illuminations as an Old Testament antecedent of the Virgin Mary. In the Italian Renaissance she exemplified the qualities of chastity, truth, and justice. Northern artists, however, emphasized her potent sexuality by portraying her nude. With the Protestant rejection of the Apocrypha, Judith became by default a significant Counter-Reformation figure, conjured up in the name of an aggressive Catholic Church. The primary function of this painting, however, was to tell a grisly story: Caravaggio places the execution in the foreground of the picture space, subordinating the setting to his detailed description of the figures and shocking the viewer with the blood that splatters through the picture plane.

Public Religious Commissions

The Contarelli Chapel in the French national church of S. Luigi dei Francesi marked Caravaggio's first public commission, received through the assistance of Cardinal del Monte (see FIG. 1.7). The French cardinal Matthieu Cointrel (Italian: Matteo Contarelli) left funds in 1565 for

1.32 Caravaggio, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, 1599–1600. Oil on canvas, 126¾ × 133⅞″ (322 x 340 cm). Contarelli Chapel, S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

View the Closer Look to see another Caravaggio painting on mysearchlab.com

the family chapel devoted to his name saint, the author of the first Gospel, but little work was carried out in the subsequent decades, except for ceiling frescoes by Caravaggio's master, the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1591–3) and a sculpted altarpiece of poor quality, which was not used. Thus in 1599 Caravaggio received the commission for narrative scenes from the life of St. Matthew that emphasize the specifically Catholic, anti-Protestant subject of sainthood, in addition to the Counter-Reformation themes of conversion, missionary work, and martyrdom (see "A Pantheon of Saints," p. 35). Eschewing the mural technique of fresco, which was standard for chapel decoration, Caravaggio provided large oil paintings on canvas, representing on the left wall *The Calling of St. Matthew* and on the right wall *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew.* In 1602 he was awarded the contract for an altarpiece showing *St. Matthew and the Angel*, but this proved problematic: The church fathers rejected the first of two versions on the grounds that it lacked decorum, with the result that it was purchased by the Marchese Giustiniani for his art collection.

With its large format and numerous full-length figures, *The Calling of St. Matthew* was more ambitious than any of Caravaggio's previous works (1599–1600; FIG. 1.32). The painting exemplifies the artist's ability to invest historical narrative with a sense of the here and now. Christ, arriving

1.33 Caravaggio, *The Entombment of Christ*, ca. 1602–4. Oil on canvas, 118⅛ × 79⅞″ (300 × 203 cm). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican.

with St. Peter at the counting house of the tax collector Matthew, beckons him to be one of the apostles. The disciple, pointing to himself in disbelief, is surrounded by cronies who are only interested in the coins, moneybags, account book, inkwell, and quills on the table. Dressed in contemporary plumed hats and striped jackets and caught up in a life of luxury and avarice, they represent the mundane sphere, whereas Christ and St. Peter are unshod and wear togalike biblical costume. The apparent realism of the scene is emphasized through the seemingly random placement of Christ to the far right and the shadow that falls across the center of his face. As in his earlier works, Caravaggio uses tenebrism to organize the canvas and focus the attention of the viewer on the key figures. The spiritual light that illuminates Matthew is suggested by the single shaft of light that enters from an unseen source on the upper right. The drama resonates in the empty, dusky space overhead.

The painter reused the motifs of the dapper *bravi* and the still life from his earlier day-lit genre scene of *The Cardsharps*, and he employed the same boy as in *The Gypsy Fortuneteller*. He expanded the view to include full-length figures while retaining the limited space and the back wall parallel to the picture plane. Thus he rejected the idealization normally accorded such biblical scenes in Roman sixteenth-century art. As a northern Italian artist, he would have known the Northern Renaissance tradition of representing the subject with the intense realism of a genre scene, emphasizing the vice of avarice through the display of money in the counting house. Unlike his northern predecessors, however, Caravaggio simplified the background and clarified the volumes of the figures. Even so, the startling realism of the work, based on models in the studio, the combination of the sacred and profane, and the elimination of supernatural details were all astonishing in the context of contemporary Roman painting. Aesthetically astute observers recognized Caravaggio as a northern Italian painter who had brought his native traditions to central Italy. The result was nothing less than the reinvigoration of historical narrative painting in Rome.

Caravaggio painted his most conventional and widely accepted image, *The Entombment of Christ*, for the altar of the Vittrici family chapel, the Cappella della Pietà in Sta. Maria in Vallicella, still called the Chiesa Nuova (the New Church) (ca. 1602–4; FIG. 1.33). This was the mother church of the Counter-Reformation order of the Oratorians, founded in 1575 by St. Philip Neri, a friend of the chapel's first patron, Pietro Vittrici, whom the saint had miraculously nursed back to health during a near-fatal illness. Vittrici died in 1600, and it was his nephew and heir Girolamo Vittrici, a member of the papal court and owner of one version of Caravaggio's *The Gypsy Fortuneteller*, who commissioned the *Entombment*. The Oratorians were a congregation of lay priests who did not take religious vows, opting instead to work on behalf of the Church

within the world. Around the turn of the seventeenth century their church, still undergoing completion, was the site of much artistic activity, in which Neri himself had taken a prominent interest up until his death in 1595. When the great Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens, who was living in Rome, won the commission for the high altar, *The Madonna di Vallicella, St. Gregory the Great, and Saints* (1607–8; see FIG. 8.3), he enthusiastically wrote his patron, the duke of Mantua, about the bustle of activity taking place there. The success of the order was in large part due to its emphasis on a simple approach to religion and its wide range of populist activities, including music, art, and instruction for children.

In a single image Caravaggio alludes to several key moments from the Passion of Christ—the Deposition of the body, the Lamentation, the Pietà, the anointing of the body on the stone of Unction, and the Entombment. St. John the Evangelist, the youngest and most beloved apostle, supports the body of Christ, assisted by a rough, plebian figure identified by Bellori as Nicodemus, who took responsibility for anointing the corpse with myrrh and aloe (John 19:39). The two men lift and expose the sacrificial body in a symbolic gesture that has its analogue in the Mass routinely taking place in front of the altar, specifically during the *elevatio* when the priest displays the newly consecrated Host to worshipers and speaks the words, "This is my body."

Caravaggio includes the three women mentioned by St. John as standing by the cross (19:25): the Virgin Mary, dressed here in a nun's habit, Mary Magdalen in the center with braided hair, who weeps as if to refer to her having washed Christ's feet with her tears, and Mary Cleophas, who raises her hands in an eloquent gesture of grief. Whereas both Raphael and Barocci, according to an earlier pictorial tradition, had shown the Virgin collapsing (see FIGS. 0.9 and 1.12), Caravaggio represents her erect and in control of her emotions, as was advocated by such Counter-Reformation figures as Cardinals Baronio and Borromeo in accordance with scripture.

Caravaggio borrowed the stable composition and the sense of monumentality from Raphael, but he rejected idealized figures and rhetorical gestures in favor of a much greater naturalism, especially in the strong, plebian musculature of both Christ and Nicodemus. Compared with Mannerist examples such as Bronzino's *Christ in Limbo* (see FIG. 0.12) or with Barocci's Correggesque style, the painting is striking in its Lombardian naturalism. The central configuration of a muscular male body carried by athletic males ultimately derives from the antique convention for portraying a hero or hunter carried from the field. Caravaggio's insistent tenebrism clarifies the devotional content and imparts a measure of emotional intensity. The bent left arm of Nicodemus, his bold gaze toward the viewer, and the diagonally projecting stone all break through the picture plane, drawing the viewer into the

fictive space. A triumph of Post-Tridentine art, the painting possesses the very elements stipulated by the Church: clarity, accuracy, decorum, and a stimulus to devotion.

In 1601 Laerzio Cherubini, an eminent lawyer active in Roman government, commissioned a large painting, 12 feet in height, of *The Death of the Virgin* for his family chapel, dedicated to the *Transitus* or Dormition of the Virgin (her passage from life to the afterlife), in Sta. Maria della Scala in the lower-class quarter of Trastevere (ca. 1602–4; FIG. 1.34). This was the new Roman church of the Counter-Reformation order of Discalced Carmelites, founded by St. Teresa of Ávila. The date of the painting's execution is uncertain; scholars have proposed several possibilities between the time of the contract up to 1604, on the basis of the accomplished style of the piece. The subject celebrates the Catholic cult of the Virgin and emphasizes her earthly, human character (see "Singing the Madonna's Praises," p. 46).

Traditionally in such a scene a beautiful Madonna is shown propped up in bed, with angels or a heavenly radiance providing an optimistic note. Caravaggio, however, in keeping with his realistic style and the Church's dictum that art should "sting the heart and incite devotion," consciously rejected High Renaissance and Mannerist idealization, as shown in Parmigianino's *Madonna of the Long Neck* (see FIG. 0.10), thus portraying her mortal remains laid out on a simple wooden bier before being carried to the sepulcher, her bare feet extending ignobly. He shows the moment after Christ, with a glory of angels, has departed with Mary's soul (see "Singing the Madonna's Praises," p. 46). The men, whose heads and hands emerge from the tenebristic gloom, mourn their loss in a variety of ways, from weeping and emotional outburst to calm, stoic resignation.

In the lower right the painter included an unusual detail: the seated figure of St. Mary Magdalen, dressed, unlike the apostles, in contemporary clothes and bent from grief. During the Counter-Reformation these two women represented distinct opposites: The Virgin stood for chastity and purity, while the Magdalen, the sole woman among the band of Christ's disciples, represented the archetype of the penitent female (see "From Sinner to Saint: Mary Magdalen," p. 76). Her presence here may reflect the patronage of both Cherubini and the church fathers on behalf of the Casa Pia, a local charitable institution devoted to the rescue of wayward and battered women.

1.34 Caravaggio, *The Death of the Virgin*, ca. 1602–4. Oil on canvas, 145¼ × 96½″ (369 × 245 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Such a degree of physical and emotional frankness had negative consequences. The painting was the subject of severe criticism, and ultimately the fathers of the order replaced it with a more decorous altarpiece by an artist of lesser stature. As in the instance of the rejected first version of the *St. Matthew* altarpiece, there was a private collector waiting in the wings: Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, acquired the painting through the intermediary of his court artist Rubens, who arranged for the crating of Caravaggio's painting for shipment after it was exhibited in Rome for one week in 1607.

After the murder of Tommasoni in 1606, Caravaggio continued to receive commissions for both private and public works during his flight southward. One of the largest of these commissions (13 feet in height) was the altarpiece, *The Seven Acts of Mercy*, for the new church of the Pio Monte della Misericordia in Naples, a charitable institution founded by seven young nobles in 1601 (1606; FIG. 1.35). Like Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo* (see FIG. 1.13) the subject focuses on two specifically Catholic and non-Protestant subjects: the Virgin Mary and the corporal works of mercy. For Catholics both faith and good works provided a route to salvation, whereas the Protestants rejected the latter and believed in faith alone. In the upper region two youthful angels transport the Madonna della Misericordia, or Madonna of Mercy, holding the Christ child, to the mundane world of a summarily drawn Neapolitan street scene, where she oversees the performing of charitable deeds for the needy. These deeds are based on the scriptural source in the Gospel of St. Matthew (26:34–46), in which Christ indicates who, upon the Day of Judgment, shall be worthy of the kingdom of Heaven.

Caravaggio's approach is unusual in his depiction of all seven acts in one painting, combining in a confusing and overlapping way both historical and contemporary figures. The Old Testament hero Samson drinks from the jawbone of an ass (giving drink to the thirsty), an innkeeper welcomes a pilgrim who may be Christ in disguise, along with a partially hidden companion (harboring the harborless), the fourth-century St. Martin of Tours divides his cloak for a naked beggar (clothing the naked), a shadowed figure crouches at the lower left (visiting the sick), two men, one an ecclesiastic, carry a corpse, whose bare feet are visible (burying the dead), and a woman succors her elderly father, who pokes his head through iron bars (feeding the hungry and visiting the captive). The last vignette comes from an ancient literary theme, the Caritas Romana (Roman Charity) described by Valerius Maximus in his *Memorable Acts and Sayings of the Ancient Romans* of circa 30 CE, which tells of how a daughter, Pero, in an act of filial piety, sustained her imprisoned father Cimon by breastfeeding him.

The painting contains elements of the artist's so-called late style. It was painted rapidly, with the brushwork more visible, especially in the streaks of paint representing

1.35 Caravaggio, *The Seven Acts of Mercy*, 1606. Oil on canvas, 153½ × 102⅝″ (390 × 260 cm). Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples.

drapery folds. The figures are not smoothly modeled, but the overall impression is more atmospheric, and the brownish ground of the canvas, representing shadowy areas, shows through in places.

By 1620 the five artists considered in this chapter were all deceased. Their impact, however, was widespread and long lasting. Through the dissemination of Barocci's paintings and prints across Italy, his renewal of Correggio's dynamism and his respect for Tridentine rules offered an alternative to Mannerism. The Carracci academy trained a new generation of artists that continued the synthetic tradition of Bolognese painting, while the classical style of Annibale in Rome had a measurable impact on artists working there. And Caravaggio's stark realism inspired not only Italian artists but also many from northern Europe and Spain, who came to Rome and Naples. The legacy of these painters looms large in the story of the Baroque period.

The Sacred and Secular in Painting in Seventeenth-Century Italy

During the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth, the five major painters of the first generation of Baroque artists—Federico Barocci, Ludovico, Annibale, and Agostino Carracci, and Caravaggio—drew upon the achievements of various sixteenth-century artists to reintroduce a strong sense of naturalism in the handling of the human figure and space. Rejecting the formal stylization and obscure content of the *Maniera* painters, they exploited the devices of naturalism toward both visual and psychological ends, thus breaking down the barrier formed by the picture plane and seemingly projecting the fictive world of the artwork into the real world of the spectator. Rome reasserted itself as the nucleus of the new art movement through the efforts of two classes of patrons: the Counter-Reformation Church, which sanctioned the use of art to teach and to draw the faithful into its churches and chapels, and the private clients who surrounded themselves with collections that announced their taste and wealth. The artists streaming to Rome, whether for the long or short term, learned the grammar of this new pictorial idiom and conveyed it to artists working elsewhere on the Italian peninsula. Other cities, like Bologna, with its rising elite and its humanistic environment, also enjoyed new artistic prominence. The

second and third generations of Italian painters built on the accomplishments of their predecessors while expanding the repertory of visual effects, so that during the seventeenth century the Italian peninsula became a school of painting for western Europe.

Italian Followers of Caravaggio

Although Caravaggio had no pupils and seems not to have desired a following, his naturalistic visual idiom and the realism of his art became the focus of study for an international group of artists, primarily Italian, Spanish, and French, referred to as Followers of Caravaggio, or Caravaggisti, who saw his paintings firsthand, usually in Rome or Naples, and made a sustained attempt at emulating his style. Few of these followers knew the master personally, since he fled from Rome in 1606 and died in 1610.

Orazio Gentileschi

The one follower of Caravaggio who knew him as a colleague, was Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639), a Tuscan painter born in Pisa. Orazio trained under his father, a Florentine goldsmith, and moved in about 1576/8 to Rome, where he became a member of the Accademia di San Luca. Some eight years older than Caravaggio, he adopted the latter's realism and tenebrism around 1600, but throughout his career he maintained the Florentine

Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith and Her Maidservant*, 1524–6. (Detail of FIG. 2.4)

2.1 Orazio Gentileschi, *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1611–12 or ca. 1621–4. Oil on canvas, 53¼ × 62⅝″ (136.5 × 159 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

((•— **Listen** to a podcast on Caravaggisti on mysearchlab.com

love for linear grace and rich, decorative surfaces. He worked not only in oil but also in fresco, collaborating with the architectural painter Agostino Tassi. He achieved an international reputation, and by 1621 he had moved to Genoa, where he provided works for the duke of Savoy. He later went to Paris, where he worked for Maria de'Medici in 1624, and finally in late 1626 to London, where he remained as court painter to Charles I until his death. Although Orazio maintained a realistic bent throughout his career, his later works eschew the insistent realism and dark spaces of his Roman ones in favor of resplendent color and soft lighting effects.

The Caravaggesque features of Gentileschi's *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes* include the detailed realism of the figures, their placement in the immediate foreground, and the tenebristic space behind them (variously dated by historians, ca. 1611–12, or ca. 1621–4; FIG. 2.1). Unlike Caravaggio, who shows the most explosive moment in the story, when Judith decapitates the drunken Assyrian general as part of a plot to save the Israelites

(ca. 1599; see FIG. 1.31), Orazio chooses the next moment, when Judith and her servant Abra, shown not as an old hag but as a young woman, conceal the head in the basket used for provisions and take stock of the situation before fleeing the Assyrian camp. Although the bodies of the two women are united in their common effort, Orazio develops the contrast Caravaggio created between the two women, placing Judith's refined facial features, golden tresses, and slender fingers next to Abra's blunt physiognomy, dark hair, and coarse hands. Similarly, Judith's expensive, shimmering red-and-gold garment, with its profusion of elegantly contrived folds, contrasts with Abra's simple blue costume. Still sheltered by Holofernes's tent, Judith looks upward to her right, as if to acknowledge the source of her strength, Jehovah, whom she invoked before committing the deed, whereas Abra steals a glance in the opposite direction, to ascertain whether the women will be found out. Thus Orazio exchanges Caravaggio's extroverted retelling for a quieter, interiorized drama, while maintaining a level of tension that is equally powerful.

Artemisia Gentileschi

Orazio's daughter Artemisia Gentileschi is often judged the most gifted female artist of the seventeenth century (1593–1652/3; see "The Battle for Artemisia," below). It should be stressed that in the Baroque period a woman's primary place was in the home, as wife and mother, or in a convent. Thus Artemisia's determination to have a career, her far-flung travels in order to obtain commissions, and her efforts to attract the attention of high-level patrons are all the more striking. Typically for many women artists of the period, she trained under her father in the studio in the family residence. Her mother died when she was 12 years old, and Orazio provided a chaperone, a certain Tuzia, who lived in the home. His frequent absences while working in collaboration with Agostino Tassi had disastrous consequences. In May 1611, when Orazio was away from the house, Tassi attacked and raped Artemisia. Promises to marry the victim led her to consent to a sexual liaison, although Tassi, who was already married, had no intention of fulfilling his vow.

Consequently in the following year Orazio, seeking to re-establish the family's honor, brought a lawsuit against

The Battle for Artemisia

Artemisia Gentileschi's reputation, at one moment overshadowed by that of her father, at another eclipsed by the sensational record of the rape trial, has only gradually been resuscitated. Despite her fame during her lifetime, she was ignored by some, if not all, of the major seventeenth-century biographers and virtually forgotten during the following two centuries. Only in 1916 was her name resurrected along with Orazio's by the Florentine art historian, Roberto Longhi. Her status as a feminist icon was solidified by a ground-breaking book of 1989, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Art*, in which Mary Garrard analyzes a series of paintings, claiming that the artist lived in what might be termed the first period of feminism, and argues that the works can only be understood as the product of the artist's experiences as a woman, especially her rape by Tassi—a point of view that survives in much of the subsequent literature.

The large canvas of *Susanna and the Elders* provides an example of the issues typically debated by art historians regarding the dating, attribution, and content of Artemisia's paintings (Fig. 2.2). Although the work is signed and dated "ARTIMITIA/GENTILESCHI F/1610" in the lower left corner of the stone fountain, the veracity of the inscription has been challenged because the painting is extremely accomplished for an artist only 17 years of age. Certain writers prefer to read the date as 1619, while others argue for an attribution to Orazio. Lacking corroborative documentation, some scholars propose various degrees of collaboration between the young painter and her father-teacher, while the leading specialists give the work fully to the daughter.

The narrative scene represents the Old Testament apocryphal story of Susanna, a Jewish wife who, bathing alone in a garden, was spied upon by two elders. They threatened that if she did not yield sexually they would claim falsely to have seen her commit adultery with a young lover, a crime punishable by death. Susanna refused and was brought to trial, where the young Daniel, questioning the elders separately and receiving conflicting testimony, uncovered their ruse and condemned them to death. Over the centuries Susanna became an emblem of chastity and truth, but sixteenth-century depictions increasingly emphasized her alluring nudity. Garrard, combining elements of a feminist reading with a psychoanalytical approach, praises the painter for her rejection of the traditional

2.2 Artemisia Gentileschi, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1610. Oil on canvas, 66⅞ × 46⅞" (170 × 119 cm). Graf von Schönborn Kunstsammlungen, Pommersfelden.

erotic stereotype in favor of an unidealized nude with chaste posture and shamefaced expression, and she claims that the picture is subconsciously autobiographical, reflecting the artist's sexually hostile environment.

Tassi, for which most of the records survive (March–October 1612). Tassi was convicted of the crime but essentially served no sentence. A good marriage was difficult under the circumstances, but Artemisia wed a minor Florentine painter, Pierantonio Stiattesi, in November 1612 and moved to Florence, where she set up a household, looked after her four children, and became the first female member of the Accademia del Disegno, thus receiving Medici patronage. She returned to Rome in 1620/1, but Stiattesi disappeared a few years later. In 1627–8 she sojourned in Venice, then took up residence in Naples by 1630, where she remained until her death except for a trip to London in 1638–40 to assist her father, who died during her visit, in 1639. In London she executed a remarkable *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura)*, incorporating the traditional attributes of unruly hair, a multi-colored garment, and a gold chain with a pendant mask (FIG. 2.3).

Artemisia produced few altarpieces and no frescoes. She specialized in history painting for discriminating collectors, primarily representing virtuous and heroic women. Perhaps her most famous canvases are the four versions of the Judith and Holofernes theme. Whether

2.3 Artemisia Gentileschi, *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura)*, 1638–9. Oil on canvas, 38⅞ × 29⅝" (98.6 × 75.2 cm). Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Read the document related to Artemisia Gentileschi on mysearchlab.com
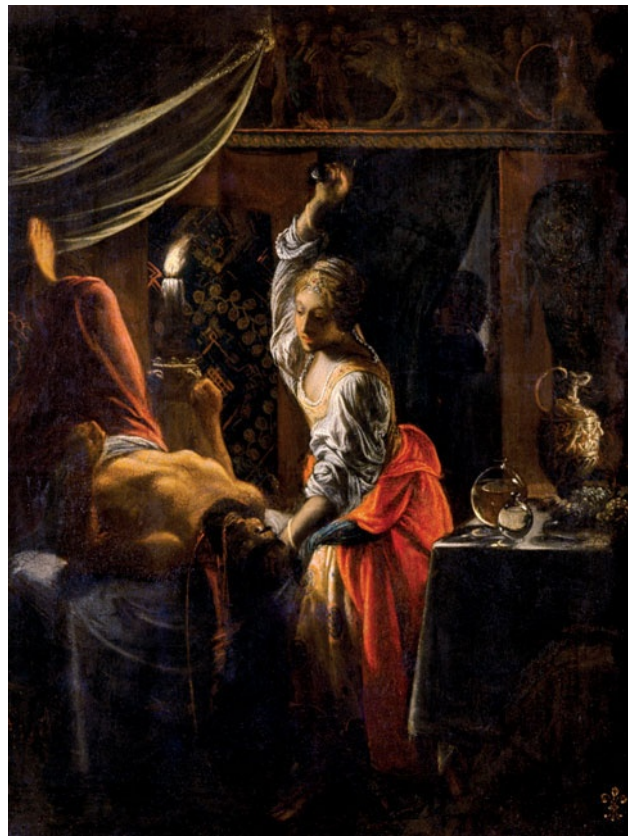
2.4 Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith and Her Maidservant*, ca. 1625–7. Oil on canvas, 72 × 56" (183 × 142 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts. Gift of Mr. Leslie H. Green.

✳—Explore more about Artemisia Gentileschi on mysearchlab.com

2.5 Adam Elsheimer, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, ca. 1601–3. Oil on silvered copper, 9½ × 7⁵⁄₁₆" (24.2 × 18.7 cm). Wellington Museum, London.

this subject provided a cathartic outlet for her as a subconscious revenge fantasy is a topic hotly debated by historians. The *Judith and Her Maidservant* of circa 1625–7 incorporates full-length figures of the women in the aftermath of the event, with Abra stuffing the head into a bag and Judith still grasping Holofernes's sword as both look to the viewer's left to make certain that they have not been heard (FIG. 2.4). Although the women are the same age, Artemisia, like her father, differentiates between the refined, aristocratic Judith and the plebian Abra. The decorative linearity of the fabric folds in no way undermines either the bold, monumental forms of the figures, standing in the forefront of the picture space, or the realistic details, such as the still life of gauntlet, candlestick, and scabbard on the table.

Judith shields her eyes from the glare of the flame, so that a shadow is cast across her face—a daringly lifelike motif that Caravaggio had used in *The Calling of St. Matthew* (see FIG. 1.32). Caravaggio, however, rarely included the source of light in his tenebristic pictures, and when he did, as in the instance of the candle in the Naples *Seven Acts of Mercy*, he did not study its effect on objects in space (see FIG. 1.35). Artemisia's careful analysis of the fall of light

suggests knowledge of Gerrit van Honthorst, one of the Dutch Followers of Caravaggio working in Rome between 1613 and 1620, who specialized in candlelit spaces in many of his works, such as the *Samson and Delilah* (ca. 1616; see FIG. 6.2). She may also have been inspired by the *Judith Beheading Holofernes* of circa 1601–3 by the German expatriate painter Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610; in Rome 1600–10), known through a copy in a Roman collection (FIG. 2.5). In his painting two sources of artificial illumination, one visible within the picture, the other concealed beyond the frame on the right, reveal in all their rich detail the figures, still life, and room décor. A native of Frankfurt, Elsheimer specialized in small, delicately painted historical narratives and landscapes on a copper support, many of which are nocturnes, and although he eludes the strict definition of a Follower of Caravaggio by virtue of the miniature scale of the paintings and their fully developed backgrounds, he was nonetheless among the earliest northern artists to respond to Caravaggio's style.

Bartolomeo Manfredi
One of the most influential of the Italian Followers of Caravaggio, Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582–1622) was born

2.6 Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Concert*, ca. 1612. Oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Destroyed in 1993.

near Mantua and trained in the same north Italian art centers that had nurtured Caravaggio himself. First documented in Rome in 1607, he produced easel paintings of sacred and secular themes for a select group of collectors, including those who had patronized Caravaggio, such as the Marchese Giustiniani. Several works are expanded variations on Caravaggio's famous early genre paintings. Manfredi's *Concert*, with its gathering of young men playing the violin, lute, and cornet in a tavernlike setting, is typical in its approach to handling Caravaggesque ideas (ca. 1612; destroyed in 1993; FIG. 2.6). Although the subject is comparable to Caravagggio's *The Lute Player* (see FIG. 1.27), Manfredi rejected the quasi-antique dress and sensual atmosphere, adopting instead the fancy garb of the *bravo* and the half-length format of such narratives as Caravagggio's *The Cardsharps* (see FIG. 1.28). He also renounced the bright lighting of Caravaggio's early genre scenes in favor of the tenebrism of the master's mature Roman style, so that the *Concert* more closely resembles the group of St. Matthew and his cronies on the left-hand side of *The Calling of St. Matthew* (see FIG. 1.32). Creating what the biographer Joachim von Sandrart called the *Manfredianus methodus*, the painter acted as artistic intermediary between the first generation master, Caravaggio, whom he may have known personally, and an international following of artists seeking to work in the style, especially northern émigrés such as the French expatriate Valentin de Boulogne.

The Bolognese School

While Caravaggio and his followers were testing the limits of realism, a second group of painters working in Rome and elsewhere were developing new styles espoused by the Carracci. Sometimes called the Bolognese school, they had for the most part trained in the Carracci academy, although some had worked under the masters elsewhere. Rather than paint in a fairly uniform style, as was the case with Caravaggio's followers, they produced a more varied output that mirrored the diversity of the Carracci trio. Maintaining a strong base of naturalism, they moved in two separate directions. Artists like Guido Reni and Domenichino tended toward a pronounced classicism, taking as their cue the late style of Annibale Carracci and the works of the Roman High Renaissance. On the other hand, such painters as Giovanni Lanfranco and Guercino paid close attention to the dynamic style of Ludovico Carracci, and by extension, to the works of Barocci, Correggio, and the sixteenth-century Venetian masters. Unlike most Caravaggisti, the Emilians were masters of the fresco medium, and thus they gained the bulk of commissions for large-scale mural projects. With the dispersal of the Caravaggisti to other art centers, they became the dominant figures in Rome. The fame of the Bolognese painters was secured by the publication of their biographies by Malvasia, whose *Felsina pittrice* (1678) details

their history through four stages, culminating with the Carracci and their followers.

The Bolognese school received special favor in Rome during the brief rule of Pope Gregory XV (1621–3). Born Alessandro Ludovisi, and a member of a distinguished local family, the future pope trained at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, was made archbishop of Bologna in 1612, and achieved the cardinalate in 1616. As pope he established the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, dedicated to coordinating the Church's missionary efforts, and canonized the four great founders of Counter-Reformation orders, St. Teresa, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, and St. Philip Neri, thus ushering in the historical era of the Church Triumphant. Wishing to support artists from his home region, Gregory gave to Domenichino the position of papal architect and to Guercino the major commission of his pontificate, the *St. Petronilla* altarpiece in St. Peter's.

Immediately upon his election, Gregory designated his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632) *cardinale nipote*. Ludovico received vast sums in the form of posts and benefices, allowing him to make the most of what would be a relatively brief window of opportunity. As a patron of the Bolognese school, he is best remembered for the *Aurora* fresco commissioned from Guercino for the *casino* (a small garden building for entertaining) in the Villa Ludovisi on the Pincian Hill, Rome (see FIG. 2.13). A voracious collector, he assembled around 300 Old Master and contemporary works, and showed a particular interest in ancient sculpture, amassing some 380 examples by buying whole collections, intervening when a new piece was unearthed, or pressing for gifts in exchange for concessions. Having studied, like his uncle, at the Collegio Romano, he became the patron of the Jesuits' new church in Rome, S. Ignazio (begun 1626).

Guido Reni

A prominent member of the Bolognese school, Guido Reni (1575–1642) trained in Bologna in the workshop of the Flemish Mannerist Denis Calvaert, who, historians agree, influenced the emphasis on elegance and polish in Reni's mature works. He switched in 1594 to the Carracci academy, and in 1601 was called by Cardinal Paolo Sfrondrato to the Eternal City, where he came to the notice of the Borghese family. Embarking on what promised to be a distinguished Roman career, he was initially attracted to the naturalism of the Caravaggist style, but was ultimately drawn to the classicism of Annibale's mature works and those of the High Renaissance masters, especially Raphael, with the result that he shifted to a style characterized by serene purity. Despite his success in Rome, Reni was not temperamentally suited to the competitive atmosphere. He left in 1614 and lived in Bologna for the remainder of his life, where he became the city's chief painter upon Ludovico Carracci's death. Judged to be the "divine" Guido at the time of his death, a form of praise used previously only for Michelangelo and Raphael, Reni was considered one of history's greatest painters up until the mid nineteenth century, when criticism of his work as being too sentimental precipitated his decline. We now realize that, for better or worse, it was Reni who, aesthetics aside, perfected many of the clichés that through later copies, prints, and photographs dominated Catholic devotional imagery, such as his trademark: the upturned gaze signifying rapturous union with the divine.

Reni's most famous Roman work, the *Aurora* ceiling fresco, was commissioned by Scipione Borghese, the *cardinale nipote* of Pope Paul V, for the principal room of a small pavilion, the Casino dell'Aurora, in the grounds of his newly built garden palace on the Quirinal (1613–14; FIG. 2.7). In designing the work, Reni rejected the illusionism of Annibale's

2.7 Guido Reni, *Aurora*, 1613–14. Fresco, ca. 23′ × 9′ 3″ (ca. 7 × 2.8 m). Casino dell'Aurora, Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi, Rome.

Farnese Gallery ceiling (1597–1600; see FIG. 1.22). The fresco belongs to the category of ceiling painting called the transferred easel type (*quadro riportato*): the image is surrounded by a three-dimensional stucco frame attached to the vault, and there is no concern for the illusionistic extension of the viewer's space. Thoroughly classical, the work inhabits its own ideal realm, without connecting with the spectator. Moreover, the mythological subject, the relief composition, and the borrowing of various details from motifs in ancient sculpture all contribute to the work as a demonstration of the classical ideal. In this respect the *Aurora* superficially resembles Annibale's *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* in the central field of the Farnese Gallery (see FIG. 1.23), but Reni toned down the raucous character of that earlier example, modeled his figures evenly, and sharpened their linear contours. Moreover, his palette emphasizes the primary hues. Despite its depiction of an active moment, the work gives the overall impression of being frozen in time, like a tinted relief sculpture. Thus it conveys the serenity and timelessness of a work by Raphael.

The scene does not represent a particular literary narrative, but draws from ancient writings and art to suggest the general theme of the passage of time through the circuit of the sun and the transition of the hours. Aurora, the

2.8 Guido Reni, *St. Sebastian*, ca. 1610–16. Oil on canvas, 51³⁄₁₆ × 39″ (128 × 98 cm). Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome.

rosy-fingered goddess of the dawn, dressed in a saffron-hued gown, leads the procession through the sky, her billowing mantle suggesting, as in antique art, the wind. Phosphorus, the morning star, shown as a winged putto carrying a torch, follows in mid-flight. Apollo, whose perfect male beauty and extended left arm derive from the prototypical image of the sun god, the fourth-century-BCE *Apollo Belvedere* (see FIG. 1.3), drives the chariot of the sun, surrounded by a golden radiance. The powerful horses of the sun are depicted in profile in the manner of ancient Roman relief carvings of a four-horse chariot. Finally, seven Horae, the ancient goddesses of the hours, who guide the chariot with linked hands as their draperies flutter in the wind, are based on an antique relief sculpture in the Borghese collection.

One of the categories of religious painting in which Reni specialized in Bologna was the devotional image that did not serve as a public altarpiece but was hung in a nonliturgical context either as a collectible or as stimulus to private meditation. His *St. Sebastian*, first recorded in the collection of Cardinal del Monte, is one of several variants that represent the member of the emperor Diocletian's bodyguard, who was martyred in the third century because he had assisted Christians and refused to deny his faith (ca. 1610–16; FIG. 2.8). After Peter and Paul, Sebastian ranked as the most important Roman saint: the fourth-century Constantinian basilica, S. Sebastiano fuori le Mure, built over the catacomb where he was buried, was remodeled in 1609 under the patronage of Cardinal Borghese as part of the Catholic effort to confirm its roots in the early Church. According to an Early Christian source revived by Cardinal Baronio, the initial effort to kill Sebastian by shooting him with arrows failed when St. Irene found his near-dead body and nursed him back to health (he was later clubbed to death). Images of Irene discovering Sebastian increased in popularity in the early seventeenth century due to the Catholic emphasis on compassionate care-giving. Depictions of Sebastian alone, his body pierced by arrows, were also popular, in part because he was one of the saints to whom the faithful prayed in the event of a plague.

The gaze, the ideal physique, and the pathos all derive from Reni's study of Greco-Roman sculpture, such as the sons of *Laocoön* (see FIG. 0.5). The Church recognized that the erotic potential of the subject could be problematic: Cardinal Federico Borromeo warned that Sebastian was in reality an older, bearded man, not the beautiful youth represented by Renaissance artists.

Domenichino

Domenico Zampieri, known by the nickname he received in the Carracci academy, Domenichino ("Little Domenico"; 1581–1641), set the standard in both fresco

2.9 Domenichino, *Last Communion of St. Jerome*, 1612–14. Oil on canvas, 13′ 9″ × 8′ 4½″ (419 × 256 cm). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican.

and oil painting for Baroque classicism throughout the seventeenth century. Like Reni he trained briefly with Calvaert but changed circa 1595 to the more progressive Carracci workshop, which was under the leadership of Ludovico. In 1602 he traveled to Rome, one of several Bolognese artists who was attracted by Annibale's presence there; he assisted with Farnese commissions, including the frescoed walls of the Farnese Gallery. Once in Rome, he carefully modeled his work on Annibale's mature classical style, while studying the treasures of the High Renaissance and the sculpture of classical antiquity. He also pored over the drawings of the Carracci and ultimately possessed over 900 sheets. A return stint in Bologna and Fano in 1617–21 allowed reacquaintance with northern models, but his career was entrenched in the Roman scene, where he was appointed papal architect, provided works for the Borghese and Aldobrandini, and carried out the apse and pendentive frescoes in the new church of S. Andrea della Valle (mid 1620s). His final years, 1631–41, were spent in Naples where he worked on the immense decorative scheme of the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro. His death was reportedly the result of his being poisoned by jealous rivals.

Domenichino's reputation in Rome was sealed by a pair of public commissions received and executed simultaneously: the *Last Communion of St. Jerome* for the high altar of the Congregation of San Girolamo della Carità (1612–14; FIG. 2.9); and frescoes of the life of St. Cecilia for the

Polet Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi (1612–15). For the *St. Jerome* he revisited Agostino Carracci's altarpiece of the same subject (ca. 1594–5; see FIG. 1.26) on a brief trip to Bologna, reversing the composition and borrowing many details, which he also knew from the preparatory drawings by Agostino in his possession. Like Agostino, Domenichino shows the sorrowful, aged saint, celebrated by the Catholic Church as penitent, scholar, and cardinal, accompanied by his faithful lion, as he is administered the *viaticum* (the final Eucharist given to a dying person) in a chapel lit by a tall candle. To suggest the Near Eastern locale—Jerome died in Bethlehem—both pictures include a turbaned figure. The sharp focus accorded the liturgical objects—the Eucharistic wafer held over the paten by the officiating priest, the chalice held by the subdeacon, and the evangelary carried by the kneeling deacon—echo the ritual of the Mass that took place in front of the picture.

The altarpiece epitomizes the classical ideal as practiced by painters and elucidated in the writings of two key authors. Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570–1632), artistic advisor to the Aldobrandini family, was familiar with ancient and Renaissance artistic theory and worked closely with artists in formulating iconographic programs. Composed between circa 1607 and 1615, his *Trattato della pittura* (*Treatise on Painting*), indebted in part to learned discussions with Annibale and Domenichino, was the first Baroque polemical tract on classical beauty (surviving fragment published in 1646, after his death). Agucchi's ideas were absorbed by Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–96), whose biographies of Baroque artists, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti moderni* (1672), extol the work of the first generation of classicizing painters. The introductory essay, originally delivered as a lecture to the Accademia di San Luca in 1664, elaborates the classical point of view. Bellori was also stimulated by the theoretical musings of his friend, the arch-classicist French painter Nicolas Poussin, who was living in Rome.

Relegating genre painting to low status and rejecting the provocative realism of the Followers of Caravaggio, these authors ranked history painting as the uppermost branch of subject matter, drawn from venerated historical, religious, and mythological texts. For them a large, multi-figured composition has the capacity to instruct the viewer and elevate the soul through the display of virtuous behavior, in the manner of the ancient Roman ideal of the *exemplum virtutis*. Additionally, accuracy and decorum are essential to the depiction of heroic actions in the *istoria*, the artist's handling of the heroic action or narrative. Writers and artists alike championed the Latin dictum *ut pictura poesis* (as is poetry, so is painting), derived from the first-century-BCE Roman author Horace, according to which the figural component in art has the same power as literature to evoke the highest moral aspirations. Although the artist should keep an eye on the real world, drawing extensively from the model in formulating a work, he should

2.10 Domenichino, *Landscape with the Judgment of Midas*, 1616–18. Wall fresco, 8' 9¼" × 6' 9¾" (267 × 224 cm). National Gallery, London.

show discrimination and keep an inner eye on ideal form. In making judgments, the artist must seek the authority of acknowledged masters, whether of antiquity, the High Renaissance, or the modern period, such as Annibale.

Since copying and studying earlier works of art was an accepted part of the classical method, it is surprising that Domenichino was charged with plagiarism in composing his altarpiece. In the early 1620s his rival for the S. Andrea delle Valle commission, Giovanni Lanfranco, engaged a pupil to travel to Bologna and execute a reproductive print after Agostino's *The Last Communion of St. Jerome* with the goal of circulating it in Rome, in order to damage Domenichino's reputation—an effect it apparently failed to have.

Although landscape was of minor interest to Domenichino, he became an influential practitioner of the classical landscape type. Following in the footsteps of Annibale, who had created the first exemplar with his *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (see FIG. 1.25), Domenichino produced canvases with both religious and secular subjects. The *Landscape with the Judgment of Midas* is one of ten frescoes representing scenes from the life of Apollo that he designed and partly executed for the grottolike Apollo room adjacent to the Water Theater of the Villa Belvedere in Frascati (see p. 145), a commission received with the

help of Agucchi from Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Pope Clement VIII (1616–18; FIG. 2.10). Partly based on a drawing by Annibale, the work follows the formula for classical landscape by placing human action in the foreground and coordinating spatial recession through groups of tall trees in the middle ground, framing the distant view. The light touches of the brush on the wet plaster and the variegated greens emulate the freshness of nature.

The natural scene of meadows and hills accords perfectly with the narrative, which tells of the musical contest in which the satyr Pan, playing his wind instrument, the panpipe, challenged the god of music, shown with his stringed instrument, the lyre. Present was King Midas who, after the debacle of the golden touch, retired to Pan's sylvan world. The judge Tmolus, the god of mountains, standing behind Pan, decided in favor of the sun god, but Midas called the ruling unjust. Thus with Apollo's vengeful gesture two ass's ears spring from King Midas's head, and the landscape itself, as if approving, echoes the punishment by means of the shape of the two mountain peaks.

Giovanni Lanfranco

Although technically not a member of the Bolognese group, as he was born and trained in Parma, Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) owed his formation to contacts with all three Carracci. As a Parmese who was heir to the tradition of Correggio, he apprenticed under Agostino Carracci during the latter's stay in Parma. Following Agostino's death, Lanfranco moved to Rome to assist Annibale Carracci in the Farnese Gallery. A sojourn in Emilia in 1610–12 allowed for further study of the works of Correggio, Ludovico Carracci, and Annibale's Correggesque *Pietà with Saints* (see FIG. 1.21). Upon his return to Rome, Lanfranco, shunning the strident realism of the Caravaggisti and the calm classicism of the late Annibale, Domenichino, and Reni, introduced to the capital the dynamic style formerly associated with Barocci and Ludovico in northern Italy. His most spectacular Roman work, clearly indebted to Correggio's Parma dome, is the cupola fresco representing the *Assumption of the Virgin* at S. Andrea della Valle (1625–7), a commission obtained at the time that he charged his rival Domenichino with plagiarism. The last part of his career took place in Naples (1634–46), where he had followed Domenichino in pursuit of large-scale fresco projects.

Lanfranco's powerful mature style is evident in the large *The Ecstasy of the Blessed Margaret of Cortona*, executed for the back of the double-sided high altarpiece in Sta. Maria Nuova, outside the city walls of Cortona, where the thirteenth-century saint had lived as a Franciscan nun (1622; FIG. 2.11). The painting bears witness to the increasing interest of the Post-Tridentine Church in representations of the mystical union of a saint with God. Like the reclining saint in Caravaggio's *The Stigmatization of St. Francis*

2.11 Giovanni Lanfranco, *The Ecstasy of the Blessed Margaret of Cortona*, 1622. Oil on canvas, 90½ × 72¾″ (230 × 180 cm). Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence.

(see FIG. 1.6), Margaret, wearing the habit of her order, collapses backward to receive the support of an angel, but here the event takes place not on earth but in a golden celestial realm to which Margaret is transported on a cloud. The little dog refers to Margaret's conversion after the pet had led her to her murdered lover, with whom she had lived unmarried. The bold composition consists solely of two large sculptural masses in the foreground space, organized according to a series of parallel diagonals that intersect with the diagonal of the exchanged gazes. The active postures of the figures, the billowing draperies, the lively brushwork, and the perfected forms made believable by naturalistic details show that Lanfranco had learned well the lessons of Correggio, Barocci (see FIG. 1.14), and Ludovico.

Guercino

One of the leading figures of the Bolognese school was Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (1591–1666), known from childhood by his nickname Guercino (the squinter) because of his cross-eyed visage. Born in Cento, a small agricultural town north of Bologna, and initially self-trained, he was not a member of the Carracci academy. The major

From Sinner to Saint: Mary Magdalen

Few holy figures have enjoyed in recent years a burst of renewed interest and reappraisal as powerful as that directed to St. Mary Magdalen, the principal female saint in the Catholic pantheon after the Virgin Mary and the female archetype of the penitent sinner, comparable to St. Jerome and the prodigal son. Her revival stems from a surprising intersection of three trends: the writings of feminist scholars, new scholarship in biblical history, and popular novels and movies, such as Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), which taps into the medieval myth that Jesus and the Magdalen were married.

The story of the Magdalen's life, as it was known in the Baroque period, was based on original scriptural references, which are often vague and overlapping, and subsequent apocryphal narratives and commentaries by the church fathers, which evolved into popular legend by the late middle ages. Pope Gregory the Great played a major role in shaping her identity in 591 when, in an effort to settle a long-running controversy, he conflated into one person what were originally three distinct women mentioned in the Gospels: Luke's unnamed woman in the city, who was a sinner and thus presumably a prostitute (7:31); John's Mary of Bethany, sister of Martha and Lazarus, whose resurrection by Christ she witnessed (11:1); and Luke's Mary called Magdalen, from whom Christ exorcized seven demons (8:2). *The Golden Legend*, Jacobus da Voragine's thirteenth-century compendium of saints' lives, encouraged the myth that she was a courtesan in its description of how she submitted her body to pleasure, repented, and was forgiven. The Counter-Reformation historian Cardinal Cesare Baronio doubted that the saint had been a prostitute, and the Counter-Reformation Church tried to de-emphasize this by focusing instead on the penitential aspect.

Most Post-Tridentine representations of Mary Magdalen depict either her conversion or her hermetic years in Provence, both referring to the sacrament of penance, which was rejected by the Protestants and reaffirmed by the Council of Trent in its Fourteenth Session. Typical of many Baroque altarpieces, Guercino's *The Penitent Magdalen with Two Angels* combines in a

2.12 Guercino, *The Penitent Magdalen with Two Angels*, ca. 1622. Oil on canvas, 86½ × 78¾″ (220 × 200 cm). Pinacoteca, Vatican.

single image multiple aspects of her life and character (ca. 1622; Fig. 2.12). Rendered in the bold, rich technique of Guercino's early style, the painting dominated the high altar of the chapel of Sta. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite al Corso in a Roman convent for converted prostitutes. The sensual character of Guercino's *Magdalen*, which unites her dual nature as great beauty and remorseful sinner, is a reminder of the Church's warnings about the dangers of nudity in religious imagery.

factor in his education, however, as he himself acknowledged, was an altarpiece in the local Capuchin church, *The Holy Family with St. Francis and Donors,* by Ludovico Carracci (see FIG. 1.17), who praised the younger artist in a famous letter of 1617. Guercino's close study of this work, as well as his interest in the contemporary Emilian school and in Correggio, and the impact of a trip to Venice in 1618, are evident in the dynamic composition, loose brushwork, and bold chiaroscuro of his early works. Moreover, the keen naturalism shows his devotion to drawing from the model; indeed, Guercino, who founded a drawing academy in Cento, ranks as one of the most prolific Italian Baroque draftsmen.

Gregory XV brought Guercino to Rome in the years 1621–3, when he produced large-scale public works, like the *St. Petronilla* altarpiece for St. Peter's (Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina) and the *Penitent Magdalen with Two Angels* altarpiece for Sta. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite al Corso (see FIG. 2.12 in "From Sinner to Saint: Mary Magdalen," above). Upon his return home to Cento he concentrated on an international mail-order business of religious and historical works created in his large studio with assistants and students. Yielding to the rising desire of patrons for a more classically disposed style, as practiced by his rival Guido Reni, Guercino consciously adjusted his forms in the direction of greater clarity, solidity, suffused lighting,

and delicate brushwork. Only upon the death of Reni in 1642 did he move to Bologna, where he became in effect the dominant master of the local school of painters.

Guercino's most memorable secular painting in Rome is the vault fresco of *Aurora* commissioned by the *cardinale nipote* Ludovico Ludovisi for the dining room of a small garden pavilion purchased from Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte and incorporated into a huge estate (1621–3; FIG. 2.13). The artist rejected Reni's use of the transferred easel painting type of ceiling painting (see FIG. 2.7) in favor of pure illusionism, comparable to that of Annibale's Farnese Gallery ceiling (see FIG. 1.22) but depicting a deeper space, so that the figures, animals, and birds appear to fly overhead against a backdrop of blue sky and clouds. This illusionistic tradition had its modern origins in Andrea Mantegna's vault fresco in the Camera Picta of the ducal palace in Mantua (1465–74; see FIG. 0.6). Whereas in Reni's *Aurora* the goddess of the dawn is an accessory to Apollo's chariot of the sun, here she takes center stage, seated in a chariot drawn by piebald horses, the ensemble foreshortened as if seen from below (the Italian phrase is *di sotto in sù*). The goddess strews flowers as she takes leave of Tithonus, the once beautiful youth with whom she had fallen in love. Upon her request Jupiter granted him immortality—but she forgot to request that he remain young forever, so he aged daily. At either end of the vault, figures representing Day and Night complement the central theme of the passage of time.

As was common in ceiling paintings incorporating architectural details, a specialist in frescoed perspective painting, or *quadratura*, collaborated by providing the non-figurative elements. In this case it was Agostino Tassi, the rapist of Artemisia Gentileschi, who designed the fictive, partially ruined classical building that seemingly extends the space of the room upward. In order to obtain a convincing illusion of one-point linear perspective, the viewer

2.13 Guercino, *Aurora*, 1621–3. Tempera. Casino Ludovisi, Rome.

must stand in the center of the room. Unlike Reni's cool classicism, Guercino's painterly, dynamic style is in full force, aided by the slashing diagonals of the composition, the thunderous dark clouds, and the loose brushwork of the tempera technique, which lends a Venetian appearance to the work (compare Titian, see FIG. 0.17).

Elisabetta Sirani

A later member of the Bolognese school, Elisabetta Sirani (1638–65), did not travel widely, as did her near contemporary Artemisia Gentileschi, but was treated as a phenomenon and famed for her beauty and modesty, thus achieving an international reputation that drew to her studio important persons, including heads of state. Sirani produced several portraits, including drawn and painted self-portraits, but she specialized in historical scenes and small devotional paintings, many representing the Holy Family. Malvasia, a friend of the family, spotting her budding talent, urged that she receive artistic training and later included her in his *Felsina pittrice.* The most important of a group of about 20 women painters in Bologna, she was trained, as was the norm, by her father Giovan Andrea Sirani, himself an assistant of Reni. In a short span of about 13 years she produced some 200 works, known from her own list, primarily for Bolognese middle-class and aristocratic families. Her work is best described as a personal variation on Reni's naturalistic classicism, incorporating brilliant color and incisive textural detail. Called "the second Guido," she was buried next to Reni in S. Domenico, Bologna.

Like Gentileschi, Sirani painted images of heroic women from antiquity with the realization that history painting, the province of the male painter, would elevate her status as a woman artist. For the wealthy Bolognese businessman Simone Tassi, who owned five Siranis, she painted an overdoor picture—the highest valued painting in his collection—*Portia Wounding Her Thigh* (1664; see fig. 1.4). Based on a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Brutus,* a copy of which was in the Sirani family library, it shows her erudition in choosing a rarely painted historical subject and may reflect a personal interest in commenting on the status of women in society. A Roman *exemplum virtutis*, Portia, a woman of intelligence and good breeding, represents the dual ideals of conjugal steadfastness and equality between marriage partners. According to the story, Brutus was troubled by the plot to assassinate Caesar. Portia, sensing that something was amiss, wished to help shoulder the burden. Sirani shows Portia demonstrating her capacity to withstand pain and misfortune by taking a small knife from her toilette kit and stabbing herself. Her stoic resolve contrasts with the domestic activity of the four women in the back room, who are engaged in different aspects of needlework, considered appropriate busy-work for women in both antiquity and the Baroque.

Bernardo Strozzi and Salvator Rosa

Like Rome and Bologna, Genoa, a port located on the Mediterranean in northern Italy, was a thriving city whose wealthy merchant class and noble upper crust attracted an international roster of artists. Like Venice, it was a maritime republic ruled by a doge, with the difference that in Genoa the doge was elected every two years, rather than for life. Enjoying the profits from a thriving mercantile economy, Genoa had become one of the leading banking centers of Europe in the sixteenth century. The most celebrated painters working in the city for short periods were foreign-born, like Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck.

The most important of the local painters was Bernardo Strozzi (1581/2–1644). A member of the Capuchin order (he was called Il Cappuccino), he was given leave from the community in order to care for his ailing widowed mother, but clearly this was also a move that facilitated his career as an artist. After his mother's death he resisted returning to the fold, and, troubled by a religious tribunal, he moved to Venice in 1630/1, where he established a thriving practice, aided by the fact that after the glories of the Late Renaissance the city did not host another native artist of the same magnitude as Titian or Veronese until the eighteenth century.

Painted in Genoa, *An Act of Mercy* is one of several variants by Strozzi that shows a woman pouring water from a large ewer (ca. 1618–20; FIG. 2.14). A bald-headed figure on the left drinks from a bowl, while a boy receives the liquid and a crippled old man waits patiently on the right. Although ostensibly a genre scene, the painting is one of several works in Strozzi's oeuvre—his body of work—that represent the Catholic acts of mercy, in this case the giving of drink to those who are thirsty and the visiting of the sick. Although neither an altarpiece nor a devotional work, the canvas is connected to the Catholic emphasis on both faith and good works as routes to salvation, as opposed to the Protestant belief in faith alone. In addition, the sharply differentiated figures, from childhood to old age, suggest the theme of the ages of man. The shallow space, realistic detail, and insistent tenebrism show the impact of Caravaggio and some of his followers on Genoese painting. On the other hand, the thick brushwork and textural richness betray Strozzi's interest in Venetian technique even at this date.

One of the most idiosyncratic personalities of the Baroque period, Salvator Rosa (1615–73) was not only a painter and printmaker but also an actor and satirical poet. He insisted on the primacy of artistic genius, refused to bow to patrons, and cultivated unusual subjects often painted in a wild, unrestrained manner. In 1635 he left his native Naples, where he had studied the works of the Spanish Follower of Caravaggio, Jusepe de Ribera, and moved to Rome, where he painted battle scenes and

2.14 Bernardo Strozzi, *An Act of Mercy*, ca. 1618–20. Oil on canvas, 52½ × 74½" (133 × 189 cm). John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.

landscapes, subjects that occupied him throughout his career. His satirical diatribe against the most powerful figure on the Roman art scene, the sculptor and architect Gianlorenzo Bernini, had a negative effect, which prompted a move northward in 1640 to Florence, where he worked for Prince Giovanni Carlo de'Medici, younger brother of Ferdinand II, grand duke of Tuscany, and executed some of his most original paintings, such as scenes of witchcraft and elaborate allegories. Tiring of the court, however, he returned in 1649 to Rome, but his difficult temperament and desire to be recognized as a history painter hindered his success.

To Rosa's chagrin, his most sought-after pictures, the ones upon which his subsequent fame rests, are the small landscapes, like *The Ruined Bridge* (late 1640s; FIG. 2.15). Although Rosa adopted certain elements of Annibale Carracci's classical landscape, such as the screen of trees at the right establishing the foreground space (compare FIG. 1.25), he rejected the requisite historical narrative, preferring in this case to show contemporary travelers making their way on horseback and on foot. In a brilliant analogy, the works of nature and of man are shown to be parallel

2.15 Salvator Rosa, *The Ruined Bridge*, late 1640s. Oil on canvas. 36" x 29" (91.4 x 73.6 cm) Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence.

in form and equally subject to the ravages of time: Above the ruined bridge, with its dilapidated Medici coat of arms and makeshift wooden path, rises the gigantic, partially collapsed stone arch. Far from the serene, balanced landscapes of Domenichino (compare FIG. 2.10), Rosa's picture shows trees with broken limbs and ruined buildings. The underlying edifying character of the classical landscape is exchanged for a view of nature that promotes a subjective emotional response through the warm coloration, painterly strokes depicting rough surfaces, and a mysterious or hostile environment.

Pietro da Cortona

Painter, architect, draftsman, and designer of sculpture, Pietro da Cortona (Pietro Berrettini; 1596–1669), is linked by historians to the sculptor and architect Gianlorenzo Bernini and the architect Francesco Borromini as part of the triad of artists often labeled High Baroque because of their interest in expansive, turbulent compositions, densely layered illusionistic systems, and a grandiose synthesis of various media. Born in Cortona in southern Tuscany, he studied under the Florentine painter Andrea Commodi, whom he followed circa 1612 to Rome, which remained his base except for a sojourn in Florence. He initially made important contacts with the Sachetti family, several of whose members held posts at the Vatican, and a circle of collectors and dilettantes that included a scholar in the retinue of the *cardinale nipote* Francesco Barberini, Cassiano dal Pozzo (ca. 1588–1657), for whose "paper museum" (*Museo Cartaceo*), which cataloged known works of antiquity, he made drawings. In addition to executing paintings for private collections, Cortona received prestigious public commissions, including the altarpiece of the *Trinity* for the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in St. Peter's (1628–32) and vault frescoes for Roman churches, such as the Chiesa Nuova (Sta. Maria in Vallicella; 1647–51, 1655–60). He served as head of the Accademia di San Luca from 1634 to 1638. Among his designs for Roman churches is the reconfigured façade of Sta. Maria della Pace and its piazza, one of the new urban sites in Rome (1656; see FIGS. 4.3 and 4.4).

Cortona's ceiling fresco *Divine Providence* is located not in a small garden *casino* but on the ceiling of the largest *gran salone* in Rome, located at the center of the Palazzo Barberini, the family residence of the ruling pope, Urban VIII (1632–9; FIG. 2.16). The work blurs the boundaries between two basic types of ceiling painting: straightforward illusionism and the transferred easel picture. A feigned architectural framework lying on the seams of the vault incorporates simulated Atlantes and relief sculptures in the same manner as the Farnese Gallery ceiling, the initial inspiration for Cortona's conception (see FIG. 1.22). In the center of the vault, which is best viewed from a single

ideal vantage point, the architecture opens up to a vision of sky and clouds, with figures flying both in front and in back of the picture plane. On the sides, the architecture enframes what at first appear to be narrative paintings, but the figures emerge from their contained spaces and rise beyond the limits of the borders. The abundant, massive figures, exploding spiraling forms, overlapping illusionistic systems, and strong tonal contrasts dazzle the eye.

The symbolic and allegorical program of the ceiling, devised by court poet Francesco Bracciolini and explained in a contemporary brochure written by a palace *scopatore* (custodian, or literally, sweeper), celebrates different character traits and accomplishments of the pope and his family. In a clever updating of the tradition of hanging family coats of arms on palace ceilings, Cortona painted in the center three over-life-size women, personifying the Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, bearing the coat of arms of Urban VIII, which is composed of three gigantic bees flying in triangular formation, the crossed keys of St. Peter, and the papal tiara. Below them, Divine Providence, seated on a bank of clouds above Saturn (Father Time) and the Three Fates, guides the Barberinis' destiny, while Immortality flies upward to crown the papal arms. Simulated bronze reliefs in the four corners of the vault portray the Four Cardinal Virtues in narratives of Roman history: Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance. The pagan and allegorical tableaux on the side walls similarly reflect the glory and accomplishments of the Barberini: Moral Knowledge rises above the baser pleasures, symbolized by Venus and Silenus; Dignity, in the sense of the papacy, prepares for Christian battle, while assuring peace; Minerva drives out the giants, a reference to Wisdom overcoming Heresy; and Hercules vanquishes the Harpies, symbolizing the triumph of Virtue over Vice and Barberini defense of papal territories.

Following the success of the Barberini vault, Ferdinand II de'Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, asked Cortona to provide extensive decorations for the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. For the five grandiose state chambers comprising the Planetary Rooms, dedicated in turn to the planetary deities Venus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, Cortona and his pupil Cirro Ferri provided a full component of paintings, sculpture, and architectural motifs for the elaborate ceilings, creating a synthesis that is overwhelming in its richness and plethora of detail (1641–7). Acknowledging the different types of ceiling painting, from transferred easel picture to pure illusionism, Cortona differentiated one ceiling from the next in shape, complexity, and incorporation of white and gilt stucco within a classicizing architectural frame. Following a program drawn up by Francesco Rondinelli, the frescoes use pagan mythology and ancient history to represent stages in the life and education of the ideal prince, alluding subtly to the Medici dukes and the character of their rule. In the Apollo room, which served as the antechamber for gentlemen, the frame encircling

2.16 Pietro da Cortona, *Divine Providence*, 1632–9. Fresco, ca. 82 × 49′ (ca. 25 × 15 m). Gran Salone, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

2.17 Pietro da Cortona, *Apollo Instructs the Prince*, 1641–7. Fresco. Apollo room, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

the vault appears to open onto an Olympian realm, where Apollo instructs the prince by pointing to Hercules holding the globe (*Apollo Instructs the Prince*; FIG. 2.17). Compared to the Barberini ceiling, the lighter palette, the less crowded composition, and the greater proportion of space given over to atmospheric sky yield a more luminous vault. Opulent ceiling decoration like this set the standard for European palaces well into the eighteenth century, the most prominent example being Charles Le Brun's designs for the Planetary Rooms at Versailles (1670s).

Andrea Sacchi

Pietro da Cortona's colleague and frequent rival in Rome was Andrea Sacchi (ca. 1599–1661), the upholder of classical theory and critic of the Barberini ceiling on the grounds that its excessive and overpopulated design violated rules of simplicity, clarity, and decorum. The two artists and their followers debated the issue at the Accademia di San Luca in 1636. It is unfair, however, to relegate Cortona and Sacchi to opposing extremes of dynamic and classical

Baroque. Cortona, after all, operated in a circle of antiquarians and was a keen admirer of ancient sculpture, whereas Sacchi, who trained with a student of Annibale, Francesco Albani (1578–1660), executed passages of great coloristic beauty and painterly finesse, despite his emotionally restrained and uncluttered compositions.

Sacchi's *Allegory of Divine Wisdom* fresco, which crowns the vault of the antechamber to the chapel in the apartment of Anna Colonna Barberini in the Palazzo Barberini, is the antithesis to Cortona's *gran salone* vault (FIG. 2.18; 1629–30). Remarkable for its lack of illusionistic architecture, the fresco shows the allegorical figure of Divine Wisdom enthroned before the brilliant disk of the sun and accompanied by 11 female personifications of her qualities. The iconographic source is the apocryphal book of Wisdom. A realistically depicted planet Earth floats nearby. Despite its static character and reduction of figures to a minimum, the work possesses the monumental forms, stunning illusionism, and broad brushwork characteristic of the 1630s and 1640s.

2.18 Andrea Sacchi, *Allegory of Divine Wisdom*, 1629–30. Fresco. Approx 42′ 8″ x 45′ 11″ (13 x 14 m). Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

2.19 Giovanni Battista Gaulli (Il Baciccio), *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus*, 1676–9. Fresco. Il Gesù, nave vault, Rome.

Giovanni Battista Gaulli

Born in Genoa, Giovanni Battista Gaulli, sometimes called by his nickname Il Baciccio (1639–1709), brought the painterly Genoese heritage of Rubens, Van Dyck, and Strozzi to Rome, where he made his career. An early contact with Bernini, who became a mentor, enabled important commissions. His work, which contributed to the dynamic Roman style of Guercino and Cortona, involved a wide range of subjects, including portraiture, mythological narratives, and altarpieces. He is chiefly remembered for the vast program of vault paintings in the mother church of the Jesuit order in Rome, Il Gesù, commissioned by the father general Gian Paolo Oliva. These included the dome, pendentives, apse, left transept, and spectacular nave vault representing the *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* (1676–9; FIG. 2.19; see "Soldiers for Christ: The Society of Jesus," below).

At first glance the three-dimensional frame and stucco angels occupying the center of the richly gilded and coffered Gesù vault give the impression of a transferred easel painting. But Gaulli borrowed from the Venetian

Soldiers for Christ: The Society of Jesus

One of the leading religious orders that flourished during the Counter-Reformation, the Society of Jesus embraced the Church's challenge to use works of art as a means of attracting and edifying the faithful. Two individuals, Ignatius of Loyola (ca. 1491–1556), the first superior of the order, and Francis Xavier (1506–52), called the apostle of the Indies on account of his missionary activities in India and Japan, were closely involved in the creation of the order. Ignatius, the son of a Basque nobleman, initially embraced the profession of a soldier, but, convalescing after being wounded in battle at Pamplona in 1521 and experiencing miraculous visions, he underwent spiritual rebirth and devoted himself to a life in the Church. Studying in Paris from 1528 to 1535, he gathered a group of Spanish and Portuguese companions with whom he went to Rome. The new order was approved by the pope in 1540, three years before the initial meeting of the Council of Trent.

One of Ignatius's most influential innovations was the spiritual retreat outlined in his devotional manual, *Spiritual Exercises*, which consists of a structured program of prayers and meditations to be conducted with the assistance of a Jesuit priest (essentially conceived by 1525, published in 1548). One of the basic tenets of his method is the "reconstruction of place," that is, the employment of all the senses to form mental images of the physical places and events recounted in the Bible. Historians have likened this method to the preference shown by the Counter-Reformation Church to naturalism and immediacy in the depiction of holy subjects.

Ignatius applied the principles of military organization to the order and placed a general at the head of a hierarchical system that had its center in Rome overseeing countries and regions divided into provinces, each with its own head, the "provincial." Famed as orators, the Jesuits oversaw a worldwide program of humanistic and spiritual education, mostly on the secondary education level for boys aged 10 to 14 (the schools were called colleges), and at a number of universities.

The defense of the faith and the fight against heresy appear frequently in allegorical terms in Jesuit art, as in the militaristic vignettes on the nave ceilings by Gaulli and Pozzo (see Figs. 2.19 and 2.22). A little putto tears out pages from books written by the "heretics" Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli in Pierre Legros the Younger's sculpture *Religion Triumphing over Heresy* located on the right side of the altar in the chapel of St. Ignatius in Il Gesù, Rome (1695–9; Fig. 2.20). This mammoth, collaborative affair, designed by Pozzo after a protracted period of competition and public debate, incorporates the saint's remains below the altar, along with reliefs representing his ministry, allegorical tableaux, and Legros's silver effigy of Ignatius. This over-life-size sculpture is theatrically revealed on feast days by lowering the painted altarpiece through a system of concealed pulleys.
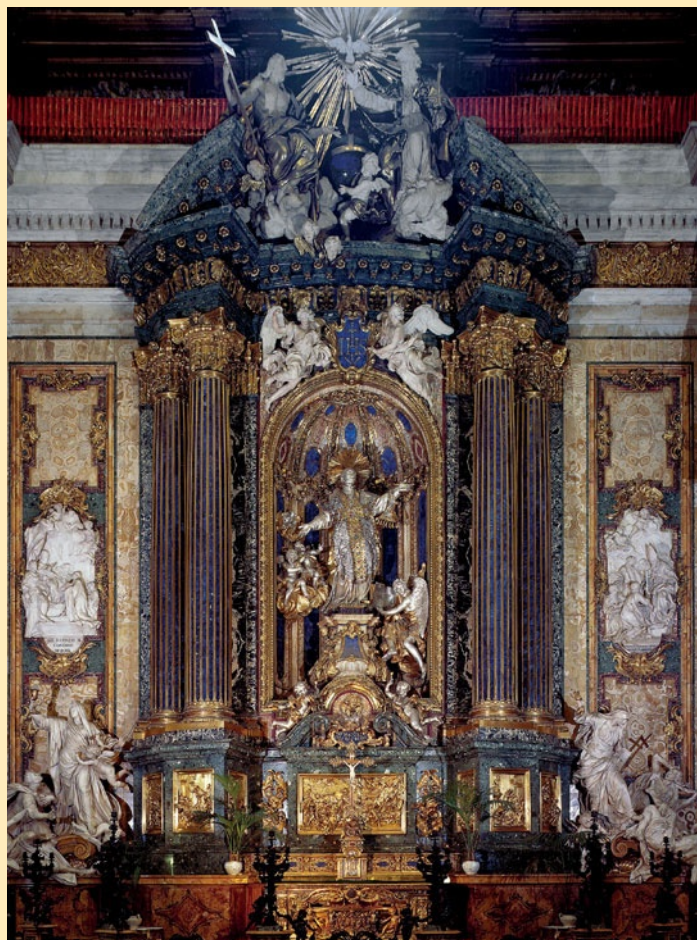
2.20 Andrea Pozzo, Chapel of St. Ignatius, 1695–9. Il Gesù, Rome.

sixteenth-century tradition of the enframed aperture, through which the spectator looks at a deep illusionistic space extended high over the church. Not only does the arc of the elect on bended knee (including Farnese family members) spiral upward to the radiant light encircled by angels and putti, but other figures seem to fly or fall through the picture plane into the space of the viewer. The illusion is so convincing that it is difficult to tell whether the shadows cast on the vault are real or feigned. Bernini, acting as advisor on the project, contributed to this *bel composto*, or beautiful ensemble, of fresco painting, stucco sculpture by Antonio Raggi, and architecture. The swirl of clouds and foreshortened figures reflect the enduring impact of Correggio's Parma dome, which Gaulli had studied in 1669, and he embraced the venerable tradition of ceiling painting as the vault of heaven (see FIG. 0.15).

The ceiling illustrates the words of St. Paul, partially visible on the banderole held by angels: "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth" (Phil. 2:10–11). Emblazoned on the radiant disk, the letters IHS have a triple meaning for the Jesuits, who adopted the initials as their symbol: They are an abbreviation of Ihsus, the name of Jesus in Greek; and an acronym for two Latin phrases, *Iesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus Savior of Mankind) and *Jesum Habemus Socium* (We have Jesus as our companion). From the heavenly realm the blaze of light thrusts out figures who fall like the damned in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco (see FIG. 0.11); accompanied by symbols of the vices, they represent the heretics and infidels driven from Christendom by the Jesuits. On the edges of the vault, white figural sculptures standing alongside the windows represent the far-flung countries to which Jesuit missionaries traveled.

Luca Giordano

Toward the century's end the dynamic style reached new heights in the hands of a virtuoso, the prolific Luca Giordano (1634–1705), called Luca Fa Presto because of his speed of execution and diverse output in oil and fresco painting, the latter for both palace and church interiors. Born in Naples, he initially absorbed the dark manner of Caravaggio, Ribera, and their circles. He then brought to Neapolitan painting the clear light of day, a more sensuous palette, and spontaneous brushwork as a result of his study of Venetian and Roman models, as well as of Rubens. Although based primarily in Naples, he traveled extensively to gain commissions, including sojourns in Florence, Venice, and finally in Madrid, where he worked for the Spanish court from 1692 to 1702 and was named first painter to Charles II, the last sovereign of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty.

In Florence Giordano produced works for the Medici, but he is remembered for commissions provided by other great Florentine families, such as the Riccardi, who had acquired the Palazzo Medici in 1659. It was Marchese Francesco Riccardi who determined to have the artist decorate the vault of the palazzo's sumptuous gallery, which functioned as a reception room (1682–5; FIG. 2.21). In a variation on Cortona's Apollo room fresco at the Palazzo Pitti (see FIG. 2.17), the *Apotheosis of the Medici* pays tribute to the ducal family in the center of the vault, where Jupiter crowns four members of the dynasty who appear as the "Medicean Stars" (a reference to the four moons of Jupiter discovered by Galileo in 1610 while resident at the court). Along the sides of the coving, a plethora of pagan gods and female personifications comprise a series of narrative vignettes to suggest such universal themes as the seasons, the elements, and the passage of time.

Giordano's debt to Cortona's Pitti frescoes is most evident in the vigorous, grandiloquent forms, but with a lighter touch. The scheme is essentially illusionistic, with the vault seemingly open to a panorama of clouds, sky, and foreshortened figures. Yet he places the ground line of his imaginary landscape at the height of the cornice, so that the mythological narratives unfold in a fictive space that is not an extension of the viewer's world.

Andrea Pozzo

The culmination of Roman vault painting at the end of the century, *The Glorification of St. Ignatius and the Worldwide Mission of the Jesuits* in the church of S. Ignazio (1691–4; FIG. 2.22), was the work of a lay brother in the Jesuit order, Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), who trained in northern Italy and was called to Rome by Padre Oliva. Pozzo used his mathematical expertise to map illusionistic systems on curved vaults of tremendous size. His two-volume illustrated treatise on ceiling painting, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (1693, 1700), both pattern book and theoretical manual, transmitted his ideas throughout Europe and beyond—it was translated into many languages, including Chinese. His best-known works are the paintings in S. Ignazio, which include an illusionistic dome painted on a flat surface over the crossing, pendentives featuring Old Testament heroes and heroines, and scenes of Ignatius's life, in the apse and high altar. He also won the commission for the design of the chapel of St. Ignatius in the left transept of Il Gesù, which houses the saint's relics (1695–9; see FIG. 2.20). Taking the technique of *quadratura* northward to the Holy Roman Empire in 1703, he spent his final years in Vienna where he worked for both the Jesuits and princely patrons.

The frescoed vault of the nave celebrates the principal founder of the Society of Jesus, who was the titular saint of the basilica, and the efforts of the order to carry

2.21 Luca Giordano, *Apotheosis of the Medici*, 1682–5. Fresco. Gallery, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence.

the word of God to the ends of the earth. The underlying conceit, as detailed by Pozzo himself, involves a pun on Ignatius's name, related to the Latin word for fire, *ignis*, and the burning zeal of the Jesuits to light human hearts with passion for God. On the ends of the vault, angels fan the flames of spiritual fervor in two giant cauldrons set above cartouches inscribed in Latin with the words of Christ: "I am come to send fire on the earth / And what will I, if it be already kindled?" (Luke 12:49). In the center St. Ignatius, like the Virgin of the Assumption, is drawn heavenward in the Catholic version of apotheosis, deified like ancient heroes and emperors. In the deepest space floats the Christian Trinity—God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit. From the lance wound of Christ a ray of light extends to Ignatius seated on a bank of clouds, and from there the saint radiates the light to allegorical representations of the Four Continents perched on fictive corbels—Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. Echoing a detail in Gaulli's Gesù vault, the continents expel from the heavenly realm the heretics who would dare to foil the missionary exploits of the Jesuits throughout the globe.

Using a system of one-point linear perspective that ultimately relies on Mantegna's Mantuan vault (see FIG. 0.6), Pozzo created a fictive architecture of white marble which, when viewed from the ideal vantage point in the center of the nave, seems to rise from the real cornice, extending the space of the church upward. The dynamism of the painting is to a considerable extent the result of the vigorous forward-and-back projection of the Corinthian columns in concert with the jagged contours of their bases and entablatures. Against this dramatic setting, a host of steeply foreshortened figures, witnessed *di sotto in sù*, flies about the celestial sky. The brilliant white of the architecture, the pinks and blues of the hazy atmosphere, and the relatively small scale and frenzied character of the figures represent a departure from the large, robust volumes of earlier Roman ceilings, like those of Cortona and Gaulli, thus leading the way to the softer, transparent tonalities and arabesque compositions of Italian ceilings in the eighteenth century.

The course of Baroque painting in Italy saw the astonishing expansion of stylistic trends and subjects that owed their formation to antique and Renaissance exemplars. Artists pushed the formal devices of naturalism to seemingly impossible limits, producing explosive works on a vast scale capable of overwhelming the viewer. As painters traveled widely within the Italian peninsula to experience the artworks of their predecessors and to gain commissions, their ranks increased as the number of women artists slowly but steadily grew. A robust system of patronage owed its drive to the reformed Catholic Church and to a social elite of cardinals and flourishing nobility. This high level of productivity was matched in the media of sculpture and architecture, where comparable efforts were made to engage and transport the viewer in ways not previously imagined.

2.22 (opposite) **Andrea Pozzo**, *The Glorification of St. Ignatius and the Worldwide Mission of the Jesuits*, 1691–4. Fresco. S. Ignazio, nave vault, Rome.

View the Closer Look for *The Glorification of St. Ignatius* on mysearchlab.com

Italian Baroque Sculpture and the Bel Composto

The first generation of Italian Baroque sculptors followed on the heels of three giants of the sixteenth century: Michelangelo (1475–1564), whose work remained a source of inspiration and competition; Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71), the Florentine goldsmith, stonecutter, and bronze caster whose *Treatise on Sculpture* (1568) provides valuable insight into the craft of Renaissance sculpture; and Giambologna (1529–1608), the Flemish-born master working for the Medici court whose virtuoso pieces rivaled the newly unearthed marbles of antiquity. The late sixteenth-century legacy consisted principally of the emphasis on sculpture in the round, the abandonment of the blocklike form in favor of limbs protruding from the core, and the increasing primacy of the clay or wax model as the equivalent of the painted sketch as the artist's *primo pensiero*, or first concept. The *Paragone*, or Renaissance debate over which medium was supreme—painting or sculpture, depending on which exhibited greater invention as opposed to manual labor—gradually declined in importance in the seventeenth century, as sculptors sought to integrate the various media, and even sculpture assumed some of the properties of painting, such as extreme realism and color. Beginning in the first decade of the seventeenth century, sculpture underwent an extraordinary flowering.

Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*, 1622–5. (Detail of FIG. 3.10)

By the 1630s, through the achievements of a single artist, Gianlorenzo Bernini, the most significant sculptor of the Baroque period, the medium arguably became the dominant one in Rome from the standpoint of advancing style and taste.

For Baroque sculptors, ancient marbles provided a standard of perfection. The great exemplars that were the stars of Roman collections, such as the *Laocoön* (see FIG. 0.5) and the *Apollo Belvedere* (see FIG. 1.3), both in the Vatican, exerted enduring influence due to their ideal beauty, astonishing bodily presence, and expression of the passions of the soul. As with painters, sculptors producing religious works were beholden to the dictates of the Counter-Reformation Church and its supporters among contemporary art theorists, for whom the draped human figure, thought to be preferred by ancient Roman sculptors, was more decorous and lacked the possibility of licentiousness associated with the nude.

The restoration of antique statues provided an important source of income for sculptors. In the spirit of the Renaissance, collectors avidly acquired ancient marbles, and displayed them in the courtyards, galleries, and gardens of their palaces and villas. The Italian soil continued to yield antiquities: A contract for land rental might contain a clause regarding who had right of ownership of any unearthed pieces. Because fragments were held in low esteem, the owner might hire a sculptor to rework a piece by attaching a head or limb. A sculptor might reinvent the

91

subject or pose of an antique fragment, depending on the owner's agenda. A new portrait head on an old body or a fresh mattress beneath a reclining hermaphrodite offered a new lease on life to once buried treasure.

Bernini worked for a succession of six popes, and was responsible for most of the large commissions of the period, hiring a team of sculptors and assistants, as many as 40 at a time, to work under him. Many prominent as well as lesser artists, north Italian as well as northern European—not only sculptors but also painters, masons, stuccoists, gold-smiths, and founders—spent time in Bernini's workshop.

Second-rank sculptors were often content to execute in three dimensions the drawings of painters and architects who oversaw multi-media ensembles.

Family relationships were strong among sculptors, with successive generations likely to work in some branch of the sculptor's trade, whether as metalworker, dealer in stone, or fine artist. The training of young sculptors was similar to that of painters. The parents of a prospective student signed a contract with a master specifying the length of the apprenticeship—as long as seven years— and whether the student would live at home or in the master's house and who would provide food and clothing. Apprentices, treated like servants in the worst cases, undertook the routine jobs of prepara-tion and cleanup, and helped the master's assistants in the heavy labor of moving and blocking out mar-ble pieces. Instruction included drawing and mod-eling from plaster casts and clay models of famous works, as well as the study of human anatomy and the draped figure. An essential component of edu-cation was a trip to Rome to study the great exem-plars from the past. Few Baroque sculptors were born in Rome, but once there many settled in the city that provided the greatest career opportuni-ties. In addition to apprentices, a typical workshop included assistants employed to transfer designs from the model to the block and to work on a statue at any point in its creation.

This process was lengthy and involved many steps. A sculptor did not attack the marble block directly but prepared many initial studies. Sculptors who were adept draftsmen began by making rough sketches in chalk or pen. These were then actual-ized in a *bozzetto* (from *abbozzare*, to sketch, rough out), a small model of clay, wax, or plaster, usually between 1 and 2 feet in height. Using an additive modeling technique, the artist pushed the mate-rial roughly into place on a rotating modeling stool and vigorously pinched and squeezed the medium, leaving the trace of fingerprints. He then clarified the forms with a wooden oval-tipped stylus or a toothed chisel. The clay model was fired to make it more permanent.

Some of these models have survived, especially those prized by collectors in the late seventeenth century, like Bernini's *bozzetto* of the *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns* for one of the statues on the Ponte Sant'Angelo (ca. 1668; FIG. 3.1; compare the finished marble, see FIG. 3.20). It is typical of Bernini's early

3.1 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *bozzetto* of *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns*, ca. 1668. Terracotta, height 17¹¹⁄₁₆″ (44.9 cm). Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA. Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing and Friends of the Fogg Art Museum Funds.

thoughts in clay in its rapid and improvisatory nature and use of shorthand to express such details as the mournful gaze and windswept drapery.

The loosely conceived *bozzetto* might then be reconfigured in a more finished clay *modellino* of comparable or slightly larger size, of the kind visible in the foreground of the painting of a *Sculpture Studio* attributed to the Flemish master Michael Sweerts (1618–64), resident in Rome at mid century (see "Process in Sculpture: Marble," below).

This could be presented to the patron for approval and, if desired, used by studio assistants in working up a full-scale model in clay and/or plaster, called the *modello in grande*, sometimes set up on the intended site in order to gauge the effectiveness of the piece. The design was then ready for transfer to the marble block or for preparation for casting in bronze (for these techniques, see "Process in Sculpture: Marble" and "Process in Sculpture: Bronze," below and p. 94). Highly finished *modelli* were essential when

Process in Sculpture: Marble

Although Baroque sculptors worked in a variety of media, including wood, clay, plaster, and bronze, the material par excellence was marble, due to its ancient pedigree, durability, brilliant whiteness, and ability to absorb and reflect light. The best stone came from the quarries in and around Carrara, in northwestern Tuscany, which are still mined today. Even the finest Italian marble, however, may conceal such flaws as colored veins, iron deposits, and cracks that appear only once the work is underway. The most famous example in Baroque sculpture is Bernini's first bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, in which an unexpected crack developed as he carved the forehead, occasioning the artist's rapid execution of a duplicate bust (1632; see Fig. 3.11).

Unlike Michelangelo and Mochi, who preferred to be present during the extraction of a block, many Baroque sculptors purchased their marbles through an agent of one of the families who owned the quarries. The artist specified the dimensions of a particular piece in the purchase contract. The standard size was the *carrata*, which weighed approximately 1 ton, so named because it took two oxen to pull a cart carrying it. In order to reduce its weight for transport, the design was roughly blocked out (*abbozzato*) on the basis of a schematic drawing or written instruction. Once it arrived in the studio, an assistant called a *scarpellino* would refine its shape further. The design could be transferred from the *modellino* or the *modello in grande* through the system of pointing, whereby points or measurements taken at strategic places on the surface of the model are duplicated through drilling on the block, allowing excess stone to be cut away. Marks on Bernini's *bozzetto* of the *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns*, such as the puncture below the neck, a common central reference point, indicate that it was measured for duplication (see Fig. 3.1).

As in the case of painting, the contract usually specified the degree to which the master was to work directly on the piece with his own hands (*di sua propria mano*). The technique of marble sculpting depended on the use of three essential tools (the first two struck by a mallet) as seen on the right in *The Sculpture Studio* (attributed to Michael Sweerts; Fig. 3.2): the point (or punch), a short metal rod with a point at the end; the chisel, either flat or

3.2 Attributed to Michael Sweerts, *The Sculpture Studio*. Oil on canvas, 19⅞ × 17¾" (50.5 × 44 cm). Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.

toothed (claw chisel); and the drill. The last was much employed during the Baroque as a means of boring deep holes in the stone and removing marble inaccessible to the chisel. The drill facilitated breathtakingly realistic effects, such as patterned lace or strands of hair shown to advantage against a pocket of shadow. A specialist, the *lustratore*, carried out the task of imparting a fine polish to the finished marble by means of a powder of pumice stone on a linen cloth.

👁 ─ **Watch** a video on marble carving on mysearchlab.com

Process in Sculpture: Bronze

The ancient and Renaissance technique of bronze casting represented a challenge to seventeenth-century artists. Few Baroque sculptors were willing to undertake this laborious and exacting process without the assistance of professional founders, who produced all manner of cast items, from church bells and cannons to candlesticks and plumbing fixtures. Indeed, only one artist discussed in this chapter carried out his own bronze casting, essentially out of exasperation with the resources available to him—Francesco Mochi during the creation of the equestrian Farnese monuments (see Fig. 3.8). Although Bernini claimed to have overseen the casting of the most ambitious bronze monument of the period, the Baldacchino in St. Peter's (see Fig. 3.13), we know that he contracted with experienced founders for all major steps in the operation.

The French sculptor François Desjardins produced a small model of an *Equestrian Louis XIV* in order to explain visually the lost-wax process of hollow bronze casting (Fig. 3.3). Having completed the sculpture in clay or plaster, the artist makes a plaster mold (a negative) of the original, normally in several sections. The work is then recast in positive form comprising a thin outer layer of wax over a base of friable clay. This is enclosed in an envelope of clay (the investment), but only after attaching a wax funnel and rods (sprues) of wax. Subjected to high temperature, the wax rods and funnel melt, providing access for the molten bronze to the areas of sculptural detail, also released by the melted wax, and to the channels formed by further wax rods that allow oxygen, gases, and unused metal to escape. Once the metal is set, the founder breaks open the plaster mold, revealing the sculpture and metal rods. Cleanup of the piece begins by breaking off the unnecessary rods, filling any holes, and smoothing or defining rough

3.3 François Desjardins, model for an *Equestrian Louis XIV*. Bronze, 15 × 21⅝" (38 × 55 cm). Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

surfaces. The sculptor may enhance the color and texture of the raw metal by chemically transforming the surface to create a variety of patinas, by punching ornamental patterns, or by applying gold leaf to raised details.

👁—Watch a video on lost-wax bronze casting on
mysearchlab.com

a studio assistant was to execute the final work. When carving a piece himself, Bernini worked from the rough *bozzetto* or, in his advanced years, even set aside the preliminary studies and worked from memory with the goal of creating an "original," not a "copy" of an earlier stage in the process.

Patronage: Urban VIII Barberini

Few popes were so fully involved with the medium of sculpture as Urban VIII Barberini (r. 1623–44), who on the day of his accession called Bernini to his chambers and spoke the legendary words, "It is your good fortune, Cavaliere, to see Maffeo Barberini pope; but we are even more fortunate that the Cavaliere Bernini lives during our pontificate." Born in Florence to a family that had accumulated wealth through sheep farming and wool trading, Barberini spent his youth in Rome, tutored by his uncle Monsignor Francesco Barberini, Apostolic Protonotary, and educated at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, where he

developed an interest in classical literature. In 1588 he received a law degree at the university of Pisa, although his skill as a poet prevailed—he would later publish verses in Italian, Latin, and Greek. Rising quickly through the hierarchy of the Church, he lived in Paris as papal ambassador to the French court in 1604–7, and was named a cardinal in 1606. It was perhaps then that he altered the family coat of arms, adopting as heraldic devices the three bees (in lieu of the original horseflies), the sun, and the laurel, whose association with the themes of wisdom, immortality, and poetry elevated the family's status. Referring to the symbols that traditionally decorate papal commissions, a later critic held him responsible for 10,000 painted and sculpted bees populating the Papal States.

An energetic, intelligent, and unusually young pope (elected at age 55), Urban VIII oversaw for two decades a court that included poets, scholars, and historians. As ruler of the Papal States, he sought to extend its territories and built extensive fortifications, and engaged in the conflict between the European powers known as the Thirty Years' War. He assisted Catholic evangelical efforts by

founding the Collegium Urbanum in Rome, a seminary for the training of foreign missionaries.

In his years as cardinal, spurred in part by the collecting successes of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (see "Patronage: The Case of the Borghese," p. 101), he engaged in art patronage, for example contracting with Caravaggio for paintings. He established the family chapel in the Roman church favored by the Florentine colony, S. Andrea della Valle. Elected to the papacy in 1623, Urban determined to use the arts to glorify his reign and his family. In addition to overseeing architectural and decorative work for several Roman churches, he supported the creation of the family residence, the Palazzo Barberini, near the pontifical palace on the Quirinal Hill (1628–33; FIGS. 4.25 and 4.26).

As we shall see, his association with Bernini produced some of the most dazzling works of the Roman High Baroque. More than most popes, however, Urban VIII abused the system of papal nepotism, and used his office to enrich and empower his family. He brought his brother Carlo Barberini to Rome and appointed him general of the Church and governor of the Borgo, the prestigious Roman quarter lying between St. Peter's and the Tiber River. He gave lucrative positions to Carlo's three sons. Francesco Barberini, named cardinal at age 26 and given the post of papal vice-chancellor as *cardinale nipote*, established a literary academy and a magnificent library in the family palace,

for whose *gran salone* he commissioned Pietro da Cortona's *Divine Providence* fresco (see FIG. 2.16). Taddeo Barberini, invested as prefect of Rome and lieutenant general of the papal armies, was chosen to carry on the family line: hence he was married into the old baronial family of the Colonna and became prince of Palestrina. Antonio Barberini the Younger, cardinal at age 19, was the only brother to live for a long period in the Roman palace; surrounded by a *famiglia* (court) numbering 126 retainers, he maintained a lavish lifestyle. Disgraced upon the death of their uncle, who had drained the papal coffers, the three nephews fled Rome for Paris until a pardon allowed safe return for two of them. Taddeo died in exile.

Stefano Maderno

The abandonment of *Maniera* principles and a new emphasis on simplicity and directness in sculpture arrived at the turn of the century. Chief among the first generation was the Roman sculptor Stefano Maderno (1575–1636), whose training benefited from abundant ancient and Renaissance sculpture in local collections and early employment in the field of antique-sculpture restoration. His *St. Cecilia* exemplifies the importance of context in the realm of ecclesiastical statuary (FIG. 3.4). As a means of substantiating the

3.4 **Stefano Maderno**, *St. Cecilia*, 1600. Marble, length 51⅝" (131 cm). Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome.

Catholic claim to primacy through continuity between the early and modern history of the Church, local early Christian saints were celebrated as an element of worship not available to the Protestants. In preparation for the Jubilee Year of 1600 Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfrondrato initiated excavations at his titular church, Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. Astonishingly, the body of the saint was discovered entombed under the main altar, and its uncorrupted condition was deemed evidence of chastity. The cardinal commissioned renovations to the church, including a tomb monument (called a *confessio*, after an act of martyrdom as a confession of faith) in the sanctuary, in which Maderno's effigy of the saint was installed over her remains within the wall of the raised presbytery.

Born of Roman noble lineage, Cecilia enjoyed immense popularity as a virgin martyr during the Post-Tridentine period, especially in the Eternal City. According to her biography in Jacobus da Voragine's *The Golden Legend*, she married the pagan Valerian against her will. Secretly praying to maintain her chastity, she heard the sound of heavenly musical instruments during the wedding procession; as a result, Cecilia became the patron saint of music, and is usually shown in devotional paintings with one or more musical instruments. Her husband converted to Christianity, and the activities of the pair so enraged the Roman prefect that he ordered her to be beheaded. Three blows from her executioner, however, failed to separate her head from her body, and she survived for three days, continuing to preach. Maderno depicts her in the position in which, according to tradition, the dead body was preserved, lying on the right side, the head turned back to the right. The unusual nichelike display recalls the catacomb loculus within which the body had been originally discovered by Pope Paschal in the ninth century. Maderno also derived inspiration from ancient sculptures of reclining or dying figures. The knife blow on her neck, from which emerges a drop of blood, alludes subtly to her death. Although the face is hidden from view, the cloth veil and right hand overlap the edge of the base, thus transgressing the barrier between the space of the sculpture and that of the viewer. The simplicity of the draped forms and the naturalism of the hands and feet, which avoid a show of technical virtuosity, make for a quietly compelling experience.

Pietro Bernini

Another member of the first generation, Pietro Bernini (1562–1629), is best remembered as the devoted father and teacher of Gianlorenzo, whom he imbued with a love for virtuoso technique and emotional content. Warned that his reputation would be eclipsed by that of his son, Pietro cheerfully replied that if that were the case, the loser would still be the winner. Born in Tuscany, he was

3.5 Pietro Bernini, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1606–10. Marble. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

heir to the magnificent tradition of Florentine Renaissance sculpture, but his early career took off in Naples. In 1605/6 he moved to Rome and soon joined the large group of artists at work under Pope Paul V at the Pauline Chapel in Sta. Maria Maggiore, the site of the tombs of both Paul V and Clement VIII.

Pietro's powers as a sculptor are evident in the large marble relief of the *Assumption of the Virgin* originally intended for the outer wall of the Pauline Chapel but installed in the new sacristy (1606–10; FIG. 3.5). In the upper half of the composition, where angels play a harp and organ, winged putti bear the Virgin heavenward on a bank of clouds. Below, ten apostles (Judas and Thomas are absent) react in amazement at the tomb, empty save for lilies and the Virgin's mantle. In the left foreground St. Peter falls to his knees, crosses his arms, and looks up in rapt devotion, while his attribute, the keys to the kingdom

of Heaven, affirm the patron's status as successor to the first pope. Pietro followed the principal textual source, *The Golden Legend*, as well as the visual tradition in painting (see "Singing the Madonna's Praises," p. 46). A certain Mannerist quality pervades the attenuated figural proportions, rubbery anatomy, richly patterned surfaces, and fringed draperies, but the work succeeds in its emotional fervor and realistic touches, like the eyeglasses worn by one apostle and the bound books that suggest the teaching mission of the disciples after Christ's death.

Francesco Mochi

The first sculptor to practice in a dynamic Baroque style, Francesco Mochi (1580–1654) was born in the Tuscan town of Montevarchi and trained in Florence with the painter Santi di Tito and then in Rome with the Vicentine sculptor Camillo Mariani. While in his early twenties Mochi attracted the attention of Mario Farnese, duke of Latera, who helped him secure a commission for the cathedral of Orvieto in the central Italian town located between Florence and Rome, where the Farnese had ancestral roots. The pair of sculptures representing the *Virgin Annunciate* (1608–9) and the *Angel of the Annunciation* (1603–5) originally stood on a railing on either side of the entrance to the choir as part of a large decorative scheme initiated in the mid sixteenth century (FIGS. 3.6 and 3.7). Their removal in the late nineteenth century as part of an effort to restore the sanctuary to its late medieval appearance hinders our ability to gauge the impact of the works in their intended site, an area of the Christian church traditionally associated with the Incarnation due to its doctrinal relationship to the miracle of transubstantiation, which is regularly enacted at the high altar. It is clear nonetheless that the two formed part of a cohesive narrative across the

3.6 (left)
Francesco Mochi, *Virgin Annunciate*, 1608–9. Marble, height 6' 10¾" (210 cm). Museo dell'Opera, Orvieto.

3.7 (right)
Francesco Mochi, *Angel of the Annunciation*, 1603–5. Marble, height 6' ⅝" (185 cm). Museo dell'Opera, Orvieto.

intervening space, focusing attention on the large sacrament tabernacle on the altar.

Whereas Barocci's *The Annunciation* and Ludovico Carracci's *The Annunciation* depict the Virgin calmly accepting her calling as the Mother of Christ (both ca. 1582–4; see FIGS. 1.14 and 1.16), Mochi shows a more emotionally charged moment with the archangel Gabriel arriving, as recounted by St. Luke, much to the surprise of Mary. The sculptor has created a striking contrast between the two figures. The Virgin, starting up from her chair, seeks protection through inward, defensive gestures, which help to preserve a sense of the original block of marble. The stylized folds of drapery falling in great masses at her feet, although derived from both antique and Mannerist tradition, reveal the weight-shift of her pose and dramatically emphasize her emotional state. The book that she carries is her customary attribute, the Hebrew scriptures alluding to the Incarnation and Passion. Gabriel, on the other hand, is still in flight, as indicated by the cloud base. The drapery consists of relatively abstract forms spinning in deeply undercut "wheels" to convey a sense of rapid movement. The limbs and wings spiral outward from the central core, eluding the shape of the block and seemingly overstepping the limits of the medium. Projecting limbs were common in Mannerist sculpture, where they were intended to amaze the spectator with their virtuoso character, but here they underscore the miraculous nature of the Madonna's vision. The emotional vigor of the pair, intended to be visible from a distance within the nave, has its corollary in early Baroque painting, such as Caravaggio's *Judith and Holofernes* (see FIG. 1.31).

In 1612 Mochi entered the service of Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza and brother of Odoardo Farnese, Annibale Carracci's patron in Rome. Although the principal ducal seat was in Parma, Mochi spent a 17-year sojourn in Piacenza, erecting two cast-bronze equestrian statues on either side of the town square, the first representing Ranuccio Farnese (1612–20) and the second his deceased father Alessandro Farnese, the former duke and governor of the Spanish Netherlands under Philip II (1620–9; FIG. 3.8). The Farnese had recently quelled a local uprising, and the two works clearly signaled the source of power in the principality.

Although the pair face in the same direction and have comparable bases, Mochi incorporated subtle distinctions: Ranuccio is the more benevolent figure, ensuring peaceful rule, while the warrior Alessandro is the more aggressive, in effect warning the locals of the cruel consequences of further insurrection. Of the two basic types of equestrian monument, the so-called trotting-horse type and the rearing-horse type, Mochi's correspond to the former and acknowledge, through the *all'antica* dress and the commander's baton, the archetypal sculpture— the second-century Roman emperor *Marcus Aurelius* on the Capitoline Hill, Rome. During the design process Mochi

3.8 Francesco Mochi, *Alessandro Farnese*, 1620–9. Bronze. Piazza Cavalli, Piacenza.

traveled in order to see Renaissance exemplars representing *condottieri*. Andrea del Verrocchio's *Colleone* had a great impact on the over-life-size *Alessandro Farnese*. The exaggerated swirls given by Mochi to the horse's mane, the tangled, shrapnel-like forms of the tail, the sweeping folds of the drapery, and the forceful turn of both horse's and rider's heads charge the monument with explosive energy.

In Rome Mochi joined the company of artists working under Bernini in one of the largest arenas of Baroque sculpture, the crossing of St. Peter's basilica. It was the plan of Pope Urban VIII to make this space the symbolic center of Christendom by installing several monuments and furnishings related to Christ's Passion and the principle of apostolic succession. In the massive dome piers Bernini carved out niches to serve as backdrops for four colossal statues of saints, each measuring some 14 feet in height and referring to precious relics of early Christianity contained in St. Peter's and represented in relief sculptures placed midway on the piers: Mochi's *St. Veronica* for her miraculous veil (1629–32; FIG. 3.9); Bernini's *St. Longinus* for the spear thrust in Christ's side at the Crucifixion (see FIG. 3.14); François Duquesnoy's *St. Andrew* for the saint's head; and Andrea Bolgi's *St. Helena*, the mother of Constantine, for the piece of the True Cross discovered by her. Like Maderno's *St. Cecilia*, therefore, the sculptures were bound

3.9 Francesco Mochi, *St. Veronica*, 1629–32. Marble, height 14′ 9″ (4.5 m). St. Peter's, Vatican.

up with the Catholic cult of the saints, which is encouraged through the veneration of relics. Bernini supervised the overall program.

Mochi represents the moment when Veronica, traditionally thought to have been present at the Via Crucis (the Way of the Cross), pressed to the brow of Christ her own veil upon which appeared the imprint of his face. (The name Veronica derives from the Greek *veron ikon*, true image; the relic is referred to by its Latin name, the Sudarium, meaning a cloth to wipe the face.) Rushing forward in the throes of emotional excitement, her mouth open and clothing fanning outward, she displays the miracle to the spectator, who as witness to the event is absorbed both physically and emotionally. So large a piece required three blocks of marble, whose joints are concealed. As in the *Annunciation* pair, the antique conceit of "wet drapery" reveals the position of the legs, and the quasi-abstract drapery forms, billowing outward from the torso and whipped up about the feet, suggest dramatic movement and turbulent feelings. Although Mochi consciously emulated antique prototypes, his work was severely criticized for transgressing the principles of classical sculpture by having the figure seemingly run off its base in the southwest pier of the crossing. Despite the brilliance of his work, fully in tune with the new dynamic

Baroque idiom developing in contemporary painting, as seen in Lanfranco's *The Ecstasy of the Blessed Margaret of Cortona* (see FIG. 2.11), his reputation was undermined by gossip and intrigue at the Vatican, and his later career suffered as a result.

Gianlorenzo Bernini

The greatest sculptor of the Baroque, Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), like many of his contemporaries, worked in several media. According to one source, he painted some 150 pictures for his own pleasure, although fewer than 20 have been identified. Bernini designed independent sculptural pieces as well as sculptural ensembles fully integrated into an architectural setting and incorporating painting to produce a *bel composto*, a "beautiful ensemble" of the visual arts, to use the phrase coined by his biographers. He was also a playwright and stage designer who produced more than 40 comedies, many staged in his own house and famous for their extraordinary special effects. As well as being active during the pontificates of six popes Bernini worked for the greatest absolutist monarch of the period, Louis XIV, traveling to France in 1665 at the height of his career to draw up proposals for the new palace of the Louvre (see FIG. 10.13). His capacity for organizing a large workforce enabled him to carry out enormous projects. Despite the collaboration of many hands, he maintained his own stylistic imprint by means of preparatory drawings and *bozzetti* created for each commission.

We are well informed concerning Bernini's life, due to the biographies penned by the Florentine academician Filippo Baldinucci (1682) and Bernini's son Domenico (1713) and the diary kept by Paul Fréart, sieur de Chantelou, who accompanied the artist on his French sojourn. Born in Naples of a Florentine family, Bernini learned the art of sculpture from his father Pietro. Living in Rome as a child, when Pietro was working for Pope Paul V, the young Gianlorenzo was already cutting stone at the age of 8 and, according to Domenico, drawing the antiquities of the Vatican every day for three years, from sunrise to sunset. Throughout his career his works were intended on some level as challenges to the ancient tradition: many of his sculptures were displayed in the midst of collections of antique art; he worked as a restorer of ancient sculpture; he adopted the late-antique concept of sculpture as narrative, placed against a wall and reading like a painting; and he borrowed antique themes and motifs from ancient prototypes. He also absorbed the tradition of late sixteenth-century Italian sculpture and the heightened realism and dramatic emotionalism of early Baroque painting. At the age of 22 he was knighted as Cavaliere di Cristo by Pope Gregory XV and elected head of the Rome academy.

Bernini's earliest known works, mostly tabletop sculptures with classical themes, are exceptionally

3.10 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*, 1622–5. Marble, height 98⅝″ (243 cm). Galleria Borghese, Rome.

👁—⌐**Watch** a video on *Apollo and Daphne* on mysearchlab.com

accomplished. His over-life-size renderings of the human figure of the late 1610s and early 1620s, such as *Apollo and Daphne,* are virtuoso performances (1622–5; FIG. 3.10). This remarkable group was the third in a series of four large-scale narrative works for Cardinal Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V (see "Patronage: The Case of the Borghese," below), all of which are now in the Villa Borghese, Rome, and included *The Flight from Troy* (possibly in collaboration with his father Pietro; 1618–19), *Pluto Abducting Persephone* (1621–2), and the *David* (1623–4). The subject of the sculpture, taken from *The Metamorphoses* by the Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), is one of the more familiar tales of the loves of the ancient gods, like those frescoed by Annibale Carracci in the Farnese Gallery (see FIG. 1.22). The story details the origins of a natural phenomenon—how the laurel tree and the crown of laurel leaves associated with the sun god Apollo came to be.

According to Ovid, the nymph Daphne, rejecting the amorous advances of Apollo, ran from him and begged her father, the river god Peneus, to change her form with the result that she was transformed into a laurel tree. The subject represented a challenge within the medium

Patronage: The Case of the Borghese

Many of the artists working in Rome in the early seventeenth century benefited from the papal system of nepotism as practiced by the Borghese family, whose middle-class origins lay in Siena, where by the fifteenth century they had accumulated considerable wealth through mercantile activity and banking. When Marcantonio I Borghese married a Roman woman of the lesser nobility, Flaminia Astalli, the family increased its social standing and founded a Roman branch. Their son Camillo Borghese (1552–1621) studied law at the university of Perugia and, choosing a career in the Church, rose quickly in the Curia. Elected Pope Paul V in 1605, he ruled some 16 years in the transitional period between the eras of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant. His most important commission was the completion of the basilica of Old St. Peter's by replacing the remnants of the Constantinian church with Carlo Maderno's new nave (1607–26; see Figs. 1.5 and 4.6). The inscription of his name on the entablature in the very center of the façade—PAULUS V BURGHESIUS ROMANUS—gave rise to the witticism that Paul had now superceded Peter.

The secular aspirations of the family were pursued with vigor by the son of Paul V's sister, Scipione Caffarelli, whom the pope personally groomed for the position of cardinal-nephew. Scipione studied philosophy at the Jesuit Collegio Romano and law at Perugia, and was raised to the cardinalate and awarded the Borghese name and arms in 1605, when his uncle became pope. Paul showered him with offices, benefices, and monetary gifts— he governed as secretary of state and received vast revenues. As a measure of his importance, Scipione's household staff (*famiglia*) consisted of over 200 persons, double the usual number for a person of high rank. He purchased large estates in the Campagna, which conferred baronial status on the family. His main residence from 1610, the Palazzo Torlonia, close by the Vatican in the Borgo, housed his painting collection and much sculpture. On the Quirinal Hill, near the papal retreat, he began construction on a garden-palace consisting of a small domicile with pavilions and fountains (now the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi). This he sold in 1616 before its completion, having become fully enamored of his new *villa suburbana* just outside the city walls on the Pincian Hill, the Villa Borghese, intended for entertainments. The building housed much of the sculpture collection and his cabinet of curiosities. In 1613 he purchased the Villa Mondragone at Frascati, a summer retreat in the fashionable Alban hills with three palaces that accommodated both Scipione and the pope and served as a stage for papal and dynastic ceremonies. Rome's leading artists were called upon to decorate the interiors of these various

3.11 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, first version, 1632. Marble, height 30¾" (78 cm). Galleria Borghese, Rome.

dwellings, as in the case of the *Aurora* ceiling fresco by Guido Reni, who lived for a time as part of the cardinal's retinue (1613–14; see Fig. 2.7).

In addition to his collections of books, rare objects, and musical instruments, not to mention the poets and literati who lived under his roof(s), the cardinal amassed a huge collection of ancient statuary, and was one of the young Gianlorenzo Bernini's most generous patrons. At the same time, Scipione could be unscrupulous in his zeal to obtain desired works, such as Raphael's *Deposition*, stolen by his agents under cover of night from the Baglioni Chapel in Perugia, or the cache of paintings in the cavaliere d'Arpino's studio, taken in the midst of the painter's tax problems. Bernini's portrait busts of *Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, sculpted just a year before his death, capture his character as a *bon vivant* (1632; Fig. 3.11). By then, however, he had suffered the inevitable fate of cardinal-nephews who survived their uncle: disgrace upon the death of the pope.

successive views are revealed, beginning with Apollo in pursuit and ending with Daphne's transformation. With the limbs seemingly breaking out from the limits of the original block of stone, Bernini's work emulates Mannerist virtuoso works.

The physique, facial type, and pose of Apollo are based on the standard sculptural representation of the sun god, the *Apollo Belvedere* (see FIG. 1.3). The differentiation of the surfaces—smoothly polished marble for the skin, striations and deeply drilled pockets for the hair, and the rough hatchings of the claw-toothed chisel for the bark and rocky base—have the effect of textural differentiation in painting. Bernini tried to hide the fact that a talented assistant, Giuliano Finelli (1602–53), was responsible for much of the virtuoso finishing; Finelli, chafing from having to work anonymously, left Bernini's studio. In an effort to temper the erotic character of Bernini's sculpture, Scipione's colleague, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, composed a moralizing inscription for the base, warning that he who seeks only beauty and pleasure gains nothing.

According to Baldinucci, Bernini carved the *David*, another of the four narrative works, in a period of only seven months (1623–4; FIG. 3.12). He shows him as a young adult in the midst of the shot, whirling in space and seemingly stepping off the base. Bernini includes the pouch from which David drew the stone and, as a support on the base, the armor with which Saul had initially armed him but which David had deliberately cast off. The lyre alludes to David's identity as a psalmist.

Like the *Apollo and Daphne*, the *David* was originally placed against a wall and presented a succession of views to the spectator entering the room and walking halfway around the sculpture, which seems to spiral. The dynamic pose and the momentary facial expression, with eyes focused squarely on the adversary and the mouth clenched in determination, involve the viewer both physically and emotionally. Cardinal Barberini is said to have held a mirror for the artist as he sculpted his own features on the head.

St. Peter's, Rome

With the accession of his friend and patron Maffeo Barberini to the papacy as Urban VIII, Bernini moved from the realm of private commissions to the vast public arena of St. Peter's. Replacing Carlo Maderno, who by 1617 had brought New St. Peter's to completion with the construction of the nave and façade, Bernini as chief architect exercised virtual monopoly over newly devised projects. In the center of the crossing, under Michelangelo's dome, he built for Urban the colossal bronze Baldacchino, or honorific canopy, that marks the position of the papal high altar in the church and the tomb of St. Peter in the crypt (1624–33; FIG. 3.13). Bernini derived the form of the canopy from Maderno's earlier temporary structure over

3.12 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *David*, 1623–4. Marble, height 67″ (170 cm). Galleria Borghese, Rome.

View View a podcast on *David* vs. *David* on mysearchlab.com

of sculpture, particularly because Bernini sought to capture the figures in rapid movement. Although now freestanding within the Villa Borghese, the sculpture originally stood near a wall so that it resembled high-relief sculpture, in emulation of some late-antique statuary, like the *Laocoön* (see FIG. 0.5). As the spectator moves around the sculpture from the left side to the right, the narrative unfolds as

3.13 Gianlorenzo Bernini, Baldacchino, 1624–33. Mainly bronze, partially gilt, on marble pedestals, height ca. 93′ 6″ (ca. 28.5 m). St. Peter's, Vatican.

the altar, while he based the spiral columns on a group of antique marble columns employed as part of the decoration of the altar in the apse of St. Peter's. The name applied to this type of twisted shaft—Solomonic—reflects the (erroneous) assumption that the columns were brought by the emperor Constantine from the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Bernini resituated these older marble columns in the reliquary balconies on the face of the piers supporting the dome and echoed their shape on a grander scale in the Baldacchino.

Four partially gilt bronze Solomonic columns on high marble bases support a canopy, from which four curved volutes rise to a platform crowned by the cross-and-orb symbol of the universal Catholic Church. Four bronze angels stand atop the orders, while winged putti bear the papal tiara. Barberini devices, such as the sun, laurel, and bee, decorate the surfaces, while the papal coat of arms appears on the marble bases. Employing a team of assistants, Bernini cast the huge columns in five sections, using bronze in part pillaged from the porch roof of the Pantheon, which resulted in a satirical epigram (called a *pasquinade* from the tradition of attaching criticisms to a fragment of ancient Roman figural sculpture nicknamed Pasquino), "What the barbarians did not do, the Barberini did." The canopy and volutes simulate bronze, but are necessarily composed of lightweight wood under a copper veneer.

Nearby, in the northeast pier niche diagonally opposite Mochi's *St. Veronica*, Bernini placed his *St. Longinus* related to the holy relic of the lance (1629–38; FIG. 3.14). All four Gospels mention the unnamed centurion responsible for watching Christ during the Crucifixion. According to John (19:34), "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water," a miracle that was interpreted to presage the sacraments of the Eucharist and baptism. The other three Gospels only mention that, as a result of the cataclysmic events precipitated by Christ's death, the centurion exclaimed, "Truly this man was the Son of God." The soldier came to be identified as Longinus, after the Greek name for a type of spear, just as Veronica's name is tied to the relic of the Sudarium. Bernini portrays him with arms outspread and gaze directed upward in an attitude of spiritual awakening. According to *The Golden Legend*, Longinus was blind but regained his sight, both physically and spiritually, upon committing the deed. Thus the *St. Longinus* is another example of the theme of conversion common in Post-Tridentine imagery.

Longinus's costume consists of traditional antique armor, drawn from sculptural examples: the leather breastplate or cuirass, leather strips (lappets) decorating the shoulders and skirt, military boots, and a plumed helmet at the base. The German painter and art historian Joachim von Sandrart counted no fewer than 22 *bozzetti* for the *St. Longinus* in Bernini's studio. Whereas Bernini

originally conceived the drapery as falling in long folds from the waist, in the finished piece he enlarged the mantle and set it billowing around the figure, not so much to clarify the position of the body underneath, as in the drapery of Mochi's *St. Veronica*, but to suggest inner emotional turmoil. The work epitomizes Bernini's desire for sculpture to have a dramatic presence, engaging the spectator kinetically and psychologically as part of a narrative and projecting beyond its immediate space into the wider domain of the audience.

Not only is the shape of the original block invisible, but the work was cut from four pieces of stone, typical for *colossi* of this scale. The piece is not finished to a conventional polish. The striations left by the claw chisel create linear patterns, both large and small, over the surface, and have the effect of hatching in a drawing, thus enhancing the effect of light and shade. Certain areas are deeply undercut to create pockets of shadow. The coloristic approach to handling white marble and the swirling lines of the composition are complemented by the ecstatic patterns of the colored marble veneer which decorates the niche that frames the sculpture.

Beyond the crossing of St. Peter's, on the right-hand side of the apse, Bernini placed the *Tomb of Urban VIII*, begun within four years of the pope's election and finished a few years after his death (1627–47; FIG. 3.15). The basilica possesses the tombs of numerous popes, all considered successors of St. Peter, whose remains lie beneath the Baldacchino. Using mixed media of various colors, Bernini coordinated the three essential elements of monumental tomb sculpture developed in the Renaissance: a sarcophagus for burial of the body, an effigy of the deceased, and symbolic figures identifiable by their attributes. Cast in bronze and decorated in gold leaf, the seated portrait of Urban VIII shows him in ceremonial garb, wearing the papal tiara and turned toward the crossing with an arm raised in a commanding gesture of benediction. The gold and bronze colors are repeated in the marble and bronze sarcophagus below.

To either side female personifications of virtues in white marble, enlivened by varied poses, exemplify the qualities attributed to the pope. On the right a pensive *Justice*, the most important of the Four Cardinal Virtues, leans on a book and carries a sword indicating her power. Two putti carry further attributes: the scales of justice and fasces, the rods bound with a protruding axhead carried by ancient Roman magistrates. On the left *Charity*, the foremost of the Three Theological Virtues, nurses an infant (for reasons of decorum her original bare breast was covered by a stucco drape), while a squalling child begs her attention. Bernini's *Charity* alludes not so much to almsgiving, as in the instance of the mother and two children in Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo* (1575–9; see FIG. 1.13), but to the broader ideal of Christian love.

3.14 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *St. Longinus*, 1629–38. Marble, height 14′ 6″ (440 cm). St. Peter's, Vatican.

3.15 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Tomb of Urban VIII*, 1627–47. Marble and bronze, height 18′ 4″ (560 cm). St. Peter's, Vatican.

A frequent component of tomb sculpture is a reference to the passage of time and human mortality. Bernini's *memento mori* (reminder of death) takes the form of a winged skeleton representing both death and time, who writes the successive names of popes on superimposed pages of a great tablet—most recently the Latin words "URBANUS VIII BARBERINUS PONT. MAX (Pontifex Maximus). Barberini laurel branches festoon the monument, while three large Barberini bees seem to have alighted randomly on the tomb.

Private Commissions

Bernini produced numerous examples of a sculptural type, the portrait bust, developed in ancient Rome, including several of the state-portrait type that project grandeur and aloofness. But his most engaging bust represents *Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, his early patron (1632; see "Patronage: The Case of the Borghese," p. 101). It departs from the tradition of both antique and Renaissance busts by virtue of its extreme naturalism and psychological intimacy. The sculpture gives the impression that the spectator is in the presence of the paunchy cardinal, who turns his head slightly to the right and parts his lips as if engaged in conversation. He wears the traditional garb consisting of the *biretta* on his head and *mozzetta* on his shoulders; the delicate folds and smoothly polished surfaces imitate the reflective finish of watered silk.

Chantelou, the chronicler of Bernini's trip to France in 1665, left an account of how the sculptor approached portraiture. Initially he produced a series of chalk sketches of the sitter, never allowing the person to pose in a static way but insisting on conversation and movement. When sculpting a bust, Bernini worked not from drawings or a clay *bozzetto* but from memory or from life. In short, he steeped himself in the essential features and personality of the sitter, and then produced a work that was not an imitation of life but was truer to the essentials of the individual's character. The finishing touch consisted of drawing the eyes in charcoal as a guide to carving the pupils.

The Borghese bust exemplifies the technical difficulties presented by marble, which may hide various flaws within the raw block. As Bernini completed Borghese's face, a crack appeared across the forehead. Not wishing to disappoint the cardinal but relishing an irresistible prank,

3.16 Gianlorenzo Bernini, Cornaro Chapel, 1647–52. Marble, stucco, gilt bronze, and fresco. Sta. Maria della Vittoria, Rome.

the artist secretly completed a second version of the bust in just 15 days, according to Baldinucci, or three days, according to Domenico. Then he initially presented only the first version to his patron, who tried in vain to hide his disappointment. Only when the sculptor unveiled the second bust did the cardinal, greatly relieved, admit to his consternation over the first. In fact, the second bust had developed a crack toward the bottom of the *mozzetta*, but the artist skillfully concealed this defect in the folds of the fabric.

With the death of Urban VIII in 1644 and the accession of Pope Innocent X Pamphili (r. 1644–55), Bernini temporarily fell from papal grace. One of the works that he produced in the interim is his most famous accomplishment. Cardinal Federico Cornaro, the former patriarch of Venice who had retired to Rome, commissioned a chapel that would serve as his place of burial as well as commemorate members of his family, in the left-hand transept of the Carmelite church of Sta. Maria della Vittoria, built in

the second decade of the century. The marble altarpiece (1647–52; FIG. 3.16) represents a narrative from the life of the Counter-Reformation saint, Teresa of Ávila, founder of the order of Discalced Carmelites (see "St. Teresa and Mystical Experience," below). The transverberation or painful piercing of Teresa's heart is the principal subject, but Bernini subtly alluded to other mystical events in her life—her levitation at the Mass, betrothal to Christ, and ecstatic death.

In designing the Cornaro Chapel, Bernini drew on his background in the theater to present *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa* as a drama performed on a stage framed by a columnar aedicule and lit from above by a concealed window. Portraits of male members of the cardinal's family look into the chapel from balconies on the side walls (all carved by assistants): six Cornaro cardinals of the previous century, the patron's father Doge Giovanni, and Federico himself third from the left in the right-hand group. The balconies resemble the *coretti* overlooking church naves, intended for

St. Teresa and Mystical Experience

Images of rapturous saints, whether stigmatized, transported heavenward, or receiving visions, are legion in Baroque art, testifying to the Post-Tridentine emphasis on achieving the union of the soul with God. One of the most astonishing works of this type is Bernini's altarpiece *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa* in the Cornaro Chapel (1647–52; Fig. 3.17), which represents an experience recounted in the saint's autobiography. A woman of great intelligence, courage, and administrative skills, Teresa (1515–82) was born in Ávila, Spain, and entered a Carmelite convent there in 1535. In an effort to return to the original rule of the order, which required complete poverty, strict enclosure, and a communal life of prayer, she instituted the order of Discalced Carmelites, and founded 17 convents in Spain (discalced means "unshod"; as a sign of humility the nuns wore sandals rather than shoes). Her colleague, the poet and theologian St. John of the Cross, worked to establish monasteries for men taking vows in the same order. In the last 20 years of Teresa's life she began producing the extensive writings that are still influential today: the *Life*, an autobiography written in the form of a guide to the path of prayer; *The Way of Perfection* and *The Interior Castle*, two expositions of the contemplative life; and *The Book of the Foundations* which chronicled the convents she inaugurated.

From about 1555 until shortly before her death Teresa experienced a series of supernatural events, including the piercing or transverberation of her heart and her spiritual espousal to Christ. She recounted these in the autobiography, characterizing ecstasy (from the Greek *ex-stasis*, to

stand outside oneself) as a state of total surrender, in which the senses are lost and the body levitates, and defining vision as the active use of the senses and strong emotional reaction, sometimes combining sweet reverie and sorrow. Following her death and a lengthy investigative process, she was canonized in 1622, at which time representations of her mystical experiences proliferated across Europe.

3.17 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, 1647–52. Marble, height 11′ 6″ (351 cm). Cornaro Chapel, Sta. Maria della Vittoria, Rome.

private viewing or for musicians (see FIG. 4.17). In the vault fresco overhead the dove of the Holy Spirit, surrounded by a blaze of light and a glory of angels, seems to burst into the chapel in order to orchestrate the miracle taking place over the altar, even overlapping relief sculptures showing other events from the saint's life. The heavenly light is actualized behind Teresa in the form of gilded bronze rods emerging behind the broken pediment that seemingly bows outward in reaction to the divine forces.

In the altarpiece the sculpture presents Teresa at the height of a mystical experience, as an angel withdraws from her heart the flaming arrow of Divine Love, and she is consumed with the love of God (see FIG. 3.17). Bernini based most of the details on Teresa's account in her autobiography. The angel's flamelike drapery corresponds to her description of his figure as seemingly on fire, while her disheveled monastic habit, which conceals rather than articulates the position of her limbs, conveys the powerful impact of the vision and the contraction of her body:

> He was not tall, but short, and very beautiful, his face so aflame that he appeared to be one of the highest types of angel who seem to be all afire. . . . In his hands I saw a long golden spear and at the end of the iron tip I seemed to see a point of fire. With this he seemed to pierce my heart several times so that it penetrated to my entrails. When he drew it out, I thought that he was drawing them out with it and he left me completely afire with a great love for God. The pain was so sharp that it made me utter several moans.... (Peers, 1:192–3)

As a few contemporary critics noted, Teresa's pose, with limbs relaxed, head thrown back, eyes rolled upward, nostrils dilated, and mouth half open, evokes the idea of sexual rapture. In truth, these features, developed in both secular and sacred contexts by such sixteenth-century artists as Michelangelo and Correggio, were much used in religious art by Baroque artists like Caravaggio (*The Stigmatization of St. Francis,* see FIG. 1.6) and Lanfranco, whose *The Ecstasy of the Blessed Margaret of Cortona* influenced Bernini's composition (see FIG. 2.11).

The lavish veined marble wall veneer provides color and pattern while reinforcing in an abstract way the emotional content. As an altar frontal Bernini incorporated a gilt-bronze relief of the *Last Supper,* a reminder of Christ's institution of the sacrament that is regularly celebrated in the chapel. Two roundels within the marble inlay on the floor represent skeletons, one facing downward toward "hell" and the other heavenward. As in the realm of vault decoration, such as Gaulli's *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* in the nave vault of Il Gesù, where Bernini acted as advisor (see FIG. 2.19), he sought to blur the boundaries between different media in order to form a *bel composto* (beautiful ensemble) that brought spiritual concepts vividly to life.

Later Commissions

Bernini's most public sculptures are the various fountains that he provided for the Eternal City. The *Fountain of the Four Rivers* was part of a larger plan conceived by Pope Innocent X to rehabilitate one of the oldest squares in Rome, the Piazza Navona, whose longitudinal shape reflects its origins as a racetrack inaugurated by the emperor Domitian in 86 CE (1648–51; FIG. 3.18). The scheme included remodeling the Palazzo Pamphili, with a new façade on the square, and remodeling the neighboring church of S. Agnese as an adjunct to the palace, reoriented with its façade also on the square. To the twin fountains constructed at either end during the late sixteenth century, a central one was added, utilizing water from the revived Acqua Vergine, one of the principal aqueducts of ancient Rome.

Since Bernini had fallen from favor with the passing of Urban VIII, he was not among the artists invited to propose a design for the fountain. His friend, the pope's nephew-in-law Prince Nicolò Ludovisi, however, devised a ruse: He secretly put Bernini's model in a place where the unwary pope would walk by it. "The only way to resist Bernini is to not see his designs," said the pope. The sculptor played another trick at the time of the papal inspection of the nearly completed fountain, when he told Innocent

3.18 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, 1648–51. Travertine base, marble figures, granite obelisk. Piazza Navona, Rome.

3.19 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *The Vision of the Emperor Constantine*, 1663–6. Marble and painted stucco. St. Peter's, Vatican.

that the water source was not yet connected. As the disappointed pontiff turned to walk back to the palace, Bernini gave the signal, and the rush of water so startled and excited His Eminence that he exclaimed, "Bernini, you have added ten years to our life!" (in fact he died about four years later).

Drawing on the ancient sculptural tradition of the recumbent river god and investing his figures with the muscularity of Michelangelo's *Four Times of Day* in the Medici Chapel (1524–34; Florence, S. Lorenzo), Bernini symbolized the Four Continents through energetic over-life-size males (sculpted by assistants) seated on an artificial rock (carved from Travertine by Bernini), from which the water issues. The Danube (Europe) gestures toward the papal coat of arms, the Ganges (Asia) holds an oar signifying its navigable waters, the Rio della Plata (America) reaches for coins symbolizing the riches of the New World, and the head of the Nile (Africa) is hidden, like

the river's source which was undiscovered at the time. The obelisk, seemingly precariously perched on the hollowed out center of the rock, is one of many Egyptian treasures brought to ancient Rome that had subsequently fallen into disrepair but were reassembled in the new context of papal Rome. A symbol of the sun, eternity, and light, the obelisk, surmounted by a small sculpture of a dove representing both the Holy Spirit and a heraldic Pamphili device, joins with the Four Continents to celebrate the triumph of Catholicism, the papacy, and the Pamphili. Like Pozzo's later rendering of the Four Continents on the nave vault of S. Ignazio, Rome (see FIG. 2.22), the *Fountain of the Four Rivers* extols the spread of the Catholic faith throughout the globe.

Bernini undertook commissions for two equestrian monuments, one representing *The Vision of the Emperor Constantine* (1663–6; FIG. 3.19) and the other an equestrian Louis XIV (1670–4). Pope Innocent X originally intended

that the *Constantine* would be installed in the interior of St. Peter's. Under Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–67) the site of the statue was moved to the landing at the bottom of the Scala Regia, the royal stair leading from the Piazza S. Pietro to the papal apartments in the Vatican Palace, at the juncture of the porch of the basilica. The work is thus visible to the faithful upon entering the church and to princes and ambassadors climbing the steps to the papal apartments. The Roman emperor Constantine the Great was a figure of major historical importance to the early Church in the West: He sanctioned and embraced Christianity in 312 and founded many of the Early Christian basilicas of Rome, including St. Peter's. Two relief medallions in the vaulting over the stair landing, the *Baptism* and *Founding of St. Peter's*, represent signal events in his life. The equestrian portrait shows the emperor and his horse reacting to the miraculous vision that, according to Constantine's biographer Eusebius, appeared in the sky as he was about to engage in battle with his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge: a shining cross with the words *In hoc signo vinces*

3.20 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns*, 1667–9. Marble, height ca. 9′ (ca. 2.7 m). S. Andrea delle Fratte, Rome.

(By this sign you shall conquer). Thus all who passed the sculpture were reminded of God and the Church's dominion over secular power.

The sculptural group is lit by a window in front of Constantine's gaze, where Bernini also placed a gilded cross and a banderole inscribed with the prophetic words. Unlike Mochi, who had used the trotting-horse type for his cast-bronze equestrian statues of the Farnese, Bernini employed the more dynamic rearing-horse type for the *Constantine*, and attached the work to the wall as a means of stabilizing the massive marble sculpture, seemingly supported by the hind legs only. Filling the niche behind the sculptural group, a cloth of honor hangs from an ennobling canopy, its deep diagonal folds enhancing the sense of explosive energy while echoing the dramatic pose of the horse.

Commissioned during the pontificate of Clement IX Rospigliosi (r. 1667–9), one of Bernini's late sculptural ensembles called for ten over-life-size sculpted angels to be placed on the bridge that provided major access to the Vatican from the eastern side of the city—the Ponte Sant'Angelo, so named because it lies on the axis of the Castel Sant'Angelo, the medieval papal fortress created from Hadrian's mausoleum. (See Piranesi's print, FIG. 16.26.) The original decoration of the bridge, which had been erected by Hadrian in 134 CE, consisted of a series of sculpted winged victory figures holding crowns. In the sixteenth century temporary plaster statues of four patriarchs and the four evangelists lined the bridge, as well as more permanent statues of Sts. Peter and Paul. Thus Bernini's project combines aspects of both ancient and Renaissance decorative programs by having five pairs of Christian angels situated on either side of the bridge holding the instruments of the Passion (1667–71). The intention was that the pilgrim journeying to St. Peter's would initiate devotions on the bridge by meditating on the suffering and death of Christ through the visual stimulus of the sculptures. The instruments are ordered and paired according to the chronology of the Passion:

> The Scourge / The Column
> The Crown of Thorns / The Sudarium
> The Robe and Dice / The Nails
> The Superscription / The Cross
> The Sponge / The Lance

Typically, Bernini oversaw the execution of the entire scheme by a team of sculptors, and personally carved two marbles, the *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns* (1667–9; FIG. 3.20), for which he initially produced the remarkable terracotta *bozzetto* discussed earlier (see FIG. 3.1), and a statue of an angel holding the superscription, the identifying tablet nailed on the cross above Christ's head. The pope considered these too precious to set on the bridge—copies were made—but they were never picked up at the studio, and

the artist's heirs gave them to the church of S. Andrea delle Fratte, Rome, where they stand today on either side of the sanctuary. Like Mochi's *Angel of the Annunciation* (see FIG. 3.7), Bernini's *Angel Holding the Crown of Thorns* is supported by a cloud to indicate its heavenly status, and clothed in a swirling tunic. But the frenzied drapery patterns of Bernini's angel, like those of St. Longinus and St. Teresa, reveal the figure's inner emotional turmoil, in this case the open grief expressed in the contemplation of the cruel instrument of Christ's torture. The exaggerated *contrapposto* pose and attenuated figural proportions are common in Bernini's late work, in which every element contributes to the expressive character of the human figure.

François Duquesnoy

An alternative to Bernini's dramatic style was offered by the Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy (1597–1643). Born in Brussels and trained in the workshop of his father, in 1618 he traveled to Rome for the purpose of continuing his studies, assisted by a grant from Archduke Albert, regent of the Spanish Netherlands. He took up residence in the Eternal City for the remainder of his life, joining a circle of antiquarians and connoisseurs that included Andrea Sacchi and the French expatriate Nicolas Poussin, with whom he shared lodgings for a time. It was the goal of this informal academy to promote the superiority of ancient Greek sculpture by distinguishing it from Roman statuary through the study of known originals and descriptions in surviving texts, like Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.

Duquesnoy produced a veritable manifesto of the Greek manner, *la gran maniera greca*, in his *St. Susanna*, one of four statues of female saints by various artists that flank the high altar in the newly renovated choir of Sta. Maria di Loreto, the church of the Confraternity of Roman bakers (1630–3; FIG. 3.21). The artist received the commission while in the initial stages of working with Bernini in the crossing of St. Peter's, where he provided the colossal *St. Andrew* that signifies the presence of the saint's head relic. The confraternity was devoted to providing dowries for daughters of impoverished bakers, and thus the figurative sculpture in the chapel focuses on Roman virgin martyrs whose life of religious devotion provided suitable models for the young beneficiaries. According to legend, the emperor Diocletian had ordered Susanna's decapitation in 295 because she wished to remain unmarried and chaste.

Aware that the finest Greek marbles were carved from the whitest marble, Duquesnoy requested an exceptionally pure block for the *St. Susanna*. Drawing inspiration from antique prototypes, the sculptor invested the figure with a slender, delicate physique, and classical facial features. She projects an attitude of calm resolve through the quiet gesture of the left hand, which originally held a metal palm frond, the badge of Christian martyrs. Above

3.21 François Duquesnoy, *St. Susanna*, 1630–3. Marble, height 78³/₄″ (200 cm). Sta. Maria di Loreto, Rome.

all, Duquesnoy rejected Bernini's and Mochi's dynamic handling of drapery, with its dramatic folds, deep undercutting, and independence from the figure, in favor of a simple tunic and mantle that cover the figure, subtly hinting at the *contrapposto* pose.

Alessandro Algardi

Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654) was Bernini's only serious rival in the field of Roman sculpture, and this occurred primarily in the period of the latter's fall from grace during the pontificate of Innocent X. Algardi was born in Bologna, which had no local tradition of marble sculpture,

3.22 Alessandro Algardi, *St. Philip Neri with an Angel*, 1635–8. Marble, height ca. 118″ (ca. 300 cm). S. Maria in Vallicella, sacristy, Rome.

and he trained in the Carracci academy during the years when only Ludovico was present, receiving the usual rigorous education in theory and drawing from life. After a short period of work for the Gonzaga in Mantua, in 1625 he made Rome his base and initially fulfilled requests for the restoration of antique statues. His career benefited from Bolognese connections, which included the painter Domenichino and Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, nephew of the recently deceased Pope Gregory XV and one of the period's most avid collectors of ancient marbles.

Algardi's earliest sculptures were in the medium of stucco, which is modeled like clay, and he subsequently approached stone as if he were building up rather than carving the material. His first monumental commission for St. Peter's was for the *Tomb of Pope Leo XI* (the pope died only 27 days after his election in 1605), a work considered by scholars to be more somber and classical than Bernini's later *Tomb of Urban VIII*, although the narrow site played a role in its restraint (1634–44). For his hometown he produced one of the most stately ensembles of the period: the two-figured marble group of *The Beheading of St. Paul* for the high altar of S. Paolo Maggiore.

An early monumental commission that sealed Algardi's reputation in Rome as the classical-Baroque alternative to Bernini was for the over-life-size marble group of *St. Philip Neri with an Angel* for the sacristy altar in the Chiesa Nuova, the mother church of the Oratorians (1635–8; FIG. 3.22). The work was paid for by Pietro Buoncompagni, who left a donation for the upkeep of the altar and his tomb. Compared to the *colossi* in the crossing of St. Peter's, the work is exceptionally calm, lacking dynamic posture and agitated draperies. The simple naturalism of the piece accords perfectly with the quiet accessibility and down-to-earth character of the Oratorians.

Neri looks heavenward toward the source of his ecstatic experience in the Roman catacombs, when a ball of fire entered his mouth, and his heart became so swollen with the burning love of God that it broke two ribs. Unlike Bernini's cherub engaged in a dramatic confrontation with St. Teresa, Algardi's angel, calmly bending on one knee, holds an open book whose Latin inscription, taken from the offertory of Neri's feast day, explains the action: "I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou shalt enlarge my heart" (Psalm 119:32). During subsequent periods of intense spiritual fervor Neri endured palpitations of the heart. Algardi indicated this symptom through a slight ripple in the saint's chasuble.

For the chapel of St. Leo in St. Peter's, where the earthly remains of Pope Leo the Great (r. 440–61) were kept, Algardi designed a relief sculpture of staggering size—almost 24 feet high, comprising five blocks of stone whose seams are visible on close inspection—representing *The Encounter of Pope Leo the Great and Attila the Hun* (1646–53; FIG. 3.23). The commission, which originally called for a painted altarpiece, was first given to Reni and then to

3.23 Alessandro Algardi, *The Encounter of Pope Leo the Great and Attila the Hun*, 1646–53. Marble, approx. 23′ 7″ × 13′ 9″ (720 × 420 cm). St. Peter's, Vatican.

the cavaliere d'Arpino, both of whom failed to execute it. Lanfranco also lobbied to receive the work. The poorly lit, humid space on the southwest side of the basilica favored the choice of a marble relief. It was only after the death of Urban VIII and Bernini's disgrace that Algardi, now in the last decade of his life, received the commission during the pontificate of Innocent X. As with Bernini's large-scale sculptures, a full-size stucco model was set up on the site in order to gauge its effect.

The sculpture plunges the viewer into the midst of an exciting historical narrative, in which Pope Leo I, in an effort to save Rome from marauding barbarian invaders, meets with the Scourge of God, Attila the Hun, an event that took place north of Rome in 452. Although historians credit Leo's persuasive powers with halting the barbarians' advance, Algardi followed pictorial tradition by incorporating the miraculous vision of the principal saints of Rome, Peter and Paul, brandishing swords to urge Attila's retreat. The artist simplified the tall vertical composition by focusing on three clearly defined groups: the papal mission, the Huns, and the combative saints. The relief is so deep that the principal figures are practically detached from the background, thus merging into the viewer's space. In both its scale as relief sculpture and its content as an affirmation of divinely sanctioned papal power, the piece is comparable to Pietro Bernini's *Assumption of the Virgin* (see FIG. 3.5). In the opinion of later generations this work made Algardi a worthy challenger to Gianlorenzo Bernini. As the late seventeenth-century champion of ideal form, the writer Bellori kept Algardi's reputation intact long after Bernini's fame declined, especially with the revival of classicism in the eighteenth century.

SANCTISS·TRINITATI·BEATOQ·CAROLO·BORROMEO·D·AN·SAL·M·DC·XL

Baroque Architecture in Italy

During the seventeenth century, inhabitants of the Italian peninsula witnessed intense building activity throughout an impressive array of sites, much of it generated by the same religious and social changes that had influenced the fields of painting and sculpture. In the religious sphere, the goals of the Counter-Reformation Church included the remodeling of old churches and the construction of modern ones, particularly as the newly created religious orders took root in various cities and flourished to the extent that they and their patrons could devote their energies and resources to construction. Although housing for priests and monks tended toward simple accommodations, it was felt that the house of God required a considerable degree of monumentality and ornamentation. In the secular sphere, each successive election of a new pope shook up the social hierarchy and brought to the fore new families who asserted their prestige through the construction of buildings. In the Baroque age nothing succeeded like excess, and a particular attribute of domestic architecture is the emphasis on representational and ceremonial function, as opposed to what we would consider strictly utilitarian goals. In the vast palaces built for nobles and church dignitaries, so much space was given to reception in seemingly endless suites of rooms that quarters for

Francesco Borromini, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, dome, interior, Rome, 1638–41. (Detail of FIG. 4.12)

the large retinues of servants often had to be secured in neighboring houses. As is still the case today, architecture provided a highly visible vehicle for elevating one's status: A large house was the embodiment of personal wealth, discriminating taste, and social clout.

As in earlier periods, Baroque buildings were the result of collaboration. Not only did the chief designer have assistants in the studio preparing drawings and composing details, but he was beholden to the client, the contractor, and laborers on the site. Ambitious projects, like a church or palace that might take several years to execute, were often designed piecemeal, with construction drawings drafted as necessary and whole parts and details left to the future as additional funds became available or as other patrons and designers came on board.

