



Western Michigan University
ScholarWorks at WMU

Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Medieval Institute Publications

7-31-2018

Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses, Baroque to Neo-Baroque

Lisa Beaven

Angela Ndalianis

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/mip_smemc



Part of the Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture Commons

Recommended Citation

Beaven, Lisa and Ndalianis, Angela, "Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses, Baroque to Neo-Baroque" (2018). *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. 7.

https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/mip_smemc/7

This Edited Collection is brought to you for free and open access by the Medieval Institute Publications at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses, Baroque to Neo-Baroque

Edited by
Lisa Beaven and Angela Ndaliansis



Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses,
Baroque to Neo-Baroque

Medieval Institute Publications is a program of
The Medieval Institute, College of Arts and Sciences



WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses,
Baroque to Neo-Baroque

Edited by
Lisa Beaven and
Angela Ndalianis

Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture LIX

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo

Copyright © 2018 by the Board of Trustees of Western Michigan University

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Beaven, Lisa, editor. | Ndalianis, Angela, 1960- editor.

Title: Emotion and the seduction of the senses : baroque to neo-baroque /
edited by Lisa Beaven and Angela Ndalianis.

Description: Kalamazoo : Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan
University, 2018. | Series: Studies in Medieval and early modern culture |

Many of the essays in the book were first presented as papers given at a
conference at the University of Melbourne titled Baroque to Neo-baroque:

Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018011210 | ISBN 9781580442718 (hardcover : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Emotions in art. | Arts--Psychological aspects. | Arts,
Baroque--Themes, motives. | Arts, Baroque--Influence.

Classification: LCC NX165 .E455 2018 | DDC 700.1/9--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018011210>

ISBN: 9781580442718

eISBN: 9781580442725

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in, or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Acknowledgments	xv
Plates	xvii
Introduction <i>Lisa Beaven and Angela Ndalianis</i>	1
1 Feeling Baroque in Art and Neuroscience: Joy, Sadness, Pride, and a Spinozist Solution to the Quest for Happiness <i>Monika Kaup</i>	19
2 The Baroque Sublime: The Affective Power of Landscape <i>Helen Langdon</i>	43
3 “Their Jarring Spheres Confound”: John Milton’s <i>Paradise Lost</i> as a Counter-Baroque War Machine <i>Justin Clemens</i>	63
4 “To Make Them Gaze in Wonder”: Emotional Responses to Stage Scenery in Seventeenth-Century Opera <i>Katrina Grant</i>	79
5 The Role of Emotions in the Characters of Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s <i>Autos Sacramentales</i> <i>Javier de la Rosa, Adriana Soto-Corominas, and Juan Luis Suárez</i>	99
6 Clouds and Calculated Emotions in the Production of Neo-Baroque Spatial Illusions in Las Vegas Hotels and Casinos <i>Peter Krieger</i>	127

7	Mirrors of Reason, Illusion, and Infinity: The Case of the Villa Patrizi <i>David Marshall</i>	139
8	Infinite Bodies: The Baroque, the Counter-Reformation Relic, and the Body of James II <i>Matthew Martin</i>	165
9	Chican@ Saints: The Persistence of Religious Bodies in Mexican America <i>Kat Austin</i>	187
10	The Ecstasy (?) of Saint Teresa <i>John Weretka</i>	217
11	Faith and Fetish: Objects and the Body in Catholic Devotional Practice <i>Lisa Beaven</i>	235
12	<i>Hannibal</i> : Baroque Horror Vacui and the Theater of Senses <i>Angela Ndalianis</i>	257
	Contributors	283
	Index	287

List of Illustrations

- Plate 1. Guido Reni, *Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy at the Foot of the Cross*, ca. 1628–29, Chateau de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. xvii
- Plate 2. The Historic Grotto at Herrenhausen Gardens, Hanover, with new decoration by Niki de Saint-Phalle, 2001–3. xviii
- Plate 3. Adam Elsheimer, *The Flight into Egypt*, 31 cm × 41 cm, oil on copper, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, ca. 1609. xviii
- Plate 4. Salvator Rosa, *Prometheus*, 1648–50, oil on canvas, 220 × 176 cm. xix
- Plate 5. William Dawes, *The Downfall of Shakespeare Represented on the Modern Stage*, 1763–65, oil on canvas, 69.8 × 90.8 cm. xx
- Plate 6. Aerial view of the Nevada desert close to Las Vegas. xx
- Plate 7. Exterior view of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard. xx
- Plate 8. Palazzo Colonna, Rome, *Galleria*. Painted mirror with vase of flowers and five putti, by Carlo Maratta (1625–1723) and Giovanni Stanchi (1608–75). xxi
- Plate 9. Palazzo Colonna, Rome, *Galleria*. Detail of painted mirror with vase of flowers and three putti, by Carlo Maratta (1625–1723) and Mario de' Fiori (1603–73). xxii
- Plate 10. Rome, Palazzo Sciarra, painted mirror on vault. xxii
- Plate 11. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith and her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1625, oil on canvas, 184 × 141 cm, The Detroit Institute of Arts. xxiii
- Plate 12. Alma López, *Our Lady*, 1999, digital print, 36 × 44.5 cm. xxiv

- Plate 13. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, 1647–52, marble and other materials, life size, Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. xxiv
- Plate 14. Domenico Zampieri detto Domenichino, *St. Paul in Ecstasy*, 1606–8, oil on copper, 50 × 38 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris. xxv
- Plate 15. Nicolas Poussin, *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 1650, oil on canvas, 57 × 40 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris. xxvi
- Plate 16. Ludovico Carracci, *Portrait of a Widow*, ca. 1585, oil on canvas, 99.7 × 77.5 cm, Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio. xxvii
- Plate 17. Torre Abbey Jewel, pendant with skeleton and coffin, ca. 1540–50, enameled gold, scrollwork, English, Victoria and Albert Museum. xxviii
- Plate 18. Detail of Chloris and Zephyrus from Sandro Botticelli's *Primavera*, ca. 1482, tempera on panel. 2.03 × 3.14 m. xxix
- Plate 19. Hannibal's reconstruction and homage to Botticelli's Chloris and Zephyrus from the painting *Primavera*. From the episode "Primavera" (3:2), *Hannibal*, 2013–15. xxx
- Plate 20. One of Hannibal's victims, reborn as a "Tree Man." xxxi
- Plate 21. A publicity shot for *Hannibal* clearly alludes to the series' thematic connection to the Dutch *vanitas* painting tradition xxxii

Monika Kaup

- Figure 1.1. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, ca. 1647–52, Cornaro Chapel, S. Maria della Vittoria, Rome. 24
- Figure 1.2. Niki de Saint-Phalle, *Nanas*, sculpture, Leibnizufer, Hanover, 1974. 33
- Figure 1.3. Luis Jiménez, *Progress I*, Fiberglass, resin and acrylic paint, 1976/1999, Albuquerque Museum. 35
- Figure 1.4. Still from video performance of Guillermo Gómez-Peña, *Border Brujo*, 1989. 36

Helen Langdon

Figure 2.1. Nicolas Poussin, *Stormy Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe*, 1651, 192 × 273 cm. 49

Figure 2.2. Gaspard Dughet, *Landscape with Elijah and the Angel*, 1663, oil on canvas, 201.8 × 154 cm, National Gallery of London. 50

Figure 2.3. Salvator Rosa, *Landscape with Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman*, ca. 1662, oil on canvas, 125.7 × 202.1 cm, National Gallery of London. 51

Justin Clemens

Figure 3.1. The third edition of *Paradise Lost*, revised and edited by John Milton, 1678. Printed by S. Simmons, London, 1678. 64

Katrina Grant

Figure 4.1. François Chauveau after Giacomo Torelli, Scene for Act 3 of *Andromède* (Paris, 1650), etching, dimensions unknown. 87

Figure 4.2. Matthäus Küsel, after Ludovico Burnacini, “Wooded Landscape on Mount Ida,” set 4 of twenty-three from *Il Pomo d’Oro* (Vienna, 1667–68), etching, 14.2 × 21.7 cm. Harry R. Beard Collection, given by Isobel Beard. 91

Figure 4.3. Matthäus Küsel, after Ludovico Burnacini, “River Xanthos,” set 12 of twenty-three from *Il Pomo d’Oro* (Vienna, 1667–68), etching, 26 × 43.1 cm. Harry R. Beard Collection. 92

Figure 4.4. Matthäus Küsel, after Ludovico Burnacini, “Citron Grove,” set 16 of twenty-three from *Il Pomo d’Oro* (Vienna, 1667–68), etching, 26 × 43.1 cm. Harry R. Beard Collection. 93

Javier de la Rosa, Adriana Soto-Corominas, and Juan Luis Suárez

Table 5.1. “Noah” excerpt now split into sentences and converted into tabular data. 106

Figure 5.1. Lexical diversity of *autos* over time. 110

Figure 5.2. Lexical diversity over time. Lexical diversity of *autos* averaged by year. 111

Figure 5.3. Verse–sentence ratio of <i>autos</i> over time.	111
Figure 5.4. Verse–sentence ratio over time.	112
Figure 5.5. Correlation between sentiment and length of <i>autos</i> .	113
Figure 5.6. Number of characters by plane.	115
Figure 5.7. Number of characters by sphere.	116
Figure 5.8. Probability of positive sentence by gender.	116
Figure 5.9. Distributions of sentiment by plane and gender. Distributions of averaged values of probability of positive sentiment by existential plane and gender.	117
Figure 5.10. Distributions of sentiment by sphere and gender.	118
Figure 5.11. Number of characters and probability of positive sentiment by role.	119

Peter Krieger

Figure 6.1. Interior of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.	128
Figure 6.2. Interior of Caesars Palace Hotel and Casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.	129
Figure 6.3. Cloud and light effects on vault ceiling, interior of Caesars hotel-casino.	131
Figure 6.4. Shopping zones in interior of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.	132
Figure 6.5. Interior of the Paris hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.	133
Figure 6.6. Reproduction of the Paolo Veronese painting <i>Apotheosis of Venice</i> (1585) in the interior of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.	134

David Marshall

- Figure 7.1. Scene with hands holding candelabras. Jean Cocteau, *Beauty and the Beast (La Belle e la Bête)*. André Paulvé Film/Films du Palais Royal, 1946. 139
- Figure 7.2. Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, *Galleria*. View showing painted mirrors by A. D. Gabbiani, Bartolomeo Bimbi, and Pandolfo Reschi. 142
- Figure 7.3. Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, painted mirror in the *Galleria*. 144
- Figure 7.4. Rome, S. Maria in Campitelli, chapel showing relief frame. 146
- Figure 7.5. Rome, S. Ignazio, nave, with fresco by Andrea Pozzo. 147
- Figure 7.6. Villa Patrizi, 1715–27, reconstructed plan and elevations of Stanza degli Specchi. 151
- Figure 7.7. Soriano nel Cimino, house, painted mirror. After Salerno, *La Natura Morta Italiana*. 153

Matthew Martin

- Figure 8.1. *Hair of James II*, Sizergh Castle, Cumbria. 166
- Figure 8.2. *Blood of James II*, Sizergh Castle, Cumbria. 167
- Figure 8.3. François Guérard, *Catafalque of James II*, 1701, etching and engraving, 28.9 × 18.9 cm, British Museum, London. 171
- Figure 8.4. Le Roy, *Monument de Jacques 2d Roy de la grande Bretagne erigé dans la Chapelle du College Ecossois*, 1720–40, engraving, 34 × 21.5 cm, British Museum, London. 172
- Figure 8.5. *Goblet*, ca. 1725, glass, silver (English), 25.5 × 11.2 cm diameter, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. 179

Kat Austin

- Figure 9.1. ASCO, *Stations of the Cross*, performance, 1971. 192
- Figure 9.2. La Pocha Nostra, *Corpo Divino*, performance, 2008. 195
- Figure 9.3. La Pocha Nostra, Chi-Canarian Expo, performance, 2005. 196
- Figure 9.4. Ester Hernández, *La Virgen de Guadalupe defendiendo los derechos de los Xicanos*, 1975, etching and aquatint, 38 × 28 cm, Smithsonian American Art Museum. 200
- Figure 9.5. Yolanda López, *Tableaux Vivant* series, 1978. Courtesy of the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center. 203
- Figure 9.6. Amalia Mesa-Bains, *Cihuatlampa, the Place of the Giant Women*, installation, 1997. Sketch by the author. 209

John Weretka

- Figure 10.1. François Boucher, *Cupid Wounding Psyche*, 1741, oil on panel, 68.59 × 152.4 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. 218
- Figure 10.2. A visualization of Augustine Baker's mystical theology. From *Sancta Sophia* (1657). 221
- Figure 10.3. Nicolas Poussin, *The Ecstasy of St. Paul*, 1649–50, oil on canvas, 148 × 120 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris. 224
- Figure 10.4. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*, Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. 226
- Figure 10.5. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni (Flaming Heart)*, Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. 229
- Figure 10.6. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni (Pomegranates)*, Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. 229

Lisa Beaven

- Figure 11.1. Schelte Adamsz Bolswert, *St. Carlo Praying in Front of a Crucifix*, 1600–1650, engraving, 129 × 91 mm, British Museum. 237
- Figure 11.2. After Francesco Vanni, print made by Francesco Villamena, published by Matteo Florimi, *The Penitent Mary Magdalene*, 1595–1601, engraving, 220 × 146 mm, British Museum. 238
- Figure 11.3. Marcantonio Bellavia, *The Penitent Mary Magdalene*, 1660–80, engraving, 109 × 89 mm, British Museum. 239
- Figure 11.4. After Agostino Carracci and Francesco Vanni, *St. Francis of Assisi and the Musical Angel*, 1595–1620, engraving, 188 × 125 mm, British Museum. 240
- Figure 11.5. Print made by Hieronymous Wierix after Francesco Vanni, *St. Francis of Assisi and the Musical Angel*, 1619 (before), engraving, 101 × 63 mm, British Museum. 242
- Figure 11.6. Model of the Holy Sepulcher, before 1753, made from wood and mother-of-pearl, 26.5 × 45 × 38.5 cm, British Museum. 248

Angela Ndalianis

- Figure 12.1. François Boucher's *Leda and the Swan* (ca. 1740) displayed on Hannibal's mantelpiece. 262
- Figure 12.2. "Wound Man" from Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundartzney* (*Fieldbook of Wound Surgery*), Strasburg, 1519. 264
- Figure 12.3. Hannibal's reconstruction of the "Wound Man," which he creates to frame the psychiatrist Dr. Chilton as the Chesapeake Ripper. 265
- Figure 12.4. *Vera Anatomie* (Anatomical Theater) at the University in Leiden. Copperplate engraving by Willem Swanenburgh after Johannes Woudanus, 1610. 266
- Figure 12.5. Mason imagines a theater that has Hannibal lying on a dinner table as the main course. 269
- Figure 12.6. Alana and Margot's bodies merge and fragment, eventually dispersing into a frenzied kaleidoscopic image. 276

Acknowledgments

WE WOULD LIKE TO ACKNOWLEDGE the Australian Research Council for their support in funding our research project “Experiencing Space: Sensory Encounters from Baroque Rome to Neo-baroque Las Vegas.” This anthology is one of the research outputs related to this ARC Discovery project. Many of the essays in the book were first presented as papers given at a conference we co-organized at the University of Melbourne titled “Baroque to Neo-baroque: Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses.” For kindly providing funding to support the conference—and for making possible an earlier exploration of many of the ideas in this book—we are also grateful to the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; in particular Professor Juan Luis Suarez, who was lead investigator on the grant project titled “The Transatlantic Baroque.” Finally, we would like to thank Samuel Harvey for his meticulous editing of this book.

