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La Predica della Battista: An Epideictic Image
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La Predica della Battista: An Epideictic Image

By

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B.A., Boston College, 2014

Advisor: Sarah McPhee, PhD

An abstract of
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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Abstract

La Predica della Battista: An Epideictic Image
By Annie McEwen

In 1664 Gian Lorenzo Bernini designed a frontispiece entitled *La Predica della Battista* for the Jesuit Gian Paolo Oliva's *Prediche dette nel Palazzo Apostolico*, a collection of the sermons that Oliva delivered to the pope. Bernini's engraving of an imaginary page with a scene of John the Baptist preaching to a crowd along a river bank has long been understood by scholars as an allusion to Gian Paolo Oliva's work as a preacher. In his sermons Oliva used vivid imagery and extended metaphor. This type of oratory, known as epideictic oratory, was used to persuade audiences to live with moral integrity. This paper argues that Bernini's frontispiece can be further understood as a visual counterpart to the rhetorical devices that Oliva utilized in his sermons. This interpretation is driven by an examination of Bernini's process of composition. Evidence for his method comes from contemporary accounts of Bernini's habits of drawing and his surviving preparatory drawings for *La Predica della Battista*. These drawings exemplify Bernini's method of composing an image and the rhetorical strategies inherent to his practice. Both Bernini's habits of drawing and Oliva's practice of writing were anchored in the rhetorical concept of *invenzione*, through which ideas are made concrete through the activity of drawing or writing. As a frontispiece, Bernini's *La Predica della Battista* is a memorialization of the process of image making that preachers like Oliva viewed as the most effective means of persuading their audience.

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Introduction

Poised high above the crowd on the edge of the Jordan River, John the Baptist raises his arms in dual gestures of blessing and preaching. His cloak swirls around him, unraveled by the wind that carries his words to the crowd. His sermon is clearly affecting the people gathered along the shore; expressions range from amazement to boredom. Some kneel in adoration. Others whisper to their neighbors. In the front of the crowd a young man nods off, suggesting that he has grown tired after listening to the prophet. On the far right a bearded cloaked figure stands attentively, while behind him an annoyed man gestures to the seated woman below, whose child has begun to thrash and wail. Three men in the foreground stand in or near the waters of the river, their backs turned to us, their necks craning upward attentively. The river that pools at the feet of the young men in the foreground stretches into the distance, disappearing at the base of a mountain. The cloud-filled sky occupies nearly half of the composition.

The pictorial space that stretches into the distance is in fact an image of a flat sheet of paper, the frontispiece *La Predica della Battista* that Bernini designed for his friend Gian Paolo Oliva's *Prediche dette nel Palazzo Apostolico* (fig. 1). The fictive page curls in on itself, revealing the crumpled title on the other side. John's gesturing hand draws the viewer's attention to the edge of the page and the heavenly beam of light that cuts through the clouds above. Bernini conceived of this image as a drawing with the intention that it would be replicated as such in François Spierre's engraving and placed in Oliva's text.

Gian Paolo Oliva (1600-1681), the General of the Society of Jesus, published the second volume of his *Prediche dette nel Palazzo Apostolico* in 1664. There is little physical evidence,

aside from the preparatory drawings, to explain the circumstances surrounding the creation of Bernini's frontispiece. Only a letter Oliva sent to Bernini in France survives. There he states that Bernini has, "crowned my volume with the miracle of a drawing."[1] It is unclear whether it was the artist or the preacher who instigated the creation of the frontispiece in 1664, the year to which the preparatory drawings are conventionally dated.

This engraving—small, intimate, hidden by the covers of a book—is a marked divergence from the grand architectural projects and sculptures that Bernini carried out during the pontificate of Alexander VII. This divergence has been noted by many of the art historians who have written about the frontispiece in catalogue entries. They have often addressed the frontispiece by referring to a line in Filippo Baldinucci's 1682 *Vita* to justify discussion of what could be considered a "minor work":

> In his works, whether large or small, Bernini strove with everything in him to make resplendent all the conceptual beauty inherent in whatever he was working on. He said that he was accustomed to putting in no less study and application in designing an oil lamp than in designing a very noble edifice.[2]

The habit Baldinucci describes is also discernable in the preparatory drawings that survive for *La Predica della Battista*.[3] In fact, more drawings survive for the *Predica* series than for many of

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[1] Gian Paolo Oliva, *Lettere di Gian Paolo Oliva della Compagnia di Giesù*, *Tomo Secondo* (Roma: presso il Varese, 1681), 13. Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, trans. Catherine Engass (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), 49-50. Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino* (Firenze: nella Stamperia di Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1682), 49-50. The original Italian reads: "Io già mi confessava obbligatissimo alla sua mano, che aveva col miracolo di un disegno incoronato il mio volume."

[2] Baldinucci, *Vita,* 71. "Nell'opere sue, o grandi, o piccole ch'elle si fussero, cercava, per quanto era in se, che rilucesse quella bellezza di concetto, di che l'opera stessa si rendeva capace, e diceva, che non minore studio, ed applicazione egli era solito porre nel disegno d' una lampana, di quello, ch'e' si ponesse in una Statua, o in una nobilissima fabbrica."

[3] See as an example Pamela Gordon and Steven Ostrow, "Function," in *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini from the Museum der Beildenden Künste Leipzig, German Democratic Republic*, ed. Irving Lavin (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1981), 9-10.

Bernini's larger works. I believe that the scholarship surrounding the frontispiece has devoted insufficient attention to the relationship between the drawings, the frontispiece, and Oliva's collection of sermons. Most scholars either focus on the formal elements of the composition or on the relationship between Bernini and Oliva. Scholars rarely discuss how *La Predica della Battista* functions as a frontispiece that serves as a visual introduction to Oliva's text.[4]

In this paper I will evaluate how *La Predica della Battista* relates to the text in which it is situated and the rhetorical environment within which both Bernini and Oliva produced their works. I will examine the finished engraving as it functions in its intended role as a frontispiece to gain a fuller understanding of the illusionistic function of the image. Bernini's drawings are critical to this contextual interpretation of the frontispiece because they exemplify his method of composing an image and the rhetorical strategies inherent to his process. Thus my examination will provide deeper insight into Bernini's engagement with rhetorical modes of thinking. The patrons who collaborated with the artist to create his iconographic programs used specific rhetorical devices in their literary works. I argue that the visual counterparts of these devices can be seen in Bernini's *Predica* frontispiece.

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[4] Several of the drawings were recorded by Brauer and Wittkower in 1931, and have been included in most exhibition catalogues of Bernini's graphic production, with short entries that echo Brauer and Wittkower's discussion of Bernini's solutions for the formal elements of the composition. Few have considered the frontispiece in relation to Oliva's text, or its place in the corpus of Bernini's frontispieces. The historiography is as follows: Heinrich Brauer and Rudolf Wittkower, *Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini* (New York: Collectors Editions, 1970), 141-43; *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Regista del Barocco*, ed. Maria Grazia Bernardini and M. Fagiolo dell'Arco (Milan: Skira, 1999), 416-19; Valentino Martinelli, *Drawings*, trans. Katherine Asbury (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1982), Plates XXXV and XXXV; Paola Santa Maria Mannino, "La Predica della Battista," in *Bernini in Vaticano*, ed. Anna Gramiccia (Roma: De Luca, 1981), 92; Pamela Gordon, "St. John the Baptist Preaching," in *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini, from the Museum Der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic: Exhibition and Catalogue*, ed. Irving Lavin (Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1981), 254-74; *Bernini: Erfinder Des Barocken Rom*, ed. Sebastian Schütze et al. (Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künst, 2014), 298-309.

Preaching in the Papal Court: *Docere, Movere,* and *Delectare*

Gian Paolo Oliva was born to a noble family in the port city of Genoa in northern Italy in 1600. He entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen and studied philosophy and theology at the Collegio Romano in Rome. In the 1630s he served as the rector of the Novitiate at Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. He began delivering sermons in the 1640s, and first stepped into the role of Apostolic Preacher in 1651 under the rule of Innocent X. Bernini and Oliva must have met through connections at the papal court sometime in the 1650s, while Oliva served as confessor to Popes Innocent X and Alexander VII. Oliva was appointed vicar to the Society of Jesus in 1661, and became the General of the Society in 1664. Oliva was also one of two close Jesuit advisors to Alexander VII, the other being Sforza Pallavicino.[5]

In addition to his clerical duties, Oliva was a scholar and patron. Alongside his apostolic sermons, Oliva published sermons delivered to the Jesuits in 1670, and a commentary on scripture in 1677, for which Bernini designed a second frontispiece, *La Moltiplicazione dei pani*. Oliva was perhaps the Jesuit's most active patron of the arts: he oversaw both the decoration of the Gesù and the building of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale.[6] Although Rudolph Kuhn has suggested

[5] Evidence of this relationship can be found in the *Diario* of Alexander VII, which lists several lunches and meetings between Gian Paolo Oliva and Alexander VII. See Richard Krautheimer and Roger B. S. Jones, "The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1975): 199-236. Alexander's diary entries include many references to seeing Oliva and Bernini on the same day. See 30 May 1658, 16 March 1659, 14 September 1959, 29 April 1660, 1 April 1662, 7 September 1662, 20 October 1663.