To achieve a professional career as an architect constituted a major challenge. Training was not readily available: Many of the major figures initially worked in related fields, whether such prestigious arts as painting and sculpture, or in the artisan-related areas of masonry, stonecutting, stuccowork, and carpentry. Generally speaking, those who moved into architecture from painting and sculpture, like Bernini and Pietro da Cortona, were held in higher esteem than those who, like Borromini, moved up from the low rank of stonecutter. Many architects were self-taught, gradually picking up experience in a workshop and studying the treatises of Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio, and Serlio. The most fortunate were those aspiring designers who

The Language of Classical Architecture

The buildings discussed here belong to the category of classical architecture, that is, they feature, both inside and out, the essential elements of ancient buildings as invented by the Greeks and developed by the Romans. Treating classical architecture as a language of forms that conveys prestige and monumentality, we may identify two essential components: the vocabulary of the ancient orders and a system of proportions that ensures a harmony of the parts. An order is a basic unit within the structural post-and-lintel system, comprising a vertical member, the column, which supports a horizontal member, the entablature. By the seventeenth century, five orders were considered the canonical number, each possessing the same basic parts but differing in design details and thus possessing distinct personalities: Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, as illustrated by Vignola in his *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* (first published in 1562; reprinted and updated in numerous new editions in various languages, such as the Paris edition of 1757; Fig. 4.1). As an expressive vocabulary, the orders offer many options to the designer: For example, a column may be employed fully in the round, "engaged" or sunken into the wall in various stages of relief, or in a flat version called a pilaster. Baroque designers respected the anthropomorphic character of the orders, from the bold, masculine Doric and the elegant, grave Ionic to the more feminine, even "virginal" Corinthian. Moreover, the spacing of columns in a row, called intercolumniation, whether narrow, broad, or irregular, introduces a sort of tempo to a colonnade.

For the Greeks the orders were a structural device that performed the function of holding up a roof; as reinvented by the Romans, however, the orders took on a more decorative or symbolic role, being incorporated with a vaulted system. In Baroque buildings we find both possibilities, whether load-bearing as in Bernini's colonnade for the Piazza S. Pietro, one of the largest ensembles of free-standing columns in the world (see Fig. 4.5), or applied to a wall as a thin layer in della Porta's façade of Il Gesù (see Fig. 4.9). In uncovering the grammatical rules of classical architecture, Baroque architects had the ancient ruins before them to study and draw, especially in Rome (Greece was relatively inaccessible), and they consulted the single extant treatise by an ancient Roman author, Vitruvius's *On Architecture* (late first century BCE) as well as the sixteenth-century publications of such authors as Palladio and Serlio. As an illustrated handbook on the orders, Vignola's *Regola* enjoyed considerable popularity because it offered solutions to the problem of how to respect a general system of proportions. Coming on the heels of the Mannerist period, when the orders were submitted to particularly fanciful reinterpretation, the Baroque considered the issue of artistic license to be crucial, as exemplified by the antagonism between Bernini and Borromini.
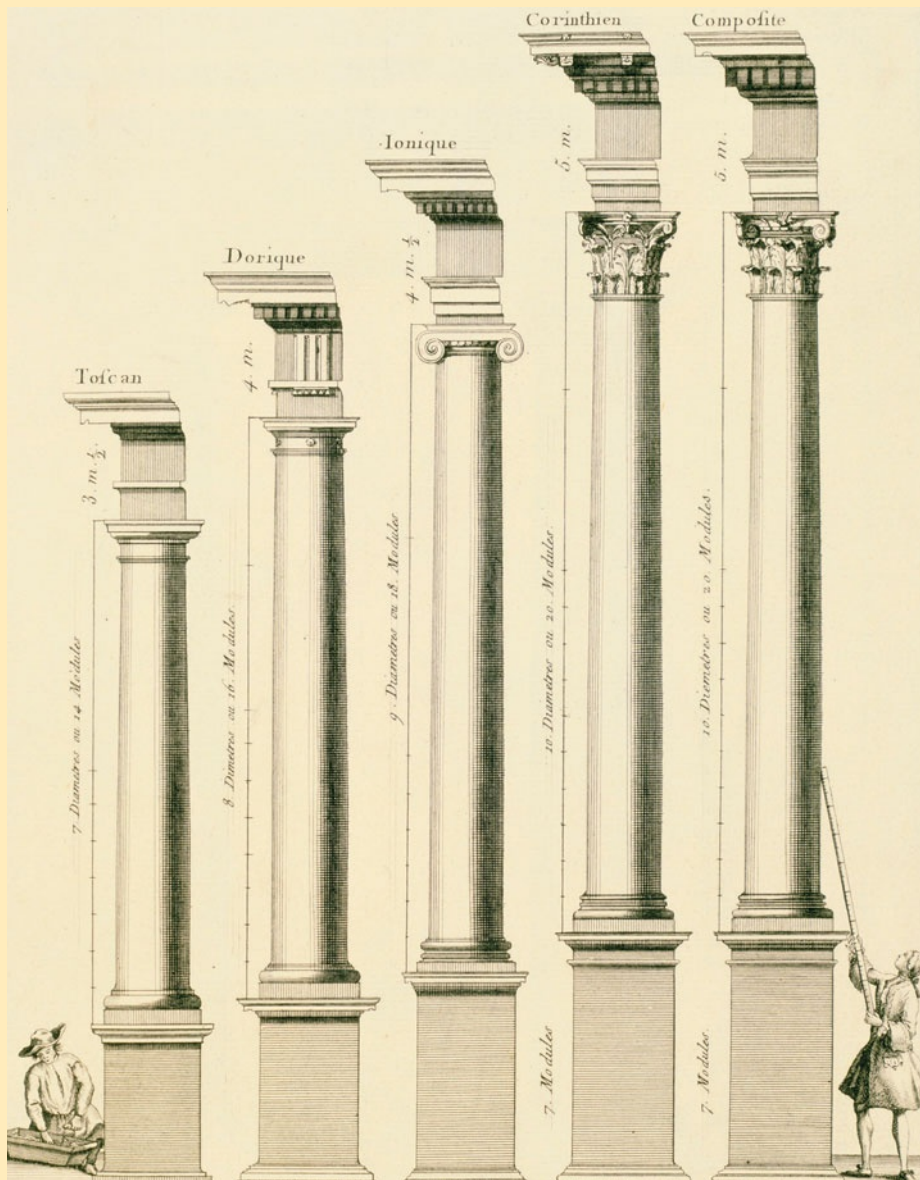
4.1 Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *The Five Orders of Architecture*, from *Livre nouveau ou règles des cinq ordres d'architecture*, edited by Jacques-François Blondel, Paris: Charpentier, 1757. From left, the orders are: Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite. British Architectural Library, RIBA, London.

hailed from an architectural dynasty, where professional knowledge was more easily transferred from generation to generation. At the dawn of the Baroque, a good many architectural positions in Rome were filled by a group of craftsmen who grew up and trained among intermarried artisan families living in the region of Lake Lugano in what was then Milanese territory and is now in Switzerland.

To be an architect meant to be an engineer as well: Designers routinely worked on bridges, embankments, fortifications, roads, and waterworks, and were frequently called on to give written evaluations of building conditions and proposals for repairs. The Latin epitaph on Carlo Maderno's tomb in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, credits him with three accomplishments, two of which were feats of engineering—transportation and erection of the Vatican obelisk under Domenico Fontana's direction, the transferral of an ancient monolithic column from the basilica of Maxentius to the Piazza de Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the completion of the basilica of St. Peter's. The freelance architect, common enough today, did not exist. To have steady employment, an individual needed a long-standing connection with a client, whether pope, cardinal, noble, civic authority, religious order, or confraternity. The religious orders often retained their own designers within their ranks. On occasion a competition for a major public project was opened, either to all or to the invited few, setting the stage for debate among the deputies in charge or possibly the general public.

Like the painters and sculptors, architects, sensing the weakening of the guild system, sought a new type of professional organization. The Accademia di San Luca in Rome was the most active of the Italian academies with respect to architecture. Before the mid seventeenth century, however, architects figured little in discussions regarding the relative merits of the arts. Only in the last quarter of the seventeenth century did the Rome academy develop a system of architectural instruction that was comparable to that for painting and sculpture, with emphasis on geometry, perspective, civil and military building, classical design theory, and architectural draftsmanship (see "Architectural Drawings," p. 361). Many architects sought to establish their reputation through the publication of both built and unbuilt designs. Such an ambition, being expensive, required the underwriting of a patron. Two of the leading personalities discussed in this chapter conceived publishing projects that were realized only posthumously: Borromini (*Opus architectonicum*, 1725) and Guarini (*Architettura civile*, 1737).

Roman Urbanism under Sixtus V

Although Rome enjoyed a reputation as a religious, diplomatic, and cultural magnet during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the urban development of the Eternal City had slowed during the Renaissance, primarily as a result of two challenges that faced city developers. First, the population, which had shrunk to about 100,000 and remained steady at that level during the sixteenth century, was concentrated in the low-lying region in the bend of the Tiber (the *abitato*, meaning inhabited), resulting in vast stretches of open terrain (the *disabitato*) within the old Aurelian city walls. Hence it was difficult to traverse the city, especially for pilgrims visiting its seven Early Christian basilicas, and travel could be treacherous given the presence of great numbers of bandits. Second, the goal of reclaiming the ancient Roman city was expensive and required the coordination of different public sectors.

Fifteenth-century efforts to revive the old city were for the most part fragmentary. There were nonetheless several isolated successes during the sixteenth century. Julius II (r. 1503–13) opened the city's first straight avenue, the Via Giulia, in the quarter along the Tiber, Leo X (r. 1513–21) laid out the Via di Ripetta southward from the Piazza del Popolo, the city's northern gate, and Pius IV (r. 1559–65) built the Via Pia, from the northeastern gate into the city. As an architect, Michelangelo added to the cityscape two important elements: the renovated Piazza del Campidoglio on the Capitoline Hill, which redefined the piazza as a dynamic space focusing on an equestrian monument (from 1561); and the Porta Pia, Rome's first city gate to have its main façade looking inward, facing the city, thus providing a scenographic backdrop to the street (1561–4).

These elements remained independent of each other until the pontificate of one of the most extraordinary rulers of the sixteenth century. Born Felice Peretti of peasant stock, near the town of Montalto in the Marches, Sixtus V did not possess the high status of most popes and cardinals. He entered a Franciscan monastery at age 12, was educated at Ferrara and Bologna, and began his ascent in the Church, where his combination of extreme piety, forceful preaching, and dynamic leadership gained him notice. He was elevated to the cardinalate in 1570. His pontificate was brief, 1585–90, but during that time he instituted major clerical and administrative reforms within both the Church and Rome. A new system of taxes and the sale of offices filled the papal coffers, which were virtually empty at the time of his election. Confident that the trials of the Counter-Reformation were past, he ordered the first canonization of new saints in 65 years.

It was within the realm of urban planning that Sixtus's efforts were most remarkable (see FIG. 1.1). Assisted by his court architect and engineer, Domenico Fontana (1543–1607), he pulled the monuments of Rome into a coherent unity now symbolically referred to as the Baroque City, or the Capital City, in which long, straight avenues connect buildings, squares, and other focal points. His plan for restructuring Rome, represented in a contemporary fresco in the Vatican Library, would have an enduring

4.2 *Eastward View of Rome with the Urban Plan of Sixtus V*, ca. 1588. Fresco. Salone Sisto, Library, Vatican.
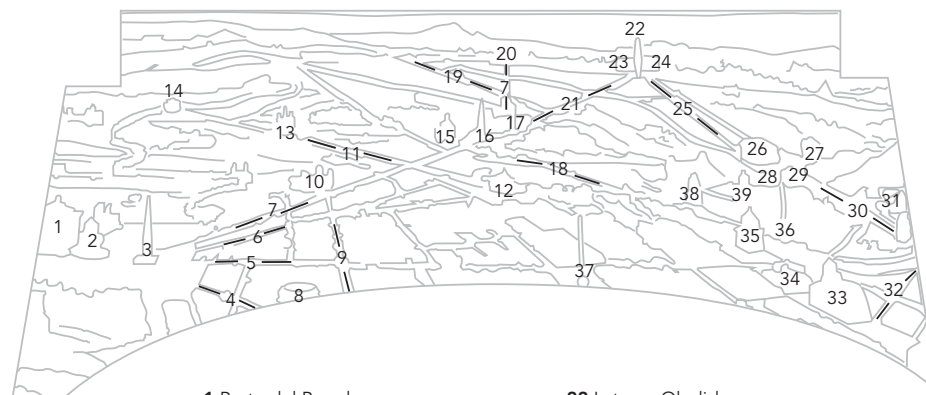
1 Porto del Popolo
2 Sta. Maria del Popolo
3 Obelisk in Piazza del Popolo
4 Via Leonina
5 Via del Corso
6 Via Clementia/Paolina Trifaria
7 Via Felice
8 Mausoleum of Augustus
9 Via Trinitatis
10 Trinità dei Monti
11 Via Pia
12 Quirinal Palace
13 Moses Fountain
14 Porta Pia
15 Villa Montalto
16 Obelisk of Sta. Maria Maggiore
17 Sta. Maria Maggiore
18 Via Panisperna
19 Via S. Lorenzo
20 S. Croce in Gersusalemme
21 Via Merulana

22 Lateran Obelisk
23 Lateran Palace
24 Benediction Loggia of
S. Giovanni in Laterano
25 Via S. Giovanni in Laterano
26 Colosseum
27 Arch of Constantine
28 Basilica of Maxentius and
Constantine (so-called Temple
of Peace)
29 Arch of Titus
30 Roman Forum
31 Arch of Septimius Severus
32 Via d'Aracoeli
33 Il Gesù
34 Palazzo Venezia
35 Sta. Maria di Loreto
36 Column of Trajan
37 Column of Marcus Aurelius
38 Torre delle Milizie
39 Torre dei Conti

impact on the history of city planning (ca. 1588; FIG. 4.2). Sixtus's principal goal was to ensure that pilgrims and ecclesiastical processions, many led by himself, could easily visit the seven major basilicas situated for the most part in outlying regions of the old city. This he did by opening up major thoroughfares in the *disabitato* and establishing a network that could be completed later. The most important of these was the Via Felice, which ultimately cut all the way across town from the Porta del Popolo across the Via Pia to Sta. Maria Maggiore and thence to S. Croce in Gerusalemme. As part of the ideal plan, three streets radiate outward from Sta. Maria Maggiore, one to the Piazza S. Marco, a second to S. Giovanni in Laterano, and a third toward S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. In another effort to traverse the open landscape, Sixtus V conceived the avenue from S. Giovanni in Laterano to the Colosseum.

Although today we may take for granted the experience of rapid movement down a long, wide, straight avenue, in the late sixteenth century this was entirely new. Building codes regulating the design of façades along these streets called for uniformity and placed the emphasis on the buildings as theatrical backdrops to the space of the street. The topography of Rome is anything but flat, yet these avenues traversed the famous hills. By rejecting the usual method of creating a road that conforms to the site and by superimposing a concept of the city on the landscape, Sixtus ensured the symbolism of the Baroque City, namely, that it embodies the power and will of the ruler over both the terrain and the populace. As a Counter-Reformation pope, however, his immediate goal was not to revive the grandeur of ancient Rome but to project an image of the papacy as head of the revived Church. Significantly, he commissioned the completion of the dome of St. Peter's by Giacomo della Porta and Fontana, based on Michelangelo's design. Also, he had statues of Sts. Peter and Paul placed atop the ancient columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and he even planned to turn the Colosseum into a wool factory as part of a program to spur economic development.

In addition to the focal points provided by ancient and modern buildings, Sixtus introduced further elements into this system. Fountains received water from a new aqueduct named the Acqua Felice in a pun on the pope's name. Its terminus was the Moses Fountain (1587–8), designed in the shape of a triumphal arch, in which a sculpture of *Moses Striking the Rock* produces water for the masses. Re-erecting four of the Egyptian obelisks brought to Rome in ancient times, Sixtus provided points of orientation, visible at a great distance, for the new piazzas formed at the intersection of avenues. In papal ceremonies the pagan spirits of the obelisks were exorcized and the cross of Catholicism was placed on top to symbolize the triumph of the Church over heresy. He installed obelisks at Sta. Maria del Popolo, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and S. Giovanni in Laterano, but the foremost task was moving the 40-ton obelisk that once

stood in Nero's Circus and during the Middle Ages occupied a position next to St. Peter's south sacristy. With great fanfare Fontana hauled it to the piazza in front of St. Peter's (1590; see FIG. 1.5)—an engineering feat so admired (it took 130 days) that he commemorated it in a volume, *Della trasportatione dell' obelisco vaticano*. Sixtus's additions to Rome may seem sparse to us, but their impact was great and his legacy lives on in capital cities across the globe.

Roman Urbanism under Alexander VII

Once the foundations for Baroque Rome were instituted by Sixtus V, later popes continued urban development in the city. One pope stands out in the second half of the seventeenth century: Alexander VII, reigning in the years 1655–67, shared Sixtus's concept of the Capital City. Born Fabio Chigi, he hailed from the prestigious Sienese family as a collateral descendant of Agostino Chigi, the wealthy banker who built the Farnesina in Rome and was one of Raphael's leading patrons. He received a degree in philosophy, law, and theology at the university of Siena and developed an interest in literature; he surrounded himself with writers and historians and published a volume of Latin poems in 1656. His early service in the Church included positions as vice-legate of Ferrara, papal ambassador in Cologne, and secretary of state to Innocent X, who made him cardinal. Upon his election to the papacy he chose the name Alexander after an earlier Sienese pope, but the analogy with one of the great rulers and builders of cities in antiquity, Alexander the Great, would prove appropriate. At first he renounced the system of papal nepotism, even barring his relatives from entering Rome, but within a year he relented, and ultimately the family would assist in papal governance, leaving him to focus on humanistic endeavors.

Significantly, Alexander chose not to live in the papal palace at the Vatican, nor did he build a new family palace in the city. Rather, he occupied the papal retreat on the Quirinal Hill, the Palazzo del Quirinale, where he installed the papal apartment and added a long wing to house his *famiglia*, or household. This had the advantage of situating him directly in the city's midst, and it was with all of Rome laid out before him—and within his chambers a wooden model of the city with movable parts that were perfect for tinkering—that he conceived a variety of new urban projects that would leave his stamp on the city. Like Sixtus, he contributed to the revitalization of the capital by cutting through and enlarging avenues, but his efforts focused on the *abitato* in the bend of the Tiber, where he widened and straightened streets, in particular the Corso, and refashioned spacious squares, like the Piazza del Popolo, the city's northern entrance. In his diary he called such spaces *teatri*, reinforcing the analogy with the theater wherein people and buildings come together to

4.3 Giovanni Battista Falda, *The Piazza and Church of S. Maria della Pace Constructed by Pope Alexander VII*, from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edificii*, 1665–7. Etching, 6¾ × 11½" (170 × 292 cm). British Library, London

produce a grand spectacle. Unlike Sixtus, Alexander was devoted to the preservation of antiquities, realizing their symbolic value to the image of Rome not only as a pilgrimage city but also as a cultural capital attracting tourists in an era when the Papal States were losing their former political clout. By reconceiving Rome in the guise of other late antique capitals, like Constantine the Great's eastern capital, Constantinople, Alexander hoped to broaden the Eternal's City's claims to universal greatness.

As part of an effort to establish a visual image of Alexandrine Rome that was known throughout Europe, the pope promoted the creation of prints that showed views of the modern city with an emphasis on his contributions to urban planning. By offering special copyright privileges to the Roman publisher Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, Alexander encouraged the production of the two-volume set of 48 etchings entitled *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edificii* (1665–7). In such images as *The Piazza and Church of S. Maria della Pace Constructed by Pope Alexander VII* the printmaker Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–78) focused on not only major buildings like churches and palaces but also the larger context of city itself, with its streets and squares (FIG. 4.3). Significantly, the captions below pictures in the

suite call attention to Alexander's responsibility for the far-reaching changes to the urban fabric.

The site represented in Falda's print, located just west of the Piazza Navona, is perhaps the most ingenious example of Roman Baroque urban scenography. It was the work of Pietro da Cortona, one of the great painters and decorators of the period (see p. 80), whose career as a designer of Roman churches is equally significant. The church had been consecrated in 1482 by Pope Sixtus IV to commemorate the peace that brought the end of a war between the Medici and the papacy. The presence of a Chigi family chapel founded by Agostino Chigi and restored by Alexander made this an attractive site for one of the latter's earliest projects as pope. Alexander renewed the dedication to the Madonna of Peace as a corollary to his own efforts to arrange an accord between France and Spain. Cortona thus provided new amenities in the interior, while on the outside, destruction of neighboring apartments and reconfiguration of the piazza as a polygon eased traffic congestion for worshipers arriving in carriages for the convenient afternoon Mass (1656; FIG. 4.4).

In designing the space, Cortona borrowed from the conventions of the theater. The travertine church façade

4.4 Pietro da Cortona, Sta. Maria della Pace, façade and piazza, Rome, 1656.
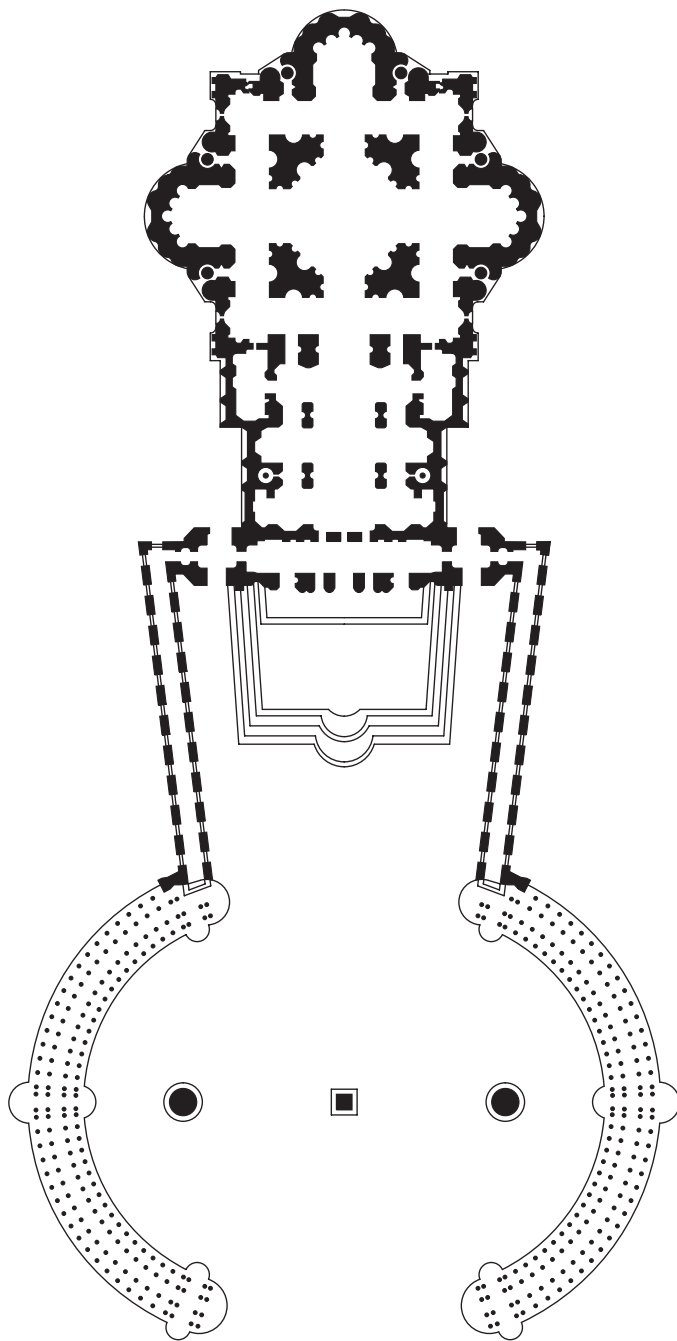
4.5 Plan, basilica of St. Peter's and the Piazza S. Pietro, Rome.

may be likened to a stage backdrop against which the participants move; the piazza is the stage on which ecclesiastical and secular dramas are enacted daily; and the elevations of the apartment buildings facing the church form the auditorium, from which the spectacle may be viewed. Even minor passageways that lead to a network of narrow streets bordering the church have the effect of concealed stage wings. The tall two-story center of the façade, which expands laterally on the lower story by way of volutes, is a highly sculptural, dynamic variation on the façade type composed earlier by Vignola and Giacomo della Porta for the basilica of Il Gesù (see FIG. 4.9). The semicircular porch, supported by a sequence of muscular Tuscan columns, is based on the ancient type of the circular temple connoting the idea of peace, as is appropriate to the church's dedication. On the lower story the porch projects forward in a convex movement to invade the space of the piazza and throw the entrance into shade, while in contrast the upper nave wall is framed by a concave wall, set back in space, whose scenographic function is betrayed by the fake windows. An abiding sense of movement is present even in the nave wall, which appears to respond to pressure exerted by the lateral pilaster orders by bulging forward in the middle.

Alexander VII brought to fruition plans to provide a grandiose piazza in front of St. Peter's, the mother church of the Catholic faith and, as the site of the apostle's tomb, the most visible symbol of the concept of apostolic succession. When, in 1506, Pope Julius II had initiated a scheme for a new church replacing the venerable but dilapidated early fourth-century Constantinian basilica, his architect, Bramante, proposed a central-plan structure, and fixed the size of the domed crossing by initiating construction on the choir end. While the old and new parts coexisted, subsequent popes and architects had conflicted on whether to complete the building around a central axis or to add a longitudinal nave. Not until the papacy of Paul V (r. 1605–21) was the definitive Latin cross plan adopted for functional reasons—to accommodate processional ritual and specific liturgies, to afford a focused view toward the high altar, and to provide ancillary spaces like a sacristy and a choir for the canons. Tearing down the remaining nave and façade of Old St. Peter's, the architect Carlo Maderno added to Michelangelo's and Giacomo della Porta's eastern end (finished largely by 1588) a nave of three large bays and a narthex (1607–26; FIGS. 1.5 and 4.5–4.6). A native of Capolago on Lake Lugano, Maderno (1556–1629) had traveled to Rome to work for his uncle, Domenico Fontana, and was named architect to St. Peter's in 1603. In 1612 the pope requested a pair of end bays on the façade of the basilica which were destined to support bell towers, but neither Maderno's proposed towers nor those partially constructed by Bernini were completed, due to inadequate support in the foundations, so in the end the façade suffers from being too wide and possessing insufficient relief.

4.6 Carlo Maderno, St. Peter's, nave, Rome, 1607–26.

Up until this time the Piazza S. Pietro in front of the basilica, lined by a haphazard conglomeration of buildings, lacked any formal shape. A new design would have to accommodate three elements: the obelisk moved to the site by Sixtus V, located slightly off the axis of the church; a fountain just to the north; and the southern edge of the papal palace. The requirements for the piazza were the following: As a worthy prelude to the mother church of Catholicism, this had to be the most grandiose and memorable piazza in Christendom; the frequency of ceremonial processions required covered walkways to provide shelter from sun and rain; the Benediction Loggia in the center of Maderno's façade, from which the pope on Easter and other signal occasions delivers his *Urbi et Orbi* message to the city and to the world, had to be visible to the devout standing in the square; and the periphery had to be low enough to afford a view of the adjacent papal palace, specifically the window of the papal apartment where *Il Papa* gives his blessing. During the pontificate of Innocent X (1644–55) the architect Carlo Rainaldi (1611–91) had submitted several proposals for a piazza based on different geometric figures—square, circle, oval, polygon—but nothing was accomplished until Alexander VII took up the challenge early in his reign and designated Bernini the designer.

Bernini's plan called for removing earlier structures that encroached on the site and creating two adjacent spaces, a trapezoid (the *piazza retta*) lined by enclosed corridors extending from the church, and an oval centered on the obelisk (the *piazza obliqua*), expanding laterally along the transverse axis and formed by a pair of open colonnades (1656–67; see FIGS. 1.5 and 4.5). Unlike the circle and the square, the perfect, static shapes preferred by Renaissance designers, the trapezoid and the oval suggest change, expansion, and movement, and thus have the psychological effect of pulling the spectator into the space. Bernini may have been influenced by Michelangelo's dynamic use of the oval and the trapezoid in the plan for the Piazza del Campidoglio, although in that case one is inscribed within the other.

That a project of this scale was necessarily collaborative is evident from the fact that several of the design solutions did not spring from Bernini's head. Alexander, perhaps influenced by Rainaldi's schemes, determined to use the transverse oval, which made the most of the available area and dramatically energized the space. Virgilio Spada, a member of the Congregation of the Fabbrica who possessed some architectural expertise, proposed the triple corridor within the arms, consisting of two trabeated pedestrian walkways that flank a central vaulted carriageway. And Lucas Holstenius, the Vatican librarian, suggested the form of the triple portico, arguing that it would evoke the grandest of ancient public squares, thus conveying the idea of the Church's power to regenerate Rome's eternal place in the world. Moreover, a series of so-called

counterprojects drawn up by other architects as critiques of Bernini's design also influenced his thinking regarding the potential symbolism of the colonnades as the arms of the universal mother church, embracing the faithful and converting the heretical.

The foundation medal of 1657 shows a proposed but never constructed *terzo braccio*, a third arm comprising a free-standing colonnade at the entrance to the square. Had it been built, the visitor approaching from the Tiber through the shadowy, densely built Borgo would not see the piazza before moving through the screen of columns, so that the sudden expansion of space and brilliant light would have had a dramatic impact. The immensely sculptural columns lining the *piazza obliqua*, four deep, line up behind each other radially when viewed from the obelisk, but otherwise shift in and out of alignment, seemingly brought to life as the visitor traverses the piazza. For the colonnade Bernini combined slightly elongated Doric columns with an Ionic entablature for the sake of elegant grandeur.

The original fountain was relocated to the cross-axis of the *piazza obliqua*, north of the obelisk, and matched by a second fountain to the south. Mounted above the order along a balustrade, some 96 statues of holy figures, designed by Bernini and executed by various sculptors over a ten-year period, complement the piazza's larger-than-life role as symbol of the Church Triumphant. It was not until 1935 that Mussolini began opening the broad Via della Conciliazone toward the Tiber, which, while providing splendid views of the basilica, compromises Bernini's original vision of an enclosed forecourt.

The Church

Whether a large-scale basilica or a small church, ecclesiastical structures during the Counter-Reformation provided space for a variety of functions, most importantly the Mass, confession, prayer, and preaching (see "Altars and Altarpieces," p. 36). As a building type, the Catholic church was conceived during the Baroque as the setting for an integrated ensemble of artworks—painting, sculpture, décor—that combined with music, candlelight, incense, and ritual to offer the worshiper a heightened spiritual experience. Funds for religious construction, like those for altarpieces and mural decoration, came primarily from patrons and donors who represented the upper echelons of society. And as might be expected, sacred architecture of the period was tightly overseen by the Church as a result of the Counter-Reformation.

Beginning in the 1560s church design reflected a greater preoccupation with function than with aesthetics. This stemmed from new liturgical and devotional rules within the reformed Catholic Church. For example, the edicts of the Council of Trent sought to standardize

the Mass by eliminating local customs and reducing the number of saints' feasts. Mass was to be said several times daily, using the altars in side chapels. Catholics were formerly required to receive Communion once a year, usually at Easter, but the Council of Trent urged a higher level of frequency, even once a day. In accordance with the Catholic insistence on the Eucharist, the Host, which is the embodiment of Christ and symbol of his sacrifice, was displayed for veneration in a prominent tabernacle in clear view on the high altar.

The sacrament of penance, rejected by the Protestants, also underwent change: previously practiced once a year as a prelude to Easter, it was now encouraged on a weekly or at least monthly basis, and the confessional booth became a specific type of ecclesiastical furniture with a fixed location within the church. Preaching, particularly among the Jesuits, was extended over the entire year. New standards for church decorum in dress and behavior were instituted for the laity, which included the prohibition of both prostitution and the carrying of firearms. Clerical reforms included requirements for wearing habits, taking Communion monthly, and being present for parish duties. As a result of these new edicts, church attendance increased dramatically during the second half of the sixteenth century.

The Council of Trent did not address church design directly, but this issue was discussed by the various orders and provincial councils. One major treatise was published, *Instructions for Building and Decorating Churches* (1577) by St. Charles Borromeo (1538–84), who, while leaving many design solutions to architects, was explicit about the liturgical requirements for ecclesiastical spaces and furnishings. As a young prelate and archbishop, he had been entrusted with the care of a large number of churches, which he sought to restore and remodel as part of the reform movement. Although he valued simplicity in décor, he referred to Early Christian prototypes in advocating richness in sacred furnishings. Above all, he recommended the basilican form as being better suited than the central plan to the function of the church. The central plan, with its vertical axis rising from the center of the plan through a dome, was deemed problematic because it offered neither processional space nor a logical position for the high altar, which is normally at the back of the building. The larger crowds attending Mass on a regular basis and coming to hear the sermons also made the longitudinal nave a preferred option.

Il Gesù, Rome

The religious orders, in particular the Jesuits, Oratorians, and Theatines, paid special attention to the design and construction of their churches. Whereas some communities preferred settling on the periphery of a town, St.

Ignatius stressed the importance of choosing a site in the city center, large enough to accommodate a church, house, and school, thus assuring accessibility to the populace and a visible presence (see "Soldiers for Christ: The Society of Jesus," p. 85). A significant factor in Jesuit church design was the emphasis on year-round preaching: A portable pulpit could easily be placed midway down the nave, where the faithful could stand in semicircular formation around it. Preaching constituted an essential means of drawing in the faithful, since Jesuit churches did not serve as cathedrals or parish churches. The Jesuit call for frequent confession and Communion as a means of experiencing fully the mysteries of the faith resulted in the installation of numerous confessionals, as well as altars in spaces withdrawn from the nave.

Since the mid nineteenth century historians have debated the question of whether there was a Jesuit style in architecture. The order's first major architect, Giovanni Tristano (d. 1575), spoke of *il modo nostro* (our style), which suggests a group of priorities unique to the order. Nevertheless, in erecting churches in Italy and throughout Europe, the Society of Jesus did not adopt any single form. Certain features were popular, like the large, open nave and simple choir, but on the whole the plans tended to be eclectic, integrating specific models with local customs. In response to requests from the provinces for guidance and regulations, the Rome office instituted a centralized system with a construction advisor and architects to assist on projects.

The single most influential church constructed by the Jesuits, not only in terms of the order itself but for other religious groups as well, was Il Gesù in Rome, the mother church of the Society of Jesus. The building occupies a historical position comparable to that of Federico Barocci in painting: Because of the dates of construction, historians of both the Renaissance and the Baroque claim the building for their respective fields. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (called Vignola; 1507–73), designed the body of the building (1568–73), and Giacomo della Porta (ca. 1533–1602) made significant changes, including heightening the nave walls and redesigning the façade (1571–2).

While Ignatius was still alive, the society lacked sufficient funds for the construction of a large church in Rome, since its income was channeled primarily into missionary work and schools. Out of necessity the order turned to a wealthy patron who brought his own architect and imposed certain requirements on the design. The Gesù was the pet project of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89). His particular specifications included the orientation of the building so that it would face a major square, a space before the high altar for the burial of family members, and a vaulted interior for the sake of grandeur, rather than the more acoustically amenable flat ceiling desired by the order. The building was deliberately sited close to two centers of Roman power, the Campidoglio
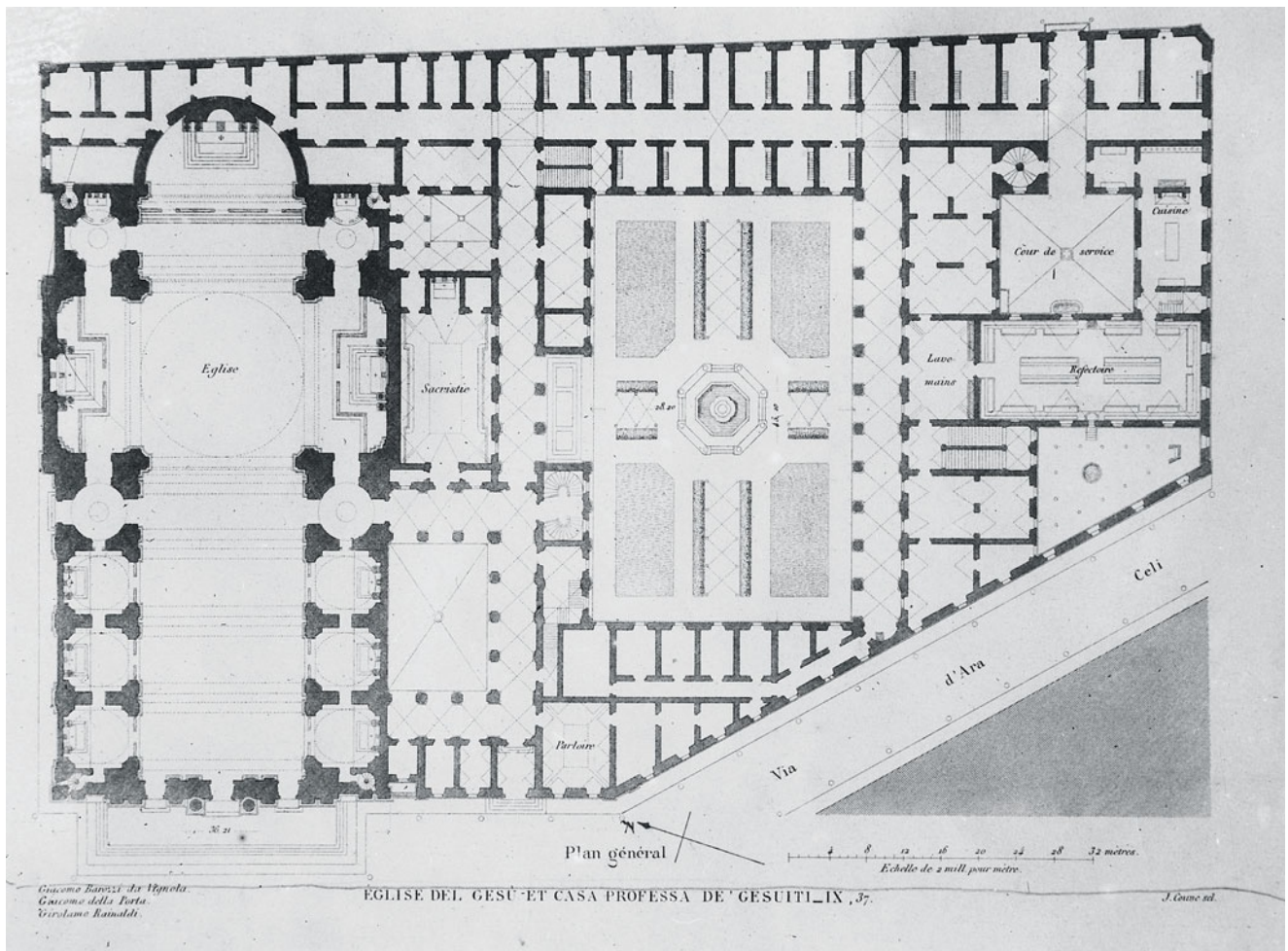
4.7 Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Il Gesù, plan, 1568, and Casa Professa, Rome.

and the Palazzo Venezia, and near neighborhoods whose residents—Jews, prostitutes, and prisoners—the Jesuits wished to convert.

The Latin cross plan, whose sources lie in antique buildings like the basilica of Constantine in Rome and in Renaissance prototypes like Alberti's S. Andrea in Mantua, retains its essential symbolism related to the crucified Christ (FIG. 4.7). Since the Jesuits did not keep the canonical hours as a community, it was not necessary to have a deep choir, choir stalls, or an ambulatory. Thus, as an urban church occupying part of a city block, the Gesù has a rectangular perimeter lacking projecting transept arms. This factor, together with the proximity of the dome to the nave and the cluster of four small vaulted spaces surrounding the crossing, which creates the effect of an inscribed Greek cross, produces what may be termed a centralized longitudinal plan.

The layout of the church reflects three essential considerations. First, the high altar in the sanctuary, where the sacrament is reserved, is immediately visible from all parts of the church. Second, the nave, broad and wide, is essentially an auditorium accommodating a large congregation for preaching from the pulpit on one side. Third, side chapels, rather than side aisles, provide the many altars needed for each priest to participate in Mass daily and are linked by doors that allow circulation without interrupting activity in the nave.

Rather than being comprised of separate, additive units, typical of Renaissance design, the interior consists of a single, continuous space, unifying the different parts along the major axis (FIG. 4.8). The nave elevation consists of a steady march of paired pilasters supporting a wide, unbroken entablature that carries the eye unimpeded toward the sanctuary. The liturgical focus of the building is the high altar, where High Mass takes place on Sundays and other feast days. The low archways of the side chapels keep those spaces distinct from the nave. *Coretti*, screened balconies on the upper register of the nave walls, provide hidden spaces for those wishing to view the service at a discreet distance.

4.8 Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Il Gesù, interior, Rome, 1568–73.

✻——⌐Explore more about Il Gesù on mysearchlab.com

4.9 Giacomo della Porta, Il Gesù, façade, Rome, 1571–2.

The interior of the Gesù was originally very simply decorated, with stucco pilasters marking off the arched bays and whitewashed vaults. Cardinal Farnese took responsibility for the decoration of the high altar and the crossing, but he died during the process, with the result that the mosaic cycle intended for the half-dome of the apse, with its Early Christian connotations, was never carried out. Girolamo Muziano's high altarpiece (no longer *in situ*) represented the *Circumcision of Christ*, the moment when Jesus received his name. As time went on, the interior surfaces were increasingly covered with colored marble revetment. The chapels received sculptural adornment, in particular the elaborate chapel of St. Ignatius (see FIG. 2.20), and Giovanni Battista Gaulli frescoed the nave vault with a splendid *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* (1676–9; see FIG. 2.19).

Both Vignola's original composition for the façade (1570), recorded for posterity in a reproductive print, and della Porta's executed façade (1571–2; FIG. 4.9) are based on the Albertian ideal of classical design principles applied to the Christian basilica. The Florentine Leon Battista Alberti had conceived the conceit of a two-storied façade with classical orders on both levels, the whole capped by a triangular pediment, and volutes forming the transition between the tall central section and the lower sides. To this general idea Vignola added the concept of articulating the wall not as a single plane but as a series of three planes echeloned in depth, the lowest level being at the sides and the highest in the center. Della Porta provided a variant on this general idea in the Gesù façade as built, replacing the logical sequence of three planes in depth with a wall that seemingly steps forward and back. The pilasters are cut deeply from the masonry, giving a clear sense of the mass of the wall and emphasizing the traditional structural role of the orders. By placing the order on high podia and cutting the entablature forward over the pilasters, he emphasized vertical continuity throughout the façade. In addition, there is a crescendo of decorative elements toward the middle, which privileges the central axis.

The front is composed of travertine stone, the preferred Roman building material for façades because of its whiteness and subtle pitted texture, the result of vegetal matter originally trapped and then decomposing in calcium carbonate. The inscription incised in Latin across the lower entablature pays tribute to the patron, with the word FARNESIUS clearly spelled out in the central bay directly above a large cartouche bearing the IHS monogram. The double pediment in the center, segmental enclosing triangular, is a good example of the Baroque love of redundancy for the sake of a rich effect. The elegant volutes, spiraling at both top and bottom, have the effect of energetically grasping and uniting the two stories. The influence of the Gesù may be found across the globe—or indeed only a few blocks away: The nearby S. Ignazio, the site of Andrea

Pozzo's frescoed vault (see FIG. 2.22), is one of many basilicas laid out along the same lines as the mother church (designed by the Jesuit father, Orazio Grassi [1583–1654]; begun 1626).

Francesco Borromini

One of the most inventive architects of the Italian Baroque was Francesco Borromini (1599–1667), whose deep understanding of Michelangelo's unorthodox handling of space and the classical orders inspired some of the most dynamic and unexpected buildings of the age. Born Francesco Castello on Lake Lugano and trained as a stonecutter in Milan, he was related to the Lombard family of masons, stonecutters, and stuccoworkers whose members, like his distant relative Carlo Maderno, had traveled to Rome to gain work at the Vatican. It was under Maderno's influence that, arriving in Rome in 1619, he first worked as a carver of cherub's heads and other decorative motifs at St. Peter's. At this time he changed his name to Borromini, perhaps to elevate himself above the craftsman connotation of his relatives, and initiated a lifelong study of ancient and Renaissance buildings.

Proving himself an able draftsman in Maderno's studio, he contributed drawings and decorative details for Bernini's Baldacchino in the crossing of St. Peter's and the Palazzo Barberini. Following Maderno's death, however, discouraged by his low status and pay Borromini broke with Bernini and gradually the two operated as great rivals. The relative conservatism of Bernini's architectural designs was in great contrast to the willful inventiveness of Borromini's, for which he was heavily criticized in some camps. Despite his intellectual interests and a knighthood conferred by Pope Innocent X in 1652, Borromini lacked the integrated personality of Bernini, and his irascible, melancholic conduct cost him friends and commissions. In the end, deeply neurotic, he destroyed many of his drawings and deliberately fell on his own sword, in the manner of the Roman Stoic Seneca. As he lay dying, he dictated a dramatic account of his suicide.

Borromini's first independent commission was for the church and monastery of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome. The Spanish order of Discalced Trinitarians had broken from the main order and instituted severe reforms. In an effort to gain papal sanction, they established themselves in Rome in 1610. Typically, the path was eased by a cardinal-protector, in this case Francesco Barberini, and the order was acknowledged by Urban VIII in 1636 as construction advanced on its Rome quarters. The small residential wing comprising 14 cells, a refectory, and a library was erected in 1634–5, the tiny cloister in 1635–6, and the church interior in 1638–41. All are visible on Borromini's ground plan, executed in his preferred medium of graphite rather than the customary pen and ink
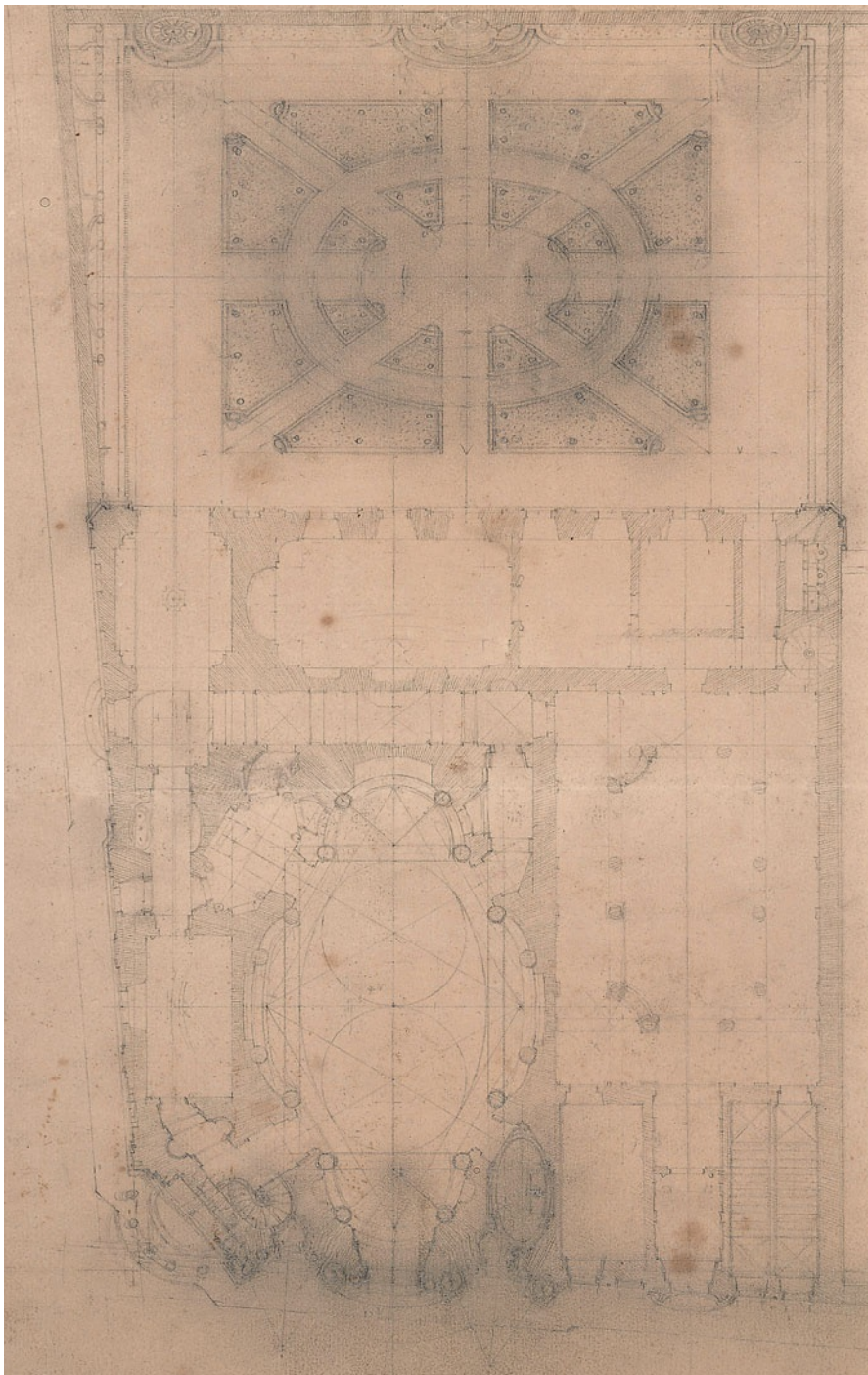
4.10 Francesco Borromini, ground plan, church and monastery of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Rome, 1634, 1638, and later. Graphite. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

and thus accommodating his second thoughts (FIG. 4.10). The church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the norm for Trinitarian foundations, as well as to the newly canonized (1610) saint, Charles Borromeo, the Milanese cardinal and author of the treatise on sacred architecture. The complex is located on the Via Pia at the intersection of the Via Felice, which is decorated with fountains on each of the four corners—hence its name, S. Carlo alle Quattro

Fontane, or popularly, S. Carlino on account of its diminutive size.

In an effort to energize and make the most of the limited space, Borromini turned to an intricate longitudinalized central plan based on the figure of two adjacent equilateral triangles (symbolic of the Trinitarians) that inscribe two circles from which an oval is formed. Because of the constricted site, the three altars project into the

4.11 Francesco Borromini, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, interior, Rome, 1638–41.

✳ **Explore** the architectural panorama of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane on mysearchlab.com

4.12 Francesco Borromini, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, dome, interior, Rome, 1638–41.

main space. Sixteen tall, unevenly spaced columns bearing a broad entablature establish an irregular rhythm that carries the eye around the periphery, undulating in an alternating convex–concave movement, as if enlivened by some mystical presence (FIG. 4.11). The wall behind the columns is pierced with moldings, doors, and niches to the extent that it seems to lack substance, thus visually giving the task of support to the columns. Borromini kept his décor white to clarify relationships within the sculpted wall. The license with which he approached the vocabulary of classical architecture is apparent in the extreme inventiveness of numerous details: The volutes in some of the Composite capitals wind upward rather than down; shell niches are transformed into spiky vegetal forms; and the coffered semidomes over the altars are in effect turned upside down with the smallest coffers at the bottom instead of at the top, and joined to a curved pediment. As Borromini had no interest in a dry rehearsal of the rules of classicism, he used these uncanonical but completely persuasive elements to bring the building to life and awaken the senses of the worshiper.

Overhead the deeply carved pendentives spring from the four piers to support the vault (FIG. 4.12). The oval dome continues the dizzying effect of the lower interior, its intricately interlocked coffers repeating the geometric figures implied in the plan.

Borromini designed the tall façade at the same time as the church, but a lack of funds held up construction until several decades later, when he made some changes to his drawings and oversaw construction of the first story. His nephew Bernardo Castelli probably made some changes to the upper story, added after his uncle's death (façade, 1665–7, 1675–7; FIG. 4.13). As a piece of urban stagecraft, the façade responds to the street as much as to the church behind it, while the travertine stone and classical elements form a deliberate contrast with the simpler monastery walls on either side. Stylistically the façade repeats many of the motifs found on the inside—the engaged columns composing an armature, the punctured wall, and the curves and countercurves. This densely carved front is designed to be viewed from an angle, with its swelling surfaces and diagonally pivoting columns breaking from the usual planar emphasis. Both free-standing and relief sculpture complements the architecture, notably the portrait of St. Charles Borromeo framed by two angel terms and the pair of angels supporting an oval painting.

Borromini's inventiveness and his freedom in the handling of classical elements, both inside and out, condemned by his detractors but praised by others, made S. Carlino a constant site of pilgrimage from the time of its completion, not only for the faithful but for those seeking architectural inspiration as well. Equally astonishing is his

4.13 Francesco Borromini, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, façade, Rome, 1665–7, 1675–7.

design of S. Ivo alla Sapienza, the chapel of the university of Rome (1642–50; FIGS. 4.14 and 4.15). The complex plan, based on the figure of a star hexagon (two interpenetrating equilateral triangles), is carried up through the walls and into the cupola. The melon-shaped dome features papal family symbols and a shower of stars. Borromini's architecture epitomizes the Italian Baroque in its rejection of the serene, monumental buildings of the Renaissance in favor of fantastic, dynamic structures. His intricate ground plans defy description but are intended to convey a powerful sense of movement, thus engaging the viewer in a manner analogous to contemporary painting and sculpture.

Gianlorenzo Bernini

Bernini produced designs for three small churches in the 1650s and 1660s, all based on the theme of a longitudinalized central plan, of which the most elaborate is S. Andrea al Quirinale, the chapel of the Jesuit Novitiate, Rome, where novices spent a two-year period before taking vows (1658–76). The scheme called for replacing an older chapel in the complex and adding some new features, including a portal and a vestibule. At one point Borromini, whose S. Carlino is situated nearby on the same street, the Via Pia, had submitted a plan for a grandiose chapel. Although unable to provide funds, Alexander VII encouraged both the project and Bernini's participation because the building was located across the street from his new palace wing on the Quirinal and could serve as an adjunct chapel. The Jesuits accepted the patronage of Prince Camillo Pamphili (nephew of Innocent X, the preceding pope), who was actively backing religious projects in Rome in an effort to establish his reputation after renouncing his cardinalship in 1647 in order to marry. Despite the middling sum he was willing to put up for the church, he made known his desire for a richly decorated interior that would constitute an architectural jewel worthy of his status. The Jesuits had some reservations about this, not so much from the standpoint of decorum but out of fear that a lack of financial support would hold up completion of the work—a concern that was justified upon the prince's death in 1666, when his heir momentarily hesitated to provide the needed funds.

The design of S. Andrea is loosely based on the Hadrianic Pantheon (2nd century CE), and consists of a pedimented portico attached to a domed rotunda (FIG. 4.16). Like the plan of Il Gesù, the layout provides for a central nave bordered by chapels and focusing on a sanctuary containing the high altar. Since the Jesuits required five altars, Bernini first proposed a pentagonal plan, but soon switched to the more elegant oval, which expands along the transverse axis like the *piazza obliqua* of St. Peter's, thus making optimum use of the shallow site. The rotunda, like the interior of the Pantheon, or equally Bernini's

4.14 Francesco Borromini, S. Ivo alla Sapienza, cupola, Rome, 1642–60.

4.15 Francesco Borromini, cross-section of S. Ivo alla Sapienza, 1642–60. Engraving from *Opus architectonicum*.
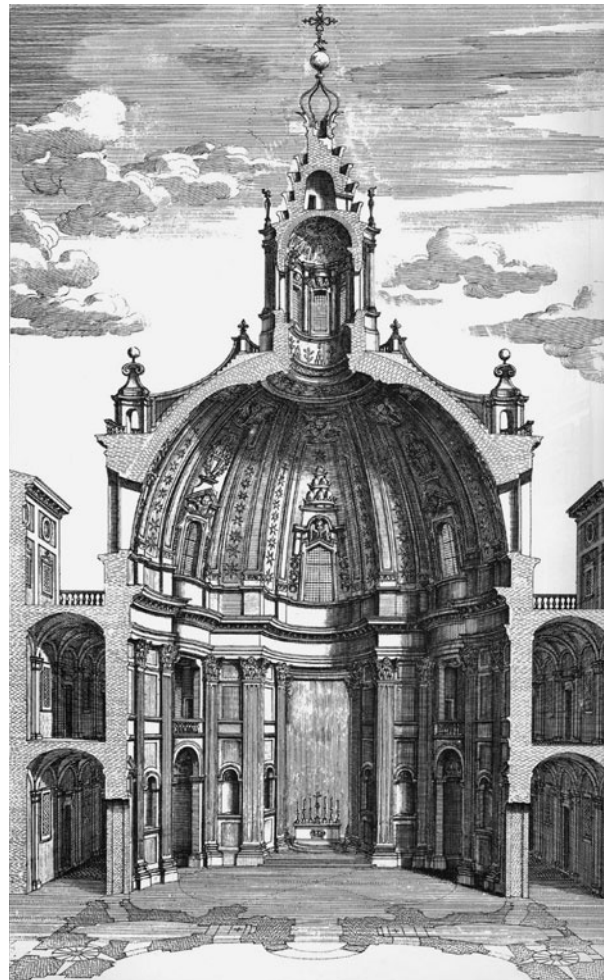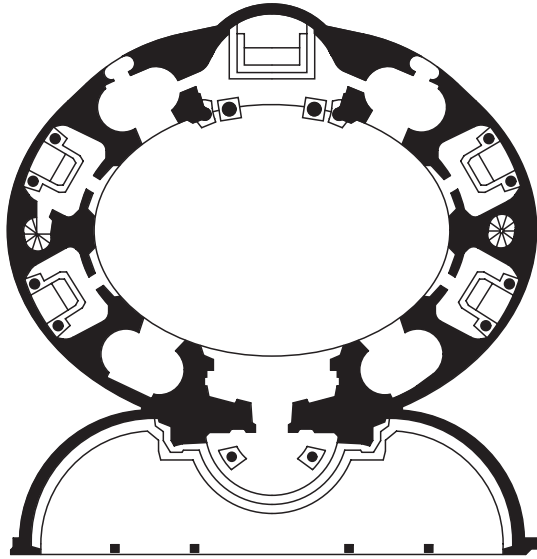
4.16 Gianlorenzo Bernini, S. Andrea al Quirinale, plan, Rome, 1658–76.

Cornaro Chapel (see FIG. 3.16), is overlaid with beautifully colored stone, such as the white-streaked rose *breccia* marble for the classical order and wall veneer, and white Carrara marble for the capitals (FIGS. 4.17 and 4.18). The eye of the spectator is swept along the entablature from the entrance past discreet *coretti* to the sanctuary, distinguished from the other chapels by the paired columns and broken pediment.

As in the *bel composto* of the Cornaro Chapel, Bernini used the architectural setting as a theatrical backdrop for sculpture and painting that tell a powerful narrative from the life of the dedicatory saint, who is offered as a shining example of preacher and martyr to the Jesuit novices. The high altarpiece, illuminated by a concealed source of light and surrounded by gilded bronze shafts and stucco angels, represents the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew,* who, according to *The Golden Legend,* preached for two days from the X-shaped cross before he saw a golden light that promised his heavenly reward. Above the pediment Andrew's soul

4.17 Gianlorenzo Bernini, sanctuary, high altar, and stucco sculpture of *The Apotheosis of St. Andrew*, interior, S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome, 1658–76.

4.18 Gianlorenzo Bernini, dome, interior of S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome, 1658–76.

appears in the form of a sculpted stucco figure, ecstatically borne aloft on a cloud, achieving apotheosis within the white-and-gold vault that, following tradition, represents the dome of heaven. In designing the dome, Bernini combined two normally antithetical vault systems, classical coffering and Gothic ribs, to give a dynamic charge to the space overhead (Pietro da Cortona was the first to design a dome of this type at SS. Martina e Luca, Rome, 1635–66). Sculptures of fishermen, appropriate to the iconography of St. Andrew, recline with putti on the windows which provide abundant light to the interior. As usual Bernini designed most of the elements and used a team of collaborators.

The travertine façade, conceived late in the design process, consists of tall pilasters and a shorter columnar porch enclosed by low semicircular walls that create a little piazza in front of the church, which is set back from the street, as may be seen in Falda's *The Church Dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle of the Novitiate of the Jesuit Fathers on the Quirinal Hill* (from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edificii*; see FIG. 1.2). The play of curves and countercurves, and the positioning of the columns and some of the pilasters at an oblique angle to the plane of the façade, animate the whole and offer a compelling view when seen diagonally by the spectator approaching along the street. As always, Bernini respected the rules of classical design, but the broken segmental pediment that springs forward over the porch to support the Pamphili arms, repeating the shape of the pediment framing the sanctuary within, is in fact composed of two volutes—an architectural metamorphosis worthy of Borromini. In his final years Bernini, who refused payment for his contribution here, often found a safe haven from daily cares in this church, which he considered one of his most satisfying works.

Baldassare Longhena

Venice, capital of the maritime republic, is not a city commonly associated with the Baroque; it lived out its artistic heyday in the sixteenth century and was immune to the physical changes required by Sixtus's concept of the Baroque City. Nonetheless, a single monumental structure testifies to the Venetian capacity to respond to very

particular circumstances and produce a structure that would rival the buildings of papal Rome. Viewed from the entrance to the Grand Canal opposite the Piazza S. Marco and across the Bacino (the Basin or Harbor) from S. Giorgio Maggiore, Baldassare Longhena's church of Sta. Maria della Salute, with its white Istrian stone reflecting the sky and water, seems at first glance a tribute to the Renaissance love for the central plan (1631–87; FIGS. 4.19–4.21). A tall rotunda, octagonal in shape and surrounded by an ambulatory with six radiating boxlike chapels, supports the hemisphere of a dome crowned by a lantern. Beyond the main dome, however, a smaller dome and a pair of bell towers signal two further spaces along the axis behind the congregational area of the rotunda: a domed sanctuary flanked by apses and a choir for members of the officiating order of Somaschi. In short, Longhena employed the typically Baroque combination of central and longitudinal plans. Moreover, he established a hierarchy of the parts

on the exterior, giving prominence to the triumphal-arch-like entry in both its large scale and sculptural use of the classical orders, compared to the simpler elevations of the side chapels. Above the main story, the massive, tightly coiled volutes that buttress the drum contribute to a sense of robustness comparable to that expressed by Roman façades.

In devising this plan, the Venetian-born Longhena (1596–1682), who worked for some 45 years as the major state architect of the Serenissima, followed his clients' unconventional requirements for a national monument that would bridge political and spiritual worlds. When a plague threatened to overtake the city in 1629–30, the Venetian Senate invoked the Virgin Mary in her role as Madonna della Salute (good health) for assistance in repelling the pestilence, pledging a new church in her name and an annual ceremony of thanksgiving. The Virgin was chosen as dedicatory figure instead of the usual
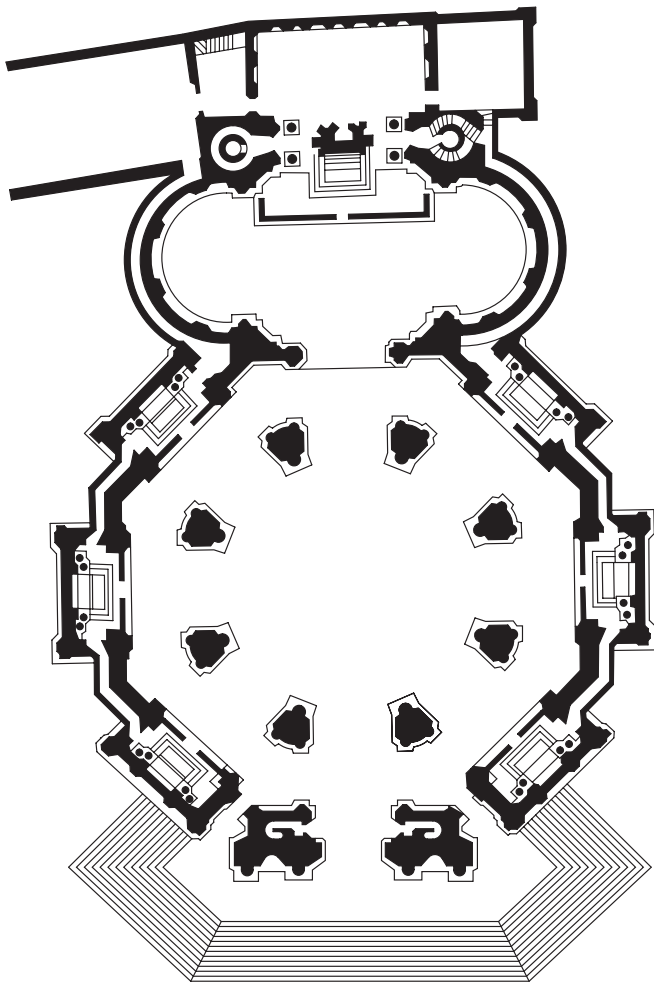
4.19 Baldassare Longhena, Sta. Maria della Salute, plan, Venice, 1631–87.

4.20 Baldassare Longhena, Sta. Maria della Salute, exterior, Venice, 1631–87.

✳—⟦ **Explore** more about Baldassare Longhena on mysearchlab.com

4.21 Baldassare Longhena, Sta. Maria della Salute, interior, Venice, 1631–87.

plague saints because, along with St. Mark, she was one of Venice's patron saints, and her symbolic associations with the stars and the moon were relevant to the economic success of the republic. The deputies in charge of the commission announced an architectural competition open to all, but the front-runner was Longhena, who claimed that he chose the rotunda form because it resembled a crown, suitable for the Queen of Heaven.

As a state-funded church, the Salute occupied an exceptional position among Venice's ecclesiastical buildings. Specifically, Longhena complied with a request that the layout accommodate the thanksgiving ceremony: Each 21 November, the feast day of the Presentation of the Virgin, the doge, *signori* (ducal council), and senators went by boat to the Salute, where they heard Low Mass before returning to S. Marco for High Mass. In addition, during the course of the day the city's clergy and members of the Scuole (confraternities), who numbered several thousand, walked to the Salute on temporary pontoon bridges to give thanks to the Virgin. Thus the sanctuary provided seating for the doge and city officials, while the ambulatory around the rotunda facilitated continuous orderly movement for other participants, and the partially screened choir housed the monks. Despite the strikingly novel result, Longhena's design did not disrupt the continuity of Venetian sacred architecture. The layout of three

distinct spaces along a longitudinal axis and the restrained decoration of the interior, consisting of a gray stone order set against whitewashed walls and the avoidance of frescoed murals, are derived from Andrea Palladio's church of the Redentore, another state-financed votive church built in response to a plague (1577–92).

Guarino Guarini

The principles of dynamic Baroque architecture developed by Borromini, Cortona, and Bernini were absorbed and carried to northern Italy by one of the most inventive architects of the period, Guarino Guarini (1624–83). Born in Modena, where he and four brothers entered the Counter-Reformation order of the Theatines, Guarini received, in Rome, a broad education in mathematics and philosophy. Although the specifics of his architectural training are unclear, the Theatines, like the Jesuits, fostered specialists within their own ranks. As an ordained priest, Guarini traveled widely for the order, overseeing building projects in such far-flung cities as Messina and Paris. The work of his maturity was produced in Turin, the capital of the duchy of Savoy, at a time when Duke Carlo Emanuele II (1638–75) continued the efforts of his forebears to modernize the city by improving fortifications,

opening new quarters, and regulating frontages along straight avenues and regular squares.

Carlo Emanuele engaged Guarini to work on the Chapel of the Holy Shroud, whose purpose was to house one of the most important relics of Christendom—the *sindone*, a piece of fabric measuring some 14 feet 3½ inches in length and purported to be the "clean linen cloth" in which Joseph of Arimathaea wrapped the dead crucified Christ (Matt. 27:59). The miraculous full-length imprint of the battered body, both front and back, distinguishes the relic (carbon dating has fixed its origins to the mid fourteenth century). The House of Savoy, which owned the relic, brought it to Turin in 1587 so that the aging St. Charles Borromeo could make a pilgrimage from Milan to see it. Early in the seventeenth century plans were underway to construct the reliquary chapel in a highly symbolic site, midway between the sanctuary of the late fifteenth-century cathedral of S. Giovanni in Turin (FIG. 4.22) and the adjoining west wing of the new ducal palace. Accessible by a pair of steps from the aisles on either side of the cathedral's high altar, and visible from the nave through a proscenium arch above the altar, the chapel was located on the *piano nobile* of the palace, from which it was equally accessible. Occupying a position between sacred and secular worlds, the shroud was used by the House of Savoy as direct evidence of its divine right to rule, a

4.22 Cathedral of S. Giovanni, 1491–8, and the Chapel of the Holy Shroud 1657–94, plan, Turin.

4.23 Guarino Guarini, Chapel of the Holy Shroud, dome, interior, Turin, 1657–94.

4.24 Guarino Guarini, cross-section of Chapel of the Holy Shroud, 1657–94. Engraving from *Architettura civile*. Private Collection.

marble with its suitably funerary associations; and the twin flights of steps from the cathedral up to the chapel. Transforming a fairly prosaic design into one of the great wonders of the Baroque, Guarini contributed two major components: the proscenium arch whose design, which incorporated framing columns, depended on his manipulation of scenographic effects learned from Roman Baroque architecture; and the elaborate stone vault (FIGS. 4.23 and 4.24). Immediately above the rotunda he built a transitional region best described as a cut-off dome inscribed with three false pendentives pierced with windows and decorated with a low-relief fretwork pattern of stars and Savoy crosses. From a broad circular cornice rose the drum and the dome, two architectural units that are normally conceived as separate elements, but which here were not only fused but seemed to defy the laws of gravity. Six large arched windows, which admitted light into the chapel, formed the base for six staggered layers of elliptically arched ribs in hexagonal formation. They rose to support a tracery starburst through which the dove of the Holy Spirit appeared at the apex of the vault.

To give the impression of extreme height, Guarini designed a dome that was conical in section to counteract the flattening sensation of the foreshortened view. This amazing vault, which seemed to hover as if by divine intervention, is the architectural equivalent of the illusionistic ceilings of the period, representing in abstract terms the spiritual goal of heaven-bound ascent in a manner comparable to Pozzo's figural vault fresco, *The Glorification of St. Ignatius and the Worldwide Mission of the Jesuits* in S. Ignazio, Rome (1691–4; see FIG. 2.22). In fact, the massive buttressing that supports this "miracle" was entirely hidden from view.

Guarini's buildings exerted no reciprocal influence on Rome, but largely through his treatise, *Architettura civile*, written in the 1670s and published posthumously in 1737, his designs inspired a later generation of architects practicing in the Piedmont, southern Germany, and Austria.

Domestic Architecture

During the Italian Baroque, a member of the moneyed classes might inhabit more than one type of dwelling—a big palazzo in the city, a *giardino* toward the city walls, a *vigna* (literally, a vineyard) outside the city, or a villa in the countryside. Among these, the most prestigious architectural type was the palazzo, or palace. Although the majority of urbanites lived in town houses or apartment buildings of simple design, the palazzo was the preserve of families of elevated social rank or considerable wealth. Outside Italy the term palace denotes a seat of power inhabited by a ruler, but here the word has a broader meaning. While the ostensible purpose of such a building was to shelter one or more families within a dynasty,

message that was particularly evident during the periodic ceremonies in which the cloth was removed from its protective case on the chapel's altar, unrolled, and displayed to dignitaries and the populace over the railing above the high altar, with the bishop, ducal family, and court assembled behind it. Alas, in 1997 a devastating fire destroyed much of the chapel's interior, although the shroud was rescued. A painstaking restoration begun in 2010 will replace the damaged pieces in the pendentive zone and dome with black marble from the same quarry used by Guarini.

When Guarini arrived in Turin in 1666 the structure, begun in 1657, had been built up to the level of the first cornice. A succession of three architects had already contributed various design elements: the central plan, based on a circle; the elevation of the walls, faced with black

either noble or upper middle class, equally important was the design of both exterior and interior to impress upon the passerby and the visitor the high social and economic status of the owner.

The building type of the palazzo consisted of a three-story block comprising four wings around a central courtyard. The fairly sober exterior was articulated by rows of equally spaced windows that often featured classical surrounds. The ground floor included the kitchen, scullery, storerooms, common rooms for servants, and, unless situated in a nearby structure, stables and a garage for coaches. The *piano nobile* (noble floor) above was the locus of large public rooms, like the *gran salone*, and the main apartments for husband and wife, usually separate because of their differentiated roles based on gender. The third floor incorporated apartments for lesser members of the family, rooms for children, female attendants, and servants, and a large storeroom for furnishings and plate (the *guardaroba*). Each palazzo required a large staff of retainers and servants, the *famiglia*, who were primarily male (exclusively male in the case of a cardinal's house), and numbered well over 100. Their accommodations were arranged according to a hierarchy; many slept in rooms in the attic or mezzanine levels, but since the owners required so many rooms themselves, most servants were housed in rented properties nearby.

In the seventeenth century a person of rank did not go out to work but conducted business at home; thus the chief living unit, the apartment, reflected priorities established by an elaborate system of etiquette that acknowledged the respective ranks of host and guest. In the case of a major palazzo, the visitor, having ascended the stair to the *piano nobile*, would be ushered through a linear sequence of chambers in the following order: the guard room (*sala dei palafrenieri*), the first and second antechambers (*anticamera*), and the audience room (*camera d'udienza*). Beyond lay the more private spaces of the bedroom (*camera*) and the service room (*retrocamera*). Depending on the needs of the owner, this sequence might be extended to include additional antechambers and adjunct spaces such as a study (*studiolo*), art gallery, library, or theater. Etiquette determined how far into the suite the host's attendants would accompany the visitor, whether the latter would be met by the host at the door or within the audience room, and whether the host would offer his left or right hand. If space permitted, a particularly wealthy inhabitant might have separate summer and winter apartments in different parts of the palazzo, depending on whether a suite had a northern or southern exposure and whether it was on a cooler lower floor or a warmer upper floor. Rooms tended to be rectangular or square in plan, being only rarely oval, circular, or polygonal. The French concept of the *enfilade*, wherein the doors to successive rooms in the apartment are lined up in an exact row, thus yielding a perspective vista down a long space, became increasingly *de rigeur* in Italy during the second half of the seventeenth century.
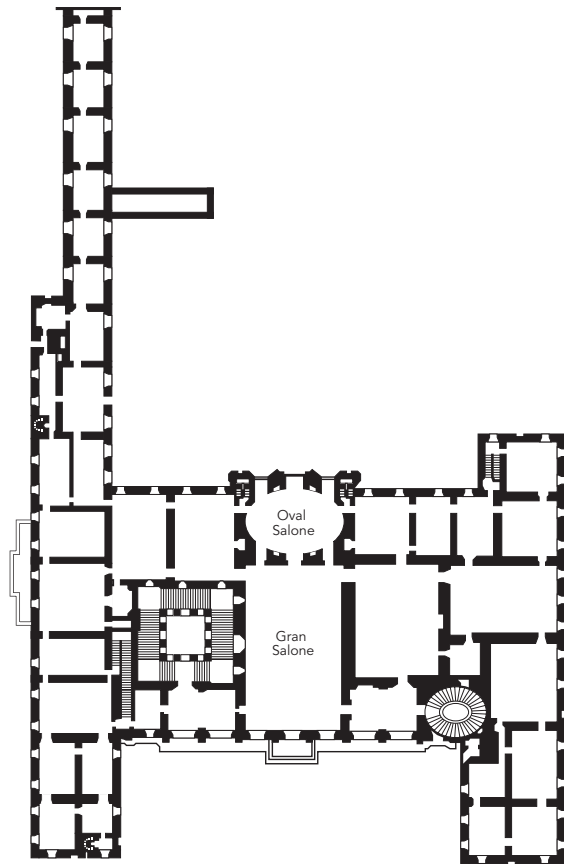
4.25 Carlo Maderno with Gianlorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Barberini, plan, *piano nobile*, Rome, 1628–33.

Palaces were not restricted sites: Any reasonably dressed person could view the public rooms and purchase one of the increasingly popular small guidebooks to the major palazzos. Artists were keen on viewing the picture collections, and scholars requested use of private libraries. For the most part, during the seventeenth century there was no designated dining room: One or another of the rooms in the apartment, usually the outer anteroom, would serve this purpose, with retainers bringing table and chairs as needed. The *credenza* (serving table) was located in an adjacent chamber, usually the *sala dei palafrenieri*. Nor was there a bathroom or WC as we know them: Bathing was discouraged in the seventeenth century as unhealthy, and the potty was simply carried to the private chambers when needed. Only the houses of high-end ecclesiastics and nobles who obtained papal sanction had a chapel with a consecrated altar; such a room tended to be small and sparsely decorated.

The Palazzo Barberini, Rome

The most remarkable palace of the Roman Baroque is a building so unique that it had neither strict predecessors nor imitators, being the direct result of its owner's specific circumstances and needs. The election of Cardinal Maffeo

4.26 Carlo Maderno with Gianlorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Barberini, entry façade, Rome, 1628–33.

Barberini to the papacy in 1623 as Urban VIII was the stimulus for the erection of a new dwelling that would announce to Rome the power and influence of his family (see p. 80). Carlo Maderno conceived the Palazzo Barberini in collaboration with the pope and his three nephews, who left their personal stamp on the building (1628–33). Bernini took over construction upon Maderno's death and made minor changes, while Francesco Borromini produced many of the drawings and added some details. The site was the north slope of the Quirinal Hill, on the eastern edge of the *abitato*, a short distance from the papal palace.

The unusual H-shaped plan rejects the standard four-winged block around a central core (FIG. 4.25). Instead, the left wing, on the north side, refashioned out of the old Palazzo Sforza already on the site, contained the apartment of Taddeo Barberini on the ground floor and the apartments of his wife Anna on the *piano nobile*. Members of Taddeo's *famiglia* lived outside the palace in some 20 neighboring houses. The right wing, on the south side, sheltered the apartments of his brother, Cardinal Francesco, on the *piano nobile*. Both Anna and Francesco had two apartments, a stately winter apartment on the entrance side and one for the summer on the garden side. Between them, facing the shallow courtyard, which was enclosed

by a low wall, stood the entrance vestibule, where visitors could alight from their coaches and mount either the rectangular stair on the left or the oval stair on the right to the *gran salone* on the main floor, with its frescoed vault by Pietro da Cortona (see FIG. 2.16) and proceed from there to the apartment awaiting them. An adjunct to the cardinal's apartments, the oval room at the end of the main axis beyond the *gran salone* bearing an unusual stucco revetment of Ionic pilasters, was an innovation at this early date, although the shape would soon be a common formal component of Bernini's and Borromini's designs. The absence of corridors in the plan betrays the fact that the modern ideal of privacy and convenience was not operable here.

Viewed from the entry into the forecourt, the two projecting side wings, with their evenly spaced bays and classical window surrounds, possess the sober, conventional look of Italian palazzo exteriors (FIG. 4.26). Bridging these, however, is a three-story, seven-bay frontispiece, glazed on the upper stories and open on the ground floor. The superimposed levels of a continuous Roman arch order give the impression of a loggiaed inner court turned outward to face the city. As a reminder of the tiered loggias of the Vatican Palace, this welcoming feature underscores the papal munificence that made construction possible,

and its reference to a venerable ancient icon, the Roman Colosseum, further stresses the power and taste of the family dwelling within.

As it turned out, however, the intended owners spent little time in the palace. After two and one-half years, Taddeo and Anna moved to an older Barberini residence in Rome deemed more propitious to the birth of a son, and Francesco, as papal vice-chancellor, had quarters in the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Thus the third brother, Cardinal Antonio, moved in and expanded his activities beyond the apartment in the right-hand wing to make the building a showcase for art. His principal contribution was the large theater adjacent to the palace.

The Palazzo Interior

The decoration of rooms within a palazzo could vary from austere to rich depending on numerous factors, such as the owner's status, the room's function, and the season. With the exception of major reception rooms, like Pietro da Cortona's planetary rooms in the Palazzo Pitti, the concept of a fully integrated scheme in which every component, from walls to furniture, was part of a unified whole did not arise until the end of the seventeenth century.

A major characteristic of most furniture—*mobile*—was in fact its mobility: Tables and chairs, the principal pieces, were carried to and from rooms as needed and organized according to the rituals of household use. One of the few fixed elements of a typical room was its ceiling, which consisted normally of flat beams or wood coffers, which could be painted or gilt and decorated with carved coats of arms or similar devices. On the wall immediately below might be a frescoed frieze. In those exceptional rooms whose height was increased through a shallow vault or cove, like the Farnese Gallery or the *gran salone* of the Palazzo Barberini, figural fresco decoration was deemed suitable if affordable. Both marble and terracotta tiles were used for floors.

Architectural revetment for interiors, that is, the use of the classical orders, was rare. Instead, in houses of the elite, the whitewashed plaster walls of prominent rooms, especially those that were part of an apartment, received some form of wallcovering: Wool hangings, especially tapestries, retained warmth during the winter; brightly colored silk, perhaps painted, was deemed cool during the summer; and leather, tooled and gilt, was ideal during the transitional seasons. Tapestries, woven to display narrative scenes that celebrated the owner, were affordable only to the most wealthy; the most prominent examples were those belonging to the Barberini and the Medici. The open fireplace, a component of winter apartments, was not a major design element; in Rome a simple stone molding sufficed. Portable braziers also produced heat, and candelabra and chandeliers provided light.

Art collections formed one of the principal adornments of palace interiors. Sculpture was often placed in the courtyard or in ground-floor chambers because its bulk made transport difficult. A collector might choose to have his favorite paintings hanging in his private rooms, but since pictures were part of the apparatus promoting social rank it was important to have them in the more public spaces. In the second half of the century painting collections were sometimes arranged on the lower floors in order to make them accessible to artists and connoisseurs without the necessity of entering the apartments upstairs.

4.27 Antonio del Grande and Johann Paul Schor, Colonna Gallery, Palazzo Colonna, Rome, 1661–1701.

The trend toward shifting art collections to more public areas of the palazzo is exemplified by one of the most magnificent interiors to survive from the Italian Baroque, the gallery in the Palazzo Colonna (1661–1701; FIG. 4.27). The Colonna had the distinction of being one of Rome's oldest families. Prince Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637–89), hired the Roman-born architect Antonio del Grande (active 1652, d. 1679) to design the gallery, the traditional name for an elongated, longitudinal space, for the purpose of reception and the display of the exceptional collections of the family. Despite the scarcity of the classical orders in palazzo interiors, the room obtains its exceptional character from the veined, salmon-colored columns in antis (paired with a pilastered pier) at either end, where the gallery is partially screened from adjoining square anterooms in the manner of ancient Roman planning. The column is a symbol both of the Colonna and of the virtue of fortitude they possess. Bernini may have suggested this feature in 1675. Along the walls the bays are marked by pilasters and black-and-white veined marble window surrounds.

Johann Paul Schor (1615–74), a member of an Austrian artistic dynasty, was the most prominent painter among the corps of designers who added the lavish décor. The chief theme in the ceiling fresco is the victory in 1567 of Admiral Marcantonio Colonna over the Turks at Lepanto. The architectural features are complemented by statuary placed at intervals along the walls, as well as console tables, small benches, and stools. In the vestibule, large mirrors painted with putti and floral swags originally hung over the console tables, their reflections picking up the sparkling lights of the crystal chandeliers. In the gallery's final form at the century's end, the framed paintings were treated as part of the decoration: Hence they were grouped in tiers up to the cornice, primarily with an eye toward size and format, to comprise visually pleasing symmetrical arrangements. Only in the antechambers was subject matter considered, with portraits dominating the vestibule and landscapes the antechamber.

Palazzo furnishings consisted primarily of inlaid tables and cabinets and expensively upholstered sets of chairs. Compared to most tables and chairs, which were the work of carpenters and joiners, the console table was an exceptionally ambitious piece of furniture in its composition, materials, and cost. Although the designer and craftsmen who created the console table now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, are unknown, the dynamic, extravagant carvings betray a debt to the art of the sculptor (ca. 1700; FIG. 4.28). This type of table, which originated in Italy circa 1600, was developed in the workshops of men like Bernini, Cortona, and Schor. Console tables were either set against the wall, or anchored to it by means of brackets (consoles), and because of their considerable weight and elaborate decoration they were not mobile. The legs in front were highly decorated, whereas those in the back were only finished where visible. Like much

4.28 Console Table, ca. 1700. Gilded pine with stone composite top veneered in *breccia*, 33½ × 69¼ × 35″ (85 × 176 × 89 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

painting and sculpture, their primary function was that of display in a major public room, like a *salone*, or within the suite of a prince or cardinal.

The London table is made of carved and gilded wood comprising scrolling leaf ornament, some of which suggests fantastic howling male masks. Each leg is composed of stylized acanthus fronds rising to support the tabletop or descending to form a foot. The skirt consists of symmetrically intertwined scrolls, with a female mask at center, while the stretcher below repeats the windblown scroll motif. In contrast to the vegetal character of this piece, other tables incorporated figures, coats of arms, or marine motifs, like dolphins and shells. The stone tabletop, enriched by a veneer of colored marble, typically supported a symmetrical arrangement of expensive items, like a vase, clock, or casket, and, as in the Colonna Gallery, an elaborately carved gilt mirror often hung overhead to complete the ensemble. For the purpose of maintaining symmetry in a room, such display tables were usually commissioned in matching sets of two or four.

The Country House

Like the palazzo, the villa constituted a badge of power, taste, and status. During the Baroque, the word villa referred to the entire estate, comprising dwelling, garden, and agricultural plantings. Technically, a retreat could be one of several types: a *villa suburbana* on the city's edge, a villa in the country, a farm, or a *vigna*, a small property with vines or crops. Nobles, members of papal families, and upper-middle-class parvenus throughout Italy established villas for the purpose of enjoying *villeggiatura*, the country life as practiced by the urban elite with special emphasis on escape during the hot summer months or times of pestilence. Closely associated with the goal of display was the desire to recreate the ancient Roman villa as it was known through ruins like Hadrian's villa at Tivoli or

literary descriptions, as in the letters of Pliny the Younger. There was, however, no single architectural style consistently employed for the main dwelling, whose detailing and layout might incorporate ancient elements like the orders, or might resemble a castellated medieval fiefdom or even an urban residence. In their villas the ancients had focused on *otium* (relaxation and cultivated leisure) rather than *negotium* (business), but from the late sixteenth century Italians preferred combining the two.

Within the Campagna surrounding Rome, the Alban hills comprised a favored region for villas. The landscape of the Campagna appeared prominently in the paintings of Annibale Carracci, such as the *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (see FIG. 1.25), with its shepherd and *castello*, as well as those by the French expatriate painter in Rome, Claude Lorrain (see FIG. 9.23). The appeal of the town of Frascati, located some 12 miles southeast of the capital, about two hours away by coach, lay in the presence of villa ruins dating from Roman republican and early imperial times. Initially developed in the 1540s, Frascati reached its zenith in the early seventeenth century, when it was the preferred escape of popes, cardinals, and their associates.

The Villa Belvedere, Frascati

When Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) came to power, he set about establishing a family villa, the first of the papal properties at Frascati. In 1597 he purchased an estate to help its owner satisfy debts and gave it to his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, as a reward for the conquest of the duchy of Ferrara for the Papal States. Ruling in a period that still favored the values of the Counter-Reformation, the pope wished to avoid any hint of extravagance and used the Villa Belvedere as a private place to assuage his gout, listen to poetry, and enjoy the beautiful view (*belvedere*) that stretches across the Campagna to St. Peter's, which is visible on a clear day. His nephew on the other hand, utilizing the normal strategy of elevating the status of one's family through the acquisition of estates, transformed the earlier building into a palatial structure and, particularly after his uncle's death, focused more on representation, particularly by means of elaborate waterworks and the staging of ceremonial events. Plans and views published by the French printmaker resident in Rome, Dominique Barrière (1618–78), in his *Villa Aldobrandina Tusculana* (1647–52) made the property known throughout Europe in the same manner as Falda's views of Alexandrine Rome (FIG. 4.29).

Lying on a hillside facing the Eternal City on the lower slopes of Tusculum, the Villa Belvedere consists of both domicile and garden. The towering, bland façade belies the limited accommodations provided within for host and guests—the building is just two rooms deep. Begun by Giacomo della Porta, the building was finished by Maderno, who added an extra story and crowning broken pediment at the top and redesigned the scheme of the grounds (1601–4). The layout of the gardens is the villa's most commanding aspect, with all of the elements organized symmetrically around a single longitudinal axis running from the gate through the house and up the hill. The predominant axis, which sweeps the visitor through the

4.30 Carlo Maderno and Giovanni Fontana, Water Theater, Villa Belvedere, Frascati, 1603–21.

complex, represents the most important formal change in Baroque garden design from the previous Renaissance emphasis on a loose aggregate of parts. The incorporation of three contrasting types of plantings continues a popular theme in the Renaissance garden: an orchard of cultivated olive and fruit trees between the gate and the house, formal geometric gardens alongside the building, and a *bosco* or untamed forest of oak and conifers behind the house.

As in Rome, so in the Campagna: The extravagant act of bringing water from a great distance—in this case, some 5 miles—said much about the wealth and influence wielded by the patron. Pietro needed an abundant supply of water in order to surpass both ancient and Renaissance water displays by installing fountains, pools, cascades, hydraulic music machines, and even trick fountains that doused unsuspecting visitors. The true glory of the site is the Water Theater that Maderno, with the assistance of the hydraulic engineer Giovanni Fontana, built into the steep hillside behind the Belvedere, with its classical design, richly encrusted grottoes, and mythological sculptures (1603–21; FIG. 4.30). Based on the type of *exedra-nymphaeum* known from ancient Roman examples, it housed a collection of old and new sculptures that symbolize the triumph of reason over base desire as exemplified by the Aldobrandini. In the right wing of the theater the cardinal installed the Apollo room, with a water organ that provided the musical tones of the sculpted god and his muses, and on the walls Domenichino's frescoes from the life of Apollo, including the *Landscape with the Judgment of Midas* (see

FIG. 2.10). At the height of the cascade a pair of columns connote the Pillars of Hercules, a reference to the vast spiritual domain of the pope, his family, and the Counter-Reformation Church. The trail of water may be followed up the hill to two ornamental fountains, and finally into the natural wood. Whether looking out the Belvedere's windows toward the rustic fountains with their peasant imagery or gazing toward the Campagna with its grazing herds, visitors to the villa could imagine themselves inhabiting an idealized pastoral world as celebrated by the ancient poets and Renaissance painters (see "The Pastoral Dream," p. 317).

The buildings treated in this chapter are but a few among a staggering number of new churches, palaces, and villas built along the length of the Italian peninsula in the seventeenth century, notably in Rome, Turin, and Venice. Ecclesiastical structures responded to the needs of the revitalized Catholic Church in an effort to welcome and enfold the faithful. In a comparable way domestic structures emphasized status and wealth through size and splendid décor. Although architects at the turn of the seventeenth century clung closely to the exemplars constructed by their Renaissance forebears, in time they loosened the rules of classical architecture and subverted time-honored means of expressing tectonic values in order to achieve diaphanous structures filled with drama. This intense level of activity did not continue, however, into the eighteenth century, when the papacy lost political prestige, and Spain, France, and Austria sought to dominate parts of the Italian peninsula.

The Golden Age of Spain and Viceregal America

As the first truly global empire, seventeenth-century Spain comprised a host of disparate territories both inside the Iberian peninsula and across a vast transatlantic and transpacific network. Spain's political and economic domination of much of Europe and the New World yielded a Golden Age of intense activity not only in the visual arts but also in literature, music, and the theater. The prosperity of patrons, merchants, and collectors assured that Spanish artists and their artworks traveled within the Hispanic domains and elsewhere in Europe, that foreign artists emigrated within this network, and that objects created in the Netherlands, Italy, and the colonies were traded across the empire.

Following the alliance of the separate kingdoms of Castile and Aragon under Isabella I and Ferdinand II in 1469 and the end of Muslim rule in Iberia in 1492, Spain led Europe in the exploration of America and founding of rich colonies. The accession of Charles V in 1516 established Habsburg rule within a large political entity: the Holy Roman Empire. Through inheritance and marriage Charles acquired an empire stretching from Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary to the kingdom of Naples, the Netherlands, and Spain. A committed art patron, he is remembered for his admiration for Titian, who

produced for him an important group of state portraits and mythological subjects.

Upon his abdication in 1556 Charles V divided his domain between his brother, Ferdinand I, who became emperor, and his son Philip II, king of Spain, who oversaw the Netherlands and southern Italy. Philip (r. 1556–98) established a court at Madrid that included a battalion of artists put to work in the various royal residences. Attracted at first to Flemish painting, he became enamored of Italian art and, like his father, knew Titian personally, acquiring some 30 paintings by him.

His son, Philip III (r. 1598–1621) handed the reigns of government to the duke of Lerma, the principal art patron at court and the first of a series of royal favorites who dominated Spain during the seventeenth century. Philip's son, Philip IV (r. 1621–65), was only 16 years of age when he came to the throne, and during the first 22 years of his reign left the business of governing to a royal favorite, the count-duke of Olivares. Although Spain lost much of its political prestige in Europe during Philip IV's rule—a result of involvement in the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), in which the Habsburgs fought a series of conflicts at various times against France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and many German principalities—its king was one of the most distinguished collectors of the seventeenth century, deeming art a necessary component of absolutist rule.

Philip IV supervised remodeling and decoration of several royal residences, including the aggrandizement of

Diego Velázquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1634–5.
(Detail of FIG. 5.23)

the royal retreat of the Buen Retiro and remodeling of the state chambers in the Alcázar in Madrid. He also cultivated a close association with his principal court painter, Velázquez, to whom he extended important offices and honors, and Peter Paul Rubens may have influenced his art collecting during a diplomatic trip in 1628. The art legacy of his grandfather inspired him to enlarge greatly the crown's holdings: He charged Velázquez with the purchase of paintings and antique sculptures on a trip to Italy and directed his ambassador to England to acquire works at the sale of the collection of Charles I.

Lacking a male heir from his first marriage, Philip IV wed his niece Mariana of Austria, the last straw in a devastating tradition of inbreeding. Their sickly son, Charles II (r. 1665–1700), was an active art patron, but he died childless, the last of the Spanish Habsburgs. Caught up in a series of expensive military campaigns, Spain lost its wealth and political clout as the century drew to a close, and within the first decades of the eighteenth century the Golden Age had ended.

The Visual Arts

The events of the Counter-Reformation deeply influenced art production. Spain had exerted a strong influence

The Immaculate Conception

One of the most popular religious subjects of the Golden Age was the Immaculate Conception, the iconic representation of the concept that the Virgin Mary, the vessel of the Incarnation, was exempted from original sin at the time of her conception. There was no doctrinal base in the scriptures for this idea, which originated in the sixth century and was fiercely debated within the Church from the fourteenth century onward, with various orders taking sides. The Franciscans, Capuchins, and Jesuits argued that Mary was conceived sinlessly, while the Dominicans claimed that she was sanctified in her mother's womb only after conception. In 1477 Sixtus IV instituted the feast day of the Immaculate Conception (8 December) and forbade discussion of either position as heretical. In the wake of the Protestant rejection of the Virgin's holy status, however, the matter became more pressing, although the Council of Trent made no specific determination.

Throughout the Spanish Empire the debate took on the proportions of a national crisis, and ecclesiastics, the devout, and especially the crown went to great lengths to press for adoption by Rome of the doctrine as dogma. In the years 1613–16 a long celebration in Seville, which had a special devotion to the Virgin, drew huge crowds, and in 1616 Philip III convened a royal council to study the issue. In both Italy and Spain there appeared new churches, confraternities, and artworks dedicated to the Immaculata with the goal of supporting and propagandizing the cause. The papacy made clear its support, but for political reasons deferred making a final decision on the matter until 1854, when Pius IX proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Although the visual scheme for representing the Immaculate Conception, which developed in the 1560s, was adapted from the Assumption of the Virgin, there are telling differences (compare Carracci; Fig. 1.18). The painter and theorist Francisco Pacheco, the Inquisition's art censor in Seville, codified the standard components in his *Arte de la pintura*. These appear in Zurbarán's *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, in which a girl of 12 or 13 years with loose golden hair, hands joined in prayer, and a gown of blue and white, floats in the sky (ca. 1640–50; Fig. 5.1). Her attributes are drawn in part from the New Testament book of Revelation, where St. John describes his vision of the apocalyptic woman, taken by later theologians to be the Virgin Mary: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

5.1 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, ca. 1640–50. Oil on canvas. 68½ × 54⅜" (174 × 138 cm). Museo Diocesano de Arte, Sigüenza.

. . . And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations" (Rev. 12:1, 5). Hence Zurbarán included the starry halo, the aura of light emanating from the body, and the transparent crescent moon with horns pointing downward. Parting clouds reveal didactic symbols familiar from the Marian litanies: She is the gateway and stairway to heaven, the morning star and the unspotted mirror. Marian references continue in the landscape below: the ivory tower represented here by the Giralda Tower of Seville; the enclosed garden and fountain from the Song of Solomon; and the cedar of Lebanon, cypress of Zion, and palm of Engaddi. Zurburán renders all of the objects in the painting in his typically naturalistic style, but the abstract character of the whole emphatically enforces the iconic content.

on the Council of Trent through its emissaries, and the Spanish Church responded to the Catholic Reformation by founding a large number of new religious communities and parish churches. The Habsburg monarchs, bearing the honorary title Catholic King, used art to further the cause of Catholicism on Iberian soil and throughout their worldwide possessions. Confraternities (*confradías, hermandades*) devoted to charitable work and burial of the dead also played a conspicuous role in public life, and by extension, in the commissioning of works for chapels and feast day celebrations. In 1622 the Roman Church, in response to religious fervor, canonized three Spaniards who had exerted a major impact on the Counter-Reformation: St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier, founders of the Jesuit order, and St. Teresa, founder of the Discalced Carmelite order.

Thus the arts were for the most part deemed the agents of spiritual teaching, and the subjects preferred for altarpieces and private devotion in Italy—the crucified Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the Eucharist—were also popular in the empire, while themes like the Immaculate Conception (see "The Immaculate Conception," opposite), received special emphasis. In the sixteenth century such theorists as the Fleming Johannes Molanus and the Bolognese Cardinal Paleotti provided artists with ground rules for religious iconography, and in the seventeenth century writers contributed by drawing up guidelines for the production of religious images. Portraiture was also an important sphere of artistic activity, but mythological narratives and landscape were rare, although still life flourished to some extent. Genre scenes were not common, with the exception of some activity in Seville.

Chief among the art centers was Madrid, established by Philip II in 1561 as a royal seat and by Philip III in 1606 as the permanent home of the court. The once Muslim city was a favored site of the Habsburgs, who took over the old Alcázar and encouraged growth in the town, whose population climbed from 60,000 in 1598 to some 150,000 by 1650. The royal collection, displayed at the Alcázar and the Escorial, was one of the richest in Europe, particularly in the quantity of Venetian paintings, and from the 1620s the works of contemporary Italian painters, like Domenichino and Artemisia Gentileschi, as well as numerous canvases by Rubens and other Flemings, entered royal and noble picture galleries.

The premier city on the peninsula, in terms of population, wealth, and cultural sophistication, was Seville, the Capital of the Indies on account of its exclusive rights to trade in the New World. An inland port, whose industry surpassed the ports of northern Europe, Seville boasted some 150,000 inhabitants as early as 1588. Its merchant class, which included many Flemish and Genoese, reaped fortunes that allowed art patronage. An increase in Catholic institutions also ensured commissions—some 40 monasteries and convents around 1600 grew in number to about 70 by 1650. Artists emigrated to Seville from Flanders, Italy, France, and Germany, ensuring a rich tradition of artistic influences. From mid century, however, the city experienced a gradual decline: The plague of 1649 decimated half the population, subsequent peasant uprisings wreaked havoc, and mercantile primacy shifted to Cádiz to the south.

Two further art centers deserve mention. Despite the removal of the court in 1561, Toledo, the city of El Greco (see "El Greco in Toledo," p. 150), remained a flourishing and innovative art center into the seventeenth century, thanks to the cathedral chapter and a class of wealthy cloth manufacturers. Valencia saw considerable expansion in the Post-Tridentine period under the religious and civil authority of Archbishop Juan de Ribera, an astute connoisseur of religious art.

An Artist's Life

Spanish artists typically came from the lower ranks of society. As in Italy, artistic dynasties, which passed the secrets of the trade from one generation to another, were common. On the other hand, the number of women artists was relatively small. Artists learned their trade by means of a rigorous education with a master, to whom they were apprenticed under the specific terms of a contract at about age 12, normally for about four years. They lived in the house of the master, who provided food, clothing, and a course of study that began with basic skills, like preparing pigments and canvases, and copying from drawings, prints, and drawing manuals, whose pages were devoted to different parts of the body. From there apprentices moved to sketching from plaster casts and antique fragments, and ultimately to drawing from the nude male model and assisting the master on his commissions. After they had been examined and licensed by the local guild they worked within the guild system, with its venerable set of rules ensuring the quality of the product. As for institutions outside of guild control: In 1624 efforts were begun to establish a royal academy in Madrid, but were not realized until the mid eighteenth century; the Seville academy, devoted to drawing from the model, was instituted in 1660.

Aside from two notable exceptions discussed in this chapter, Velázquez and Ribera, painters rarely traveled abroad to further their artistic education. For this reason, they were often dependent on reproductive prints exported from the Netherlands and Italy. Aware of the high status accorded artists in other countries, Spanish artists strove through constant debate to be recognized as practitioners of a liberal art. To this end three painters contributed theoretical writings during the Golden Age. The Sevillian Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), Velázquez's teacher and father-in-law, was important for

the exceptional circumstances of his studio, where he held regular meetings attended by Sevillian humanists, clerics, artists, writers, and collectors. The ideas promoted in Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura*, begun around 1600 and completed in 1638, were widely circulated before its publication in 1649. Book one is a defense of painting as a noble art, patronized by the highest echelon of society; book two is a résumé of Italian art theory praising painting; and book three comprises a technical manual. Of particular interest is the lexicon of Post-Tridentine subjects in the appendix, which specifies methods for depicting a wide range of Catholic images.

A second figure, the Florentine-born Vicente Carducho (ca. 1570/6–1638), who settled at the Madrid court in 1585 and painted in a reformed Mannerist style, argued for elevating the status of painting as a liberal art in his *Diálogos de la pintura* (1633), written in the form of eight short dialogs between a master painter and his pupil. Finally, Antonio Palomino (1655–1726), an exceptionally learned artist and a leading fresco painter, is best remembered today for his three-volume treatise, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1715, 1724). Volume one reiterates the arguments for painting as a noble pursuit and includes sections on mathematics and perspective; volume two covers the techniques of painting and human proportions; and volume three, separately titled *El Parrnaso español pintoresco laureado*, presents over 226 biographies of Spanish painters as well as foreign-born artists, like Titian, Rubens, and Giordano, whose works influenced the Spanish art scene.

Juan Sánchez Cotán

As in Italy, the rise of Baroque painting and sculpture in Iberia involved the rejection of Mannerism and a sterile form of Renaissance classicism in favor of a new interest

El Greco in Toledo

One of Spain's most beloved artists, Domenikos Theotokopoulos, called El Greco (The Greek; 1541–1614), was a contemporary of the first generation of Italian Baroque painters. Born in Crete, he trained as a painter of Byzantine icons, then traveled to Venice circa 1567, where he fell under the spell of Titian and Tintoretto, and moved to Rome in 1570, where he entered the Farnese circle. By 1576 he had settled in Spain, initially with hopes of obtaining royal commissions in Madrid, but shortly thereafter dominating the art scene in Toledo, some 40 miles to the south, where he worked for a circle of erudite patrons.

Like the other artists discussed in this chapter, El Greco devoted his energies primarily to the production of religious images and portraits. His altarpiece *St. Joseph and the Infant Christ* for the Capilla de San José, the family burial chapel of Martín Ramirez, is fully in accord with the Post-Tridentine cult of the foster father of Jesus (1597–9; Fig. 5.2). The child, who glances shyly toward the worshiper, seeks the protection of a uniquely Spanish type—the itinerant Joseph, who looks down tenderly at his ward. The artist replaced Joseph's attribute, the flowering walking stick, with a shepherd's crook, a symbol of his paternal care for the Lamb of God.

Although the subject of *St. Joseph and the Infant Christ* is similar to that of Murillo's later devotional painting, *Holy Family with a Bird*, the stylistic gulf between the two painters could not be greater (see Fig. 5.26). Rejecting both realistic and classical forms of naturalism, El Greco adopted a unique style that pushed the Mannerist figural canon to extremes of attenuation and distortion. The spatial construction is arbitrary, lacking a fixed viewpoint that would clarify the relationship between the figures and the view of Toledo in the background. Although the loose brushwork emulates Venetian technique, the flickering pattern of dark and light fragments the forms. Finally, color possesses both expressionistic and symbolic value, with the brilliant red of Christ's garment alluding to the wine/blood of the ritual of the Mass, which takes place in front of the painting.

El Greco's respect for Counter-Reformation orthodoxy and decorum is consistent with other Baroque artists' handling of religious subject matter. Although his idiosyncratic, dematerialized forms were at variance with the rise of naturalism in Spain, they suited the representation of spiritual concepts. His works were in much demand among patrons and esteemed by the younger generation of artists.

5.2 El Greco, *St. Joseph and the Infant Christ*, 1597–9. Oil on canvas. Capilla de San José, Madrid.

✳ Explore more on El Greco on mysearchlab.com

in naturalism. Among the earliest examples are the still-life paintings of Juan Sánchez Cotán (1560–1627). The rise of still life as an independent subject category in Spain was the result of the importation of Flemish and northern Italian genre and religious scenes with still-life details during the second half of the sixteenth century. Such works, prized by members of the educated elite, represented a challenge to the ancient still-life painters described by Pliny and others. In the Baroque age the Spanish word *bodegón* (pl. *bodegones*), originally meaning a low-class eating or drinking establishment, referred also to a still-life painting, particularly with comestibles or kitchen vessels. In addition, the term designated a low-life genre scene with figures and still-life elements. While the work of Sánchez Cotán in other subject categories remained bound to outdated conventions, his group of about a dozen still-life paintings is exceptional for their early date. The signal year of his life is 1603: before that time he was working in Toledo, where he had trained with the still-life painter Blas de Prado (ca. 1545–99). In that year, however, he drew up an inventory of personal possessions, including paintings, as a preliminary to moving to Granada, where he entered a Carthusian monastery.

His output slowed after taking holy orders, but a work presumed to be his last is the *Still Life with Cardoon and Parsnips* (after 1603; FIG. 5.3). The format of placing some vegetables on the ledge of an architectural opening that defies precise identification is typical of his still lifes. It is reminiscent of the dark, cool pantry of Spanish domestic interiors, where comestibles were kept out of the heat and sun, but since the painter did not represent a back wall, the niche resembles a window, as he himself described it. Even so, instead of opening it onto a view, Sánchez Cotán rendered the background with a flat black color, thereby suggesting infinite space while simultaneously removing the objects from the real world and reaffirming the flat surface of the canvas. The vegetables, whose curved forms contrast with the smooth planes of the niche, seemingly project beyond the limits of the picture plane into the viewer's space. A sharp light striking the objects from the upper left models the volumes and sets them off against the dark ground, while the delicate purple hues of the parsnips and the translucent pinks of the cardoon betray close observation in the studio. Sánchez Cotán's work possesses the same combination of incisive realism and monumentality that characterizes Caravaggio's *Basket of Fruit* of circa 1595 to 1601 (see FIG. 1.30).

Francisco Ribalta

Chief among the figural painters working in Spain during the transition from late Renaissance to Baroque was Francisco Ribalta (1565–1628). Born in the Catalonian town of Solsona in the northeast, as a child he moved with his family to Barcelona. In the 1580s and 1590s he lived in Madrid, studying Italian works in the Escorial and hoping to obtain a position as court painter to Philip II. He failed to do so, and in 1599 he moved to Valencia, where he successfully sought the patronage of Archbishop Juan de Ribera, who was actively promoting the cause of the Counter-Reformation Church in a variety of building projects. Historians divide Ribalta's work into two phases. The first, lasting from circa 1582 to circa 1620, is characterized by an eclectic, Italianate idiom that combines classical with Mannerist elements. The second, circa 1620–8, shows a marked shift toward realism and simplicity, and was probably influenced by Italian images.

One of Ribalta's earliest works in the second phase is *St. Francis Embracing the Crucified Christ*, which represents the mystical union of the saint's body and soul with that of

Christ (ca. 1620; FIG. 5.4). It was painted for a side chapel in the Capuchin monastery of Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) in Valencia, which was undergoing renovation. Like Caravaggio's *The Stigmatization of St. Francis* (see FIG. 1.6), Ribalta's work shows a supernatural event in the life of the Alter Christus, the saint who more than any other identified with Christ. Although not based on any single literary source, the subject draws from certain narrative episodes in the saint's life—his vision of the crucified Christ during the long period of conversion, his stigmatization (the nail wounds are visible on the hands and feet), and his vision of a musical angel. Epitomizing the strongly personalized spirituality of the period, this extraordinary portrayal possesses a heightened sense of verisimilitude due to the placement of the figures in the foreground space, the strong shaft of light coming from the upper left, and the compellingly realistic depiction of the two men. Francis physically embraces the battered, unidealized body of Christ hanging on the cross and leans his head on the torso at the point of the lance wound, from which blood has gushed. In response, Christ frees his right hand, through which a nail still extends, so that he can place the crown of thorns on Francis's tonsured scalp.

5.4 Francisco Ribalta, *St. Francis Embracing the Crucified Christ*, ca. 1620. Oil on canvas, 81⅞ × 65¾″ (208 × 167 cm). Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia.

A concerned angel rushes from the left side to set a wreath of flowers on Jesus's head. Francis wears a rough woolen garment composed of recycled patches, the habit adopted by the reformed Franciscans. He stands on a leopard, a symbol of triumph over earthly Vanity, while the other felines symbolize the vices.

Jusepe de Ribera

The entire adult career of the painter and printmaker Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) unfolded on the Italian peninsula. The son of a shoemaker, he was born in the provincial town of Játiva in the province of Valencia. According to Palomino, Ribera studied with Ribalta in the nearby city of Valencia. As early as 1610 he traveled through northern Italy before settling initially in Rome in 1613–16 and then moving to Naples, where he spent the remainder of his life with the exception of a few trips back to Rome and perhaps northern Italy. Naples was the capital of the large dominion, the kingdom of Naples, ruled by a Spanish viceroy appointed by the monarch. The second largest city in Europe after Paris, boasting a population of over 300,000 inhabitants, it incorporated a large community of Spanish intellectuals, bureaucrats, and businessmen, many of whom commissioned paintings from Ribera and later took them to their homeland. The trading opportunities encouraged by the port of Naples brought an international clientele of businessmen from such faraway places as Seville, the Netherlands, Genoa, and England. Patrons in Iberia, both monastic and noble, commissioned works by Ribera. Known as Il Spagnoletto, he eventually became Naple's foremost painter, working for a succession of viceroys, and, like Caravaggio before him, he exerted considerable influence on the course of Neapolitan painting.

In Rome Ribera was drawn to the work of Caravaggio and his Italian followers, as may be seen in his painting *The Sense of Taste* from a series of *Five Senses* painted for an unknown Spanish collector (ca. 1515–16; FIG. 5.5). Ribera chose to depict the senses not through the device of allegorical figures but through genre scenes. Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (see FIG. 1.27) is called to mind by the half-length view of the corpulent figure seated before a table with a still life of foodstuffs, the day-lit scene with a shaft of light pouring in from the upper left, and the forceful modeling of the figure to give a sense of corporeal presence. The man holds aloft a wine glass and gazes through the picture plane at the spectator. The robust, lowlife character wearing frayed clothing, who was likely painted from life in the studio, also calls to mind Annibale Carracci's *The Bean Eater* (see FIG. 1.19), and, more broadly speaking, the northern Italian and Netherlandish tradition of genre scenes combining the figure and still life. The tonal palette is appropriate to the earthy character of the figure, who is ready

5.5 Jusepe de Ribera, *The Sense of Taste*, ca. 1615–16. Oil on canvas, 44¹¹⁄₁₆ × 34¾″ (113.8 × 88.3 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund.

5.6 Jusepe de Ribera, *Drunken Silenus*, 1626. Oil on canvas, 72⅞ × 90⅛″ (185 × 229 cm). Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.

to devour his plateful of salt-cured baby eels, crusty hard roll, and olives wrapped in a paper *cornetto*. The sensuous character of the subject is enhanced by the varied application of paint on the canvas, from delicate brushwork to creamy impasto.

Ribera continued to feel the influence of Caravaggio in Naples, where the latter had spent two brief periods in 1606–7 and 1609–10, leaving several works that would impact the contemporary art scene. In addition to genre scenes, Ribera painted a limited number of mythological subjects, such as the *Drunken Silenus*, representing the agricultural divinity who combined aspects of wisdom and vulgarity (1626; FIG. 5.6). By 1675 the work hung among the large and diverse collection of paintings belonging to a wealthy Flemish merchant residing in Naples, Gaspar Roomer. The shock and humor aimed at the viewer is the result of the spectacle of the naked, potbellied Silenus, reclining like an antique Venus as he lifts his glass to be filled. The urgent realism is reminiscent of Caravaggio's early works, but is now joined to the tenebrism of his mature Roman works, with the main difference that the shallow setting is opened in the back to a brief view of clouds and sky.

The laughing boy may represent Silenus's charge, Bacchus. Silenus was the offspring of the satyr Pan, who is shown on the right as the half-man, half-goat denizen of the natural world, crowning Silenus with a wreath of leaves. Pan's attributes appear in the lower right: the conch shell (with which his death was foretold), a shepherd's crook,

5.7 (left) **Jusepe de Ribera**, *St. Jerome and the Angel of Judgment*, 1626. Oil on canvas, 103⅛ × 64½″ (262 × 164 cm). Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.

5.8 (below) **Jusepe de Ribera**, *The Clubfooted Boy*, 1642. Oil on canvas, 64⅝ × 36⅝″ (164 × 93 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

and a tortoise, symbol of sloth. In the lower left a serpent, an attribute of Silenus on account of his wisdom, tears a *cartello* inscribed with Ribera's name. The braying donkey underlines the raucous humor.

The bulk of Ribera's paintings are religious in subject matter, comprising both altarpieces and private devotional works. Chief among these are depictions of Catholic saints. *St. Jerome and the Angel of Judgment* was commissioned for a chapel on the right side of the principal altar in SS. Trinità delle Monache in Naples (1626; FIG. 5.7). Like Domenichino's *Last Communion of St. Jerome* (1614; see FIG. 2.9), Ribera's work represents the saint in his late years, his partial nudity emphasizing the fragility of his mortal self. In concert with many representations of Jerome from the Counter-Reformation onward, the work underlines three main facets of Jerome's character: his role as scholar, emphasized by the attributes of the books, manuscript, inkwell, and quill in the lower right-hand corner;

his activity as penitent at the end his life, suggested by the partial nudity, the cave, and the skull as a focus for meditation on death; and his status as Latin Father of the Church, conveyed through the red drapery reminiscent of the cardinal's robe. Jerome's attribute, the lion, from whose paw he removed a thorn, stands in the dim shadows to the left. The image incorporates a mystical experience, Jerome's vision of an angel trumpeting the Last Judgment, a call to mind the final reckoning. The Caravaggesque flavor of the painting is due to several elements—the composition, which resembles the Italian master's *St. Matthew and the Angel* in the Contarelli Chapel, Rome (1599–1602; see FIG. 1.7), the extremely realistic details, such as the crinkled pages of the book or the parched, wrinkled skin of the saint, and the harsh tenebrism wrought by the strong beam of light coming from an unseen source outside the frame on the upper left. As in the *Drunken Silenus*, Ribera suggests more of a landscape setting than Caravaggio would, again

opening up the vista to rapidly painted clouds and sky beyond the rocky hill.

The best known of Ribera's genre scenes is *The Clubfooted Boy*, a mature work that exemplifies the artist's move toward a lighter palette and looser brushwork (1642; FIG. 5.8). It was probably painted for the viceroy of Naples, Don Ramiro Filipe de Guzmán, and was evidently owned by his wife, the princess of Stigliano. A large canvas measuring over 5 feet in height, the work shows a life-size youth seemingly drawn from the streets. Not only does he bear the affliction of the clubfoot, but the handprinted card implies that he may be mute. The *cartellino* reads "Give me alms for the love of God," making it clear that the boy is not an abstract symbol but a real-life object of charity, or more specifically, of almsgiving, the Catholic activity associated with the acts of mercy. It must be borne in mind that the Church insisted on both faith and good works as routes to salvation, whereas Protestants emphasized only faith. Thus, although the painting is a genre piece, it belongs to the broader context of altarpieces and devotional works that celebrate the Catholic ideal of charity. Poverty was one of the ideals associated with Christian faith; thus the urchin is aware that he holds the key to the observer's salvation.

Francisco de Zurbarán

Born the son of a shoemaker in the provincial town of Fuente de Cantos in the western province of Extramadura, Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) apprenticed for three years with a little-known painter in Seville, some 200 miles to the south. Returning to Extramadura, he took up residence in the market town of Llerana. He secured renown in Seville as a result of several monastic commissions that required so much work that he and his studio may not have been able to fulfill all of the requirements: in 1626 21 paintings, including 14 scenes from the life of St. Dominic for the Dominican monastery of San Pablo el Real; in 1628 22 scenes from the life of St. Peter Nolasco for the monastery of the Merced Calzada, including a painting of St. Serapion for the mortuary chapel; and in 1628–9 four paintings from the life of St. Bonaventure for the church of the Franciscans of the Collegio de San Buenaventura. The upshot of this activity was that in 1629 the city council of Seville voted to urge Zurbarán to take up residence there and become the city's chief painter. The local painters' guild objected to the circumvention of the usual rules, but they lost their bid to retain control of the situation. Zurbarán's reputation spread to Madrid, where Philip IV invited him to collaborate on the decoration of the Hall of Realms at the Buen Retiro, for which the artist contributed a cycle of ten paintings depicting the labors of Hercules and two Spanish military victories (1634–5). Back in Seville, he continued to produce private

devotional works as well as large cycles for monasteries, and he embarked on the speculative venture of sending paintings to the New World. By mid century, however, the decline in Seville's economic fortunes, wrought largely by the plague and popular uprisings, badly damaged Zurbarán's career. He settled in Madrid in 1658, hopeful that connections with Velázquez and a renewed interest of the court would resuscitate his career, but this was not to happen, notwithstanding the deliberate softening of his style to accommodate new tastes in painting.

For the oratory of the sacristy of the Dominican friary of San Pablo el Real, Zurbarán created his earliest signed and dated work, *Christ on the Cross*, measuring over 9 feet in height and originally curved at the top (1627; FIG. 5.9). A

5.9 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Christ on the Cross*, 1627. Oil on canvas, 114⅝ × 65″ (291 × 165 cm). Art Institute of Chicago. Robert A. Waller Memorial Fund.

torn piece of paper seemingly attached at the bottom of the vertical beam bears the artist's signature and date. In Spain the theme of Christ alone on the cross developed in such a way that different moments could be specified: Cristo del Desamparo (the forsaken Christ, who looks imploringly up at the Father), Cristo del la Agonia (in agony), Cristo de la Clemencia (suffers on behalf of sinners), and Cristo de la Expiracion, the dead Christ, as in Zurbarán's painting. The isolation of the figure against a black ground—there is no trace of a landscape setting—places the subject within the realm of the timeless and universal, a fitting icon for the core belief of Christianity. At the same time, the painting conveys the essence of Zurbarán's early style: extreme realism tempered by abstraction. The harsh lighting of the body, which creates believable forms in space, seemingly pushes the figure forward toward the viewer. A host of details bring the subject to life: the roughly carved wood of the cross, the strong "peasant" physique of Christ, the rivulets of blood running from the nail wounds, the grayish pallor of the face, and the intricate folds of the loincloth.

Spurred by the Council of Trent's desire for accuracy in religious images, theologians and art theorists debated certain issues regarding the Crucifixion: Was the wood of the cross hewn or planed? What words comprised the superscription? Were three nails or four used to affix the body? Zurbarán's cross is roughly carved, and the inscription identifies Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews, in Greek and Latin (the Hebrew is missing). Although the number of nails never became canonical, most Spanish artists followed Pacheco's argument, based on St. Bridget's mystical vision, by depicting one nail for each hand, and the legs and feet hanging parallel and held by two nails just above the *suppedaneum* (footrest).

Palomino, writing in the early eighteenth century, said that those who viewed the dimly lit image through the doorway's grillwork, and did not know it was a painting, thought it to be a piece of sculpture. This confirms not only the volumetric character of the figure but suggests a relationship to Spanish polychrome sculpture. Conceivably Zurbarán was influenced by such works as Juan Martínez Montañés's *Christ of Clemency* (1603–4; see FIG. 5.14), and documentary evidence points to his having polychromed a now lost crucifix.

Severity and timelessness also pervade the single independent still life signed and dated by Zurbarán, *Still Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Cup of Water* (1633; FIG. 5.10). The resemblance to the work of Sánchez Cotán, in which a few keenly observed objects appear before a black ground, suggests that Zurbarán was familiar with the work of the earlier master (see FIG. 5.3). Rather than employing the format of the niche, however, he placed three distinct groupings of objects on a highly polished wooden surface—a cluster of lemons on a pewter plate, oranges and orange blossoms in a woven straw basket, and a rose and a double-handled cup of water on a second plate. The strong light originating on the left heightens the volumes, colors, textures, and contours of the objects. The solemn presentation brings to mind votive offerings on an altar, thus raising the possibility of some underlying religious meaning.

A large proportion of paintings by Zurbarán depict Catholic saints. Like *Christ on the Cross*, many of these, such as the life-size *St. Francis in Meditation* (ca. 1635–40; FIG. 5.11) favor the simple presentation of a single figure against an austere background rather than a multi-figured narrative drawn from a specific literary source. Borrowing from the beloved Counter-Reformation pictorial themes of the penitent Magdalen and the repentant St. Jerome, both shown as ascetic hermits on bended knee and meditating on death through the device of a human skull, Zurbarán showed Francis deep in prayer with a skull clutched in his hands. On the basis of the pointed hood, or *cappuccio*, and the torn and patched habit represented here with its thrice-knotted cord symbolizing the vows of poverty, chastity,

5.10 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Still Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Cup of Water*, 1633. Oil on canvas, 24½ × 43⅛" (62.2 × 109.5 cm). Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena.

5.11 Francisco de Zurbarán, *St. Francis in Meditation*, ca. 1635–40. Oil on canvas, 60 × 39″ (152 × 99 cm). National Gallery, London.

5.12 Francisco Antonio Gijón, *St. John of the Cross*, 1675. Polychromed and gilded wood, 66⅜ × 36⅝″ (168 × 93 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Patron's Permanent Fund.

✳—**Explore** more about Francisco Antonio Gijón on mysearchlab.com

and obedience, it is possible that the work was commissioned as a devotional piece for a Capuchin community, one of the austere reformed branches of Franciscans. Despite the particularized details of the costume and the skull, as well as the suggestion of an atmospheric setting, the artist concealed part of the saint's face in the shadow of the hood, thus raising the picture's impact above its specific Catholic meaning to the level of a timeless and universal image of devotion.

Polychrome Sculpture

The lack of supplies of marble and a tradition of bronze-casting in Spain meant that generally only royal commissions, particularly sepulchral sculpture, employed these media. However, polychrome wood sculpture was extremely common in churches and monasteries, often in the form of life-size figures painted to look astonishingly real, like the statue of *St. John of the Cross* by the Sevillian artist Francisco Antonio Gijón (1653–1721) (1675; FIG. 5.12). It represents the Counter-Reformation monk (1542–91) who was cofounder with St. Teresa of the order of Discalced Carmelites. In their writings both mystics testified to the efficacy of sculpture as a stimulus to devotion.

On the occasion of John's beatification in 1675 the friars of the Discalced Carmelite convent of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios in Seville commissioned the work with the stipulation that it be completed in seven weeks. For the trunk of the figure the monks supplied a cypress log that was hollowed out to prevent cracking and reduce the weight. The head, arms, hands, feet, and parts of the habit were carved separately and attached. The strict rules of the carpenters' and painters' guilds limited the techniques their members could practice, so for the polychromy Gijón transferred the piece, finished with a smooth coat of

5.13 Juan Martínez Montañés, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, known as the *Cristo de la Pasión*, ca. 1619, in procession during Holy Week. Polychromed wood and fabric. Cofradia del Cristo de la Pasión, Collegiate Church of El Salvador, Seville.

👁—|Watch a video on polychrome sculpture on mysearchlab.com

5.14 Juan Martínez Montañés and Francisco Pacheco, *Christ of Clemency*, 1603–4. Polychromed wood, 6′ 2¼″ (190 cm). Sacristy of the Chalices, Seville cathedral.

gesso, to a painter, possibly Domingo Mejías (active second half, seventeenth century). With mouth open and eyes turned upward, the enraptured figure seeks divine inspiration. The dove of the Holy Spirit, now lost but originally attached by a wire, once fluttered over the right shoulder. The right hand originally held a pen, while the left holds a book upon which rises a small, stylized mountain, a reference to Mount Carmel and John's own text, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*. The enriched version of the Carmelite habit displays the *estofado* technique: The carving was first covered with gold leaf, then painted the traditional brown and white, and was finally selectively scratched and stamped to reveal a delicate gold pattern resembling woven threads and decorative trim.

The penitential confraternities that, in addition to performing charitable services, distinguished themselves by their devotion to the Passion of Christ were of considerable importance as patrons of polychrome sculpture. During Holy Week, in an annual ritual that is still vital, they stage processions in their respective cities along an organized route called the Vía Crucis to commemorate Christ's suffering as he carried the cross to Golgotha. Members of the brotherhood carry on their shoulders heavy *pasos*, or floats, decorated with large scenes from the Passion designed to be viewed from all sides while stirring

a powerful emotional response along the route. Life-size wooden figures, such as Juan Martínez Montañés's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (ca. 1619; FIG. 5.13), are dressed in real cloth garments (*imagen de vestir*; the covered torso is left unfinished) and have movable limbs that can assume different positions. The swaying motion of the float enhances the sense of witnessing Christ's stumbling gait.

Montañés (1568–1649), called by contemporaries the God of Wood, was the leading sculptor of the Golden Age. He began his independent career in 1588 in Seville and developed a large workshop that produced works for clients throughout Iberia and Latin America. His *Christ of Clemency*, sculpted from cedar wood, was commissioned by the archdeacon of Carmona, Mateo Vázquez de Leca, who had been living a dissolute life and wished to perform a gesture of atonement (1603–4; FIG. 5.14). The contract explicitly required a type of crucifix in which Jesus would be shown still alive prior to receiving the lance wound. His eyes should be open, looking downward, and the lips parted, as if lamenting his suffering on behalf of the sinner. Although Christ's legs are usually shown parallel, as in Zurbarán's painting (see FIG. 5.9), Montañés crossed them, thus animating the pose. He followed Pacheco's dictates by incorporating four nails. Pacheco claimed that Montañés modeled his composition on a small cast-bronze

copy of a crucifix by Michelangelo, and certainly there is an Italianate character to the ideal physique, the energizing *contrapposto* pose, and the elegantly slender proportions. At the same time, the realistic rendering of the human body was the result of close study of the model in the studio. Pacheco, who treats the subject of polychromy in *Arte de la pintura*, provided the lifelike matte tones.

The striking immediacy of the life-size *Dead Christ* of the *Cristo yacente* (recumbent Christ) type by Gregorio Fernández gives the impression of witnessing firsthand Jesus after the Crucifixion, reclining on the shroud (1625–30; FIG. 5.15). The spectator stands alone with the battered body, assuming the role of one of the members of Christ's family who mourned his death prior to preparation for burial. Although the figure is dead, his partially opened eyes connect with the viewer's gaze, drawing him in emotionally.

Fernández (1576–1636) established a workshop in Valladolid that produced devotional works, retable sculpture (see "Backdrop to the Mass: The Spanish Retable," below), and processional images. Palomino tells us that the artist, a deeply religious man, underwent a period of fasting, penitence, and prayer before embarking on a project such as this. The idealized proportions of the body temper the strident realism of the glass eyes, simulated blood,

5.15 Gregorio Fernández, *Dead Christ*, ca. 1625–30. Polychromed wood, horn, and glass, 18½ × 75¼″ (46 × 191 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Backdrop to the Mass: The Spanish Retable

Italian Baroque altarpieces typically took the form of the portico altar, a single, tall painting enclosed in a frame that often incorporated the classical orders. From the fourteenth century, however, Spanish altarpieces developed into a type called the retable, or *retablo*, from the Latin *retrotabulum* (behind the altar table). Combining elements of the medieval polyptic, the altar frontal, and wall painting, retables typically extended from the ground to the vault in a sequence of registers, with an architectural framework subdividing the whole into smaller units filled with pictures and sculptures. High altars (*retablos mayores*) were usually curved in order to harmonize with the concave back wall of the sanctuary. A tabernacle placed prominently on axis above the altar table ensured the visibility of the reserved Host. Normally a general contractor, who might be the master of a large studio, coordinated the tasks of joiner, painter, sculptor, polychromer, and gilder.

The *retablo mayor* in the sanctuary of Plasencia cathedral, in Extramadura, overwhelms the worshiper with its size and richness (1625–55; Fig. 5.16). Gregorio Fernández and his workshop in Valladolid contributed the sculptural component, which includes tableaux of the Crucifixion and the Assumption of the Virgin, free-standing saints in niches, and relief narratives from the Passion of Christ (1625). Juan and Cristóbal Velázquez of Valladolid constructed the architectural framework, while various painters contributed the panels (1654–5).

5.16 Gregorio Fernández, Francesco Rizi, and others, *retablo mayor*, Plasencia cathedral, 1625–55.

glass tears, and subtle flesh tones provide the worshiper with the sense of being present at the historical event. The object of the Mary's anguish was often literally present in the form of a companion piece of Christ shown as the Man of Sorrows.

Another type of small devotional piece is the tabletop sculpture representing a narrative. Luisa Roldán's terracotta *Ecstasy of St. Mary Magdalen* shows the saint in her old age, gaunt and wearing a reed shirt, living an ascetic life of meditation and penitence at Sainte-Baume (holy cave) in Provence (ca. 1692–9; FIG. 5.18). *The Golden Legend* tells of a particular mystical experience wherein the Magdalen was elevated by angels to heaven on the seven canonical hours to be nourished

and fingernails fashioned from horn. The Jesuits in Madrid commissioned this sculpture, but Fernández and his imitators produced many variants. Originally these works may have been installed beneath an altar, emphasizing their Eucharistic content.

In addition to the full-length format, the bust or half-length figure was a common spur to intimate devotion, whether in a church or a private context. The numerous versions and copies of *The Virgin of Sorrows* by Pedro de Mena testify to the popularity of the subject (ca. 1673; FIG. 5.17). Mena (1628–88), who trained under the painter and sculptor Alonso Cano (see p. 172), worked primarily in Málaga as both carver and painter of Cano's sculptures. Viewed close up, the meticulously carved blue mantle,

by celestial music. The sculpture does not represent the flight, but rather depicts her reclining on a rocky ground in a manner common in Post-Tridentine representations of saints overcome by ecstatic emotion. A pair of angels support and comfort her alongside two putti, one of whom displays the saint's attribute: the unguent jar. The cross, skull, and books indicate the Magdalen's concentration on the Passion of Christ and her own impending death.

Roldán (1652–1706) ranks among the few women sculptors of the Baroque. Her father, the distinguished polychrome sculptor Pedro Roldán (1624–99), trained her along with two siblings, María Josefa and Francisca. She married an artist in the family workshop, Luis Antonio de los Arcos Navarro, with whom she collaborated on Holy Week *pasos* in Seville, her hometown. They settled in Cádiz in 1684 then moved to Madrid in 1688/9, where she received a royal appointment as sculptor to Charles II.

Diego Velázquez

Universally acknowledged as one of the great figures of Western painting, Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660) was a native of Seville, where he trained in the academy of Pacheco, who imbued the young apprentice with a sense of the mission of the painter's calling. Upon the completion of his study in 1617, he passed the guild examination and in the next year married Pacheco's daughter. Not content to rise to the highest level of painters in Seville, Velázquez traveled to Madrid in 1622 in order to gain a position as court painter to Philip IV, who had recently acceded to the throne. In 1623 the artist moved with his family to the capital, where he obtained

5.18 Luisa Roldán, *Ecstasy of St. Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1692–9. Polychromed terracotta. 15¾ × 19¹¹⁄₁₆″ (40 × 50 cm). Hispanic Society of America, New York.

lodgings in the royal palace of the Alcázar. As *pintor de cámara*, principal painter to the king, his main task was to produce portraits of the king, queen, and other members of the court, as well as large canvases to decorate the royal residences.

Velázquez's art reflects his close study of the Spanish realist tradition as well as Netherlandish and Italian painting of the sixteenth century, which he examined in the royal collection. In 1628 the Flemish master Peter Paul Rubens, courtier-artist par excellence, who was at the height of his career, befriended Velázquez during the course of a nine-month diplomatic mission in Madrid. The two masters doubtless shared their admiration of the painterly works of Titian that were hanging in the royal collection, and Rubens may have urged the Spaniard to complete his artistic education by means of a trip to Italy, a sojourn that Velázquez undertook twice. On the first trip (1629–31) he carried official letters of introduction, traveling to all of the main artistic sites except Florence, and staying about one year in Rome, where he lodged for a time at the Vatican and the Villa Medici. During the second trip (1649–51), which had as its principal goal the purchase of statuary and paintings for the king and contact with Italian artists willing to work in Madrid, the painter spent 18 months in Rome, where he extended his stay despite a royal summons to return.

Velázquez gained the trust of Philip IV, and served in a succession of official posts, culminating in his appointment in 1652 as Aposentador Major de Palacio (Palace Marshal), overseeing the disposition of the king's apartment and the royal progresses, activities that increasingly restricted the time available for painting. Such high honors were not enough, however: The artist sought to prove his noble origins in order to achieve entry into the Spanish military Order of Santiago, a distinction normally forbidden to artists and other "manual laborers." His claims were never fully substantiated, and it was only through papal dispensation that he was knighted in 1659.

While living in Seville Velázquez painted religious subjects, portraits, and several *bodegones* of lowlife figures engaged in food preparation and eating, which possess a studied naturalism and intense physicality. The *Water Seller of Seville* shows an aged man in a shallow space, handing a glass of water, whose liquid is refreshed by the addition of a fig to the goblet, to a boy (ca. 1620; FIG. 5.19). Velázquez describes the man's wrinkled, parched skin and the large doublet, whose detachable sleeves hang at the shoulder. A third male, seen in the shadows to the rear, drinks from an earthenware mug. From the left side of the frame a strong light illuminates a prominent still life of three clay vessels that dominate the foreground—a giant stoppered pot, whose ribbed texture and the condensation running down the side are carefully delineated by the painter, and two smaller pots, one of which has a decorative pattern punched by hand on the surface. The limited palette

5.19 Diego Velázquez, *Water Seller of Seville*, ca. 1620. Oil on canvas, 42 × 31¾" (197 × 81 cm). Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London.

✳—⌐**Explore** more about Diego Velázquez at mysearchlab.com

employs earthen colors that complement the down-to-earth character of the subject. Despite the exacting care with which the artist describes forms and textures, the paint surface is visible in many impasto strokes.

The static poses suggest the use of models in the studio, while the extreme care taken in organizing the circular composition suggests that the image is more than a slice of life. This is confirmed by the solemn gesture of handing the glass from one figure to another and the lifegiving character of its contents. There is, in short, a monumental gravity reminiscent of Domenichino's *Last Communion of St. Jerome* (see FIG. 2.9) and Bernardo Strozzi's *An Act of Mercy* (see FIG. 2.14), that may have suggested to the astute viewer the theme of charity. In its immediacy, realism, and tenebrism, the picture strongly resembles the work of Caravaggio, which, although somewhat known in Spain, may or may not have been familiar to Velázquez at this date. Likewise, it is tempting to assume that he was familiar with Ribera's *Five Senses*, painted in Rome a few years before (see FIG. 5.5). It seems more likely that the similarities are the result of Velázquez's study of the same sixteenth-century works that had directly or indirectly influenced Caravaggio and

his followers, namely, Northern Renaissance genre scenes and the so-called *bodegones de Italia*, the north Italian genre scenes that had been imported into Spain by 1600.

A variation on the theme of the *Water Seller* is Velázquez's *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, dated 1618 (FIG. 5.20). Here he combined contemporary genre figures and still life with a historical narrative from the Gospel of St. Luke (10:38–42):

> Now it came to pass, as they went, that [Jesus] entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus's feet, and heard his word. But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? Bid her therefore that she help me. And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

5.20 Diego Velázquez, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, 1618. Oil on canvas, 23⅝ × 40¾″ (60 × 103.5 cm). National Gallery, London.

5.21 Diego Velázquez, *The Feast of Bacchus (Los Borrachos)*, 1629. Oil on canvas, 5′ 5″ × 7′ 4½″ (165 × 225 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

Velázquez deliberately introduced two ambiguities into the picture. First, it is not clear what level of reality may be assigned to the scene on the right, which has been variously identified as a view into a room through an aperture in the wall, a framed picture within the picture, and a reflection in a framed mirror of a scene presumably on our side of the picture plane. Although the conceit derives from Netherlandish genre paintings and prints in which a small religious vignette occupies the background of a kitchen scene, like Joachim Beuckelaer's *The Cook with Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (1574; see FIG. 0.18), there is no way of resolving the dilemma, so the painting stands as one of Velázquez's earliest meditations on the question of what constitutes visual reality both in the natural world and on the two-dimensional canvas. Second, the identification of the figures is not conclusive: The woman seated at Christ's feet is certainly Mary, but we cannot be certain whether the sullen servant girl in the foreground, grinding garlic with a brass mortar and pestle, represents Martha. Significantly, however, each of these two young women is paired with an older woman dressed in a veil, who points her out as an object lesson. It is possible, therefore, that Martha and Mary, who in Church writings had come to stand for two opposites, the active life and the contemplative life, may refer here to the Catholic affirmation of both good works and faith as paths to salvation, in contrast to the Protestant emphasis on faith alone.

Velázquez's first large-scale painting for the king was an extension of his Sevillian *bodegones*—the combination of history painting, genre, and still life in *The Feast of Bacchus*, popularly called *Los Borrachos* (The Drinkers; 1629; FIG. 5.21). One of a half-dozen or so mythological subjects by the master, it was evidently painted during or just after Rubens's stay in Madrid. While Velázquez continued to present the human figure close to the picture plane, he depicted Bacchus, the god of wine, in the midst of a group of lowlife characters who pay homage on bended knee. In this ambitious work the painter enlarged the format to include full-length figures, nine in all, in a brightly lit landscape instead of a tenebristic interior. The space is somewhat claustrophobic, nonetheless, due to the crowding on the right. Close scrutiny reveals evidence of random streaks of paint over the heads of the peasants—the result of Velázquez's habit of cleaning his brushes and testing colors directly on the canvas in an area that would later be overpainted.

