

VISIBLE SPIRIT

THE ART OF
GIANLORENZO BERNINI

VOL. II

IRVING LAVIN



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XVIII

Bernini's Portraits of No-Body*

SOME of Bernini's most innovative works owe their novelty in part to the revival of much earlier traditions. A notable case is the pair of busts portraying blessed and damned souls (*Anima Beata* and *Anima Dannata*) in which Bernini explored what might be described as the two extreme reactions to the prospect of death (Figs. 1, 2).¹ Bernini presumably made the sculptures in 1619 (when he was twenty-two), at the behest of a Spanish prelate, Monsignor Pedro de Foix Montoya, for whose tomb in the Spanish national church in Rome, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Bernini carved the portrait in 1622.² Montoya died in 1630, and two years later the busts were bequeathed by a certain Fernando Botinete to the Confraternity of the Resurrection at San Giacomo, of which Montoya had also been a member. The purpose of the sculptures is unknown, but their subject is appropriate for a confraternity devoted to the Resurrection, for which Montoya may have intended them from the outset; a further possibility is that Montoya intended them eventually to decorate his tomb. The souls of the dead are portrayed life-size, *al vivo* in contemporary terminology, an irony that was surely deliberate.

Such powerful physiognomical and expressive contrasts have an ancient history, occurring, like Beauty and the Beast, on opposite sides of certain

* First presented in March 1987 in a colloquium at the University of Maryland honoring my friend George Levitine, to whom it is now sadly dedicated *in memoriam*.

¹ See Wittkower, 1981, 177, no. 7.

² See Lavin, 'Five Youthful Sculptures,' 1968, 239 f, and Appendix A. New documentary evidence presented here supports the 1619 date proposed by Wittkower for the *Anime* busts on stylistic grounds.

Greek coins of the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 3), and, juxtaposed, in the familiar masks of Comedy and Tragedy from the classical theater (Fig. 4).³ In both cases the focus is on the face alone and one, male, is distorted in a wild and grimacing shout, while the other, female, is beautiful and portrayed as if transmitting some lofty, portentous truth. The masks are particularly relevant because, like Bernini's busts, they have generic as well as specific meaning: they symbolize their respective theatrical genres, but they also represent the actual roles or characters the actors performed — the ancients called them *personas*. The masks stand for heroic types, however, not real people, as do Bernini's sculptures. This reference to ordinary people relates the busts to the participants in those great medieval visualizations of the Last Judgment in which the souls of the resurrected dead are weighed by St. Michael and go, joyously or pathetically, to their fates (Fig. 5).

Three points above all distinguish Bernini's sculptures not only from these precedents, but from all precedents, as far as I know. The souls are portrayed not as masks or full-length figures but as busts, they are isolated from any narrative context, and they are independent, freestanding sculptures. The images are thus blatantly self-contradictory. They constitute a deliberate art-historical solecism, in which Bernini adopted a classical, pagan form invented expressly to portray the external features of a specific individual, to represent a Christian abstract idea referring to the inner nature of every individual. My purpose in this chapter is to shed some light on the background of these astonishing works and their significance in the history of our human confrontation with our own end.

Among the intense mystical exercises enjoined upon the pious in the late Middle Ages was to contemplate death. Often regarded as a morbid symptom of decadence at the end of the Age of Faith, this preoccupation in fact reflected a positive, indeed optimistic, view that people could provide for

³ On the coins, see Head, 1911, 805; G. F. Hill, 1914, lxxxviii f, 182 f, Pl. XX, 1–3. The few instances of coins with facing heads on both sides (Baldwin, 1908–9, 130) nearly all involve male-female confrontations. For the mosaic, found on the Aventine in Rome, see Bieber, 1920, 162, no. 137. Theater masks were sometimes actually associated with portrait busts, as on a Roman sarcophagus in the Camposanto at Pisa which shows three masks, a youth, a female and a grizzled Pan, beneath a medallion containing busts of a man and his wife (Aries *et al.*, 1977, 114 ff). Among the classical precedents revived and much illustrated, often as bust portraits, from the Renaissance on were the philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus who, respectively, laughed and wept at the foibles of the world).

their well-being in the afterlife by looking death in the face. They could prepare for a good death, as it was termed, by putting their affairs in order and examining their conscience, and they could consider the effect of their attitude and behavior upon God's just and ineluctable judgment. These two complementary exhortations, to prepare for death and consider the afterlife, were converted into veritable techniques for achieving salvation in two of the most widely distributed books of the fifteenth century, which had remarkably similar histories. The *Ars moriendi* (The Art of Dying) prescribed the measures to be taken as life drew to a close, and the *Quattuor novissima* (The Four Last Things) described the ultimate events in the curriculum of human existence: death, judgment, damnation, and salvation.⁴ Although not directly related the first work ends where the second begins. After their original success *The Art of Dying* and *The Four Last Things* (Figs. 6–9), to which most of our attention will be devoted, were largely eclipsed during the humanistic florescence of the early sixteenth century. Thereafter, however, these popular eschatologies were retrieved and vigorously cultivated by the militant church activists of the Counter-Reformation,⁵ especially the Jesuits, who incorporated the Four Last Things into their catechisms. Among the most powerful offensive weapons in the Jesuits's spiritual arsenal, the catechisms were not theological tracts but served a primarily edificatory purpose, and from the beginning they were frequently accompanied by illustrations (Figs. 10–13).

There were even instances when the illustrations predominated over the text, the latter being reduced to brief captions (Figs. 14–17).⁶ Characteristic of the entire tradition of the Four Last Things illustrations is that whereas death, following the *Ars moriendi*, might be confined to a sin-

⁴ I have discussed the revived *Ars moriendi* tradition and Bernini's profound relationship to it in life and death (1972). On the *Ars moriendi*, see Delumeau, 1983, 389 ff.

On the *Quattuor novissima*, see Lane, 1985. My own remarks on the visual tradition of the Four Last Things, including Bernini's busts, offer only modest supplements to those in the excellent article by Malke, 1976.

⁵ See Franza, 1958; Turrini, 1982. The illustrated catechisms have been studied by Prosperi, 1985.

⁶ On the engravings by Theodor Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, and a painting of the same theme by Heemskerck, see Grosshans, 1980, 214–43. Other important suites are by J. B. Wierix after Martin de Vos (Mauquoy-Hendrickx, 1979, II, 271 f), Hendrik Goltzius after Johannes Stradanus (Strauss, ed., 1980, 309 f), Jan Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz (Judson, 1970, 64 f, 74, 140–42).



1. Bernini, *Anima Beata*. Palazzo di Spagna, Rome
(photo: Vasari 18618).



2. Bernini, *Anima Dannata*. Palazzo di Spagna, Rome
(photo: Vasari 18617).

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3. Female head and head of Bes, obverse and reverse of obolos from Judea. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Deleperre 3068–69).





4. Theater masks, mosaic. Capitoline Museum, Rome
(photo: Anderson 1745).

5. *Last Judgment*, detail. Cathedral, Bourges
(photo: Monuments historiques AH 18902).





6, 7. Death, Last Judgment
(from Dionysius, 1482).



8, 9. Hell, Heaven (from
Dionysius, 1482).





10, 11. Death, Last
Judgment
(from Bellarmine, 1614,
112–15).



12, 13. Hell, Heaven (from
Bellarmine, 1614, 112–15).



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14, 15. Maarten van
Heemskerck, Death, Last
Judgment, engravings.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York. The Elisha
Whittelsey Collection, The
Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949.

*Les "Quatre derniers jours" d'un roi.
D'après une gravure de Maarten van Heemskerck.*



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16, 17. Maarten van
Heemskerck, Hell, Heaven,
engravings.
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York. The Elisha
Whittelsey Collection, The
Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949.



gle individual, the events of the afterlife — judgment, damnation and salvation — were conceived as universal occurrences and shown as panoramic scenes with many participants.⁷

Bernini's sculptures break with this tradition by eliminating the first two events and focusing instead upon their ethical implications. Moreover, Bernini conceived of damnation and salvation themselves in a novel way, describing neither the tortures of hell nor the pleasures of paradise, but instead concentrating on the single soul and its 'state of mind.' Treated as independent busts, Bernini's sculptures are 'soul portraits': portraits of Everyman and Everywoman, but of No-body.

As such, the sculptures seem unprecedented on two accounts. Antiquity might deify certain personal qualities such as piety or magnanimity (Fig. 18), and the Middle Ages might personify certain moral qualities such as virtues and vices (*cf.* Fig. 17). The pagan concepts were the subject of religious cults, and the Christian notions were part of an abstract scheme; but neither personal nor moral qualities were represented as individual, isolated sculptured busts. As far as I can determine, the *Anima Beata* and *Anima Dannata* are the first independent images of the soul, and they are the first independent portrayals of pure psychological states. Most scholars have been preoccupied with these psychological states. The sculptures are indeed prime documents in the history of physiognomical expression in art, key links in a chain that leads from Leonardo's studies of grotesque facial types (Fig. 19 — note especially the juxtaposition of the smiling and howling heads at the left) and Michelangelo's explorations of extreme expressions (Fig. 20), through the quasi-scientific classical tradition represented in the late sixteenth century by Giambattista della Porta's book relating animal and human characterological traits (Fig. 21), to Charles Le Brun's systematic treatment of physiognomics and emotional expression in the mid-seventeenth century (Figs. 22, 23). The tradition culminated in the eighteenth century with the series of bronze busts by Franz Xavier Messerschmidt (Figs. 24, 25), in which Bernini's contrasting pair of object lessons in affective morality is transformed into an extensive catalogue of grimacing character masks, including the artist's own.⁸

⁷ In these instances, it seems the purpose was to establish a deliberate link between the universal character of the *Quattuor novissima* and the individual focus of the *Ars moriendi*.

⁸ Although the moral component of Bernini's interest in expression was diluted, his position in this development is clear. So far as we know, Leonardo's drawings do not portray any particular emotions or pattern or system of emotions. Della Porta's physiognomics are

However important Bernini's sculptures may be to these scientific and rhetorical explorations of psycho-physiognomics, his chief interest surely lay in the 'interface' between moral and psychological states, as is apparent from what must have been one of his direct inspirations for the *anime* busts. In 1605 the visual tradition of the Four Last Things had been radically reinterpreted by the Augsburg printmaker Alexander Mair, who issued a suite of six engravings on the theme (including the intermediate state of purgatory) dedicated to the Archbishop of Eichstätt in Bavaria, Johann Conrad (Figs. 26–31).⁹ The playing-card-size format of this suite reflects its individual, *ad hominem* function; and Mair in fact distilled the universal scope of the catechistic tradition into a personal, not to say private, *memento mori* in which events are reduced to a few peripheral symbolic details and the subject of the action is one individual. The framed niche, the close-up view and the bust-length format are all features that suggest the familiar type of the portrait medallion, especially on tombs (Fig. 32). Indeed, it might be said, conversely, that Mair here transformed the traditional portrait medallion into a moral emblem. The emblem is given a liturgical and sacerdotal cast by the inscriptions, drawn mainly from the Office for the Dead, and by the image of the Blessed Soul, shown wearing the surplice of a deacon and a brooch inscribed with the IHS device of the Jesuit order.

consistent, but they are not really devoted to expression; they attempt, instead, to link various physiognomical types with corresponding character types, based on counterparts in the animal kingdom. Descartes was the first to study human emotions systematically, and it was Le Brun's contribution to relate that effort to the visual tradition represented by Leonardo, Della Porta and Bernini, producing the first systematic exploration of the facial effects of emotion.