[6] Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, *A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 78-88, describes Oliva's role as a patron of the arts.

that Bernini and Oliva did not have a personal relationship, we may assume that the two men collaborated closely on the design for the *Predica* and *Moltiplicazione* frontispieces.[7]

It is helpful to this discussion to understand the context in which Oliva's sermons were delivered. As the Apostolic Preacher, Oliva was expected to deliver moral sermons that reminded members of the papal court of their religious duties on certain Saint's days and once a week during Lent, either in the Vatican or Quirinal palace.[8] The position was officially created in 1555 by Pope Paul IV, and was bestowed on the most eloquent, erudite preachers. The sermons were written and delivered in the vernacular, despite the tradition that all sermons delivered in the Church should be in Latin.[9] The pope heard these sermons while hidden in a *bussola,* a small booth with a metal grate and silk curtains.[10] The cardinals and prelates would sit around him, and the preacher would stand at a pulpit under a baldachin and speak for about an hour.[11]

The first volume of Oliva's *Prediche* was published in 1659 with a frontispiece designed by Ciro Ferri and engraved by Guillaume Chasteau (fig. 2).[12] The frontispiece shows St. Paul preaching to a crowd seated within a columnar recess, while on a tapestry above, St. Peter preaches to a crowd on Pentecost. The third and final volume was published in 1674, again with

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[7] Rudolph Kuhn, "Gian Paolo Oliva Und Gian Lorenzo Bernini," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde Und Kirchengeschichte* (1969): 229-33.
[8] Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione etorico-ecclesiastica*, Vol. LV (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana: 1852), 75-81.The dictionary incudes a list of the various apostolic preachers and their published sermons.
[9] Ibid., 75.
[10] P. Mauro da Leonessa, *Il Predicatore Apostolico: Note Storiche* (Isola del Liri, 1929), 34.
[11] Moroni, 75, 97.
[12] This frontispiece deserves consideration that goes beyond the scope of this project. As yet another image within an image, the composition could operate similarly to Bernini's *La Predica della Battista,* but in a less integrated and chiastic structure. See Gian Paolo Oliva, *Prediche dette nel Palazzo Apostolico* (Roma: Casoni, 1659). For a discussion of the Ferri frontispiece see Paola Santa Maria Mannino, *Bernini in Vaticano*, "70. Le prediche di S. Pietro e di S. Paolo," 91.

Bernini's *Predica* frontispiece. The second volume is folio-sized, measuring approximately thirty-three by twenty centimeters, and is approximately 700 pages long.

The second volume opens with a title page followed by the frontispiece, and a dedication to Alexander VII. Oliva begins his dedication by praising both God and Alexander VII. He writes that everyone who knows the pope has admired his devotion and religiosity. He notes that Alexander "listened to me with [his] eyes and forehead immobile, rather transfigured, not by the preacher [Oliva], but in veneration of the Gospel."[13] At first glance this passage already reminds the reader of the frontispiece, where transfixed and immobile followers listen to John's sermon.

Oliva's sermons have never been examined in their entirety. At seven hundred pages, the text does not easily lend itself to close analysis. After the dedication and permission to publish, there are short summaries of each of the sermons contained in the three volumes, followed by the sermons themselves. The sermons are often treated in a cursory manner in scholarship on the engraving *La Predica della Battista*. Oliva's sermons are rarely connected to the frontispiece and have never been analyzed in a rhetorical context in the various catalogue entries devoted to the drawings. In their 1931 catalogue, for example, Brauer and Wittkower suggested that Oliva boldly compared his preaching to that of the apostles, John the Baptist, and even Christ in the three frontispieces he commissioned. But the authors go on to analyze the development of Bernini's preparatory drawings, by focusing on the innovations Bernini deployed to convert a traditionally horizontal composition into a vertical one. In her 1981 catalogue entry Pamela Gordon drew on Oliva's biography to explain the iconography of Bernini's *Predica* image,

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[13] Gian Paolo Oliva, *Prediche Dette Nel Palazzo Apostolico, Tomo Secondo* (Roma: per Giacomo Dragondelli, 1664), 6. "Ognun vide, e niuno non ammirò, la singolare divotione e la religion inestimabile, con cui la Santità Vostra, già Cardinale, in compagnia degli altri Senatori della Chiesa, mi ascoltava immobile di fronte e di pupille, più tosto trasfigurata, che attenta non in riguardo del Dicitore, mà in veneration de' Vangeli."

suggesting that Bernini placed the scene on the Jordan River because Oliva was born in the port city Genoa.[14] Authors have also noted that Bernini told Chantelou that Oliva had once used some of Bernini's musings on art in his sermons, specifically the belief that "the nobility of the idea is suppressed by the slavery of imitation."[15] While these references are helpful in suggesting that Oliva was familiar with Bernini's work and vice-versa, they do little to clarify the relationship between Bernini's frontispiece and the accompanying text.

A handful of scholars have mined Oliva's sermons for references to Bernini's art.[16] In a short article written in 1969, Rudolph Kuhn made an initial effort to analyze Oliva's sermons.[17] Kuhn viewed the sermons as dogmatic and moralizing anecdotes, rather than as examples of biblical exegeses and argued that Oliva had used the Cathedra Petri as a mere starting point for a discussion of ecclesiastical knowledge. Kuhn alleged that when Oliva referred to Bernini's Cathedra Petri he did so inaccurately and without artistic understanding.[18] Kuhn also suggested that Bernini's *Sanguis Christi* engraving was inspired by one of Oliva's sermons, in which he

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[14] Brauer and Wittkower, 141; Pamela Gordon, 254.

[15] Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, trans. Margery Corbett (Princeton, 1985), 92. 30 July 1665: "He must see the king to study the details of his face; until now he had worked only at the general impression; during this period he had hardly looked at his drawings; in fact he had made them only to imprint the image of the King on his mind as forcibly as possible, so that it should be soaked and impregnated with it, to use his own words; had he used the drawings very closely, he would have made a copy instead of an original; indeed, were he forced to make a copy of the bust after it was finished, he would not be able to make it exactly the same; the nobility of the idea is suppressed by the slavery of imitation; thoughts that he once told Father Oliva, who had made a note of them and used them in his sermons, so he had told him afterwards."

[16] These references occur in *Tomo II*, Sermon 85, 291 (Baldacchino); *Tomo II*, Sermon 96, 109 (Fontana di Quattro Fiumi); *Tomo III*, Sermon 150, 686-87 (Cathedra Petri).

[17] Kuhn, 229-233. The sermon can be found in the first volume of Oliva's *Prediche*, Sermon XXXIII, 326. The sermon appears to have been delivered on Good Friday, and the theme was the Passion of Christ and the salvation of the world.

[18] Kuhn, 231. In the sermon in question Oliva writes that the Cathedra is hanging from the hands of the Church Fathers, when in fact it is floating above them.

described the blood of Christ spilling out into the world to bring about the salvation of mankind. This connection would suggest that Bernini was familiar with Oliva's sermons and preaching style.[19] While Kuhn's article sheds some light on Oliva's sermons, he addresses the references to Bernini's art without considering the role they play in the themes of the sermons.

In his essay for *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, Francis Haskell discussed Oliva's sermons in the context of Baroque patronage.[20] Haskell argued that Oliva was one of the first Jesuits leaders to appreciate the emotional and political impact of art, and that this appreciation can be found in the verbal imagery Oliva used in his sermons.[21] In one sermon, delivered to his fellow Jesuits, Oliva writes that "a painter needs just as much skill and talent to depict a dwarf as a giant" to express the idea that small actions are as consequential as great actions.[22] In another sermon Oliva justified the use of rich decorations in Jesuit churches, writing,

> As they are solely dedicated to God, they cannot in any way attain the infinite merit of the Trinity either through their splendor or through the richness of their architecture and decoration. So it is that in our churches both Ignatius, our father, and all of us, who are his sons, try to reach up to the sublimity of God's eternal omnipotence with such appurtenances of glory as we can (to the best of our powers) achieve—so long as, even in

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[19] Kuhn was intent upon breaking down the myth of Bernini and Oliva's supposedly close friendship. He suggests that Bernini only praised Oliva sermons in France, as described in Chantelou's diary, to call attention to his own social prestige. He references this passage in Chantelou, *Diary*, 72-73. 23 July 1665, "Turning then to M. de Ménars, he addressed a little exhortation to him, saying he was young and handsome and at that age one must take god care not to abandon oneself to pleasure; in his own case God had put out his hand to save him, for, although he had a fiery temperament and a great inclination to pleasure in his youth, he had not allowed himself to be carried away; like a man in midstream held up by gourds; he might sink sometimes to the bottom but would rise to the top again immediately. He advised him to read the sermons of Father Oliva in which he would find many excellent things which would help him along the path of virtue and would instruct him in the Italian tongue."

[20] Francis Haskell, "The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press), 51-62.

[21] Ibid., 58.

[22] Ibid., 57.