The partially nude Bacchus, whose head is encircled with grape leaves, bestows an ivy wreath on a supplicant, as his cronies look on from the left (a fire in the Alcázar in 1734 damaged the lower left figure). In a striking contrast, the thickly painted ruddy, grinning faces of the peasants both shock and amuse the viewer. Like Ribera's *Drunken Silenus* (see FIG. 5.6), the painting derives its impact from its unvarnished realism, a point of view echoed in contemporary literature, where the gods of antiquity and their

5.22 Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV*, 1624, reworked 1627–8. Oil on canvas, 78 × 40″ (198 × 101.5 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

cohorts are all too human in their actions. The god of the grape harvest relieves his devotees of their painful lot in life.

Velázquez's *Philip IV* is one of a series of roughly identical state portraits produced by the master and his workshop in the 1620s and is impressive in its reserve and understatement (1624; reworked 1627–8; FIG. 5.22). Following the standard for state portraiture created by Titian in his paintings of Philip IV's Habsburg ancestors, Charles V and Philip II, Velázquez shows Philip in

5.23 Diego Velázquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1634–5. Oil on canvas, 10′ 1″ × 12′ (307.5 × 370.5 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

a full-length, standing pose beside a table, holding a state paper and wearing the chain of the aristocratic Order of the Golden Fleece. He is clothed in the expensive but understated black garb of the nobility first adopted in Spain by Philip II and then copied throughout Europe. Spanish sumptuary laws forbade the elaborate collars and ruffs of an earlier generation, so the king wears the *golilla*, a simple collar comprising silk stretched over a cardboard frame. As an iconic image whose function is to express the king's status, not his personality, the painting shows Philip in an attitude best described as immobile and impassive— the precise demeanor he displayed at royal audiences.

Close examination of the painting shows that in a subsequent reworking the artist attained a more refined image by altering the pose, cape, hat, table, and, most famously, the facial features, particularly the protruding jaw that was the result of the overbred Habsburg line. The shadow cast by the figure on the floor seems to rise too

steeply, however. By blurring the ground line and using the same brownish tones for both the wall and the floor, and through the flattening effect of the black, silhouetted form of the king, Velázquez emphasized the surface of the canvas itself, producing an image that fluctuates in the viewer's eye between the representation of mass in space and flat shapes on a two-dimensional ground.

In addition to his familiarity with the Italian pictures in the Spanish royal collection, Velázquez studied Renaissance art on site during his first sojourn southward. The culmination of a newly won mastery of the Italian manner is the large painting, measuring some 10 by 12 feet, commissioned by the king for the gallerylike Hall of Realms in the suburban palace of the Buen Retiro: the *Surrender of Breda* (1634–5; FIG. 5.23). This was part of a larger program of decoration that included 12 military victories by various painters, ten scenes by Zurbarán of the life of Hercules, and equestrian portraits by Velázquez of

Philip III, Philip IV, their consorts, and the future heir, the child Baltasar Carlos. The canvas commemorates the victory in 1625 of the Spanish over the United Provinces—the Dutch Republic, consisting of seven provinces that had rebelled against Philip II—at the border town of Breda between the Spanish Netherlands and the republic. In the center foreground the Dutch governor of Breda, Justin of Nassau, hands the key of the city to Ambrogio Spinola, the Genoese commander of the Spanish army in Flanders, who holds the commander's baton in his left hand and with his right restrains his defeated foe from falling to his knees. In such representations the victor normally accepts the capitulation on horseback, but Spinola has generously dismounted and his horse, seen from the rear in a daringly foreshortened view, is conspicuously riderless. Such courtesies were typical on the field, but the real-life incident did not include the passing of the key; that detail was drawn by the artist from Pedro Calderón de la Barca's play, *The Siege of Breda*, performed in the same year as the event itself.

The painter contrasts the motley crew of downtrodden Dutch soldiers on the left, carrying their haphazard spears and halberds, with the victorious Spanish on the right, many of them recognizable portraits, with their tall erect spears, from which the painting takes its popular name *Las Lanzas*, providing a visual metaphor for jubilant pride. The weapons also form a screen that establishes the foreground space, behind which lie a middle ground, filled by further troops, and a spacious background that sweeps to the horizon beyond the fortified city, from which rise plumes of smoke. Bearing in mind that the painting was hung high on a wall, to be viewed from a distance, we are nevertheless astonished at Velázquez's broad and suggestive handling of paint. Borrowing from Titian the techniques of working with long-handled brushes and resolving many of the pictorial problems not in drawings executed beforehand but through trial and error on the canvas, Velázquez varied his rendition of forms throughout, depicting some elements in sharp focus and leaving others as unmodeled flat shapes, applying the paint alternately thickly and thinly, in order to suggest the piecemeal manner in which the eye actually takes in such a scene. His use of lead-white as the base color, rather than the dark reddish ground of the earlier *bodegones,* facilitates the sense of luminosity.

This suggestive technique found its way into Velázquez's state portraits and the artist also used it for his portraits of court dwarfs and jesters, such as the one called Francisco Lezcano (the identity of the sitter is not firmly established; ca. 1636–40; FIG. 5.24). At the Spanish court numerous physically and/or mentally challenged individuals served the purpose not only of entertainment but sometimes friendship and loyalty in a

5.24 Diego Velázquez, *Francisco Lezcano,* ca. 1636–40. Oil on canvas, 42½ × 33″ (108 × 84 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

5.25 Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, ca. 1656. Oil on canvas, 10′ 5¼″ × 9′¾″ (3.18 × 2.76 m). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

View the Closer Look on Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* on mysearchlab.com

restricted society. Considered human amulets to ward off evil, they were frequently traded between courts, and some obtained lesser court posts and even became the king's confidant. In this picture, one of two commissioned portraits of dwarfs that hung prominently in the Torre de la Parada, the king's hunting lodge, the figure shuffles a deck of cards, a symbol of idleness. Velázquez emphasized the sitter's small stature through the seated pose and the huge tree, and hinted at his mental state by means of the lolling head, vacuous stare, and hazy shadows around the eyes.

A comparable painterly shorthand appears throughout Velázquez's singular masterpiece, the large painting (some 10 by 9 feet) called *Las Meninas* ever since it was cataloged in 1843 (ca. 1656; FIG. 5.25). Combining portraiture with genre painting, the work represents a group of figures, all but one identified by Palomino. The room, a steeply fore-shortened gallery hung with paintings that can be identi-fied according to a contemporary inventory, lay adjacent to Velázquez's studio on the ground floor of the Alcázar. The focal point of the composition is the Infanta Margarita, the 5-year-old daughter of Philip IV and Mariana of Austria.

Dressed in a wide farthingale, she is attended by two *meninas* or maids in waiting. To the right stand a dwarf and a midget, the latter unsuccessfully prodding the stolid dog with his foot. Behind them a chaperone and a bodyguard emerge from the half shadow. Still further back, on the left, the painter himself, wearing the key of his office as the king's Aposentator and gazing directly at the spectator, actively wields a brush in his right hand as he stands before a large canvas on a stretcher comparable in size to *Las Meninas* itself. In his left hand he holds a palette, additional brushes, and a maulstick (the last used for steadying the right arm in front of the canvas while painting). Silhouetted on a short flight of steps beyond the open back door, the queen's Aposentador pauses while looking in our direction.

A framed mirror hanging on the back wall reflects the image of the king and queen, posed under a red cloth of honor as if in a state portrait. Protocol forbade their being represented literally side by side with the others in this relaxed gathering. Velázquez probably derived the conceit of the mirror from a small Netherlandish panel then in the royal collection, Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*, in which witnesses standing, as it were, in the viewer's space are reflected in the circular mirror on the far wall. Whether the mirror reflects the actual royal couple, presumably located on our side of the picture plane, or their painted portrait being created by the master, is one of the ambiguities that has teased generations of viewers. In any case, the king and queen came regularly to inspect the picture's progress, and afterward it hung in the king's private office, where he was in effect its primary viewer. As in several earlier works, like the *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, Velàzquez seems to be meditating on the question of what constitutes "reality" in painting. He provides several answers within the four rectangles at the back—the "direct" reality of the open door, the "indirect" reality of the mirror reflection, and the two pictures within the picture.

Light from the windows on the right illuminates the figures in the foreground, while the upper half of the room is filled with a dusky atmosphere. Velázquez's attempt at optical realism involves the clear definition of forms that are focal points for the eye, while other objects that remain within peripheral vision appear as flat shapes or indistinct blurs. The brushstrokes range from simple washes of color and thinly dragged pigments to thick impasto highlights. The range of intermediate tones between light and dark is greater than in the Seville *bodegones*, while the limited hues, other than the blues, are those visible on the palette. The loose and sketchlike technique of the late works had no immediate influence in Spain, but would later affect the style of such masters as Francisco Goya and Edouard Manet.

Despite its informal air, the picture has long been considered to contain a programmatic function, although the artist's particular agenda is unclear. Palomino and others have posited that the juxtaposition of the painter and the royal couple within the frame was a way for Velázquez to assert his status *vis-à-vis* royal patronage, conjuring up a lineage that stretches from Titian and Charles V back to Apelles and Alexander the Great. In addition, the artist may have used the pendant paintings on the back wall to represent two claims—specifically, the nobility of painting as a liberal art and Velàzquez's own aristocratic status. These canvases, which still exist, are copies by Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo after mythological compositions by Rubens representing the great gods of antiquity protecting the arts: *Minerva and Arachne* and *Apollo and Pan*. According to Palomino, Philip IV commanded that the red cross of the Order of Santiago be painted on Velázquez's chest after the artist's death.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo

Zurbarán's difficulties in maintaining his practice in Seville at mid century resulted in part from the rise of a competitor, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–82). The youngest of 14 children, Murillo, orphaned at age 11, lived with his brother-in-law's family until he entered into an apprenticeship with a local painter, Juan del Castillo, a cousin by marriage. There is evidence that he intended to travel to the New World at age 16, but the voyage remains unconfirmed. His first major commission was a cycle of 13 paintings, 11 of which represent scenes from the lives of famous Franciscans, for the convent of San Francisco el Grande in Seville (1645–6). For this and the many prominent ecclesiastical commissions that followed, Murillo initially employed the naturalistic and tenebristic style of the local school. However, a trip to Madrid in 1658 brought him into contact with the works of Titian, Rubens, and Van Dyck in the royal collection, with the result that he gradually turned to a more dramatic and luminous style.

Palomino criticized what he termed Murillo's preference for painterly effects over drawing, but an impressive legacy of drawings in all media disproves this approbation. Indeed, in 1660 Murillo was one of the founders, along with Francisco Herrera the Younger, of a drawing academy that, while not intended to offer a structured course of art education, did provide a place for local artists to draw from the model. Although Seville was suffering economic decline by mid century, not to mention the terrible consequences of the plague, Murillo continued to receive large religious commissions, at least until the 1670s, as well as private requests for devotional pictures, many from wealthy foreign merchants living in the city. Among the latter images, he is best known for his numerous variations on the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin and Child.

The reasons for Murillo's enduring popularity are evident in his intimate view of the *Holy Family with a Bird* of

5.26 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Holy Family with a Bird*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 56¾ × 74" (144 × 188 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

about 1650 (FIG. 5.26). The Madonna turns from winding wool to look with tenderness at the infant Christ, who taunts the little dog with a goldfinch as he leans on the bulky form of St. Joseph, seated by his workbench and tools. Despite the cheery atmosphere, Christ's impending mission is revealed in a few subtle details. According to legend, a goldfinch pecked a thorn from the brow of Christ on the Via Crucis, and the resulting splash of blood is the source of the red dot on the bird's breast. The Virgin's domestic chore alludes not only to her virtue as mother, but also to Christ's fate: tradition has it that she sewed the veil of the temple, which was rent at the time of his death on the cross.

The central position of the virile St. Joseph testifies to the new status accorded him in the Post-Tridentine Church. Barely mentioned in the Gospels and often a doddering old man in the background of Renaissance Nativities, Joseph became one of the Counter-Reformation's most beloved saints as a patriarchal counterweight to the Virgin's matriarchal status. In the second half of the sixteenth century various theologians, among them Ignatius and the Discalced Carmelite, Gracián de la Madre de Dios, expounded on the importance of Joseph as Christ's earthly father, guardian, and teacher. St. Teresa, cured by Joseph of a childhood illness, took him as her patron saint and founded 12 Carmelite monasteries in his name. The feast day of St. Joseph (19 March), declared by Sixtus II, was ordained a day of obligation (requiring attendance at Mass) under Gregory XV in 1621. Thus, from around the turn of the seventeenth century a flood of artworks issued from Catholic countries with such subjects as Christ with St. Joseph in the carpenter's shop, the itinerant Joseph with the young Christ, and half-length "portraits" of stepfather and son (see FIG. 5.2 and Georges de La Tour, FIG. 9.7). Spanish painters typically depicted Joseph with features

5.27 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Boys Playing Dice*, ca. 1665–75. Oil on canvas, 57 × 42½" (145 × 108 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

resembling those of the adult Christ, an anomaly intended to affirm the stepfather as symbolic mirror of the son.

A relatively small proportion of Murillo's output consists of genre scenes, which he produced sporadically during his career, mostly when he was not preoccupied with the big cycles. Their creation is undocumented, and it is normally not certain who owned them, or why they were produced. The principal subject matter, young boys in tattered clothing, may derive in part from the reality of lower-class living conditions in Seville. In *Boys Playing Dice* the little fellow on the left with bare feet munches a piece of bread while staring vacantly toward the viewer, as a little dog begs for a morsel (ca. 1665–75; FIG. 5.27). Toward the right, one urchin casts the dice with a look of anticipation, while his companion, with a downward glance, eagerly counts the score. A still life consisting of a fruit basket and broken jug interrupt the picture plane at the lower left, while a landscape recedes into the distance behind the ruined wall. Murillo's late style is evident in the soft atmosphere and hazy illumination, the rich coloration and textural differentiation, and the large scale of the figures and their poetic, even sentimental attitudes.

Murillo's major late commission was for the Hermandad de la Santa Caridad in Seville (Brotherhood of Charity),

of which he was a member. The confraternity, originally devoted to the burial of executed criminals and the poor, had a long history dating back to 1565. Its revitalization in the 1660s was due to the energies of Miguel de Mañara (1627–79), a wealthy, pleasure-loving aristocrat whose life was turned around by the sudden death of his wife. As head of the Caridad from 1663, he instituted a new activity, care for the sick, oversaw construction of a hospital, and completed renovation of a new church. For the nave walls he commissioned from Murillo a cycle of paintings representing six acts of mercy, and for the high altar a sculptural group of the *Entombment of Christ* by Pedro Roldán representing a seventh act, burial of the dead.

Juan de Valdés Leal

It was also Mañara's intention that two horrific *vanitas* paintings, which still hang in the church vestibule, would remind entering hospital patients and brotherhood members of the constant need to seek salvation. These were the work of Juan de Valdés Leal (1622–90), who was also a sculptor, architect, and member of the Caridad. Death in the form of a skeleton, holding a casket, shroud, and scythe, stares through empty eye sockets at the spectator in *In Ictu Oculi (In the Twinkling of an Eye)*, as he extinguishes without warning a candle symbolizing human life (ca. 1670–2; FIG. 5.28). The Latin inscription over the candle refers to the unexpected immediacy of death,

which triumphs over the randomly scattered emblems of human endeavor: the globe, secular and ecclesiastical crowns, and books representing knowledge and the arts. In its pendant, *Finis Gloriae Mundi (The End of Worldly Glory)* foul insects devour the remains of three corpses rotting in their caskets.

By the 1670s Valdés Leal's incisive, realistic style had been eclipsed by an explosive new idiom that dominated the final decades of the Golden Age. This alternative style was nurtured by the painterly expressiveness of Venetian and Flemish paintings in the royal collection. A leading advocate of the change was Francisco Herrera the Younger (1627–85), son of the painter Francisco the Elder (ca. 1590–1654), with whom he trained in Seville. Palomino wrote that the son studied further in Rome, but historians are skeptical of such a trip, since the sources of his style are all to be found in Madrid, where he produced an important early work, the high altarpiece for the Discalced Carmelites of San Hermenegildo (1654; FIG. 5.29). The *Triumph of St. Hermengild* represents the apotheosis of the sixth-century saint, wearing armor, who refused

5.28 **Juan de Valdés Leal**, *In Ictu Oculi (In the Twinkling of an Eye)*, ca. 1670–2. Oil on canvas, 7′ 2¾″ × 7′ 1″ (220 × 210 m). Church of the Hospital of La Caridad, Seville.

5.29 **Francisco Herrera the Younger**, *Triumph of St. Hermengild*, 1654. Oil on canvas, 11′ 1″ × 7′ 6¼″ (328 × 229 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

to accept the Arian beliefs imposed on him by his father, Leovigild, the Visigoth king of Spain, shown with an Arian bishop in the lower left. Because the saint was tortured and killed, the putto at lower right holds the instrument of his martyrdom, an ax. Herrera's dynamic manner, with its shimmering light, urgent movement, and free execution, influenced the last major figure at work during the ill-fated monarchy of Charles II, Claudio Coello (1642–93). By then the solemnity and timeless character visible in the works of two earlier generations was a thing of the past.

Iberian Architecture

As part of an effort to turn provincial Madrid into a Baroque capital replete with regular building fronts and wide, straight streets, similar to the aims of Sixtus V in Rome, Philip II established the Plaza Mayor in 1583 as the central market which on occasion would accommodate bullfights, court spectacles, tournaments, and religious plays. In the initial phase of construction, the most significant building was the Panadería, a public bread-market in the northern range with a royal viewing gallery on the second floor (Juan de Valencia and Diego Sillero, 1589–1612; FIG. 5.30). The Italianate Roman arch order on the lower floor and the Flemish towers overhead, motifs familiar from Philip's greatest building project, the Escorial,

together with the royal coat of arms in the central cornice, had the force of an iconic image. Upon his return from Valladolid to Madrid in 1606, Philip III commissioned his court architect Juan Gómez de Mora to rebuild the remaining perimeter in a regular rectangle (1617–20) to bring the whole in line with other European public squares, like Henri IV's Place Royale in Paris (begun 1605; see FIG. 10.2). The elevations consisted of granite piers on the ground floor that screened an open walkway lined by shops, and four floors of living quarters above, inhabited by a wide spectrum of Madrileños, including nobles, merchants, professionals, and wealthy widows, each of whom bore the expense of constructing their own house. Within the context of earlier Spanish architecture, the most striking aspect of the Plaza Mayor was its regularized ground plan surrounded by uniform façades, which symbolized the stability and peace made possible by the monarch, not only in Madrid but in Spain and throughout the global Habsburg Empire.

The energies of the Tridentine Church in Spain were visibly manifested in an extensive building program across the peninsula. Two orders in particular, the Jesuits and the Discalced Carmelites, who trained architects within their ranks and were familiar with St. Charles Borromeo's instructions on basilican design, founded numerous monasteries and churches. The degree of control sought by the Jesuit bureaucracy in Rome was evident in its

5.30 Plaza Mayor, Madrid: Juan de Valencia and Diego Sillero, Panadería in the north range, 1589–1612; Juan Gómez de Mora, regularization of the square, 1617–20. Reconstructed after the fires of 1631, 1672, 1790.

5.31 Fray Pedro Sánchez and Fray Francisco Bautista, church of the Collegium Imperiale (now S. Isidro), interior, Madrid, 1620–64.

insistence on approval of plans prior to construction, and the designation of members who traveled widely for the purpose of inspecting works in progress. In laying out the church of the Collegium Imperiale, the Jesuit novitiate in Madrid (now San Isidro; 1620–64; FIG. 5.31), two brothers in the order, Fray Pedro Sánchez (1568–1633) and, after his death, Fray Francisco Bautista (1594–1679), adapted the plan and elevations of the mother church of the order in Rome, Il Gesù (see FIGS. 4.7 and 4.8). The centralized longitudinal plan, the separation of nave from side chapels, and the prominent high altar conform to the Jesuit emphasis on preaching and the visibility of the reserved Host. The primary difference is in the enrichment of the wall surfaces by the recessed paneling. The church also features the earliest example of Bautista's invention, the *cúpola encamonada* built of timber, brick, and plaster, and thus lighter and easier to erect than a masonry dome.

The sanctuary of St. Ignatius at Loyola (begun 1689; FIG. 5.32), near Azpeitia in northeastern Spain, is exceptional as a Jesuit complex because it encloses the house in which Ignatius was born. The Jesuits instituted the Casa Santa at Loyola as an architectural reliquary and pilgrimage destination comparable to the Holy House

5.32 Carlo Fontana, sanctuary of St. Ignatius, Loyola, begun 1689.

5.33 (left) Alonso Cano, Granada cathedral, façade, designed 1644, built 1667–84.

respecting the existing foundations of the façade of the sixteenth-century cathedral of Granada, he composed three tall curved recesses resembling a Roman triumphal arch (designed 1644; built 1667–84; FIG. 5.33). The pilasterlike strips of the buttresses and the flat surfaces overlaid with medallions accord well with the refined Renaissance details of the interior.

An alternative idiom drew from the early sixteenth-century Spanish style called Plateresque (silverworklike) because of its densely filigreed surface. Over a long period, from 1667 to 1749, a succession of architects provided a classical veneer for the Romanesque cathedral of Santiago de Compostella, the pilgrimage site containing the relics of Spain's patron saint, St. James. The last component to be built was the façade, of which the main architect was Fernando de Casas y Novoa (ca. 1680–1749). Rising from a base formed by an elegant stair, the classical orders create the semblance of a tall armature rising through multiple levels (1738–49; FIG. 5.34). With its unbroken verticals and overlay of relief ornament, details of which may have been inspired by northern pattern books, the underlying aesthetic is Gothic.

In addition to church façades, portals of secular buildings display the expertise of the stonecutter. The door of the Hospicio de San Fernando, Madrid, by the architect Pedro de Ribera (1681–1742) is laden with figural sculpture, feigned drapery, festoons, and classical details, like the broken pediment rising through the cornice (completed 1726; FIG. 5.35). The pilasters flanking the door,

of Loreto. Through the patronage of Mariana of Austria and the efforts of two successive generals of the order, Giovanni Paolo Oliva and Charles de Noyelle, the design was obtained not from a brother in the order but from the principal Roman architect of the time: Carlo Fontana (1634–1714). Despite some alterations to the original plan over the long period of construction, the dramatic siting of the ensemble in a valley below Monte Izarraitz bears evidence of Fontana's training with Cortona and Bernini, as well as his work as a scenic designer. Flanked by twin bell towers, the domed circular church lies on the chief axis between two great rectangular wings comprising the Collegium Regium. With its arcaded courtyards, vaulted halls, and grand staircases, this is an impressive example of the college as a Jesuit building type.

In Golden Age Spain many older churches received a new façade or an overlay of classical ornament, and some architects worked in the idiom of a severe Italianate classicism, for which the supreme model was the palace-monastery of the Escorial, outside Madrid. One of the Baroque designers who favored this mode was the painter and sculptor Alonso Cano (1601–67), who enjoyed a reputation as an architect even though his single major building design was completed following his death. In

5.35 Pedro de Ribera, Hospicio de San Fernando, Madrid, completed 1726.

5.34 Fernando de Casas y Novoa, Santiago de Compostella, façade, 1738–49.

5.36 Sacristy of the Carthusian monastery of Granada, 1730–42.

5.37 Narciso Tormé, Transparente, Toledo cathedral, 1721–32.

encrusted with decoration and tapering toward the bottom, are of a type favored during the Spanish Baroque called the *estípite*, which was based on northern Mannerist ornament. From the late eighteenth century, the term Churrigueresque, derived from the Churriguera family of designers active circa 1675–1750, has been used, initially negatively but now fairly broadly, as a stylistic term for this mode of exuberant decoration.

The sacristy of the Carthusian monastery (Cartuja) of Granada, built on a simple plan with a rectangular nave joined to a domed oval sanctuary, epitomizes the trend toward unbridled décor (planned 1713, executed 1730–42; FIG. 5.36). The *estípites* lining the walls, which support an undulating entablature, are covered with a riot of decoration made up of bits of classical elements—broken cornices, volutes, brackets—that lack tectonic purpose but dazzle the eye with their complexity. We do not know the name of the designer, although conceivably it was Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo (1669–1725), who completed other works at the monastery but died before decoration of the sacristy began.

At the cathedral of Toledo a similar fantastic structure, the Transparente, erected by Narciso Tormé (ca. 1694–1742) accommodates veneration of the Host both in front of and behind the high altar (hence its "transparency"; 1721–32; FIG. 5.37). On the ambulatory side, a

stone tabernacle rises through superimposed columns to enclose sculpture on three levels: an enthroned Madonna and Child on the lowest register, a glory of golden rays and angels radiating from the receptacle for the exposed sacrament (accessible to a priest from a hidden staircase) in the middle, and the Eucharistic Last Supper at the top. Tormé opened a skylight in the Gothic vault to illuminate his *bel composto,* to use the Berninian term for this synthesis of mixed media influenced by Roman examples but Spanish in its wild exuberance.

Latin American Architecture

Architecture played a significant role in the Spanish colonies, in both the northern viceroyalty, called New Spain and governed from Mexico City (eventually incorporating present-day Mexico, Central America, Florida, and the southwest United States), and the southern viceroyalty, called Peru, governed from Lima (consisting of all of South America except Brazil). Pursuing the twin goals of expanding the Habsburg Empire and bringing Christianity to the New World, the Spanish conquered the Aztec Empire in 1521 and the Incas in Peru in 1532.

Large building programs in stone commenced after the mid century. Governor's palaces and civic structures were constructed, but the vast majority of buildings were churches, whose impressive size and gold-laden altarpieces emphasized the power of the *conquistadors* and their commitment to mass conversions. The layout and décor for three basic types of church—the cathedral, parish church, and monastic chapel—were essentially transatlantic imports, with plans and art objects sent from Spain and Rome, and local builders and Spanish émigrés working in Iberian styles. European characteristics were altered, however, by indigenous modes of worship, regional materials, climate, and the risk of natural disasters, such as earthquakes. Metropolitan cathedrals, like that in Mexico City (1573–1817), were the largest colonial structures, raised by the Spanish crown on a main city square during the lengthy course of construction.

As an essential ingredient in the process of converting the local people, the mendicant orders were active as builders, initially of missions and then of large monastic complexes. The Franciscans, who were among the first orders to arrive in the New World—in 1524 in New Spain and about 1537 in Peru—constructed the church and monastery of San Francisco in Lima (designed by the Portuguese émigré Constantino de Vasconcellos; finished by Manuel de Escobar; 1657–74; FIG. 5.38). Its grandeur reflects the vast sums available in Peru as a result of the country's gold and silver mines. The cruciform plan, spacious interior, and elegant two-story cloister emulate Spanish models. The eclectic nature of the design is evident in the fortresslike façade, where the boldly rusticated order in the towers contrasts with the multi-storied retable-façade, with its upward crescendo of arches (resembling the Hispanic *retablo* or altarpiece; see "Backdrop to the Mass: The Spanish Retable," p. 159).

The Jesuits appeared in Peru in 1568. Their church and college of Santiago (La Campañía) in Arequipa is built on a barrel-vaulted cruciform plan with a domed crossing. The columnar façade matches the Gesù type, with the wide first floor connected visually to the tall second floor by jutting entablatures and segmental arches (the latter in lieu of volutes; 1698–9; FIG. 5.39). The scalloped pediment and candelabra also follow Italian Baroque examples. The columnar aedicule, however, rests against a patterned wall carved with flat ("planimetric") Andean motifs, such as plants,

5.38 Manuel de Escobar, San Francisco, façade, Lima, 1657–74.

5.39 Church of Santiago (La Campañía), façade, Arequipa, 1698–9.

5.40 Chapel of the Rosary, Santo Domingo, Puebla, completed 1690.

birds, animals, and Amerindian figures. This hybrid style, which mixes Christian symbols and inscriptions with elements drawn from Inca textiles and reliefs, may represent a conscious revival of pre-Hispanic styles to give a distinctly local, non-European, look.

Church interiors range from serene to flamboyant. In Puebla, Mexico, the confraternity of pearl divers founded the astonishing Chapel of the Rosary adjoined to the Dominican church and monastery of Santo Domingo (completed 1690; FIG. 5.40). Local artisans formed stucco from a mixture of flour, egg white, and water, to create the white and gold relief decoration that curls over every surface, scintillating in the light. The octagonal dome, capped by a sunburst radiating from the dove of the Holy Spirit, features the repeated motif of a stem rising from a vase and spreading symmetrically in scrolled vines—an extraordinary refashioning by indigenous artists of the European motif of the arabesque. Following Dominican belief that the first rosary was given by Mary to St. Dominic, the chapel celebrates Our Lady of the Rosary, embodied in the cult statue on the altar. The devotion of the rosary is complemented by the nave wall paintings, which depict the joys of the Virgin, and by the abundant figural sculptures overhead, representing salutations of Mary and various virtues, angels, and saints.

Latin American Painting

Hispanic painting in the Americas, essential for communicating spiritual beliefs in the face of language differences, underwent a development comparable to that in architecture, with similar issues regarding originality, copying, and hybridization. The Spanish missionary orders established workshops in their quarters for the training of local artists who executed the extensive mural programs in the cloisters. Prints from Iberia, Italy, and Flanders, including compositions by Rubens, provided models that were transformed by regional materials and ideologies into exceptional works of art. Many European artists

left their homelands to seek a career in the viceroyalties. Along with the thousands of inexpensive images that were imported from Iberia, celebrated artists living in Iberia, like Zurburán, Murillo, and Montañés, exported major artworks. In Mexico City guilds for painters and for sculptors were formed in 1557 and 1568 respectively. Whether public or private, the majority of paintings followed Tridentine rules in serving the purpose of Catholic devotion, with subjects devoted primarily to Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. Artistic influences also came from Spanish colonies in Asia: Folding screens brought through the ports of Acapulco prompted a new secular format, the *biombo*, or multi-paneled screen illustrated with historical narratives. Conversely, art objects and commodities produced in America were sent back to Iberia, where they were highly prized for their exotic character and beauty.

Much of the devotional imagery produced in the New World followed the standardized formats developed in Italy and Spain, as in the vision of the Madonna and Child appearing to a saint or a mortal (compare Lanfranco, see FIG. 2.11). However, the unique circumstances of Latin American commissions affected content. Numerous paintings represent the miracles experienced by the first canonized American saint, the Peruvian Rose of Lima

(1586–1617), seen dressed in the Dominican habit in the beautiful work by the mulatto painter Nicolás Correa (1691; FIG. 5.41). Correa (ca. 1660–ca. 1720) portrays her mystical marriage to Christ, as referenced by his presentation of a rose as a symbol of espousal, while the Virgin extends a rosary. Putti bear cartouches with Christ's words, in Latin, "Rose of my heart, be my wife," and her reply, "I am your slave, my Lord Jesus." The subject validated the residents of New Spain as the children of God inhabiting the new earthly paradise, with Rose proclaimed by papal decree the Universal Patroness of the New World. At the same time, the subject confirmed the success of the colonial campaign.

Trampantojos, paintings of cult statues, represent another important category of religious imagery. Their popularity stemmed from the belief that the reproduced image retained the presence and power of the original. Many represent an *imagen de vestir* (a clothed wooden sculpture) of the Virgin. *The Virgin of Solitude*, painted by a native of Mexico City, Cristóbal de Villalpando (ca. 1649–1714) for a convent or private patron in Puebla, shows one of the most famous miracle-working statues of the seventeenth century (ca. 1690; FIG. 5.42). Although the actual sculpture, carved by Gaspar de Becerra (ca. 1520–68), was

5.41 Nicolás Correa, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Rose of Lima*, 1691. Oil on canvas, 66⅛ × 57⅞" (168 × 146 cm). Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City.

5.42 Cristóbal de Villalpando, *The Virgin of Solitude*, ca. 1690. Oil on canvas, 94⅛ × 64" (239 × 165 cm). San Pedro Museo de Arte, Puebla.

5.43 Master of Calamarca, *Archangel Asiel*, ca. 1660–80. Oil on canvas, 63¾₁₆ × 43½″ (160.5 × 110.5 cm). Museo Nacional de Arte, Le Paz.

5.44 Attributed to Antonio Rodríguez, *Moctezuma*, ca. 1680–97. Oil on canvas, 71¾ × 42″ (182 × 106.5 cm). Museo degli Argenti, Florence.

enshrined in the convent of Nuestra Sera de la Victoria in Madrid, it became an object of fervent admiration in the New World. Through the subtle manipulation of the Virgin's posture, the painter preserves a sense of the static wooden object but also suggests a holy figure come to life. The treatment of the surrounding space gives a sense of methods for display, such as enframing curtains and flower vases.

Indigenous forms of worship stimulated the creation of subjects not prevalent in Europe. In a unique twist on the idea of the armed archangel Michael, Andean painters produced sets of life-size images representing combative angels dressed in antique or contemporary military garb. Lining church walls, they defended the faithful. The *Archangel Asiel*, attributed to the Master of Calamarca, takes aim not with a sword but with a contemporary Spanish matchlock gun (ca. 1660–80; inscribed Asiel Timor Dei, Fear of God; FIG. 5.43). Asiel is one of several apocryphal angels rejected by the Vatican but embraced by Peruvians, for whom worship of celestial deities had a long history. The naturalistic details, firm *contrapposto* stance, and dark, shallow space yield a convincing likeness comparable to

Zurbarán's saints (see FIG. 5.11), but the overall patterning and precise contours flatten the figure. The winged figure wears opulent viceregal finery decorated with gold embroidery, ribbons, and lace, satisfying the Andeans' predilection for rich textiles and military pomp.

As a subject category, portraiture thrived in the New World, with images of the Spanish monarch and the viceregal elite serving the standard goal of projecting status, as in Europe. Male sitters predominated in the seventeenth century, while women emerged as subjects in the eighteenth century. The desire to glorify the pre-Columbian past and promote symbols of indigenous identity led to the commissioning of portraits of historical figures. The life-size portrait of Moctezuma (r. 1502–20), based on images of the Aztec emperor in colonial manuscripts, was sent as a gift to Cosimo III de'Medici, who had a keen interest in collecting colonial objects (ca. 1680–97; FIG. 5.44). The work, attributed to Antonio Rodríguez (1636–91), utilizes the methods of state portraiture—the full-length body, symbolic accouterments, and stolid gaze (compare Velázquez's *Philip IV*; see FIG. 5.22). Moctezuma displays the symbols of his position—a shield and javelin—and

wears the ceremonial garb of cape, loincloth, and feathered headdress.

Genre painting was of limited interest in the New World, but an innovative subtype, the *casta* (caste) painting, produced mainly for Europeans from circa 1711 to the early nineteenth century, sought to classify the mixed-race population and to affirm the rigid hierarchy in a society characterized by flux and proud self-awareness. *Casta* images were usually created in sets of 16, with each picture showing two parents of different ethnicity and one or more offspring. An inscription categorizes the racial and ethnic permutations resulting from combinations of the three basic strains: Spanish, Indian, and African. *Spaniard and Black Produce a Mulatto* may be part of a set of 14 paintings commissioned by a viceroy from the Mexican painter Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1667–1734) for presentation to Philip V (ca. 1715; FIG. 5.45). The image uses such details as skin tone, hairstyle, clothing, and accouterments to convey an impression of the colony's diversity and wealth.

Spain's fortunes changed dramatically in 1700 with the death of the last Habsburg monarch and the accession to the throne of the French house of Bourbon under Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV. Fearful of an imbalance of power within Europe, the states of Austria, England, and Holland formed an alliance, setting off the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14). At its conclusion Spain lost her European territories and entered a period of military and economic decline. As a corollary, the importation of non-Spanish artists at court and the rise of academic institutions that regulated art production stifled the local schools of artists. Thus did the Golden Age of the seventeenth century pass into legend. The same did not hold true, however, for the American viceroyalties. The work of the Church and the orders proceeded unabated there, and in religious commissions the Baroque essentially lived on to the end of the eighteenth century. Even so, although portraiture reflected new French models, the tendency toward inventive synthesis waned as artists clung to the formulas developed in the seventeenth century.

5.45 Attributed to Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Spaniard and Black Produce a Mulatto*, ca. 1715. Oil on canvas, 31⅞ × 41⅜″ (81 × 105 cm). Breamore House, Hampshire.

The Human Figure in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting

Seventeenth-century Holland enjoyed a proliferation of the arts that remains unmatched in the annals of one of Europe's smallest countries. Before considering the artists who set the tone for much production in painting and prints, we may find it helpful to clarify some of the words used in English to denote this part of the world. The English term the Netherlands has a dual meaning. First, it refers generally to the "nether" or low-lying countries in northwestern Europe near the North Sea, encompassing present-day Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg, of which considerable land has been reclaimed from the sea. Second, it refers to the present-day country, a constitutional monarchy called the kingdom of the Netherlands, established in the early nineteenth century. The English-speaking world frequently calls this country Holland, the name used extensively in this text, although properly speaking Holland is the appellation of what was historically the most populous and wealthy province. The word Dutch, incidentally, is an English term derived from *duutch,* which refers to the medieval German inhabitants of the region and their language.

The story of how this country came into being parallels to some degree the creation of the United States of America. During much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Dutch provinces were part of the duchy of Burgundy, a territory that encompassed not only Holland and Belgium but also parts of northern France and the province of Burgundy itself. The last duke died, however, in 1577, and his daughter married the Holy Roman emperor. Their grandson, a Habsburg, was the powerful Charles V. Upon his abdication in 1554–6, he divided the empire between his brother, Ferdinand I, who became Austrian emperor, and his son Philip II, a militant Catholic, who received Spain, Naples, and the 17 provinces of the Netherlands. The rise of Protestantism and the resistance of the north to Spanish rule led to a series of conflicts—the iconoclastic attacks of the Calvinists against Catholic churches and monasteries, particularly widespread in 1566, and the brutal destruction of towns by the Spanish in 1572–7, as the Dutch revolt gathered strength. By means of the Union of Utrecht in 1579, seven northern provinces came together for the purpose of ousting the Spanish, and in 1581 the United Provinces as they are known drew up a declaration of independence, and formed the Dutch Republic. The ten southern provinces comprising the Spanish Netherlands did not join the union (in the nineteenth century they would become part of present-day Belgium).

The governments of the United Provinces remained based within the individual provinces and particularly in their cities. Unlike other countries, ruled by a landed aristocracy or gentry, Holland vested power in the urban elite. The town councils of the provinces were essentially

Frans Hals, *Regents of the Old Men's Almshouse*, ca. 1664. (Detail of FIG. 6.11)

oligarchies, in which the men holding office were members of the so-called regent class—exceedingly wealthy trades-men and professionals. Each province had its own elected leader called the stadhouder (state holder or governor). Elected delegates representing the provinces attended regular councils of the States General (parliament) in The Hague. Protestant princes of the aristocratic House of Orange monopolized the provincial stadhouderships and acted as captain-general of the union, overseeing foreign policy and providing military leadership in times of war. This had the advantage of lending respectability to the nation in a period when other heads of state came from absolutist dynasties.

The following were the most important members of the line: William the Silent (1533–84), the "father of the father-land," the first to lead the revolt against Spain; Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), general of the armies against the Spanish-appointed governor Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma and Piacenza (see FIG. 3.8 for Mochi's equestrian portrait); Frederick Henry (1584–1647), who retrieved major border fortresses from the Spanish; and William II (1626–50), whose marriage to Princess Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I, forged a link with the ruling house of Great Britain. Their son William III (1650–1702) mar-ried Mary II Stuart and ruled as king of England from 1689 to 1702.

The strong economic base of the United Provinces, derived from both pan-European and worldwide shipping, made it possible for the Dutch to fight the Spanish suc-cessfully. The Twelve Years' Truce put a temporary end to the conflict (1609–21), thus allowing artists to travel, but hostilities resumed, for example with the temporary conquest of Breda by the Spanish in 1625, commemorated by Velázquez in the *Surrender of Breda* (see FIG. 5.23). Finally, in 1648 the Spanish acknowledged the sovereignty of the new Dutch state under the terms of the Peace of Münster.

Since the eighteenth century the Dutch seventeenth century has been called the Golden Age, when the successes of the new country were celebrated in vari-ous media. Holland was, in short, the most prosperous European nation during the Baroque. By 1600 Amsterdam had became the dominant port and trading center in north-ern Europe, replacing Antwerp which had been block-aded by the Dutch fleet and suffered the loss of numerous Protestant Flemish bankers, merchants, and intellectuals fleeing Spanish rule. Crucial was Holland's situation at the crossroads of northwestern Europe, crisscrossed by the Rhine and Maas Rivers and a network of canals that made all parts of the country accessible. Dutch prowess on the water, especially in the new flyboats (*fluiten*), which were relatively cheap to sail, meant that Holland took control of both inland waterways and the seas. The nation's fortunes derived primarily from its fishing and merchant fleets. The fishing industry brought comestibles to western and cen-tral Europe, while the transport of locally crafted goods made Dutch products universally available. The Dutch navy's control of the seas and the institution of trading companies facilitated commercial ventures in America, Africa, and Asia, with a rich bounty of spices and luxury items flowing in from the East Indies. The Dutch enjoyed exclusive trading rights in many foreign regions, such as Japan.

A high level of literacy combined with considerable freedom of expression paved the way for Holland to be one of the principal publishing centers in Europe. By far the most extraordinary aspect of Dutch culture was the degree of freedom of worship granted by the state. Despite power struggles between the various Protestant sects, Calvinism was the official religion of the republic, with a third of the population being Calvinist. All Protestants were united against the Catholic Church, with its empha-sis on the Virgin Mary, the saints, and sacraments such as confession that required clerical intervention between the worshiper and God. Nonetheless, at mid century over a third of the population still comprised Catholics, who, significantly, were allowed to worship only in pri-vate houses, not in public spaces. Although Protestants formed the majority, other forms of religion were wel-come. Sizable Jewish communities lived in some cities, particularly Amsterdam.

The demand for Catholic altarpieces thus declined precipitously, and Protestants generally forbade the use of religious imagery in public worship on the basis of the Second Commandment's edict against idolatry. Simultaneously the court in The Hague played a relatively minor role in patronage, compared with other European courts. Thus traditional systems of patronage by the Church and religious bodies collapsed, while the rich mer-chant class sought the favor of artists. Even throughout the ranks of the middle class the possession of affordable artworks was possible. Moreover, compared to conditions in Italy and Spain, Dutch artists sold a great many paint-ings on the open market—so many, in fact, that prices were depressed and artists sometimes took on a second occupation, such as innkeeper or brewer, in order to make ends meet.

The torrent of high-quality paintings and prints issuing from their studios encouraged the expansion of subject categories for which the north had been famous in the sixteenth century: portraiture, genre, landscape, and still life. Artists engaging in intense competition for buyers tended to specialize in one of these categories or even a subcategory, such as winter landscapes or flower still lifes. History painting, including religious subjects, by no means disappeared: it still ranked highest in prestige among the subject categories. Protestant collectors desired repre-sentations of Old Testament subjects and scenes from the life of Christ and his parables (see "'To Err is Human . . .': The Parable of the Prodigal Son," opposite). Artists sold directly out of their studios, or at markets, auctions,

"To Err is Human . . .": The Parable of the Prodigal Son

The desire to tell a story in pictures is one of the driving forces behind the creation of many Baroque paintings and prints, and it is clear that seventeenth-century spectators never tired of certain narratives, whether in the form of a single work or a cycle (series). It may not be too far off the mark to state that these images, whether depicting superheroes, villains, damsels in distress, or comedians, were the equivalent of today's movies. Most of them, like a present-day television serial or sitcom, presented familiar characters whose virtues and vices were already well known to the spectator. Thus it was the cleverness with which the story was told, the choice of the particular moment depicted, and the degree of faithfulness or embellishment that determined the work's appeal.

The Bible, teeming with stories in the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, was one of the top sources for artists. A particular narrative that offered diverse potential, popular in theatrical productions, was the parable of the prodigal son, told by Jesus to teach God's forgiveness of the repentant sinner. Artists wishing to tell the whole story through a cycle of sequentially ordered images generally used the print media. More rarely, an artist included several events in a single image through the device of continuous narrative, in which the same figure appears several times within the space: In the background of his engraved roundel, *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*, Maerten de Vos shows the son, who has left his family and wasted his inheritance on sensuous pleasures, expelled from a tavern, eating from a pig trough, and repentant on bended knee before the father (print executed by Crispijn van de Passe, 1601; Fig. 6.1). In the foreground de Vos emphasized the prodigal carousing with harlots, all dressed in contemporary finery. This was the moment favored by many artists, such as Rembrandt in his *Self-Portrait as the Prodigal Son in the Tavern* (see Fig. 6.20).

6.1 Crispijn van de Passe the Elder after Maerten de Vos, *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*, 1601. Engraving, 3¼ × 3¼" (8.26 × 8.26 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Saberksy.

Other artists and patrons preferred the climactic moment of the son's return. The Catholic interpretation of the parable emphasized the son's act of penance—one of the seven sacraments retained by the Counter-Reformation Church—and used the subnarrative of the jealous brother to promote the Catholic theme of charity. On the other hand, the Calvinist emphasis on the principle of divine grace, which is bestowed on the sinner without the need for a particular act, underlies Rembrandt's late approach to the narrative, which focuses on the father's forgiving embrace (ca. 1666–8; see Fig. 6.26).

and book-and-picture shops, as well as at annual fairs where guild restrictions limiting sales to local members were dropped.

Each of the major urban centers had its own local school of painting, and if it seemed a wise career move artists frequently left one city for another, and acquired membership in the local guild. The guilds, descended from medieval trade organizations and dedicated to St. Luke, who was traditionally regarded as a painter, embraced not only artists but other craftsmen as well. Their chief purpose was to regulate the system of apprenticeship (usually five to seven years for boys in their early teens, but terms varied) and the sale of artworks. In reaction to the restrictive nature of the guilds and in an effort to raise the status of painters, some artists formed academies or brotherhoods, similar to that of the Carracci in Bologna, emphasizing drawing from life. Two important artist-writers bracket

the Dutch Golden Age: Karel van Mander (1548–1606), whose *Schilder-Boeck* chronicles the lives of ancient, Italian, and Netherlandish artists (*The Painter's Book*, 1604; separate sections on theory and Ovid); and Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719), whose *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* similarly celebrates Northern sixteenth- and seventeenth-century figures (*The Great Theater of Netherlandish Male and Female Painters*, 1718–21).

The Utrecht Followers of Caravaggio

In the first and second decades of the seventeenth century many young artists from the Dutch province of Utrecht traveled to Rome to further their artistic education and find commissions. The most notable are Gerrit van Honthorst (also called Gerard; 1592–1656), Dirck van Baburen

(1592/3–1624), and Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588–1629). All three had trained in the north in the Mannerist style, but once in Rome they fell under the spell of Caravaggio and his Italian followers, such as Bartolomeo Manfredi. None of these artists knew Caravaggio personally—the master left Rome in 1606 and died in 1610. While retaining Northern attitudes toward subject matter, they imbued their work with a strong realism and rejected Mannerist traits. Upon returning to their homeland, they brought Italian ideas with them and were influential in spreading Caravaggesque motifs in the north, influencing such artists as Frans Hals and Rembrandt.

Gerrit van Honthorst

The most successful of the three Dutch Followers of Caravaggio, who achieved international fame and fortune, was Van Honthorst, who was born into a Catholic family of painters in Utrecht and studied under the most important artist of the previous generation, Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651). He was in Rome between circa 1613 and 1620, where he lived for a time in the palace of Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, and produced works for Cardinal Scipione Borghese; significantly, both these patrons had earlier collected works by Caravaggio. Nicknamed Gherardo delle Notti on account of his nocturnal pictures, the painter gained many church commissions while in Rome. After his return to the north he was one of the leading painters of Utrecht. He joined the Guild of St. Luke and became its dean, opened a large studio with some 25 students, and bought a big house that conferred patrician status. Such was his renown that Peter Paul Rubens visited him in 1627. In the following year Van Honthorst traveled to England to work for Charles I and the English court, a connection that he sustained through numerous contracts over the years. In 1637 he opened a second studio in The Hague in order to accommodate the many requests from the stadhouder and his relatives. A large portion of the aristocratic commissions consisted of portraits.

Van Honthorst's *Samson and Delilah,* created for an unknown patron circa 1616, is perhaps his earliest extant painting from the Roman years (FIG. 6.2). The Old Testament judge Samson was regarded in the Middle Ages as a prefiguration of Christ and in the Renaissance as a symbol of fortitude, but during the late Renaissance and Baroque he increasingly became associated with one of the

seven vices—lust—since the source of his downfall was his passion for Delilah. The painting focuses on the crucial moment when Delilah stealthily cuts the hair of the sleeping Samson, thus depriving him of his great strength.

The literary source for the image is the book of Judges (16:17–20), which tells the story of the muscular hero and the efforts of his lover Delilah to find the source of his strength on behalf of the Philistines, who offer to pay for the information. Initially, Samson resisted her efforts, but eventually he gave in, with disastrous results. Van Honthorst made two changes to the narrative. First, he had Delilah cut the hair herself, a detail mentioned in the account of the narrative by the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus and commonly shown in earlier Northern depictions. This has the effect of rendering her more culpable. Second, he added Delilah's maidservant, who keeps watch. The old crone had become a stock motif in sixteenth-century Northern paintings, inevitably representing the madame in a bordello who procures sexual favors for male clients. Her presence here recalls the Dutch phrase "To be in the lap of Delilah," which means to have commerce with prostitutes. It also brings

6.2 Gerrit van Honthorst, *Samson and Delilah*, ca. 1616. Oil on canvas, 50¾ × 37″ (129 × 94 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund.

to mind another Dutch proverb, "Young a whore, old a procuress," a reminder that Delilah accepted money from the Philistines. The painting thus refers to the vice of avarice as well as to lust.

The subject belongs to a theme that was popular in prints and literature by the late fifteenth century and increasingly employed in painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the power of women—a prefeminist concept according to which men are emasculated by the wiles and erotic charm of conniving women. Like Adam and Eve, Hercules and Omphale, Aristotle and Phyllis, and other historical pairs, Samson and Delilah epitomized the battle between the sexes. Such representations, which warned against the disastrous consequences of involvement with women, mirrored contemporary Dutch male fear of domination by the opposite sex.

Van Honthorst knew Northern Renaissance versions of the scene, such as the engraved and woodcut versions by Lucas van Leyden, which include the Philistines hovering in the landscape background (1508, 1512). His painting, however, is fully Caravaggesque in its use of three-quarter-length figures located close to the picture plane in a tenebristic setting. Caravaggio never painted Samson and Delilah, but his *Judith and Holofernes* contains a similar three-figured composition of a hapless male in the hands of a young beauty and an old hag (see FIG. 1.31). Van Honthorst gives the old woman a gesture signaling caution, implying the close presence of the Philistines, who wait before attacking. The artist favored a tonal palette with red, white, and flesh tones for emphasis. Using a wide variety of brushstrokes, he executed in great detail

the embroidered bodice and jewelry of Delilah and the leathery facial skin of the maidservant, while suggesting with looser strokes the shadowy form of Samson. Unlike Caravaggio, who rarely depicted an artificial light source within the space of a painting, Van Honthorst usually showed one or two candles and studied the effects of light on objects in the space, depending on their proximity to the flame. Although he popularized the candle motif, he did not invent this idea, and in all likelihood he derived it from a work by Rubens of *Samson and Delilah*, widely known through a reproductive print, in which Rubens illuminated a dark setting with three sources of artificial light. Van Honthorst's painting is every bit as anti-Mannerist as Caravaggio's own works.

In addition to historical subjects, Van Honthorst also painted genre scenes in Italy, such as the *Merry Company* produced for Cosimo II de'Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, toward the end of his stay and described by the artist's Italian biographer Guilio Mancini as a *cena di buffonarie* (an amusing dinner party) (ca. 1619–20; FIG. 6.3). Here he cast in a Caravaggesque idiom an established northern subject, the merry company, which consists of young men and women in contemporary costume enjoying the delights of food, wine, and song, usually in an indoor setting although sometimes in a garden bower. Three young men and three young women, accompanied by an elderly woman, are seated or standing at a table in a tenebristic interior. For the composition Van Honthorst drew from Caravaggio's *The Cardsharps* for Cardinal del Monte, with its three-quarter-length figures and a figure on the viewer's side of the table acting as a *repoussoir* (establishing the foreground

and creating the illusion of depth; from the French *repousser*, to push back; see FIG. 1.28). The work also emulates the group of figures of St. Matthew and his cronies on the left side of Caravaggio's tenebristic *The Calling of St. Matthew* in the Contarelli Chapel (see FIG. 1.32). The work was probably also inspired by the secular genre scenes with figures around a table painted by Caravaggio's Italian followers, such as Bartolomeo Manfredi's *Concert* (see FIG. 2.6). The painting is remarkable for its two sources of light, one candle fully visible, held by the standing woman on the right who has taken it from the candlestick on the table, and the other candle tantalizingly concealed by the *repoussoir* figure, whose position mirrors that of the observer. The artificial light casts a warm glow on the figures, and picks out the bright reds, yellows, and blues of their costumes.

Although some historians argue that Van Honthorst intended this genre scene to be admired for its realistic details, it is more likely that the painting evoked various ideas in the minds of different observers. There is no direct literary source for the subject of the merry company, but it derives from the northern tradition of images representing the prodigal son carousing (see "'To Err is Human . . .': The Parable of the Prodigal Son," .p 185). As a result, the subject often retains something of the moralizing flavor of the biblical narrative. Two of the seven vices are present here, lust in the form of the amorous interplay between the sexes, and gluttony in the detail of the robust man on the right being fed a piece of chicken by the girl while retaining his grip on the wine glass and flask of wine.

The painting also incorporates the theme of the power of women, particularly through the presence of the turbaned old hag. As in the case of Van Honthorst's *Samson and Delilah,* her withered features suggest not only the temporality of youthful pleasure but also the degenerate morals of the group. The notion that the senses lead to the vices, and that all earthly, sensuous pleasures are ultimately vainglorious may be intended on a certain level to make of this image a *vanitas* picture. It would be wrong, however, to characterize the content of the painting as solely devoted to the folly of worldly pleasure. Although there may be a warning to those who overindulge, such a meaning became the subtext by the early seventeenth century. On another level the painting is a celebration of the joys of life, as is clear from the beaming faces and good-natured humor of the piece.

Much more explicit in content is Van Honthorst's *The Procuress*, painted in 1625 after his return to Holland (FIG. 6.4). In this painting, a reduced version of the *Merry Company*, a young man, urged on by an old procuress, offers money from a pouch to a young woman whose plunging neckline identifies her as a courtesan. Again a male figure located on the viewer's side of the table is cast in dark shadow against the flame of a candle, almost completely hidden from view. The prostitute holds up a lute as a signal of agreement to the bargain and as a prelude to the sexual favors for sale. As in the case of the *Merry Company*, echoes of the prodigal son theme resonate in this thoroughly secular piece. As a secular equivalent of Van Honthorst's *Samson and Delilah,* the three-figured composition of young woman, old crone, and male youth incorporates the vices of lust and avarice and simultaneously alludes to the power of women. While the composition of figures around a table suggests Van

Honthorst's awareness of Caravaggio's *The Cardsharps*, he has manipulated the tenebrism of Caravaggio's mature Roman works in such a way that the most brilliant light shines on the smiling face and daring decolletage of the girl. The creamy application of paint on the girl's right sleeve, the hard, sculptural modeling of her head and breasts, and the closeness of the forms to the picture plane, along with the compelling sense of narrative, combine to give a startling effect of immediacy to the scene.

The theme of prostitution, whether presented directly or indirectly, was enormously popular in Dutch Baroque painting and prints called *bordeeltjes*. The tradition began early in the sixteenth century. As in the instance of Van Honthorst's *The Procuress*, these titillating works rarely depicted realistically the sordid world of contemporary bordellos, but rather relied on pictorial conventions that glamorized the sad conditions under which many young women were forced to endure shame, violence, and venereal disease in order to sustain a living. The world's oldest profession constituted a major business in Holland, especially in the larger port cities like Amsterdam. Efforts to abolish or control the sex trade only pushed it underground, and sex guidebooks and published descriptions of famous women assisted the male clientele. Procuresses were rarely the old hags shown in paintings, and were only a few years older than the girls themselves. Such images were intended for a Dutch audience that was both attracted to, and repulsed by, the idea of venal love. They served to underscore the popular belief in the temptations and terrors offered by women.

We do not know the name of the original owner of *The Procuress*. The question of who bought paintings in Utrecht has not been fully studied, but it seems certain that such collectors came either from the aristocracy living both in the city and on their landed estates, and from the urban regent class composed of wealthy merchants and professionals. Few commissions came from civic groups and public institutions in Utrecht, unlike comparable groups in Haarlem and Amsterdam. Utrecht was a Catholic stronghold within the United Provinces, and as worshipers could meet only in private homes there were relatively few commissions for altarpieces and devotional paintings. This explains why Van Honthorst, having worked for the Church in Rome, devoted himself in Utrecht almost exclusively to history paintings and genre subjects, called *moderne beelden*. Van Honthorst's use of the candle in a

tenebristic setting had a broad influence, from the Italian Followers of Caravaggio, like Artemisia Gentileschi (*Judith and her Maidservant*, ca. 1625–7; see FIG. 2.4), to the French Caravaggisti, like Georges de La Tour (*Christ with St. Joseph in the Carpenter's Shop*, ca. 1635–40; see FIG. 9.7).

Dirck van Baburen

Another of the Utrecht Followers of Caravaggio, Dirck van Baburen, trained under the Utrecht painter Paulus Moreelse and joined the Guild of St. Luke in 1611. He arrived in Rome in late 1612 or early 1613 and departed no later than the fall of 1620. Like Van Honthorst, he worked for the men who had collected works by Caravaggio—Cardinal Scipione Borghese and Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. His major Roman commission was the decoration of the Pietà Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio (ca. 1615–20), carried out in collaboration with David de Haen. In the few years of his life that remained to him when he returned to Utrecht, he focused on genre scenes executed in a Caravaggesque manner, and may have shared a studio with ter Brugghen. His premature death probably resulted from the plague that ravaged Utrecht in 1624.

Van Baburen was the earliest of the Utrecht artists to rework the Northern theme of mercenary love along Caravaggesque lines. His *The Procuress*, painted in 1622, three years before Van Honthorst's version, also contains a narrative (FIG. 6.5). A young man offers a coin to an alluringly dressed young woman, who exchanges his gaze and smilingly indicates her consent by strumming the lute, while an old woman in turban and cloak demands payment with a forceful gesture. The half-length figures close to the

6.5 Dirck van Baburen, *The Procuress*, 1622. Oil on canvas, 40 × 42⅜" (101.5 × 107.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. Theresa B. Hopkins Fund.

picture plane, with a simple wall behind them, are comparable to those of Van Honthorst, but Van Baburen did not include a table and preferred the daylight of Caravaggio's early Roman genre scenes. Indeed, he rarely studied the effects of candlelight. Thus the picture more closely resembles the ultimate prototype, Caravaggio's *The Gypsy Fortuneteller* (see FIG. 1.29), without losing touch with his Northern sources. The theme of the fleeting nature of pleasure is present in this picture, suggested by the musical instrument and the juxtaposition of youth and old age. The delicate, youthful features of Van Honthorst's smoothly modeled figures are not to be found in Van Baburen's picture. His somewhat older, less idealized figures, composed of abrupt planes with a looser touch of the brush, retain a hint of Northern grotesqueness.

In addition to the procuress theme, Van Baburen may have introduced to the north the Caravaggesque motif of the single half-length musician. Around 1622 he, like Van Honthorst, began painting a new theme, that of gamblers and cardplayers. Gaming was closely associated with idleness and avarice, themes that are corroborated in Van Baburen's pictures through the presence of drinking and smoking, as well as an old woman who could be a procuress.

Hendrick ter Brugghen
A third member of the group, Hendrick ter Brugghen, studied, like Van Honthorst, under Bloemaert. His Italian travels (ca. 1607–14), which took place earlier than those of the other Caravaggisti, are problematic for the historian insofar as no paintings or documents survive from this time. He entered the Utrecht guild in 1616. Rubens, whose acquaintance he made in Rome, visited ter Brugghen in Utrecht.

Ter Brugghen produced two versions of *The Calling of St. Matthew* (1621; FIG. 6.6). The compositions of both are based directly on Caravaggio's version in the Contarelli Chapel, Rome (see FIG. 1.32). In the 1621 version ter Brugghen retained such details as the young boys looking on with amazement, the older bespectacled male who peers at the coins on the table, the silent drama of the pointing gestures, and the sharp distinction between the biblical garb worn by Jesus, Peter, and now Matthew, as opposed to the contemporary finery of the *bravi* and the armor of the old man. The artist made major changes to Caravaggio's prototype, however. He reversed the composition—possibly in response to a reproductive print—and reduced the figures to half-length, eliminating the overhead space of the Italian painting. Most surprising, however, is his rejection of tenebrism and his return to the day-lit ambience of Caravaggio's early Roman phase. The colors are more varied, with a sharp contrast of pinks, blues, greens, and creamy whites retained from the Mannerist palette. The brushstrokes are loose and lively. Like Van Baburen, ter Brugghen imbued the Caravaggesque elements with certain Northern traits, like the emphasis on the secular group, a hint of the grotesque in the faces, and the convergence of six gesticulating hands in the center of the composition. The tattered papers attached to the back wall and the tilting of the table to display the still-life objects also mark this as the work of a Northern painter. In short, the painting resembles Northern precedents for the subject that may have influenced Caravaggio himself. Even so, despite his links with the Northern past, ter Brugghen embraced Caravaggesque realism and rejected Bloemaert's *Maniera*.

The artist depicted Christ and Peter entering the counting house of Levi/Matthew, whom the Lord calls to be his disciple. The horizontal

6.6 Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, 1621. Oil on canvas, 40¼ × 53⅞" (102.3 × 136.9 cm). Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

((•— **Listen** to a podcast on Hendrick ter Brugghen on mysearchlab.com

format of *The Calling of St. Matthew* makes it an unlikely candidate for an altarpiece, but the presence of two Catholic themes, sainthood and conversion, suggest that the work might have been commissioned by a local congregation or by a patron desiring a devotional piece at home.

Frans Hals

One of the great masters of Dutch Baroque art, Frans Hals (1582/3–1666) devoted himself exclusively to painting the human figure. He was the most prominent member of a dynasty of painters that included his younger brother Dirck, five of his own children, and one of Dirck's sons. Unlike the Dutch Followers of Caravaggio, Hals never traveled south to Italy but spent his entire working career in Haarlem. The son of a clothworker, he was born in Antwerp but moved with the family to Haarlem, a major textile manufacturing center in Holland, when the religious climate of the Spanish Netherlands became threatening. Having trained under Karel van Mander, he entered the Guild of St. Luke in 1610. His pictures may be divided into three principal

6.7 Frans Hals, *Boy with a Flute*, ca. 1623–5. Oil on canvas, 24⅜ × 21½″ (62 × 54.5 cm). Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

subject categories: genre-portraits; commissioned husband and wife pendant portraits; and commissioned group portraits, of which there are two subcategories, officers of civic guard companies and directors overseeing charitable institutions.

The so-called genre-portraits are in reality genre subjects usually of children and young adults (*moderne beelden*). They were not commissioned portraits, but the paintings are clearly based on models whose features Hals strongly individualized, with the result that historians have attempted to identify the sitters. Some 18 genre-portraits from the 1620s have survived and ten from the 1630s, after which Hals gave up the subject as he was deluged with portrait commissions.

The *Boy with a Flute* of circa 1623–5 exemplifies Hals's style in the first decade of his career (FIG. 6.7). It has long been speculated that this and other comparable early pictures by Hals represent his own offspring. The half-length youth making music, the fancy hat and dramatically draped cloak, and the simple background show the influence of the Utrecht Followers of Caravaggio, which is seen especially in the young musicians painted in the early 1620s. Here the sense of vivacious movement—the

boy sings with open mouth and beats the rhythm with his left hand—is conveyed through the dynamic pose, the diagonals underlying the composition, the bright colors, and the scintillating light reflected off the subject. The open brushwork, comprised of broken strokes, rough blobs, rapid zigzags, and rough contours, has a spontaneous quality that matches the impetuous movement of the sitter. The lack of preparatory drawings for Hals's paintings suggests that he worked directly from the model, not always letting the underpainting dry before proceeding to the upper paint layers.

As with the genre works of the Utrecht Caravaggisti, we must ask to what degree Hals intended here a compelling scene of daily life or a moralizing message. Without denying that the picture conveys an exuberant slice of life, historians have suggested the presence of two related themes. The boy could be a personification of the sense of hearing; genre scenes representing the five senses are common, as in the case of Van Honthorst's *Merry Company*. A 1661 inventory lists three paintings by Hals as

6.8 Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man Holding a Skull*, ca. 1611. Oil on panel, 37 × 28½″ (94 × 72.5 cm). Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.

6.9 Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1611. Oil on panel, 37 × 28″ (94.2 × 71.1 cm). Duke of Devonshire and Chatsworth House.

representing the senses. The painting also fits within the realm of *vanitas* pictures. Because of the short-lived nature of music, instruments like the flute and the lute rank among the most common motifs in *vanitas* paintings.

Hals's commissioned husband and wife pendant portraits constitute the largest segment of his output, reflecting the emphasis on marriage and the family among all faiths in Holland. Pairs of some 30 couples exist, constituting over a quarter of his work, and several more extant single portraits may originally have been half of a pendant couple. Many of the sitters have been identified, in part because Hals incorporated family coats of arms in the early pictures. The patrons were members of the regent class in Haarlem, made up of three groups: the brewers, historically the most populous and wealthy segment, who controlled positions in city government; the merchants, especially those who oversaw the production of fine wool, linen, and silk fabric; and the professionals with university degrees, namely, doctors, lawyers, judges, and ministers. The earliest examples are the unidentified *Man Holding a Skull* and *A Woman* of circa 1611, which show the standard three-quarter-length figure in a three-quarter pose in front of a simple wall (FIGS. 6.8 and 6.9). Hals painted these on wooden panels, the support preferred for smaller

paintings; gradually he shifted to canvas. In deference to theological and hierarchical tradition, they were hung side by side with the man on the preferred right-hand side (dexter position; his right side) and the woman on his left (lesser or sinister side). These individuals hold objects—the skull held by the man is a traditional *memento mori* and the woman's gold chain is a symbol of her wealth; such attributes were rarely used in Hals's later pendants.

The costumes of sitters for pendant portraits underline their position in the regent class, especially the black color, originally introduced by the Spanish. Even so, the fabrics were usually luxurious, emphasizing the wealth of the patrons in an understated way. A woman typically wears a cap, often with an undercap. A stiff bodice, a long skirt, and, visible in earlier pictures, a sleeveless overcoat, complete the ensemble. By concealing the hair and the breasts, a woman's costume minimizes any hint of feminine allure. The men typically wear a closefitting jacket or doublet with short, puffy breeches and long knit stockings. A man's hat may feature a low crown with a wide brim or a tall crown with a narrow brim. Despite sumptuary laws and the decrees of the Church, these patrons found ways of expressing their wealth, especially in increasingly large and elaborate linen ruffs and cuffs of linen and lace.

The brushwork in early portraits is relatively restrained compared to the genre-portraits and certainly to the later pendant portraits. In all cases the faces were painted with greater care, while details of the costume were often treated with a looser hand. On the whole, Hals's portraits gain in simplicity and monumentality throughout the years, the later sitters being modeled in space through large strokes of paint. In addition, the costumes in Hals's later portraits tend to be less elaborate, although this is in part a function of age and/or religious convictions—older sitters preferred greater simplicity in dress, as did members of certain religious sects. Despite a general preference among collectors in the 1660s for smoothly painted surfaces (Dutch: *glad*), Hals's rough manner (Dutch: *rouw*), with its fluid brushstrokes, was much admired.

The first of the two types of group portrait is the civic guard portrait, as seen in the *Officers and Sergeants of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard Company* of circa 1633 (FIG. 6.10). Hals painted six of this type, five representing Haarlem companies, and the sixth devoted to a company in Amsterdam. There were two companies of militiamen in Haarlem, each composed of three groups of about 100 men, usually from the middle class. The St. George Company, of which Hals was a member, was responsible for policing the southern side of town, and the St. Hadrian Company the northern side. These companies originally sponsored chapels in local churches, hence each group was dedicated to a Catholic soldier-saint. Group paintings were hung prominently in the *doelen* (headquarters) used for the assembly of the group.

In Haarlem the tradition for such group portraits called for half- or three-quarter-length figures of the officers only, who came from the regent class. Artists had to choose a point between two extremes, either lining up the sitters horizontally and giving them equal emphasis, or showing them engaged in a common action. Hals chose a middle ground, retaining a sense of the horizontal row of figures, but gathering them into several knots or clusters and placing them around a banquet table. In his earlier paintings Hals depicted the men eating and drinking in an interior, but in *Officers and Sergeants of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard Company* he placed them outdoors, seemingly posing for their portrait and engaging in conversation with the viewer and among themselves. Whereas in the previous pictures the hierarchy of officers is evident from their position at the table, here the attributes held by the men indicate their status: the staff for the colonel, Johan Claesz van Loo, the halberd for the sergeants, the tasseled

6.10 Frans Hals, *Officers and Sergeants of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard Company*, ca. 1633. Oil on canvas, 81½ × 132⅝″ (207 × 337 cm). Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

6.11 Frans Hals, *Regents of the Old Men's Almshouse*, ca. 1664. Oil on canvas, 67⅞ × 100¾" (172.5 × 256 cm). Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

6.12 Frans Hals, *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse*, ca. 1664. Oil on canvas, 67⅞ × 100¾" (172.5 × 256 cm). Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

partisan for the captains, an untasseled partisan for one of the lieutenants, and flags for the ensigns. As an example of the middle period of Hals's work, the painting shows relatively free brushwork in the faces of the sitters and extreme looseness in the clothing, with many large patches of thickly brushed color. The impression of immediacy is so convincing that we are willing to believe Hals dashed off the painting on the spot. In reality, of course, this studio picture required lengthy preparation and execution.

The second type of group portrait is the "board of directors" type, which represented members of the regent class responsible for overseeing public welfare institutions in Haarlem. Unlike the civic guard portraits, the sitters are soberly dressed and pose quietly, some regarding each other and others looking reflectively off into space. In Catholic countries, like Spain and Italy, where both faith and good works provided a path to salvation, charity was a function of the Church. In Protestant Holland, however, this activity was undertaken to a greater extent by civic foundations like orphanages and hospitals. The Dutch, enjoying an embarrassment of riches brought by a healthy economy, felt better when giving a part of this bounty to those less fortunate. Foreign visitors commented on the Dutch propensity to provide for the poor and the sick.

The pair of large group portraits representing the *Regents of the Old Men's Almshouse* and *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse* originally hung in separate rooms of the Haarlem institution (both ca. 1664; FIGS. 6.11 and 6.12). Painted just a few years before Hals's death, when he himself was in poor economic straits, the works exemplify his late style. In one painting five seated male directors, all with fashionably long hair and high-crowned hats, are accompanied by a standing manservant, while in the other four women directors, seated or standing before a framed landscape painting, are accompanied by their housemistress. We know the names of the male and female directors, who paid to have their portraits painted—all were members of the upper echelons of society—but we do not know which figure represents whom, nor do we know the names of the servants. Both compositions, seemingly artless and random, are informal to the extreme. No common action unifies the sitters. Only one or two figures engage the viewer, while the rest stare vacantly into space. Thus, unlike the civic guard portraits, which emphasize the unity of the group, these pictures privilege the individual. Each figure is characterized as a separate and unique personality, although viewers may differ in reading the expression on each face.

The paintings are largely monochromatic. The colors have darkened with time; the original impression of the forms would not have been so flat. Even so, the varied shapes of white collars and cuffs against the dark clothing, and the brilliant red stocking of the male regent on the right remain striking to our eyes. The extreme looseness of the detached brushwork dissolves solid forms and gives an impression of reflected light and subtle movement.

Judith Leyster

A painter whose name is closely associated with Hals is Judith Leyster (1609–60), who ranks with Gentileschi as one of the foremost women painters of the Baroque period. Unlike Artemisia Gentileschi, and indeed unlike many women artists of the time, she was not the daughter of a painter and thus trained outside the family. As in Italy, a woman's proper role was that of wife and mother. Despite the rising status of women in Holland and an increasing emphasis on education, no profession was encouraged. Consequently, there were relatively few women painters in the United Provinces, and these were mostly genre and still-life painters; evidently none of them painted landscapes or history pictures. Leyster was one of only three women artists who entered a guild.

She was born in Haarlem, where she had a workshop with students, one of whom abruptly left for Hals's studio causing her to register a complaint with the guild. We do not know with whom she trained, but given the great prominence of Hals in Haarlem, it is not surprising that much of her work resembles his, such as the genre scene of the *Young Flute Player* (early 1630s; FIG. 6.13). She may have worked in Hals's studio, and some of her paintings were until recently erroneously attributed to him. After Leyster's marriage in 1636 to the popular Haarlem genre painter Jan Miense Molenaer (ca. 1610–68), with whom

6.13 Judith Leyster, *Young Flute Player*, early 1630s. Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 24⅜" (73 × 62 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

((•— Listen to a podcast on Judith Leyster on mysearchlab.com

6.14 Judith Leyster, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 29⅜ × 25⅝″ (74.6 × 65.1 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss.

she may previously have shared a studio, her output diminished, since the duties of wife and mother (she gave birth to five children) and the routine of assisting with the running of her husband's studio and art business took precedence. By the time of her death she was all but forgotten, and although her reputation was initially revived in the late nineteenth century, the first retrospective of her work took place only in 1993.

About 20 works from her hand are known for certain, almost all of them genre subjects dating from the period circa 1629–35. Because the name Leyster is related to the word lodestar (guiding star), she sometimes signed her works with the monogram LS and a small shooting star. In 1647 the local historian Theodorus Schrevelius called her a leading star within her profession.

In the half-length *Self-Portrait* of circa 1630 Leyster sits before her easel, looking directly through the frame and smiling as if in conversation with the viewer (FIG. 6.14). The painting belongs to the tradition of self-portraits showing the artist at work, of which some notable prototypes represent women painters. Leyster's informal pose, turned so that her upper right arm rests on the chair back, is borrowed from a motif used by Hals in many commissioned portraits, although she shows only the side, not the back, of the chair. The brush in her right hand is poised before the canvas, while her left hand holds a palette and cluster of brushes. Technical examination has revealed that she originally painted a female face on the picture within

the picture. In the end she chose the figure of a violinist from one of her own paintings of a musical group, *The Merry Company* (ca. 1630; The Netherlands, priv. coll.), thus promoting her abilities in the fields of both portraiture and genre.

Leyster's expensive clothing consists of a linen cap hiding severely pulled-back hair, a fashionable flat *fraise* collar, a concealing bodice, and set-in sleeves. The splendid apparel, not the sort of dress worn while painting, is intended to evoke status and well-being. It also suggests the high-minded rather than messy nature of her profession, elevating it from mere manual craft. She must have been aware of the Renaissance tradition according to which artists like Leonardo da Vinci painted in fancy clothes within a rarefied setting.

Rembrandt

Long considered Holland's greatest painter, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69) was exceptional in the range of subjects he portrayed, being unwilling to specialize in one genre, and in the extent of his output—approximately 300 paintings, 300 prints, and hundreds of drawings (see "When Is a Rembrandt Not a Rembrandt?," opposite). He is the only Dutch artist referred to by his first name, an idiosyncracy that he adopted in emulation of the great Italian masters like Titian. He was born in the university town of Leiden, the son of an affluent miller whose wife came from the family of a well-to-do baker. Unlike his brothers, who pursued trades by means of apprenticeship, Rembrandt enrolled in the university of Leiden, but dropped out after a few months in order to follow his calling as an artist. He served an apprenticeship of three years with Jacob van Swanenburgh. Desirous of becoming a history painter, Rembrandt trained for six months in Amsterdam, probably in 1624, under Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), a leading painter of biblical, mythological, and historical subjects. Lastman had lived in Italy, primarily in Rome, from 1602 to 1607, and upon his return to Holland he practiced a type of academic classicism, in which he adapted the frescoed multi-figured compositions of the Raphael school to the smaller format of Northern panel painting. Rembrandt later claimed that he did not have time to go to Italy; Italian works were available for viewing on the Amsterdam art market. Back in Leiden, Rembrandt began his independent career by painting small panels of historical scenes and initiating his career as a portraitist. His ambitions could only be fully realized, however, by moving to the larger commercial city of Amsterdam, where he resided from 1631 until he died.

Initially he was a big success. The art dealer Hendrick van Uylenburgh supported his work and provided contacts among Amersterdam's elite. He also introduced Rembrandt to his cousin, the young Saskia van

When Is a Rembrandt Not a Rembrandt?

The question of attribution plays a major role in Baroque scholarship. Although many artworks possess both signatures and dates and can be traced back to their original owners, there are large numbers of works in all media whose authorship is uncertain. The problem is particularly acute in the case of Rembrandt, who had a large studio with many students and assistants trained to paint in his style. His output attracted followers outside his workshop as well, who emulated both the precise early style and the rough late manner. Beginning in the nineteenth century, Rembrandt's works enjoyed a high level of popularity. Compelling aspects of his biography, such as the fall from popularity, his bankruptcy, and the changing women in his life, conform to the Romantic ideal of the artist as isolated individual. This rendered him an icon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so collectors and museums rushed to obtain works that appeared to be by him. The result is that a considerable number of paintings resemble Rembrandt's *oeuvre* but are not uniquely by his hand.

Art historians employ three principal methods to determine authenticity. The first is connoisseurship, the use of the trained eye to examine the composition and execution of a work. This requires extensive firsthand familiarity with documented and/or universally accepted works. The second is the tracing of a work's provenance—the history of its ownership, from the time when it left the artist's studio up until the present. In this type of investigation, the examiner combs through pieces of historical evidence, such as original documents, old guidebooks, inventories, wills, sales catalogs, and marks on the work itself indicating a particular collection. Rembrandt poses problems in this regard because so little is definitely known about his life and only some 30 works can be connected with documents. The third method is technical analysis, which may consist of the following techniques for examining whether a work bears established hallmarks of the master's style: X-radiography, which reveals underpainting; infrared reflectography, which shows the separate layers making up the surface; pigment analysis, based on a minute cross section of materials lifted from the canvas; and dendrochronology, based on tree rings, used to date a wooden support.

In the late 1960s the Dutch government funded the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP), with five leading Dutch scholars forming a committee whose charge was to inspect personally and technically every painting worldwide that was attributed to the master.

6.15 School of Rembrandt, *Man with a Golden Helmet*, ca. 1650–65. Oil on canvas, 26⅜ × 20″ (67.5 × 50.7 cm). Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

In five volumes of the *Corpus of Rembrandt's Paintings* the works are graded according to a system: "A" for works definitely attributed to Rembrandt, "B" for works that can neither be definitely given or not given to him, and "C" for rejected attributions.

An example of a work that has suffered de-attribution is the fine *tronie* (character study) in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, the *Man with a Golden Helmet* (ca. 1650–65; Fig. 6.15). Its attribution to Rembrandt was dropped in 1985, due to reasons of style and technique. The work still poses problems, since there is no agreement on either its probable author or the symbolism of the low-relief design on the helmet. Such de-attributions raise intriguing questions: Does a work still retain the same degree of artistic merit if it is no longer the work of a major master? Is its monetary worth lower as a result of the change? Are we likely to spend less time viewing and studying a "former Rembrandt"?

Uylenburgh, and they married in 1634. The artist painted large numbers of commissioned portraits, large and small, single-figured, group, and pendants of married couples. He also took on a considerable number of assistants and pupils, each of whom paid 100 guilders, according to a contemporary account. However, around the time of Saskia's premature death in 1642, Rembrandt's fortunes began to decline, in part as a result of his extravagant spending. A clash with his new housekeeper, Geertge Dircx, pushed Rembrandt to the extreme of having her committed to a house of correction. The nadir was reached in 1656, when Rembrandt declared bankruptcy and his extraordinary collection of art and artifacts was put on sale, as well as his house, in order to pay his debts. But the presence of a servant in his household from 1647, Hendrickje Stoffels, who became his mistress, accompanied an upswing in his output. Some of Rembrandt's most powerful works date from this late period of the 1650s and 1660s. Her death in 1663 was followed by that of Titus, his sole surviving son by Saskia, in 1668. Rembrandt died the next year, and Cornelia, his illegitimate daughter by Hendrickje, passed away the following year.

6.16 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, 1625. Oil on panel, 35¼ × 48⅝" (89.5 × 123.6 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.

With his first signed and dated picture, *The Stoning of St. Stephen* of 1625, Rembrandt announced his intention in Leiden to be a history painter on a large scale—the work measures some 3 by 4½ feet (FIG. 6.16). All of Rembrandt's paintings up until 1631 are on oak panel, a type of support that he continued to use for smaller works while he increasingly preferred canvas, especially for large paintings. Although the subject of a saint's death might suggest that the picture was painted for a Catholic patron, Stephen's death is in fact described in the Bible, the literary source Rembrandt preferred throughout his career. Some historians believe the original owner of the painting was Petrus Scriverius, a Dutch humanist resident in Leiden, who actively supported local poets and artists, including Van Swanenburg.

The Acts of the Apostles tells the story of St. Stephen, the first martyr (protomartyr) and the first of the initial seven deacons of the Church appointed by the apostles to take responsibility for administrative duties, such as the distribution of charities. Stephen, known for miracles and long, persuasive sermons, was brought before the Sanhedrin, or Jewish council, in Jerusalem and charged with blasphemy. His response, in which he harshly condemned the Jews and accused them of having killed Christ, so angered the council that, without the benefit of due process of Roman law, he was dragged from the city and stoned. According to the biblical passage:

> But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God." Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him. (Acts 7:55–8)

Stephen, the principal focal point of the swirling compositional diagonals, is shown according to tradition as a young man dressed in a deacon's vestments, namely, a brocaded dalmatic—a long-sleeved overgarment slit partially up the sides—over a long, white alb. His beatific face, lit by a strong light, corresponds to the description in Acts: "And all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." On a hilltop in the distance, amidst a panorama of the city, Rembrandt shows a seated young man holding the clothing of the executioners: This is Saul, persecutor of the Christians, before his conversion as St. Paul on the road to Damascus.

The composition of the picture reveals Rembrandt's close study of Lastman's histories, including a now lost painting of the same subject. From his master he borrowed the motif of the large crowd in the foreground, the towers and foliage rising in the rear space, the concern for detail in costumes, and the bright local colors. Unlike Lastman, however, he emphasized certain elements at the expense of others. In particular, he placed in shadow the figural group on the left so that it acts as a *repoussoir* and directs the viewer's attention to the plight of the saint. Rembrandt also based the composition on a widely influential small painting on copper of the same subject by the German artist Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), created during his sojourn in Rome in 1600–10. From Elsheimer Rembrandt borrowed the group of attendant figures, including the turbaned equestrian in shadow on the left, the shaft of light illuminating Stephen in the foreground, and the distant view of trees and ruins. Rembrandt knew Elsheimer's work through Lastman, who was part of the same circle of Northern painters in Rome. Another intermediary was the Dutch printmaker Hendrick Goudt (1583–1648), Elsheimer's pupil and patron in Rome in the years 1604–10, who popularized his master's compositions in a series of seven reproductive prints (ca. 1608–15) that were collected by Rembrandt (see "Rembrandt and Netherlandish Print Culture," opposite).

For the face of St. Stephen Rembrandt adopted his own facial features, such as the bulbous nose and curly

Rembrandt and Netherlandish Print Culture

The Dutch enjoyed a lively print culture in the Golden Age, and were inundated daily by printed images of all kinds, including crude broadsheets, portraits, city views, erotic pictures, book illustrations, and moralizing engravings with explanatory texts. Purchased at bookstores, auctions, and fairs, prints were hung at home, either framed or tacked to the wall, or collected in albums. Printmaking offered the seventeenth-century artist a two-dimensional medium with broad opportunities for visual expression, and a source of income. Unlike painting, a print exists in multiple copies and thus is less expensive to buy and can reach a wider audience. In numerous instances, literally thousands of impressions were obtained from a single copper plate over decades. Prints generally consisted of two types: original compositions and reproductive images. A thriving industry in the latter made it possible for Baroque artists to become acquainted with the work of their Renaissance forebears as well as contemporaries throughout Europe. In some cases, painters used the print media to produce copies of their own painted compositions, such as Federico Barocci's *The Annunciation* (see Fig. 1.14), while others specialized in reproductions of the work of other artists.

Seventeenth-century artists utilized two basic print techniques, relief and intaglio. The principal form of relief print was the woodcut, in which the artist cuts away the negative parts of the image and prints the lines remaining on the surface of the block. Woodblock prints had been popular in the fifteenth century, but declined in use later because of limitations in producing fine lines. The intaglio technique is different insofar as the ink is pushed into recesses below the surface of a thin metal plate, usually made of copper. After the excess ink is wiped from the surface of the plate, it must be printed under extreme pressure so that the lines of ink, forced out of the grooves, stand in relief on the printed paper.

Three intaglio processes were employed, sometimes in combination in a single work. In an engraving, the artist uses a burin to incise a line in the plate, literally removing a thin curl of metal through the pressure of the instrument against the plate. The action of the burin entering and leaving the surface creates an elegant, crisp line that swells and tapers. In an etching, the artist draws his lines with an etching needle through a thin acid-resistant resin layer covering the plate, which is then placed for a period of time in an acid "bath" so that the corrosive liquid "bites" the exposed grooves that will hold the ink. Although the action of the acid produces a slightly less clean line than an engraved line, etching was the preferred technique because it most closely resembles the activity of drawing. In a drypoint, the artist uses a sharp stylus to scratch the bare surface of the plate directly. As the groove is opened, the metal is displaced to a ridge, or burr, along the line, producing a soft, velvety tone where the ink is trapped by the burr. Only a few impressions are possible, since the burr tends to break down quickly under the high pressure of the press. In the 1660s a fourth intaglio technique emerged: Mezzotint involves the roughing of the entire plate by means of a rocker or roulette, then burnishing selectively those areas that will print white, with the result that the printed image is rich in tonal variation.

Among the many artists who were both painters and printmakers (French: *peintre-graveur*), Rembrandt, with a body of work of almost 300 prints, stands out as unique in his efforts to test the limits of the medium. He was himself an avid collector of both original and reproductive prints, Northern and Italian, from which he borrowed motifs for his own compositions. His virtuoso handling of the medium is evident in his *Christ Healing the Sick*, also called *The Hundred Guilder Print* due to the high sum some collectors paid for it in the mid seventeenth century (ca. 1642–9; Fig. 6.17). Relatively large, measuring some 11 by 15 inches, the work focuses on a historical narrative from the life of Christ as told in the Gospels. The multi-figured composition, teeming with details, is organized through bold shapes of light and dark. In an effort to involve the viewer, Rembrandt depicts several incidents from the story: the crowds following Christ, his healing of the sick and blessing of children, the adversarial Pharisees, the sad young man who must choose between material and spiritual wealth (seated to the left of the woman presenting her child), and even a camel, a reference to Christ's dictum, "Verily I say unto you, . . . it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matt. 19:24). Like many of his prints and paintings from this time, the image was reworked over a period of several years, as Rembrandt burnished various details from the plate, or in some cases left them visible and overlapped them with new elements. He etched most of the lines, but also added engraved lines to produce deeper, stronger blacks, and some drypoint for the sake of feathered tones.

6.17 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ Healing the Sick: The Hundred Guilder Print*, ca. 1642–9. Etching with engraving and drypoint, 11 × 15¼" (27.8 × 38.8 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. Fritz Achelis Memorial Collection. Gift of Frederic George Achelis, B.A. 1907.

6.18 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1629. Oil on panel, 8⅞ × 7⅜″ (22.5 × 18.6 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Self-Portrait, painted in Leiden, shows Rembrandt, aged 23, as youthful and immature. He made no effort to idealize his face. Instead, we are struck by the plebeian features, especially the nose and the unruly mop of hair. Rembrandt focused exclusively on the face, avoiding the more usual half-length view in the context of the artist's studio, as in Judith Leyster's *Self-Portrait* of the same decade (see FIG. 6.14). Close examination shows considerable freedom in the technique, such as the little swirls of the brush that fill the background, the strip of white impasto paint delineating the collar, and the inscribing of the curls of the hair with the butt end of the brush. The pronounced light and shadow reveal Rembrandt's familiarity with the Utrecht Followers of Caravaggio. Particularly unusual in the context of portraiture is the way Rembrandt has thrown his eyes into shadow. In the Baroque age the eyes were commonly held to be the windows of the soul; by clouding our view of them, Rembrandt stimulates our efforts to read his thoughts.

Immediately upon his arrival in Amsterdam, Rembrandt became the city's most sought-after portraitist, an activity that he considered less important than history painting but essential for an income. His success in this field is epitomized by the group portrait called *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, which originally hung in the quarters of the Surgeons' Guild (1632; FIG. 6.19). The tradition of "boards of directors" portraits that we have seen in Hals's *Regents* and *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse* flourished in Amsterdam as well as in Haarlem. In this case, several wealthy members of the guild, not the directors, commissioned the painting. Three earlier pictures of the governors of the Surgeons' Guild had shown the sitters posing around an anatomical demonstration. Rembrandt's tenebristic and highly detailed painting, with its fine, uniform brushwork and clearly defined volumes, differs in the degree to which he represented the men actively absorbed in witnessing the dissection. Nevertheless, it is not a "snapshot" of an actual event—dissections commenced with the abdominal viscera, not the arm—but Rembrandt breathed new life into a conventional format by showing Dr. Tulp as the "Vesalius of Amsterdam" in the act of lecturing.

The material success and married life enjoyed by the artist in the 1630s is suggested by the exuberant double portrait of Rembrandt and Saskia in the *Self-Portrait as the Prodigal Son in the Tavern* (ca. 1636; FIG. 6.20). The work is problematic in ways that typically challenge art historians attempting to understand Rembrandt's work. First, not all of them agree that this is a portrait of the artist and his wife. Nonetheless, the figures do closely resemble other portraits of Rembrandt and Saskia of this time. In these artworks the sitters wear historical costume loosely based on sixteenth-century clothes instead of contemporary garb. In the prodigal son painting Rembrandt wears a white shirt under a red doublet, a slashed cap with plumes, and a sword with a gilded hilt, while Saskia is clothed in

hair visible in the early *Self-Portrait* of circa 1629 (FIG. 6.18). Additionally, the heads of three of the executioners are also closely related to his own physiognomy. Not only does this show that the artist was drawing his face in the mirror at this early date, it also shows that from the beginning of his career he was interested in putting himself into history paintings. In the same way, he used members of his family as models for historical figures throughout his life. Rembrandt was familiar with the tradition in both Italian and Northern painting whereby artists inserted themselves as bystanders in a history scene, but he pushed the limits of this notion by employing his own features for the principal protagonist. Even in his self-portraits he often historicized himself through the costume and setting. Although his reasons for doing this are not entirely clear, it is certain that Rembrandt sought a level of personal involvement with his subjects that went beyond the norm.

Rembrandt's preoccupation with representing himself far outstripped that of his contemporaries. An extraordinary number of self-portraits have come down to us in various media—some 40 paintings, 31 etchings, and several drawings—few of which were commissioned or were intended for a specific patron. Rather, Rembrandt seems to have used self-portraiture for several reasons: as a means of posing formal problems, of representing himself in a variety of guises and roles, and of accommodating collectors seeking the works of an established master. The early

6.19 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, 1632. Oil on canvas, 66¾ × 85¼″ (169.5 × 216.5 cm). Mauritshuis, The Hague.

View the Closer Look on *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* on mysearchlab.com

6.20 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait as the Prodigal Son in the Tavern*, ca. 1636. Oil on canvas, 63⅜ × 51½″ (161 × 131 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.

a complex bodice with gathered sleeves, gold chains, and pearl earrings. Second, technical analysis has shown that the painting was cut down from its original size, a fate suffered by many Baroque works that were moved from place to place or reframed over the centuries. Third, analysis has also shown that an additional figure of a lute player was painted over by the artist, but whether for reasons of composition or theme can only be conjectured. What is clear, however, is that the subject and format of the work reveal that Rembrandt was familiar with the genre scenes of the Utrecht Caravaggisti (compare Van Honthorst's *The Procuress*, FIG. 6.4).

Most important, the function and meaning of the picture have been debated. The setting is that of a tavern, on the basis of the board at the upper left, which was commonly used to tally drinks. Indeed, it appears that Rembrandt showed himself in the context usually reserved for the merry company or equally, the narrative of the prodigal son (see "'To Err is Human . . .': The Parable of the Prodigal Son," p. 185). This comes as no surprise, as we have already seen that Rembrandt included himself prominently in *The Stoning of St. Stephen.* The raised glass is a symbol of the sin of gluttony and the peacock pie represents pride. Thus the painting derives in part from the pictorial tradition of the *portrait historié*, or historiated portrait, in which an artist shows the sitter in the guise of a historical or literary figure, some aspect of whose identity the sitter shares by implication. That an artist would show himself this way is unusual. It is certainly not likely

6.21 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Blinding of Samson*, 1636. Oil on canvas, 81⅛ × 108⅝″ (206 × 276 cm). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.

6.22 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Naughty Child*, ca. 1635. Pen and brush and brown ink, 8⅛ × 5⅜″ (20.6 × 14.3 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

that Rembrandt was confessing to a life of extravagance and sexual indulgence in Amsterdam. In short, Rembrandt was not afraid to blur or overlap the boundaries of different subject categories, here the merry company and the marriage portrait, in order to achieve a lively and compelling picture.

In Amsterdam Rembrandt continued to paint historical subjects in his meticulous Leiden manner, but he also turned to a more international Baroque style, best exemplified in the immense painting, measuring some 7 by 9 feet, *The Blinding of Samson* of 1636 (FIG. 6.21). This was one of four paintings he produced in the years 1628 to 1638 that dealt with the subject of Samson. In this version he reiterated the basic themes of Van Honthorst's *Samson and Delilah* (see FIG. 6.2): the power of women, the battle of the sexes, and the vices of lust and avarice. However, Rembrandt chose a different moment in the narrative from the book of Judges: not the cutting of the hair, but the capture of Samson, now shorn of his strength, wrestled to the ground, and blinded by the Philistines. He gives the spectator a close-up view of the torments visited on the muscular but hapless hero, in particular the detail of a dagger thrust into his right eye. In the background a triumphant Delilah, holding scissors in one hand and the seven locks shorn from his head in the other, rushes from the tent in which she had seduced him, shouting the words of triumph: "The Philistines be upon thee Samson."

The large canvas, with its swelling volumes, energetic composition of diagonals, simple combination of a few easily discerned figures, and bold pattern of light and dark, attains a monumentality that is not found in Rembrandt's earlier history paintings, such as *The Stoning of St. Stephen* (see FIG. 6.16). While it shows Rembrandt's continued interest in the tenebrism of the Utrecht school, it also testifies to his increasing study of Italian painting. The pictorial tradition for this particular moment in the narrative may be traced back to Venetian sources. The painterly brushwork, with its variety of broad and detailed strokes and combination of glazes and impasto passages standing in relief also reveals Rembrandt's interest in Venetian technique. The turbulent action and compelling emotionalism seem to have been intended to rival those same qualities in the work of his chief counterpart in the Spanish Netherlands, Peter Paul Rubens (compare *The Capture of Samson*; 1609–10; see FIG. 8.6).

A painting of this size was too large for the average Dutch interior to accommodate. This was presumably the picture offered by Rembrandt as a token of appreciation to Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the stadhouder of the United Provinces, who acted as intermediary in the commission of a Passion cycle in small format for Prince Frederick Henry. Now the artist wished to demonstrate his abilities in the realm of history painting on a grand scale.

Rembrandt's ability to depict the human figure convincingly in the context of a history picture was the result of a lifelong devotion to recording all aspects of human behavior around him, whether the posed model in the

studio or an event in real life. Although he painted few genre scenes, he dealt with all kinds of domestic situations, including the relationship of mothers and children, in the medium of drawing. Most of these are rapid sketches executed in brown ink with a pen delineating details like the faces, and a brush summarily indicating shadows. Fewer drawings are executed in red or black chalk. *The Naughty Child,* executed around 1635, shows his ability to capture dramatic movement and emotion in a few quick strokes (FIG. 6.22). A determined mother grips a squalling child who has kicked off his shoe, while a servant or grandmother shakes a disapproving finger at the boy and two other children look on.

Mature Works

Rembrandt's *The Night Watch,* properly called *The Military Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch,* represents his unique approach to the subject of the militia company as a subcategory of the group portrait (completed in 1642; FIG. 6.23). A much larger city than Haarlem, Amsterdam had 20 civic guard companies of about 200 members each. These companies belonged to one of three militia guilds defined by the weapons traditionally carried by the men—archers, crossbowmen, and musketeers. The presence of firearms (*kloveren*) in Rembrandt's painting signals that it was originally hung in the new wing of the Kloveniersdoelen, the headquarters of the musketeers, alongside six earlier group portraits. The painting received its present title only in 1797, by which time the protective layer of varnish had darkened considerably. Although patrolling the city was one of the functions of the company, the painting does not literally represent a night watch. Nor was there a triumphal arch in Amsterdam, as represented in the background. Like

6.23 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Night Watch*, 1642. Oil on canvas, trimmed on all sides, especially the left, in 1715; 142⅞ × 172½″ (363 × 438 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Rembrandt's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, this is a commemorative piece that takes liberties with reality.

The artist pushed the limits of the genre in another regard: Although 18 men paid around 100 guilders each to be included in the painting, he added some 13 further men, three children, and a barking dog in order to approximate a crowd scene. The group is led by the principal officers, Captain Frans Banning Cocq, dressed in the black garb of the regent class, and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch, wearing a yellow military suit with a gorget (metal neck plate) and carrying a tasseled partisan that projects through the picture plane. Chief among the many picturesque details that Rembrandt used to enliven the picture is the little girl to the left of Cocq; she was of course not a member of the company. The yellow and blue of her sumptuous dress were the ceremonial colors of the group, while the chicken hanging from her belt is a witty allusion to the company's heraldic symbol: the talons of a bird of prey. Rembrandt further added to the sense of bustle by having three men demonstrate the use of the musket in sequential steps—loading, firing, and blowing powder from the pan—while others on the right carry pikes. It was traditional for artists to include self-portraits within the Amsterdam militia pictures, and it is tempting to identify the partially seen head, wearing a beret, above and behind Cocq, as that of Rembrandt himself—again insinuating himself into a multi-figured composition.

In representing members of the Amsterdam kloveniers company, Rembrandt rejected the archaic format of the horizontal lineup as well as Hals's notion of the sitters informally posing for their portrait, as in the *Officers and Sergeants of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard Company* (see FIG. 6.10). Instead, he went to the extreme of showing the men in full movement, seemingly striding directly into the space of the viewer. Moreover, unlike the Haarlem portraits, where tradition called for three-quarter-length figures, the tradition in Amsterdam was for full-length figures. Once Rembrandt had established the larger shapes of the composition through his customary use of Caravaggesque tenebrism, he introduced a brilliant palette of contrasting reds, yellows, and blacks to guide the eye of the viewer. Encouraged by the large size of the canvas, he employed exceptionally loose and varied brushwork, alternating between thin tonal washes and thickly built-up areas of impasto. The painterly influence of the late Titian is apparent (compare FIG. 0.17), except that Rembrandt went further in creating embossed areas of paint that suggest the textures of things represented, such as an embroidered jacket or a jewel-lined cape.

Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter, signed and dated 1654, represents Rembrandt's interest in combining history painting and the Venetian nude with elements of his personal life (FIG. 6.24). The life-size figure of Bathsheba dominates the square canvas. She is seated out of doors in a tenebristic space alongside a pool of water, having
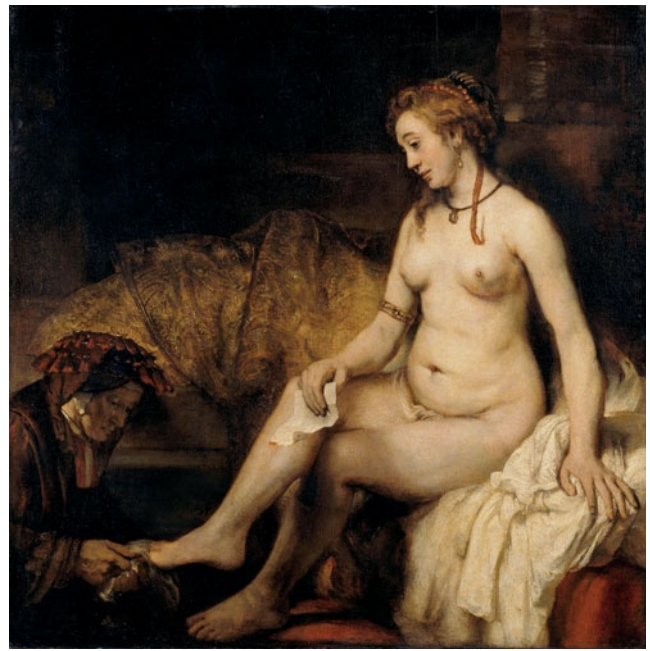
6.24 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter*, 1654. Oil on canvas, 55⅞ × 55⅞″ (142 × 142 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

thrown off a magnificent brocaded dress and white undergarments. The Old Testament narrative of Bathsheba and David was traditionally part of the power of women theme, wherein she represented the archetype of the adulteress. The biblical passage reads as follows:

> And it came to pass in an eveningtide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon. And David sent and enquired after the woman. And one said, Is not this Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite? And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her. . . . And the woman conceived, and sent and told David, and said, I am with child (II Sam. 11:2–5)

Several commandments were broken in the biblical story: David coveted the wife of his general Uriah, whom he arranged to have killed on the battlefield so that he could possess her; he and Bathsheba committed adultery. In the end, God punished the couple through the death of their first child.

Neither David's letter of invitation, held by Bathsheba, nor the maidservant are mentioned in the text. They became standard elements in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Northern representations of the subject. The old woman, whom we saw in Van Honthorst's *Samson and Delilah* (see FIG. 6.2) and in works such as his *The*

Procuress (see FIG. 6.4), traditionally served two purposes: to increase the beauty of the young woman through visual contrast, and to suggest the source of the girl's corrupted morals. Rembrandt, however, shifted the emphasis by placing the maidservant in the shadows in the lower left corner and providing Bathsheba with a tilt of the head and an absorbed gaze. She thus appears to contemplate a dilemma—whether to obey her king or remain true to her husband—with the result that the spectator becomes involved in her plight. Her vulnerability is increased by Rembrandt's disconcerting depiction of the female body, one that possesses the monumentality of the Venetian nude (compare Giorgione, FIG. 11.7) but rejects the idealism of that tradition in favor of a plump middle-aged figure. Instead of making her the object of the sexual gaze, the artist renders the viewer sympathetic to her feelings.

Many, although not all experts on Rembrandt, identify the model who posed as Bathsheba as the artist's mistress Hendrickje. This raises significant issues regarding Rembrandt's intentions and the painting's original ownership. The fact that in the same year she bore Rembrandt an illegitimate daughter, Cornelia, and that she was called before the church council and accused of "living in whoredom with the painter Rembrandt" suggests that the artist may have chosen the subject for personal reasons. Is this a portrait of Hendrickje as Bathsheba, or a history painting into which Rembrandt typically has placed a contemporary? The painting demonstrates Rembrandt's strengths as a history painter in conveying the essential human elements of the story. His historical figures possess a truthfulness that comes less from the setting and accouterments than from the perceptive portrayal of their emotional response to the circumstances surrounding their lives.

Late Works

Despite a loss of popularity in his late years, due in part to the greater preference of mid-century patrons for a refined painting technique, Rembrandt continued to receive commissions in the 1660s, including that for his last group portrait. *The Sampling Officials of the Drapers' Guild of Amsterdam* was originally hung in the Staalhof, the offices of the guild, alongside five comparable works dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1662; FIG. 6.25). It was here that the committee of men inspected dyed cloth and gave

6.25 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Sampling Officials of the Drapers' Guild of Amsterdam*, 1662. Oil on canvas, 75⅜ × 109⅞" (191.5 × 279 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

their seal of approval. Rembrandt followed the standard format for the subgenre of the board-of-directors group portrait by showing the five officials around a table accompanied by their manservant. The sitters can be reasonably identified through documents of the guild. In their activities and religious affiliations the men represented a typical cross section of the regent class in Amsterdam. From left to right they are: Jacob van Loon, the oldest of the group, a Roman Catholic; Volckert Jansz, a Mennonite with a famous collection of curiosities, shown rising from his chair; Willem van Doyenberg, a member of the Reformed Church, a wealthy cloth merchant and chairman of the committee, who displays an account book with an emphatic gesture; Jochem de Neve, a member of the city's chief family of cloth merchants and a Remonstrant; and Aernout van der Mye, a Roman Catholic from a family of brewers. They are all dressed in the black garb of the regent class, with the long hair fashionable even for older men in the 1660s, as in Hals's late group portrait *Regents of the Old Men's Almshouse* (see FIG. 6.11). X-ray analysis of the painting has revealed that the position of the standing servant, Frans Hendricz Bel, gave Rembrandt the most problems; the artist sketched him in several different places before choosing the central position. As we have seen in two earlier group portraits by Rembrandt, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* and *The Night Watch*, the artist preferred to unify the subject through the portrayal of a common action, even to the extent of suppressing the individuals. Hals in his late group portraits emphasized the individual at the expense of the group. Here Rembrandt avoids either extreme: Although the figures seem to address the spectator, the common action that draws them together into a unified composition is understated and their individual character is emphasized. Thus in this late work the painter effected a balance between unity and individuality.

Unlike the more tonal painting of Hals, Rembrandt heightens the blackness of the costume by contrasting it with the jewel-like colors of the carpet covering the table, deftly painted with small impasto dabs and swirls. As in the case of Rembrandt's other group portraits, the work is commemorative and should not be taken as an image of a real activity, especially since the men worked separately. The symbolic function of the painting is apparent in the artist's incorporation of a picture within the picture on the right side of the paneled wall, a small painting of a beacon along a shoreline. For the Amsterdam cloth industry these men were like guiding lights, ensuring the high quality of the cloth product.

To a great extent Rembrandt's fame rests on his extraordinary history paintings of the late years, like *The Return of the Prodigal Son* of circa 1666–8 (FIG. 6.26). For this picture, left unfinished at his death and probably touched up by an associate, he chose not the early episode from the parable told by Christ, traditionally favored by Northern

6.26 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, ca. 1666–8. Oil on canvas, 103⅛ × 81⅛" (262 × 206 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

painters and adopted for his own *Self-Portrait as the Prodigal Son in the Tavern* (see FIG. 6.20), in which the son wastes his inheritance in riotous living, but rather the later episode that focuses on the spiritual meaning of Christ's parable (see "'To Err is Human . . .': The Parable of the Prodigal Son," p. 185). The son, having lost everything, returns home repentant and is forgiven by his father, who rushes from the house to meet him. Rembrandt had previously represented this part of the parable in an etching of 1636, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, in which he showed father and son in profile coming together on the steps outside the house. Here the father stands on the steps in a frontal position, bending forward to receive and embrace the son, now seen from the back. The great import attached to this parable by Calvin, who emphasized the loving, protective relationship that God "the Father" shares with his children, suggests that the work may have been painted for a Protestant collector. Generally speaking, unlike Catholic patrons, who preferred scenes of the Crucifixion and lives of the saints, Protestants were drawn to narratives from the life of Christ, the evangelists, and the Old Testament. Be that as it may, the priestlike costume of the father, who bends over the son, and the latter's position on his knees,

like a communicant before the altar, impart a ritual effect to the painting (compare Domenichino's altarpiece, the *Last Communion of St. Jerome*, 1614; see FIG. 2.9). Ultimately, the work transcends the specifics of either Protestantism or Catholicism. Its timeless appeal derives from the uncomplicated statement of universal values: The painting is about reconciliation, homecoming, deeply felt love, and union between generations.

Rembrandt's late style is characterized by a stillness and immobility that is utterly different from the dynamic style of his earlier history pictures like *The Blinding of Samson* of three decades before (see FIG. 6.21). The simplicity is enhanced by a rough handling of paint that shows the influence of Titian's late technique: Both artists painted without preparatory drawings, incorporating changes as their works developed and applying pigment in blotches and daubs that coalesce into recognizable forms when seen from a distance. During his career Rembrandt's tenebrism lost its stark light-and-dark contrast and turned softer and more evocative. Warm tones of red, olive, and gold and unexpected patches of blue punctuate the atmosphere.

Rembrandt represented himself in the profession of a painter only in a few late self-portraits, of which the most monumental is the *Self-Portrait with Maulstick, Palette, and Brushes* of the mid 1660s (FIG. 6.27). His bulky three-quarter-length figure stands before a canvas barely indicated by a vertical line at the upper right side of the painting. X-ray examination has revealed that originally the left arm held a brush and the right arm the palette. In the final form he indicated only very summarily the tools held by the left hand and the position of the right hand at his side. The emphasis is thus on Rembrandt's face, lit from the upper left by a brilliant light that throws the eyes into shadow, just as in the early *Self-Portrait* of circa 1629, thus clouding his visage and forcing the viewer to imagine the artist's thoughts (see FIG. 6.18). The simple costume, consisting of painter's smock and linen cap, and the lack of any fashionable accouterments in the studio, show the artist's disdain for the type of Baroque self-portrait in which social status or the intellectual character of the profession is emphasized, as in Judith Leyster's *Self-Portrait* (see FIG. 6.14). He preferred to see himself honestly, for what he was, a painter, and to emphasize the physical nature of his craft.

Rembrandt built up the large volumes of the cap and the head through broad directional strokes, laden with impasto, while he achieved the wrinkles of the brow and the sagging eyelids with smaller but thick touches, wet in wet. As in the early self-portrait he used the reverse end of the brush to scribble in the thick paint, this time to indicate his moustache. There are analogies with the rough late style of Hals. The two semicircles at the back act as a compositional counterpoint to the large triangular form of the body. We do not know what Rembrandt intended by these circles. Symbols of endurance and perfection, they

6.27 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait with Maulstick, Palette, and Brushes*, mid 1660s. Oil on canvas, 45 × 37″ (114.3 × 94 cm). Kenwood House, London. The Iveagh Bequest.

may have been intended to suggest the universal fame of the painter, or they may have constituted an allusion to the apocryphal tradition in artists' biographies according to which a great artist demonstrates his talent by drawing a perfect circle. In any case, the enduring appeal of Rembrandt's art is in part the result of this combination of sketchiness and enigmatic detail that calls for the subjective participation of the viewer.

The artists discussed in this chapter—the Utrecht Followers of Caravaggio, Frans Hals and Judith Leyster, and Rembrandt—shared a primary interest in rendering the expressive human figure, often restricting the view to just the face or the upper torso and having the body address the spectator through gesture or eye contact. Whether their works belong to the subject category of portraiture, history painting, or genre, these artists usually placed the figure close to the picture plane, thus impinging on the real world of the viewer. However, Dutch Golden Age painting also derives its fame from the multitude of images in which the figure is often a minor part of a specific, detailed spatial environment—or is sometimes absent altogether. This alternative approach is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Picturing Holland in the Dutch Republic's Golden Age

In seventeenth-century Holland the audience for paintings and prints consisted primarily of a burgeoning, prosperous urban population that reaped the benefits of the republic's separation from Habsburg Spain. Economic success in the realm of shipping and manufacturing brought untold wealth to large numbers of individuals, thus creating a climate in which the production of luxury goods flourished. Whereas the Church and the nobility constituted the chief patrons of art in other European countries, in Holland art production responded to the desires of the ordinary citizen, who either commissioned artworks or, more often, purchased them on the open market.

Genre scenes of Dutch domestic interiors frequently show framed paintings hanging on the walls (see FIGS. 7.10 and 7.13). The average buyer valued paintings and prints most highly, whereas drawings were more likely to be found in the collections of connoisseurs and artists, and sculpture was relatively rare, commissions being largely limited to the realm of public monuments. An extraordinary number of artists flourished under these circumstances, all competing for the same market, so they tended to specialize in a single subject category. Indeed, artists usually limited their output to a narrow subgenre of a category: A still-life painter, for instance, might focus exclusively on flower, banquet, or *vanitas* pictures. Both Karel van Mander, in his *Schilder-Boeck* (*The Painter's Book*) of

Pieter de Hooch, *The Linen Cupboard*, 1663. (Detail of FIG. 7.6)

1604, and Samuel van Hoogstraten, in his treatise *Inleyding tot de hoog schoole der schilderkonst* (*Introduction to the Elevated School of Painting*) of 1678, proposed a hierarchy of subjects for Dutch art that was based on Italian Renaissance art theory: History painting of course occupied the top rung, followed by portraiture, genre, landscape, and still life. Because historical subjects were fairly large in size and complicated in terms of figures, they were more expensive to produce and garnered higher prices. Landscapes, on the other hand, counted for the largest number of pieces produced, apparently because some painters could create them more rapidly than figural works. Portraits and history paintings were next in frequency, followed by genre and still life.

The fascination exerted by Dutch artists over the centuries is the result of their seemingly literal transcription of everyday life. No other group before this time, and indeed no contemporary group elsewhere in Europe, left so complete a visual record of towns, landscapes, interiors, and day-to-day activities, one that to modern eyes seems comparable to photographic documentation of a specific time and place. Even so, artists created these works in the studio (see "The Creation of a Baroque Painting," p. 230), following pictorial conventions that were part of a venerable tradition. As realistic as they may seem, the pictures, whether displaying a tidy domicile or a well-traveled landscape, present an ideal view that promotes visually the cultural values of the Dutch Republic. Historians generally

Strategies for Interpreting Dutch Art

Dutch artists have been admired over the past three centuries for their ability to capture in full detail the look of people, cities, and landscape. Late nineteenth-century authors, like Henry James and Eugène Fromentin, described Dutch paintings and prints as mirrors of contemporary life devoid of extraneous meaning. But in the twentieth century historians began to question how faithful these images were to visual reality and to what extent they reflected societal ideals and helped to establish cultural values. In the 1970s and 1980s several conflicting points of view, each represented by a well-known historian, provided the basis for lively debate.

One of these strategies is iconology, as practiced by a leading Dutch scholar, Eddy de Jongh. He based his method on that of the great historian of early Netherlandish art, Erwin Panofsky, who coined the term "disguised realism" to explain the incorporation of hidden symbolic motifs in Flemish panel painting. In a similar way de Jongh, in his article "Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting" in the catalog *Rembrandt en zijn tijd* (*Rembrandt and His Time*, 1971), referred to the mimetic effect of Dutch painting as "apparent realism" (*schijnrealisme*), implying that despite the convincing rendering of detail, artists reorganized the real world in order to represent a higher level of truth, often concealed behind the surface and didactic in effect.

To unlock the meaning of Dutch paintings, de Jongh studied contemporary popular prints, the inscriptions beneath reproductive prints, and popular literature, especially emblem books. The last, initially published in early sixteenth-century Italy by such pioneers as Andrea Alciati, whose *Emblematum Liber* (1531) underwent numerous editions in different languages, were popular in Holland in the seventeenth century, where they were usually moralizing and didactic, frequently with religious overtones, although the love emblem also flourished. Typically, an emblem consists of three parts—a superscription or motto, a cryptic image, and a text—which together elucidate the meaning, as may be seen in the *Emblem Representing Death* from the British writer George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635; Fig. 7.1).

The leading opponent of the iconological approach was the American art historian Svetlana Alpers, whose book *The Art of Describing* (1983) claims that Dutch Baroque art has suffered from interpretive strategies more appropriate to the more literary-inspired art of the Italian Renaissance. She discounts the effectiveness of emblems in reading meaning, because for her the crucial element of Dutch painting is the surface, not what is purportedly behind it. Thus she found that the study of representational formats and the craft of picture making was a more useful tool in achieving understanding. In demonstrating her thesis that the primary goal of artists was to analyze and describe the physical world in an objective, not didactic, sense, she offers many connections between art and science, discussing in detail scientific diagrams, maps, and such instruments as the microscope and the camera obscura.

The Dutch scholar Eric van Sluijter also critiqued de Jongh's approach by arguing that the original viewers found delight in the visual appeal of the paintings and their beguiling simulation of the natural world. These strategies remain in force, albeit in modified form, with the addition of newer methods, such as contextual analysis, feminist criticism, gender studies, literary investigation, and material culture. A renewed interest in archival research and technical analysis offers further perspectives.
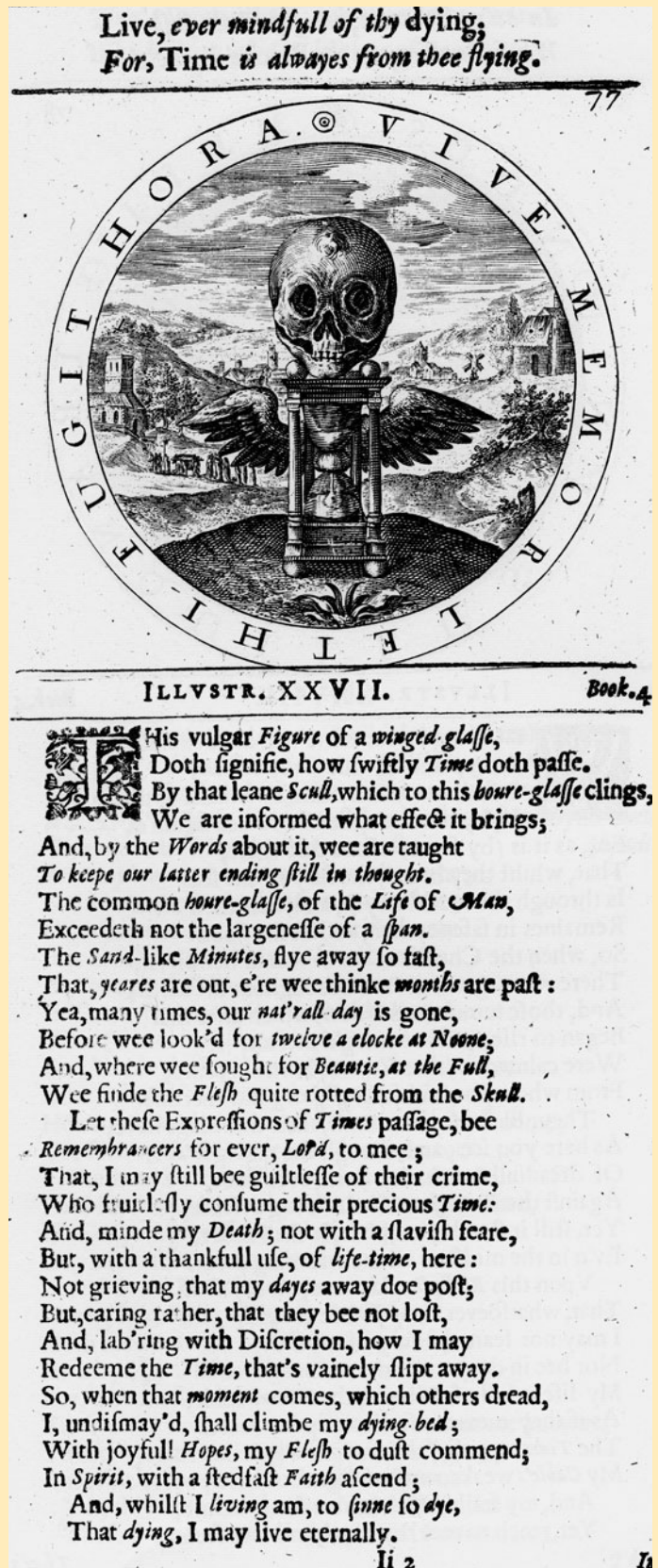
7.1 Crispijn van de Passe, Elder and Younger, *Emblem Representing Death*, from George Wither, *Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne*, London, 1635.

agree that the works embody contemporary Dutch aspirations, but they part company when it comes to determining methods for understanding how these images were perceived.

Pioneers of Dutch Genre

No category of Dutch art is more irresistible than genre painting, loosely defined as scenes from daily life, which offers intimate glimpses of the Dutch world in all its variety. The word genre (from the French for kind or type) was not used in this sense in the seventeenth century; it was adopted only at the end of the eighteenth century by French art theorists who were attempting to characterize subjects within a stringent hierarchy. Instead the Dutch used the general term *moderne beelden* (modern figures) for everyday scenes, and devised more specialized words for popular subcategories: *geselschapje* (merry company), *buitenpartij* (outdoor high-life party), *cortegaerdje* (guardroom scene), *bordeeltje* (brothel scene), *boerenkermis* (peasant fair), or *conversatie* (conversation). It should be noted, however, that Dutch genre scenes were not inclusive of all aspects of contemporary experience.

The development of genre subjects in the Baroque period followed on the innovations and traditions created during the Northern Renaissance. Scenes of extraordinary naturalism had been produced from the beginning of the fifteenth century, such as the calendar pages in illuminated manuscripts. Most remarkable was the incorporation of contemporary details in altarpieces. In the sixteenth century, historical elements often retreated to the background of what appears on first glance to be a purely secular scene, as in Joachim Beuckelaer's *The Cook with Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, which contains a small vignette of the biblical narrative in the rear (1574; see FIG. 0.18). The tendency to incorporate symbolism or moralizing messages in an everyday scene, evident in the work of Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, endured into the seventeenth century, as would be expected of a culture that possessed strong religious values and believed in the transcendental nature of human experience.

Historians divide genre scenes into two concurrent categories, high-life and lowlife or peasant subjects. Many of the high-life images, which represent the moneyed classes, derive from three sources: the medieval garden of love tradition, sixteenth-century depictions of the prodigal son wasting his inheritance in riotous living, and secular, moralizing tavern scenes. The most significant member of the first generation of genre painters was Willem Buytewech (ca. 1591/2–1624) from Rotterdam, who spent a creative period in Haarlem in 1612–17, where he entered the Guild of St. Luke and came into contact with Frans Hals and his circle. Of the small oeuvre of some ten known paintings that he executed from about 1616 to 1624, four works in the high-life category depict elegantly attired young men and women in an interior enjoying themselves by eating, drinking, smoking, playing music, and engaging in amorous activities. Meticulously executed with thinly applied paint, the *Merry Company* measures only a little over 2 feet in height (ca. 1620–2; FIG. 7.2). The work shows a domestic interior with three young men and a woman, all of whom gaze toward the viewer, and a variety of objects filling the foreground space and presented in minute detail and bright local color for the delight of the viewer. Although deriving from the same pictorial tradition as Gerrit van Honthorst's *Merry Company* of 1620 (see FIG. 6.3), Buytewech's painting lacks the Italianate, Caravaggesque characteristics and, with its full-length figures, small scale, and heightened detail, follows more closely the indigenous Dutch tradition. The

7.2 Willem Buytewech, *Merry Company*, ca. 1620–2. Oil on canvas, 28½ × 25¾″ (72.4 × 65.4 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

✳ Explore more about Willem Buytewech on mysearchlab.com

high degree of realism is countered by the pronounced geometric order of the composition, with its loose symmetry and rigorously balanced horizontals and verticals. The self-consciously posed figures, placed around an octagonal table, along with the objects hung on the back wall, mirror each other on either side of the central axis.

Buytewech introduced to interior scenes the motif of the large wall map that served as a compositional device, a statement of Dutch national pride and an allusion to the larger world outside the confines of the room. The Dutch were the master cartographers of the age, the result of superiority in both global exploration and printmaking techniques. Such maps, engraved, handcolored, and supported between two horizontal dowels, provided decoration in public and private interiors. This one shows several of the United Provinces and the Zuiderzee, oriented with north toward the left side of the print (the standard orientation of maps with north toward the top was a later convention). Like Van Honthorst's picture, Buytewech's *Merry Company* comments on the sinful vanity of young people enjoying the pleasures of the flesh, but does so in a gently mocking tone while providing sensuous pleasure for the viewer. The monkey who apes the pose of the man on the right was a common symbol of lascivious behavior. Possibly the painting alludes to the five senses as well. Conservative rules of decorum forbade indulgence in smoking and drinking, as well as flashy clothing, such as the elaborate silken garments sported by these young people. Several sexual symbols underline the erotic nature of the meeting. The flutes, sword, and sheathed dagger are symbolic of the male genitalia, while the lute and the tankard refer to the female genitalia. Particularly obvious is the obscene gesture of the young man on the left, who places the stem of the pipe within encircled fingers; "to pipe" was to have sexual intercourse.

Adriaen van Ostade (1610–85), a master of the second generation, concentrated on lowlife painting in his native city of Haarlem. He was influenced by the Flemish painter Adriaen Brouwer, who spent the period circa 1625–31 in Haarlem before settling in Antwerp. The biographer Arnold Houbraken claimed, perhaps erroneously, that Van Ostade and Brouwer studied together in Hals's studio. Van Ostade's work, like Brouwer's, underwent two distinct phases, both indebted as much to pictorial conventions as to the real world. The first, beginning in the 1630s, consisted of satirical and often violent images of peasants based on Bruegel and Brouwer. The second phase, dating from the late 1640s on, is characterized by a quieter and more sympathetic interpretation of contented peasants, often shown in spacious interiors. Although he was a prolific painter, producing more than 800 works on canvas, Van Ostade was also a committed printmaker, creating some 50 etchings that, because they were produced in multiples, were available to a wider buying public. These have earned him a reputation in the Dutch Baroque

7.3 Adriaen van Ostade, *Backgammon Players*, 1682. Etching, 3⅜ × 2⅞″ (8.6 × 7.3 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Gift of William and Dorothy Walmsley.

✳ Explore more about Adriaen van Ostade on mysearchlab. com

graphic field second only to that of Rembrandt on the basis of his subtly sketched line suggesting a wide range of textures and tones.

The small etching, *Backgammon Players*, depicts the world of the male peasantry (1682; FIG. 7.3). Five men engage in the pursuit of leisure in the interior of a tavern or a rustic cottage. Two seated on the left enjoy a game of *tric trac*, as backgammon was called, one making a move and the other looking intently from the opposite side of the table. A third figure stands watching, with back hunched over, while a fourth observes with a smoking pipe in hand. A fifth male is seated at the open leaded casement window, evidently drinking ale from a jug while taking in the landscape outdoors. The men, seated on rustic furniture that includes a barrel, are dressed not in the costume of urban dwellers but in the simple garb of the country, including a flat cap rather than a brimmed hat. Compared to the Caravaggesque treatment of the gaming theme (see FIG. 1.28, Caravaggio's prototype *The Cardsharps*, which focuses exclusively on half-length figures in a shallow setting), Van Ostade's miniature print remains within the northern tradition by providing a detailed view of a country interior, including the vaulted ceiling overhead, still-life objects on a shelf, and stairs in the rear leading to a slightly elevated space. The same forceful chiaroscuro that typifies Van

Ostade's paintings is present here through the alternation of light strokes and vigorous cross hatching.

Smoking and drinking, however beneficial to the Dutch economy, were nonetheless condemned in some quarters, making the theme of intemperance implicit here. The idle man at the window may be taken as a personification of the vice of sloth, and since games were often played for money, backgammon was a common symbol of both idleness and avarice. Despite a similarity with Brouwer's *Fight over Cards* (see FIG. 8.23), this scene seems unlikely to degenerate into a brawl. The attitude of urban dwellers who collected prints like this was divided toward peasants: on the one hand, this peaceful, idyllic scene would have had a pastoral connotation, but the brutish physiognomies reinforced the low social position of the peasant.

Manners and Morals at Mid Century

A leading figure of the third generation of genre painters, as well as a distinguished portraitist, Gerard ter Borch (1617–81) continued the tradition of high-life genre at mid century. His birth into an affluent upper-middle-class milieu allowed him to experience firsthand the sumptuous garments and elegant furnishing found in his paintings. Although the family was based at Zwolle and Deventer in the eastern province of Overijssel, ter Borch traveled widely, including England, Italy, France, and Spain. He lived in and visited a succession of art centers, including Haarlem, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Delft where he knew Johannes Vermeer. In his small, carefully wrought paintings ter Borch typically represented only a few figures, half- or full-length, standing or seated, in a sparsely appointed but luxurious interior. The figures, usually women engaged in simple tasks, like reading, writing, the morning toilet, or music making, are fully lit and described in detail in the foreground of the space, while furnishings and appointments recede into the shadowy background. There is seldom any activity; the artist preferred static groups interacting through subtle gestures whose precise meaning often eludes the viewer.

The painting, little more than 2 feet in height, known by the title *Parental Admonition,* was one of ter Borch's first mature works, produced about the time that he settled in Deventer (ca. 1654–5, versions in both Berlin and Amsterdam; FIG. 7.4). A seated cavalier with hand raised addresses a young woman standing by a vanity table, while an older woman with downcast eyes sits between them, discreetly sipping from a wine glass. The title dates from 1765, when J. G. Wille inscribed it on his reproductive print. Goethe knew the print and repeated this name, *Parental Admonition,* in his charming description of the interaction between presumed parents and their daughter, published in his *Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809). Some historians, however, have imagined, incorrectly, the tracings of a coin or a ring between the thumb and forefinger of the young man, which, together with his youthful appearance, would suggest that he is a suitor, or more likely the purchaser of the sexual favors of the young woman. According to this reading, the old woman is the negotiator, the mirror on the table is a common *vanitas* symbol, and the large, red-draped bed needs no explanation. It would then follow that the painting is a variation on the theme of the procuress, Caravaggesque examples of which are in works by both Van Honthorst and Van Baburen (see FIGS. 6.4 and 6.5). Yet, ter Borch does not reveal the full meaning of the picture, and tempts the viewer with several possible readings, including one associated with love within marriage. This is particularly apparent from the enigma posed by the young woman, whose facial expression is forever hidden from the viewer, thus inviting subjective reactions to her

7.4 Gerard ter Borch, *Parental Admonition*, ca. 1654–5. Oil on canvas, 27½ × 23⅝″ (70 × 60 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

demeanor. The tantalizing nape of her neck, the only bit of visible flesh, is all the more alluring for its restraint.

Unlike the sober, understated black clothing in commissioned regent's portraits (see Hals, *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse*, FIG. 6.12), the costly silvery garment, which forms the focal point of ter Borch's picture, represents the new French-inspired fashion trends at mid century. The striped black-and-gold bodice is partly concealed by a large black collar, while the full sleeves and long skirt are cut from the same sumptuous satin, a lustrous fabric woven from silk threads. One of the signatures of ter Borch's technique is the precise representation of the color, weight, folds, highlights, and shadows of satin. The finesse with which he wields the brush is typical of the fine manner of painting in vogue throughout Holland at this time, which contrasts with the rough brushwork of the late work of both Hals and Rembrandt that pleased a more limited audience.

Ter Borch influenced Pieter de Hooch (1629–84), another high-life artist who specialized in representations of well-appointed interiors and interior courtyards inhabited by a small group of figures. De Hooch was born and trained in Rotterdam. His early subjects tend toward guardroom scenes with soldiers and young women. During the most celebrated period of his career, from 1654 to around 1660, he resided in Delft, where he entered the Guild of St. Luke and became acquainted with the young Vermeer, with whom he must have exchanged ideas concerning the rendering of illusionistic effects. The city of Delft, which emerged around 1650 as a center of innovative approaches in painting, was at the same time a hub for scientific study of optics, and it is possible that de Hooch studied light effects by using an instrument like the camera obscura (see "Studying Perception: The Use of Optical Devices," below). He then established himself in Amsterdam, and remained there for the rest of his life executing genre scenes in an increasingly controlled and elegant manner.

The Linen Cupboard exemplifies de Hooch's extraordinary ability to create a complex space that encompasses several rooms in succession from the foreground into the background, both indoors and out, on different levels (1663; FIG. 7.6). The uncanny degree of illusion is the result of two pictorial devices mastered by de Hooch to a degree that surpassed the efforts of his contemporaries: first, linear perspective, clearly seen in the pattern of orthogonals

Studying Perception: The Use of Optical Devices

One of the major controversies surrounding Vermeer concerns the question of whether he used any form of scientific or mechanical device in creating his paintings. This issue has arisen from the observation that his method of describing objects in space departs to some degree from traditional formal traits. The detailed rendering of textures common in the work of Vermeer's contemporaries does not exist in his work. He did not use conventional methods for showing foreshortened objects, such as the hands of his figures, which sometimes take on an ungainly appearance, and on many occasions he rejected modeling and outline as a means of defining volumes in space. In addition, he seems to have been keenly aware that the eye does not perceive all elements in the visual field in the same degree of sharpness; hence objects in his foregrounds may be blurred or unfocused. On the basis of these visual effects and the keen interest in illusionism shown by other Delft artists, like Carel Fabritius in his *View of Delft* (see Fig. 7.20), some historians have proposed that Vermeer had a strong interest in studying optical effects perceived through a variety of mechanical devices.

In particular, the debate centers on the degree to which he may have been familiar with the camera obscura, the ancestor of the modern photographic camera. The principal of the camera obscura (Latin for dark chamber) had been known since antiquity: A beam of light entering a small hole in the wall of a dark room or box will cast an upside-down and backwards image on the opposite wall, a phenomenon comparable to the workings of the human eye. Two types were known in the seventeenth century: the stationary room, within which an individual could trace the image on the back wall; and the portable box, in which the image was projected onto ground glass or oiled paper. These could be fitted with lenses and mirrors in order to sharpen and invert the image. In his book of 1646, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (*The Great Art of Light and Shadow*), Athanasius Kircher demonstrates the room type with holes in two walls casting upside-down images on a translucent surface, which an artist is tracing (Fig. 7.5). As well known as these devices may have been, there is no firm evidence that Vermeer or his contemporaries in Delft actually owned a camera obscura.
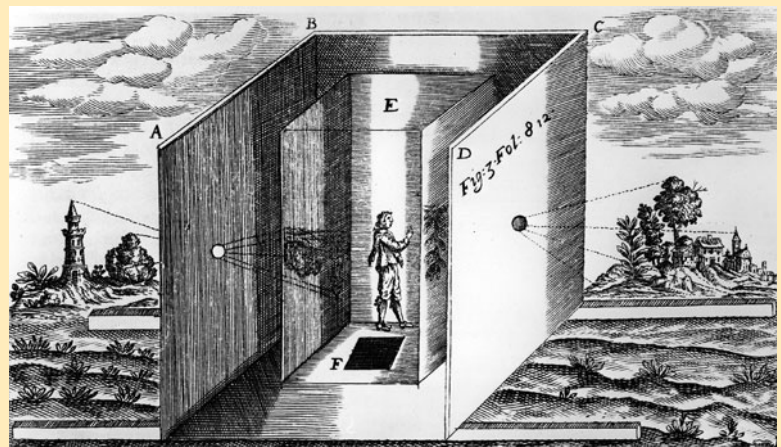
7.5 Athanasius Kircher, Room-type camera obscura, from *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (*The Great Art of Light and Shadow*), Rome, 1646. Private Collection.

7.6 Pieter de Hooch, *The Linen Cupboard*, 1663. Oil on canvas, 28¼ × 30½″ (72 × 77.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

comprising the floor tiles; and second, the close analysis of light, which varies throughout the picture from the diffuse lighting of the front room and the shadowy atmosphere of the staircase to the brilliant daylight on the street. De Hooch delighted in *contra-jour* effects (backlighting), as well as the use of a few saturated primary colors, such as the yellow of the woman's dress, to give a startling sense of reality to a scene. Small details, like the gleaming reflection of light from a window molding, contribute to the compelling sense of reality.

However "photographic" this view may seem to our eyes, it is not a transcription of a real space but an artist's ideal conception based on certain details within actual contemporary homes. The spotless, well-organized interior represents the Dutch ideal of order and tranquility at home. Contemporary manuals instructed wives and servants on proper methods for cleaning every inch of the house. Foreign visitors commented on the national obsession with keeping everything clean, both inside the home and outdoors on the street. Cleanliness was the equivalent of godliness, the house was the moral center of a life

well lived, and the brush and the broom were emblems of the new republic, expunged of political and social impurities. The prosperity that made possible such benefits was in part the result of a thriving economy; de Hooch pays tribute to the household deity, Mercury, the benefactor of commerce, who appears on the ledge over the door in the form of a statue, displaying a money pouch.

No men inhabit this domestic interior, considered by the Dutch to be the domain of women and children. The Dutch were among the first nations to elevate the status of women and designate them masters of the household. Conduct manuals, like Jacob Cats's immensely popular *Houwelyck* (*Marriage*, 1625), provided a guide for women to follow the stages of life: maid, sweetheart, bride, wife, mother, and widow. Here the young wife, dressed as fashionably as ter Borch's ladies in silk jackets, supervises and actively assists the older woman, a servant in dark, conservative garb, in the domestic chore of putting away the clean linen in the cupboard. Calvin preached that if God provided material goods, it was the duty of those who possessed them to take responsibility for the active

stewardship of their possessions. Massive chests like the one shown here, veneered with imported woods and decorated with classical motifs, ranked among the new types of costly furniture placed in public areas of the house in order to impress visitors.

Seventeenth-century Holland was one of the first European nations to emphasize the role of the mother in teaching young children within the household. Thus many of de Hooch's interior scenes show mothers attendant on their offspring. In *The Linen Cupboard* the traditional theme of industry versus idleness (work versus play) is represented by the women preoccupied with a task and the child playing *kolf*, an early form of golf. The Dutch admitted the necessity of play for children, but also took responsibility for their education, which began at home under the mother's care before a child was old enough to go to school. In several paintings by de Hooch the mother instructs her children in work or study. These paintings embody a code of conduct, silently exhorting the spectator to follow the example of the figures in order to achieve a comparable unity at home.

Prints provided a less expensive vehicle for representations of women as moral exemplars. Such is the case with the series of five engravings produced by Geertruydt Roghman (1625–ca. 1651/7), which depict women quietly absorbed in such domestic activities as spinning, needlework, cooking, and cleaning. As was the case with most women artists of the period, Roghman was the daughter of an artist, Hendrick Lamberts. She was the eldest of six children, all of whom worked in the family graphic studio in Amsterdam. A brother, Roelant, and sister Magdalena also achieved some prominence in the field. Although Roghman's work consists almost exclusively of reproductive prints, it is for the domestic series that she has achieved recognition in our time.

Compared to contemporary paintings of domestic themes, *Woman Spinning* is remarkable for its emphasis on the human figure as opposed to the spatial setting, which is unspecified (ca. 1648–50; FIG. 7.7). Moreover, the principal figure, seated on a rush chair by a spinning wheel, has her back turned to the viewer, directing our gaze to the pair of hands actively engaged in drawing thread from the spindle. The activity is appropriately accompanied by the still life of bobbins, skeins of wool, picks, and double-ended winder resting on the floor. The little child, presumably the daughter of the spinner, sits calmly on a footwarmer as she returns our gaze. Although not overtly moralizing—publishers often added inscriptions in the margins of prints—the image would have carried the idea of a life put to good use.

