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Bernini, Ovid, and the Art of Active Reading

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Abstract

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Active reading occurs when the reader responds in some way to what he or she has read—by jotting down notes in the margins of a book, perhaps, or by reading a text in search of a certain type of information. The boundaries of the active reader's response, however, remain undefined, and research on the history of books and on the history of reading continues to reveal a variety of ways in which readers in the past have interacted with their books. In a departure from the written response that often accompanies active reading, this thesis presents a model in which sculpture is considered as an artist's visual response to his texts. Two narrative figure groups by Gianlorenzo Bernini, the Pluto and Persephone (1621-22) and the Apollo and Daphne (1622-25), are examined in light of their possible relation to the books in the artist's library, with particular attention given to a few of the most accessible texts in early modern Rome, including Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, Petrarch's Rime Sparse, and Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses. These literary works are explored as sources of narrative and imagery that Bernini may have employed in the conception and execution of his mythological sculptures.

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Introduction

"A history of reading, if it can ever be written, would chart the alien element in the way man has made sense of the world. For reading, unlike carpentry or embroidery, is not merely a skill; it is an active construal of meaning within a system of communication."[1] In the words of historian Robert Darnton, then, books are a means of conveying human thought from author to reader—a dictation, essentially, of what exactly the writer wishes to impart to the reader, who can respond to the message in a number of ways. It is this response, in the form of text, spoken word, and of course, art, that carries the potential for an actual conversation between the author and the reader.

While the expectation for such a dialogue to emerge from reading may at first seem impractical, or even a bit romantic, it should be acknowledged just how much the role of the reader has evolved over the past several centuries. In the early modern period, the reader was not assumed to passively absorb the contents of a book, but was rather expected to interact in some way with the ideas presented by the text. In "Readers Respond to Rousseau," a study of the public response to the philosopher's expansive oeuvre, Darnton has suggested an underlying purpose for the history of active reading: "To understand how the French read books in the eighteenth century is to understand how they thought."[2] Applied to individuals and populations of other cultures and societies, this idea has formed the basis of other models of active reading—perhaps nowhere more so than in Carlo Ginzburg's study of a sixteenth-century Italian miller,

[1] Robert Darnton, "Readers Respond to Rousseau," in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1984), 216.
[2] Ibid.

whose appetite for prohibited books shaped the heretical views of the cosmos that he vocalized, unfortunately, while on trial during the Inquisition.[3]

Ginzburg's approach to active reading is clearly focused on the reader's response, and he has turned to records of the Inquisition to draw connections between Menocchio's books and the blasphemous opinions which the miller offered so freely under interrogation. A unique quality of Ginzburg's study is that Menocchio's responses are indeed verbal ones; his comments establish one side of the dialogue between himself and the exasperated inquisitors conducting his trial. Despite the warnings of his closest friends ("Tell them what they want to know, and try not to talk too much . . . ."),[4] Menocchio actually uses his trial as an opportunity to reiterate what he believes are the noteworthy elements of his books, frequently including citations of his sources. His reading experience begins to connect to other models of reading when his books are reevaluated as the primary source of his unorthodox opinions; here, Menocchio can be compared with readers who have also approached texts with the purpose of extracting a specific sort of information. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton have examined how Gabriel Harvey, a reader hired by the earl of Leicester in the sixteenth century, read the text of the Roman historian Livy a number of times over the course of twenty years, combing the massive volume for various meanings and themes that his employer required for political counsel.[5]

Harvey's movement through Livy's text is marked by his dense marginal annotations throughout his copy of the book, which state in his own concise terms the lessons he has drawn from a particular event or decade of Roman history. The annotations do, however, provide insight into Harvey's intellectual activity beyond his direct interpretations of Livy's passages.

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[3] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Penguin Books, 1982).
[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990): 30-78.

Several notes refer to external sources, such as the Renaissance philosopher Machiavelli, that have been consulted for their perspectives on Livy's work, while others indicate when Harvey has conducted a reading with a companion. In one case, Jardine and Grafton have linked Harvey's notes to a debate on military strategy carried out in the household of his patron, Sir Thomas Smith, who was preparing for political action in Ireland.[6]

Natalie Zemon Davis addresses the ties between audience and accessibility when she explores the usefulness of the *Calendrier des bergers*, or the Shepherds' Calendar, to the sixteenth-century peasants for whom they were supposedly crafted. These almanacs contained what was meant to be valuable information on such topics as the changing sign of the moon, the dates of feast days, and midwifery, but these subjects were probably better understood by the peasants through oral tradition and by their own, less elaborate calendars. The Shepherds' Calendar seems to have been of more use to members of the upper and middle classes who, unlike those who were familiar with pastoral ways by virtue of living them, were less familiar with the ins and outs of rural life.[7]

These models of active reading demonstrate different meanings of the word "active" in the context of the reader's interaction with the book: Ginzburg has discussed Menocchio's verbal response; Jardine and Grafton have tracked the reader's thoughts through his writing; and Davis has explored the idea of using advice or directions from a text to shape a lifestyle. One model, however—that which considers the reader's visual response to the book—has not yet been discussed. Sarah McPhee has already shown how Bernini's architectural drawings may reveal his thoughts in action, as when he visits the Pantheon and modifies an image of the structure printed

[6] Ibid., 40-42.
[7] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Printing and the People," in *In Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 189-226 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 197-99.

in an architectural treatise.[8] An examination of one of the artist's sculptural works as a visual response to his books has not until this point been explored.

This thesis lays out the intricate web of literary sources to which Bernini may have turned in the conception and execution of two mythological sculptures in the Villa Borghese: the *Pluto and Persephone* (Figure 1) and the *Apollo and Daphne* (Figure 2). At a surface level, these figure groups are remarkable illustrations of the narratives included in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—a fact that immediately suggests that Bernini was looking to at least one textual source. It is almost certain, however, that the sculptor considered several others. A major asset in the study of Bernini as an active reader is a published inventory of at least a part of his library; this list of books has served the function of narrowing, to an extent, the number of works with which to consider his possible literary sources.[9] The books discussed in this thesis, however, are explored not only in terms of their possible connection to his sculptures, but also in light of their accessibility to Bernini and to contemporary readers in the early modern period. The availability of books to readers, in fact, is an essential component of any reconstruction of reading habits in the past.

With Bernini's library as a foundation on which to build a new model of active reading, the first issue confronted is that of where to begin drawing parallels between the narrative figure groups and Bernini's books. The approach for this research, which mirrors the one used by Ginzburg, Jardine and Grafton, Davis, and McPhee, has been to begin with the reader's tangible response—in Bernini's case, not a written record, but the sculptures themselves. The groups are first approached in their entirety, as works commissioned by a patron whose literary circle may

[8] Sarah McPhee, "Architect as Reader," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 458-59.
[9] Sarah McPhee, "Bernini's Books," *The Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1168 (2000): 442-48.

have illuminated different aspects of Ovid's narratives for Bernini; it is even possible that these intellectuals called Bernini's attention to particular books that had a presence in their discussions of popular literature. The sculptures are then viewed alongside such texts and examined in terms of their adherence to and departure from the pages of a book. It is this analysis that forms the core of Bernini's active reading and beckons our most pressing questions concerning the relation between the sculptor's books and his art. To what extent are Bernini's sculptures text-to-marble translations of the words on a page? How closely can the artist's thoughts be followed through the links connecting one author's emulation of another, where a visual manifestation of the text cannot immediately be observed in sculpture? What is the role of drawings and clay models in assessing Bernini's response? The answers to these questions, though necessarily inconclusive, suggest the lively thread of ideas weaving in and out of the mind of Bernini, delicately balancing visual response with its origins in the range of literature read and debated in seventeenth-century Rome.

Chapter 1: The Intellectual Milieu

Just two years after Gianlorenzo Bernini completed his *Apollo and Daphne,* Agostino Mascardi praised the artist's rare genius in his defense of the liberal arts: "I never saw an entire piece of marble from which an image could be made, except for the single house of Cavalier Bernini, who in his youth knows how to give life to stones with his chisel better than the fabulous Amphion knew how to with his song."[10] This statement invokes an image of Bernini in his studio with his chisel in hand, poised to begin the transformation of an unremarkable block of marble into two living, all but breathing, mythological figures. Though Mascardi's reference to Bernini cannot be linked with certainty to any of his sculptures in particular, it serves his mythological works, taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, quite well. The story of Pluto and Persephone, for instance, is articulated by every artistic choice that the young sculptor made, from the coarse tufts of hair on the snapping necks of Cerberus to the tears rolling down the distressed goddess's cheek. In the *Apollo and Daphne*, Bernini has drilled Daphne's hair into an ethereal weightlessless, and he has shaved the leaves sprouting from her fingers down to a glowing translucence; such was his genius and technical mastery. But how did Bernini prepare to make the first cut? To what extent did he visualize what he had not yet sculpted? These questions lie at the heart of the artist's intention for his final work. In attempting to reconstruct the literary context of Bernini's mythological sculptures, however, the artist himself must be approached as a reader within the literary culture of seventeenth-century Rome—a challenge that involves recreating the more tangible setting in which he may have conducted his reading. In light of Bernini's ability to develop close relationships with his patrons and their contemporaries, his own

[10] Agostino Mascardi, *Discorsi morali su la Tavola di Cebete Tebano* (Venice: Girolamo Pelagallo, 1627), 320-321, as quoted in Eraldo Bellini, "From Mascardi to Pallavicino: The Biographers of Bernini and Seventeenth-Century Roman Culture," in *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, ed. Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven F. Ostrow (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 275-276.

literary circle—with respect to the execution of the *Apollo and Daphne* and the *Pluto and Persephone*—may be considered to overlap with that of his patron. With this framework in mind, Bernini's sculptures may first be approached by turning to the one decision for which Bernini was not responsible: choosing the subjects themselves.

The responsibility for selecting the subjects of Bernini's narrative works was undoubtedly left to the affable and worldly patron of the sculptures, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, whose interest in poetry and mythology was evident in both his animated literary circle and his art collection. Guido Reni's *Aurora*, which Scipione commissioned around 1613 for the Borghese palace on the Quirinal Hill,[11] attests to his early penchant for Ovidian subjects, as does Domenichino's *Hunt of Diana*, which the uncompromising collector seized from the artist's studio about three years later.[12] An extended discussion of Scipione's patronage will serve two purposes: first, to recall the sparks that led him to commission the *Pluto and Persephone* and the *Apollo and Daphne*; and second, to describe a literary setting that underscored certain texts that Bernini may have explored in his own reading.