> churches, we do not go beyond certain limits of height which put obstacles in the way of our preachers and interfere with the devotion of our visitors.[23]

Haskell's examination of Oliva's sermons focuses on the Jesuit's role as a patron and is more concerned with the content than with the style of the sermons. However, Haskell's suggestion that Oliva did in fact have a great appreciation for the power of art contradicts Kuhn's assertion that Oliva's understanding of art was inferior. As a powerful patron who was actively involved in the projects he sponsored, Oliva likely had a deeper understanding of art than Kuhn claimed.[24]

One of the more recent discussions of Oliva's sermons can be found in Alessandro Angelini's 1998 *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e i Chigi: tra Roma e Siena*. Angelini writes that Oliva, like his contemporary Sforza Pallavicino, stands as the greatest source of insight into Jesuit culture during the reign of Alexander VII. Angelini argues that Oliva's sermons represent "un esempio illustre di prosa barocca."[25] He notes that they are rich in metaphor and figurative imagery that creates an effect of magic and stupor. Angelini also cites Oliva's references to Bernini's works and the *Predica* frontispiece as evidence of Bernini and Oliva's friendship.[26]

While these brief descriptions of Oliva's sermons suggest an eloquent preacher and patron of the arts, a closer look at the content and style of the sermons is necessary if one is to understand how the imagery in Oliva's sermons aids in persuading his audience to live a moral life. In some of Oliva's sermons, he is severe in his condemnation of excess and pomp in the

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[23] Gian Paolo Oliva, *Sermoni domestici detti privatamente nelle case romane della Compagnia de Giesv* (Venezia: Presso Zaccaria Conzatti, 1679), 261, quoted in Haskell, "The Role of Patrons," 60.
[24] Both Haskell and Magnuson give an account of Oliva's role as a patron of the arts. See Ibid. 50-60; Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press. 1982), 320-24.
[25] Alessandro Angelini, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e i Chigi: tra Roma e Siena* (Siena: Banca Monte Dei Paschi Di Siena, 1998), 319.
[26] Ibid., 322.

papal court. These harsh sermons are, however, also filled with metaphorical imagery, historical references, and occasionally references to Bernini's art. Oliva praises Bernini's public works such as the Fontana di Quattro Fiumi and the Baldacchino, as examples of Christian perfection, and the artist himself, whom he calls the Phidias of Rome in one sermon, but never mentions by name.[27] What I would like to stress in these descriptions of Bernini's art, and indeed the general power of Oliva's figurative imagery noted by previous scholars, is the way that Oliva uses these images rhetorically by bringing them to life in the mind of the viewer.

The oft-cited sermon in which Oliva refers to Bernini as the new Phidias can serve as an example of Oliva's practice of image making. The sermon, LXXVI in the second volume, was delivered on the third Friday of Lent, and is a reminder to the papal court to practice mercy and prudence when trying prisoners in the court.[28] Oliva begins with the phrase *Malo Male Perdet* from Matthew 21:41, in which Christ throws the money lenders out of the temple and says that God will bring a wretched end to the wretched. Oliva says that when rulers attempt to carry out God's justice on their own, "it causes inevitable shipwrecks and ruins the ship of Peter, which has already suffered in the Sea of Joppa like the vessel of the prophet Jonah."[29] Oliva then retells biblical stories in which tyrannical rulers unjustly persecute prisoners. Included are the story from Kings in which Ahab's wife Jezebel kills Naboth to steal his vineyard for her husband, the

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[27] Angelini, Alessandro, Monika Butzek, and Bernardina Sani, *Alessandro VII Chigi (1599-1667): Il Papa Senese Di Roma Moderna* (Siena: Maschietto & Musolino, 2000), 393. Catalogue number 243. Oliva is actually borrowing this allusion to Bernini as the new Phidias from a Latin poem about the Fontana di Quattro Fiume written by the Genoese poet Giacomo Veneziano. See Tomaso Montanari, "A Contemporary Reading of Bernini's 'Maraviglioso Composto': Unpublished Poems on the Four River Fountain and the Cornaro Chapel," in *Poetry on Art: Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Thomas Frangenburg (Donington: Shaun Tyas: 2003), 198. Many thanks to my advisor Sarah McPhee for sharing this insight.

[28] Oliva, *Prediche*, *Tomo II*, 95-114.

[29] Ibid., 95. "così trasgredito cagiona inevitabili naufragij e rinuova alla Nave di Pietro gli sconquassi, che già patì nel Mare di Ioppe il Vascello di Giona."

story of the prophet Elijah, and Caiaphas's interrogation of Jesus from the Gospel of Mark. Oliva brings the stories to life by including dialogue, descriptions of the emotions, and using metaphorical language to describe the circumstances of the figures involved. One particularly vivid scene from the trial of Christ includes a moment in which Christ "prevailed over those who interrogated him, and Christ broke the arrows of his accusers in unsurpassable and hard-fought virtue."[30] In each story Oliva illustrates how oppressive rulers transgress their power in the courts, punishing people not for justice but for their own pleasure or political gain. At one point Oliva refers to these various stories as "immagini de'miei fantasimi," suggesting that they are meant to be understood as verbal images created for the listener's enjoyment and instruction.[31]

Late in the text, Oliva compares the examination and treatment of prisoners to carving a spectacular work of art such as the Fontana di Quattro Fiumi. Oliva pauses in his recounting of biblical and historical examples to urge his audience to avoid excessive rigor. He borrows from a sermon by St. Augustine by comparing rigor in legal judgment to manure, employing the analogy that the farmer who spreads manure in the field does right, but the servant who spreads manure across the palace would be rightly criticized.[32] His description of Bernini's Fontana di Quattro Fiumi is a second metaphor in this plea against the use of excessive rigor. Oliva writes:

> It would seem to me that the examinations surrounding prisoners are like the files and chisels around statues (*simulacri*). While marble is still rough, he who strikes the stone carves it, and he who offends it with hammers beautifies it, and perfects it. Contrarily, he who would dare remove material from the work of the great architect and Roman Phidias,

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[30] Oliva, *Prediche, Tomo II*, 100. "Nondimeno prevalando all'astutia di chi interrogava l'innocenza di chi rispondeva, e spezzandosi le saette de'calunniatori nella insuperabile virtù del combattuto…"

[31] Ibid., 103. "Nè occorre, che, chi ciò sente, gridi, queste essere immagini de miei fantasimi, e per ventura ò accresciute dall'indiscretezza del mio zelo, ò falsificate da chi à me le impresse."

[32] Ibid., 108-109. " Sono e le diligenze straordinarie e le pene eccessive com'è il Litame. Di esso quanto più l'Agricoltore ne' sparge su'campi, tanto più vien commendato dal Padrone, e tanto maggior raccolta fa egli di biade e di pomi. Che se lo stesso facesse il Maggiordomo nelle sale e negli appartamenti del Palazzo, ne ritrarrebbe e biasimo e gastigo."

> and either strike or repolish the stone, would deform the figure and defame the artifice. *Perfectum opus absolutum que non splendescit lima, sed atteritur*. So wrote Pliny, consul of Rome. In this, where now we all live by divine mercy, which of you would allow someone to approach those Four statues, becoming immortal, with files of gold and with instruments of diamond, to retouch but a single hair of their heads, so studiously finished, or a single muscle of the limbs, so prodigiously brought to life by iron tools? It being certain that every blow would remove the dignity of the majesty of the rivers expressed in the giants, and, instead of perfecting the wonder of the colossal figures, it would render the pile, admired by the world, abortive, the acclaimed and venerated sculpture wretched.[33]

In this example, Oliva appears to have chosen Bernini's fountain because of the liveliness of the figures and the general mastery of Bernini's carving. He is using the process of sculpting as a metaphor, asking his audience if anyone would dare to retouch Bernini's figures with even the best tools, suggesting that to do so would destroy the already perfect sculpture. This metaphor extends to the punishment of prisoners. Oliva suggests that excessive punishment for an ordinary crime would destroy both the spirit of the prisoner and the honor of the judge or ruler. Oliva likely chose Bernini's fountain as a contemporary landmark that his listeners could associate with his sermon, recalling his warning as they stood in Piazza Navona.

This example and others in which Oliva illustrates an active scene are what drive his listeners to heed his message. I would argue that the rhetorical style of Oliva's sermons is Asiatic

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[33] Oliva, *Prediche, Tomo II.,* 109. "Mi paiono gli esami intorno a' prigioneri come sono le lime e gli scarpelli d'attorno a' simulacri. Sintanto che il marmo è rozzo, chi percuote la pietra l'intaglia, e chi la offende co' martelli l'abbellisce, e l'affina. Per lo contrario chi ne' lavori perfetti ripigliasse gli ordigni del grand architetto e insieme Fidia romano, e con quegli o colpisse o ripulisse il sasso, deformerebbe la figura e infamerebbe l'artificio. *Perfectum opus absolutumque non splendescit lima, sed atteritur*. Così scrisse Plinio, console di Roma. In essa, ove ora viviamo noi tutti per divina misericordia, chi di voi permetterebbe che alle Quattro statue le quali immortalano sì accostasse veruno con lime d'oro e con istrumenti di diamante a ritoccare, o un solo crine delle teste, sì studiosamente finite, o un solo muscolo de' membri, sì prodigiosamente avvivati da' ferri: essendo cosa indubitata che ogni colpo toglierebbe il decoro alla maestà de' fiumi espresso da' giganti, e, in luogo di perfettionare lo stupore de' colossi, renderebbe la mole ammirata dal mondo, abortive sì infelice dalla sì acclamata e venerate Scultura."

and that the style of oratory within this mode should be recognized as *epideictic*. Highlighting the way this form of rhetoric functions is crucial to understanding Bernini's *Predica* frontispiece.