Plates

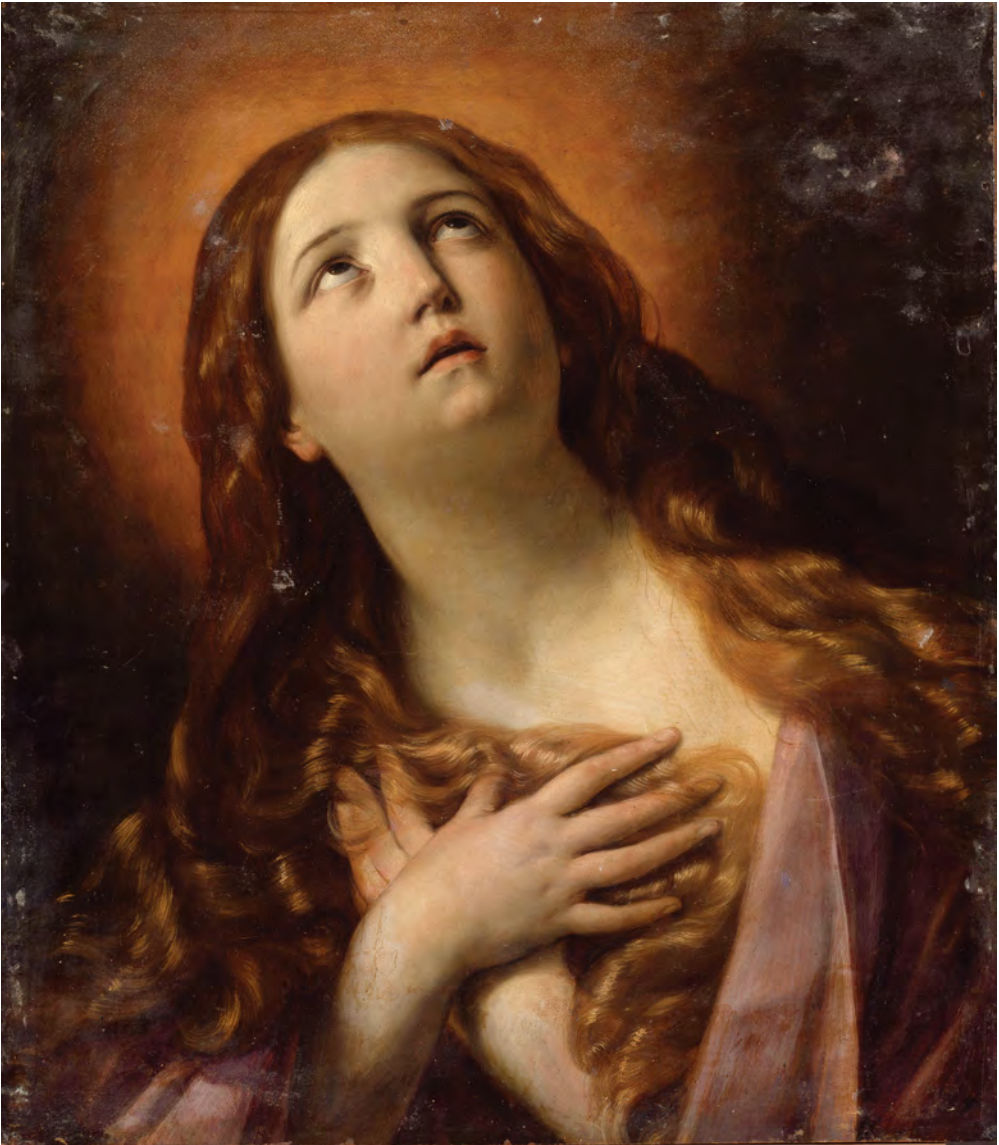


Plate 1. Guido Reni, *Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy at the Foot of the Cross*, ca. 1628–29, Chateau de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Photo © Gérard Blot/Art Resource, New York.



Plate 2. The Historic Grotto at Herrenhausen Gardens, Hanover, with new decoration by Niki de Saint-Phalle, 2001–3. Photo © Monika Kaup.



Plate 3. Adam Elsheimer, *The Flight into Egypt*, 31 cm × 41 cm, oil on copper, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, ca. 1609. Photo © bpk/Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.



Plate 4. Salvator Rosa, *Prometheus*, 1648–50, oil on canvas, 220 × 176 cm.
Photo per gentile concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali
e del Turismo Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica di Roma, Galleria Corsini.



Plate 5. William Dawes, *The Downfall of Shakespeare Represented on the Modern Stage*, 1763–65, oil on canvas, 69.8 × 90.8 cm. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Plate 6. Aerial view of the Nevada desert close to Las Vegas. Photos © Peter Krieger, 2010.



Plate 7. Exterior view of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.

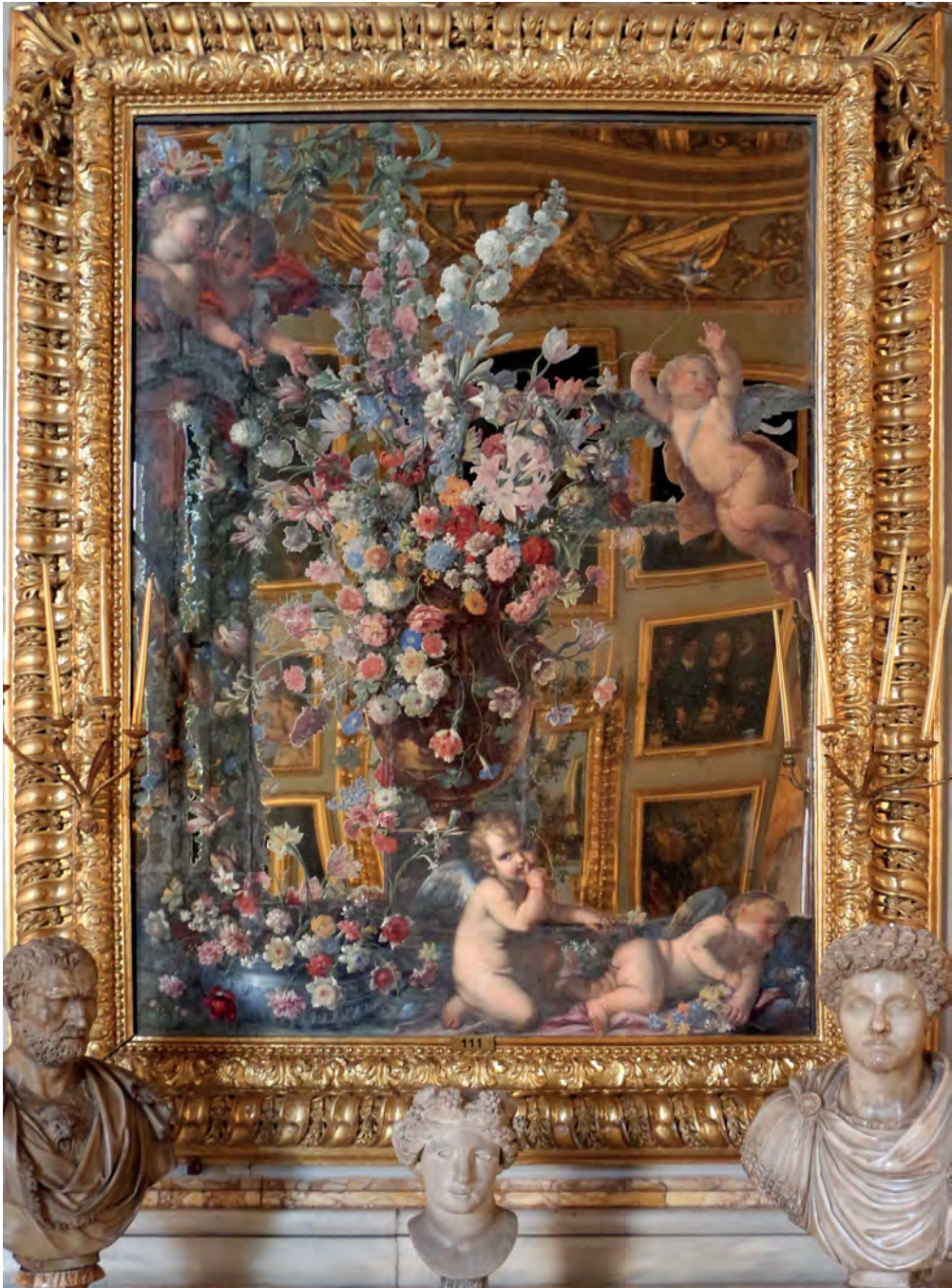


Plate 8. Palazzo Colonna, Rome, *Galleria*. Painted mirror with vase of flowers and five putti, by Carlo Maratta (1625–1723) and Giovanni Stanchi (1608–75). Photo: Creative Commons.



Plate 9.
Palazzo Colonna, Rome,
Galleria. Detail of painted
mirror with vase of flowers
and three putti, by Carlo
Maratta (1625–1723) and
Mario de' Fiori (1603–73).
Photo © David R. Marshall.



Plate 10. Rome, Palazzo Sciarra, painted mirror on vault.
Photo © After Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Sciarra*. Fair use.



Plate 11. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith and her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1625, oil on canvas, 184 × 141 cm, The Detroit Institute of Arts. Photo © The Detroit Institute of Arts (above) and Alma López, *Coyolxauhqui Returns as Our Lady disguised as La Virgen de Guadalupe to defend the rights of Las Chicanas*, 2004, acrylic on canvas. © Courtesy of Alma López, 2004 (below).

Plate 12. Alma López,
Our Lady, 1999,
digital print, 36 × 44.5 cm.
Photo © almalopez.net.

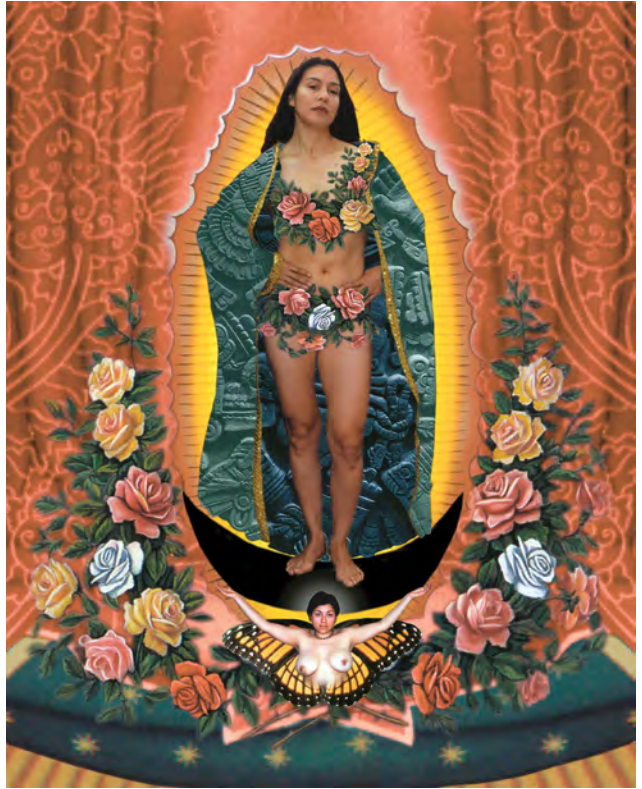


Plate 13. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, 1647–52, marble and other materials, life size, Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. Photo © John Weretka

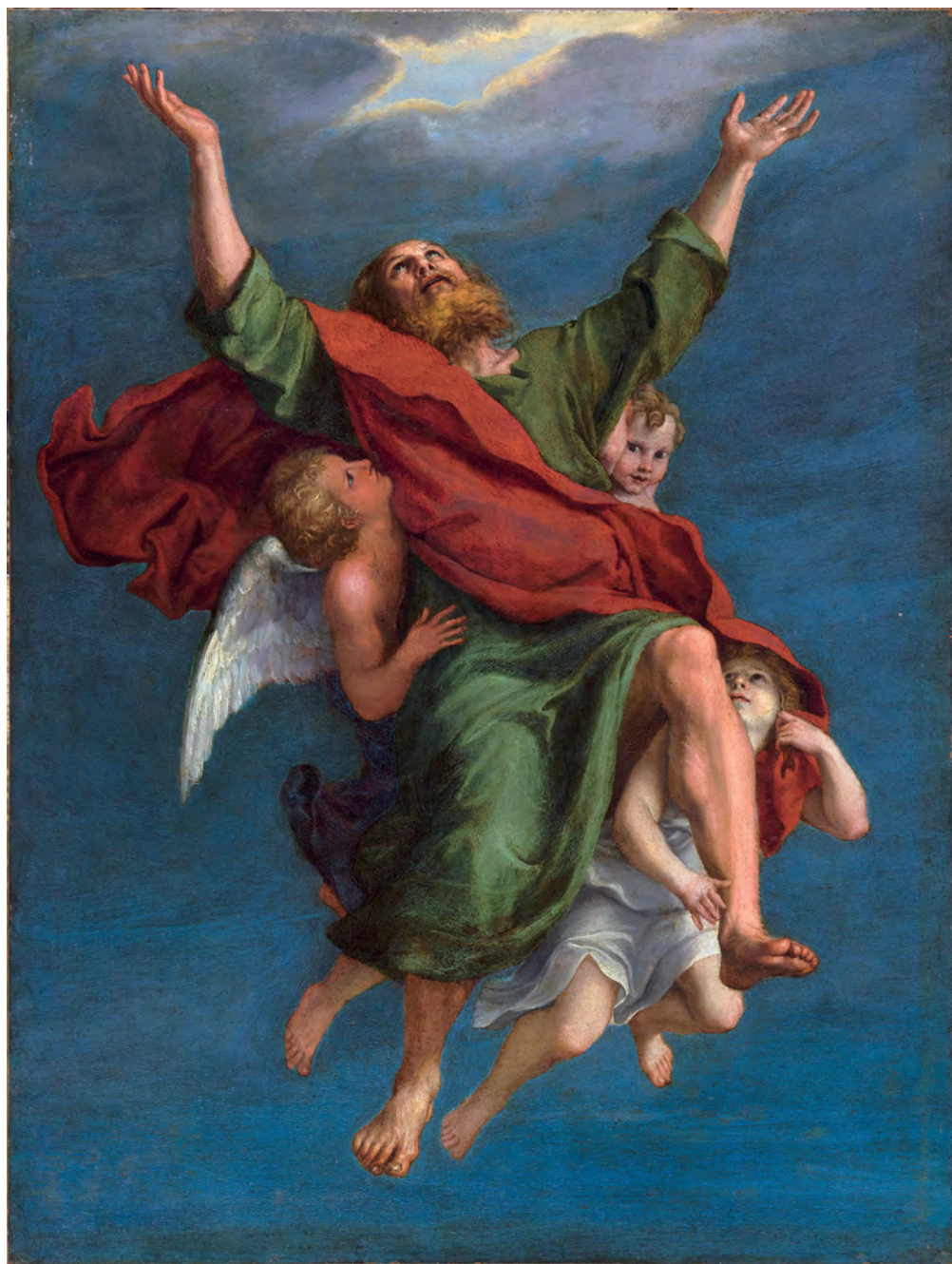


Plate 14. Domenico Zampieri detto Domenichino, *St. Paul in Ecstasy*,
1606–8, oil on copper, 50 × 38 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo © RM-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre/Hervé Lewandowski).



Plate 15. Nicolas Poussin, *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*,
1650, oil on canvas, 57 × 40 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo © RM-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre/Michel Urtado).



Plate 16. Ludovico Carracci, *Portrait of a Widow*, ca. 1585, oil on canvas, 99.7 × 77.5 cm, Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio. Photo © Dayton Art Institute, museum purchase with funds provided by Dr. and Mrs. E. R. Arn and the Junior League of Dayton, Ohio, Inc.



Plate 17. Torre Abbey Jewel, pendant with skeleton and coffin, ca. 1540–50, enameled gold, scrollwork, English, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum.