The most recent interpretation of Bernini's sculptures in this vein, which entails characteristically a focus on the *Anima Dannata* as a 'self-representation,' will be found in a perceptive essay by Preimesberger, 1989, with further references.

On Messerschmidt's character studies, see Behr *et al.*, 1983.

⁹ Mair's engravings are reproduced in Hollstein, 1954—, XXIII, 146 ff, with further bibliography. Johann Conrad (1561–1612), who had lived for several years in Italy, was a great patron of the arts and maintained close ties with the Jesuits; Sax, 1884–85, II, 478–93; H. A. Braun, 1983, 168 ff. (I am much indebted to Georg Daltrop, professor at the Catholic University of Eichstätt, for bibliography and other help in this connection). Apart from the images discussed here, Mair's 'emotional' and seemingly rising skeleton in a medallion frame (Fig. 27) was an important model for the gesticulating skeletons Bernini later depicted in the pavement of his Cornaro and Chigi chapels (Lavin, *Bernini*, 1980, 134 ff); I hope to explore this relationship in another context.



18. *Megalopsychia*, mosaic. Antioch (photo: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University).

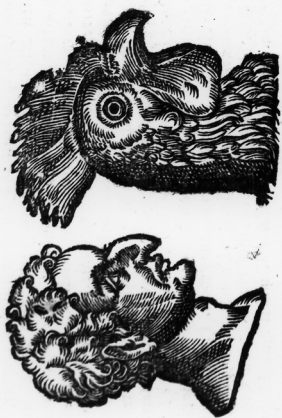
19. Leonardo,
grotesque heads,
drawing. Royal
Library, Windsor
Castle.



20. Michelangelo, so-called Anima
Dannata, drawing. Galleria degli
Uffizi, Florence.

IO. BAPTISTÆ PORTÆ

Hæc scienat galli nasus incans, cum conuexa circulari frontis, super
fice e spiritatur, cum hamato ad etusnadi formam effigato, infra
describendo.



*Incans nasus ante frontem, rotundus, & supereminens
rotundum.*

Vt se habet antiqua translatio Aristotelis in Phytogno-
moniciis; Qui nasum concauum habent, ante frontem rotun-
dum, & supereminentem rotundum, luxuriosi sunt, & ad
gallos referuntur. Nos, cum eiusmodi nasum ignoraremus,
tum Aristotelici textus corruptione, tum interpretis transla-
tione, gallos consuluimus, atque diligenti eorum inspectio-
ne, ita textu & sensum verbis accommodauimus, habet enim
gallinaceus gallus ante frontem in confinio valliculam quan-
dam, vel incauum quoddam, & pars ea nasi ante frontem ro-
tunda, & inde frons à naso ad capillorum radicem, vel cir-
culi circumferentia est. Vt verba textus translata dicant: Qui
ante nasum habet incauum, & partes, quæ ante frontem ro-
tundas, citius ferentiam vero supra affurgentem, &c. hos
ego etiam pueratios iudicare abutuntur enim Venere galli

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gallinacæ, perdicæ, & coturnicæ; quæ fere similem nasum
habent. Cum enim femine ouis incubant, mares dimicant pu-
gnaque inter se conferunt, quos celibes vocant; qui victus
in pugna fuerit, victoris Venerem patitur, nec nisi à suo vi-
ctore subigitur, ex Aristotele: & multos amicos cognoui eius-
modi naso præditos, huic enormi luxuriæ generi obnoxios.
Fingunt Poetæ Iouem aquilæ forma Ganymedem rapuisse,
subtali figmento id fortasse inuuentes. Alianus etiam ichneu-
monem huic turpitudini obnoxium dixit. Tali naso Satyri
& Sileni ab antiquis effigati sunt, & tali naso etiam Socra-
tes ipse præditus fuit: nam Xenophon Socratem Silenis simi-
lem fuisse, & pressis naribus, scribit.

Latus in medio nasus.

Nasus in medio latus, declinans ad summitatem, demoni-
stiat mendacem & verbosum. Aristoteles ad Alexandrum.

*S' bonis nasum infleximus, & hominem similem effigauerimus, nua
ab hac quæ hic ceruicem signat, longe abstin, ita assidue in uno cres-
sus deducitur.*



H 3



22, 23. Charles Le Brun, *Amour and Désespoir*, drawings. Musée du Louvre, Paris
(photo: Documentation photographique de la Réunion des musées nationaux).

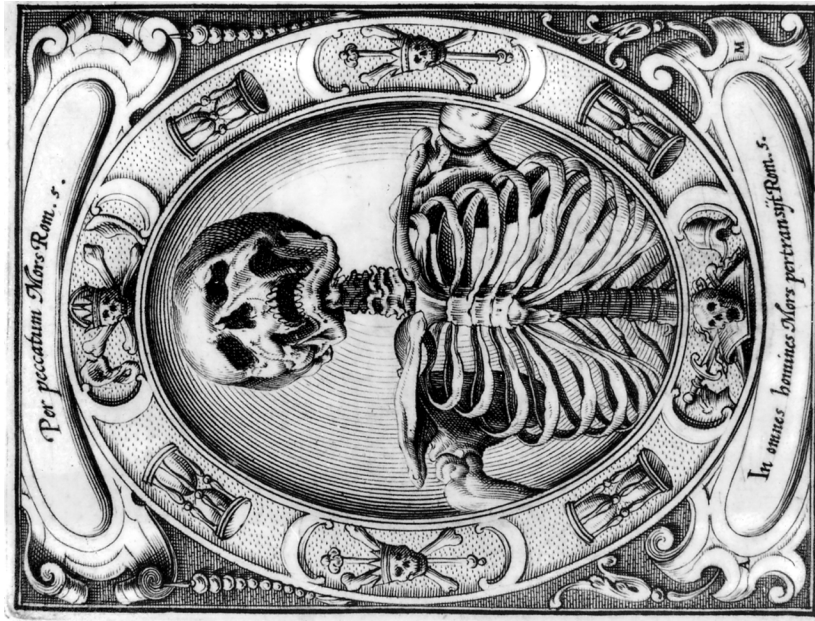
700



25. Franz Messerschmidt, *The Yawner*.
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.



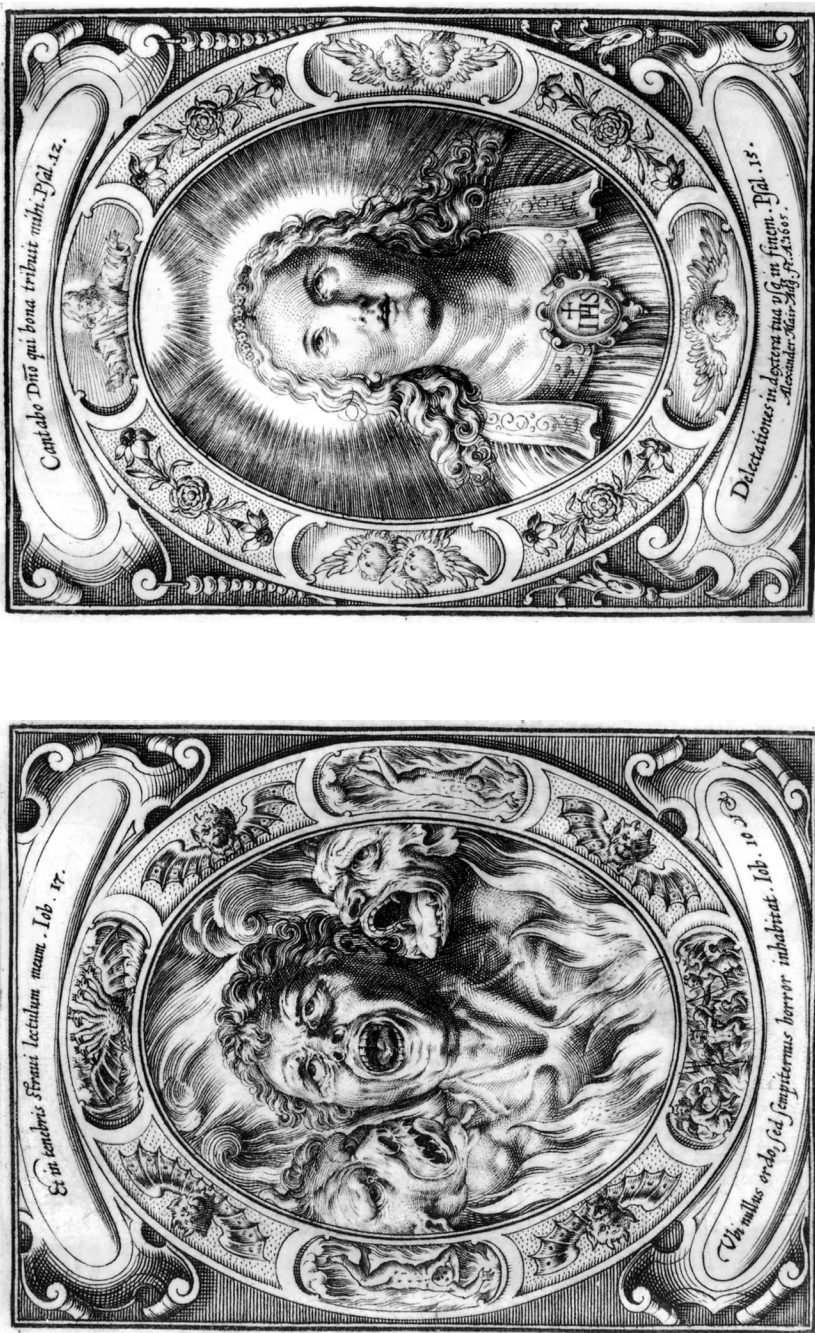
24. Franz Messerschmidt, self-portrait, smiling.
Galéria hlavného mesta SSR Bratislavy, Bratislava.



26, 27. Alexander Mair, arms of Johann Conrad and *Memento mori*, engravings. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.



28, 29. Alexander Mair, Death and Purgatory, engravings. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.



30, 31. Alexander Mair; Hell and Heaven, engravings. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

The expressive force of Mair's images would have been of particular interest to Bernini. The souls' highly charged emotional responses to what they see, from the howling scream of the damned to the blissful moan of the saved, were also probably transferred from a domain other than the engraved *Novissima* suites. The intensity of the contrast recalls the great painted altarpieces of Frans Floris, in which the reactions of the participants are brought to the fore (Fig. 33).

If Bernini knew Mair's suite of engravings, as I think he did, he transformed them in three ways. He treated them as independent sculptured busts, he eliminated the narrative elements entirely, and he reduced the number to a pair, the damned and the saved, male and female, alter egos of our common humanity. For each innovation there was at least partial precedent. Mair's powerful images had been made even more vivid in three-dimensional translations — or rather, re-translations, since they themselves allude to sculptured medallions — by a once acclaimed but now little known painter and sculptor, Giovanni Bernardino Azzolini. Azzolini was a native of Sicily who worked mainly in Naples. He visited Genoa in 1610, where he modeled in colored wax depictions of the Four Last Things as half figures, in whose faces transpired 'the affects of a blessed soul, of another condemned to suffer but with hope for eternal peace [that is, a soul in purgatory], of a third portraying a skeleton, and of a fourth expressing in a horrid abyss the idea of rabid desperation' (cf. Figs 46–65).¹⁰ — Azzolini's

¹⁰ 'Giunse in Genova l'Azzolini circa l'anno 1510, ove vedutisi alcuni suoi lavorietti in cera dal Sig. Marc'Antonio Doria, tanto piacquero a questo Cavaliere; che alcuni gliene comise; i quali con indicibile accuratezza, e finezza furono dal Napoletano Artefice eseguiti: onde ne salì in maggior credito presso i nostri Cittadini.