Spinning, along with needlework and lace making, was an activity recommended for the education of all women, young and old, not only as a domestic skill but also as a means of instilling diligent habits, and doubtless Roghman was familiar with it. The traditional association

7.7 Geertruydt Roghman, *Woman Spinning*, ca. 1648–50. Engraving, 8½ × 6½″ (20.6 × 16.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Harvey D. Parker Collection.

between spinning and virtue was based on the apocryphal legend according to which the Virgin Mary was a skilled spinner and weaver (see Ludovico Carracci, FIG. 1.16). Certain passages in Proverbs celebrate this activity: "She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands (31:13); "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff" (31:19). Contemporary conduct books also encouraged spinning as a way of warding off the vices of sloth and lust, nowhere more persuasively than in the writings of Jacob Cats.

Didactic images could also persuade the viewer by showing the consequences of negative behavior, albeit in a good-humored way, in the tradition of the Latin dictum *ridendo dicere verum* (in laughing, one speaks the truth). Nicolas Maes (1634–93), one of Rembrandt's most successful pupils in Amsterdam from about 1648 to 1653, frequently used this approach. He repeated many of his master's subjects and utilized a similar tenebrism. Returning to his native Dordrecht in 1653, Maes became one of the first genre painters to depict adjoining rooms whose different levels are connected by a stair. Especially successful were his depictions—six in all—of an eavesdropper who, in complicity with the viewer, spies on the sinful activities of other inhabitants of a domestic interior. In Maes's *The Idle Servant* the standing woman, identified as

7.8 Nicholaes Maes, *The Idle Servant*, 1655. Oil on panel, 27½ × 21″ (70 × 53.3 cm). National Gallery, London.

the head of the household by her ermine-trimmed jacket, addresses the viewer directly, like an actor on the stage, and with a smile points out the sleeping maid as a negative moral exemplar (1655; FIG. 7.8). The servant, who has fallen asleep on the job, epitomizes the vice of sloth. Her slumped posture, with the hand supporting the head, derives from traditional representations of melancholy, betraying the fact that lovesickness, not labor, may be the source of her carelessness. The impact of this neglect will soon be felt by the company of well-dressed figures awaiting dinner in the room at the back.

The pile of pots and dishes strewn about the floor forms an acutely

7.9 Jan Steen, *Beware of Luxury*, 1663. Oil on canvas, 41⅜ × 57″ (105 × 145 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

✳️—**Explore** more about Jan Steen on mysearchlab.com

observed still life, while the stealthy cat on the kitchen counter refers to the Dutch proverb, "A kitchen maid must keep one eye on the pan and the other on the cat." The cat also functions as a reminder of the relationship between sloth and lasciviousness. Servants, the majority of whom were women, were popular in the Golden Age: between 10 and 20 percent of all households had at least one. Like the prostitute and the procuress, maidservants became stock figures of misogynist ridicule in plays and literature as well as in paintings. They were accused of a wide range of ills, including thievery, lust, insatiable appetite, and insubordination, not to mention the wily seduction of fathers, widowers, and sons.

The great satirist among Dutch Baroque artists, Jan Steen (1626–79), depicted the extremes of domestic decay in several paintings devoted to the genre theme of the dissolute household. The large multi-figured composition *Beware of Luxury*, painted during a productive decade spent in Haarlem, takes its title from the proverb inscribed on a slate propped on the stair in the lower right corner (1663; FIG. 7.9). The word luxury is used here not only in the traditional sense of lust but more broadly in the spirit of the original Latin root word, *luxe*, or excess, denoting intemperate behavior—gluttony, drunkenness, avarice, and licentiousness. Although ostensibly a realistic view of a middle-class family at home, the painting is in fact a catalog of varieties of sinful behavior and their consequences.

At the center sits a licentious couple: a young woman, whose walleyed gaze betrays her state of inebriation, holds a glass of wine up to her lover's crotch, while the young man responds to her sexual invitation by slinging his leg over her thigh, a time-honored pose indicating sexual appropriation. Simultaneously he looks askance at the older, disapproving couple. Like the maidservant in Maes's

painting, the mistress of this house, seated on the left and wearing an ermine-lined jacket, has fallen asleep, thus neglecting the children with disastrous consequences: The baby in the highchair has knocked his bowl on the floor as the little girl steals from the wall cabinet. A dog has climbed unseen upon the table, where it feasts on a meat pie. In the adjoining room on the far right the roast has fallen into the fire.

In the still life suspended overhead in a basket the consequences of such havoc are presented symbolically—namely, the vices of anger and avarice, symbolized by the sword and playing cards, and the punishments of misfortune and disease, alluded to by the crutch, the switch, and the leper's rattle. To drive home the moralizing message, Steen drew on sixteenth-century Netherlandish tradition by incorporating several details that evoke popular proverbs, of which a few will serve as examples: the pig in the right foreground ("Don't scatter roses [pearls] before swine"); the boy with the pipe ("As the old sing, so pipe the young"); the monkey on the wall bracket ("When apes climb high, they show off their bottoms"). Clearly Steen's aim was not only to instruct but to delight. Today in Holland a disorderly home is called a "Jan Steen household."

Steen frequently represented himself in his comic moral paintings, and in this case he is the male with the slung leg. His jovial mood and proximity to an alluring young woman in *Beware of Luxury* are comparable to Rembrandt's in the *Self-Portrait as the Prodigal Son in the Tavern* (see FIG. 6.20). Present-day historians consider the drunkard described by Steen's biographers to be a fiction based on the paintings, but it is true that Steen, like many artists of the time, had a second source of income. Specifically, his father, a brewer, leased a brewery in Delft for him for a short period, and Steen, who was sometimes in debt, operated a tavern in his house.

Johannes Vermeer

The work of Johannes Vermeer (1632–75) is exceptional in Dutch genre painting due to its formal rigor, understated use of anecdote and symbolism, and interest in the science of optics. That Vermeer was a perfectionist who left nothing to chance is evident from the fact that only about 34 works by his hand are known. Of these only three are dated, prompting debate regarding the chronology of his output. Archival research has yielded much concerning his family, patrons, and social milieu. He was born into a Protestant family in Delft, where he resided his whole life. His father was a weaver who also dealt in pictures and owned a prominent inn. Where or under whom he trained is not known, although Carl Fabritius of Delft and Abraham Bloemaert, the teacher of Van Honthorst and ter Brugghen in Utrecht, are possibilities.

In 1653 Vermeer married Catherina Bolnes, the daughter of a well-to-do Catholic family, and he converted to Catholicism around this time. There are, however, only two or three religious subjects among his works. Other than a single mythological subject and two cityscapes, the rest comprise genre scenes. His mother-in-law, Maria Thins, in whose house in the Catholic quarter of Delft the artist's family lived from 1660, owned a modest art collection that included works by the Utrecht school. That Vermeer was highly respected locally is clear from his having served twice as head of the local Guild of St. Luke, which he joined in 1653. He appears to have sold his works to a small group of connoisseurs, one of whom, Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, the wealthy son of a Delft brewer, may have owned half of Vermeer's output, perhaps purchasing one or two paintings per year. Such a slow production meant that Vermeer had to supplement his income with work as a picture dealer and innkeeper. At the time of his death, he left his widow and 11 surviving children with enormous debts, incurred in part by the economic downswing caused by the Franco-Dutch War.

One of Vermeer's earliest genre scenes, *A Woman Asleep*, contains many of the elements that he would treat through the years (ca. 1657; FIG. 7.10). Normally he incorporated one or two figures in a simple domestic interior comprising one or at the most two rooms. He preferred static poses, possibly because this allowed him to view his models over a long period of time. The back wall of the main chamber is positioned parallel to the picture plane; here a partially opened door reveals a second room beyond. The walls are hung with framed pictures whose emphatic horizontal and vertical edges affirm the rectangular format of the canvas. The setting is enhanced by carefully depicted still-life objects, like the Turkish carpet pulled over the table (expensive imported rugs decorated tables, not floors); their reoccurrence in several paintings suggests that he owned them. Vermeer took pains to analyze the character of the light, and unlike most contemporary genre painters, who preferred a tonal palette, he used local colors. To enhance the perspective effect, he depicted objects in the foreground larger than they would appear in life. His interest in creating spatial effects was probably stimulated by the works of Fabritius and the Delft architectural painters, like Gerard Houckgeest (ca. 1600–61). Nonetheless, despite the compelling realism of his interior views, it is doubtful whether any of the rooms actually existed. As in the case of de Hooch, who was presumably sharing ideas with Vermeer during his stay in Delft from 1654 to around 1660, mere copying was not the goal, but a striking verisimilitude was essential.

The motif of the sleeping woman, whose head rests upon her hand, was common in genre painting, most often representing an indolent housemaid who yields to the vice of sloth. A comparison with Maes's *Idle Servant*, however, is instructive (see FIG. 7.8). The didactic nature

7.10 Johannes Vermeer, *A Woman Asleep*, ca. 1657. Oil on canvas, 34½ × 30⅛″ (87.6 × 76.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913.

7.11 Johannes Vermeer, *Officer and Laughing Girl*, ca. 1658–60. Oil on canvas, 19⅞ × 18⅛″ (50.5 cm × 46 cm). The Frick Collection, New York. Henry Clay Frick Bequest.

of that painting is much more obvious, especially in view of the standing woman who points out the moral lesson directly to the observer. Like Maes, Vermeer included a view into a rear room, but he shows greater interest in depicting its unique qualities of light and atmosphere. X-rays have revealed that Vermeer originally included a dog near the door looking toward a man in the back room. By overpainting these, he repressed what might have been a more anecdotal situation. The jug and wine glass suggest the reasons for the girl's state and allude to the theme of intemperance. A further clue is given by the partially seen painting over her head, adapted from an illustration in Otto van Veen's *Love Emblems* (1608): The cherub and the mask at his feet refer to the theme of deceit in love. Thus the woman's pose may also signal the melancholy that results from lovesickness, a theme employed by Steen in numerous paintings depicting a doctor's visit to a lovesick woman.

The *Officer and Laughing Girl* shows two figures in the shallow space of a corner of a room, Vermeer's most common format, with the back wall parallel to the picture plane and the left-hand wall steeply foreshortened (ca. 1658–60; FIG. 7.11). He derived the subject of an officer and a maiden from the genre subcategories of the merry company and the guardroom, but reduced the usual anecdotal quality; only the smile on the girl's face allows us to imagine their conversation. His knowledge of the Utrecht

Followers of Caravaggio may have given him the idea of casting the officer's exaggerated form into shadow, so that it performs the function of a *repoussoir* by heightening the effect of spatial recession (compare Van Honthorst's *The Procuress*; see FIG. 6.4). The map on the back wall, a motif introduced by Buytewech (see the *Merry Company*, FIG. 7.2) and used in several variations by Vermeer, serves a number of functions: it reaffirms the flatness and rectangular shape of the canvas, alludes to the larger space of the world outside the picture, and suggests a certain pride in the Dutch lands and achievements in cartography. This one shows the provinces of Utrecht and Holland oriented with north toward the right-hand side. Vermeer adapted real maps and colored them as he felt appropriate to his compositions.

The artist's study of the effects of light intensified with this canvas. The leaded glass windows reveal the source of natural daylight flooding the room, while giving only the barest hint of the sunny street outside. The open windowpane exhibits the effect of both reflected light bouncing off glass and refracted light yielding a distorted image as it passes through glass. Tiny beads of color and white impasto form specular highlights to give the sense of light sparkling across objects like the girl's kerchief and sleeves. As in Vermeer's other early works, the brushwork is not applied consistently throughout. Some areas, like the back wall, are fairly smooth, but others have a grainy surface

that enhances the textures of things described and lends a subtle tactility to the image.

By the mid 1660s Vermeer was applying his paint more thinly and reducing further the opportunities to read a narrative into his works. In *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* a single, static figure stands in a corner, holding with one hand the open frame of a leaded-glass window while grasping with the other a silver pitcher in a basin (ca. 1664–5; FIG. 7.12). Behind her on the wall is a printed map of the original 17 provinces of the Netherlands, oriented with north toward the right. The rigid horizontal and vertical forms of the window, the map, and the table securely "lock" the curvilinear shape of the woman in the center of the composition. No specific action is described, but rather the pose suggests a quiet moment of isolated contemplation. Without being overtly moralizing, Vermeer's painting, like de Hooch's *The Linen Cupboard* (FIG. 7.6) and Roghman's *Woman Spinning* (FIG. 7.7) is a subtle celebration of genre themes we have previously encountered—woman as guardian of the home, the stewardship of fine possessions, and the

Dutch obsession with orderliness and cleanliness. As such, it offers a counterpoint to Steen's *Beware of Luxury*, which shows the effects of carelessness (see FIG. 7.9).

The artist captured with precision every element in the visual field, especially the luminous colors, based on the primary triad of yellow, blue, and red, and the enveloping atmosphere, which renders some contours hard and others diffuse. He did not feel bound to standard artistic formulas for rendering volumes in space on the canvas, such as conventional modeling, descriptive textures, or standard approaches to foreshortening. Thus some details in the painting may at first seem unrecognizable. His search for the correct shape, color, and value of each detail as perceived by the eye achieves a level of optical truth that differs in kind from the literal realism of much northern painting. This has led to a debate among historians as to whether Vermeer's method of perceiving a scene was aided by a scientific or mechanical device, in particular the camera obscura (see "Studying Perception: The Use of Optical Devices," p. 214).

His constant striving for perfection is revealed to modern eyes by the aging picture surface, which now dimly shows two *pentimenti*. Originally he painted the Spanish chair with lion-head finials in the lower left corner, where its ghostly shape is now visible, and he initially extended the edge of the map further to the left beyond the woman's headdress. Nor was literal realism his goal: for example, the reflection on the lower side of the silver basin does not match the details of the carpet's surface. In short, Vermeer's painting maintains a delicate balance between art and illusion.

In Vermeer's *The Concert* three full-length figures occupy the far end of a room (ca. 1665–6; FIG. 7.13). Two women, one playing the harpsichord and the other singing, perform with a seated cavalier wearing a sword and holding a lute. In the foreground a cittern (a lutelike instrument) lies propped across the rug on the table, alongside which a viola stretches diagonally on the floor. The fall of light from the left conjures in the viewer's mind the presence of a window beyond the limits of the frame. Marble floors were rare in actual domestic interiors: Vermeer used the interlaced black-and-white pattern of the tiles, which conforms to a system of one-point linear perspective, to produce a powerful effect in carrying the eye into the space. The controlled application of paint, the virtuoso depiction of silken textures, and the enigmatic placement of one figure, seen from behind, are comparable to devices used by ter Borch, whom Vermeer seems to have known personally, even though they lived in different towns (see FIG. 7.4).

As usual Vermeer describes a situation without revealing a specific narrative. Invariably the theme of music making is connected with the idea of love and erotic desire. Should we imagine that the trio performs a love song of the type frequently composed for the harpsichord? And what are we to make of the pictures within the picture? The two landscapes, one hanging framed on the wall and the other embellishing the lid of the instrument, suggest an idyllic Arcadian world where love might flourish untroubled. The figural painting on the right is Van Baburen's *The Procuress*, a

copy of which was in the collection of Vermeer's mother-in-law, Maria Thins (1622; see FIG. 6.5). Vermeer tantalizes us through its inclusion—it too shows a man between two women. But whereas that boisterous group revels in sensual pleasure, the trio in *The Concert* is the embodiment of decorous comportment.

Mirror of Nature: Landscape

Landscape painting derived from the Northern Renaissance tradition of realistic representations of the world as either a major or minor component within a scene. For example, the calendar pages of illuminated manuscripts depict the activities of nobles and peasants in the context of landscapes, suggesting depth through both scale and the high placement of the horizon line. In the mid sixteenth century Pieter Bruegel the Elder, drawing on Flemish conventions for his series of seasons, represented the so-called world landscape (or cosmic landscape), an elevated view with a high horizon line, by incorporating many natural features, such as fields, rivers, lakes, mountains, and the sea.

Two artists working in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century represent a pair of trends within the first generation of landscape painters. Hendrick Avercamp (1585–1634) lived in the remote town of Kampen in the northeastern province of Overijssel, where he specialized in snow-laden views. His *Winter Landscape with Skaters* of circa 1608 updates the sixteenth-century tradition by lowering the horizon line to the middle of the picture, so that the viewer has a closer view of the

activities on the ground (FIG. 7.14). Within the wide horizontal format Avercamp captures the sense of bustle and energy among the various social classes and ages enjoying themselves on the ice, from children and young lovers to their dignified elders. He includes a plethora of charming vignettes, including figures putting on their skates and playing *kolf* as well as those who have collapsed on the ice. Holland experienced exceptionally cold winters during the so-called Little Ice Age, so we can be certain that the artist had viewed such a scene on the frozen canals.

The detailed realism of Avercamp's landscapes contrasts with the emphasis on fantasy in the landscapes of Hercules Segers (1589/90–1633/8). The offspring of Flemish immigrants, Segers entered the Haarlem guild in 1612. He was especially influenced by sixteenth-century Netherlandish views of Alpine landscapes, and sought to incorporate craggy mountain formations into his works. Fewer than a dozen paintings by him survive, but the prints represent an extraordinary legacy: He produced 54 etchings, of which 183 impressions exist, remarkable for the varied colors and selective wiping of the ink on the copper plate that make each of the prints unique.

The Enclosed Valley shows a type of view favored by Segers, in which fantastic rock formations of an unusual crumbling texture open in the center to reveal a deep valley populated with small trees and shrubs (1620s; FIG. 7.15). Twenty-one impressions have come down to us, the greatest number of any print by the artist, and the plate was reworked through four states (each state represents a successive stage in the development of the image by altering the plate). Segers often attempted to reproduce the

7.14 Hendrick Avercamp, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, ca. 1608. Oil on panel, 30½ × 52″ (77.5 × 132 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

✳ Explore more about Hendrick Avercamp on mysearchlab.com

effects of painting in his prints; in this case the first state is printed not on paper but on fine cloth dyed a light brown and stretched taut as if it were a linen canvas. He then colored the black-and-white image with brown, blue, and gray paint. In contrast, for the second state he enriched the plate through the addition of drypoint and then printed it on colored paper, sometimes initially colored with watercolor. These highly unusual methods, and the romantic character of the rocky view, appealed to artists like Rembrandt, who possessed eight paintings by Segers and reworked one of his plates.

The second generation of landscapists, working from about 1620 to 1650, preferred a palette of brownish or greenish-gray tones instead of local color. In these pictures nature is foremost, not the human presence. Although the activities of people may still be seen, they are clearly subordinate to the landscape and provide only a marginal presence. The great master of this period is Jan van Goyen (1596–1656), who worked in The Hague and achieved a staggering output—some 1,200 paintings and over 1,000 drawings, representing rivers, fields, towns, dunes, and some poignantly decaying tree trunks. His *Windmill by a River* features certain key characteristics of this generation, including the horizontal format that accommodates a panoramic view and simple composition (1642; FIG. 7.16). No single element dominates the vista; rather, the mill, the water, and the small figures are brought together into a unified whole. Van Goyen places the horizon line at the

7.17 Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Jewish Cemetery*, ca. 1668–72. Oil on canvas, 55½ × 72″ (141 × 182.9 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts.

lower quarter of the picture, thus situating the viewer on the ground rather than in the elevated vantage point of the first generation. In this way the spectator subconsciously imagines himself to be part of the picture space. The greater attention given to the sky is true to actual experience in the Netherlands, with its exceedingly flat terrain. The sky is not a passive element of the background, however, but consists of animated clouds that suggest approaching rain. The impression of humidity hanging in the air, or of a hazy atmosphere through which light barely penetrates, is in large measure the result of Van Goyen's innovative technique, with much of the picture built up from short, liquid strokes of the brush that are visible to the eye. Sometimes these are so thin that the underpainting shows through, or as they are painted wet in wet, likely in one sitting, they reveal the layers of paint.

The third generation of landscape painters was active from about 1650 to 1680. The leading artist was Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/9–82), who worked in Haarlem until about 1659/60; thereafter, he moved to Amsterdam for the remainder of his career. Van Ruisdael's work exemplifies the changes introduced into landscape painting after mid century, such as the tendency toward larger size, a more imposing vertical format, and a diminishing figural presence.

Van Ruisdael utilized the dramatic potential of landscape to provide a resounding commentary on the brevity of human existence in his best-known work, *The Jewish Cemetery* (ca. 1668–72; FIG. 7.17; a second version is in Dresden). A large painting that measures 6 feet across, the scene combines in an imaginary setting actual monuments that are located at two different sites: the cemetery of the Portugese-Jewish congregation of Amsterdam, located outside the city at Ouderkerk, and the ruins of Egmond Abbey near Alkmaar. Thus, as always in Dutch paintings and prints, the work is a studio picture based on observation and sketches done on various sites that are later reconfigured by the artist. The human element is present, even if barely discernible, in the form of three small figures observing the tombs in the middle ground. Typical of this generation's stylistic approach, the range of colors is broad, the brushwork is thick, and large, impressive elements, like the tall ruin and the dead tree, dominate the composition at the expense of lesser details. Strong light-and-dark contrasts, sweeping diagonals, and turbulent, powerfully modeled clouds, based as much on convention as on observation, yield a dynamic view. The various elements making up the subject, like the tombs, blasted tree, and rushing brook, allude to the transient nature of life, even though not all of them are time-honored symbols.

The rainbow may be seen as both a *vanitas* symbol and an emblem of hope. On the whole, such a pronounced allegorical program was unusual in Dutch landscapes.

Visions of the Sea

Marine painting forms a separate category of subjects in Dutch Baroque, and refers primarily to depictions of the sea as opposed to images of rivers and inland estuaries which are common in landscape painting. Marine painting is generally divided into four types of image: the natural life of the sea, such as tempests and retreating storms; representations of actual events on the sea, like naval battles; portraits of real ships; and views of identifiable cities seen from the water. This category developed out of certain trends in sixteenth-century painting, in particular the harbor scenes, often with a historical subject, of Pieter Bruegel the Elder and his son Jan Brueghel the Elder. Interest in such paintings was the result of several economic and political factors: the closeness of the Dutch land to the sea and the degree to which the land was rescued from the water; the dependence of the economy on a thriving sea trade; the mastery of the Dutch in building and sailing boats; the strength of the naval fleet and its exceptional prowess in battle; and the global explorations of the Dutch and founding of colonies across the oceans. Thus these pieces often display a considerable element of national pride.

The work of Jan Porcellis (ca. 1584–1632) influenced contemporary landscape painting, particularly in the creation of atmospheric effects and understated monochromatic colors. Porcellis emigrated north from Antwerp and settled in various towns until he ultimately took up residence in a village outside of Leiden. An experienced sailor, he drew on firsthand experience to give his paintings a sense of immediacy, especially when it came to depicting the effects of wind and rain on the sea. He rejected large-scale historical scenes in favor of small cabinet pictures on wooden panels, like *Stormy Sea* (1629; FIG. 7.18), for private collectors. Neither the setting nor the boats can be identified, but the choppy water and its impact on small one- and two-masted ships as well as simple boats is lively and compelling. The light touch of the brush, often transparent, is similar to Van Goyen's, and the horizon rises barely a quarter of the picture's height. Porcellis painted an open frame or window through which we seem to be looking, and to convince the spectator that the illusion is real he added what appears to be a piece of paper on the sill at the lower right, with the date of the work boldly inscribed on it. We cannot say whether the artist intended the work to have any allegorical meaning comparable to that discussed above in relation to Ruisdael's *Jewish Cemetery*, but some contemporaries may have seen the image as a metaphor for the storm-tossed voyage of life.

Public and Private Spaces: Architectural Painting

Like the subject categories of genre, landscape, and marine painting, architectural painting developed as a specialized category out of the Northern Renaissance tradition of naturalistically represented biblical and historical scenes. In the seventeenth century two types of architectural painting came into their own and were favored by specialists: city views and interior views, the latter mostly of churches. Contemporaries called such works "perspectives" because they required mastery of the complicated rules of linear perspective with either single or multiple vanishing points. The figural element was minimal.

The first painter to specialize in depictions of existing buildings was Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665). The son of the Mannerist printmaker Jan Saenredam, in 1623 he entered the Guild of St. Luke in Haarlem, in which he played a prominent role. His interest in views may have been stimulated by his friendship with the Dutch architect Jacob van Campen, the designer of the Amsterdam town hall. Saenredam traveled to various cities in Holland in order to make architectural drawings of civic and church monuments. Generally his practice was to do careful freehand sketches on site, often accompanied

7.18 Jan Porcellis, *Stormy Sea*, 1629. Oil on panel, 7¼ × 9½" (18.5 × 24 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

7.19 Pieter Saenredam, *Interior of the Grote Kerk at Haarlem*, 1636–7. Oil on panel, 23⅜ × 32⅛" (59.5 × 81.7 cm). National Gallery, London.

7.20 Carel Fabritius, *View of Delft*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 6¼₁₆ × 12⁷⁄₁₆" (15.4 × 31.6 cm). National Gallery, London.

by notes and the date of execution. These he would take home and file away, sometimes for several years, before using them as the basis for a picture. He would then prepare a large-scale line drawing for transfer to the canvas, sometimes altering actual details of a structure for compositional purposes. Patrons, whether individuals or a corporate body, often commissioned a view of a particular building that held particular relevance for them. Other works were produced for the open market, where they commanded high prices from connoisseurs rather than the ordinary buyer.

Saenredam's *Interior of the Grote Kerk at Haarlem* is one of several paintings he created that represent the interior of the great church of St. Bavo (1636–7; FIG. 7.19). Both the actual interior and painted representations of it are striking in their simplicity, which lends power to the spare architectural elements, clearly and evenly illuminated. The Gothic cathedral, once Catholic, had been stripped of all ornament and whitewashed for the purposes of Calvinist worship. Religious images were forbidden within. On occasion Saenredam showed the principal longitudinal vista down the nave, but he preferred views taken from a marginal area that includes several spaces, as here. Although his drawings of the church were based in part on measurements of the plan and elevations by a surveyor, Saenredam emphasized certain features of the structure by subtly exaggerating their scale—typically, the height of the walls, the circumference of the columns, and the massiveness of the vaulting. The artist rarely showed a service in progress, preferring to include just a few figures quietly inspecting details. Works like this may have served as a confirmation of the owner's religious beliefs. The Grote Kerk was the artist's final resting place.

Topographical views of towns, seen from a distance, were popular in the first half of the seventeenth century in prints and printed maps that incorporated small urban vignettes in the border. The painted cityscape emerged as an independent genre only at mid century, and not until the 1660s did artists specialize in this subject. An extraordinary instance, in terms of quality and original function, is the small *View of Delft* (1652; FIG. 7.20) by Carel Fabritius (1622–54). The son of a minor artist and brother of the painter Barent Fabritius (1624–73), Carel was a student of Rembrandt in Amsterdam circa 1642–3. He favored his master's style in his roughly executed early works. In 1650 he moved to Delft, the native town of his second wife, and continued to paint there until he was tragically killed in the accidental explosion of the munitions warehouse. Our knowledge of the works he produced in Delft is severely limited to the few that have survived, and although his work seems to have anticipated some of the spatial and lighting devices used by both de Hooch and Vermeer, his relationship to them is difficult to pin down.

Documents suggest that Fabritius may have created several examples of the perspective box or peepshow, a small wooden box whose inside walls, painted with perspective views, offer a convincing illusion of space when viewed through a peephole. Although no peepshows by him survive intact, historians speculate that *View of Delft* was originally mounted on a sheet of curved copper in the back of such a box, probably triangular in shape, with a peephole on the corner opposite the painting. The close-up monocular view of the image would have filled the spectator's visual field and corrected certain peculiarities of the image in its present flat state, like the abrupt changes in scale and undulating ground plane. The sparkling view must have amazed all who looked through the hole and recognized several buildings in the center of Delft, including the Nieuwe Kerk, the town hall (in the distance to the left of the church), and the houses on the intersecting streets. The only major subsequent change to the site is the filling in of the canal. The market stall to the far left, where a man sheltered by a canopy relaxes next to a viola and a lute, was probably invented by the artist to provide a foreground *repoussoir*.

Vermeer produced two cityscapes, which were evidently owned by his major patron, Pieter van Ruijven. *The Little Street* presents a frontal view of the old men's home in Delft (on the right) from across a cobblestone street (ca. 1657–8; FIG. 7.21). The two buildings are cut by the picture's edges, thus giving an impression of a slice of life and

7.21 Johannes Vermeer, *The Little Street*, ca. 1657–8. Oil on canvas, 21¹¹⁄₁₆ × 17⅛″ (53.5 × 43.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

7.22 Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Dam, Amsterdam*, 1668. Oil on canvas, 27⅝ × 43⅜″ (70.2 × 110.3 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

prompting the viewer's imagination to wander beyond the limits of the frame. Between the structures a pair of doorways, one closed and one open, give onto passageways that lead to inner courtyards. These are typical Dutch urban buildings with stepped gables.

The heightened verisimilitude derives from the artist's meticulous rendering of the leaded-glass windows, weathered wooden shutters, a vine climbing unhampered on an old brick wall, and the tiles missing from a cornice. These are not new buildings, and Vermeer has taken pains to show us the signs of stress and age, such as the mortar filling in the cracks caused by settling. Two women are engaged in work, one sewing and the other cleaning. The children, on the other hand, are fully occupied by play, kneeling on the patterned sidewalk in front of the house.

Unlike Fabritius and Vermeer, Gerrit Berckheyde (1638–98) made a career of specializing in topographically accurate cityscapes. He shared a house and possibly a studio in his native town, Haarlem, with his older brother Job, under whom he trained and who was also a painter of townscapes. Gerrit entered the Guild of St. Luke in 1660 and painted many views of the city, focusing above all on the principal church and square.

The Dam, Amsterdam is one of numerous views of Amsterdam that Berkheyde produced that stressed the major public landmarks within the city's hub—Dam Square was the site of Amsterdam's first dam built across the Amstel River, where commercial and civic life came

together (1668; FIG. 7.22). Through the use of one-point linear perspective the artist created a broad open space bordered by buildings and filled with figures who, while secondary to the architecture, represent a cross section of society, from city magistrates to street vendors. He emphasized the picturesque variety of the various architectural styles: the Italianate town hall (1648–65), the Late Gothic Nieuwe Kerk, rebuilt after a fire in 1645, and the Renaissance Waag, or weigh-house (1565) in the middle of the square. A strong light coming from the side throws parts of the structures into sharp relief, thus increasing the feeling of depth, volume, and an instantaneous view. On the finished painting Berckheyde signed his name and the words "f. Haarlem," indicating that he was commuting to Amsterdam to do sketches on site but painted the work in his Haarlem studio.

This picture was produced during a period of urban renewal in Amsterdam, when the city's streets, canals, and squares underwent redesign in an enlightened effort to resolve problems related to transportation, circulation, and commercial zoning. The city's swelling population prompted large land-reclamation projects and the construction of new districts to the southeast, which Berckheyde memorialized. The town hall designed by Jacob van Campen (1595–1657), which replaced an old *stadthuis* ruined by fire, was the largest civic building constructed in Europe in the seventeenth century. Built of stone and lavishly decorated, the structure symbolized

local government, referring to the freedom won from Spain and sealed with the Peace of Münster in 1648. Berckheyde's many pictures of the town hall—well over 30—were intended to satisfy not only the aesthetic needs but also the patriotic feelings of his clients.

Depicting Prosperity: Still Life

Despite its status at the bottom of the hierarchy of subject categories, still-life painting enjoyed a remarkable development in the Baroque period. As in the case of the other subject types discussed in this chapter, its origins lay in Netherlandish Renaissance art. As early as the fifteenth century still-life details often added a note of veiled symbolism to a religious subject, such as the lily visible in the Virgin Mary's chamber, symbolizing purity. By the mid sixteenth century still-life elements had become the major focus of many works, while the accompanying religious scene had been relegated to the background (see Beuckelaer, FIG. 0.18). By the seventeenth century certain Dutch artists specialized not only in still-life painting, giving the genre its name (the word *stilleven* was coined at mid century); they also specialized in specific subcategories that included the breakfast piece (*ontbijtje*), banquet still

life (*banketje*), hunt trophy, tobacco piece (*tabakje*), *vanitas* piece, and ostentatious still life (later called *pronkstilleven*). One offshoot, flower painting (*bloemstuk*), fueled by the Dutch love of gardens and exotic bulbs, had its own corps of masters.

The *vanitas* still life was a specialty of Pieter Claesz, an artist born of Dutch parents in Westphalia, Germany (ca. 1597–1660). He eventually settled in Haarlem, where he may have known Hals. All of the objects in his *Vanitas Still Life* refer to the vanity of earthly pursuits (1630; FIG. 7.23). The horizontal format, liquid application of paint, and limited palette emphasizing browns, grays, olive greens, and tans, have their formal corollary in the landscapes of Van Goyen (see FIG. 7.16). The skull is the most common symbol of mortality, found in emblem books (see "Strategies for Interpreting Dutch Art," p. 210) and the paintings of other European masters, such as Ribera, Valdés Leal, and Hals (see FIGS. 5.7, 5.28, 6.8). Likewise the snuffed-out flame, the watch, and the overturned *roemer* (a type of Dutch drinking glass with decorative prunts around the stem) allude to the short-lived nature of life and its pleasures. Even intellectual pursuits are worth nothing, as symbolized by the tattered books and quill. But it would be incorrect to think that the painting's only *raison d'être* is to communicate a moralizing message. On another level
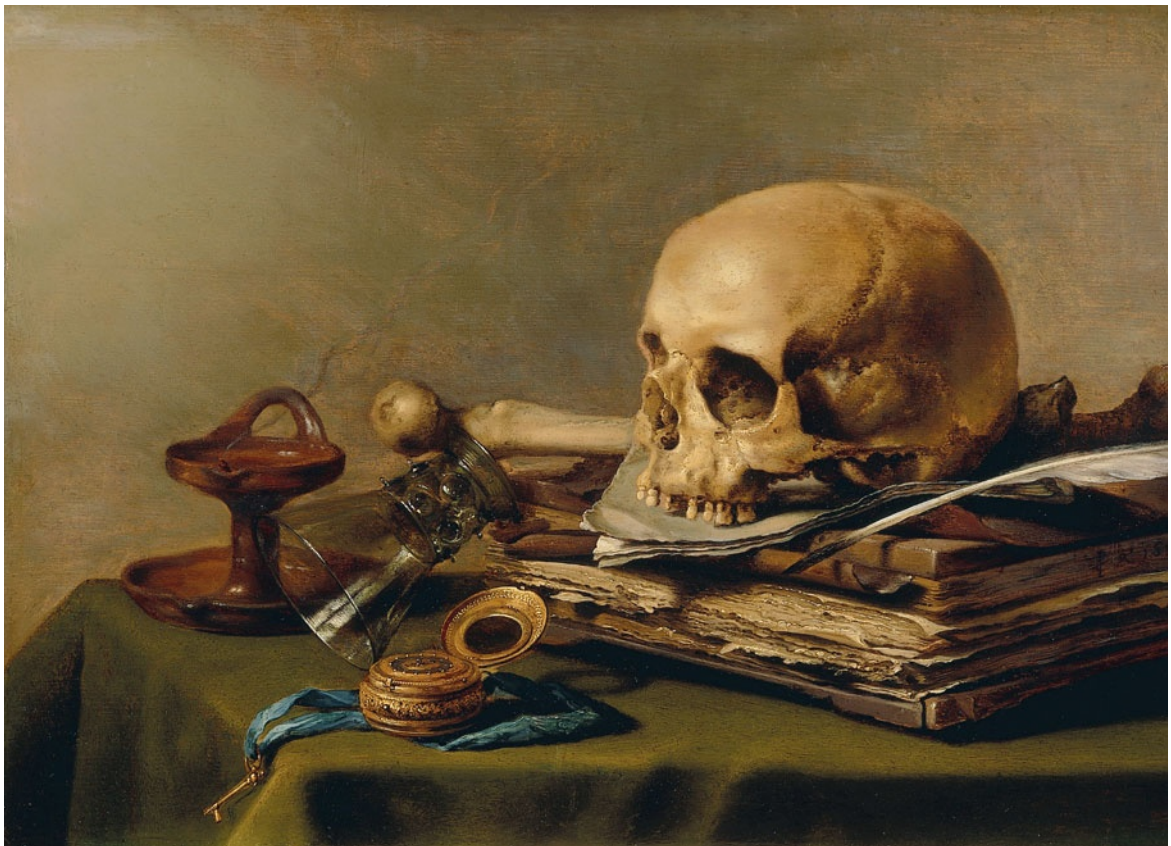
7.23 Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas Still Life*, 1630. Oil on panel, 17¾ × 24¾" (45 × 65.5 cm). Mauritshuis, The Hague.

The Creation of a Baroque Painting

7.24 Hans Collaert II after Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), *Color Olivi (Oil Painting)*, ca. 1580. Engraving, 8 × 10⅝" (20.4 × 27 cm). Private Collection.

The production of paintings in the seventeenth century relied to a considerable extent on the studio system, in which many hands contributed to the final work. In his *Color Olivi (Oil Painting)* the Fleming Johannes Stradanus depicted a hierarchy of seven male figures of different ages engaged in different occupations within the ideal studio (engraved by Hans Collaert II, ca. 1580; Fig. 7.24). The master stands before a large canvas, executing a history painting of St. George slaying the dragon, while a seated journeyman on the far left executes a portrait before the female subject. On the far right two shop assistants prepare the paints, one grinding pigment on a stone and the other incorporating the oil medium. An apprentice in the center foreground lays out a small number of colors on a palette to be handed to the master. In the right foreground, a boy in the initial stage of learning to draw practices his skill at the human eye. On the left, in a more advanced stage, a youth draws from the bust sculpture.

Baroque painters used a variety of supports. Although copper provided a smooth surface that was perfect for rendering small details, it was extremely expensive and not widely used. Wood, which had been the principal support in the north during the Renaissance, remained popular, especially for small paintings, even though increasingly it was replaced by canvas. Poplar and walnut were used, but oak, sawn radially to minimize warping, was the wood of choice, usually imported from the Baltic regions. A single plank, sufficient for a small work, might be joined to two or three planks and beveled to accommodate a frame; the whole panel barely measured half an inch thick. Artists did not fashion their own panels, since they were made by members of the joiners' and cabinet makers' guilds. While there were no universal sizes for panels (measurements tended to vary somewhat from place to place), basic sizes named after their cost (for example, a guilder-panel) had the advantage of fitting into standard frame sizes.

Canvas, which had its origins in the fifteenth century and was first used extensively by Titian, was the most common support in seventeenth-century Italy. Due to its light weight and ease of transport when rolled, it gradually found popularity in the north as well. Canvas was not woven from material intended expressly for artists; it employed material produced for other trades, such as cotton ticking used in bedding, sailcloth for ships, and linen intended for clothing. Canvas might be tacked or nailed directly onto a wooden frame, but in the north canvas was commonly fixed temporarily onto a strainer by looping a cord through the fabric and around the wood.

Although the method of building up a painting in layers varied between studios, the general approach may be summarized here. The panel or canvas was first prepared by the addition of two ground layers. An initial layer of chalk and glue provided a smooth surface, while a priming layer (*imprimatura*), consisting of a thin wash of oil paint, halted absorption of the colors into the support. The priming color ranged from white, which enhanced luminous effects, through shades of pink and tan, to a brownish gray ground favored for tenebristic effects (see Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Maulstick, Palette, and Brushes*, where the ground is left visible in part of the face; Fig. 6.27). The artist then added the underdrawing, a loose sketch in black or white chalk, or a line incised in the wet ground, which marked out the design. Next, the artist further blocked out the composition by means of a monochrome underpainting, called the "dead color." From there the painting was worked up in color, usually in sections and from background elements to foreground. It was up to the individual master to determine when a painting was finished and ready to be covered with a protective layer of varnish, especially in the case of masters like Rembrandt whose late works may appear "unfinished."

The seventeenth-century wooden palette, equipped with a thumb hole that allows the artist to grasp an array of brushes simultaneously, was relatively small, compared to its larger cousin in the nineteenth century, and usually held a limited number of colors, depending on the section of painting underway (see Leyster's *Self-Portrait*; Fig. 6.14). Brushes made of squirrel, badger, miniver, and hog hair varied in size and shape, from square-tipped and splayed to rounded and pointed, allowing thin, transparent colors (glaze) and thick, opaque strokes (impasto). Some artists ground their own pigments, obtained from an apothecary or specialist in medicinal drugs, while others obtained them ready-made from dealers in panels and canvases. Certain colors, like lead-white, lead-tin yellow, vermilion, and blue indigo were easily available and therefore cheap. Others were expensive, particularly red lake, made from a type of beetle, and ultramarine, which was the most expensive color because it was ground from lapis lazuli, a semi-precious stone.

👁—[Watch a video on making oil paint on mysearchlab.com

the work represents the engagement of the Dutch with the visible world, their fascination with natural organisms, and their embrace of the abundance of nature as an aspect of their prosperity. Minutely distinguishing the colors and textures of objects, Claesz demonstrates his technical virtuosity by creating objects that on first glance might be mistaken for the real thing.

Still-life painting at mid century saw an increase in canvas size, a preference for the vertical format, and a strong sense of tectonic order in the strict horizontals and verticals underlying the composition. *Still Life with a Late-Ming Ginger Jar,* painted by Willem Kalf (1619–93), displays the greater opulence of the *pronkstilleven* (1669; FIG. 7.25). Born in Rotterdam to a regent family, Kalf lived briefly in Paris circa 1639/40–6 and in 1653 settled in Amsterdam, where he also worked as a dealer in luxury goods. In the painting he places a few expensive objects in the tenebrous setting, so that the bright hues of red, orange, blue, and yellow emerge from the dark ground, and specular highlights sparkle against the shadows. The Turkish carpet, exotic fruit, and elaborate blown-glass vessels, one a *roemer* mounted on a metal base adorned with the figure of a putto, were prized items of the type brought back by the Dutch from their worldwide explorations to satisfy the expensive and refined tastes of the upper classes. The jar is a reminder that they imported thousands of porcelain pieces from China and then distributed them to the world, along with the local imitation, blue-and-white Delftware. A key element in many of Kalf's paintings is the spiraling lemon peel, which reveals the white pith and yellow flesh, gleaming in the focused light. The watch functions more as a precious object than as a reminder of the passage of time. Kalf conquers transience through his art, rendering his objects immutable and thus safe from the ravages of time.

The Decline of the Golden Age

Although the Dutch succeeded in their bid for independence, their material success and far-flung operations caused the ire and envy of the French and the English. The Franco-Dutch War (1672–8), during which the French invaded Holland, had disastrous consequences for the republic as a result of the loss of lands and an economic downswing. The art market collapsed, with disastrous results. Vermeer's widow blamed the economic crisis for her husband's premature death in 1675.

But during Holland's Golden Age, in the hands of Dutch artists, the subject categories of genre, landscape, marine painting, perspective, and still life had flourished as independent types. And through the seemingly accurate portrayal of seventeenth-century life in the United Provinces, Dutch painters preserved for posterity the dress, customs, routine activities, and aspirations, both material and spiritual, of a nation. These various genres would also have broad consequences for the development of art down to the twentieth century, as artists and collectors discovered and rediscovered the styles and subjects that became part of the larger vocabulary of Western art.

7.25 Willem Kalf, *Still Life with a Late-Ming Ginger Jar*, 1669. Oil on canvas, 30 × 25¾" (77 × 65.5 cm). Indianapolis Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. James W. Fesler in memory of Daniel W. and Elizabeth C. Marmon.

Flemish Baroque Painting in the Age of Rubens

When Peter Paul Rubens returned to his native Antwerp in 1608 after spending eight years in Italy, he arrived in a city that had experienced decades of religious and political strife. Fresh from his experiences abroad, he joined the massive program of restoring the Catholic churches that had been ruined by Protestant rioting and iconoclasm. The Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21) between the northern and southern Netherlands encouraged this renewal. His triptych *The Raising of the Cross*, with its emphasis on the new ideals of Roman Catholicism after the Council of Trent, would be the first truly Baroque altarpiece in northern Europe (1610–11; FIG. 8.1).

The country to which Rubens (1577–1640) returned was not yet the modern state of Belgium, the constitutional monarchy created in 1830 that took its name from the Belgae, the ancient inhabitants of the region. For much of the preceding three centuries the destiny of this territory, which included present-day Luxembourg and minor territories in northern France and southern Holland, was intertwined with that of the Spanish Habsburgs. Like Holland to the north, Flanders had once been part of the duchy of Burgundy when the Holy Roman emperor Charles V abdicated in 1555–6, and gave the Netherlands to his son King Philip II of Spain, whose ruthless efforts to

Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arrival of Maria de'Medici at Marseilles*, 1622–5. (Detail of FIG. 8.9)

rid the area of Protestantism led to an outbreak of hostilities. Thus commenced the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648), an often sporadic conflict between Spain and the northern provinces, during which the latter united to achieve political and spiritual independence. In 1579 the Union of Utrecht bound together seven of the northern provinces, while the Union of Arras officially joined the ten southern provinces. Strictly speaking, "Flanders" is the name of one of these southern provinces, but like the word Flemish it is often applied to the southern Netherlands as a whole. Unity in the south was hampered by the mix of three local languages—Dutch, Flemish, and German—and the loss of national identity caused by the split between the north and the south.

Nonetheless the situation improved when Philip II turned over sovereignty of the south to his daughter, the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633), and her husband-to-be, Archduke Albert of Austria (1559–1621) in 1598. Although they were members of the powerful and far-flung Habsburg dynasty, the pair relaxed Spanish rule, revived the flagging economy, and, as devotees of the Counter-Reformation, promoted Catholicism as the chief unifying element. As cultivated patrons of education, science, and the arts, the archdukes established a court in Brussels that was widely admired for its brilliance. They took part in political negotiations on several international fronts, and attracted a reputation as promoters of peace and cultural revival in western Europe.

8.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*, 1610–11. Oil on panel. Central panel, 181⅞ × 118½″ (462 × 300 cm). Cathedral, Antwerp.

Spain nevertheless continued to wage war with Holland, as in its successful siege of the border town of Breda in 1625 (see Velázquez's commemoration of the victory, FIG. 5.23). After Albert's death in 1621 Isabella ruled alone as governor-general, but she had no heirs upon her death in 1633 and rule reverted to Spain, whereupon Philip IV sent his brother, the cardinal infante Ferdinand, to Brussels. Only in 1648 did Spain recognize the independence of the United Provinces by the Treaty of Münster.

Brussels may have been the capital of the Spanish Netherlands, but Antwerp, "the metropolis of the west," was its leading city with respect to art, commerce, and culture. The first two-thirds of the sixteenth century comprised the Golden Age of Antwerp, thanks largely to its activity as an international port that sheltered a large population of foreign merchants and witnessed the arrival and departure of some 500 ships daily on the Scheldt River. Antwerp was also the north's most important banking center, a leading publishing nucleus that was home to the internationally respected Plantin Press, and a humanistic hub devoted to classical, linguistic, and scientific studies. But as the chief bulwark of Protestantism in the south, the city suffered a Spanish siege in 1585 under Alessandro Farnese, who gave the citizens the option of converting to Catholicism or leaving. The result was the mass exodus of skilled textile workers, commercial traders, publishers, intellectuals, and artists to the north, where they helped to lay the foundations for the Dutch Golden Age. The population fell precipitously—from a high of 100,000 in 1565 to 42,000 in 1589, only to increase slowly to 67,000 by 1640. Although Holland controlled the Scheldt, there was a limited commercial rebound during the seventeenth century through production of luxury goods such as silk, furniture, musical instruments, diamonds, carriages, and not least, religious art. If Antwerp's sixteenth-century prominence as an art center was devastated by wars and migration, it gained ground during the Twelve Years' Truce. In particular, Rubens's return from Italy in 1608 firmly re-established the city on the international art map.

Peter Paul Rubens

The circumstances of Peter Paul Rubens's upbringing were exceptional. In 1568, before his birth, his parents Jan Rubens and Maria Pypelinckx fled from their native Antwerp to Germany because of Jan's prominence in the Calvinist movement in the southern Netherlands. Working in Cologne as legal advisor to Anne of Saxony, the estranged wife of William I of Orange, Jan engaged in an illicit affair with her that resulted in imprisonment and a death sentence. However, Maria secured his release and he lived under house arrest in Siegen in the province of Westphalia, where Peter Paul was born in 1577, until

the family moved back to Cologne. Jan, who had received a doctorate in law at Rome, tutored the youngster in Latin and Greek literature. After his death in 1587, Maria returned with her children to Antwerp, where Peter Paul attended Latin school and was raised as a Catholic. A stint as a page in the household of an aristocratic widow initiated him into the world of courtly manners, but, drawn to a vocation in art, he apprenticed with three masters, the last of whom, Otto van Veen, had traveled to Rome and ran a large studio that encouraged humanistic studies. The rare works that survive from Rubens's formative years consist in part of drawings after woodcut prints by German artists.

Rubens achieved the status of master in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1598, and in 1600, at age 22, he embarked on an eight-year sojourn in Italy. A position as court artist to Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, required him to produce portraits and copies of Renaissance paintings but offered few big commissions. Nonetheless, he was free to work for other patrons and to travel to the great art centers. Venetian art opened his eyes to the possibilities of color and brushwork; Rome, where he lived for a time with his brother Philip, a classical scholar, allowed study of ancient sculpture and the High Renaissance masters; and in Genoa he created splendid state portraits of the local nobility (see "Drawing from the Past," below). Also for the duke, he undertook a diplomatic mission in 1603 to Madrid, where he repainted artworks intended as gifts for Philip III but ruined en route, and toured the remarkable art collections of the Spanish crown.

Rubens's most important commission during his Italian sojourn was for *The Madonna di Vallicella, St. Gregory the Great, and Saints*, a vertical altarpiece measuring over 15 feet in height, for the sanctuary of Sta. Maria in Vallicella, the Chiesa Nuova in Rome (1607–8; FIG. 8.3).

Drawing from the Past

Rubens visited Rome twice during his Italian sojourn, where he took full advantage of the opportunity to draw the ancient sculptures, most of them Roman copies of Greek originals, that were routinely discovered during the sixteenth century and brought to the great Roman collections. It is clear from his surviving drawings that he was familiar with all of the major examples, such as the *Apollo Belvedere* (see Fig. 1.3). The piece to which he devoted the greatest number of drawings, in both full and detail views (1601–2; Fig. 8.2), and which he considered the greatest surviving antique work, was the *Laocoön*, the presumed copy of a Hellenistic original that was dramatically unearthed in 1506 and set up in the papal Belvedere collection (see Fig. 0.5). This extraordinary sculpture, in which the muscular figures struggle and cry out in vain, captivated artists from Michelangelo onward with its pathos. Rubens would have known the Latin text of the narrative, Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which the Trojan priest and his two sons are fatally attacked by giant sea serpents.

In his short unpublished theoretical essay "On the Copying of Sculpture" (*De imitatione statuarum*), Rubens advises that the

> study of ancient sculpture offers the best means of portraying the ideal human body. Moreover, he says that the artist should avoid giving the impression of inert stone but strive to create a sense of living flesh, as he does here through the subtle tonal description of surfaces. Although Rubens used pen and ink to rough out a new composition and followed with an oil sketch to provide a finished *modello*, he preferred chalk for a more finished effect in his drawn copies and portrait drawings. After his return from Italy he expanded the black-chalk medium of the *Laocoön* to include red chalk and white highlights, the technique *á trois crayons* later adopted by French Rococo masters for its subtle coloristic nuances despite limited means (see Watteau's *The Remedy*; Fig. 11.16).

Rubens continued to copy ancient works throughout his career, returning regularly to his drawings of the *Laocoön*, which he adapted in such works as *The Raising of the Cross*, *The Taking of Samson*, and *The Arrival of Marie de'Medici in Marseilles*. After he had established a successful studio in the 1610s, he himself became a noted collector of classical statuary and reliefs.

8.2 Peter Paul Rubens, drawing of the *Laocoön*, 1601–2. Black chalk, 18⅛ × 18" (47.5 × 45.7 cm). Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

8.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Madonna di Vallicella, St. Gregory the Great, and Saints*, 1607–8. Oil on canvas, 15' 7" × 9' 5" (475 × 287 cm). Musée de Grenoble.

The mother church of the Counter-Reformation order of the Oratorians, this was the same building for which Caravaggio created his *The Entombment of Christ* for the Vittrici Chapel, a painting that Rubens would later copy (see FIG. 1.33). The patron, the Vatican treasurer Cardinal Jacomo Serra, was from Genoa, where he may have known the artist's works, and requested that Rubens be hired. The church was dedicated to the Madonna and St. Gregory, the presumed founder of the original building on the site, so these two personages figure prominently in the painting. The iconic presentation of the Madonna and Child in the top register, a framed picture within the picture, refers to a miraculous image in the possession of the church fathers that is venerated by the public on special days.

A figure of signal importance in the Catholic pantheon, the sixth-century St. Gregory is one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church, famous for having established the Roman Catholic liturgy and its music. He holds a large book, alluding to his impact on church doctrine, and looks toward the source of his inspiration, the dove of the Holy Spirit. His office as pope, splendidly conveyed by a large cope, the ecclesiastical mantle that swirls around his form, subtly refers to the Catholic doctrine of apostolic succession. The other saints, as Romans of the early Christian period who allude to the long, established history of the Catholic Church, represent another claim of superiority over the Protestants. Moreover, as martyrs they evoke the ideal of dying for the faith in the Post-Tridentine period, which suffered religious wars and witnessed perilous efforts to spread the word of God worldwide. On the left stand Maurus and Papianus, and on the right Nereus and Achilleus, the latter pair linked in some accounts with Domitilla, the niece of the emperor Domitian; her large form complements that of Gregory. The crumbling triumphal arch is a traditional reference to the foundations of classical Rome upon which the new Church was built.

The painting represents the culmination of Rubens's style during the Italian period, combining the monumentality of Roman High Renaissance painting with Venetian painterly effects. As a type of altarpiece, the *sacra conversazione* (sacred conversation), which features a non-narrative lineup of saints drawn from different periods for doctrinal reasons, had already undergone considerable transformation in Italy. Rubens rejects the static symmetry of earlier examples and embraces the dramatic staging of Correggio, Barocci, and the Venetians, in which the diverse positions of the figures, their energized postures, and varied effects of light and shade have the effect of making certain elements dominant and others subordinate. He establishes the figures as solid, corporeal entities through bold modeling and strong contours. Rubens based the figure of Gregory on Raphael's Aristotle standing under a coffered arch in *The School of Athens* while he gave Domitilla the robust grace of a Venetian heroine. Bright impasto highlights bounce off the armor, sumptuous fabrics, and gleaming flesh,

carrying the eye in a circular motion around the canvas, while the varied brushwork and dazzling colors give an effect of richness learned from studying Venetian technique (compare Titian, FIG. 0.16).

Nonetheless, the Oratorians rejected the picture, according to Rubens's account because it reflected too much light and was not visible from the nave. There may have been a theological reason as well, since the saints take precedence over the Madonna. Thus the artist replaced the work with three paintings on nonreflective slate; the Virgin and Child now dominate the altar, and each of two paintings hanging independently on the side walls feature groups of three saints. He attempted to sell the rejected altarpiece to the duke of Mantua, just as he had arranged for the sale to his patron of Caravaggio's rejected *Death of the Virgin* in 1607—proof that paintings in the Baroque could serve equally devotional or aesthetic ends—but the price was too high. Rubens took the work back to Antwerp, a journey precipitated by the imminent death of his mother, and placed it over the altar in her funerary chapel, where it announced his skills to potential patrons and exerted a powerful influence on contemporary artists.

Rubens hoped to return to Italy, but instead he became court painter to the archdukes Albert and Isabella, who granted him freedom from guild restrictions and allowed him to reside in Antwerp. He married Isabella Brant, daughter of the town clerk, with whom he had three children. In the fashionable part of town he purchased a large house, and remodeled it to resemble an Italian palazzo. Between the court and garden he erected a three-arched stone portico with banded Tuscan columns, surmounted by sculptures of Mercury and Minerva, the attendant gods of the mansion who oversaw the arts, scholarship, commerce, and peace. He also added a large studio for the numerous assistants and pupils who contributed at various stages in the execution of his commissions.

Patronized in the 1610s by the wealthy middle class, often on behalf of the revived Catholic Church, and in the 1620s and 1630s by an international clientele of kings, princes, and nobles, Rubens achieved widespread fame as the ultimate courtier-painter. Unlike Rembrandt, his greatest contemporary to the north, Rubens created only a handful of self-portraits and showed himself not with the manual tools of the artist but with the accouterments of a gentleman (compare Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with Maulstick, Palette, and Brushes,* mid 1660s; FIG. 6.27). In the late *Self-Portrait* of circa 1638–40 (FIG. 8.4) he clutches the hilt of the ceremonial sword given to him by Charles I of England. Showered with honors unusual for an artist, Rubens was knighted by both Charles I (1630) and Philip IV of Spain (1631).

Rubens's first major public altarpiece following his time in Italy was *The Raising of the Cross,* the largest triptych ever painted in Antwerp; in its original frame, with subsidiary panels that were subsequently removed, it measured some

8.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait*, 1638–40. Oil on canvas, 43 × 33½″ (109.5 × 85 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Read the document related to Peter Paul Rubens on mysearchlab.com

35 feet in height (see FIG. 8.1). Until the early nineteenth century it stood over the high altar of the elevated sanctuary of St. Walburga (until the church was destroyed, when the work was transferred to Antwerp cathedral). The patron was Cornelis van der Geest, a wealthy merchant, humanist, art collector, and friend, who apparently had a hand in determining the subject. Unlike the altarpiece for the Oratorians, which represents the Italianate type of portico altarpiece, painted on canvas, vertical in format, and encased in a classical frame, *The Raising of the Cross* returns to an older, more conservative northern format, namely, the triptych on a wooden support, so that the side wings may be closed during the week and opened on Sundays and feast days.

8.5 Peter Paul Rubens, *Sts. Amandus, Walburga, Eligius, and Catherine*, exterior panels of *The Raising of the Cross*, 1610–11. Oil on panel, each panel 181⅞ x 59" (462 x 150 cm). Cathedral, Antwerp.

The exterior wings feature four saints—two per panel—whose proportions, dress, and composition resemble those of the saints in the Oratorian painting (FIG. 8.5). Sts. Amandus, Walburga, and Eligius are local saints of the seventh and eighth centuries, who worked as missionaries and introduced Christianity in the region. Thus the altarpiece follows the typically Counter-Reformation emphasis on figures who by preceding the Reformation give legitimacy to the Catholic Church, in this case in Flanders. St. Catherine, the fourth figure, does not belong historically to the place or period of the other three saints, but she is venerated here as an early Christian martyr.

The wings, when open, reveal a spectacle of the Crucifixion that is unparalleled in its explosive movement and emotional power. The scene is continuous across all three panels, as was often the case in Northern Renaissance triptychs. In the left panel a curving line of grieving holy women, including Mary Magdalen and the figure of Charity with two infants, closes the composition, while St. John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary stand stoically erect in accordance with the biblical text and Counter-Reformation dictates. In the right panel a wedge-shaped formation of Roman soldiers plunges leftward into the space, where the two thieves are brought forward and prepared for crucifixion. By cutting off the two equestrian soldiers on the far right, Rubens prompts the viewer to imagine a greater space crowded with figures. In the center nine athletic males, composed along strong diagonals, strain to erect the cross. Four are stripped to the waist, exhibiting powerful Michelangelesque musculature, and one is dressed in contemporary armor. Rubens was one of the first artists to represent the cross in the process of being elevated rather than the traditional static vertical placement.

Christ gazes upward beyond the superscription, with its clearly written Hebrew, Greek, and Latin letters, toward the heavenly Father, who was originally represented bust-length in a separate frame directly above (later removed). Rubens abandoned the thin, ascetic Jesus of northern painting and adopted a superhuman musculature based on both Italian Renaissance and antique sources. That such a body would be powerless has the effect of increasing the pathos of the figure, an effect Rubens learned from studying the *Laocoön* (see FIG. 0.5; see FIG. 8.2). Once again the didactic component of the altarpiece is evident in the raising of the crucified body of Christ, the fundamental icon of the Christian faith and an analogue

8.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Capture of Samson*, 1609–10. Oil on panel, 19¾ × 26⅛" (50.4 × 66.4 cm). Art Institute of Chicago. Robert A. Waller Memorial Fund.

for the sacrament of the Eucharist, wherein according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, as promoted by the Council of Trent, the consecrated wafer and wine become the body of Christ at the moment of the *elevatio* (the lifting or elevation of the consecrated Host for the laity to see during the Eucharist) which takes place before the altarpiece.

The painting exhibits Rubens's incorporation of Italianate elements, such as bold, monumental forms, strong light and dark contrasts, firm modeling, and unifying dynamism, comparable to Barocci's *The Deposition* (1567–9; see FIG. 1.12). At the same time, he exhibits a northern sensibility in his use of the triptych format, the precise description of textures, and the incorporation of mundane details like the barking dog and the shovel.

In addition to altarpieces and devotional paintings based on New Testament sources and the lives of saints, Rubens produced many history pictures derived from the Old Testament, focusing on subjects that had long served as typological parallels with New Testament stories and which, more recently, supported the claims of the Counter-Reformation Church. Furthermore, he drew from Old Testament texts to portray the battle between the sexes, emphasizing the power of women, which stemmed from the misogynist tradition, supported by the Church, that divided women into saints and sinners. He portrayed the archetypal heroine who uses her feminine wiles to good advantage in his *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, commemorated in a reproductive print by Cornelis Galle the Elder (ca. 1610) (see FIG. 8.7 in "Reproductive Prints," below). On the other hand, the evil woman who uses her powers of seduction for emasculation appears in Rubens's *The Capture of Samson* (1609–10; FIG. 8.6). In illustrating this Old Testament story, he chose not to show the calm

Reproductive Prints

Inundated as we are with art reproductions in books and museum shops, as well as digital images, we may quickly assume that in the Baroque age pictorial information was relatively difficult to obtain. However, the history of reproductive prints dates back to the late fifteenth century, and by the early sixteenth century the production of high-quality images was in full swing across Europe. Some painters produced etchings after their own designs, such as Barocci's *The Annunciation* (ca. 1582–4; see Fig. 1.14), and able craftsmen in publishing houses devoted themselves full-time to engraving the compositions of others. The chief centers were Antwerp in the north and Rome in the south. Artists understood fully the benefits of such prints. They helped to publicize their inventions, contributed to their fame on an international basis, and were extremely lucrative, since large numbers of impressions could be taken from a single copper plate. In addition, collections of prints formed by both connoisseurs and academies contributed to the creation of a canon of established masterpieces to be copied by apprentices in artists' studios.

In setting up a business as Antwerp's most sought-after painter following his Italian sojourn, Rubens initiated the printed reproduction of his compositions. He himself seems to have etched only one plate, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, preferring to employ a professional engraver. His *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, also called *The Great Judith*, is of historical significance because it was the first print that he commissioned, and it reproduces a painting that has disappeared (ca. 1610; Fig. 8.7). It also shows Rubens's indebtedness to Caravaggio, whose *Judith and Holofernes* inspired many of the details (compare Fig 1.31), and to Elsheimer's *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, which Rubens subsequently owned (see Fig. 2.5), as well as his continuing interest in the *Laocoön*, which informs the tortured posture of the Assyrian general (see "Drawing from the Past," p. 236). The engraver was Cornelis Galle the Elder (1576–1650), a member of a prominent Antwerp publishing dynasty, who founded a local school to teach line engraving (see "Rembrandt and Netherlandish Print Culture," p. 199). Like many Baroque prints, *The Great Judith* includes a Latin inscription at the bottom: a dedication to Jan van den Wouwere, a Flemish humanist, and a legend in praise of the conquering female hero.

8.7 Cornelis Galle the Elder after Peter Paul Rubens, *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (*The Great Judith*), ca. 1610. Engraving, 21⅝ × 15" (55 × 38 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Andrew W. Mellon Fund.

Read more about Peter Paul Rubens on mysearchlab.com

The Capture of Samson displays Rubens's seemingly spontaneous and virtuoso technique, which conveys the energy and emotion of the subject. As an example of recycling in the Baroque age, when art materials were costly, Rubens painted the image over an earlier unfinished study of *The Adoration of the Magi*, which he turned upside down but did not conceal completely. The sketch was translated into a large studio work, *The Capture of Samson* in the late 1610s.

For his large canvas representing *The Abduction of the Daughters of Leucippus* Rubens chose a subject rare in the history of art (ca. 1618; FIG. 8.8). The narrative, told by several ancient authors, Ovid and Theocritus in particular, concerns Castor and Pollux, archetypal twin brothers living at the time of the Trojan War, who were the offspring of a liaison between the mortal Leda and Jupiter.

cutting of the hair, as rendered by Van Honthorst (see FIG. 6.2), but the subsequent scene of the Philistines pouncing on the hapless hero, as did Rembrandt (see FIG. 6.21). The old woman behind Delilah, the little barking dog, and Delilah's reclining posture conjure up the theme of venal love, while Samson's powerless body, like Christ's in *The Raising of the Cross*, evokes the pathos evident in the artist's studies of the *Laocoön*.

This artwork demonstrates how Rubens, once he had roughed his compositions in pen and ink on paper, brought his ideas fully to life in the medium of the oil sketch on a small wooden panel. Over 450 works of this type by him have survived, and although later collectors prized them as evidence of the first rush of inspiration, Rubens locked them away as a trove of visual ideas to be revisited when suitable. He began by priming the oak support with a loose, streaked layer of light brown or gray over the white gesso base, and then brushed the forms rapidly in brown line and established the light areas with white lead. Oil sketches for prints and sculpture were usually monochromatic, while those for paintings or tapestries were colored, then finished with white impasto highlights. These panels were shown to a client in order to secure a contract, and his studio assistants used them when transferring the composition to the larger, definitive support.

As the Dioscuri, or sons of Zeus, they are best known today as the constellation Gemini. They were called the horse tamers in antiquity, and because of their status as demigods, they often appear in Baroque painting riding their steeds across the sky. Unlucky in love, they chose Phoebe and Hilaeira, the daughters of King Leucippus, as their brides-to-be, even though the women were already betrothed. Rubens shows the men sweeping the women off their feet in an explosive composition wherein all of the elements—limbs, hair, drapery—radiate in dramatic diagonals from the center. Despite the abruptness of the abduction, the men were model husbands and the marriages were happy.

The action, as portrayed by Rubens, is far from realistic, but depends on his use of a variety of conventions. The women, with arms flailing and heads thrown back, are based on the antique pose for an abducted woman. Similarly, Rubens drew from the son of *Laocoön* on his father's right for the posture suggesting helplessness (see FIG. 0.5). The position and ample proportions of the upper woman are fittingly based on Michelangelo's painted *Leda and the Swan* (destroyed but known in the seventeenth century through the cartoon and copies), which Rubens had copied in a painting. With their muscular, tawny bodies, the men exhibit brute strength and solicitous care, while the

8.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Arrival of Maria de'Medici at Marseilles*, 1622–5. Oil on canvas, 155 × 115¼″ (394 × 293 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

women, blonde and fair, both withdraw and yield. The women are superb examples of the Rubenesque female, derived from Venetian nudes and representing an aesthetic ideal whereby corpulence equals voluptuousness (see FIG. 11.7). Two putti rein in the horses, thereby suggesting the impact of love on the passions. The painting is sensual, but without the peculiarities of Mannerist mythological works, like Bronzino's *Allegory with Venus and Cupid* (FIG. 0.13). Lack of information regarding the patron or the work's intended destination obscures our understanding of what Rubens intended by the choice of this exceptional subject.

Aristocratic Patrons

Rubens's international reputation and princely lifestyle brought large-scale projects that celebrated the ambitions and accomplishments of powerful dynasties. For Maria de'Medici (1573–1642), daughter of the grand duke of Tuscany and wife of King Henri IV of France, he produced 21 narrative paintings on a grand scale that comprise the *Medici Cycle* (1622–5). Lacking a painter in France capable of carrying out such an ambitious scheme, Maria hired Rubens, doubtless in part on the advice of her close friend Archduchess Isabella and her sister Eleanora, duchess of Mantua. Installed in the right-hand gallery that served as antechamber to her state apartments in the new Luxembourg Palace, Paris, the cycle is unusual in its chronological depiction of events from the life of a contemporary female ruler (it now hangs in the Louvre). The painter finished the paintings for the gallery in time for the festivities that accompanied the marriage of Maria's daughter, Henrietta Maria, to Charles I of England.

The cycle treats three phases of Maria's life: the years from her noble birth and education to her marriage in 1600 to Henri IV; the birth of an heir, Louis XIII, and her role as regent of France following the sudden assassination of Henri in 1610, when her son was too young to rule; and finally, her position as queen mother once Louis XIII came of age in 1614. The choice of subjects representing the latter period was problematic, since Maria's constant meddling in the affairs of state forced Louis to banish her from court in 1617. Although the two were briefly reconciled, she was exiled to Compiègne in 1630, from where she escaped to Brussels in 1631, and later died in Cologne. To bring Maria's deeds, including those that were mundane or controversial, to the level of history painting, Rubens incorporated a host of mythological figures and religious symbols to create a multi-layered allegory best described as a secular apotheosis, in which a mortal of exceptional birth appears as the equal of the gods. Rubens hoped to complete a cycle for the left-hand gallery of the Luxembourg, devoted to the heroic life of Henri IV, but Maria's troubles at court prevented this going beyond the conceptual stage.

The sixth painting in the cycle, *The Arrival of Maria de'Medici at Marseilles*, refers to the triumphant conclusion on 3 November 1600 of the journey by boat to French soil (FIG. 8.9). Maria disembarks, flanked by her aunt, Christina, grand duchess of Tuscany, and Eleanora of

Mantua, while an unidentified Knight of Malta keeps watch beneath the Medici coat of arms. As the personification of fame trumpets the queen's arrival overhead, two symbolic figures rush to greet her—France, cloaked in *fleurs-de-lis,* and Marseilles, whose crown features the city's towers. Neptune with leaping sea horses uses his trident to calm the waters, while his son Triton blows a conch shell. Nereus, the old man of the sea, watches as three of his sea-nymph daughters (nereids) tether the boat to the shore. Further examples of the fleshy Rubenesque female, the nymphs interlock in poses that derive from antique statuary like the *Laocoön* (see FIG. 0.5).

Although Rubens relied on assistants in his studio to transfer his oil sketches to the large canvases and block in the compositions, in accordance with his contract with Maria de'Medici he rendered the figures himself, leaving the trace of his brush visible. The viewer, positioned close to the foreground space, is caught up in the action and involved emotionally in the narrative. The strong modeling of the figures gives them a corporeal presence, while the active poses convey the idea of forms plunging through space. The intersecting diagonals of the composition combine with blurred edges and thrusting shapes of

color (red, in particular) to focus the eye of the spectator. Skin, silk, water, and clouds are all miraculously described by the oily texture of paint seemingly applied spontaneously—whether in the form of heavy impasto or a transparent washlike glaze. The presence of the *Medici Cycle* in Paris guaranteed its impact on the rise of the so-called Rubenist style in French painting at the end of the century (see Chapter 11).

Rubens's devotion to political diplomacy on behalf of Archduchess Isabella stemmed from his desire to see the northern and southern Netherlands peacefully reunited. For example, in the years 1622–5 and 1627 he undertook secret diplomatic missions to Holland. Conscious of the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, he worked for unity between the superpowers France, England, and Spain, traveling as diplomat to Madrid (1628–9), London (1629–30), and The Hague (1631). While the political outcome of these negotiations was limited, the impact on his art of visiting the great royal collections was immense, particularly in Madrid, where he cultivated a friendship with the single Spanish artist he admired, Velázquez. Whereas Veronese and Tintoretto had earlier been the Venetian painters who captured his

8.10 Peter Paul Rubens, *St. Ildefonso Triptych*, 1630–2. Oil on panel. Central panel, 138½ × 178¾″ (352 × 236 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

attention, now it was Titian, whose works in Madrid he copied avidly, often with subtle changes (in all he produced some 35 copies after Titian). The experience of Titian brought a wide range of coloristic and textural effects, a fresh energy to the figures, and increased looseness in the brushwork, resulting in seemingly "unfinished" passages. Full-size copies by one artist of another are relatively rare, but Rubens's show that, even later in his career, he considered imitation the best means to absorb the great traditions of the past.

Rubens returned to a conservative northern format in the *St. Ildefonso Triptych*, commissioned by his patron Archduchess Isabella, whose trusted advisor he became after the death of Archduke Albert in 1621 (1630–2: FIG. 8.10). As governor of Portugal, her husband had founded in Lisbon a Confraternity of St. Ildefonso, which he instituted in Brussels when he became ruler of the Netherlands. She requested the triptych for the chapel of the brotherhood in the church of St. James-on-the-Caudenberg. The exterior wings, when closed, show the *Holy Family with the Young St. John and His Parents,* in which the Madonna, Christ child, and St. Joseph receive the child Baptist with his parents, Sts. Elizabeth and Zacharias, under an apple tree (FIG. 8.11). The straightforward symbolism embodies the typological parallel of Christ and the Virgin Mary as the second Adam and Eve.

When opened, the interior shows a narrative scene from the life of the seventh-century archbishop of Toledo, St. Ildefonso. Proceeding down the nave of his church one night, he had a vision of the Madonna, who sat upon his episcopal throne. Rubens shows her accompanied by several female saints, two of whom bear palms of martyrdom. Putti fly overhead bearing roses and a crown, symbols of the enthroned Queen of Heaven. In thanks for Ildefonso's defense of her perpetual virginity, she presents him with a chasuble (the long sleeveless garment worn by the celebrant during the Mass), which he kisses. The scene is a reminder of the ritual donning of ecclesiastical vestments by the priest standing at the altar.

Pairs of figures in the side wings witness this miraculous event. On the left, the dexter side preferred for male portraits, Albert kneels in prayer in a posthumous image alongside his patron saint, the twelfth-century Albert of Louvain, whose remains he had transferred to Brussels in 1612. On the right, Isabella with rosary in hand is assisted by the thirteenth-century St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Upon the death of Albert, Isabella joined the Third Order of Franciscans, composed of members living in the secular world rather than a religious community, and wore the habit of a nun. Her association with the female branch of the Franciscans began in her youth, when she spent eight months at the monastery of Poor Clares in Madrid, which had been founded by her aunt and served as a retreat for women members of the royal family. (As Isabella Clara Eugenia she was named in part after St. Clare, and in 1625

8.11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Holy Family with the Young St. John and His Parents*. 1630–2. *St. Ildefonso Triptych*, closed wings (detached). Oil on panel, 138 × 101″ (352 × 256 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

she ordered from Rubens a suite of huge tapestry cartoons illustrating the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist for the convent.) Rubens has depicted her in the secular costume she wore as archduchess, thus presenting her in an idealized form as regent of the Spanish Netherlands.

The ducal couple occupies a space that is subtly differentiated from that of the Madonna, but their closeness underlines their status as rulers through divine right. State-portrait motifs of the column and drapery, along with ducal coronets in the lower foreground, convey their august status. Like Isabella, St. Elizabeth was a princess who, after the death of her husband, joined the Third Order of St. Francis, and thus she wears the habit. She carries a crown, indicative of her nobility, and roses, which refer to her charitable acts: Once, in the midst of a secret mission, she unexpectedly met her husband, and her basket of bread miraculously turned to roses.

Rubens's late technique shows firmly modeled volumes and impasto passages giving way to transparent glazes and

scintillating light effects that suggest depth and atmosphere in the manner of the late works of Titian (see FIG. 0.17). The painting is drenched in color, in particular the golds and reds repeated throughout, and Rubens's free and open stroke of the brush conveys the contrasting textures of damask, ermine, armor, and flesh. In sum, the painting celebrates the Virgin Mary as Mother of God and extols Catholic sainthood in the roles of priest, protector, and martyr. At the same time, it commemorates Isabella's union with Albert and their good works on behalf of the Church and state. She would die the following year.

The only dynastic cycle by Rubens that hangs in its original location is the ceiling of the Banqueting House in London (1632–4; FIG. 8.12). King James I, the first Stuart

8.12 **Inigo Jones**, Banqueting House, interior, Whitehall, London, 1619–22 and **Peter Paul Rubens**, ceiling, 1632–4.

monarch in Britain (r. 1603–25), had his architect Inigo Jones design the building, a Palladian gem that provided space for court ceremonies and festivities (1619–22; see FIG. 10.24). Rubens initially failed, in 1621, to win the commission for the decoration of the large interior hall, but later, during his active years as a diplomat, he successfully negotiated with James's son, Charles I (r. 1625–49).

Following Venetian tradition—for example, Veronese's ceiling for S. Sebastiano, Venice (1555–6)—Rubens inserted into a rich classical framework nine alternating oval and rectangular canvases rendered in illusionistic form, with figures flying in the air or seated before palatial structures. In accordance with Charles's wish to commemorate his father's joining of the kingdoms of England and Scotland in 1603, Rubens used mythological figures and biblical references, in a manner comparable to the *Medici Cycle*, to celebrate the Stuart dynasty in scenes representing *The Apotheosis of James I, The Union of the Crowns*, and *The Peaceful Reign of James I*.

The Garden of Love

Rubens's first wife died in 1626, possibly of the plague. In 1630, at the age of 53, he took a new wife, the 16-year-old Helena Fourment, daughter of a silk merchant. This was a happy union, resulting in five children. In a manner typically Baroque, Rubens combined the personal with the universal in a large painting, *The Garden of Love* (1630–2; FIG. 8.13). The older art-historical literature identifies the couple on the left as Rubens himself ushering his young bride into the realm of marriage, love, and society. The putto who pushes her from behind signals her timidity. Across the foreground three further couples engage in amorous dalliance and music making, while in the center three Rubenesque women revel in the heady atmosphere.

An artificial garden grotto of Italianate design provides a backdrop to the figures, its banded columns and sculpted terms reminiscent of the stone portico standing alongside Rubens's own garden in his Antwerp mansion. Inside the grotto, a trick fountain catches a group of men and women by surprise. That this is indeed a garden of love is evident from the presence of Venus riding a dolphin in the form of a fountain sculpture with water spurting from her breasts. Juno, goddess of marriage, is also manifest by virtue of her attribute, the peacock on the far right. Within the grotto a sculptural group of the Three Graces symbolizes the world of cultivated sociability. Overseeing the union are

8.13 **Peter Paul Rubens**, *The Garden of Love*, 1630–2. Oil on canvas, 78⅛ × 111⅛″ (198 × 283 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

8.14 Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape with Het Steen*, ca. 1636. Oil on panel, 51⅝ × 90½″ (131.5 × 229.5 cm). National Gallery, London.

rambunctious cupids carrying the emblems of love, like the arrow, flaming torch, and yoke, the latter indicating wedlock. The lap dog on the lower right symbolizes the fidelity that will mark these unions.

We do not know for whom Rubens painted *The Garden of Love*, although he kept other versions in his home. In his time the work was called a conversation à la mode, the term for a fashionable party, and indeed the painting carries on a long tradition in northern art of representing beautiful people enjoying themselves in a garden setting, which begins with late medieval calendar pages in illuminated manuscripts. The classical architecture, the glimpse of a distant landscape, and the loose brushwork bring to mind some of the earliest Venetian visions of men and women in a beautiful natural environment, such as Giorgione's *Pastoral Concert* of about 1510 (see FIG. 11.7). The costumes, however, represent the latest designs in French fashion plates. In the women's dress the revealing décolletage, puffy sleeves, and padded thighs all enhance the sexuality of the Rubenesque type. The work first received its present title in the mid eighteenth century, when it was well known to Parisian artists through copies, prints, and drawings, and inspired a new category in French painting, the *fête galante* (see pp. 322–6).

Although Rubens considered the subject category of landscape to be inferior to history painting, he produced, in line with the genre's prominence in sixteenth-century northern art, some 30 landscapes from the 1610s through the 1630s. With his retirement from public life and the purchase in 1635 of Het Steen, a country estate between Brussels and Malines that carried a noble title, Lord of

Steen, Rubens increasingly translated his pride in his homeland and his home into the medium of paint. With its high horizon line and deep panoramic view, the large *Landscape with Het Steen*, rendered on a support of 17 joined oak panels, follows the Flemish bird's-eye or world-view tradition (ca. 1636; FIG. 8.14). But the detailed description of activity in the foreground—the horse-drawn wagon on its way to market and the hunter stalking partridges behind the brambles covering a tree stump—provides an air of immediacy. That this is the countryside enjoyed daily by the artist is evident from the portrait of his country home in the mid distance, before which stand tiny figures of himself and Helena, and the stunning effect of early morning light. Ever the humanist scholar, Rubens imbued the particulars with a sense of harmony between man and his surroundings, and the detail of grazing herds and a woman milking a cow speaks of the pastoral joys to which he aspired. The painting remained in his collection until his death in 1640, when it was cataloged with a panel presumed to be its pendant, *The Landscape with a Rainbow* (ca. 1636; London, Wallace Collection).

Anthony van Dyck

Although Rubens dominated the Flemish art scene, a second painter, 22 years his junior, absorbed and expanded the master's approach to historical subjects, altarpieces, and portraiture. The son of a wealthy Antwerp cloth merchant, at age 10 Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) was apprenticed for about four years to Hendrik van Balen, a

successful local painter, who had traveled to Italy and was dean of the painters' guild. As a measure of his precocious talent, Van Dyck had his own studio before he entered the guild in 1618. In addition, Rubens, who needed help in dealing with the number of commissions coming his way, gave Van Dyck an important place as assistant and collaborator in his studio. The younger artist worked from Rubens's compositions as part of the workshop production of paintings, tapestry cartoons, and drawings for reproductive prints, all the while studying the art collection amassed there. Van Dyck assimilated completely the formal devices developed by Rubens, and had no difficulty adjusting his own early brusque style to Rubens's more polished manner. The younger artist learned much from the master—the method of running a big studio, the system of courtly culture and etiquette, how to curry favor among international contacts, the use of reproductive prints to circulate his compositions, and the desirability of a large house with an impressive art collection as a means of attracting top-drawer patrons. On the other hand, he did not share Rubens's wholehearted devotion to antique sculpture, and whereas Rubens worked up his ideas in oil sketches, Van Dyck preferred pen-and-wash or chalk studies.

During his first period of professional activity in Antwerp (1613–21) Van Dyck proved himself an accomplished painter of Counter-Reformation altarpieces, imbuing his figures with an emotional component that resonated beyond the picture plane. In addition, because Rubens had shied away from commissioned portraits, Van Dyck was willing to fill that gap. He was a sympathetic observer of his sitters, particularly in the case of family groups, and adopted sixteenth-century Venetian formats and painterly techniques, as well as Rubens's own reworking of the Venetian portrait tradition. Two major English collectors of pictures and antiquities associated with Rubens, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arundel, were anxious to obtain Van Dyck's services, with the result that the painter spent six months in England in 1620–1. King James I paid him a stipend, but too little of his work has survived to provide a clear idea of what he produced there. The chief outcome of the stay was the effect his close study of Venetian paintings in English collections had on his work.

In late 1621 Van Dyck, following the example of Rubens two decades earlier, left for Italy where he spent six years traveling about the peninsula in the style of an aristocrat, with a retinue. He visited all the main art centers, and resided for two long periods in Rome. His most conspicuous commission was for a portico altarpiece dedicated to the Madonna of the Rosary (1624–7) for the brotherhood of the Oratorio del Rosario in Palermo, Sicily, where he lived in 1624–5. Although he was in Venice for only two months, this allowed close examination of the Venetian school; even in Rome Van Dyck was eager to sketch

8.15 Anthony van Dyck, *A Genoese Noblewoman and Her Son*, ca. 1626. Oil on canvas, 75⅜ × 54¹⁵/₁₆″ (191.5 × 139.5 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Widener Collection.

paintings by Titian at the Villa Borghese and Palazzo Ludovisi. Later, the "Cabinet de Titien" in his residence contained some 17 paintings attributed to Titian, in addition to Van Dyck's own copies after the master.

Unlike Rubens, who had been based in the Mantuan court, Van Dyck was not attached to a single patron in Italy. Instead, he returned repeatedly to Genoa, whose mercantile and banking connections with Antwerp had long attracted many Flemish merchants and artists, including his frequent hosts, the brothers Cornelis and Lucas de Wael, who were painters and art dealers. The city's patrician citizens favored him with portrait commissions, of which the majority of the subjects are female. Genoese women were known for their high degree of independence within marriage, and the responsibilities often given them to look after the family's commercial interests because of a husband's absence or death. Although we have lost the identities of Van Dyck's *Genoese Noblewoman and Her Son*, they were members of the ruling class, for whom a major concern was dynastic continuity, as symbolized by the linked hands (ca. 1626; FIG. 8.15). Such a portrait would have hung prominently in one of the city's palazzos which,

because they were sites of business and political activity, were famous for the lavishness of their appointments.

As a construction of a public identity, the work belongs to the subject category of the state portrait—a representation of the noble class that privileges rank, wealth, and taste over personality. The state portrait closely parallels religious imagery in its preference for a full-length view of the body, a simple pose, and gravity of bearing that downplays emotion. The genre also borrows such ennobling accouterments as the cloth of honor and the backdrop of classical architecture, particularly a column symbolizing the virtue of fortitude, from the religious realm. Since the privileges enjoyed by the nobility were considered to be God-given, sixteenth-century theorists believed that state portraiture was in essence a branch of religious painting.

Titian had essentially created the visual rules governing state portraiture in his Habsburg portraits, such as the full-length seated *Emperor Charles V* of 1548; and the standing *King Philip II of Spain* of circa 1550 to 1551. Mannerist court portraits, such as those produced for the Medici in Florence, introduced an air of aristocratic aloofness through languorous poses and passive, almost waxlike visages. Van Dyck drew from these prototypes, as well as from a synthesis of Rubens's works, which included portraits of Genoese families carried out in the first decade of the century. In his portrait Van Dyck added a subtle, rapid manipulation of pigment that contributed dazzling textural effects and an understated grandeur.

The full-length seated figure of the woman, dressed in the stiff black costume based on the sober Spanish style preferred by the upper classes, seemingly exists on some higher plane, looming over the viewer. Her head is turned away in an unusual profile view, as if she did not deign to look in our direction. Van Dyck was an accomplished painter of parents and their children, sometimes imbuing youngsters with a shy, winsome quality. Here, however, the boy stands in a supremely nonchalant, hand-on-hip posture, a swaggering stance derived by male aristocrats from martial poses, in real life as in art, making it clear that he was born to rule. The painter animates this haughty pair through the fluttering cloth of honor, the leaping dog (a symbol of loyalty), the active atmosphere in the sky, and the almost abstract thick impasto highlights that scintillate off the boy's red costume. The imposing columnar façade rising above the balustraded terrace defies structural logic but lends a palatial aura.

Upon his return to Antwerp for a second period (1627–31), Van Dyck claimed his place as one of the city's chief painters. Rubens, who had been getting all the big commissions, was now often absent on diplomatic missions, and the field was thus opened up. Van Dyck was attached to the court of the Spanish regent, Isabella, who paid him a salary and allowed him to live in Antwerp. He painted her likeness, as well as portraits of fellow artists, close friends, and even Maria de'Medici, after her escape

from France to Brussels in 1631. He also initiated a long-term project, *The Iconography*, a suite of etched portraits of nobles, statesmen, intellectuals, artists, and collectors, most of which were executed by reproductive printmakers after his drawings.

More than being a portraitist, however, Van Dyck longed to be a history painter. Much of his output at this time consists of religious works, both large-scale altarpieces and smaller private devotional images, which never commanded the prices achieved by Rubens but had a profound impact on a later generation of artists. His immense altarpiece, *The Crucifixion* (1630–2; FIG. 8.16), painted for the Franciscan order of the Minorites in Lille, one of six versions of the subject produced during this second Antwerp period, is inconceivable without the precedent of Rubens's renditions of the same theme, like *The Raising of the Cross* (compare FIG. 8.1). Van Dyck distinguished himself

8.16 Anthony van Dyck, *The Crucifixion*, 1630–2. Oil on canvas, 157½ × 96½″ (400 × 245 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.

8.17 Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1629. Oil on canvas, 92⅝ × 90¹/₁₆″ (235.3 × 228.7 cm). The Baltimore Museum of Art. The Jacob Epstein Collection.

nonetheless in more attenuated, suave figures, compared to Rubens's massive physiques, and in such details as the delicately fluttering draperies and emotionally charged postures that reflect other sources, like Barocci and Reni. The stimulus to devotion, encouraged by the Counter-Reformation Church, is enhanced by the delicate color harmonies, especially in the light emanating from behind the clouds. The altarpiece gains its impact from the fact that Christ is fully dead. The Virgin and St. John stand by the cross, as in the biblical account, mourning their loss, while the long-haired Magdalen kneels to kiss Christ's feet, a reference to her having washed and anointed them

during the supper with Simon the Pharisee. In a telling detail the executioners flee Golgotha in haste, as one of them casts an astonished backward glance at the darkened sky that prevailed over the earth from the sixth to the ninth hour.

Among the few nonreligious narratives painted by Van Dyck during this period, *Rinaldo and Armida*, commissioned by the courtier Endymion Porter for Charles I, provided the stimulus for an invitation to join the English court (1629; FIG. 8.17). Charles, who admired and collected the work of the Venetian school above all others, must have appreciated the tender, lyrical character of the work, a

8.18 Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I at the Hunt*, ca. 1635. Oil on canvas, 104¾ × 81½″ (266 × 207 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

modern reinterpretation of Titian's *poesie* (compare FIG. 0.16), his paintings of mythological subjects intended to evoke a poetic mood. The subject comes from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (first published in 1581; translated into English in 1600). The basic theme of this epic poem is the Christian recapture of Jerusalem during the Crusades, but the love story between the two principals contributed to its popularity. On the Fortunate Isle in the river Orontes the sorceress Armida, sent to ensnare the Christian soldier Rinaldo, falls in love with him and binds him in a garland of flowers as he sleeps under her spell, still wearing armor. Van Dyck injected an element of classical mythology by means of the cavorting cupids, one of whom shoots the arrow of love toward Armida.

With its idyllic setting and lyrical sentiment, the painting draws from the Venetian pastoral tradition (see "The Pastoral Dream," p. 317). The rich coloration, painterly brushwork, and sensuous textures are all worthy of Titian's hand. The billowing red drapery provides a visual analogy for the quickening pulse of the heroine's ardor. A comparison with Rubens's *The Arrival of Maria de'Medici at Marseilles* shows how well Van Dyck had mastered his colleague's dynamic figural compositions (see FIG. 8.9). At the same time, a detail like the sea nymph, singing from a piece of sheet music, serves to distinguish Van Dyck's greater delicacy and refinement from the heaviness of Rubens's nereids.

In 1632 Van Dyck's career took a new direction when, at the age of 33, he accepted Charles I's offer to join his court. Although it is unlikely that he intended to make England his permanent residence, he remained there nine and one-half years. The king appointed him principal painter, provided a generous pension, and set him up in a house and studio on the Thames in Blackfriars, then just outside London and thus outside the jurisdiction of the painters' guild. No painter on English soil could match his abilities. Exceptionally, Van Dyck was knighted and given a gold chain and medal as a sign of royal favor. Thus like Rubens he epitomized the ideal of the courtier-artist, that is, a painter attached to a court who achieves high status through comportment, manners, dress, and ultimately, ennoblement.

Virtually all surviving works from the English period are portraits, around 400 examples of which can be traced. The pressure to produce these, and Van Dyck's desire to live a princely lifestyle, prompted him to use assistants, so that the assembly-line production sometimes resulted in a loss of quality. He painted the faces directly onto the canvas in one or two sittings, which usually lasted an hour, and employed paid models when executing the remainder of the body. His assistants blocked in the surrounding areas of the canvas, to which he applied the finishing touches. The character and dress of the English court induced him to exchange the quality of hauteur in the Genoese portraits for a relaxed grace and to introduce brightly colored, scintillating, and less structured silken clothing. Persons of high station looked forward to sitting for the artist, because he entertained them lavishly.

Notwithstanding his huge private practice, Van Dyck's official duty was to provide portraits of the king, queen, and royal family, including copies to be given as gifts to friends, relatives, and supporters. Particularly remarkable among the various images of Charles I are two immense canvases that depict him on horseback, following the state-portrait tradition that both Titian and Rubens had previously employed, based on the prototype, the antique *Marcus Aurelius* on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. A variation on this theme is Van Dyck's "dismounted equestrian portrait," *Charles I at the Hunt*, often called by its traditional title, *Le roi à la chasse*, after a memorandum written in French around 1638, in which Van Dyck listed paintings awaiting compensation (ca. 1635; the original destination is unknown; FIG. 8.18). The format is related to the tradition of royal hunting portraits—the hunt was the peacetime equivalent of waging war—although it lacks the usual detail of a hunting dog. The work features one of the most important motifs developed during the English period, the placement of the full-length sitter out of doors, not on a terrace as in the Genoese paintings but fully within the landscape. Whereas in other works Charles wears armor or the robes of state, like Louis XIV in Hyacinthe Rigaud's state portrait of 1701, which piles up layers of accouterments (see FIG. 11.4), here he is informally dressed in a silver satin doublet, red breeches, boots with spurs, and a black hat that focuses attention on his face and fashionably long hair. Significantly, Van Dyck incorporated subtle details that indirectly reference the standard type of the state portrait: The tree trunk stands in for the noble column, its spreading branches mimic a baldachin, and the horse bends its neck in a gesture of obeisance. Moreover, the groom holding the bridle and the youthful page carrying a cloak appear shorter than the king, although he stood barely 5 feet 4 inches tall. The walking stick and sword are both emblems of his status.

Charles I at the Hunt shows the king at the height of his personal reign; he had dissolved Parliament in 1629. His position with arm akimbo, standing on a slight eminence overlooking a coastal landscape, evokes the absolutist rule he extended over his domain, a concept underscored by the Latin inscription on the rock in the lower right-hand corner: "Charles I, King of Great Britain," a reference to the union of the English and Scottish crowns under his father James I. Alas, within 14 years Charles would be defeated in two civil wars, suffer imprisonment by rebellious subjects, be tried and condemned, and literally lose his head.

In 1639 Van Dyck married one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, who gave birth to their daughter in 1641. One week later the painter, who had suffered a long illness, died—less than two years after Rubens's death. Although

he was but 42 years old, his legacy was immense. Van Dyck's depiction of suave and self-composed figures in sylvan surroundings determined the course of much European aristocratic portraiture for over two centuries, as may be seen in a comparison with Nicolas de Largillierre's *Woman as Astrée* (ca. 1710–12; see FIG. 11.6) or Thomas Gainsborough's *The Blue Boy* (ca. 1766–70; see FIG. 14.10).

Jacob Jordaens

The third major figural painter working in Flanders was Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), who, like Rubens and Van Dyck, produced history paintings, altarpieces, and portraits. Whereas the latter two artists showed little or no interest in continuing the Flemish tradition of genre painting, Jordaens is best known for his boisterous depictions of middle-class family life. After being apprenticed at age 14 to the painter Adam van Noort, whose daughter Katarina he married, he worked sporadically in Rubens's studio as a collaborator and followed Rubens's example of creating a large house with many students and an art collection. He did not sojourn in Italy but remained in the north, traveling only in Holland, but his patrons included foreign heads of state, such as Charles I, Philip IV, and Christina of Sweden. For the wife of the recently deceased Dutch stadhouder, Frederik Hendrik of Orange, he created a large mural decoration for their summer residence, the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague, and when Rembrandt received a commission for one of the lunettes in the Amsterdam town hall, Jordaens was asked to paint three of them. Upon Rubens's death he achieved the distinction of being the principal painter of Antwerp. His main weakness—a tendency toward overly crowded or awkward compositions—is more than compensated for by his sensuous application of paint, superbly rendered still-life details, and extraordinary observation of reflected light.

In *The King Drinks!*, one of his five versions of the subject, Jordaens portrays a traditional Flemish banquet that has its origins in Twelfth Night, or Epiphany (6 January), the day when the three kings supposedly arrived at the crèche and paid homage to the Christ child (ca. 1640–5; FIG. 8.19). According to the rules for this essentially secular celebration, the person who discovers a bean baked in a cake wins the title of king for the day; in Jordaens's painting the oldest man, fat and bald, wears the crown.

8.19 Jacob Jordaens, *The King Drinks!*, ca. 1640–5. Oil on canvas, 7′ 9″ × 9′ 9″ (240 × 300 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

✳ Explore more about Jacob Jordaens on mysearchlab.com

Other figures choose various roles identified by the paper lots drawn randomly and scattered within the picture: the queen, who sits demurely next to the king, the server, the fool, the carver, the messenger, the cook, and in an amusing detail, the doctor (on the left), who has taken ill and vomits. Each time the king raises a glass to his lips, the rest follow suit, exclaiming, "The king drinks!"

The robust full-length figures with their brightly colored clothing resemble Rubens's figures in such works as *The Garden of Love* but without the aristocratic reserve (see FIG. 8.13). The party verges on drunken revelry to such a degree that we can easily believe the Spanish governors sought to curb these gatherings. A moralizing gloss appears in the form of a Latin inscription of a Flemish proverb in the paneling over the fool: "Nothing resembles a fool more than a drunk." Considering the detail of the young man making advances on a woman, we might assume that the painting warns against not only the vice of gluttony but also lust. Yet the message advocating temperance is not labored, and we are invited to participate in the merriment.

Still Life: Clara Peeters and Frans Snyders

Virtually nothing is known of Clara Peeters, who shares the fate of anonymity with many women artists of the Baroque. Baptismal and marriage records in Antwerp mention a certain "Clara Peeters," but these records do not tally with her dated paintings from early in the century, leaving little evidence on which to found the essentials of her career. As was the case with numerous other female painters, she specialized in still life, the subject category developed in the Netherlands, beginning in the mid sixteenth century. She usually preferred a horizontal format that accommodates objects and foodstuffs laid across a tabletop but for her *Still Life with Goblets, Flowers, and Shells* of 1612 she chose a vertical format, reinforcing the shape of the tall vessels that are the primary motifs within a composition based on an informal symmetry (FIG. 8.20). Using local color and minute description to define the physical character of each object, Peeters suggests a hidden light source coming from the upper left and employs a dark background to make the objects stand out in relief.

Placed side by side in a simple configuration, the articles are expensive collectibles that, like Peeters's painting itself, were considered desirable for a collector's cabinet (see "Collecting in the Baroque," p. 256). The celadon-green Ming dynasty bowl is typical of the coveted porcelains recently imported from the Far East, while the exquisite shells and flowers were highly prized as nature's most artful creations. Covered goblets made of embossed and engraved gold-plated silver were usually commissioned for commemorative purposes by a guild or other corporate group. Despite the military statuettes crowning

8.20 Clara Peeters, *Still Life with Goblets, Flowers, and Shells*, 1612. Oil on panel, 23¼ × 19¼" (59 × 47 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

View the Closer Look on iconography on mysearchlab.com

the trophies, not to mention the stack of coins and other luxury items like the gold chain, it seems unlikely that Peeters primarily intended a *vanitas* signification. Rather, she celebrates her own creative skills in competition with both nature and the craftsmen who wrought the precious objects depicted, as is evident from the inclusion of her minute self-portrait with palette, easel, and studio window, all reflected in the 12 bosses visible on the right-hand goblet. The mirror image as a form of artist's signature may be traced back to the works of Jan van Eyck, whose mimetic skills Peeters sought to advance and rival.

The quiet, static simplicity of Peeters's small panels gives way to dynamic complexity in the large canvases of Frans Snyders (1579–1657), who adapted the late sixteenth-century Netherlandish tradition of kitchen and market scenes by such artists as Joachim Beuckelaer (compare FIG. 0.18). His significance lies in the addition of trophies of the hunt to the visual repertoire. A native of Antwerp who studied with Pieter Brueghel the Younger, he visited Italy in 1608–9, and perhaps became acquainted with the genre paintings of Annibale Carracci (see FIG. 1.19). Toward the end of his stay, through the assistance of Jan Brueghel the Elder, he lived in the Milan house of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, who had formed a prominent collection of still lifes. Setting up a studio upon his

Collecting in the Baroque

Just as today's collectors scour modish art galleries and online auctions for a valued object, seventeenth-century collectors were eager to amass examples of the beautiful, the rare, and the strange. The two extremes that characterize Early Modern collections are represented by the *Kunstkammer* (chamber of art), like the painting gallery of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels (see Fig. 8.24), and the *Wunderkammer* (chamber of wonders), like that of Ferrante Imperato in Naples, with its encyclopedic presentation of natural artifacts (note the stuffed birds, mammals, and huge crocodile; Fig. 8.21). But these two types usually overlapped, with objects of art and other man-made items (*artificialia*) vying for attention with objects of nature (*naturalia*) in the so-called *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, as suggested by the varied precious items gathered in Clara Peeters's *Still Life with Goblets, Flowers, and Shells* (1612; see Fig. 8.20). While small objects might be housed in a single piece of furniture, like a cabinet fashioned from rare woods and decorated with small paintings, the term "cabinet of curiosities" refers to an actual room, usually small and private, in the owner's house. A sense of wonder characterized the Baroque experience, stimulated by scientific inquiry that opened new worlds, large and small, and the new global explorations that yielded unforeseen artifacts. Art objects also stimulated wonder, especially with the visual trickery brought about by extremes of illusionism or the frequent combination of art and nature in a single object, like a nautilus shell mounted by a goldsmith on a sculpted base (for the technique, see the *Swan Pendant*, Fig. 0.2).

While rarely lacking the wonders of nature, artists' collections focused on the finest creations of their profession. As an artist possessing wealth and a classical education, Peter Paul Rubens formed a collection that ranked among the wonders of Antwerp, not to be missed by visiting artists, writers, foreigners, and even heads of state, including Archduchess Isabella, the cardinal infante Ferdinand, and Maria de'Medici after her exile from France. It also served as a teaching tool for his pupils and inspiration for his own compositions. Although he owned rare seashells and an Egyptian mummy, the collection was in some respects similar to the princely gallery of Leopold Wilhelm in the number of works attributed to Italian masters of the sixteenth century. For example, Rubens owned nine pictures ascribed to Titian and over 30 copies after Titian by his own hand, most painted in the royal galleries of London and Madrid. Northern artists, like Adam Elsheimer and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 12 of whose paintings he owned, were also represented, as well as Dutch and Flemish contemporaries, including splendid examples by his early collaborator, Anthony van Dyck. Confident of his own standing in Western art, he integrated his own paintings, both originals and copies, among the collected works.

As part of the renovation of his stately house Rubens created a gallery for the pictures and a semicircular "Pantheon," lit by an oculus in the dome, for a group of antique marbles that was without peer for an artist. In 1618 he had traded pictures, all more or less by his own hand, for some 90 ancient sculptures owned by the English ambassador to The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton. Later, in 1626–7, he sold, at great profit, the statuary and many pictures to the duke of Buckingham as a diplomatic gesture and to obtain funds as he embarked on an ambassadorial mission. As for his precious store of drawings and oil sketches: these he kept locked safely in his study.

8.21 **Anonymous**, woodcut from Ferrante Imperato's *Historia naturale*, 2nd ed., Venice, 1672. Private Collection.

8.22 Frans Snyders, *Still Life with Dead Game, Fruits, and Vegetables in a Market*, 1614. Oil on canvas, 83½ × 121¼″ (212 × 308 cm). Art Institute of Chicago. Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Collection.

return home, he collaborated frequently with figural artists, adding birds, animals, and fruit to the works of such painters as Rubens, from whom he learned the art of large-scale dynamic design.

In his monumental *Still Life with Dead Game, Fruits, and Vegetables in a Market* of 1614 the vendor greeting the spectator, unaware of the boy picking his pocket, is secondary to the sumptuous display of foodstuffs laid out on a table in a city market (FIG. 8.22). Two of Snyders's signature motifs, the life-size dead swan and gutted deer, activate the composition through the broad diagonals of their splayed limbs, a device wittily mimicked in small by the pair of dead rabbits on the right. Whether large peacocks or small game birds, the dead fowl contrast with the live chickens in a coop, the pair of doves atop a gleaming copper sieve, and fighting cocks stalked by a cat. Snyders amazes with his ability to depict contrasting textures, as in the boar's head dripping with blood. A smattering of produce contributes to the sense of abundance, particularly the figs, grapes, and apples in wicker baskets that bring to mind Caravaggio's *Basket of Fruit* in the Borromeo collection (see FIG. 1.30). In sum, the bold strokes of paint and bright, lively color make this picture a feast for the eyes.

Genre Scenes: Adriaen Brouwer and David Teniers the Younger

While Jordaens popularized bourgeois genre painting, another artist was reviving the lowlife scenes of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, which were still being imitated by his offspring. The short life of Adriaen Brouwer (1605/6–38) reminds us that the division between the northern and the southern Netherlands was political, and that this artist, who is claimed as one of their own by historians on both sides, bridged the two countries. Historians do not accept the assertion by the early eighteenth-century biographer, Arnold Houbraken, that Brouwer was born in Haarlem and trained with Frans Hals, but stylistic connections exist in the rough brushwork utilized by both. Following another early biographer, we believe that Brouwer was born in Oudenaarde in Flanders and subsequently lived in Amsterdam and Haarlem in the 1620s, and that he joined the rhetoricians' chamber, an amateur literary club, of which Hals was a member. He moved to Antwerp in 1631/2, where he entered the Guild of St. Luke and the local rhetoricians' group, but despite considerable renown as a painter he spent his remaining years in financial hardship; at one point he was in jail for several months. The reason for his untimely death is unknown.

The corpus of some 60 surviving works lacks dates, so we can only conjecture their chronological order. Traditionally historians have divided the small panels into two phases. Those seemingly produced in Holland (ca. 1625–31) possess the thin paint and caricatured figures of the great Bruegel, whereas the Antwerp pictures (1632–8) are characterized by detailed realism and a unifying atmosphere that resembles works by the first generation of Dutch genre painters, like Willem Buytewech (see the *Merry Company*, ca. 1620–2; FIG. 7.2).

Brouwer's *Fight over Cards* injects new life into a subject from the Bruegelian canon by incorporating a high level

of realism and dynamic interplay between the figures (ca. 1631–5; FIG. 8.23). In Netherlandish art guzzling and fighting peasants traditionally represented the vices of gluttony and anger. Here drinking and cheating have caused a brawl to erupt among a group of peasants during a card game. The seated man on the left denounces his opponent, who cries out in anger as he pulls a sword from its scabbard. His head is the intended target of the standing figure who raises an earthenware vessel in his right hand despite attempts at restraint by his companion. Another male on the upper right stoops to enter this literally "lowlife" space, whose rough-hewn furnishings Brouwer has described meticulously. Within the seeming disorder and fury, the artist has organized a close-knit pyramid of figures in a shallow stagelike space. Against the brownish tone suggestive of a dank atmosphere, the costumes stand out with their bright shades of red and blue. Despite the coarse subject, works like this were highly valued for their good humor, spritely brushwork, and compelling representation of violent emotion. Rubens owned at least 17 paintings by Brouwer, perhaps purchased directly from him to provide financial assistance, while Rembrandt owned six.

Brouwer's body of work inspired other lowlife painters, such as Adriaen van Ostade in Haarlem (see FIG. 7.3) and David Teniers the Younger (1610–90), a member of a dynasty of Flemish painters that included his father (his first teacher), three brothers, and a son. In 1660 Teniers married Anna Brueghel, daughter of Jan Brueghel the Elder. He achieved wealth and fame with his lowlife paintings, which initially represented coarse peasants similar to those of Bruegel and his progeny and Brouwer, but he later turned to more idealized country folk. Starting with a thin brownish ground on a wooden panel, he picked out his figures in bright costumes finished with white impasto highlights.

Teniers's chief claim to originality, however, lay in his gallery paintings. In 1651 he accepted the position of court painter to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, Habsburg governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1647 to 1656. Unlike Rubens and Van Dyck, who received certain dispensations from the archdukes, including the right to remain in Antwerp, Teniers had to settle in Brussels. Striving to obtain the status of courtier-artist, similar to that of his famous forebears, in 1657 Teniers petitioned King Philip IV of Spain to reinstate his ancestral coat of arms, but the entreaty faced opposition from those who felt that a noble title was inappropriate for a painter engaged in the commerce of art. Perhaps to support his claim, in the early 1660s Teniers assisted in the formation of an art academy in Antwerp and purchased a country estate. His petition stalled in the Spanish bureaucracy, and only received an affirmative decision in 1680.

Newly arrived in Brussels, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm determined to form a *Kunstkammer* (German for chamber of art) that would be worthy of the Habsburg name and represent his taste and power (see "Collecting in the Baroque,"

8.23 Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight over Cards*, ca. 1631–5. Oil on panel, 13 × 9¼" (33 × 49 cm). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

✳—Explore more about Adriaen Brouwer on mysearchlab.com

8.24 David Teniers the Younger, *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in His Gallery*, ca. 1651. Oil on copper, 41¾ × 50¾" (105 × 130 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

p. 256). He engaged Teniers to find the artworks, some of which had belonged to the ill-fated Charles I of Britain. To advertise his immense collection among European courts, he had Teniers paint 11 versions of a fictional gallery; *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in His Gallery* (ca. 1651; FIG. 8.24) is one of them. These "visual catalogs" containing small likenesses of his greatest treasures did not remain in Brussels, but served as gifts to foreign courts, as was the case with this work, which was presented to Philip IV and exceptional in being painted on a large sheet of copper.

Gallery pictures had initially appeared in the first decade of the seventeenth century, when they tended to be more fanciful in composition and allegorical in nature, but Teniers endowed them with a new level of realism. The archduke, recognizable by his black garb and tall hat, guides visitors, while Teniers's presence behind the table underlines his own high status through association. Leopold Wilhelm favored Venetian painting above

all, and owned some 15 works by Titian, whose *Diana and Callisto* of circa 1566 hangs in the top row, but he also possessed northern paintings, like Van Dyck's portrait of Archduchess Isabella of 1627, on the floor to the right. Teniers also oversaw publication of the *Theatrum pictorium*, which documented 243 of the archduke's Italian pictures; it is significant as the first large-scale illustrated catalog of a private art collection (1660). When he returned to Vienna in 1656, the archduke took with him the collection, which would later form the core of the great Kunsthistorisches Museum.

By this time the florescence of Flemish Baroque painting, which had been stimulated by the reign of Albert and Isabella and the return of Rubens from Italy, was on the wane. Unhappily, in the second half of the century the southern provinces were drawn into numerous conflicts on behalf of Spain and fell prey to the rise in France of Louis XIV, who sought to annex the border provinces.

French Painting and Prints of the Seventeenth Century

In approaching French art of the seventeenth century, we are obliged to consider four prominent centers of art production and the rulers associated with them. The first of these is Paris, the capital of the kingdom of France. When, after decades of religious wars, Henri IV came to power as the first monarch of the Bourbon dynasty (r. 1589–1610), he installed the itinerant court in Paris as a sign of his effort to centralize government. In reviving the country's economy and stabilizing its political structure, Henri sought to make Paris a modern capital city by carving out public squares within the urban fabric, such as the Place Royale (see FIG. 10.2), and extending the palace of the Louvre. After his unexpected death by assassination, Queen Maria de'Medici acted as regent during the minority of their son Louis XIII (1610–17). She commissioned two influential works: her residence, the Luxembourg Palace (see FIG. 10.6), and, in its principal gallery, the *Medici Cycle* commemorating her life (see FIG. 8.9).

Louis XIII (r. 1617–43) was a less forceful personality than his parents, and relied on his prime minister, Cardinal Richelieu, to maintain stability in the kingdom despite problems with the nobles and the Huguenots, and to maintain France's power in Europe in the wake of Habsburg encroachment. Richelieu, not Louis, set the tone for artistic development in Paris by commissioning

Georges de La Tour, *The Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds*, ca. 1630–4. (Detail of FIG. 9.6.)

the architect Jacques Lemercier (ca. 1585–1654) to build the Palais Cardinal (now Palais Royal), with its painting collection and theaters, and to construct the church of the Sorbonne. The capital also benefited from aristocratic and bourgeois patrons, who built splendid residences in the fashionable new neighborhoods. Furthermore, the new Counter-Reformation orders constructed many churches and decorated them with altarpieces in conformity with Tridentine rules.

A shift in royal patronage away from Paris to a second art center took place when Louis XIII's son, Louis XIV (r. 1661–1715), initiated expansion of the old royal hunting lodge at Versailles. Although he instigated major new programs of construction in Paris late in the century, the Sun King proclaimed Versailles the new capital of the French state in 1682, effectively creating a new focus of art production that served to define the crown as divinely sanctioned.

A third center supported the most innovative art in the first third of the century: the province of Lorraine in the northeastern sector of present-day France, adjacent to Germany. As an independent duchy Lorraine could boast a sophisticated court enhanced by dynastic connections with the courts of France and Italy. Duke Charles III (r. 1545–1608) was the spouse of Claude de France, daughter of the French king Henri II and Catherine de'Medici; and Duke Henri II (r. 1608–24) first married Catherine de Bourbon, the sister of Henri IV, and then

Margherita Gonzaga, daughter of Vincenzo I, duke of Mantua. Lorraine was a bastion of Roman Catholicism compared to the kingdom of France, which maintained a degree of separation from Rome through the tenets of the Gallican Church, which restricted papal control over local clergy and gave the king special rights within the French Church. The duchy upheld the principles of the Counter-Reformation, most evident in art in the emphasis on Catholic dogma. As in the Netherlands, however, religious strife was common in Lorraine, where Calvinists dominated three of the bishoprics. In addition, situated between France and the German states, Lorraine endured the constant movement of soldiers across the province and was pulled from both sides into political conflict, most notably in the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). In 1633 Louis XIII and his armies seized the duchy, which was henceforth ruled by a local governor in the name of the monarch. Independent again in 1677, Lorraine was annexed to the French state in 1766.

A fourth locus beckoned French artists southward: the Italian peninsula. As in the case of Spanish, Dutch, and Flemish artists, the great Italian cities—Florence, site of the Medici court, Rome, center of the Catholic world, and Venice, already a tourist mecca—promised French artists the culmination of their artistic education and enviable commissions. Some painters became expatriates, and never resumed a career in their homeland, but French patrons eagerly collected their work.

Jacques Bellange

Early in the seventeenth century painting was in the doldrums, suffering from an uninspired late form of Mannerism. Of greater interest are the prints produced in the second and third decades, which are Mannerist in style but immensely original. Indeed, these years marked the beginning of a Golden Age of French printmaking that saw the expansion of local print-publishing centers as opposed to the dominant studios in the Netherlands and Italy. Nancy, capital of Lorraine, witnessed this development first, but was later eclipsed by Paris.

The major artist working in Lorraine in the first two decades of the century was Jacques Bellange (ca. 1575–1616), about whom relatively little is known. Although he was principally active as a painter and designer of court festivals, only a few examples have been attributed to him. Decorative murals produced for the ducal residence and designs for temporary festivities have disappeared. His fame rests on some 48 prints executed in the etching medium, some with additional engraving. The subjects are largely religious, with the emphasis on the Virgin Mary and the saints. A few classical subjects exist, and two exceptional genre scenes show a blind hurdy-gurdy player, a motif derived from Netherlandish art.

9.1 Jacques Bellange, *The Three Women at the Tomb*, ca. 1613–16. Etching with some engraving, 17¼ × 11⅜″ (44.1 × 28.8 cm). Cincinnati Art Museum. Museum Purchase. Gift of John S. Conner and Harry G. Friedman, by exchange (1982.8).

✳—Explore more about Jacques Bellange on mysearchlab.com

The Three Women at the Tomb features Bellange's extraordinary use of the Mannerist style (ca. 1613–16; FIG. 9.1), which had been rejected by the first generation of Baroque painters in Italy as early as the mid 1580s, and in Spain, Flanders, and Holland at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But in the more rarified atmosphere of some European courts, like those of the Medici and the duke of Lorraine, a robust form of Mannerism endured in prints into the 1630s. Evidence that Bellange was familiar with the work of such Italian masters of *Maniera* as Parmigianino (FIG. 0.10) and the prints of northern proponents like Hendrick Goltzius may be found in both his figural design and spatial composition. Bellange endows his elegant ladies with Mannerist proportions and body type: The small head, on which hair is arranged in knots, sits on a slender neck that merges with narrow, sloping shoulders; the body expands outward at the hips, only to narrow again at the tiny feet. Fingers and toes are exaggerated

in length, and the high-waisted garments reveal breasts and navels. The medium suits the sensuous atmosphere: Etched hatchings and cross hatchings in the costumes and stipples in the flesh produce the effect of diffused light and transparent fabric. Bellange further engages the viewer through deliberately irrational relationships—the tall foreground figures appear out of scale with the tiny ones in the back, and the ground level is tilted upward.

To our eyes these details seem at odds with the religious subject: the Easter morning arrival at Christ's sepulcher of three holy women, who find the tomb empty and an angel informing them of the savior's resurrection. The identity of the women is confusing in the Gospels, although traditionally they are considered the three Marys—Mary Magdalen, Mary Cleopas, and Mary the mother of James and John. They have come to anoint the body of Christ, but Bellange supplies neither identifying attributes nor jars of myrrh. Moreover, he uses the archaic device of continuous narrative, whereby the main figures are repeated in the same pictorial space; while this usually propels the story, here the result is ambiguity. Nevertheless, the strangeness of this image, in particular the ambivalent sexuality of the angel, was directed to a sophisticated audience of print collectors who would appreciate the novelty of the conception, its rarified beauty, and the virtuoso technique.

Jacques Callot

The son of a herald-at-arms at the ducal court in Nancy, Jacques Callot (1592–1635) studied painting and trained as a metal engraver with a goldsmith. He rose to be one of the most distinguished printmakers of the seventeenth century, chiefly by dint of three innovations in the medium of etching. First, he drew with a new tool, the *échoppe*, whose oval point mimics the elegantly swelling and tapering lines produced by the engraving burin but which is easier to control and quicker to manipulate. Second, he employed a new form of hard ground, which was more impervious to the action of the acid and less likely to flake off and ruin the plate. And finally, he used a new hard varnish, originally employed by Florentine lute makers, for the purpose of multiple-biting the plate. By "stopping out" or covering already bitten lines with the varnish and leaving others exposed longer to the acid, the etcher creates both shallow and deep grooves, which print as light or dark lines on the paper (see "Rembrandt and Netherlandish Print Culture," p. 199).

Like Bellange, Callot has been referred to as a Mannerist, particularly on account of the virtuoso character of his art. Extremely prolific, he created over 1,400 different plates, some with hundreds of figures. Callot traveled to Rome in 1608, and worked in the studio of Antonio Tempesta, then moved in 1612 to Florence, where he served the court of the grand duke Cosimo II de'Medici from 1614 to 1621.

9.2 Jacques Callot, *The Fan*, 1619. Etching and engraving, 8¾ × 11⅝" (22.2 × 29.6 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Rosenwald Collection.

✳—Explore more about Jacques Callot on mysearchlab.com

His Florentine prints are chiefly devoted to depicting the world of festivities and the theater, with suites of prints representing diversions staged by the Medici and the actors of the Commedia dell'Arte.

Callot produced *The Fan* as part of a souvenir to be given away at the annual festival of St. James sponsored in Florence by the Medici duke on 25 July 1619 (FIG. 9.2). A spectator in the foreground, seated on the elaborate frame, holds one of these fans. The audience watches a mock battle on the Arno River fought by members of the cloth weavers' and dyers' guilds. Callot included a variety of delightful Mannerist touches, in particular the elegantly posed figures seated surrealistically on the strapwork cartouche, with its two grotesque heads. The work is a masterful performance that incorporates vast crowds of tiny figures within its small format, the image resembling a keyhole or, alternatively, a telescopic view (another of the spectators on the frame holds a telescope). To convey depth, however, Callot relied on traditional methods of organizing space, such as linear perspective, evident in the converging diagonals of the two bridges, and atmospheric perspective, created through the process of multiple biting, so that foreground figures are darker while the distant landscape is less distinct.

Back in Nancy in 1621, Callot was attached to the court of Duke Henri II. His primary activity was the production of religious and genre prints, many of them diminutive in size and published as part of a series, for an international audience of collectors. His best-known suite of etchings is the cycle of 18 plates, including a frontispiece, *The Miseries of War*, referred to in his inventory as *The Soldier's Life* (1633). Their meaning is elucidated by verses at the bottom of each plate, traditionally ascribed to the abbé de Marolles,

9.3 Jacques Callot, *The Hanging* from *The Miseries of War*, 1633. Etching, 3³⁄₁₆ × 7³⁄₁₆″ (8.1 × 18.3 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. Library transfer. Gift of Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt.

an avid print collector. The series begins with the enroll-ment of troops, and then plunges the recruits into a fierce battle, although the images are unique in their absence of identifiable troops or generals. In subsequent plates ill and wounded soldiers are abandoned by the roadside, then marauding soldiers, many of them unpaid mercenar-ies with no regard for innocent bystanders, go on a ram-page, plundering and raping, and destroying everything in their path.

For such crimes they are sentenced to die, as we see in the eleventh image, *The Hanging* (FIG. 9.3), where the caption describes them as "these infamous and misguided thieves hanging from this tree like rotten fruit." Three priests act as confessors and administer the last rites to the condemned soldiers. The composition evokes the cruci-fixion of Christ, with soldiers under the cruciform-shaped tree casting lots to determine their turn to die (reminis-cent of the soldiers below the cross gambling for Christ's robe), except that here the criminals, like the ultimate trai-tor, Judas, are hanged. The intended irony is a Mannerist conceit that accords well with the suave postures of the figures, the elegantly dangling corpses, and the miniature scale that forestalls emotional involvement. Ever the mas-ter of crowd control, Callot marshals hundreds of men into a broad arc—an amazing accomplishment in a print that measures a little over 3 inches in height.

The artist was familiar with the events depicted as a result of armies frequently marching through the strate-gically located duchy during the Thirty Years' War, and Nancy's capture by French armies in 1633 after the duke attempted to overthrow Richelieu. Significantly, the suite, which was not commissioned, is not an indictment of war, which Callot accepted as inevitable and necessary, but a condemnation of the abuses perpetrated by soldiers and

a plea for corporal punishment or death for the guilty. In the final print in the cycle the anonymous ruler rewards the good soldiers.

Valentin de Boulogne

In France as in Italy the revival of painting, after Mannerism had reached its nadir, came in the form of Baroque real-ism. Many French artists, like their northern counterparts, traveled to Italy, especially Rome, where they adopted the subjects and formal idiom of Caravaggio. One such painter, often called a French Follower of Caravaggio, was Valentin de Boulogne (ca. 1591–1632), born in Coulommiers-en-Brie, to the east of Paris. Valentin trained with his father, a painter, then traveled southward, and perhaps arrived in the Eternal City as early as 1611. He remained there, joining the community of Dutch and Flemish artists based in the northern quarter of Sta. Maria del Popolo. Like Caravaggio, he lived a bohemian lifestyle that, according to his biographer Giovanni Baglione, may have caused his premature death when, overheated from too much alcohol and tobacco, he jumped into a fountain and caught a fatal fever.

Valentin studied the works of Caravaggio and his fol-lowers, which were accessible in the churches and private collections of the city. Thus his subjects are the standard set pieces, both historical narratives and secular group-ings of cardplayers, soldiers, musicians, and fortunetellers, handled in a fresh way. He fulfilled private requests from a circle of distinguished collectors that included Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who facilitated the commission for an altarpiece at St. Peter's, and the cardinal's secretary, Cassiano dal Pozzo.

9.4 Valentin de Boulogne, *Concert with a Bas-Relief*, ca. 1620–2. Oil on canvas, 68⅞ × 84¼″ (173 × 214 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

👁 **Watch** a video on Valentin de Boulogne on mysearchlab.com

Concert with a Bas-Relief is one of several variations by Valentin on the theme of an informal group of figures painted from nature, consisting of musicians playing a violin, guitar, and lute alongside two drinkers and a boy, all within the confines of a tavern (ca. 1620–2; FIG. 9.4). While the subject reflects Caravaggio's early day-lit pictures of musicians, the format of life-size figures wearing the brightly colored garments of *bravi* and seated within a shallow, tenebristic space derives from the secular group on the left side of Caravaggio's *The Calling of St. Matthew* (see FIG. 1.32). It should be remembered that Caravaggio fled Rome in 1606, and that his close Italian follower, Bartolomeo Manfredi, whose concert and guardroom scenes were known to Valentin, died in 1622 (see FIG. 2.6). Thus the French artist was one of those who filled a significant void by producing paintings in a strongly realistic manner, but who were considered the scourge of contemporary art by rivals championing classicism.

Valentin sums up this formal clash in the piquant detail of the soldier in the lower foreground, whose face, obscured by shadow, opposes the classical profile of a seminude male carved in low relief. The saturated colors, enveloping atmosphere, and impasto distinguish Valentin's work from that of the Roman masters, while the solemn gravity of the group lacks the boisterous gaiety of northern merry companies (compare Van Honthorst, FIG. 6.3). There is not one smile in this concert, where the faces, alternately solemn, smoldering, or melancholic, invite the subjective response of the viewer.

Georges de La Tour

The leading painter in Lorraine during the second quarter of the century was Georges de La Tour (1593–1652). The son of a middle-class baker, he was born in the town of Vic-sur-Seille, 20 miles outside Nancy, and established his career in Lunéville, the ducal town equally close to the capital. Documents reveal that Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu, and Duke Charles IV of Lorraine each owned at least one work by La Tour, but more significantly the French governor of Lorraine possessed seven works, apparently commissioned as year-end gifts from the local municipality.

The most vexing problem has been the question of La Tour's training. It is possible that he studied in the workshop of Bellange, but his work shows a rejection of Mannerism in favor of realism. He is often labeled a French Follower of Caravaggio, but this is tenuous, since there is no evidence that he traveled to Italy to see the works of the Italian master. Indeed, it is uncertain whether La Tour traveled southward to Rome in the years 1610–16, after his apprenticeship in Lorraine, or sojourned in the United Provinces, a possibility suggested by strong similarities with the work of the Utrecht Caravaggisti. Alternatively, he may have studied the works of other local artists who had been to Rome, like Jean Le Clerc (ca. 1587–1633), who settled in Nancy around 1622.

Only two of La Tour's works are signed and dated legibly, and attempts to create a chronology have led to varying proposals. In general terms we may say that the presumed early works of circa 1620–35 are day-lit scenes that predominantly represent genre subjects, while the mature works, dating from 1635–50, are mostly nocturnal scenes of religious subjects. Thus, presumably fortuitously, La Tour's development in general resembles that of Caravaggio.

Two early genre scenes representing roughly life-size three-quarter-length figures in the foreground of a

9.5 Georges de La Tour, *The Fortuneteller*, ca. 1630–4. Oil on canvas, 40⅛ × 48⅝″ (101.9 × 123.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1960.

9.6 Georges de La Tour, *The Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds*, ca. 1630–4. Oil on canvas, 41¾ × 57½″ (106 × 146 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

shallow undefined space, reflect specific knowledge of the Caravaggesque tradition: *The Fortuneteller* and *The Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds* (ca. 1630–4; FIGS. 9.5 and 9.6). Although the pair measure roughly the same and deal with a similar theme—an innocent youth who is cheated by conniving scoundrels—they were probably not intended as pendants. In any case, they closely resemble a similar pair by Caravaggio, likewise not literally pendants but always considered together, *The Cardsharps* and *The Gypsy Fortuneteller* (ca. 1596–7; see FIGS. 1.28 and 1.29). La Tour clearly knew either these early works or some of the numerous copies and variations by northern or southern Followers of Caravaggio. Like the prototypes, defined by contemporaries as *pitture ridicole*, amusing satires on human foibles, La Tour's works present clear narratives that bring a smile to the face of the viewer while warning against dissolute behavior. In addition, they may be seen as secular parallels to the parable of the prodigal son, in which a naïve youth experiences a corrupt world (see "'To Err is Human...': The Parable of the Prodigal Son," p. 185).

In *The Fortuneteller* an old hag places a coin in the palm of a youth in preparation for telling his future. He is unaware that the dark-complexioned gypsies on the left are picking his pocket, while a fair maiden snips a medallion from his chain. The juxtaposed faces of the beautiful girl and the wrinkled fortuneteller comprise a contrast worthy of either Caravaggio (compare his *Judith and Holofernes*, FIG. 1.31) or his follower, Van Honthorst (see *Samson and Delilah*, FIG. 6.2). They also bring to mind the theme of venal love, appropriate here in view of the reputation of gypsies as prostitutes (compare Van Baburen's *The Procuress*; FIG. 6.5). The unique character of La Tour's style is evident in the extraordinary juxtaposition of realistic details, like the maiden's kerchief, against greatly simplified elements, like the girl's ovoid, frontally posed head. A heightened verisimilitude is overlaid with dark contour lines and decorative, calligraphic swirls describing forms like the fortuneteller's headgear. These unusual effects are complemented by the palette, mostly based on shades of red, tan, and olive green.

In *The Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds* a youth, ostentatiously dressed in a feathered cap and shiny embroidered vest and seated before a pile of coins on the table, is so absorbed in his cards that he fails to see the complicity of the others, as the woman in a low-cut bodice, conceivably a prostitute, signals to the man on the left, who secretly removes the winning card from his belt. In comically teaching a moral, the painting brings to mind the northern proverb, "The whores have the card." The ultimate source for the subject is Caravaggio's *The Cardsharps*. Unlike Caravaggio, however, who models his figures by means of forceful chiaroscuro, La Tour flattens his composition through bright, evenly colored shapes, a simple black background that eliminates any sense of atmosphere, and the almost abstract linear accents, like the boy's hair and the folds of

his sleeve. Within these simple forms the artist places a wealth of minutely observed details.

Many of the same formal qualities persist in the works produced after 1635, such as the *Christ with St. Joseph in the Carpenter's Shop* (ca. 1635–40; FIG. 9.7). The principal difference is the nocturnal setting, lit only by the artificial light of a candle, and the limited palette, with its warm, somber tones. Thoroughly Caravaggesque is the shallow, undefined space and sharp realism of the two figures. Particularly astonishing is the translucent flesh of Jesus's hand, behind which rise the flame and smoke from the candle. Caravaggio never treated this subject, but La Tour may have been familiar with one or more versions by Van Honthorst, in which Christ holds the candle to illuminate his father's work.

Joseph's contemporary costume and the absence of halos impart a strong genrelike character to the scene. However, the cruciform shape of the auger, used by Joseph to drill a hole in the wood, is a prophetic allusion to the destiny of the Child, whose brilliantly lit face is a reminder that he is "the light of the world." The work reflects interest in two relatively recent subjects in Catholic art. First, St. Joseph, long depicted as the Virgin Mary's elderly

9.7 Georges de La Tour, *Christ with St. Joseph in the Carpenter's Shop*, ca. 1635–40. Oil on canvas, 53¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 40¹⁄₁₆" (137 × 102 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

husband, not involved in the virgin birth, was upgraded to the status of the earthly father of Christ in the second half of the sixteenth century, after being championed by the Jesuits and by St. Teresa of Ávila (compare Murillo's *Holy Family with a Bird*; FIG. 5.26). Second, an interest in the childhood of Christ, barely mentioned in the Bible, resulted in a fleshing out of the missing stories of his youth in texts and images. The Jesuits also emphasized the importance of parental instruction of children, and the theme of filial piety is underlined here, not only in the historical narrative but by virtue of the simple, genrelike presentation of father and son.

An air of silence and calm also pervades another devotional work, *The Newborn Child* (ca. 1645; FIG. 9.8). The artist represents the nativity of Christ in terms that suggest the subject categories of both history and genre. Unlike most narrative scenes of the Nativity, which incorporate the adoration of the shepherds or of the magi, La Tour strips away extraneous detail and focuses only on the Virgin Mary, her mother St. Anne, and Jesus tightly bound in swaddling clothes. Like St. Joseph, St. Anne enjoyed periods of renewed popularity within the Catholic Church: The presence of her remains in France, in the Provençal town of Apt, may in part explain La Tour's frequent depiction of her. La Tour pushes toward extreme simplification, rendering the three bodies as monumental volumes in space. The timeless aura of the painting derives from the allusion to the three ages of man, presented in iconic fashion with one fully frontal figure and the other two in profile. No traditional iconographic attributes appear. In lieu of her

traditional rose-and-blue costume, the Virgin wears a simplified version of the everyday garb of Lorraine, colored a brilliant red to increase the warmth and tenderness of the scene. The Christ child, often depicted in Nativity scenes as the source of light, is a real baby, illuminated by the candle. St. Anne shields both her eyes and ours from the flame, arousing our curiosity about the source of light in a visual trick also used by Van Honthorst (compare *The Procuress*; FIG. 6.4).

Simon Vouet

Another painter who fell under the spell of Caravaggio's works upon arrival in Rome was Simon Vouet (1590–1649). A precocious youth and son of a Parisian artist, he traveled to such far-flung destinations as London (1604), Constantinople (1611–12), and Venice (1612–13) to create portraits. Vouet settled in Rome in late 1613, and became the most successful of the French painters in the city, receiving commissions for chapels, supplying paintings for high ecclesiastical families, and being elected president of the Accademia di San Luca in 1624. It was at this time that he produced his most Caravaggesque works. 1627, the year of Vouet's arrival back in Paris, summoned there by Louis XIII to become first painter to the king, marks the revitalization of French painting in the French capital—two years after the installation of Rubens's *Medici Cycle*. As the leading painter in the kingdom until his death, Vouet ran a large workshop to help with the constant flow of

9.9 Simon Vouet, *Presentation in the Temple*, 1641. Oil on canvas, 12 7 × 8 3″ (383 × 250 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

commissions from the Church, the state, and wealthy nobles and bureaucrats who wished to decorate their town houses and châteaux in the Italian style. Many of these works were destroyed in subsequent refurbishing or during the French Revolution, with prints and drawings surviving as evidence that they had existed, but his legacy as the man who trained the new generation of French painters is considerable.

In Paris Vouet abandoned the insistent realism of his Roman works, adopting a lighter, more colorful palette and turning to more elegant, idealized forms. For Cardinal Richelieu he painted, in 1641, the *Presentation in the Temple*, part of a huge retable composed of paintings, sculpture, and architectural elements (dismantled in the eighteenth century; FIG. 9.9). This ensemble served as the high altar of the flagship church of the Jesuit order in Paris, Saint-Louis-des-Jésuites, a royal foundation supported by Louis XIII and dedicated to his namesake, the canonized Louis IX. The canvas shows the infant Jesus brought to the temple of Jerusalem for the ceremony of the presentation and redemption according to Jewish tradition (Luke 2:22–39). The Virgin hands the child to the aged Simeon who, having been told by the Holy Ghost that he would not die until he had seen the saviour, speaks the words: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; For mine eyes have seen thy salvation." (His words, NUNC DIMITTIS SERVUM TUUM, inscribed in Latin on the banderole held by the angels, open the canticle [hymn] of St. Simeon.) Joseph looks on with a basket of two doves brought as an offering for the concomitant ritual of the mother's purification. On the lower right the aged prophetess Anna also recognizes the Messiah. Such details as the low point of view, the cast shadows, and the chipped marble of the stairs, reminders of Vouet's Roman realist style, provide a note of authenticity to the scene. But the soft generalized figural types,

static poses, flowing draperies, and antique architecture reflect study of the Baroque classicism espoused by the Bolognese school (compare Domenichino's *Last Communion of St. Jerome*; FIG. 2.9).

Vouet's impact on his return to Paris is evident in the paintings of Eustache Le Sueur (1616–55), who worked in Vouet's studio around the years 1632–42. Le Sueur never went to Rome, but synthesized his master's elegant classicism with Raphael's restrained compositions. Among many extant works, Le Sueur's large suite of wall panels for the Chambre des Muses at the Hôtel Lambert, Paris,

are remarkable for their ideal figures, graceful color harmonies, and lush landscapes (*The Muses Melpomene, Erato, and Polyhymnia*, ca. 1652–5; FIG. 9.10).

The Le Nain Brothers

An alternative to classicism in Paris was realism, not of the Caravaggesque type, but more closely allied with contemporary Dutch painting, as in the work of the three Le Nain brothers—Antoine (ca. 1600–48), Louis (ca. 1600/3–48), and Mathieu (1607–77). They were born into a bourgeois family in or near the provincial city of Laon, north of Paris in the province of Picardie. Little is known concerning their training, although Louis is referred to in an early document as "Le Romain," suggesting a sojourn in Rome, but there is no evidence of such a visit. In the late 1620s they moved to Paris, where they shared a studio in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés district south of the Seine. The three were elected to the Academy of Painting and Sculpture upon its inception in 1648, apparently just before the deaths of Antoine and Louis. Although Mathieu lived three decades longer, his artistic activity is uncertain after the mid 1650s. Evidence testifies to his having become both wealthy and prominent; he was received into the Order of St. Michel but, lacking credentials, was expelled.

Their work poses two problems—attribution and interpretation. Some 16 extant paintings are signed "Le Nain" without any first name. Of these, only ten are dated. Thus there is no way to determine the author of each painting or to propose a chronology for the body of works as a whole. Technical examination suggests that the brothers may have collaborated on some works, although specific hands cannot be identified. In their own time the Le Nains were famed for portraits, and records attest to church commissions, but these works have not survived.

Despite some fine history paintings, we will focus on the genre scenes for which the brothers have become justly famous. There is a group of small paintings on copper or panel, each of which measures only a little over 1 foot in the greater dimension. The fancifully titled *The Village Piper*, signed "Lenain" and dated 1642, depicts a static row of individualized figures, mostly children, in an undefined setting (FIG. 9.11). Three generations are present, seemingly painted from life. The tattered clothing of the boys, the ripped apron of the girl, and her unshod feet, identify them as peasants. Some of the figures acknowledge the viewer's presence, while others look off in different directions. Typical of the brothers' smaller genre scenes, the local colors are bright against the tonal background, especially the blue, green, and red fabric, and the brushwork, while detailed, is loose. The spatial relationships are awkward—what is the position of the woman in the left rear? The simplicity and seemingly artless character of the composition, along with the smiling faces and unkempt hair, make for a charming picture.

9.11 The Le Nain brothers, *The Village Piper*, 1642. Oil on copper, 8⅞ × 12″ (22.5 × 30.5 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts. City of Detroit Purchase.

9.12 The Le Nain brothers, *Peasant Family in an Interior*, ca. 1645–8. Oil on canvas, 44½ × 62½″ (113 × 159 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

A second group of large paintings in oil on canvas, measuring as much as 5 feet across, represent comparable subjects, such as *Peasant Family in an Interior* (ca. 1645–8; FIG. 9.12). Three generations of standing or seated figures, detailed with portraitlike precision, occupy the shallow space of a rustic interior, with several children in the rear gazing into the fire on the hearth. There is little action or possibility of reading a narrative, and the figures do not actually partake of a meal. Again the ill-fitting, frayed clothing and unshod feet suggest that these are impoverished country folk. A small cat and dog are also present among some carefully depicted still-life objects. Unlike the brighter palette of the previous group, the colors are muted, consisting mostly of earth pigments, olives, and dull blues. The grain of the canvas shows through lightly painted areas, while elsewhere impasto touches designating highlights provide evidence of the painter's brush.