One of Scipione Borghese's most significant artistic discoveries was the young Gianlorenzo himself—an eight-year-old prodigy whose father, Pietro Bernini, began working in the Borghese family chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore after moving his family from Naples to Rome in 1606.[13] Scipione had an eye for spotting promising young artists and became, unsurprisingly, Gianlorenzo's first major patron after the sculptor was inducted into the marble

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[11] Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, Vol. 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982), 170-71.
[12] Ibid., 185.
[13] Ibid., 151-52.

worker's guild (the Università dei Marmorari) between late 1618 and early 1619.[14] These dates correspond to those of Scipione's first commission for Bernini: the *Aeneas and Anchises*, a marble figure group portraying Aeneas' flight from Troy, taken from Virgil's *Aeneid.*[15] Bernini's *Aeneas*, who carries his father on his shoulders with ease, may have alluded to Scipione as a support for his uncle, Pope Paul V.[16] While the group may be the least impressive of the works Scipione commissioned from Bernini, it seems to have given him the incentive to request three more narrative sculptures within the next five years: the *Pluto and Persephone* (1621-22), the *Apollo and Daphne* (begun 1622-23 and completed 1624-25), and the *David* (1623-24).[17] Compared to the *Aeneas and Anchises*, the two mythological sculptures that followed were more telling of Scipione's epicurean tastes than of his familial and papal devotion; the cardinal, perhaps intentionally, did not commission them until after the pope's death. Nevertheless, they were intended for display in his Villa Borghese on the Pincian Hill, which had served as a relaxed environment in which to carry out the secular responsibilities of the pope. These duties, which Scipione probably enjoyed, included hosting banquets for ambassadors and offering tours of his expansive art collection. More importantly, though, villa life opened doors and dialogue to intellectuals eager to discuss pastoral poetry and, in the same vein of literature, love poetry.[18]

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[14] Irving Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3 (1968): 226.
[15] Howard Hibbard, *Bernini* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965), 34.
[16] Tracy L. Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press: in association with the American Academy in Rome, 2002), 31.
[17] Joy Kenseth, "Bernini's Borghese Sculptures: Another View," *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 2 (1981): 191, n. 1. Kenseth provides easy access to these dates, confirmed by documents published by Italo Faldi and Howard Hibbard on the execution and installment of the *Apollo and Daphne* and the *David*. For dates, see Italo Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le scultore dal secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome, 1954, 29-37. The *Pluto and Persephone* was not immediately installed in the Villa Borghese after its completion; Cardinal Borghese gave it to the reigning cardinal nephew, Ludovico Ludovisi, in an effort to win his political favor. Hibbard (*Bernini*, 48) suggests that Scipione may have thought the *Apollo and Daphne*, then in progress, promising enough to spare the first sculpture.
[18] Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity*, 41-42.

Scipione offered patronage and permanent positions in the Borghese household to several poets and artists who stood at the forefront of the cultural development of seventeenth-century Rome. Included in this number were Guido Reni, Lelio Guidiccioni, and Antonio Bruni. Guidiccioni, a translator of Virgil's *Aeneid* into the vernacular and a poet in his own right, wrote extensively on both classical Latin and contemporary vernacular texts.[19] Absorbed in reading and extracting motifs and characters from ancient and contemporary pastoral poetry, he likely took great interest in the landscape imagery of the *Metamorphoses*.[20] Additionally, his skill with languages gave him the advantage of reading both Latin and vernacular versions of Ovid's text. Between these readings, he could easily have discussed Ovid's characters and narratives with Scipione—and possibly made a few suggestions for the subjects of Bernini's Borghese sculptures. He had ample opportunity to do so, as he had already lived in Scipione's household for fourteen years when Bernini began work on the *Pluto and Persephone*.[21]

Another figure with whom Scipione may have exchanged artistic ideas was Stefano Pignatelli, a longtime friend from university who joined Scipione in court life when Paul V was elected in 1605. He began his papal employment as the cardinal's advisor, but he soon became Scipione's court favorite; in 1616, he rose to the rank of *maggiordomo*. Pignatelli's intimacy with the cardinal, combined with his own experience as a collector, put him in an excellent position to recommend the most captivating subjects for Bernini's works.[22] Although his taste for sensual subjects was certainly not his alone, he may have nudged his friend toward choosing narratives that involved the physical vulnerability of women to their enamored (or simply more aggressive) counterparts—especially true in the case of *Pluto and Persephone*. Pignatelli was,

[19] Ibid., 32.
[20] Ibid., 260-61.
[21] Ibid, 32-33. Ehrlich first suggested that certain members of Scipione's circle may have offered the cardinal advice on selecting pieces for his art collection.
[22] Ibid., 32.

after all, once exiled for lasciviousness.[23] Despite his negative reputation in this respect, he was renowned for his intellectual contributions to the literary circles that Scipione found so intriguing. With the cardinal often observing at his side, Pignatelli assumed an active and respected role in the Accademia degli Umoristi, an association that revolved around the conversations of painters, poets, and connoisseurs who were key contributors to the literary and artistic culture of Rome. Guidiccioni, Giovanni Battista Marino, and Maffeo Barberini were a few of the prominent members that met to air their responses to ancient and contemporary literature;[24] works discussed included those by Giovanni Boccaccio, Petrarch, Marino himself and, of course, Ovid.[25] For Scipione, the Accademia degli Umoristi was a mine of poetic connections, and Guidiccioni was just one of several influential Umoristi to whom he offered positions in his household. Gregorio Porzio performed several important duties in his post, not only writing poetry, but also expanding the cardinal's library and serving as his secretary of Latin letters.[26] Such figures maintained a steady hum of poetic discussion throughout Scipione's residence.

For Scipione, a literary circle's most valuable function was to amplify the otherwise silent narratives found on the pages of a book. Although he assembled his own library of many of the poetic works under discussion,[27] he likely preferred a vocal stream of conversation for fresh ideas on literature.[28] Bernini, on the other hand, probably listened to these discussions in the same way that he read his texts: actively, with the intention of either finding a specific type

[23] Ibid., 315, n. 33.
[24] Ibid, 32.
[25] Ibid, 260-63.
[26] Ibid, 32.
[27] Ibid, 260. Scipione kept most of his poetry at the Ripetta palace rather than at the Villa Borghese (ibid., 385, n. 115).
[28] Reading aloud in noble households was very common from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century; readers were often hired for this very purpose. For examples, see Robert Darnton, "Toward a History of Reading," *The Wilson Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1989): 91; and Jardine and Grafton, "Gabriel Harvey."

of information or responding in some form to what he was reading. With respect to the *Pluto and Persephone* and the *Apollo and Daphne*, literary circles were most useful in the way that they directed his reading—as maps by which he could navigate a sea of authors and texts whose ideas would prove to be useful in the conception of his mythological sculptures.

Chapter 2: *Pluto and Persephone*

Somewhere amid the luscious hills of Sicily, Persephone gathers flowers with her companions, sure that no man or god can bring her to recant her vow of chastity. Fearing that such a promise is a grim sign for the future of love, Venus urges Cupid to aim his next arrow at the cold heart of Pluto, who roams the earth behind a cart of fiery horses in search of any cracks that might allow light to break through the darkness of the underworld. Ever willing to exercise his destructive charm, Cupid complies with his mother's request, and Pluto is soon tearing Persephone away from her innocent diversions.[29] It is Persephone's desperate struggle to escape Pluto's grasp that Bernini has chosen to portray—a fight that, though frozen by virtue of the marble, has been brought to life by the artist's attention to Ovid's rapidly evolving narrative. Bernini's Pluto enters the scene with a confident, powerful lunge, the muscles of his back leg bulging with the weight of his step. The contours of his sculpted arms encircle his terrified captive, leading to even finer details of the marble group—from the flesh of Persephone's thigh, which rises like dough between Pluto's callous fingers, to the delicate tears that slide softly down her face. At Pluto's firmly planted feet is the three-headed guard dog of the underworld, Cerberus, whose necks are taut with an uncontained aggression that further traps the goddess in an inescapable tangle of fear.

While Bernini's *Pluto and Persephone* can be understood in its most basic form as an illustration of a single moment in the story, it is more than a mere snapshot of the characters in action. With respect to the myth's foundation in written works, the group can also be seen as a reflection of certain motifs found in the popular literature of seventeenth-century Rome. The two

[29]Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, trans. Horace Gregory (New York: Signet Classic, 1958), 149-51.

motifs considered here are those of Cerberus and of the falling tears; both appeared frequently in vernacular works that elaborated upon and enlivened Ovid's mythology for contemporary readers and possibly for Bernini, whose own library contained almost seventy volumes of literature.[30] While the extent to which Bernini relied upon specific books to create his *Pluto and Persephone* remains a matter open to discussion, the motifs substantiated in the figure group can be quite clearly traced through several works that permeated the reading culture of Italy, all of which Bernini owned. Those discussed here in greater detail include Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*; Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*; and Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's Italian translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a seminal source of mythological narrative for the avid reader of literature.

That Bernini read Anguillara's translation of the Latin text is unsurprising for several reasons. A survey of Bernini's library suggests, first, that he preferred to read texts in the vernacular; all of his books, with the exception of a few illustrated Latin titles and one volume in French, were printed in Italian.[31] *Le Metamorfosi* was therefore accessible to Bernini and to contemporaries who sought out vernacular literature for discussion or diversion—to those who, as Craig Kallendorf has put it in his discussion of Anguillara's translation of Virgil, "had absorbed the basic canons of humanist taste but were not comfortable enough with Latin to want the text in the original."[32] On a more material level, the translation was extraordinarily accessible by way of its popularity among seventeenth-century readers. An impressive thirty-two editions of *Le Metamorfosi* were published in Venice between 1561 and 1624;[33] its popularity surpassed

[30] McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 442-44.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Craig Kallendorf, "In Search of a Patron: Anguillara's Vernacular Virgil and the Print Culture of Renaissance Italy," *Papers of Bibliographical Society of America* 91, no. 3 (1997): 315.
[33] Thomas Worthen, "Poussin's Paintings of Flora," *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (1979): 587.

that of Ludovico Dolce's widely known translation of the same text, *Le trasformationi*.[34] The remarkable success of Anguillara's translation may be better understood with some insight into the methods used to craft it.