Plate 18. Detail of Chloris and Zephyrus from Sandro Botticelli's *Primavera*, ca. 1482, tempera on panel. 2.03 × 3.14 m.

© The Art Archive / Galleria degli Uffizi Florence / Collection Dagli Orti.



Plate 19. Hannibal's reconstruction and homage to Botticelli's Chloris and Zephyrus from the painting *Primavera*. From the episode "Primavera" (3:2), *Hannibal*, 2013–15.
© NBC. Screen grab. Fair use.



Plate 20. One of Hannibal's victims, reborn as a "Tree Man"
("Hutamono" 2:6, *Hannibal*, 2013–15). © NBC. Screen grab. Fair use.



Plate 21. A publicity shot for *Hannibal* clearly alludes to the series' thematic connection to the Dutch *vanitas* painting tradition © NBC (above) and Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Drinking-Horn*, ca. 1653, oil on canvas, 86.4 × 102.2 cm. © National Gallery Picture Library, London.

Introduction

Lisa Beaven and Angela Ndalianis

TRADITIONALLY, “BAROQUE” IS A TERM positioned within the rough confines of the seventeenth century, and extending into the eighteenth century. It is used to describe the art that followed the reforms of the Counter-Reformation, with artists such as Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Pietro da Cortona, Diego Velázquez, and Annibale Caracci; the Golden Age of Spanish literature, as exemplified by the writings of Miguel de Cervantes, Baltasar Gracián, Lope de Vega, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca; the major urban and architectural redevelopments that were the combined visions of papal families and famous architects, like Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini; the music of Johann Sebastian Bach, George Frideric Handel, Alessandro Scarlatti, Antonio Vivaldi, Claudio Monteverdi, and Jean-Philippe Rameau, and which also included the birth of opera; and the migration of artistic and architectural styles from the Hispanic countries in Europe to Latin America, where the baroque began a dialogue with the art and culture of the indigenous populations.

However, over the last two decades in particular, academic publications and exhibitions have explored both the idea of a return of the baroque, and the idea of its continuing, morphing presence beyond the period of its traditional historicization. Historians, philosophers, and critical theorists—Christine Buci-Glucksman, Omar Calabrese, Gilles Deleuze, Monika Kaup, Norman Klein, Walter Moser, Angela Ndalianis, Severo Sarduy, and Peter Wollen to name but a few—have examined the formal, social, and transhistorical constituents of the baroque and the neo-baroque. Deleuze perhaps understood the baroque in its broadest terms “as radiating through histories, cultures, and worlds of knowledge,” including areas as diverse as art, science, costume design, mathematics, and philosophy.¹

In this anthology, we address examples of the historical baroque and the multiple neo-baroques that emerged in its wake. As is evident in the above examples, although wildly different, they also share baroque traits that include an interest in performativity and theatricality; a love of spectacle; a self-reflexive attitude towards methods of construction; a desire to play with the borders that separate illusion and reality; and, above all, a mode of address that engages the audience immediately through the emotions and the senses. This anthology is centered on the historical baroque and the neo-baroque, traversing the relationship between them. We argue that both phenomena relied on an

intimate relationship with the emotions and the senses operating together, rather than on vision and spectacle alone.

The “neo-baroque” has become a new and growing interdisciplinary area of study: of philosophy, economics, and cultural systems across time periods, as discussed in the critical works of Deleuze,² Klein,³ Gregg Lambert,⁴ José Antonio Maravall,⁵ Ndalianis,⁶ and Kresimir Purgar;⁷ to film, new media, architecture, urban planning, art, videogames, print media, and Latin American culture, as discussed in the critical works of Kaup,⁸ Kirkpatrick,⁹ and Michael Nitsche.¹⁰ While neo-baroque scholars have reveled in the stylistic nuances of the term “baroque,” seventeenth-century scholars instead have been wary of engaging with it, in part aware that it masks the stylistic heterogeneity of the period, and in part because of the negative connotations terms such as “theatricality,” “decoration,” and “spectacle” have developed in the modernist context. In recent years, however, there is evidence of a re-evaluation of the term “baroque” as a stylistic descriptor in relation to seventeenth-century European culture (see Helen Hills,¹¹ Snodin and Llewellyn,¹² and Genevieve Warwick¹³), and a new willingness to reassess the performative nature of much seventeenth-century art and architecture. Now is the time to engage in seriously exploring the stylistic and formal properties of both from the perspective of the emotions and the senses.

To embark on a discussion of what the “baroque” is, then, would appear to be the most futile of tasks. Walter Moser describes the process as “the Babelian maze made of innumerable, and in many cases conflicting, attempts to conceptualize the Baroque, attempts that have accompanied the more empirical study of the Baroque for a long time already.”¹⁴ Gregg Lambert put it another way: “A near-century of criticism has not been able to determine whether, or not, the baroque ever existed as a definite historical or cultural phenomenon.”¹⁵ Even the etymology of the word itself is mysterious. It was applied retrospectively to the visual arts in a pejorative sense during the Enlightenment to describe something that was extravagant, bizarre, or uneven.¹⁶ For example, Denis Diderot, in his *Encyclopédie*, defined baroque architecture as “une nuance de bizarre” (“an equivalent to the bizarre”).¹⁷

The word itself is generally thought to have derived from the Spanish or Portuguese word *barrocco* or *barrueco*, meaning misshapen or irregular pearl.¹⁸ A second, and rather intricate, possible origin of the word is the medieval name for a special type of syllogism, which is a form of deductive reasoning in which a conclusion is drawn from two given or assumed propositions. Here, the term “*baroco*” refers to the fourth mode of the second figure in the scholastic nomenclature of syllogisms.¹⁹ Benedetto Croce described this in the following way: “Every fool is stubborn; some people are not stubborn, hence they are not fools.”²⁰ As an argument it was seen to be circular, far-fetched, and slightly ridiculous as early as the sixteenth century, giving rise to phrases such as “ragioni barrochi” (“baroque reasoning”).²¹ Its association here with the ridiculous and the circular is suggestive, in light of the connotations it has since developed.

It was only in 1855 that Jacob Burckhardt and Wilhelm Lübcke gave the word “baroque” international currency, when Burckhardt discussed it in his *Cicerone*. Baroque art attracted a great deal of scholarly interest in Germany in the latter part of the nineteenth century, in part, as Payne argues in relation to Riegl, due to a reassessment of Hellenistic art in Germany, prompted by the arrival of the highly expressive Pergamon altar in Berlin in 1879.²² The power and drama of the Hellenistic reliefs from this altar overturned Winckelmann’s hierarchies of ancient art. Levy has also highlighted what was at stake politically in rehabilitating the baroque at this time in Germany, arguing for a need to read the scholarly studies of the baroque within the broader context of the relationship of the individual to the state.²³ The concept that an architectural or artistic style could embody the relationship of an individual to the broader body politic can be ultimately traced back to ancient philosophy, and was articulated forcefully by Winckelmann, but in the case of the baroque was complicated by its association with Catholicism, and its cosmopolitanism.²⁴ As a result it proved an interesting pressure point for art historians such as Burckhardt, who was unable to overcome his anticlerical bias to consider it objectively.²⁵ Cornelius Gurlitt wrote an important history of baroque architecture in the 1880s, inviting Germans to engage with their baroque heritage,²⁶ just as the neo-baroque was becoming one of a number of historicist and opulent architectural styles in Europe.

Burckhardt’s pupil, Henrich Wölfflin, in his seminal essay *Renaissance und Barock*, published in 1888, sought to discuss the baroque as a stylistic term, arguing it must be dissociated from broader cultural contexts.²⁷ His ahistorical conception of the baroque is one reason for the enduring appeal of Wölfflin’s analysis for neo-baroque theorists. In Wölfflin’s *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der Neueren Kunst (The Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art)*, first published in 1915, he compared and contrasted “Renaissance” and “Baroque” art, primarily in relation to architecture, in order to try to explain the radical shift in architectural style between the two periods. He did this by identifying distinct and contrasting modes, such as linear versus painterly. Wölfflin wrote, “in place of the perfect, the completed,” the baroque “gives the restless, the becoming, in place of the limited, the conceivable, gives the limitless, the colossal.”²⁸ He went on to state that “the relationship of the individual with the world has changed, a new domain of feeling has opened, the soul aspires to dissolution in the sublimity of the huge, the infinite.”²⁹ In contrast Reigl’s *Barockkunst in Rom (The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome)*, published posthumously in 1908, consisted of a close reading and analysis of individual works and spaces, such as chapels, contextualizing them in ways that allowed a more nuanced picture of the baroque to emerge.³⁰ Both Reigl and Wölfflin played an important role in a reconsideration of the baroque, refuting Burckhardt’s view of it as a corrupted form of the classical style of the Renaissance.

By contrast, Gilles Deleuze argued for the need to see the baroque not as a style or essence but as an idea, something that is in the process of being formed and re-formed.

In the “What is Baroque?” section of his influential *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, a text first published in French in 1988 and in English in 1993, Deleuze wrote that: “The baroque refers not to an essence but rather to an operative function, to a trait. It endlessly produces folds.”³¹ The metaphor of the fold allows a reconsideration of position and viewpoint, as well as an oscillation between revelation and concealment. The concept of the fold with its undulations points to a critical feature of baroque architecture and art that involves the creation of a space beyond the confines of the known world while simultaneously denying access to it. The fold brings elements into unexpected encounters with each other before turning and folding again, so that we are no longer sure of our position, of what is inside or outside, what is the container and what is the contained. The baroque deliberately disrupts the boundaries that allow us to distinguish what materials and surfaces consist of, or where one architectural element or painting finishes and the wall surface begins. As a fold, it pries us loose from our sensory moorings so that we can no longer be sure what is real and what is deception.

José Antonio Maravall, in *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, instead reaffirmed the baroque as a period term, and analyzed it in the context of seventeenth-century Spain as an operative system, where the baroque is prompted by a culture of crisis, and used by both the Spanish elites and the Spanish state. In spite of foregrounding his discussion with the remark that “my approach certainly does not define the baroque as a European epoch situated between two perfectly defined dates,” on the next page Maravall states that the baroque “encompasses, approximately the first three quarters of the seventeenth century, having its centre of greater intensity and fuller significance between 1605 and 1650.”³² Maravall claims the baroque for Spain, while allowing its spread to other parts of Europe. For him the baroque was a cultural movement that operated as an instrument of social repression, either overtly or by means of propaganda. Maravall’s baroque captivated and seduced audiences through direct and indirect displays of power in the form of fireworks, fiestas, theatrical performances, sermons, and opera. His work brings up an issue endlessly discussed by scholars of the baroque: is it a recurring phenomenon, or is it something that can be traced to one country at one time?³³ The answer to this question of course depends on how the baroque is defined.

As these examples reveal, there is no consensus on what the baroque is, much less on how to define it. As Christopher Braider puts it: “If we consistently fail to finger just what it is we take the baroque to be, does the term have a genuine referent?”³⁴ Does its appeal lie in its very elusiveness and infinite malleability, such that it can be borrowed or applied to a myriad of neo-baroque movements? Certainly Lambert has argued exactly this, that the “frequency of the ‘return of the Baroque’ in different cultural locations of modernity ... is primarily owed to the instability that already belongs to the category itself.”³⁵ In his *Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture*, Lambert amplifies this statement, writing that the baroque’s “status as an ‘empty category’ enables it to be used to examine other categories, such as the postmodern, which have been similarly plagued by ... uncertainty.”³⁶

Study of the historical baroque period suffered for a large part of the twentieth century from scholarly neglect. In part, this was due to the binary nature of Wölfflin's analysis, which tied it to the Renaissance. For many scholars the repressive apparatuses of the Counter-Reformation compared unfavorably with civilizing forces of Renaissance humanism. More than this though, pioneering studies on the baroque took place within the prevalent worldview of twentieth-century modernism. Arguments for the importance of spectacle, ritual, and theatricality made little headway against modernist beliefs in functionality, simplicity, and newness. Indeed, many of the modernist avant-garde movements were explicitly reacting against aesthetic design choices which ultimately derived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, in the last twenty-five years, scholarship into and appreciation of the historical baroque period have intensified rapidly, such that a vast body of literature has been produced, much of it interdisciplinary and focused on baroque's global reach. These studies have demonstrated that the baroque was, in fact, a global movement as a result of the international movement of missionary orders, but importantly not a style.

The neo-baroque has an even greater investment in global culture and has found expression in diverse media across diverse cultures. Numerous exhibitions have reflected on the neo-baroque as an alternative mode of understanding to postmodernism: *Ultra Baroque! Aspects of Post Latin American Art* (Art Gallery of Ontario, Miami Art Museum, Walker Art Center, 2001–3) included works by the Latin American artists Lygia Clark, Helio Oiticica, Mathias Goeritz, and Cildo Mereiles;³⁷ *Barrocos y Neobarrocos: El Infierno de Lo Bello* (Salamanca Ciudad de Cultura, 2005) included the works of Matthew Barney, Erwin Olaf, Fabián Marcaccio, and Juan Muñoz next to a life-size model of H. R. Giger's Alien designed for the *Alien* films;³⁸ and *Riotous Baroque: From Cattelan to Zurbarán* (Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, 2013)³⁹ placed contemporary artworks next to seventeenth-century works, thus generating a dialogue between the two.⁴⁰ Yet the presence of the neo-baroque extends beyond the art world to include fashion, as vividly displayed in the costumes worn by American singer Beyoncé on her "The Mrs. Carter Show World Tour" (2013–14), which displayed—through the designs of Versace, Emilio Pucci, Gucci, Roberto Cavalli, Givenchy, and Tom Ford—a Louis XIV baroque theme. The entertainment industry and its output of spectacular special effects—its blockbuster films, videogames, theme park attractions, and widescreen and immersive eye-ware technologies—engage audiences in emotionally intensive and sensorially invasive ways that echo baroque logic.⁴¹ Spanish American and Latin American literature has a long historical relationship to the baroque, and scholars, who include Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup,⁴² John Beverley,⁴³ and Jill Kunheim⁴⁴ have examined the reflexive and often politicized voice that runs through this manifestation of the neo-baroque. In his 1972 essay, "The Baroque and the Neo-baroque," Cuban author and critic Severo Sarduy suggested that whereas the Latin American baroque (of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) was simply a colonial extension of the European and,

in particular, the Spanish baroque, the neo-baroque embraces a more critical stance by returning to its European origins.⁴⁵ In doing so, the aim is to reclaim history by appropriating a period often considered to be the “original” baroque, thus rewriting the codes and “truths” imposed by the colonizers. These are multiple articulations of the baroque that are specific to the socio-cultural conditions of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in which they were produced. All examples are intent on creating spaces that engage their audience through the senses—whether to trigger socio-political awareness through sensory address, or to immerse the viewer in wondrous, otherworldly spectacle that cares little for politics and cognition.

The purpose of this volume is to revisit the concept of the baroque and the neo-baroque, and to investigate the relationship between the two in the context of new methodological approaches that examine the phenomena of the (neo)baroque through the lens of space, the senses, and the history of emotions. Rather than an attempt to provide a new superior definition of what the baroque is, it is instead an attempt to approach it through its own frames of reference. We take as our point of departure Deleuze’s concept of the baroque not as an essence, but rather as an operative function, a trait.⁴⁶ One of the most prominent traits of the baroque is its contingency, always in the process of being formed and relying on its audience to re-create it, over and over again. That perceived “flaw” in baroque culture, its instability and mutability, becomes one of its essential characteristics. To enact this performance of completion it demands a spatial context, imagined or real, and solicits the senses, requesting a response. Baroque spaces—works of art, buildings, and even literature—are in this sense performative, designed to involve the participant in a reciprocal process of sensory immersion.