Ciò, che egli al Doria compose furono quattro mezze figure rappresentative de' novissimi. Ne' volti di quelle rispettivamente spiravano gli affetti d'un'Anima beata: d'un'altra condannata a patire, ma con la speranza dell'eterno contento: della terza finta dentro uno scheletro: e della quarta esprimente nell'orrendo abisso l'idea d'una rabbiosa disperazione. Lavori di spiritosa, ed efficace energia' (Soprani, 1768], I, 417). On Azzolini, see Pyke, 1973, 8, and the important contribution by Gonzáles-Palacios, 1984, I, 226–36. There is considerable confusion with at least one other artist named Giovanni Bernardino (Prota-Giurleo, 1953, 123–51; *Mostra*, 1977, 109–13; Mongitore, 1977, 80–112; Di Dario Guida, 1978, 149–54).

For a checklist and illustrations of preserved and recorded examples of the Four Last Things in the wax versions by Azzolini, plus a few related works, see Appendix B, p. 730, and Figs. 46–65. The traditional association of these works with the better known wax

dramatic portrayals were very successful and many versions are known, none of which can be ascribed to him with certainty. What is clear, both from the descriptions and from the known copies, is that the reliefs were based on Mair's prints, and it is possible that Azzolini, who registered with the painter's guild in Rome in 1618, may in turn have inspired Bernini to make his own sculptural versions.¹¹

Azzolini was known for another work that may have been relevant to Bernini's sculptures. This was a pair of colored waxes, now lost, described as heads of infants, one crying the other laughing.¹² Here, human emotions were brought to expressive peaks and directly contrasted. The pertinence of these sculptures is enhanced by an almost inevitable association with the old tradition of representing the human soul in the form of an infant. Many versions of the pair are known (Fig. 34), including the marble busts in the ideal collection shown in a 'gallery' picture of the seventeenth century by the Flemish master Willem van Haecht the Younger (Fig. 35).¹³

This version, in turn, brings into focus another aspect of the prehistory of Bernini's soul portraits: his adoption of the bust form. The ancient Romans developed the sculptured bust as the portrait form *par excellence*.¹⁴ The full-length statue might portray an allegory, a god, or a human being, whereas the bust was reserved almost exclusively for people — or rather, the spirits of people, for it originated and remained intimately associated with the ancestor cult (Fig. 36). The bust was thus antiquity's most conspicuous form of personal commemoration and its role in the imperial cult made it for early Christians the very symbol of idolatry. Certain Early Christian

sculptor Gaetano Giulio Zumbo (1656–1701), who also came from southern Italy and worked for a time in Naples, is unfounded. Fagiolo dell'Arco and Fagiolo dell'Arco, 1967, Scheda no. 12, noted the dependence of the Victoria and Albert waxes, attributed to the circle of Zumbo, on Bernini's sculptures.

¹¹ Azzolini's presence in Rome was noted by Orlandi (1788, col. 617).

¹² 'E questo suo medesimo talento nella forza dell'espressione diede pur egli a conoscere allo stesso Signore in due altre modellate, e colorite teste di putti, ridente l'una, e piangente l'altra: ove l'affetto, che in esse appariva, vivamente eccitavasi ne'riguardanti' (Soprani, 1768, I, 417).

¹³ The theme of the Laughing and Crying Babies is discussed briefly, with great acumen but without reference to Azzolini, by Schlegel (1978, 129–31), who attributes the origin of the type to Duquesnoy. For a recent discussion of the painting by Van Haecht, see Filipczak, 1987, 47 ff. Closely related are the crying babies attributed to Hendrik de Keyser (cf. Avery, 1981, 183 Figs. 18, 19, 184 ff).

¹⁴ For what follows concerning the history and significance of the bust type, see Lavin, 1970 and 1975.



32. Tomb portrait of Ippolito Buzio. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome E54398).



33. Frans Floris, *Last Judgment*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

34. Crying and laughing babies, wax. Formerly Lanna collection, Prague (from *Sammlung*, 1911, pl. 20).





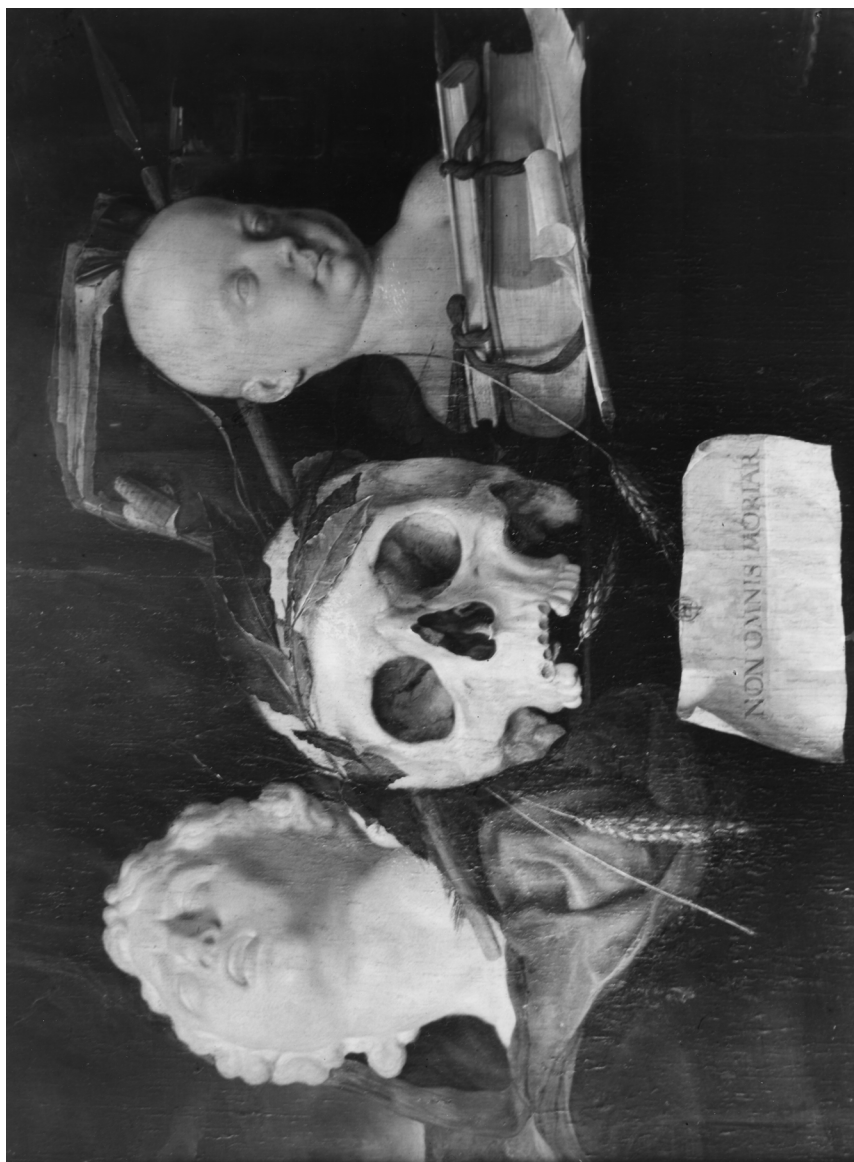
35. Willem van Haecht the Younger, *Studio of Cornelis van der Geest*, detail.
Rubenshuis, Antwerp.

37. Nebuchadnezzar and the Three Youths, sarcophagus of St. Ambrose,
detail. Sant'Ambrogio, Milan (photo: Electa).





36 . Roman patrician with ancestor portraits. Palazzo Barberini, Rome (photo: Anderson 6371).



38. Jan Davidsz de
Heem,
Vanitas still life,
Schloss
Pommersfelden
(photo: Marburg
63877).

BERNINI'S PORTRAITS OF NO-BODY

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40. *Laughing Faun*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



39. *Laocoön, detail*. Vatican Museum, Rome.

Ite à trouar gli sciocchi,
C' hanno abbagliati gli occhi:
O quanta nebbia, & ombra
Gii occhi mortali ingombra!

Scena Ottava.

Angelo Custode, Anima, e Corpo: & Angeli nel Cielo, che s' apre.

52. *Ang.* **A** L forte vincitore
E' debito l'honore,
L'honor, ch'è apparecchiato
Nel Ciel, che fa beato:
Si c' hormai da la terra,
C' haurete vinta in guerra,
Volgete il cor, e'l viso,
E i paili al Paradiso.
53. *Ang. & C.* Venite al Ciel diletti,
Veritate benedetti,
Che quelle sedi belle
Furon fatte per voi sopra le stelle:
Lasciate pur la terra,
Dou' è perpetua guerra;
Salite al Ciel con volo glorioso,
Dou' è pace, e riposo,
Dou' senza alcun velo
Si vede il Rè del Cielo.

Scena Nona.

Choro.

54. **D** Opo breui sudori
Poter dal caldo, e'l gielo
Salir beato al Cielo
A i sempiterni honori
Dal mondo pien di mali,
E' forte auenturosa de' mortali.
- Poter dopo le prove
L'huomo frate, e mendico,
Ma di virtute amico,
Salir in alto, doue
Son ricchezze immortali,
E' forte auenturosa de' mortali.
- Da gli abissi terreni.
Doue regna la Morte,
Poter salir per sorte
A i sommi eterni beni,
Che non hanno altri eguali,
E' forte auenturosa de' mortali.
- Amar il bene eterno,
Salir al Ciel supermo,
Fuggir del Mondo i mali,
E' forte auenturosa de' mortali.

ATTO TERZO.

Scena Prima.

Intelletto, Consiglio, Anima, e Corpo, & Choro.

55. *Int.* **S** Alite pur al Cielo,
Che nel Ciel Dio si vede,
56. *Conf.* Del cor ricca mercede.
Fuggite pur l'Inferno,
Dou' alberga ogni male,
Dou' è il verme immortale.
57. *Int.* Salite pur al Cielo,
Doue s'odon i canti
58. *Conf.* De gli Angeli, e de i Santi.
Fuggite pur l'Inferno,
Doue s'odon le voci
De gli Angeli feroci.
59. *Choro.* Fugge il nocchier l'infeffa
Del mar fiera tempeffa,
Ma più s'han da fuggire
Del Ciel gli idegni, e'l ire.

60. *Int.* Nel Ciel sempre è allegrezza,
Nel Ciel sempre è la Luce,
61. *Conf.* Ch'eternamente luce.
Ne l'Inferno è spauento,
Ne l'Inferno è dolore,
Le tenebre, e'l horrore.
62. *Int.* Nel Ciel son le ricchezze,
Nel Ciel sono i tesori,
63. *Conf.* E i sempiterni honori.
Ne l'Inferno ogni tempo
Miseria, e infamia sta,
Vergogna, e puerria.
64. *Int.* Nel Ciel sono i palazzi
Fatti di pietre d'oro,
65. *Choro.* Di mirabil lavoro.
Cerca altri à tutte l'hore
Le gemme di valore:
Ma più s'han da cercare
Del Ciel le gemme rare.
66. *Conf.* Ne l'Inferno vi hanno
Le spelonche, e le gratte,
Doue alberga la notte.
67. *Int.* Nel Cielo è Primavera,
Che'l Paradiso infiora,
E in sempiterno odora.
68. *Conf.* Nel profondo è l'Inferno,
L'immonditia, e'l fetore
D'abominoso odore.

Scena Seconda.