This form of oratory, known in Latin as the *genus demonstrativum*, comes from the Greek *epideixis* "to show," and involves the use of extended metaphor.[34] Aristotle first used the term in his work *On Rhetoric* to label a genre of ceremonial or festive speeches that have praise or blame as their subject.[35] The subject matter of ancient epideictic preaching was the deeds or mighty works of God. Epideictic orators urged their audiences to view these mighty acts (found in scripture), praise them, and imitate them.[36] These orators set out assuming that their audience already agreed with their conclusions as a kind of rhetorical prolepsis, and hoped to deepen the audience's appreciation for the subject.[37] These speeches were not meant to stir the listeners to action, but only to impress ideas upon them.[38] It was through the use of persuasion and the goals of classical oratory—*docere, movere,* and *delectare*—that apostolic preachers like Oliva made teaching an enjoyable spectacle for their audiences.[39] This was often accomplished through the use of vivid metaphorical imagery that was meant to conjure up an image or scene in the minds of the listeners. Cicero and Quintilian later expanded the genre to include poetry and historical writing.[40] Aristotle wrote that epideictic is highly stylized because the orator is meant to perform

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[34] Many thanks to Walter Melion for introducing me to this concept.
[35] Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, Loeb Classical Library 193, transl. John Henry Freese (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 33-35. Book 1, Chapter 3.
[36] Otis Carl Edwards, *A History of Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004), 41.
[37] John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, C. 1450-1521* (Duke University Press, 1979), 40.
[38] O'Malley, 39.
[39]Frederick J. McGinness, "Preaching Ideals and Practice in Counter-Reformation Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, no. 2 (1980): 117.
[40] David T. Timmerman, "Epideictic Oratory," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from Ancient times to the Information Age*, ed. Theresa Enos (New York: Garland, 1996), 229-31.

a written text rather than recite his speech from memory.[41] John O'Malley has argued that the first unofficial apostolic preachers revived epideictic preaching in the sixteenth century.[42]

As a student at the Collegio Romano, Oliva would have learned to write speeches in this mode, because Cicero, along with Quintilian, was a primary model for rhetoric students of Jesuit colleges in the seventeenth century.[43] Students were meant to study, memorize, and imitate these premier ancient models for oration. Jesuit colleges across Europe had a uniform course and rule of study thanks to the *Ratio Studiorum*, which was officially sanctioned in 1599. The *Ratio* was based in part on the instruction Ignatius and his initial followers had received at the University of Paris, but also in part on Quintilian's popular rhetoric manual *Institutio oratoria.*[44]

Examining the epideictic rhetorical style in which Oliva composed his sermons allows for a greater contextual understanding of Bernini's *La Predica della Battista*. As with many of his large-scale sculptural projects, Bernini likely designed this frontispiece with the context of epideictic sermons in mind. I believe that understanding this rhetorical context is critical to understanding the function of the frontispiece and the drawings associated with it.

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[41] Timmerman, 229.
[42] O'Malley, 72-76.
[43] *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, trans. Allan P. Farrell, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), ix.
[44] *Ibid*., ix.

The Drawings: Invention, Arrangement, and Expression

Having considered the context for which Bernini's *Predica* frontispiece was created, I will now examine the eleven surviving preparatory drawings as a case study of Bernini's drawings habits. Using other drawings from Bernini's corpus as comparisons, I will attempt to identify Bernini's habits, including his use of familiar models, his penchant for repetition, and his combined use of chalk and ink as evidence of the procedure Bernini recommended to his students. I will argue that his process of forming a composition closely imitates Cicero's organizational methods for writing a speech, that the *Predica* engraving is designed to draw attention to Bernini's drawing practice, and that his compositional process is still visible in the engraving.

Several scholars have written about the *Predica* drawings, but it is Pamela Gordon's contributions to Irving Lavin's 1981 catalogue *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini* that provides the most sustained analysis of the drawings to date.[45] While Gordon's chronological arrangement and analysis of the drawings is largely correct, additions and amendments should be made to the discussion. I will build upon her insights while enlarging the scope of the discussion.

In a corpus of approximately 330 autograph drawings by Bernini, there are few non-architectural groups of studies as large as the *Predica* series.[46] Sadly, the drawings that remain are probably only a fraction of what Bernini produced in his lifetime.[47] Bernini seemed

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[45] Pamela Gordon, "St. John the Baptist Preaching," 254- 74.
[46] The nine preparatory studies for St. Longinus (1629-1638) and nine for Daniel (1655) are perhaps the second largest groups of studies for one non-architectural work. The studies for the Cathedra Petri and the Sacrament Altar, both of which are in St. Peter's, are numbered at fifteen and thirteen, respectively, though both are in many ways architectural "installation" pieces.
[47] Ann Sutherland Harris, "Three Proposals for Gian Lorenzo Bernini," *Master Drawings*, 41.2 (2003): 119. As Ann Sutherland Harris has written, when the number of Bernini's surviving

uninterested in saving his own drawings because he only viewed them as tools. Chantelou reports that Bernini actively tossed drawings for the portrait of Louis XIV on the floor, because they were only a means of filling his mind with images of the king, a sentiment that echoes the fifteenth-century painter Cennino Cennini's command to "fill one's head full of drawings."[48]

The preparatory studies for Bernini's *La Predica della Battista* that do survive are remarkable in both number and diversity.[49] There are three drawings of the entire composition, one detailed figure study, one "serial" figure study, and four studies of various parts of the composition. The final drawing for the engraver does not survive, and may have been destroyed during the engraving process. Unfortunately, most of the drawings have been trimmed, so there is no way to know their original dimensions. Four of the sheets have drawings on both verso and recto. The largest sheet (when rejoined) is approximately 400 millimeters long by 260 millimeters wide, and most of the drawings measure approximately 250 millimeters long by 200 millimeters wide or less. In six of the studies Bernini drew first with black chalk, then brown ink. Three of the studies are only black chalk, and one study is red chalk.

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drawings is divided by his years of active production, the total is a dismal five drawings per year. This is, in part, because the survival record of Bernini's drawings is heavier in the second half of his career, after the 1650s.

[48] Chantelou, *Diary*, 89. July 29; Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro Dell'arte*, ed. Fabio Frezzato (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 2003), 71. Chapter XIII.

[49] The drawings are currently housed in Leipzig. Most exhibition catalogues list fourteen drawings, but in reality there are eleven, because a sheet with drawings on both sides was cut down the middle. Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Regista del Barocco*, 419, lists the now separated sheets, Leipzig 10494 and 10495, as being an "alternative study." However, these sheets bears no resemblance to the *Prediche* composition, and the grandiose personification of Religion dominating the right side is reminiscent of Bernini's figures on tombs, such as the tombs of Urban VIII and Alexander VII. The repeated kneeling figures on the left hand side of the sheet, which appear to hold doves, more closely resemble the angels of Bernini's Sacrament Altar (1674), or the figures in the Memorial Chapel to the De Silva family in S. Isidoro (1662-1664).

Pamela Gordon, Steven Ostrow, and Sharon Cather set out the general process they believe Bernini to have followed when drawing studies for a composition in their essay "Function."[50] They base their analysis on the biographer Filippo Baldinucci's comment that Bernini "gave this procedure as a precept to his disciples: first comes the *invenzione*, then reflection on the arrangement of the parts, and finally giving the perfection of grace and tenderness to them."[51] The authors convincingly argue that we can see this process unfold in Bernini's *La Predica della Battista* studies, as he first lays out the entire composition, then focuses on groups of figures, then refines the details of each figure.[52]

In Leipzig 7805r, we can see the first stage of Bernini's process, *invenzione*. Bernini sketches an abbreviated form of the entire composition in blurred masses of black chalk, the medium he preferred for initial compositions (fig. 3).[53] In their account, Gordon and Ostrow suggest that these blurred chalk masses relate to a discussion Bernini has with French art students recounted in Paul Fréart de Chantelou's diary of Bernini's visit to France in 1665. Chantelou reports that Bernini recommended that painters arrange their compositions in *macchie*, which can be translated as masses, splotches, or spots. Chantelou writes,

> He said that in the composition of the big works it was necessary to think in masses—he said *delle macchie*—it was best to draw the figures on a piece of paper and then cut them out and place the different masses to make a loose composition for the whole, and to create a fine contrast of masses, then to fill in the empty spaces with carefully drawn figures, going into great detail. It was the only way to obtain something grand and well organized; with any other method the details, which are the least significant part, are bound to predominate.[54]