In creating such images, the Le Nains may have borrowed the compositional strategies and palette of contemporary Dutch and Flemish lowlife painters living in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés area, but they treated the subject of the rural poor in an utterly different manner. Unlike the peasants of Brouwer (compare FIG. 8.23), these are not caricatured or ridiculed, nor are they shown engaged in work. Rather, the Le Nains seem to emphasize the inherent humanity of the lower orders and treat them without

pity or sentimentality. In rejecting certain conventions, however, they created their own artistic conceit by avoiding the harsh realities of the peasants' existence.

Attempts to interpret these subjects have often drawn from contemporary literature, such as French pastoral poetry, which extols the virtues of the peasant class and the simple life in the country. Similarly, devotional literature of the Gallican Church emphasizes the ideal of poverty as a Christian virtue and urges charitable assistance for the poor (in this regard, compare Ribera's *The Clubfooted Boy*, who solicits charity more directly and operates as the viewer's instrument of salvation; 1642; FIG. 5.8).

The foods shown in *Peasant Family in an Interior* were all valuable commodities. Wine was not drunk on a daily basis as it was too expensive; it typically appeared in the peasant household as a welcoming gesture in social circumstances. The presence of bread and wine together evoke Eucharistic connotations. As we see here, a meal began with the patriarch breaking bread, but the cost of bread depended on the harvest and subsequent fluctuating cost of wheat. The mainstays of the peasant diet were bread and soup; the latter is suggested by the earthenware pot in the center foreground and another on the hearth. The saltcellar on the table is a reminder of the importance of salt as a preservative. Although France was a major producer of high-quality salt (the Le Nains' father was a lesser official at the Laon salt office), its high price resulted from the local tax, the hated *gabelle*.

The original owners of the Le Nains' paintings remain a mystery. They could have been farmers who over several generations raised themselves from the low level of society represented in the pictures. Or, like the Le Nains themselves, they may have been rural landowners, members of the middle class, who took advantage of the opportunity to buy parcels of land and, in line with contemporary agricultural manuals, adopted a paternal attitude toward the extended family of peasants working their farms. Following their deaths, the Le Nains never fell into obscurity to the degree suffered by La Tour, but the lowlife subject declined during the reign of Louis XIV, only to be revived in the following century in part through reproductive prints of the brothers' work.

Philippe de Champaigne

A more meticulous form of realism was achieved in Paris by Philippe de Champaigne (1602–74), who was born and trained in Brussels. In 1621 he moved to the French capital, where he took up residence among the Netherlandish immigrants in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés neighborhood; he became a naturalized subject of France in 1629. In the mid 1620s he worked on decorations for the Luxembourg Palace, receiving the post of painter to the queen, and went on to execute important commissions for Louis XIII in the 1630s. For Cardinal Richelieu he produced works at the Palais Cardinal and the Sorbonne, and most memorably a series of seven full-length, standing portraits of the minister resplendent in red robes. Following the deaths of Louis XIII and Richelieu in the early 1640s, Champaigne worked for Anne of Austria and the young Louis XIV. A founding member of the Royal Academy, he painted devotional works for both the Church and private patrons, and portraits of upper-middle-class men, including an imposing group portrait of the Paris city aldermen.

A full-length double portrait by Champaigne exemplifies the often unexpected functions of artworks in the seventeenth century (1662; FIG. 9.13). The painter created it as an ex-voto, a thank-offering to God after the miraculous cure of his daughter, Sister Catherine de Sainte-Suzanne Champaigne, a nun at the abbey of Port-Royal in Paris, to which he donated the work. The Latin inscription on the upper left wall provides the context: In 1660 a serious illness left Sister Catherine partially paralyzed, a condition suggested by her seated posture with legs raised on a footstool. After various unsuccessful efforts at a cure, Mother Catherine-Agnès Arnauld, shown kneeling,

9.13 Philippe de Champaigne, *Ex-Voto: Mother Catherine-Agnès Arnauld and Sister Catherine de Sainte-Suzanne Champaigne*, 1662. Oil on canvas, 65 × 90⅛" (165 × 229 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

9.14 Louise Moillon, *Still Life with Cherries, Strawberries, and Gooseberries*, 1630. Oil on panel, 12⅝ × 19⅛" (32.1 × 48.6 cm). Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena.

undertook a *novena* (nine days of prayer), upon which the young woman was restored to health via divine intervention, subtly implied by a soft ray of light shining from above. Champaigne's insistent realism is apparent in the portrait heads and his uncanny ability to depict the texture, weight, and folds of fabric. The limited palette takes its cue from the somber black and ivory habits worn at Port-Royal, with the red crosses providing the only hint of bright color.

The austerity of this and similar works by Champaigne may show the impact of Jansenism, a movement within the Catholic Church that sprang from writings of the Flemish theologian Cornelius Jansen. The abbey of Port-Royal was a bastion of Jansenism in France, and the painter was a member of the lay population devoted to the sect. Jansenism advocated a return to the ways of the early Church and was thus considered dangerous by the pope and the Jesuits. Threatened with persecution, the convent interpreted the cure of Sister Catherine and similar miracles as proof of divine support for the cause.

Louise Moillon

As in Holland and Flanders, a group of still-life painters flourished in Paris. The development of their work was analogous to that in the north: Small panels with relatively simple arrangements of objects, typical of the first half of the century, gave way to larger and more complex compositions. As was often the case elsewhere in Europe, still life was considered a suitable subject for women artists, for whom exclusion from life drawing was the rule. Despite this restriction, the Parisian painter Louise Moillon (1610–96) produced works of great beauty, a few of which incorporate one or two half-length female figures. With its horizontal format and extreme detail, *Still Life with Cherries, Strawberries, and Gooseberries* (1630; FIG. 9.14), painted when she was only 20 years old, resembles contemporary works in Holland but differs in its brightly colored fruit and dark background (compare Claesz, FIG. 7.23). Here she stimulates the viewer's senses by rendering three containers laden with fruit, plus a tiny sprig of redcurrants and a few droplets of water.

Moillon was the daughter of an artist, and she also received training from her stepfather; several siblings were painters. The family lived in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés neighborhood, where she could have studied the still lifes of resident Netherlandish artists. She was part of the Protestant community in Paris, whose lives became strained in 1685 upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had granted religious liberties to Protestants. Like Judith Leyster, Moillon yielded to the demands of married life, and painted less frequently after her nuptials in 1640.

Nicolas Poussin

One of the great figures of European painting, whose work typifies classicism at its most rigorous, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) was born in the town of Les Andelys, near Rouen in Normandy. Educated in Latin and the classics, he received his earliest training under minor masters who worked in a late Mannerist style. He was active in Paris from 1612 to 1623, at which time he was befriended by the poet Giambattista Marino, who would provide contacts in Rome. Determined to advance his career, Poussin made at least one unsuccessful attempt to reach Rome; finally, in 1624, he spent some months in Venice and settled permanently in the Eternal City, except for an unhappy two-year stint back in France (1640–2), when he was recalled by the king to work on decorations at the Louvre. In Rome he associated with the classicists, rooming for a time with François Duquesnoy and drawing from life in the studios of Domenichino and Andrea Sacchi. Poussin did not enjoy

9.15 Nicolas Poussin, *The Death of Germanicus*, ca. 1626–8. Oil on canvas, 58¼ × 78″ (148 × 198 cm). Minneapolis Institute of Arts. The William Hood Dunwoody Fund.

the role of the courtier-artist, nor was he inclined to compete for the big public commissions in Rome. Instead, he enjoyed the freedom brought by a career built on private commissions, executed without assistants or collaborators, for erudite collectors, initially Italians with ties to the Vatican but increasingly French patrons either at court or among the bourgeoisie. Four biographies by contemporaries who knew him personally provide considerable information about his life.

A devoted painter of histories, who determined most of the subjects himself, Poussin worked consecutively in two strikingly different styles. The dynamic composition, brilliant color, and painterly brushwork of paintings dating from circa 1625 to 1634 reflect the influence of Titian and Guercino, whereas works dating from circa 1635 to 1664 favor a severe Raphaelesque classicism based on relief composition, carefully modeled figures, even lighting, and precise brushwork. Generally speaking, Poussin moved from one form of naturalism to another, but he experimented with elements of these two formal approaches to varying degrees throughout his career.

A case in point is *The Death of Germanicus*, a large canvas that embodies many of his formal and didactic goals and

launched his reputation as a history painter (ca. 1626–8; FIG. 9.15). It was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII, a major Roman patron. Reportedly Poussin chose the subject himself; entirely new in art, it is drawn from the *Annals* of the first-century CE Roman historian Tacitus. A virtuous and beloved young general, Germanicus led the Roman legions into the German portion of the empire (hence his name) but incurred the jealousy of his stepfather, the emperor Tiberius, who had him secretly poisoned. Poussin shows him soulfully bidding his family farewell and exhorting his soldiers to avenge his death. The men react in different ways, registering from left to right the emotions of grief, disbelief, resignation, and anger. Family members also respond variously, from the deep sorrow of his wife Agrippina to the bewilderment of his little son Caligula. On either side of the picture a weeping figure hides his or her face in accordance with ancient rules of decorum. The painting carries a moralizing message: Even the powerful and the privileged may suffer misfortune when least expected, but in accord with the Roman ideal of the *exemplum virtutis*, Germanicus calmly meets his fate while the men show restraint and firm resolve. The work became the

9.16 Nicolas Poussin, *Diana and Endymion*, ca. 1630–3. Oil on canvas, 48 × 66½″ (121 × 168.9 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts. Founders Society Purchase, General Membership Fund.

archetypal deathbed scene in French painting, stimulating artists like Jean-Baptiste Greuze (see FIG. 12.13) and Jacques-Louis David.

Consistent with other paintings from Poussin's early years is the debt to Venetian painting, apparent in the glowing red, blue, and golden hues, the impasto highlights glinting off fabrics and metal, the loose brushwork, and the strong emotionalism, conveyed through such details as the tears welling up in Germanicus's eyes. Yet the work also foreshadows Poussin's mature style. Antique architecture provides the setting, with Ionic pilasters visible in the background; at the same time, all of the action takes place in the foreground, where the figures are arranged in a relief composition. Poussin borrowed motifs from ancient Roman sculpture, such as the sarcophagus reliefs representing the untimely death of the mythological hunter Meleager, and the raised arm *allocutio* gesture of a leader addressing his troops. His interest in historical accuracy is also seen in the numerous details of clothing and weapons drawn from ancient sources. Poussin's close friend and patron, Cassiano dal Pozzo (ca. 1588–1657), a learned antiquarian who was secretary to Cardinal Barberini, stimulated the artist through his efforts to reclaim the Roman past. Dal Pozzo spent much of his career assembling his *Museo Cartaceo*, or "paper museum," a collection of drawings by various artists, possibly including Poussin, the purpose of which was to catalog all known objects and vestiges from antiquity.

In the early 1630s Poussin retreated from the classicism of *Germanicus*, and rendered various scenes from classical mythology in the manner of Venetian *poesie*—subtly emotional works that appeal to the spectator's subjective response. *Diana and Endymion* (ca. 1630–3), first recorded in the collection of Cardinal Mazarin, who may have purchased it from the artist, tells the story of the star-crossed love of an immortal, the normally chaste and reserved Diana, goddess of the moon and the hunt (hence her crescent diadem, arrow, and hound), and the handsome shepherd (with crook and sheep) with whom she has fallen in love (FIG. 9.16). In one version of the story, Jupiter offers Endymion two options—eternal sleep and youth or life as a mortal, aging and dying. Here on bended knee Endymion implores the goddess not to depart, perhaps expressing his wish for immortality. The winged figure of Night draws back the curtain of darkness as Apollo, Diana's twin brother riding the chariot of the sun,

Nicolas Poussin **275**

and Aurora begin their journey across the sky. Night is accompanied by the reclining Somnus, god of sleep, and her attributes, two drowsy putti who symbolize sleep and death, a reference to Endymion's dilemma and the idea of sleep as a form of death. Thus as the cycle of time revolves, Diana, with Cupid hovering over her shoulder, takes leave of Endymion, imbuing this romance with a gentle, melancholy air.

The landscape setting, with its atmospheric sky, brief view into the distance, luminous coloring, and fluid brushwork, pays tribute to Titian's mythologies, especially the bacchanals that hung in the Villa Belvedere and Villa Ludovisi (see FIG. 0.16). Compared to similar subjects produced by Italian painters in Rome, the work is closer stylistically to Guercino's Titianesque *Aurora* than to Guido Reni's more sculptural *Aurora* (see FIGS. 2.13 and 2.7).

Poussin again took up the theme of Roman history and the *exemplum virtutis* in *The Abduction of the Sabine Women* (ca. 1633–4; FIG. 9.17). One of the artist's first mature works to be taken to Paris, it was initially owned by the French ambassador to the Vatican, Duke Charles I de Créquy; upon the duke's death it was acquired by Richelieu, who owned several Poussins. The narrative concerns Romulus, founder of the city which he named after himself, and the ruse he devised to provide brides for his legion of warriors. As told by the ancient historians Livy and Plutarch, Romulus invited the neighboring settlement of Sabines to a festival with the idea that his men would carry off unmarried Sabine women. The significance of the image lies within the heroic act: Through the union of two ancient tribes was born the great civilization of Rome. Plutarch also attributed to this patriotic deed the origin of

the custom of lifting a new bride across a threshold.

Romulus, standing on the podium of a temple, gives the signal by lifting his cloak. The crying child and old nurse in the foreground look toward the abducted woman at far left, who may be Hersilia, the one married woman who was carried off by error and may later have become Romulus's wife. The couple calmly departing the scene in the middle ground refers to the eventual peaceful acquiescence by the women.

The abduction takes place in a carefully defined space, through which the eye moves in a circular direction, limited by the large basilica set parallel to the picture plane at the back of the forum. Poussin was aided in the plotting of crowd scenes by adjusting small wax figures on a miniature theatrical stage, lit from the top and sides and viewed through a peephole. He also studied the grand historical subjects of such classical masters as Raphael and Domenichino. Despite the initial sense of chaos, the complex movement consists primarily of the Roman men

9.18 Nicolas Poussin, *The Finding of Moses*, 1638. Oil on canvas, 36⅝ × 47¼″ (93 × 120 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

moving aggressively toward the left, while the Sabines attempt to flee toward the right, their arms flailing upward. Defining a variety of psychological responses to the event through facial expression and gesture, Poussin shows each figure at the peak of an action: Fully modeled in light and shade, with local colors bounded by hard contours, they appear frozen in time and space. The sense of the bodies as colored sculptures results from Poussin's use of ancient and Renaissance statuary as models.

As his career advanced, Poussin worked on pictures that were strikingly varied in mood, as may be seen in a comparison of *The Abduction of the Sabine Women* with *The Finding of Moses* of 1638, a subject drawn from the Old Testament book of Exodus and the *Antiquities* of Josephus (FIG. 9.18). In the later image he creates an aura of calm through the rhythmic relief composition, gentle color scheme, flowing draperies, and stylized poses, which stress frontal or silhouette views.

Responding subjectively to such apparent differences between his paintings, Poussin's close friend and patron, Paul Fréart de Chantelou—the Frenchman who brought the artist back to Paris in 1640 and was Bernini's guide during his Paris sojourn in 1665—complained in 1647 that a painting he received from Poussin was less appealing than one the artist had produced for a rival connoisseur, and that this showed the painter's greater affection for the other collector. In a famous letter Poussin, echoing the ancient rule of decorum, chastised Chantelou for not understanding that the formal aspects of various paintings are determined by the nature of their subjects. In explaining his position, he evoked the concept of the modes, which the ancient Greeks had devised for the medium of music but which he applied more generally to painting. The compositional principles associated with each of the modes, he argued, produced a different pictorial effect—Dorian (severe), Phrygian (vehement), Lydian (mournful), and so on. Poussin claimed to follow these standards, but formal analysis of the paintings fails to yield a consistent set of rules. The letter remains significant nonetheless, because Poussin repeatedly emphasizes that the creation

The Secret Life of an Art Historian

Few historians of art have become noted historical figures in their own right. The case of Anthony Blunt (1907–83) is exceptional. One of the towering scholars of Baroque art, who single-handedly defined the field of seventeenth-century French studies at the mid twentieth century, Blunt was also a double agent during the Second World War, working for British intelligence while spying for the Soviet Union. So sensational is his life that it became the subject of a weighty biography by Miranda Carter (2001), a fictionalized retelling, *The Untouchable* by John Banville (1997), a stage and television play by Alan Bennett, *A Question of Attribution* (1988, 1991), and a BBC miniseries, *Cambridge Spies* (2003).

Born to a privileged family and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, Blunt rose to become the director of the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, where he trained a generation of art historians. Curator of the royal art collection, he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II in 1956. His chief contributions among hundreds of books and articles are his magisterial survey, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (first edition, 1953), and his monographs on Nicolas Poussin, which are still the starting point for any study of the artist. At the same time, however, he was the mysterious "fourth man" in the Cambridge Five, a circle of friends with Communist leanings who spied for the Soviets in the 1930s and 1940s. His identity was eventually uncovered and, following a confession that bought immunity from prosecution, he was exposed by Margaret Thatcher in 1975 and stripped of his knighthood.

Blunt's life raises important questions. Was he able to compartmentalize the different paths of his life? To what extent do the mentality and milieu of a historian affect his work? In his writings on Poussin Blunt draws a picture of an artist (Fig. 9.19) who is suspiciously close to his own self—calculating, reclusive, erudite—and in the end, enigmatic.

9.19 Nicolas Poussin, *Self-Portrait*, 1649–50. Oil on canvas, 38½ × 29¼" (98 × 74 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

9.20 Nicolas Poussin, *Eucharist*, 1647. Oil on canvas, 46⅛ × 70¹⁄₁₆″ (117 × 178 cm). National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, on loan from His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.

9.21 Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with the Body of Phocion Carried out of Athens*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 45 × 134″ (114 × 175 cm). National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, on loan from the Earl of Plymouth.

as well as judgment of artworks depends not only on the eye and the emotions but also on the intellect—that is, the reasoned application of theoretical principles. Chantelou remained a devoted supporter: Among the many paintings by Poussin in his collection was the *Self-Portrait* of 1649–50, severe in composition and unique in the detail of an allegorical figure embraced by two hands, representing

painting and friendship (see FIG. 9.19 in "The Secret Life of an Art Historian, p. 277).

The particular painting to which Chantelou objected in the 1647 correspondence is part of a set representing the seven sacraments. He had admired an earlier series created by Poussin for dal Pozzo (1636–42), and requested his own group (1644–8). Each of the seven paintings represents a

single sacrament. Like Leonardo's seminal version of the Last Supper, the canvas representing *Eucharist* combines two incidents—the institution of the sacrament by Christ and his announcement of the betrayal; Judas exits to the left (1647; FIG. 9.20). Committed to creating an authentic scene, Poussin situates the drama in a stagelike classical hall at nighttime, with lighting provided by an archeologically inspired oil lamp. Rather than seated at a long table, common in previous representations, the disciples recline in one of the earliest instances in art, as was the custom in the ancient Roman *triclinium* (dining room), and they put the bread to their mouths with their own hands, according to early Christian ritual as understood by the artist. These details, combined with the Jupiter-like features of Christ, suggest that Poussin sought to visualize the sacraments in the context of the first-century CE Roman world, on a par with contemporary pagan religions (compare Barocci's *The Last Supper*, FIG. 1.15).

Poussin turned increasingly to landscape painting in the late 1640s. One of a pair of pendants commissioned by Jacques Serisier, a wealthy Lyonnais silk merchant, *Landscape with the Body of Phocion Carried out of Athens* features a historical, didactic subject in the foreground of a panoramic view of nature (1648; FIG. 9.21). The work thus belongs to the category of classical landscape invented by Annibale Carracci, developed by Domenichino, and termed heroic landscape in late seventeenth-century France (compare FIGS. 1.25 and 2.10). In constructing a comprehensive rather than a particular image of nature, Poussin includes a variety of features, such as rolling hills, lakes, and mountains, all structured to convey permanence and stability, an effect very different from the Venetian landscapes of his earlier poetic mythologies, like *Diana and Endymion*. The stands of trees to right and left mark the foreground and middle ground, and the zigzagging road establishes a path into deep space while enlivening the static horizontals of the hills and clouds. The stylization of nature is particularly evident in the tree on the right, whose branches conform to the picture plane and seem frozen in time.

Once again Poussin chose a subject from ancient history not previously portrayed. According to Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, the fourth-century BCE Athenian statesman and general was admired for his insistence on a simple lifestyle as a means toward virtue. Because he opposed the Athenian assembly during a political crisis, however, he was unjustly convicted of treason and sentenced to death by drinking hemlock, and his body was denied proper burial within the city. The didactic message is that, as in the case of Germanicus, a just man may fall victim to the cruel reversal of fortune, and yet he must calmly submit to his fate. In the foreground two men carry the corpse away from the capital, while directly above, in the center of the picture, a sarcophagus looms poignantly.

Little visual information on Athens was available at this time, so Poussin drew from his experience of the Roman Campagna—the belt of farmland, forests, and hills around the Eternal City, where many ancient villas had been built and new ones were under construction—and based the buildings on Roman examples, such as the circular temples of Vesta and the Castel Sant'Angelo. The painting is rich in incidental details, like the procession of tiny figures moving toward the temple on the right, a reference to the Athenian festival of Zeus which coincided with the day of Phocion's death. An ox-drawn cart and a shepherd with his flock evoke the ideals of the pastoral life, lived in concert with nature.

The pendant painting, *The Ashes of Phocion Collected by His Widow* (Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery), shows the aftermath, whereby Phocion's remains are secretly gathered outside Megara and concealed until the Athenians realize their tragic mistake and grant a proper burial. Historians have connected the moralizing tone of the two paintings with Poussin's personal interest in Stoicism, evidenced by his letters in which he repeats the basic philosophical tenets: an individual should live life simply, virtuously, free of emotions, and accepting of whatever fate has to offer. The cerebral quality of Poussin's works guaranteed their close study in the French Royal Academy. In his own time he was considered the successor of Raphael and the greatest of French painters, and in the late eighteenth century the Neoclassicists appropriately dubbed him *le peintre-philosophe* (the painter-philosopher).

Claude Lorrain

One of Poussin's associates in Rome was Claude Gellée (ca. 1604/5–82), called Claude Lorraine after the duchy where he was born in a village near Nancy. Two contemporary biographers give conflicting stories regarding his early years. According to Joachim von Sandrart, Claude trained as a pastry cook and emigrated to Rome to find work. He reportedly entered the household of the fresco- and landscape-painter Agostino Tassi (Artemisia Gentileschi's rapist in 1611) as a servant but then became a pupil. Filippo Baldinucci says Claude trained from the first to be an artist; he arrived in Italy in the company of a relative and studied in Naples with the German landscapist Goffredo Wals (ca. 1590–ca. 1638/40), and eventually worked under Tassi. It is certain that following a period in Nancy in 1625–6, collaborating with the court painter Claude Deruet (1588–1660), Claude took up permanent residence in Rome, where he focused exclusively on landscape, influenced by the work of two northern landscape painters previously resident in the Eternal City: Paul Bril (ca. 1554–1626), an assistant of Tassi and creator of seaport views, and Adam Elsheimer, a specialist in light effects.

To prepare for his studio paintings, Claude went on sketching trips in the Roman Campagna, often in the company of Poussin, Sandrart, or other painters. He reportedly

9.22 Claude Lorrain, *Seaport with the Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 58½ × 76⅓" (148.5 × 194 cm). National Gallery, London.

9.23 Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with a Procession to Delphi*, 1650. Oil on canvas, 59 × 78¾" (150 × 200 cm). Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome.

lay on his back for the entire day to observe the changing color of the sky, and recorded natural phenomena in pen, wash, and chalk on paper—and reputedly in oil on paper or canvas. So popular was his work that by 1635–6, to forestall forgeries, he created his own catalog of paintings, *Liber veritatis* (*Book of Truth*), with drawings recording compositions and often the date and patron's name. His works sold for considerable prices, and compared to Poussin he served a higher echelon of society that included cardinals,

French and Italian aristocrats, foreign diplomats, and heads of state, notably Urban VIII and Philip IV of Spain. Like his countrymen Bellange and Callot, he practiced etching; over time he created 44 plates that resemble Rembrandt's prints in their loose drawing and chiaroscuro.

Claude's paintings fall into two categories: imaginary seaports and idealized views of the Roman Campagna, both elevated toward the level of history painting by the incorporation of historical figures. *Seaport with the*

Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba depicts a subject from the Old Testament first book of Kings, 10:1–2 (1648; FIG. 9.22). In an unusual detail, Claude inscribed the subject in French on the bottom of the stairs. Equally rare, on the stone block at bottom left he signed his name and that of the patron who commissioned the work in 1647, the duc de Bouillon (Frédéric-Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne), commander of the papal army in the years 1644–7. In recounting the queen of Sheba's voyage to Jerusalem to meet King Solomon, the Bible only refers to a large retinue, lavish gifts, and camels, implying an overland trip, but Claude took the liberty of showing her, dressed in red, descending the palace steps to begin the journey by sea. The duke may have chosen the subject as a reference to a distinguished ancestor who had led the First Crusade and, like Solomon, temporarily ruled Jerusalem.

Claude's great contribution to landscape painting was the poetic synthesis of naturalistic and idealizing elements in his canvases. One favorite device was the direct portrayal of the sun, usually at the center of the image. He preferred sunrise, as here, or sunset views, and delighted in rendering the correct hues of the sky and the effects of natural light on the landscape and buildings. A favorite device in the harbor scenes is the backlighting of elaborate ship's rigging. Instead of blurring the edges of forms to suggest atmosphere, Claude used a small brush to execute almost the whole surface of the large canvas in minute detail, from the silken clouds to the foaming waves. Like Poussin, he established receding planes in space through a series of tall vertical elements, in this case buildings in three architectural styles—a ruined antique temple, a Renaissance palace, and a medieval tower.

Claude's painting, *Landscape with a Procession to Delphi,* exemplifies his idealized depictions of the Roman Campagna, here seen in the light of the early morning sun (1650; FIG. 9.23). It was commissioned in 1646 by Cardinal Camillo Pamphili, famed for having renounced his cardinalship in 1647 in order to marry, with the result that his uncle, Innocent X, banished him temporarily from Rome (he financed Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale). Like Poussin, Claude found inspiration in the well-ordered landscapes of Annibale Carracci and Domenichino, but, unlike them, his goal was not the expression of permanence through immutable architecture and plant forms but the capturing of the transitory effects of sunlight, such as he had recorded on his sketching trips around Rome.

A Latin inscription (This way to Delphi) on the bridge identifies the subject. There is no specific literary source, but the shepherd with his flock and the classical buildings evoke the conceit of the pastoral as expressed by Virgil and other ancient and Renaissance authors. Claude invented his own temple of Apollo, borrowing features from St. Peter's basilica, and placed it not on a craggy Mount Olympus but within a broad, deep vista based on the Roman Campagna. This region held special meaning

for papal families, who were buying up the old feudal estates from impoverished nobility to create their own titled domains. Prince Pamphili purchased about 20 properties in the Campagna; the vistas from those estates carried the same humanistic, pastoral meaning as the views created for him by Claude.

Charles Le Brun and the French Academy

When Louis XIII died in 1643 his son Louis XIV was 4 years old, and so a transitional government was established with Queen Anne of Austria as regent and Cardinal Mazarin as chief minister (1643–61). An unstable political situation fostered a series of civil uprisings called the Fronde (1648–53), in which virtually all levels of society challenged an increasingly centralized government. At one point the young monarch was forced to flee Paris, but the crown reasserted itself and in 1661, following Mazarin's death, Louis XIV announced his decision to rule alone, without a prime minister, but in consultation with a few select officers and a council from which family members and the high aristocracy were barred. Over the next two decades he successfully reduced the power of the nobility, reformed the judicial system, and introduced more effective taxation. Together with his superintendent of building works and controller of finances, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83), he embarked on a program of improving France's economy by promoting local industry and encouraging its foreign colonies. He launched wars against the Spanish Netherlands (War of Devolution, 1667–8) and the Dutch (Dutch War, 1672–8) in order to gain possession of strategic towns and fortifications on France's northern and eastern borders, and created the most powerful army in Europe. In short, Louis XIV's goal was to bring to perfection the idea of absolutist rule instituted by Henri IV (see "The Radiance of the Sun King," p. 286).

As a corollary attempt to strengthen France's cultural preeminence, the king made the royal academies a branch of government. The painter Charles Le Brun (1619–90) assisted in the process. Born in Paris, the son of a sculptor, Le Brun studied painting with François Perrier (ca. 1600–49) and Vouet. He made Poussin's acquaintance during the latter's years in Paris, and accompanied him when he returned to Rome in 1642. Le Brun remained in the Eternal City until 1645, occupied in copying Raphael and the antique and absorbing the principles of Poussin's classicism. His early career benefited from the patronage of Richelieu and Chancellor Pierre Séguier. Equally important was his work on the interiors of the Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte for the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet (1658–61; see pp. 293–5). Fouquet was imprisoned for embezzlement, and immediately following his disgrace Le Brun entered the service of Louis XIV as both artist and efficient administrator, collaborating in the creation of the

Tapestry as Medium

In the seventeenth century, large-scale tapestries not only provided mural decoration and wall insulation, but were also prized as art objects of the highest order. Commissioned by wealthy patrons at the top levels of society and designed by major artists, like Rubens and Pietro da Cortona, sets of tapestries comprised showpieces whose silver, gold, and colored threads dazzled the eye and whose iconographic programs reinforced Catholic doctrine and absolutist propaganda. As part of Louis XIV's program to boost the French economy and assert cultural preeminence, his minister Colbert converted the old Parisian tapestry workshop of the Gobelins into the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins in 1662–4, for the production of luxury goods to furnish royal houses and to bestow as gifts to foreign princes. The Gobelins was unique among court workshops in that one person—Charles Le Brun—was largely responsible for all of the designs and for coordinating the large staff.

The tapestry *Louis XIV Visiting the Gobelins* (ca. 1672–4; Fig. 9.24) is part of a cycle, *The History of the King* (1669–79), which in its initial phase consisted of 14 hangings representing key events in Louis XIV's life at court and on the battlefield. Standing in the building's courtyard, the king, dressed in scarlet and accompanied by a retinue that includes Colbert in profile and Le Brun holding a large black hat, inspects samples of furniture, embroidered fabric, metalwork, carpets, and inlaid wood, borne by some of the staff of over 250 artists and artisans (the event took

9.24 Charles Le Brun, *Louis XIV Visiting the Gobelins*, ca. 1672–4, from *The History of the King*, 1669–79. Gobelins tapestry, 12' 3¾" × 19' ¼" (3.75 × 5.8 m). Château de Versailles.

place on 15 October 1667). The work symbolizes the crown's control of art production in France. Compared to the earlier *Medici Cycle*, which employs the devices of mythology and allegory (see Fig. 8.9), Le Brun's design favors detailed naturalism within a Poussinist relief composition. For a work such as this, he typically provided the overall design as well as individual portrait studies, while a team of assistants produced the large paintings on paper (cartoons) that guided the weavers.

official image of the Sun King at such sites as the Louvre and Versailles. He was awarded a patent of nobility in 1662 and named director of the Gobelins Art Manufactory in 1663 and first painter in 1664 (see "Tapestry as Medium," above).

The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture was founded in 1648, but under Colbert the institution was reorganized in 1663 according to a strict hierarchy that ranked teachers, academicians, probationary members, and students. Membership required submission of a *morceau de réception* (reception piece) as evidence of the candidate's abilities. Imbued with the belief that the rules of art can be taught, Le Brun, as chancellor and then director, oversaw the formulation of academic policy in

three areas, based on Italian sixteenth-century theoretical precepts. First, within the hierarchy of subject matter, history painting occupied the highest level through its use of the human figure to portray lofty and didactic

9.25 Charles Le Brun, *The Passions*, from Henri Testelin, *Les sentiments des plus habiles peintres*, 1696. Engraving.

※—**Explore** more on Charles Le Brun on
mysearchlab.com

subjects. Portraiture and genre painting were ranked lower, although they were still capable of conveying worthy ideas. Landscape and still life fell to the bottom of the scale because, without the figure, they presumably lacked edifying content and involved merely copying rather than enhancing the natural world. Second, the academy supported a hierarchy of formal elements with line and form, presumed to appeal to the intellect, taking precedence over color and texture, which supposedly appealed only to the eye. Third, a canon of models worthy of emulation privileged ancient art, followed by the masterpieces of the High Renaissance, and then the works of Poussin. Caution was advised in the study of Netherlandish and Venetian art.

In addition to sponsoring life-drawing classes and supporting the Académie de France in Rome, the academy provided a forum for discussion of ideas through monthly lectures given by members, thus encouraging formulation of academic policies. Le Brun's best-known contribution is a system for portraying human emotions in art, conveyed in the famous *Conférence sur l'expression* (*Lecture on expression*) in 1668. In developing his rules, he borrowed from several sources: Italian Renaissance theory, Poussin's heroic style and pronouncements on expression, and most important, contemporary Cartesian belief in the mechanics of the human body, as delineated in René Descartes's *Traité des passions de l'âme* (*Treatise on the Passions of the Soul;* 1649), which categorizes the emotions that arise from the soul in response to external stimuli. Le Brun devised images and verbal descriptions of the head for some 20 basic emotions, differentiating the movements of the eyes, nose, mouth, and—for him the most important—the eyebrows (FIG. 9.25). He drew his examples primarily from his first commission for the young Louis XIV, *The Tent of Darius* (also called *The Queens of Persia before Alexander,* 1660–1; FIG. 9.26). The painting represents Alexander the Great's magnanimity when the mother of the defeated Persian king Darius mistakes his friend Hephaestion for him. At the end of the century Henri Testelin published Le Brun's lecture in his book *Les sentiments des plus habiles peintres* (*The Sentiments of the Most Excellent Painters;* 1696). A large fold-out plate reproduces 12 physiognomic heads representing the following emotions in three registers, as diagrammed by Le Brun: astonishment, contemplation, sadness, laughter; terror, fear, anger, contempt, despair, anxiety, dejection, acute pain.

To take an example: In characterizing the emotion anger, Le Brun stated,

> When Anger seizes on the soul, he who feels this passion hath his eyes red and inflamed, his eyeballs wandering and sparkling, his eyebrows sometimes drawn down, and sometimes raised up one against the other; the forehead will appear deeply furrowed, and wrinkles between the eyes; the nostrils will appear open and widened; the lips pressed one against the other. . . . He will seem to grind his teeth, and to foam at the mouth . . . (From the 1701 English edition)

Le Brun's system appeared in numerous editions, including English, German, Italian, and Dutch translations, and remained influential into the nineteenth century. Today we find the images lacking in subtlety, but in his role as pedagogue Le Brun sought to standardize ideal states of the human mind as being appropriate for the elevated category of history painting.

Although French artists soon reacted against this rigid system, the standards of excellence upheld at the academy, the splendor of works created at the Gobelins, and the court's lavish expenditure on art made France the envy of all Europe. By 1700 Paris rivaled Rome and other cities as a center of culture, and would set the leading trends in art and architecture during the eighteenth century; Rome continued to assert itself as a center of art training up to the mid nineteenth century.

9.26 Charles Le Brun, *The Tent of Darius (The Queens of Persia before Alexander)*, 1660–1. Oil on canvas, 9′ 8″ × 14′ 9″ (298 × 453 cm). Château de Versailles.

Baroque Architecture in France and England

The history of Baroque architecture in France and Britain overlaps considerably with that of Italy: Northern architects regularly traveled southward to study the acknowledged monuments of Rome and of other art centers, while patrons solicited ideas and advice from Italian designers, either through correspondence or by personally bringing the architects to the north. Sixteenth-century Italian architectural treatises and manuals, especially the publications of Palladio and Vignola, were imported northward and translated in new French and English editions.

Northern Baroque architecture was by definition classical, employing the grammar of ancient architecture and organized according to the rules of symmetry and proportion (see "The Language of Classical Architecture," p. 116). Whereas southern Europe had revived and assimilated its antique heritage without difficulty, northern Europe experienced considerable tension when applying classical rules to indigenous forms, such as the medieval bell tower or the fortified castle. Nevertheless, the desire to involve, persuade, and transport the spectator was no less important in the north. Buildings participated in a broad spatial environment that was designed to be more dynamic than previously, whether in the cities, through the renovation of the urbanscape along the lines of Baroque

Rome, or in the country, through the deliberate and often artificial reshaping of the natural landscape.

Most important, the notion that the principal goal of architecture was representational was shared throughout Baroque Europe. In France and Britain monumental architecture comprised a symbolic vehicle that projected the beliefs and aspirations of contemporary society. The layout of structures was determined by political, economic, social, and cultural forces, as well as by artistic considerations. As in Italy, religious construction underwent a remarkable upswing. In Catholic France the Counter-Reformation fueled a dramatic rise in new projects, especially as the newly founded religious orders erected churches and monastic houses in the capital and provincial centers. On the other hand, in Protestant England the focus during much of the century was on maintaining and remodeling older structures—that is, until the extraordinary happenstance of the Great Fire of 1666 that leveled much of London, thereby creating an exceptional need for new churches, some 50 of which were erected in just a few decades.

France

Turning first to France, we find that building designs reflect the ideals expounded by a rising number of theorists, who, in accordance with the literary "quarrel" of

Louis Le Vau and André Le Nôtre, Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, garden façade, 1656–61. (Detail of FIG. 10.10)

the ancients versus the moderns, debated the question of whether *la belle architecture* requires strict adherence to the rules of the ancient and Renaissance masters or might result from a modern designer's exercise of good judgment and taste. In addition, French architects respected the ancient principle of decorum, according to which all parts of a building—the exterior elevations, the location of rooms, the choice of materials, and the decoration of the interior—should suit its purpose and conform to the social status and wealth of the patron. The concept of *distribution* (from the Vitruvian *distributio*), or the art of planning, was considered the most essential element of architecture. The importance accorded these ideals resulted in a sharp awareness of building types and the requirement that the function of a building be immediately evident from its appearance. Writers classified buildings under three major headings, often with one or more subtypes: ecclesiastical edifices, public buildings, and private dwellings. Each had its own tradition of planning, wall articulation, and iconography of architectural and decorative forms. The basic building types, of which examples are presented in this chapter, are the following: the *place royale*, the *hôtel*, the château, the palace, and the church.

The three monarchs who ruled France in the seventeenth century took a great interest in architecture and fully appreciated its symbolic value in promoting the ideals of kingship. Henri IV (r. 1589–1610), the first king of the Bourbon line, crafted a long-lasting peace after the 30-year period of religious wars; he converted to Catholicism ("Paris is worth a Mass") and proclaimed the Edict of Nantes (1598), which granted religious freedom to the Protestant Huguenots. The founder of absolutist rule in France, he sought to shift the concept of a peripatetic court moving from château to château toward an emphasis on centralized government based in a national capital that would also function as administrative center. Unlike Sixtus V in Rome, Henri did not superimpose a master plan on Paris or call for the creation of wide avenues. Nonetheless, his urban projects in the city focused attention on the royal presence: He created two public urban squares, the Place Royale and the Place Dauphine; constructed a new bridge (still called the Pont Neuf) across the Seine, linking the two halves of the city; and enlarged the palace of the Louvre.

Although not equally celebrated for architectural works, Henri's son Louis XIII (r. 1610–43) patronized

The Radiance of the Sun King

The birth of Louis XIV on 5 September 1638 was greeted as a miracle by his parents, Louis XIII and Anne of Austria, who had been childless for 23 years. They referred to the child as Louis le Dieudonné, the God Given. He would enjoy one of the longest European reigns on record—he died at the age of 77 in 1715. Although previous sovereigns had used art and architecture to project an image of the benevolence and heroism of their reigns, Louis XIV was exceptional in harnessing the royal academies and manufactories to exploit a wide variety of media on his behalf, as in Hyacinthe Rigaud's state portrait of 1701 (see Fig. 11.4). His artists used the devices of allegory to convey an exalted image of the king to his subjects and visiting ambassadors. As his personal emblem Louis famously chose the ancient Greek god Apollo, positing an analogy between the god of music, who oversees the harmony of the universe, and the Sun King, who brings peace to France and harmony to western nations.

As monarch he believed in the principle of divine right, wherein power was invested in him by God through birth alone, and he brought to perfection the system of absolutist rule unchecked by the nobility, the courts, or the Church. His desire for control may have resulted from events that beset the Bourbon line early in the century, beginning with the assassination in 1610 of Louis's grandfather, Henri IV. When Louis XIV was 4 years old, the death of his father, Louis XIII, set into motion an unstable regency government under his mother, Anne of Austria,

which encouraged prolonged fighting (the Fronde, 1648–53) within the upper ranks of society. Thus when Louis came to power in 1661, he announced, to the astonishment of his court that he would rule without a principal minister, and seek assistance from a cabinet composed of a few men from the upper middle class.

His lavish expenditure on Versailles (Fig. 10.1) was not, as is sometimes said, a monument to megalomania. Rather, it served several purposes: to keep the nobles in check by requiring attendance at court; to stimulate the national economy by commissioning luxury goods produced by local artists and craftsmen; and to project an image of affluence and well-being within the state, even in times of war.

10.1 The Degoullons Studio, King's bedchamber, palace of Versailles, 1701.

10.2 Place Royale (Place des Vosges), Paris, 1605–12. Possibly designed by Jacques II Androuet du Cerceau or Louis Métezeau. Etching by Pérelle, view toward the north range, ca. 1650. Château de Versailles.

several Parisian churches as part of an agenda that promoted his position as head of the Gallican branch of the Catholic Church and as ruler of France through the principle of divine right.

Louis XIII's son, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) is famous for his passionate devotion to architectural and garden projects (see "The Radiance of the Sun King," opposite). During his reign an increasingly streamlined system within the state bureaucracy improved building operations. A supervisor who oversaw the royal building agency, the Bâtiments du Roi, reported to the king, who directly approved the plans. Between 1664 and 1683 the position was held by the finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, under whose initiative various state offices were either reorganized or founded in order to serve the artistic and propagandistic needs of the crown. The post of first architect to the king, comparable to that of first painter, occupied the top rung within the hierarchy of collaborating designers. The Royal Academy of Architecture, established in 1671, was dependent on the sponsorship of the monarch, who appointed its members. The academy's mission was to draw up a body of practical and theoretical information, to meet on a regular basis for discussion of published works in the field, and to assist in training young architects. The crown also founded the French Academy in Rome as a means of supporting the travel of young artists abroad. A committee, dubbed the Petite Académie, took responsibility for determining the iconography of the decorative programs, and the Royal Manufactory of the Gobelins, created in 1662 and overseen by Charles Le Brun, provided luxurious furnishings for the interiors (see "Tapestry as Medium," p. 282).

Marked by relative peace and economic growth, the early years of Louis XIV's personal reign, 1661–85, saw important new additions to the Louvre and his country house at Versailles, but increasingly from the late 1680s, as Louis sought to extend his domination across the Continent, France engaged in a series of ultimately disastrous conflicts waged against alliances of other European powers. In particular, the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) curtailed construction in the last 20 years of his reign. The nadir was reached in 1689, when, as a partial means of paying off war debts, Louis ordered the melting down of the solid silver furniture at Versailles.

The *Place Royale*

At the dawn of the seventeenth century Paris was still essentially a medieval city, but a dramatic doubling of its population from about 200,000 to 400,000 between 1590 and 1637, when it became the most populous city in Europe, exceeding Naples and London, propelled development. As part of an urbanization program that would open up the densely crowded spaces of the city, Henri IV conceived the first large, regular square in Paris, called the Place Royale, in order to encourage commerce and confirm the royal presence (1605–12; Place des Vosges since the French Revolution; FIG. 10.2). The square, which provided a location for public events and leisurely promenading, also initiated a uniquely French building type, the *place royale*, defined as an open urban space in the shape of a simple geometric figure and surrounded by buildings of identical design that face a sculpted image of the sovereign in the center. Such a configuration is inherently symbolic: The uniform façades, representing the corporate body of the subjects of the kingdom, look toward the monarch, the center of the political and social world, from whom the benefits of wise government issue.

The square is located in the Marais district, on the east side of the city and site of a former royal palace abandoned after the accidental death of Henri II in a jousting tournament. Henri IV originally intended the Place Royale to promote local industry by providing shops and housing for merchants and artisans of the silk workshops on the northern side of the square. For economic reasons, however, he turned responsibility for construction over to wealthy nobles, who created a square for themselves, eliminating the silk industry. The *hôtels* (town houses), each of which is designated by a separate roof, were so sought after as residences that the owners usually rented them at high cost, sometimes combining two adjacent houses to

10.3 Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Place Louis-le-Grand (Place Vendôme), Paris, begun 1699. Etching by Pérelle, mid seventeenth century. Château de Versailles.

increase the space. Very soon the Marais became a privileged district filled with magnificent houses.

We are uncertain regarding which royal architects or builders created the façades—possibly Jacques II Androuet du Cerceau (ca. 1550–1614) or Louis Métezeau (1559–1615), but the overall conception was the king's. The notion of a regular square based on a simple geometrical figure and containing symbolic sculpture was Italian in origin, but such piazzas usually featured a church or town hall on one side, whereas the Place Royale was devoted exclusively to domestic housing. The monarchs never lived there, but the royal presence was marked symbolically by two taller houses on the south and north sides of the principal axis—the pavilions of the king and of the queen (only the former belonged to the monarch). The equestrian statue of Louis XIII was not part of the original project but was added in 1639. (Like all royal statues, it was destroyed during the Revolution.) The warm coloration of the façades is the result of the red brick used as the principal building material, much in fashion for country houses at that time, combined with gray slate for the steeply pitched roofs and white stone for the Roman arch order fronting the ground-floor arcade, the major concession to classical design.

As in the instance of the printed views of Pope Alexander VII's Rome (see FIGS. 1.2 and 4.3), etchings of the Place Royale, like Pérelle's view, opened a new chapter in the history of French topographical images by encouraging aesthetic appreciation for the urban scene and publicizing the monarch's impact on the capital's growth. Equally important, the Place Royale provided the impetus for the development of further royal squares in French urban centers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In particular, two Parisian squares built by Jules Hardouin-Mansart on the western side of Paris were dedicated to the glory of Louis XIV: The circular Place des Victoires (1683–90) incorporated a bronze pedestrian (standing) statue of the king dominating personifications of defeated nations, while the octagonal Place Louis-le-Grand (also called the Place Vendôme; begun 1699; FIG. 10.3) focused on a cast-bronze equestrian Louis XIV. The latter square was originally intended to house royal foundations like the academies, the mint, and the library, but economic factors forced the king to give the land to the city with the result that wealthy financiers built luxurious private houses behind the uniform façades. The stone rather than brick walls and the giant order marking the bays set the standard for eighteenth-century French squares.

The *Hôtel*

During the seventeenth century new residential quarters sprang up in Paris, first in the Marais in response to the
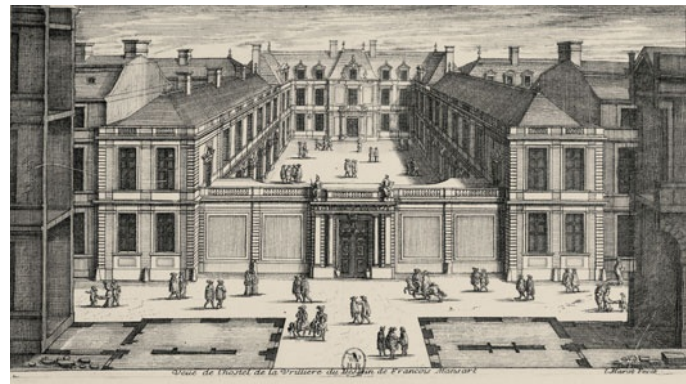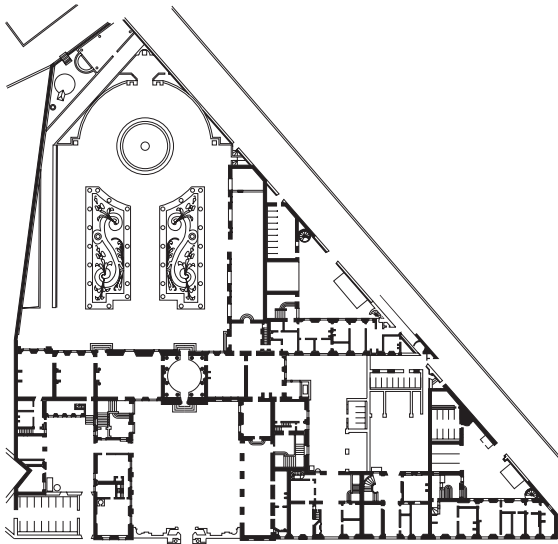
10.4 (left) **François Mansart**, Hôtel de la Vrillière, plan. Redrawn from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

10.5 (above) **François Mansart**, Hôtel de la Vrillière, view from the street, begun 1635. Biliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

construction of the Place Royale, then further west near the royal squares for Louis XIV on the Right Bank, and finally south of the Seine in the Faubourg Saint-Germain. A member of a family of builders and sculptors and one of the great architects of the century, François Mansart (1598–1666) constructed the Hôtel de la Vrillière off the Place des Victoires (begun 1635; much altered, now the Banque de France; FIGS. 10.4 and 10.5). As an example of the building type of the *hôtel particulier* or town house, the building fulfilled the functional and representational requirements desired by Louis Phélypeaux de la Vrillière, minister to Louis XIII. Despite the numerous conditions contributing to the layout of a private urban mansion, Mansart standardized the *hôtel-entre-cour-et-jardin*, in which the principal block containing the living quarters, called the *corps-de-logis*, is placed midway within the site between the courtyard and the garden. Narrow wings framing the courtyard extend forward to the street, where a classical portico provides entry. On the right-hand side of the garden, Mansart built a long gallery for the patron's art collection. Service courts are hidden out of view to either side of the main court. The appeal of so simple a formula lay in its flexibility: By the judicious placement of the parts, a building erected on an irregular urban site could be designed to appear orderly and symmetrical, which is to say classical.

The interior layout of the *corps-de-logis* comprises a few common rooms, such as the *salle* or *salon* for large gatherings, and a series of independent *appartements* for the habitation of individual members of the household. As early as 1620 the marquise de Rambouillet and others put into practice the concept of separating public from private rooms—an idea that in its most significant form involved the differentiation of the *appartement de parade* for show from the more intimate *appartement de commodité*.

The Château

The French use the word château to designate a basic building type, the country house. As in the instance of the Italian villa, a house in the country provided a necessary respite from urban stress in a setting that rendered life more healthy and pleasurable. A large tract of land usually carried with it a noble title and certain feudal rights. Thus possession of a country estate indicated not only wealth but also a lifestyle associated with those at the top of the social ladder. Rising members of the middle class, whose occupations as financiers or merchants brought them untold riches, could purchase a landed estate as a means of acquiring a title.

The origins of the Baroque château lay in the medieval fortified castle, or *château-fort*, whose irregular plan usually followed the contours of the natural site. The walls enclosing the courtyard were punctuated at the angles by round or square towers, whose shape facilitated defense, along with a moat, which could be dry or filled with water. Living spaces were provided in the *corps-de-logis*. With the dawn of the French Renaissance, however, these basic elements were gradually reorganized according to classical principles. Throughout the sixteenth century French architects strove to introduce into château design a sense of symmetry and the correct use of the orders, and they took delight in applying an excess of surface decoration based on Italian models.

Luxembourg Palace

A key figure in the first generation of seventeenth-century architects, Salomon de Brosse (ca. 1571–1626) hailed from the prominent Du Cerceau family of builders. De Brosse rejected the highly decorative style of the preceding generation and sought an emphasis on simplicity and
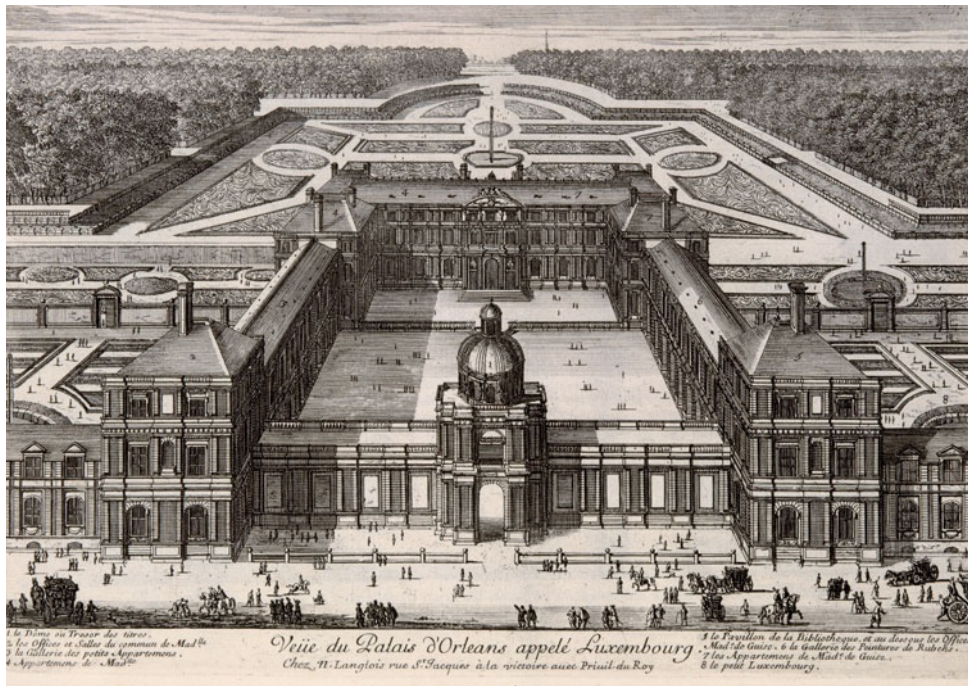
10.6 Salomon de Brosse, Luxembourg Palace, entry façade, Paris, 1615–26. Etching by Jacques-François Blondel, 1752–6. Château de Versailles.

✳ Explore more about the Luxembourg Palace on mysearchlab.com

monumentality. His Luxembourg Palace represents the brilliant swan song of a long tradition—the château type that employed wings surrounding a courtyard (1615–26; FIG. 10.6). In both the plan and elevations de Brosse sought to balance French and Italian elements. The reputation of the building rests in part on the fame of the patron, Maria de'Medici, the wife of Henri IV and daughter of Francesco I, grand duke of Tuscany. After Henri's death in 1610, while she was regent of France during the minority of their son, Louis XIII, Maria purchased lands in Paris on the south side of the Seine in order to build a residence. Not a seat of power in the sense of the palace of the Louvre, the Luxembourg is a *villa suburbana*, to use the old Roman designation for a country house located on the outskirts of a city.

Maria wished to have something Italianate in design, and thus wrote home for measured drawings of the building she knew from childhood, the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. De Brosse's generous use of rustication in the Luxembourg elevations, plus the low roofline and lack of dormers, represent his concession to Bartolomeo Ammannati's courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti (1560–70). However, de Brosse produced a structure whose layout conforms strictly to the rules of the French château. Around the rectangular courtyard he arranged the wings as follows: at the front, a spectacular domed entry bracketed by a screen wall and two pavilions; on the sides, lateral wings containing galleries; and a *corps-de-logis* at the back. In the right-hand upper gallery, which led to her apartment, Maria installed Rubens's suite of paintings representing the glorious events

of her life, the *Medici Cycle* (1622–5, see FIG. 8.9), while she reserved the left-hand gallery for a cycle of paintings dedicated to Henry IV, which was planned but not completed. De Brosse's conception, thoroughly Baroque in its stunning sense of monumentality, depends on his scrupulous handling of the orders, the emphasis on horizontal lines, and the juxtaposition of simple masses like so many giant building blocks.

Château de Maisons

Toward mid century a second major example of country-house design appeared to the west of Paris on the banks of the Seine: the Château de Maisons at Maisons-Lafitte of 1641–50 (FIGS. 10.7 and 10.8). The design is typical of François Mansart's quest for perfection, which often frustrated clients. He was in effect Poussin's equal in the field of architecture: both created cerebral works intended to appeal to a sophisticated, educated audience.

The patron was the immensely wealthy René de Longueil, a member of the robe nobility (nobles whose status derived from high state offices), whose family had long served in the Parisian Parlement. After working for the crown in the 1640s, he rose to the position of finance minister to Louis XIV in 1650–1 and was named marquis in 1658. Taking advantage of the building's location adjacent to the forest of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the site of a royal residence, Longueil initiated construction of a new château where he could receive the king.

Acknowledged by contemporaries as an exceptional masterpiece, the Château de Maisons represents an ideal

10.7 François Mansart, Château de Maisons, court façade, Maisons-Lafitte, 1641–50.

10.8 François Mansart, Château de Maisons, garden façade, Maisons-Lafitte, 1641–50.

of taste, elegance, and luxury that synthesizes both French and Italian elements. Maisons does not sit isolated from its environment but is the controlling center of a longitudinal axis that begins with the road from the forest, conducts the visitor past immense stables (demolished circa 1865) through a series of forecourts immediately in front of the building, and ends with the formal garden on the opposite side. Mansart conceived the château as a free-standing, two-story block, thus increasing its Italianate character by eliminating the wings surrounding the courtyard and emphasizing the *corps-de-logis*. Nonetheless, Mansart alluded subtly to the winged-château type through several devices: the side pavilions projecting outward from the building, the raised terraces surrounding the courtyard, and the dry moat.

With its tall slate roofs, dormer windows, and prominent chimneys, the building is unmistakably French, but Mansart submitted all of the elements to the principles of classical design. This is particularly evident in the three-story frontispiece that marks the entry. Rather than being applied to the surface, as was usually the case, this is fully integrated into the fabric of the wall and provides a crescendo of architectural elements on the main axis, seemingly moving both upward and forward in space. Mansart's skill in manipulating the classical orders is evident in the paired pilasters that mark the bays throughout both stories, crisply carved from the stone in high relief so that they almost appear to be structural piers embedded in the walls. The tripartite divisions and classical motifs on the court façade are repeated on the building's side elevations and garden front, so that, true to the spirit of classicism, there is a sense of variety within continuity throughout the exterior. Although not invented by Mansart, the roof type seen here, with its steeply sloping, truncated profile, was subsequently dubbed a mansard roof after the architect's name.

The interior is one room deep, which has the advantage of providing windows on both sides of the central rooms, and its organization is traditional. Approaching on the main axis, the visitor enters the monochromatic vestibule, which is restrained in décor and a foil for the magnificence to follow. Since the principal reception rooms are on the second floor, the spectator moves to the domed stair hall and up the stone staircase to a pair of living suites, or *appartements*, separated by a stair on the upper floor. On the left side of the plan, the Appartement à l'Italienne, so-called because of its shallow vaulted ceilings, provided splendid accommodation for the king. The young Louis XIV,

10.9 Louis Le Vau and André Le Nôtre, Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, 1656–61.

accompanied by his mother, Anne of Austria, inaugurated the building on his first visit in 1651. The château, now devoid of inhabitants and shorn of its surrounding land, currently sits on the edge of a Parisian suburb, a shadow of its former self but a reminder of the ideals of classicism as practiced by one of the great French designers.

Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte

In contrast, the Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte survives as the most complete ensemble of architecture, painting, sculpture, and landscape design from the French Baroque (1656–61; FIG. 10.9). Vaux was in essence the dress rehearsal for Versailles, insofar as the chief designers—Louis Le Vau (architect), Charles Le Brun (interior designer), and André Le Nôtre (landscape architect)— went on to collaborate at the royal palace. The patron, Nicolas Fouquet, the son of a government official, purchased a position in the Parlement of Paris in 1650 and, after Longueil, was appointed finance minister to Louis XIV in 1653. His wealth, obtained in part by unscrupulous methods common in the period, was such that he acted as guarantor for loans to the crown. In 1641 he bought the estate of Vaux-le-Vicomte, with its attendant noble title, located southeast of Paris at a site not far from the royal domain of Fontainebleau—hoping, like Longueil, to lure the king.

Like the Château de Maisons, Vaux-le-Vicomte is the controlling center of a scheme organized around a longitudinal axis that runs from the forecourts through the gardens to the horizon. Le Vau (1612–70), the son of a Parisian master mason, designed a free-standing block, with raised terraces on either side of the courtyard acting as vestigial reminders of the old winged-château tradition. The cream-colored limestone structure rising over the wet moat gives the building the air of an enchanted island and differentiates it from the red-brick service wings on either side of the forecourt. As at Maisons, the large blocky pavilions seem to advance forward from the *corps-de-logis*, but the incorporation of curved walls that form a concavity at the center calls to mind Roman Baroque buildings (compare FIG. 1.2). The jumbled

articulation of the court elevation, which combines giant pilasters on the end pavilions with a single-story pedimented temple front in the center, cannot be justified from the point of view of the classical rules, but Le Vau was striving for variety and dramatic effect.

The court façade does not fully prepare the visitor for the explosive effect of the garden façade, where the oval salon interrupts the plane of the wall and the curved dome contrasts sharply with the trapezoidal shapes of the pavilion roofs (FIG. 10.10). The two-story pedimented frontispiece seems applied to, not integrated with, the wall and is at variance with the design of the end pavilions. But who would cavil over such un-classical details when the overall massing, viewed from the gardens, is so boldly triumphant?

The major rooms, unlike those at Maisons, are positioned two deep on the ground floor, and thus the stairs

10.10 Louis Le Vau and André Le Nôtre, Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, garden façade, 1656–61.
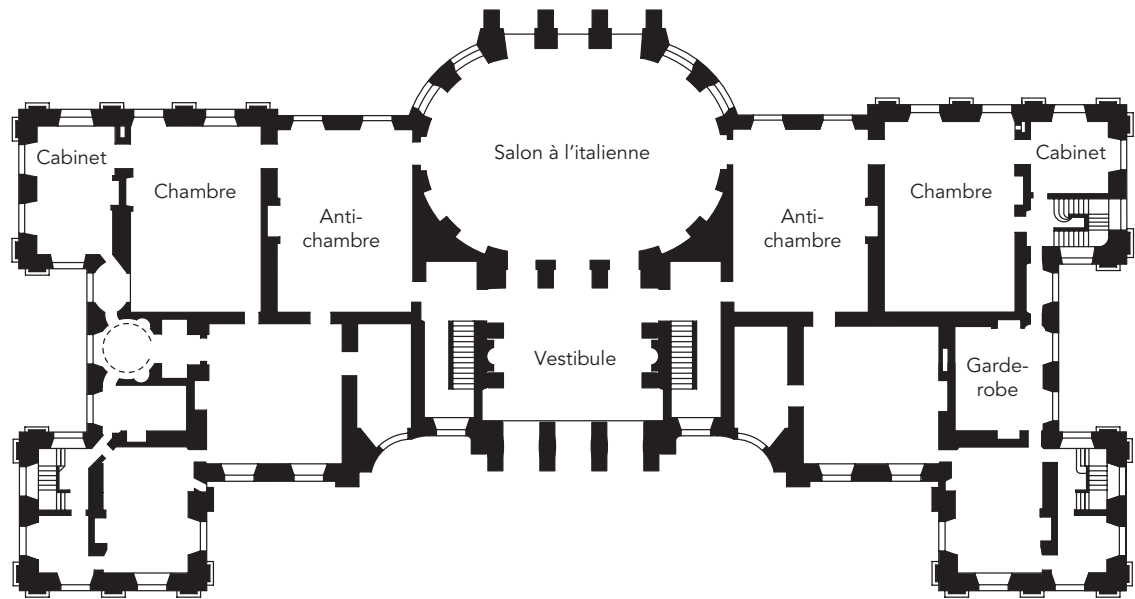
10.11 Louis Le Vau, Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, ground plan, 1656–61.

Cabinet

Chambre

Anti-chambre

Salon à l'italienne

Anti-chambre

Chambre

Cabinet

Vestibule

Garde-robe

10.12 Louis Le Vau and Charles Le Brun, Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, Salon à l'italienne, 1656–61.

are hidden from view (FIG. 10.11 and 10.12). The visitor is ushered into the vestibule, grave and somber with its Doric columns, and thence into the most public room in the house, the magnificent oval *salon à l'italienne*, so-named because of its vaulted double-story height. This type of room, reserved for receptions, concerts, and grand dinners, had indeed appeared in sixteenth-century Italian country houses, most famously Palladio's Villa La Rotonda, Vicenza, but there it was contained in the center of the house, emerging outside only in the form of the dome (1566–70). Le Vau's innovation was to have the domed oval chamber erupt from the wall, thus energizing the space inside and out.

Located adjacent to the *salon* on the left-hand side of the plan, the Appartement du Roi, reserved for royal visits, consists of the standard configuration of rooms in the French apartment: the *antichambre* or waiting room for visitors, domestics, and valets; the *chambre* or bedroom for both sleeping and reception (in this case with the bed situated in an alcove behind a balustrade); and the *cabinet* for reading and intimate conversation. Compared to the relatively long sequence of rooms in the Italian palazzo apartment (see the Palazzo Barberini, FIG. 4.25), the relatively small number of rooms required by the French reflects a more public existence, even for the king. Le Brun's Italianate décor, which privileges paintings and sculpture overhead on the vaults and tapestries on the walls, provides a suitable backdrop of magnificence. Fouquet's public apartment, or *appartement de parade*, is located on the right-hand side of the ground floor, whereas he and his wife's private apartments were incorporated into the scheme of the second-story rooms.

Fully integrated with the layout of the building, the landscape design of Le Nôtre is a fine example of the French formal garden, or *jardin à la française* (see FIG. 10.10). Like Poussin in the realm of the classical landscape, Le Nôtre created an ideal nature in which lawns, woods, ponds, and streams conform to geometrical configurations. A garden of such enormous size required the destruction of nearby hamlets, the leveling of fields, and the manipulation of streams in a symbolic gesture that stands for the power of man over nature. Viewed from the château, the garden appears like a deep perspectival vista in which the increasingly narrow width, hemmed in by groves of trees, enhances the illusion of the orthogonals meeting at a common vanishing point in the distance. The most decorative lawns lie next to the building, from whose windows the spectator may view to advantage the arabesque designs created from boxwood, similar to those in embroidery (thus called *parterres de broderie*).

The house and garden were the site of one of the most famous parties in history. As at Maisons, Louis XIV, now aged 23 and married to Maria Theresa, daughter of the Spanish monarch, inaugurated the site during a royal visit in August 1661. The king enjoyed an extravagant meal organized by François Vatel, a theatrical presentation by Molière, and midnight fireworks, before returning at dawn to Fountainebleau with the entire court. Nineteen days later Fouquet was arrested for the embezzlement of government funds, and after a three-year-long trial he was imprisoned for life. It was not the château per se that precipitated this catastrophe, nor any unusual wrongdoing on Fouquet's part, but the machinations of the king's minister, Colbert, who sought to consolidate his power and that of the king, who had just entered the period of personal rule.

The Palace

The building type of the palace is loosely defined as the principal residence and seat of government of a ruler. An instrument for the policy of absolutism, the palace provided a compartmentalized stage on which the monarch, his family, administrators, foreign dignitaries, visitors of varying social rank, and servants all had their assigned places. Two closely related subtypes of this category developed in France and were influential elsewhere in Europe. The older of these, the urban palace, represented by the Louvre, normally takes the shape of a rectangle comprised of four wings enclosing a courtyard. This type reflects the tradition of the *château-fort*, and, as it is located in the middle of a city, it is normally closed off from the urban context. The second type is the garden palace, represented by Versailles, built away from the city and composed of a series of wings that may be U-shaped in layout. This palatial type, placed in a natural setting, embraces and symbolically controls the outside world, with the garden being an important extension of the dwelling.

The Louvre

The palace of the Louvre, which underwent considerable remodeling and extension during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, is located on the western periphery of Paris on the northern side of the Seine, with the grand gallery straddling the old city walls. Although a royal apartment was outfitted there, Louis XIV shifted his attention to Versailles, and once the latter became his capital he seldom visited Paris. Nevertheless, Louis's minister, Colbert, insisted upon the symbolic presence of the monarch in Paris by means of an imposing structure—specifically, the east front of the Louvre, which faced the chief part of the city, the Right Bank.

In early 1664 Colbert halted construction of Le Vau's so-called foundation scheme for the east front, and in 1665 he invited Gianlorenzo Bernini to travel to Paris to design the new east wing for the old Louvre Palace. Bernini, as well as three other Italian architects, including Pietro da Cortona, and several French architects, had already offered a variety of plans. Colbert, in pursuit of
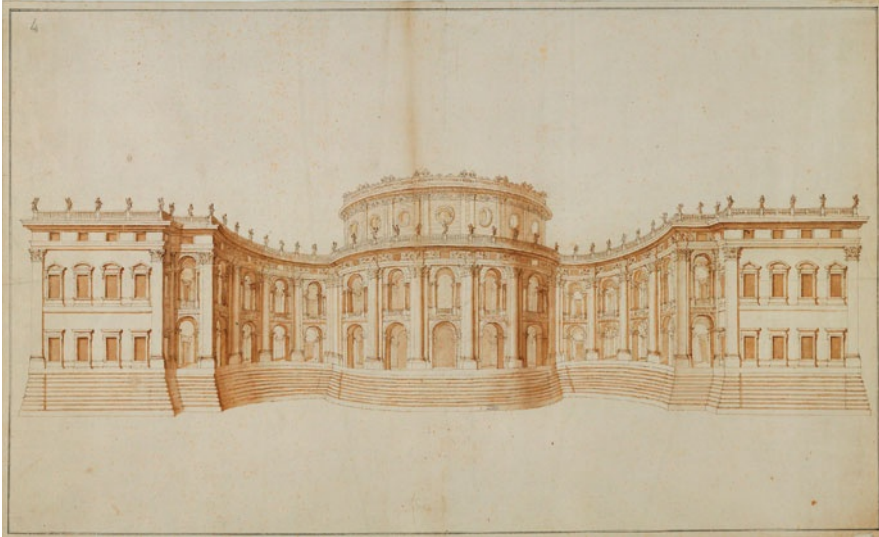
the ultimate royal palace that would represent the greatest monarch of the age, resolved to bring to France the man widely considered Europe's greatest architect and sculptor. Already in his sixties and laden with papal commissions, Bernini was not eager to leave Italy, but diplomatic pressures prevailed and he left for a five-month sojourn in Paris.

The massive scale and dynamic play of convex and concave shapes of Bernini's first project of four, sent from Rome in 1664, testify to his desire to produce an Italianate palace comparable to the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (FIG. 10.13, see FIG. 4.26). But the drawing also reveals a disdain for French architectural tradition: Although handsome in their own right, the flat skyline, transparent loggias, and oval vestibule open to the sky were unsuitable for the damp northern climate. Moreover, Bernini's desire to obliterate the older French portions of the building from

view and his disregard for the functional needs of the crown angered local architects, and his arrogance did not play well at court. In the end, Colbert arranged for the foundation stone for Bernini's fourth project, worked up in Paris, to be laid, and Bernini, having finished a marble portrait bust of Louis XIV, packed for his return to Rome. In his absence Parisian architects rallied to discredit him, and Bernini's design was never built.

After Bernini's departure and a period of inactivity, the minister organized a committee of three designers, called the Petit Conseil, to draw up the final plans: Le Vau, Le Brun, and Claude Perrault (1613–88), the last a physician, scientist, and architect who published an annotated French edition of Vitruvius's *On Architecture* and a tract on the orders. The built design, called the Colonnade, incorporates French pavilions on the sides and the center within an emphatically horizontal scheme that lacks French roofs

but still incorporates a moat (1667–74; FIG. 10.14). The effect of the Corinthian colonnade has been likened to that of an ancient Roman temple whose elevation of free-standing columns on a podium has been flattened, as it were, into a single plane. The structure confirmed that French architects had not only achieved ascendancy over the Italians but could design in a classical style while maintaining a national identity.

From the seventeenth century onward, the respective contributions of each committee member have been debated without clear resolution. Le Brun, chief painter to Louis XIV, presumably exerted a minor influence. Le Vau, as first architect to the king from 1654, provided drawings based in part on an earlier scheme of 1664 by his brother François, who employed paired free-standing columns. Perrault, with his scholarly interests, likely introduced the strongly antique character of the final solution, and he may also have provided solutions to some of the engineering problems, such as the use of iron tie rods hidden behind the entablature and in the ceiling soffits to counter stresses in the masonry. By the mid eighteenth century the east wing had still not been fully roofed—proof that its primary function was to ensure the symbolic presence of the monarch in Paris.

Versailles

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the site of Versailles, located some 10 miles southwest of Paris, was little more than a village. Louis XIII, who favored the area as a hunting ground, constructed a simple lodge there in 1623 for overnight stays. Desiring a more habitable structure, he commissioned from Philibert Le Roy (d. 1636) a small three-winged château surrounding a courtyard of the type discussed above (1631–6). After the fall of Fouquet at Vaux-le-Vicomte, Louis XIV, who also enjoyed the hunt, had Louis Le Vau make alterations to this moated building, called the Petit Château, including richly sculpted and gilt decorations for the façades, and service wings on the eastern side (1661–2; depicted in the painting by Pierre Patel (1668; FIG. 10.15). The entry courtyard, called the Marble Court because of its luxurious paving, has survived to this day, recalling the façades of the Place Royale, Paris, in the use of red brick as the principal building material, the tentative appearance of the classical orders in stone, and the steep slate roofs.

Eventually, however, Louis XIV desired more impressive accommodation, and for reasons of filial piety he had Le Vau preserve the Petit Château by surrounding it on three sides with the so-called Envelope facing westward

10.15 Pierre Patel, *The Château and Park of Versailles*, 1668. Aerial view toward the west. Oil on canvas, 3′ 9¼″ × 5′ 3½″ (115 × 161 cm). Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

👁 **Watch** a video on Versailles on mysearchlab.com

10.16 Jules Hardouin-Mansart, palace of Versailles, garden façade, 1678–89.

✳—☐ **Explore** more about Versailles on mysearchlab.com

(1668–74). In the center of the second floor a broad terrace provided views of the surrounding landscape, much in the manner of an Italian villa. Within the side wings of this Château Neuf (New Château) were inserted two apartments, the king's on the right and the queen's on the left. The subject matter of the decorative program, both inside and out, took as its principal referent the sun god Apollo as a means of paying tribute to the Sun King. For example, each chamber in the royal apartments was dedicated to a planetary deity—Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and so on. Not only the theme but also the décor derived from the Planetary Rooms of the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, to the point that the overseeing designer, Le Brun, adopted the Italian Baroque manner of Pietro da Cortona's ceilings, with their illusionistic paintings bordered by heavy frames (see FIG. 2.17).

Once Louis had determined to make Versailles his capital, officially proclaimed in 1682, the building required more space in order to house the royal family, members of the court, and bureaucratic offices. Le Vau's successor as first architect, Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708), the grandnephew of François Mansart, filled in the terrace on the garden front, where he inserted the Hall of Mirrors (Galerie des Glaces), and added two long wings on the north and the south (1678–89; FIG. 10.16). The resulting garden façade, built in white stone and incorporating most of the elements of Le Vau's Envelope, contrasts sharply with the red-brick façades of the Marble Court. The garden façade derives from the tradition of Roman palazzo design, with its rusticated base supporting a *piano nobile* distinguished by the classical orders, the whole topped by an attic story, and no French sloping roof visible (shallow pitched roofs are concealed behind the upper cornice). Hypnotic in its repetitiveness and barrackslike in its length, the garden front of Versailles, crowned with sculpted military trophies, was deliberately intended to produce a sense of awe and submission in the minds of the puny mortals who gazed upon its overwhelming size.

Like the organization of the Italian palazzo, the floor plan of Versailles corresponds to a system of etiquette defined by the king and his court, in terms of room functions and the order in which the spaces were to be experienced. On the right-hand side of the Marble Court, visiting dignitaries entered the double-branched Staircase of the Ambassadors (dismantled in the mid eighteenth century) to ascend to the second (main) floor (FIG. 10.17). Proceeding along the northern *enfilade* of planetary rooms, the visitor arrives at the Hall of Mirrors, whose great size and axial arrangement accommodated court ceremonies (FIG. 10.18). Costly mirrors cover the long wall facing the windows giving onto the garden. Not only do they increase the amount of light in the room, but they impressed visitors with the monarch's great wealth and demonstrated France's newly acquired technical prowess in the field of

10.17 François d'Orbay and Charles Le Brun, Staircase of the Ambassadors, palace of Versailles, 1671–4. Original destroyed in 1752; modern scale model, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

10.18 Jules Hardouin-Mansart and Charles Le Brun, Hall of Mirrors, palace of Versailles, 1678–84.

glass manufacture. As in the state apartments, the extravagant use of polychrome marble revetment was based on the current mode in Italian Baroque interiors, like the Palazzo Colonna gallery (see FIG. 4.27), while Le Brun's vault paintings, with their broad frames enclosing scenes of Louis's military conquests, derived from the tradition of palazzo decoration, such as Annibale Carracci's Farnese Gallery ceiling (see FIG. 1.22).

In Versailles's final configuration of 1701, the king's apartment was entered from the left-hand side of the
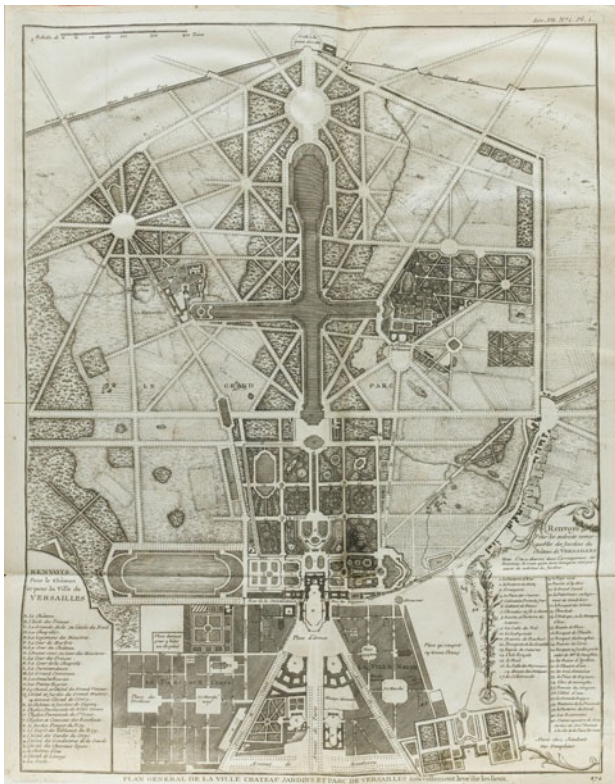
10.19 Plan of the town, palace, and gardens of Versailles. Etching from Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture française*, 1752–6. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

Marble Court. After mounting the queen's stair, the visitor proceeded through the guard room and two ante-chambers before arriving at the Chambre du Roi (king's bedchamber), designed by the Degoullons Studio (see "The Radiance of the Sun King," p. 286). The bed was placed behind a balustrade, which served to impose a sense of hierarchical order on the ceremonies of state. This was the site of the daily rituals of the Levée du Roi, the king's rising in the morning, and the Couchée du Roi, his preparation for bed at night; the nobles, in a bid to curry royal favor, vied for roles in these rituals while in effect yielding their power to the king. One of Louis's last additions was the royal chapel, built between 1699 and 1710. Its two-story interior placed the king hierarchically in the royal balcony on the second floor, midway between the courtiers assembled below and painted representations of the Holy Trinity on the vault overhead (see FIG. 11.3).

During the years when the palace was being created the town of Versailles grew on its eastern side, arranged about three broad avenues that focus on the building in

10.20 François Girardon, *Apollo Tended by the Nymphs*, 1666–75. Life-size marble. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

a *patte d'oie* (goosefoot) configuration (FIG. 10.19). If the rational plan of the town represents the world of humans mastered by the king, the garden, a vastly enlarged version of the French formal garden at Vaux-le-Vicomte, symbolizes the world of nature, or more specifically France whose topography and borders had been altered and shaped by the Sun King in the interest of consolidating the French state. Extending the main longitudinal axis westward and incorporating a north–south cross-axis in front of the garden façade, Le Nôtre enlarged the gardens so that they encompassed both the Small Park by the palace, filled with shady groves, sculpture, and fountains, and the broader vistas of the canal (see FIG. 10.16). In his rules on kingship written for his successor, Louis stressed that great expenditures on seemingly negligible pleasures were worth the investment, because they produced awe and conveyed the sensation of the state's well-being.

Much of the sculpture in the gardens was an integral part of the Apollonian program. For example, within the grotto of Thetis, built alongside the Petit Château (visible in Patel's view between the right-hand service wing and the north garden; see FIG. 10.15), the sculptor François Girardon (1628–1715) installed *Apollo Tended by the Nymphs* (1666–75; FIG. 10.20). The work, based on classical models, like the *Apollo Belvedere* (see FIG. 1.3), alludes to the early function of the complex as a place of pleasure and a retreat for the king.

An impressive work not related to the Apollo theme is the *Milo of Croton* by Pierre Puget (1620–94). Commissioned by Colbert but left for some years at the arsenal of Toulon, it was placed in a prominent position in the garden after its arrival at Versailles in 1683 (1671–82; FIG. 10.21). The narrative, taken from ancient literary sources, warns against excessive pride and reliance on brute force: The Olympian athlete, overly confident in his ability to uproot a split tree stump, is unable to disengage his hand and is thus devoured by a lion. The work shares both the pathos of the *Laocoön* and the dynamic movement of Bernini's sculpture (compare FIG. 0.5 and Bernini's *David*, see FIG. 3.12).

As the prototypical garden palace, Versailles exerted an immense influence on European culture. Loathed and feared by other European heads of state, Louis XIV nonetheless provided a model of an illustrious court and its architectural trappings that was emulated far and wide

until the end of the eighteenth century, even by his most determined enemies, such as the Holy Roman emperor Leopold I and the duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace (1705–25; see FIG. 15.6).

The Church

The church was one of the principal building types favored in France, and in this category both the Latin cross and the central plan were employed for basilicas and chapels. The Dôme des Invalides, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the French royal saint, St. Louis, was intended, like

10.21 Pierre Puget, *Milo of Croton*, 1671–82. Marble, height 106¼" (270 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

the Louvre Colonnade, to be a highly visible monument to the glory of Louis XIV, specifically commemorating his military prowess (1676–1706; FIG. 10.22). The question often raised is whether the Sun King intended his own tomb to be placed there instead of at Saint-Denis, where he was buried (in fact, Napoleon is interred on the lower level of the Dôme). Located on the south side of the Seine, on relatively undeveloped land in the western periphery of Paris, the church is part of the Hôtel des Invalides, a large complex that housed war veterans and disabled soldiers in part to keep them from the marauding life chronicled by Jacques Callot (see FIG. 9.3). The grid plan of the Hôtel (1670–6; the word is used here in the sense of hospice, not town house), designed by Libéral Bruant on the model of monastic and hospital architecture, housed several thousand pensioners. They attended Mass daily in the soldiers' church, built by Hardouin-Mansart, who based his designs on Bruant's plans (1676–7). This longitudinal basilica is located back-to-back with the central-plan Dôme, and the pair share a common high altar.

Utilizing his great-uncle François Mansart's unexecuted plans for a Bourbon mausoleum at the church of Saint-Denis, Hardouin-Mansart built the Dôme as a setting for worship by the general public and for court ceremonies. It stands on the south side of the complex, facing away from the city in the direction of Versailles. The

10.22 Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Dôme des Invalides, Paris, 1676–1706.

façade, which seems to advance forward in space toward the center, has its roots in the tradition of the Gesù façade in Rome (see FIG. 4.9), while the paired columns of the drum are taken from Michelangelo's dome for St. Peter's, Rome (see FIG. 1.5). Limited crown funds made it impossible to execute Hardouin-Mansart's project to flank the Dôme with low curved wings girding a large square in front of the church, in a manner emulating Bernini's piazza of St. Peter's.

England and Inigo Jones

The situation pertaining to architecture in England differed from that in France, due to the country's geographic and cultural isolation from the Continent and the lack of a royal academy of architecture. Moreover, periodic misfortune kept the crown from being a steady patron. The accession of James I (r. 1603–25) as king of England, followed by the reign of his son Charles I (r. 1625–49), brought commissions intended to proclaim the new Stuart dynasty, but Charles's conflict with Parliament led to civil war and his execution. The restoration of Charles II (r. 1660–85) initiated new projects, notably the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, and Winchester Palace, both designed by Christopher Wren. Charles II's reign was followed by the brief monarchy of James II (r. 1685–88), who attempted to re-establish Catholicism as the state religion. The problem was resolved by his ousting in the Glorious Revolution, which resulted in the joint rule of James's Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William III, prince of Orange and Dutch Stadhouder (r. 1689–1702). Their most important architectural legacy is Wren's addition to Hampton Court Palace.

Although not as extensive as the Bâtiments du Roi in France, the Office of Works administered all royal projects. At the helm was the surveyor of the king's works, in effect the first architect, who was responsible for drafting designs and overseeing the budget for labor and materials. The office proved an effective training ground for young architects, as in the instance of Wren's assistant, Nicholas Hawksmoor, who carried the English Baroque style into the eighteenth century.

Whereas French architecture had achieved a sophisticated use of classical motifs by the mid sixteenth century, the use of the orders in English buildings was sporadic and haphazard during this time. Thus it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century before English designers accomplished a true architectural Renaissance based on Palladian models, and they did not enter a fully Baroque phase until its final third. The man who ushered classicism into England was Inigo Jones (1573–1652), the son of a London clothworker, who was one of the first English professional architects in the modern sense, rather than a master mason. Although Jones initially embarked

on a career as a painter, he was active as a designer of court masques, many in collaboration with the writer Ben Jonson. Abundant extant drawings attest to his ingenuity and familiarity with Italian examples in the field of perspectival landscape backdrops, elaborate special effects machines, and sumptuous costumes.

His career took a significant turn during a second visit to Italy in 1613–14, made in the company of the influential collector Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel. Jones's objective was to see the great examples of antique architecture in Rome and the Renaissance monuments of Palladio in Venice and Vicenza, where he scribbled annotations in his copy of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*. In 1615 he became surveyor of the king's works. He was employed as royal architect over the next 28 years and produced two exceptional buildings that, within the context of earlier English architecture, were astonishing for their simplicity and reliance on Palladian design principles.

The Queen's House, Greenwich, is in effect an Italianate country villa located east of London on the Thames. It was begun for Anne of Denmark, wife of James I, and completed for Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I (1616–18; 1630–5; FIG. 10.23). As the first wholly classical building in England, it must have astonished contemporaries with its simple, unadorned rectilinear form, correct use of the orders, and flat balustraded roof. The villalike exterior consists of a rusticated ground floor that supports a colonnaded loggia on the south front. The exterior conceals an unusual function: The house actually comprises two conjoined structures built over a public road to provide a bridge between the grounds of the queen's palace and the royal gardens. The unique H-shaped plan features a great hall, a 40-foot cube based on Palladian rules of proportion.

In the capital Jones built the Banqueting House for King James I (1619–22; FIG. 10.24). In its original setting, a

10.25 Inigo Jones, Covent Garden, London, 1630–1. View looking north. On the left, St. Paul's Covent Garden; center and right, private houses. Etching by Thomas Bowles, 1751, showing the market that developed from the mid seventeenth century on the south side (foreground). 10¼ × 15¾″ (26 × 40 cm). British Museum, London.

jumble of red-brick Tudor buildings forming the palace of Whitehall, the monarch's principal London residence, the monumental stone block heralded the arrival of the new classical style. Located by the Thames in Westminster, it was the only palace wing to survive a fire in 1698. Like the Louvre in Paris, the Banqueting House served the representational needs of the sovereign, and in this case, the new Stuart dynasty. Originally entered through the old Tudor court gate on the north side, the building features a public façade whose two-storied elevation mirrors the tall, open space within. The interior is a double cube measuring 55 by 110 feet in plan. This room, which incorporates a narrow gallery on three sides, provided a magnificent setting for court dinners and entertainments, as well as a stage for state occasions—the throne was set up opposite the entrance for the reception of ambassadors.

In designing the exterior, Jones emphasized the constituent parts by using three differently colored stones: brown Oxfordshire for the base, tan Northamptonshire for the walls, and white Portland for the order (the façade was reconstructed entirely of white Portland in 1829). His confident use of the classical vocabulary reflects close study of the rules of ancient design as well as Palladio's compositions for palazzos, which Jones had seen firsthand in Italy and studied in the *Four Books*. Laid over a wall of channeled rustication, the engaged Ionic columns on the first floor and Composite columns on the second subtly emphasize the central three bays, in contrast to the flat pilasters bracketing the outer two bays on each side. The façade is enriched by the elegant detailing of the window surrounds, which comprises alternating pediment shapes below and flat lintels above, integrated with a frieze of garlands and a balustrade above the cornice.

For the paneled ceiling of the interior, James I's son, Charles I, commissioned Rubens's cycle of canvases celebrating in allegorical terms the union of the English and Scottish crowns and the benevolent rule of the Stuarts (completed 1634; see FIG. 8.12). Proof that the Banqueting House stood as the most visible symbol of Charles I's reign lies in the sad irony that on 30 January 1649 his execution took place on a scaffold erected immediately in front of the building.

Jones was also responsible for London's first large, regular urban square, called Covent Garden after an earlier convent garden on the site (1630–1; FIG. 10.25). The patron and developer was the fourth earl of Bedford, Francis Russell, owner of this large tract of land to the west of the City. (The capitalized word City refers to the oldest part of the capital based in the original Roman settlement, not to the metropolis as a whole.) The garden of Bedford House formed the south side of the rectangular space, and Jones designed 17 brick-and-stone town houses of identical design for professional and landed classes on the north and eastern sides and a new parish church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, on the west. The scheme owes a debt to Italian urban squares, which often feature an ecclesiastical monument as a focal point, and to the Place Royale of Henri IV, which provided the prototype for uniform houses of the wealthy, similarly featuring an arcaded walkway on the ground floor (see FIG. 10.2).

In a famous exchange regarding the anticipated cost of the church, Bedford said, "I would not have it much better than a barn," to which Jones responded, "Well! Then, you shall have the handsomest barn in England." The heavy, sober Tuscan order and the exposed timber beams of the pediment comprise a façade whose austerity was suitable for the reformed church in England. This is in fact a false front, attached to the altar end of the church, since the interior is oriented with the entrance on the west side, according to tradition.

The square prompted the development of further regular squares in the capital. Covent Garden still enjoys

unrivaled popularity in the social scheme of present-day London, even though the central space is now occupied by a nineteenth-century flower-and-vegetable market building converted in recent times into a shopping mall, and Jones's covered arcades are long gone. In the early eighteenth century Jones's building designs, as well as his library and drawings, would stimulate the Palladian Revival in England.

Christopher Wren

The career of Christopher Wren (1632–1725) epitomizes the transition to English Baroque in the second half of the century. The son of a high-ranking Anglican clergyman, Wren benefited from a humanistic education in the Greek and Latin classics at Westminster School and from scientific training at Oxford University. Appointed professor of astronomy at Gresham College, London, and then at Oxford, he was a founding member of the Royal Society (the English version of an academy of sciences). In short, he did not receive an architectural education but formed his own knowledge by reading Vitruvius and the Renaissance theorists, as evidenced by the derivative quality of his early academic buildings at Oxford and Cambridge in the mid 1660s. In an effort to improve himself, in 1665–6 he spent nine months in Paris, a sojourn during which he visited outlying châteaux and met with French and Italian architects, including Bernini. Wren returned to London in March 1666 and prepared plans for renovating St. Paul's Cathedral, the part-Romanesque, part-Gothic church to which Jones had given a facelift, but which was now in a shabby condition. The proposal came to nothing, after Wren witnessed the catastrophic event that would turn his life around—the Great Fire, which gutted St. Paul's and leveled five-sixths of the City over the course of five days in September 1666. He immediately proposed to the king a scheme for urban reconstruction along the lines of Sixtus V's plan for Rome, featuring a grid of widened streets and broad avenues radiating from public buildings and monuments. The vagaries of private landownership prevented the plan being executed, but Wren, named surveyor of the king's works in 1669, went on to oversee the new ecclesiastical features of the cityscape.

Wren resolved the daunting prospect of rebuilding 51 new parish churches, most within the City and all paid for by a tax on coal, through the conception of several basic plans depending on the size of the site, ranging from a small room without aisles to a large hall with suspended side galleries. In accordance with the services established in the Book of Common Prayer, the simple interiors lacked a chancel, side chapels, multiple altars, and the extensive pictorial and sculptural décor of Catholic churches. The emphasis on sermons in Protestant worship meant that a prominently placed, elevated pulpit, with a sounding board above it, allowed all to see and hear the speaker. Tall box pews provided seating for members of the congregation while keeping out drafts, and ample clear glass windows allowed them to read the Bible or prayer books. Because many sites were hemmed in by other structures often only a single exterior elevation was visible, but the distinguishing feature on the outside was normally the bell tower or spire, which became a visible and audible landmark for the neighborhood.

Wren's rectangular church of St. Stephen Walbrook, patronized by the Grocer's Company, consists on the outside of a relatively unadorned brick shell with a tower (1672–87). In contrast, the graceful interior features 16 free-standing Corinthian columns that support the vaulted ceiling (FIG. 10.26). Like the complex church plans of Baroque Rome, such as Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale (compare FIG. 4.16), the layout may be characterized as a centralized longitudinal plan, in which the axial path from doorway to altar is fused with the centralizing feature of an expansive, coffered dome carried by pendentives rising from eight of the columns. In keeping with the ideals of the Anglican Church, however, the monochromatic interior possesses a calm restraint very different from the coloristic, emotional impact of southern European examples.

10.26 Christopher Wren, St. Stephen Walbrook, interior, London, 1672–87.
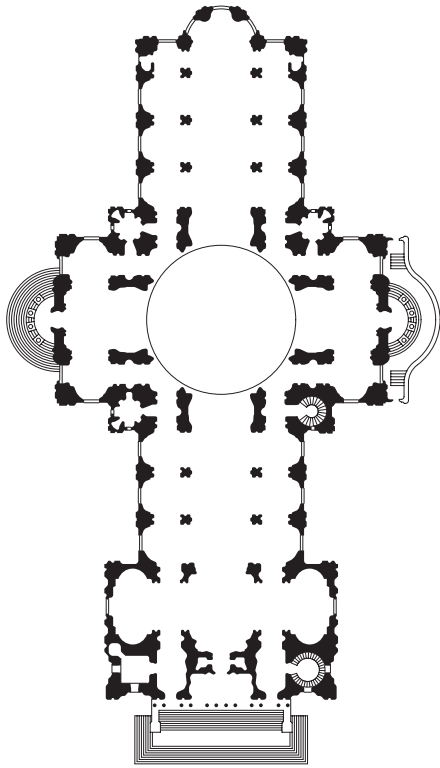
10.27 (left) **Christopher Wren**, St. Paul's Cathedral, plan, London, 1675–1711.

10.28 (above) **Christopher Wren**, St. Paul's Cathedral, south flank, London, 1675–1711.

Read the document by Christopher Wren on mysearchlab.com

Architectural Models

Models of buildings, constructed from wood, plaster, clay, or wax, played a role comparable to that of drawings in the development of architectural projects (see "Architectural Drawings," p. 361). The presentation model was the most common type: like a presentation drawing, it was intended to help the patron visualize the finished structure, or in the case of a competition encourage acceptance of the design. Elaborate examples were produced in the Baroque age, many fabricated in such a way that they could be opened so that the interior could also be envisioned. Because they could be expensive to produce, the making of a model was usually restricted to major commissions, like a church or palace. In some cases, only a portion of a building, like a proposed façade, was worked up. Although models are generally reduced in scale, a full-size mock-up of a portion of a project might be temporarily erected on the intended site in order to gauge in advance the success of the design.

The great model for the new St. Paul's Cathedral (1673–4; Fig. 10.29), represents Christopher Wren's third proposal in a series of six stages in the development of the plans, the first stage of which is also known through an extant model (1670). Constructed of oak and plaster, on a scale of 1 inch to 1½ feet, and measuring about 20 feet in length, it cost about as much as a modest dwelling. The model, which is finished both outside and within, represents Wren's attempt to create a domed, centrally planned church in the manner of Bramante and Michelangelo's designs for St. Peter's, Rome.

Unfortunately for Wren, the model had the opposite effect to what he intended: The Anglican clergy rejected the design on the grounds that it looked more Catholic than Protestant. Deeply disappointed, Wren resolved that henceforth he would not air his plans for the cathedral so explicitly—no further models were commissioned, and he secretively guarded his intentions during the remainder of the design process.

10.29 **Christopher Wren**, great model, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1673–4. Oak and plaster. Length 20' 11" (6.36 m). St. Paul's, London.

Explore more about St. Paul's Cathedral on mysearchlab.com

10.30 Christopher Wren, St. Paul's Cathedral, interior, London, 1675–1711. View from the crossing toward the nave.

Wren's pre-Fire plan for the renovation of St. Paul's Cathedral provided the basis for his designs for a wholly new church, which would serve not only the diocese of London but would stand out as the symbol of the capital and the nation, announcing resurgence in the wake of the Great Fire. The design process, which lasted seven years, went through six major stages, as Wren sought to preserve his idea of a centrally planned, domed church in the face of opposition from the clergy, who desired the more traditional Latin cross form (see "Architectural Models," opposite). In the end, the layout, as may be gauged from a view of the south flank, conforms to the Latin cross type, crowned by an immense drum and dome (constructed 1678–1711; FIGS. 10.27 and 10.28). Nonetheless, a centralized emphasis results from the fact that the massive central rotunda, in which a circle of eight immense piers provides support for the dome, is located midway along the longitudinal axis, with the three-bay nave on the western side comparable in length to the choir on the eastern side (FIG. 10.30). The nave and choir are covered not by the usual barrel vault but by a succession of saucer domes, giving the interior a serene air of measured spaces.

The weight of the vaults is supported by flying buttresses, a Gothic structural device that Wren concealed all round the exterior behind the false upper story of a screen wall (note that what appear at first glance to be windows are in fact blind niches; see FIG. 10.28). This exterior elevation, whose paired pilasters against a rusticated surface borrow from the elegant classicism of Jones's Banqueting House (compare FIG. 10.24), provides a strong visual platform for the colossal dome. The drum and dome are a magnificent reworking of three main sources: Bramante's Tempietto, Michelangelo's dome for St. Peter's, and Hardouin-Mansart's Dôme des Invalides (compare FIGS. 1.5 and 10.22). The paired columns ranged across the two-story west façade bring to mind the east front of the Louvre while forming a harmonious unit with the splendid lateral towers, whose dynamic contours recall Borromini's Roman churches (FIG. 10.31).

Wren's St. Paul's was built in the same years as the Dôme des Invalides; together the buildings demonstrate the ability of Northern Baroque architects to maintain local traditions while instilling a grandiose scale, illusionistic theatricality, and powerful monumentality comparable to Southern Baroque structures.

10.31 Christopher Wren, St. Paul's Cathedral, façade, London, completed by 1709.

Rococo

Art in the Rococo Age (1700–85) did not break with the past but represented an extension and broadening of the Baroque, while maintaining the mission of fully engaging the beholder. However, a desire to dispense with the overwhelming grandeur of much seventeenth-century art encouraged artists to subvert older artistic forms in favor of a new lightness, playfulness, eroticism, and wit. The ideal of the grand architectural ensemble diminished as designers responded to the request for increased sociability out of doors and for stylish, comfortable quarters at home. The unimpeded rise of the middle class brought new patrons seeking the expression of Enlightenment ideals in painting and sculpture. New public venues for the exhibition of art meant a wider exposure to the public, and notwithstanding the limitations imposed on women artists, their numbers increased.

French Painting from the Regency to the Reign of Louis XV

The course of painting in France during the eighteenth century mirrored the political and social upheaval experienced by the nation in the years leading up to the French Revolution. A variety of factors conspired to challenge the special status achieved by the arts in the previous century, especially during the early years of the reign of Louis XIV (1661–1715). During the 1660s the mobilization of the nation's artistic life had initially been accomplished by the organization of the academies and the guaranteed support of artists through salaries, lucrative posts, and ennoblement. The king's minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, commented that no one but the king of France gave employment to painters, sculptors, and other artisans. Images of Louis XIV were placed at focal points in various rooms in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture as reminders of his patronage. A constant theme in all the arts was the glorification of the monarch as France's principal art patron and greatest collector of luxury objects, and there was praise for the economic policies of Colbert, supervisor of art factories and protector of the manufacturing industries. Yet the situation underwent drastic changes as the seventeenth century drew to a close. The sun began to set as early as the 1680s: The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 led to the mass exodus of

Antoine Watteau, *Pilgrimage to Cythera*, 1717. (Detail of FIG. 11.15)

members of the stable Protestant community, and Louis XIV's engagement in the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) was disastrous to the economy and morale of France. By 1712, after the successive deaths of Louis XIV's immediate heirs, his son the *grand dauphin* and the latter's son the duc de Bourgogne, all was doom and gloom at the palace of Versailles.

In short, by the early eighteenth century the crown had lost its prestige, state institutions were challenged on all fronts, the economy was depressed, and the tenor of public life was one of disillusionment. France, and indeed all of Europe, heaved a collective sigh of relief when the duc de Bouillon, standing on the balcony overlooking the Marble Court at Versailles on 1 September 1715, announced the passing of the old monarch. However, the new king, Louis's great-grandson Louis XV, was too young to rule, and a regency government was instituted with Louis XIV's nephew, Philippe d'Orléans, at its helm (1715–23). The court immediately abandoned Versailles and moved to Paris, where the regent occupied the Palais Royal and the king the palace of the Tuileries. Well educated, the regent ruled intelligently with an eye toward internal reforms and colonial expansion. A remarkable collector, he encouraged the new taste for Venetian paintings and purchased Netherlandish works (the latter hung in his private apartments). Nonetheless, the nobility, parliament, and factions of the royal family competed for power. The

11.1 Antoine Watteau, *Gersaint's Shopsign*, 1720–1. Oil on canvas, 64¼ × 120″ (166 × 306 cm). Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin.

View the Closer Look for *Gersaint's Shopsign* on mysearchlab.com

economic health of the country was temporarily shored up by the policies of the Scottish financier John Law, but his get-rich-quick schemes tied to France's trade interests in its American colonies led to a crash—the "Mississippi Bubble"—in 1720. When Louis XV (r. 1723–74) came to power and the court returned to Versailles, France achieved some stability, particularly under the influence of the *de facto* chief minister Cardinal de Fleury, but the king never resolved the country's fiscal problems.

The art institutions created by Colbert for Louis XIV continued to function after the king's death in 1715, and Louis XV's guardianship over the arts was, in turn, represented in the visual media. Even so, major changes took place: Whereas in the seventeenth century collecting had chiefly been the province of kings, princes, and nobles, by the start of Louis XV's reign the number of art consumers had risen as a result of the wider dispersal of wealth. The ranks of the nobility and established bourgeoisie were swelled by a new economic elite—financiers and speculators who had realized sudden and immense wealth as a result of the wars and Law's schemes, and were determined to enjoy an aristocratic lifestyle. Two further developments, which had been underway since the mid seventeenth century, were accelerated: the blurring of class lines through marriage and the purchase of offices and noble titles. For the *nouveaux riches* the cultivation of aesthetic taste and the establishment of an art collection constituted evidence of

high social status. The official, state-run academy lost its status when it was replaced by a new unofficial academy, based in the circles of wealthy Parisian collectors, who formed their own informal "courts" and became the new arbiters of taste. The new experts, like Pierre Crozat— banker, state treasurer, and owner of a spectacular collection that he displayed at weekly meetings of connoisseurs and artists—preempted the king's role as overseer of the arts; Louis XV regained his position only in a limited sense with the regular exhibits of the Salon sponsored by the crown after 1737. Art dealers also usurped the king's role, never more dramatically than in the case of Edmé François Gersaint (1696–1750), one of the outstanding art tradesmen of the eighteenth century (see the painting he hung as a sign outside his shop; FIG. 11.1).

Rubenism vs. Poussinism

The decline of Louis XIV's fortunes within the political sphere was paralleled by the decreasing lack of authority exercised by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in the realm of art, beginning in the 1670s. This is best exemplified by the famous quarrels or debates that took place at the academy and within artistic circles, which, however strange they may seem nowadays, were argued in dead earnest by members of the opposing camps. First,

the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, which origi-nated in literary circles, pitted those who felt that ancient art constituted the ultimate authority on artistic matters against those who claimed that modern artists could rise to equal heights. Second, the quarrel of color versus line (or drawing) was in effect an argument that pitted real-ism against classicism. By the 1690s these arguments had evolved into the debate over Rubenism versus Poussinism (French, *Rubénisme, Poussinisme*). The Poussinists held up as models ancient sculpture, the works of High Renaissance artists like Raphael and Michelangelo, and the paintings and theory of the great French classicist Poussin. His *The Finding of Moses* of 1638 exemplifies his classical Baroque approach by reaffirming the academic view that history painting represents the highest form of art (see FIG. 9.18). In opposition to the Poussinists, those who championed the Rubenist cause saw evidence of its superiority in the work of the movement's namesake, Rubens, represented in Paris by the *Medici Cycle* (1622–5; see FIG. 8.9).

The term Rubenism, however, implies more than a devotion to the coloristic vitality and energetic brushwork of paintings by Rubens and other masters in his circle, like Van Dyck. It also refers to a preference for the stylistic features of the great sixteenth-century Italian masters whom these Flemish Baroque painters studied, such as Correggio, Barocci, and especially the Venetians Titian and Veronese. Likewise it encompasses the work of the Italian dynamic Baroque painters, like Cortona and Gaulli. In addition, Rubenism opened the way for an appreciation of the subject categories popular in Northern Baroque painting that were traditionally held to be lower than his-tory painting—portraiture, genre, landscape, and still life. In the realm of technique, both detailed description and the gestural brushstroke gained over academic draftsman-ship. However absurd the debate may seem, the point is that Rubenism and Poussinism provided French painters with two essentially different stylistic idioms. Rubenism triumphed initially—indeed, had gained considerable ground by the end of the seventeenth century—and thus provided a basis for much French eighteenth-century painting, at its height referred to by contemporaries, some-times disparagingly, as *la petite manière* or *le goût pittoresque*, and now called Rococo by some art historians (for the history of the term, see Introduction). Poussinism nonetheless reemerged in the 1760s, and ultimately eclipsed Rubenism in the form of Neoclassicism.

Neglected in France for three decades, the *Medici Cycle* was rediscovered by the art critic Roger de Piles (1635–1709), who urged French artists to familiarize themselves with its pictorial riches. De Piles contributed to the rise of Rubenism through a series of polemical writings in the 1670s and 1680s, such as the *Dialogue sur le coloris* (1673). His efforts were aided by the duc de Richelieu (1629–1715), an art collector who formed the first major group of Rubens paintings to be seen in Paris outside of the Luxembourg gallery. De Piles also praised the sixteenth-century Venetians for rejecting the conventions of history painting in favor of the poetic landscape and the sensuous female nude. At the same time, the painter Charles de La Fosse (1636–1716) demonstrated through his work a clear interest in Rubenist style. After training in Paris under Le Brun, La Fosse resided in Rome between 1658 and 1660 and studied the work of the dynamic Baroque artists, such as the ceiling paintings of Cortona. Between 1660 and 1663 he lived in Venice, where he fell under the spell of Titian and Veronese. When he returned to Paris he struck up a friendship with de Piles, who introduced to him the work of Rubens and Van Dyck.

La Fosse's *The Finding of Moses*, painted for the billiard room at Versailles in 1701, is strikingly different from Poussin's version (FIG. 11.2). While Poussin was interested in the historical subject as a means of exploring the ancient world and its literary texts, La Fosse's work betrays his primary interest in producing a gorgeous image of volup-tuous women in a luxurious landscape—there are no males present. Hence he chose the historical subject for its decorative possibilities rather than its edifying content. His debt to Rubens is clear in the Rubenesque women, the diagonal composition, the warm coloring, and the fluid brushwork, employing both impasto and glazes in a tech-nique that reveals rather than conceals the hand of the art-ist. Equally Rubenist is the array of textural effects from flesh and fabric to feathery branches. A soft atmosphere

11.2 Charles de La Fosse, *The Finding of Moses*, 1701. Oil on canvas, 49¼ × 43⅜″ (125 × 110 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

, *God the Father in Glory*, 1709. Vault painting, Chapel, Versailles.

Noël-Nicolas (1690–1734), and his son Charles-Antoine (1694–1752). Antoine's Italian sojourn included three years of exploring the work of the Baroque masters in Rome from 1672, when he was complimented by Gianlorenzo Bernini, and another year in northern Italy, studying the Bolognese and Venetian schools and Correggio. On his return to Paris he befriended de Piles, and in 1701 he began working for Philippe d'Orléans, the future regent, who reopened the Luxembourg Palace where Coypel studied the *Medici Cycle*. His appointment as director of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1714 and as first painter to the king in 1715 signaled the official acceptance of Rubenism.

Although much of Coypel's work shows his devotion to Rubens and Veronese, his painting *God the Father in Glory* on the barrel vault of the recently completed chapel of Versailles employs the devices of illusionistic ceiling painting that he had learned from the Italian masters (1709; FIG. 11.3). Based on such works as Gaulli's *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* in the church of Il Gesù in Rome (see FIG. 2.19), Coypel's painting simulates an ornate architecture decorated with floral garlands, gilt roundels, and oval reliefs of the four evangelists. Seemingly real figures perched on the cornice represent 12 Old Testament prophets and patriarchs accompanied by Latin inscriptions proclaiming the coming of Christ. Three fictive openings along the axis of the vault expose blue sky and clouds in the distance, while admitting a host of excited angels and cherubs. In the center a majestic God the Father surrounded by a blaze of light bursts into the viewer's space saluting the king, who occupied the royal balcony during Mass. On either side floating angels and putti bear instruments of the Passion of Christ, several of which were in the possession of the French crown. Adjacent to this miraculous vision La Fosse painted *The Resurrection of Christ* in the semi-dome over the altar, where his body and blood are present in the sacrament of the Mass. On the opposite side, above the royal balcony, Jean Jouvenet (1649–1717) painted *The Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost*, thus completing the iconographic program, whereby the Holy Trinity ensures the divine sanctification of the French monarch's right

envelops everything in the picture. The Venetian landscape format is evident here: The space is closed on the right by the dense grouping of figures and trees, and open on the left to a view of a village in the distance. The changing qualities of light and atmosphere are evident in the blurred edges and the shadows that pass over the figures. Especially handsome is the backlighting of the figures from a source in the upper right, which picks out the edge of the parasol in a golden line—very different from the even lighting and smooth surfaces of Poussin's painting. While not historically correct, Poussin's use of costume evokes the ancient world; La Fosse's costumes, however, are drawn from Venetian pictorial sources. His Rubenist impact on the contemporary art scene resulted from his position as professor at the academy and his work for the crown.

Another early Rubenist, Antoine Coypel (1661–1722), was the most prominent member of a dynasty of painters that included his father Noël (1628–1707), with whom he trained at the French Academy in Rome, his half brother

to rule. Thus Louis XIV, worshiping from the balcony, appeared as successor to the great rulers of the past, specifically Charlemagne (presumed founder of France), and St. Louis, each represented kneeling in prayer in feigned relief sculptures at either end of the vault. The French venerated both as saints, and the chapel was dedicated in part to the latter, Louis XIV's namesake and ancestor of the Bourbon dynasty. In its explosive dynamism, elaborate illusionism, and brilliant color, Coypel's vault represents the success of Rubenism at the court of the Sun King.

Hyacinthe Rigaud and Nicolas de Largillierre

Portraiture ranked as one of the most popular subject categories in painting during the eighteenth century. To commission a portrait was not only to provide a likeness of one's self but to forge a social identity. Both in real life and in painting, clothing and comportment indicated status; every detail was carefully calculated to convey political or social meaning. Although the basic portrait types were firmly established by 1700, they were developed in a variety of ways, particularly as members of the wealthy middle class increasingly adopted the more aristocratic formats as evidence of their elevated position in the social hierarchy. Few French painters specialized in portraiture during the ascendancy of Louis XIV, but two artists in particular, who emerged as leading members of the Rubenist camp in the 1680s and 1690s, are best known for their portraits: Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743) and Nicolas de Largillierre (1656–1746). As Rubenists they painted in a similar manner; indeed contemporaries called both "the Van Dyck of France" because they borrowed so considerably from Flemish Baroque pictorial tradition.

As in the seventeenth century, the most privileged portrait type remained the state portrait (French, *portrait d'apparat*, parade or ceremonial portrait), which ideally represented a

ruler or noble and focused on status rather than personality. No portrait establishes a sense of magnificent kingship more firmly than Rigaud's *Louis XIV*, painted in 1701 (FIG. 11.4). The work, commissioned by the Sun King, was to be sent to Madrid where his 16-year-old grandson, Philip V, had ascended the Spanish throne after the death of the last ruler of the Habsburg line. Thus the picture was motivated by a political need: It would act as a reminder of the real power behind the new Bourbon monarchy in Spain. Louis so admired the painting that he had a copy sent to Spain and hung the original in the Apollo room at Versailles, where it was accorded the same courtesies that the king himself received—courtiers bowed toward it and could not turn their backs to it.

The over-life-size, full-length figure, the ennobling cloth of honor, and the column of Fortitude are all traditional elements of the state portrait type. Likewise the

11.4 Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Louis XIV*, 1701. Oil on canvas, 109 × 76½" (277 × 194 cm). Musée du Louvre.

View the Closer Look for *Louis XIV* on mysearchlab.com

11.5 Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Henri Louis de la Tour d'Auvergne, Comte d'Evreux, Maréchal de France*, ca. 1720. Oil on canvas, 54 × 41⅜" (137.2 × 105.1 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Fund, 1959.

11.6 Nicolas de Largillierre, *Woman as Astrée*, ca. 1710–12. Oil on canvas, 55⅛ × 41¾" (140 × 106 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal. Purchase, special replacement fund; Horsley and Annie Townsend Bequest; anonymous gift in honor of Dr. Sean B. Murphy; gift of David Y. Hodgson, Dr. William L. Glen and other friends of the Museum.

contrapposto stance of the seemingly youthful legs and the akimbo arm strictly follow pictorial tradition, as a comparison with Van Dyck's *Charles I at the Hunt* reveals (1635; see FIG. 8.18). The hand of Justice resting by the crown on the stool and the sculptural relief of Justice holding sword and scales on the plinth allude to the king's right to dispense justice. The sword, named La Joyeuse, was purportedly owned by Charlemagne, and the scepter tipped with a *fleur-de-lis* was carried by Henri IV at his coronation. At the same time, the sumptuous textiles of the carpeted floor, the upholstered chair, and the king's ermine-lined coronation robes, sparkling with gold *fleurs-de-lis*, refer to the abundance of luxury goods produced under the king's aegis. Louis's impassive face (painted separately on paper and pasted onto the canvas), denotes self-control while betraying his 63 years. Both the high-heeled shoes and towering black wig provide the tall, slender silhouette fashionable for both men and women at this time while enhancing his stature—the king was 5 feet 3 inches tall.

Superbly Rubenist, the work commands the viewer's attention by virtue of its immediate, sensuous presence,

the tactile quality of the paint surface, and the representation of richly contrasting textures. The warm colors, varied brushwork, and enveloping atmosphere soften the majestic gaze of the figure. While ideally suited to heads of state and members of the royal court, by the late seventeenth century the state-portrait type had provided motifs, such as the standing pose, the cloth of honor, and the architectural backdrop, not only for nobles but also for high-ranking and wealthy members of the middle class.

Two further portrait types, both subcategories of the state portrait, were commonly used for male sitters: the military portrait and the ecclesiastical portrait for cardinals of the church. The former derived from the tradition of the equestrian portrait, based on both ancient and Renaissance models, wherein the sovereign, dressed in either modern or antique armor, sat astride a horse. Extremely common is the half-length representation of a noble dressed in armor and holding the baton of a commander, represented in the foreground of a field of battle, as in Rigaud's *Henri Louis de la Tour d'Auvergne, Comte d'Evreux, Maréchal de France* (ca. 1720; FIG. 11.5). The clothing and

accessories are symbolic: In France a noble had no occupation except serving in the higher ranks of the armed forces. The standard for this type of portrait was set by Titian and in turn by Van Dyck. From these sources Rigaud drew the sense of self-assurance and pride projected by the hand-on-hip pose and the dramatic twist of the head. The facial expression does not reveal the personality of the sitter, only his highborn status. The *maréchal* epitomizes the French ideal of the *homme de guerre*, the soldier who exhibits bravery, determination, and self-sacrifice. The painter used his brush to differentiate textures subtly, whether the hard, reflective surface of the armor, the powdered wig, the extravagant silk sash, or the heat of battle in the background.

The historiated portrait, in which a sitter is portrayed in the guise of a historical or allegorical figure, is another type that had been firmly established in France (*portrait historié*). It too has its origins in antique and Renaissance traditions, whereby the sitter possesses the virtues or characteristics of the god or hero whose costume and attributes are present in the portrait. The type was popular at the court of Louis XIV, with the king represented in various guises, whether as Apollo, Hercules, or a Roman emperor. In Largillierre's portrait *Woman as Astrée*, the shepherd's staff and little spaniel recall the heroine of the early seventeenth-century pastoral novel *L'Astrée* (the sitter may be an aristocratic Englishwoman residing in Paris, Marie Josephine Drummond, Condesa de Castelblanco; ca. 1710–12; FIG. 11.6). The novel remained extremely popular in the eighteenth century, and Largillierre's sitter is but one in a line of sitters portrayed as the fictive shepherdess (see "The Pastoral Dream," below). Astrée is a symbol

The Pastoral Dream

One of the most widespread and enduring concepts in European culture, the pastoral represented man's desire to be unified with nature. As an urban phenomenon resulting from the pressures, congestion, and sordidness of city life, the pastoral was a fantasy that raised the simple life of the shepherd (Latin: *pastor*) to the level of an imaginary ideal in which men and women lived peacefully in the country, playing the pipe and musing on the meaning of life and love. The pastoral was a far-off and long-ago dream that manifested itself in all media, from literature and poetry, theater and opera, to painting and sculpture, architecture and the decorative arts.

The origins of this fantasy may be found in classical antiquity, specifically in several famous models of bucolic poetry. The Hellenistic poet Theocritus composed his *Idylls*, which focus on life in the country, at the end of the third century BCE. In the second half of the first century BCE the Roman poet Virgil wrote the *Eclogues*, a pastoral poem in ten parts, and the *Georgics*, a poetic tract on agriculture and husbandry. Both authors portray the simple life of the herdsman, emphasizing the leisure time that allowed him to compose songs, and they describe the shepherd's leafy environment, the *locus amoenus*, the place that gives delight. This dreamlike locale, where men, animals, and nature coexist in harmony, was called Arcadia by the Romans after the mountainous region in central Greece. The contemporary visual counterpart of these literary works, known to the Renaissance through verbal descriptions, consisted of sculptural reliefs, wallpaintings, and gems representing the labors of simple rustics.

The Renaissance revived the concept, largely through the publication of *Arcadia* by Jacopo Sannazaro (Venice, 1502). To the idyllic landscape he added evocative monuments like tombs and temples. The visual revival took place initially in Venice, an urban culture lacking trees and landscape, where Giorgione (or a follower) created one of the earliest and most memorable images of the pastoral ideal, *Pastoral Concert* (ca. 1510; Fig. 11.7). In the foreground a sophisticated urbanite in fancy dress plays the lute, while his companion, a peasant with an unruly mop of hair and unshod feet, listens to its sounds. A landscape of rolling hills stretches to the horizon, while in the right middle distance a shepherd tends his flock. This painting, which entered the collection of Louis XIV in the late seventeenth century, and similar pastoral landscapes produced in the circle of Giorgione by such artists as Titian and Giulio Campagnola are significant examples of *poesie* in Venetian art, works that reject the intellectual, humanistic tradition of history painting in favor of subjects that, like poetry, are loosely evocative and subjective in meaning. The Venetian pastoral landscape received renewed attention in the first decade of the eighteenth century, when the Rubenist theorist Roger de Piles in his *Cours de peinture par principes* (1708) celebrated it as a unique subject category, and urged artists to study its sensuous and emotionally stimulating effects.

11.7 Giorgione, or manner of, *Pastoral Concert*, ca. 1510. Oil on canvas, 41¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 53¾″ (105 × 136.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

of platonic love, and dogs in portraits are traditionally symbols of fidelity: thus the sitter presumably possesses these virtues.

Shown in three-quarter length, the lady wears the costume not of a simple country shepherdess but of a *mondaine* (woman of the world) dressed in the height of fashion. As in Rigaud's *Louis XIV*, the piling of hair on the head and the cinched waist, held in place by boned stays in the bodice, bespeak the fashionable slender silhouette sought by both sexes in the first decade of the century. With her powdered hair, rouged cheeks, plump arms, and attentive gaze, the sitter embodies the ideal feminine beauty of the period. The Rubenist character of the work is apparent in the dynamic movement imparted by diagonals organizing the composition and unnaturally billowing ribbons and lace cascading from the sleeves. The rendering of the textures of flesh, hair, and fabric, and particularly the reflection of light off the silvery silken dress, are enhanced by Largillierre's built-up paint surface, which actually stands in relief on the linen canvas, duplicating the textural effects of lace and jewels. The historiated portrait had its corollary in reality, specifically in the extremely popular masquerades (costume balls) that allowed freedom from societal norms and blurring of the classes. This portrait type was a common convention for both sexes in the eighteenth century, and indeed men were sometimes portrayed as Astrée's would-be lover, Céladon.

Another established portrait type was the lady at her toilette, based on the contemporary morning ritual in which a noble or wealthy bourgeois woman made herself up while receiving visitors (see "Making Up Society: The Toilette," below). The unknown sitter in Largillierre's

Making Up Society: The Toilette

To a degree unimaginable to us today, the daily habits of a typical eighteenth-century French lady or gentleman of the upper classes were prescribed by etiquette and tradition. The day was subdivided according to the hour into distinct activities which often took the form of ritual. The best-known examples are the *levée* and the *coucher*, the getting-up-in-the-morning and going-to-bed-in-the-evening ceremonies practiced by the nobility, for which Louis XIV set the standard. Of particular importance for art history is the morning grooming ritual called the toilette, after the protective cloth placed on the shoulders (French: *toile*). Both sexes practiced the ritual, during which the hair was dressed, the wig powdered, cosmetics applied, and the body dressed, although obviously certain activities were gender specific, like shaving for the man. In the seventeenth century the ritual of the toilette and the use of cosmetics were markers of social status associated largely with the nobility: Making oneself up meant applying a mask that symbolized class and gender. Typically in the following century, however, anyone with money and pretensions to class could adopt these devices. The result was the confusion of identities and the transgression of the social hierarchy.

The lady's toilette lasted several hours, and, depending on the status of the woman, could be divided into distinct parts. In an initial, private stage a servant would assist with the rudimentary coiffing and rouging as a preliminary to the public stage, in which adornment would continue while the lady received friends, tradesmen, artists, or a potential lover. The most complicated part was the application of makeup, which might last an hour. Although the toilette was associated with the morning, the reception of guests often lasted into the afternoon. Depending on who was in attendance, the toilette might be used by a rich or highborn woman as an instrument of power.

The lady at her toilette was an extremely popular subject in the visual arts, especially in portraiture and genre painting. Nicolas Lancret's small cabinet picture *Morning* (Fig. 11.8), painted on a copper support, is the first in a suite *The Four Times of Day* exhibited at the Salon in 1739. The woman, accompanied by a standing maidservant, turns from the vanity table to pour a cup of coffee from the silver pot. The black clothing and white collar of her visitor identify him as an abbot (French: *abbé*), a figure much satirized in contemporary art and literature. French abbots, usually the unmarried younger sons of wealthy families, lived a secular lifestyle thanks to the large income they derived from the abbeys they oversaw. That the two figures may be engaging in an amorous liaison is suggested by the woman's décolletage and the paintings of pastoral love scenes hanging on the wall. For members of high society the day was programmed according to the hour, and thus a common detail in *tableaux de mode* is a clock telling the appropriate time—in this case, the fashionable Rococo timepiece reads 9:10 A.M.

11.8 Nicolas Lancret, *Morning* from *The Four Times of Day*, 1739. Oil on copper, 11⅛ × 14¼″ (28.6 × 365 cm). National Gallery, London.

three-quarter-length sitter, who smiles at the viewer while preparing to tie her hair with a *fontange* or bow, is costumed *en déshabillé* (casually or partly dressed) by virtue of the loosened tresses and revealing bodice. The palette of brilliant pinks and blues, the energized swirls of drapery, and the scintillating reflection of light off the silken fabrics are all thoroughly Rubenist.

Antoine Watteau

The Rubenist point of view also characterizes the work of one of the giants of eighteenth-century art, Antoine Watteau (1684–1721). His career coincided with the period of political transition marked by the end of Louis XIV's reign and the regency government. Flemish by birth, he grew up in the border town of Valenciennes, which the French had annexed in 1679. Although he made his career in Paris, where he arrived in 1702, he would always be called "the Fleming," and rightly so, given his indebtedness to Flemish

Woman at Her Dressing Table of circa 1695–1700 clearly aspires to high status (FIG. 11.9). The artist has included state-portrait motifs like the fluttering drape suggesting a cloth of honor over the dressing table, the fanciful terrace giving onto a landscape, and the fluted classical column, which here denotes taste and learning. This portrait type evolved from Renaissance and Baroque depictions of Venus at her toilette, accompanied by her traditional attributes—Cupid, a mirror, and roses—as in the work of Titian and Rubens. In Largillierre's painting cupids appear as ornamental motifs on the table mirror, and roses decorate the dressing table. The type had entered French portraiture in the sixteenth century, and there are remarkable examples from the School of Fontainebleau. In the earlier instances, the mirror is a *vanitas* symbol, and such paintings normally celebrate both the beauty and vanity of women. By the eighteenth century the mirror in art also symbolized *l'agrément*, the idea of improving upon nature. As in Rigaud's contemporary *Louis XIV*, the hairstyle and costume emphasize slenderness and height. The

Baroque tradition. Although little survives in the way of documentary evidence regarding Watteau's life, several close friends and contemporaries penned biographies of him after his death: notably, his dealer Gersaint, the textile manufacturer Jean de Jullienne, the retired military officer and publisher Antoine de La Roque, and the print collector and dealer Pierre-Jean Mariette. The biographers emphasize that, unlike the elegant, social inhabitants of his paintings, Watteau was a shy recluse who moved restlessly from one place of residence to another and, having failed to find a cure for his tuberculosis on a visit to London in 1719–20, died prematurely in his thirty-seventh year. Jullienne also oversaw publication of a four-volume catalogue of reproductive prints after Watteau's works, one of the first systematic attempts to catalog an artist's output. From this volume we derive our knowledge of the eighteenth-century titles and of the painter's lost works.

Watteau's antiacademic approach to composing a picture consisted of filling sketch books with figure drawings from life, which he then superimposed onto a background,

The Commedia dell'Arte

The Commedia dell'Arte (Italian Comedy) was a form of semi-improvisational theater that was much in vogue in France from its introduction in the sixteenth century. By 1680 the comedians had their own theater in Paris, the Hôtel de Bourgogne. The plots often revolved around topical issues treated with scathing satire, and audiences delighted in the extreme vulgarity of the language and gestures used on stage. The Italian actors were forbidden to speak French, but inevitably they played some scenes in that language.

Much like today's television sitcoms, the appeal of the Italian Comedy derived from the use of stock characters, so that the audience already knew their personalities before the curtain went up. The principal players, identifiable both on the stage and in art by their costumes, masks, and gestures, appear together in Watteau's *Love in the Italian Theater* (ca. 1716; Fig. 11.11). The clown Harlequin, who wears a black mask and colorful diamond-shaped patches, is ever the schemer, often appearing in a crouching pose; the clown Mezzetin, dressed in a striped outfit and floppy hat, is the witty servant; the clown Pierrot is the dunce in the group, recognizable by his broad-brimmed hat and white costume, the sleeves too long and the trousers too short. The Doctor, seen here on the left, wearing the black robes of his profession, is always the pedant rejected by women. Pantaloon, on the right, a simple, honest merchant, is invariably swindled. The female actors did not wear costumes bearing specific attributes; thus we are less able to identify the four principal women, Isabella, Colombine, Silvia, and Flaminia.

A production of *The False Prude* in 1697 so ridiculed the king's second wife, Madame de Maintenon, that the troupe was banned from performing in France. Even so, the company went underground and, along with French comedians who adopted its devices, performed in what is generically called the Theater of the Fair (Théâtre de la Foire) in Paris. The regent reinstated the Italian Comedy in 1716, and before long they played again at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

✳ **Explore** more about the *Commedia dell'Arte* on mysearchlab.com

11.12 Antoine Watteau, *Pierrot*, ca. 1718–20. Oil on canvas, 72⅝ × 58⅞" (184.5 × 149.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

sometimes repeating the same pose in more than one work. He rejected the iconographic and formal language of Poussinism and employed instead the devices of the northern and Venetian schools to depict subjects that are allusive, nonverbal, and open to subjective response. Crucial to Watteau's formation were the years 1712–19 spent in the social circle of Pierre Crozat, in whose Paris house he sporadically lived and whose magnificent collection of Venetian and Netherlandish Old Master paintings and drawings he studied. Compared to the Rubenists already discussed, Watteau strikes us as an unusually modern figure. Like them he was heir to the Renaissance-Baroque tradition, but he sought new structures of meaning that involved subverting and fragmenting the old pictorial formulas.

For about three years, circa 1704–8, Watteau worked in the Parisian studio of Claude Gillot (1673–1722), a designer of sets and costumes for the stage and owner of a marionette theater at the Saint-Germain fair. Gillot was one of a small number of artists in the early eighteenth century who specialized in paintings representing scenes from the Comédie Italienne (Italian Comedy), a subject that Watteau would adopt (see "The Commedia dell'Arte," opposite). A glance at Gillot's *The Two Carriages* is constructive when considering Watteau's approach to this genre of subject (ca. 1707; FIG. 11.10). It depicts a recognizable episode from a play, *The Fair at Saint-Germain*, first performed in 1695, specifically the hilarious traffic jam that develops when the Doctor and Harlequin, the latter disguised in outlandish female garb, clash in their respective cabs.

Watteau on the other hand transforms the genre into something more poetic and elusive. In the *Pierrot* of circa 1718–20 Watteau sets his figures in a garden decorated with the sculpted term of a satyr, an antique symbol of comedy, and gives the characters static poses that foil attempts to identify a particular play or scene (FIG. 11.12). Are these portraits of actual actors of the Italian Comedy? Are they portraits of nobles or bourgeois in masquerade costumes? Are they Watteau's friends or models as comedians, dressed in the gallant and theatrical costumes he

kept in his studio? The lack of ready answers only heightens our involvement in the work. The character known as both Pierrot and Gilles, the stupid, coarse clown who is the victim of everyone's tricks, stares dumbly at the viewer, separated from the others by virtue of his life-size, full-length, and frontal presentation in the center of the picture. This seemingly iconic presentation of Pierrot may reflect Watteau's awareness of prints by Jacques Callot, the most important French artist before Watteau to depict the Italian comedians. Smiling and interacting at Pierrot's feet are the Doctor, riding a donkey (his means of transport for making house calls), the Jester, a female comedian lacking identifiable attributes, and the Captain. The unusual vertical format and size—the painting measures some 6 feet in height—have suggested to historians various origins for the piece, for which there is no record before 1805 when it was discovered in a Parisian art gallery. It may have been a signboard for a theater, or an advertisement for a *parade*, one of the skits performed outside a theater by acting companies to entice spectators; or even a signboard for the Café Comique, an establishment run by a retired performer. What is certain, however, is that the character of Pierrot was never considered sad or melancholic in the eighteenth century. Recent interpretations stressing this idea derive from the late nineteenth-century tradition of the sad clown.

Around 1708, following his work in Gillot's studio, Watteau moved to the atelier of Claude III Audran (1658–1734), at that time curator of the Luxembourg Palace, where he introduced Watteau to the *Medici Cycle*. As a member of the shop Watteau collaborated on designs for a wide variety of decorative objects, such as tapestries, ceilings, folding screens, and harpsichord cases, evidence for which exists primarily in the form of drawings and prints. From Audran, Watteau learned the tradition of the arabesque, a type of décor favored for painted wall paneling and ceilings in luxurious domestic interiors (also called Rococo décor). Invented by Italian Renaissance artists in imitation of antique ornament, the arabesque was imported into France in the sixteenth century. Baroque examples, such as those by Charles Le Brun for the Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte (1658–61), owe their ethereal character to the symmetrical arrangement of flat, stylized motifs, like acanthus stems and leafs, interlaced scrolls, and abstract architectonic forms. Together these form a kind of imaginary structure comprising the following three elements from bottom to top: a base; a cartouche or medallion incorporating a trophy; and a baldachin (canopy) sheltering a few figures or humanlike animals. Watteau's arabesques reject the idea of strict symmetry and transform the formerly stylized motifs into naturalistic elements. In his ornamental design of circa 1713–14 for a panel preserved in a reproductive print entitled *The Swing* (*L'escarpolete*), fanning tree branches and a trellised bower take the place of the baldachin to support a swinging

11.13 Antoine Watteau, *The Swing* (*L'escarpolete*), ca. 1713–14. Reproductive etching, ca. 1740. 16¹⁵⁄₁₆ × 12⁵⁄₁₆″ (43 × 31.2 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Strauss, 1928 (28.113[3]).

woman pushed by her lover (FIG. 11.13). To complement the amorous scene Watteau has wittily mixed together a loose system of erotic symbols. For example, in the area normally occupied by a trophy, the still life of a musette (a form of bagpipe) and straw hat conceals a double meaning—these are symbols of the pastoral, but also respectively of male and female genitalia. The rams' and satyrs' heads allude to lust, the rose bushes to love. The movement of the swing suggests both the woman's fickleness and the rhythm of lovemaking. Celebrating the union of the sexes, Watteau created a world that is simultaneously naturalistic, fantastic, and emblematic.

The *Fête Galante*

Watteau's theater pictures and arabesques contributed motifs to the genre of subject with which he is most closely associated: the *fête galante*, an idyllic picture of

young men and women dressed in contemporary and/or theatrical garb and enjoying such amorous pleasures as conversation, dance, and music in a landscape. The name comes from a type of garden party or costume ball that was initially the province of the elite but gradually saw a mixing of the classes. In *The Shepherds* of circa 1717–19 (FIG. 11.14) Watteau included pastoral elements—in particular the flock of sheep behind the figural group elegantly masquerading as shepherds in a manner reminiscent of Largillierre's *Woman as Astrée* (see FIG. 11.6). Watteau did not structure the painting around a specific narrative. Rather, through subtle glances and gestures and a variety of symbolic details, the painter suggests successive stages in courtship: the motif of the swing alludes to the fickleness of the woman in the early phase of love; the man touching the woman's breast implies physical contact; the dance refers to the union of the couple; and, coming full circle, the swing also recalls the rhythm of lovemaking. As in *The Swing*, the musette has both pastoral and erotic connotations. The same may be said for the sheepdog, whose action of licking its groin symbolizes lust. Watteau's loose technique and broken color reveal the many sources of his style: Rubens, La Fosse, Netherlandish painters, and Venice. A single detail, the costume of the dancing woman, encapsulates the richly allusive character of Watteau's brushwork—describing the texture of wrinkled fabric, suggesting the reflections and changing colors of shot silk, conveying the quivering emotions of the figure, and lastly, as paint on canvas, revealing the hand of the artist.

In representing the theme of courtship and music making in a parklike setting, Watteau embraced literary and pictorial traditions that had a long history in both northern and southern Europe. The southern literary sources may be traced back to the ancient Greek and Roman authors, like Theocritus and Virgil, who described an Arcadian existence in which man and nature coexisted harmoniously (see "The Pastoral Dream," p. 317). The progress-of-love theme has its roots in the Roman poet Horace's description of the *gradus amoris* (stages of love): *visus* (the sighting), *alloquium* (conversation), *contactus* (touch), *osculum* (kiss), and *factum* (consummation). Concepts of Arcadian society and of love were revived by the Renaissance writers, like Baldassare Castiglione in his *Book of the Courtier* of 1508–28, with its emphasis on social behavior and cultivated manners. The Italian pictorial tradition has its origins in early sixteenth-century Venetian *poesie*, in particular Giorgione's *Pastoral Concert*. On the other hand, the northern literary tradition originated in the late medieval chivalrous and

11.14 Antoine Watteau, *The Shepherds*, ca. 1717–19. Oil on canvas, 22 × 31⅞" (55.9 × 81 cm). Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin.
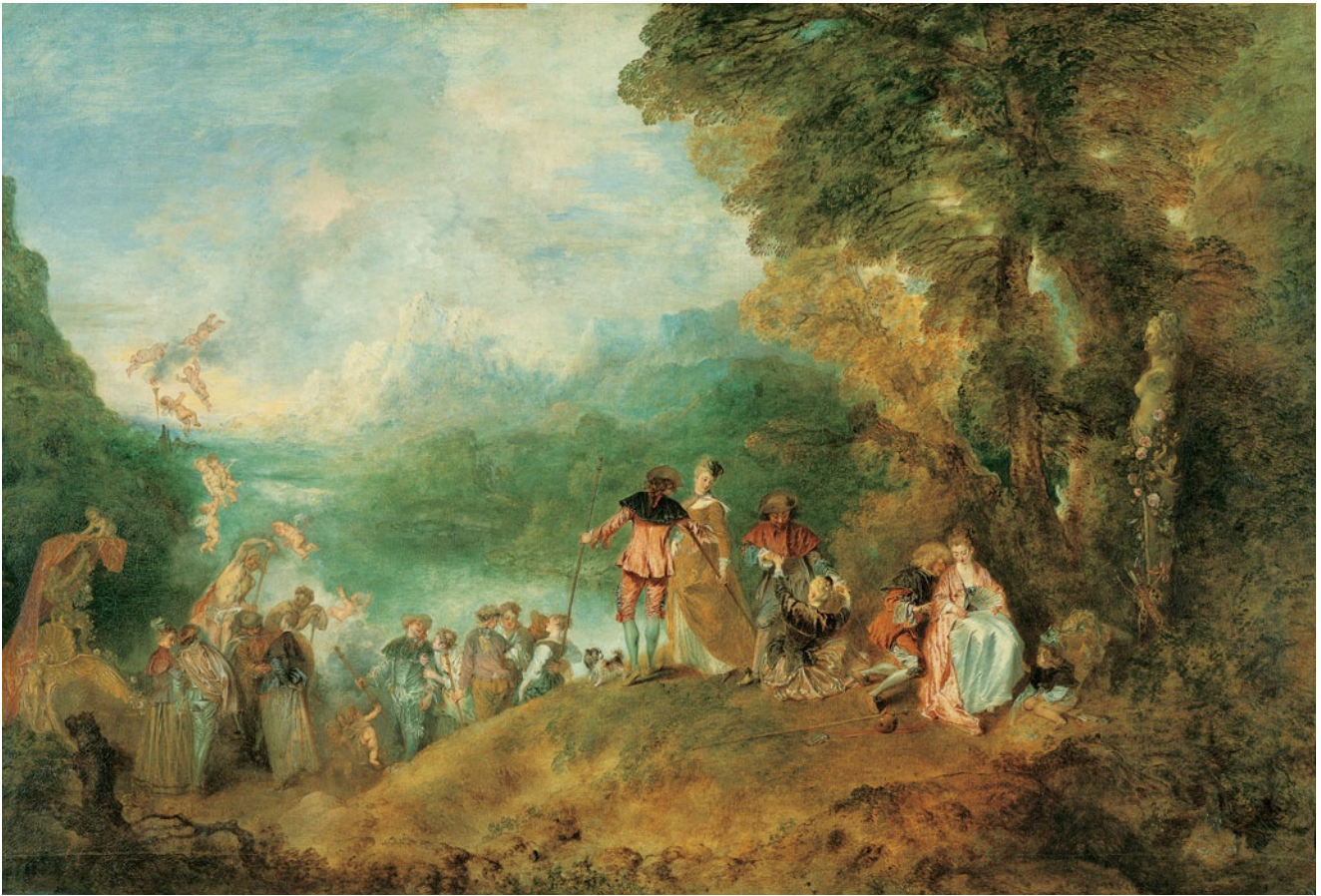
11.15 Antoine Watteau, *Pilgrimage to Cythera*, 1717. Oil on canvas. 48 × 76½". (130 × 190 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

courtly romances, like the thirteenth-century *Roman de la rose*, the theme of which is the progress of a suitor toward his lover, symbolized by the rose in a walled garden. In seventeenth-century France the cult of *honnêteté* (politeness, civilized behavior) addressed the ideal of a lifestyle based on leisure and conspicuous consumption. Finally, northern images of sumptuously dressed lovers relaxing out of doors may be traced back to fifteenth-century prints and calendar pages in illuminated manuscripts. Watteau updated these traditions through his familiarity with contemporary dress, gardens, masquerades, and love cruises on the Seine.