Consiglio, Anima dannata, & apresi vnor bocca d'Inferno.

- Intelletto, Anima, & Corpo.*
- Conf. segue.* **V** Oi che fete la già,
Che vi tormenta più?
Che cosa è ne l'Inferno?
69. *Ani.* Il foco, il foco eterno,
Crudel, crudel Peccato,
Per cui ci hà condannato
Il Giudice supermo,
Al foco, al foco eterno.

Scena Terza.

Intelletto. Anima beata in Cielo, che s' apre, & chiude l'Infer. Consiglio, Anima, & Corpo.

70. *Int.* **A** Lme ch' in Ciel godete,
Qual premio in Cielo haurete
71. *Ani.* Più nobile, e piu degno?
Eterno, eterno Regno:
72. *Bea.* O' Regno, o' Regno eterno:
O' Ben sommo, e supermo,
Che mai non giunse al segno:
Eterno, eterno Regno.
- Intelletto, Consiglio, Anima, e Corpo, dicono insieme: Cielo aperto.*
72. *Conf.* O' gran stupore!
O' graue errore!
O' huomo mortale
D'vn tanto male,
Ch'eterno dura,
Si poco cura!
- O' gran stupore!
O' graue errore!
O' huomo mortale
Regno immortale,
Ch'eterno dura,
Stolto non cura!

Scena Quarta.

Consiglio. Anima dannata, & s'apre l'Infer. Intelletto, Anima, Corpo, & Cielo aperto.

73. *Conf.* **A** Nime sfortunato
L'altiere voci alzate,

74. *Ani.* Che v'è toccato in sorte?
Eterna, eterna Morte,
Ahi! ci è toccata in sorte
Morte, che mai non More
Sepolta nel dolore,
Altra penosa, e forte,
Eterna, eterna morte.

Scena Quinta.

Intelletto, Ani. beate nel Cielo aperte: Choro, Conf. Anima, & Corpo: si rinchiede l'Infer.

75. *Int.* **A** Lme beate, e belle,
La sù sopra le stelle
Qual cosa è più gradita?
76. *Ani.* Eterna, eterna Vita:
Vita, che vive, e regna,
Dolce, celeste, e degna,
Sempre, sempre gradita,
Eterna, eterna Via.
77. *Choro.* O gran stupore!
O graue errore!
O huomo mortale
D'vn tanto male,
Ch'eterno dura,
Si poco cura!
- O gran stupore!
O graue errore!
O huomo mortale
Regno immortale,
Ch'eterno dura,
Stolto non cura!

Scena Sesta.

Consiglio. Anima dannata, & s'apre l'Inferno. Intelletto, Anima, Corpo, & l'Inferno aperto.

78. *Conf.* **A** Lme la pena, e'l danno,
Che vi dà tanto affanno,
79. *Ani.* Finit si deve mai?
Non mai, non mai, non mai.
80. *Conf.* O sempiterni guai,
Che non finiscono mai!
Non mai, non mai, non mai.

Scena settima.

Intelletto. Anima beata, si rinchiede l'Infer.

- Consiglio, Ani, & Corpo.*
80. *Int.* **A** Lme la vostra Gloria,
Ne l'eterna memoria
81. *Ani.* E' per durar mai sempre?
82. *Bea.* Sì, sempre, sempre, sempre.
Sempre, sempre sarà,
E mai non finirà:
E con perpetue tempore,
Durerà sempre, sempre.
- Intelletto, Conf. Ani, Corp. dicono insieme.*
82. *Conf.* Ogn'un faccia sempre bene,
Che la Morte in fretta viene:
Ami Dio ch'è suo Signore,
Fugga il Mondo ingannatore,
E perche hà errato,
Del suo peccato
Con pura fede
Chiegga mercede:
Facci opre bone, e la sua vita emende,
Che da vn momèto sol l'Eterno pè de.

Anima, & Corpo dicono insieme.

83. *Conf.* Come Ceruo affettato
Corre al fonte bramato,

Così da noi fi brama, e fi de fisa
Salir al Ciel con voi per crta via.
Ma prima infiem cantiamo,
E l'gran Signor lodiamo.

Scena ottava.

*Angeli et Ani. beati in Cielo: Anima, Corpo,
Intelletto, & Consiglio tutti insieme.*

84. Gloria sia à Dio superno,
Che viue in sempiterno:
A l'alto, e gran Signore
Sia sempiterno honore.
Anime beato, & Angeli.
85. Chiamiamo tutto il Mondo,
E con canto giocondo
Cantiam, cantiam gioiosi
Di Dio le lodi, e i fatti gloriosi.

Scena nona.

*Anime beati, Angeli, Anima, Corpo, Intelletto,
Consiglio, Choro, & tutte le moltitudi
in inferno.*

86. O Signor fante, e vero,
Che del mondo hai l'impero:
O Signor fante, e forte,
Domator de la morte,
Somma bona in finita:
A te Signor à te
Gloria, e laude fi dà;
A te sòmo Signor superno, e degno
Sia gloria eterna, e sèpiterno Regna.

87. La. Voi ch'ascoltando state,
Perche non giubilate?
Non più, non più penfosi:
Tutti lieti, e gioiosi
Con festa giubiliamo,
Con giubilo cantiamo,
Fugga lontano il lutto:
Festa, festa per tutto.

Tutte le moltitudini insieme.

88. Gratie, Hinni, laudi, e giubili d'amore
Canti la lingua, e le risponda il core.

89. A. Ogn lingua, ogni core
Dia laude al mio Signore,
Che l'alme poverelle
Da terra alz'à le stelle.
Vi prego alme dilette,
Al ben opar' ellette,
Come da serpe irato
Fuggite dal peccato:
E liete à i vostri alberghi ritornate,
E con voi riportate
Quello ricordo mio: (Dio.

90. Tenga ogn'un, tenga nel core,
Ch'al fuggir son prete l'hore:
Et è forza, ch'ogn'un lasti
Tutto il ben, ch'in terra stassi.
Ne c'inganni il mondo rio,
Ch'ogni ben nasce da Dio:
E à l'opre fante, e bone
Rispondo nel Ciel scettri, e corone.

FESTA.

Tutte le moltitudini insieme.

91. C. Hioftri altissimi, e stellari,
Doue albergano i Beati,

Luna, Sol, Stelle lucenti
Fate in Ciel dolci concerti;
Tutto il mondo pieno sia
D'allegrezza, e d'armonia.
Rè del Mondo, e gran signori
Giubilare dentro à i cori,
D'ogni sesso, d'ogni etate
Donne, & huomini cantate
Con fanciulli, e verginelle,
Canzonette allegre, e belle.
D'arpe, lire, organi, e trombe,
L'aria, e terra, e mar rimbombe,
L'aure vaghe, il suon giocondo
Portin via per tutt'il Mondo,
E toccando il suono il core,
Senta giubili d'amore.
Voi di Dio fedeli amanti
Genti giuste, huomini santi,
Gratie eterne à Dio rendete,
Gigli, e rose infiem spargete,
E co' i gigli, e con le rose,
Lodi eterne, e gloriose.
Voi celesti Gierarchie
Fate noue melodie:
Ecco v'n'altra noua stella
Tutta chiara, tutta bella
Verso il Ciel vola splendente,
Perche luca eternamente.
Congiungete Angeli buoni,
Congiungete i canti, e i suoni:
E qua giù la Terra ancora.
Mentre lieta il seno infiora,
Con il canto, e con il riso
Corrisponda al Paradiso.
L A V S D E O.

Aria Cantata, & Sonata; al modo Antico.

Io piango Fil li il tuo spiera to inte ri to, El Mòdo del mio mal tutto rinuer deli: Deh pensa prego al bel vi uer pre te ri to

Se nel passar di Le the A mor non per de fi.

In ROMA, appresso Nicolò Mutij 1600. Con Licenza de' Superiori.

depictions of the story of the three youths who refuse to worship the image of Nebuchadnezzar show not a statue but a bust on a pedestal standing on the ground (Fig. 37). The bust signified far more than met the eye, and this quasi-demonic potency led to its virtually complete suppression in the Middle Ages. When it was revived in the Renaissance, some of its supercharged meaning was transmitted to the modern cult of the individual, so that the renewed form acquired an emblematic significance of its own. In the seventeenth century, by a characteristic process that might be called paradoxical inversion, sculptured busts were often given prominent roles in the flourishing genre of moralized still life, or *vanitas*, painting.¹⁵ These pictured busts were never actual portraits but represented ideal types, such as were kept in artists' studios as models of classical beauty and expression. In this context they might have dual significance, alluding not only to the transitoriness of life but also to the futility of the arts themselves, even that of carving stone. A *memento mori* composition by Jan Davidsz de Heem (Fig. 38) evidently alludes to the three ages of man, with a skull in the center flanked by sculptured heads of a serene child and a suffering man, perhaps that of the son of Laocoön in the ancient *exemplum doloris* group in the Vatican (Fig. 39).¹⁶ By adopting the bust form for his soul portraits, Bernini transformed a visual device that evoked generically the life of this world into one that evoked individual life in the next.

Bernini's busts form a complementary and contrasting pair in composition, sex, and expression. The action of the heads and direction of the glances create a spatial environment that includes the spectator and extends upward to heaven and downward to hell. The portrayal of the souls followed a tendency evident in some depictions of the Last Judgment to focus on a representative male to convey the rabid fury of the damned and on a female to convey the ecstasy of the saved (see Fig. 30).¹⁷ In the *Anima Beata* Bernini omitted the deacon's surplice Mair had provided (see Fig. 31) and gave greater prominence to the wreath of flowers, an attribute of purity

¹⁵ Works of this kind, including that by De Heem reproduced here, are discussed in Veca, 1981, 85–91; *Stilleben*, 1979, 106–9, 455–7; Heezen-Stoll, 1979, 218–21; Merrill, 1960, 7 ff.

¹⁶ See Ladendorf, 1953, 37–45; Ettlinger, 1961. On the painting, see recently *Leselust*, 1993, 210–11.

¹⁷ Frans Floris repeated the elements of the Vienna composition reproduced in Figure 33 (dated 1566) in a triptych in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (cf. Van de Velde, 1975, 314–18, nos. 178–80).

often worn by angels. The effect is to replace the liturgical and ritual emphasis of Mair's interpretation with an embodiment of moral innocence. Looking up and slightly to the side, with nostrils distended and lips parted in a gentle sigh, the blessed soul responds to the beatific vision that all the blessed in heaven enjoy. The expression of blissful suffering recalls, in positive terms, the physical torment and anguished groan of Laocoön's son.

The blunt features and unruly hair of the damned soul are derived from the common identification of devils with satyrs, the ancient embodiments of unrestrained passion. In certain instances the satyr-devil's ghoulisish grin is quite deliberately matched by the howling grimace of the damned (see Fig. 33). Specifically, the *Anima Dannata* seems to convert into negative terms the features of an ancient dancing satyr, a type for which Bernini later expressed great admiration, and which was also given bust form in this period (Fig. 40).¹⁸ In both of Bernini's busts, therefore, the expressive qualities seem to have resulted in part from subtle and ironic inversions of ancient expressive conventions.

Taken together, the sculptures convey a sense of the Last Things very different from that of earlier portrayals of the theme; Bernini emphasized not the physical but the psychological consequences of good and evil. In this respect the *Anima Beata* and *Anima Dannata* seem to embody medieval theological definitions of the *summum bonum* and the *summum malum* as the judged soul aware of its destiny either to behold or to be banished from the face of God, forever.¹⁹ These are the prospects Bernini's images contemplate and they react to what they 'see.'