Anguillara, in accordance with sixteenth-century expectations of a narrative poem, wrote *Le Metamorfosi* in *ottava rima*, or eight-line stanzas. This format allowed for an astounding amount of creativity on the part of the translator—a huge benefit for Anguillara, who rather struggled to find patronage for his original work.[35] With the exception of a final couplet, every other line of a stanza rhymes, giving the writer an abundance of opportunities throughout the poem to fill the spacing lines with additional narrative or detail. With this added material, a translated poem could be several times its original length and as descriptive and succulent as its author wished. While it should be noted that Anguillara preserved the core of the narratives, he certainly exercised his poetic freedom in adapting his translation to the *ottava rima* structure, especially with regard to the narrative's setting and to romantic embellishments that would make the poem richer and more appealing to contemporary readers.[36] Those familiar with the literature of the past century would, moreover, immediately have recognized *ottava rima* as the structure employed in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, a wildly popular novel of chivalric romance that had been published about forty years earlier. Such an association could only have increased

[34] Ibid., 587, n. 62. Dolce's translation was released in at least seven editions between 1553 and 1570; the last edition was published the year of the author's death. Anguillara's translation, by contrast, continued to be published in several editions long after he died in 1572.

[35] C. Mutini, "Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 3 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1961), 308.With the support of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the struggling poet moved to Venice in 1551 to begin translating Ovid's books; the first edition, and probably the second and third, was ready for publication within a year. In the eight years following, Anguillara enjoyed the patronage of Henry II of France—not for original work, but still for his translation.

[36] Kallendorf, "In Search of a Patron," 315-19. Kallendorf notes that Anguillara used the *ottava rima* structure for his translations of both Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and that the poet frequently incorporated details from sixteenth-century Italy—not ancient Rome—into his works. He goes on to mention that this "imaginative recreation" fit well with Anguillara's temperament. For more detail on the general format of *ottava rima,* see Catherine Addison, "'Ottava Rima' and Novelistic Discourse," *Journal of Narrative Theory* 34, no. 2 (2004): 133-34.

the interest of the reading public in Anguillara's translation as a fashionably detailed revitalization of Ovid's myths.[37]

Given the popularity of Anguillara's translation as a fresh source of Ovid's narratives, it might be expected that Bernini drew the motifs present in the *Pluto and Persephone* directly from the translation of Ovid's narrative. Bernini's Cerberus, which functions as a structural support for the god beside him, can be said to assume a narrative role as a visual element that compels the spectator to continue circling the group in search of the mythological text. From a frontal view of the sculpture, Pluto appears to be rather amused by Persephone's fruitless struggle, while only one of Cerberus' heads is even partially in sight (see Figure 1). When the group is viewed at ninety degrees from the right of this angle, however, all that is visible of Pluto is a single muscular leg and his unrelenting hands; his powerful figure is largely obscured by Persephone's flailing body and by Cerberus in his horrific, three-headed frontality (Figure 3). From this perspective, the sheer aggression of the guard dog seems to restrict the goddess's movement even more than Pluto's unyielding arms; she looks as though she is withdrawing her feet from the dog's snapping jaws. A reading of Anguillara's text alongside the marble group, however, reveals that Cerberus, despite his arresting presence in the sculpture, is completely absent from Ovid's narrative.[38] Nevertheless, the canine's role in Bernini's group may be demystified when Anguillara's translation is considered as an interactive text—as a piece of literature to which readers and writers could respond as if in dialogue.

One author that participated in this interactive discussion was Giuseppe Orologi, a contemporary poet and novelist. His annotations to *Le Metamorfosi*, which first appeared in the

[37] Kallendorf, "In Search of a Patron," 318.
[38] Ann Thomas Wilkins acknowledges Cerberus' prominence in the group but mentions only the canine's role as a structural support and his home in the Underworld. Wilkins, "Bernini and Ovid: Expanding the Concept of Metamorphosis," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6, no. 3 (2000): 397.

1563 edition of the translation, supplement each of Ovid's fifteen books with moralizing interpretations of the myths.[39] While the notes on the Pluto and Persephone narrative initially seem, like Bernini's sculpture, unrelated to Anguillara's translation, they are Orologi's attempt to connect Cerberus to a popular narrative and to link the creature to his more explicit role in other mythological works. Unlike Anguillara, Orologi does include Cerberus in his reaction to the Pluto and Persephone narrative, devoting nearly a quarter of his moralistic contributions to a description of the infernal canine, whose three heads are described as "conditions" of his avarice. These conditions, simply put, constitute the belief that the beast would hoard riches away solely for the sake of possessing them.[40] The moralizing bent of Orologi's annotations may on one hand have been his response to the sensual nature of Anguillara's poetry. The fact that he employed a monster unrelated to the myth to articulate this response, however, introduces the possibility that his annotations were responding to Cerberus's prominence in other contemporary mythological works. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, which delves more deeply into the figure of Cerberus, with multiple citations of both ancient and contemporary authors, was one such text. Although exactly which edition Bernini kept in his own library is uncertain, he undoubtedly had easy access to the book. It is known, in fact, that he borrowed a copy from a library at Santa Prassede in the 1620s—and that he never returned it.[41]

The *Iconologia* was a book of allegories and iconography that served as an encyclopedia of virtues, vices, and both earthly and mythological subjects. First published in Rome in 1593, it was widely used by artists as a source of symbolism that would help convey the identities and characteristics of figures depicted in their works. In piecing together this substantial handbook of

[39] Worthen, "Poussin's Paintings of Flora," 587.
[40] Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara, trans., *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, with notes by Giuseppe Orologi and *argomenti* by Francesco Turchi (Venetia: gli Heredi di Pietro Deuchino, 1587), 67.
[41] Brendan Dooley (unpublished talk given at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, April 1998), as cited in McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 443, n. 19.

personifications, Ripa (c. 1555-1622) drew from the literature that he was able to consult thanks to his employment as a *trinciante*, or meat-carver, in the distinguished household of Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati. His official duties included such tasks as cutting and serving food to guests, but these responsibilities seem to have also been useful in connecting him with visitors and fellow staff who, significantly, made their own contributions to Ripa's work.[42] In his entry on ambition in the 1603 edition of the Iconologia, for instance, the author mentions Taddeo Donnola, who also appears on Salviati's *lista della famiglia*.[43] Aside from placing him among the interlocutors in Salviati's circle, Ripa's role in the household granted him access to the cardinal's fantastic library, which included both illustrated works and novels such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.[44]

It is known from the yearly census for the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo that Ripa lived in Rome from 1611 to 1620—and this date range is likely an understatement of the time he spent in the city, as the author must have taken up residence there before Cardinal Salviati's death in 1602. It should be noted, however, that he did maintain a few outside connections with scholars—particularly acquaintances in his hometown of Perugia—who would also contribute to his developing text. A letter dating from August 1600 indicates that Ripa spent the summer in Perugia with Fulvio Mariotelli, the author of the letter and the mind behind the allegories of *Prattica* and *Theoria*, first published in the 1618 edition. Both Mariotelli and the letter's addressee, Prospero Podiani, were members of the Accademia degli Insensati of Perugia, which had its own art collection and a significant effect on the growth of Ripa's text.[45]

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[42] Chiara Stefani, "Cesare Ripa: New Biographical Evidence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 308. Stefani discusses Ripa's social role as *trinciante* and the impact of his professional connections on his developing work. Her article includes a transcription of Cardinal Salviati's *lista della famiglia* (ibid., 310-11), which records the members of his household and the sums of money that they are given upon Salviati's death in 1602.

[43] Donnola's household position is not indicated in Salviati's *lista della famiglia*.

[44] Stefani, "Cesare Ripa," 308-09.

[45] Ibid., 308-10. Stefani also includes a transcription of Mariotelli's letter to Podiani (ibid., 311).

Between Rome and Perugia, the *Iconologia* underwent several major developments from the first edition to the 1618 edition, the last published during Ripa's lifetime. After the un-illustrated first edition of 1593, a couple of the landmark versions of the book were the 1603 edition, which was the first to be published with woodcuts accompanying the written entries; and the 1618 edition, entitled *Nova Iconologia*.[46] Even after Ripa's death in 1622,[47] the text continued to evolve with translations and additions that attest to its widespread success and use among readers and, especially, artists.

Returning to Bernini's own interest in representing mythological subjects, the *Iconologia* can be considered in light of the multiple views it offers of Cerberus with and without the Pluto and Persephone narrative. In a section dedicated to monsters, Ripa directly states the purpose of his bestial sub-collection: "Because it is often necessary to represent different monsters, those from land, water, and air, I found some Poets who make mention of them; it seems to me appropriate to mix them together for those who need them."[48] Ripa's monsters include several mythological hybrids, among them the chimera, the hydra, the harpy and, of course, Cerberus. In compiling his collection, Ripa drew from such authors as Ovid, Virgil, Seneca, and Dante, borrowing lines from the latter two authors to describe Cerberus—the last monster portrayed in the section. Although the excerpts illustrate several physical characteristics of Cerberus that are not found in Bernini's sculpture, their details enliven his formidable role as the guard dog of the underworld as well as offer support for Ripa's varied and extensive use of centuries-old sources. Ripa cites the following passage by Seneca to introduce the mythological beast:

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[46] Ibid., 307, n.1.
[47] Ibid., 310.
[48] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Roma: Lepide Faeij, 1603; repr. with introduction by Erna Mandowsky, Hildesheim, Germany; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), 340. The Italian reads "Perche molte volte occorre di rappresentare diversi Mostri, si terrestri, come acquatici, & aerei, ho trovato alcuni Poeti, che ne fanno mentione; onde mi pare à proposito di mescolarli insieme, per chi ne haverà bisogno." Unless indicated otherwise, I have been assisted in all translations from the Italian by Dr. Sarah McPhee.

Il terribile cane ch alla guardia
Sta del perduto regno, e con tre bocche
Lo fa d horribil voce risonare
Porgendo grave tema à le trist'ombre
Il capo, el collo hà cinto di serpenti
Et è la coda un fiero drago il quale
Fischia s'aggira, tutto si dibatte.[49]

(The terrible dog who stands guard
Of the lost kingdom, and with three mouths
He makes his horrible voice resound
Offering grave themes to the unhappy shadows
The head, and the neck is encircled by serpents
And the tail a fiery dragon that
Hisses as it turns, thrashing itself.)

Apollodorus, Ripa notes, offers the same description of Cerberus in his work but writes instead that the hair on the dog's back is a coat of writhing snakes.[50] Whether Bernini studied these ancient passages, which offer more detail than is included in his sculpture, is of course uncertain, but it does seem that he integrated Cerberus into his work to establish the "lost kingdom" as a setting for the narrative of his figures. In another of Ripa's entries, Cerberus takes on a more representational role for the god of the underworld.