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[50] Gordon and Ostrow, "Function," 9.
[51] Gordon and Ostrow, 9; Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita*, 71. The original Italian text is as follows, "davalo per precetto a' suoi Discepoli, cioè prima all'invenzione, e poi rifletteva all'ordinazione delle parti, finalmentea dar loro perfezione di grazia, e tenerezza."
[52] Gordon and Ostrow, 10.
[53] Linda Klinger, "Style," in *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini*, 17.
[54] Chantelou, *Journal De Voyage Du Cavalier Bernin En France*, Édition de Milovan Stanic (Paris: Macula-Insulaire, 2001), 247. 10 October 1665. "et a dit que dans la composition des ces

Although Bernini is speaking about frescoes in this example, Gordon and Ostrow note that the *Predica* frontispiece is also a rare example of Bernini creating a pictorial, multi-figured work, which, although not grand in scale, required Bernini to think about masses of figures in a scenographic landscape. In my own close examinations of the initial compositional sketch, I do not find the chalk lines to be blurred masses.[55] Rather, they appear to delineate lightly contoured figures that have been overdrawn multiple times and therefore appear blurry at first glance. I believe that the *macchie* should be interpreted as primary groups of figures that are emphasized to anchor the composition. As we see in the *Predica* frontispiece, the key *macchie* become John the Baptist, an intercessory figure in the water in the foreground, and the group on the right side of the composition.[56] In the final engraving these same figures dominate the scene because of the richer chiaroscuro of their drapery and the triangular relationship of the three groups.

It seems to me that after drawing the *macchie,* Bernini outlined the main figure groups—John the Baptist, the man in the river, and the man in the cloak—in black ink, as well as the illusionistic scroll that contains the scene. These repeated ink contours draw Bernini's preferred

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grands ouvrages il ne faut faire que des masses, il a dit *delle macchie*, comme qui ferait des figures sur une feuille de papier et les couperait avec des ciseaux et placerait ces diverse masses, comme faisant la composition informe d'un tout, afin de lui donner un beau contraste, et qu'après on venait à remplir ces espaces de figures étudiées et descendait-on après au particulier; que c'était le moyen de faire quelque chose de grand et de concerté, et que ce que l'on ordonne autrement ne se trouvait jamais beau, n'y ayant que le particulier, qui n'est que le moins considerable."

[55] Gordon and Ostrow, 10-11. "…chalk is used to form blurred masses and only pen lines define the structure of particular figures and objects."

[56] Ibid., 11. The authors also observed the appearance of "macchie" in this composition, but limits their presence to initial chalk splotches. I would like to extend this concept to include more refined groups of figures.

arrangement out of the tangled chalk lines, reinforce the focal points of the composition, and are perhaps a vestige of the sculptor's practice of repeating outer contours in anatomy studies.[57]

It appears to me that the poses of the figures suggest that this is the first study as well. They appear to be modeled on classical forms and Bernini's earlier works. This use of familiar models could be associated with the definition of *invenzione* as "to find or discover." Bernini may have discovered new compositions by using familiar models. I would posit that the pose and arrangement of drapery of the Baptist in this first drawing most closely resembles the pose of Bernini's St. Longinus from 1638 (fig. 4), while the seated figure on the right hand side resembles one of the river gods from the Fontana di Quattro Fiumi (fig. 5). Longinus and the river gods can be traced back further to the Apollo Belvedere and Michelangelo's famous *Night* from the Medici Chapel. Bernini's practice of using familiar models is evident in earlier drawings, such as in the Metropolitan Museum's *Study for a Triton*, which appears to quote the Belvedere Torso (fig. 6), and studies for Daniel that emerge from the torso of Laocoön (fig. 7). These habits of repetition suggest that often when Bernini first drew a composition he began with familiar models that he could alter as he moved forward.

Bernini's alteration of familiar models is evident in the next study, Leipzig 7798r (fig. 8). He once again starts in chalk, and outlines more of the composition in ink. Gordon notes that Bernini has also adapted the pose of John the Baptist—his right arm has swung forward and his left arm has swing back.[58] These gestures depart from the model of Longinus I have suggested

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[57] Joris van Gastel, "Senza Sostanza Di Corpo? Bernini And The Problem Of The Sculptor's Drawing," *Sculpture Journal* 24.1 (2015): 23-35; Ian Wardropper, "Bernini's Use of Preparatory Drawings and Models" in *Bernini: Sculpting in Clay*, ed. C.D. Dickerson (New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2012), 45.They could also be a reminder to focus on those points in the next iteration of the scene, as Ian Wardropper has observed.

[58] Gordon, 256.

above. Here I would add that one hand is pointed towards the crowd in a conventional gesture of preaching while one points upward to the heavens and the writing at the top of the page, suggesting to the viewer that he read the image as a drawing on a floating page on which the title of Oliva's *Prediche* is printed. I would also suggest that Bernini has limited the use of drapery to the main three *macchie* to visually unite them. John's mantle now leads the viewer's eye toward the bent-over figure in the foreground, whose waist is wrapped in drapery. The man in the foreground has gained a companion, who drapes his arm over the figure's shoulders. Moving to the right, Bernini repeats the contours of the cloak worn by the man on the far right to emphasize this visual connection. Gordon notes that the seated figure on the far right has turned to speak to his new friend as well.[59] The massive crowd in the background is still indicated with quick dashes, and remains less detailed in the engraving.

Having created a general form for the entire composition, Bernini begins working on "the arrangement of the parts" in a series of drawings. In Leipzig 7834, Bernini works on the anatomy of one of his key *macchie* in red chalk, the intermediary figure in the foreground (fig. 9).[60] I would suggest that Bernini approached the figure as he did his Academic Nudes, which are rendered using red chalk and rare touches of highlight (fig. 10). Bernini uses a similar technique in his "trois crayon" portrait drawings (fig. 11).[61] Throughout the sheet Bernini is working out the modeling of the figures leaning over a boulder in the foreground, using lightly blended red

[59] Gordon, 256.
[60] Ibid., 256.
[61] A discussion of the techniques Bernini employed for portrait drawings can be found in Ann Sutherland Harris, "I disegno di ritratto di Gian Lorenzo Bernini," in *Bernini Pittore*, ed. Tomaso Montanari (Milano: Silvana, 2007), 176-77.

chalk with the greatest economy of line.[62] Bernini is still experimenting with different poses for the St. John, whom he draws as multiple schematic figures overlaid on one another.

This "arrangement of the parts" can also be seen in the next two drawings, Leipzig 7807v and 7801v, which were originally one sheet forming an entire composition in black chalk (fig. 12). The use of black chalk alone is not unusual in this case—Bernini sketched the Baldacchino framing the Cathedra Petri in black chalk to study the spatial relationship of the two structures (fig. 13).[63] In Leipzig 7807v and 7801v the curve of the illusionistic scroll has come closer to its final form at the bottom of the page, where it will serve as the large expanse in which the title of the *Prediche* will be written.[64] The three main groups have remained mostly the same. Bernini continues to work out the relationship between clusters of people in the crowd and figures in the *macchie* in Leipzig 7803 (fig. 14) and 7804r (fig. 15).[65]

After having discovered his new composition in old models and arranging the parts, Bernini focuses on imbuing his figures with "tenderness and grace" through a practice of creating "serial drawings." In drawings 7805v (fig. 16) and the now separated 7807r and 7801r (fig. 17), Bernini appears to be fixated on the figure making a hushing gesture to the woman below him, and draws the group twice on the page.[66] The hushing man is a tangled mass of drapery; only his hand and face are visible. In 7807r and 7801r Bernini quickly repeats the hushing man multiple times. He also repeatedly inserts other figures to test their relation to the hushing man group. These include a Roman centurion (who loses his armor in the engraving)

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[62] This is a trend in Bernini's red-chalk drawings. See Ian Wardropper, "Bernini's Use of Preparatory Drawings and Models," 36.
[63] Ann Sutherland Harris, *Selected Drawings of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, viii. "Cathedra Petri seen through Baldacchino," 1660.
[64] Gordon, 257.
[65] Ibid., 258.
[66] Ibid., 258.

and a dozing figure. These figures interact both compositionally and psychologically with the hushing man. Bernini attempts to contrast figures that listen attentively to John the Baptist with less enthusiastic members of the crowd, such as the dozing figure next to the centurion. Gordon places Leipzig 7811 (fig. 21) before the "serial sketch," saying that a small study of a man kneeling below John the Baptist on the verso of Leipzig 7798r is the last sketch in the series (fig. 22).[67] I believe, instead, that the serial drawing was made earlier on, while Bernini was still working out the details of each figure.