Baroque spectacle not only displays to its audience a particular scene, but also places on show the very act of representation itself, revealing the power of reference. In doing so, the cultural productions of the period become self-aware, conscious of their audience. This aspect of the baroque can be seen at work, for example, in Carlo Maderno’s statue of *St. Cecilia*. The inscription in front of the statue reads:

Gaze upon the likeness of the most holy virgin Cecilia / Which I saw myself lying in
an entire state in the sepulcher / I have had this same likeness, precisely in the same
position her body lay, / Expressed for you in marble.⁴⁷

The combination of the statue and the inscription means that every person approaching the shrine re-enacts the discovery of the saint’s body, just as did Cardinal Sfondrato—the “I” of the inscription. In this way, the beholders remake the work, or at least re-frame it in the original context of its discovery, over and over again as they approach the shrine. Diego Velázquez’s *Las Meninas* too functions in this way; its great size explicitly inviting the beholders in, and then relying on them for its completion, daring to place the main focus of the picture outside its space and in the process transforming the beholder into a participant. More than that, though, this painting plays with our expectations of a

picture, because we see within it—or at least ask ourselves if we do—the same picture at which we are also looking. We are presented with a visual image that not only relies on us to complete it, but is also constantly on the point of being undermined by our knowledge of what it represents. Maravall argues that Velázquez’s sketchy style of painting, quite apart from his treatment of the subject matter, also represented a practice of incompleteness that encouraged the spectator to supply “what was missing,” a strategy that called for “spectator intervention to recompose the painting.”⁴⁸ Thus, on both an intellectual and sensual level, a painting like *Las Meninas* challenges the viewer to engage his or her imagination to complete the picture.

Therefore it could be argued that the baroque relies on its reception for its creation, and more explicitly, on the senses to make sense of it. This is what Braider means by what he dubs “its self-consuming character,” arguing that in relation to baroque literature, moments of critical recognition are set up for the reader, only to be then dismantled.⁴⁹ It was this quality that Jorge Luis Borges also saw as baroque. He wrote: “I would define the baroque as that style that deliberately exhausts (or tries to exhaust) its own possibilities.”⁵⁰ This is, in effect, what Michael Ann Holly argues that Wölfflin’s book is also doing. For Holly, the essential “baroque-ness” of the book lies in the way it is written, not in the subject it tackles. She writes: “The one book that would, by its circumscribed title, seem to imply a static historical ‘period,’ *Classical Art*, is itself always watching its own descriptive categories undo themselves, change into something other than what they are.”⁵¹ She argues that Wölfflin effectively demonstrates the baroque rather than describes it, “reinscribing the formal composition of the baroque works about which he speaks, even when he is talking about High Renaissance art.”⁵²

In the essays that follow, a range of scholars from different disciplines interrogate the idea of what the baroque or neo-baroque is, all of them sharing an interest in the emotional dimensions of their chosen subject. Defining emotion, like the baroque, is an equally fraught exercise. Joseph LeDoux has argued that “emotion” is not a coherent category at all, but rather is a set of miscellaneous phenomena which developed erratically in relation to our evolutionary biology, and which vary in their physiology as well.⁵³ On the other hand, writers like Daniel Gross have argued that “experiences such as emotion have an essential social component and are best treated with *social analysis* of the sort developed in the rhetorical tradition, not scientific analysis that must reduce social phenomena in certain critical ways so as to function properly as science.”⁵⁴

The impact of the baroque has repeatedly been associated with the mark it leaves on vision and the sense of sight. The writings of Christine Buci-Glucksmann have often mistakenly been associated with favoring vision over any of the other senses. Yet Buci-Glucksmann’s examination of baroque aesthetics is about how vision is a gateway that opens up an experience for all the senses. In her book *The Madness of Vision*, Buci-Glucksmann describes the impact of baroque opera on the listener, explaining that

the Voice must actually represent the text, “make it visible” by hearing it, staging it, and embodying it. So much so that opera immediately gives evidence of the great axiom of the baroque: “To Be Is to See” ... with this, the baroque eye positions itself from its very beginning within a new category of seeing that ascribes an epistemological and aesthetic capacity, an ontological *optikon*, to the gaze.⁵⁵

Baroque vision, she states, “is an operation, an act that generates a multiplicity of perspectives, the division of the visible, the invention of an aesthetic within a rhetoric that will stage it and control its effects in order to better convince and seduce.”⁵⁶ Baroque aesthetics offer a specific form of vision, one that is not concerned with sight alone; instead, it involves a “carnal gaze” that collides the materiality of the work with the body of the audience, in the process giving form to spatial and sensory expressions that can be intensely embodied and dialogic, and which give rise to heightened emotional experiences. The baroque work “depicts a voyage, an orderly and sometimes arcane detour into the baroque madness of vision, into the archaeology that is embodied in the voyage that is objects, texts, and languages.”⁵⁷

The essays in this anthology explore the embodied journeys offered when experiencing diverse examples of the baroque and neo-baroque. In the opening essay, “Feeling Baroque in Art and Neuroscience,” Monika Kaup examines the baroque’s fascination with the emotions. Providing an overview of baroque philosophy’s preoccupation with “the passions” as evident in the writings of René Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, and Benedict de Spinoza, Kaup argues that, despite the denigratory response to the affective nature of the baroque initiated during the Enlightenment era, baroque culture was, in fact, pioneering in recognizing the central role played by the emotions in processes of human cognition and perception. Drawing upon research in the area of neuroscience, which has revealed that human intelligence, memory, and deductive thinking always operate in unison with the emotions, Kaup draws parallels with the baroque’s preoccupation with the embodied mind. Kaup asserts “the baroque refuses to conceptualize the human mind as an abstract information-processing unit. Instead, it conceives the mind as an *embodied* mind—with the body and the emotions continually interfering in the process of thought.” Comparing key writings by baroque thinkers, particularly Spinoza, neuroscientist Antonio Damasio, and philosopher of cognitive science Giovanna Colombetti, Kaup then turns to an analysis of the embodied mind and the emotions of joy, sadness, and pride as expressed in contemporary neo-baroque works by artists Frida Kahlo, Damien Hirst, Niki de Saint-Phalle, Luis Jiménez, and Guillermo Gómez-Peña.

In “The Baroque Sublime: The Affective Power of Landscape,” Helen Langdon continues with a study on the baroque passion for the sublime, particularly how the terrifying sublime was depicted in seventeenth-century landscape painting. Langdon’s essay examines the sublime as experienced before the concept was codified by the eighteenth-century writers Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant. This essay teases out the intricate relations between the baroque and the sublime, and the varying kinds of experience that the

sublime suggests. For the Marinisti, poets in the circle of Giambattista Marino, the sublime was associated with the stupendous and the marvelous: the *meraviglia*. Caravaggio's *Medusa* became the emblem of a desire to astonish the viewer with fear and admiration, so much so that the viewer would be halted in their tracks. The passion for *novità* stimulated an interest in an ancient Greek treatise—Longinus's *On the Sublime*, and the *topoi* from Longinus began to blend with natural science's fascination with the vast and the terrifying to create an "aesthetics of the infinite," which underpinned the baroque landscape and exalted the daring and grandeur of the new science. But modern science fascinatingly coexisted with medieval magic, and the essay concludes with a section on magic, terror, and prophecy; it considers the aesthetic pleasures offered by the supernatural horrors and marvels created by popular scientists such as Athanasius Kircher, which immersed the ideal onlooker in new sensations. Emotion in baroque landscapes became increasingly secularized, and in the paintings of Gaspard Dughet and Salvator Rosa new aesthetic pleasures of a terrifying sublime became manifest as the spectacle and grandness of nature dwarfed the insignificant human.

The next two essays focus on the literary (neo)baroque. In "Their Jarring Spheres Confound': John Milton's *Paradise Lost* as a Counter-baroque War Machine," Justin Clemens analyzes a key passage in John Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost*, and proposes that the text is an instance of what he calls "the counter-baroque." Clemens argues that Milton considers the baroque "to be at once atheistic and Catholic and therefore to that extent a tyrannical Satanic device to be combatted strenuously with the most implacable of means." Milton, Clemens argues, deliberately and strategically incorporates baroque elements into his poem in order "to expose their necessary appeal *and* their nugatory falsity." Whereas traditionally Milton scholars have read *Paradise Lost* either as an example of baroque allegory or in terms of the sublime, Clemens offers an alternative reading. The counter-baroque, Clemens explains, challenges the baroque as "a Counter-Reformation war machine directed against Protestant textual practices of conscience" by presenting a "radical aesthetic and political critique" of the baroque. *Paradise Lost* presents the reader with a paradox: the poem rehearses the sensory and metaphysical affirmations of the baroque in order to undermine and expose this rhetoric as political strategy. In doing so, *Paradise Lost* becomes a politicized text that counters the affective rhetoric of the baroque.

The focus of the anthology then shifts to the subject of seventeenth-century stagecraft, theater, and the emotions. In "'To Make Them Gaze in Wonder': Emotional Responses to Stage Scenery in Seventeenth-Century Opera," Katrina Grant argues that opera set designs, which were renowned for their spectacular effects and technical wizardry, played a central role in captivating the audience through engagement with the senses. Grant provides an overview of critical responses to baroque opera during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, explaining that the staged effects were often dismissed as superfluous. While substantial research has uncovered the emotive and sensory power of music in baroque opera, she argues that twentieth-century scholarship continued this

manner of criticism, perceiving scenography as formulaic and a distraction from the serious poetry and the sublime music. Taking an alternative viewpoint, Grant considers how these sets created immersive and wondrous environments that provoked affective responses from the audience. Given that few baroque sets have survived into the modern era, scholars have relied on engravings of performances, most being monochrome and therefore not revealing the richness of color and spatial configurations of the productions. As a result, Grant states that “studying the emotional effect of stage sets prompts us to look more closely at their reception, rather than at their construction.” Analyzing productions by Jacopo Peri, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Giacomo Torelli, and others, witness accounts are examined alongside visual representations in order to gauge contemporary responses. Rather than reflecting the dismissive responses of writers and critics of the time, many of the eyewitness responses describe scenography that is “wondrous” and “miraculous,” and which creates emotional responses that intensified the sense of immersion in the fictional space. Rather than dismissing the effect of wonder as a “superficial emotion,” Grant instead understands theater design of the period to be explicitly aligned with René Descartes’s influential study of the passions. For Descartes, wonder was the first passion: “Without surprise or wonder there is no passion.” Grant concludes that stage effects “prompted surprise and wonder and opened the way for audiences to respond with more heightened emotions to the music and the narrative of the opera.”

In their co-authored essay, “The Role of Emotions in the Characters of Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *Autos Sacramentales*,” Javier de la Rosa, Adriana Soto-Corominas, and Juan Luis Suárez acknowledge the centrality of stagecraft in theatrical productions during the so-called Spanish Golden Age. Focusing on the writings of Pedro Calderón de la Barca, their essay applies new methods of analysis that are becoming common in the digital humanities in order to measure emotional content. They explain that during this period “emotions were the only constant element in the poetry and literary production of all the authors that attain success.” Calderón’s methods centered on the concept of a “theater of imagination” in the Jesuit sense—where imagination becomes the place of negotiation of affection. Focusing on Calderón’s religious plays—the *autos sacramentales*—this essay examines how the works targeted spectators by playing with emotions in the language, the staging, and the evolution of the characters. Applying “sentiment analysis”—natural language processing and computational linguistics software used to group and categorize key words, often for marketing analysis—the authors track the presence of emotions in Calderón’s *autos*. The essay examines the distribution of these emotions by studying the occurrence of positive and negative sentiments among different typologies of characters. As de la Rosa, Soto-Corominas, and Suárez explain, using digital tools makes possible a comprehensive study of the role of sentiments in the creation of the characters of the *autos*; this, in turn, leads to the conclusion that “the sensorium apparatus of the baroque theater was much more complex and more dependent on the creation of emotions and sentiments than had been previously believed by mainstream critics of Calderón’s work.”

Peter Krieger, David Marshall, and Matthew Martin focus on three baroque forms: clouds in the neo-baroque spaces of Las Vegas casino complexes; the expressive use of mirrors in baroque villas and palazzi; and the baroque poetic of the body-part relic, respectively. In “Clouds and Calculated Emotions in the Production of Neo-baroque Spatial Illusions in Las Vegas Hotels and Casinos,” Krieger asserts that the Las Vegas entertainment industry is a paradigmatic product of contemporary neo-baroque culture. The efficiency of financial investments in this industry is guaranteed by efficient spatial and visual constructions. Collage architecture and fake interiors of the hotel-casinos on the Strip provide tourists and gamblers with a stimulating ambience. The design parameters of these configurations are determined by an economically and psychologically calculated management of the clients’ collective mental habits: their predetermined emotional structures. Comparable to the overwhelming baroque church interiors, where the faithful of Roman Catholicism (in Western Europe and in Latin America) were convinced to maintain—and also finance—their relationship to this religion, Las Vegas hotel-casino interiors fulfill this spatial-psychological function so that the clients will be impressed, lose their rational orientation, and spend their money. Such neo-baroque interiors as we find them on the Las Vegas Strip demonstrate how theatricality, decoration, and spectacle are efficient tools for large-scale business; what’s more, they are essential categories of the so-called society of spectacles. Krieger’s chapter examines the design of ceilings in some selected Las Vegas hotel-casinos, especially those with a consistent historical fake concept—for example, The Venetian—and with painted clouds. These examples reveal how the production of visual illusion works as a tool for the engagement of the clients’ emotions, and also how the baroque composition principle of painted clouds, negating sharp architectural borders, persists. The chapter analyzes the visual function, iconography, and psychology of baroque clouds in contemporary “fake” ambiances, and it draws conclusions about the notion of nature in neo-baroque settings, an example for the transhistorical and transcultural power of baroque formula in the concrete utopia of the consumers’ mass society and their socio-psychological profiles.

In “Mirrors of Reason, Illusion, and Infinity: The Case of the Villa Patrizi,” David Marshall explores the use of mirrors in baroque culture. In the 1720s, Cardinal Patrizi was redecorating his new villa outside Rome, where one room would be a mirror cabinet. This is discussed at length in Patrizi’s letters, written from Ferrara, where he was papal legate, to his brother Mariano in Rome, who was supervising the construction and decoration of the villa. The question Marshall asks of this material is: in designing this room, what did mirrors mean to Patrizi? Patrizi’s motives were driven by forces that were social and sociable, and which were intimately involved with matters of wealth and good taste. The evidence of the Villa Patrizi suggests that for baroque culture there were three mirrors with which we need to be concerned: the *mirror of reason*, the *mirror of illusion*, and the *mirror of infinity*.

Matthew Martin's chapter, "Infinite Bodies: The Baroque, the Counter-Reformation Relic, and the Body of James II," considers a baroque poetic, with its tendency towards an almost infinite sense of spatial expansion matched to an equally weighted attention towards the minutiae of detailing, as a lens through which to examine the body-part relic in Counter-Reformation Europe. Martin explains how the body-part relic facilitated a near infinite spatial expansion of the human body, with each bodily fragment of a holy person, no matter how tiny, manifesting the same power and agency as the whole. This explosion of the limits of the human body was equally matched, however, by a concern with the careful documentation and visual marking of the identity of the person from whom the relic derived. The reliquary, through its ornamentation and its naming of the individual whose remains it contained, became the essential guarantee of a relic's authenticity; paradoxically, the relic, without the specific details of identity provided by the reliquary, was an inert, mundane piece of dead matter—indeed, not a relic at all. The fate of the body of James II of England, who died in exile in France in 1701, and who then became a focus of reverence by English Catholics, forms a starting point for an exploration of these ideas.