In an entry that recalls the writer's intention that the *Iconologia* be used by artists as a mine of symbolism, Ripa details the *carro di Plutone* with several references to ancient sources—especially those describing the fierce horses that pull Pluto's carriage. He begins the entry, however, by recounting the visual and narrative elements with which Pluto is traditionally depicted. A faithful portrayal of the god, according to Ripa, would place Cerberus directly at his feet "per far meglio che sia conosciuta questa figura di Plutone"—or to better identify the figure of Pluto. Ripa's remark on Cerberus is quite compelling in relation to Bernini's representation of the god, but it is even more striking when two more of Pluto's identifying factors are considered:

[49] Ibid., 343.
[50] Ibid.

his nudity, which is actually the first characteristic of the god that Ripa mentions, and the small scepter that he carries in his hand. In Bernini's figure group, Pluto's scepter can be found at the base of the sculpture, resting inconspicuously alongside Pluto's and Cerberus's feet. Pluto's nudity, obvious in the sensuously carved figure group, might be reevaluated in the rather darker context of Ripa's explanation:

> Dipingesi nudo, per dimostrare, che l'anime de'morti, che vanno nel Regno di Plutone, cioè nell'inferno, sono prive di ogni bene, & di ogni commodo, onde il Petrarca in una sua canzone, così dice à questo proposito:
>
> *Che l'alma ignuda, e sola*
> *Convien che arrivi à quel dubbioso calle*.[51]
>
> (He is painted nude to show that the souls of the dead, who go into Pluto's realm, namely hell, are deprived of everything that is good and every comfort, thus Petrarch in his song says:
>
> *That the soul, naked and alone*
> *Should arrive at that dubious path*.)

Ripa's notes and Petrarch's lines on Pluto together establish the disheartening setting of the underworld and turn, in doing so, to the very means by which Pluto carries his stolen bride to the depths of hell. Petrarch hints at the physical path to the underworld, while Ripa devotes a great deal of his entry on the *carro di Plutone* to the horses that pull Pluto's carriage to the underworld. Though Ripa's descriptions of the horses are not included by Bernini in his representation of the myth, they do parallel certain segments of Anguillara's narrative that likewise devote careful attention to the unnerving creatures:

> Obedisce la Terra al suo tiranno,
> E la strada apre, ch'a l'inferno il mena,
> Et ei sferza i cavagli, e quei vi vanno
> A'roder lieti l'infernale avena.
> Con dolor, con agoscia, e con affanno
> Resta colei ne l'oltraggiata arena,
> E può l'ira, e'l dolor nel suo cor tanto,

[51] Ibid., 55.

Che più, che v'ha il pesier, più cresce il piato.[52]

(The Earth obeys her master,
And the way to hell opens,
And he lashes the horses, and they take off,
Pleased to gnaw on infernal oats.
With pain, with anguish, and with worry,
She remains in the violated arena
With so much anger and pain in her heart,
That the more she thinks, the more she cries.)

In a turn of the narrative, Anguillara brings the focus from the horses and the splitting earth to the young goddess whom Pluto has snatched under the sway of Cupid's spell. The final couplet is fully devoted to Persephone's grief—a theme that was given just as much emphasis in Renaissance literature as Pluto's representation and conquest. One last entry in the *Iconologia* will be considered in shifting to the subject of the goddess's strife.

The only mention of Persephone in Ripa's text is found, quite appropriately, in the entry *Rapina*. Although *rapina* translates as "robbery" rather than "rape," Ripa's personification of the term clearly invites a reading more grounded in a narrative context:

> Donna armata con un Nibbio per cimiero, e con la spada ignuda nella man dritta, nella sinistra haverà uno Scudo, in mezzo del qua le sia dipinto Plutone, che rapina Proserpina, e à canto da una parte vi sia un Lupo.[53]
>
> (Woman armed with a kite for a helmet, and with a naked sword in her right hand, in her left she will have a shield, in the middle of which is painted Pluto, who snatches Proserpina, and nearby on one side is a Wolf.)

It is interesting to note that the myth of Pluto and Persephone was the story chosen to illustrate the personification of Ripa's *rapina*, especially as the author goes on to quote Virgil in a line that brings to mind the oft-cited comparison between Bernini's sculpture and Giambologna's sixteenth-century *Rape of the Sabines*. According to Ripa, even Virgil affirms Saint Thomas's belief that rape "is nothing other than robbery" when he writes that *Raptas sine more*

[52] Anguillara, *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, 63.
[53] Ripa, *Iconologia*, 428-29.

Sabinas[54]—that the "Sabine women were seized without delay." Turning back to Anguillara's telling of the Pluto and Persephone narrative, it is evident that he, too, treated Persephone's struggle with a tone of gravity—a somber chord that manifested itself in literature through the motif of the falling tear. In Bernini's *Pluto and Persephone*, the two tears that the sculptor has rendered on the goddess's left cheek constitute what is perhaps the most poignant detail of the figure group (Figure 4).

In a sculpture so rich in sumptuous narrative, Persephone's marble tears merit a second glance in light of a remarkable terracotta fragment of the goddess's head now held in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 5). The superior refinement of the piece indicates that it may have been shaped by Bernini himself. Light-colored particles found on the surface of the fragment suggest that a plaster cast was made from an unfired clay model of the entire sculpture. After the plaster cast was made, most of the original model was discarded, but the clay composing the head was carefully recovered from the cast, reduced to a type of mask, and fired in a kiln. While the mask is the sole fragment of the original model known to have survived, precisely why it was preserved is open to speculation. It is possible, however, that the head was singled out as a sculptural detail worth saving for the sheer emotion conveyed in Persephone's tearful expression—for its ability, even as a fragment, "to convey both the nature of Proserpina's physical being and the anguish of her mind."[55] The narrative quality of the mask refers us back to the myth as represented by Bernini's completed marble sculpture; Persephone's face may thus be considered another focal point of the figure group. A distinguishing characteristic of both the

[54] Ibid. The translation is my own.

[55] Henry Hawley, "A Terra-Cotta Model for Bernini's Proserpina," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58, no. 4 (1971): 111. Bernini family legend has it that the fragment was unearthed in the garden of the Palazzo Bernini sometime before 1839, when the mask was supposedly purchased by the Roman architect Busiri-Vici. This story is likely untrue, as the piece shows no sign of ever having been buried, but it does lend some support to the singularity of the mask as a carefully articulated piece of the Pluto and Persephone narrative.

terracotta fragment and the marble sculpture, the goddess's tears invite us to consider certain parallels between the myth of Pluto and Persephone and other narratives to which Bernini had access through his library.

Tracking the appearance of the tear throughout Bernini's books differs from exploring the figure of Cerberus in that the tear is not an element of a particular figure's iconography, but rather appears in a few select narratives that were widely represented in both art and literature. One such narrative is the myth of Pluto and Persephone, which has already been discussed in the context of Anguillara's translation; another, the story of Perseus and Andromeda, will be explored in greater detail as a story reproduced not only in the translation of Ovid's text, but also by Ludovico Ariosto in the epic tale of *Orlando Furioso*. The idea that the tears in Bernini's *Pluto and Persephone* might recall the narratives of other prominent myths can, moreover, be traced back to the visual source that seems to have influenced Bernini the most in the execution of his sculpture: Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabines* (Figure 6). Unveiled in 1583 in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, the group is a prime example of the visual incorporation of more than one narrative into the same work; the subject of the work, in fact, remained unclear for at least a year after its completion. The impact of the statue on Bernini's *Pluto and Persephone*, however, is evident in a dynamic, red chalk drawing that is likely after Giambologna's group—the artist's only surviving study for the narrative sculptures executed for Scipione Borghese during his early twenties (Figure 7).[56]

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[56]Ann Sutherland Harris, *Selected Drawings of Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977), xiii and pl. 3. The drawing was first published by Heinrich Brauer and Rudolf Wittkower in 1931 and has been reprinted in Brauer and Wittkower, *Bernini's Drawings* (New York: Collectors Editions, 1970). See also Irving Lavin and Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini, from the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic: exhibition and catalogue* (Princeton, New Jersey: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1981); and Matthias Winner, *Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage in His Early Years: Praxiteles', Bernini's, and Lanfranco's Pluto and Prosperpina* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1985).

Bernini's drawing depicts two figures at the height of the victim's resistance; the struggling female figure is held almost diagonally in the arms of her male captor, who counters the tension of her contorted body with a firmly planted lunge that resembles Pluto's stance in Bernini's marble sculpture. Though his muscular legs are sketched with relatively faint lines, they clearly bear the weight of the captive whose body is nearly entangled around his waist. As the female figure attempts to shove her captor's head as far away as possible from her own, her foreshortened legs recede into the space behind the body of the male figure. It is at the chiastic intersection of these two bodies that the tension between the pair is most concentrated, as Bernini has here employed the heaviest contours and shading to convey the victim's desperation to avoid any further contact with her captor. Full of bold and exploratory lines drawn to communicate some level of narrative, Bernini's study of the *Rape of the Sabines* is an early indication of the twisting compositional features that he would incorporate in the creation of his *Pluto and Persephone*. A key difference between the sculptures, however, may be observed when the figure groups are considered alongside the narratives by which they are now known. With the drawing as evidence of Bernini's regard for the work, Giambologna's marble group can be considered in relation to the later sculptor's rather unique approach to representing the tale of Pluto and Persephone in his work.

While the *Pluto and Persephone* can be clearly identified by Bernini's use of Pluto's iconography, Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabines* does not actually include attributes that directly identify the sculpture as a portrayal of the Roman legend. Giambologna was, of course, aware of his subject's ambiguity; his remarks in a 1579 letter to his patron, Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, suggest that he may even have intended it. In the letter, the artist addresses the uncertain narrative of his two-figure bronze representation of the same subject: "The two above-mentioned

figures may be interpreted as the rape of Helen, or perhaps as that of Proserpine, or of one of the Sabine women: the subject was chosen to give an opportunity for the knowledge and study of art."[57] Although Giambologna's bronze sculpture seems to have been an independent work rather than a study for the marble group completed about four years later, the artist evidently treated the identification of the two groups in the same manner.[58]

In mentioning "the knowledge and study of art," Giambologna was probably referring to the tendency of his marble sculpture to compel its spectators to view the group from multiple angles. His letter also suggested, however, that his figures could be read in more than one narrative context, and an understanding of art in sixteenth-century Italy certainly involved developing and employing religious, historical, and mythological imagery—a collection of knowledge that was readily available in contemporary literature. Returning to the widespread presence of the tear in Renaissance texts, Bernini's response to the motif with the *Pluto and Persephone* may now be examined with respect to its appearance in the tale of Perseus and Andromeda.[59] Though Bernini obviously favored a straightforward representation of his subjects over the narrative flexibility of Giambologna's sculpture, he may have found intellectual and artistic value in incorporating elements from other myths into his figure group. A brief account

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[57] Charles Avery, *Giambologna: An Exhibition of Sculpture by the Master and His Followers, from the Collection of Michael Hall, Esq.* (New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, 1998), 48. I have borrowed Avery's translation of the letter.