The best known of Watteau's *fêtes galantes* is his reception piece for the academy, requested in 1712 when the painter became a candidate for admission but not completed until five years later (FIG. 11.15). Again Watteau borrowed from the theater: The theme of a pilgrimage to Cythera, rarely represented in painting, was common on the Parisian stage in the first two decades of the century, particularly as an opera-ballet. In choosing a subject that blurred the boundaries between history painting, landscape, and genre, Watteau performed a subversive act. The official record of the academy initially described the

subject as *A Pilgrimage to Cythera*, but the secretary, realizing that this title connoted history painting, crossed out the title and substituted the phrase "a *fête galante*," thus acknowledging a new subject category. The island to which the elegant figures, bearing the staffs, water gourds, and capes of pilgrims, have come to find lovers is Cythera, where Venus, born of the sea, had drifted ashore. They have left their offerings of roses at the sculpted term of Venus and now depart in pairs. Watteau alludes to the progress of love in a succession of vignettes from right to left: The kneeling man offers his devotion to the seated woman; the next male helps his lover to rise; and one by one the other suitors escort the women down the slope to the gilded boat, accompanied by winged cherubs and a little dog who stands for both lust and fidelity. Most of the figures wear expensive traveling clothes, but a few shepherds in the line reiterate the pastoral theme. The painting owes a debt to Rubens's *The Garden of Love* (1630–2; see FIG. 8.13), which also includes the progression theme and the sculpture of Venus, but Watteau reversed the direction of movement and reduced the scale of his figures, making them less monumental and more elegant. As in the case of the *Pierrot*, nineteenth-century Romantic writers brought

to the work a melancholy sadness unknown in the early eighteenth century.

Watteau painted his largest genre scene, a shopsign, for his friend Gersaint, the first Parisian art dealer to realize the potential of the art auction and sale catalog to promote connoisseurship and collecting (see FIG. 11.1). He based his composition on the established type of Flemish gallery picture (see Teniers's *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in His Gallery*, FIG. 8.24), but the work is significant as the first large-scale French painting devoted to the theme of the commerce of art. It shows a group of elegant figures examining pictures and luxury objects in a sales gallery. The earliest discussion of the painting appears in Gersaint's biography of the artist (1744), in which he describes the genesis of the work in late 1720. When Watteau returned from London, where he had gone to find a cure for his illness, he requested an assignment that would help him "to loosen his fingers." Presented as a gift to the dealer, the painting hung for a fortnight in the open arcade of Gersaint's gallery on the Pont Notre-Dame before being sold.

Watteau's relaxed and shifting use of symbolic devices, drawn from Baroque emblematic conventions, may be seen in his incorporation of pictures within the picture as a means of acknowledging his Rubenist sources. Typical of his use of irony is the detail of the portrait of Louis XIV being crated on the left side—a reference to the name of the shop, *Au Grand Monarque*, and a witty metaphor for the demise of the old political order and state patronage of the arts. Like the paintings, the decorative objects, such as the clock, the mirrors, and the vanity set on the counter, confer an aura of taste and aesthetic refinement on their owners.

Watteau is scrupulously accurate in his depiction of the clothing worn by the figures, and implies four levels in the social hierarchy—wealthy client, shopkeeper, shop assistant, and lowly porter. The tall, narrow silhouette favored around 1700 (see Rigaud and Largillierre; FIGS. 11.4 and 11.6) had given way by 1720 to a wider and more relaxed silhouette, topped by a small, neat, and shapely head. The women wear the loose, unstructured *robe volante*, or "floating" dress, broadened by *paniers* under the skirt, while the men wear coats with many side pleats to convey ease and freedom. The men carry their hats so as not to crush their frizzled and powdered wigs.

According to his biographers, Watteau requested that his more overtly erotic works be destroyed after his death. This may explain why mythological themes and the female nude, so prevalent in eighteenth-century French art, are rare in his surviving work. Several extant drawings testify to Watteau's interest in studying the nude model in the studio, such as *The Remedy* (ca. 1716–17; FIG. 11.16), a study for a painting of a reclining nude. He utilized the *trois crayons* technique associated with Rubens and the Flemish school, in which black, white, and red chalk in loose strokes on buff paper suggest a broad chromatic and tonal range. Watteau's pictorial sources may be found in the Venetian Late Renaissance tradition of the reclining female nude with an attendant servant. In the drawing, however, the young woman reclines on her side, and the servant holds a syringe in preparation for administering an enema, a cure-all that has its pictorial roots in Northern Baroque satirical genre scenes, where the malady is revealed to be lovesickness. Unlike the monumental women of either Titian or Rubens, Watteau's naturalistic figure, with her youthful

11.16 Antoine Watteau, *The Remedy*, ca. 1716–17. Red, black, and white chalks on buff paper, 9³⁄₁₆ × 14⅝" (23.3 × 37.1 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

face, tousled hair, delicate breasts, and long, slender limbs, is clearly not Venus or any other mythological personage. The lack of a historical or allegorical gloss makes this genre scene of a female nude a particularly modern subject, one that would henceforth be commonplace in French art.

Followers of Watteau

Watteau's premature death left collectors clamoring for similar works from other artists. He had one pupil, Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695–1736), but it was Nicolas Lancret (1690–1743) who assimilated the master's style most brilliantly, producing scenes of the Comédie Italienne, arabesque wall panels, conversation pieces, pastoral subjects, and high-life genre scenes, called *tableaux de mode* by mid century (FIG. 11.8). Like Watteau, Lancret studied with Gillot and submitted a *fête galante* as his reception piece for the academy (1718). A contemporary, the prolific Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752), son of the portraitist François de Troy, studied in Rome (1698–1704) and later headed the French Academy there (1738–52). He produced many history paintings but is best remembered for his charming *tableaux de mode* of the 1720s and 1730s, some 20 in all, which chronicle the life of the monied classes during the Regency and the early years of Louis XV's reign.

In *A Reading from Molière* de Troy presents a group of beautifully dressed young men and women who have gathered together on Regency chairs in the salon of a large house (ca. 1728—the title is later; Molière's name is absent from the book; FIG. 11.17). Two of the women stare out of the painting, drawing the spectator into the exclusive enclave. Reading aloud was a common social pastime, in part spurred by small press runs of books and their resulting high price. Like Lancret's *Morning*, de Troy's genre scenes frequently allude to an amorous liaison between his figures. In this case the exchange of glances between the reader and the woman at his left suggests an anecdotal tone, which is confirmed by the statues of Cupid and Father Time on the clock—reminders that love triumphs over time. Because high-life genre scenes had been rare in seventeenth-century France, de Troy turned for visual sources to the works of Northern Baroque painters, which were just beginning to be collected by Parisians (compare ter Borch and Vermeer, FIGS. 7.4 and 7.13).

Even more than Lancret or Watteau, de Troy focuses on reproducing surface textures and minute details, like the upholstery tacks on the chairs. With meticulous brushwork the painter describes every element in the refined setting: the fireplace with its mirrored overmantle, the gilt-bronze branched candle sconce, the folding screen decorated with arabesques in the manner of Watteau, and the bookcase supporting a clock reading 3:30 P.M., the appropriate time for such a gathering. In its visualization of an existence defined by the acquisition of sumptuous commodities, the painting rejects the moralizing examples of history painting while operating on an aspirational level for its owner and its viewers. We can well understand why throughout the eighteenth century much of Europe sought to emulate everything French—art, architecture, décor, furniture, clothing, manners—in short, a complete lifestyle that bespoke nobility, ease, and good breeding.

11.17 Jean-François de Troy, *A Reading from Molière*, ca. 1728. Oil on canvas, 28½ × 35¾″ (72.4 × 90.8 cm). Private Collection.

François Boucher

François Boucher (1703–70) dominated French painting at mid century. Unlike the shy Watteau, Boucher was a public figure who worked within the sphere of the academy, holding several court posts. He is associated with the reign of Louis XV (1723–74), when Versailles again became the seat of government and provided the model for courtly circles throughout Europe. Boucher's influence on the arts was immense, due to his royal connections, his desire to work in the decorative arts, the ever-increasing importance of prints as a reproductive medium, and his prolific energies—he claimed to have executed more than 1,000 paintings and 10,000 drawings. A lifelong admirer of Rubens, two of whose oil sketches he owned, Boucher represents the continuing success of Rubenism—although, with the battle long won, the term was no longer in use.

Born in Paris, Boucher trained initially with his father Nicolas and then with the court artist François Lemoyne. He won the Prix de Rome in 1723, but the academy did not provide the necessary funds for a trip south, and he worked for the publisher Jean-François Cars on both reproductive and original compositions, most notably on etchings after Watteau's drawings for character studies. He used his own earnings to finance a sojourn in Italy, where he responded to the dynamic Baroque masters, in particular their bravura brushwork and sketchlike finish. He resumed his printmaking activities upon his return to Paris, and initiated a series of large canvases depicting mythological subjects. The academy admitted him as *agréé* (associate) in 1731 and as a full member three years later. He then embarked on a busy career, producing on the one hand genre scenes and portraits in a meticulously detailed realism, and on the other, mythological and religious subjects, pastorals, and landscapes that suggest a fantasy world of his own creation. His influence spread through his designs for

11.18 François Boucher, *The Luncheon*, 1739. Oil on canvas, 32 × 25¾" (81.5 × 65.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

✳—⎤**Explore** more about François
     Boucher on mysearchlab.com

the Gobelins and Beauvais tapestry workshops, as well as the Sèvres porcelain factory. At age 62, five years before his death, Boucher was named first painter to the king, but his most famous royal association was with the monarch's mistress, Madame de Pompadour.

Familiar with the works of Watteau, Lancret, and de Troy, Boucher created several *tableaux de mode* representing wealthy Parisians, beautifully costumed, in elegantly appointed domestic interiors. In *The Luncheon* he depicts an intimate family group comprising two women and two children enjoying a quiet moment in the corner of a sumptuous chamber (1739; FIG. 11.18). In fact the women do not consume a meal but rather liquid refreshment in the form of hot coffee. The standing male servant dressed in an apron holds a silver coffeepot. Significantly, the women are shown at leisure. They focus their attention on the children, suggesting the greater bond between parents and offspring that was characteristic of the developing family nucleus at this point in French history. Yet the youngsters

11.19 François Boucher, *The Mill of Quiquengrogne at Charenton*, 1758. Oil on canvas, 44½ × 57½" (113 × 146 cm). Toledo Museum of Art. Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment. Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey.

are corseted, a costume detail carried over from the seventeenth century, when it was thought that children, unless rigidly bound about the torso, would grow up like animals walking on all fours.

Boucher outfitted the room in the height of contemporary fashion. The marble fireplace, with its gently swelling forms and splayed corners, is surmounted by a tall overmantle mirror encased in gilt relief paneling that contains carved arabesque motifs along the sides and an oval landscape painting overhead. Gilt-bronze Rococo candle sconces of asymmetrical design hang on either side of the mirror, and a magnificent clock denoting the time as 2 P.M. serves as a reminder of the structured nature of the eighteenth-century day. Several decorative objects reflect the most up-to-date collecting interests of Parisians, such as the sculpture of a seated Asian figure on the shelf above the man's left shoulder and the blue-and-white porcelain vase on the gilt Rococo console table at the left. The women sit on comfortable caned chairs around a lacquered table small enough to be moved around a room depending on the required use.

Another subject category to which Boucher contributed was that of landscape, which was revived in France but without the necessity to include historical figures, narrative structure, or moralizing details, as required by the Poussinist canon (compare Poussin, FIG. 9.21). Boucher created his landscapes in the studio, but based his naturalistic vision on direct studies from nature. The half-timbered, thatched building shown in *The Mill of Quiquengrogne at Charenton* was an actual structure whose peculiar name, Quiquengrogne, derived from its "groaning" sound (1758; FIG. 11.19). Located at Charenton, to the east of Paris at the intersection of the Seine and Marne Rivers, it had become a mecca for artists seeking lively motifs for sketching and painting.

The artist applied Rubenist style to the landscape. The fluid, painterly execution, the diagonally receding space, and the arc of the cloud formations demonstrate his knowledge of the landscape paintings not only of Rubens himself (compare Rubens, *Landscape with Het Steen*, 1636; see FIG. 8.14) but also works by Italian masters like Salvator Rosa (for example, *The Ruined Bridge*, late 1640s; see FIG. 2.15). In addition, Boucher knew the domesticated landscapes of the Dutch Baroque school, which were being collected by Parisian connoisseurs. The work belongs to a broad trend in both landscape painting and garden design that

put emphasis on the evocative or poetic character of the natural world. The word picturesque (French: *pittoresque*; Italian: *pittoresco*), in use from the beginning of the century, suggested the strong appeal to the eye of such natural elements as the woodland stream, fallen logs, rickety fence, and energetically sprouting trees. The work further exemplifies an aesthetic ideal called by contemporary writers *le beau désordre* (a beautiful disorder), which depends on the confusion of elements. Lacking shepherds, the painting is not a pastoral in the literal sense, but with its rustic mill and arched bridge, both composed of organic materials, and the figures of washerwomen, it partakes of the idyllic

mood of a country existence that formed part of the dream world of the eighteenth-century urban dweller.

Boucher also produced numerous compositions incorporating the ideals of the pastoral, which, although similar to the *fête galante*, includes new motifs. For the *salon* of his château Daniel-Charles Trudaine de Montigny commissioned a pair of decorative paintings, the *Autumn Pastoral* and *Summer Pastoral* (ca. 1749). In *Autumn Pastoral* (FIG. 11.20) the ruined classical fountain, with its sculpted motifs, brings to mind the pastoral writings of Theocritus and Virgil, as well as Boucher's Italian sojourn. The relief sculpture shows two cupids asleep, their job of uniting

11.20 François Boucher, *Autumn Pastoral*, ca. 1749. Oil on canvas, 103½ × 79¼" (263 × 201 cm). Wallace Collection, London.

Despite the presence of sheep and a sheepdog, these pretty figures could hardly be mistaken for contemporary country folk. They have only their bare legs and feet to identify them as shepherds, whereas, like their counterparts on the Parisian stage, they are beautifully costumed in an idealized variation of rustic garb that emphasizes rich colors and fabrics. As in the case of Watteau's *fêtes galantes* and scenes of the Commedia dell'Arte, there is a strong connection with the contemporary theater, where confusion between the genders underlay many pastoral scenarios—in the painting the boy is as pretty as the girl. Boucher worked for the Opéra-Comique, creating sets and costume designs for pastoral productions, and he was a close friend of the playwright Charles-Simon Favart, whose works both influenced, and were influenced by, the painter. For example, the play *The Grape Harvest in the Vale of Tempe*, first performed at the Saint-Laurent fair in 1745, features a scene in which a shepherd and shepherdess, who have fallen in love and escaped envious rivals, feed each other grapes, just as in the *Autumn Pastoral*.

Much to the chagrin of the academy, history painting declined in France during the first half of the eighteenth century, primarily as a result of reduced state patronage and despite the continuing production of church altarpieces. As the leading history painter at mid century, Boucher painted many mythological subjects, but these were barred from designation as the highest level, *sujets héroïques*, because their erotic content preempted the promotion of high-minded ideals. Many focus on a narrative involving what might be called a "dangerous liaison," to borrow from *Les liaisons dangereuses*, the scandalous novel published by Pierre Choderlos de Laclos in 1782, which uses an epistolary format to detail the decadent lifestyle of the years preceding the French Revolution and its devotion to sexual conquest. In *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan* we find a classical subject exploited for its sensual possibilities (1754; FIG. 11.21). Many of Boucher's mythologies served the purpose of room décor; in this case the tall vertical format reveals its original function as one of four decorative paintings centered on the theme of Venus (the original location is unknown). Venus, goddess of love and beauty, ranks among the figures most often depicted in Boucher's mythologies, where the chief function of the female nude is to provide erotic titillation.

The atmosphere of voluptuousness that characterizes the painting has its corollary in the story, as told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, of how Apollo informed Vulcan, the lame and ugly blacksmith to the gods, that his wife Venus was committing adultery with her lover, Mars. Vulcan forged an invisible net in order to entrap his wife in bed with her lover and expose them to the gods. In Boucher's painting Venus reclines in postcoital relaxation, her left leg slung over that of Mars, who looks anxiously toward Vulcan at the moment of embarrassment. The cherubs and doves are the attributes of Venus, while the sword and shield refer to

11.21 François Boucher, *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*, 1754. Oil on canvas, 64½ × 28" (164 × 71 cm). Wallace Collection, London.

the happy couple accomplished, a reminder that, however wild Boucher's nature, this is a garden of love, as much the realm of Venus as was Watteau's Cythera. The satyr's head on the stone urn is an emblem of lust, alluding to the sexual charge that underlies the figures' relationship. The paint, laid on heavily in seemingly rapid strokes of the brush, the dazzling color, especially the contrast between the warm reds and yellows of the costumes and the silvery blues and greens of the landscape, and the energetic diagonals of the composition are all characteristic of Boucher's Rococo (Rubenist) style.

Mars, the god of war. The narrative takes place in an imaginary realm of clouds and trees that suggest an Olympian fantasy world, Boucher's routine setting for such flights of the imagination.

The style of the painting is Rubenist, with its emphasis on the luscious, unctuous use of the medium, the pastel palette, and the sensuous description of surface textures, from yielding flesh to shiny fabric. The enticing bodies, dramatic movement, and virtuoso technique bring to mind the mythologies of the artist's forebears, Titian and Rubens (compare FIGS. 0.16, 8.8), but Boucher rejects the monumental forms of those masters in favor of a shimmer of small-scale motifs that carry the eye across the surface. The artist would be censured for his erotic mythologies, first in the 1760s by the art critic Denis Diderot and then by the circle of Jacques-Louis David, whose anti-Rococo diatribes criticized his work as feminine, cosmeticized, and amoral, and who called for the reform of painting. We now acknowledge that these paintings belong to a lengthy visual tradition that originated in ancient Greek and Roman art and was revived in the Renaissance and Baroque eras, as exemplified by Annibale Carracci's loves of the gods on the Farnese Gallery ceiling (see FIG. 1.22). Classical mythology has many uses: moral, elegiac, romantic, heroic—and hedonistic. In this respect Boucher was in tune with Enlightenment ideals that encouraged pleasure, grace, playfulness, and wit.

Boucher's numerous life studies of the female nude show his preoccupation with subtly modeled forms, firm contours, and graceful poses. While male nudes posed at the academy, the female model appeared in an artist's studio or private home. *Reclining Girl* (*Blond Odalisque*; 1752; FIG. 11.22) derives from the tradition of reclining female nudes exemplified by Titian's monumental figures. However, like the girl in Watteau's drawing *The Remedy*, Boucher's model is more youthful, her proportions are more naturalistic, and she reclines in the new "bottoms-up" pose (compare FIG. 11.16). The disarray of delicate limbs, knotted sheets, and pillows, all projecting diagonally from the central focus of the composition, the model's derrière, comprises the ideal of *le beau désordre*. The portraitlike qualities of the picture serve to remind us that Boucher was capable of producing the kind of remarkable likeness that became fashionable in mid eighteenth-century France.

11.22 François Boucher, *Reclining Girl (Blond Odalisque)*, 1752. Oil on canvas, 23¼ × 28¾" (59 × 73 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

The Public and the Private in French Painting of the Enlightenment

With the exception of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), which ranged France and Austria against Britain and Prussia, and which saw the loss of most of France's colonial possessions, the eighteenth century was primarily a period of peace and prosperity for the French, and the country remained a political and artistic powerhouse in Europe up to the French Revolution (1789–99). The economy, which had been on the verge of collapse when Louis XV (r. 1723–74) came to power, improved but the lack of adequate tax reform epitomized the crown's inability to adapt to new circumstances and ultimately led to a severe financial crisis by the 1780s. The blurring of class lines, with the rise in the early decades of the century of financiers and speculators who preempted the king and the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture as arbiters of artistic taste, continued unabated in the second half of the century. While the ever richer middle class sought to emulate the lifestyle of the aristocracy, an increasingly impoverished nobility embraced such activities as banking and international trade and often "married down" in order to take advantage of the economic success of the bourgeoisie.

This was the period of the Enlightenment, the literary and philosophical movement that took hold in the nation's capital and its leading provincial cities. A coterie of writers, critics, and philosophers, devoted to the ideals of rational, empirical inquiry and personal freedom, espoused anti-Catholic and anti-absolutist ideals that permeated the salons overseen by women and various Masonic lodges frequented by men. The great writers of the age—Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778), Denis Diderot (1713–84), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78)—together contributed to the growth of a new ideal of man as inherently good and capable of responsible action in public and private spheres. Among the numerous popular novels, polemical tracts, journal articles, and critical pamphlets that promoted reform, the most distinguished publishing enterprise of the period was the 28-volume compendium of Enlightenment thought and knowledge, the oft censored *Encyclopédie*. Closely allied with this movement was the shift in family values at mid century, from the dominance of aristocratic mores to the acceptance of bourgeois values on all levels of the social spectrum. Determining the extent to which art mirrored these changes or actively promoted them is one of the challenges facing art historians.

The academy, paid for and regulated by the monarchy, remained the principal art institution. Housed in the Louvre Palace, where many artists had studios and lodgings on the ground floor of the Grand Gallery and in the Cour Carrée (Square Court), the academy was composed at various times of around 40 to 60 members. An academician could sponsor a young, talented artist whose works

Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing*, 1767. (Detail of FIG. 12.15)

The Salon: Art as Public Spectacle

Whereas in the first half of the century the collector's *cabinet* (private office) had been the preserve of contemporary art, relatively inaccessible to artists and art lovers alike, in the second half the principal venue for viewing new art was the Salon, the exhibition organized by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in which only full and associate members could participate. The Salon received its name from the large room in which the display was mounted: the Salon Carrée adjacent to the academy's headquarters in the Louvre. The event provided academicians with a major means of public exposure and the opportunity to gain commissions in the years when royal patronage declined.

The academy's charter of 1663 had stipulated an annual exhibition, but in the seventeenth century the shows were infrequent (1664, 1665, 1673, and 1699). They were also sporadic in the early eighteenth century, and they were keyed to specific political events. The Salon was finally established as a regular occurrence in 1737, and was held annually with few exceptions until 1751, then biennially until 1791, after which the academy was dissolved as a royal institution. The exhibitions usually opened on the feast day of St. Louis, 25 August, and ran for four weeks from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.; some Salons were extended for an extra week. The time of year was not ideal, given the sweltering heat of the Parisian summer and the desire of many citizens to escape to the country.

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724–80) recorded the Salon in several views such as *View of the Salon of 1765* (Fig. 12.1) that give a good impression of how 200 hundred items were presented. The works, chosen by a selection committee, were grouped by size, subject, and medium, with pictures crowded cheek by jowl against a green fabric over the entire height of the wall. Large history paintings hung in the top register at an angle, to enhance their visibility, while smaller works occupied the lower registers. Drawings and prints, framed and glazed, were placed alongside the windows to avoid the ill effects of direct light. Tabletop sculptures and portrait busts stood on tables around the periphery, protected from the hands of spectators by a railing. Royal portraits received the extra cachet of being exhibited on a dais behind a balustrade, a privilege accorded Boucher and La Tour's portraits of Madame de Pompadour (see Figs. 12.2 and 12.3).

Hanging the works was the responsibility of the *tapissier*, a member of the academy who strove to place the works judiciously in such a way as not to offend the artists, all of whom jockeyed for key positions. Chardin, who was the *tapissier* in the 1760s, was praised for his efforts at fairness. Works on exhibit were not labeled, and thus visitors were obliged to buy a catalog; proceeds from sales went to the academy. The booklet gave the artists' names and the titles of the exhibits, and provided commentary for the most important works, but generally the order of the listings was not coordinated with the location of the artworks. Since entry was free, a broad spectrum of Parisian society attended with the result that noble and bourgeois visitors mixed to an unusual extent.

12.1 Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *View of the Salon of 1765*, 1765. Pen and ink and watercolor, 9½ × 18⅜″ (24 × 47 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

would be reviewed with an eye toward granting associate membership (*agréé*: approved). Full status (*reçu*: received) was awarded upon the completion of a reception piece (*morceau de réception*) six months later.

The academy served three fundamental goals: the determination of artistic policy through regular meetings; the education of young artists by member-professors in drawing classes (a life drawing was called an *académie*); and the organization of periodic exhibitions, called Salons, that showed work by members and invited artists (see "The Salon: Art as Public Spectacle," opposite). One of the mid-century missions of the academy was to reinvigorate the hierarchy of subject categories. From the beginning of the century portraiture and genre painting had achieved tremendous popularity as a result of several factors: the rise of private collectors, a new fervor for obtaining Dutch Baroque cabinet pictures, and the official sanction given such artists as Watteau and his fellow Rubenists who painted in the *petite manière* (now called the Rococo by some historians). Commentators urged genre painters to imbue their subjects with edifying morals, while portraitists might emphasize the virtues of their sitters, especially public figures, through the devices of the historiated portrait. Although scenes of daily life thrilled art audiences, academicians and critics called for the return of history painting with an emphasis on moralizing rather than erotic subjects. In 1747 the writer La Font de Saint-Yenne in his tract *Reflections on Several Causes of the Present State of Painting in France* criticized the decline of history painting, which he attributed in part to the new arabesque wall décor and use of large mirrors that left limited space for hanging large pictures. The most compelling painter of literary subjects at mid century was Boucher, but for La Font and likeminded critics, Boucher's choice of erotic themes and titillating nudes placed him outside the bounds of acceptable subject matter and style. The academy rallied through a variety of means: the institution in 1748 of the Ecole des Elèves Protégés, a three-year art-instruction program for a small group of a half-dozen promising students; regular lectures on classical themes; and careful selection of Prix de Rome winners, whose sojourn at the French Academy in Rome brought them close to the sources of classical art. History painting recovered slowly, but much of it lacked quality until the 1780s, when the ascendancy of Neoclassicism brought a new school of French painters who would achieve artistic greatness. In 1793 the Revolutionary government dissolved the academy as part of its program to eradicate crown institutions.

In addition to shops and auctions, exhibits of contemporary art could be seen at the large public fairs, like the Saint-Germain fair, which operated annually during the carnival season, and the Saint-Laurent fair, which ran from late June to late September. Before its abolition in 1776, the painters' guild, the Académie de Saint-Luc, held seven shows between 1751 and 1774 which featured works by nonacademicians in various Parisian venues outside its headquarters. Young artists could exhibit at the Exposition de la Jeunesse at the Place Dauphine. A private venture, the Salon de la Correspondance, consisted of weekly meetings between 1779 and 1788 that allowed for the display of art as well as books and scientific curiosities.

A growing public found itself for the first time experiencing, commenting on, and passing judgment on works of art. On the whole, the average viewer was more interested in subject matter than style and increasingly sought a strong emotional response to a pictorial narrative. Additionally, spectators wanted subjects that expressed their own experience and values, particularly with respect to the new ideals being promoted regarding the family and motherhood. A group of literary figures took as its task the description, interpretation, and judgment of works for a broad audience that was eager to learn about the artists and wished to achieve a level of discrimination that would be a badge of social distinction. The second half of the century thus witnessed the rise of modern art criticism in the form of journal reviews and independent pamphlets published at a rapidly accelerating rate.

Among the new art critics the best known and most often read today is the novelist, playwright, and philosopher Diderot, editor with Jean Le Rond d'Alembert of the *Encyclopédie*. For most of the years between 1759 and 1781 Diderot's Salon critiques were circulated in limited numbers in manuscript form to private subscribers to the *Correspondance littéraire*. In an effort to become a skilled observer of art, Diderot formed relationships with painters and sculptors, traveled widely, and developed a critical vocabulary that avoided contemporary "art speak" in order to reach a broad audience.

Face-Painting at Mid Century

In the years leading to the French Revolution portraiture maintained the conventional types—state, military, ecclesiastical, historiated, and the lady at her toilette. For example, the state portrait continued to be employed in its purest form for depictions of the royal family, as in official images of Louis XV both as a child upon his accession and as an adult. The principal developments lay in the increased overlapping of the standard types, with the possibility of suggesting new, complex ideas regarding the sitter, and in the determination of the rising middle class to adopt formats originally considered appropriate only for the nobility. At the same time, a new simplicity invaded portraiture, with an emphasis on the head or on a bust-length view, without including elaborate costume or attributes.

At mid century the state format served the *de facto* queen of France, the most celebrated of Louis XV's mistresses, Madame de Pompadour (1721–64). Born

Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson to a bourgeois family, she benefited from the guidance of her mother's lover (who may have been her biological father), the immensely wealthy tax collector Le Normant de Tournehem, who oversaw her first-rate social and artistic education in singing, dancing, acting, and diction. She formed relationships with leading literary, artistic, and social luminaries, including Voltaire. The fateful meeting with Louis XV took place at Versailles in 1745 at the ball of the clipped yew trees, in which she was dressed as a shepherdess and the king as one of the geometrical trees in the palace garden. The two took to each other immediately; she was installed in the palace in her own apartment and presented to the court as the marquise de Pompadour, a noble title specifically purchased to elevate her to the status required of royal mistresses.

A distinguished patron of the arts, who commissioned portraits, allegories, and religious subjects from Boucher and many other artists, Pompadour filled some six houses with works in all media. She lent her support to the Sèvres Porcelain Manufacture, from which she purchased a large quantity of decorative objects. As titular mistress to Louis XV after sexual relations had ceased, Pompadour skillfully manipulated her image through a series of major portrait commissions that were intended to protect and advance her position at court. Boucher incorporated elements of the state portrait in the painting exhibited on a dais in the Salon of 1757 (1756; FIG. 12.2). The full-length figure in a seated pose, the withdrawn gaze, cloth of honor, and fluted pilasters all refer back to the tradition of the *portrait d'apparat*, a parade or ceremonial portrait (compare Rigaud's *Louis XIV*, FIG. 11.4). She is presented as a person of considerable beauty, possessing a slim, youthful figure and flawless complexion, and also as the king's goddess of love, surrounded by roses, pearls, and a putto, the emblems of Venus. Boucher's portrait commemorates an important promotion at court: her elevation as honorary lady-in-waiting of Queen Marie Lesczcynska. The elaborate green *robe à la française* (a formal dress in the French manner), with its tight bodice, *échelle de rubans* ("ladder" of ribbons), lace sleeves (*engagéantes*), and broad skirt open at the front to reveal a petticoat, may be one that she wore in this capacity, and whose extreme richness outraged other members of court. The dog, an emblem of aristocracy and symbol of fidelity, appropriate to the royal mistress, is probably a portrait of Mimi, the marquise's King Charles spaniel.

Pompadour's artistic achievements are alluded to by the still-life accouterments of an etching needle, a *porte-crayon* (pencil or charcoal holder), and a portfolio bearing two prints by her hand. She also appears as a *femme savante*, a woman of intelligence and erudition, by virtue of the open book in her lap and the bookcase that brings to mind her vast library of some 3,500 volumes. The writing table, with its inkwell, quill, stationery, red sealing wax, and seal, indicates her gifts as a correspondent. The red leather binding of the book beneath the table is stamped with her coat of arms, consisting of

12.2 François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1756. Oil on canvas, 79 × 62″ (201 × 157 cm). Alte Pinakotek, Munich.

three towers, a symbol of her ascent from the bourgeoisie to the ranks of the nobility.

Equally impressive is the *Madame de Pompadour* by Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, a large pastel drawing that was exhibited at the Salon of 1755 behind a balustrade (FIG. 12.3). Here too the state-portrait tradition is evoked by the full-length, seated pose, the cloth of honor, and the globe. She wears a resplendent *robe à la française*, with trailing large sleeves and a ribbon "ladder," but the fabric is a silvery white satin embroidered with golden branches and bouquets of roses. Pompadour's gifts as a vocalist are indicated by the music book she holds and the guitar on the chair behind her. On the floor by her feet lies a portfolio emblazoned with her coat of arms, while on the table, propped against the globe, is a volume of Pierre-Jean Mariette's *Traité des pierres gravées* (*Treatise on Engraved Gems*), of which one print falls vertically. The elaborate shell motif carved on the table leg suggests her embrace of the full-blown Rococo style in the decorative arts—later to be derisively called the Style Pompadour.

The titles of the gold-stamped bookbindings announce her erudition and celebrate her contacts with Enlightenment writers: from left to right, Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590), a popular pastoral tragicomedy that reflects Pompadour's love of producing pastorals on the stage; *La Henriade* (1723), a tribute to the first Bourbon monarch, Henri IV, written by Pompadour's friend Voltaire, whom she helped receive the posts of royal historiographer and gentleman of the king's chamber; volume three of *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), the political tract published by fellow salon-goer, Montesquieu; and volume four of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.

This *tour-de-force* was the work of the greatest pastelist of the age, who took his time to produce the work and charged a huge sum—of which half was eventually paid. Born in the provincial town of Saint-Quentin in northwestern France near the present-day border of Belgium, La Tour (1704–88) aspired to the Rubenist tendencies of the Flemish Baroque masters. He moved to Paris in the early 1720s, where he built a career as portraitist to all who could afford to pay for his miraculous efforts—king and court, the bourgeois newly rich, and major artists and intellectuals of the day. He retained his parochial mannerisms in his dealings with all ranks of society, in turn acting eccentric, petulant, and ingratiating. The academy accepted him as *agréé* in 1737 and as a full member in 1746, and he exhibited regularly at the Salons.

La Tour used only the pastel medium. In this regard he was probably influenced by the Italian portraitist Rosalba Carriera, who popularized it throughout Europe, and who had enjoyed tremendous success on her visit to Paris in 1720–1 (see p. 445). Pastel has the capacity to suggest intense, brilliant color reflected by a clear light. La Tour was a master at exploiting its potential for mimicking the soft textures of flesh and sumptuous fabrics. Although he experimented with a variety

12.3 Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, *Madame de Pompadour*, Salon of 1755. Pastel and touches of gouache on blue-gray paper, 69⅞ × 51³⁄₁₆" (177.5 × 130 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Watch a video on drawing with pastels on mysearchlab.com

12.4 Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, *Self-Portrait Wearing a Jabot*, ca. 1751. Pastel, 25¼ × 21⅝″ (64.1 × 54.8 cm). Musée Picardie, Amiens.

of fixatives, the pastel medium benefited from technical developments in the production of large sheets of glass that could serve as a protective cover for framed works.

La Tour's ability to convey the structure of the head, to seize a likeness, and to establish a psychological bond between sitter and viewer is evident in his *Self-Portrait Wearing a Jabot* (ca. 1751; FIG. 12.4). Like many portraitists at mid century, he eliminated details of setting and accouterments and focused fully on the half-length figure. La Tour does not show himself at work as an artist, but as a supremely confident individual possessed of good humor, the equal of his patrons. His modish clothing consists of a blue velvet coat, frothy white jabot suspended from the neckband, and a powered bag wig (note the black taffeta bag tied at the back).

One of the leading portraitists at mid century, Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–1766) was a Parisian who had trained with members of his family and initiated his career by producing drawings for reproductive prints. His earliest sitters were bourgeois, but he swiftly moved into aristocratic circles, and obtained commissions from the royal family. Nattier's most famous works are the historiated portraits in which he represented women in the guise of various mythological personages, such as Hebe, the fair cup-bearer to the gods. The great cosmetician of French painting, he imbued these sitters with a powdered and rouged prettiness and placed them in timeless Olympian settings.

Nattier's portrait of *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter* represents a typical member of the rising bourgeoisie who had pretensions to the lifestyle of the noble classes (1749; FIG. 12.5). The daughter of an attorney to the king, she married a wealthy cloth merchant who later purchased a noble title and position in the royal bureaucracy. One of the stipulations of her marriage was that she would never have to enter her husband's shop on the rue Saint-Honoré; for this denial of her status as the wife of a common tradesman, she was nicknamed the duchesse de Velours (duchess of Velvet) by contemporaries. The portrait constructs her wished-for identity as a highborn woman. The accouterments of the state portrait—cloth of honor and classical architecture—provide a palatial environment, while the life-size, three-quarter-length pose seated at the toilette places her in the context of the morning ritual that conferred status on those who received at home while making themselves up. Madame Marsollier, dressed *en déshabillé*, glances toward the mirror in order to judge the effect of adornments on the head of her daughter, who is seen holding a jewelry case while looking at the viewer, who is in effect attendant at the toilette.

The affection and concern shown by the mother for her child is a relatively recent element in portraits, and contrasts greatly with the projection of dynastic hierarchy in portraits of the Baroque age (compare Van Dyck's *A Genoese Noblewoman and Her Son*; see FIG. 8.15). This is the modern aspect of Nattier's picture, which belongs to the newly defined conception of women in the context of the family and society.

Jean-Siméon Chardin

The work of Jean-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779) represents a change in the direction of French painting at mid century. His preference for still-life and genre subjects reflects the success of these two themes at the Salons despite their low position in the official academic hierarchy. Furthermore, it reveals the continuing impact of Netherlandish Baroque painting in France, where collectors increasingly favored cabinet paintings from the north. In his depiction of mothers, governesses, children, and servants, Chardin not only expressed a new trend in French culture, which favored warm familial relationships within the context of the home, but he also contributed to this social development. After training under the history painters Pierre-Jean Cazes and Noël-Nicolas Coypel, Chardin entered the Académie de Saint-Luc. His early prominence as a still-life painter brought him to the attention of the academy, and he was simultaneously approved and admitted as an academician in this category in 1728.

12.5 Jean-Marc Nattier, *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter*, 1749. Oil on canvas, 57½ × 45″ (146.1 × 114.3 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Florence S. Schuette, 1945.

Enlightenment Ideals and the New Woman

Although Frenchwomen were considered inferior to men in the eighteenth century, a burgeoning group of polemical writings elevated their status above that of the presumed empty-headed puppet of the seventeenth century. At home women gradually came to enjoy the benefits of modern marriage, signified by freedom in the choice of a spouse, conjugal affection, and self-fulfillment.

A particularly celebrated type of woman during this period was the *salonnière*, who organized once- or twice-weekly intellectual gatherings frequented by writers, philosophers, and artists. For women who were barred from a university education and entry into a profession, the *salon* offered several opportunities: a means of education; an acceptable career that required apprenticeship under an established *salonnière*; and entry into a world where intellectual capacity, not social status, counted for everything. The great Enlightenment writers Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, each of whom benefited from female patronage and cultivated relationships with self-willed women, took an ambivalent stance in their assessment of womanhood. Engaging in the centuries-long debate, the "women's quarrel," over whether women had the capacity to be educated, both men stressed the superiority of male intelligence and agreed that a well-educated woman would be at her best in performing conjugal duties.

As a result of the increased understanding of childhood as a unique stage of human development, education for women underwent considerable improvement, although it never reached the level of men's. Most important, women's literacy grew to a phenomenal extent. The trend toward broadening women's education began in the late seventeenth century with François Fénelon's tract *On the Education of Girls* (1687) and John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, translated into French in 1695. French authors penned numerous treatises during the eighteenth century, none more influential than Rousseau's *Emile, or On Education* (1762), which stressed the individual worth of the child and the importance of exercise and play. Accordingly, the length of a child's schooling increased as adolescence came to be seen as an important period in a person's maturation into adulthood.

On the eve of the Revolution, when society and its mores were undergoing deep changes, the artist Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune (1741–1814) encouraged the adoption of the new ideals by members of the noble classes. His *Second Suite of Prints, Serving the History of Manners and Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, published in Paris in 1777 (later incorporated into the *Monument du costume*, 1789), comprises a narrative cycle of 12 etchings that follow the life of a young noblewoman, Céphise. The images are exceptional in their emphasis on pregnancy (four prints), childbirth, and motherhood as a desirable state—a notion of womanhood often at odds with that of the *salonnière*. The *Suite* superficially resembles Hogarth's cycle *Marriage à la Mode* (1743–5; see Fig. 14.7), but whereas the British countess is absent from her duties as a mother, Céphise embraces them.

Although the aristocratic parents in *The Delights of Motherhood* (Fig. 12.6) are dressed to the nines and indulge in a *fête galante*, their singular pleasure is the infant on whom they shower affection and approval. The mother's bared breast reveals that it is she, not a wet nurse, who suckles the child, thus preserving the bond between parent and offspring, as Rousseau had urged in *Emile*. The baby's loose garment is the result of the parents' rejection of swaddling clothes, the cloth band that tightly wrapped the body (visible in Georges de La Tour's *The Newborn Child*, ca. 1645; see Fig. 9.8), and which, according to Rousseau, stunted a child's physical and emotional growth. The father sits close by his wife, with his arm around her, and dangles a toy before the infant, a reminder that play was deemed a necessary component of a child's routine. The outdoor setting, with its statue of Venus and her son Cupid, underscores the naturalness of the happy family. Conjugal and filial love are thus the chief rewards offered the Enlightenment woman.

12.6 Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, *The Delights of Motherhood*, from the *Second Suite of Prints, Serving the History of Manners and Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, Paris, 1777; later incorporated into the *Monument du costume*, Neuwied-on-the-Rhine, 1789. Etching and engraving by Isadore-Stanislas-Henri Helman. 10⅜ × 8⅝" (26.4 × 21.8 cm). British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, London.

12.7 Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The Diligent Mother*, 1740. Oil on canvas, 19¼ × 15⅜″ (49 × 39 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

12.8 Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The Morning Toilette*, ca. 1741. Oil on canvas, 19¼ × 15⅜″ (49 × 39 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Perhaps to elevate his status, he focused on genre scenes of quiet middle-class life, which were widely sought after and popularized through reproductive prints.

Chardin's small cabinet painting, *The Diligent Mother*, shows a well-to-do bourgeois interior in which a mother, comfortably seated on a wooden chair in front of a wool-winder, has taken a break from her activity—a thread of red yarn is momentarily set aside on her lap and her scissors hang suspended from her waist—to instruct her daughter in the art of needlework (1740; FIG. 12.7). With a warm and solicitous expression on her face, the woman points to the embroidery on the canvas, evidently offering suggestions and advice, while the child, with downward gaze, modestly accepts her mother's help. With the interior setting defined by such details as the fireplace, candle sconces, and ceramic teapot, the painting resembles Boucher's depiction of women and children in *The Luncheon* (1739; see FIG. 11.18), but the extreme elegance of the furnishings in that picture is lacking here, and Chardin's figures, wearing aprons, are dressed for work, not leisure. Hence this is not a *tableau de mode*, whose function is to celebrate high society, but an image of domestic harmony set within the world of the well-to-do middle class, with the emphasis on moral virtue rather than consumption and relaxation.

The style of the piece reveals Chardin's rejection of the Rococo: the palette is largely tonal, the figures exist as

bright accents against a somber ground, and the paint surface lacks the unctuous character of Boucher's brushwork, favoring dry impasto instead. Both the subject and the form reflect the impact of Northern Baroque art. Spinning and sewing were domestic preoccupations that, both in real life and painting, represented the virtuous behavior of women at home, as may be seen in Geertruydt Roghman's print, *Woman Spinning* (see FIG. 7.7). It was in Holland that an emphasis had initially been placed on the education of children by the mother, and this bourgeois ideal was now increasingly adopted in France (see "Enlightenment Ideals and the New Woman," opposite). The fact that Chardin exhibited the work at the Salon of 1740, along with its pendant *Saying Grace*, in which a mother teaches her child to say a prayer before a meal, and that he subsequently gave the work to Louis XV says much about the high esteem accorded Chardin's work and the degree to which bourgeois values penetrated high circles.

Chardin transformed the tradition of toilette imagery in *The Morning Toilette*, in which a mother straightens her daughter's cap as the two prepare to leave the house (ca. 1741; FIG. 12.8). The Swedish ambassador, Carl Gustav Tessin, commissioned the painting in 1740. Shown at the 1741 Salon, it was sent to Stockholm and was thereafter known in Paris through a reproductive print. Although a dressing table appears prominently on the left, with

12.9 (above) **Jean-Siméon Chardin**, *Copper Cauldron with Mortar and Pestle*, ca. 1735. Oil on panel, 6¾ × 8″ (17 × 20.5 cm). Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris.

12.10 (right) **Anne Vallayer-Coster**, *Still Life with Seashells and Coral*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 51⅛ × 38¼″ (130 × 97 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

cosmetic jars placed before a draped mirror, the setting is otherwise one of simplicity, suggesting an environment that promotes not luxury but solid middle-class virtue. Unlike the mother and daughter in Nattier's *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter* (see FIG. 12.5), this pair is fully dressed in fashionable but understated garments, lacking negligent ostentation. The little girl glances at her reflection in the mirror, but the care and attention given to the child by the mother, absorbed in her task, imply that she will guide her daughter to proper moral behavior.

Like other genre pieces of the period, the painting features a timepiece, which in this case reads 7 A.M. Thus the figures are not spending the morning indulging in the ceremony of the toilette, but rather they are preparing to leave the house, presumably for an early Mass at church: The small volume lying next to the muff on the stool is probably a prayer book. The extreme subtlety of both brushwork and color scheme, with a few rich hues of red, blue, and white arranged against the monochromatic background, is matched by the air of stillness and quiet, with the solicitous gesture and gaze of the mother the only hint of movement. In the age of the Enlightenment the picture is a secular equivalent of Baroque representations of the education of the Virgin (compare Tiepolo's altarpiece, see FIG. 16.36).

Unlike Holland and Flanders during the Baroque, when still-life painting achieved a high level of success with collectors, in France the academy stigmatized the genre by placing it at the bottom of the hierarchy of subject categories. The theory was that still life, lacking the human

figure, was incapable of expressing high-minded ideals, and, because it involved realistic depiction, was merely a matter of copying from nature. Thus relatively few French Baroque painters, like Louise Moillon, devoted themselves to this subject (see FIG. 9.14). The prevailing point of view changed when Chardin exhibited his still-life paintings in the Salons, where they were received enthusiastically not only by the public but also by such critics as Diderot, who embraced the notion that, in the instance of still life, style and technique alone could provide a remarkable work of art.

In *Copper Cauldron with Mortar and Pestle*, Chardin gathers a simple assemblage of a few vessels placed on a ledge in a format that has come to be called the kitchen still life (ca. 1735; FIG. 12.9). In its restrained presentation and reduced palette this work resembles Dutch tonal still lifes, like Pieter Claesz's *Vanitas Still Life* (1630; FIG. 7.23). But those works feature expensive vessels and partially consumed food, whereas Chardin focuses on humble cooking utensils and comestibles that await preparation. Possibly modeling his technique on that of Rembrandt, Chardin applied his paint in thick, dry, impasto strokes, creating a corrugated surface texture that allows layers of colors to be visible to the discerning viewer.

The success achieved in high circles by Chardin's still-life paintings paved the way for other artists working in this subject category. Although Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818) produced portraits and genre scenes, she was known primarily for her still lifes, especially flower paintings. As the daughter of a goldsmith working at the Gobelins, she benefited from the family's proximity to royal circles, and ultimately became a favored painter of Queen Marie-Antoinette, who obtained lodgings for her in the Louvre. Admitted to the academy in 1770 in the category of still-life painter, one of only four female artists allowed as members, she profited from the exhibition of her works at the Salons. As may be seen in the early *Still Life with Seashells and Coral*, the meticulous rendering of surfaces gives her work a startling immediacy (1769; FIG. 12.10). Inevitably, her works were compared to those of Chardin, but her fluid technique and bold color possess a greater degree of elegant refinement. Although seashells were a favored subgenre of Dutch still-life painting, Vallayer rejected the Baroque emphasis on symbolism. In fact, shells constituted one of the principal motifs of Rococo decor, and exotic shells were avidly collected as luxury objects.

Jean-Baptiste Greuze

The depiction of domestic life entered a new phase in France with the advent of Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), the chief exponent of what contemporaries called sentimental genre painting. Greuze worked in a period that witnessed the phenomenon of *sensibilité*, or sensibility, in art, literature, and the drama, which sought through stirring content and didactic fervor to manipulate the emotional faculties of the spectator. His career also coincided with the rise of art criticism, and his work responded to the mounting call for moralizing subjects rather than the frivolities of the *petite manière*. Greuze was born in the city of Tournus in Burgundy and trained in Lyon under Charles

12.11 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Village Bride*, 1761. Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 46⅜″ (92 × 117 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Read the document related to Jean-Baptiste Greuze on mysearchlab.com

Grandon, a portraitist and imitator of Dutch genre scenes. He arrived in the French capital around 1750, a provincial who would take the Parisian art world by storm; he used the Salons as his forum for expounding visual and moral ideas and oversaw reproductive prints after his paintings as a means of acquiring further popularity and income. So successful was Greuze that he received tentative status (*agréé*) as a genre painter (*peintre de genre particulier*) in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Like many of his colleagues, he sought to finish his education through a sojourn in Italy, which he undertook in the years 1755–7, accompanied by his patron, the abbé Louis Gougenot.

The artist achieved success at the Salon of 1761 with the exhibition of a painting popularly called *The Village Bride* (*L'Accordée de Village*), whose full title is *A Marriage, and The Moment when the Father of the Bride Hands over the Dowry to the Husband* (FIG. 12.11). Salon critics fueled the public's interest by publishing lengthy critiques; Diderot extolled the emotional impact on the viewer. The esteem accorded Greuze in royal circles is evident, since the marquis de Marigny commissioned the work, which at his death entered the collection of Louis XVI. Greuze invented a narrative scene that parallels the sentimental novel, such as Rousseau's *Julie: or, the New Héloïse* published the same year or Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), which was available in a French translation: He delineated the emotions of the various members of a large provincial family at a crucial moment when, according to French tradition, the notary draws up the civil contract. The father with outstretched arms exhorts the groom to act responsibly, while the mother looks on tearfully. The bride's modest,

✳ ⎯ **Explore** more about Jean-Baptiste Greuze on mysearchlab.com

downcast gaze contrasts with the expression of her sisters, one leaning emotionally on her shoulder, the other displaying envy. Greuze was a master at representing children, and typically he shows the younger siblings as less cognizant of the event that is transpiring. A little girl on the left tosses grain to a mother hen and her chicks, one of whom, like the village bride, is separated from the brood.

The painting differs from Chardin's genre scenes in its use of a greater number of figures, the inclusion of the father, and an emphasis on psychological states. The setting is not an elegant Parisian room but a rustic family farmhouse. The clothing is ill-fitting and lacks the fashionable gloss of the attire worn in contemporary Parisian *tableaux de mode*. In updating the sort of French rural scene painted by the Le Nain brothers in the preceding century (compare FIG. 9.12), Greuze suggests the concept of a simple, morally based life lived in the country—hence, unavailable to city sophisticates—where the imminent departure of a member of the family for marriage provokes a strong emotional response in the hearts of not only the family members but also the viewer.

The clear and simple composition rejects Boucher's *beau désordre* (beautiful disorder), while the shallow, stagelike space, delimited by a rear wall parallel to the picture plane, reinforces the connections this pictorial drama shares with the contemporary theater. The Rubenist descriptive paint surface, with its fatty impasto, reflects Greuze's study of the *Medici Cycle* at the Luxembourg Palace, while the brownish color scheme, enlivened by a few bright areas of red and blue local color, betrays his keen interest in the Northern Baroque masters, whose works were visible in French collections and much copied in prints.

The artist achieved an even higher degree of emotional impact in *The Beloved Mother*, which shows a country gentleman returning home to the thrilling vision of his wife overwhelmed by their six children (Salon of 1769; FIG. 12.12). Not only the grandmother but even the hunting dogs react excitedly. The patron, whose features appear in the head of the father, was one of the wealthiest men in France, the marquis Jean-Joseph de Laborde, banker to the French king. He may have requested the subject as a family portrait, after seeing the initial compositional sketch at the Salon in 1765. As in *The Village Bride*, the figures are arranged in the foreground of a shallow space defined as a provincial room that lacks the latest fashions in furniture.

The subject caused a sensation due to its emphasis on the rewards of both conjugal and maternal love. As Diderot commented, the male viewer witnesses the benefits of being both father and husband. Sexual gratification, so often illustrated in depictions of the dangerous liaison outside marriage, is here forcefully conveyed in the swooning posture of the mother.

Warned by the academy that he had far exceeded the time limit for preparing his reception piece, and desiring

12.13 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Punished Son*, 1778. Oil on canvas, 51 × 65″ (129.5 × 165 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

to raise his status to that of history painter, in 1769 Greuze submitted a historical subject, *Septimius Severus Reproaching His Son Caracalla for Having Attempted to Assassinate Him* (now in the Louvre). The result was disastrous: The painting was savaged by critics, who compared it unfavorably with the acknowledged pictorial source, Poussin's *The Death of Germanicus* (ca. 1626–8; see FIG. 9.15), and Greuze failed to shake off classification as a genre painter. In retaliation he severed relations with the academy and sought other venues for his work, including his own studio, where he timed his shows to coincide with the Salons.

Greuze's mature work is best represented by the pendant genre paintings originally shown to rapturous admiration in his studio and owned by the marquis de Véri. *The Father's Curse: The Ungrateful Son* and *The Punished Son*, a pair of didactic narratives, show extremes of tragic violence, despair, and death within the context of the contemporary family (1777–8). The compositional sketches, shown earlier at the Salon of 1765, had already provoked shock and amazement. Although English connoisseurs had at an earlier date relished the pictorial tale of a young man's downfall, as in William Hogarth's eight-part satirical cycle, *The Rake's Progress* (1733–5; see FIG. 14.6), the French were not ready for such a disturbing drama until the 1770s, when the cult of *sensibilité* was full blown. In a secular variation on the biblical parable of the prodigal son (see "'To Err is Human . . .': The Parable of the Prodigal Son," p. 185), in the first

scene, *The Ungrateful Son*, Greuze shows a young man who has chosen to enlist in the army—considered cowardly rather than heroic in pre-Revolutionary France—and who thus receives his father's malediction as he attempts to leave the household despite the efforts of his mother and siblings to restrain him. *The Punished Son* (FIG. 12.13), the second scene, takes place several years later when the son returns from his tour of duty, his health and spirit broken (a crutch lies at his feet), only to discover that his father has just expired, no doubt from the stress and hardship caused by his absence. With a demanding gesture and stern gaze worthy of the contemporary theater, the mother points out the fatal consequences of the lack of filial piety, while other members of the family, including small children, pour out their grief.

The luxurious application of paint and sensitive recording of flesh and fabric betray the artist's origins as a Rubenist painter. However, the deathbed motif, relief composition, declamatory gestures, and exaggerated drapery folds all derive from a continuing interest in ancient sculpture that had informed the work of Poussin as well, and here they raise the subject beyond mere genre painting to a more timeless and universal level. The exaggeration of facial figures in the heads, projecting anger, agony, and sorrow, show the continuing impact of Le Brun's *Conférence sur l'expression* (see FIG. 9.25). Thus we have come full circle in eighteenth-century French painting: Despite

the genre subject, both the form and the edifying content of the work reveal a nascent return to Poussinism, history painting, and the example of the antique (compare the *Laocoön*; see FIG. 0.5), which would emerge triumphant as Neoclassicism in the circle of Jacques-Louis David.

Throughout his career Greuze perfected a type of image today called the "Greuze girl," a half- or three-quarter-length representation of an alluring adolescent, of which *The Broken Pitcher* is the supreme example (1772–3; FIG. 12.14). The loosened bodice, the uncovered breast, and the cracked pitcher point to the loss of virtue. Implicating the (male) viewer through the vacant stare, the Greuze girl epitomizes the moral ambiguity of the period through conflicting suggestions of virginal innocence and sensual awareness, of erotic pleasure and remorse. The original owner of the painting was Jeanne Becù, better known as Madame du Barry (1743–93), whose fame as a royal mistress in this period is second only to that of Madame de Pompadour, and who actively commissioned works in various media for her collections.

Greuze survived the Revolution. A colleague of David and member of the Commune Général des Arts, he returned to the Salon in 1800.

12.14 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Broken Pitcher*, 1772–3. Oil on canvas, 42½ × 33⅞" (108 × 86 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

The work of one of France's most delightful and mischievous painters, Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1809), represents a final recapitulation of the great themes, both in terms of subject matter and style, that had been at the core of Parisian painting from the beginning of the century. Although born in Grasse, a provincial town in Provence, Fragonard moved with his family to Paris, where he studied briefly with Chardin; in 1749 he worked with Boucher, an artist more in tune with his interests. The academy hoped he would contribute to the revival of history painting, and promoted him, first with three years training at the Ecole des Elèves Protégés and then with six years at the French Academy in Rome (1756–61), during which he studied the Baroque masters. He visited the villas surrounding Rome in the company of the painter Hubert Robert (1733–1808) and the dilettante abbé de Saint-Non, and produced landscape drawings and paintings. He returned to Paris and eventually set to work on a provisional work for the academy, settling on an obscure subject from ancient history. He failed to receive the remuneration necessary to sustain a career as a history painter, and did not advance to full membership or exhibit at the Salons after 1767. Instead, in response to the market, he concentrated on producing cabinet pictures for a private clientele that consisted of aristocrats, courtesans, and financiers. He renewed his acquaintance with southern models on a second Italian sojourn in the years 1773–4. An artist of astonishing versatility, Fragonard survived the drastic changes in French political, social, and cultural life brought on by the Revolution. In the 1790s, through the help of his friend David, he was given administrative posts that involved creating a new national museum of the Louvre, where he maintained a residence and studio and enjoyed the status of venerable artistic patriarch despite little painted output in his final years.

Fragonard produced many *fêtes galantes*, often imbued with a twist common in the second half of the century—the dangerous liaison—as is the case with one of the best-known paintings of the period, *The Swing* (1767; FIG. 12.15). The origins of the artwork were described in the *Journal* of the writer Charles Collé after a conversation with the history painter Gabriel-François Doyen, who indicated his astonishment at having been asked by an unnamed gentleman of the court to paint him and his mistress having a clandestine meeting in a garden. The woman was to be seated on a swing pushed by an unknowing bishop while her lover would be hidden in the bushes, from where he would spy on her. Doyen had no desire to produce such a picture and recommended Fragonard instead. In the end the painter utilized generalized features for the figures and did not include a bishop but rather an unsuspecting husband. The swing was a common motif in painting and the decorative arts, as in the works of Watteau, such as

12.15 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing*, 1767. Oil on canvas, 31⅞ × 25⅝″ (81 × 65 cm). Wallace Collection, London.

12.16 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Young Girl in Her Bed, Making Her Dog Dance*, ca. 1768. Oil on canvas, 35 × 27½″ (89 × 70 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

the arabesque *The Swing* and the pastoral *The Shepherds* (see FIGS. 11.13 and 11.14). It carries here the general symbolism that refers to the fickleness of the woman and the rhythm of lovemaking. The setting is a garden of love, as is clear from such details as the still life of garden tools, the stone parapet, the trellis with climbing roses, and the sculpted putti and a dolphin, representatives of Venus. The sculptures, seemingly alive, react to the lovers' tryst. The marble on the left is based on an actual work, Etienne-Maurice Falconet's *Mischievous Cupid*, in which the son of Venus slyly puts a cautioning finger to his lips as he draws an arrow from a quiver (1757; see FIG. 13.3).

As might be expected, there are subtle erotic jokes in the painting, in particular references to orgasm drawn from earlier pictorial traditions: the doffed hat of the young man, who has "taken it off," and the unshod foot of the girl, whose shoe, vaginal in shape, flies through the air. Equally suggestive is the erect arm of the male aimed in the direction of the opening of the pink dress. The frothy pink swirl of fabric is juxtaposed against the complementary green hues of the natural setting. Indeed, all of nature seems to participate in the metaphorical union of the couple, as the trunks and branches of the trees writhe and shoot in a frenzy of abandonment. Even a little lap dog in the lower right barks excitedly at his mistress. The

Rubenist composition emphasizes explosive movement through the spiraling diagonal forms, much as in Rubens's own landscape compositions, such as the *Landscape with Het Steen* (see FIG. 8.14). Yet, unlike the technique of the Flemish master, the brushwork in this piece is composed of very small, thick touches of paint throughout, with every leaf, rosebud, and gathered hemline delineated.

Fragonard painted numerous pictures of nude or scantily dressed females reclining on a mattress, of which *Young Girl in Her Bed, Making Her Dog Dance* combines elements of both innocence and sexuality that must have delighted the original (male) owner, who hung it in his *cabinet* (ca. 1768; FIG. 12.16). A young woman, who has lost her nightcap and drawn up her chemise, lies with her legs in the air supporting a little white dog. Her face is partly in shadow, so the emphasis is on her derriere and the amusing balancing act. The expression of delight on the girl's face may be the result of the position of the dog's furry tail—*queue* in French—on her rump; it may also embody a pun, since the word *queue* was slang for penis. The bed is disheveled, with the soft, plump mattress yielding to the weight of the figure, and the curtains and sheets arrayed so as to activate the scene. Fragonard restricted the color harmonies to the golden and reddish tones of the fabrics and the rosy flesh tones, all loosely painted in broad strokes that suggest a

warm, protective environment. As in Watteau's *The Remedy* and Boucher's *Reclining Girl*, the woman is young, naturalistically rendered, and lacks identification as a mythological or historical figure (compare FIGS. 11.16 and 11.22).

Fragonard executed few commissioned portraits, but he was the author of a series of *Portraits of Fantasy*, the designation given in the twentieth century to a group of some 14 half-length figural works. As the term suggests, although the features of some of the sitters may be based on actual models, the works were not commissioned in the traditional sense nor were they intended to convey the usual content associated with images of specific individuals. Rather, as paintings that bring a measure of fantasy to the realm of portraiture, they belong to the category of the expressive head, the *tête de caractère* or *tête d'expression*, deriving from Charles Le Brun, wherein the passions of the soul are represented by the facial features (see FIG. 9.25).

Efforts at identifying the sitter in *The Young Artist*, for example, have not been successful (ca. 1770; FIG. 12.17). It is more useful to see this work as an artistic variation of the theme of portraiture, utilizing the powerful *contrapposto* of the dynamic Baroque portrait, with the head turned dramatically in opposition to the torso as a means of enlivening the figure. The upward and backward glance over the shoulder derives from a long pictorial tradition, originally used in depictions of the evangelists to show the idea of inspiration coming from a spiritual source above, as in Caravaggio's *St. Matthew and the Angel* in the Contarelli Chapel, S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, which Fragonard copied (see "Altars and Altarpieces," p. 36). Here the notion of artistic inspiration is shown by a figure who, grasping a portfolio and a drawing instrument, is imbued with the "fire" of artistic genius, as suggested by the glowing reds, oranges, and yellows. The broad slashes of paint give an impression of rapid execution, as if tossed off in the heat of an inspired moment. In this respect the painting resembles the work of Frans Hals, which Fragonard may have seen on a visit to Holland (compare the *Boy with a Flute*, see FIG. 6.7), or the oil sketches of Rubens (compare *The Capture of Samson*, 1609–10; see FIG. 8.6), from whose *Medici Cycle* the artist made copies in 1767.

That the Rococo was in full force in the 1770s is evident from the appearance of one of the highlights of French decorative art and the culminating project of Fragonard's career, the suite of four large paintings called *The Progress of Love* (1771–2). These were commissioned by the most important mistress of Louis XV after the death of Pompadour, Madame du Barry (1743–93), the daughter of lower-class parents and mistress of several nobles, who met the king in 1768 and entrenched herself in political intrigue. She requested the paintings as decoration for the *salon* in her newly built pavilion at the Château de Louveciennes, a gift from the monarch. Located north of Versailles, this "house of pleasure," built in the new Neoclassical style by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux,

12.17 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Young Artist*, ca. 1770. Oil on canvas, 32 × 25⅝" (81.5 × 65 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

was intended for entertaining the king and courtiers. All four paintings show young lovers, dressed in theatrical or masquerade garb, in a garden of love. The paintings may represent the stages in courtship, related to the theme of the *gradus amoris*, the Roman poet Horace's stages of love: the sighting, conversation, touch, kiss and consummation. Fragonard conceived them as two pairs of pendants installed on opposite walls of the room, the first representing secret love trysts in a walled garden, *The Pursuit* and *The Meeting*, and the second representing the coming together of the couples, *The Lover Crowned* (FIG. 12.18) and *Love Letters*.

In *The Lover Crowned*, a young woman seals their union by placing a wreath of flowers on the man's head, while an artist commemorates the event. The sculpted Cupid, his work done, has fallen asleep, much like the cherubs on the bas-relief in the very similar painting by Boucher, the *Autumn Pastoral* (see FIG. 11.20). The setting is a high terrace surrounded by a stone parapet, filled with a profusion of statuary, urns, and flower boxes. As in Fragonard's *The Swing*, nature itself seems to participate in the joyous goings-on, as the exuberant branches of the trees gush skyward, and the bushy roses, whose pink, white, and purple petals are delineated by single strokes of the brush, burst from the green and silver foliage.

As magnificent as the paintings are, Madame du Barry decided not to keep them, but instead had returned them

12.18 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Lover Crowned*, from *The Progress of Love*, 1771–2. Oil on canvas, 125⅛ × 77⅝"
(317.8 × 197.1 cm). The Frick Collection, New York. Henry Clay Frick Bequest.

12.19 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Visit to the Nursery*, ca. 1770–5. Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 36¼″ (73 × 92.1 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Samuel H. Kress Collection.

to Fragonard by 1773 and purchased replacements from Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809), an early Neoclassical painter whose fashionable if ascetic style, based on ancient prototypes, is perhaps more in concert stylistically with the building. Fragonard carried the rolled-up *The Progress of Love* canvases to his native Provence, and installed the pictures in his cousin's house in Grasse along with ten newly painted canvases that complement the original theme. His reputation had not yet been resuscitated when *The Progress of Love* series, offered for sale to the Louvre in 1857, went unsold. Only in 1915, when American railroad and steel tycoon Henry Clay Frick bought the works for his mansion in Manhattan, did they reach their final destination, where, surrounded by superb period furniture and porcelain, they are the focal point of one of the most glorious rooms in the United States.

One of the means by which Fragonard invigorated his career in the 1770s and 1780s was by producing images of happy families that, like those of Chardin and Greuze, both reflect and promulgate the new ideals of conjugal love and parental respect for children. In *The Visit to the Nursery* he represented a husband and wife who gaze with abject love and tenderness at their baby sleeping in a cradle as three children look on (ca. 1770–5; FIG. 12.19). An old woman holding a distaff, an attribute of the Fates, complements the symbolism of the three ages of man and the passage of time. An atmosphere of hushed reverence is induced by the golden light pouring in from the window—the equivalent of a heavenly radiance for this secularized, Rembrandtesque rendition of a holy family.

The original owner was probably the wealthy tax farmer and royal secretary Jean-François Leroy de Senneville, in whose collection the work is documented by 1780, along with another 14 works by Fragonard and a group of Dutch Baroque works. The presence of hay on the floor and behind the door indicates that the setting is a farmhouse, and although the adults are beautifully dressed, the straw hats underline the rural setting. The

12.20 Marguerite Gérard and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The First Steps*, ca. 1780–5. Oil on canvas, 17⅜ × 21⅝" (44 × 55 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA/Fogg Museum. Gift of Charles E. Dunlap.

broad and sensuous handling of the brush is played against the gritty texture of sand mixed with the paint, appropriate for this humble dwelling. The subject of the picture, as specified in an inventory, was taken from a French novel *Sara Th—* by Jean-François de Saint-Lambert, about a highborn London woman who forsakes an arranged marriage in order to wed a Scottish farmer and raise a family according to the latest Enlightenment ideals. In the scene chosen by the artist, in which the couple enters the rustic nursery in order to observe their sleeping child, the steadfast gaze of the pair reveals their love for the child and his welfare, while the position of the father's head against the breast of the mother suggests the mutual sexual gratification achieved through marriage.

Fragonard played a significant role in the career of his sister-in-law, Marguerite Gérard (1761–1837), who moved from her native Provence to Paris and spent some three decades in the Fragonard household, continuing to live with her sister after the artist's death. She schooled with

Fragonard, who provided the social contacts and business acumen necessary to a successful artist. Although she never married and bore no children, Gérard produced the most popular representations of motherhood in the final decades of the century. She was denied membership in the academy, since its quota of four female members was filled. Only when the Salons were opened to women did she exhibit there regularly, from 1799 to 1824.

The myth that Gérard and Fragonard were lovers was exploded long ago, but there is still controversy among scholars regarding the degree to which the pair may have collaborated on certain paintings, such as *The First Steps* of circa 1780–5 (FIG. 12.20). An expensively dressed and coiffed young mother, seated on a stone garden wall, urges her teetering infant son to walk, while two female servants (or possibly a sister and grandmother) and little sister look on expectantly—a reaction shared by the spectator. A surviving compositional sketch by Fragonard suggests that he provided the main motifs of the composition, but on the

whole the work is Gérard's. The tight finish of textured surfaces, like the woven cradle and the silky costumes, is a hallmark of her technique and shows her familiarity with the Dutch masters, who also treated the theme of mothers and children (compare Gerard ter Borch's *Parental Admonition* and Pieter de Hooch's *Linen Cupboard,* see FIGS. 7.4 and 7.6).

Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun

The French Revolution had a powerful effect on those artists who allied themselves with the monarchy during the waning years of its rule. Louis XVI, grandson of Louis XV and the last French Bourbon monarch, began his regime (r. 1774–92) with high hopes and prestige but

Women Artists in the Ancien Régime

A female artist in the eighteenth century had to devise strategies for negotiating a largely male preserve. While a few prominent male artists, like La Tour and Greuze, welcomed women as pupils in their studios, most women artists were the daughters of artists and trained at home, or they had a relation who provided early instruction, as in the case of Fragonard's sister-in-law, Marguerite Gérard. The chief obstacle for women artists was the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. When this bastion of maleness admitted the first woman in 1662 it set no limit on the number of female academicians, of which there were six by 1706. By 1770 an increase in applications for membership caused alarm, and the number was officially set at four. Effectively barred from the most important route to a successful career, women received limited representation at the most important public venue, the

Salon, and their work was not discussed in the numerous critical reviews devoted to the exhibition. Moreover, female members of the academy were not allowed to vote, hold office, or teach. Significantly, they were also barred from life drawing classes on the grounds that it would be indecorous for a woman to draw the male nude. This had far-reaching implications, since lack of expertise in handling the male figure, the basis for composing historical scenes, presumably meant that a woman could not be a history painter.

Portraiture constituted the most common subject category for women. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803) was a distinguished practitioner in both oil and pastel, and contemporaries considered her to be the principal rival of Madame Vigée-Le Brun. Trained by the miniaturist François-Elie Vincent and by La Tour, she was initially a member of the Académie de Saint-Luc and showed at the Salon de la Correspondance. Her unusual status as an art teacher of young women is signaled by *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* of 1785 (Fig. 12.21). Labille-Guiard combined two subject types in the work, the artist's self-portrait and the portrait of a child with tutor, normally reserved for male sitters. The artist, separated from her husband, lived with her two pupils, Mesdemoiselles Capet and Carreaux de Rosemond, in her residence, where she acted both as tutor and matron. Her mission as head of a surrogate family is emphasized by the two sculptures in the dimly lit background, a vestal virgin, preserver of chastity, based on a work by Jean-Antoine Houdon, and a bust portrait of her father by Augustin Pajou.

As was the tradition in a woman's self-portrait, the artist is seated at work before the canvas, holding a maulstick, palette, and brushes (compare Judith Leyster's *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1630; see Fig. 6.14). She is dressed in the height of fashion—specifically a *robe à l'anglaise* (an informal dress in the English manner, with the bodice and the skirt in one piece, and lacking *paniers*) and plumed straw hat—as a means of making a statement about social status. The life-size figures, expensive furnishings, and artistic accouterments have something of the same impact as in Boucher's comparable portrait of *Pompadour* (1756; see Fig. 12.2). Such incisive details as the richly gleaming silk dress, with its meticulously rendered folds and wrinkles, and the ragged edge of the linen canvas tacked onto the wooden stretcher, betray Labille-Guiard's study of Dutch masters like Gerard ter Borch.

12.21 Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 83 × 59½″ (210.8 × 151.1 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953.

soon experienced a decline. Affable and astute, he was nonetheless poorly prepared to rule, and, like Louis XV, he escaped into a private world. His biggest challenge was the ruinous government debt, in part the result of French support for the American War of Independence. When he called for a meeting of the Estates General in 1788 in order to press the issue of tax reform, he unwittingly set into motion the events that ultimately led to his own trial and execution in January 1793.

France's most famous queen, Marie-Antoinette (1755–93), daughter of the Habsburg empress Maria Theresa and her consort Francis I, was married to Louis XVI in a diplomatic gesture calculated to unite France and Austria. She had grown up in a less restrained setting than Versailles, and chafed at its elaborate etiquette. Her efforts to influence the king politically, the personal relationships she cultivated outside her family, and her presumed huge expenditures for frivolous entertainments brought denouncements from all sides, especially in the form of scandalous pamphlets. The affair of the diamond necklace, in which the queen was falsely implicated, contributed to her notoriety and ultimately to the demise of the monarchy. She endured captivity for four years during the Revolution. Her efforts, alternately noble and devious, to thwart attacks on the royal family were in the end futile, and she was guillotined in October 1793.

These events impacted the career of Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun (1755–1842). She trained with her father, a pastelist, and obtained membership in the Académie de Saint-Luc. When the painter Joseph Vernet supported her candidacy as one of the four allotted female members of the academy, First Painter Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre blocked her entry on the grounds that her husband Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun was an art dealer, which violated the academy's interdiction against commercial activities. Her protector, Marie-Antoinette, intervened, with the result that by royal command the painter was admitted in 1783 on the same day as Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, to whom critics compared her and invented the notion of a rivalry (see "Women Artists in the Ancien Régime," opposite).

Vigée-Le Brun produced some 30 portraits of the queen, of which the half-length *Marie-Antoinette en chemise*, exhibited at the Salon of 1783, provoked a scandal (FIG. 12.22). The painter's ability to produce an agreeable likeness is evident in the sensuous depiction of flesh and fabric, indebted in part to her study of Rubens. Spectators objected, however, to the lack of decorum inherent in the costume; they deemed it inappropriate in the context of the Salon, an official crown-sanctioned event that called for a royal likeness dressed in court attire. Marie-Antoinette had rejected the stiff protocol of Versailles and its elaborate silk gowns, and popularized a type of informal cotton dress that she shows off here, the *robe en chemise* (literally, a dress like an undergarment), a fad imported from England where this garb, worn with a straw hat, was considered

12.22 **Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun**, *Marie-Antoinette en chemise*, Salon of 1783. Oil on canvas, 35½ × 28¼" (90 × 72 cm). Schlossmuseum, Darmstadt.

"natural." A racy effect was produced by the silk underskirt and corset showing through the sheer white muslin. This was the garment worn by the queen and her circle of intimates in the Trianon gardens at Versailles (see Mique's Hamlet, FIG. 13.21), which added to her notoriety because of its association with her presumed excessive spending and aberrant sexual behavior. As a result of the clamor, Vigée-Le Brun removed the offensive portrait from the Salon.

The social, political, and economic changes wrought in France over the course of the eighteenth century, together with the inability of the monarchy to modernize or adapt, culminated in the signal moment of the French Revolution: the fall of the Bastille in 1789. Having consorted with the monarchy, Vigée-Le Brun fled the country with her daughter Jeanne-Julie-Louise. Her career flourished in the capitals of Europe, as she traveled to Italy, where she received membership in the Roman Accademia di San Luca, then through the Austrian Empire, and even to St. Petersburg. Her name on the list of reviled émigrés forestalled her return to France until 1800. By then the age of Baroque and Rococo must have seemed far behind, as the country entered the modern era in search of new conceptions of human experience—and of art.

French Sculpture and Architecture in the Eighteenth Century

Painting in eighteenth-century France initially belonged to the private realm of the dwelling and then, by mid century, to the public space of the Salons of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Sculpture and architecture made their mark in the accessible space of the city itself, most especially on the streets of Paris. On the one hand, sculpture might adorn a *place royale* or a public monument, while on the other, buildings were calculated to have an impact on the passerby. The demand for new buildings and sculptures was the result of crucial changes within the urban fabric of cities across France. Most notably, the transfer of the court from Versailles to Paris, initiated by Philippe d'Orléans upon the death of Louis XIV as an act of the Regency government (1715–23), set into motion an upswing in urban development in the capital that persisted until the French Revolution.

More often than in the case of painting, sculptors hailed from artistic dynasties, with each generation training members of the next in the complicated techniques of casting and carving. Sculptors belonged to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, where many held important administrative posts or became teachers. They exhibited at the Salons along with the painters, primarily on tables set up around the room to support clay models

and finished marbles (see Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *Salon of 1765*; FIG. 12.1). Aside from Paris, the provincial capital of Lyon was an important city for the training of sculptors. To an even greater extent than with painters, the trip to Italy, especially to Rome, was obligatory for sculptors in order to study the famous exemplars of ancient art, as well as works from the Renaissance and Baroque. In Rome the creations of Bernini and Algardi in particular had an impact. Chalk drawings after Italian works have come down to us in considerable numbers. It was *de rigueur* to copy an ancient marble in clay or stone, and many such works found their final home in the royal collection or in the gardens of Versailles. A separate Prix de Rome for sculptors allowed the winners to live and study with the other artists at the French Academy in Rome, based in the Villa Medici. Like painters, sculptors vied for Italian commissions.

Sculpture commissions were limited by the expense and time involved in creating each work. Sculptors tended to stay within the traditional parameters of classic subject types, such as the bust portrait and the equestrian monument. The most prominent venue for large-scale public sculpture was the *place royale*, as each of the provincial centers of France inaugurated a public square dedicated to the monarch. Usually paid for by local authorities, this normally consisted either of an equestrian monument modeled after François Girardon's bronze *Equestrian Louis XIV* in the Place Vendôme, with its heavy-handed

Jean Aubert, Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras, Paris, garden façade, 1728–30. (Detail of FIG. 13.12)

martial symbolism (designed 1685; see FIG. 10.3), or the more peaceful standing (pedestrian) monument. Religious sculpture still offered a vital field, especially with the construction, remodeling, and decoration of churches. One of the major royal commissions in this field was the redecoration of the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris (1710–18). A category that received limited treatment in France, compared to Italy, was fountain sculpture. Paris lacked the generous water supply enjoyed in Rome.

Official commissions were administered by the Service des Bâtiments du Roi (royal building works), the arm of government devoted to the arts. In the waning years of the Sun King there were fewer royal commissions, as the great Baroque complexes, like the Invalides, the Château de Marly, and the Versailles chapel, received their final sculptural touches. An increase in crown commissions began in 1746, when the marquis de Marigny, Madame de Pompadour's brother, became the director-general. Pompadour also played an active role in encouraging sculpture, not only for her own collections but as patron of the Sèvres Porcelain Manufacture.

Antoine Coysevox

Like the careers of such painters as Rigaud and Largillierre, those of many notable sculptors spanned the late years of the Grand Siècle (Louis XIV's reign) and the new period of the Rococo. Thus they absorbed and transformed elements of the Baroque while introducing new visual motifs. Born and trained in Lyon, Antoine Coysevox (1640–1720) might have worked in his native city had he not been so successful at the French court. He became one of the leading sculptors under Louis XIV, and provided prominent works at Versailles, including decorations for the Staircase of the Ambassadors, the Hall of Mirrors, and the Salon of War.

Coysevox is particularly admired for the changes he brought to the portrait bust. His *Robert de Cotte* represents a close friend and colleague in the Bâtiments, with whom he had worked on several projects (1707; FIG. 13.1). The most influential French architect of the first half of the eighteenth century, de Cotte (1656/7–1735) was the brother-in-law of Jules Hardouin-Mansart and his successor as first architect to the king from 1708 to 1734. During a period when the royal purse allowed little in the way of new construction, he acted as consultant to numerous princes, nobles, and urban governors throughout the Continent, all of whom were eager to adopt the formal and iconographic devices associated with the Sun King (see de Cotte's drawing for Saint-Roch, Paris, FIG. 13.6). De Cotte was the subject of several painted state portraits in which the still-life accouterments—compass, rule, drawings, and bound book—allude to his profession. In contrast, Coysevox's portrait is remarkable for the absence

13.1 Antoine Coysevox, *Robert de Cotte*, 1707. Marble, height 21½" (54.3 cm). Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Paris.

of costume, symbolic components, or a fluttering cloth of honor, elements essential to Baroque examples. Although de Cotte had been ennobled by the king in 1702, the sculptor chose not to emphasize the sitter's status.

Instead, Coysevox focused fully on the head, diminishing the usual size of the chest, now shown unclothed with just a small piece of drapery to terminate the lower portion of the sculpture. He was a master at reproducing the structure and delicate features of the sitter's head. The sensitive eyes, elegant slope of the nose, and subtle planes of the mouth convey the idea of an intelligent and forceful individual, one who could easily oversee the widespread operations of the Service des Bâtiments. The twisted pose, with the head turned sharply to the right of the torso, is drawn from Bernini and gives life to the figure, which seems to address an imaginary spectator (compare the bust of *Cardinal Scipione Borghese*; see FIG. 3.11). The only element of luxury allowed is the generous wig, in whose abundant falling curls Coysevox took delight.

Guillaume Coustou I

The equestrian monument was a major sculptural type in eighteenth-century France. For example, for the terrace overlooking the horse pond at the Château de Marly, Guillaume Coustou I created a pair of equestrian sculptures, the *Marly Horses* (1739–45; FIG. 13.2). A member of an extensive sculptural dynasty, Coustou (1677–1746) trained under Coysevox, held administrative posts in the academy, and worked for the crown at Versailles and Notre-Dame in Paris.

Each of Coustou's *Marly Horses* consists of a nude male, partially draped at the groin, attempting to rein in a rearing steed. The inspiration was a pair of colossal *Horse Tamers* on the Piazza del Quirinale in Rome, in which two male nudes restrain horses (third-century-CE Roman copies after Greek originals of the fifth century BCE). However, they represent mythological figures, the Dioscuri—Castor and Pollux—whose presence was due to their special relationship as protectors of the ancient Romans. Unlike the ancient pair, Coustou's figures are not identifiable, nor are the marble supports cut to represent specific attributes. (Much later, in the 1780s, Coustou's biographer identified the figures as a Frenchman and an American.) Their inherent modernity resides in the timeless representation of the struggle of man versus beast. The athletic male physiques, the horses' unrestrained manes and tails, and the rough, rocky supports all suggest the sudden release of pent-up natural forces. The bursting energy conveyed by the dramatic poses, knit together through the intersecting diagonals of the limbs, is a worthy successor to Mochi's *Alessandro Farnese* and Bernini's *Constantine* (see FIGS. 3.8 and 3.19).

13.2 Guillaume Coustou I, *Marly Horse*, 1739–45. Marble, height ca. 138″ (ca. 350 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Etienne-Maurice Falconet

Despite financial limitations that prevented him studying in Italy, Etienne-Maurice Falconet (1716–91) was familiar with the works of the great Italian Baroque sculptors. In 1757 he became chief designer for the sculpture studio at the Sèvres Porcelain Manufacture, which flourished under the august patronage of Madame de Pompadour. There he modeled statuettes cast in unglazed soft-paste porcelain (called biscuit), based on his own compositions as well as designs by Boucher.

The most famous of his small-scale sculptures is the marble *Mischievous Cupid* created for Pompadour and shown in the Salon of 1757 (FIG. 13.3). Initially intended for her Château de Bellevue, it was installed in her Paris mansion. The little god of love, Cupid, son of Mars and Venus, whose symbol of the rose Falconet carved below the right leg, was a preeminent subject in both painting and sculpture during the period. His chief role was that of sly prankster, using his arrows to prompt an unwitting victim to fall in love. The need for secrecy is implied here by his posture: Resting insouciantly on a cloud, he draws an arrow from his quiver in anticipation of a surprise attack, while motioning to the spectator to remain quiet. We are thus coconspirators in Love's activities, as the little fellow actively invites our complicity. Not only the subject but also the form are in tune with contemporary painting—small in scale and composed of intricate spiraling forms, with an emphasis on smooth, seductive surfaces. The fame of the piece was such that the work was copied many times in several media, most memorably as a garden sculpture on a high pedestal in Fragonard's painting *The Swing*, where Cupid participates directly in the dangerous liaison by warning the spirited lovers not to reveal their illicit alliance (1767; see FIG. 12.15).

In 1766 Falconet left Paris for Russia, the guest of Empress Catherine II the Great, who commissioned an equestrian monument commemorating Emperor Peter I in St. Petersburg (unveiled 1782; FIG. 13.4). Just as Mochi in the previous century had left Rome—for a 17-year sojourn in Pienza to carry out equestrian bronzes for Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma—Falconet spent 12 years in the icy north, a testament to the extreme difficulty of modeling and casting such a monument, which involved working on a wholly different scale and medium from the *Mischievous Cupid*. The result was a highly original conception. The artist rejected the tradition in commemorative sculpture of the trotting horse, which first appeared in the antique prototype the *Marcus Aurelius* on the Capitoline in Rome. Instead he chose the rearing horse type, for which there were precedents in antique relief sculpture. Falconet's pupil, the portrait sculptor Marie-Anne Collot (1748–1821), who accompanied him to St. Petersburg, designed the head of the emperor after Catherine rejected Falconet's models.

13.3 Etienne-Maurice Falconet, *Mischievous Cupid*, 1757. Marble, height 36 1/4" (91.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Watch a video on Etienne-Maurice Falconet on mysearchlab.com

13.4 Etienne-Maurice Falconet and Marie-Anne Collot, *Equestrian Peter the Great*, unveiled 1782. Bronze, approx height 20′ (6 m) plus base 25′ (7 m). St. Petersburg.

As Falconet's statue was cast from bronze, it did not require a support beneath the torso of the horse. Thus the effect of the steed, rearing upward and backward in space, is spectacular and realistic. The martial emblems traditionally present in equestrian monuments are dispensed with here, not unlike the lack of such attributes in the *Marly Horses*. Only the serpent of envy is present, trampled beneath the hoofs of the horse, introduced more as a structural element that provides balance and support than for its symbolism. Nor is the figure shown in the traditional attitude of conquest. The serene gaze and calm gesture of the right hand suggest Peter's role as lawgiver and protector. The costume consists of timeless, generalized robes. The most striking element is the stylized mountain that replaces the traditional classical pedestal. It suggests Peter the Great's ascension above the mundane realm. Compared to the normally elaborate and didactic

inscriptions on such sculptures, the simple words attached to the mount celebrate two great reformers of the Russian state while letting the present ruler pay homage to the former in a subtle pun: "Petro Primo/Catharina Secunda" (Peter [the] First, Catherine [the] Second).

Jean-Baptiste Pigalle

The funerary monument, a major sculptural type with a long history, remained popular in the age of the Rococo. Many commissions were formulated for commemorative tombs and cenotaphs in churches. These usually incorporated the standard parts: an effigy of the deceased, allegorical figures representing the individual's virtues, and the tomb itself. The *Monument to the Maréchal de Saxe*, created by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle and commissioned by Louis

13.5 Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *Monument to the Maréchal de Saxe*, 1753–76. Marble and bronze, life-size figures. Saint-Thomas, Strasbourg.

XV to honor one of France's greatest military leaders, is an exceptionally elaborate example (1753–76; FIG. 13.5). Pigalle (1714–85) trained under the major representative of a family of sculptors, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–78), traveled southward without official connections, and was accepted into the academy as a full member in 1774. Pigalle carved numerous portrait busts and allegorical figures for Madame de Pompadour.

Since the maréchal de Saxe had been a Protestant, the monument could not be installed in one of the French Catholic pantheons, like Nôtre-Dame or the Dôme des Invalides in Paris. Instead, the church of Saint-Thomas in Strasbourg was designated the site and remodeled to accommodate the tomb, which draws its theatrical effect from Bernini's work, such as the *Tomb of Urban VIII* (1627–47; see FIG. 3.15). The figures are carved from white stone, while the backdrop, which incorporates a stylized pyramid connotative of immortality, is composed of colored veined marbles. In the center the deceased, wearing armor and a laurel wreath, carries the baton of the commander in his right hand. Three sculptures symbolically represent

defeated enemies, shrinking back from his powerful presence: the lion for Holland, the leopard for England, and the eagle for the Holy Roman Empire. Despite this panoply of military glory, the *maréchal* accepts death as he walks calmly down the steps to his sepulcher. Death, in the form of a skeleton wrapped in a shroud and holding a hourglass, props open the tomb. The allegorical figure of France attempts to mediate, but to no avail. Thus Hercules, a symbol of the hero's armies, assumes a melancholic pose.

Architecture Perfected

Royal commissions for buildings were relatively scarce during the period of Louis XIV's decline and the Regency. At best the Service des Bâtiments du Roi contented itself with overseeing the completion of the large projects of Louis XIV's reign, such as Versailles, the Dôme des Invalides, and the Place Vendôme. Louis XV initially showed little interest in architecture, but criticisms directed toward the crown stimulated a resurgence in royal

Architectural Drawings

The design and construction of buildings would be impossible without the drafting skills of architects. Architectural drawings tend, however, to be less studied and less prized than original drawings by painters and sculptors (see "Drawing from the Past," p. 236). Nevertheless, we are dependent on surviving drawings from the period in order to understand the full range of an architect's interests, since the extreme cost and time required to erect a building prevented realization of a great many projects that were worked out on paper. In fulfilling a commission, the designer usually resolved the plan first, and outlined the elevations and sections later. Drawings of buildings are always rendered to scale, and because units of measurement varied from place to place, the local unit usually appears prominently on each sheet. Architects overseeing a workshop or a government office had one or more assistants who devoted long hours to architectural rendering. One of the tasks of architectural historians is to recreate the design history of a project by determining the original sequence of the extant drawings, from the initial sketch to the finished solution. This sort of detective work is aided by deciphering such bits of evidence as ink and pencil corrections and superimposed swatches of paper indicating alternatives.

Eighteenth-century architectural drawings generally belong to one of five categories:

- A site plan is a measured drawing of existing buildings in and around the designated terrain to be built upon, often with a summary indication of the project superimposed.
- A process drawing aids in working out the problems of the design and may range from a rough sketch in charcoal, graphite, or ink to a large detailed study, usually in graphite, incorporating alternative solutions on different levels of paper.
- A presentation drawing is a finished plan or elevation done by a draftsmen under the supervision of the head architect and is usually intended to help the client visualize the building, sometimes with a contract attached.
- A construction drawing is a plan or elevation showing all or part of the structure, to be used on the site as the basis for building operations, sometimes in connection with a scale model made of painted wood.
- A record drawing is executed after a building is completed and may be used by an engraver preparing a reproductive print.

Robert de Cotte's drawing for the principal façade of Saint-Roch, Paris (Fig. 13.6), was intended as a presentation drawing to show the church fathers (ca. 1728; constructed 1736–8). Although the dominant French building types during the eighteenth century were the château and the *hôtel*, the wave of new construction that engulfed Paris and the provincial capitals provided numerous opportunities for planning and remodeling religious buildings: new city quarters required local parish churches, and many monastic complexes had yet to receive a monumental chapel. In the case of Saint-Roch, the seventeenth-century church, which faced the rue Saint-Honoré in the quarter of the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, had lacked an appropriate façade for many decades. De Cotte based his design on the two-storied Gesù façade type, in which volutes provide a visual bridge between the narrow upper story and the broader lower story (see della Porta's façade of Il Gesù, Rome, 1571–2; Fig. 4.9). The robust superimposed columns also hark back to Hardouin-Mansart's front of the Dôme des Invalides, Paris (1676–91; see Fig. 10.22). De Cotte and his draftsmen used pen-and-ink outline, drawn freehand in some parts, to define the essential features of the façade and employed a full repertory of painterly effects, such as ink wash and hatching, to suggest light and shade, volume, and the projecting planes of the wall. That certain design decisions were subjected to revision during the preparation of the sheet is clear from the presence of pieces of cut paper, glued down and redrawn on the sheet.

13.6 Robert de Cotte, Saint-Roch, façade, ca. 1728. Graphite, ink, and colored wash on paper. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes.
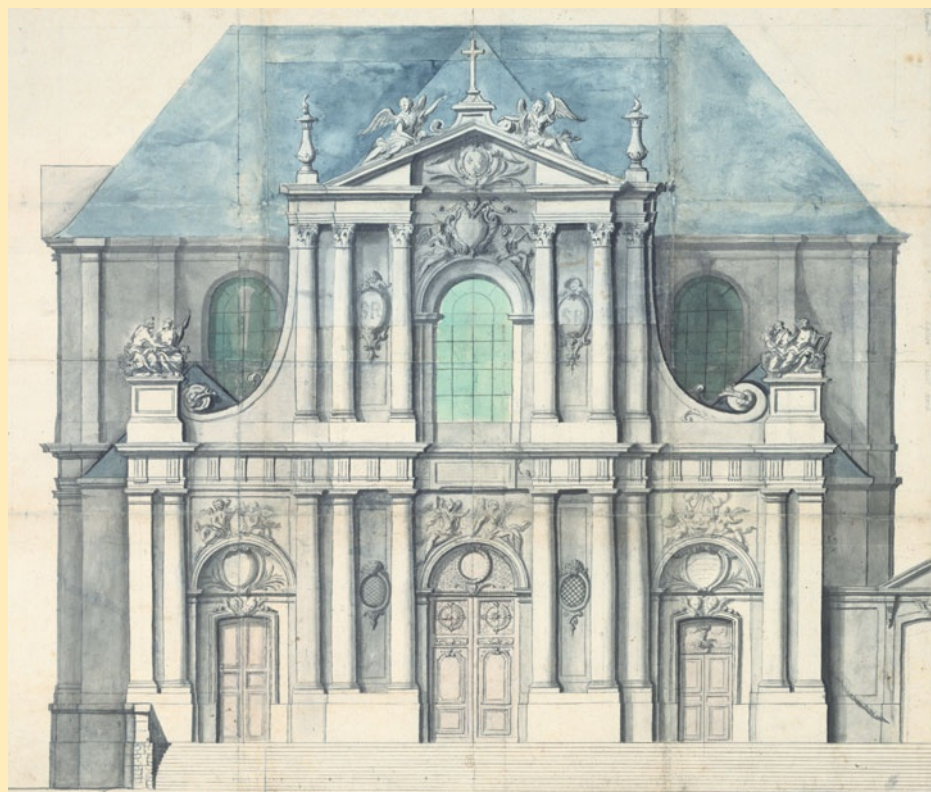
projects at mid century. The upper middle class assumed a new importance as patrons, and the return of the court to Paris revived construction in the capital. Private building projects expanded the city's limits, as the newly rich upper middle classes sought to legitimize themselves through impressive town houses.

Eighteenth-century French architects embraced the basic building types of the previous century—the château, the garden palace, the town house, the *place royale*, the pavilion, and the Latin cross church—while updating and modernizing them, making them more functional and habitable (for the Catholic church, see "Architectural Drawings," p. 361). New rooms in private dwellings, like the dining room and the water closet (French: *lieux*; a *lieux à l'angloise* had a flushing toilet), now appeared regularly in domestic plans. Unlike the realm of sculpture, which saw little in the way of published theory, the architectural field produced a flurry of both theoretical and practical books that were devoured by not only a local readership but also foreign patrons who desired elements of French style. Theoretical questions formed the basis of inquiry at the Royal Academy of Architecture, whose purpose was to formulate and teach official doctrine. As may be seen in the minutes of the meetings, the academy systematically read and discussed Vitruvius and the French and Italian Renaissance theorists, while analyzing ancient and modern buildings. Certain families dominated the architectural arena. The royal building trade in particular was monopolized by several dynasties from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries—the Mansarts, the Gabriels, the de Cottes, and the Delespines. Their status rose when prominent designers, like Jules Hardouin-Mansart and Robert de Cotte, received patents of nobility from the king.

The Château

The château remained preeminent within the canon of French building types. Although originally the term had the connotation of a fortified castle (*château-fort*), in the eighteenth century the word became synonymous with the term *maison de plaisance*, a pleasurable country dwelling. There was a strong element of the pastoral and the *fête galante* in country houses, since the château carried the notion of a place to which one could escape from the pressures and stress of life in the city (see "The Pastoral Dream," p. 317).

13.7 Jean-Baptiste Bullet de Chamblain, Château de Champs, 1701–7.

✳ Explore more about the Château de Champs on mysearchlab.com

13.8 (above) **Jean-Baptiste Bullet de Chamblain**, Château de Champs, garden façade, 1701–7.

13.9 (right) **Jean-Baptiste Bullet de Chamblain**, Château de Champs, ground plan, 1701–7 redrawn from Blondel.
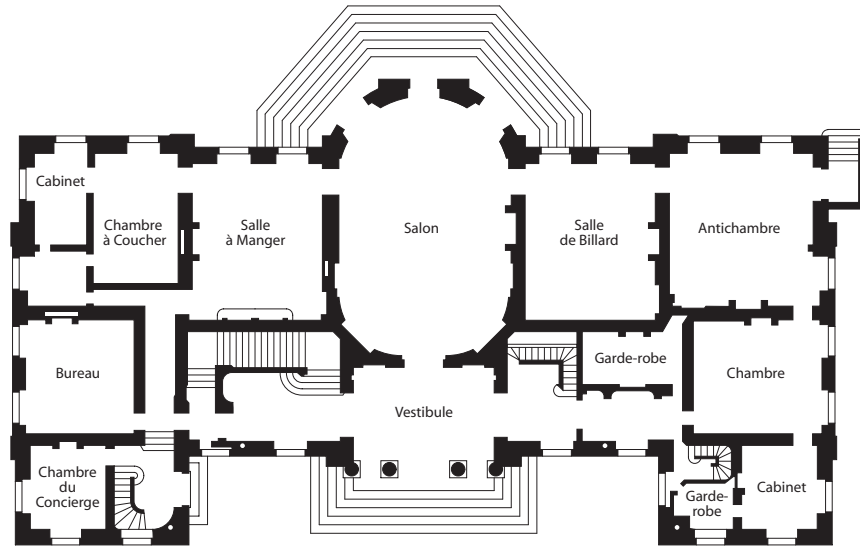
An important member of a French dynasty of architects that had worked for the crown in the Bâtiments under Louis XIV, Jean-Baptiste Bullet de Chamblain (1665–1726) built the Château de Champs to the east of Paris in the Île-de-France (1701–7; FIGS. 13.7–13.9). The patron was Paul Poisson de Bourvalais, an exceedingly wealthy financier who aspired to the lifestyle of the rich and famous. He owned a large town house in Paris on the Place Vendôme and desired an equally splendid country estate as a means of impressing friends and clients. He had purchased the estate from another financier, Charles Renouard de la Touane, who had initiated construction by Bullet de Chamblain's father, Pierre Bullet (1639–1716) but had gone bankrupt. Madame de Pompadour later owned this building, one of several châteaux she possessed.

The siting of the building and the overall massing are comparable to that of Louis Le Vau's Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, the great exemplar from the reign of Louis XIV, whose impact endured throughout the eighteenth century (1656–61; see FIGS. 10.9–10.12). The three essential components of the château complex—forecourt, main block, and garden—are arranged along a single longitudinal axis. The building is still the controlling element within the whole composition. Claude Desgots laid out the garden, with lawns and water basins based on geometrical shapes and a *parterre de broderie* with arabesque designs created from boxwood next to the house, following the rules for the French formal garden as devised by his granduncle, André Le Nôtre. The living quarters are located within the blocklike principal building, while the stables, kitchen,

and servant quarters comprise the subsidiary structures. Yet there are important differences between Champs and Vaux. Champs is not moated; such a device became increasingly anachronistic, as it was associated with the idea of fortifications. The roof is shorter and more compact, being drawn into the rectangular composition of the building. In emulation of a typical villa by Andrea Palladio, the classical orders appear only on the central pavilion of the entry on the courtyard side rather than being disposed across the various elevations. The open vestibule, with its Tuscan columns standing out against the dark recess, provides immediate shelter for the visitor. Channeled rustication adds texture and variety to the wall surfaces and marks the corners. As at Vaux-le-Vicomte, the chief distinguishing element on the garden façade is the forward projection of the *salon*, but its scale is not as massive, and no order appears here, only an elegant wrought-iron balcony on large brackets.

The ground plan exemplifies the new tendency toward separating various functions within the house, so that private spaces are differentiated from public ones (FIG. 13.9). Three distinct *appartements*, or suites of rooms, as defined by mid-century architectural theorists, may be observed in the plan: on the central axis, the *appartement de société*, the most public space, reserved for concerts, balls, and gatherings after the hunt; on the right-hand side, the *appartement de parade*, a formal suite of reception rooms for the master of the house; and on the left-hand side the *appartement de commodité* with private, secluded rooms for informal living. The oval *salon*, whose major axis is on the longitudinal axis of the building, is one story in height, and is therefore not a true *salon à l'italienne* (a two-story vaulted space). Two spaces flanking the *salon* provide areas for entertaining: a dining room—a relatively new room type that became common in the eighteenth century—and a billiard room. Each major member of the household had his or her own suite of rooms on the first or second floor. The four chief rooms comprising the basic French living suite, also called an *appartement*, were traversed in the following sequence: an *antichambre* or waiting room for visitors, a *chambre* or bed-sitting room, the principal living space; the *cabinet* or office, also a space to show off a collection of pictures and art objects; and a *garde-robe* or walk-in closet.

The Garden Palace

The garden palace represented another building type derived from the seventeenth century and updated in the eighteenth. The French monarchs continued to make corrections and interior remodelings at Versailles, but focused primarily on smaller satellite buildings in the grounds of their various domains, which offered relief from the vastness and public nature of the palace. Even so, the great exemplar of Versailles was much imitated outside of France, especially for sovereigns who wished to give the impression that they possessed the same degree of power, wealth, and taste as the Sun King. French architects traveled widely during this period, pursuing commissions from crowned heads throughout Europe and ensuring that French style superseded Italian style in many international courts.

In the first decade of the century the architect Germain Boffrand (1667–1754) designed a garden palace for Duke Léopold of Lorraine in the town of Lunéville, not far from the provincial capital at Nancy (1708–22; FIGS. 13.10 and 13.11). Boffrand, an active pupil and collaborator of Hardouin-Mansart, sealed his reputation as designer of palaces and town houses with an impressive publication, the *Livre d'architecture*, in 1745. Lorraine had been a contested province on the eastern side of France, more than once annexed by the French monarch and then restored to the jurisdiction of the duke. Under the terms of the

13.10 Germain Boffrand, Château de Lunéville, ground plan, 1708–22.
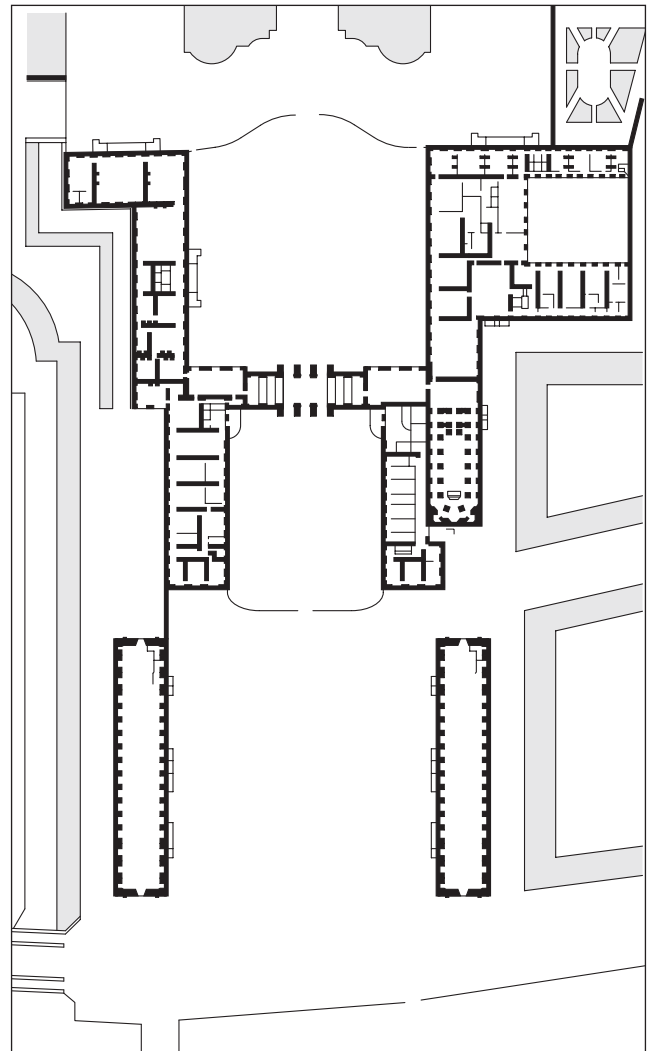
13.11 Germain Boffrand, Château de Lunéville, 1708–22.

Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 Louis XIV allowed the return of the exiled duke to the province, but as a servant of the French crown. In fact Léopold, although a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, was the spouse of a French princess, a niece of Louis XIV, and he based his court as well as his palace on the model of Versailles.

Like the layout of both Versailles (see FIG. 10.19) and the Château de Champs, the Lunéville plan is organized on a longitudinal axis, along which the visitor travels from the courtyard through the building to the garden. Instead of using the blocky massing of the château type, Boffrand provided a greater number of interior rooms by following the model of Versailles whereby a series of echeloned wings extend forward along the double courtyard and open into the garden. The major difference from the model, aside from the smaller scale, is the transparent central wing: Where Hardouin-Mansart had placed the king's bedchamber and the Hall of Mirrors on the main axis at Versailles, Boffrand built an open arcade on the lower floor to accommodate visitors arriving by coach, who could be dropped off sheltered from sun and rain. Moreover, this opening made the garden immediately accessible and more fully integrated with the building. This open feature had been used on a smaller scale by Hardouin-Mansart at the Grand Trianon (Trianon de Marbre) in the grounds of Versailles.

The classical orders appear only on the frontispiece of the central wing in the form of a magnificent two-story pedimented temple front enhanced by an octagonal dome rising above the roofline. The elevations of the wings, on the other hand, are simple to the extreme, the planar wall surfaces articulated by a blind arcade and rhythmic window shapes. Like Bullet de Chamblain, Boffrand took as his model the villas of Palladio, like the Villa Emo at Fanzolo (1559–65), where the classical portico on the main axis contrasts with the simple wall surfaces on the long side wings.

In the interior, the apartment of the duke was not located in the center of the building, as was Louis XIV's at Versailles, but occupied a separate wing that extended into the garden on the right-hand side of the plan (FIG. 13.10). Apartments for guests were to occupy a similar

but unbuilt wing on the left-hand side. The importance of the chapel as a palace room type that embodies the principle of divine right is clear at Lunéville. Boffrand imitated the two-storied, columnar design and the position of Hardouin-Mansart's royal chapel at Versailles.

The *Hôtel*

The crown initiated few projects in Paris before mid century. Instead, it was in the genre of private building, specifically the *hôtel particulier*, or town house, that Paris witnessed a veritable explosion of projects and expansion of the city's boundaries toward the west and the south. This was in part the result of the transfer of the court from Versailles to Paris during the Regency, when the nobles took possession of the urban social sphere. In addition, financiers and speculators who had made their fortunes during the wars of Louis XIV swelled the ranks of the upper bourgeoisie. They devoted themselves to constructing big homes in order to elevate their apparent status. Equally influential were several trends that had been underway since the mid seventeenth century—the blurring of class lines through marriage and the purchase of offices and noble titles. With the completion of two royal projects on the western periphery of Paris, the Hôtel des Invalides and the Place Vendôme, new residential areas or suburbs (French: *faubourg*) were opened up: the Faubourg Saint-Honoré and the Faubourg Saint-Germain. Even today the latter district, the present-day 7th arrondissement, retains the spaciousness, residential quiet, long straight streets, and hidden gardens that characterized the area in the eighteenth century.

It was here and elsewhere in Paris that several architects, including de Cotte and Boffrand, developed the modern house as we know it, in part as a result of the great number of architectural publications, both pattern books and theoretical treatises, that publicized the new ideas. Much like the innovations in the château, which developed simultaneously, previously unheard-of or rare rooms, like the dining room, the boudoir, and the water closet, were introduced, along with small, comfortable *appartements* for members of the family. *Appartements de parade* for show or display were distinguished from intimate *appartements de commodité*. Galleries and two-storied rooms were deemed old-fashioned. Space was increasingly given over to such amenities as private staircases and hidden corridors that eased circulation through the house and separated domestics from the owners and their guests.

Jean Aubert (d. 1741), the architect of the Condé branch of the royal family, incorporated these new trends into a magnificent town house, the Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras, on the rue de Varenne in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, near the Invalides on the western periphery of Paris (also called the Hôtel de Biron after a later owner;

1728–30; FIGS. 13.12 and 13.13). The original patron was a member of the middle class, Abraham Peyrenc, a financier who accrued a fortune through speculation in paper money, married the daughter of a powerful financier, and aggrandized his name as Peyrenc de Moras. He rose to the position of financial advisor to the duchesse de Condé. As a result he wished to have his high status visible in an extraordinary house. The *hôtel*, which sits relatively isolated from the service wings on the street side, occupies a generous site filled with gardens, and thus gives the impression of a suburban villa on the periphery of the city. The free-standing block rising above the garden on a terrace, the elegant proportions of the pavilions, and the simplified roof shapes achieve an effect comparable to that of the Château de Champs.

Aubert did not use the ancient orders anywhere on the exterior. The only classical element present is the pediment that surmounts the central pavilions on both the court and garden façades. Even so, he achieved an understated richness through the incorporation of channeled rustication, wrought-iron balconies supported by luxuriant sculpted brackets, and charming human faces in the keystones. In an unusual variation on the garden façade of Vaux-le-Vicomte and Champs, the garden façade of the Hôtel de Biron is enlivened by two projecting oval *antichambres* on the sides, which contrast with the flat central section. As at Champs, the central core of the building comprises an *appartement de société*, with a vestibule and a *salon* on the main axis flanked by other public rooms, such as a dining room. Along the left- and right-hand sides of the building the architect positioned a pair of matching *appartements de parade* for Peyrenc and his wife respectively, each entered through an oval room. One of the most distinguished houses in Paris, in the early twentieth century it was offered as a home to the sculptor Auguste Rodin, and now houses the Museé Rodin.

New Projects for Versailles

The pavilion represents another type of French building that was popular in the eighteenth century. This was usually a small structure, called a *pavillon*, *trianon*, or *hermitage*, constructed in the grounds of a garden palace or a château. It incorporated just a few rooms, and provided a place for specific leisure activities, such as dining, bathing, relaxation after the hunt, or a dangerous liaison. In some instances there would be overnight accommodations. Although normally simple in design on the exterior, pavilions were lavishly decorated inside. Fragonard's *The Progress of Love* series, intended for the pavilion of Madame du Barry at Louveciennes, is a particularly well-known example of large-scale painted décor (1771–2; see FIG. 12.18).

Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698–1782) built an unusually elaborate example of the pavilion, the Petit Trianon, in

13.12 Jean Aubert, Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras, Paris, garden façade, 1728–30.

✺—[Explore more about the Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras on mysearchlab.com
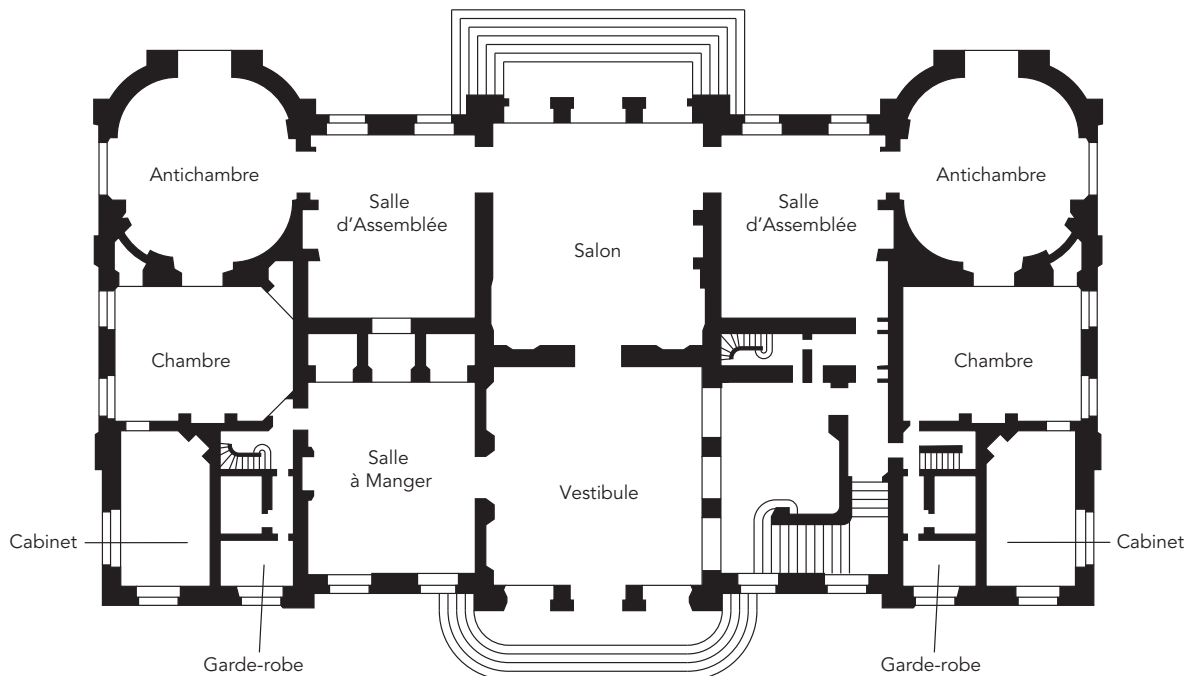
13.13 Jean Aubert, Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras, Paris, ground plan, 1728–30, based on Blondel.

At the same time, there is a Palladian quality in the design of the four exterior elevations, all variations on the theme of a slightly projecting columnar portico on the central axis and simple unarticulated wall surfaces to either side. Most important, the building heralds a new spirit in architecture, ultimately called Neoclassicism, in its considerable use of the classical orders, rejection of the French roof, and tightly knit grid of horizontal and vertical accents. Despite the delicate scale of the fluted Corinthian columns, there is a sense of a return to the origins of classical architecture in pre-Roman examples. In fact the building was designed in a period when the French first traveled to Greece to study fifth-century-BCE monuments, as exemplified by Julien-David Le Roy, who visited Athens in 1754 and published his illustrated book *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* in 1758.

Gabriel hailed from an architectural dynasty that was related through marriage to the Mansart and de Cotte families. His father, under whom he trained, had served as first architect to the king after Robert de Cotte, and in 1742 Ange-Jacques assumed that title in turn, along with directorship of the Royal Academy of Architecture. He did not travel to Italy but worked almost exclusively for the crown. In most cases he remodeled and enlarged the royal palaces, particularly Versailles, Compiègne, and Fontainebleau, but he also oversaw the creation of new institutions, such as the Ecole Militaire on the southwestern periphery of the capital (begun 1750), Louis XV's response to the nearby Invalides complex of Louis XIV. And it was Ange-Jacques who finally added the permanent theater—the Opera—at Versailles, one of the last major constructions in the palace before the Revolution.

Hampered by a constant lack of building funds and insufficient space in the north wing of the palace, Gabriel toyed with plans for the Opera over a 30-year period before the king ordered the clearing of older apartments

13.15 Ange-Jacques Gabriel, Opera, Versailles, completed 1770. View from the stage toward the auditorium.

the northwest sector of the gardens of Versailles (1761–4; FIG. 13.14). Located not far from Louis XIV's retreat, the Grand Trianon, and adjacent to Louis XV's botanical garden, it was commissioned by the king for Madame de Pompadour, although she died before it was complete. It was Madame du Barry, Louis XV's next important mistress, and later Queen Marie-Antoinette who left their mark on the interior. The plan of the building is square, so that the rectilinear exterior, set on a low terrace, gives the impression of a cubical volume. The building comprises two floors, with living spaces below and sleeping areas overhead. Working at a time of nostalgia for the architecture of the Sun King, Gabriel instilled a certain grandeur in the simple block.

to make way for new construction (completed 1770; FIG. 13.15). As a court theater the building had to serve a variety of functions, including not only lavish stage productions with elaborate backdrops and special effects, but also large-scale social events, like balls and banquets. The view toward the stage was considered no more important than the view back toward the auditorium, since the courtiers congregated there not only to see but also to be seen. Thus Gabriel based his plan on the figure of a truncated oval, which brought seated spectators close to the stage while allowing a generous *parterre* or open floor for special events. He raised three receding tiers of box seats around the auditorium, placing the partitions at a diagonal toward the stage so as not to interrupt the sight lines. Gabriel reserved the principal seat on the main axis for the king within a compartment partially concealed by an openwork grill.

A magnificent Ionic colonnade crowns the upper level. The Roman author Vitruvius claimed that such a motif was typical of Roman theaters, with the subsequent result that Palladio and later Italian architects, like Carlo Vigarani, employed the colonnade in their theater designs. In order to enhance the acoustics, Gabriel lined the interior with sound-absorbing wood paneling and a reverberation chamber under the orchestra. Splendidly painted in shades of blue, rose, and gold and ornamented with sparkling chandeliers and reflecting mirrors, the Opera was inaugurated in May 1770 on the occasion of the marriage of the future monarchs Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette.

The Rococo Interior

Wall paneling, furniture, works of art, and luxury items together comprised a fully integrated system of interior decoration in eighteenth-century French buildings. *Objets d'art* and *objets de luxe* were avidly acquired and luxury items were used within refined interior schemes. Elements of décor provided not only aesthetic pleasure but served, like costume and comportment, to define an elite segment of society.

Interiors, especially those of expensive private dwellings, were outfitted with wooden paneling decorated with arabesque motifs and especially designed suites of furniture (see "Design for Living: A French Commode," p. 370). Watteau contributed to the genre of the painted arabesque by transforming stylized motifs into naturalistic elements in *The Swing* (ca. 1713–14; see FIG. 11.13). A simultaneous development took place in the medium of the wooden panel carved in low relief, painted, and gilt (French: *boiserie*), called by historians either arabesque or Rococo décor. An architect normally determined the basic composition of the wall paneling in collaboration with a sculptor, who designed and carved the decorative details. The standard was set early in the century by the Degoullons Studio at

the king's apartment at Versailles, specifically in the royal antechamber and the king's bedchamber; 1701; see FIG. 10.1). Rejecting the more lugubrious Italianate décor of Le Brun's state rooms, with its marble veneer, classical orders, and painted ceilings, the craftsmen overlaid the white walls and ceiling with a golden filigree of carved floral swags, ribbonwork, netting, and cavorting cherubs, all reflected in tall overmantel mirrors made possible by new technology in glass manufacture.

The Rococo interior reached a veritable apotheosis in the 1730s, especially at the Hôtel de Soubise in Paris, where the princes of the Rohan-Soubise dynasty sought to exert their claim to special status as so-called "foreign princes" at their residence in the Marais, the once fashionable eastern district surrounding the Place Royale (Place des Vosges). In an initial renovation of 1705–9, the architect Pierre-Alexis Delamaire added an immense colonnaded forecourt worthy only of the highest echelon of princes. Then in 1735–9 Prince Hercule-Mériadec, recently remarried to Sophie de Courcillon, reaffirmed the family's position by hiring Boffrand to outfit two sumptuous *appartements de parade*, one for the prince on the ground floor and the other for the princess on the upper floor. These rooms, which deliberately privilege representation over *commodité*, lead to oval *salons* on both levels.

Boffrand designed the Salon de la Princesse (FIG. 13.16), with décor perhaps sculpted by the master of this generation, Jacques Verberckt (1704–71), who worked primarily

13.16 Germain Boffrand and Charles-Joseph Natoire, Salon de la Princesse, Hôtel de Soubise, Paris, 1736–9.

for the crown. Numerous mirrors, doors, and windows punctuating the walls erase the sense of a stable architectural space. The gilt ornamentation incorporates standard motifs like garlands, shells, and cartouches. Large blank spaces of white in the panels afford visual relief from the dense riot of painted and sculpted décor at the transition between walls and ceiling. The room is exceptional in many respects: its oval plan (*hôtel salons* are normally rectangular); the elaborate stucco rosette in the ceiling's center; and the fully modeled figural sculpture and extensive suite of eight oil paintings within the undulating zone of the cornice. The painted cycle by Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700–77), recounting the love story of Cupid and Psyche, celebrates the owner's nuptials and pays tribute to the beauty of the

young princess who entertained in this room. The furniture and expensively dressed occupants contributed to the effect of overwhelming richness.

By mid century this system of décor took on an increasingly organic character. The rectilinear outlines of the windows, doors, and mirrors became curved, and the number of moldings increased, giving the effect of a vibration along the edges, as in the Gilded Chamber of Madame Adélaïde, one of Louis XV's daughters, in the private apartments of Versailles (1753, 1759; see FIG. 0.3). This was a collaboration between the architect Gabriel and Verberckt. The intricate gilt relief surfaces of the arabesques do not cover the entire surface of the paneling but are isolated against the white ground, as exemplified

Design for Living: A French Commode

Eighteenth-century French furniture design reached the heights of sophistication and technical excellence. The quality of French craftsmanship resulted from the division of labor governed by the craftsmen's guilds. An elaborate piece might require ten or more artisans, from woodworker and sculptor to painter, gilder, and upholsterer. The intermediary between maker and buyer was often the dealer in luxury goods (*marchand-mercier*), like Watteau's patron Gersaint. Designed for a specific room, furniture was considered an integral element of the décor. Some pieces were fixed in position, like the two-legged console table attached to wall paneling, while others, like gaming tables, could be moved into position when needed.

Unlike earlier furniture, which was limited in design and multi-purpose, Rococo design emphasized specialization, with chairs, tables, and chests all devoted to specific uses. For example, tables were devised for such activities as the toilette, taking coffee, or writing (for a *table à écrire*, see Boucher's portrait of *Madame de Pompadour*; Fig. 12.2). Likewise, there was a chair for every occasion—the low *chauffeuse* for warming before a fire,

the *voyeuse* with an armrest atop the back, the *tête-a-tête* for two, and the *chaise longue* for elevating the feet while reading, recuperating, or staging a seduction (ignominiously dubbed the chaise lounge in modern English). This development was analogous to the increased emphasis on function and *commodité* in architecture. Numerous illustrated publications popularized the latest styles throughout France and beyond the borders.

Charles Cressent's Commode au Singe, with its dazzling combination of inlaid woods and cast-bronze sculptures, epitomizes the unique approach of the French to form and function in the decorative arts (ca. 1749; Fig. 13.17). Cressent (1685–1768), who trained with his father in his native Amiens, was unusual in that he was both a *maître ébéniste* (master furnituremaker) and a *maître sculpteur* (master sculptor). Guild restrictions required that these arts be practiced by separate individuals, but once Cressent was named chief cabinetmaker to Philippe d'Orléans, regent of France, in 1719, he was able to circumvent the rules. Every surface of the *commode* (chest of drawers) has been embellished: Cressent normally used a variety of delicately colored veneers in geometrical patterns, such as rosewood, tulipwood, and satinwood, as the ground of the design. Over this he placed a variety of decorative flourishes in the form of bronze "mounts," cast-bronze sculptures that have been burnished with gold leaf. These have the effect of both masking the functional requirements of the piece, since they often obscure the placement of the drawers and the pulls, and, because they are placed at the edges of the forms, protecting the chest at its most vulnerable points.

It took a sophisticated user of the commode to know where the sculpted decoration actually formed the pulls of the drawers. The figural decoration consists of two putti tugging the ropes supporting a swinging monkey. Thus, typically, this chest utilizes motifs common in arabesque designs, such as the swing and monkeys copying human behavior (*singerie*; compare Watteau's *The Swing* and *The Shepherds,* and Fragonard's *The Swing*; Figs. 11.13–14, 12.15). The coloristic richness of the piece is enhanced by the variegated marble top, a hard, protective surface. This is the only flat surface on the commode; every other plane is curved or scalloped, and even the overall shape is not rectangular. With its bulging front, short legs, and animal feet, the piece has a subtly anthropomorphic character.

13.17 Charles Cressent, Commode au Singe, ca. 1749. Rosewood, violetwood, marble, and bronze, height 35⅛" (90 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.

✴ Explore more about Rococo interior design on mysearchlab.com

by the sculpted trophies with musical instruments and attributes of earth and water that "hang" in the center of the tall vertical panels.

The *Place Royale*

The *place royale* remained the chief French contribution to urban planning. By definition it consists of an open urban space based on a geometrical figure, like the circle, square, or rectangle, surrounded by domestic or public buildings of identical design that focus on a statue of the monarch in the center. Inherent in such a configuration is the symbolism of the corporate body of the public paying homage to the ruler, from whom flow the benefits of good government. So anxious were the various provincial cities of France to inaugurate their own *places royales* that a great number of proposals were drawn up, many of which remained on paper. The Place Vendôme in Paris constituted the essential prototype (see FIG. 10.3), but individual circumstances associated with each site ensured the development of this architectural type.

This is demonstrated at the Place Royale in Nancy (now Place Stanislas; 1752–5; FIGS. 13.18 and 13.19). The patron was Stanislas Leszczynski, the father of Queen Marie Leszczynska and father-in-law of Louis XV. As the deposed king of Poland, he had been given nominal rule of the province of Lorraine in 1738, much like Duke

13.18 (right) **Emmanuel Héré de Corny**, Place Royale, Place de la Carrière, and Hémicycle, plan, Nancy, 1752–5.

13.19 (below) **Emmanuel Héré de Corny**, Hôtel de Ville, Place Royale (Place Stanislas), Nancy, 1752–5.
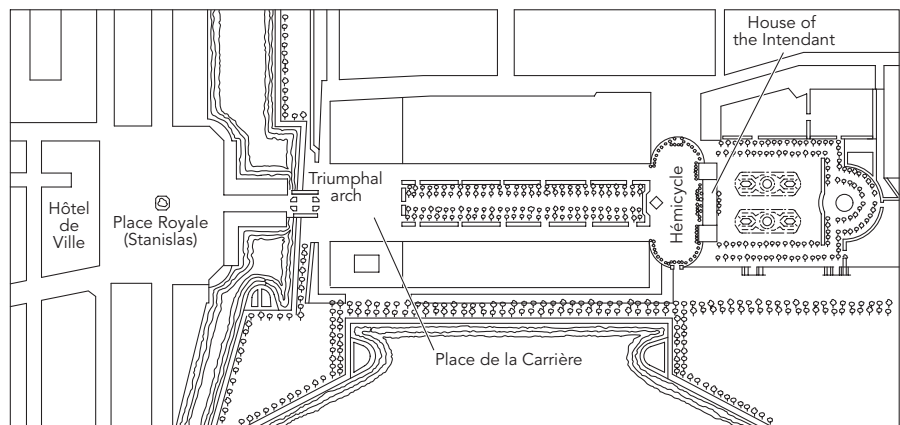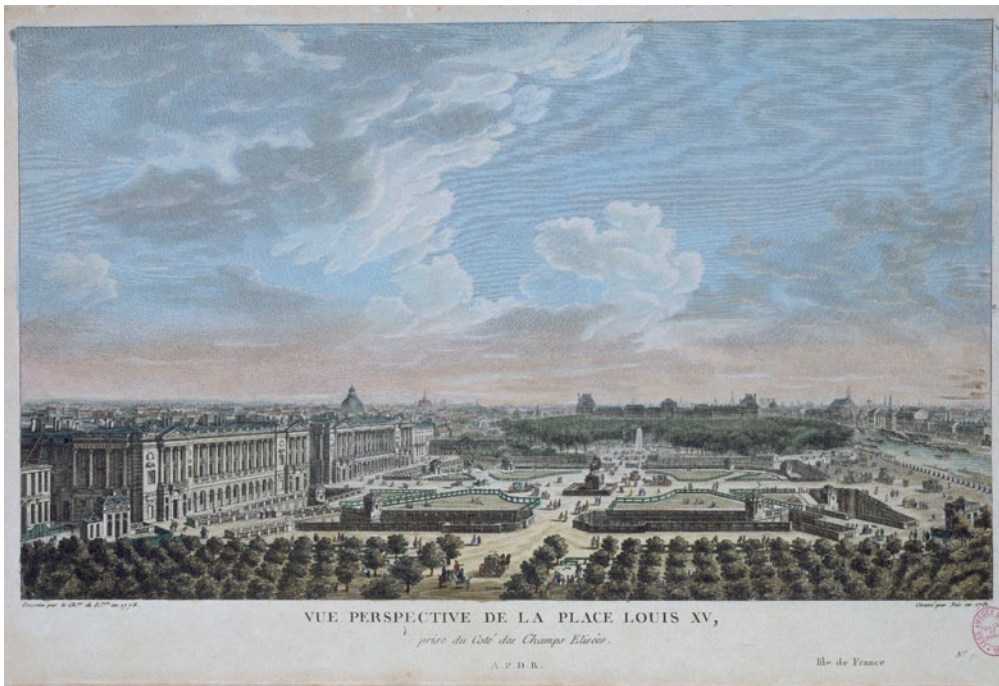
Léopold, the patron of the Château de Lunéville, before him. Rather than hire an architect from the Bâtiments, which was the normal procedure, Stanislas gave the job to a local architect, Emmanuel Héré de Corny (1705–63), who could spend time on the site and confer regularly with the patron. Stanislas had written a tract describing the ideal city and was keenly interested in urban planning.

What makes this project unique is the linking of three differently shaped spaces along a longitudinal axis: the Place Royale proper, with its statue of Louis XV; the Place de la Carrière, a former tilting yard transformed into avenues lined with trees and town houses; and the Hémicycle, a square bordered laterally by semicircular walls, on which was located the house of the provincial *intendant*, the representative of the crown in Nancy. The axial organization of three contrasting spaces, two of them separated by a small triumphal arch, evokes ancient Roman civic spaces and the imperial rulers who built them. The new configuration of squares linked the old town with the newly developed city across the former fortifications, thus encouraging the further development of the city, and established a lengthy corridor along which local inhabitants could enjoy the activity of the *promenade à la mode*, dressing fashionably and going out to show themselves off.

Although the buildings bordering the Place Royale imitated the design of those of the Place Vendôme, with rusticated basement stories supporting the giant pilaster order above, they were not private homes for the very wealthy but in the spirit of the Enlightenment they combined various public functions, including town hall,

theater, college of medicine, and cafes. Moreover, gilded wrought-iron grilles screened the edges of the square, and on two sides fountains with sculptures of mythological figures enlivened the space. The gilded bronze statue of Louis XV in antique Roman armor was not of the equestrian type but showed the king standing, representing the idea of a monarch who brings peace and rules wisely through his virtues, portrayed by allegorical figures of Prudence, Justice, Valor, and Clemency.

In Paris Gabriel designed the most prominent of the city's public squares, the Place Louis XV (1748–75; now Place de la Concorde; FIG. 13.20). He rendered the large space visually comprehensible by placing within the rectangular perimeter a dry moat bordered by balustrades. The canted angles are marked by stone sentry boxes of classical design. Up until the Revolution the center of the square was dominated by an equestrian status of Louis XV by sculptor Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762), commissioned by the city merchants to stimulate a public building program. The Place Louis XV represents a significant transformation of the *place royale* type by being located on the city's edge. Only the north side features an architectural component: a pair of magnificent buildings that form a stately backdrop. These structures, originally destined for governmental use, display the contemporary nostalgia for the "good old days" of the Sun King through the prominent free-standing colonnades referencing the Louvre Colonnade (see FIG. 10.13). On the eastern side the raised terrace of the Tuileries Gardens provides a viewing platform, while the southern side offers wonderful views of the

Seine. To the west lies the avenue of the Champs-Elysees and the promise of a pleasant stroll in natural environs.

The English Landscape Garden in France

Although the French formal garden, as perfected by André Le Nôtre, remained the basic garden type for many châteaux and *hôtel* sites throughout the century, an alternative gained in popularity at mid century: the *jardin à l'anglaise* or *jardin pittoresque*, based on the English landscape garden and popularized through several French publications, like Claude-Henri Watelet's *Essai sur les jardins* (1774). The most celebrated example is the Hamlet (*Hameau*) created by Richard Mique (1728–94) for Marie-Antoinette in the area of the Trianon at Versailles, the last royal commission before the Revolution (1783–8; FIG. 13.21). The basic features of the Picturesque garden are present, from the asymmetrical layout, natural plantings, and irregular lake to the meandering paths connecting the small structures (compare Henry Hoare's Stourhead (1741–80; see FIG. 15.18). More a working farm than a country village, the Hamlet originally comprised 12 pseudorustic structures built on asymmetrical plans using natural materials like thatch, clay tiles, and half-timbering. A working mill, dairy, dovecot, and gardener's cottages surround the principal focal point, the two-story Queen's House. Instead of utilizing the "circuit" design favored by English designers, in which the spectator travels along a path from one Picturesque view to another, Mique chose the "prospect" layout, and organized the whole complex as a panorama to be seen across the lake from a single viewing point.

Several sources of inspiration contributed to the design. Chief among these was the concept of the pastoral, still a pervasive ideal in French society, brought to a new level of interest by Rousseau's publications of the 1760s, which praised the simple life in the country over urban decadence (see "The Pastoral Dream," p. 317). Equally influential was the theater, in particular the bucolic plays performed at the Queen's Theater at the Trianon, also the work of Mique, where Marie-Antoinette directed and acted in such productions

as Rousseau's *The Village Fortuneteller*. The single vista of the Hamlet is comparable to a pastoral stage set viewed through a proscenium arch. In addition, Mique brought to life the pastoral landscapes of Boucher, with their idyllic natural scenery and rustic half-timbered structures (compare Boucher's *Mill at Quiquengrogne at Charenton*, see FIG. 11.19).

For Marie-Antoinette the Hamlet represented an escape from the rigors of court life and an opportunity to indulge in *sensibilité* by pining for a remote, uncomplicated lifestyle. We should not, however, imagine her dressed like Boucher's peasants, as in the *Autumn Pastoral*, nor milking the cows herself (1749; see FIG. 11.20). But her interest in the farm had its corollary in her rejection of court dress and embrace of the simple muslin dress and straw hat popularized by the English, worn in her portrait by Vigée-Le Brun (1783; see FIG. 12.22). An avid Anglophile, the queen could ascend to the top of the Marlborough Tower, named in honor of the British general who in 1704 had defeated Louis XIV, and whose wife, according to a popular song, later received news of his death in a lookout tower while awaiting his return. As the Revolution approached, the Hamlet became one of the emblems of Marie-Antoinette's presumed excesses. On 5 October 1789 the mob marched out from Paris for Versailles—setting into motion the tragic final years of the monarchy.

The impact of French Rococo design in the media of painting, sculpture, the decorative arts, and architecture was widespread throughout Europe during the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, in France the stylistic tide began to turn by the 1760s, when Neoclassical ideals began to take hold. The terms Rococo and Style Pompadour would be used in the art studios of Jacques-Louis David's followers and others to castigate not only the artistic style but more broadly the lifestyle of the Ancien Régime.

13.21 Richard Mique, Hamlet, Versailles, 1783–8. Marlborough Tower and Queen's House.

The Georgian Panorama in British Painting and Prints

At the beginning of the eighteenth century England's monarch, Queen Anne (r. 1702–14), the last of the Stuart line, played a limited role in art patronage. This was continued by her German successors, the Hanoverians—the four monarchs named George, from which derives the term Georgian, used to connote all aspects of British cultural life during most of the century. The German-speaking George I (r. 1714–27) and George II (r. 1727–60) had little interest in encouraging the arts. There was great antagonism between George II and his son Frederick, Prince of Wales, who was a supporter of the arts, but Frederick died before becoming king. His son, George III (r. 1760–1820), was a more amenable benefactor. He granted the charter to the new Royal Academy of Arts, awarded commissions to major British artists, and made the most impressive crown acquisition of the century: the painting collection of Venice-based diplomat and dealer Consul Joseph Smith (see p. 444). (George IV, r. 1820–30, is beyond the limits of our story.) By and large, however, the British rulers, unlike their French counterparts, did not utilize the arts to project an image of kingship. They built no palaces, and instead sought a relatively secluded existence that favored the private over the public.

For much of the century the Hanoverians created a vacuum that allowed parliamentary government to

flourish. This in turn stimulated the economy, so the rise of wealth among professional classes provided the real impetus for the arts. Even so, the situation at the dawn of the new century was not advantageous for English artists. Art lovers showed limited interest in obtaining works by native-born painters, preferring to buy ones from abroad. Connoisseurship was the province of the privileged few, especially those wealthy enough to establish private collections, take the Grand Tour, and possess the social credentials necessary for membership in such male preserves as the Society of Dilettanti, founded in 1734. Publications whose mission was to illuminate the art of collecting, such as Jonathan Richardson's *The Science of a Connoisseur* (1719), were few and far between. Just as the outstanding contributors to British art of the preceding centuries, like Hans Holbein and Anthony van Dyck, had been imported from the Continent, foreigners continued to dominate the early eighteenth-century art market—in particular, minor Italian painters and decorators and Dutch engravers. At best British artists could make a living in two subject categories: portraits, usually commissioned to commemorate specific events in a family's history, and thus not considered a commodity like history painting; and topographical landscape, which celebrated the patron's status as landowner by showing his particular domain. History painting, although highest in the academic hierarchy of subjects, was produced only on rare occasions by English artists. The most active of these, James Thornhill (1675–1734),

is best known for his illusionistic ceilings in churches and palaces painted in an Italian Baroque style.