The two essays that follow turn to the concept of the baroque divine body. In her chapter "Chican@ Saints: The Persistence of Religious Bodies in Mexican America," Kat Austin argues that the drama and splendor of the baroque have never faded from the Mexican consciousness. Yet in the Mexican US, there has been little talk about *barroquismo*; instead, discussion has focused on *rasquachismo*. This essay focuses on the neo-baroque or, more specifically, *rasquachismo* as an articulation of the neo-baroque in Mexican culture across the border. Austin argues that, like the historical baroque, the rasquache baroque privileges the sensately expressive plasticity of the divine body. Practicing rasquache mechanics, the art of Chican@s appropriates divine figures from cathedrals, religious processions, and home altars, combining them with other elements and transforming them into something innovative, dramatic, powerful, flamboyant, and transgressive. While four centuries ago the expressiveness of the emotive religious body served the purposes of the Catholic church, these contemporary Chican@ articulations harness the power of the baroque body to further their own motives relating to the principle of *lucha* ("struggle" or "fight"). In the spirit of *lucha*, the religious body is used as an artistic strategy for contesting injustice, and for creating new figures of inspiration.

John Weretka returns to the historical baroque and the divine body of St. Teresa of Ávila, as represented by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. In "The Ecstasy (?) of St. Teresa," Weretka states that if the foundational concept for emotion in the early modern West is the *passio*—a state to be undergone—then the state of ecstasy, the wholesale subjection of the passive mystic to the presence of God, must represent the purest state of *passio*/emotion. Weretka explains that artworks have been created since at least the Middle Ages that purport to represent the mystic in the state of ecstasy; such representations, a particular feature of Counter-Reformation spirituality, include the mid-seventeenth-century sculp-

ture group by Bernini: the so-called *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. Weretka questions the popular view that this sculpture group actually represents St. Teresa's ecstasy. The essay examines this question through the tradition of Catholic theological exploration of the concept of ecstasy from St. Thomas Aquinas, to the Benedictine spiritual writer Dom Augustine Baker, and to St. Teresa herself. Through an examination of the iconographic tradition of ecstatic representation, Weretka questions whether the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* should be conceived as part of this tradition at all.

The final two essays focus on the sensorium and the baroque intertwining of the senses. In "Faith and Fetish: Objects and the Body in Catholic Devotional Practice," Lisa Beaven examines the intimate relationship between the body and small devotional objects during the baroque period. She argues that portable hand-held or worn objects such as crucifixes, pendant relics, rosaries, and penitential jewelry operated as private and miniature shrines for worship. Through touch in the form of skin contact and handling—and sometimes smell—these objects functioned as portals for an individual's encounter with a larger spiritual world inhabited by dead, imagined, and transcendent beings. In particular, Beaven argues they prompted an imagined engagement with Christ's body, making his suffering present, and as the human–divine relationship was collapsed through the medium of object, a charged emotional response was created, leading to the expression of extreme emotional states and religious fervor. As material objects that were handled in an intimate way, they evoked an intense emotional response by inciting the senses. Prompting active physical engagement, these small religious items fulfill our definition of fetishistic or totemic objects. More than "simple" objects, they operated as a gateway to the immaterial spiritual world.

Angela Ndaljian ends with a very different articulation of the baroque sensorium—one staged by the cannibal psychiatrist Dr. Hannibal Lecter in the television series *Hannibal* (NBC, 2013–15). In "*Hannibal*: Baroque Horror Vacui and the Theater of Senses," Ndaljian analyzes *Hannibal* the television series and Hannibal the character as expressions of a baroque theatricality. She argues that for Hannibal, the serial repetition of murder and cannibalism becomes a neo-baroque horror vacui staged as theater: Hannibal's theater. The world becomes pliable in Hannibal's hands and, with a true baroque virtuosity, he strives to outperform his meticulously orchestrated performances. The world becomes his *Wunderkammer*, and he litters this world with his creations, which are diabolical curiosities displayed for the world to see and to be experienced as works of art. In Hannibal's theater of the world, he becomes a composer who combines his roles as cannibalistic serial killer, (cannibal) haute cuisine chef, artist and musician, and connoisseur of fine art and music. His killing and cannibalism are great creations that Hannibal perceives as pure acts of art, which tell a story about art and the senses, death, and life. Ultimately, Ndaljian argues that *Hannibal* not only inflicts a cacophony of sensory assaults on the characters that inhabit the show's dark narrative universe, but also extends these assaults to the audience that participates in the world it has to offer.

NOTES

¹ Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold*, p. xi.

² Deleuze.

³ Norman Klein, *The Vatican to Vegas*.

⁴ Gregg Lambert, *The Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture*.

⁵ José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco*.

⁶ Angela Ndalianis, *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*.

⁷ Kresimir Purgar, *The Neo-baroque Subject*.

⁸ Monika Kaup, *Neobaroque in the Americas*.

⁹ Graeme Kirkpatrick, *Aesthetic Theory and the Video Game*.

¹⁰ Michael Nitsche, *Video Game Space*.

¹¹ Helen Hills, ed., *Rethinking the Baroque*.

¹² Michael Snodin and Nigel Llewellyn, eds., *Baroque*.

¹³ Genevieve Warwick, *Bernini*.

¹⁴ Walter Moser, "The Concept of the Baroque," p. 11.

¹⁵ Lambert, *The Return of the Baroque*, p. 5.

¹⁶ For more on its etymology, see Moser, p. 14.

¹⁷ Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie*. The original French text reads: "Baroque, adjectif en architecture, est une nuance de bizarre. Il en est, si l'on veut, le raffinement, ou, s'il était possible de le dire, l'abus (!), il en est le superlatif (!). L'idée du baroque entraîne avec soi celle du ridicule poussé à l'excès. Borromini a donné les plus grands modèles de bizarrerie et Guarini peut passer pour le maître du baroque" ("Baroque, an adjective of architecture, is an equivalent to the bizarre. It is, if one wants to say, refinement, or, if it was possible to say it, abuse (!), it is the superlative (!). The idea of the baroque drags itself down with ridiculous sophistication to excess. Borromini gave the greatest examples of this strangeness and Guarini can be said to have been the master of the baroque"). Translation by Samuel Harvey.

¹⁸ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*. "Baroque. Terme de Joüaillier qui ne se dit que des perles qui ne sont pas parfaitement rondes" ("Baroque: a term from Joüaillier, which speaks of pearls that are not perfectly round"). Translation by Samuel Harvey.

¹⁹ It is important to note here that René Wellek, who proposed this definition of the term "baroque" in an article published in 1946 and titled "The Concept of the Baroque in Literary Scholarship," went on to recant this position in a later article in 1962, arguing that if this meaning of the word was a possible derivation of the baroque, it only applied to Italy. For more on this, see Lambert, *The Return of the Baroque*, p. 1.

²⁰ Benedetto Croce as cited in Wellek, p. 77.

²¹ Wellek, p. 77.

²² Alina Payne, "Beyond *Kunstwollen*," p. 6.

²³ Evonne Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism*, p. 14.

²⁴ Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism*, p. 19.

²⁵ Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism*, p. 25.

²⁶ Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles*.

²⁷ Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*.

²⁸ Heinrich Wölfflin, *The Principles of Art History*, p. 10.

²⁹ Wölfflin, *The Principles of Art History*, p. 10.

³⁰ See the new edition edited and translated by Andrew Hopkins and Arnold Witte: Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*.

³¹ Deleuze, p. 3.

³² Maravall, p. 4

³³ For more on this see Moser, p. 18.

³⁴ Christopher Braider, *Baroque Self-invention and Historical Truth*, p. 6.

³⁵ Gregg Lambert, *On the (New) Baroque*, p. xi.

³⁶ Gregg Lambert, *The Return of the Baroque*, p. 7.

³⁷ The exhibition traveled from San Diego's Museum of Contemporary Art to Fort Worth, San Francisco, Toronto, Miami, and Minneapolis. One of the earliest explorations of the impact of the baroque on contemporary art is Mieke Bal's 1999 book, *Quoting Caravaggio*. In addition to providing overviews of 1990s exhibitions on the contemporary baroque, her analysis included the works of artists Ana Mendieta, Andrea Serrano, Doty Attle, Ken Apter, and Carrie Mae Weems. In 2007, Kelly Wacker's anthology *Baroque Tendencies in Contemporary Art* addressed neo-baroque trends in contemporary art and architecture. Authors explored the paintings of Emilio Vedova, Lucian Freud, Jenny Saville, and Jeff Koons through a baroque lens, also turning to the intensely intertextual and self-reflexive art of the Mexican artists Rodolfo Nieto and Daniela Rossell. Even the wondrous, fluid lines that erupt from Frank Gehry's architectural spaces are understood as neo-baroque.

³⁸ For examples from this exhibition, see www.photography-now.com/exhibition/33276 (accessed February 20, 2016).

³⁹ See www.guggenheim.org/new-york/exhibitions/past/exhibit/5341 (accessed February 20, 2016). See also <http://1995-2015.undo.net/it/mostra/161841> (accessed February 20, 2016).

⁴⁰ Other exhibitions have included: *Neo-baroque* (Byblos Art Gallery, Verona, 2005), featuring the work of Petah Coyne, Ann Craven, Robert Longo, Emilio Perez, Takagi Masakatsu, Saeko Takagi, and Fred Tomaselli; *Chaos And Revelry: Neo-baroque and Camp Aesthetics* (Counihan Gallery, Melbourne, 2008), which showcased the work of eight contemporary Australian artists, including Maree Azzopardi, William Eicholtz, eX de Medici, and Deborah Paauwe; and *Barroco Nova: Neo-baroque* (London Museum, Ontario, 2011–12), which focused on the sensuous baroque in Canadian art.

⁴¹ See Ndalianis, and also Klein.

⁴² Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, eds., *Baroque New Worlds*.

⁴³ John Beverly, *Essays on the Literary Baroque*.

⁴⁴ Jill Kuhnheim, *Spanish American Poetry*.

⁴⁵ Severo Sarduy "The Baroque and the Neo-baroque."

⁴⁶ Deleuze, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Tobias Kampf, "Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body," p. 14. The Latin inscription reads: "PAVLUS TT. S. CAECILIAE / EN TIBI SANCTISSIMAE VIRGINIS CAECILIAE IMAGINEM / QVAM IPSE INTEGRAM IN SEPVLCRO IACENTEM VIDI / EANDEM TIBI PRORSVS EODEM CORPORIS SITV / HOC MARMORE EXPRESSI."

⁴⁸ Maravall, p. 218.

⁴⁹ Braider, p. 8.

⁵⁰ Emir Rodríguez Monegal and Alastair Reid, eds., *Borges*, p. 142.

⁵¹ Michael Ann Holly, "Wölfflin and the Imagining of the Baroque," p. 353.

⁵² Holly, p. 350.

⁵³ See Joseph E. LeDoux, *The Emotional Brain*. See also Silvan S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*. Tomkins argues that affect is the “primary innate biological motivating mechanism.” Tomkins, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Daniel Gross, *The Secret History of Emotion*, pp. 34–35.

⁵⁵ Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *The Madness of Vision*, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Buci-Glucksmann, p. 5.

⁵⁷ Buci-Glucksmann, p. 5.

Works Cited

- Bal, Mieke. *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Beverly, John. *Essays on the Literary Baroque in Spain and Spanish America*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008.
- Braider, Christopher. *Baroque Self-Invention and Historical Truth*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2004.
- Buci-Glucksmann, Christine. *The Madness of Vision: On Baroque Aesthetics*. Translated by Dorothy Z. Baker. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2013 [1986].
- Deleuze, Gilles. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*. Translated by Tom Conley. London and New York: Continuum, 1993 [1988].
- Diderot, Denis. *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Artes, et des Metiers*. Lausanne et Berne: Sociétés Typographiques, 1781.
- Furetière, Antoine. *Dictionnaire Universel, Contenant généralement tous les Mots Français tant vieux que modernes & les Termes de toutes les Sciences et des Arts*. Paris: 1690.
- Gross, Daniel. *The Secret History of Emotion: From Aristotle’s “Rhetoric” to Modern Brain Science*. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2006.
- Hills, Helen, ed. *Rethinking the Baroque*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011.
- Gurlitt, Cornelius. *Geschichte des Barockstiles, des Rococo und des Klassizismus*. Stuttgart, 1887–89.
- Holly, Michael Ann. “Wölfflin and the Imagining of the Baroque.” In *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, edited by Keith Moxey, Norman Bryson, and Michael Ann Holly, pp. 347–54. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994.
- Kampf, Tobias. “Framing Cecilia’s Sacred Body: Paolo Camillo Sfondrato and the Language of Revelation.” *Sculpture Journal* 6 (2001): pp. 10–20.
- Kaup, Monika. *Neobaroque in the Americas: Alternative Modernities in Literature, Visual Art, and Film*. Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Kirkpatrick, Graeme. *Aesthetic Theory and the Video Game*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Klein, Norman. *The Vatican to Vegas: A History of Special Effects*. New York: New Press, 2004.
- Kuhnheim, Jill. *Spanish American Poetry at the End of the Twentieth Century: Textual Disruptions*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004.
- Lambert, Gregg. *The Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture*. New York, Berlin, and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004.
- Lambert, Gregg. *On the (New) Baroque*, 2nd edition. Aurora, CO: The Davis Group Publishers, 2008.
- LeDoux, Joseph E. *The Emotional Brain*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

- Levy, Evonne. *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1845–1945): Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlmayr*. Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2015.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986 [Spanish edition 1975].
- Monegal, Emir Rodriguez and Alastair Reid, eds. *Borges: A Reader*. New York: Dutton, 1981.
- Moser, Walter. “The Concept of the Baroque.” *Revisita Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 33, no. 1 (2008): pp. 11–37.
- Ndalianis, Angela. *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004.
- Nitsche, Michael. *Video Game Space: Image, Play, and Structure in 3D Game Worlds*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008.
- Payne, Alina, “Beyond *Kunstwollen*: Alois Riegl and the Baroque,” in Riegl, pp. 1–33.
- Purgar, Kresimir. *The Neo-baroque Subject*. Zagreb: Meandarmedia, 2006.
- Riegl, Alois. *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*. Edited by A. Hopkins and A. Witte. Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2010.
- Sarduy, Severo. “The Baroque and the Neo-baroque.” In *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*. Translated by Michael Schuessler, edited by Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, pp. 270–92. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Snodin, Michael and Nigel Llewellyn, eds., *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence, 1620–1800*. London: V&A Publishing, 2009.
- Tomkins, Silvan S. *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, vol. 3. New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1991.
- Wacker, Kelly A., ed. *Baroque Tendencies in Contemporary Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007.
- Warwick, Genevieve. *Bernini: Art as Theatre*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Wellek, René. “The Concept of Baroque in Literary Scholarship.” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 5, no. 2 (1946): pp. 77–109.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung der Barockstils in Italien*. 1888.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *The Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Developmental Style in Later Art*. Translated by M. D. Hottinger. New York: Dover Publications, 1950 [1915].
- Zamora, Lois Parkinson and Monika Kaup, eds. *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transcultural, Counterconquest*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010.

Chapter 1

Feeling Baroque in Art and Neuroscience: Joy, Sadness, Pride, and a Spinozist Solution to the Quest for Happiness

Monika Kaup

THERE IS WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT ABOUT the baroque's inherent connection with the emotions, as the baroque saw an interest in the depiction of psychological states of mind and an intensified interest in the inner life of humans. Baroque philosophy became preoccupied with the problem of "the passions" in works by René Descartes (1596–1650), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), and Benedict de Spinoza (1632–77). The mechanism of *how* inner feelings, desires, and affects are expressed by the body in gestures and facial expression, and the way in which and to what extent the emotions control human behavior, were an engrossing problem for the baroque. A fascinating dimension of the exploration of what the baroque liked to call "the passions" is that this investigation was interdisciplinary and interartistic: it occurred simultaneously in philosophy, the sciences, and the arts, where it flourished in literature and the visual arts. To be sure, neither the study of the methods of expressing emotion nor the problems of the passions itself are baroque discoveries. What distinguishes the baroque, writes art historian John Rupert Martin, is "the urge to expand the range of sensual experience and to deepen and intensify the interpretation of feelings."¹ Or, as David Castillo proposes in his recent study *Baroque Horrors*, it "is not that baroque literature invents the manipulation of emotions ... What is new is the scale of the cultural investment in the pedagogical potential of the shock value that is associated with rarities, curiosities, prodigies, and horrors."²

In recognizing the key role of the emotions in human cognition and perception, the baroque today proves to have been far-sighted and path-breaking. Once stigmatized for its irrational tendencies by Enlightenment rationalism, the baroque experienced a resurgence and succession of revivals throughout the twentieth century, which are ongoing in the twenty-first. In recent decades, advances in neuroscience and cognitive science have afforded substantial scientific support for the affective baroque: the value of baroque stock, as it were, has risen another notch. As Fritjof Capra reports, "neuroscientists have discovered strong evidence that human intelligence, human memory, and human decisions are never completely rational but are always coloured by emotions, as we all know from experience."³ Indeed, the pervasive emotional coloring of thought is one of the key traits that distinguish human cognition from that of computers.