[58] Charles Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Mt. Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell Limited, 1987), 109. Avery supports the idea that Giambologna was as indifferent to the subject of his marble *Rape of the Sabines* as he was to the bronze; the sculptor considered the later work, especially, to be a compositional and technical exercise in marble rather than an actual representation of a narrative.

[59] The tale of Perseus and Andromeda, coincidentally, was one of those considered in ascribing a subject to Giambologna's marble sculpture. The proposed scene involved Andromeda's being snatched away from her father by her uncle Phineas—an event that does not actually occur, but is suggested at the beginning of Ovid's fifth book when Phineas storms into the halls of Perseus and Andromeda's wedding feast, shouting that he will reclaim the niece to whom he had once been engaged. See Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, 112; and Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, 139. Paul Barolsky elaborates on the presence of the tear in Bernini's sculpture and in the statuesque figure of Ovid's Andromeda, though he also examines the motif in the character of Phineas, whose tears are literally petrified when Perseus brandishes the head of Medusa before his eyes. Paul Barolsky, "Andromeda's Tears," *Arion* 6, no. 3 (1999): 25.

of the Perseus and Andromeda narrative will provide the foundation on which the tears in Anguillara's *Metamorfosi* and in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* can be discussed.

At the beginning of Ovid's myth, Andromeda, an Ethiopian princess and the daughter of Cepheus and Cassiope, is chained to a rock by the sea as punishment for her mother's continuous boasting about her daughter's beauty. Left to die at the fangs of a sea serpent, she is spotted from a distance by Perseus, who is flying above the shoreline with the wings of Hermes clipped to his feet.[60] Andromeda's tears are her only means of showing that she is not merely a figure carved out of stone, and Perseus quickly descends to inquire about her identity and unfortunate circumstances. Though she initially weeps even more in apprehension of the stranger, she eventually responds to his questions to defend herself against any false assumptions regarding her punishment. Before long, however, the dreaded sea monster is seen thrashing in toward the shoreline, and Perseus agrees to save Andromeda if her parents consent to the marriage of their daughter to the young hero. Cepheus and Cassiope, who shed their own tears of distress at the sight of the creature, accept this proposition, and Perseus goes on to slay the monster and to wed the beautiful Andromeda.[61] The English translation of Ovid's narrative provides a vivid image of the moment at which Perseus first sees his future bride:

> When Perseus saw her
> Fastened to a rock, arms chained above the sea,
> But for hot tears that rippled down her face
> And swaying hair that fluttered in the wind,
> He might have thought the girl a work of art,
> Carved out of stone. Dazed by the sight of her
> Fire was lightning in his veins.…[62]

[60] Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, 131. In Anguillara's translation, Perseus is actually riding on the wings of Pegasus; for this detail and other minor differences in the sequence of events between Ovid's text and Anguillara's translation, see Worthen, "Poussin's Paintings of Flora," 587.
[61] Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, 131-34.
[62] Ibid., 131.

Ovid's poetic use of tears in the Andromeda narrative does not seem to have required much revision on Anguillara's part, as the translation carries the theme of weeping as effectively as the original text.[63] It should be noted, however, that it is not only the recurring appearance of the tear in the Andromeda myth that made the detail a motif, but also the integration of the tear by other Renaissance authors into their own publications. Ariosto, whose *Orlando Furioso* enjoyed tremendous success in and beyond the author's lifetime, incorporated a number of interpretations of Ovid's myths into his *ottava rima* poem—including an episode derived from the tale of Andromeda. First published in 1516,[64] the novel had already been in circulation for about forty-five years by the time the first edition of *Le Metamorfosi* was published in 1561.

In one episode of Canto X, Ariosto establishes a clear parallel between Ovid's Andromeda and his own Angelica, the female heroine with whom Orlando falls madly and irrevocably in love. This scene, however, casts a fellow knight called Ruggiero as the hero who, soaring above the shores of an exotic island on the back of a hippogriff, discerns a statuesque figure among the rocks below:

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[63] The following passage from Anguillara's translation (*Le Metamorfosi*, 54) describes Perseus' first view of the weeping Andromeda:

> Su l'Ocean scopria già il Cefeo lido.
> Dove Cassiopea troppo hebbe orgoglio,
> Quádo più d'un laméto e più d'un strido
> S'udì tutto empir l'aere di cordoglio.
> Perseo rivolge gli occhi al . . . grido,
> E vede star legata ad uno scoglio,
> Una infelice vergine, che piange
> Per lo timor, che la tormenta & ange.
>
> (By the Ocean Cepheus had already discovered the shore
> Where Cassiope had too much pride
> When more than one lament and more than one scream
> He heard fill the air with sorrow
> Perseus turns his eyes to the cry
> And sees tied to a rock
> An unhappy virgin, who weeps
> For the fear that torments and oppresses her.)

[64] D.S. Carne-Ross, "The One and the Many: A Reading of the Orlando Furioso," *Arion* 3, no. 2 (1976): 147.

Creduto avria che fosse statua finta
o d'alabastro o d'altri marmi illustri
Ruggiero, e su lo scoglio così avinta
per artificio di scultori industri
se non vedea la lacrima distinta
tra fresche rose e candidi ligustri
far rugiadose le crudette pome,
e l'aura sventolar l'aurate chiome.

(Ruggiero would have thought her a statue of alabaster or other noble marbles, fastened upon the rock by the work of ingenious sculptors, had he not seen the tear that made its way between her roses and white lilies, bedewing the un-ripened apples of her breasts, and the breeze ruffling her gold hair.)[65]

Like Andromeda, Angelica awaits the wrath of a sea monster and is furthermore identified by the flowing tears that bring movement to her restrained body.[66] Ariosto's suggestion that "ingenious sculptors" might have carved this lifelike figure, moreover, highlights Ovid's classic metaphor of a marble sculpture becoming the living heroine of the story, and Bernini's Persephone could certainly have been his response to the weeping maiden described by Ariosto and Anguillara in their respective texts. It should be noted, however, that while both authors looked to Ovid's Latin text in the process of crafting their own, Anguillara likely drew inspiration from Ariosto's novel as well.

While three official editions of *Orlando Furioso* were published in Ariosto's city of Ferrara in 1516, 1521 and, in its most complete form, 1532, at least fifteen unauthorized copies appeared in Milan, Florence, and Venice between 1524 and 1531— a trend that speaks for the popularity of the fiery love story during the eleven-year stretch that it was not officially

[65] Ibid., 155-56. Carne-Ross draws several parallels between Ariosto's text and ancient narratives in a comparative study of Ariosto's novel, also articulating the point that Ariosto leads the reader through the multiple love triangles of his characters by creating parallels among those subplots. I have borrowed this translation of the passage from a section of the article that examines the relationship between Ruggiero and Angelica. It has been slightly modified; we use the word "seen" in place of Carne-Ross's "marked."
[66] Ibid., 155.

published.[67] With this level of success, Ariosto was for Anguillara an author worth emulating, and Anguillara's articulation of the tale of Perseus and Andromeda may have been his response to Ariosto's adventure of Ruggiero. This possibility, interestingly, is noted by Orologi in his annotations to Anguillara's translation of the myth.

One particular line in the annotations to the 1587 edition of Anguillara gives a strong indication of Ariosto's influence on his fame-thirsty successor; indeed, it states explicitly that Anguillara was in competition with the celebrated novelist.[68] In light of the fact that Ariosto had been dead for over thirty years when this note appeared in Anguillara’s book, Orologi's remark suggests the continued popularity of *Orlando Furioso*, the circulation of the text in Anguillara’s lifetime and still in Bernini’s. It should also be recalled that Ariosto was an author of interest in the literary circles that surrounded Bernini. As Lelio Guidiccioni responded to the novel in his own writings,[69] it is fully imaginable that Scipione and the rest of his circle found discussions surrounding Ariosto's poem to be stimulating and, perhaps, ripe with ideas for Bernini's next sculpture.

[67] Conor Fahy, “Some Observations on the 1532 Edition of Ludovico Ariosto’s “Orlando Furioso,” *Studies in Bibliography* 40 (1987): 72.
[68] Anguillara, *Le Metamorfosi*, 57.
[69] Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity*, 32.

Chapter 3: *Apollo and Daphne*

The tale of Apollo and Daphne, like that of Pluto and Persephone, is one of the pursuer and the pursued, and it too begins with Cupid, mastermind of love's wrenching entanglements. At the start of the tale, Apollo arrogantly scolds Cupid for playing with the bow that he has just used to slaughter the monstrous Python. Resenting Apollo's belittling remarks, Cupid flies to a high ledge and selects his two weapons of retaliation: a golden arrow that will inflame its target with unrelenting love, and a leaden one that will coldly extinguish any such passion. He proceeds to shoot the first at Apollo and the second at Daphne, setting off a chase that ends only when the lovely nymph calls out to her father, the river god Peneus, pleading him to "cover with green earth" the "body [she wears] too well."[70]

Bernini has captured his figures immediately after this moment of the chase, when Daphne takes root to begin her fantastical transformation into a laurel tree (Figure 8). Apollo steps forward as though buoyed by the wind, his seemingly weightless garment suspended behind him in the gust of his chase. Daphne's wavy hair, too, is carved with a remarkable lightness, and her thickest locks thrive upward into branches as though infused with a life of their own. As Apollo's blindly searching hand meets the coarse bark encircling the nymph's slender waist, she turns her head back to the young god in unmistakable alarm, an expression he returns with nothing more than passive wonder (Figure 9). His vacant eyes do not meet those of his beloved, but almost seem to suggest that he expects the chase to continue—that he, like the spiritless bark enveloping Daphne's figure, will also partake of his lover's eternal metamorphosis. Beyond what Howard Hibbard described as "one of the most successful illustrations of a literary

[70] Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, 46.

passage ever made,"[71] Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* was the sculptor's response to an intense literary and artistic dialogue that had for centuries amplified the myth for writers, artists, and the readers and viewers that responded to their works.

The story of Apollo and Daphne had essentially been recreated by the trecento poet Petrarch (1304-1374), whose *Rime sparse* became tremendously popular in the last decades of the fourteenth century. The collection captivated readers by intertwining Apollo's fruitless chase with the author's own unconsummated love for a fellow parishioner named Laura,[72] whose actual existence was contested by even the poet's closest friends.[73] Though Petrarch composed the vast majority of his work in Latin, he crafted in Italian vernacular the songs and sonnets that would constitute the *Rime sparse*—a stylistic choice that, despite his apparent disapproval of vernacular writing in his later years, certainly made his collection more accessible to readers in the Renaissance. Petrarch began composing the poems in the early 1330s and had prepared at least 215 of them by 1359, when an incomplete version of the work was circulated in a compilation of poems by other authors. He continued to revise and restructure a more polished version of the *Rime sparse* until his death in 1374. The continued success of the final transcription, which

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[71]Hibbard, *Bernini*, 50.