Collectors valued most highly the works of the Old Masters, primarily sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian, Netherlandish, and French artists. A forged Old Master painting had a greater chance of a buyer than an original by a local painter. Dealers, aided by artists on the Grand Tour, scoured the Continent for old paintings and classical antiquities which were sold in great numbers in London's auction houses, like the one established by James Christie in 1766. With the exception of works that bore the names of such luminaries as Michelangelo and Raphael, imported pictures were relatively cheap. The flood of paintings into Britain was so considerable that by the end of the century London had replaced Amsterdam as the international center of art sales.

The production of art was largely concentrated in London, Europe's largest city with a population of 650,000 at mid century. A closer rival, albeit on a smaller scale, was the spa resort of Bath (see "The Comforts of Bath," opposite). Crowded, bustling with energy, and displaying great contrasts between wealth and squalor, London's streetscapes juxtaposed rows of sedate terraced houses against lines of shops whose windows burst with luxuries for sale (see Hogarth's *Gin Lane*, FIG. 14.1). The best picture collections were located in the London town houses of the aristocracy and upwardly mobile middle class, but access was not always easy for artists who wished to study

14.1 William Hogarth, *Gin Lane*, 1751. Etching and engraving, 14⅛ × 12" (35.9 × 30.5 cm). Private Collection.

Read the document by William Hogarth on mysearchlab.com

them. Few paintings could be seen in public buildings or in royal dwellings, and the same was true for Anglican churches, which frowned upon the visual image. Auction houses, on the other hand, consistently offered opportunities for viewing pictures. Primarily, however, it was the reproductive print that served as a surrogate for Old Master and contemporary works. The Grand Tour also offered the means for learning about great works of the past. By mid century not only British artists but also their patrons felt obliged to travel southward. Surviving sketch books, travel books, and letters show a variety of interests—urban views and sketches of the countryside, copies after the Old Masters, particularly Raphael and Claude, and sketches after antique sculpture, free-standing and relief. An artist returning from the Grand Tour possessed a degree of cachet that appealed to fashionable patrons (see "The Delights of the Grand Tour," p. 432).

During the first two-thirds of the century there was no royal academy, and thus no official support of the arts or a formal system for training like that developed under Louis XIV in France. Even so, before the Royal Academy of Arts was founded in 1768 several smaller institutions operated as places for artists to develop professionally and display skills comparable to those of foreign-born artists. One of the earliest academies was organized by the German-born portraitist Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1711 on Great Queen Street, London, with the goal of providing instruction and a forum for discussion among practicing artists. As the result of a dispute involving the academy's director, Thornhill, who assumed leadership in 1716, several other academies came into being. Thornhill himself opened a drawing academy in Covent Garden in the mid 1720s. Particularly influential was the St. Martin's Lane Academy initiated in 1720 by the painter John Vanderbank and the Huguenot émigré Louis Chéron in a rented space on St. Martin's Lane. It was open five evenings a week, when some 35 members could gather to draw from the male and female nude. The genteel atmosphere of these academies, which encouraged erudition and professionalism, enhanced the status of the artists and offered opportunities for them to mingle with patrons.

The first large-scale public exhibition of art was held in 1760 on the Strand in the headquarters of the recently founded Society of Arts. The future success of the group was clearly indicated when 12,000 visitors attended, and over 6,500 catalogs were sold.

The Comforts of Bath

Unlike Paris, which dominated artistic enterprise in France, London had an upstart rival in Britain, namely, the provincial spa town of Bath. Located west of London and perched in the valley of the river Avon not far from the port of Bristol, Bath was accessible by coach from all parts of England. The source of the town's attraction over the centuries was the trio of hot mineral springs that offered the possibility of medical benefits. The ancient Romans, for whom bathing held special appeal, founded the city of Aquae Sulis on an old Celtic site, where they dedicated a temple to Sulis-Minerva and constructed a public bath, remains of which are visible today. In the Middle Ages a town developed around the abbey, and in the Renaissance Bath gained fame as a destination for the sick who went to "take the cure" and visit the doctors and quacks who plied their trade there. But it was in the eighteenth century, after Queen Anne's visit upon her accession in 1702, that Bath reached its peak as a destination resort; the town accommodated thousands of visitors at a time, all of them anxious to experience the rich medical, cultural, and entertainment opportunities offered there. The period of its greatest growth took place in the 1760s and 1770s, when lodgings for both residents and temporary guests were built at a rapid pace and Bath was embellished with its most beautiful squares, all built of the honey-colored stone quarried on the side of the river opposite the town.

The season at Bath lasted from October through May. A visitor would ideally stay for six weeks to enjoy the steady program of events offered by the "King of Bath," most famously Richard ("Beau") Nash, master of ceremonies from 1708 to 1761, and originator of the egalitarian code of etiquette posted in the Pump Room. The daily routine began at 6 A.M. with bathing in the hot waters (fully clothed; women dressed in form-concealing linen coats) and imbibing three glasses of the liquid in the Pump Room,

accompanied by musical concerts. The public breakfasts followed, and the social elite attended morning services at the abbey. The remaining morning and early afternoon interval provided time for a variety of social pursuits, including strolling, perusing the booksellers' shops, and engaging in conversation, reading, or writing at one of the coffeehouses. Alternatively, visitors might hire a teacher to learn such skills as drawing, fencing, music playing, or riding. At 2 P.M. a huge luncheon, the major meal of the day, was served. The rest of the afternoon was spent in further social pleasures before the delights of the evening, which included concerts, the theater, cards, and gambling. Balls in the Assembly Room began with the minuet, in which one couple danced at a time, then turned to more rousing country dances.

Just like today's vacationers, people came to Bath to spend money. The town was famous for its extravagant shop windows, where all manner of goods, including toys, wigs, books, and porcelains, were arranged in a manner more fantastic and compelling than in London. The art business was intimately connected with commerce in luxury goods: It was entirely appropriate that Gainsborough's first studio shared an entrance with his sister's millinery shop. Of the over 150 artists who set up studios in Bath during the century, the best known are Gainsborough, Wright of Derby, and Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830). As elsewhere in Britain, portraiture was the major subject for art produced in Bath. Miniature portraits in oil or pastel were especially popular, as well as silhouettes and profiles painted on glass, since they were quickly produced and easily carried home. In Plate 6 of his amusing series of 12 prints, *The Comforts of Bath*, the graphic satirist Thomas Rowlandson shows a gouty husband seated before a painter, while his pretty young wife indulges in a dangerous liaison (1798; Fig. 14.2).

14.2 Thomas Rowlandson, *Sitting for a Portrait*, Plate 6 of *The Comforts of Bath*, 1798. Hand-colored etching. Victoria Art Gallery, Bath, and North East Somerset Council.

However, debates over subsequent shows led to a rift within the organization: One splinter group, the Society of Artists of Great Britain, held its own show in a new venue in 1761 and actively courted the sponsorship of the new monarch, George III. Two prominent figures, the architect Sir William Chambers (1723–96) and the American-born painter Benjamin West (1738–1820), negotiated with the king for support, and Sir Joshua Reynolds was acclaimed president of the new Royal Academy of Arts late in 1768. The group was composed of painters, sculptors, and architects (in France the last had their own separate academy), with the number of academicians set at 40. Engravers were allowed only secondary status as associate members. Two women were among the group of artist-founders, the Swiss-born Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807) and the flower painter Mary Moser (1744–1819). The regular addresses delivered by Reynolds when medals were awarded provided the foundation for British art theory (see "Academic Theory and Reynolds's *Discourses*," p. 394).

In addition to its initial rented quarters in Pall Mall, in 1771 the academy acquired rooms for its school and library in the old Somerset House on the Strand. That building was demolished to make way for a complex of government buildings designed by Chambers, to which the academy moved in 1780. The exhibition room was situated in the north wing, where it would be most accessible to the public. Somerset House's frontage on the Strand resembled a Roman or Palladian palazzo, and gave an appropriately classical air to the academy's new quarters. In 1869 the institution moved to its present home in Piccadilly: Burlington House, the former home of Richard Doyle, earl of Burlington.

The Royal Academy was modeled after the exclusive Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in France, and became an exclusive enclave for the chosen 40 and the principal site in London for theoretical debate and academic instruction for young artists; instruction included life drawing after male and female models. Over time it housed a study collection of paintings, prints, and sculptures. It was less dependent on royal support than its French counterpart, eventually achieving financial independence through its exhibitions. Although the exhibitions were intended in part to attract commissions from the wealthy, the academicians strove to conceal the commercial goals of art while forming public taste through the display of the highest level of subjects. In fact, most of the works exhibited were portraits and landscapes, with relatively few historical scenes being shown. The exhibitions

14.3 Johan Zoffany, *The Portraits of the Academicians of the Royal Academy*, 1771–2. Oil on canvas, 39¾ × 58″ (101 × 148 cm). Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

were accompanied by an upswing in critical commentaries in the popular press, aimed at instructing the public on methods for viewing and appreciating art.

The German-born and -trained artist Johan Zoffany (1733–1810), who studied in Italy and later emigrated to London in 1760, produced an informal group portrait (called a conversation piece) of the academicians gathering for a life drawing session (*The Portraits of the Academicians of the Royal Academy*, 1771–2; FIG. 14.3). The painting, which was purchased by George III, is commemorative in nature rather than representing an actual event, but many details are authentic. The youthful model in the lower right has just retired from his two-hour session (note the hourglass by his foot), while the assemblage discusses the pose of the older nude male. Evening was the preferred time for life class, based on the argument that artificial light heightened the model's musculature. The painting underscores the academy's use of live models and plaster casts to teach anatomy and thus stimulate production of the highest form of art, history painting. Reynolds, the first president, is identified by his ear trumpet. The rules of decorum forbade women academicians from attending a life session; thus Kauffman and Moser appear only in the form of bust portraits hung on the upper right-hand wall. Zoffany, with palette in hand, occupies the lower left corner. He was an exception within the group, having been nominated for admission by the king rather than elected by the members. He left Britain for extended periods beginning in 1772, working in Italy, Austria, and India.

William Hogarth

As a member of the first generation of English eighteenth-century artists, William Hogarth (1697–1764) strove to rectify many of the problems that faced contemporary artists: He sought new venues for the exhibition of English art, such as urban institutions like the Foundling Hospital and St. Bartholomew's Hospital; proved the financial rewards of artists reproducing their own paintings in the print medium; urged the adoption of British subjects for painting, such as narrative scenes from great literary figures like Shakespeare; consistently fought against the importation of works of art and artists from the Continent; and invented an alternative to history painting: the "modern moral subject." Hogarth had a vision of the Royal Academy—to which the institution did not conform in its early years—as a democratic agency that would openly encourage commerce, instruct all young artists, and provide charitable funds for sick or aging members of the profession. He abhorred the notion of royal patronage, which he feared would exert the same absolutist control and classical ideals as the French academy.

Hogarth published the first English theoretical treatise on art, *The Analysis of Beauty*, conceived between 1745 and 1753, the date of its publication, in which he involved himself in the debate known in France as the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns. Allying himself with the moderns, Hogarth argued that the artist should follow nature as his principal source, not the rules devised by the ancients or the Old Masters. His major thesis was that aesthetic pleasure exists in compositions based on the sinuous line found in nature, which he called the line of beauty, not on lines that are either too straight or curving. The two prints that accompanied the book demonstrate the presence of beauty in the sinuous line through a multitude of details, even an object as simple as a lady's corset.

Hogarth was born in the City, the historic heart of the metropolis, which had its origins in the Roman city of Londinium. His father was an intellectual who attempted to make a living through various means, ranging from teaching and publishing a Latin dictionary to running a coffeehouse where only Latin was spoken. However, his attempts were not always successful, and at one point the family lived for four years in debtor's lodgings near the Fleet Prison, an experience that had a strong impact on the young Hogarth's sense of social justice. In an attempt to follow a professional trade, he was apprenticed at age 17 to a silver engraver, and began a career engraving heraldic emblems and decorative patterns on silver vessels and utensils. Realizing that he was cut out for a higher artistic calling, he left the apprenticeship and set up shop as a printmaker in 1720, intent on developing his skill not only as an engraver but also as an etcher on the copper plate. Early in his career he produced book illustrations, such as the series for Samuel Butler's quixotic poem *Hudibras* of circa 1721, but he went on to specialize in graphic satire—prints that combined the technique of etching and engraving with the goal of lampooning contemporary individuals, scandals, and manners.

At this time London enjoyed a thriving print culture; it was filled with printed images of all kinds, particularly reproductions of famous paintings, crude satirical prints, and moralizing sheets, all of which were available cheaply in print- and bookshops, taverns, and coffeehouses as well as from hawkers on the street. The prints Hogarth produced throughout his career provided a considerable source of income. Most were original compositions, but in some cases they were based on his own paintings. It was not unusual for these printed images to incorporate words either within the image itself or in the form of a legend at the bottom, which helped to explain or expand upon the meaning. Fellow painters considered printmaking a lower form of artistic endeavor, akin to a craft, and this may explain Hogarth's interest in becoming a painter and his attendance at the newly formed St. Martin's Lane Academy.

Hogarth's most impressive example of graphic satire is the pair of images called *Gin Lane* (1751; FIG. 14.1) and *Beer Street*, which epitomize his blend of humor and criticism.

14.4 William Hogarth, *The Graham Children*, 1742. Oil on canvas, 63¼ × 61¼" (160.7 × 181 cm). National Gallery, London.

The prints derive from the rich tradition of graphic images that critiqued contemporary mores, beginning in the sixteenth century in northern Europe. His works combine humor and biting satire in the same way that Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Lucas van Leyden did in their allegorical and genre prints. *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* were a response to the gin epidemic that plagued England in the first half of the century, when Parliament, in a misguided effort to stimulate the economy, make use of surplice corn, and promote a national drink, passed laws to encourage the distilling of gin and its sale at a low price. The result was the proliferation of gin shops, a rise in alcoholism, and rampant violence.

Both prints show typical views of London, with tall buildings lining streets teeming with life. *Gin Lane* shows the Rookery, the capital's most squalid slum, located in the parish of St. Giles, with a distant view of St. George's, Bloomsbury. Among the victims of misguided state policy, a woman dressed in rags, with syphilitic sores on her leg, is so drunk that she neglects her child, who falls over the stair rail while she takes a pinch of snuff. Behind her, to the right, a mother pours gin down her baby's throat to quiet him. At the bottom of the stair a pamphlet seller holding a gin glass has been reduced through starvation to a skeleton of his former self, and on the left a couple desperate for money sells items to a pawnbroker, whose business thrives under these circumstances. Many of the figures in the middle ground swill gin, while others suffer its dreadful consequences, including death. Above the barber pole on the upper left a man has hung himself in desperation.

The devastation suffered by the city is evident in the collapsing building and the architectural shambles in the background. The legend below the print reads:

> Gin, cursed Fiend, with Fury fraught / Makes
>   human Race a Prey;
> It enters by a deadly Draught / And steals our life
>   away.
> Virtue and Truth driv'n to Despair, / It's Rage
>   compelled to fly,
> But cherishes with hellish Care, / Theft, Murder,
>   Perjury.
> Damned Cup! that on the Vitals preys, / That
>   liquid Fire contains
> Which Madness to the Head conveys / and rolls it
>   through the Veins.

In contrast, the denizens of *Beer Street* live a productive and healthy life, thanks to what Hogarth considered the salutary effects of beer. Through these images Hogarth contributed to the reform campaign that resulted in the Gin Act of 1751, which increased duties on foreign imports and placed greater control on local distillers and shops, thus reducing consumption.

Hogarth realized that portraiture offered opportunities for making a living as a painter, and in the early 1730s he began to produce a series of conversation pieces, a portrait category in which family members pose informally in interior settings and interact with both the spectator and each other. This type of painting had its origins in the informal groupings painted by Watteau and Lancret, and reflects English knowledge of painting on the Continent. Hogarth's conversation pieces show that he was a gifted painter of children, and he was never more so than in the painting representing *The Graham Children* completed in 1742 (FIG. 14.4). The four youngsters, from left to right, Thomas, Henrietta Catherine, Anna Maria, and Richard Robert, were the offspring of Daniel Graham, apothecary to the royal household and druggist at the Chelsea Hospital. The luxurious color, contrasting textures, and impasto brushwork reveal Hogarth's admiration for the painterly technique of Van Dyck, recognized as the foremost portraitist in England during the previous century (compare FIG. 8.18). The full-length standing poses, beautiful clothing, expensive interior setting, and red curtain all derive from the state-portrait tradition, and thus subtly stress the wealth and royal connections enjoyed by the patron. On the other hand, the charming, natural attitudes of the Graham children reflect youthful innocence and joy.

Hogarth's portrait encapsulates the new attitude toward children fostered in eighteenth-century England, according to which childhood was considered a unique stage in human life that offered the greatest potential for forming the individual. We sense that these children were allowed the freedom to be childlike, in the same way that contemporary French pictures stressed the individual character and vulnerability of youngsters (compare Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The Diligent Mother*; see FIG. 12.7). The English philosopher John Locke, whose treatise *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693) had an impact in France, likewise contributed to new points of view in Britain: that the goal of education was not just to teach reading and writing but good character and sound judgment; that corporal punishment and mental cruelty had no place in disciplining the child; and that parents should teach by example rather than by rules, and by offering love and friendship. In addition, the wagon and the music box in Hogarth's picture suggest the new importance given to play as a means of education as well as recreation; Locke admonished, "All their innocent folly, playing, and childish actions are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained."

Despite the apparent realism, Hogarth introduced a subtle system of symbols into the painting. The innocence of the children, who live in a protected world, is underscored by the lively motif of the tabby cat stalking the bird, which remains safely within its cage. The cherries held by Henrietta Catherine are the fruit of paradise, referring to the theme of childhood bliss. Richard Robert accompanies the singing bird by turning the handle of the box organ, decorated with a relief of Orpheus charming the beasts. On the clock Love (Cupid), with a scythe and hourglass, triumphs over Time, if only temporarily. In a world where infant and child mortality was relatively high, it was normal for the picture's subtle hint of life's tragedies to be played out in real life: Documents reveal that the infant Thomas passed away around the time of the painting's creation.

Comic Histories

Hogarth's most important contribution to British art was the modern moral subject, or, as his friend the author and dramatist Henry Fielding called the works, the "comic histories." These were a series of genre scenes in the media of painting and prints that conveyed a moralizing story through a dramatic cycle numbering from two scenes (for example, *Before* and *After*, painted in 1731, engraved in 1736) to as many as 12 (*Industry and Idleness*, 1747). The artist invented the plot lines himself, and often inserted recognizable contemporary figures whom he wished to ridicule. Although the comic histories draw from the tradition of the narrative cycle in fresco, oil, and prints, such as Rubens's *Medici Cycle* (FIG. 8.9), Hogarth likened them to contemporary theater, on account of their stage-like setting, dramatic action, and combination of humor and moralizing tone. Even so, his compositions betray a familiarity with Dutch Baroque genre paintings and prints and French Rococo *tableaux de mode*, high-life genre scenes. Hogarth's comic histories also parallel the novels written by his contemporaries Samuel Richardson, Jonathan Swift,

and Henry Fielding, which combine humor and satire to comment on contemporary foibles. Fielding acknowledged his debt to his friend Hogarth, who inspired some of the characters, situations, and above all, the amusing tone of both *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749).

Hogarth usually produced paintings of the subjects first, which served as models for reproductive prints which were etched or engraved either by himself or a chosen specialist. The prints generated a much larger income than was possible through the sale of the paintings. Hogarth's method was to display the oils in his studio where members of the public could view them before ordering the prints by subscription; they thus paid in advance of the creation of the copper plates, a method commonly used for the sale of books. The histories were so popular that pirated versions inevitably appeared, a problem that was eradicated to a considerable extent by the passage of the Engravers' Copyright Act in 1735, for which Hogarth campaigned. Because of the elaborate nature of the narratives, with numerous characters in a storyline that takes place over several years, Hogarth and others supplied commentaries beneath the images and sometimes even separate pamphlets explaining the plot.

Hogarth distributed the cycle of six images comprising *The Harlot's Progress* to subscribers in 1732. Only the prints survive; the paintings perished in a fire later in the century. The idea of a "progress" takes its cue from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–84), an allegory in which a young man, Christian, makes his way through the world in search of the Celestial City. In an ironic twist the protagonist of Hogarth's progress, a young woman, Moll Hackabout, who lacks moral behavior, follows the path of vice to an untimely end. The innocent Moll arrives in the midst of the corrupting big city from the provinces, and is taken in by a procuress, a portrait of the infamous Mother Needham, a contemporary brothel keeper, who introduces her to the life of the demimonde (image one). She becomes the kept mistress of an old Jewish merchant, who puts her up in high-style surroundings, but she must engage in deceit to keep him from finding out about her young lover (image two).

She is forced to take up a life of prostitution, receiving clients in her sordid flat in Drury Lane (image three, *Apprehended by a Magistrate*; FIG. 14.5). Her maid, in tattered clothing, her nose decomposing from venereal disease, pours tea while Moll awaits customers on the side of the bed, displaying a watch stolen from a client the previous night. The time reads 11:45 A.M. Both women are unaware that the magistrate Sir John Gonson, famous for the severe prosecution of prostitutes, has arrived to arrest her. The cat is a time-honored symbol of lasciviousness. The realistic portrayal of the scene has its roots in Dutch Baroque genre painting, such as Gerard ter Borch's *Parental Admonition*, also a bedroom scene with possible intimations

14.5 William Hogarth, *Apprehended by a Magistrate*, image 3 of *The Harlot's Progress*, 1732. Etching and engraving, 11⅛ × 14⅞" (28.3 × 37.8 cm). Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

✳—⎡Explore more about William Hogarth on mysearchlab.com

14.6 William Hogarth, *The Rake's Levée*, image 2 of *The Rake's Progress*, 1733–5. Oil on canvas, 24½ × 29½″ (62.2 × 74.9 cm). Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

of prostitution (ca. 1654–5; see FIG. 7.4). Hogarth's work possesses the same anecdotal character as French *tableaux de mode* of the 1730s, like Lancret's *Morning* from *The Times of Day*, which similarly features a young woman *en déshabillé*, casually dressed, accompanied by her maid, and about to imbibe a hot beverage (1739; see FIG. 11.8).

But Hogarth imbues his images with cruel satire: Moll is thrown into Bridewell Prison, where her punishment consists of beating hemp (image four). The worst is yet to come: Back home, swathed in blankets, she succumbs to venereal disease while two doctors argue about the appropriate cure and her illegitimate child goes unheeded (image five). In the last picture she is present only in the form of a corpse in her casket, surrounded by the jolly company of other prostitutes, few of whom mourn her passing (image six).

The Rake's Progress follows a similar narrative in a sequence of eight pictures, only this time the subject is the downfall of an immoral young man given to indulgence in the vices (1733–5). Initially the story parallels the Christian parable of the prodigal son, but neither repentance nor redemption figure here (see "The Parable of the Prodigal Son," p. 185). Hogarth satirizes one of the great themes of eighteenth-century art and literature: the efforts of rising middle-class *nouveaux riches* to ape the manners of those above them on the social ladder. While decrying the poor taste and loose morals of the moneyed classes, the artist criticizes the English adoption of Continental manners and the taste for Old Master paintings. The protagonist of the cycle, Tom Rakewell, wastes no time in spending the fortune accrued by his recently deceased miserly father. When he arrives home from Oxford he pays off Sarah Young, the girl he had seduced and made pregnant, and has himself measured for a new suit of clothes even before the accounts are drawn up (image one).

Settling into a grand house, Tom affects the lifestyle of the upper classes in *The Rake's Levée* (image two; FIG. 14.6). The *levée* and the toilette, the consecutive morning

rituals of publicly rising and dressing, perfected in France at the court of the Bourbon kings, were practiced by both men and women with pretensions of class in England (see "Making Up Society: The Toilette," p. 318). Thus the rake, informally clothed in his dressing gown, slippers, and cap instead of wig, receives callers who would sell the services requisite to a nobleman: from left to right, a composer seated at the harpsichord, upon which rests a score for *The Abduction of the Sabine Women*; a fencing master with sword in hand; a quarterstaff fighter; a mincing dancing master about to play on his small violin; a garden designer bearing project proposals; a henchman; a huntsman; and a jockey presenting a trophy engraved with a portrait of Tom's winning horse. In the room toward the rear a poet, milliner, and tailors await an audience with the young spendthrift. Hogarth uses the Baroque device of the picture within a picture to comment on the scene. Tom's choice of pleasure over wisdom is echoed by the large Old Master mythological painting of *The Judgment of Paris* that hangs behind him; as with Paris, who made the same decision, the consequences are disastrous. To either side of the canvas hang paintings of gamecocks—roosters specially bred for cockfights—a poor choice aesthetically and one that reveals Tom's interest in gambling.

Tom yields to a licentious lifestyle, consorting with prostitutes at the Rose Tavern in Drury Lane, where the clever women relieve him of his money and his watch (image three). After spending his inheritance he is arrested for debt by bailiffs on his way to court in a hired sedan chair, only to be bailed out by Sarah (image four). He nevertheless acquires another fortune by marrying a half-blind old spinster in Marylebone Church, with Sarah and her illegitimate baby in attendance (image five), but squanders it again in a gaming house, to his extreme dismay (image six). Thrown into the Fleet Prison for debtors, he descends into madness as Sarah faints (image seven).

14.7 William Hogarth, *The Toilette*, image 4 from *Marriage à la Mode*, 1743–5. Oil on canvas, 27 × 35″ (68.6 × 88.9 cm). National Gallery, London.

She tends to his reclining partially naked form in the Bethlehem (bedlam) asylum, surrounded by inmates and aristocratic thrill-seekers (image eight). Hogarth's portrayal of the doomed young man would later help to inspire Jean-Baptiste Greuze's pendant paintings, *The Father's Curse* (1777) and *The Punished Son* (1778; see FIG. 12.13).

In a sequence of six images Hogarth's most ambitious comic history, *Marriage à la Mode*, details the sordid consequences of a loveless marriage of convenience arranged by an impoverished aristocrat and a wealthy merchant with pretensions to class (1743–5). The artist paid particular attention to the composition of the images; he traveled to Paris to see French painting at its source and to hire copper engravers who would produce particularly fine reproductive prints. The principal actors in this drama are introduced at the outset of the narrative: the earl of Squander, hard up for cash to pay for his new building project, offers respectability and a noble lineage to an alderman of the City of London, who has brought hard cash and a keen eye to the bargaining table; the narcissistic bridegroom, Lord Squanderfield, shows no interest in his bride-to-be, who listens to the seductive words of the lawyer, Councilor Silvertongue (image one). Shortly after the marriage, the couple are shown in their overdecorated house, he slumped in a chair after a night carousing on the town, she looking very pleased after an evening's entertainment at home (image two). After contracting venereal disease from his association with a young prostitute, the husband visits the offices of a quack doctor to obtain black mercury pills (image three).

In *The Toilette*, the wife, who has now attained the status of countess, receives in her formal bedchamber (image four, FIG. 14.7) the attentions of a group of hangers-on. These include, on the left side, an Italian castrato singing to the accompaniment of a flutist, a skinny fop with his hair in curlers, and a seated man and woman reacting emotionally to the music. On the right side, Countess Squanderfield, sitting *en déshabillé* at her mirrored vanity table while a hairdresser curls her hair, receives an invitation to a masquerade from Silvertongue, her new lover, who proposes that they dress like the friar and nun pictured on the folding screen. The teething coral dangling from the countess's chair reveals that she has borne a child, but unlike enlightened, devoted mothers of the time, she places priority on social affairs. A group of auction lots on the floor betrays the countess's extravagant spending; one item, the sculpture of Actaeon held by the little black servant, alludes to both the cuckolded husband and the disaster about to overtake the councilor. The licentious undertones of the scene are addressed by three Old Master paintings on the wall depicting seductions: a *Jupiter and Ganymede* after Michelangelo, Correggio's *Jupiter and Io*, and an Italianate *Lot and His Daughters*.

Hogarth's composition brings to mind Dutch Baroque moralizing genre painting, with its variety of amusing but telling incidents, such as Jan Steen's *Beware of Luxury* (1663; see FIG. 7.9). Hogarth also aspired to create the luxurious atmosphere of French *tableaux de mode*, like Lancret's *Morning* from *The Times of Day*, while criticizing the importation of French style and manners into England (see FIG. 11.8). The stagelike tableau is a reminder that Hogarth was inspired in part by John Dryden's comedy of manners, *The Marriage à la Mode*, first performed in 1672 and revived in the eighteenth century, in which a comedic subplot featured a couple in an arranged marriage but without the horrific consequences. In Hogarth's tale disaster strikes when Silvertongue kills Squanderfield in a duel at a *bagnio* (brothel), where the adulterous couple have arranged a dangerous liaison (image five). The countess learns that her lover has been hung at Tyburn, and commits suicide by poison as her crippled daughter, the diseased offspring of this mismatch, gives her a final kiss and her father, seeking some restitution, removes the wedding ring from his daughter's lifeless hand (image six).

Thomas Gainsborough

Throughout the eighteenth century portraiture remained the one subject category that British patrons favored above all others, particularly when it came to commissioning works from native-born artists. Although his avowed true interest was to be a landscape painter, one of the greatest of all English portraitists, Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88), made his living in this field, moving from time to time to different parts of England in order to obtain commissions. He was born in East Anglia, in the market town of Sudbury in the county of Suffolk, where he lived until around 1740. At that time he traveled to London, evidently to be apprenticed, like Hogarth, to a silversmith, but he began his training as a painter under the French expatriate draftsman, printmaker, and habitué of the St. Martin's Lane Academy, Hubert François Gravelot, who taught Gainsborough many of the pictorial devices of the French Rococo. He also worked with the portraitist and history painter Francis Hayman. Gainsborough returned to his hometown in 1748 and launched his career, then moved in 1752 to the nearby town of Ipswich to find a larger clientele. Between 1759 and 1774 he lived in Bath, a major spa and a magnet for a steady stream of sitters requiring large-scale portraits. He returned to London for the last phase of his career, 1774–88, when his presence in the capital and proximity to the Royal Academy, of which he was a founding member, ensured his fame.

Gainsborough also painted landscapes, a subject category that he is said to have infinitely preferred to portraiture, but for which there were relatively few buyers. Even so, his position as a major figure at the beginning of the British landscape tradition is significant. Both his early, highly detailed paintings of his native Sudbury and his

14.8 Thomas Gainsborough, *Gainsborough's Forest: Cornard Wood*, ca. 1746–8. Oil on canvas, 48 × 61″ (121.9 × 154.9 cm.). National Gallery, London.

✳──⌐**Explore** more about Thomas Gainsborough on mysearchlab.com

later more generalized Claude-like landscapes had a great impact on subsequent British artists. While he acknowledged the traditions of topographical and classical landscape, Gainsborough explored Dutch Baroque landscape, which was becoming known to British collectors and artists in the late 1740s. There is evidence that he was looking at, repairing, and copying views by Jacob van Ruisdael and his circle, and he later referred to his early landscapes as variations on works by the Dutch masters. At the same time, Gainsborough was sketching from nature; significantly, he is the earliest British artist to have left a large body of nature drawings.

An early work, the large-scale *Gainsborough's Forest: Cornard Wood* of circa 1746–8, is a studio picture composed from drawings (the title dates from the nineteenth century; FIG. 14.8). Although not strictly topographical, it shows a typical forest scene to the southeast of Sudbury with a view of the church of St. Andrew's, Great Cornard, in the distance. Gainsborough adopted several motifs from the Dutch: the winding road leading the eye into the picture space; the pollarded tree trunks; the small figures of a woodcutter and travelers in the foreground; the cow, donkeys, and the pond; and the voluminous clouds in the sky. He departs from the Dutch, however, in his more random

14.9 Thomas Gainsborough, *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews*, ca. 1748–50. Oil on canvas, 27½ × 47″ (69.8 × 119.4 cm). National Gallery, London.

depiction of nature, apparent in the relatively unstructured view, with its multiple focal points, and the emphasis on minute detail, such as the description of the leafy trees. Historians debate whether, like his Netherlandish predecessors, such as Van Ruisdael in *The Jewish Cemetery* (see FIG. 7.17), Gainsborough injected some literary or moralizing content into the work. The winding road leading toward the church spire may have suggested to some contemporaries a metaphor for the path to salvation, but the artist himself claimed that the reason for including such details was "to create a little business for the eye."

Gainsborough had considerably greater success in selling portraits, such as the early conversation pieces loosely based on the work of French artists, like Watteau and Philippe Mercier, who had placed their sitters in a landscape setting. In the large, horizontal portrait of *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews,* the culmination of Gainsborough's Sudbury years, the artist brought the conversation piece to a new level of development by giving the landscape a degree of prominence equivalent to that of the figures and by depicting a recognizable place (ca. 1748–50; FIG. 14.9). On the left Gainborough's friend Robert Andrews, a progressive agriculturist, stands in a confident cross-legged pose, dressed in a hunting coat with his dog and gun, and casually leaning on a Rococo bentwood bench. His wife Mary,

clad in the extreme finery of a blue silk jacket and skirt, holds in her lap the game bird he has just shot (left unfinished by the painter). The figures, somewhat stiffly posed and awkwardly glancing sideways toward the viewer, possess considerable charm.

In the landscape, which combines topographical detail with Dutch tradition, diagonal rows of harvested wheat carry the eye to the northeast past an enclosed meadow of grazing sheep toward the spire of All Saints' Church, where the couple was married. The picture commemorates the union of husband and wife while suggesting the general theme of fertility—indeed, they would have nine children. It also emphasizes their status as family members who, upon the death of Mary's father, came into proud possession of a substantial tract of land, the estate of Auberies on the Essex side of the Stour River. The down-to-earth portrayal of the sitters, as well as the liquid application of paint, show familiarity with the work of Hogarth (compare *The Graham Children;* FIG. 14.4).

In Bath Gainsborough introduced considerable changes into his portraits, largely as a result of studying works by Anthony van Dyck, the major portraitist working in Britain in the previous century. Van Dyck's paintings were accessible in the country houses near Bath, such as Wilton House, and they proved a revelation for

Gainsborough, as may be seen in *The Blue Boy* (exhibited 1770; FIG. 14.10). Shown life-size in a full-length pose, the figure stands in the foreground of a landscape, looking directly at the viewer and posing with one hand on his hip, in the manner of Van Dyck's *Charles I at the Hunt* (see FIG. 8.18). Gainsborough also imitated Van Dyck's brushwork, and it is in Bath that he cultivated a looser, more painterly style, visible here in the striated touches suggesting the folds of the silk costume and the summary depiction of the scenery. The boy is dressed in what contemporaries called Vandyck costume, consisting of a satin suit and lace collar based on Van Dyck's portraits of his English period. From about 1730 to 1790 this was the most popular type of fancy dress worn at balls and masquerades and also in portraits. Gainsborough kept examples of this type of dress in his studio. Historical costume offered an alternative to short-lived contemporary fashions, which many painters felt would appear dated within a few years of a picture being completed. The artist employed the references to the great Flemish master in a series of Bath portraits for a number of reasons: They lent an air of nobility, thus increasing the status of the sitter; they fitted easily into the collections of patrons who already owned portraits by Van Dyck; and they increased Gainsborough's own status as a painter, through a subtle analogy with a great artist who had been knighted by Charles I.

Gainsborough's use of an old canvas for *The Blue Boy* suggests that this was not a commission but was intended as a show picture to hang on the walls of his "Shew Room" in the abbey churchyard in Bath. At some point, possibly in the 1770s, the painting entered the collection of Jonathan Buttall, a London ironmonger, and it is generally assumed that the picture represents his teenage son, also named Jonathan. There is no definite proof of this, but if it is the case the picture is another example of the appropriation of aristocratic demeanor by the middle class. The color blue also had the connotation of wealth, since blue pigment was traditionally extremely expensive. The present title of the painting seems to date from the late eighteenth century.

In London, during the last phase of his career, Gainsborough continued to work in this loosely painted manner, as is apparent in his portrait of *Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (1785–7; FIG. 14.11). The sitter is Elizabeth Ann Linley, the daughter of a Bath music teacher, whose clear

14.10 (left) **Thomas Gainsborough**, *The Blue Boy*, exhibited 1770. Oil on canvas, 70 × 48″ (178 × 121.9 cm). Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino.

14.11 (opposite) **Thomas Gainsborough**, *Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, 1785–7. Oil on canvas, 86½ × 60½″ (219.7 × 153.7 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Andrew W. Mellon Collection.

14.12 Thomas Gainsborough, *Cottage Girl with Dog and Pitcher*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 68½ × 49″ (174 × 124.5 cm). National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Presented, Sir Alfred and Lady Beit, 1987.

in solitary thought in the natural environment. Subtle details, such as the leafy tendril that encircles her head and the vine that encroaches upon her dress, make her more at one with nature. A soft breeze animates the air, causing the sitter's hair and scarf to flutter.

We may easily imagine Mrs. Sheridan in the midst of touring an English landscape garden, whose design emphasized picturesque details and whose purpose was to provoke contemplation. The sheep in the middle ground were an afterthought, to give a pastoral air to this idyllic scene. Most significantly, a delicate emotional quality, symptomatic of the age of sensibility, infuses the painting. Compared with the brushwork of the early works, that of the last period is loose and sketchy throughout, blurring the outlines and subtly emphasizing color and light rather than volume. The artist blocked in the composition with long-handled brushes in a dimly lit studio that simulated the dusklike atmosphere of the painting. Gainsborough insisted that these effects were most compelling when viewed from a distance, and he eventual stopped exhibiting at the academy after a dispute regarding the hanging of his pictures.

soprano voice thrilled aristocratic audiences, including the king. Rejecting the offers of numerous suitors, in 1773 she eloped to France with Sheridan, who, as playwright, actor, and director, was one of the leading figures of the British stage. Societal mores prevented a married woman performing in public, so she gave up her career in order to help her husband run the Drury Lane Theater, one of the chief theatrical venues in London.

Gainsborough based the composition on the Flemish Baroque format, with the sitter located in the foreground of a landscape organized according to the Venetian type, closed by the trees and shrubbery on the right-hand side and open to a distant view on the left (again compare Van Dyck, see FIG. 8.18). In this and other late works Gainsborough integrated his figures more fully into the setting: Unlike Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, who are located in front of the landscape, Mrs. Sheridan is seated on a rocky ledge within the landscape and appears to be lost

The human figure in a natural setting is also the subject of a series of late genre scenes Gainsborough produced in London, such as *Cottage Girl with Dog and Pitcher* (1785; FIG. 14.12). This is typical of Gainsborough's late fancy pictures, to use the contemporary term for what is essentially a poetic conceit in which one or more figures, based on live models posing in the studio, are dressed in historic or rural garb and often placed in a rustic environment. The painting combines a variety of different and often conflicting associations. The girl's bare feet and the sheep in the background are standard motifs of the pastoral, and to some spectators would have suggested Rousseau's world of a life lived in harmony with nature (compare François Boucher, *Autumn Pastoral*; see FIG. 11.20). The painting also contains a strong reference to the Old Masters, and in particular the beggar children portrayed by the Spanish

Baroque painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, such as the *Boys Playing Dice* (see FIG. 5.27).

The astute viewer would have recognized the broken earthenware pitcher as a potent symbol. In French painting, and especially in the works of Jean-Baptiste Greuze, such as *The Broken Pitcher* (see FIG. 12.14), the motif was an erotic symbol referring to the potential or actual loss of virginity. Unlike Hogarth's *The Graham Children*, who live protected from danger like a bird in a cage (see FIG. 14.4), this girl, with her tattered clothes and look of despair, faces the hardships of rural poverty. For the viewer, this image might stimulate on the one hand an aesthetic *frisson* or on the other the emotions of pity and compassion. In its own way, therefore, the painting is an updated, secularized version of Ribera's *The Clubfooted Boy* (1642; see FIG. 5.8). This was a period that saw the rise in England of charitable institutions devoted to children, like the Foundling Hospital in London, with which Hogarth and Gainsborough were associated.

Richard Wilson

Like Gainsborough, Richard Wilson (1713/14–82) aspired to be a landscape painter, but, given the British preference for portraits, he initially made his living painting faces. A native of Wales, he studied under Thomas Wright in London in the late 1720s and initiated a portrait practice in the 1730s. A sojourn in Italy from 1750 to around 1757 was important not only for the opportunity to study ancient and Renaissance art but also to make the acquaintance of potential patrons among gentlemen taking the Grand Tour. After spending a year in Venice and then taking up residence in Rome, Wilson determined to leave portraiture behind and concentrate on landscapes. On his return to England he set up a house and studio in Covent Garden, London, where he continued to attract students and patrons. Wilson specialized in painting rural views of Italy, England, and Wales, in which he fused the native topographical tradition with the Italianate classical landscape, thus founding a British national style that would be adopted by the next generation of landscapists in England.

Wilson's paintings of his native Wales, which focus on both spectacular natural views and major architectural structures, stemmed in part from a sense of nationalistic pride and the desire to attract Welsh patrons. They also formed part of the Celtic Revival of the mid eighteenth century, a period that sought to reassess Wales not as a cultural backwater but as an integral part of British history. His *Caernarvon Castle* is one of six versions that he painted both before and after his Italian sojourn (ca. 1745–50; FIG. 14.13). It shows the immense walled fortress built by the English king Edward I in the 1280s at the mouth of the Seiont River overlooking the Menai Straits between north Wales and the island of Anglesey. Constructed near the site of the ancient Roman fort of Segontium, the building

14.13 Richard Wilson, *Caernarvon Castle*, ca. 1745–50. Oil on canvas, 25½ × 41″ (64.8 × 104.1 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

was one of several castles that comprised a defensive ring intended to enforce English rule in Wales. A royal seat and administrative center, it was also the birthplace of Edward's son and the future sovereign, Edward II, the first English prince to be called the Prince of Wales. The site enjoyed an association with a Welsh legend, *The Dream of Maxen Wledig*, in which Magnus Maximus, the fourth-century Roman emperor of the West, dreams of a multi-towered fortress on the Seiont River. Edward I's castle may have been in part an attempt to connect the British royal dynasty with the ancient imperial presence in Wales. As a result of its literary and historical connections, the town of Caernarvon was a popular destination in the dawning age of British tourism.

The view is topographically accurate to the extent that Wilson incorporated many defining features of the castle, like the three-turreted Eagle Tower, and such elements as Twt Hill on the right and Anglesey in the distance. However, the clear spatial organization, the use of the foreground tree as a *repoussoir* (a large object in the foreground behind which the space appears to recede), the warm sunlight, and the calm atmosphere are indebted to the classical landscape tradition, as is evident from a comparison with Claude Lorraine (see FIG. 9.23). Wilson clearly benefited from the opportunity to study the landscapes of Claude not only in Rome but also in England, where interest in collecting the works of the artist began in his own lifetime and swelled during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when Lord Leicester acquired some eight paintings and the duke of Devonshire purchased Claude's *Liber Veritatis*. By mid century there were perhaps more Claudes in England than in any other country. At the same time, in line with contemporary theory devoted to the Picturesque (see p. 329), Wilson made changes to the actual topography of the scene in order to render it more pleasing to the eye. He emphasized the ruinous nature of the old fortress, enhanced the curve of the Seiont River, and all but eliminated the bustling town, thus rendering the view more idyllic. He further underlined the "picture-like" nature of the scene by including in the foreground a standing male figure who focuses not on the landscape but on the drawing being created by a seated, sketching artist.

Joseph Wright of Derby

Born in Derbyshire in the north Midlands, an area with a long mining and manufacturing history, Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–97) has been called the painter-poet of the Industrial Revolution because of the emphasis in his work on industrial and scientific subjects. His training, however, was in London with the portraitist Thomas Hudson, and patrons who desired images of themselves in his refined, realistic style were a principal source of his revenue. Working primarily in the capital, with short periods in Liverpool, Bath, and Derby, Wright branched out into other subject categories, such as depictions of blacksmith's shops, iron forges, blast furnaces, and cotton mills, many of which showed darkened interiors illuminated by artificial light. Relatively late in his career, at the age of 39, he journeyed to Italy (1773–5), where, like other artists of his generation, he studied the local monuments and made connections among artists and aristocratic travelers. In Naples he may have witnessed a minor eruption of Mount Vesuvius, an event that he would take as the subject for a group of later pictures, when he added landscape to his scope of interests (see his *Vesuvius in Eruption, Seen from Posillipo*, ca. 1788; "Special Effects: An Inquiry on the Sublime," p. 400).

Wright painted two large-scale paintings that take scientific demonstrations as their subject. In the earlier, *A Philosopher Giving That Lecture on the Orrery*, a gentleman wearing academic robes uses a mechanical device to lecture to a group of intent listeners on the motions of the planets within the solar system (1766). Subsequently Wright painted *An Experiment on a Bird in the Air Pump*, in which nine figures of various ages witness the central lecturer's demonstration of the laws of pneumatics (1768; FIG. 14.14). The air pump, which had been invented in Germany in the mid seventeenth century, was available in England by the 1760s. Because of its dramatic nature, the demonstration of the pump, as we see here, often formed the climax to public scientific experiments, such as those held in Derby by the Scottish astronomer James Ferguson, who may have inspired Wright. Since the demonstration normally involved the placement of a small bird or animal in a glass chamber, the pumping of air from the jar was dramatically shown when the animal expired from lack of oxygen. The dramatic tension in this picture results from our not knowing whether the scientist, whose hand is poised on the valve at the top of the flask, will readmit air to the chamber in time to revive the white bird, an expensive pet cockatoo. Although the painting resembles a family conversation piece, only two figures have been identified: The young couple on the left, who stare deeply into each other's eyes, are Mary Barlow and Thomas Coltman, whose marriage portrait Wright would later paint. On the right a boy hoists a birdcage before a window, through whose panes is seen a full moon, a reminder that Wright's interest in science may have been stimulated by an amateur group of scientists in Derby later called the Lunar Society.

Although the painting embodies the rational character of the Enlightenment, it also includes an element of sensibility in the detail of the man, presumably a father, who comforts two young girls who react emotionally to the experiment, one looking fearfully at the bird, the other hiding her eyes from its imminent death. This figural group recalls the current emphasis on the education of young girls and the new role of the father within the household. The girls also provide an element of the Sublime, since fear

14.14 Joseph Wright of Derby, *An Experiment on a Bird in the Air Pump*, 1768. Oil on canvas, 72 × 96″ (182.9 × 243.9 cm). National Gallery, London.

was one of the principal emotions associated with that aesthetic concept. The girls' awakening to the reality of death through their observation of the experiment is further emphasized by the empty birdcage, a symbol of the loss of innocence. As a complement, Wright included on the right-hand side of the table an older male who meditates on the skull visible within the milky liquid in a glass jar and silhouetted by a candle. The painter must have been familiar with the *vanitas* motif of a human figure contemplating a skull, popularized in Baroque Caravaggesque painting. In its stylistic features as well, the painting betrays Wright's close study of the lighting effects of Caravaggio and his followers, particularly Gerrit van Honthorst, whose later career unfolded in England. Van Honthorst's *Merry Company* includes a similar group of half-length figures arranged around a table, with the candlelight partially obscured behind an object (see FIG. 6.3). Like the Utrecht painter, Wright combined smoothly modeled surfaces and fine detail to convey a startling sense of realism, although his range of colors is broader.

Sir Joshua Reynolds

With Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92) British art attained a new level of literary and theoretical professionalism. As the founding president of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1768, he took a strong role in teaching young artists and elevating the taste of British patrons. His *Discourses*, lectures presented to the academy which were subsequently published, provided British artists with the first substantial body of theoretical writing (see "Academic Theory and Reynolds's *Discourses*," p. 394). For the most part he made his living as a successful portrait painter with a studio in London. He produced some 2,000 portraits for a wide variety of clients among the upper classes, many of which are recorded in the artist's sitters books, which indicate the day and time when he received specific sitters. His schedule was so rigorous that he routinely had the portraits finished by assistants, who added the drapery and the backgrounds according to his directions. In accordance with academic theory, however, he argued for the

preeminence of history painting in the grand manner, that is, subjects drawn from the Bible, ancient history, and classical mythology painted in the time-honored tradition of the great masters, like Raphael, Michelangelo, Poussin, and Annibale Carracci. Thus Reynolds was the author of numerous historical subjects as well as fancy pictures that combined elements of portraiture with history painting.

Born in the village of Plympton, Devon, the son of a schoolmaster, and raised in an atmosphere of intellectual and literary pretensions, Reynolds apprenticed, like Wright of Derby, under Thomas Hudson for about three of the agreed four years and then struck out on his own. He traveled to Italy in the years 1749 to 1752 and spent a substantial amount of time in Rome but also visited the other major art centers on the peninsula. Back in London, where he frequented the St. Martin's Lane Academy, his career took off. Reynolds achieved a higher status than any other British painter of the eighteenth century, as is evident from the extraordinary sums he received for his pictures, a knighthood awarded in 1769, an honorary

Academic Theory and Reynolds's *Discourses*

As a founding member and first president of the Royal Academy of Arts in London, Sir Joshua Reynolds delivered 15 lectures, known as the *Discourses*, over a period of 22 years. The first five were presented annually between 1769 and 1772, and the remaining ten were for the most part presented every other year from 1774 until 1790, usually on or near 10 December, upon the occasion of awarding prizes. The audience consisted of faculty, artists, students, and a dozen distinguished guests who might be collectors, patrons, or politicians. The *Discourses* were initially published individually following each lecture, and then in collected volumes: *Seven Discourses* in 1778 and all 15, for the first time, as part of the complete written *Works* edited in 1797 by Reynolds's literary executor, Edmund Malone, after Reynolds's death in 1792.

The net result is a grand synthesis of the classical ideals expounded in the preceding two and one-half centuries by such figures as Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Charles Le Brun, and Charles-Alfonse du Fresnoy. Within a few decades the *Discourses* appeared in Italian, German, and French translations, and they were reprinted many times during the next 100 years. For Reynolds the ultimate goal of art was not the imitation of reality: "The poets, orators, and rhetoricians of antiquity, are continually enforcing this position; that all the arts receive their perfection from an ideal beauty, superior to what is to be found in individual nature." He continually emphasized the edifying and uplifting goals of art, as opposed to the providing of mere pleasure, and the importance of the human figure as a vehicle for moral instruction. The pinnacle of art was achieved by Raphael and Michelangelo, especially in the medium of fresco, which Reynolds claimed required a monumental rather than detailed effect. The grand style (grand manner) of the English, evident in the highest category of subject matter—history painting—was thus comparable to the *gusto grande* of the Italians and the *beau ideal* of the French.

As a portrait painter, Reynolds did not always follow his own rules, and it is evident that over the two decades of the *Discourses* his taste changed in subtle ways. His long allegiance to Raphael shifted by the last *Discourse* to Michelangelo, "this exalted founder and father of modern art, of which he was not only the inventor, but which by the divine energy of his own mind, he carried at once to its highest point of possible perfection." The Florentine master, to whom Reynolds paid homage in his *Self-Portrait* of circa 1780 (Fig. 14.15), should ideally be studied in Italy, he said, but in any case he recommended for all students and professionals the plaster casts, drawings, and reproductive prints after Michelangelo in the academy. "I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of—Michael Angelo."

14.15 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1780. Oil on panel, 29⅞ × 24¾" (76 × 63 cm). Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Read the document by Sir Joshua Reynolds on mysearchlab.com

14.16 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy*, 1760–1. Oil on canvas, 58 × 71½" (147.3 × 181.6 cm). Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (Rothschild Family Trust).

doctoral degree from Oxford, an extensive private collection of pictures in a large house in a fashionable neighborhood, and his high position within the academy.

Among the several self-portraits executed by Reynolds throughout his career, the one from circa 1780, executed for the assembly room of the Royal Academy when it moved to new quarters at Somerset House, London, best embodies his goals of ennobling his work through association with the Old Masters, such as Michelangelo, and cultivating a self-image in the tradition of the courtier-artist, like Van Dyck (see "Academic Theory and Reynolds's *Discourses*," opposite). In reference to both his honorary degree and his intellectual pretensions, Reynolds wears the black velvet beret and scarlet-sleeved robe of an Oxford doctor of civil law (compare Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Maulstick, Palette, and Brushes;* see FIG. 6.27).

Reynolds believed that the British art-buying public could be acclimated to the idea of history painting through the introduction of historical motifs in the realm of society portraiture, as in his *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* (1760–1; FIG. 14.16). David Garrick was one of the leading figures in the world of British theater, a man who combined acting, directing, producing, and writing in a single career, and who preceded Sheridan as the manager of the Drury Lane Theater. The sitter, dressed in quasi-historical garb, smiles and gesticulates in a bemused manner as he is urged in opposite directions by allegorical figures representing the classical theatrical genres of Comedy, who smiles winsomely at the viewer, and Tragedy, who carries her attribute, the dagger, in her belt and raises her left arm in a rhetorical gesture. This conceit is based on an antique mythological subject, Hercules between Virtue and Vice, in which the mythological hero ponders the choice between the rocky road to virtue or the easy road to voluptuousness. Reynolds's work thus bears a strong similarity to the historiated portrait, in which the sitter takes on the attributes of a historical figure (compare Largillierre; see FIG. 11.6). At the same time, Reynolds has injected a humorous note: While Hercules sides with Virtue, Garrick yields apologetically to Comedy. There are subtle artistic references within the work: Comedy is painted in the manner of Correggio, with light and shadow playing over the sensuous curves of her body, while Tragedy is depicted in the manner of Guido Reni, in a more self-consciously classical costume and pose (compare FIGS. 0.14, 2.7).

Stage actors like Garrick were the movie stars of their day, hugely successful in their profession and the object of worship by the masses, who sought to see them on stage and to possess images of them. Reynolds cultivated friendships with theatrical personalities, understanding the publicity value to be gained from association with celebrities. Large canvases representing the leading actors of the stage garnered attention in the artist's showroom and at exhibitions, and brought in patrons who might not otherwise be attracted to his work. Reproductive prints in the medium of mezzotint popularized these compositions. At the same time, actors understood the importance of forging connections with the major painters of the time, and sought to be represented in both theatrical costume and street dress as a means of fashioning their public image.

Apart from Garrick, no actor worked harder at cultivating her public image than Sarah Siddons, the leading British tragedienne in the second half of the century. Famed for her performances as such tragic figures as Lady

Macbeth, Siddons appeared in numerous guises as the subject of a great many paintings, prints, and even satirical engravings. Reynolds's monumental painting *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse* shows her seated on a grandiose throne in an Olympian cloudbank as Melpomene, one of the nine muses of classical mythology, who oversaw tragic drama (1783–4; FIG. 14.17). Behind her in the shadows, two figures holding the attributes of Tragedy personify the Aristotelian aspects of Tragedy: on the left, Pity with a dagger, and on the right, Terror with a poisoned chalice. The work was probably intended initially as a publicity piece, designed to attract attention to both artist and sitter, which it did at the academy exhibition of 1784. X-ray examination of the canvas has revealed that Reynolds made two important changes in the process of creating the work: The space given to Terror was originally occupied by the personification of Melancholy, another aspect of Tragedy; and a putto holding a scroll, originally seated on the clouds in the lower left corner, was painted over, evidently to simplify the composition.

Siddons was not a conventional beauty, but Reynolds captured her bold features. The costume is a modified version of contemporary dress intended to separate the sitter from current fashion. Although the voluminous hairdo was in vogue for women, the pleated braids are a detail common on the stage for tragic actresses, and the entwined ropes of pearls decorating her chest refer to the rich jewelry that customarily adorns the muse. Siddons claimed that the majestic pose was her own invention, but a visitor present at the sitting claimed that upon her arrival at the studio, exhausted from hurrying to the appointment, she slumped in the chair in a pose that Reynolds deemed perfect. Whatever the truth, it is clear that the painter sought to ennoble his subject by reference to august prototypes on the Sistine Chapel ceiling: The seated pose was borrowed from Michelangelo's *Isaiah*, while the attendant figure behind the throne to her right derives from an attendant behind his *Jeremiah*. Charles Le Brun's lecture on the passions, published in English translation in

14.17 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse*, 1783–4. Oil on canvas, 94¼ × 58⅛" (239.4 × 147.64 cm). Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino.

14.18 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, with Her Daughter, Lady Georgiana Cavendish*, 1784. Oil on canvas, 44½ × 55⅛″ (112.4 × 140.3 cm). Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House.

1701 and 1732, provided inspiration for Pity and Terror (see FIG. 9.25). Reynolds turned to Rembrandt for the rough, broad strokes of the brush, the layered impasto touches, and the somber color scheme of rich browns and ochres, an aspect much appreciated by Siddons for the gravity it lent the subject (see FIG. 6.26). The picture thus comes closer to the ideal of the historiated portrait than the *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy*, and Reynolds must have been pleased by the contemporary designation of the picture as a history painting. He placed a high price on the work, probably to increase its notoriety; in 1790 it was purchased by the French ex-minister of finance, M. de Calonne, who had earlier fled the Revolution.

Reynolds was a remarkable painter of parents and children, as in the late work, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, with Her Daughter, Lady Georgiana Cavendish* (1784; FIG. 14.18). One of Britain's wealthiest and most widely celebrated women, the duchess of Devonshire, like her equally famous descendant, Diana, Princess of Wales, was a member of the Spencer line and was raised at the family seat of Althorp. The wife of William Cavendish, the fifth duke of Devonshire, Georgiana was a major trendsetter, who influenced the look of clothes and hairstyles as she oversaw a glittering social circle in the couple's London home, Devonshire House, and the country estate at Chatsworth. Like many aristocrats she was heavily involved in gambling, owing enormous sums, and in politics, acting as a leading campaigner and fundraiser for the opposition party, the Whigs. To the duke's regret, the couple's first child, born in 1783, was a girl not a male heir. Even so, documents attest to Georgiana's intense devotion to her daughter, also named Georgiana, and her enlightened attitude toward child-rearing, evidently influenced by such publications as Rousseau's *Emile* and Dr. William Cadogan's *Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children* (first edition, 1748). For example, she insisted on breastfeeding the child rather than sending her off to a wet nurse, as was still common among the nobility. Later correspondence between mother and child reflects an intimate bond and mutual affection.

The work shows the influence of Reynolds's trip to the Netherlands in 1781 in the Rubenist vigor of the poses and the brushwork, as well as the addition of such accouterments of the Baroque state portrait as the fluttering drape and the view from the terrace, which are appropriate to Georgiana's status. Nonetheless, the relationship between the sitters is very different from that of the mother and child in Van Dyck's *A Genoese Noblewoman and Her Son*, which stresses the dynastic function of the mother and portrays the child as a miniature adult (see FIG. 8.15). The action of Reynolds's figures suggests a cozy domesticity, as if we had just stumbled upon a charming vignette of family life in the nursery.

Constructing Social Identities: George Romney

George Romney (1734–1802) was born in northwest England near the town of Dalton-in-Furness in Cumbria, not far from the coast. The son of a cabinetmaker, he initially trained under his father, but in 1755 he was apprenticed to an itinerant portrait painter, Christopher Steele, for four years, although the contract was terminated after two years. A trip to York with Steele in 1756–7 introduced him to Old Master paintings and facilitated an early purchase of reproductive prints. He began his career by settling in Kendal, a market town on the eastern edge of Cumbria at the southern gateway to the Lake District.

not fuse portraiture and history painting to the same extent as Reynolds.

One of Romney's earliest attempts to depict full-length, life-size figures was *The Leigh Family*, an elaborate composition of eight figures that was shown at the Society of Artists in 1768 (FIG. 14.19). This and similar works elevated him to the position of Reynolds's chief rival in London, since Gainsborough was still in Bath at this time. Jared Leigh, seated with his right hand tucked into his waistcoat and legs informally crossed at the ankle, was a London lawyer, who hailed, like Romney, from the northwest of England and had pretensions as a painter; two of his children became artists. The warm glances exchanged by the figures, especially the solicitous attitude of the two central girls toward the baby, the apex of the composition, bespeak the tenderness that characterized familial relationships in the 1760s. The casual grouping, with the parents placed on the right-hand side, is reminiscent of the conversation piece. Certain elements, however, which derive from the tradition of the state portrait, contribute an air of the grand manner: the large scale of the figures; the setting, which suggests an outdoor terrace with clouds and trees visible in the distance; and the monumental columns, whose bases stand on a massive plinth bearing a sculpted relief panel. Whether it was appropriate for a wealthy middle-class sitter to be shown in a manner deemed by some more suitable for the aristocracy was a matter of debate, but in this period we have consistently seen the upwardly mobile middle class appropriating noble status symbols.

Romney shows his mastery of the human figure in the striking realism of the sympathetic faces, portrayed in a variety of frontal, three-quarter, and profile views. Two of the figures acknowledge the viewer's presence. Large, clearly defined shapes of vivid colors contrast with minutely observed details, like the gold embroidery on the father's scarlet waistcoat, without concealing the brushwork of the artist. Part of the strong appeal of Romney's pictures lies in the extraordinary rendering of the texture of cloth, especially the weight, texture, and reflective qualities of silk. Small details, like the foreshortened woven basket and projecting edge of the mahogany table, are breathtaking in their illusionism.

Like Gainsborough and Reynolds, Romney made a living as a society portraitist, even though his real calling lay elsewhere. A prolific draftsman, he produced throughout his life a large number of graphite and wash drawings for historical compositions based on classical sources, but most were never executed in paint. Toward the end of his career he contributed to one of the great enterprises of the period, which stimulated the public interest in history painting—the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery.

He moved to London in 1762 at the age of 28. A brief visit to Paris in 1764 confirmed his negative feelings regarding contemporary French art. In 1773–5 he undertook the obligatory trip to Italy, where he traveled to all of the major sites and sketched after the Italian masters, especially Michelangelo and Raphael. On his return to London he moved to expensive quarters in Cavendish Square, near Oxford Circus, in the increasingly fashionable West End where a large house, a showroom filled with his pictures, and proximity to wealthy patrons created an attractive aura. He never sought membership of the Royal Academy, perhaps because he posed a threat to Reynolds. Instead, he exhibited with the rival institution, the Society of Artists. A workaholic at heart, he charged less for portraits than either Gainsborough or Reynolds and enjoyed a thriving business, receiving sitters more frequently and for more hours of the day than was the norm, even on Sundays. He insisted on finishing certain parts of his paintings, like drapery and the background, that other painters routinely handed over to assistants. Romney did

George Stubbs

George Stubbs (1724–1806) exemplifies a genre of imagery that seems particularly British—sporting art, that is, representations of hunting and horse racing and commissioned portraits of horses and dogs and their masters. Such depictions were marginalized during the eighteenth century: Animal pictures held firm at the bottom of the academic subject hierarchy—they were comparable to still-life painting because they were considered to be too dependent on realistic depiction and incapable of inspiring lofty ideas. Moreover, horse paintings were overly connotative of the boisterous world of the racetrack, and in any case most practitioners produced relatively mediocre, formulaic images and thus were not regarded as professionals by other painters. Perhaps for this reason Stubbs maintained his loyalty to the more commercially biased Society of Artists longer than most and waited until 1781 to join the newly founded Royal Academy, to which he never submitted a presentation piece.

Born in Liverpool, the son of a currier, Stubbs was self-taught and initially embarked on a career as a portraitist. In 1745 he moved to York, where he became interested in anatomy. A medical doctor of his acquaintance provided a human cadaver for him to dissect and encouraged him to lecture on anatomy at a local hospital. Although Stubbs went on the Grand Tour in 1754, he spent only a few months in Italy, where he remained apart from the British artistic community and made no copies after the Old Masters. In 1756, at age 32, he made a momentous decision: Subsidized by a wealthy patron and assisted by his common-law wife Mary Spencer, Stubbs retired to a secluded farmhouse in north Lincolnshire and devoted a year and one-half to the study of the anatomy of the horse. He built an apparatus of iron and wood strong enough to hoist and suspend a dead horse, and systematically stripped off the skin and flesh, making piecemeal drawings in clinical detail.

When the artist moved to London in 1758/9, he contacted professional printmakers about reproducing the drawings but without a positive response. Thus he himself etched 18 plates which show the horse in full movement from different vantage points, and detail the musculature and the skeleton in both realistic renderings and schematic line drawings (*The Anatomy of the Horse*, published in 1766). The venture was a great success, and gave him the entree to a social class that provided lucrative commissions for portraits of animals with or without the human figure. Stubbs revisited medical illustration in his last great project, left unfinished at the end of his life, the *Comparative Anatomy*, for which 120 drawings of a man, a tiger, and a chicken have survived, along with four volumes of text, two in French.

Lustre, Held by a Groom is typical of Stubbs's portraits of prize horses (ca. 1762; FIG. 14.20). The animal appears in the traditional profile view, yet in a departure from

14.20 George Stubbs,
Lustre, Held by a Groom,
ca. 1762. Oil on canvas,
40⅛ × 50″ (102 × 127 cm).
Yale Center for British Art,
Paul Mellon Collection,
New Haven.

Special Effects: An Inquiry on the Sublime

The new vigor achieved in British painting in the eighteenth century was accompanied by an upswing in publications devoted to art criticism and theory. Chief among the new aesthetic theories developed over the century was the concept of the Sublime, which was devoted to explaining the visceral reaction of the spectator to depictions of violence, death, and horror. Its origins can be traced to the first-century-CE Greek author Longinus, whose tract *On the Sublime* differentiated between beauty and the sublime and promoted the idea that vastness created a sense of awe in the observer. Longinus's ideas formed the basis for British reformulation of the concept as early as 1712, when Joseph Addison argued in his essay "The Pleasures of the Imagination," published in *The Spectator*, that pleasure was to be obtained from looking at horrible or terrifying objects. The new writings on the Sublime, which appeared in the realms of both art and literary criticism, were closely related to the rise of sensibility, which placed a premium on the experience of increasingly violent feelings.

At mid century the Irish-born philosopher and politician Edmund Burke (1729–97) sought to define specifically the nature of the Sublime in his tract *An Enquiry on the Origins of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757). His work follows Longinus's by differentiating between the Beautiful, which produces a feeling of pleasure in the spectator, and the Sublime, which evokes the more powerful emotion of terror: "Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling." According to Burke, sublimity may be caused by such qualities as vastness, silence, roughness, immensity, and grandeur. He gave special importance to obscurity, which, unlike clarity, had the power to stimulate the imagination. Burke's argument that both Beauty and the Sublime were perceived through emotional rather than intellectual faculties challenged academic theories of art, which placed the emphasis on the rational character of art conveyed through classical principles. Burke argued that the Sublime was a property of things, whereas Immanuel Kant (1704–1824), author of *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764), defined the Sublime as an aspect of human feeling. Translated into French and German, Burke's writings influenced artistic thought on the Continent and contributed to the Romantic movement, as may be seen in the landscapes of J. W. M. Turner.

In the visual arts landscape painting most commonly provided an opportunity for experiencing the Sublime. Several seventeenth-century landscapists were connected with the concept, most notably Salvator Rosa in such works as *The Ruined Bridge* (see Fig. 2.15). In the eighteenth century Joseph Wright of Derby incorporated sublime elements into his landscapes, such as *Vesuvius in Eruption, Seen from Posillipo* (ca. 1788; Fig. 14.21). Along with other landscape views painted in the later years of his career, Wright specialized in views of Vesuvius erupting, creating over 30 of them. He had visited Naples in 1774 and claimed to have witnessed a volcanic eruption of Vesuvius. In fact, although he based this work on sketches made on the site, he probably saw only minor volcanic activity. The primary source of inspiration was the flood of contemporary prints and publications that appealed to the public fascination with the primal energy of volcanoes and their deadly impact on earlier civilizations. While these images and publications represented the new level of scientific interest and observation that characterize the century, they were also calculated to produce a *frisson* worthy of the Sublime.

14.21 Joseph Wright of Derby, *Vesuvius in Eruption, Seen from Posillipo*, ca. 1788. Oil on panel, 25 × 33″ (63.5 × 83.8 cm). Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven.

14.22 George Stubbs, *A Lion Attacking a Horse*, 1770. Oil on canvas, 38 × 49½″ (96.5 × 125.7 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. Gift of the Yale University Art Gallery Associates.

contemporary images, it does not fill the frame but stands, still and alert, somewhat off center within a calm landscape. Stubbs divorced the image from the reality of the racetrack, which was commonly thought to be a seedy place devoted to gambling.

From 1762 through the 1790s Stubbs applied his knowledge of horse anatomy to the theme of a lion attacking a horse, of which some 17 examples are known, primarily in oils but also in the print medium, enamel painting, and a sculptural relief in Wedgwood clay. In each he represented one of two basic stages in the action: a lion stalking a frightened horse; and a lion that has leapt on the horse's back, and is mauling its flesh as the defeated animal either stands or collapses to the ground. Some of his representations show the life-and-death struggle close up, filling the picture plane, while others include a landscape, like *A Lion Attacking a Horse* (1770; FIG. 14.22). The wild, rocky setting possesses traits of the Picturesque, while the terrifying and awesome encounter stimulates a sense of the Sublime (see "Special Effects: An Inquiry on the Sublime," opposite).

This was not an event that Stubbs experienced firsthand, despite an apocryphal account of his witnessing such a scene in Morocco. Rather, he attempted to elevate his art by conjuring up an ideal conception of violence in nature through a subtle reference to classical antiquity. The source was a pre-Hellenic sculptural group that he may have seen in Rome at the Palazzo dei Conservatori but in any case was known in England through small copies and prints. He modeled the lion after one in the zoo of his patron, Lord Shelbourne. Stubbs also depicted other wild animals concurrently shown for the first time to excited crowds in London, such as a zebra (1763) and a Canadian moose (1770).

The success enjoyed by Stubbs was typical of the newfound admiration for native artists achieved within British shores by the 1760s. Given the desperate situation for local artists at the beginning of the century, when a British tradition was practically nil, it is remarkable that within the space of two generations a strong and lively national school was in full gear.

Architecture and Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Britain

French architecture of the eighteenth century developed as a challenge to the previous age, as the cultural center shifted from Versailles back to Paris. The final years of the reign of Louis XIV wrought political and social changes that were expressed in architecture. In particular, the classical orders all but disappeared from the exteriors of châteaux and *hôtels*, and a new desire for commodious living arrangements affected the distribution of spaces in domestic buildings. Early eighteenth-century English architecture, on the other hand, represented a direct continuation of the formal, functional, and symbolic goals of the previous period. Unlike the medium of painting, for which there was virtually no national school during the Baroque, architecture comprised a vigorous tradition that gathered momentum as the year 1700 approached.

Christopher Wren (1632–1723), who initiated his career in the 1660s, was still active into the second decade of the new century, Nicholas Hawksmoor (1662–1736) had been working for him since the 1680s, and John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), undertook his first big commission in 1699.

Even so, unlike the Bourbons, the new Hanoverian dynasty did not engage in palace construction and played a minor role in promoting new projects, leaving the field to the landowning aristocracy. Not until 1768 did the crown sponsor the Royal Academy, which included architects

John Wood the Elder and John Wood the Younger, the King's Circus, Bath, 1754–66. (Detail of FIG. 15.16)

as well as painters and sculptors, although the Office of Works continued to train architects and create jobs. Some prominent English designers of the new age were self-trained members of the upper class.

Two formal themes unite the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England. The Baroque style, which emerged in the 1660s, extends into the first third of the new century. Palladianism, which had been the focus of works by Inigo Jones in the early seventeenth century, underwent a revival to become a major trend from the 1720s onward. A third movement, the Gothic Revival, came into its own in the 1750s. Classical architecture entered a more archeological phase, Neoclassicism, after mid century, but its story lies outside the scope of this book.

London rebounded after the Great Fire of 1666, and went on to become the largest city in Europe, as its population escalated to about 900,000 during the first census in 1801. Over 10 percent of England's population lived in the capital. The eighteenth-century city sprawled in all directions out from the City of London—the original square mile of the old Roman and medieval settlements and the commercial capital—and the City of Westminster, the center of royal power and justice. Construction moved primarily east- and westward along the Thames.

To the west of the City, the West End comprised the new fashionable district, encompassing such neighborhoods as Bloomsbury, Soho, and Mayfair. Following the

15.1 Thomas Leverton?, Bedford Square, Bloomsbury, London, 1775–83.

success of Covent Garden in the 1630s (see FIG. 10.25), aristocratic landholders used the leasehold system to convert their agricultural estates into housing developments. The most desirable addresses were the new urban squares, such as Bedford Square on the land of the duke of Bedford (1775–83; FIG. 15.1). The standard form of urban dwelling was the Georgian row house, or terraced house, inhabited not only by the middle class but also by the nobility and the gentry. These dwellings were not as big as contemporary *hôtels* in Paris's Faubourg Saint-Germain, but the British accommodated themselves to restricted quarters at home while living equally outside on the street with its new sidewalks, coffeehouses, clubs, and shops. Paris may owe its beauty to the white limestone from which its buildings are constructed, but Georgian London derives its special character from the red, orange, and brown tones of brick construction, required in lieu of wood after the Great Fire.

Beyond the West End, charming villages and new suburban villas enlivened the riverbank. On the other side of the City, the East End expanded as great numbers of workers poured into London. Refugee silk weavers resided in Spitalfields, and sailors and dockworkers occupied the waterfront slums. All was not perfect in this world, where the Church was losing its grip on moral behavior and the seamy side of life often eclipsed civility (see Hogarth's *The Harlot's Progress*, 1732; FIG. 14.5). But as Samuel Johnson famously put it, "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford." Nonetheless, the British remained equally devoted to country life, and the new prosperity brought by the Hanoverian succession yielded a boom in new country houses.

Churches

Considered by historians to be one of the great British Baroque architects, Nicholas Hawksmoor received his architectural training in Wren's office and assisted Vanbrugh in the creation of Blenheim Palace (discussed below). Hawksmoor's chief legacy in London was the result of the Fifty New Churches Act of 1711, which imposed a new duty on coal to provide parish churches in the developing districts east and west of the City. Enacted in 1670 in response to the Great Fire of 1666, the coal tax had funded the construction of 51 buildings overseen by Wren. This time, as a result of rising construction costs, only 12 churches were actually built, half of them by Hawksmoor. The regulations set forth by the overseeing committee stipulated that the buildings possess the appearance of great temples, be built of stone rather than brick, and include a magnificent portico and tall tower. They were to be monuments not only to the Church of England but also to the nation under the rule of Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts, and her Hanoverian successors.

The narrow site of St. George's, Bloomsbury, in the West End, located a few blocks north of Covent Garden and hemmed in by earlier structures, contributed to

certain peculiarities of Hawksmoor's plan (1716–31; FIG. 15.2). He oriented the square plan in the traditional manner, with the altar and reredos on the east side and the main entrance under the west tower. But he also provided a grandiose secondary front facing south on the more prominent Bloomsbury Way, so the church has two entrances and greater ease of access for parishioners.

The south façade reveals Hawksmoor's antiquarian interests and his imaginative reuse of ancient precedents. The massive Corinthian six-columned portico, the first in London, raised on a podium fronted by a broad staircase,

is derived from the Roman temple of Bacchus at Baalbek, as imagined by Hawksmoor. He based the stepped pyramid atop the tower on Pliny's description of one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor; here the pyramid supports a statue of George I dressed in Roman garb. Colossal sculptures of two lions and two unicorns, seemingly brought to life from the royal coat of arms, clamber about the pyramid's base. Horace Walpole called the tower "a masterpiece of absurdity"; the improbable juxtaposition of the big temple front with the whimsical steeple is characteristic

15.2 Nicholas Hawksmoor, St. George's, Bloomsbury, London, 1716–31. West tower and south portico.

of Hawksmoor's eclectic style. The tower appears in the background of Hogarth's *Gin Lane*, a reminder that the church was built so that respectable residents of the parish would not have to traverse the notorious Rookery (see FIG. 14.1).

As in Wren's churches, the interior of St. George's follows the type of the Anglican auditory church, designed to accommodate the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer (see "Conserving the Architectural Past," below). Box pews for wealthy parishioners originally faced the main axis from the north and south sides. The pulpit is placed prominently to one side so that all present can hear. For less well-off parishioners, Hawksmoor suspended galleries between the side columns. Clear glass windows originally provided even illumination. The salient features of Hawksmoor's interiors—simple, massive volumes and unadorned walls under rich though restrained ceilings and moldings—are evident in the serene monumentality of the relatively small space, with its white walls brightly lit by clerestory windows overhead.

Conserving the Architectural Past

The high cost of upkeep, the loss of original function, unsympathetic additions, war, vandalism, fire, the deterioration of neighborhoods, and the pressing demands of developers have all impacted historical structures. Two examples from this chapter illustrate the circumstances contributing to a building's demise and the challenges faced during conservation. Important issues confront the restorer: To what date or period in its history should a building be returned? To what extent are later alterations to a building a legitimate part of its historical fabric? Extensive historical research, through both testing on site and consulting original documents, is essential in order to answer these questions before commencing work.

In the case of St. George's, Bloomsbury, the question is: What is more important, the aesthetic vision of the architect or the ritual function of the building? Hawksmoor built the church in a fashionable new neighborhood, but the restricted site meant that seating for parishioners was always limited (Fig. 15.3). Thus in 1731 the parish vestrymen added a third gallery on the west side, much to Hawksmoor's dismay, and in 1782 they made the radical decision to reorient the interior space from the traditional east–west axis to a north–south axis. By shifting the altar and the reredos from their intended position in the stuccoed eastern apse to the north wall, and by replacing the original north gallery with a new one on the east, they seriously compromised Hawksmoor's original design. In the nineteenth century, regular pews replaced the original box pews. The fantastical sculpted lions and unicorns on the spire were dismantled in 1871, judged to be in poor condition as well as in poor taste.

It was not until 2002 that a four-year, $16 million restoration began with the goal of returning the building to the state Hawksmoor had envisioned (see Fig. 15.2). This involved not only repairing and cleaning the fabric but, again most remarkably, a change back to the original east–west axis. The reredos was reinstated in the eastern apse, and a copy of the lost north gallery was installed. To the delight of Londoners, new replicas of the heraldic animals were added to the spire. Because today's congregation is smaller, the return to Hawksmoor's original configuration satisfies liturgical needs, while the restoration has stimulated a new secondary function of the building as an active concert venue and an educational center.

Strawberry Hill reflects a different set of circumstances. During the lifetime of its creator, Horace Walpole, his "little Gothic castle" achieved fame for the uniqueness of its design (see Fig. 15.12). Walpole never married, and on his death in 1797 a relative, the sculptor Anne Seymour Damer, lived there for about a decade before the house passed to the Waldegrave family. The building suffered a major blow in 1842 when the entire contents, including the original furnishings and Walpole's library and art treasures, were sold at auction over 32 days. The most important nineteenth-century occupant, Lady Waldegrave, modernized the house, and in 1860–2 added a large wing that, although Gothic in style, overpowers the original structure. Parts of the estate were sold off, the view to the Thames was lost, and because the house was too expensive to maintain as a residence, a Catholic teachers college bought the site in 1923, and constructed school buildings in Walpole's landscape garden.

In 2004 research and fundraising commenced toward a $14 million restoration project which was completed in 2010. In order to return the building to the period of its completion by Walpole, conservators reconstructed unsound structural parts and stripped off later accretions, in the process revealing original details, like early wallpaper (see Fig. 15.14).

15.3 Nicholas Hawksmoor, St George's, Bloomsbury, London, 1716–31. Interior looking east, with the altar and reredos in the apse.

15.4 James Gibbs, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 1721–6.

The church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields replaced a deteriorating medieval building not far from Covent Garden (1721–6; FIG. 15.4). It now overlooks the vast nineteenth-century Trafalgar Square. The architect, James Gibbs (1682–1754), was born near Aberdeen, Scotland, to a Catholic family and traveled to Rome in 1703, evidently to become a priest. Instead, he chose the profession of architect, and entered the studio of the Roman Baroque master, Carlo Fontana. His considerable experience abroad, principally in Rome, made him one of the best-informed British architects with respect to Baroque style, and is reflected in the designs he produced throughout his career in London, where he established himself in late 1708.

The simple rectilinear volume of St. Martin's has the external appearance of a majestic ancient Roman temple; the giant order of Corinthian columns supporting the pediment on the west façade continues in the form of pilasters along the sides and back. Whereas Wren and Hawksmoor had planned their towers as adjuncts to the main body of a church, Gibbs sought to integrate the two. He placed his steeple, a variation on the classical type pioneered by Wren and Hawksmoor, directly on axis behind the pediment and over the vestibule. This un-classical conjunction might appear incongruous were we not so accustomed to the myriad subsequent copies and variations in British and American church designs.

The giant order reappears inside, rising from podia originally incorporated into the side box pews. Semicircular arches intersect with the gracious curved vault (FIG. 15.5). In addition, Italian artisans provided the delicate stucco reliefs in the all-white interior. The influence of this and other designs by Gibbs was the result of his publication, *A Book of Architecture* of 1728, the most popular English architectural volume of the eighteenth century at home and in the British colonies.

15.5 James Gibbs, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, interior, London, 1721–6.

The Baroque Country House

As in France, where the château and the *maison de plaisance*, a pleasurable rural residence, represented the standard country dwellings, the country house remained significant in Britain, where a noble or gentleman might possess both a town residence and a country estate. The most spectacular of early eighteenth-century country houses, Blenheim Palace, is exceptional in its name, origins, form, and protracted building history (1705–25; FIG. 15.6). The building, along with the crown property of Woodstock near Oxford, was a gift from the nation to John Churchill, first duke of Marlborough, in gratitude for his services as commander of the British forces at the Battle of Blenheim (or Blindheim) which took place on the Danube in Germany in 1704. As part of a coalition of forces, which included Austrian troops under Prince Eugene of Austria, Marlborough's army defeated the armies of Louis XIV in one of the decisive battles of the War of the Spanish Succession. Thus Blenheim Palace is not a seat of power—the standard meaning conveyed by the word palace. And as a country house it exceeds the usual associations with the ideals of aristocracy and the landed gentry. Rather, it symbolizes the fortunes of the nation and the glory of Queen Anne and Marlborough.

It was never clear who was to pay for Blenheim—the queen, Parliament, or the duke—so funds continually ran short, and many craftsmen and tradespersons suffered as a result. Moreover, the duchess of Marlborough wanted a livable space with a commodious arrangement of rooms, and this led to a long-standing feud with the architect, Sir John Vanbrugh. He too was exceptional: He turned to architecture in 1699 after a brief career as a soldier, when he was held as a political prisoner in France (he was considered a spy) and had the opportunity to admire French buildings, which was followed by a career as a writer of

15.6 John Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, entry courtyard, Oxfordshire, 1705–25.

✳—⏐Explore the architectural panoramas of Blenheim Palace on mysearchlab.com

Key:

A. Great hall
B. Saloon
C. State antechambers
D. State drawing rooms
E. State bedchambers
F. Grand cabinet
G. Vestibule (bow window room)
H. Duke's bedchamber
I. Duchess's dressing room
J. Duchess's bedchamber
K. Duchess's dressing room
L. Courtyards
M. Little dining room
N. Little apartment
O. Lord Godolphin's apartment
P. Long gallery

a. Greenhouses
b. Back courtyards
c. Kitchen
d. Bakehouse
e. Gates (water cisterns over)
f. Laundry
g. Common hall
h. Terraces
i. Chapel
j. Stables
k. Coach houses

Kitchen Court

Great Court

Stable Court
(unfinished)

15.7 John Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, ground floor plan, Oxfordshire, 1705–25.

witty stage comedies. Although brilliant at conceptualizing grandiose buildings, Vanbrugh relied on Hawksmoor to draw up working plans and conceive some of the detailing. After Vanbrugh's falling-out with the duchess Hawksmoor took his place as architect.

The layout of Blenheim is unusual in British architecture (FIG. 15.7). The axial design, multiple courtyards, and numerous wings show the influence of the French garden-palace (compare the plans of Versailles and Boffrand's Château de Lunéville; see FIGS. 10.19 and 13.10). The overwhelming grandeur of the exterior is visible from the entry courtyard. The pedimented entry front projects aggressively from the central block, while curved wings sweep forward to enclose the forecourt. This engaging of the viewer is comparable to the effect of the courtyard of Le Vau's Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, as is the alternation of plain wall surfaces inscribed with channeled rustication and the use of the orders of two different heights (see FIG. 10.9). Columns, both free-standing and engaged, seem to march out in formation like so many troops in a display of martial force. Vanbrugh claimed that a country house should exhibit "the castle air," evident here in the huge, seemingly defensible pavilions that anchor the corners of the main block. Their openwork towers call to mind medieval embattlements, and the fanciful finials, comprised of symbolic cannon balls and ducal coronets atop inverted *fleurs-de-lis*, signify Marlborough's triumph over the French army. Dynamic, explosive, and bellicose—Blenheim is English Baroque at its height.

The rooms and their location also mix British and French traditions. Visitors approaching the entrance on the main axis enter the great hall, a two-storied affair whose origins go back to the medieval castle. From there, they proceed to the saloon, an anglicized name for the French *salon*. As in France, state apartments for the duke and duchess are located on the garden side, extending to left and right from the saloon and comprising an antechamber, drawing room, and bedchamber. They serve ceremonial purposes, while private apartments fill the eastern (left-hand) wing. A typically British space, the long gallery intended for the duke's art collection (later, the library), takes up the right-hand side of the main block.

The intention was to decorate and use the state interiors in a manner similar to Hogarth's image of an aristocratic *levée* in his *Marriage à la Mode* series (see FIG. 14.7). Completion of the building was hampered by financial problems, the arguments between the duchess and Vanbrugh, and a period of exile when the Marlboroughs fell from royal favor. It was thus left to the Marlboroughs' descendants to fashion a home out of this national monument.

The Palladian Revival

In addition to the country house, the suburban villa formed an important building type in eighteenth-century Britain. Ultimately derived from the ancient Roman *villa suburbana*, this was a small house located outside the city and easily accessible from the owner's town house. A superb example, although like Blenheim somewhat exceptional in character, was Chiswick House (also called Chiswick Villa), located about 8 miles west of central London in a newly fashionable neighborhood by the Thames, between the royal dwellings at Hampton Court and in the capital (1725–30; FIG. 15.8).

It was designed by its owner, Richard Boyle, third earl of Burlington and fourth earl of Cork (1694–1753), an immensely wealthy aristocrat who took up the profession of architecture with the goal of reviving Palladianism in Britain. As such he typifies the so-called dilettante architect common in this period. He traveled on the Grand Tour twice, and during his second visit to Venice in 1719 he focused on the structures of the great sixteenth-century north Italian architect Andrea Palladio. Burlington's annotated copy of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* has survived as evidence of his keen interest. During his journey he purchased over 60 drawings by the Italian master and later published a book with Palladio's drawn reconstructions of Roman imperial baths.

Lord Burlington built Chiswick House next to his old Jacobean family mansion (pulled down in the 1770s), to which it was connected by a linking wing. The villa served several functions: It provided space for an art collection, contained formal suites for the owner and his wife, and was used for entertaining. But it was primarily an architectural showpiece, created to display Burlington's erudition and to encapsulate the formal principles of the Palladian Revival, a movement born as a reaction against the presumed excesses of English Baroque, as exemplified by Blenheim Palace and St. Paul's Cathedral. Condemning Baroque as a corrupt, Roman Catholic style, Burlington and other advocates turned for inspiration to Palladio, whom they considered the purest and simplest interpreter of the architecture of the ancients. They built on the fact that Palladio's works had formed the basis for the first classical style in Britain, as practiced by Inigo Jones, for example at the Queen's House, the Banqueting House, and St. Paul's, Covent Garden (see FIGS. 10.23–10.25).

Two publications of the 1710s gave impetus to the movement. In his three-volume *Vitruvius Britannicus*

15.8 Lord Burlington, Chiswick House, entry façade, London, 1725–30.

Read the document related to architecture by Andrea Palladio on mysearchlab.com
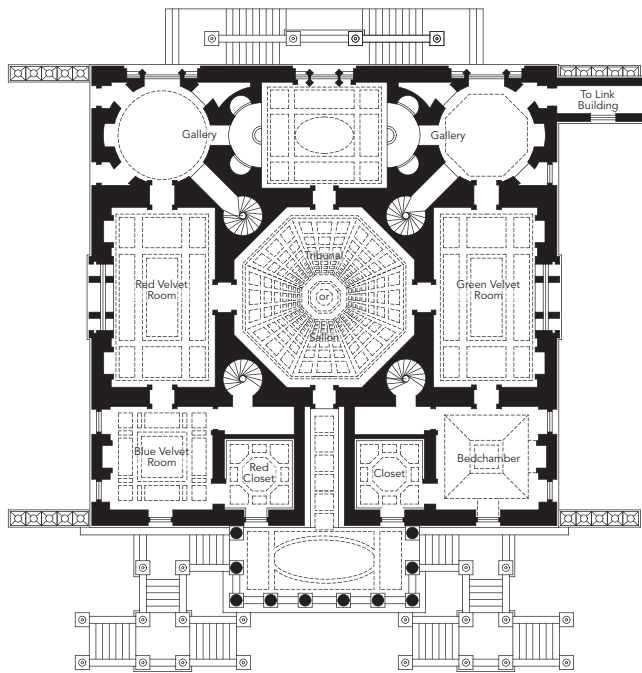
15.9 Lord Burlington, Chiswick House, plan of the principal floor, London, 1725–30.

✳ — Explore more about Andrea Palladio's architecture on mysearchlab.com

15.10 William Kent, Chiswick House, the Blue Velvet Room, London, ca. 1729.

Burlington's close associate, the Scottish lawyer turned architect Colen Campbell damned the Baroque with faint praise and provided models for a more sober classicism (1715–25). The Venetian architect Giacomo Leoni published the first English translation of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (1715–16).

The design of Chiswick House evokes Palladio's most famous structure, the Villa La Rotonda outside Vicenza (begun ca. 1555–6), not as a slavish copy but as a variation on its principal design theme: a domed rotunda encased in a cubic block. Both buildings ultimately refer back to the Roman temple of the Pantheon, but unlike Palladio, who included temple fronts on all four sides of the Rotonda, Burlington attached the temple front only on Chiswick's court façade. Moreover, his rotunda is octagonal in plan, not circular, and the dome rises well above the roofline to allow Roman thermal windows to light the interior. The chimneys projecting above the roof take the classical form of truncated obelisks. The crisp carving of the florid Corinthian order, the curvy lines of balusters, and the pattern of brackets in the cornice lend delicacy to this diminutive structure.

The plan is strictly symmetrical, with the central rotunda flanked by suites of three rooms to left and right and a gallery comprising three linked spaces on the garden front (FIG. 15.9). The variety of room shapes—circle, square, octagon, rectangle—strung along various axes pays homage to ancient Roman planning by way of Palladio's study of baths. William Kent (1685–1748), another of Burlington's protégés, whom he met in Rome, designed the interiors. Despite humble origins in Yorkshire, Kent received funding to make the Grand Tour in exchange for securing art objects for his patrons. Burlington convinced him to return home to work alongside Campbell at Burlington House in London, and the two developed a lifelong friendship, often as collaborators. Kent's powers as a painter were limited, but he proved to be one of Britain's most innovative interior designers, rejecting the Baroque in favor of the bold classical forms of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian interiors.

In the Blue Velvet Room Kent focused on the door and window frames and the swelling brackets supporting the vault, whose oversized sculptural forms give a certain grandeur to the small space (ca. 1729; FIG. 15.10). Brilliantly colored Genoa cut-velvet wallcoverings and the lavish gilding of relief surfaces provide further richness. Kent's designs for furniture reflect his familiarity with late seventeenth-century Italian tables and chairs (see FIG. 4.28), while incorporating an element of humor that is Rococo in flavor. A pioneer in the field of the English landscape garden, Kent made alterations to Chiswick's garden

15.11 William Kent, Holkham Hall, south front, Norfolk, 1734–64.

to increase its informality and Picturesque character, adding the serpentine river and the cascade (1730s).

In addition to gardens and interiors, Kent made a considerable contribution to British design in the 1730s when he turned to designing buildings. He rejected the Baroque qualities of Blenheim and with Burlington's assistance he produced the plans for the ultimate Palladian country house, Holkham Hall in Norfolk, constructed for Thomas Coke, later the first earl of Leicester (1734–64; FIG. 15.11). The central block, containing a spectacular colonnaded entry hall and state chambers, connects via corridors at the corners to four identical, smaller blocks, one each for the chapel wing, the kitchens, the library, and the guest quarters. Holkham epitomizes the essence of Palladianism in the clear hierarchy of the parts, the relegation of the pedimented temple front to the central axis, and the severe, undecorated wall surfaces throughout the rest of the exterior.

The Gothic Revival

One of the most remarkable homes of the period was Strawberry Hill, Sir Horace Walpole's suburban villa west of London next to the Thames in Twickenham (FIG. 15.12). Walpole (1717–97), the son of Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole and a member of Parliament, is best remembered as one of the great *literati* of the time, whose voluminous correspondence of some 10,000 letters chronicles every aspect of British life. He was also the author of the first Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), a literary genre that took England by storm as part of the sensibility craze
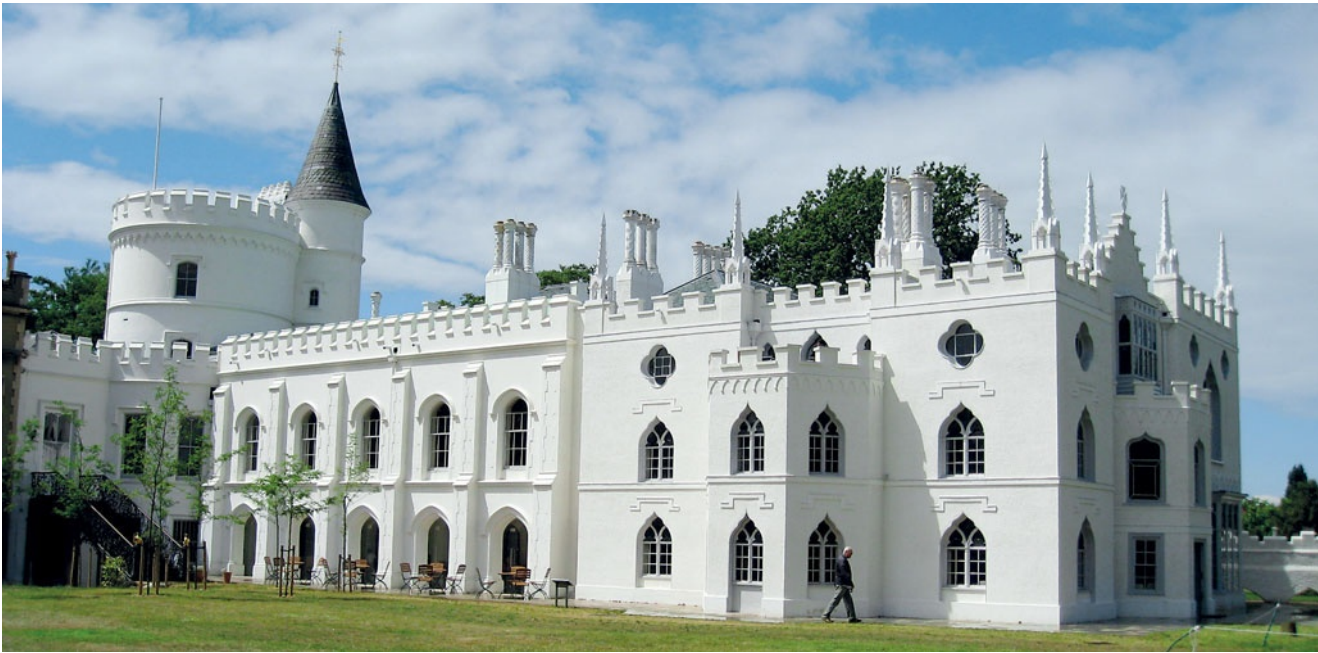
15.12 Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill, south and east fronts, Twickenham, 1749–54, 1759–77.

A	Round Room
B	Cabinet
C	Great Bed Chamber
D	Gallery
E	Holbein Room
F	Library
G	Beauclerc Closet
H	Armory
I	China Closets
K	Back Stairs
L	Passage
M	Star Chamber
N	Red Bedchamber
O	Blue Bedchamber
P	Breakfast Room
Q	Green Closet

Principal Floor of Strawberry hill. 1781.
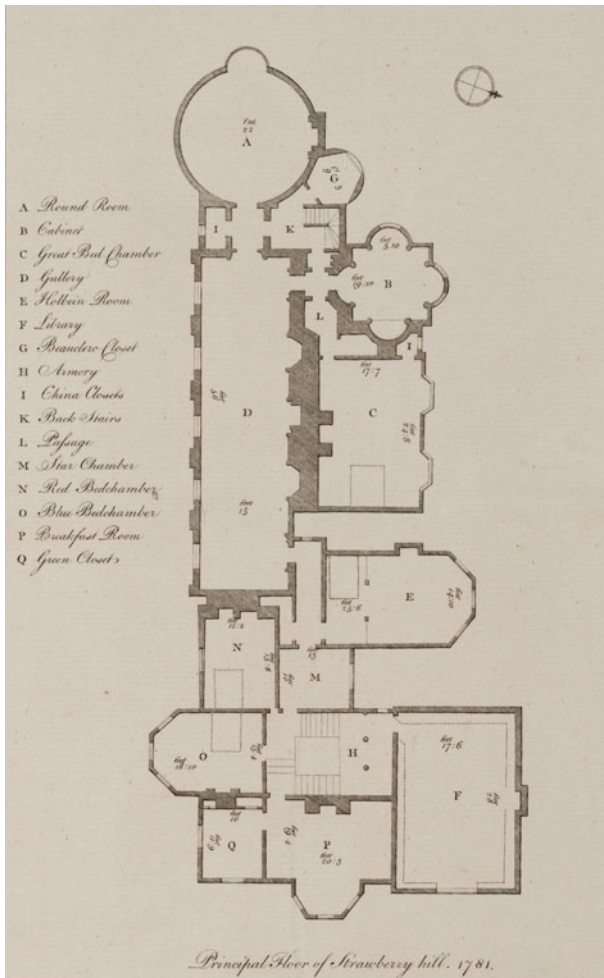
and the yearning for emotional stimuli. Such novels, set in the medieval period, emphasized strange and mysterious events in evocatively dank abbeys and castles. Walpole created a similar experience in his house by adopting motifs from medieval architecture and sculpture.

Architects like Wren and Hawksmoor had previously employed Gothic motifs in structures added to older buildings, but Strawberry Hill was the first full-scale instance of the Gothic Revival style in a domestic context. Acting as dilettante architect, Walpole was responsible for the design of the building in consultation with his "committee of taste," a group of enlightened friends. He first leased and then purchased an undistinguished old house, and made changes and added rooms in an organic way, as his eclectic collections grew and as finances permitted (1749–54, 1759–77). Exterior details, such as the pointed tracery windows, crenellations above the cornices, and two round towers at one end, were drawn from late medieval architecture.

The plan was unique in its deliberate absence of symmetry, rejecting classical principles of design and embracing the apparent haphazardness of medieval structures (FIG. 15.13). The loose organization of rooms lacked the rigorous order of the apartments at Blenheim or Chiswick, but the house was unusual in that it served the purpose of an architectural bauble inhabited by a bachelor aesthete.

15.13 Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill, plan of the principal floor, Twickenham, 1749–54, 1759–77. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

15.14 Horace Walpole and John Chute, Strawberry Hill, the library, Twickenham, 1753–4.

Its influence on later villas in the Picturesque style lasted well into the nineteenth century.

The interior décor copies or mimics various specific prototypes in Gothic buildings that Walpole and his collaborators knew primarily from pictures in books. The amateur architect John Chute (1701–76) designed the pierced Gothic arches of the library's wooden bookcases after printed illustrations of the side door casing to the choir of Old St. Paul's Cathedral and based the fireplace on tombs in Westminster Abbey and Canterbury cathedral (1753–4; FIG. 15.14). Walpole created the painted and stuccoed ceiling with its fretwork pattern, incorporating family armorial shields and the motto, in Latin, "Do what you think." So popular was Strawberry Hill that Walpole was swamped with visitors and published a descriptive guidebook.

Although Walpole remarked on his desire to create an aura of "gloomth," in fact the small size of the rooms and the small scale of the decorative elements create a light, airy ambience that, in its excess, is analogous to Rococo décor in France (compare the Salon de la Princesse; see FIG. 13.16). Similarly in tune with French developments, Walpole claimed that the house incorporated convenience and modern refinements in luxury.

City Planning

Urban planning represents a major sphere of activity due to the expansion of English cities and the desire of developers to entice a moneyed crowd to newly established residential quarters. Housing on an open city square was deemed particularly desirable. The French *place royale* features a statue of the king in the middle (see FIGS. 10.2 and 10.3), and the Italian city square and its offshoot in London, Covent Garden, have a fountain or church as their focus (see FIGS. 4.4, 4.5, and 10.25). However, the English square consists of a large open space based on a geometrical figure and lined solely by terraces—rows of identically designed, attached private houses that are its principal feature (see FIG. 15.1). One of the signal charms of British cities today is the large number of Georgian "squares." This misleading word belies the variety of shapes, from circle, semicircle, and square to rectangle, hexagon, octagon, and oval.

Depending on the location, the dwellings served members of both the nobility and the middle classes. The higher rank of artists also purchased or rented terraced houses in order to be close to potential patrons. Constructed as often by craftsmen as by architects, the

terraces were normally erected on a speculative basis. Most were built of red or brown brick with white stone detailing, but when local stone was plentiful, the results were exceptionally handsome.

One city that required numerous town houses for both permanent and temporary residents was the spa resort of Bath, built in the West Country on the slopes of the Avon River, to which Gainsborough, Wright of Derby, and many other artists flocked to take advantage of a large clientele seeking to have their portraits painted while "taking the waters" (see "The Comforts of Bath," p. 377). As the old town, whose origins stretched back to the Romans, gradually expanded toward the northwest, new streets lined with row houses were added. The 1760s and 1770s witnessed the greatest period of building activity. Bath architecture achieves much of its beauty through the honey-colored Bath stone, a type of locally quarried limestone that is soft enough to accommodate relief carving.

A father and son pair of architects contributed several elegant squares to the city. John Wood the Elder (1704–54), himself the son of a builder, worked in London before settling in Bath in 1727, and John Wood the Younger (1728–81), attended Oxford before turning to architecture. It was the father who as early as 1725 conceived the idea of a series of open spaces lined with classical structures that would revive Bath's heyday in antiquity.

I began to turn my Thoughts toward the Improvement of the City by Building; . . . And in each Design, I proposed to make a grand Place of Assembly, to be called the *Royal Forum* of *Bath*; another Place, no less magnificent, for the Exhibition of Sports, to be called the *Grand Circus*; and a third Place, of equal State with either of the former, for the Practice of medicinal Exercises, to be called the *Imperial Gymnasium* of the City, from a Work of that Kind, taking its Rise at first in *Bath*, during the Time of the *Roman* Emperors (Wood, p. 232)

The end result was a sequence of three civic spaces—one a square, another a circle, the third an oval—connected by straight avenues that rise northward along a hill.

The effect on the spectator is similar to Héré de Corny's configuration of three sequential spaces along a single longitudinal axis at the Place Royale, Nancy, which also refers back to ancient Roman public spaces (1752–5; see FIG. 13.18). The Bath squares, however, are not axially aligned and were built over a longer period of time. Wood the Elder initially constructed Queen Square on the figure of a rectangle, and privileged the northern terrace by giving it the elevation of a Palladian palace façade, suitable for dedication to the queen, even though this terrace actually encompasses seven large attached houses (1728–36; FIG. 15.15).

15.15 John Wood the Elder and John Wood the Younger, Queen Square, 1728–36 (1), the King's Circus, 1754–66 (2), and the Royal Crescent, 1767–75 (3), Bath.

15.16 John Wood the Elder and John Wood the Younger, the King's Circus, Bath, 1754–66.

☀ ⌐Explore the architectural panoramas of Bath on mysearchlab.com

Next came the King's Circus, three semicircular ter-races built on the plan of a circle and separated by three radiating streets (1754–66; the elder Wood died in 1754 and the son completed construction to his designs; FIGS. 15.15 and 15.16). Despite the appearance of regularity on the exterior, the 33 houses, which share common walls, vary somewhat in size and layout. The inspiration for the Circus came in part from ancient Roman precedents and Woods's own fantastic ideas about the ancient Britons, or Druids. The round form and the name were chosen to give a classical cachet to the space: Latin *circus* means both circle and a type of ancient sports arena—although the center was never intended to be the site of athletic activity. The central space was originally paved; the present-day lawn and trees were added in the early nineteenth century.

Contemporaries referred to the elevations as the Roman Colosseum turned outside in, with three levels of paired engaged columns positioned correctly from bot-tom to top: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. However, Wood the Elder claimed that the shape and size of the design were based on ancient stone circles, like Stonehenge and other sites nearby, presumed to have been built by Druids. The giant acorn finials call to mind the legendary founder of Bath, who reputedly discovered the hot springs when his pigs were foraging for acorns. Additionally, the acorn symbolizes the oak tree venerated by the Druids. In short, Wood created a public space that resonated with

ancient British history, referencing both the Druids and the Romans.

As in most Georgian terraces, the individual houses typically measure three bays wide. Unlike the French *hôtel*, where the rooms are arranged horizontally on two floors, the terraced house is organized vertically, with as many as five floors accessed by means of a stair on one side of the plan directly behind the front door and the foyer. The ground floor contains the dining room and family parlor. The first floor (American second floor) has beautifully decorated front and rear drawing rooms for reception and entertainment. Front and back bedrooms for the princi-pal adult inhabitants occupy the second (American third) floor, while the third (fourth) or attic floor provides bed-rooms for children and servants. The back rooms, which may have bay windows to admit more light, give onto a garden and, at the rear of the most prestigious homes, there may be a carriage house and stable. The basement level below ground, lit by deep wells to either side of the entrance, encloses the kitchen and servants' rooms.

Unlike the French Rococo interior, with its costly sculpted and painted arabesques, the English eighteenth-century town house interior is generally decorated with simple wooden paneling, called wainscoting, on the lower part of the wall and a painted or papered surface above, complemented by mirrors and a fashionable fireplace. Paint colors could be soft or brilliant (more pigment

Chippendale's Chairs

The eighteenth century was the Golden Age of British furniture, when quality of design and execution reached a high level. As in the case of architecture, no single style prevailed. Heavy, luxuriant Baroque forms prevalent at the beginning of the century gave way by 1730 to French-inspired Rococo motifs that mingled with exotic detailing, such as Gothic and Chinese elements, to be eclipsed around 1760 by the Neoclassical style.

The single name that has come to stand for a century of British production is that of Thomas Chippendale (1718–79), who trained under his father in Yorkshire and then moved to London, where he built a thriving business, employing a large staff of craftsmen in St. Martin's Lane, the center of the capital's furniture trade. In addition to offering a burgeoning West End and country house clientele single pieces for sale, he provided full services for room furnishings that included wallpaper, drapery, and carpeting.

Chippendale's extraordinary popularity resulted from his publication of a pattern book, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, which consisted of 161 engraved plates representing chairs, sofas, tables, bookcases, and chests in a variety of styles (1754; further editions in 1755 and 1762; Fig. 15.17). The title makes clear that his intended audience included both clients and woodworkers. Its wide distribution ensured the spread of his designs throughout provincial Britain and her colonies.

English furniture of the period is distinguished by the use of mahogany, imported from the West Indies and prized for its rich dark color and durability, which accommodates slender supports and fine carving. Whereas in France the woodworkers' guild regulated production closely, in Britain cabinetmakers enjoyed greater freedom, with the result that few pieces are signed or bear a maker's label. Thus it is difficult to attribute a particular piece to a maker without the original bill of sale. Indeed, the word Chippendale is now a generic term for much English and American furniture based on the plates in the original pattern book and still being produced by manufacturers today.
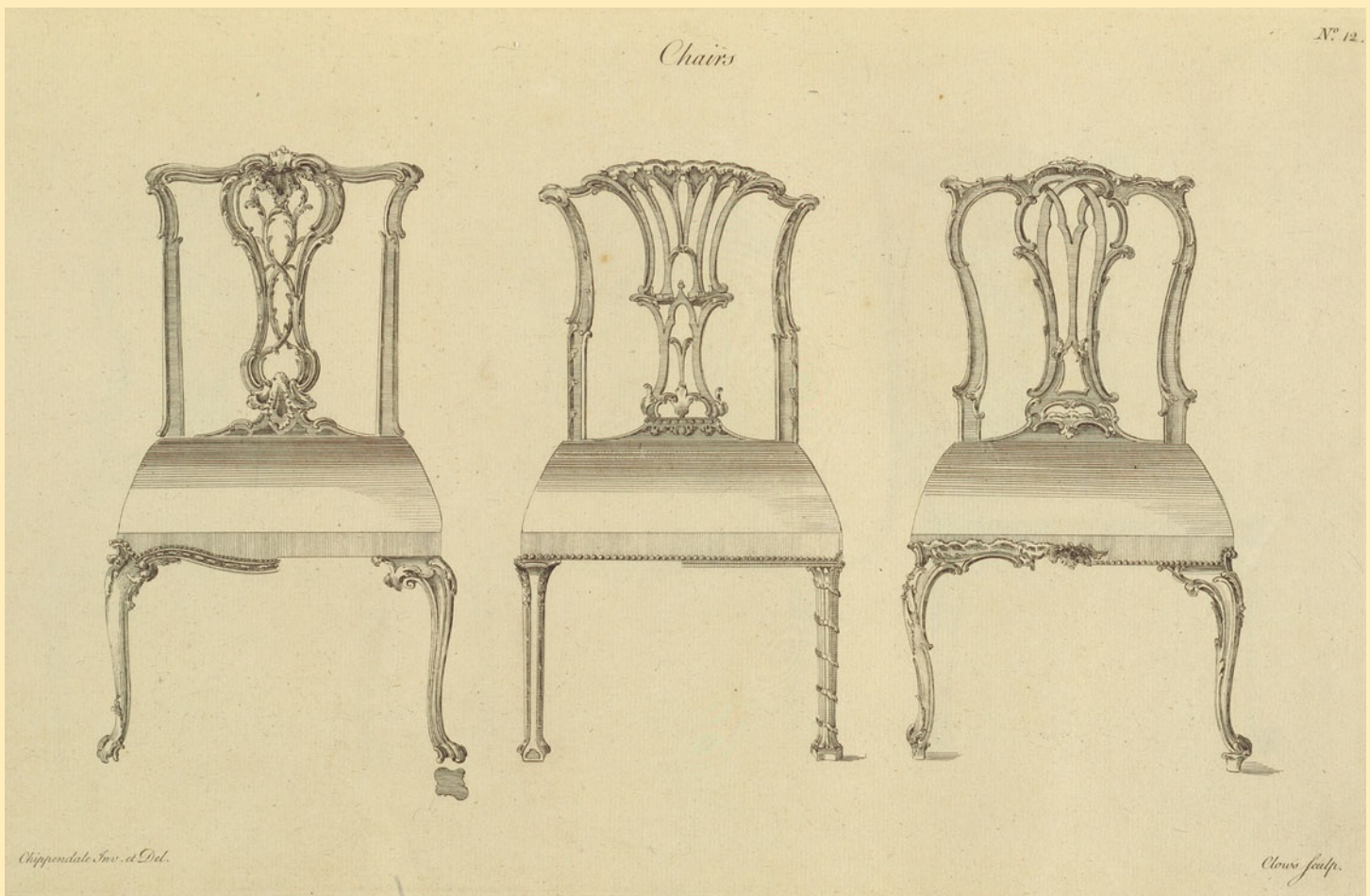
15.17 Thomas Chippendale, patterns for chairs, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, London, 1762 ed., No. XII. Etching.

Read the document by Thomas Chippendale on mysearchlab.com

meant greater expense), serving as a backdrop to framed paintings and mahogany furniture (see "Chippendale's Chairs," p. 417).

Further up the hill the Royal Crescent, built by the younger Wood, perhaps after his father's designs, completes the trio of spaces (1767–75; see FIG. 15.15). The "crescent" of the name may be a reference to the new moon supposedly worshiped by Druids. Henceforth it was the architectural term for a semicircular terrace, which became very popular throughout Britain. In fact the plan is a semiellipse that unites 30 houses. On the exterior, a high podium at ground-floor level supports a giant order of engaged Ionic columns that gives a majestic air to the broad sweep of houses. Significantly, the crescent is open on one side toward a sloping landscape of fields, so that, as in the instance of the Hôtel Peyrenc de Moras in Paris (see FIG. 13.12), the dweller, seeking relief from the city, feels close to the pastoral life of the country.

Like the circus, the crescent resembles the ancient Roman theater (a half ellipse), turned inside out. There may also be a reference to Palladio's Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza (1580–5), an imaginative reconstruction of an ancient Roman theater that is semielliptical in shape and features a row of tall columns behind the seating. Thus the work of the Woods fuses several styles by drawing from the Palladian Revival and ancient British conceits.

Bath remains preeminent in the history of Georgian urban design because of the high quality and consistency of the Woods's work. In London, following the success of Covent Garden, large squares were built throughout the eighteenth century. Entrepreneurs were rarely able to enforce the same degree of uniformity and symmetry in the house façades. Few have withstood drastic alteration, with the exception of Bedford Square in Bloomsbury, whose understated magnificence derives from the brownish brick walls, white plaster Palladian temple fronts, and Coade stone ornaments (white ceramic cast to resemble stone) (1775–83; some interiors designed by Thomas Leverton, 1775–83; see FIG. 15.1).

The English Landscape Garden

Many historians consider the landscape garden to be Britain's most original contribution to the visual arts. Its influence across the Continent and America lasted well beyond the eighteenth century. One of the finest examples is Stourhead Garden in Wiltshire (1741–80), the work of an amateur gardener, Henry Hoare II (1705–85), in collaboration with his architect Henry Flitcroft (1697–1769) (FIG. 15.18). Hoare was a wealthy middle-class banker with offices in London. He developed the garden over a 40-year period on the estate where his father had previously commissioned Colen Campbell to build a Palladian Revival villa. Although the house is situated separately from the garden, the ensemble shows how Palladianism and the landscape garden went hand in hand.

Typically, the layout of an English landscape garden represents a rejection of the axial planning and geometrical stylization of the French formal garden, which had been imported into England in the last decade of the seventeenth century (compare Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles; see FIGS. 10.10, 10.15). In lieu of the French straight line we find the curved serpentine line of meandering paths, irregularly shaped lakes and streams, and informal groupings of trees. A series of theoretical publications accompanied the development of the landscape garden, beginning with the writings of the poet Alexander Pope, whose villa garden at Twickenham challenged the French garden style. For the authors of these publications the French garden represented authority, power, and wealth, while the English garden stood for independence from absolutist rule.

In fact the landscape garden, with its rare and costly plantings, was as much an artificial, man-made creation as the gardens of Louis XIV, but the goal was to discover and enhance the inherent *genius loci* or spirit of the place. Another objective was to merge the garden with its natural surroundings. In order to accomplish this while maintaining privacy and restricting farm animals and deer, designers replaced the fence, considered too visible a barrier, with a ditch or dry moat hidden from view, called a ha-ha after the exclamations of surprised visitors. Two types of plan are common: the "circuit" employed at Stourhead, whereby the visitor follows a path winding through a succession of attractive views witnessed separately, like stage sets or paintings in a gallery; and the "prospect," in which the spectator may take in the entire garden at a single glance from a designated viewing point. At Stourhead, Hoare dammed the Stour River to create the garden's centerpiece, the large lake around which one follows the circuit in a counterclockwise direction.

Of the two phases in the development of the landscape garden, Stourhead typifies the first phase, dating from circa 1715 to 1750, when designers sought to create an ancient arcadian landscape dotted with small classical structures, either pristine or seemingly ruined. They drew inspiration from the Italianate landscape paintings of Nicolas Poussin, Salvator Rosa, and above all Claude Lorrain, whose works were much admired and collected by the British. Hoare consciously strove to create real vistas comparable, for example, to Claude's *Landscape with a Procession at Delphi*, a copy of which he owned (see FIG. 9.23). Literary works also contributed ideas, particularly classical poetry and pastoral writings. Many details at Stourhead were apparently drawn from Virgil's *Aeneid*, so at one point in its development the path through the garden evoked Aeneas's journey from Troy to Rome.

Hoare erected three feigned temples based on ancient prototypes: two of them honor Apollo and Flora

15.18 Henry Hoare II and Henry Flitcroft, Stourhead Garden, Wiltshire, 1741–80. View of the lake, the Palladian bridge, and the Pantheon.

respectively, while the Pantheon, dedicated to all the gods, brings to mind the glories and eventual decline of Roman civilization. As the popularity of Strawberry Hill advanced, Gothic Revival buildings, some of them in the form of sham ruins, entered gardens. In addition to Stourhead's "medieval" Alfred's Tower, genuine Gothic Bristol cross, and Gothic greenhouse, Hoare also installed a Chinese alcove and Turkish tent. Garden buildings, sometimes called follies because of the expense given over to seemingly frivolous or eccentric structures, must be understood in the context of the cult of sensibility, since the objective of all parts of the landscape garden, both natural and man-made, was to involve the spectator psychologically, whether in dramatic or subtle ways. Gainsborough's *Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan* appears to be lost in reverie in such a garden (see FIG. 14.11).

Stourhead led to the second phase of the English landscape garden, circa 1755–90, associated with Lancelot Brown (1716–83), nicknamed "Capability Brown" because of his assurance to patrons of the estimable capabilities of their sites. Brown took less interest than Hoare in buildings as focal points and concentrated more on creating sweeping vistas with broad lawns, large lakes, and contrasting wooded clumps, as in his reorganization of the garden at Blenheim Palace (from 1764). Cascades and grottos, which had been garden features in antiquity, increasingly stimulated the viewer's response to nature's deep and often terrifying mysteries, in accord with Edmund Burke's mid-century definition of the Sublime (see "Special Effects: An Inquiry on the Sublime," p. 400).

One of the best-known English landscape gardens today is also an example of the international influence of this British invention: the Hamlet built by Richard Mique for Marie-Antoinette in the north sector of the Versailles garden (1783–8; see FIG. 13.21). A fine example of the *jardin à l'anglaise*, the Hamlet represents the culmination of the pastoral vogue that had been a fixture of elite culture for 300 years.

Eighteenth-Century Austria, Germany, and Italy

Austria, Germany, and Italy are three territories that may at first glance appear disparate but in fact shared close political and cultural ties in the eighteenth century. Austria and the German states were part of the Holy Roman Empire, a loose federation nominally overseen by the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs, whose seat of power was in Vienna. Although the imperial crown was hereditary, each new emperor needed the approval of a college of nine princes and prelates called electors. The Habsburg dynasty also ruled the sister states of Bohemia and Hungary. During this period Italy remained a collection of independent states, but as ducal lines expired and peace treaties stipulated the transfer of regions Austria increasingly dominated the peninsula. Most significantly, at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) Milan, Mantua, Naples, and Sardinia all passed to the Austrian Habsburgs in the first among several shifts in power that impacted Italy throughout the century. At the same time, German and Austrian patrons and collectors were dependent on Italian artists and dealers to fill their new palaces and town houses with easel pictures and ceiling

paintings, and they traveled to the peninsula or sent their agents abroad to acquire works.

Architecture in Austria

Focusing initially on Austria, we see that the wars of the seventeenth century, the result of a series of complicated alliances across Europe, curtailed Habsburg patronage of the arts. The major enemy to the west was Louis XIV of France, who pursued a policy of annexing Germanic lands and laid claim to the Spanish throne upon the death of the last Spanish Habsburg in 1700. French expansion was finally halted with the Treaty of Rastatt (1714). To the east, Austria faced the advance of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by the sultan in Constantinople. In 1683, with Turkish forces encamped at the Austrian capital's walls, the Habsburgs and their allies successfully routed the Ottomans in the massive Battle of Vienna. In the ensuing years they steadily pushed the Muslims out of eastern Europe (the Peace of Carlowitz ended the Turkish threat in 1699).

These political and military successes allowed concentration on art production. Both the nobility and a succession of emperors—Leopold I (r. 1658–1705), Joseph I (r. 1705–11), and Charles VI (r. 1711–40)—sought to revive the status of the empire by undertaking building

Canaletto, *The Bacino di S. Marco on Ascension Day*, ca. 1733–4. (Detail of FIG. 16.30)

16.1 Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt, Garden Palace, Lower Belvedere, 1714–16, Upper Belvedere, 1721–2, Vienna.

the turn of the eighteenth century, however, nationalist fervor encouraged the development of local talent.

Outside the old city walls of Vienna, on the periphery formerly ravaged by the Turks, a garden suburb of aristocratic mansions signaled the change. The most extravagant of these is the pleasure palace called the Belvedere, executed by Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt (1668–1745) for field marshal Prince Eugene of Savoy (1714–16 and 1721–2; FIG. 16.1). The prince had joined the imperial forces at the Battle of Vienna and obtained the final victory against the Turks at Zenta in 1697. The Upper Belvedere, decorated with sculpted military trophies and surmounted by a roofline reminiscent of campaign tents, promotes Eugene's position as savior of the empire while contributing a jewel-like ornament to the city.

campaigns in the new "Vienna Gloriosa." Traditionally the lack of a strong indigenous art tradition and the desire to commission works in the latest style led to the importation of Italian artists, like the vault painter Fra Andrea Pozzo, who was summoned from Rome to Vienna in 1703. With

Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach

Among the native architects working for the emperor was Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), born in the provincial town of Graz. In the years 1671/4–87 he trained as a sculptor in Rome, where he associated with

The First History of Architecture

Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (*Outline of a History of Architecture*; Vienna, 1721) was an exceptional publication for its equal emphasis on ancient and modern, Eastern and Western buildings, all presented in a visual survey that offers alternatives to the classical ideal and invites comparison between periods and places. Neither a traditional pattern book nor a biographical survey, the tome comprises 86 plates that show views of buildings in a spatial setting with captions in German and French. In composing his images, Fischer relied on numerous resources: travel accounts, guidebooks,

ancient authors, the expertise of antiquarians and archeologists, drawings and prints of exotic lands, and antique coins.

Book I opens with the Temple of Solomon, considered by Fischer and his contemporaries as the source of the ancient orders, and continues with "Egyptian, Syrian, Persian and Grecian Edifices, Monuments, Pyramids, &c. in which the Manners of Structure used by those Nations, and bury'd in the Ruins of Barbarity, are restor'd, and set in a true Light" (from the English edition, 1737). Book II features ancient Roman structures, and Book III "Buildings of the Arabians, Turks, &c. and some Modern One's of the Persians, Siamese, Chinese, and Japonese" (Fig. 16.2). Fischer presented his own buildings in Book IV as the culmination of this history, notably in the grandly historical Karlskirche (see Fig. 16.4). In Book V he offers ancient and contemporary designs for vases. Contributing thus to the rise of historicism in building design, Fischer was influential in popularizing non-Western styles in eighteenth-century design.
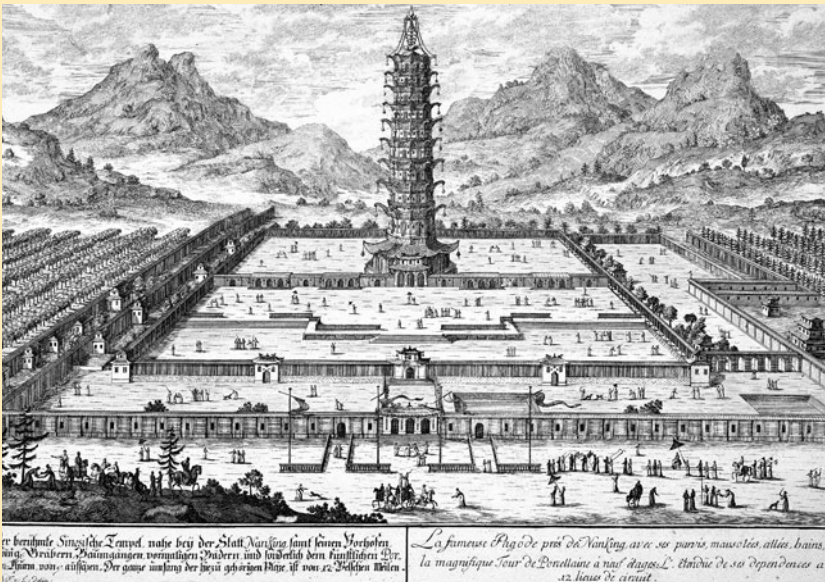
16.2 Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Porcelain Pagoda in Nanjing*, 1721. Etching, 11½ × 16⅜" (29.3 × 41.7 cm). From *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*, Book III, Plate 12. Private Collection.

Bernini (alive until 1680) and his successor, Carlo Fontana. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Fischer visited London in 1704 and likely met Christopher Wren, who shared his interest in historical styles and stimulated Fischer's project to publish the first history of architecture (*Entwurff einer historischen Architectur,* 1721; see "The First History of Architecture," opposite). In Vienna, Fischer was appointed chief inspector of royal commissions in 1705.

For Schloss Schönbrunn, the imperial retreat outside the capital, he conceived a vast complex that rivaled Versailles in scale (ca. 1688), of which a reduced version was erected (begun in 1696). For the Hofburg, the emperor's urban palace, he designed the imperial library, whose central oval rotunda and two floors of bookshelves, separated by a balcony, incorporate a program of sculpture and frescoes that glorifies the emperor as protector of learning and the arts (designed 1716–20, constructed 1723–6; FIG. 16.3). The vast barrel-vaulted gallery with columnar screens is based on Roman Baroque models, like the Colonna Gallery (see FIG. 4.27).

Sited on a hill at the southern edge of Vienna and facing in the direction of the Hofburg, Fischer's Karlskirche celebrates both the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church (1715–38; FIG. 16.4). Neither a cathedral nor a parish church, the building was a response by Charles VI to the 1713 plague in Vienna and a votive offering to his name saint, the Counter-Reformation plague saint Charles (Carlo) Borromeo. The pedimental sculpture on the façade shows the saint delivering Vienna from the disease, and the spiral reliefs climbing the giant free-standing triumphal columns recount incidents from his life. The Charles-based iconography implicitly calls to mind the patron and his predecessors and namesakes, Charles V, Charles of Flanders, and Charlemagne.

The Karlskirche demonstrates the rise of historicism in architectural design—Fischer and his contemporaries enjoyed the freedom to pick and choose from any earlier historical style, depending on the needs of the commission. The idea of the Habsburg Empire as the successor to the great empires of the past, implicit in the paired Trajanic columns and the similarity to Hadrian's Pantheon, is fully integrated into the "holy" Catholic symbolism. The columns also resemble the device of Charles V, the so-called Pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar), which signifies the far-flung lands of the Habsburgs and Charles VI's claim to the Spanish throne. Additionally, they reference the two colossal columns that stood before the temple of Jerusalem, thus denoting Charles VI as the new Solomon.

Jakob Prandtauer

Outside Vienna the era of peace provided the impetus for the building and reconstruction of numerous monasteries, many of which are located in beautiful natural settings.

16.3 Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Imperial Library (Hofbibliotek), Hofburg, Vienna, designed 1716–20, built 1723–6.

16.4 Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Karlskirche, Vienna, 1715–38.

The communities were now able to continue the goals of the Post-Tridentine Catholic Church while promoting themselves as centers of learning and cultural rebirth. The prelates who oversaw the monasteries had political connections with the imperial court and wished to present themselves in palatial trappings. Hence they attached to

16.5 Jakob Prandtauer, Benedictine Abbey, Melk, 1702–38.

the churches long wings filled with reception areas, guest quarters, and staircases, which together yield a Versailles-like impression.

At Melk in Lower Austria the architect Jakob Prandtauer (1660–1726), working for Abbot Berthold Dietmayr, took advantage of a remarkable site to construct a monastic church whose two-towered façade rises, like God's triumphant fortress, over a rocky precipice that dominates the Danube (1702–38; FIG. 16.5). The position of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the central axis of the complex also calls to mind the ultimate prototype for palatial monasteries: the Escorial outside Madrid. A pair of symbolic chambers flank the viewing terrace: On the south side, the imperial hall fronts the prelate's side of the complex, which visitors enter from a monumental courtyard; on the north side, the magnificent library, emblematic of the monks' dedication to scholarship and education, fronts their living quarters, which include a cloister and kitchen court.

Architecture in Germany

Eighteenth-century Germany consisted of over 300 independent states loosely bound together as part of the Holy Roman Empire, which provided a formal means for regulating taxation, defense, and diplomatic interaction. These states varied considerably in size and governance, being ruled by aristocrats, bishops, abbots, and, in the case of free cities, by burghers. Chief among the sovereigns were the prince-bishops, who possessed both secular and ecclesiastical authority. Like Austria, Germany did not experience a Golden Age of culture during the Baroque era. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), a series of international conflicts fought primarily on German

soil, sharply curtailed artistic activity, and it was not until the end of the century that demographic recovery, religious balance, and economic regeneration were achieved. The turn of the century witnessed the beginnings of an upsurge in the construction and decoration of churches and palaces. In light of their owners' limited authority, the number and huge size of the latter are astonishing: The primary function of a palace was the representation of absolutist principles, and the rule of decorum required that no expense should be spared in building and decorating it. Given that Louis XIV was so often the enemy of German rulers, the widespread emulation of Bourbon architecture is equally surprising.

Balthasar Neumann

Upon his election in 1719 as the new prince-bishop of Würzburg, Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn determined to abandon the former episcopal fortress on a hill outside the town and live in a palace—the Residenz within Würzburg (1720–53; FIGS. 16.6 and 16.7). Like other members of his family, he took a hands-on approach to building, and continually consulted with German, Italian, and Austrian advisors. The coordinating architect throughout the construction of the Residenz was an untested novice, Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753). Born in Bohemia, he began his career as a bell- and cannon-founder in Würzburg, then joined the corps of military engineers, where he learned surveying, geometry, and mathematics as a preliminary to training with a local architect. The prince-bishop, hoping to imbue the Residenz with the character of a French garden palace, sent his architect to Paris in 1723. In addition to hiring craftsmen and ordering furniture, Neumann solicited a critique of the plans

16.6 (right) **Balthasar Neumann**, Residenz, plan of the second floor, Würzburg, 1720–53.

16.7 (below) **Balthasar Neumann**, Residenz, courtyard façade, Würzburg, 1720–53.

✳ ─ **Explore** more about the Residenz on mysearchlab.com
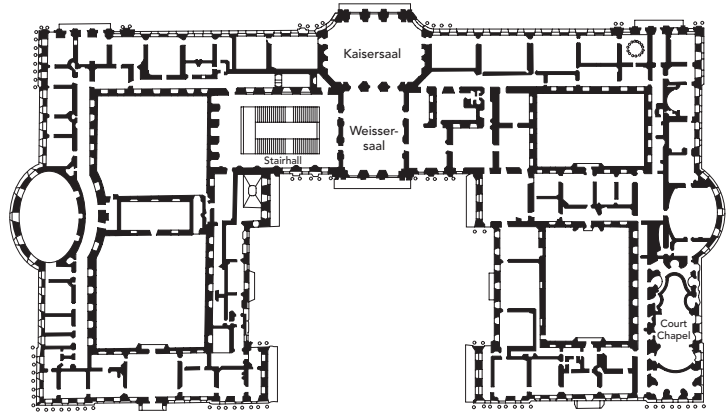
for the building from Robert de Cotte, who had worked at Versailles (see FIG. 10.16), and Germain Boffrand, the designer of the ducal palace at Lunéville (see FIG. 13.11).

The French character of the Residenz is visible in both the plan and the entry façade. A dominant longitudinal axis determines the position of the entry courtyard (originally enclosed by an elaborate curved iron gate), the building, and the garden. The long wings of the U-shaped plan connect to form inner courtyards, as at Versailles, and the repeated motif of a salon interrupting the plane of the exterior wall ultimately derives from Vaux-le-Vicomte (see FIG. 10.10). As at Versailles and Lunéville, the chapel stands in the right-hand wing near the courtyard. Many details, like the corner pavilions, the channeled rustication, and the balconies supported on columns, also derive from France, while the incorporation of mezzanines for domestics and the greater degree of ornamentation betray Italian sources. The façades were originally painted yellow ochre with gray classical detailing and white sculptural accents.

Upon entering the Residenz, the visitor follows a sequence of rooms as part of the ritual of reception (see FIG. 16.6). The low vestibule leads, on the left, to the *Treppenhaus* (stair hall), whose magnificence rivals that of the Staircase of the Ambassadors at Versailles. The spectator ascends from darkness toward the light-filled realm of the ruler within the visually breathtaking type of imperial stair, which consists of a single flight rising to a half-landing, from which two symmetrical flights rise in the opposite direction to the principal floor (FIG. 16.8).

16.8 **Balthasar Neumann**, Residenz, stair hall, Würzburg, 1720–53.

François de Cuvilliés

The interior décor of German palace apartments shows considerable French influence, although the Rococo achieved a degree of lavishness that makes Parisian carved and gilt wall panels appear tame by comparison. One particular path of influence may be traced in the career of François de Cuvilliés (1695–1768). Born near Brussels, he initially became court dwarf to Max II Emanuel of Wittelsbach, elector of Bavaria, who, having sided with Louis XIV during the War of the Spanish Succession, lived temporarily in exile, first in Brussels and then in France (1704–15) before the return of his court to Munich. The elector, sensing Cuvilliés's talents, oversaw his training in mathematics and fortress design, as well as the study of architecture in Paris in the years 1720–4. For the succeeding prince-elector Charles Albert (r. 1726–45), Cuvilliés created the magnificent state apartments in the Munich Residenz (1730–3). From the later 1730s he compiled three volumes of pattern books that distributed Rococo designs throughout Europe.

A broad platform, which seemingly floats unsupported on all four sides, allows an unimpeded view of Giambattista Tiepolo's fresco overhead (see FIG. 16.40).

From the stair the visitor passes into the Weissersaal (white hall), occupied by the palace guard, where Rococo arabesques meander freely across the cornice. The climax of the sequence is the Kaisersaal (imperial hall), whose rich ornamentation of columns, frescoes, and stucco sculpture, following the Berninian ideal of the *bel composto*, pays homage to the Holy Roman Empire. Beyond this room the imperial suites, extending with the rooms and their doors in a straight line in the French manner (*en enfilade*), were kept ready for the periodic visits of the emperor.

16.10 François de Cuvilliés and Johann Baptist Zimmermann, Amalienburg, Mirror Room, Schloss Nymphenburg, 1734–9.

For the elector's wife, Maria Amalia, Cuvilliés designed the Amalienburg, a small building in the park of Schloss Nymphenburg, outside Munich (1734–9; FIGS. 16.9 and 16.10). Conceived in the spirit of the French building type of the garden pavilion, comparable to the Petit Trianon and Louveciennes, the structure served as an occasional retreat and hunting box. From the rooftop platform Amalia could shoot pheasants that were raised in a nearby grove. The simple but elegant French-style exterior gives no hint of the riot of decoration within, where the architect collaborated with the stuccoist Johann Baptist Zimmermann (1680–1758).

In the central Mirror Room an alternating series of large mirrors, doors, and windows punctuates the circular walls, yielding a confounding effect, with mirrored surfaces reflecting direct and indirect light. The undulating cornice is overlaid with naturalistic stucco decoration representing vines, tendrils, putti, birds, and other pastoral motifs, as well as the figure of Diana, goddess of the hunt (for the technique of stucco, see "The Arts of Stucco and *Scagliola*," below). The room shares affinities with Boffrand's contemporary oval Salon de la Princesse in the Hôtel de Soubise (1736–9; see FIG. 13.16), but instead of the French preference for gold relief elements over a white ground, here the silver leaf over pale blue and soft white surfaces has a jewel-like effect.

Augustus the Strong

Another German ruler who used the visual arts to establish an international profile was the Saxon elector and king

The Arts of Stucco and *Scagliola*

In creating spaces for worship, German artists followed the principal of the *bel composto* embraced by masters of Southern Baroque, who employed teams of builders, sculptors, and decorative specialists to create a unified whole. In Bavaria the Asam brothers worked in a variety of media: Cosmas Damian Asam (1686–1739) executed altarpieces, ceiling paintings, and buildings, and Egid Quirin Asam (1692–1750) designed sculpture, paintings, and buildings.

For the Augustinian monastery at Rohr, Egid Quirin oversaw construction of the church (1717–20) and designed the altars. His life-size multi-figured sculpture, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, towers behind the high altar and stalls (1721–3; Fig. 16.11). The powerful movement heavenward of Mary, lifted from the open sarcophagus by two angels, prompts shocked reaction from the apostles in the manner invented by Titian in his Frari altarpiece and developed by Baroque painters (see "Singing the Madonna's Praises," p. 46). Elevated on a stagelike platform, framed by a proscenium of columns, and lit by concealed windows, this theatrical tableau was influenced by Bernini's Cornaro Chapel, which the Asam brothers would have seen during their study trip to Rome in 1711–13 (see Fig. 3.16).

White marble and colored stone were not plentiful in the north, and artists turned to substitutes that were also favored by their southern counterparts. Stucco sculpture, which can be modeled or cast, consists of a core of mortar (this may include such materials as lime, sand, and gypsum) assembled on a wood or metal armature and finished with a white layer made of lime and marble powder. Color or gold and silver leaf may be applied as accents, as in the brocaded drapery of Asam's Virgin in the *Assumption*. The artists-craftsmen of the Wessobrunner school, centered in Wessobrunn Abbey in Bavaria, achieved fame in northern and eastern Europe for the high quality of their stuccowork.

Equally popular was the *scagliola* technique, a kind of faux-marble made by combining gypsum, marble powder, stone chips, and colored pigments. It has the advantage of being produced in any combination of colors and patterns, whether in imitation of

16.11 Egid Quirin Asam, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1721–3. Stucco and *scagliola*. Augustinian monastery, Rohr.

natural stone or using the pastel hues of the Rococo palette—as is the case with the classical orders within Vierzehnheiligen and Die Wies (see Figs. 16.16 and 6.18). At Rohr, Asam created *scagliola* columns in burnished tones of red and gold to provide a foil for the white stucco figures.

16.12 Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, Zwinger, Dresden, 1705/8–22.

✳—⎡Explore more about the Zwinger on mysearchlab.com

16.13 Johann Joachim Kändler, *Bowing Harlequin*, ca. 1740. Porcelain, Meissen Manufactory, height 6⅛″ (15.6 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

of Poland, Augustus the Strong (r. 1694–1733). Following the examples set by Louis XIV and Leopold I, he commissioned an architectural ensemble, the Zwinger, in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, as a backdrop for extravagant entertainments. Designed by the court architect Matthäus Pöppelmann (1662–1736), the Zwinger comprised a series of interconnected courtyards lined with festive wings and elevated viewing spaces (1705/8–22; FIG. 16.12). The buildings, which enclosed a theater, ballroom, library, exhibition rooms, and an orangery for rare plants, were decorated with towers and domes and laden with sculpture by the Salzburg-born Balthasar Permoser (1651–1732).