The findings of recent neuroscience and cognitive science would suggest that the “emotional” baroque has won the debate against the “rational” classical: far from “bizarre” extravagance, the baroque’s sensualistic excess; its refusal to abide by rigorous classicistic styles; and its rebellion against reductive rationalisms in conceptualizing human perception have all been justified. The human mind is not like a machine, contrary to what advocates of the “information-processing dogma” of the mind as a “thinking machine,” who are often found in the field of Posthuman Studies, have insisted.⁴ In foregrounding the role of the emotions, the anti-objectivist, anti-rationalist baroque can contribute to demystifying contemporary incarnations of the influential tradition of scientific mechanism and reductivism, which views the living organism as a machine, and which dates, like the baroque, from the early modern period. In contrast, the baroque refuses to conceptualize the human mind as an abstract information-processing unit. Instead, it conceives the mind as an *embodied* mind, with the body and the emotions continually interfering in the process of thought.

This essay explores convergences between contemporary theories of the emotions and the way emotions figure in baroque aesthetics and theory around their common conceptualization of the embodied mind. For reasons of space, my endeavors are exploratory rather than comprehensive, and I approach my topic from the viewpoint of a specialist on baroque/neo-baroque studies. My essay is divided into three sections. I begin by reviewing principal positions on the central role of the emotions in the baroque. In brief, while there is consensus that the baroque and the emotions are interlinked, explanations of *how* exactly these connections operate are actually vastly divergent. As a result, there is substantial disagreement over how the emotionality of the baroque is to be evaluated, that is, whether the emotionality of the baroque should be framed positively or negatively.

I next turn to two scientific authors, Antonio Damasio (primarily) and Giovanna Colombetti (more briefly), whose work on the emotions includes pointing out analogies of emotion with the baroque, as well as crediting baroque thinkers for pioneering insight into the importance of affect for human thought. Contemporary theorists of the emotions from a range of disciplines, whether they are neuroscientists, cognitive scientists, phenomenologists, or affect theorists in cultural studies, have returned to early seventeenth-century attempts to systematize the passions by Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza. Of these, Spinoza has attracted the most attention. Spinoza’s *Ethics*, published posthumously in 1677, is prescient in rejecting Cartesian mind/body dualism, and in offering an anatomy of the emotions that embeds thought *within* the living body and as part of the embodied mind.

The third section moves on to a discussion of contemporary neo-baroque works by artists Frida Kahlo, Damien Hirst, Niki de Saint-Phalle, Luis Jiménez, and Guillermo Gómez-Peña. Taking my cues from Spinoza, I examine these artists’ representations of three key emotions: joy, sadness, and pride. Joy and sadness figure among the six or so basic emotions accepted by many researchers in the field of affective neuroscience, includ-

ing Antonio Damasio,⁵ and which Damasio relates to Spinoza's theory of *conatus*, the drive for self-preservation. The third (pride), in the sense of the public assertion of identity, is viewed here as an expression of *conatus* itself, as well as an instance of the joyful active emotions that, according to Spinoza, liberate humans from the thrall of the passions.

Part One. The Baroque's Emotional Appeal

Recognition of the pivotal role of the emotions and the senses in baroque art arrived with the foundational early twentieth-century studies by Heinrich Wölfflin and Erwin Panofsky. Whereas Renaissance classicism "represents things as they are," Wölfflin suggests that baroque art depicts things "as they seem to be."⁶ Indeed, the baroque aesthetic, which Wölfflin calls "painterly,"⁷ is phenomenological: it depicts how things *appear* to human perception and consciousness. It is no accident that Wölfflin's rehabilitation of the baroque occurred at the same time as the rise of phenomenology, the philosophy concerning the structures of human experience and consciousness founded in the early twentieth century by Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger to overcome the Cartesian mind/body dualism. The baroque recognizes that an important way things exist is the way in which they appear to human perception. The baroque returns the embodied observer to the field of vision: it recognizes that perception cannot be a disembodied "view from nowhere." This is an insight developed by Christine Buci-Glucksmann in her phenomenological study on the aesthetics of the baroque, founded on the notion of the "madness of vision."⁸ For Buci-Glucksmann, the baroque is an aesthetic that stages the return of the repressed body to the field of vision.

Of Wölfflin's famous five paired categories that each opposes a feature of Renaissance classicism against a feature of baroque art, the most important for the role of the emotions is the fifth: "Absolute versus relative clarity." As Wölfflin explains, the baroque liberates color and light from the priority of line, preferring the play of light and shadow (tenebrism or chiaroscuro); emotion rather than clarity characterizes Wölfflin's definition of the baroque. Whereas in classical representation, light is evenly distributed, transparent, and functional, serving to illuminate objects clearly rather than drawing attention to itself, the baroque prefers fitful, uneven, "irrational lighting" that bathes the scene in a mood or background emotion.⁹ Panofsky extends Wölfflin's insights by adding an additional element to the formalist diagnostics of baroque sensualism: self-consciousness. According to Panofsky, "the feeling of baroque people is (or at least can be in the works of the great masters) perfectly genuine, only it does not fill the whole of their souls. They not only feel, but also are also aware of their own feelings. While their hearts are quivering with emotion, their consciousness stands aloof and 'knows'" (plate 1, p. xvii).¹⁰

Self-consciousness is the "new consciousness that is the curse and the bliss of the new psychology developing in the baroque era."¹¹ Panofsky concedes that "many a beholder may not like that," but he affirms that "sentimentality is only a negative aspect

of this new consciousness (when the individual not only becomes aware of his or her feelings but also consciously indulges in them).¹² Emotional self-consciousness also has positive aspects, such as a sense of humor.

If the baroque recognized the importance of the passions, it also explored the broader political repercussions of this discovery. As passionate beings, humans are vulnerable to outside ideological manipulation. The passions, says Descartes, “are all good in their nature,” but they can be misused.¹³ As José Antonio Maravall argues in *Culture of the Baroque*, the emotional appeal of baroque art is part and parcel of the manipulative and propagandistic character of baroque culture. An instrument of political and religious authoritarianism, the “guided culture” of the baroque mobilizes irrational impulses in the service of values and beliefs that legitimize the established social order and authority. Baroque artists knew that “to channel ... individuals” modes of behavior, one must penetrate the internal mechanism of their motivation [‘los resortes que los mueven’].¹⁴ Maravall continues: “Distinct from the serenity sought by the Renaissance, the baroque set out to stir and impress, directly and immediately, by effectively intervening in the motivation [*resortes*] of the passions [...] The efficacy in effecting, in awakening and moving the affections, was the great motive of the baroque.”¹⁵ Maravall’s influential claim is that emotions come to the fore in the culture of the baroque *precisely because of* the baroque’s instrumentalization as a state technology of domination of the new urban masses: the baroque is the West’s first culture industry. Maravall even ventures to suggest parallels with behaviorism. Baroque art is sensationalist because emergent modern authoritarian regimes that create it—that is, monarchical absolutism—seek to banish critical thinking from the field of culture.

Maravall’s influential thesis on the Spanish baroque as a repressive state enterprise has recently been contested.¹⁶ Regardless of the veracity of Maravall’s thesis, what is worth noting here is that Maravall offers a “right wing” ideological reading of the very same phenomenon—baroque sensualism—that Walter Benjamin and others, in particular Buci-Glucksmann, view in a more moderate, perhaps even a “leftist” or “critical” light. This insight should give us pause: the baroque’s engagement of the emotions, in and of itself, is not in question. What is being disputed is the larger social, political, and intellectual trends and functions that the “passionate baroque” is thought to serve.

Take, for example, what is often thought to be the primary among baroque emotions: mourning or melancholia. In his study of German baroque drama the *Trauerspiel*—literally “mourning play”—Walter Benjamin draws a categorical distinction between tragedy proper and baroque drama. The *Trauerspiele* are “unclassical tragedies,” as baroque plays are characterized by mourning that is ostentatious, a demonstrative clamor that is antithetical to the silences of Greek drama.¹⁷ For Benjamin, as for Panofsky and Maravall, baroque emotion is extravagant and theatrical. Baroque tragedies, writes Benjamin, are “resplendent with pale corpses.”¹⁸ This is a commentary on the sensational violence that baroque plays, especially the Silesian Protestant *Trauerspiele* analyzed by Benjamin, are

famous for showing onstage, via countless scenes of martyrdom and murder. According to Benjamin, in the *Trauerspiel* “the corpse becomes ... the pre-eminent emblematic property.”¹⁹ Yet the baroque cult of presenting things in a ruined, exhausted state—as corpses, as waste, as debris—has a critical, demystifying function. This is because Benjamin links this phenomenon, which he refers to as the baroque “cult of ruin,” to allegory. To quote Benjamin’s celebrated aphorism, “allegories are, in the realm of thoughts, what ruins are in the realm of things.”²⁰ Benjamin posits that, by confronting the audience with scenes of destruction, baroque allegory triggers a kind of critical awakening from dogmatic slumber. He writes that “in the field of allegorical intuition the image is a fragment, a rune. Its beauty as a symbol evaporates when the light of divine learning falls upon it. The false appearance of totality is extinguished ... The dry rebuses which remain contain an insight ... By its very essence classicism was not permitted to behold the lack of freedom, the imperfection, the collapse of the physical, beautiful nature.”²¹ The contemplation of a skull, says Benjamin, and the melancholic insight into the transience of things it affords, immunizes the observer against the illusion of false harmonies, which would include the ideological fabrications of the official culture industry.

In this way, Benjamin’s analysis directly contradicts Maravall’s negative assessment of the emotional appeal of baroque art. Evidently, baroque melancholia is a double-edged sword: it can have a critical and emancipatory function, but it can also be co-opted into the service of sensationalist dogmatism. This brief sampling of representative theories confirms that there is broad agreement on the emotional nature of the baroque. But it also shows that the analysis does not stop there, but instead leads to another question: if the baroque appeals to the emotions, *what exactly is the social and political function of the appeal?* More to the point, does the susceptibility to emotion render the baroque viewer or consumer more vulnerable to external manipulation? Here, Benjamin’s position is the direct opposite of Maravall’s propositions. While Maravall pictures the baroque viewer’s reason falling into a dogmatic slumber, Benjamin posits that the baroque induces the awakening of critical thinking, and the passage from delusion to disillusionment. Counter-intuitively, there is no agreement on the relation between emotion and critical reason as the two concepts can be antithetical, as per Maravall, but they can also be mutual, as per Benjamin.

More recently, Buci-Glucksmann and Martin Jay have formalized the baroque’s place as a distinct emotion-based aesthetic in visual culture. According to Jay, the baroque is one of three “scopic regimes of modernity” in Western art since the Renaissance.²² The first regime is Cartesian perspectivalism, or the Renaissance development of perspective. The second is early modern art from the Low Countries that Svetlana Alpers discusses as a kind of empirical descriptivism in *The Art of Describing*. The third model is the baroque. “Although it may be prudent to confine the baroque solely to the seventeenth century and link it with the Catholic Counter-Reformation or ... the absolutist state,” writes Jay, “it may also be possible to see it as a permanent, if often repressed, visual possibility through-



Figure 1.1. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, ca. 1647–52, Cornaro Chapel, S. Maria della Vittoria, Rome. Photo © Scala/Art Resource, New York

out the entire modern era.”²³ This idea is explored by Buci-Glucksmann, who writes in her study *The Madness of Vision* that “it is precisely the explosive power of baroque vision that is seen as the most significant alternative to the hegemonic visual style we have called Cartesian perspectivalism.”²⁴ The baroque vision—dazzling, disorienting, and fanciful—breaks with the realist conceit of the canvas as a transparent window onto the world, precisely because this realist model of vision, founded on the Cartesian conceit of the disembodied eye, effaces the embodiment of the human observer. If Cartesian perspectivalism addresses (disembodied) reason, the baroque addresses the senses. The baroque enacts the return of the repressed body and of the frequently subjugated emotions to the field of vision. Baroque vision is embodied vision, with the body and the emotions continually at play on the visual field. “There is no baroque without the body, without embodied madness,” insists Buci-Glucksmann.²⁵ Discarding the Cartesian idea of absolute reason as a fiction, the flamboyant baroque is founded on the centrality of emotion to visual perception. As Jay explains, “desire, in its erotic as well as metaphysical forms, courses through the baroque scopic regime. The body returns to dethrone the disinterested gaze of the disincarnated Cartesian spectator.”²⁶

Dismissing the Cartesian mind/body split, Buci-Glucksmann allies herself with the Spinozan position of monism, that is, the idea that the mind and body are one. She invokes the Spinozan concept of *conatus* as the fundamental affect of all beings, animate and inanimate. “Desire, as *conatus*, as expressive in all of its forms—impassioned, pictorial, musical, and so forth—assumes an almost Spinozan aspect: to persevere in one’s being. This immense certitude of desire, which is always untamed, conditions the aesthetic of *jouissance* and the baroque sublime, its particular madness.”²⁷ The reference to the sublime in this passage indicates further implications of the baroque “madness of vision” for representation. According to Peter Wollen, the baroque “no longer insists on clarity or lucidity or legibility, but instead pushes representation to extremes, and leaves us disturbed or exhilarated, rather than reassured, about our place in the world and its own fundamental stability” (figure 1.1).²⁸

Overall, like Benjamin, Buci-Glucksmann vindicates the baroque as an anti-hegemonic strategy. However, the target of the subversion of the baroque “madness of vision” is not political or social domination, but the dominant modern cultural tradition of scientific and rational reductivism. This is because the dogma of the disincarnated Cartesian mind has also come to prevail in the formation of modern art via mathematized Renaissance perspectivalism. This brings me to my next section.

Part Two. A Baroque Theory of Happiness: The Return of Spinozism in Contemporary Neuroscience

Over the last decade, neurobiology has turned to a baroque-age philosopher for having anticipated many of the discipline's insights: Benedict de Spinoza, the Portuguese Jewish exile and radical thinker, who was vilified during his lifetime as an "atheist" and whose works were banned for long periods of time after the philosopher's death.²⁹ The emphasis on the grip of the passions on our minds and development made Spinoza defend the claim, centuries before Sigmund Freud, that reason is not master in its own house.

In *Looking for Spinoza*, neuroscientist Antonio Damasio endorses Spinoza's holistic solution to the mind/body problem: Spinoza was "claiming mind as inseparable from body, both created, somehow, from the same cloth."³⁰ Parallel, in neurobiology mental states and the conscious mind are "revealed as closely dependent on the operation of many specific systems of brain circuits."³¹ By linking mind and body, Spinoza intuited, centuries before neuroscience, the role that the emotions play in shaping our thoughts. In *The Feeling Body*, Giovanna Colombetti similarly begins her overview of recent developments in affective and cognitive science with Spinoza, specifically stating that "Spinoza's notion of the *conatus* grounds all the emotions in a conative or motivational dimension of existence."³² At a more general level, these developments offer fresh evidence of what baroque scholars, such as Irleamar Chiampi or Bolívar Echeverría, have identified as "the modernity of the baroque," even if neither Chiampi nor Echeverría were specifically thinking of Spinoza.³³ The baroque constitutes an alternative modernity, suppressed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the dominant paradigm of Enlightenment modernity and scientific reductivism, of which Descartes was a forerunner. The alternative modernity of the baroque has been recovered in the wake of the twentieth-century crisis of Enlightenment modernity.