[72] Robert M. Durling, introduction to *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, by Cesare Ripa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 5-7. Petrarch recorded his first and only glimpse of Laura on the flyleaf of his copy of Virgil. Durling has reprinted E.H. Wilkins's translation of the note (Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 77). According to the note, the poet first saw her at the church of St. Claire in Avignon on April 6, 1327; he records her date of death on Easter Sunday on April 6, 1348. These two dates, as Durling points out, "involve both the penitential implication for the lover and the assurance of Laura's salvation"—an idea that perhaps supports the view that Petrarch fabricated his unfulfilling romance with careful attention to timing.

[73] Durling, introduction to *Petrarch's Lyric Poems,* 4-7. Petrarch was employed as a private chaplain by Cardinal Giovanni Colonna between 1330 and 1347-48, but Colonna and his friends also proved to be valuable patrons of the poet's creative endeavors. Durling notes, indeed, that Petrarch's role as a chaplain "may have meant no more than that he occasionally sang prayer services in the chapel." In 1341, Petrarch was actually named poet laureate in Rome—a distinction that increased only his fame in Italy. Colonna would be among those friends who questioned Laura's existence; Petrarch addressed his patron's accusations in a letter that cannot, as it was written for circulation among the poet's friends, be taken as evidence for his lover's reality.

contained 366 poems,[74] is evidenced by the large number of volumes published throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries;[75] Bernini himself owned an edition of *Il Petrarca*,[76] which included the *Rime sparse* and some of the poet's other vernacular works. Petrarch's recasting of the Apollo and Daphne myth would, as Andrea Bolland has suggested, underlie every representation of the story that followed, and early modern readers would undoubtedly have associated any reference to the myth with the poems bewailing their author's ill-fated love for his elusive beloved.[77] The poet's influence on Bernini's contemporaries was in fact made explicit in the moralizing couplet that the future Pope Urban VIII composed for the base of the sculpture. Modeled after a sonnet from the *Rime sparse*, the distich would have had a sobering effect on Bernini's portrayal of Apollo's hopeless surrender to love's enchantment:

> QVISQVIS AMANS SEQVITVR FVGITIVAE GAVDIA FORMAE
> FRONDE MANVS IMPLET BACCAS SEV CARPIT AMARAS
>
> (Whoever, loving, pursues the joys of fleeting forms fills his hands with sprays of leaves and seizes bitter fruits.)[78]

The cautionary epigraph would, at least for Maffeo Barberini, emphasize the secular nature of Apollo's love for Daphne by warning of the sharp disappointment that accompanies fleeting, earthly beauty.

According to Bernini in his biographies,[79] Maffeo composed the distich in order to defend the sensuous figure group before Cardinal Escoubleau de Sourdis of France, who had

[74] Ibid., 7.
[75] *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 now in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1958), 502-06. Initially published under the title *Canzoniere*, the poems were from the early 1500s often printed in a volume entitled *Il Petrarca*, which included some of the poet's other vernacular works.
[76] McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 446. Bernini owned the 1600 edition published in Venetia by Domenico Imberti.
[77] Andrea Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*: Vision, Touch, and the Poetics of Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne*." *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 2 (2000): 316.
[78] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 236, n. 50. I have used Hibbard's translation of the couplet.

reportedly been appalled at Daphne's nudity. Bernini's recollection is likely flawed, however, given a few glaring inconsistencies in chronology. Documentary evidence suggests that the French cardinal had left Rome by the middle of July in 1622,[80] but Bernini did not actually obtain the marble block for the sculpture until a few weeks after de Sourdis's departure.[81] In helping craft his own biography almost forty years after the creation of the *Apollo and Daphne*,[82] the sculptor probably, as Bolland has pointed out, "embellished or misremembered" exactly who was present for Maffeo's moment of inspiration.[83] Maffeo, furthermore, presumably wrote the couplet while still a cardinal;[84] he may have requested that the inscription be added to the base sometime after he was elected pope in August of 1623, a date that roughly corresponds to the period in which Bernini halted work on the sculpture to execute the *David*.[85] The *Apollo and Daphne*, then, had probably been completed in most of its luscious detail before Maffeo could shroud it in his own moralizing interpretation of the myth. It is necessary, however, to explore this moralizing tradition as part of the literature to which Bernini may have responded in the conception of his figure group—especially given Petrarch's impact not only on Barberini, but

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[79] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 48. Bernini's story appears in all three biographies in varying levels of detail. Bolland gives a brief analysis of the chronological issues behind Bernini's anecdote.

[80] Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures," 238. Cardinal de Sourdis came to Rome in the spring of 1621 and stayed for over a year; Bernini executed a portrait of the cardinal during this time.

[81] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 48.

[82] The extent to which the biographies written by Baldinucci and Bernini's son Domenico can be viewed as autobiographies is an issue addressed in Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven F. Ostrow, "Prolegomena to the Interdisciplinary Study of Bernini's Biographies," in *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, ed. Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven F. Ostrow (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 1-72.

[83] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 48.

[84] That Barberini composed the couplet as a cardinal is assumed by the account given by Bernini's biographers, but Cesare D'Onofrio has proposed that he did indeed compose the couplet between 1618 and 1620. See D'Onofrio, *Roma Vista da Roma* (Rome: Liber, 1967), 307, 276; and Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 55.

[85] The payment documents recording the dates of execution of the *Apollo and Daphne* (as well as for the *Pluto and Persephone*, and the *David*) were first published by Italo Faldi and Howard Hibbard: Italo Faldi, "Note sulle scultore borghesiane del Bernini," *Bollettino d'Arte* 38 (1953): 140-146; idem., "Nuove note sul Bernini," *Bollettino d'Arte* 38 (1953): 310-16; and Howard Hibbard, "Nuove note sul Bernini," *Bollettino d'Arte* 43 (1958): 181-83. The documents were republished in Marina Minozzi, "Appendice documentaria: Le opere di Bernini nella collezione di Scipione Borghese," in *Bernini scultore: La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat., eds. Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1998), 437-40. The base of the sculpture, complete with the inscription, was completed by March 15, 1625. Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 48.

also on Orologi, Ripa, and Marino. A comparison of Barberini's couplet with the Petrarchan sonnet on which it was based will begin to reveal how the myth of Apollo and Daphne evolved from one author to another.

The principal similarity between Maffeo's distich and the sixth poem of the *Rime sparse*, as Bolland has noted, lies in the lover's chase after the one he desires, who is "light and free of the snares of Love."[86] Petrarch's verse is one of utter despair; in the last few lines of the poem, the author is driven mad by the merciless desire in his own heart, which only brings him to emotional and spiritual exhaustion:

> sol per venir al lauro onde si coglie
> acerbo frutto, che le piaghe altrui
> gustando affligge più che non conforta.
>
> (only to come to the laurel, whence is gathered bitter fruit that,
> being tasted, afflicts one's wounds more than it comforts them.)[87]

The laurel cited at the beginning of the verse came to symbolize Petrarch's beloved Laura, whose name stands only one letter apart from *lauro*, the Italian word for the tree of Daphne's metamorphosis. Petrarch's omission of the apostrophe in his writing, as Robert Durling has pointed out, also granted him the poetic flexibility to represent his beloved with the words *l'aura* (breeze) and *l'auro* (gold).[88] In the sonnet above, the laurel tree places Laura in the role of Daphne and the poet himself in the role of Apollo. As the character fated to give love endlessly without receiving any form of affection in return, the poet laments the cruelty of love in steering

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[86]Francesco Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*: *The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 40. Bolland first suggests a poem on Apollo and Daphne by Politian as a possible source for Barberini's inscription, but goes on to note that Petrach's sonnet was the source for Politian's final couplet (Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 316). Ludovico Castelvetro, a translator and literary critic, had first recognized the connection between Petrarch's and Politian's verses in his *Rime sparse brevemente sposte*, published in 1582; it was also noted by Rudolf Preimesberger in "Themes from Art Theory in the Early Works of Bernini," in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Life and Thought*, ed. Irving Lavin (University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1985), 124, n. 4. See Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 52.
[87] Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 40-41. I have used Durling's translation of the verse.
[88] Durling, introduction to *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 27.

him to the laurel's fruit, the taste of which only heightens the anguish of his unrequited love. It is this "bitter fruit," in fact, that provides the immediate textual link between Petrarch's verse and Maffeo's couplet. Beyond their references to the laurel's fruit, the two poets treat love and the distance between the pursuer and the pursued in contrasting ways.

While earthly, time-bound love is inherent in both poets' verses, Petrarch's poem does not dismiss romantic love as a secular pleasure, but instead seems to authenticate it by making the myth relatable for contemporary readers. Maffeo's couplet, on the other hand, was inscribed on the base of the *Apollo and Daphne* to warn viewers—and perhaps those reading secular poetry treating the myth—of the ultimate disappointment awaiting them should they pursue the short-lived pleasures of physical love. How effective the inscription actually was toward this aim, however, is subject to debate; though representative of Maffeo's moralistic response to Petrarch's poetry,[89] its immediate purpose was to recast Bernini's figure group as a decorative piece appropriate for a cardinal's villa. It was also, as Bolland has indicated, a departure from the symbolic moralization of the Apollo and Daphne myth more typically found in contemporary texts[90]—including Ripa's *Iconologia* and Orologi's annotations of the narrative in Anguillara's *Le Metamorfosi*.

In the annotations at the end of the first book of Anguillara's translation, Orologi describes the virtues of the laurel tree into which Daphne has been transformed. As resistant to fire as Daphne was to the flames of Apollo's love, the laurel still carries the eternal beauty and chastity of the young nymph:

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[89] Preimesberger, 1985, 12-13 (as in n. 86). Preimesberger suggests that Barberini's inscription was a critique of both Petrarch's and Marino's poetry; Bolland notes also that Barberini emulated Petrarch in much of his later moralizing poems, such as those included in his *Poemata*, first published in Paris in 1620. It is interesting to note, however, that the *Poemata* was first written in vernacular Italian, while the inscription chosen for the base of the *Apollo and Daphne* was composed in Latin. The Latin, perhaps, intended to lend a sense of sobriety to the sculpture.

[90] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 316.