Finally, there can be little doubt that Bernini's soul portraits reflect a Roman theatrical event of the Jubilee year 1600, in which personifications of damned and blessed souls appeared together outside their usual narrative context. This was the *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo*, a musical drama sponsored by the Fathers of the Oratory, founded in the late sixteenth century in Rome by St. Philip Neri, and performed in the order's oratory at

¹⁸ For the type, see Haskell and Penny, 1981, 205–8; Bober and Rubinstein, 1986, 97. Bernini's enthusiasm is recorded for a version of the type he saw during his visit to Paris in 1665: 'Il a dit, voyant de *Faune qui danse*, qu'il voyait cette statue mal volontiers, lui faisant connaître qu'en comparaison il ne savait rien' (Chantelou, 1885, 116; entry for August 23). The bronze in Amsterdam reproduced in Figure 40 is ascribed to Rome, seventeenth century (Leeuwenberg, 1973, 404).

¹⁹ For a survey of the medieval history of this idea, and further bibliography, see Bernstein, 1982.

Santa Maria in Vallicella.²⁰ The music was written by Emilio de' Cavalieri (1550?–1602), a leading figure in the development of the early opera, and the text by Agostino Manni (1548–1618), an Oratorian who had previously published several volumes of spiritual poems called *laude*. The *Rappresentatione* was important from many points of view. It marked the introduction from Florence to Rome of the new technique of melodic recitation, or the use of song in a dramatic enactment — melodrama, as it was called — intended to recapture what was thought to be the essential principle of ancient theatrical art. All this was stated explicitly in the preface to the original edition of the text and score of the *Rappresentatione*, as was the intention to move the audience by expressing through the melodic dialogue the strongly contrasting emotions of the characters, 'like pity and joy, weeping and laughter.' 'Passing from one affection to its contrary, as from mournful to happy, from ferocious to gentle and the like, is greatly moving.'²¹

The text of the play, which must certainly have been conceived with musical enactment in mind, was no less innovative, in part because of precisely the return to much earlier traditions that would animate Bernini's sculptures. Essentially, the text combined two late-medieval modes, both revived in the latter part of the sixteenth century: the *lauda*, or song of praise, with a narrative and dialogue between voices or characters, real or imaginary, but no proper enactment; and the *sacra rappresentazione*, or religious play in verse, usually based on a biblical story, with parts often sung to musical accompaniment.²² The three-act work, something between a

²⁰ See Smither, 1977–87, I, 80–89. A facsimile of the original edition, De' Cavalieri, 1600, was published in 1967. A useful commentary and English translation of the text can be found in T. C. Read, 1969. On the architectural history of the oratory, see Connors, 1980.

²¹ '... singolari, e nuoue sue compositioni di Musica, fatte à somiglianza di quello stile, co'l quale si dice, che gli antichi Greci, e Romani nelle scene, e teatri loro soleano à diuersi affetti muouere gli spettatori,' 'suonato, e cātato all'antica, come s'è detto,' 'musica affettuososa,' 'habbia potuto . . . rauuiuare quell'antica usanza così felicemente,' 'questo stile sia atto à muouer'anco à deuotione,' 'questa sorte di Musica da lui rinouata commoua à diuersi affetti, come à pietà, & à pianto, & à riso, & ad altri fimili,' 'esprima bene le parole, che siano intese, & le accompagni con gesti, & motiui non solamente di mani, ma di passi ancora, che sono aiuti molto efficaci à muouere l'affetto,' 'laudarebbe mutare i[s]tromenti conforme all'affetto del recitante,' 'il passar da vno affetto all'altro cōtrario, come dal mesto all'allegro, dal feroce al mire, e simili, commuoue grandemente.'

²² My analysis is based essentially on Smither, 1977–87, I, 6 f, 22–28, 57–89; Kirkendale, 1971; J. W. Hill, 1979; and an as yet unpublished essay kindly placed at my disposal by Prizer, 1987.

recitation and a play, included, besides Body and Soul, allegorical characters such as Time, Understanding, Good Counsel, Mammon, and Wordly Life. The plot consists entirely in the exchange of arguments for good and evil, presented in counterpoint until Virtue triumphs. The only events, properly speaking, occur in the third act when hell and heaven alternately open and close, their denizens intoning laments and exaltations (*cf.* Figs. 41, 42).

So far as we know, the *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo* was not performed again after the Jubilee of 1600, but its impact was immediate and profound. A contemporary biographer of Manni described the performances attended by the whole College of Cardinals, as 'the first in Rome in the new recitative style, which then became frequent and universally applauded.'²³ The response may be judged from the vivid, moving recollections of an eyewitness, recorded after the death of Emilio de' Cavalieri in 1602. The report illustrates not only the thematic but also the expressive context from which Bernini's sculptures emerged.

I, Giovanni Vittorio Rossi, found myself one day in the home of Signor Cavaliere Giulio Cesare Bottifango, not only a fine gentleman but also one of rare qualities — excellent secretary, most knowledgeable poet and musician. Having begun to discuss music that moves the emotions [*musica che move gli affetti*], he told me resolutely that he had never heard anything more affecting [*più affettuosa*], or that had moved him more than the Representation of the Soul put to music by the late Mr. Emilio del Cavaliere, and performed the Holy Year 1600 in the oratory of the Assumption, in the house of the Reverend Fathers of the Oratorio at the Chiesa Nova. He was present that day when it was performed three times without satisfying the demand, and he said in particular that hearing the part of Time, he felt come over him a great fear and terror; and at the part when the Body, performed by the same person as Time, in doubt whether to follow God or the World, resolved to follow God, his eyes poured forth a great abundance of tears and he felt arise in his heart a great repentance and pain for his sins. Nor did this happen only then, but

²³ '... fu rappresentato in scena cogli'habiti nell'Oratorio nostro da due volte, con l'intervento di tutto il sacro collegio di Card.li, e ve ne furono da quindici e venti per ciascuna volta...Fu questa rappresentatione la prima che fosse fatta in Roma in stile recitativo, e di indi in poi cominciò con universale applauso a frequentarsi negli oratorii il detto stile' (Alaleona, 1905, 17, 18).

thereafter whenever he sang it he was so excited to devotion that he wanted to take communion, and he erupted in a river of tears. He also gave extreme praise to the part of the Soul, divinely performed by that castrato; he said the music was also an inestimable artifice that expressed the emotions of pain and tenderness with certain false sixths tending toward sevenths, which ravished the spirit. In sum, he concluded, one could not do anything more beautiful or more perfect in that genre, and, so I might see for myself the truth of what he said, he took me to the harpsicord and sang several pieces from the representation, in particular that part of the Body which had so moved him. It pleased me so much that I asked him to share it with me, and he most courteously copied it himself. I learned it by heart, and often went to his house to hear him sing it himself.²⁴

²⁴ 'Ritrovandomi io Go: Vittorio Rossi un giorno in casa del Signor Cavaliere Giulio Cesare Bottifango, gentil'uomo oltre la bontà, di rare qualità segretario eccellente, poeta e musico intendentissimo, et entrati in ragionamento della musica che move gli affetti, mi disse risolutamente che non haveva sentita cosa più affettuosa, ne che più lo movessi della rappresentatione dell'anima messa in musica dalla buona memoria del Signor Emilio del Cavaliere, e rappresentata l'anno Santo 1600 nell'oratorio dell'Assunta, nella casa delli molto Reverendi Padri dell'Oratorio alla Chiesa Nova, e che egli vi si trovò presente in quel giorno, che si rappresentò tre volte senza potersi mai satiare e mi disse in particolare che sentendo la parte del tempo, si sentì entrare adosso un timore e spavento grande, et alla parte del corpo, rappresentata dal medesimo che faceva il tempo, quando stato alquanto in dubbio, che cosa doveva fare, o seguire Iddio o'l Mondo, si risolveva di seguire Iddio che gli uscìmo da gl'occhi in grandissima abbondanza le lacrime e sentì destarsi nel core un pentimento grande e dolore dei suoi peccati, né questo fu per allora solamente, ma di poi sempre che la cantava, talché ogni volta che si voleva comunicare, per eccitare in sé la divotione, quella parte, e prompeva in un fiume di pianto. Lodava ancora in estremo la parte dell'anima, che oltre esser stata rappresentata divinamente da quel putto, diceva nella musica essere un artificio inestimabile che esprimeva gli affetti di dolore e di dolcezza con certe seste false, che tiravano alla settima, che rapivano l'anima; insomma, concludeva, in quel genere non potersi fare cosa più perfetta, e soggiunse, acciò vediate soi stesso esser vero quanto vi dico mi condusse al cembalo, e cantò alcuni pezzi di quella rappresentatione et in particolare quel loco del Corpo, che lo moveva tanto, e mi piacque in maniera ch'io lo pregai a farmene parte, il che molto cortesemente fece, e me lo copiò di sua mano, et io lo imparai alla mente, et andavo spesso a saca sua per sentirlo cantare da lui' (Morelli, 1985, 196). Rossi is well known as Ianus Nicius Erythraeus, the author of the three-volume series of biographies of contemporaries, *Pinacotheca* (Cologne, 1643, 1645, 1648), which included accounts of Agostino Manni and Bottifango (for the latter, see also *Dizionario*, 1960—, XXIII, 456 f).

Cavalieri himself described the audience's response in a letter written to Florence soon after: 'I forgot to say what the priests of the Vallicella told me, and this is great. Many prelates among those who came to Florence saw a *rappresentatione in musica* that I had done this

The legacy of Manni's and Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione* was twofold. Its drama and spectacle were absorbed in the operas on religious themes produced in Rome in the second quarter of the century; the work also influenced the development by Neri's order of the oratorio form itself, in which recitative predominated over staging. Common to both forms was the melodic dialogue, and its use in the *Rappresentazione* may have been directly inspired by a medieval work. The interchange between Anima and Corpo that provided the main theme as well as the title of the *Rappresentazione* seems to recall explicitly one of the *laude*, a *contrasto* between Body and Soul by the fourteenth-century Franciscan poet Jacopone da Todi, whose writings were incorporated into the daily devotions of the Oratorians by Philip Neri himself.²⁵ The *contrasto* was a distinct literary genre in which two characters, who may personify abstract ideas, debate a moral issue. Related both to scholastic dialectic and the *Psychomachia*, or *Battle of the Virtues and Vices*,²⁶ the struggle could take forms that strikingly anticipate Bernini's contrast of moral, physical, and emotional types. In a capital of the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand (Fig. 43), for example, a noble female Liberality (*Largitas*) confronts a disheveled male Avarice (*Avaricia*). In an illumination of the prayer book of the great twelfth-century mystic Hildegard of Bingen a similar pairing of opposites illustrates the concord and discord of 'Beati' and 'Maledicti' (Fig. 44). Hildegard's vision is a rare precedent for the isolation of good and bad spirits in the last act of *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo*, where, apparently for the first time,

carnival at their Oratorio, for which the expenditure was six scudi at the most. They say that they found it much more to their taste, because the music moved them to tears and laughter and pleased them greatly, unlike this music of Florence, which did not move them at all, unless to boredom and irritation' ('Mi era scordato dire; che questa e grande; che da quei preti della Vallicella mi hanno detto; che molti prelati; di quelli uenuti a Fio.za ueddero una costesta che io feci fare questo Carneuale, di rappresentatione in musica; al loro oratorio; che si spese da D sei al piu; et dicono; che ne receuerno altro gusto; poiche la musica il mosse a pianto et riso; et le diede gran gusto/et che questa musica di Firenze; non li mosse se non a tedio et fastidio'); published in English by Palisca, 1963, 352, to whom I am indebted for supplying the Italian text.