Three clusters of ideas can be identified that figure centrally in the contemporary revival of Spinozism by theories of the emotions:

Monism (often retitled holism in contemporary language) and immanence. Rejecting the Cartesian dualism of substance, that is, mind versus body, Spinoza defends monism, positing that there is only one substance, which he calls "God, or Nature." Spinoza dared to question the reality of several foundational beliefs of Judaeo-Christian civilization, namely that there is a personal, transcendent God; that the soul is immortal; that humans have free will; and that they enjoy a privileged status in creation. Spinoza's philosophy is a philosophy of radical immanence: everything is part of the same substance or order of reality. God and human minds are not independent of nature, but part of and thus complexly linked to nature and its material forces. For Spinoza, "thought" (mind) and "extension" (body) are merely two attributes of this single super-reality, the known two of an infinite number of attributes.

The embodied mind. Descartes claimed that the passions of the soul are subject to the control of free will. In Spinoza's view, the mind is not independent of the body, but emerges from the body in an immanent manner. Rejecting the Cartesian concept of the passions, Spinoza's doctrine of the emotions or affects posits the capacity of the mind to be affected by lived materiality of the body. In Spinoza's language: "The human mind is the idea itself or the knowledge of the human body."³⁴ Three centuries before psychoanalysis and neurobiology, Spinoza gleaned how psychic life happens from the bottom-up, not from the top-down.

Existence is striving to maintain one's existence and prosper. The essence of all beings, including inanimate things, is *conatus*: the desire to persist in their being. "Each thing, in so far as it is in itself, endeavors to persevere in its being."³⁵ Appetite, will, and desire are forms of conscious *conatus* in humans. Spinoza's theory of the emotions is built on this basic endeavor for self-preservation, as psychological states that assess relative progress or failure towards achieving this goal: "By emotion I understand the modifications of the body by which the power of acting of the body itself is increased, diminished, helped, or hindered, together with the ideas of these modifications."³⁶ "Pleasure/joy" and "pain/sorrow" are two basic emotions that derive from *conatus*. Anything that furthers *conatus* and thus passage towards a "greater perfection" or vitality causes joy; anything that frustrates it and triggers passage to a "lesser perfection" or vitality causes sorrow.³⁷ Further compound emotions derive from the basic emotions of joy and sorrow; for example, love and hate are joy and sorrow combined with the idea of an external object as cause. Hope and fear are compounds of joy or sorrow modified by a future or past uncertainty.³⁸

* * *

Let's discuss these clusters of ideas to further explore and deepen their themes. According to Damasio, neuroscience suggests an important distinction between two kinds of affects: emotions (material body states) and feelings (mental states). The difference is that between the *feeling* of "embarrassment," an inner state that is invisible, and "turning red," a tangible and visible emotional state of the body. (Damasio's corporeal, non-intentional emotions are more commonly known as affects, while his cognitive, signifying feelings are usually referred to as emotions.) Transient patterns of body states, pre-conscious emotions are the behavioral part of the affects. Emotions are reactive: specific things, situations, or thoughts that have the power of triggering emotions are known as "emotionally competent stimuli."³⁹ In contrast, feelings are conscious, *mental representations* of the emotions. Damasio explains that "feelings are functionally distinctive because their essence consists of the thoughts that represent the body involved in a reactive process."⁴⁰ While not identical, feelings and emotions are twins; emotions have corresponding feelings and vice versa. Neuroscience focuses on the "investigation of how thoughts trigger emotions and of how bodily emotions become the kind of thoughts we call feelings."⁴¹

As a conscious act, feeling is a *kind of* thought, but a *distinct kind*: there is a difference between “thinking happiness” and “feeling happy.” As we know from experience, it is possible to think about a certain feeling tone without really feeling it.

Overall, emotions are motivationally powerful, and they precede feelings chronologically. Evolution came up with emotions first and feelings second. Social or secondary emotions, such as sympathy or shame, can be observed in chimpanzees, dolphins, and dogs; primary emotions like anger or happiness can be traced even in simple organisms such as flies. As Damasio notes, you can make a fly angry by swatting it, or you can make it happy by feeding it sugar, or even giddy, by feeding it alcohol.⁴² In humans, emotions are located, albeit not exclusively, in the most archaic part of the brain, the subcortical and brain stem structures which are fast, simplistic, and motivationally intense. Brain treatments in humans have revealed how electrical stimulations of certain brain stem regions can trigger emotions such as sadness “out of the blue,” literally at the flip of a switch of electrical current turned on by the physician.⁴³ The emotions of sadness—the behavioral display, such as sobbing—come first, with feelings of sadness and thoughts around sad themes following. Nonetheless, the cortical structures that are relatively recent—and provide slower, more abstract-conceptualization—also have great influence over the rest of the brain.

According to Damasio, the most powerful insight that Spinoza has to offer for neuroscience today is his notion that body and mind are inseparable. Damasio subscribes to Spinoza’s view that emotions are modifications of the body, and that feelings are *ideas* formed about these modifications. What interests Damasio specifically is Spinoza’s concept of the human mind that follows from Spinoza’s radically immanent conceptualization of the universe: the real breakthrough in Spinozan thought regards “Spinoza’s notion of the human mind, which he defines transparently as consisting of *the idea of the human body*.”⁴⁴

For Damasio, this insight foreshadows the interlaced neurobiology of feelings and emotions. Spinoza’s concept of mind as “the idea of the human body” anticipates *how mind is mediated through the body*, how “mental processes are grounded in the brain’s mappings of the body.”⁴⁵ Feelings are excellent examples of Spinoza’s concept of mind-as-idea-of-the-human-body: “A feeling of emotion is an idea of the body when it is perturbed by the emoting process.”⁴⁶

Represented as maps in the brain, “feelings do not arise necessarily from the *actual body states*—although they can—but rather from the *actual maps* constructed at any given moment in the body-sensing regions.”⁴⁷ For Damasio, Spinoza makes whole what modern science after Descartes had split apart: the embodied mind. On a cautionary note, Damasio adds that “there is a major gap in our current understanding of how neural patterns become mental images. The presence in the brain of dynamic neural patterns (or maps) related to an object or event is a *necessary* but not sufficient basis to explain the mental images of the said object or event.”⁴⁸ In other words, conscious thought continues to remain a mystery, and neuroscience still does not fully understand the kinds of conscious thoughts we call feelings.

Because nature is primary, and because human emotions “follow from the same necessity and virtue of Nature as other individual things,” Spinoza posits one single and simple drive as the essence of every single being, being in this case not limited to humans.⁴⁹ Remember that Spinoza articulates the *conatus*, the effort of every individual thing “to persevere in its being,” that is to say, to self-realize and prosper.⁵⁰ Desire is the term for the *conscious* variety of this drive or appetite present in humans. Even moral value, such as good and evil, is not exempt from the naturalist mechanics of *conatus*. In a transvaluation of values anticipating Friedrich Nietzsche, Spinoza claims that we do not desire something because it is good, but we call it good because we desire it.⁵¹

It is Spinoza’s grounding of existence in a fundamental drive for survival and well-being that most resonates with neurobiologists, affording them the opportunity to draw the emotions onto a larger integrated map of human biology. Damasio draws parallels between *conatus* and biological homeostasis, the self-regulation of living organisms to maintain themselves in internal balance as they interact with variable environmental conditions. Damasio places emotions and feelings in the upper branches of the tree, that is, the human homeostasis system, whose trunk constitutes metabolic processes, basic reflexes, and immune responses, with the lower and middle branches containing automated pain or pleasure behaviors, as well as basic appetites and drives such as hunger or sexuality. “It is apparent that the continuous attempt at achieving a state of positively regulated life is a deep and defining part of our existence—the first reality of our existence as Spinoza intuited when he described the relentless endeavor (*conatus*) of each being to preserve itself.”⁵² Feelings and emotions are some of the most sophisticated expressions of the continuous self-regulation and self-maintenance of the human organism. To the Cartesian metaphor of the body as machine, with mind and free will directing its motion, Damasio opposes a holistic neurobiological metaphor of the embodied mind as a tree, all body lower down in the trunk, with mind, conscious thought, and feeling sprouting as the tips of its branches. This is certainly compatible with Spinoza’s integrated view of mind and life, which holds that nature “is always the same and everywhere one.”⁵³

Conatus and self-regulation are also the gateway through which Giovanna Colombetti connects to Spinoza as a theorist of the embodied mind. She writes, “one of the central ideas of enactivism is *embodiment*. According to it, the mind is not an immaterial Cartesian substance, a thinking thing ... Rather, the mind is enacted or brought forth by the living organism.”⁵⁴ Expanding focus to place affect in the context of cognition more generally, Colombetti emphasizes the indivisibility of reason and feeling, observing that “the enactive approach entails that there is no difference in kind between cognition and emotion. Rather, both cognition and emotion turn out to be instances of the relentless *sense-making* activity of the precarious living organism.”⁵⁵ “The mind, as embodied, is intrinsically or constitutively affective; you cannot take affectivity away from it and still have a mind. Affectivity ... refers broadly to a *lack of indifference*, and rather a *sensibility* or

interest for one's existence."⁵⁶ For Colombetti, Spinoza's *conatus*, the striving for well-being, offers a valid explanation for "the affective roots of the mind."⁵⁷

In returning to Spinoza, one final point must be made that is crucial for Spinoza's moral theory. Just because *conatus* gives rise to the emotions, this does not mean that the emotions "set the *conatus* on the true course to happiness."⁵⁸ The problem with the emotions is that they are often based on inadequate—or false—conceptions of things and situations, so that, says Spinoza, humans indulge in "vices and follies."⁵⁹ That is to say, our emotions can lead to actions that are damaging from the viewpoint of true self-preservation. This leads Spinoza to make another distinction between *passive emotions* (the passions proper) and *active emotions*. Spinoza explains: "Our mind acts at times and at times suffers; in so far as it has adequate ideas, it necessarily acts; and in so far as it has inadequate ideas, it necessarily suffers."⁶⁰ In this statement, Spinoza identifies the source of suffering: we suffer insofar as we are in the grip of the passions proper, *reacting to* things based on false conceptions of situations. For Spinoza, "passions" are emotions prompted by confused or inadequate ideas. As he explains, "the mind suffers only in so far as it has inadequate or confused ideas."⁶¹ Adequate ideas—those that inspire active emotions—are derived from the mind, or rather, the mind insofar as it is active, that is to say, insofar as it understands. For this reason, painful sadness cannot be an action, or an active emotion, given Spinoza's definition of pain. By pain, "we understand that the mind's power of acting is lessened or limited."⁶² For Spinoza, progress is made by transforming confused or inadequate ideas into adequate ones, thus moving from the passion to action, which involves placing the emotions under the tutelage of reason.

Indeed, the main challenge for Spinoza's ethics is to show avenues for liberation from bondage to the passions and possibilities for attaining happiness. The latter is the subject of the fifth and last part of the *Ethics*. It is because Spinoza had such a clear and unsentimental understanding of the grip of the passions on the human mind that he came up with a rich theory of affects, which is developed by way of a withering critique of Descartes. "The celebrated Descartes," writes Spinoza, "although he believed that the mind is absolute master over its own actions, tried nevertheless to explain by their first causes human emotions, and at the same time to show the way by which the mind could obtain absolute power over them; but in my opinion he has shown nothing but the acuteness of his great intellect."⁶³ How does Spinoza define the path to "human freedom"? Where exactly does he find the passage to freedom from "bondage" to the passions, an idea that is the subject of the penultimate part of the *Ethics*? Essentially, his answer seems to be related to the Buddhist theory of mindfulness: the unblinking understanding and acceptance of what the facts are. That is to say, instead of denial or rebellion, an understanding of the mixed condition of human nature is possible, determined by nature and torn by passions, but capable of restraining them by a bottom-up reasoning, through understanding and gradual transformation and never by absolute will. The strategy for overcoming negative emotions is to gain insight into the mechanism of the passions: "If we detach a

perturbation of the mind or an emotion from the thought of an external cause and connect it with other thoughts, then the love or hatred toward the external cause and the fluctuations of the mind which arise from these emotions will be destroyed.”⁶⁴ Further, “an emotion which is a passion ceases to be a passion as soon as we form a clear and distinct idea of it.”⁶⁵ Damasio glosses this as follows: “Spinoza’s solution hinges on the mind’s power over the emotional process, which in turn depends on a discovery of the causes of negative emotions, and on knowledge of the mechanics of emotion. The individual must be aware of the fundamental separation between emotionally competent stimuli and the trigger mechanism of emotion so that he can substitute *reasoned* emotionally competent stimuli capable of producing the most positive feeling states.”⁶⁶ In other words, automated emotional mechanisms can be changed, but only by transforming the present detrimental stimulus by understanding it. Or, again according to Damasio:

Spinoza also proposed that the power of affects is such that the only hope of overcoming a detrimental effect—an irrational passion—is by overpowering it with a stronger positive affect, one triggered by reason. *An affect cannot be restrained or neutralized except by a contrary affect that is stronger than the affect to be restrained ...* Central to his thinking was the notion that the subduing of the passions should be accomplished by reason-induced emotion and not by pure reason alone.⁶⁷

As Matthew Stewart observes, “the only way to overcome the emotions ... is with a higher kind of emotion: you have to fight fire with fire.”⁶⁸ The strongest fire for Spinoza is what he calls “the intellectual love of God.” This love is not a passion, but an “active” affect. Given that God is nature—and nature is God—and humans are determined by nature, “the intellectual love of God” is enlightened self-love. According to Spinoza, “he who clearly and distinctly understands himself and his emotions loves God, and loves Him better the better he understands himself and his emotions.”⁶⁹

Part Three. Feeling Baroque in Contemporary Neo-Baroque Art with Joy, Sadness, Pride

In this last part of my essay, I take my cue from Spinoza and examine the representation of three emotions in contemporary neo-baroque art: joy, sadness, and pride. I will begin with Spinoza’s two primary emotions—joy and sadness—discussing sadness and melancholy in selected self-portraits of Mexican painter Frida Kahlo. Then, I move on to an analysis of the depiction of joy and exuberance in the sculptures of French artist Niki de Saint-Phalle. I end this section with the performance of pride in Latino art, understanding “pride” here not in the narrow and negative sense of excessive self-love, but in a looser and more positive sense of “showing the flag” in public; for example, the way one might express self-respect and worth with the term “gay pride.” Much Latino art is about pride in this positive sense of public assertions of identity, which is an expression of Spinoza’s *conatus*: the desire

to persevere in one's own being and prosper. Like Kahlo and de Saint-Phalle's works, many of these Latino works employ a baroque aesthetic of extravagance and intense emotion.

Thwarted desire is the topic that brings me to Frida Kahlo and the feeling of painful sadness or melancholy, which, according to Benjamin and others, is the most characteristic baroque affect. In her recent study *The Inordinate Eye*, Lois Zamora has shown how Kahlo engaged the iconographic tradition of the baroque, both in its elite European forms and in its Mexican folk baroque varieties. I am here indebted to Zamora's insights. Kahlo, Zamora suggests, "routinely engaged the baroque iconography of sanctified suffering."⁷⁰ Kahlo was not religious, but she nonetheless appropriated the iconography of the Catholic baroque to create an autobiographical and secular mythology for her personal suffering. Kahlo's art centers on her own life, which was defined by pain. Zamora points to Kahlo's "many surgeries and miscarriages" and "her two marriages to Diego [Rivera], a double disaster."⁷¹ The subject of Kahlo's 1949 self-portrait, *Diego and I*² for example, is Kahlo's melancholic suffering on account of her husband, Rivera, whom she had married in 1929, divorced in 1939, and remarried in 1941 in a second marriage no less turbulent than the failed first.