> Si può vedere la sua vaghezza per la somiglianza, che ha quest'arbore con la castità, la quale vuole esser perpetua, come è perpetuo il verde del lauro, e stridere, e fare resistenza alle fiamme d'amore, come stridono, e resistono le sue foglie, e i suoi rami gettati sopra il fuoco.[91]
>
> (One can see her beauty through the likeness that this tree has with chastity, which desires to be as endless as the perpetual green of the laurel, and to crackle and resist the flames of love as her leaves and her branches crackle and resist when thrown onto the fire.)

By drawing a direct comparison between Daphne's virtuous qualities and the unbending strength of the laurel tree, Orologi presents, regardless of his intention, the type of moralizing imagery that illuminated the laurel as a symbol of chastity for readers familiar with Petrarch's vernacular poetry. Ovid's laurel would, moreover, come to represent several other figures and virtues in the art and literature that followed. The laurel crown became a key element of Apollo's iconography, and the laurel branch would survive as a symbol of victory—an emblem that may have its direct source in the last few lines of Ovid's telling of the narrative. When Daphne has completed her metamorphosis and Apollo has at last pressed his lips to her bark, the poet uses the young, weary god as a channel through which he can praise the ancient Roman emperor Augustus: the laurel, Apollo declares, would crown Roman captains as they rode home from victory, and it would appear wherever the ruler chose to build the gates and walls of Rome.[92] These are surely the lines to which Orologi refers in his annotations when he remarks that Ovid, pretending favor of the ancient Roman emperor, may have likened Augustus to Apollo and his wife Livia to Daphne.[93] It is interesting to note that Petrarch, too, used this method of drawing parallels between mythological characters and modern figures. The connections Petrarch drew between himself and Apollo and between Laura and Daphne were, admittedly, more intimate, but the *Rime sparse* seems also to have been the source primarily responsible for establishing the laurel as a symbol

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[91] Anguillara, *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, 11.
[92] Ovid, The Metamorphoses, 46-47.
[93] Anguillara, *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, 12.

of chastity. Ovid's text, conversely, might be more fully credited with the laurel's ties to victory. Both meanings were perpetuated in almost equal measure in Ripa's sixteenth-century *Iconologia*.

Ripa was not, as is evident from the variety of sources that he consulted for his entries on Ceberus and the carriage of Pluto, discriminating in the texts he chose to employ in collecting imagery for his valuable and extensive dictionary. In her introduction to the reprint of the 1603 edition of the *Iconologia*, Erna Mandowsky suggests that Ripa was content to mix ancient and medieval sources in his entries, for "to his mind, every visual or literary reference would add to the perfection of his personifications."[94] This approach is further evident in his *Castità Matrimoniale* entry, where he copies verbatim Orologi's notes on Daphne's transformation, cited above. The allegorical figure, though not pictured in the 1603 edition of the work, is described as a woman dressed in white, holding a turtle dove in her left hand and a laurel branch in her right; other attributes include a wreath of rue and an ermine.[95] In the course of detailing each element of the figure's iconography, Ripa explains the laurel's association with chastity by quoting Orologi's annotations. The entry falls, incidentally, on a page that also cites lines from Ovid's Latin text.

Ripa's *Castità Matrimoniale*, a prime example of the moralizing symbolism disseminated by artists, contains also the religious undertone that made the *Iconologia* so successful for several years after its first publication. Though Ripa's numerous citations of ancient and contemporary mythological sources might fall within the realm of secular literature, the text itself is actually more telling of the efforts of the Catholic Church to awaken the faith of its members. Struggling to maintain precedence over the Protestant movement, the Church turned to

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[94] Erna Mandowsky, introduction to *Iconologia*.
[95] Ripa, *Iconologia*, 66; and Yassu Okayama, *The Ripa Index: Personifications and Their Attributes in Five Editions of the Iconologia* (Netherlands: Davaco Publishers, 1992), 39.

art in order to depict virtues, vices, and "every conceivable sentiment and passion," as Mandowsky has rightly noted, in a consistent and stimulating way. Ripa contributed to this effort by creating a volume that incorporated both text and image, and the religious dignitaries that he met through his employment under Cardinal Salviati surely assisted him in this endeavor.[96] It is possible, in fact, that Maffeo Barberini was one of these prominent figures—a prospect that may be explored with a closer examination of the one entry in the *Iconologia* in which he is actually mentioned.

In the 1603 edition of his text, Ripa makes explicit the fact that the personification of *Eternità* has been borrowed from a treatise on love written by "Francesco Barberini," a trecento poet and lawyer more commonly identified as Francesco da Barberino (1264-1384). Florentine by birth, he was best known for two allegorical poems on the spiritual and secular aspects of love: the *Reggimento e costumi di donna*, a prosaic guide for women seeking to apply the virtues in married life and in society; and the *Documenti d'Amore*, another source of direction for lovers who hoped to lead moral lives and to employ the virtues in all of their relationships. The latter text is actually the *trattato d'amore* that Ripa so generously praises in the *Iconologia*[97]—a curious response to Barberino's fourteenth-century work, which was hardly circulated until almost twenty years after Ripa's death in 1622. Very few copies of the poem existed even in Barberino's lifetime, and it was not until 1640 that the *Documenti* was finally published, complete with seventeenth-century illustrations of the virtues and a biography of the author. Despite the fact that it was not easily accessible while Ripa was conducting research for his own text, he may have been able to study Barberino's poem with the assistance of the Barberini

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[96] Erna Mandowsky, introduction to *Iconologia*.
[97] Eleonora Stoppino, "The Italian *Reggimento e costumi di donna* (selections) and *Documenti d'amore* (selections) of Francesco da Barberino," in *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behavior for Youths, with English Translations*, ed. Kathleen M. Ashley and Mark David Johnston (University of Toronto Press, 2009), 128-29.

family. Maffeo apparently owned a manuscript of the *Documenti* by 1603, a date that directly corresponds to the edition of the *Iconologia* being considered here.[98] He is, furthermore, described in Ripa's *eternità* entry as the transcriber of Barberino's text as well as a descendant of the trecento poet.[99] His presumed familial ties to Barberino fall perfectly in line with the Barberini's efforts to associate themselves with an intellectual who sought to draw a clear distinction between sacred love and earthly love in his writing.[100] Maffeo would follow this example in his own poetry, most notably in the couplet he selected to adorn the base of the *Apollo and Daphne*.

With respect to Bernini's sculpture, then, Barberini's inscription ultimately represents a moralizing literary tradition ingrained within a variety of ancient and early modern texts. It should be emphasized, however, that a number of more obviously secular texts were in circulation at the same time—works that were actually popular for their flagrant departure from the moralization of Ovid's myths. A key author in this worldly interpretation of both Bernini's sculpture and the Apollo and Daphne myth was Giovanni Battista Marino, whose sensuous poetry shocked readers and contemporaries who favored the chaste distance between lovers in Petrarchan literature. The intimacy that Marino incorporates into his love poetry may be effectively demonstrated in the last lines of the penultimate stanza of his "Canzone dei baci," a

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[98] Estelle Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 50-51. Of the eight personifications of eternity included in the *Iconologia*, the portrayal that Ripa has extracted from Francesco's *Documenti* is the only one accompanied by an illustration. The descriptions of *Eternità* range from the venerable woman whose legs join above her head (Francesco's illustrated personification) to a woman in a green dress with a basilisk on her head. See Ripa, *Iconologia*, 138-42; and Okayama, *The Ripa Index*, 80-81.

[99] Ripa, *Iconologia*, 140. Maffeo is cited as "Monsignor Maffeo Barberini Chierico di Camera."

[100] Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, 50. Lingo's focus is on the Barberini's positive reinterpretation of Cupid, which the family hoped to shape with the publication of Francesco's *Documenti*; the poem would, they hoped, help achieve this aim by presenting a clear distinction between sacred love and secular love.

poem that Bolland aptly selects as an example of the "proximity that threatens to meld the participants into a single identity":[101]

> Ebro di tanta gloria i'tremo e taccio;
> ond'ella che m'ha in braccio,
> lascivamente onesta,
> gli occhi mi bacia, e fra le perle elette
> frange due parolette:
> —Cor mio!—dicendo, e poi,
> baciando i baci suoi,
> di bacio in bacio a quel piacer mi desta,
> che l'alme insieme allaccia e i corpi innesta.

> (Drunk with such glory, I tremble and fall silent; whence she who has me in her arms, lasciviously modest, kisses my eyes, and amidst exquisite pearls crushes two little words: My Heart! Saying, and then kissing her kisses, from kiss to kiss she stirs me to that pleasure that binds together souls and grafts body on body.)[102]

The poet's unabashedly sensuous descriptions do not seem to have bothered Bernini, as the sculptor owned more titles by Marino than by any other author listed in the inventory of his library.[103] The sumptuous "Canzone dei baci" was first published in 1602 in the poet's *Rime*,[104] a collection circulated in several editions during Bernini's lifetime and which he owned.[105] Marino, furthermore, responded to Ovid's myths extensively in his poetry collections, usually exaggerating the sensual love already present in the narratives. Marino ultimately incorporated the "Canzone dei baci" into his *Adone*, a collection first published in France in 1623 but released in several editions in Italy in the next few years.[106] The collection traces Adonis' journey through

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[101] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 317.
[102] Giambattista Marino, *Marino e i Marinisti*, ed. by Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, (Milan: Ricciardi, 1954), 354, as cited in Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 317. I have used Bolland's translation of the passage. The canzone begins at ottava 124 in canto 8 of *L'Adone* (Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 62).
[103] McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 444-48.
[104] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 62.
[105] McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 446.
[106] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 327, n. 57.

the Garden of Pleasure, an area of which is devoted to the sense of touch; it is here that Venus and Adonis enact the lascivious experience detailed in the *canzone*.[107]

The *Adone* did not, to say the least, experience an entirely positive reception; there is evidence, in fact, that Marino was actually prepared for the critical uproar that followed its publication. In several letters written between 1623 and 1624, the poet referred to "a discourse on lascivious writing" which, according to Bolland, he had planned to publish in the same volume as the *Adone*. Though the discourse did not ultimately appear alongside the collection it was intended to address,[108] another in defense of the *Adone* itself seems to have been included in *La Sferza del Cavalier Marini*, which was published in 1625 and contains the poet's heated tirade against four *ministri della iniquità*. Bernini owned this book[109]—a sure sign that he was aware of the debates surrounding the departure of Marino's scandalous poetry from the moralizing tradition that had come to be associated with Petrarch. It should be noted, however, that Marino's *Adone* represents the secular extreme of contemporary works. Another poem by Marino, which Bolland has discussed in light of the poet's unexpected emulation of Petrarchan poetics,[110] provides a valuable example of his tempered treatment of the Apollo and Daphne myth.