²⁵ The relationship to the medieval *contrasto* and Jacopone da Todi was first suggested by Becherini (1943, 3 n. 3, and 1951, 233 f), followed by Kirkendale (1971, 17), who referred specifically to Jacopone's 'Anima e Corpo' *contrasto* (Jacopone da Todi, 1953, 9–11), and Smither (1977–87, I, 57), who also noted Neri's interest in and use of Jacopone.

On the medieval *contrasto* between Body and Soul, see Walther, 1920, 63 ff; Wilmart, 1939; Toschi, 1955, 149–65; Osmond, 1974; *Enciclopedia*, 1975, III, cols. 1357–60.

²⁶ For what follows, see Katzenellenbogen, 1964, 1 ff, 8 n. 1, 58 f; Houlet, 1969.

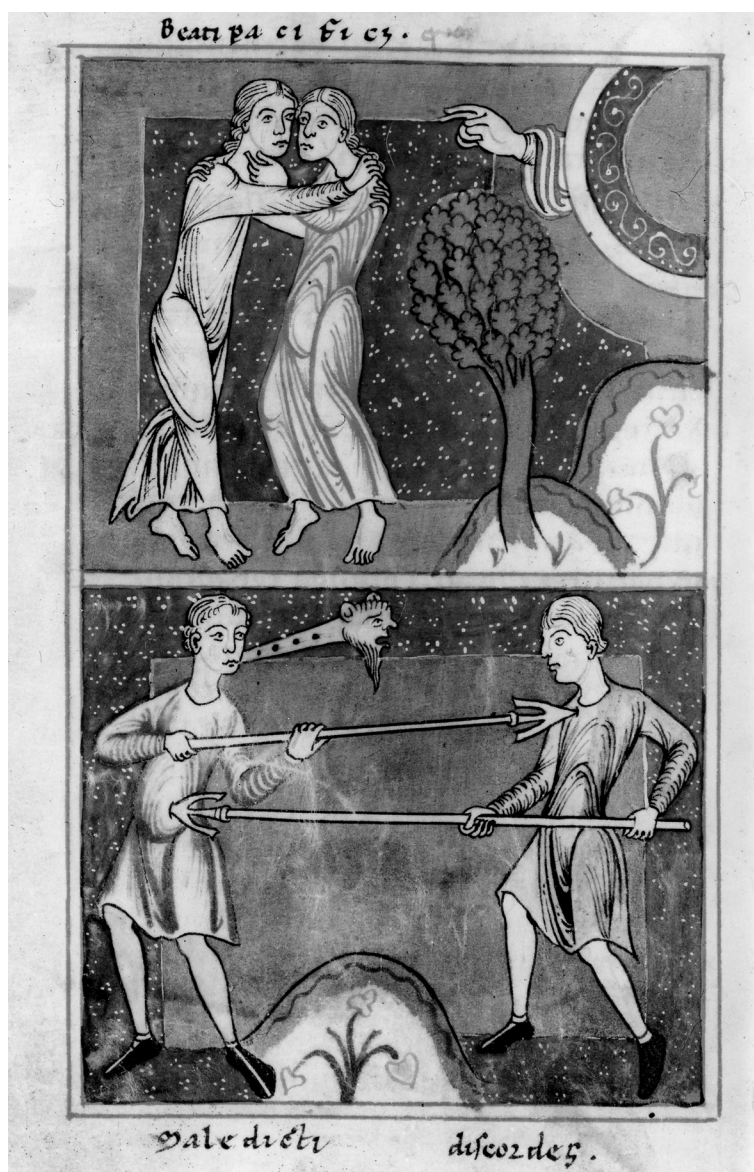
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43. *Largitas and Avaricia.*
Nôtre-Dame-du-Port,
Clermont-Ferrand
(photo: Monuments
historiques J.F. 639/73).

45. *Anima ragionevole
e beata*
(from Ripa, 1603, 22).





44. Hildegard of Bingen, "Beati" and "Maledicti." MS lat. 935.
fol. 38v, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

damned and blessed souls acting in chorus become characters in a dramatic confrontation. In this respect, as well, the *Rappresentatione* prepared the way for Bernini's sculptures.

So far as I can discover, *Anima Dannata* and *Anima Beata* were also first treated as isolated images precisely in this context. Cesare Ripa included them in the third edition (1603) of his pictorial handbook of personified concepts, the *Iconologia*. He explains that when the soul of a person is introduced onstage in dramatic presentations, it should be given human form. No doubt Ripa, who lived and worked in Rome under the patronage of Cardinal Antonio Salviati and his family, was referring to and motivated by the Oratorian production; his description of the images, one of which he illustrates (Fig. 45), may well reflect the costumes used in 1600. The figures are identified by various attributes — Beata is a gracious maiden, Dannata is disheveled — and by 'accidents' indicating their 'condition': wounded, in glory, tormented.²⁷

Bernini, too, isolated the participants from their contexts, creating a powerful duet of independent and contrasting, yet also complementary, actors performing on the infinite stage of human existence. Souls in the form of portrait busts, the sculptures seem to restore to the masks of Tragedy and Comedy the deeper meaning of the term *persona* by which they were known in antiquity. In the *Anima Dannata* and *Anima Beata*, innermost human nature emerges at last from collective anonymity to assume, for better or for worse, a personality of its own.

Agostino Manni's subsequent publications bring our themes down to Bernini's sculptures and even suggest a reciprocal relationship between them. In 1609 and 1613 Manni published *Spiritual Exercises*, 'an easy way to fruitful prayer to God and to think upon the things principally relevant

²⁷ 'ANIMA RAGIONEVOLE E BEATA...Si dipinge donzella gratiosissima, per esser fatta dal Creatore, che è fonte d'ogni bellezza, & perfettione, à sua similitudine . . . *Anima dannata*. Occorrendo spesse volte nelle tragedie, & rappresentationi di casi seguiti, & finti, si spirituali come profani, introdurre nel palco l'anima di alcuna persona, fa mestiero hauer luce, come ella si debba visibilmente introdurre. Per tanto si dourà rappresentare in forma, & figura humana, ritenendo l'effigie del suo corpo. Sarà nuda, o da sottilissimo & trasparente velo coperta, come anco scapigliata, & il colore della carnagione di lionato scuro, & il velo di color negro...Dicesi anco meglio conoscerla, se gli habbia à rappresentarla con diuersi accidenti, come per esempio, ferita, ò in gloria, ò tormentata, &c. & in tal caso si qualificherà in quella maniera, che si conuiene allo stato, & conditione sua' (Ripa, 1603, 22 f).

Ripa's image in turn inspired Guido Reni's late visionary portrayals of *Anima Beata*, in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (*The Age of Correggio*, 1986, 522; Bruno, 1978, 61 f).

to salvation, to acquire the true pain of sins, and to make a good death.' Following a series of daily devotions, the things principally relevant to salvation are treated in exercises — which often include what Manni calls 'imagination' — on heaven and hell, the Four Last Things, and a good life and death.²⁸ Manni's exercises thus actually combine the two great late medieval eschatologies, *The Four Last Things* and the *The Art of Dying*, with which we began. The last edition, greatly abbreviated, appeared posthumously in 1620, shortly after Bernini's sculptures were presumably made.²⁹ There followed in 1625 a new publication excerpted from Manni's works, this time in just two parts. The first consists only of the meditations on the joys of heaven and the torments of hell; the second is none other than a reprint of the text of the *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo*.³⁰ In effect, the Four Last Things have been reduced to two, and the dramatic debate between virtue and vice has become the model of preparation for a good death. Significantly, however, the drama itself is given a new name. It is no longer conceived in terms of body and soul, but rather — and I quote the new title — as a 'representation in which by diverse images the individual is shown the calamitous end of the sinner and the honored and glorious end of the just man.' I can think of no better description of Bernini's sculptures. In fact, when one recalls that they had only recently been made for a member of the Spanish church not far from that of the Oratorians, one cannot help wondering whether they might in turn have played a role in the distillation, intensification, and visualization of the very dramatic work from which they themselves seem to have derived.

²⁸ Manni, 1609 and 1613. The full titles are given in the bibliography. The headings of the pertinent sections in the 1613 edition are as follows: pp. 60 ff, Essercitio circa l'eternità della felicità del cielo; 79 ff, Essercitio circa la consideratione delle pene dell'Inferno; 104, Essercitio per haver'in pronto le quattro memorie, della Morte, del Giudicio, dell'Inferno, e del Paradiso; 105 ff, Memoria della Morte; 122 ff, Memoria secondo, del Giudicio; 132 ff, Memoria Terza, dell'Inferno; 142 ff, Quarta Memoria, del Paradiso; 177 ff, Essercitio per vivere, e morire felicemente.

²⁹ Manni, 1620.

³⁰ Manni, 1625; this edition, which I have not seen, is recorded in Villarosa, 1837, 162. I give the full title from the edition published in 1637 (see Bibliography).

Appendix A

New Documents Concerning the Anime Busts and the Tomb of Pedro de Foix Montoya

The sculptures, mentioned by Bernini's biographers Filippo Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini as in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, were moved in the late nineteenth century to the Palazzo di Spagna, residence of the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican (replacement copies were made which are now in Santa Maria di Monserrato). Having discovered that they came to the church with the legacy of Botinete, I once questioned the traditional association of these busts with Monsignor Pedro de Foix Montoya, for whose tomb, also originally in San Giacomo and now in Santa Maria in Monserrato, Bernini executed the famous portrait toward the end of 1622 (Lavin, 'Five Youthful Sculptures,' 1968, 240 n. 114). I subsequently found in the archive of the confraternity additional documents concerning Montoya and his tomb; these established that Montoya was indeed the patron of the *Anime*, which were in his possession by December 1619, and suggest that he may have intended them to decorate his tomb.

An inventory of Montoya's household possessions taken in December 1619 includes 'dos estatuas' (see Document 1 below), the only such objects listed; these must have been the *Anime*, which appear again in the inventory taken after Montoya's death (below, and Document 2). On March 8, 1623, Montoya signed an agreement with the stone-cutter Santi Ghetti for his tomb (Document 8), to be made according to a design provided by the architect Orazio Turriani, who received payment on March 11 (Document 9). The monument was to include 'two angels' that are specifically excluded from Ghetti's responsibility, indicating that they, like the portrait, were to be (or already had been) executed by someone else. Perhaps Fernandez Alonso (1968, 106) was alluding to this document in suggesting that the busts formed part of the tomb. The tomb was not finished at Montoya's death on May 31, 1630, and the executors paid for the remaining work over the next few months (Documents 3–7).

The *Anime* are listed in an inventory of Montoya's possessions, undated but taken shortly after his death (Document 2), after which they evidently became the property of Ferdinando Botinete, one of Montoya's confreres; they next appear in a 1637 inventory of San Giacomo, as a legacy of Botinete (Document 10).

All the documents listed below are in the Archive of the Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiasticos, Rome.

Busta 1746, *Papeles de la memoria de Mons. Montoya*:

Fols. 20 ff: Memoria de toda la Ropa que hasta oy Jueves de diciembre de 1619 Años Quai en caza de Mons.^{or} De Foix Montoya, Misenor Para el servicio de su casa y persona.

1. fol. 27: dos estatuas

Fols. 29 ff: Inventory of Montoya's household possessions ordered by the executors of his will.