Drawings 7807r and 7801r are an example what Ian Wardropper has referred to as Bernini's "serial drawings."[68] Other examples of this type of drawing include Bernini's drapery studies for St. Longinus (fig. 18), his drawings for the arrangement of the travertine blocks for the Fontana di Quattro Fiumi (fig. 19), and his drawing for the putti in the Gloria of the Cathedra Petri (fig. 20).[69] Wardropper describes these drawings as giving "a notion of rapidly moving thoughts that pause in their trajectory, consider various poses or attitudes, until he settles on the right one."[70] We can see that this is exactly what is occurring in the serial drawing of the hushing man and wailing child. The larger scale of this drawing (398 mm by approx. 260 mm) can be explained by one of Bernini's practices, described by Chantelou:

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[67] Gordon, 258. Leipzig 7811 is actually the final surviving sketch in the *Predica* group. Leipzig 7811 focuses on the lower right corner of the composition, and ties together all of the figures that Bernini was working out on the previous "serial sketch." The wailing infant and mother appear almost exactly as they do in the final engraving, as do the leaning man and his friend in the water. The hushing man is once again hastily sketched in both the composition and in the far right corner, as if Bernini were still unsatisfied with the figure. John the Baptist and the figures to his immediate right are drawn only in chalk, but John's drapery is very similar to its final form in the engraving.

[68] Ian Wardropper, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Serial Drawings for Sculpture." *The Eternal Baroque*, ed. Carolyn H. Miner (2015): 453-63.

[69] Ann Sutherland Harris, "New Drawings by Bernini for "St. Longinus" and Other Contemporary Works," *Master Drawings* 6.4 (1968): 383–447.

[70] Wardropper, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Serial Drawings for Sculpture," 462.

> Then, passing from his room in which we were into the gallery, he told me he had one very similar in his house in Rome; it was there that he designed most of his compositions, walking up and down the while; using charcoal, he drew his ideas on the wall as they came into his head; it is usual for fertile and lively minds such as his to pile up idea after idea on the same subject; when one occurs to them they jot it down; then a second, they jot that down, too; a third and a fourth, without altering or improving any of them; he always preferred the last on account of its novelty. In order to remedy this inclination he found it desirable to leave these different ideas for a month or two without looking at them, until his mind was ready to judge which was the best.[71]

In the serial drawing from the *Prediche* group, Bernini seems to be transferring this practice of sketching on the wall to a large sheet of paper. This practice allows him to see every variation of a form and choose the one that best expresses tenderness and grace.

Because the final drawing for *La Predica della Battista* does not survive, we can only speculate about its appearance. The final drawing for one of Bernini's earlier frontispieces from 1631, *David and the Lion*, survives in the Louvre collection (fig. 23). The drawing's similarity to Claude Mellan's engraving suggests that it is the final drawing, as well as the fact that it is the mirror image of the engraving.[72] This delicately rendered scene, drawn entirely in red chalk, would provide the most subtle and detailed version of the composition that the engraver could copy onto the copper plate; an ink drawing would rely too heavily on contours.

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[71] Chantelou, *Journal,* 48-49. 6 June 1665, "Étant après passes de sa chamber où nous étions alors dans sa glaerie, il m'a dit qu'à Rome il en avait une dans sa maison, laquelle est presque toute parielle; que c'est là qu'il fait, en se promenant, la plupart de ses compositions; qu'il marquait sur la muraille, avec du charbon, les idées des choses à mesure qu'elles lui venaient dans l'esprit; que c'est l'ordinaire des esprits vifs et de grande imagination, d'entasser sur [un] même sujet pensées sur pensées; que quand il leur en vient quelqu'une, ils la dessinent. Leur en vient-il une seconde, ils la notent encore, puis une troisième et une quartième, sans en purger ni perfectionner aucune, s'attachant toujours à la dernière production par un amour particulier qu'on a pour la nouveauté. Que ce qu'il faut faire en cette occasion pour remédier à ce défaut, c'est de laisser reposer là ces différentes idées sans les regarder d'un mois ou deux, après lequel temps on est en état de faire choix de celle qui est la meillieure…"

[72] *Claude Mellan, gli anni romani: un incisore tra Vouet e Bernini*, ed. Luigi Fiacci (Roma: Multigrafica, 1989), 279-83.

As a group, Bernini's *La Predica della Battista* studies demonstrate that the artist practiced what he preached to his students and friends. Although we must assume that several studies have been lost, a clear pattern emerges among those that remain. Examining the drawings placed in chronological order demonstrates that Bernini continuously alternated between the entire composition and the *macchie*, creating a system of checks and balances that ensured the artist had exhausted every combination of the figures before settling on the most effective arrangement. Bernini also relied on familiar models when creating new compositions, which he then adapted as he moved forward. Additionally, Bernini used multiple drawing techniques, varying from the stark contours of pen and ink to subtle shading of red chalk, all to create a composition for an engraving in which another artist would be able to replicate Bernini's distinct style of drawing.

François Spierre, the engraver of the frontispiece, used the technique known as *taille unique* to render the image, relying on continuous, evenly-spaced parallel lines to preserve the sfumato quality of Bernini's finished drawing. This is the same technique that two of Spierre's possible instructors, Claude Mellan and François Poilly, used to engrave Bernini's previous frontispieces for Urban VIII's *Poemata* and Niccolo Zucchi's *Optica philosophia,* suggesting that Bernini may have specifically requested it.[73] The continuous lines, varying in thickness, that characterize this technique allow the engraver to create more malleable fields of light and dark, rather than the stark tonal fields that are often produced in engravings. The effects of *taille unique* can perhaps best be seen in the modeling of the men in the foreground (fig. 1). Here the lines do not conform to the shape of the men's bodies, but grow thicker to indicate areas of

[73] *Claude Mellan, Gli Anni Romani,* 33-34; Frauke Van der Wall, *François Spierre: Ein Lothringischer Maler Und Stecher Des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Dissertation (Würzburg: Julius Maximilians Universität, 1987), 61.

shadow and thinner to indicate areas of highlight, with minimal cross-hatching. Spierre's technique translates Bernini's drawing style into a reproducible medium for Oliva's volume.

In reviewing Bernini's habits of drawing, we have seen how the artist moved through the three stages of composition that he laid out for students at the French academy. This process is grounded in the idea of the *invenzione*, which begins as an idea in the artist's mind and is made concrete through the activity of drawing on the blank space of the page. This process also echoes to Cennino Cennini's imperative to "fill one's head full of drawings" as a way to create and refine compositions.[74] In the *Predica* engraving, this practice is memorialized and alluded to by John's gesture towards the imaginary page, which cues the viewer to think of the page as a drawing and consider how Bernini created the composition.

The Rhetoric of Image Making

It seems to me that the practice of composition evident in Bernini's drawings is analogous to the image making that occurs in Oliva's epideictic sermons. As Martin Kemp has written, rhetorical theory was linked to *invenzione* in painting as early as the Quattrocento.[75] *Invenzione* was crucial for the creation of pictorial scenes and scenes invoked by epideictic oratory. Bernini's advice to his students finds parallels in Cicero's instructions for composing an oration. In *De inventione* he writes,

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[74] Wolf-Dietrich Löhr, "Handwerk Und Denkwerk Des Malers: Kontexte Für Cenninis Theorie Der Praxis," in *Fantasie Und Handwerk / Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin,* ed. Wolf-Dietrich Löhr Und Stefan Weppelmann. (2008): 155.
[75] Martin Kemp, "From "mimesis" to "fantasia": The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1977), 356.

> Therefore the material of the art of rhetoric seems to me to be that of which we said Aristotle approved. The parts of it, as most authorities have stated, are Invention, Arrangement, Expression, Memory, Delivery. Invention is the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments to render one's cause plausible. Arrangement is the distribution of arguments thus discovered in the proper order. Expression is the fitting of the proper language to the invented matter.[76]

Bernini appears to instruct students to arrange a new composition the same way that Cicero and other ancient authorities encouraged orators to plan their speeches.[77] The first three steps in Cicero's model, invention, arrangement, and expression, align with Bernini's model: "first comes the *invenzione*, then reflection on the arrangement of the parts, and finally giving the perfection of grace and tenderness to them."[78] This last step could be thought of as the visual counterpart of expression (*elocutio*). Cicero was one of great proponents of the Asiatic mode of rhetoric, of which epideictic rhetoric was the demonstrative genus. This Asiatic rhetoric was characterized as a demonstrative genre, intended to please and persuade, and most importantly to convince. It stood in direct contrast to the Attic mode, which was considered more rigid and academic, both morally and stylistically.

In seventeenth-century Rome, and especially in Jesuit culture, Asiatic rhetoric, passed down from ancient orators like Cicero and Quintilian, was more than a literary or artistic style.

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[76] Cicero, *On Invention. The Best Kind of Orator. Topics,* Loeb Classical Library 386, transl. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 1.7. "Quare materia quidem nobis rhetoricae videtur artis ea quam Aristoteli visam esse diximus; partes autem eae quas plerique dixerunt, inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio. Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant; dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio; elocutio est idoneorum verborum ad inventionem…"

[77] Although there is no way to confirm that Bernini read Cicero, an entry from the diary of Alexander VII on March 1659 suggests that Bernini and his son looked at a portrait of Cicero with the pope, and that Oliva visited on the same day. See Giovanni Morello, "Bernini e i lavori a S. Pietro nel "diario" di Allessandro VII," in *Bernini in Vaticano*, "1659, *16 Marzo*, D(ome)nica 3°, doppo pranzo è da noi il. Cav. Bernino col figlio e la testa de Cic(eron)e, poi il P. Oliva, P. Virg(ili)o Sp(ad)a, e il Card. nep(ot)e che è stato anche in Capp(ella), poi il P. Sf(orz), d. Ma(rio), p(er) la Gall(ari)a ved(iam)o i parenti del C. Melzio (f.117v, 2 col.)." 326.