First published in Marino's *La sampogna* in 1620, the poem "Dafni" offers a remarkably tame description of the narrative found in Anguillara's translation of the myth. Like Anguillara, Marino devotes the bulk of his interpretation to the chase itself, which culminates in the sorrowful kiss that Apollo leaves upon Daphne's bark:

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[107] Ibid., n. 58.
[108] Ibid. The *Adone* was first published in France in 1623. After being subject to several publication restrictions during the poet's lifetime, the collection was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1627, two years after Marino's death.
[109] McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 447.
[110] Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 315.

Colà fermossi, e con sospiri e pianti
tra le braccia la strinse, e mille e mille
vani le porse, e 'ntempestivi baci.
Indi de' sacri et onorati fregi
del novello arboscel cinto la fronte,
coronatane ancor l'aurata cetra,
del'avorio facondo in atto mesto
sospeso il peso al'omero chiomato
e col dolce arco dala destra mosso
tutte scorrendo le loquaci fila,
cantò l'istoria dolorosa e trista
de' suoi lugubri e sventurati amori.

(There he stopped, and with sighs and tears, he embraced her in his arms, and offered her thousands and thousands of ill-timed kisses. Then, having girt his temples with the sacred and honored ornaments of the new tree, he also crowned with them his golden cithera; and with the eloquent ivory weighing on his tressed shoulder and the sweet bow in his right hand, gliding over the loquacious strings, he sang the dolorous and sad story of his mournful and unfortunate loves.)[111]

In Marino's departure from the moralizing tradition that presents the laurel as a symbol of chastity, the laurel tree in this interpretation of the tale may instead be understood as Daphne herself—as a nymph transformed, still loved by the one who has pushed her to her fate. This reading is most evident in Marino's description of Apollo's embrace; although Daphne's transformation has been detailed in the preceding passages, there is no indication in the first sentence of this stanza that the nymph's supple skin has toughened into the cool, course bark of the laurel. With respect to Apollo's poignant farewell to his beloved, however, Anguillara's illustration of these final moments presents a striking contrast to Marino's:

E'ncontrando le mani intorno al legno
L'abbraccia come fosse un corpo humano,
Il bacia, ma del bacio fugge il segno
L'arbore, che'l risolve, e'l rende vano,
Gli parla e dice, Arbore eccelso, e degno
Da poi, che sposa io t'ho bramata in vano,
Tu farai l'arbor mio, tu la mia cetra,

[111]Giambattista Marino, *La sampogna*, ed. by Vania de Maldé (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo and Ugo Guanda, 1993), 363, as cited in Bolland, "*Desiderio* and *Diletto*," 314. I have used Bolland's translation of the poem.

> Tu la chioma ornerai, tu la faretra.[112]

> (As the hands meet around the wood
> He embraces it as if it were a human figure,
> He kisses, but the kiss is not felt by
> The tree, that absorbs it, and renders it in vain,
> He speaks to it and says, excellent Tree, and worthy
> Henceforward, I who yearned for you as a wife in vain,
> You will be my tree, you my cithera,
> You will adorn my hair, my quiver.)

Anguillara immediately calls attention to the laurel tree that Apollo so amorously grasps, emphasizing Daphne's lasting aversion to the god's touch. Anguillara's and Marino's interpretations of the tale together create a balance between sensuality and narrative that appears to be at work in Bernini's figure group; the sensuality of the group, illuminated by Marino's version of the story with his attention to Daphne's flesh, does not detract from the actual narrative, which is most faithfully presented by Anguillara. In Bernini's sculpture, this balance is most notably observed in the flesh and bark that Apollo feels beneath the hand that encircles Daphne's waist (Figure 10). The sensation of flesh can be read as characteristic of Marino's illustration of the moment, while the bark that encroaches upon the smoothness of Daphne's skin is more an attribute of Anguillara's narrative. This balance, whether or not it was a conscious effort by Bernini, served as the sculptor's visual contribution to the heated literary discussions on the Apollo and Daphne myth. Though he was obliged to meet the expectations of his patron with the bravura that had so enlivened the *Pluto and Persephone*, it was certainly within his ability to create a figure group that would satisfy Cardinal Borghese without offending fellow religious officials.

[112]Anguillara, *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, 8.

With a more thorough understanding of the literary traditions surrounding the execution of the *Apollo and Daphne*, especially with respect to the books in Bernini's own library, the inscription on the base of the sculpture can be reexamined in light of the artist's intention for his work. Although Bernini may indeed have misremembered the figures viewing the sculpture when Maffeo Barberini purportedly composed the distich, the anecdote relays an interpretation of his early masterpiece that he hoped would be remembered. He wished, more specifically, for viewers to react to his feat of bringing such life and sensuality to the mythological figures, a response that Baldinucci directly articulated in his biography of the artist: "I need only to say that as soon as it was finished such acclamation arose that all Rome rushed to view it as though it were a miracle."[113] Bernini, then, would not have been displeased with the madrigal on Daphne published in Antonio Bruni's 1633 *Veneri.*[114] The poem lavishes praise on both the exquisitely carved nymph and the sculptor himself:

> Loda la bella Dafne
> così al vivo scolpita
> da chi porge anco a' marmi e senso, e vita;
> sol tu lodarla puoi,
> tu, che Tracio Cantor, Cigno Tebano
> sembri co i carmi tuoi:
> ecco scultor sovrano,
> perché, novo Anfion, novello Orfeo,
> del tuo canto al trofeo
> tu tragga arbori, e sassi, or la trasforma
> d'una in un'altra forma,
> e la mostra cortese a la tua cetra,
> or in pianta conversa, et ora in pietra.
> (Praise the beautiful Daphne
> Sculpted so alive
> By he who also gives marble both sense and life;
> Only you can praise her,

[113] Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, trans. Catherine Enggass (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 13.
[114] Bellini, "From Mascardi to Pallavicino," 281. The title of the madrigal is "Per la statua di Daphne, ch' villa dell'emintiss. Sig. cardinal Borghese."

> You, Thracian poet, Theban swan
> You seem with your odes:
> Here comes a sovereign sculptor,
> So that you, new Amphio, newborn Orpheus,
> From your song to the trophy
> Draw trees, stones, and rocks, who transforms her
> From one form to another,
> And shows her gracious to your lyre,
> Now transformed into a wail, and now into stone.)[115]

Bruni, too, treats the theme of Daphne's metamorphosis, but this time in the larger context of the practice of sculpture. From marble to nymph, Daphne owes her first transformation to Bernini, who infuses stone with "both sense and life." She owes her second transformation into a narrative figure, however, to the unknown poet who brings her story to life—to the author who, like Anguillara and Marino, places the nymph within the realm of contemporary literature, subject to the interpretation of a variety of readers.

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[115] Antonio Bruni, *Le Veneri: Poesie del Bruni, All'altezza serenissima di Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e di Piacenza* (Rome: Giacomo Mascardi, 1633), I. 34, as cited in Bellini, "From Mascardi to Pallavicino," 308-09, n. 30. I have used Bellini's translation of the verse (Bellini, "From Mascardi to Pallavicino," 283).

Conclusion

The greatest challenge in studying Bernini as an active reader lies in the fact that we must read his interaction with his books almost entirely through his visual response—primarily through the sculptures themselves and occasionally, as we have seen, through the clues provided by such pieces as the terracotta fragment of Persephone's face and the drawing after Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabines*. In this reconstruction of Bernini's reading practices, we have been pushed to read backward—to first study the sculptor's visual response, which represents the final stage of his active reading; to identify the sculptural elements that are not found in a straightforward translation of Ovid; and finally, to look for signs of those elements in Bernini's books.

The attempt of this thesis to place the *Pluto and Persephone* and the *Apollo and Daphne* within the framework of active reading has led to an unfolding of each sculpture's tightly woven literary context, full of parallels between narratives and ripe with literary traditions that have been passed on from one prominent author to the next. It has been necessary to recognize these connections in order to suggest, with some confidence, that Bernini also perceived the literary motifs that we have identified in his books. Certain visual elements of the figure groups can be traced quite cleanly back to the literature, a notable example being Bernini's portrayal of Pluto with several of the attributes mentioned by Ripa. An effort to draw similar connections between the *Apollo and Daphne* and texts familiar to Bernini, on the other hand, presents an unexpected tension between the visual and textual representations of the myth; unlike the *Pluto and Persephone*, this figure group does not contain details that can be pinpointed as literary motifs. Maffeo's inscription on the base of the sculpture, nevertheless, prompts a comparison between

the secular and moralizing traditions of the myth, revealing a dialogue to which Bernini may have contributed in the form of his marble sculpture.

This backward approach to Bernini's active reading, it seems, has largely adhered to the framework of a reader engaged in discussion. The artist's sculptural response sometimes appears to be a reflection of a few words in the pages of his books; at other moments, our method seems to have disclosed a faint but intriguing dialogue between the authors of the works under discussion, where one writer seems to respond to another through his poems or annotations. It should be recognized, however, that several forms of Bernini's active reading remain to be explored, some of which may strengthen the research presented here.

One method concerns the artist's activity in his studio and recalls our discussion of the terracotta fragment of Persephone's face. A closer examination of the role of terracotta models and of *bozzetti* in Bernini's planning for his marble sculptures may reveal that these intermediate pieces serve a function similar to that of his modifications to the illustration of the Pantheon in the architectural treatise. They may, in other words, mark his thought process between a book and the final work he envisioned. With respect to the *Pluto and Persephone*, such an analysis may further connect the preservation of the terracotta fragment to its significance in contemporary literature.

Another approach to the study of Bernini's reading is most clearly explained in light of the retrospective method employed in the research for this thesis. While active reading clearly hinges upon the reader's response to text, placing the reader in dialogue with his contemporaries may open the discussion of Bernini's sculptural response to include the reactions of other writers to his work. A prime example of the value of this approach is Bruni's madrigal on Daphne, which

addresses the roles of both the poet and the sculptor in a single stanza. A study of viewers' written responses to the mythological sculptures, especially in the form of poetry, may offer a further entry point for understanding the varieties of Bernini's reading practices. Expanding the concept of active reading to include the artist’s dialogue with ancient sculpture and contemporary painting, for instance, may allow us to ground his sculptural responses more firmly in what we can actually see. Research into this visual dialogue may begin with such works as the *Belvedere Torso* and Annibale Carracci’s frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese, and compelling similarities may be further explored in the faces of Bernini’s and Guido Reni’s female figures. The triangulation of the artist with his visual and literary sources is a rich and essential nexus from which to develop our study of Bernini as an active reader, and several other artists and their works remain to be explored in this relationship with the sculptor.

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