2. fol. 31r: Item dos medios cuerpos de piedra de statuas

Fols. 35 ff: Nota de como se una cumpliendo los legados y ultima voluntad de Monseñor Pedro de Foix Montoia por sus executores testamentarios desde el dia de su muerte, que fué alos 31 de Maio de 1630.

3. fol. 42b: Io Giovanne Mariscalco ho receu^{to} dalli ss.^{ri} Essecutori testamentarij di mons.^{re} Montoia in 2 partite sc.^{ta} quarentacinco sonno per il deposito et lapida et à bon conto. Et in fede q.^{to} di 16 Xbre 1630 sc.^{ta} 45

[in margin: scarpellino).

4. fol. 43b: Io francesco Pozi muratore ho riceu^{to} dalli ss.^{ri} Essecutori testam.^{ri} del q. Mon.^{re} Montoia scudi sedici m.^{ta} sonno per saldo et intiero pagam^{to} di tutti li lauori di muratore fatti da me nel deposito di d.^o Mons.^{re} conforme alla lista tassata dal sig.^{to} della Chiesa.

Et in fede etc. sc 16 q.^o di 6 di Genaro 1631.

Io fran.^{co} Pozo a fermo come sopra mano propria.

5. fol. 43b: Io infrascritto ho riceuto dalli Ill.^{ri} sig.^{ri} essecutori testamentarii del q. Monsig.^{re} Montoya scudi tre m.^{ta} p hauer e indorato le Arme e le lettere del suo sepolcro e in fede ho fatto la p.^{te} di mia pp.^a mano questo di 23 Aprile 1631 et dico

_____sc 3

Io Giovanni Contini Mano pp.^a

6. fol. 44: Adi 23 Marzo 1632

Io Santi Ghetti ho riccuuto dalli ss.^{ri} Essecutori testamentarii del q. Mons.^{re} Montoya scudi Trenta m.^{ta} & sonno li scudi venticinq. per la lapida che ho fatto per la sepoltura di esso Monsig.^{re} et li scudi Cinque per saldo, et intiero pagamento del deposito.

Et in fede di q.^o di

sc.^{ta} 30

Io santi Ghetti afermo come sopra sua mano pp.^a

Fols. 46 ff Memoria de lo que se ha sacado de Mons.^{re} foix de Montoya conforme al Inuentario, y al moneda que se hizo

7. fol. 48: al pintor por las armas que hizo ____sc. 5.60
al murador por abrir la sepultura y cerrarla ____sc. 4

fol. 48 verso: al scarpelino abuena quenta de la sepultura ____sc. 45
de dorar las armas de la sepultura ____sc. 3
al murador por los labores hechos en poner el deposito de Monseñor ____
sc. 16
al scarpelino por intero pagamento de la lapida y sepultura ____sc. 30.
al murador por abrir y poner la lapide ____sc. 3.

Fols. 55–56b. Contract with Santi Ghetti for Montoya's tomb:

8. Douendosi dal Molto Ill.^{mo} et R.^{mo} Monsig.^{re} de Foix Montoija far fare un deposito nella Chiesa di s. Giacomo delli spagnioli vicino alla porta che va in sagrestia à mano manca nel entrare, sotto al organo, qual deposito n'è stato fatto il disegno da Horatio Torriani Architetto in Roma per altezza di p' 17 et nel modo, e forma che si uede detto disegno, si douera eseguire conforme alli patti capitoli, conuentioni infrascritti. Pertanto il detto Monsig.^{re} da a fare il sudetto deposito à tutta robba di m.^o santi Ghetti scarpellino rencontro la pista piccola di santa Adriano alli pattani, et campo vaccino a tutte sue spese nel modo, e forma che si dichiara in questo foglio. ____

Item che detto scarpellino sia obligato di fare il frontespitio sopra l'arme di marmo bianco di Carrara.

Il timpano sotto il frontespitio di bianco e nero antico orientale ____

La cornicia sopra l'arme di marmo bianco di Carrara, atorno al arme il simile ____

L'arme con il cappello, et fiocchi sia tutto di un pezzo di marmo bianco di Carrara, et il repiano del arme di bianco e nero antiquo orientale, et le cartelle accanto l'arme di marmo bianco, et incastrato di marmo, e bianco e nero antiquo orientale ____

Il frontespitio sopra alle colonne di marmo bianco di Carrara, con il timpano di bianco e nero antiquo orientale ____

La cornice sotto l'arme, et che ricorre sopra alle colonne, et membretti si fara di marmo bianco di Carrara ____

Il campo sotto la cornice, et intorno al retratto, et cassa si fara di bianco e nero antiquo orientale ____

Cartelle dalle bande del ouato che fa modello si farano di marmo bianco d'Carrara con campanella di marmo simile _____

L'ouato cioe la fascia si fara di brocatello de Spagna _____

Lo sfondato del retratto dentro la nicchia si fara p dentro piano, et di nero assoluto _____

Il fregio sopra alle colonne si fara di bianco e nero antiquo orientale _____

La prima iscrizione si faccia di paragone senza macchia tutto negro _____

Il tellaro atorno addetta iscrizione sia di giallo orientale _____

fol. 55b

Le caretelle sotto la prima iscrizione siano di marmo bianco di Carrara et repi-
eni di bianco e nero antiquo orientale _____

La cassa sia di giallo, et nero di portovenere del più bello che uenghi conforme
à quella della cappella del Cardinal Gaetano in santa Potentiana, et sia della medes-
ima fattura ne piu nemento _____

Il zoccolo sotto alla cassa sia di alabastro rigato antiquo, et il simile sotto alle
base delle colonne, et membretto _____

Le colonne si farano di nero, et giallo de portovenere come di sop.^a conforme
alla cassa de S.^a Potentiana, et della medesima bonta di pietra _____

Li contrapilastrì delle colonne si farano di marmo bianco di Carrara _____

Li membretti delle colonne cioe dalle bande di brocatello di
Spagna _____

Le base, et capitelli come si uedono in disegno siano de marmo bianco di
Carrara _____

La cimasa la colonna di marmo bianco di Carrara _____

La seconda iscrizione che fa piedestallo sia di marmo bianco di
Carrara _____
con suo membretti _____

Sopra della 2.^a iscrizione si fara un poco di fregio di bianco e nero antiquo orientale dove e il collarino del pedestallo di tutta lunghezza _____

Il basamento che andera sotto a d.^o iscrizione, et alli pedestalli delle colonne et membretti si faranno di marmo bianco di Carrara _____

L'ultimo zoccholo sotto il fine del opera al piano di terra si fara di africano bello, et antiquo _____

Ite. che tutta la detta opera sia fatto nel modo e forma detto di sopra con le pietre dechiarate in questo foglio, et non altrimenti, quale tutte doverano essere poste in opera, con ogni diligenza, et ataccate con mistura, et stuccate a foco et doveranno alustrare il tutto ad ogni bellezza, et paragone tutto a spese del detto m.^{ro} santi scarpellino _____

Ite. che detto m.^o santi sia obligato di dar fornito tutta l'opera di detto deposito a tutta perfettione intermine di quattro mesi prossimi da cominciarsi da hoggi _____

fol. 56

Ite. che il detto mons.^{re} sia obligato a tutta sue spese di far mettere in opera il detto deposito p quello che spettera al muratore con patto che vi debbia intervenire, et assistere continuamente il d.^o m. santi mentre si mettera in opera, et con interuento alle cose principali del Architetto _____

Ite. che detto m.^o santi debbia fare a sue spese una croce di giallo al detto deposito atutte sue spese ancorche non vi sia nel disegno, et gli Angeli che sono in d.^o disegno non si comprendino nel patto, et conventione che si obliga d.^o scarpellino _____

Ite. che detto scarpellino sia obligato di fare intagliare à tutte sue spese tutte le lettere che si daranno da s. R.^{ma} tanto nella prima iscrizione di paragone negro come in quella seconda di marmo bianco di Carrara _____

Che l'horò che andera sopra alle lettere della pietro di paragone si debbia mettere a spese di ss. R.^{ma} et doue anderanno di tenta negre sul bianco a spese del d.^o scarp.^{no} _____

Ite. che detto scarpellino debbia mostrare primo a s. R.^{ma} et al Architetto tutte le pietre dette di sop.^a avanti li lavori p mettere in opera, et che non debbia lauorare il detto deposito se prima non habbia hauto li modeni in carta di tutta la detta opera dal Architetto, et a quelli modeni non sminuisca, et no preterisca di cosa

alguna, et d.ⁱ modeni siano dati p primo che cominci et cole picture siano uiste prima _____

Che volendo disegnare il detto deposito lo scarpellino in prima grande debbia il d.^o Monsig.^{re} fare che l'Architetto debbia intervenire p d.^o disegno in quel modo che piu piacerà, et sarà comodo allo scarpellino, et questo si faccia senza spese dallo scarpellino _____

Ite. che il detto deposito s'intenda all'altezza, et larghezza che seconda la scala delli p.^{mi} che stanno disegnati sotto d.^o deposito et non altrimenti _____

fol. 56b

Ite. che p tutto quello che si possa pretendere tanto per la fattura come del valore della robba del detto deposito il detto mons.^{re} et santi Ghetti scarpellino si convengono di accordo de farlo p prezzo et valore di sc.^{di} cento sessanta di moneta li quali s. R.^{ma} promette di pagarli liberamente in questo modo, scudi sessanta al p.^{re} p un ordine al banco, et altri sc.^{di} cinquanta nella meta del opera, et li altri scudi cinquanta fornito che haueua detto deposito subito _____

Ite. che mancando di fare detto scarpellino alcuna delle cose sud.^e che non fussero a contentimento del s. R.^{ma} possa d.^o Monsig.^{re} a tutte spese danni, et interessi di d.^o scarpellino farli rifare conforme alli patti, et conventionione, et di quello che importerà defalcarlo dal prezzo che douera hauere d.^o scarpellino _____

Et p osservanza delle cose sud.^e tanto p il denaro che douera pagare d.^o Mons.^{re} R.^{mo} come p l'opera che deue fare il detto m.^o santi Ghetti scarpellino, conforme alli patti conuentioni d.^e di sopra, l'una parte el l'altra si obligano nella piu ampla della forma della Camera Apostolica, con ogni sorte di clausole, et consuete che si aspettano ad^o obligo Camerale et p ciò ad ogni beneplacito del una et l'altra parte da adesso p allora danno faculta, a qualseuoglia Notaro di potere stendere d.ⁱ capitoli come Istrumento publico, che p segno della uerita hanno sottoscritto la presente de loro propria mano alla presentia delli infrascritti Testimonij questo di, et anno sud.^o 8 de Marzo 1623 _____

Licen.d.^o po de Foix Montoya

Io santi ghetti afermo quanto di sop mano pp.^a _____

Io Ju.^o yvaniz fui p'sente quanto di sop.^a.

Io Giacomo Turriani fui presente quanto di sop.^a mp.