[78] Baldinucci, *Vita,* 71.

As Marc Fumaroli has written, this Asiatic mode, and rhetoric in general, "was everywhere in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and not only in the classrooms…or in the church pulpits as a popular incentive to piety, but as a major set of cognitive and ethical questions that any responsible theologian or moralist or scholar of any persuasion could not avoid raising."[79] More than a style, the Asiatic mode was a way of thinking and a way of interpreting the world. It is perhaps for this reason that Bernini's advice for creating a composition echoes Cicero's instructions for writing a speech. His images provided spaces in which persuasive arguments could be presented, contemplated, and accepted in a non-linguistic mode.

This Asiatic and more specifically epideictic mode of rhetoric was deeply rooted in the practice of image making. Orators and writers who worked in this mode, as opposed to the more severe Attic mode, hoped that that their ability to conjure vivid mental images would awe and persuade their listeners by appealing to the emotions stirred by images, emotions that words and logic often cannot reach.

The ability of images to convey certain truths is touched upon in one treatise from this period, *Trattato della pittura e scultura, uso e abuso loro*, written by the Jesuit theologian Giandomenico Ottonelli and the painter Pietro da Corotona in 1652. The treatise is concerned with the proper use of images in a sacred context.[80] The authors suggest that images have the potential to stir the soul, writing that, "because Painting is such a beneficial art, that they who master her perfectly, can do with images what the eloquent Orator does with words to stir the

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[79] Marc Fumaroli, "The Fertility and the Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 93.

[80] Giandomenico Ottonelli and Pietro da Corotona, *Trattato della pittura e scultura, uso e abuso loro* (Firenze: Stamperia di Gio. Antonio Bonardi, 1652); See also Martin Delbeke, *The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 41-49.

human *affetto* and will to perform virtue."[81] This comparison between the orator and artist suggests that visual and verbal imagery were considered to have similar functions in the seventeenth century.

This desire to persuade through pictorial rather than logical means goes hand in hand with the function of a frontispiece. As Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbrown have written, the seventeenth-century frontispiece was a visual summation of the argument of a book, usually designed by the author to express his argument in a second visual language. [82] Frontispieces were often emblematic images, meaning that the figures or scenes were meant to be read allegorically or provide additional layers to the images as they related to the texts.[83]

In the seventeenth century the Society of Jesus was one of the greatest producers of emblem books and emblematic images. Emblematics were taught in rhetoric classes in Jesuit colleges across Europe because emblematic images were seen as the ornaments of rhetoric that had a greater ability to influence the will than logical arguments did.[84]

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[81] Delbeke, 45. Ottonelli, 62. Ottonelli's text reads: "imperoche la Pittura è Arte tanto giovevole, che, chi l'esercita virtuosamente, può far con l'immagini ciò, che fa con le parole un'eloquente Oratore nel muovere l'humano affetto, e volontá all'impresa delle virtù…"

[82] Margery Corbett and Ronald W. Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-page in England, 1550-1660* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1979), 1.

[83] For an introduction to emblematics, see John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion, 2002).

[84] Judi Loach, "The Teaching of Emblematics and Other Symbolic Imagery by Jesuits Within Town Colleges in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France," in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August, 1996,* edited by John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 171; Furthermore, the Society of Jesus developed a sophisticated image theory. Jesuits saw the incarnation of Christ as an act of divine image making. Because of this unique Christology, image making was prized in both Jesuit culture and Jesuit rhetoric as a means of both persuasion and accessing truths that logical arguments could never fully grasp. See Walter Melion, "Introduction: The Jesuit Engagement with the Status and Functions of the Visual Image," in *Jesuit Image Theory,* Ed. Wietse De Boer, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Walter S. Melion (Boston: Brill, 2016), 4.

In addition to providing a visual component to the study of rhetoric in Jesuit colleges, Jesuit emblematic images often played a performative role in Jesuit academic culture.[85] Louise Rice has written extensively on the performative nature of the emblematic thesis prints published for academic defenses at the Collegio Romano. Academic defenses were formal rhetorical exercises in which graduating students would present their theses before a panel of examiners. The defense was a dramatic display of both the student's virtuosity and his patron's wealth, and was often accompanied by music, speeches, and decorations in the courtyard of the Collegio Romano. The thesis prints were often heraldic images that presented some sort of conceit about the student's patron, and were often designed by rhetoric professors at the college. As Rice has written, "the print provided an interpretive springboard for what was essentially an elaborate exercise in the rhetoric of praise," the same rhetoric that Oliva used in his sermons.[86] The performative function of prints and image making in Jesuit culture can aid in our understanding of Bernini's *La Predica* frontispiece and possibly his other frontispieces as well.

Bernini's *La Predica della Battista* frontispiece is, I would argue, a memorialization of the process of image making that seventeenth-century orators, and particularly Jesuit orators such as Gian Paolo Oliva, viewed as the most effective means of persuading their audience. Rhetorical analogies of *invenzione* and epideictic subject matter perform simultaneously in the engraving. As an image of a drawing Bernini's frontispiece is a self-conscious reflection on the process of image making through drawing and its similarity to the verbal images that fill Oliva's sermons. The *taille unique* engraving captures Bernini's drawing style, which reminds us of his

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[85] Louise Rice, "Jesuit Thesis Prints and the Festive Academic Defense at the Collegio Romano," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 148-65.
[86] Ibid., 160.

Ciceronian instructions to his students to first invent, then reflect on the arrangement of the parts, then imbue the drawing with grace and tenderness.[87] Bernini also presents John the Baptist as *a typus*, or archetype for Oliva, a divinely inspired orator whose verbal images affect his audience in the same way that John the Baptist prepared his listeners for the coming of Christ. The river setting also calls to mind Gian Paolo Oliva's origin in the port city of Genoa.[88] John's gesture to the curling top of the page, the other side of which we are meant to understand as the beginning of Oliva's sermons, suggests that he understands his role as both an image drawn by Bernini and as an image maker like Oliva. John's words stir the *affetto* of members of the crowd, who kneel in adoration, point to their neighbors, and urge women to hush their crying children. Bernini's image of Saint John the Baptist preaching would cue viewers to understand that John is preaching about the coming of Christ. The crowd's proximity to the Jordan River and the presence of newly baptized converts still standing in the water suggest that Christ will arrive soon to be baptized, that the divine *Imago* is near. This comparison is, perhaps, a visual form of epideictic praise, in which Bernini reimagines a biblical scene to make a statement about Oliva's powerful preaching abilities.

Bernini's *La Predica della Battista* was not the first frontispiece the artist placed on an imaginary page. In Bernini's 1631 frontispiece for the Urban VIII's *Poemata*, engraved by Claude Mellan, David fights with a lion, wrenching open its powerful jaw (fig. 24).[89] The *Poemata* was published under the supervision of the Jesuits, which suggests that Bernini would

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[87] Engraving the image of a drawing could also allude to the fact that both Bernini's drawings and Oliva's original performances of his sermons are reproduced and experienced second-hand in the format of a book.

[88] Gordon, 255.

[89] For information on this frontispiece see *Bernini in Vaticano*, 80. Catalogue Number 52; Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 85; *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Regista del Barocco*, 412, Catalogue numbers 166-67.

have collaborated with a Jesuit on the program for the frontispiece. The subject of David fighting the Lion is adapted from Judges 14:5-8, in which Samson fights and kills a lion, whose body later becomes the home of a beehive. Bernini has replaced Samson with David, the writer of the Psalms, whose harp is cast on the ground. In killing the lion David is about to miraculously produce bees and honey, the symbols of the Barberini. Here Bernini has used David as a model for Urban VIII, the powerful ruler and creative poet. The figures are situated in a landscape that is once again placed on a fictive page with a frame, which cues the viewer to consider the act of drawing or writing on the page. It is possible that some lines in the upper left corner of the preparatory drawing allude to the edge of the imaginary page. This earlier frontispiece functions similarly to *La Predica della Battista*. Both are images of a drawing that encourage the reader to consider the artist's activity of composition. Bernini's *David Strangling the Lion* could be understood as an early model for *La Predica della Battista*, in which the illusion of the drawn image is extended to the edges of the imaginary page. Both frontispieces also contain a biblical figure that Bernini compares to the author as way to praise the author in the epideictic mode.