One of Augustus's passions was porcelain sculpture, of which he collected over 20,000 pieces from China, Japan, and local makers. The discovery in 1709 of the secret of making hard-paste porcelain touched off a mania throughout Europe for luxurious dinner services and ceramic figurines. In 1710 Augustus established at Meissen the first European porcelain factory, of which the chief designer was the sculptor Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–75). Among his many memorable figures were the variations on characters of the Commedia dell'Arte. The *Bowing Harlequin*, identified by the diamond-patterned costume, is typical in its dynamic pose and exaggerated gesture, based on prints and watching actual performances (ca. 1740; FIG. 16.13).

German Churches: Neumann and the Zimmermann Brothers

The revival of the building arts in southern Germany during the eighteenth century saw the construction of hundreds of new Catholic churches—urban cathedrals, parish churches, abbey chapels, and pilgrimage churches. Among the last category, one of the most remarkable is Neumann's Vierzehnheiligen, which overlooks the valley of the Main River near Banz in Franconia (1743–72;

FIG. 16.14). In 1442 a shepherd had a vision on this site of the infant Christ attended by 14 so-called helper saints, prompting the creation of a chapel. Three hundred years later Friedrich Carl von Schönborn, prince-bishop of Würzburg, who had jurisdiction over the site, championed Neumann's plans for a new church over the more conventional designs of a rival. With its tall, majestic bell towers capped by onion domes, the stone exterior gives the appearance of a traditional Latin cross basilica built on a rectilinear plan. However, the undulating façade shows
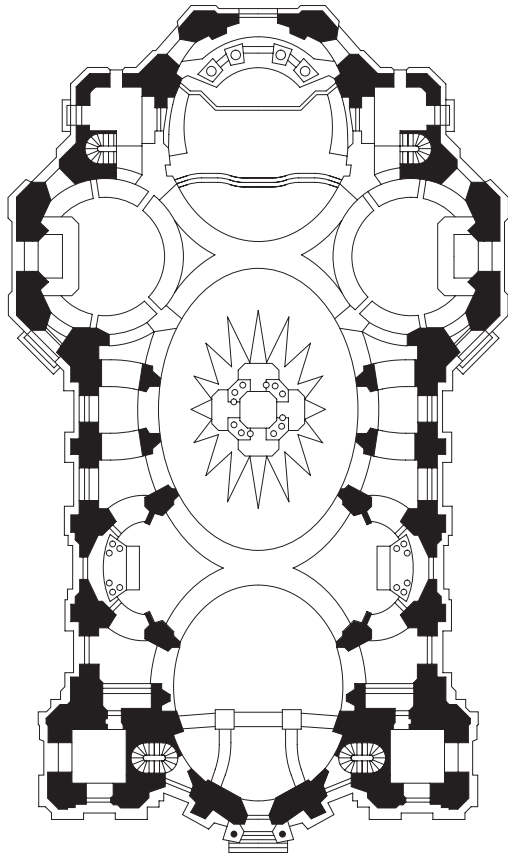
16.15 Balthasar Neumann, Vierzehnheiligen, plan, 1743–72.

Neumann's debt to Roman architecture and hints at the astonishing character of the interior (compare Borromini's façade for S. Carlo; see FIG. 4.13).

On the interior, the collaborative efforts of builders, painters, stuccoists, and craftsmen represent the culmination of Baroque church design (FIGS. 16.15 and 16.16). A series of ovals and circles that make up the Latin cross plan set the building in motion and encourage the spectator's movement. Overhead, the undulating edges of the illusionistic ceiling paintings and the golden "ribbons" marking the edge of the curved vaults create a sense of flux. The all-white, brightly lit interior relates to Borromini's preference for the neutral ground (see FIG. 4.11), while the reds and purples of the columned altars reflect Bernini's love of richly colored stone veneers (see FIG. 4.17; for the faux-marble technique of *scagliola*, see "The Arts of Stucco and *Scagliola*," p. 427). Architectonic rigor is achieved by the screen of columns and pilasters lining the nave, but this is undercut by the profusion of Rococo ornament in pastel shades of pink, yellow, and gray. The chief focal point is the altar of the 14 saints which marks the holy spot in the center of the nave, a tall baldachin of abstract shell and C-scroll shapes. The result is an immersive environment, comparable to that created by Guarini and the other Italian masters—ecstatic, voluptuous, transporting—and capable of conjuring the mysteries contemplated by the devout pilgrim at this miraculous site.

16.16 Balthasar Neumann, Vierzehnheiligen, interior, 1743–72.

16.17 Domenikus Zimmermann and Johann Baptist Zimmermann, Die Wies, exterior, 1746–54.

16.18 Domenikus Zimmermann and Johann Baptist Zimmermann, Die Wies, interior, 1746–54.

A similar diaphanous effect characterizes the work of the Zimmermann brothers—Domenikus, an architect, stuccoist, and painter who worked primarily on churches in Bavaria and Swabia (1685–1766), and Johann Baptist, a painter and stuccoist famous for his palace interiors for the Bavarian court (see the Amalienburg, FIG. 16.10). They trained with the Wessobrunner school of stuccoworkers in their hometown. Their occasional collaborations include a pilgrimage site located in Upper Bavaria between Steingaden and the Alpine foothills. The church, whose name derives from its rural location in "the meadow"— Die Wies—shelters a miraculous wooden statue of Christ at the Flagellation above the high altar (1746–54; FIGS. 16.17 and 16.18). The cream-and-white plaster exterior, with its bowed front, is simple in the extreme, remarkable only for the exotic keyhole shapes of the windows.

Once inside the convex vestibule, however, the viewer faces a brightly lit oval nave surrounded on both sides

by an arcade that borders a narrow ambulatory and rises to support a shallow dome. In a highly original rethinking of the classical orders, slender paired piers sharing a common base are crowned with extravagant capitals and a piece of entablature. Sumptuous altars mark the cross-axis, and dense knots of porcelainlike ornament, crowded with putti, shell forms, and garlands, enliven the space. The undulating cornice, virtually obliterated by *rocaille* cartouches, gives way to a froth of white-and-gold ornamentation, dotted with little faux balconies, that melds imperceptibly into the illusionistic ceiling painting. Rising directly above the cornice on the main axis, the frescoed door of paradise on the entry side and the throne of judgment above the choir face an image of Christ in Judgment atop a rainbow in the center of a blue sky filled with saints. The single-story elevation and buoyant white-and-gold décor of the nave give way to a deep, double-story choir with richly hued *scagliola* columns atop arcaded piers. Die Wies epitomizes eighteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture in southern Germany in its exuberant synthesis of Italian Baroque spatial design, French Rococo decorative motifs (in France usually restricted to secular buildings), and German fantasy and craftsmanship.

The Arts in Rome

Turning to Italy, we find that Rome's reputation as the crossroads of the ancient and modern world did not diminish during the eighteenth century. With a resident population of about 150,000, the city witnessed large numbers of visitors arriving from the north, particularly as a part of the ritualized migration called the Grand Tour (see "The Delights of the Grand Tour," below). A long sojourn in the Eternal City was required to take in the many churches, ancient ruins, festivals, and art collections. Artists and architects came to complete their education by studying the monuments of the past and participating at one of the many drawing academies. They also hoped for a commission from the large base of patrons that included the pope, cardinals, nobles, and tourists. In concert with the Enlightenment ideals propagated in the north, regularly held salons (*conversazioni*) and a new building type, the coffeehouse, hosted a mix of aristocrats, clerics, writers, and artists. In response to the charge that Roman cultural life had reached a decadent phase, enlightened popes, like Benedict XIV Lambertini (r. 1740–58), encouraged an unprecedented degree of intellectual license.

The Delights of the Grand Tour

From the mid sixteenth century an increasing number of northerners traveled southward to experience the world beyond their native borders. In Britain this journey was known as the Grand Tour. Typically, a wealthy young man of the patrician class, aged between 18 and 22, sought to finish his education by traveling through the Continent with a tutor for a period of one to three years. Depending on the political climate, the tour might begin in Paris and could include a side trip to Holland and Flanders. The main goal was the Italian peninsula, where each stop had its high points: Venice for Palladian buildings and the debaucheries of carnival; Florence for the Tribune in the Uffizi Palace, the octagonal room where the best modern paintings and antique sculptures of the Medici collection were displayed; and Naples for the new archeological sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum and the possibility of an eruption of Mount Vesuvius (see Fig. 14.21). Above all, Rome, the site of classical learning, demanded a lengthy stay in order to take in the supreme monuments of antiquity and the Early Modern period.

In addition to acquiring good manners, a proper wardrobe, and facility in foreign languages, the Grand Tourist also shopped for Old Master paintings, souvenir topographical views, and ancient sculpture, whether a "restored" fragment or a new copy. The traveler also wanted a portrait of himself, preferably by the leading specialist in Rome, Pompeo Batoni (1708–87), who painted about 200 English sitters. In his portrait of *Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham, Baronet* Batoni typically combines the accouterments of the state portrait—column, drapery, Van Dyck dress, and fawning hound—with evidence of the Roman sojourn, such as the bust of the *Minerva Giustiniani* and the view of the temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli (1758–9; Fig. 16.19).

16.19 Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham, Baronet*, 1758–9. Oil on canvas, 91¾ × 63½" (233 × 161 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation.

16.20 Alessandro Galilei, S. Giovanni in Laterano, façade, Rome, begun 1731.

Despite a papal edict in 1692 that brought a virtual end to nepotism—one of the driving forces behind Roman Baroque patronage—the pontiff and the cardinals continued to employ teams of artists. Work proceeded on the decoration of the interior of St. Peter's, where Pius VI Braschi (r. 1775–99) undertook construction of the last architectural addition: the huge sacristy. Other venerable basilicas, like Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, received new façades. As the pope was the bishop of Rome, his church, S. Giovanni in Laterano, received significant additions: Clement XI Albani (r. 1700–21) oversaw the most prestigious sculptural project of the century: the monumental apostles lining the nave, as well as the corresponding oval paintings of 12 prophets. Clement XII Corsini (r. 1730–40) realized the church's

Michelangesque façade, designed by his fellow Florentine Alessandro Galilei (FIG. 16.20).

As the papacy lost its role as an international power broker, it continued to garner prestige from its stewardship of Rome's art treasures, establishing new restoration campaigns on ancient and Early Christian buildings and monuments. Alarmed by the dispersal of Roman collections of antiquities, the Vatican restricted their exportation, established excavations in the Papal States, and invented novel ways of displaying statuary in newly created museums. At the Capitoline Hill, the site of Europe's oldest civic collection (begun in 1471), Clement XII Corsini established the Museo Capitolino in 1733 after purchasing a spectacular group of 408 ancient marbles from Cardinal Alessandro Albani to exhibit in the seventeenth-century

Palazzo Nuovo. One of the first public art museums, it was an important model for later such institutions; in 1750 Benedict XIV added a picture gallery, the Pinacoteca Capitolina, which he filled with paintings by Renaissance and Baroque masters. At the Vatican Belvedere, where Julius II had installed Greco-Roman antiquities early in the sixteenth century, Pius VI oversaw the display of ancient sculpture in a sequence of older and newly built, sensitively lit halls. The Belvedere was renamed the Museo Pio-Clementino as the museum had been started in 1770 by Pius VI's predecessor, Clement XIV Ganganelli (r. 1769–74). Forerunners of "period rooms," some of the newer galleries imitated the kinds of space where sculpture had been exhibited in antiquity, and even incorporated building materials and floor mosaics rescued from ancient structures. In 1790 a picture gallery with Early Modern paintings was added.

Benedetto Luti

Throughout the period a thriving art scene provided commissions for historical subjects, whether in the form of altarpieces and gallery pictures or as palace and church frescoes. One of the leading painters in Rome during the first quarter of the eighteenth century was Benedetto Luti (1666–1724). He was typical of artists in his circle in that, as in the past, he was not Roman-born—he hailed from Florence, where he had trained in the grand manner of Pietro da Cortona. Luti worked for the Vatican and Roman nobility and produced works in both oil and fresco. He also practiced the newly prized medium of pastel, creating intimate portraits and studies of heads. Resident in Rome from 1690, as a noted connoisseur Luti capitalized on the thriving art market by working as dealer, authenticator, and collector. Foreign patrons acting through agents in Rome commissioned canvases to be sent northward, such as the *Education of Cupid*, one of several mythologies by Luti for the elector of Bamberg, Lothan Franz von Schönborn (1717; FIG. 16.21). The pyramidal composition and exquisite intertwining of limbs reflects Luti's Florentine heritage, while the pastoral setting, glowing color, and sensuous surfaces reflect the new tastes of the early eighteenth century (the elector was keen to collect female nudes).

Corrado Giaquinto

As in the seventeenth century, Rome-based painters traveled widely to gain commissions. Corrado Giaquinto (1703–66), the leading figure at mid century, was born in Apulia in southern Italy and continued his training in Naples. A lengthy stay in Rome from 1723 to 1753 was briefly interrupted by two visits to Turin. He was then summoned to Madrid to be first painter to the king (1753–62). His altarpiece in Sta. Maria dell'Orto, Rome, was part of the renovation of the chapel of St. John the Baptist for the Holy Year of 1750 (FIG. 16.22). The *Baptism of Christ* belongs to an august tradition for representing

16.21 **Benedetto Luti**, *Education of Cupid*, 1717. Oil on canvas, 106½ × 78″ (271 × 198 cm). Graf von Schönborn, Kunstsammlungen, Pommersfelden.

16.22 Corrado Giaquinto, *Baptism of Christ*, 1750. Oil on canvas, 86⅝ × 72⅞″ (220 × 185 cm). Sta. Maria dell'Orto, Rome.

16.23 Mariano Rossi, *Camillus Liberating Rome from the Gauls*, 1775–9. Fresco. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

the origin of the first sacrament. The composition of overlapping figures, with John behind and above Jesus, builds dramatically upward toward the dynamic silhouette of the dove of the Holy Spirit. The life-size figures appear at the front of the picture space in a subtly foreshortened view that corresponds to the worshiper's position before the altar, thus fulfilling the continuing Post-Tridentine desire for religious imagery to address the worshiper directly.

Mariano Rossi

In the 1770s Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV undertook an extensive program of redecoration at the Villa Borghese as part of an effort to make its semipublic collections more accessible to the growing number of Grand Tourists. Cardinal Scipione Borghese had built the *casino* in the early seventeenth century as a pleasure retreat outside the city and filled it with antiquities and early Bernini sculptures. Now, over a century later, the Sicilian-born painter Mariano Rossi (1731–1807), who arrived in Rome in 1750, executed a ceiling fresco in the large *salone* (hall) illustrating *Camillus Liberating Rome from the Gauls* (1775–9; FIG. 16.23).

Borrowing a visual conceit employed by Guercino at the Casino Ludovisi (see FIG. 2.13) and by Giordano at the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (see FIG. 2.21), Rossi combined the fiction of a landscape at cornice level with figures seen *di sotto in sù* (from below looking up) in the cloud-filled sky to produce a dynamic composition that rivals the great ceilings of the previous century.

As in the instance of Cortona's Barberini ceiling (see FIG. 2.16), the iconographic program was detailed in a contemporary pamphlet. In the center Jupiter responds to the entreaties of Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, by dispatching Mars to earth. There, in the lower register, the fourth-century-BCE soldier and statesman, Marcus Furius Camillus, brandishes a sword and shield as he routs the Gauls, who had taken ancient Rome hostage. In traditional allegorical fashion, Camillus, appropriately called the city's second founder by virtue of this triumph, refers to illustrious Borghese family members of the same name—in particular Pope Paul V, born Camillo (Scipione's uncle), who had brought fame and fortune to the family and a new Golden Age to Rome. Rossi's female personifications, together with the actual sculpted heroes and mythological figures exhibited in the room, point the

way to princely virtue for Marcantonio's son and heir, also named Camillo.

Giovanni Paolo Panini and Giovanni Battista Piranesi

In addition to history painting, two new subject categories arose in response to foreign patrons who desired souvenirs of their visit. The first of these was the Grand Tour portrait, of which the leading practitioner was Pompeo Batoni (see "The Delights of the Grand Tour," p. 432). The other was the topographical view, or *veduta*, a type developed by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Venice and Rome, the two principal cities on the Grand Tour, provided the majority of Italian subjects, followed by Florence and Naples. For the most part artists strove for accuracy (*veduta reale*), but a subtype called the *capriccio* (caprice; also called the *veduta ideata*) allowed greater license to invent fantasy structures and ruins, or to rearrange recognizable monuments in a completely novel setting.

The Roman *veduta* has come to be associated with two figures who worked in different media. The painter Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691–1765) hailed from Piacenza, where he studied architecture, architectural painting, and stage design. He arrived in Rome in 1711, and initially executed commissions for decorative fresco programs. His ties to France were numerous, consisting of membership of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, work for French patrons, and friendships with artists, most notably as mentor to the view painter Hubert Robert (1733–1808). In the last three decades of his life he achieved fame for his meticulously painted interior and exterior views of Rome's great monuments, ancient and modern, shown in panoramic views under the even lighting of a placid sky. His views often incorporate a public festival or official event, as in *Pope Benedict XIV Visiting the Trevi Fountain*, which shows in the lower right the pontiff at the dedication ceremony in July 1744, accompanied by his retinue and Swiss guards (FIG. 16.24). Panini worked up his compositions from sketches on site as well as architectural prints, and often made slight changes to a building's size or placement to improve the composition.

The *vedutista* Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78) was one of the most inventive and prolific printmakers in the history of the medium. The son of a master builder in the town of Mogliano, a mainland suburb of Venice, he trained as an architect with an uncle whose government position involved upkeep of the sea walls of Venice. He also studied perspective theory with Carlo Zucchi and may have collaborated with the Valeriani family in the production of stage sets. Piranesi channeled his expertise into a lifelong interest in antique architecture, engineering, and hydraulics, which is vividly expressed in the creation of over 1,000 prints and several polemical writings in which he argued for Rome's precedence over Greece in the

16.24 Giovanni Paolo Panini, *Pope Benedict XIV Visiting the Trevi Fountain*, ca. 1744. Oil on canvas, 42⅛ × 65¾" (107 × 167 cm). Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

16.25 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *View of the Remains of the Dining Room of Nero's Golden House* (*The Basilica of Maxentius*), from the *Vedute di Roma*, 1757. Etching, 16¼ × 21⅝" (49.6 × 54.9 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

formation of classical art. Throughout his life he signed his works *architetto veneziano,* but he executed only one architectural commission: the renovation of the church of Sta. Maria del Priorato on the Aventine Hill in Rome (1764–6).

An initial visit to Rome in 1740–4 had left him without a building commission, and when he returned to the papal city from Venice in 1745 he set up shop as an etcher of views. The series of 135 plates comprising the *Vedute di Roma,* executed from circa 1748 until the end of his career and sold singly as well as bound into books, documents the city's major monuments, piazzas, and thoroughfares. Since the sixteenth century, architectural prints had been popular in Rome—for example, Giovanni Battista Falda had helped Pope Alexander VII to create a vision of the renewed city (see FIGS. 1.2 and 4.3). But Piranesi's views were substantially larger than these, and he conceived them as spellbinding works of art. The *Vedute di Roma* may be roughly divided into two groups. Initially, in the late 1740s, Piranesi executed them in a relatively straightforward, informative manner, as in the view of the basilica of Maxentius in the Roman forum (in the caption he

16.26 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Remains of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Hadrian, Today Converted into the Principal Fortress of Rome, Called the Castel S. Angelo,* ca. 1756. *Le antichità romane,* vol. 4. Etching, 17¾ × 54⅝" (45 × 139 cm). Private Collection.
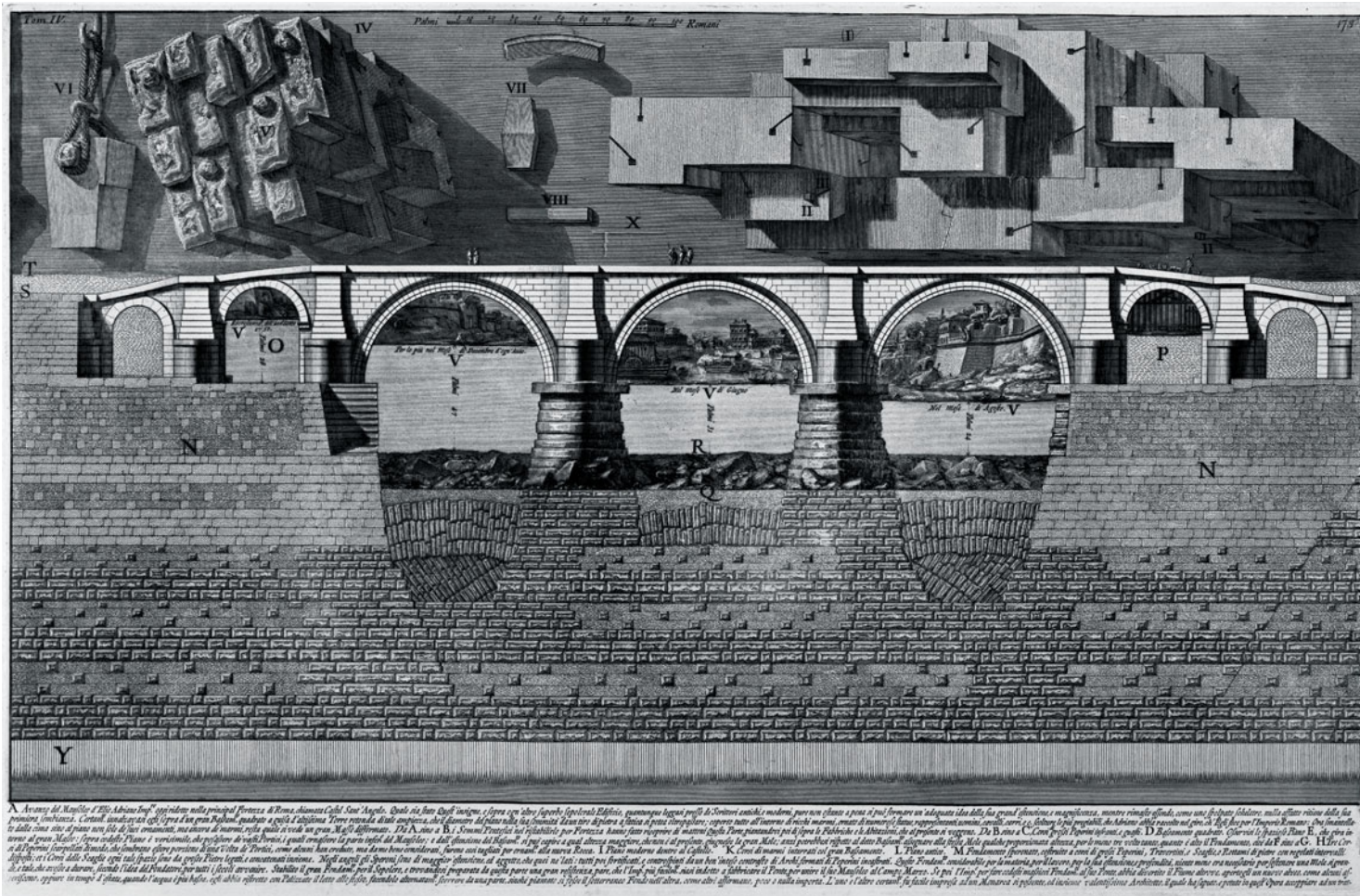
mistakenly identified the ruin as the dining room of Nero's Golden House; 1757; FIG. 16.25). Subsequently, from the late 1750s he reworked many of the original plates, exaggerating certain details and introducing a more pronounced chiaroscuro in order to achieve a more expressive image. At the same time, having etched the city's main sites, he created new plates of the familiar monuments, now seen from a low point of view with the top cut by the frame, thus giving an impression of overwhelming height.

Piranesi avoided depicting buildings head-on, with a single vanishing point, and preferred a foreshortened diagonal view, with the orthogonals receding toward two or more points. He learned this technique, which increases the sense of depth, from illusionistic stage design, where it was called the *scena per angolo* and was first developed around 1700 by Francesco Galli-Bibiena (1659–1739), a member of the Bolognese family of scenographic artists. The small scale of the figures adds to the sense of overwhelming grandeur. Piranesi's delicate linear style creates light-filled views in which textures are carefully differentiated and the sky is not empty but contains seemingly

transient and sometimes abstract cloud formations. As in Callot's *The Fan* (see FIG. 9.2), the process of multiple-biting in the acid bath produces lines of varying thickness to give a sense of atmospheric perspective. Instead of using cross hatching to render tone, he developed an original system of parallel lines, which had the advantage of withstanding the repeated pressure of the press.

Equally successful among the Grand Tourists were his more scholarly investigations, such as the weighty four-volume publication, *Le antichità romane*, a milestone in the development of classical archeology (1756). In a series of 250 plates of varying sizes, he treats 315 ancient Roman monuments, including civic buildings, tombs, bridges, and theaters, all cross-indexed, explained in extensive texts, and located on maps. Combining on-site study with literary sources and his expertise as an architect, Piranesi hypothesized what he could not see, such as the immense substructure of stratified stone and wooden pilings in the fold-out print, *Remains of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Hadrian, Today Converted into the Principal Fortress of Rome, Called the Castel S. Angelo* (ca. 1756; FIG. 16.26). Although the subject of the
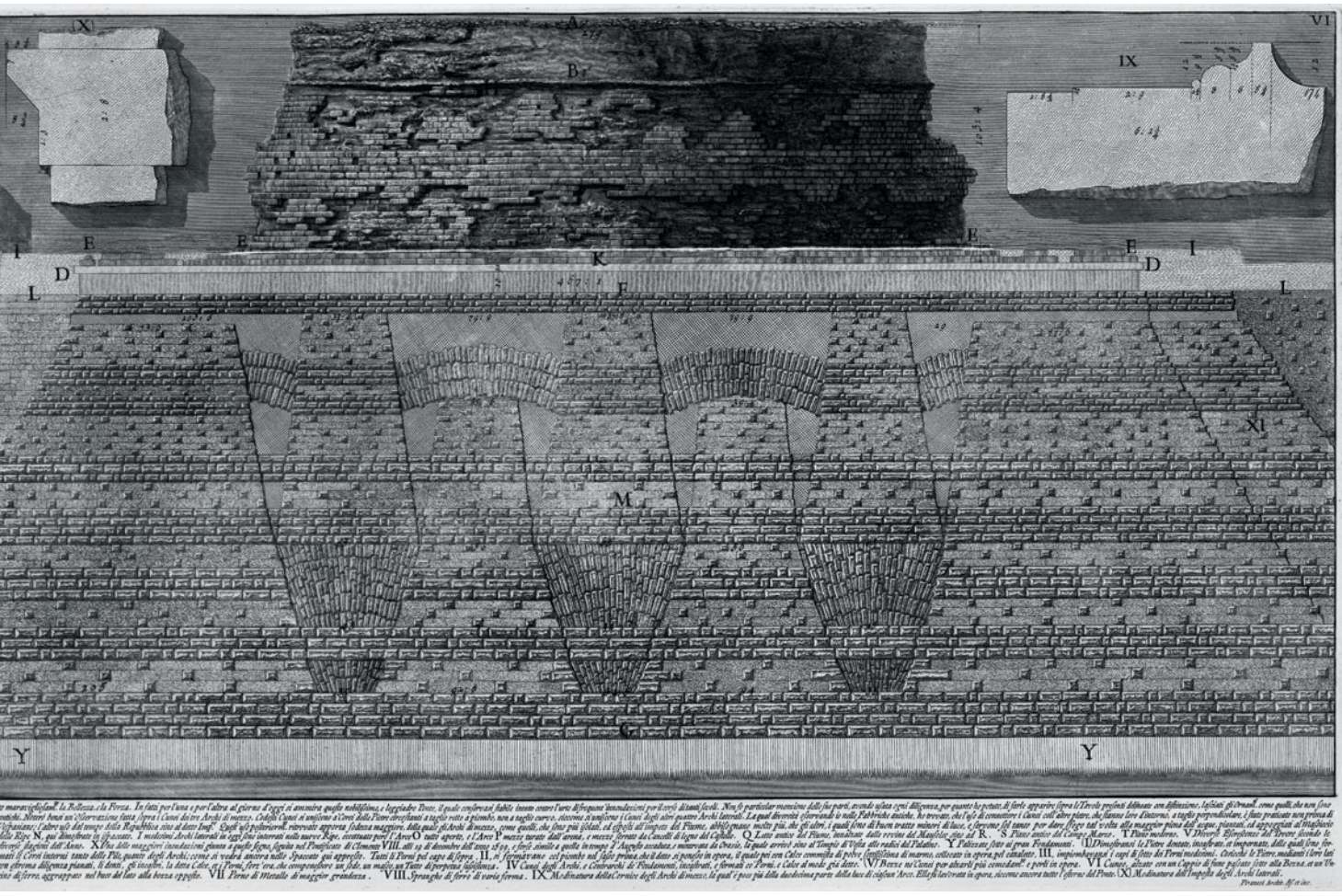
viewer. The linear technique, with its broad vocabulary of scribbles, flourishes, and hatchings, and the use of the white paper to suggest light shining from darkness continue the loosely drawn, evocative etching technique of Rembrandt (see FIG. 6.17). Piranesi's experimental use of the medium in the second-state prints recalls his Venetian painterly heritage. The pouring of acid directly onto the plate, the use of the burnisher to rub out certain areas, and selective daubing and wiping of the ink parallel the Venetian process of oil painting, just as the undetermined nature of the subject responds to the tradition of visual *poesie*, which stimulates a subjective response in the viewer.

Architecture in Rome

In anticipating the organizational principles of the Baroque capital city, Pope Sixtus V had provided the framework for renewal at different sites, as in the case of Alexander VII (see pp. 119–24). Rome continued to support urban enterprises in the eighteenth century, especially during the pontificates of Clement XII and Benedict XIV. New avenues were pierced, the final obelisks were raised, piazzas were adorned (Piazza S. Ignazio; Piazza del Popolo), new apartment dwellings eased congestion, and a new port on the Tiber, the Porta della Ripetta, stimulated the economy.

Antichità looks forward to Neoclassicism, Piranesi's visual strategies were inherited from the Baroque: the expressive exposition of the subject, the dramatic use of scale, and the layering of different types of visual reality, from the flat cross section of the structures to the illusionistic chunks of stone seemingly resting on top of the print.

Piranesi also produced inventive *capricci*, of which the *Carceri* (*Prisons*) are notable for the lack of precise detail. He published the first state of 14 lightly sketched etchings in 1749–50, and later re-etched and darkened the plates, adding two further images in 1761. Only a few architectural features in Plate 7, *The Drawbridge*, recall contemporary prisons; rather, the print is a poetic evocation of the idea of prison architecture, particularly as it might be envisioned in a theater production (second state; 1761; FIG. 16.27). The massive undecorated masonry piers and heavy vaults are comparable to those Piranesi investigated in *Le antichità romane*. Close analysis of staircases and superimposed levels shows spatial ambiguities calculated to confound the

Among the most admired additions is the monumental staircase that intersects and connects two of the long avenues associated with the sixteenth-century plan, the Via Paolina (now the Via del Babuino) and the Via dei Condotti, in an area favored by foreign residents and tourists (1723–8; FIG. 16.28). The Spanish Steps rise up the western slope of the Pincian Hill from the Piazza di Spagna, with its Barcaccia Fountain (designed by Pietro Bernini and his son Gianlorenzo; 1627–9), to the two-towered church of Sta. Trinità dei Monti and the obelisk, a Roman copy from the gardens of Sallust, erected in 1786. The design incorporates a series of varied spaces organized along a single axis, and, true to the spirit of Baroque

urban planning, the view from the bottom resembles a stage set framed by the apartment buildings on either side (compare Sta. Maria della Pace; see FIGS. 4.3 and 4.4). A climb of this height would normally be tiring, but the journey is visually stimulating thanks to the design, which incorporates Borrominian curves and countercurves, a sense of compression and release, and numerous landings and benches on which to rest, take in the view, and engage in conversation.

The Spanish name refers to the Spanish Embassy on the street below; in fact the conception was French. In the late fifteenth century Charles VIII of France purchased the site and installed a French order of monks, the Minims, atop the hill; the façade of their church was finished in 1670. A French ambassador donated funds in the mid seventeenth century to replace the muddy slope with stone steps, and several architects, including Bernini, offered design solutions. A proposal to erect an equestrian statue of Louis XIV was scrapped as it would have been an unwelcome affront to the pope and the Spanish. After a period of

inactivity, Pope Clement XI revived the project. Plans by the papal favorite, Alessandro Specchi (1668–1729) were rejected, and the architect of the Minims, Francesco de Sanctis (1679–1731), received the commission.

Like the Roman Baroque fountains that preceded it, the Trevi Fountain is a civic monument that expresses an analogy between the emperors and popes who brought potable water to a local populace lacking running water at home (1732–62; see FIG. 16.24). The name derives from the *tre vie* or three streets converging on the site. The design combines two fountain traditions: a classical backdrop incorporating the motif of a triumphal arch, as in Sixtus V's Moses Fountain (1587–8); and a foundation of naturalistic rockwork carved from travertine, through which the water spills into a basin, in the manner of Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers* (see FIG. 3.18). Numerous species of sculpted flora appear to be growing on the artificial reef. So plentiful is the water falling into the basin, which extends deeply into the piazza, that its rushing sound can be heard from blocks away. The scenographic character of

16.28 Francesco de Sanctis, Spanish Steps, Rome, 1723–8.

Roman urbanism continues here, as viewers seated on the peripheral stairs take in the prospect of a theatrical backdrop and "acting" sculptures. The winner of a competition, Nicola Salvi (1697–1751), erected the façade, essentially a veneer that covers the Palazzo Poli and echoes the planar, muscular forms of the Lateran façade (see FIG. 16.20). The Corinthian pilaster on the right-hand corner disintegrates into the rocks, a subtle reminder of nature's primacy over the temporary creations of man.

The Roman general Agrippa, overseeing Augustus's urban works in the capital, discovered the source of the Acqua Vergine (Latin: *Aqua Virgo*) in a valley about 10 miles east of Rome, reportedly with the help of a virgin. In 19 BCE he opened the underground aqueduct that brings Rome's purest water to the Campus Martius, the residential area within the bend of the Tiber. Numerous popes sought to erect a more imposing monument on the site, among them Urban VIII, for whom Bernini made an unexecuted design. The present solution dates from the pontificate of Clement XII, whose name and papal arms appear in the attic story. The subsequent dedication by Benedict XIV in 1744 is the subject of Panini's painting (see FIG. 16.24).

A team of artists executed the figural sculpture. In the center the 19-foot-tall figure of Oceanus, the ancient Titan who symbolizes the lifegiving powers of water, rides a chariot of giant seashells surrounded by tritons and marine horses (temporary stucco models by Giovanni Battista Maini, 1744; stone sculptures executed by Pietro Bracci, 1759–61). He is flanked by female personifications of abundance and health, while the reliefs tell the narratives of *Agrippa Approving the Design of the Aqueduct* and *The Virgin Points out the Source to Agrippa*.

Architecture in Turin

An important training ground in Rome for architects was the studio of Carlo Fontana, inheritor and practitioner of Bernini's legacy. It was here that Filippo Juvarra (1678–1736), who in his native Sicily had apprenticed as a silversmith and was ordained as a priest, avidly drew the monuments of the papal city and imagined innumerable paper building schemes. In the years 1714–34 he worked in Turin as first architect to the duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II (1666–1732), who devised a building program to match his status as king of Sicily and later king of Sardinia. Particularly notable among many projects are the Palazzo Madama for the royal duchess (1718–21), and the votive church of the Superga (1717–31). In the same period Juvarra traveled to Paris, Lisbon, London, and Madrid, evidence of his fame as Italy's leading architect in the early eighteenth century.

The Palazzina di Stupinigi was the duke's *villa suburbana* outside Turin, intended for the hunt, balls, and theatrical entertainments (1729–36; FIG. 16.29). The building is laid out in the French manner, along a longitudinal axis: The visitor approaches through two octagonal forecourts, one small and one large. The long wings bordering the forecourts vary in height and degree of decoration according to function, from kennels and saddleries to stables. In the eighteenth century the hunt was still considered a peacetime equivalent of war, and the display of horses and stables was a royal or princely means of asserting status. The X-shaped plan of the main structure derives from French and Austrian traditions for hunting lodges. At the core, an oval *salone* features attenuated piers supporting a shallow dome, acknowledging Guarini's amazing domes in Turin.

16.29 Filippo Juvarra, Palazzina di Stupinigi, Turin, 1729–36.

The lighthearted effect calls to mind an ephemeral stage set. From this core radiate the four wings encasing apartments and banqueting rooms.

Painting in Venice

The unique geographical location of La Serenissima, the most serene Venetian republic, isolated in the lagoon between the mainland and the Adriatic, contributed to its proud and historic independence as a superior naval power and hub for international trade. Political stability resulted from the tight control of government exercised by a small oligarchy that elected a doge who was a powerless figurehead. By 1700, however, Venice was in a late and slow stage of political and economic decline, having lost many eastern possessions to the Turks. Thus the city embraced its role in the new business of cultural tourism. As a major stop on the Grand Tour, it offered every kind of diversion: public festivals, feast days, a lengthy carnival season, seven opera houses, gambling dens, coffeehouses, and a brilliant artistic legacy. In the Baroque era the capital had attracted artists eager to study the Renaissance masters, but no local artists of international significance emerged, and the city benefited more from the presence of outsiders, such as Bernardo Strozzi. It was the eighteenth century that saw the resurgence of home-grown talent that catered to Venetian patrons, Grand Tourists, and an international clientele.

Canaletto

As in Rome, new subjects for painting developed in Venice in response to new tastes: the topographical view, the pastel portrait, and genre scenes. The leading Venetian *vedutista*, Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto (1697–1768), began his career by assisting his father Bernardo in creating opera sets in Venice and Rome. Canaletto's early pictures (ca. 1723–7), many of which were purchased by Italian collectors, show off-the-beaten-track views rendered on a coarsely woven canvas with ragged brushstrokes and brooding light and dark contrasts. As his popularity rose among foreign collectors (from the late 1720s), he concentrated on the city's more famous sights, and often incorporated the state ceremonies, public pageants, and boat races popular with visitors. The small size of many of the mature works, executed in a refined manner on a finely woven support, facilitated shipping abroad.

The Bacino di S. Marco on Ascension Day shows the immense state galley, called the *bucintoro*, floating in the harbor (*bacino*) in front of the ducal palace and surrounded by various types of watercraft, including gondolas (ca. 1733–4; FIG. 16.30). During the annual state ritual of the marriage

16.30 Canaletto, *The Bacino di S. Marco on Ascension Day*, ca. 1733–4. Oil on canvas, 30¼ × 49⅝″ (76.8 × 125.4 cm). Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

of the sea on Ascension Day, the galley carried senators and the doge to the point where the Lido opened into the Adriatic Sea; there the doge dropped a gold ring to symbolize dominion over the source of the republic's economic and political prowess. In his *vedute* Canaletto routinely made adjustments to the actual view to improve his compositions: here he reduced the height of the bell tower to make it fit the format. In addition to the watery urban setting, Canaletto delineates its inhabitants, whether at work or at leisure, by using small, abbreviated touches of paint to denote physique, social class, and action. Calligraphic ripples enliven the smooth gray-green of the water, while foamy wisps of white paint activate the sky.

Canaletto conceived his compositions as chalk or ink sketches, often done on the site. Like the Dutch perspectivists, he evidently used a portable camera obscura as an aid to formulating a scene (see "Studying Perception: The Use of Optical Devices," p. 214). Similar to Piranesi, he employed the *scena per angolo*, foreshortening his buildings to emphasize depth. He brought architectural forms into sharp focus by incising lines with a stylus and straightedge.

With so many British travelers desiring his works, Canaletto formed a partnership with the merchant banker Joseph Smith, British consul from 1744 to 1760, who acted as agent, financier, framer, and shipper. Smith's large collection of works by the painter included the suite of 31 etchings of real and imaginary views dedicated to him as well as a rare cycle of 12 small paintings comprising a boat ride down the Grand Canal, probably shown to prospective buyers as samples. When the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8) curtailed the flow of British travelers to Venice, Canaletto moved his studio to London from 1746 to 1755. Despite a productive career, he was denied membership in the Venetian academy until a few years before his death, due to the low esteem accorded the *veduta* as a mere copy of nature.

Francesco Guardi

The last of the Venetian *vedutisti* was Francesco Guardi (1712–93), a member of an artistic family that included his

16.31 Francesco Guardi, *Torre dell'Orologio*, ca. 1765–70. Oil on canvas, 24½ × 35¼" (62.5 × 89.4 cm). Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna.

father Domenico and elder brother Antonio. The father died while Francesco was a boy, and so we assume that he trained with Antonio and followed a career of producing figural paintings in the family workshop. Only after Antonio's death in 1760 did Francesco focus on *vedute* and *capricci*, which, although often based on Canaletto's compositions, differ in their loose brushwork. His tendency to dissolve forms in an atmospheric haze, thus evoking a subtle poetic mood, puts him firmly within the Venetian painterly tradition. He was admitted to the academy late in life.

Guardi's *Torre dell'Orologio* shows a building in the Piazza S. Marco (1765–70; FIG. 16.31). Normally *vedute* of this square, Venice's civic and religious center, focus on the more famous structures—the church, the bell tower, and the *procuratie*. In contrast Guardi emphasizes the clock tower, a structure that he painted some eight times. The nervous brushstrokes convey a sense of shimmering light suffused with heat and damp bouncing off and appearing to liquefy the stone and marble surfaces. A favorite motif of Guardi's is the makeshift tent, whose ragged canvas, flapping in a strong wind, is rendered with dramatic slashes of the brush.

Local collectors, tourists, and foreign residents purchased Guardi's works, and the republic commissioned views of state occasions. He had an English supporter, John Strange, a diplomat, antiquarian, and sometime dealer who lived in Venice from 1773 to 1788. Strange's large collection of old and new masters included Guardi's suite of views of the islands surrounding Venice and another of mainland villas.

Rosalba Carriera

Thanks to an extensive correspondence and diary entries, we know much about Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), the leading Italian woman artist of the century, and a figure, like Vigée-Le Brun, of international renown. She began her career by producing portrait miniatures in tempera on ivory. A native of Venice, she transposed the local tradition favoring color and light from the oil medium to pastel on paper, a technique that had slowly attracted Italian artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her skillfully executed works, almost all portraits or allegories featuring single half- or bust-length figures, retain the freshness and quickness inherent in the medium, which discourages *pentimenti*.

Based in Venice, Carriera became the preferred portraitist for British Grand Tourists, but to gain work she also traveled widely. It is a measure of her early accomplishments that in 1705 she was received into the Roman Academy of St. Luke. She caught the attention of German and Austrian princes, as well as the king of Denmark. Augustus III, prince-elector of Saxony and king of Poland,

16.32 Rosalba Carriera, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1745. Pastel on paper, 22½ × 18½″ (57.2 × 47 cm). Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

collected over 100 works, which he assembled in a gallery dedicated to her in his Dresden palace. In addition, from the beginning of the century her works were collected in France. Such was the ardor of her French clientele that she sojourned in Paris for a year in 1720–1, living in the house of the collector Pierre Crozat and meeting the Rubenists, including Watteau, Rigaud, Largillierre, and de Troy. Commissions from the regent, Philippe d'Orléans, and the young Louis XV secured her position as a fashionable court portraitist. If French style impacted her art, she exerted a reciprocal influence popularizing the pastel medium for portraiture and paving the way for a generation of pastelists that included Maurice-Quentin de La Tour. Similarly, a trip to Vienna in 1730 to draw portraits of the imperial family extended her fame.

Several self-portraits have survived, including one that she created as she approached the age of 70 (ca. 1745; FIG. 16.32). Although she typically employs a light palette in commissioned portraits, here she utilizes a dark background and somber costume, with a fur collar, to throw emphasis on her brightly illuminated face and a few enlivening frills, such as the lace edging and the earrings. This was part of a group of some 30 works by Carriera in the collection of the British consul, Joseph Smith. Comparing the *Self-Portrait* with La Tour's *Self Portrait Wearing a Jabot* (see FIG. 12.4), we see that, typically Venetian, she emphasizes

soft, atmospheric qualities through blurred contours and diffuse lighting, thus achieving a poetic quality, whereas La Tour, leaving no detail to chance, emulates the effects of oil painting, using the sharpened sticks of color to create hard-edged forms and velvety tones. Lacking the lively smile and darting glance of La Tour, Carriera's image is less of a performance than a frank look in the mirror. Within a year or so she lost her sight, and a remarkable career came to an end a decade before her death.

Pietro Longhi

Genre painting was rare in Venice during the Baroque but was favored in the eighteenth century, thanks to Pietro Longhi (1701–85), who, after initially producing historical and allegorical subjects, devoted himself almost exclusively to this subject. The son of a goldsmith, Alessandro Falca, he chose to use the name Longhi. The lack of documents before 1732 and a paucity of signed and dated paintings make it difficult to reconstruct his career, but evidently he began painting lowlife scenes of peasants in the 1730s influenced by Netherlandish Baroque examples. By the 1740s he turned to views of contemporary Venetian life that showed his compatriots relaxing at home and in public venues. Some commemorate specific events, like the exhibition of a rhinoceros in 1751.

Longhi drew his ideas in part from the *tableaux de mode*, high-life genre scenes, of French artists like Watteau and de Troy, and he knew English conversation pieces and modern moral histories, such as those of Hogarth. As with these artists, Longhi shared a relationship with the theater, specifically a friendship with Carlo Goldoni (1707–93), who rejected the conventions of the Italian theater in favor of witty plots structured around current manners and mores.

Highly prized by both Venetians and foreigners, Longhi's genre scenes, like *Masked Figures with a Fruit Seller*, are usually vertical in format and barely measure 2 feet in height (ca. 1760; FIG. 16.33). The dark, monochromatic background acts as a foil for brightly colored full-length figures, a format recalling Dutch Baroque high-life pictures (see ter Borch, FIG. 7.4). However, the awkward foreshortening of the ground plane and the stiff postures of the figures seem to be deliberate solecisms intended to provide a doll-house-like charm. The woman in the expensive red dress wears the Venetian masquerade costume common for both sexes: the *bauta*, a black lace hood draped over a mantle and secured by a black tricorn hat, with the face concealed by a white mask. Such clothing was associated above all with the carnival season, which lasted from late December until Lent, but the *bauta* was worn for all public festivities, which is to say nearly year-round. For the crowds thronging gaming halls, piazzas, and hidden alleys, a mask assured anonymity and freedom from social restrictions, regardless of class or marital status. The masked gentleman on the left, who leans on his cane while engaging the elegant lady, recalls the Vecchi (elderly characters) of the Commedia dell'Arte (see "The Commedia dell'Arte," p. 320), while the portraitlike head of the man on the right may refer to an aspect of the work's patronage that is now lost to us. The fruit seller, reminiscent of popular prints of the trades, heightens the contrast between different classes. Appealingly enigmatic, the work provides just enough information for the viewer to invent his own scenario.

16.33 Pietro Longhi, *Masked Figures with a Fruit Seller*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 24⅜ × 20⅛" (62 × 51 cm). Ca' Rezzonico, Museo del Settecento Veneziano, Venice.

Giovanni Battista Piazzetta

History painting retained its status atop the subject hierarchy through a continuing demand for altarpieces. The son of a Venetian sculptor, Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1682–1754) trained with a minor painter and then spent a few crucial years in Bologna, where he studied the works of the Carracci and Guercino and certainly knew Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665–1747), whose genre subjects, robust forms, and tenebristic palette impacted his formation. Unlike many of his Venetian contemporaries, Piazzetta never traveled to gain commissions but established himself by the 1720s as a leading painter of altarpieces in Venice, as well as elsewhere in Italy and beyond the Alps. A steady stream of foreign tourists sought out his work. Throughout his career he preferred the dark palette and realism adopted in Bologna, but a light touch of his brush and a white-and-gray tone appear in many works of the 1730s. He was prolific in the area of book illustration—over 60 Venetian publications reproduce his work in the print medium—and he executed highly finished drawings in black chalk heightened with white on colored paper, usually portraits or expressive heads of genre subjects. The overseer of a life-drawing studio, he was named head of the new Venetian academy in 1750.

Hanging in a side chapel of Sta. Maria del Rosario (the Gesuati) in Venice, Piazzetta's altarpiece, *Sts. Vincent Ferrer, Hyacinth, and Louis Bertrand,* exemplifies the devotional practices of the Roman Catholic Church as defined by the Counter-Reformation nearly two centuries earlier (ca. 1739; FIG. 16.34). The essentially conservative nature of religious art may be seen in this *sacra conversazione* which combines within one space three realistically rendered Dominican saints from different centuries. Each is absorbed in private reverie and yet united compositionally by the arching shapes that zigzag upward from the bottom. In the lower left the sixteenth-century St. Louis Bertrand of Valencia, dressed in black, gazes in lost profile at the serpent rising from a chalice, symbolizing the deadly trials of his missions to South America. In the center the fifteenth-century St. Vincent Ferrer of Valencia, luminous in white, gasps with outstretched hands at the vision of the smiling angel. The thirteenth-century St. Hyacinth of Poland, on the right in a gray cowled habit, guards the Host in a monstrance and a sculpted portrait of the Virgin Mary that he rescued from an abbey under attack. As ardent missionaries in far-flung lands, all three are emblematic of the Dominicans as Domini Cani, watchdogs of the Lord. Piazzetta's monochromatic palette accords with the black-and-white Dominican habit, although none of the figures wears the habit per se. Piazzetta's rapid impasto brushstrokes (as in the angel's wing), the abstract shape of the luminous cloud, and the crushed, faceted fabrics all display a sensibility very different from the monumental forms of previous Venetian painting.

16.34 Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, *Sts. Vincent Ferrer, Hyacinth, and Louis Bertrand*, ca. 1739. Oil on canvas, 135⅞ × 76¾" (345 × 172 cm). Sta. Maria del Rosario, Venice.

Piazzetta's patrons included the aristocratic Marshal Johann Matthias von der Schulenberg, whose numerous military successes included the defense of the Greek island of Corfù against the Turks on behalf of the Venetian republic (1716), which erected a statue of him and awarded him a life pension. He retired in 1724 at age 63 to a palazzo on the Grand Canal rather than to his German estates, and amassed an art collection consisting of almost 1,000 items, mainly Italian paintings of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries but also Dutch and Flemish genre subjects. The gallery counted the highest number of Piazzettas in any single collection—13 paintings and 19 drawings; the artist also assisted Schulenberg with appraisals and certification of works.

For Schulenberg, Piazzetta painted *Idyll on a Seashore*, situating a peasant cowherd and reclining boy in the foreground and a highborn woman with parasol and her maid-in-waiting behind (1745; FIG. 16.35). With her loose-fitting pink dress and hair bound up to reveal her neck, the seated lady, seen only from the rear, evokes the mysterious women of ter Borch and Watteau, thus indicating both the patron and artist's interest in northern genre scenes

16.35 Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, *Idyll on a Seashore*, 1745. Oil on canvas, 77½ × 57½″ (196.5 × 146 cm). Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.

(see FIGS. 7.4 and 11.1). Piazzetta invigorates the subject category of the pastoral, invented in Venice over one and one-half centuries earlier in Giorgione's *Pastoral Concert*, where the opposing rustic and fancy garb was already a theme (see FIG. 11.7). The detail of the peasant addressing the spectator suggests a connection with a theme in Roman pastoral poetry—the shepherd who laments his unrequited love. But the witticism of the cow's head keeps us from considering content too seriously. As with Titian's *poesie*, the painting's meaning is subjective, eliciting various interpretations from different spectators.

Giambattista Tiepolo

The last major exponent of the grand manner in Italian painting was the Venetian Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770), who produced sacred, historical, mythological, and allegorical subjects in both oil and fresco for an international clientele. Together with his assistants he covered vast wall surfaces with dazzling speed and a light touch, imbuing his works with hints of the fantastic and a subtle wit. Like Rubens he was a master of the oil sketch, which served the purpose of working out a composition (*modello*) as well as recording a finished work (*ricordo*). He was also a singular draftsman, whose preparatory figural studies pulse with energy and whose etchings convey a sense of light, color, and texture through the slightest flickering lines on a blank page. The son of a merchant, he studied with a local painter, but he learned much from the sixteenth-century Venetian masters whose figural types and brocaded costumes he emulated, earning him the nickname *Veronese redivivo* (Veronese reborn).

Like Piazzetta, Tiepolo supplied altarpieces for the churches of Venice. At the new Oratorian church of Sta. Maria della Consolazione (popularly called Sta. Maria della Fava), an altarpiece by Piazzetta representing the founder of the order, St. Philip Neri, hangs in a chapel on the left side of the nave (1725–7), while Tiepolo's *Education of the Virgin* stands prominently in the first chapel on the right (ca. 1732; FIG. 16.36). The cascading diagonals, halted by the upright figure of St. Joachim, focus attention on the youthful Mary, who, dressed in brilliant white and standing tall on a pedestal, dominates the composition. The strong chiaroscuro and rich coloring that sculpt the figures are typical of Tiepolo's early work in the oil medium. The broken brushwork, visible at a distance, shows the artist working with traditional Venetian technique.

The altarpiece pays tribute not only to the titular saint of the church, but also to her mother, St. Anne, one of whose relics was contained there. The subject, drawn from apocryphal sources, not the Bible, was rare in Venice, but it is eminently suitable for the Oratorians, a lay order renowned for their schools. The grandiose architecture signals the locale as the temple of Jerusalem, where Mary

16.36 Giambattista Tiepolo, *Education of the Virgin*, ca. 1732. Oil on canvas, 142½ × 78¾″ (362 × 200 cm). Sta. Maria della Consolazione (della Fava), Venice.

16.37 Giambattista Tiepolo, *Rinaldo Enchanted by Armida*, ca. 1742–5. Oil on canvas, 73½ × 84½″ (186.9 × 214.7 cm). Art Institute of Chicago. Bequest of James Deering.

studied the writings of the prophets. Her active disputation, signaled by the finger pointing to the Old Testament text (it is she, not Anne, who is teaching), prefigures the infant Christ's teaching in the temple.

Tiepolo's oil, *Rinaldo Enchanted by Armida*, is part of a cycle of eight paintings based on Tasso's sixteenth-century epic poem about the First Crusade, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, which was still popular in the eighteenth century (ca. 1742–5; FIG. 16.37). Originally hung in a Venetian palazzo whose name is lost to us, it represents the first part of the narrative devoted to the two lovers, wherein the sorceress, captivated by the sight of the beautiful, sleeping Christian knight, enslaves him, and delays his voyage

to the Holy Land until he is rescued and abandons her. Like an Olympian deity, Armida descends on a cloud that obscures her chariot and all but the heads of the two horses.

This is the moment preceding Van Dyck's portrayal of the couple, in which she ensnares him in unyielding ropes of flowers (1629; see FIG. 8.17). Both painters animate their subjects through underlying crisscrossing compositional diagonals and fluttering silks, but Van Dyck's monumental figures are more earthbound and move with a greater sense of urgency, whereas Tiepolo's volumes, flatter and less solid, seem to float motionless. Van Dyck's denser palette of saturated primaries of red, gold, and blue reinforces the sense of weight, whereas Tiepolo has turned to pastel hues, with their piquant contrasts of pale green, light yellow, and coral. The formal qualities of the Tiepolo are analogous to those of the contemporary mythologies of François Boucher in Paris, such as his *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*, another erotic dream of woman as seductress played out on cloudbanks (1754; see FIG. 11.21).

Ceiling Paintings

It is in the realm of ceiling painting that Tiepolo has achieved his greatest modern reputation, but unlike the sixteenth-century Venetian masters before him, who worked in oil on canvas that was inserted into a wood frame and attached to the ceiling—thus *quadro riportato* (transferred easel painting) in its most literal form—he worked in fresco. His first major commission for the nave vault of a church, *The Institution of the Rosary* for Sta. Maria del Rosario, commemorates both the Virgin of the Rosary and the founder of the Dominican order that promoted

16.38 Giambattista Tiepolo, *The Institution of the Rosary*, 1738–9. Vault fresco, 45′ 11″ × 14′ 9″ (14 × 4.5 m). Sta. Maria del Rosario (Church of the Gesuati), Venice.

the Rosary (1738–9; FIG. 16.38). This is the same church for which Piazzetta supplied the altarpiece of the three male Dominicans, and Tiepolo also produced an altarpiece representing three female Dominicans in the company of Mary and the Christ child. On the whitewashed vault, at either end of the long central scene, Tiepolo placed images of *St. Dominic in Glory* and *The Virgin Appearing to St. Dominic*, while small medallions arranged to left and right represent the 15 mysteries of the rosary, part of the Marian devotion spoken aloud using a string of beads.

In conceiving a fully illusionistic vision of figures and architecture, clouds and sky, all hovering over the worshiper and steeply foreshortened in accordance with a perspectival system, Tiepolo borrowed the format of the frame as aperture employed by Veronese as well as by Gaulli in Rome (see FIG. 2.19). Above the classical temple, with its flights of steps and balustrades, the Virgin sits on a cloudbank supported by angels, while the infant Christ wears a rosary on his right shoulder and dangles another from his left hand. St. Dominic, recognizable in the black-and-white habit, acts as intermediary, transferring rosaries from on high to the crowd of Venetians below, which includes a doge wearing his characteristic crown, the *corno ducale*, and the standing figure of a woman with a child, the traditional personification of charity. Thus is heresy driven from this exalted realm in the form of bodies hurtling over the bottom edge of the frame, much like the similar detail in Gaulli's fresco. But Gaulli's strong colors and powerfully modeled forms differ from Tiepolo's full-bodied volumes and silver-and-blue palette, which, like the gentling wafting clouds, are similar to the French Rococo in spirit. In one witty detail, the dog perched on the frame takes up the theme of the Domini Cani.

The two-story *salone* of the Palazzo Labia occupies a special place in the history of illusionistic fresco painting by virtue of the compelling fictive space created by all four walls and the ceiling (ca. 1744–7; FIG. 16.39). Like Andrea Mantegna in the prototypical example, the Camera Picta in the ducal palace at Mantua (see FIG. 0.6), Tiepolo, in collaboration with the architectural painter Girolamo Menozzi Colonna, produced an elaborate illusion that coordinates with the actual fabric of

the room to the extent that it is difficult to tell where reality ends and fantasy begins. Doors and windows with real stone frames are integrated with complex spaces "behind" the walls, and an oculus "opens up" the ceiling to reveal figures flying overhead in the blue sky. Large windows opposite the entry wall illuminate the décor, while fictive arched openings on the flanking walls, like theatrical proscenia, frame crowds of figures playing out the historical love story of the Egyptian queen Cleopatra and the Roman general Mark Antony, as told by Plutarch and Pliny the Elder.

On the left side of the room as the viewer enters, the pair, seemingly about to enter the *salone* itself, descend a gangplank from Antony's ship. On the other, Tiepolo depicted *The Banquet of Cleopatra*, a subject appropriate for a room dedicated to banquets and balls. In a playful contest to decide who could give the more extravagant dinner, Cleopatra bested Antony by dissolving an expensive pearl earring in a glass of vinegar, which she then quaffed. This extravagant gesture must have appealed to the Labia, members of the *nouveaux riches* who had bought their way into the patrician class, and it complimented the patron, Maria Labia, who was renowned for her beauty and

16.39 Giambattista Tiepolo and Girolamo Menozzi Colonna, fictive architecture with *The Banquet of Cleopatra*, ca. 1744–7. Fresco, central field, 21' 4" × 9' 10" (6.5 × 3 m). Salone, Palazzo Labia, Venice.

16.40 Giambattista Tiepolo, *Apollo and the Four Continents*, 1752–3. Fresco, 100 × 62′ (30.5 × 19 m). Residenz, stair hall, Würzburg.

exquisite jewelry. Tiepolo abandons historical accuracy by basing his composition on Veronese's banquet scenes, with their columnar screens, musicians, and crowds (see FIG. 1.8). He casts Cleopatra as a Veronese heroine, complete with plaited blond tresses, damask skirt, tight corset, and exposed breasts. Painted rapidly with colors sparkling against the white plaster ground and calligraphic lines picking out the forms, the scene comes to life as a complement to the social bustle within the palazzo.

In 1750 Tiepolo journeyed northward to Würzburg to provide frescoed decorations for the Residenz of the prince-bishop, who was then Carl Philipp von Greiffenclau. The painter treated the vault painting of the stair hall, *Apollo and the Four Continents*, which measures some 62 by 100 feet, as an open view to the sky, where figures rendered *di sotto in sù* fly and float within the airy space or stand and rest on land atop the cornice (1752–3; FIG. 16.40; see also FIG. 16.8). He thus acknowledged the formal solutions developed over almost two centuries of Italian illusionistic ceiling painting, with key exemplars by Mantegna, Correggio, Cortona, and Giordano. Organizing the vault along a few major diagonals formed by large, overlapping clouds, Tiepolo accommodated the shifting vantage points as the spectator climbs the stair and walks about the main-floor platform.

The vault treats several subjects. In the center Apollo, god of light, harmony, and culture, awaits the chariot and horses of the sun as he springs over the realm of Olympus, populated by the planetary gods resting on cloudbanks. The prince-bishop, visualized in a profile portrait held in the claws of a griffon (a pun on the Greiffenclau name), achieves apotheosis through his ascension to the empyrean; his arrival is announced by Mercury, trumpeted by Fame, and crowned by Truth. Above each of the four walls, the Four Continents come to pay homage to the prince-bishop, in the form of traditional female personifications surrounded by a panoply of appropriate humans, animals, structures, and objects based on Cesare Ripa's handbook, *Iconologia*, and contemporary guidebooks. Numerous details differentiate the continents, according to the relative degree of presumed barbarianism

(America and Africa) or material wealth and artistic culture (Asia and especially Europe).

The work is a dazzling recapitulation of the absolutist Catholic themes that had dominated ceiling painting, such as the passage of time represented by the sun god and the Horae (Guido Reni's *Aurora*; see FIG. 2.7), or the planetary deities who honor the prince (Cortona's *Apollo Instructs the Prince*; see FIG. 2.17). At Versailles, where the sovereign is likened to Apollo, painted representatives of the Four Continents arrived at the Staircase of the Ambassadors (see FIG. 10.17). The closest formal and thematic analogy is found in Pozzo's *The Glorification of St. Ignatius and the Worldwide Mission of the Jesuits*, with its Four Continents (see FIG. 2.22). Belief in these systems waned in the eighteenth century, but the Würzburg fresco bursts with an astonishing vitality and persuasiveness.

Returning to Venice in 1753, Tiepolo continued his prodigious output of canvases and frescoes and was elected president of the Venetian academy. The highest level of international patronage came in 1762, when he traveled to Madrid to fresco ceilings in the royal palace for Charles III. The painter died there unexpectedly in 1770. Three decades later, in 1797, Napoleon pressured the last doge, Ludovico Manin, to abdicate, and the great council declared the end of the Venetian republic. The following year Pope Pius VI was forced into exile, and the Papal States were dissolved. Meanwhile, the French painter Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), on his second sojourn in Rome, took Poussinist classicism to new heights in his *The Oath of the Horatii* (ca. 1784; FIG. 16.41). The age of the Baroque and Rococo had come to an end.

16.41 Jacques-Louis David, *The Oath of the Horatii*, ca. 1784. Oil on canvas, 10′ 8¼″ × 14′ (330 × 425 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris.
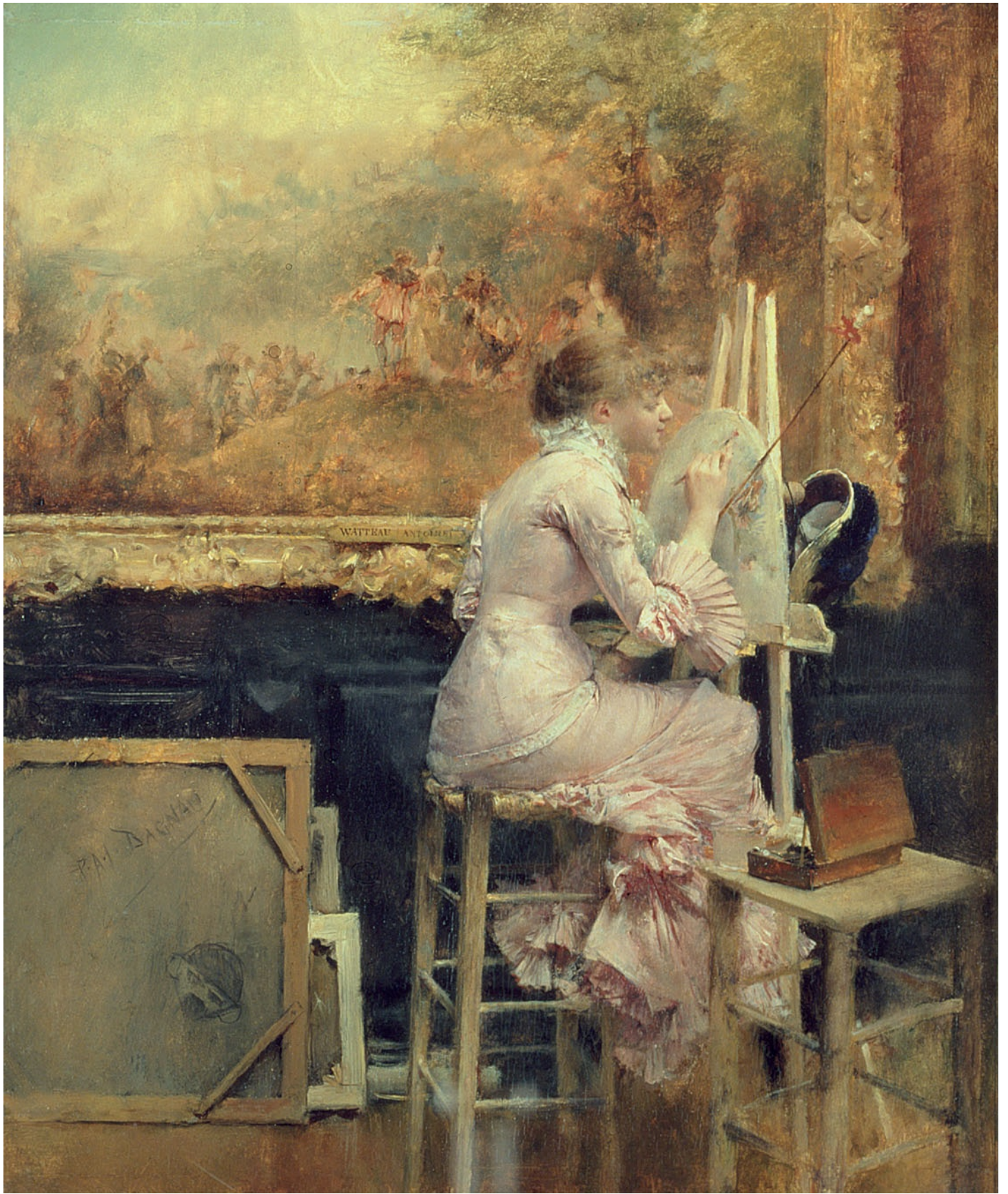
Epilogue

The eclipse of the Baroque and Rococo eras by the Neoclassical and Romantic movements at the end of the eighteenth century paralleled the drastic political, social, and religious changes epitomized by the French Revolution. The fate of the legacy of the artists who worked during these eras varied widely, but it was the artists and collectors of the nineteenth century who in many cases kept alive their body of work. The fame of some artists never diminished, as in the case of Rubens, whose dramatic style suited the masters of Romanticism, like Eugène Delacroix, who made numerous oil copies after the Flemish master, having studied the originals in Paris and on visits to Antwerp in 1839 and 1850. The names of some Baroque artists did not find wide recognition until the mid nineteenth century; an example is Velázquez, called "the painter of painters" by Edouard Manet, who traveled to Madrid in 1865. Baroque composition, color, and brushwork proved an irresistible stimulus to late nineteenth-century painters, like Vincent van Gogh, who counted 27 shades of black in the paintings of

17.1 **Pascal-Adolf-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret**, *The Watercolorist in the Louvre*, ca. 1889. Oil on panel, 14 × 12″ (35.5 × 30.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

his countryman Frans Hals, and Paul Cézanne, who professed a desire to repaint nature after Poussin. The names of other artists were all but lost outside their native countries. Vermeer was not rediscovered until the 1860s by the French art critic Thoré-Bürger, and Georges de La Tour was recovered through the work of the German art historian Hermann Voss in the 1910s.

The Rococo, reviled by David's students in Paris in the 1790s, enjoyed a revival in France during the Bourbon Restoration (1814–30), and later during the Second Empire (1852–70), as may be seen in the painting by Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret (1852–1929) of *The Watercolorist in the Louvre* (ca. 1889; FIG. 17.1). Within this painting, Dagnan-Bouveret's rendering of Watteau's *Pilgrimage to Cythera* contains the famous detail of the young woman who, preparing to leave Cythera, glances over her shoulder. In this context one can imagine her smiling upon the "real" woman absorbed in her task of painting a fan in the Louvre. The action is similar to that in the Norman Rockwell illustration reproduced at the beginning of this book, *The Art Critic* (see FIG. 0.1), where the figures have come to life and glance in the direction of an unsuspecting young artist. These fictive figures, it would seem, rest fully assured of the enduring impact of the Baroque and Rococo within Western art history and culture.

Glossary

Alter Christus Latin for the Other Christ, an epithet applied to St. Francis, whose life in specific instances resembled that of Christ.

allegory An image that symbolically illustrates an idea, concept, or principle—often moral or religious.

apse An architectural feature consisting of a vaulted semicircular or polygonal recess, most notably the space at the end of the longitudinal axis of a church, where the high altar is located.

arabesque A type of painted or carved ornamentation used for interior paneling and decorative objects, in which flowing, organic shapes—often in the form of interlaced floral and vegetal motifs—are combined with vignettes of humans, birds, and animals.

Atlantes In painting or sculpture, male figures of Herculean physique who act as an architectural support. The name is derived from that of Atlas, the Titan who carried the heavens.

baldacchino Italian term for the baldachin or canopy placed over an honorific or sacred space such as a throne or church altar.

banderole A ribbon-like piece of fabric that may carry an inscription.

bay An architectural unit or compartment defined by such elements as columns, piers, or windows.

bel composto Italian term for a beautiful composite or ensemble in the sense of an artwork that synthesizes diverse media.

bozzetto Italian term for sketch or composition; a small-scale, rough version of a painting or sculpture used to work out the composition and give the patron or collaborating artists a preview of the finished piece.

bravo (**bravi**) Italian term for a young man living by his wits on the street.

cabinet/cabinet French and English term for a relatively small private chamber in a house, often the locale of a collector's most prized, small artworks—hence the term "cabinet picture."

camera obscura Latin term for a dark chamber; an enclosed box or room fitted with a pinhole or lens that projects an inverted image onto the opposite wall that can be studied or traced.

caposcuola Italian term for the head of a school, in the sense of the master overseeing a studio or the leading painter in a movement.

cartoon From the Italian word *cartone*, meaning heavy paper; a full-scale drawing used to transfer the outline of a design onto a surface to create an image that will be painted, sculpted, or woven.

cartouche A decorative device or plaque, usually with a frame resembling scrolled parchment or leather (strapwork) and a plain center for an inscription.

casino Italian term meaning "little house," and referring to a small pleasure building on the grounds of an estate.

channeled rustication A form of **rustication** in which the stone facing of a building comprises flat rectangular blocks separated by shallow grooves.

classicism Art or architecture that incorporates certain standards of balance, order, and beauty derived from ancient Greece and Rome.

coffer A recessed panel in a ceiling or vault. The use of numerous coffers is called coffering.

colori cangianti Italian term meaning "shot" or "changing colors"; refers to the use in painting of more than one hue to describe the color of a single object, such as drapery, for the purpose of modeling or for expressive ends.

colorito Italian term for "color," and used in association with Venetian painting in which forms are created by color masses, blurred contours, and broad brushwork; it implies an effort to imitate the visual effects of nature. Opposite of **disegno**.

colossus (**colossi**) Latin term for an oversized statue.

contrapposto Italian term meaning "counterposed" or "set against." In painting and sculpture, it usually refers to the disposition of the parts of the figure so that the weight-bearing leg is distinguished from the free leg, resulting in a shift in the vertical axis between the hips and shoulders.

coretto (**coretti**) From the Italian term for choir; a small balcony located above the main floor in either a church or secular interior, sometimes screened from public view.

cross hatching Two sets of crossing parallel lines used as shading in prints and drawings.

dexter side From the Latin *dexter*, meaning "right." The right-hand side as perceived by figures within a painting—hence the viewer's left side. The favored side as opposed to the left or sinister side (Latin, *sinistra*); derived from heraldry.

disegno Italian term meaning "design" or "drawing"; a term used for central Italian art to describe the use of line to define form and create volume, in some measure abstracting from nature and thus imposing a rational or ideal character on the work. Opposite of **colorito**.

di sotto in sù Italian term meaning "from below upwards"; a technical term for the illusionistic effect created on a painted vault in which the painter

employs foreshortening as well as linear and atmospheric perspective to give the impression that the simulated architecture and figures are witnessed by the viewer standing below and looking upwards.

drypoint An **intaglio** printmaking process in which a sharp metal needle is used to incise or scratch lines into a copper plate.

Early Modern A general term used by historians to denote the period from the late fifteenth century to the late eighteenth century.

enfilade French term for a suite of rooms aligned along a longitudinal axis so that the doors, when open, form a vista.

engraving An **intaglio** printmaking process in which a design is incised directly into a copper plate through the use of a tool called a burin that creates swelling and tapering lines.

entablature The horizontal elements borne by the columns and capitals in the classical orders, consisting, from bottom to top, of an architrave, a frieze, and a cornice.

estofado A Spanish term for a decorative technique in **polychrome** sculpture in which selective scratching and stamping of a finishing layer of tempera paint reveals an underlay of gold leaf, thus imitating woven threads and embroidery (*estofa*).

etching An **intaglio** printmaking process in which a copper plate is coated with an acid-resistant resin. Using a sharp instrument called a stylus, the artist draws through this ground, exposing the metal. The plate is placed in an acid bath, which eats into the drawn lines, thus producing the lines that are inked and printed.

exedra-nymphaeum In ancient Roman gardens, an architectural feature dedicated to water nymphs—usually a curved or rectangular recess forming a backdrop to fountains and pools.

exemplum virtutis Latin term meaning "example of virtue," which in art means a historical or biblical figure who provides the viewer with a model of exemplary conduct.

fête galante French term meaning "gallant party"; a gathering of beautiful young men and women dressed in contemporary or theatrical garb and enjoying amorous pleasures in the countryside.

genre From the French, meaning "kind" or "type." A subject category of painting first defined in late eighteenth-century art theory as a scene from daily life.

genre portrait A **genre** scene that focuses on a close-up view of a figure, presumably a model in the painter's

studio, and thus not a commissioned portrait but a scene of contemporary life.

giornata (*giornate*) Italian term meaning "a day's work", and referring to a section of a fresco plastered and painted in a single day.

glaze A thin transparent layer of oil paint.

halberd A weapon consisting of a pointed spear with a broad axe toward the top.

hatching In a drawing or print, the use of parallel lines to suggest shading or modeling. See **cross hatching**.

hémicycle French term for a half circle or semicircular structure.

historiated portrait From the French term *portrait historié*, indicating a commissioned portrait that shows the sitter in the guise of a historical or allegorical figure as a means of alluding to the person's personal or public qualities and of associating portraiture with the more elevated category of **history painting**.

history painting A subject category based on a historical, mythological, or biblical narrative; considered by some artists and theorists the highest and most difficult form of art for its potential to convey a moral or intellectual idea.

illusionism A term for a heightened degree of naturalism in painting in which various pictorial devices, such as figural scale, foreshortening, and perspective, give the impression that the fictive world represented in the artwork is a literal extension of the viewer's space.

impasto From the Italian *impastare*, meaning "to form into a paste"; the thick application of pigment.

impression A print made from a copper **etching** or **engraving**; the pressure required to lift the ink from beneath the surface of the plate creates an impression or plate-mark along the margin of the image.

in antis A classical portico designed with columns standing between square piers that are usually fronted with pilasters (*antae*).

intaglio From the Italian for "incision" or "carving"; a printmaking process, such as **etching**, **engraving**, **drypoint**, or **mezzotint**, in which the design to be printed is created below the surface of the plate, which is then inked, wiped, and rolled through the press under considerable pressure.

linear perspective A system for representing three-dimensional space on a two dimensional surface through the use

of multiple orthogonal lines that recede to meet at one or more points on the horizon (called vanishing points).

local color The true color of an object in a painting, contained within the boundaries of the form and unaltered by shadow or artistic license.

lunette From the French in the sense of half-moon; referring to a semicircular painting, sculpture, or portion of a wall; also the curved top of a painting.

Maniera From the Italian term for "manner" or "style"; an art historical term for the most part synonymous with the English term **Mannerism**, and sometimes reserved for the mature phase of the movement, from the 1530s to the 1630s.

Mannerism An art historical term derived from the Italian word *Maniera* to describe a stylistic movement originating around 1520 that initially sought an alternative to the harmonious forms of High Renaissance art and later pushed these forms to extremes of complexity, artificiality, and expressiveness.

mezzotint From the Italian term meaning "half tone"; an **intaglio** printmaking process in which the copperplate is roughed all over by means of a rocker or roulette, then burnished selectively to create rich tonal variations when inked and printed.

naturalism In two-dimensional media, the use of formal devices, such as modeling, perspective, and foreshortening, to create an image that corresponds to the experience of the natural world.

nocturne In the visual arts the representation of a night scene.

occult symmetry Balance achieved in a composition not through exact repetition on either side of the main axis, but through an imperceptible (occult) arrangement of elements of comparable weight or variety.

order One of the five architectural styles created in ancient Greece and Rome—Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite—for the design of vertical and horizontal members following a system of proportions and detailing.

pendants A pair of paintings or sculptures, usually the same size and thematically related, intended to be hung or placed together, either side by side or on opposite walls.

pendentive A concave triangular section of a vault that forms the transition between a square or polygonal surface and the circular base of a drum or a dome.

pentimento (**pentimenti**) Italian term meaning "repentance," and referring to an alteration in a painting's surface, sometimes scarcely visible, that reveals an artist's change of mind.

petite manière French term for a small or lesser manner; a term used in the eighteenth century to describe the Rubenist paintings of such artists as Watteau and Boucher, sometimes disparagingly compared to the *grande manière* (**history painting**).

piano nobile Italian term for the "noble floor" of a palace, usually the second story—the site of the principal reception rooms and the owner's apartments.

picture plane The imaginary plane or window suggested by the actual surface of a painting or drawing.

Picturesque From the Italian *pittoresco*, an aesthetic term that developed in eighteenth-century England to refer to both paintings and actual landscapes having the characteristics of irregularity, intricacy, and variety.

pietà From the Italian for "pity"; it designates a composition in which the Madonna mourns the dead Christ after his removal from the cross and placement on (or against) her lap.

pilaster A flat, low-relief version of a column of one of the classical orders, projecting slightly from a wall.

pitture ridicole Italian term for amusing **genre** scenes that assert a moralizing message by ridiculing foolish or comic behavior.

poesia (**poesie**) Italian term meaning "poetry" that is used to denote an Italian, usually Venetian and often mythological, subject in art that, like poetry, withholds its exact meaning and evokes the viewer's subjective response.

polychromy The painted surface of a part of a building or piece of sculpture.

portrait d'apparat French term for a ceremonial or state portrait.

Poussinism (adj. **Poussinist**) From the French *Poussinisme*; a doctrine championing art based on the linear style of Poussin, the High Renaissance masters, and ancient sculpture. Opposite of **Rubenism**.

putto (**putti**) Italian term for a boy, cherub, or cupid; from the Latin *putus*: boy.

quadro riportato Italian term meaning "transferred picture," and referring to a type of ceiling fresco designed to give the impression that a framed easel painting has been attached to the vault.

reception piece An artwork presented to an academy as evidence of artistic ability in order to achieve membership; called a *morceau de réception* in the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.

repoussoir From the French for "something that pushes back," and referring to a figure or object in a naturalistic painting that through its large scale, color, and placement in the foreground contributes, though contrast, to the illusion of space.

retable From the Latin *retrotabulum*, meaning "behind the table"; it referes to the altarpiece located at the back of the altar. Used especially for Spanish examples, called *retablos*, consisting of a multi-tiered architectural framework enclosing paintings and sculptures.

revetment A thin decorative layer of facing on a wall, usually a marble veneer.

rocaille French term meaning "rockwork"; a decorative veneer of rocks and shells used in garden fountains and artificial grottoes. Also used to describe the quasi-naturalistic ornamentation on eighteenth-century French furniture, wall paneling, and decorative objects. Often synonymous with the word *rococo*.

Roman arch order An arcade in which the arches are framed by engaged columns and entablatures.

Rubenism (adj., **Rubenist**) From the French *Rubénisme*; a broad doctrine referring to painting, such as the works of Watteau and Boucher, that reflects the colorism and dynamism of Rubens and his sources, especially Venetian sixteenth-century painting, as well as Italian Baroque painting and Netherlandish realism. Opposite of **Poussinism**.

rustication In architecture, the rough, irregular, and unfinished effect deliberately given to the exterior facing of a stone building; see also **channeled rustication**.

sacra conversazione Italian term meaning "sacred conversation"; a subject type for Catholic altarpieces in which saints from various historical periods, depending on the site and the patron, usually flank the enthroned Madonna and Christ child.

scagliola From the Italian *scaglia*, meaning "marble scale" or "chip," and referring to a technique for producing imitation marble through a combination of gypsum, marble powder, stone chips, and colored pigments; this is then smoothed and polished.

sfumato From the Italian *fumo*, meaning "smoke"; an oil painting technique in which the contours of forms are softened to suggest that they are enveloped in an atmospheric or smoky haze.

Solomonic column An architectural order featuring a twisted or spiral column, so-called because examples at St. Peter's basilica were thought to have been brought from the Temple of Solomon.

Sudarium From the Latin for "sweat cloth," it refers to St. Veronica's veil, a Catholic relic of the Passion, which received the imprint of Christ's face when on the Via Crucis she attempted to wipe the sweat and blood from his face.

tableau de mode French term for a **genre** painting representing well-to-do contemporary figures in a fashionable setting, often pursuing amorous pleasures.

tenebrism From the Italian *tenebre*, meaning "darkness"; it refers to darkened, shadowy spaces in painting, often counterposed with brightly illuminated elements to create a dramatic contrast.

tondo (**tondi**) From the Italian for "round"; a circular painting or relief sculpture.

trabeated A building system using vertical posts and horizontal beams (post and lintel) as opposed to a system using arches.

trois crayons French term meaning "three chalks"; a drawing technique employing chalks of three different colors, usually red, black, and white, on buff or blue paper.

underdrawing A preliminary sketch of a composition, applied on a canvas or panel as a guide to be painted over.

veduta (**vedute**). Italian term for a view or vista, and usually referring to a painting or print of an urban scene or harbor.

villa suburbana Latin term meaning "suburban villa"; a small country house located near a city.

volute A spiral scroll, as for example on an Ionic capital or a church façade.

wet in wet A painting technique in which a layer of pigment is applied onto a previous layer before the latter has dried, resulting in visible brushwork and some blending of the colors.

Further Reading

Introduction

Defining Baroque and Rococo

Blunt, Anthony. *Some Uses and Misuses of the Terms Baroque and Rococo as Applied to Architecture.* London: The British Academy, 1973.

Carr, C. T. "Two Words in Art History: I. Baroque; II. Rococo." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 1 (1965): 175–90, 266–81.

Coffin, Sarah D. *Rococo: The Continuing Curve, 1730–2008.* New York: Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, 2008.

Harris, Anne Sutherland. *Seventeenth-Century Art & Architecture.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2008.

Kimball, Fiske. *The Creation of the Rococo.* Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943.

Loh, Maria H. "New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory." *Art Bulletin* 86:3 (Sept. 2004): 477–504.

Martin, John Rupert. *Baroque.* New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

Minor, Vernon Hyde. *Baroque & Rococo: Art & Culture.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1999.

Park, William. *The Idea of Rococo.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992.

Snodin, Michael, and Nigel Llewellyn. *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence, 1620–1800.* London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2009.

Zirpolo, Lilian H. *The Historical Dictionary of Baroque Art and Architecture.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010.

The Historical Context

Sturdy, David J. *Fractured Europe, 1600–1721.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Moote, A. Lloyd. *The Seventeenth Century: Europe in Ferment.* Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1970.

Italian Renaissance Art

Andrea Bayer, ed., *Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.

Brown, David Alan, and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden. *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006).

Ekserdjian, David. *Correggio.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

———. *Parmigianino.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Hall, Marcia B. *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Frederick Ilchman, *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009).

CHAPTER 1
(see also Chapter 2)

General Studies

Brown, Beverly Louise, ed. *The Genius of Rome, 1592–1623.* London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001.

Burke, Peter. "How To Be a Counter-Reformation Saint." in *An Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, edited by Peter Burke. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Bury, Michael. *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620.* London: British Museum Press, 2001.

Dunn, Marilynn. "Rome: Art Life and Organization, 1601–1700," Oxford Art Online.

Fantoni, Marcello, et al. *The Art Market in Italy, 15th–17th Centuries.* Modena: Cosimo Panini Editore, 2003.

Goodspeed, Edgar T. *The Apocrypha.* New York: Vintage, 1959.

Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Jones, Pamela M. *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550–1650.* Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Klein, Robert, ed. *Italian Art, 1500–1600: Sources and Documents.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Kockelbergh, Iris. "Altar," Oxford Art Online.

O'Neil, Maryvelma Smith. *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Spear, Richard E., and Philip Sohm. *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Painters.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Weston-Louis, Aiden, ed. *Effigies and Ecstasies: Roman Baroque Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini.* Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1998.

Barocci

Lingo, Stuart. *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late-Renaissance Painting.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

The Carracci

Benati, Daniele, et al. *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1999.

Boschloo, A.W.A. *Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visual Reality in Art after the Council of Trent.* The Hague: Govt. Pub. Off, 1974.

Cropper, Elizabeth. *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Dempsey, Charles. *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style.* Fiesole: Edizione Cadmo, 2000.

———. *Annibale Carracci: The Farnese Gallery, Rome.* New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1995.

Emiliani, Andrea, and Gail Feigenbaum. *Ludovico Carracci.* Fort Worth: Kimball Art Museum, 1994.

Malvasia's Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation, trans. Anne Summerscale. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

McTighe, Sheila. "Foods and the Body in Italian Genre Paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci." *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 301–23.

Posner, Donald. *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590.* 2 vols. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1971.

Robertson, Clare. *The Invention of Annibale Carracci.* Milan: Silvana, 2008.

Caravaggio

Askew, Pamela. "The Angelic Consolation of St. Francis of Assisi in Post-Tridentine Italian Painting." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 280–306.

———. *Caravaggio's Death of the Virgin.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Bayer, Andrea. *Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.

Christiansen, Keith. *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990.

Hibbard, Howard. *Caravaggio.* New York: Harper & Row, 1983.

Jones, Pamela M. *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Langdon, Helen. *Caravaggio: A Life.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1998.

Puglisi, Catherine. *Caravaggio.* New York: Phaidon, 2000.

Sciberras, Keith, and David M. Stone. *Caravaggio: Art, Knighthood, and Malta.* Valletta: Midsea Books, 2006.

Sickel, Lothar. "Remarks on the Patronage of Caravaggio's *Entombment of Christ.*" *Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001): 426–9.

Spike, John T. *Caravaggio.* New York: Abbeville Press, 2001.

Film

Caravaggio (Derek Jarman, 1986).

CHAPTER 2
(see also Chapter 1)

General Studies

Brown, Beverly Louise, ed. *The Genius of Rome, 1592–1623.* London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001.

DeMolen, Richard L., ed. *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1994.

Jones, Pamela M. *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni.* Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.

Mormando, Franco. *Saints & Sinners: Caravaggio and the Baroque Image.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Neuman, Robert. "Stagi, Betti, and Zocchi at S. Carlo dei Barnabiti: Style and Meaning in Florentine *Quadratura* of the Late Baroque." *Studies in Iconography* 10 (1986): 117–41.

Followers of Caravaggio

Bissell, R. Ward. *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

———. *Orazio Gentileschi and the Poetic Tradition in Caravaggesque Painting.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981.

Christiansen, Keith, and Judith W. Mann. *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

Franklin, David, and Sebastian Schütz. *Caravaggio and His Followers in Rome.* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2011.

Garrard, Mary. *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Spear, Richard E. "Artemisia Gentileschi: Ten Years of Fact and Fiction." *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 568–79.

Spicer, Joaneath A., ed. *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Bolognese School

Boccardo, Piero, and Xavier F. Solomon, eds. *The Agony and the Ecstasy: Guido Reni's Saint Sebastians.* London: Dulwich Art Gallery, 2008.

Bohn, Babette. "The Antique Heroines of Elisabetta Sirani." *Renaissance Studies* 16:1 (2002): 52–79.

Cafritz, Robert C., et al. *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape.* New York: Clarkson N. Potter Publishers, 1988.

Cropper, Elizabeth. *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Emiliani, Andrea, et al. *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986.

Lee, Rensselaer W. *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting.* 1943; reprint, New York: W.W. Norton, 1967.

Modesti, Adelina. "Elisabetta Sirani." In *Dictionary of Women Artists.* Edited by Delia Gaze. London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997.

Schleier, Erich. *Giovanni Lanfranco: Un pittore barocco tra Parma, Roma e Napoli.* Milan: Electa, 2001.

Spear, Richard E. *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money, and Art in the World of Guido Reni.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Regional Centers

Campanelli, Daniella. "Luca Giordano." Oxford Art Online.

Finaldi, Gabriele, and Sally Korman. *Baroque Painting in Genoa.* London: National Gallery, 2002.

Ceilings

Cummings, Frederick J., and Marco Chiarini. *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743.* Detroit Institute of Art, 1974.

Enggass, Robert. *The Painting of Baciccio: Giovanni Battista Gaulli, 1639–09.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964.

Harris, Anne Sutherland. *Andrea Sacchi.* Oxford: Phaidon, 1977.

Levy, Evonne. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque.* Berkeley: University of California, 2004.

Roettgen, Steffi. *Italian Frescoes: The Baroque Era, 1600–1800.* New York: Abbeville Press, 2007.

Scott, John Beldon. *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Waddy, Patricia. *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.

The Jesuits

Lucas, Thomas J., ed. *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome and Jesuit Urbanism.* Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990.

O'Malley, John. *The First Jesuits.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Smith, Jeffrey Chipps. *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Wittkower, Rudolph, and Irma B. Jaffe, eds. *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1972.

CHAPTER 3

General Studies and Monographs

Boucher, Bruce. *Italian Baroque Sculpture.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy.* New York: Icon Editions, 1963/71.

Hollingsworth, Mary, and Carol M. Richardson, eds. *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art, 1450–1700.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

Magnuson, Torgil. *Rome in the Age of Bernini.* 2 vols. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982–6.

Montagu, Jennifer. *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Penny, Nicolas, and Eike D. Schmidt. *Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Scott, John Beldon. "Barberini." Oxford Art Online.

Wittkower, Rudolph. *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750.* Edited by Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Tronzo, William, ed. *St. Peter's in the Vatican.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Studies on Other Sculptors

Gregori, Mina. *Francesco Mochi, 1580–1654.* Florence: Centro Di, 1981.

Lingo, Estelle. *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

——. "Mochi's Edge." *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 1 (2009): 1–16.

Montagu, Jennifer. *Alessandro Algardi.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Bernini

Avery, Charles. *Bernini, Genius of the Baroque.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1997.

Bacchi, Andrea, Catherine Hess, and Jennifer Montagu, eds. *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008.

Baldinucci, Filippo. *The Life of Bernini.* Translated by Catherine Enggass. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966.

Gaskell, Ivan, and Henry Lie, eds. *Sketches in Clay for Projects by Gian Lorenzo Bernini: Theoretical, Technical, and Case Studies.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 1999.

Hibbard, Howard. *Bernini.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965.

Kenseth, Joy. "Bernini's Borghese Sculpture: Another View." *Art Bulletin* 83 (1981): 191–210.

Lavin, Irving. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts.* New York: University of Oxford Press, 1980.

Marder, Tod A. *Bernini and the Art of Architecture.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.

——. *Bernini's Scala Regia at the Vatican Palace.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Peers, E. Allison, trans. *The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus.* 3 vols. London: Sheed and Ward, 1973.

Scribner III, Charles. *Gianlorenzo Bernini.* New York: H. N. Abrams, Publisher, 1991.

CHAPTER 4

General Studies and Monographs

Ackerman, James S. *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.

Hopkins, Andrew. *Italian Architecture from Michelangelo to Borromini.* London: Thames and Hudson, 2002.

Hibbard, Howard. *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580–1630.* London: Zwemmer, 1971.

Magnuson, Torgil. *Rome in the Age of Bernini.* 2 vols. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982–6.

Millon, Henry A. *The Triumph of the Baroque: Architecture in Europe, 1600–1750.* New York: Rizzoli, 1999.

Rowell, Christopher. "Display of Art." Oxford Art Online.

Strunck, Christina. "'The Marvel Not Only of Rome, but of All Italy': The Galleria Colonna, Its Design History and Pictorial Programme, 1661–1700." In *Art, Site, and Spectacle: Studies in Early Modern Visual Culture,* edited by David R Marshall, 78–102. Melbourne: The Fine Arts Network, 2007.

Summerson, John. *The Classical Language of Architecture.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963.

Tuttle, Richard J., ed. *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola.* Milan: Electa, 2002.

Varriano, John L. *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Voelker, Evelyn Carole. "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae,* 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis." PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1977.

Waddy, Patricia. *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.

Walker, Stefanie, and Frederick Hammond, eds. *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Weston-Louis, Aiden, and Timothy Clifford, eds. *Effigies and Ecstasies: Roman Baroque Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini.* Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1998.

Wiebenson, Dora, ed. *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Wilson, Paul A. "The Image of Chigi Rome: G. B. Falda's *Il nuovo teatro.*" *Architectura* 26 (1996): 33–46.

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750.* Edited by Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

——, and Irma B. Jaffe, eds. *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1972.

City Planning

Gamrath, Helge. *Roma sancta renovata: Studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda metà del sec. XVI con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585–1590).* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987.

Habel, Dorothy Metzger. *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Krautheimer, Richard. *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Churches

Alexander, John. "Shaping Sacred Space in the Sixteenth Century: Design Criteria for the Collegio Borromeo's Chapel." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004): 165–79.

Freiberg, Jack. *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hopkins, Andrew. *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Levy, Evonne. "Architecture and Religion in 17th-Century Rome." *Studiolo* 2 (2003): 219–52.

———. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Lewine, Milton Joseph. "The Roman Church Interior, 1527–1580." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1960.

Lucas, Thomas M., ed. *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism.* Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990.

O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Robertson, Clare. *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Scott, John Beldon. *Architecture for the Shroud: Relic and Ritual in Turin.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Smith, Jeffrey Chipps. *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Borromini

Blunt, Anthony. *Borromini.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Bernini

Connors, Joseph. "Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale: Payments and Planning." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41 (1982): 15–37.

Marder, Tod A. *Bernini and the Art of Architecture.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.

The Villa

Ehrlich, Tracy L. *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Steinberg, Ronald. "The Iconography of the Teatro dell' Acqua at the Villa Aldobrandini." *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965): 453–63.

CHAPTER 5

General Studies

Bray, Xavier. *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture, 1600–1700.* London: National Gallery, 2009.

Black, Charlene Villasenor. *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Brown, Jonathan. *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

———. *Painting in Spain, 1500–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Kasl, Rhonda, and Alfonso Rodriguez G. de Ceballos. *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World.* Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2009.

Stoichita, Victor I. *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art.* London: Reaktion Books, 1995.

Stratton, Suzanne L. *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Trusted, Marjorie. *The Arts of Spain: Iberia and Latin America, 1450–1700.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

Webster, Susan Verdi. *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Spanish Painters

Baticle, Jeannine. *Zurburán.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.

Cherry, Peter, and Xanthe Brown. *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood.* London: Merrell, 2001.

Davies, David. *El Greco.* London: National Gallery, 2003.

Domenech, Fernando Benito. *The Paintings of Ribalta, 1565–1628.* New York: Spanish Institute, 1988.

Felton, Craig M., and William B. Jordan. *Jusepe de Ribera, lo Spagnoletto, 1591–1652.* Fort Worth, Kimball Art Museum, 1982.

Jordan, William B. *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age.* Forth Worth: Kimball Art Museum, 1985.

Sánchez, Alfonso E. Pérez, and Nicola Spinosa. *Jusepe de Ribera, 1591–1652.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Schroth, Sarah, and Ronni Baer. *El Greco to Velázquez: Art during the Reign of Philip III.* Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2008.

Stratton-Pruitt, Suzanne L., ed., *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–1682): Paintings from American Collections.* New York: H. N. Abrams, 2002.

Velázquez

Brown, Jonathan, and Carmen Garrido. *Velázquez: The Technique of Genius.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Carr, Dawson W. *Velázquez.* London: National Gallery, 2006.

Ortiz, Antonio Domínguez, et al. *Velázquez.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.

Stratton-Pruitt, Suzanne L., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Velázquez.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

———, ed. *Velázquez's* Las Meninas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Spanish Architecture

Blunt, Anthony, ed. *Baroque & Rococo Architecture & Decoration.* New York: Harper and Row, 1982.

Escobar, Jesús. *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Latin America

Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art of Colonial Latin America.* London: Phaidon, 2005.

Donahue-Wallace, Kelly. *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521–1821.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

Duncan, Barbara. *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Panting of Peru and Bolivia.* New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1986.

Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

O'Malley, John W., and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds. *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773.* Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2005.

Pierce, Donna, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini. *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821.* Denver Art Museum, 2004.

Rishel, Joseph J., with Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt. *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820.*

Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2005.

Schreffler, Michael J. *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

CHAPTER 6
(see also Chapter 7)

General Studies

Adams, Ann Jensen. *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Brown, Beverly Louise, ed. *The Genius of Rome, 1592–1623.* London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001.

Haeger, Barbara. "The Prodigal Son in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Art." *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 128–38.

Jongh, Eddy de, and Ger Luijten. *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700.* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997.

Muller, Sheila D., ed. *Dutch Art: An Encyclopedia.* New York: Routledge, 1977.

Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Slive, Seymour. *Dutch Painting, 1600–1800.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Westermann, Mariët. *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585–1718.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.

Wheelock, Jr., Arthur K., and Adele Seeff, eds. *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000.

Utrecht Followers of Caravaggio

Eck, Xander van. *Clandestine Splendor: Paintings for the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic.* Zwolle: Waanders, 2008.

Judson, J. Richard, and Rudolf E. O. Ekkart. *Gerrit van Honthorst, 1592–1656.* Dornspijk: Davaco, 1999.

Lurie, Ann Tzeutschler. "Gerard van Honthorst: *Samson and Delilah." Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (1969): 332–44.

Slatkes, Leonard J. "Dirck van Baburen"; "Hendrick ter Brugghen." Oxford Art Online.

Spicer, Joaneath A., and Lynn Federle Orr. *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age.* Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1998.

Frans Hals

Haeger, Barbara. "Frans Hals' So-Called *Jonker Ramp and His Sweetheart* Reconsidered." *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 55 (1986): 141–8.

Köhler, Neeltje, and Koos Levy-van Halm. *Frans Hals: Militia Pieces.* The Hague: Gary Schwartz/SDU, 1990.

Slive, Seymour. *Frans Hals.* 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1970–4.

——, ed. *Frans Hals.* London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1989.

Judith Leyster

Hofrichter, Frima Fox. *Judith Leyster: A Woman Painter in Holland's Golden Age.* Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989.

Welu, James A., et al. *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World.* Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1993.

Rembrandt

Adams, Ann Jensen, ed. *Rembrandt's* Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Broos, B. P. J. "The 'O' of Rembrandt." *Simiolus* 4:3 (1971): 150–84.

Brown Christopher, et al. *Rembrandt: The Master & His Workshop.* 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Chapman, Perry H. *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Chong, Alan, ed. *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt: Art and Ambition in Leiden, 1629–1631.* Boston: Isabella Gardner Stewart Museum, 2000.

Haverkamp-Begemann, Egbert. *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Kahr, Madlyn. "Rembrandt and Delilah." *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973): 240–59.

Morrall, Andrew. *Rembrandt: The History and Techniques of the Great Masters.* Secaucus, NJ: Chartwell Books, 1987.

Perlove, Shelley, and Larry Silver. *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

Schwartz, Gary. *The Night Watch.* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2002.

Sonnenberg, Hubert von, Walter Liedtke, et al. *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* 2 vols. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.

Westermann, Mariët. *Rembrandt.* London: Phaidon, 2000.

Wetering, Ernst van de. *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Williams, Julia Lloyd, ed. *Rembrandt's Women.* Munich: Prestel, 2001.

CHAPTER 7
(see also Chapter 6)

General Studies

Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Franits, Wayne. *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Freedberg, David, and Jan de Vries, eds. *Art in History, History in Art.* Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art, 1991.

Fuchs, R. H. *Dutch Painting.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

Grijzenhout, Frans, and Henk van Veen, eds. *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Hollander, Martha. *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Slive, Seymour. *Dutch Painting, 1600–1800.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Westermann, Mariët. *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585–1718.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.

Wetering, Ernst van de. *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Genre subjects

Brown, Christopher. *The National Gallery Lends Dutch Genre Painting.* London: The National Gallery, 1978.

Chapman, H. Perry, et al. *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1996.

Franits, Wayne. *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

———. *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Jongh, Eddy de, and Ger Luijten. *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700.* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997.

Kolfin, Elmer. *The Young Gentry at Play: Northern Netherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies, 1610–1645.* Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005.

Stone-Ferrier, Linda. *Dutch Prints of Daily Life: Mirrors of Life or Masks of Morals?* Lawrence, KS: The Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1983.

Sutton, Peter C., ed. *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting.* Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984.

Walsh, John. *Jan Steen: The Drawing Lesson.* Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996.

Westermann, Mariët. *The Amusements of Jan Steen.* Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997.

———, ed. *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt.* Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001.

Wheelock, Jr., Arthur K., ed. *Gerard ter Borch.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2004.

Johannes Vermeer

Franits, Wayne, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Liedtke, Walter, et al. *Vermeer and the Delft School.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

Montias, John Michael. *Vermeer and His Milieu: A Web of Social History.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Steadman, Philip. "Vermeer's Camera," website.

Welu, James A. "Vermeer" His Cartographic Sources." *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975): 529–47.

Wheelock, Jr., Arthur K., ed. *Johannes Vermeer.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1995.

———. *Vermeer and the Art of Painting.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Landscape, Marine and Architectural Views, and Still Life

Adams, Ann Jensen. "Competing Communities in the 'Great Bog of Europe': Identity and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting." In *Landscape and Power,* edited by W. J. T. Mitchell. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994.

Hochstrasser, Julie. *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Keyes, George S. *Mirror of Empire: Dutch Marine Art of the Seventeenth Century.* Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1990.

Suchtelen, Ariane van, and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age.* Zwolle: Waanders, 2008.

Sutton, Peter C. *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting.* Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987.

CHAPTER 8

General Studies

Brusati, Celeste. "Stilled Lives: Self-Portraiture and Self-Reflection in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Still-Life Painting." *Simiolus* 20 (1990–1): 168–82.

Filipczak, Zirka Zaremba. *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550–1700.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Kenseth, Joy., ed. *The Age of the Marvelous.* Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991.

Sutton, Peter C. *The Age of Rubens.* Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.

Stock, Jan van der. *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis: 16th–17th Century.* Antwerp: Hessenhuis 25, 1993.

Vlieghe, Hans. *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Zorach, Rebecca, and Elizabeth Rodini. *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500–1800.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Peter Paul Rubens

Belkin, Kristin Lohse. *Rubens.* London: Phaidon, 1998.

———, Fiona Healy, and Jeffrey M. Muller. *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector.* Antwerp: Schoten, 2004.

Goodman, Elise. *Rubens: The Garden of Love as "Conversatie à la mode."* Amsterdam: Benjamins Pub. Co., 1992.

Held, Julius S. *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980.

Jaffe, David. *Rubens: A Master in the Making.* London: National Gallery, 2005.

Jong, Jan de, et al. *Rubens and the Netherlands.* Zwolle: Waanders Uitevers, 2006.

Lawrence, Cynthia. "Before *The Raising of the Cross:* The Origins of Rubens's Earliest Antwerp Altarpieces." *Art Bulletin* 81:2 (1999): 267–96.

Martin, John Rupert. *Rubens: The Antwerp Altarpieces.* New York: Norton, 1969.

Morrall, Andrew. *Rubens: The History and Techniques of the Great Masters.* Secaucus, NJ: Chartwell Books, 1988.

Scribner III, Charles. *Peter Paul Rubens.* New York: Abrams, 1989.

Sutton, Peter C., and Marjorie E. Wieseman. *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Vlieghe, Hans. *Saints. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard.* Vol. 1. London: Phaidon, 1972.

White, Christopher. *Making and Meaning: Rubens's Landscapes.* London: National Gallery, 1996.

Anthony van Dyck

Barnes, Susan J., et al. *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Brown, Christopher, and Hans Vlieghe. *Van Dyck 1599–1641.* London: Hirmer, 1999.

Jenkins, Marianna. *The State Portrait, Its Origin and Evolution.* New York: College Art Association of America, 1947.

Wheelock Jr., Arthur K., et al. *Anthony van Dyck.* Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990.

CHAPTER 9

General Studies

Allen, Christopher. *French Painting in the Golden Age.* London: Thames and Hudson, 2003.

Blunt, Anthony, and Richard Beresford. *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Campbell, Thomas. *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.

Goldfarb, Hilliard Todd. *Richelieu: Art and Power.* Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2002.

———. *From Fontainebleau to the Louvre: French Drawings from the Seventeenth Century.* Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1989.

Mérot, Alain. *French Painting in the Seventeenth Century.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Wine, Humphrey. *The Seventeenth-Century French Paintings.* London: National Gallery, 2001.

Mannerist Printmakers

Griffiths, Antony, and Craig Hartley. *Jacques Bellange, ca. 1575–1616: Printmaker of Lorraine.* London: British Museum Press, 1997.

Jacques Callot, 1592–1635. Nancy: Musée Historique Lorrain, 1992.

Reed, Sue Welsh, and Alvin L. Clark. *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers.* Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1998.

Realist Painters

Akehurst, Judith Marion. "The Haven of Innocence and the Deserving Poor: Social Attitude and Literary Convention in Paintings by the Le Nain Brothers." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1987.

Conisbee, Philip, Georges du Mesnil de La Tour, and Jean Pierre Cuzin. *Georges de La Tour and His World.* Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996.

Goubert, Pierre. *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Jongh, Eddy de, and Ger Luijten, eds. *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700.* Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997 (on cardplaying).

MacGregor, Neil. "The Le Nain Brothers and Changes in French Rural Life." *Art History* 2:4 (1979): 401–12.

Rand, Jr., Olan A. "Philippe de Champaigne and the *Ex-Voto* of 1662: A Historical Perspective." *Art Bulletin* 65 (Mar. 1983): 78–93.

Smith, Martha Kellogg. *"Les nus-pieds et la pauvreté d'esprit*: French Counter Reformation Thought and the Peasant Paintings of the Le Nain Brothers." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1989.

Nicolas Poussin

Blunt, Anthony. *Nicolas Poussin.* New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967.

Chantelou, Paul Fréart de. *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France.* Edited by Anthony Blunt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Kitson, Michael. "Anthony Blunt's *Nicolas Poussin* in Context." In *Commemorating Poussin: Reception and Interpretation of the Artist,* edited by Katie Scott and Genevieve Warwick. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Montagu, Jennifer. *The Expression of the Passions: the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particuliére.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Rosenberg, Pierre, and Keith Christianson. *Poussin and Nature: Arcadian Visions.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.

Verdi, Richard, and Pierre Rosenberg. *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665.* London: Zwemmer in association with the Royal Academy of Arts, 1995.

Claude Lorrain

Beneš, Mirka. "Pastoralism in the Roman Baroque Ville and in Claude Lorrain." In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France.* Edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Rand, Richard, Antony Griffiths, Colleen M. Terry, and Claude Lorrain. *Claude Lorrain: The Painter as Draftsman: Drawings from the British Museum.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Röthlisberger, Marcel. *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings.* 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

CHAPTER 10

France

Ballon, Hilary. *The Paris of Henry IV: Architecture and Urbanism.* New York: Architectural History Foundation and Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1991.

——. "Vaux-le-Vicomte: Le Vau's Ambition." In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France,* edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Berger, Robert. *A Royal Passion: Louis XIV as Patron of Architecture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Blunt, Anthony. *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700.* 5th rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Burke, Peter. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Cleary, Richard. *The Place Royale and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Laclotte, Michael, ed. *The Art and Spirit of Paris.* 2 vols. New York: Abbeville Press, 2003.

Mukerji, Chandra. *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Neuman, Robert. "Illusions of Grandeur: A Harmonious Garden for the Sun King." In *Gardening and Philosophy: Cultivating Wisdom,* edited by Dan O'Brien. Chichester, UK and Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie. *Versailles.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1991.

Woodbridge, Kenneth. *Princely Gardens: The Origins and Development of the French Style.* New York: Rizzoli, 1986.

Ziskin, Rochelle. *The Place Vendôme: Architecture and Social Mobility in Eighteenth Century Paris.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

England

Anderson, Christy. *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Bradley, Simon, and Nikolaus Pevsner. *London I: the City of London.* Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Downes, Kerry. *The Architecture of Wren.* Rev. ed. Reading: Redhedge, 1988.

Senn, Frank C. *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997.

Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830.* 9th ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

CHAPTER 11
(see also Chapter 12)

General Studies

Althouse, Roxane Landers, ed. *Rubenism.* Providence, RI: Brown University, 1975.

Bailey, Colin, et al. *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting.* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2003.

Blunt, Anthony, and Richard Beresford. *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Cafritz, Robert, ed. *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1988.

Cohen, Sarah R. *Art, Dance, and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Crow, Thomas. *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Edmunds, Martha. *Piety and Politics: Imaging Divine Kingship in Louis XIV's Chapel at Versailles.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002.

Rosenfeld, Myra Nan. *Largillierre and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait.* Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1982.

Vogtherr, Christoph Martin, and Jennifer Tonkovich. *Jean de Julienne: Collector and Connoisseur.* London: The Wallace Collection, 2011.

Ziskin, Rochelle. *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris.* University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012.

Watteau and His Followers

Baxter, Denise Amy. "Fashions of Sociability in Jean-François de Troy's *tableaux de mode, 1725–1738.*" In *Performing the "Everyday": The Culture of Genre in the Eighteenth Century,* edited by Alden Cavanaugh. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Cowart, Georgia. "Watteau's *Pilgrimage to Cythera* and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet." *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 461–78.

Holmes, Mary Tavenor. *Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743.* New York: The Frick Collection, 1991.

Neuman, Robert. "Watteau's *L'enseigne de Gersaint* and Baroque Emblematic Tradition." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 104 (1984): 153–64.

Plax, Julie Anne. *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-Century France.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Posner, Donald. *Antoine Watteau.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.

———. *Watteau: A Lady at Her Toilet.* New York: Allen Lane, 1973.

Scott, Katie. *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Sheriff, Mary D., ed. *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of His Time.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006.

Vidal, Mary. *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Boucher

Hedley, Jo. *François Boucher: Seductive Visions.* London: The Wallace Collection, 2004.

Hyde, Melissa. *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics.* Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.

———, and Mark Ledbury, eds. *Rethinking Boucher.* Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.

Laing, Alistair. *François Boucher, 1703–1770.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.

Films

Dangerous Liaisons (Stephen Frears, 1988); *Valmont* (Miloš Forman, 1989).

CHAPTER 12
(see also Chapter 11)

General Studies

Auricchio, Laura. "The Laws of *Bienséance* and the Gendering of Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Art Education." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2003): 231–40.

Bailey, Colin B. *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting.* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2003.

Conisbee, Philip, ed. *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2007.

Heller-Greenman, Bernandine. "Moreau Le Jeune and the *Monument du Costume. Athanor* 20 (2002): 67–75.

Wrigley, Richard. *The Origins of French Art Criticism: from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Women and Art

Auricchio, Laura. *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, Artist in the Age of Revolution.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009.

Duncan, Carol. "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art." *Art Bulletin* 60 (1973): 571–83.

Hyde, Melissa. "Women and the Visual Arts in the Age of Marie-Antoinette." In Eik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer-Coster, Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette.* Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2002.

Lee, Vera. *The Reign of Women in Eighteenth-Century France.* Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1975.

Posner, Donald. "The 'Duchesse de Velours' and Her Daughter: A Masterpiece by Nattier and Its Historical Context. " *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 31 (1996): 131–41.

Sheriff, Mary. *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Madame de Pompadour

Goodman, Elise. *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Jones, Colin. *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress.* London: National Gallery, 2002.

Chardin

Conisbee, Philip. *Chardin.* Oxford: Phaidon, 1986.

Johnson, Dorothy. "Picturing Pedagogy: Education and the Child in the Paintings of Chardin." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24 (1990): 42–68.

Greuze

Bailey, Colin. *Jean-Baptiste Greuze: The Laundress.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000.

Barker, Emma. *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Brookner, Anita. *Greuze: The Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon.* Greenwich: Graphic Society, 1972.

Munhall, Edgar. *Greuze the Draftsman.* New York: The Frick Collection, 2002.

Rand, Richard. "Civil and Natural Contract in Greuze's *L'Accordée de Village." Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 127 (May–June 1996): 221–34.

Fragonard

Milam, Jennifer D. *Fragonard's Playful Paintings: Visual Games in Rococo Art.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Posner, Donald. "The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard." *Art Bulletin* 44 (1982): 75–88.

Rand, Richard. *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France.* Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1997.

Rosenberg, Pierre. *Fragonard.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.

Schroder, Anne L. "Reassessing Fragonard's Later Years: The Artist's Nineteenth-Century Biographers, the Rococo, and the French Revolution." In *Art and Culture in the Eighteenth Century: New Dimensions and Multiple Perspectives,* edited by Elise Goodman. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001.

Sheriff, Mary D. *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

———. "Fragonard's Erotic Mothers and the Politics of Reproduction." In *Eroticism and the Body Politic,* edited by Lynn Hunt. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Films

The Affair of the Necklace (Charles Shyer, 2001).
Marie Antoinette (Sofia Coppola, 2006).
Ridicule (Patrice Leconte, 1996).

CHAPTER 13

General Studies

Blunt, Anthony, and Richard Beresford. *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Bremer-David, Charissa, ed. *Paris: Life and Luxury in the Eighteenth Century.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011.

Carrot, Richard G. "The Hameau de Trianon: Mique, Rousseau, and Marie-Antoinette," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 113 (1989): 19–28.

Cleary, Richard L. *The* Place Royale *and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Hellman, Mimi. "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999): 415–45.

Kalnein, Wend von. *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Ziskin, Rochelle. *The Place Vendôme: Architecture and Social Mobility in Eighteenth-Century Paris.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Sculpture

Levey, Michael. *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700–1789.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Schenker, Alexander M. *The Bronze Horseman: Falconet's Monument to Peter the Great.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Souchal, François. *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries.* 4 vols. Oxford: Cassirer, 1977–87.

Architects

Neuman, Robert. *Robert de Cotte and the Perfection of Architecture in Eighteenth-Century France.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Rivers, Nancy R. "The Versailles Opéra." *Athanor* 20 (2002): 53–65.

Tadgell, Christopher. *Ange-Jacques Gabriel.* London: A. Zwemmer, 1978.

CHAPTER 14

General Studies

Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997.

Clayton, Timothy. *The English Print, 1688–1802.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Crathorne, James. *The Royal Crescent Book of Bath.* London: Collins and Brown, 1998.

Ditner, David C. "Claude and the Ideal Landscape Tradition in Great Britain" *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, no. 4 (1983): 147–63.

Pears, Iain. *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth in the Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Piper, David, ed. *The Genius of British Painting.* New York: W. Morrow, 1975.

Pointon, Marcia R. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Solkin, David H. *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780–1836.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

———. *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Steward, James Christen. *The New Child: British Art and the Origins of Modern Childhood, 1730–1830.* Berkeley: University of Washington Press, 1995.

Zoffany

Postle, Martin, ed. *Johan Zoffany RA: Society Observed.* New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2011.

Webster, Mary. *Johan Zoffany 1733–1810.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

William Hogarth

Egerton, Judy. *Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode.* London: National Gallery, 1997.

Hallet, Mark, et al. *Hogarth.* London: Tate Publishing, 2006.

Scull, Christina. *The Soane Hogarths.* London: Trefoil, 1991.

Simon, Robin. *Hogarth, France, and British Art: The Rise of the Arts in 18th-Century Britain.* London: Paul Holberton Pub., 2007.

Webster, Mary. "Hogarth's Portrait of the Graham Children." *Apollo* 130 (Sept. 1989): 171–3.

Thomas Gainsborough

Asfour, Amal, and Paul Williamson. *Gainsborough's Vision.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999.

Belsey, Hugh. *Thomas Gainsborough: A Country Life.* New York: Prestal, 2002.

Sloman, Susan. *Gainsborough in Bath.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Sir Joshua Reynolds

Asleson, Robyn, ed. *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists.* Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999.

Mannings David, and Martin Postle. *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Penny, Nicholas, ed. *Reynolds.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986.

Postle, Martin. *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Subject Pictures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Reynolds, Sir Joshua. *Discourses on Art.* Edited by Stephen O. Mitchell. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965.

Monographs on Other Artists

Egerton, Judy. *George Stubbs, Painter: Catalogue Raisonné.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

———. *Wright of Derby.* London: Tate Gallery, 1990.

Kidson, Alex. *George Romney, 1734–1802.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Solkin, David H. *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction.* London: Tate Gallery, 1982.

CHAPTER 15

General Studies

Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970.

Churches

De la Ruffinière du Prey, Pierre. *Hawksmoor's London Churches: Architecture and Theology.*

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Downes, Kerry, et al. *St George's, Bloomsbury: A Hawksmoor Masterpiece Restored*. London: Scala, 2008.

Friedman, Terry. *James Gibbs*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

The Country House

Downes, Kerry. *Vanbrugh*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1977.

Girouard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

The Villa

Barnard, Toby, and Jane Clark, eds. *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art, and Life*. London: Hambledon Press, 1995.

Chalcraft, Anna, and Judith Viscardi. *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Castle*. London: Francis Lincoln, 2007.

Harris, John. *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Walpole, Horace. *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole … at Strawberry-Hill*. Strawberry Hill: Thomas Kirkgate, 1774.

City Planning

Cherry, Bridget and Nikolaus Pevsner. *London 4: North*. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

Forsyth, Michael. *Bath*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Mowl, Tim and Brian Earnshaw. *John Wood: Architect of Obsession*. Bath: Millstream Books, 1988.

O'Connell, Sheila, et al. *London 1753*. Boston: David R. Godine, 2003.

Stewart, Rachael. *The Town House in Georgian London*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Wood, John. *A Description of Bath*. 2nd ed. London: J. Murray, 1769.

The Landscape Garden

Hunt, John Dixon. *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Hunt, John Dixon, and Peter Willis, eds. *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620–1820*. London: Elek, 1975.

Woodbridge, Kenneth. "Henry Hoare's Paradise." *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965): 83–116.

CHAPTER 16

German and Austrian Architecture

Aurenhammer, Hans. *J. B. Fischer von Erlach*. London: Allen Lane, 1973.

Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. *Rococo Architecture in Southern Germany*. London: Allen Lane, 1968.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Rome

Bowren, Edgar Peters, and Joseph J. Rishel, eds. *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000.

Collins, Jeffrey. *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Johns, Christopher M. S. *Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1993.

Minor, Heather Hyde. *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010.

Paul, Carole. *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Pinto, John A. *The Trevi Fountain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Wilton, Andrew, and Ilaria Bignamini, eds. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Tate Gallery, 1996.

General Studies: Venice

Martineau, Jane, and Andrew Robison, eds. *The Glory of Venice: Art in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1994.

Redford, Bruce. *Venice and the Grand Tour*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Piazzetta

Knox, George. *Giambattista Piazzetta, 1682–1754*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Jones, Leslie. "The Paintings of Giovanni Battista Piazzetta." Ph.D. diss. New York University, 1981.

Tiepolo

Brown, Beverly Louise. *Giambattista Tiepolo: Master of the Oil Sketch*. New York: Abbeville, 1993.

Barcham, William L. *Giambattista Tiepolo*. New York: Abrams, 1992.

Christianson, Keith. *Giambattista Tiepolo, 1696–1770*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.

Vedutisti

Beddington, Charles. *Venice: Canaletto and His Rivals*. London: National Gallery, 2010.

Wilton-Ely, John. *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: The Complete Etchings*. 2 vols. San Francisco: Alan Wotsy Fine Arts, 1994.

Robison, Andrew. *Piranesi: Early Architectural Fantasies: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986.

Picture Credits

Laurence King Publishing Ltd, the author and the picture researcher wish to thank the institutions and individuals who have kindly provided photographic material for use in this book. While every effort has been made to trace the present copyright holders we apologize in advance for any unintentional omission or error and will be pleased to insert the appropriate acknowledgment in any subsequent edition.

BAL: Bridgeman Art Library
BPK: BPK, Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin
Josse: © Photo Josse, Paris
Maeyaert: © Paul M.R. Maeyaert
Pirozzi: © Vincenzo Pirozzi, Rome fotopirozzi@inwind.it
Quattrone: © Studio Quattrone, Florence
Scala: © Photo Scala, Florence

Introduction p.12 & 0.15 Scala; 0.1 Photo Norman Rockwell Museum. Printed by permission of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency. Book Rights Copyright © 1955 The Norman Rockwell Family Entities; 0.2 BAL; 0.3 © RMN/Droits réservés; 0.5 © Araldo De Luca, Rome; 0.6 © Studio Fotografico Giovetti, Mantua; 0.7 Josse; 0.8, 0.11 Vatican Museums; 0.9 Pirozzi; 0.10 Quattrone; 0.12 Nicolò Orsi Battaglini/Alinari Archives, Florence; 0.13, 0.16 & 0.17 © The National Gallery, London/Scala; 0.14 Scala – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali; 0.18 Photo Austrian Archives/Scala.

pp.28–29 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Chapter 1 p.30, 1.13, 1.32 © Quattrone; 1.1 BAL; 1.2 British Library, London 1.3 akg-images/Nimatallah; 1.5 Alinari Archives, Florence; 1.6, 1.28 Art Resource, NY/Scala; 1.7 Canali Photobank, Milan; 1.8 © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice; 1.9 Digital Image Museum Associates/LACMA/Art Resource NY/Scala; 1.10 The National Gallery, London – On loan from Sir Denis Mahon CH CBE FBA, © Private collection 2000. Used by permission; 1.11 © Trustees of the British Museum; 1.12, 1.19, 1.22, 1.23, 1.27, 1.30, 1.33 & 1.35 Scala; 1.14 © Trustees of the British Museum; 1.15 Scala, courtesy of Ufficio Beni Culturali Diocesi di Urbino; 1.16, 1.17, 1.20 & 1.21 akg-images/Electa; 1.24 © RMN/Gérard Blot; 1.25 © ADP – Management Alinari Archives; 1.26 Scala – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali; 1.29 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 1.31 Pirozzi; 1.34 © RMN/René-Gabriel Ojéda.

Chapter 2 p.64 & 2.4 Detroit Institute of Arts. Gift of Mr. Leslie H. Green/BAL; 2.1, 2.9, 2.13 & 2.21 Scala; 2.2 akg-images/Electa; 2.3 The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II/BAL; 2.6 BAL; 2.5 English Heritage Photo Library; 2.7 akg-images/Nimatallah; 2.8 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 2.10 © The National Gallery, London/Scala; 2.11 Alinari/BAL; 2.12 Alinari Archives, Florence; 2.15 Alinari Archives, Florence – reproduced with the permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; 2.16 INDEX/Cozzi-Scribani Rossi; 2.17 © Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY; 2.18 Scala – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali; 2.19 Pirozzi; 2.20 & 2.22 akg-images/Andrea Jemolo.

Chapter 3 p.90 & 3.10 Galleria Borghese, Rome/Pirozzi; 3.1 Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College 1937.57; 3.2 BAL; 3.3 National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen © SMK Photo; 3.4 akg/De Agostini Pict.Lib./Nimatallah; 3.5, 3.9, 3.21 Alinari Archives-Anderson Archive, Florence; 3.6, 3.7, 3.14, 3.15, 3.18, 3.19 & 3.23 Scala; 3.8 Olaf Protze/Travelbild/Photographers Direct; 3.11, 3.16 & 3.22 Pirozzi; 3.12 Photo Andrea Jemolo/Scala – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali; 3.13 akg-images/Bildarchiv Monheim; 3.17 © Araldo De Luca, Rome; 3.20 akg-images/Erich Lessing.

Chapter 4 p.114, 4.9 & 4.12 Pirozzi; 4.1 RIBA Library Photographs Collection; 4.2 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana © Vatican Museums; 4.3 British Library, London; 4.4 akg-images/Electa; 4.6 Scala; 4.7 Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London; 4.8, 4.18 Scala/Fondo Edifici di Culto – Min. dell'Interno; 4.11 & 4.14 akg-images/Electa/Arnaldo Vescovo; 4.13 © Araldo De Luca, Rome; 4.17 Alinari Archives, Florence/Mauro Magliani; 4.20 © Sarah Quill/BAL; 4.21 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 4.23 Seat Archive/Alinari Archives; 4.24 BAL; 4.26 akg-images/Andrea Jemolo; 4.27 © Massimo Listri/Corbis; 4.28 Copyright © Victoria and Albert Museum, London/V&A Images – All rights reserved; 4.29 © Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington DC; 4.30 akg-images/Bildarchiv Monheim.

Chapter 5 p.146 & 5.23 Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; 5.1, 5.3, 5.34, 5.36 Scala; 5.2 Album/Oronoz/AKG; 5.4 Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia; 5.5 Art Resource, NY/Scala; 5.6 & 5.7 © Fotografica Foglia, Naples; 5.8 © Josse; 5.9 Photography © Art Institute of Chicago; 5.10 © 2011 The Norton Simon Foundation; 5.11 & 5.20 © The National Gallery, London/Scala; 5.12 Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; 5.13 © Robert Huberman/SuperStock; 5.14, 5.28, 5.31 Maeyaert; 5.15 © Foto: Museo Nacional de Escultura/Imagen M.A.S.; 5.16 © Cubo Images/SuperStock; 5.17 © Foto: Museo San Joaquín y Santa Ana/Imagen M.A.S.; 5.18 Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, New York; 5.19 Photo Austrian Archives/Scala; 5.27 Scala/BPK; 5.30 Barry Winiker/Photolibrary/Getty Images; 5.32 © age fotostock/SuperStock; 5.33 akg-images/Bildarchiv Monheim; 5.35 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 5.37 akg-images; 5.38 © Yoshio Tomii/SuperStock; 5.39 & 5.43 Maeyaert/BAL; 5.40 © Angelo Hornak/Corbis; 5.41 The Art Archive/Pinacoteca Virreinel Mexico City/Gianni Dagli Orti; 5.42 Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaria de Cultura; 5.44 Scala – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali; 5.45 Breamore House, Hampshire, UK/BAL.

Chapter 6 p.182, 6.10, 6.11 & 6.12 Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. Photo: Margareta Svensson; 6.1 Digital Image Museum Associates/LACMA/Art Resource NY/Scala; 6.3 Alinari Archives, Florence; 6.4 Image & copyright Centraal Museum, Utrecht/Tom Haartsen; 6.5 Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts Boston 50.2721; 6.6 Image & copyright Centraal Museum, Utrecht/Ernst Moritz; 6.7 & 6.26 akg-images; 6.8 BAL; 6.9 © Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees/BAL; 6.13 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 6.14 Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; 6.15, 6.20 & 6.22 Photo Scala/BPK; 6.16 White Images/Scala; 6.19 Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague; 6.21 © Städel Museum – ARTOTHEK; 6.24 © RMN/Jean Schormans; 6.27 English Heritage Photo Library/BAL.

Chapter 7 p.208 & 7.6 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; 7.2 The Museum of Fine Arts Budapest/Scala; 7.3 Museum of Fine Arts, Florida State University. Photo: Jon Nalon; 7.4 & 7.18 Scala/BPK; 7.5 akg-images; 7.7 Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts Boston P8118; 7.8, 7.16, 7.19 & 7.20 © The National Gallery, London/Scala; 7.9 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 7.10 & 7.12 Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala; 7.11 © Corbis; 7.13 akg-images/André Held; 7.15 © Trustees of the British Museum; 7.17 & 7.25 BAL; 7.22 KMSKA © Lukas – Art in Flanders, photo Hugo Maertens; 7.23 Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague; 7.24 The Stapleton Collection/BAL.

Chapter 8 p.232 & 8.9 Musée du Louvre, Paris/Josse; 8.1 a,b,c & 8.5 Photo © IRPA – KIK, Brussels; 8.2 akg-images/De Agostini Picture Library; 8.3 Scala; 8.4 akg-images/Nimatallah; 8.6 & 8.15 Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; 8.7 & 8.22 Photography © Art Institute of Chicago; 8.8 © Blauel/Gnamm – ARTOTHEK; 8.10 akg-images; 8.11, 8.19 & 8.20 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 8.12 © Mike Booth/Alamy; 8.14 © The National Gallery, London/Scala; 8.16 © RMN/Jacques Quecq d'Henripret; 8.17 Photo Mitro Hood/Baltimore Museum of Art, BMA 1951.103; 8.18 © RMN/Christian Jean; 8.23 Scala /BPK.

Chapter 9 p.260, 9.6 & 9.7 Musée du Louvre, Paris/© RMN/Gérard Blot; 9.1, 9.11 & 9.16 BAL; 9.2 Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; 9.4 © RMN/Thierry Le Mage; 9.5 & 9.17 Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala; 9.8 © MBA, Rennes, Dist. RMN/Louis Deschamps; 9.9, 9.12 & 9.19 © RMN/Jean-Gilles Berizzi; 9.10 © RMN/René-Gabriel Ojéda; 9.13 © RMN/Franck Raux; 9.14 © 2011 The Norton Simon Foundation; 9.18 © RMN/Daniel Arnaudet; 9.20 & 9.22 Photo © National Gallery of Scotland; 9.21 Scala; 9.23 © ADP – Management Alinari Archives; 9.24 © RMN/Christian Jean/Jean Schormans; 9.25 British Library, London; 9.26 © RMN/Gérard Blot.

Chapter 10 p.284 & 10.10 © Photononstop/SuperStock; 10.1 © RMN/J. Derenne; 10.2, 10.3, 10.6, 10.19 & 10.20 © RMN/Gérard Blot; 10.5 BNF Estampes et Photographie VA-441-FT 6, Robert de Cotte, 2570; 10.7 © Robert Neuman; 10.8 © Sylvain Sonnet/Corbis; 10.9 © Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis; 10.12 akg-images/Archives CDA/St-Genès; 10.13 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 10.14 & 10.17 © RMN/Droits réservés; 10.15 © RMN/Jean-Marc Manaï; 10.16 © RMN/Hervé Lewandowski; 10.18 Maeyaert; 10.21 © RMN/Christian Jean; 10.22 © Paris – Musée de l'Armée, Dist. RMN/Caroline Rose; 10.23 © David Churchill/Arcaid/Corbis; 10.24 & 10.31 akg-images/A.F.Kersting; 10.25 © Trustees of the British Museum; 10.26 &10.29 © Angelo Hornak/Alamy; 10.28 © Adam Woolfitt/Corbis; 10.30 BAL.

pp.308–309 Alte Pinakothek, Munich/Scala/BPK.

Chapter 11 p.310, 11.4, 11.7 &11.15 Musée du Louvre, Paris/Josse; 11.1 & 11.18 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 11.2, 11.12 © RMN/Jean-Gilles Berizzi; 11.3 © RMN/Gérard Blot; 11.5 & 11.13 Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala; 11.8 © The National Gallery, London/Scala; 11.11 & 11.22 Scala/BPK; 11.10 © RMN/Daniel Arnaudet; 11.14 White Images/Scala; 11.17 & 11.19 Christie's Images/BAL; 11.20 & 11.21 BAL.

Chapter 12 p.332 & 12.15 The Wallace Collection, London/BAL; 12.1 © RMN/Droits réservés; 12.2 © Blauel/Gnamm – ARTOTHEK; 12.3 & 12.11 Josse; 12.4 © RMN/Agence Bulloz; 12.5 & 12.21 Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala; 12.7 White Images/Scala; 12.6 © Trustees of the British Museum; 12.8 © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden/BAL; 12.9 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 12.10 & 12.17 © RMN/René-Gabriel Ojéda; 12.13 © RMN/Hervé Lewandowski; 12.14 © RMN/Daniel Arnaudet; 12.16 Scala/BPK; 12.18 © The Frick Collection; 12.19 Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; 12.20 Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College 1961.166; 12.22 akg-images.

Chapter 13 p.354 & 13.12 Hemis.fr/SuperStock; 13.1 © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris; 13.2 © RMN/René-Gabriel Ojéda; 13.3 & 13.15 RMN/Hervé Lewandowski; 13.4 Barry Winiker/Photolibrary/Getty Images; 13.5 Scala; 13.6 BNF Estampes et Photographie VA-232-(E)-FOL, Jean Marot; 13.7 © Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Altitude; 13.8 © David Bordes/Centre des monuments nationaux, Paris; 13.9 & 13.13 Based on Blondel 1752-56; 13.11 © Iconotec/Erwan Le Prunnec/Alamy; 13.14 © 1994-2009 Scott Gilchrist/Archivision Inc; 13.17 © RMN/Les frères Chuzeville; 13.16 White Images/Scala; 13.19 © mauritius images GmbH/Rene Mattes/Alamy; 13.20 © RMN/Agence Bulloz; 13.21 © Collection Jean-Baptiste Leroux/Château de Versailles, Dist. RMN.

Chapter 14 p.374, 14.4, 14.7, 14.8, 14.9 & 14.14 © The National Gallery, London/Scala, Florence; 14.2 & 14.15 BAL; 14.3 The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II/BAL; 14.5 Paul Mellon Collection/BAL; 14.6 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 14.10 © The Huntington Library, Art Collections & Botanical Gardens/BAL; 14.11 Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington; 14.13 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection; 14.16 Image: Mike Fear © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor; 14.18 © Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees/BAL.

Chapter 15 p.402 & 15.16 © 1994-2009 Scott Gilchrist/Archivision Inc; 15.1 © Londonstills.com/Alamy; 15.2 © Angelo Hornak/Alamy; 15.3 © Steve Cadman/Flickr; 15.4, 15.5, &15.12 © Robert Neuman; 15.6 © Jason Hawkes/Corbis; 15.8 John Bethell/BAL; 15.10 © Richard Bryant/Arcaid; 15.11 © Skyscan/Corbis; 15.13 Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University; 15.14 Peter Macdiarmid/Getty Images; 15.15 Bath in Time/Mandy Reynolds; 15.17 © Stapleton Collection; 15.18 © Florian Monheim/Arcaid/Corbis.

Chapter 16 p.420, 16.30 & 16.32 The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II/BAL; 16.1 © mediacolor's/Alamy; 16.2 & 16.24 BAL; 16.3, 16.8 & 16.16 akg-images/Bildarchiv Monheim; 16.4 © imagebroker/Alamy; 16.5, 16.7, 16.11, 16.31, 16.34 & 16.40 akg-images/Erich Lessing; 16.9 © Stefano Paterna/Alamy; 16.10 & 16.18 Maeyaert; 16.12 Thomas Mueller/alimdi.net/Photographers Direct; 16.13 Copyright © Victoria and Albert Museum, London/V&A Images – All rights reserved; 16.14 akg-images/Schütze/Rodemann; 16.17 © Adam Woolfitt/Corbis; 16.19 Public domain photo LACMA (http://www.lacma.org); 16.20, 16.36 & 16.38 Scala; 16.22 INDEX/Vasari; 16.23 Scala – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali; 16.28 © Vittoriano Rastelli/Corbis; 16.29 Pediconi/Scala; 16.33 akg-images/Cameraphoto; 16.35 Foto © Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, rba_c004218; 16.37 Photography © Art Institute of Chicago; 16.39 Cameraphoto Arte, Venice; 16.41 Josse.

Chapter 17 17.1 BAL.

Index

9.22 Claude Lorrain, *Seaport with the Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 58½ × 76⅓″ (148.5 × 194 cm). National Gallery, London.

About the cover

Seaport with the Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba depicts a subject from the Old Testament First Book of Kings, 10:1-2. In an unusual detail, Claude Gellée (ca. 1604/5–1682), called Claude Lorrain, inscribed the subject in French on the bottom of the stairs. Equally rare, on the stone block at bottom left Claude signed his name and that of the patron who commissioned the work in 1647, the duc de Bouillon (Frédéric-Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne), commander of the papal army in the years 1644–7. In recounting the Queen of Sheba's voyage to Jerusalem to meet King Solomon, the Bible only refers to a large retinue, lavish gifts, and camels, implying an overland trip, but Claude took the liberty of showing her, dressed in red, descending the palace steps to begin the journey by sea. The duke may have chosen the subject as a reference to a distinguished ancestor who had led the First Crusade and, like Solomon, temporarily ruled Jerusalem.

Claude's great contribution to landscape painting was the poetic synthesis of naturalistic and idealizing elements in his canvases. One favorite device was the direct portrayal of the sun, usually at the center of the image. He preferred sunrise, as here, or sunset views, and delighted in rendering the correct hues of the sky and the effects of natural light on the landscape and buildings.

To learn more about Claude Lorrain and French painting of the seventeenth century, see Chapter 9.

About the Author

Robert Neuman is Professor of Art History at Florida State University, where he specializes in early modern European art and architecture. He received his PhD from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. His scholarship ranges widely, encompassing all media including decorative arts, costume, and garden history. In addition to articles, book chapters, and review essays, he is the author of *Robert de Cotte and the Perfection of Architecture in Eighteenth-Century France*. Several awards, including grants from the French government and the Millard Meiss Fund, have supported his research. Professor Neuman has been recognized for excellence in teaching with three major awards at Florida State University.

About Pearson

Pearson is the leading publisher of fine art survey books for students. Your purchase of this book enables Pearson to continue to support numerous organizations in the arts. Pearson provides an annual cash prize to the recipients of the College Art Association's Distinguished Teaching awards. For a complete list of our books, please visit: www.pearsonhighered.com/art.