Io soprado m.^o santi Ghetti scarpellino mi obligo in forma Camera di fornire fra tutto ottobre di questo anno 1623 tutti li lauori che sto obligato a fare à Mons.^{re} de Foix Montoia in questo Istrumento di sop.^a et come non lo fornisca fra questo tempo me contenterò che d.^o Mons.^{re} de foix Montoija lo possa mandare à fornire

allo scarpellino che verra a tutte spese mie fatta in Roma alli 19 di Agosto 1623

Io santi Ghetti mi obligo et prometto come di sop^a mano pp^a
 Yo Ju.^o ybanez fui presente a quanto di s.^a
 Io Jacomo Turriani fui presente quanto di sop.^{ra}

Fol. 57: Receipt of Orazio Turriani

9. Io Horatio Turriani Architetto ho riceuto dal Molto Ill.^o et R.^{mo} Mons.^{re} Montoya scudi sei di moneta quali sono p ultimo resto et intiero pagamento di quanto posso pretendere in tutti li disegni et ogni altra cosa che hauessi fatto, et che douero fare p tutto l'opera del deposito che andera posto nella chiesa di S. Giacomo delli Spagnoli in Roma, et mi contento di essere sodisfatto con detti scudi sei p qualsivolia cosa che di nouo facessi p d^o deposito p sino che sia del tutto posto in opera in d^a chiesa et cosi prometto et me ne chiamo contento questo 11 di Marzo 1623

Io Horatio Turriani mpp^a

Busta 1335, Inventario de los muebles de Santiago hecho en el mes de heno 1637:

10. fol. 169b. Mas dos estatuas de marmol blanco del Bernino con sus pedestales de jaspe. Son dos testes que representan una el anima in gloria & la otra anima en peña & las quales vinieron con la que dejò el D.^r Botinete ala Egl.^a

Appendix B

*Checklist of Preserved and Recorded Examples of the Four Last Things in the Wax Version by Giovanni Bernardino Azzolini:**

1. Convento de las Carmelitas Descalzas, Peñaranda de Bracamante, Spain. Five wax panels forming a cross, Death in the center, Purgatory on the left, Limbo (a naked child) on the right, Hell below, Heaven above. Gómez-Moreno, 1967, I, 453; Gonzáles-Palacios (1984, 227) gives evidence for a Neapolitan provenance. (Fig. 46)

2. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Purgatory and Hell. Pope-Hennessy, 1964, II, 633f. (Purgatory mistakenly identified as Paradise); Lightbown, 1964,

* For information concerning several of the Spanish examples I am indebted to Professor Vincente Leo Cañal.



46. Death (center), Purgatory (left), Limbo (right), Hell (bottom), Heaven (top), wax reliefs. Convento de las Carmelitas Descalzas, Peñaranda de Bracamante, Spain (photo: Antonio Casaseca, Salamanca).

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47, 48. Purgatory, Hell, wax reliefs. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



49, 50. Purgatory, Hell, wax reliefs. Palazzo Pitti, Florence (photos: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence 1227/43-44).

734



51, 52. Limbo and Purgatory, wax reliefs. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome.

BERNINI'S PORTRAITS OF NO-BODY

735



53, 54. Hell and Heaven, wax reliefs. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome.

736



55–57. Purgatory, Hell, Heaven, wax reliefs. Formerly Coll. Schevitch, Paris (from *Catalogue*, 1906, fig. 313).



58. Heaven, wax relief. Formerly Coll. Gonzáles-Palacios, Rome
(photo: Arte fotografica 99962).

738



59, 60. Death and Judgment, wax reliefs. Schloss Nymphenburg, Munich.

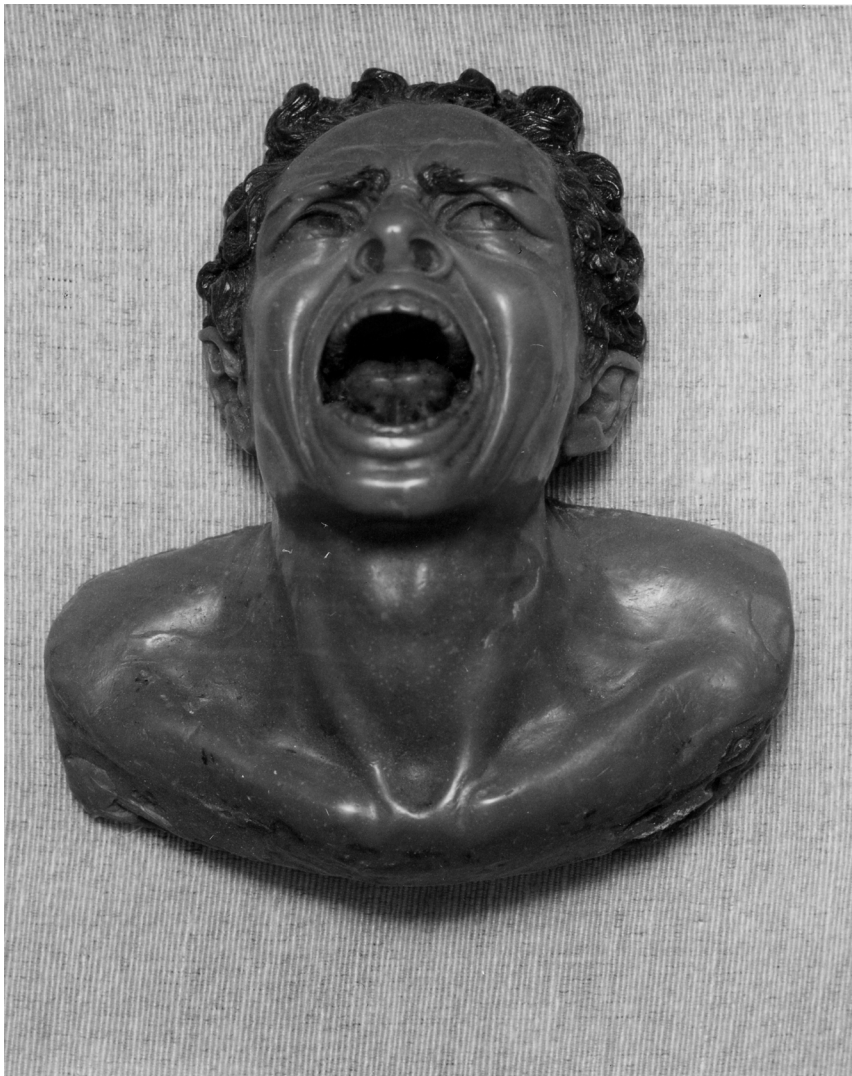
BERNINI'S PORTRAITS OF NO-BODY

739

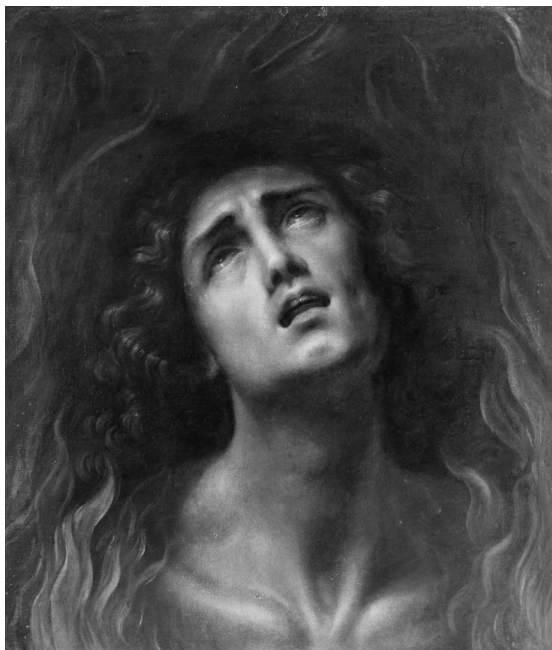


61, 62. Hell and Heaven, wax reliefs. Schloss Nymphenburg, Munich.

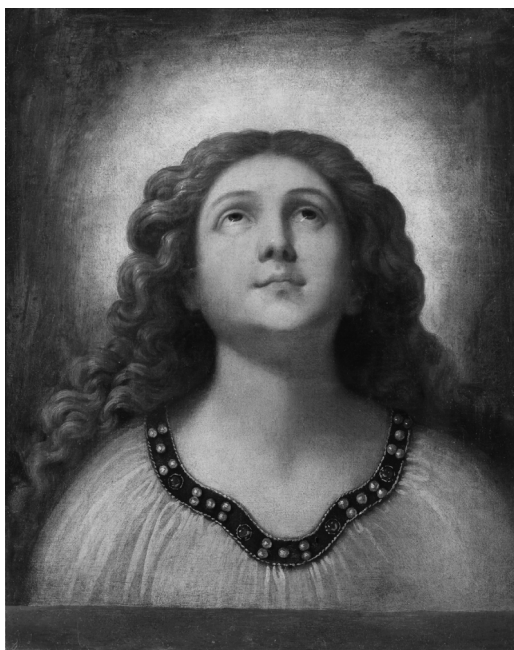
740



63. Attributed to Gaetano Zumbo, Hell, wax relief. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence.



64. Attributed to Francisco Ribalta, Purgatory, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



65. Attributed to Francisco Ribalta, Heaven. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

495 n. 20; Cagnetta, 1977, 497; *idem*, 1976, 219, *Curiosità*, 1979, 41; Gonzáles-Palacios, 1984, 227. (Figs. 47, 48)

3. Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Purgatory and Hell. Lightbown, 1964, 495; Aschengreen, 1968, 176; Cagnetta, 1977, 497; *idem*, 1976, 218; Malke, 1976, 57; *Curiosità*, 1979, 41; Gonzáles-Palacios, 1984, 227. (Figs. 49, 50)

4. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome. Limbo, Purgatory, Hell, Heaven. Ex coll. Mario Praz, prov. Sestieri, Rome, 1961, from Black, London. Attributed to Azzolini c. 1560 by Praz, who also noted the relation to the Ex coll. Schevitch group. Cagnetta, 1977; 498; *idem*, 1976, 219; *Curiosità*, 1979, 41. (Figs. 51–54)

5. Ex Coll. Schevitch, Paris. Purgatory, Hell, Heaven. *Catalogue*, 1906, 213f., no. 313, ill.; Pyke, 1973, 8; Cagnetta, 1977, 498; *idem*, 1976, 219; Malke, 1976, 57 n. 18; Gonzáles-Palacios, 1984, 227. (Figs. 55–57)

6. Ex Coll. Gonzáles-Palacios, Rome. Heaven. Attributed to Azzolino. Cagnetta, 1977, 498; *idem*, 1976, 219; Gonzáles-Palacios, 1984, 227; *Finarte*, 1986, 81. (Fig. 58)

7. Schloss Nymphenburg, Munich. Death, Judgment, Hell, Heaven. Gonzáles-Palacios, 1984, 236 n. 97; Metken, ed., 1984, 26–28, no. 14. (Figs. 59–62)

8. Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence. Hell. Attributed to Zumbo. *Rhode Island*, 1985, 30 f. (Fig. 63)

9. Museo del Prado, Madrid. Paintings of Purgatory and Heaven. Attributed to Francisco Ribalta (d. 1628), Gómez-Moreno, 1967, I: 453; *Ribalta*, 1987, 144. (Figs. 64, 65)

10. Coll. Duke of Alcalá, Seville. Five wax images framed in ebony, showing the four souls and one dying, by Giovanni Bernardino [Azzolini]. Recorded in an early inventory. Brown and Kagan, 1987, 254, no. 131.

11. Coll. Alcázar, Madrid. Three wax heads, Purgatory, Hell, Heaven, with frames of ebony and glass. Recorded in an early inventory. Bottineau, 1956, 450, no. 47.

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- quistar il vero dolore de' peccati, e di fare una felice morte . . . Parte Prima. Con tre altri essercitii per diventar devoto della B. Vergè Maria Madre di Dio. Aggiuntovi in quest quarta impressione un'ragionamento sopra la grandezza, e verita della Fede Cristiana; equal sia la fede viva, e la fede morta. Con gl'essercitii formati, dove s'impara la dottrina della salute, & il modo d'impetrar da Dio questo glorioso lume, Rome, 1613.
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