The second frontispiece that Bernini created in an epideictic mode was the "Cosmic Eagle" for his Jesuit friend Nicolo Zucchi's *Optica Philosophia* in 1652 (fig. 25). [90] In this image the Eagle of Jove holds a lightning bolt in its claw and flies into a void between the earth and sun. Zucchi taught at the Collegio Romano and also served as Apostolic Preacher for seven years. Zucchi's treatise was dedicated to Archduke Leopold William, a member of the Hapsburg family, whose famous crest was the double-headed eagle. The Cosmic Eagle in this image is accompanied by two lines of poetry on the facing page that read: "Eagles may not rear their

[90] For a thorough discussion of this print see Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Cosmic Eagle" *Gianlorenzo Bernini*: *New Aspects of His Art and Thought*, ed. Irving Lavin (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, The College Art Association of America, 1985), 212.

young without the sun's permission and the good will of heaven." By coupling this frontispiece with lines of poetry, it becomes an allegorical emblem of praise. While most emblems were specific to the contents of their books, "Bernini combines the quality of personal and moral metaphor with the appearance of objective reality," maintaining verisimilitude and universality while depicting the Archduke in allegorical form.

Bernini designed a variation on the *La Predica* composition in his second frontispiece for Oliva, *La Moltiplicazione dei pani,* Oliva's commentary on Genesis published in 1677 (fig. 26).[91] Although *La Moltiplicazione* does not appear on an imaginary page, the frontispiece still functions in ways similar to *La Predica*. Both engravings follow the same compositional pattern. Where John once stood, Christ now preaches under a tree full of putti. The Latin phrase "COLLIGITE FRAGMENTA NE PEREANT" (collect these fragments so they do not perish) is carved onto the rock on which he sits. An apostle with a basket assumes the same intermediary pose as the baptized man in the foreground of *La Predica della Battista*. Vast crowds extend into the distant landscape of sea and mountain. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus retreats to this place after having heard that John the Baptist was beheaded, and performs the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes.[92] Christ's command to his disciples to collect the fragments could be compared to Oliva's fragmented comments on the Genesis, and his knowledge of scripture could be compared to that of Christ. Once again Bernini is using a biblical scene to praise Oliva and his written work in an epideictic mode.

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[91] For a discussion of this frontispiece see *Regista del Barocco*, 418, Catalogue numbers 189-90. Gian Paolo Oliva, *Joannis Pauli Oliva ... In Selecta Scripturae Loca Ethicae Commentationes: In Genesim, Cui Accessere Commentationes Item Ethicae, In Canticum Canticorum: Tomus Primus* (Lugduni: sumptibus F. Fr. Anissoniorum et Joannis Posuel, 1677)

[92] Matthew 14:6-21.

Conclusion

As we have seen, both Bernini's habits of drawing and the subject matter of his frontispieces may have been anchored in rhetorical practices that were prevalent at the time. This connection between Bernini's drawings, frontispieces, and the rhetoric taught and practiced by his patrons should come as no surprise, given the fact that Asiatic rhetoric permeated the court and ecclesiastical culture of seventeenth-century Rome. As works of art the frontispieces are intimately connected with the scholarly and ecclesiastical writings of Bernini's patrons and are therefore points of contact through which these connections can be more thoroughly explored.

Additionally, Bernini's frontispieces, especially those designed for Gian Paolo Oliva, may also shed light on questions surrounding Bernini's affiliation with the Society of Jesus that have troubled Bernini scholars for decades. I would like to suggest that Bernini's connection to the Society of Jesus has less to do with a particular style or iconographic program, but rather a mode of thinking and viewing the world, driven by the revival of Asiatic rhetoric in the seventeenth century. Asiatic culture, defined by theatricality, abundance, variation, and vivacity, was above all meant to persuade the viewer or listener. As one of the most sought-after artists of his time, Bernini also needed to persuade the viewer through his theatrical and vivacious works, works that were meant to praise both his patrons and God. Bernini's frontispieces, and *La Predica della Battista* in particular, do just that.

Illustrations

Figure 1. *La Predica della Battista*, frontispiece for *Prediche Dette Nel Palazzo Apostolico Da Gian Paolo Oliua Sacerdote Della Compagnia Di Giesu: Tomo Secondo*. Roma: per Giacomo Dragondelli, 1664.
Source: Yale University Art Gallery, 1993.60.1.
http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/32244

Figure 2. Ciro Ferri, Frontispiece for Oliva's *Prediche dette nel Palazzo Apostolico, Tomo Uno*, 1659. Source: http://www.galerietarantino.com/galerie/estampes/guillaume_chasteau/frontispice_du_premier_tome_des_prediche_dette_nel_palazzo_apostolico_da_gio_paolo_oliva-257.html

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Figure 3. Leipzig 7805r, Compositional Study for *La Predica della Battista*
266x194 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, Gray Paper
Source: Sebastian Schütze et al., ed. *Bernini: Erfinder Des Barocken Rom*. Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künst, 2014.

Figure 4. Bernini's *St. Longinus*, 1938. St. Peter's Basilica.
Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 5. Detail of Bernini's Fontana di Quattro Fiumi, 1651, Piazza Navona
Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 6. Study for the Triton Fountain, 1642-1643, 362x240 mm, Red Chalk, Cream Paper
Source: Metropolitan Museum, 1973.265

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Figure 7. Two Studies for *Daniel*, 1652-1657, *Daniel*, Chigi Chapel, S. Maria del Popolo3, 74x234 mm, trimmed, Red Chalk, Gray Paper, Leipzig, 7890
Source: *Erfinder des Barocken Rom*

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 8. Leipzig 7798r, Compositional Study for *La Predica della Battista*, 208x160 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, Gray Paper
Source: Martinelli, Valentino. *Drawings*. Translated by Katherine Asbury. Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1982.

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Figure 9. Leipzig 7834, Figure Studies for *La Predica della Battista*, 245x176 mm, trimmed Red Chalk, White Paper
Source: Martinelli. *Drawings*. Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1982.

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Figure 10. 1630, Academy Study of a Seated Male from Behind, 462x422 mm, Red Chalk, Highlights, Buff Paper
Source: The Royal Collection, Windsor 905537

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 11. 1638, Portrait of Sisinio Poli, 268x207 mm, Red/Black Chalk, Highlights, Buff Paper
Source: Pierpont Morgan Library, IV, 174

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 12. Compositional Study for *La Predica della Battista*, Leipzig 7807v 206x258 mm, trimmed and 7801v, 192x253 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk, Gray Paper
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 13. Study of Cathedra Petri seen through Baldacchino, 254x195 mm, Vatican Cod. Chigi, a.I.19 f. 42v
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

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Figure 14. Figure Study for *La Predica della Battista*, Leipzig 7803, 164x117 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, Gray Paper
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

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Figure 15. Leipzig 7804r and v, Figure Studies for *La Predica della Battista* 142x65 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, Gray Paper
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

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Figure 16. Figure Studies for *La Predica della Battista*. Leipzig 7805v, 266x194 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, Gray Paper
Source: Lavin, Irving, ed. *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini, from the Museum Der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic: Exhibition and Catalogue*. Princeton: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1981.

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Figure 17. Serial Study for *La Predica della Battista*, Leipzig 7807r, 206x258 mm, trimmed and Leipzig 7801r, 192x253 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, Gray Paper
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

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Figure 18. Eight studies for the torso of St. Longinus, Ink over black chalk, Cream paper, 184 by 250 mm.
Source: Düsseldorf, FP 13613, Photo by author

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Figure 19. Studies for the Four Rivers Fountain, 329x350, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, White Paper, Leipzig 7907r
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 20. Study for Angels around a glory, *Cathedra Petri*, St. Peter's, 373x273 mm, Black Chalk and Ink, White Paper
Source: The Royal Collection, Windsor 905564

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Figure 21. Leipzig 7811, Study for *La Predica della Battista*, 198x237 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk/Pen and Ink, White Paper
Source: *Erfinder des barocken Rom*

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Figure 22. Leipzig 7798v, Study for *La Predica della Battista*, 160X208 mm, trimmed, Black Chalk, Gray Paper. The figure is barely visible on the far left.
Source: Lavin, Irving, ed. *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini*.

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 23. *David Strangling the Lion*, preparatory study for the frontispiece for Urban VIII's *Poemata*, 1631. Engraved by Claude Mellan.
Source: Louvre, inventory no. INV 12093, Recto.

Figure 24. *David Strangling the Lion*, frontispiece for Urban VIII's *Poemata*, 1631. Engraved by Claude Mellan.
Source: *Maphaei S.r.e. Card. Barberini Nunc Urbani Pp. Viii. Poemata*. Romae: In aedibus Collegij Romani Societ. Jesu. typis Vaticanis, 1631. Google Books.

[REDACTED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS]

Figure 25. *The Cosmic Eagle*, frontispiece for Nicolo Zucchi's *Optica Philosophia*, 1652. Source: Lavin, Irving. "Bernini's Cosmic Eagle." In *Gianlorenzo Bernini*: *New Aspects of His Art and Thought*. Edited by Irving Lavin. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, The College Art Association of America, 1985.

Figure 26. *Moltiplicazione dei pani,* frontispiece for *Joannis Pauli Oliva e Societate Iesu, In selecta Scripturæ loca ethicæ commentationes. In Genesim. Cui accessere commentationes item ethicæ in Canticum canticorum. Tomus primus*, 1677. Engraved by Francois Spierre.
Source: *In selecta Scripturæ loca ethicæ commentationes. In Genesim.* Google Books.

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