Marked by streaming tears and an image of Diego tattooed on her forehead, Kahlo's self-portrait depicts a wounded, melancholic self—a self that is defined by loss. Or, as Spinoza would have it, *Diego and I* presents a self whose *conative* desire has been thwarted and who is passing "from a greater to a less perfection."⁷³ The autobiographical figure portrayed is a self in the thrall of the passions. Emotions are arising at the call of external forces beyond its control, a suffering self whose vitality and power of action have been curtailed. This said, however, there is another way in which this painting also marks a movement in the opposite direction. To frame this in Spinoza's language, *Diego and I* also depicts the passage from passion to action. As discussed above, for Spinoza the psychic state of suffering can only be transformed by reason-induced awareness of the mechanics of the passions and by a stronger but positive emotion. In its self-conscious emotional appeal, baroque art affords the occasion for such mindful awareness. To recall Panofsky's statement, baroque people not only feel; they are also *aware of* how they feel. As an artist, Kahlo fashions her autobiographical suffering into art, a neo-baroque modernism that is formed by transhistorical and cross-cultural references to the religious iconography of the baroque. Kahlo's various baroque influences included Mexican folk religious art such as *ex-votos* (personal thank-you paintings to patron saints for their miraculous interventions), as well as the religious Counter-Reformation baroque and its iconography of sanctified suffering in its "furious martyrdoms."⁷⁴ Such references enabled Kahlo to create glamorous and stylized representations of her personal torment.

As a creative variation on the emotion of baroque melancholy, we can consider Damien Hirst's artwork *For the Love of God* (2007),⁷⁵ a diamond-encrusted skull. It is made from a platinum cast of an eighteenth-century human skull, encrusted with nearly nine thousand flawless diamonds, including a pear-shaped pink diamond located in



Figure 1.2.
Niki de Saint-Phalle,
Nanas, sculpture,
Leibnizufer,
Hanover, 1974.
Photo © Monika Kaup

the forehead. The teeth in the skull are real and from the original skull. The diamond skull sold for US \$100 million.⁷⁶ According to Hirst's website, the artwork combines "the imagery of classic *memento mori* with inspiration drawn from Aztec skulls and the Mexican love of decoration and attitude towards death."⁷⁷ In an interview, Hirst commented, "I just want to celebrate life by saying to hell with death ... What better way of saying that than by taking the ultimate symbol of death and covering it in the ultimate symbol of luxury, desire, and decadence?"⁷⁸ As Castillo has observed, this makes Hirst's skull a "neo-baroque reversal of the baroque *vanitas* motif."⁷⁹ In other words, Hirst has converted the skull, the arch-embem of baroque melancholy, into a symbol of neo-baroque exuberance and joy.

Ideas of exuberance and joy bring me to the work of Niki de Saint-Phalle, as these emotions dominate her art. Saint-Phalle became well known around the world for her colorful baroque sculptures of bulbous, heavy-legged women, the so-called "Nanas." Joy is communicated by the use of bright coloration as well as wide-ranging body movements: the Nanas dance, and sometimes they stand on their hands or their heads. Nanas

exist in all shapes, sizes, and colors, ranging from the gigantic to the miniscule, and are found in public spaces all over the world (figure 1.2).

Saint-Phalle's Nanas are mother figures with big, voluptuous bodies, modern incarnations of the fertility goddess archetype with large bodies and small heads. Saint-Phalle created the Nanas in 1964, when she saw an American painter friend making a portrait of his pregnant wife. The most flamboyant of all Nanas was a 1966 installation for the Museum of Modern Art in Stockholm. The *Hon*, or *She-a-Cathedral*, is "a gigantic female figure lying on her back with her legs spread apart to welcome visitors inside her pregnant body, which had been carved into an entertainment center ... Attractions included a planetarium situated in her left breast, a milk bar in her right breast."⁸⁰ Critic Catherine Dossin recalls that "Saint-Phalle described *Hon* as: 'A great fertility goddess reclining comfortably in her immensity and generously receiving thousands of visitors which she absorbed, devoured, and gave birth to again.'⁸¹ The challenge is how to read the ambiguous ideological gender stance of the Nanas: are they reaffirmations of female essentialism, that is, woman is all body rather than mind, or are they feminist rearticulations of the prehistoric mother goddess? According to Dossin, most defend the latter position, viewing Saint-Phalle's Nanas as joyful celebrations of femininity, attributing to the Mother Goddess power and action—rather than passivity and suffering—by putting her into motion and making her dance.

This latter strategy can be read through a Spinozan lens, as depicting the passage from passion to action, or from suffering the servitude of melancholic emotions to the joyful active affects that accompany greater perfection and vitality. As we have seen, for Spinoza the passage from "lesser to a greater perfection" of the individual amounts to a realization of the *conatus*, and thus to personal growth. Indeed, Saint-Phalle began making art as therapy after her breakdown and institutionalization as a young mother in her twenties, when she was plunged into trauma resulting from an abusive father and incest. Her entire body of work focuses on the condition of women, and is closely linked to emotions and the body.

By way of a personal comment, I have long been familiar with Saint-Phalle and her sculptures through the German city of Hanover, which acquired a few iconic Nanas early in the 1970s that subsequently became a famous city landmark. Since 2003, the city of Hanover has hosted additional new decorations by Saint-Phalle in the Historic Grotto of the historical baroque Herrenhausen Gardens (ca. 1666–1714). Saint-Phalle covered the interior walls of the three rooms of the grotto with mosaics of colored glass, and many brightly colored humanoid figures, including dancing Nanas (plate 2, p. xviii).

My final set of examples comes from neo-baroque Latino artworks that exemplify pride, in the sense of a public self-affirmation of identity, which I view as a distinct (public) variety of Spinoza's joyful active emotions. I set pride aside from joy, as pride emphasizes the idea of being seen, of staging identity as a public performance. Such public self-affirmation is closest to Spinoza's compound emotion of self-satisfaction, which



Figure 1.3. Luis Jiménez, *Progress I*, Fiberglass, resin and acrylic paint, 1976/1999, Albuquerque Museum. © Albuquerque Museum

he defines as “the joy which is produced by contemplating ourselves and our own power of action.”⁸² For example, pride as public self-affirmation originally motivated the practice of Chicano low-riding. In the words of George Luna, founding member of one of Los Angeles’s iconic low-rider clubs: “*manejar bajo* [‘to drive low’] is for the pride. And *despacio* [‘slow’] is because we want to be seen.”⁸³ Public pride thus naturally tends towards the use of bold colors, lighting, and a baroque aesthetic, appealing to the emotions. My representatives of the Latino neo-baroque expressing pride are Chicano artist Luis Jiménez and *Chica-lango* performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña. Independently, but parallel to Frida Kahlo, the works of Jiménez and Gómez-Peña also appropriate the Latin American folk baroque, a sensibility of ostentatious display, gaudy colors, and rich ornamentation. This transculturated folk baroque, found today in everyday objects such as home altars and religious shrines, as well as low-riders throughout Mexico and the United States–Mexico borderlands, goes back to parish churches in rural Mexico in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, deriving from a popular rearticulation of Catholic iconography imported from Europe.

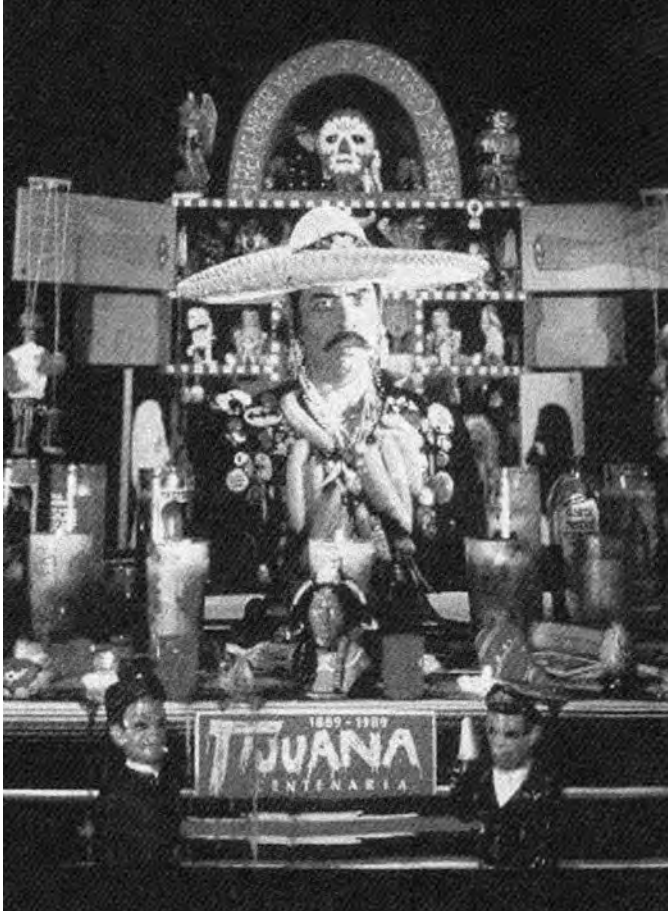


Figure 1.4.
Still from video performance
of Guillermo Gómez-Peña,
Border Brujo, 1989.
Director: Isaac Arntenstein.
Producer: Cinewest. Fair use.

Luis Jiménez was apprenticed by his father, a Mexican American neon-sign maker, before going to art school. He soon began to work with “low culture” materials such as fiberglass, drawing on low-rider art and pop culture. Jiménez became famous for his large, heroic figures depicting Mexican and Chicano themes, such as *vaqueros* (“cowboys”), horses, and Aztec warriors. For example, *Vaquero* depicts a pistol-brandishing Mexican *vaquero* on his bucking horse. This dynamic composition transforms the ordinary Mexican cowboy into the mythic. The horse’s intense, artificial blue coloring; its thick reddish mane that evokes the image of flames running down its neck; and the *vaquero*’s gold trousers flapping in the wind turn horse and rider into a semi-supernatural being. *Vaquero* is about Chicano pride as it reminds viewers that the American cowboy was a remake of Mexican *vaquero* culture already in place in the borderlands prior to this region’s incorporation into the American Southwest. Another Jiménez sculpture, *Man on Fire*, presents an Indian-featured figure with one upraised arm in flames, alluding to the

indigenous contribution to Mexican and US culture. Critic Sarah Goldman notes this artwork's further citations of the myth of Prometheus, and of the self-immolations of Vietnamese monks made in protest against the Vietnam War. She also wonders whether this might be a "revision of the Statue of Liberty."⁸⁴ Finally, *Progress I* shows a Native American man from the Plains region on a horse, both human and animal in the final stages of exhaustion as they bring down an enormous buffalo (figure 1.3). The massed bodies, Goldman observes, are reminiscent of the works of Peter Paul Rubens and Bernini that Jiménez studied on a trip to Rome.⁸⁵ The light bulbs in the eyes of the animals add a gaudy effect to the baroque emotionality of this work.

My discussion concludes with a still from the performance piece and film *Border Brujo* (1989) by Mexican performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña (figure 1.4). In this piece, Gómez-Peña intervenes into contemporary border theory, reflecting on the ongoing flow of Latin American objects and people into the US, as well as the contrary emotions, such as fear, anger, and xenophobia as well as desire and euphoria, that arise from border crossings and cross-cultural contacts. Like other Latino artists, Gómez-Peña borrows from the folk baroque; in this case, the *rasquache* ("poor" or "vulgar") aesthetics of home altars, which collect consumer objects and things of everyday use and gather them within an aggregate defined by hyperbolic ornamentation and flamboyant display. Notable also are the citations of religious baroque emblems such as the sacred heart and the skull.

Conclusion

The recent turn to affect and the history of the emotions in the humanities offers a congenial approach to the baroque. The baroque's emotional appeal has long been recognized by art historians and cultural historians of the baroque, such as Heinrich Wölfflin, Erwin Panofsky, José Antonio Maravall, Walter Benjamin, Christine Buci-Glucksmann, and Martin Jay. A mode of expression that acknowledges and appeals to the affective matrix in which human cognition is embedded, baroque art offers contradictory lessons of the passions as avenues of both human susceptibility to propaganda and as gateways to emancipation. The collective findings of Maravall, Benjamin, and others—unanimous in stating the fact of the emotional nature of the baroque, but divided in their conclusions about the political and moral tendency of the emotional baroque (either oppressive or emancipatory)—are confirmed by recent neuroscientific theories of the emotions. Antonio Damasio and Giovanna Colombetti pay tribute to the pioneering efforts of baroque-age philosopher Benedict de Spinoza in positing the immanent emergence of psychic life from the lived materiality of the body. Damasio parallels Spinoza's *conatus*, the desire for self-preservation, with biological homeostasis, the self-regulation of the human organism in which corporeal emotions and mental feelings emerge at the upper branches of the tree of homeostatic equilibrium, which is rooted in metabolic processes and immune responses. Further, Damasio defends Spinoza's claim that the thrall of the

passions cannot be overcome at will, but only by a transformation from the bottom-up by which passions like sadness, resulting from the frustration of *conatus*, cede to joyful happiness, the emotion corresponding to the furthering of *conatus*. This passage from passive emotions (the passions proper) to active emotions conducive to the quest for happiness serves as the occasion to turn to neo-baroque art in the third and final part of this essay. Depicting melancholy, joy, and pride, neo-baroque art by Frida Kahlo, Niki de Saint-Phalle, Damian Hirst, Luis Jiménez and Guillermo Gómez-Peña pays tribute to the relevance of these emotions identified as central by Spinoza.

NOTES

- ¹ John Rupert Martin, *Baroque*, p. 73.
- ² David R. Castillo, *Baroque Horrors*, p. 78.
- ³ Fritjof Capra, *The Web of Life*, p. 68.
- ⁴ Capra, p. 68.
- ⁵ Ruth Leys, "The Turn to Affect," p. 439.
- ⁶ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, p. 20.
- ⁷ Wölfflin, p. 21.
- ⁸ Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *The Madness of Vision*.
- ⁹ Wölfflin, p. 202.
- ¹⁰ Erwin Panofsky, "What is Baroque?" p. 75.
- ¹¹ Panofsky, p. 80.
- ¹² Panofsky, p. 75.
- ¹³ René Descartes, *Passions of the Soul* as cited in Martin, p. 74.
- ¹⁴ José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p. 9.
- ¹⁵ Maravall, p. 75.
- ¹⁶ See Fernando R. de la Flor, *Barroco*.
- ¹⁷ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, p. 140.
- ¹⁸ Benjamin, p. 219.
- ¹⁹ Benjamin, p. 218. Although Benjamin discusses Spanish Golden Age theater, focusing on Pedro Calderón de la Barca's plays in particular, as the most brilliant products of the European baroque, violence onstage is not common in these works. I am grateful to Juan Luis Suárez for this point.
- ²⁰ Benjamin, p. 178.
- ²¹ Benjamin, p. 176.
- ²² See Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes*; and "Scopic Regimes of Modernity."
- ²³ Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," p. 187.
- ²⁴ Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," p. 187.
- ²⁵ Buci-Glucksmann, p. 39.
- ²⁶ Jay, p. 188.
- ²⁷ Buci-Glucksmann, p. 83.
- ²⁸ Peter Wollen, "Baroque and Neo-baroque in the Age of the Spectacle," p. 9.
- ²⁹ My discussion of Spinoza here is indebted to James Collins, *The Continental Rationalists*; Frederick, S. J. Copleston, *A History of Modern Philosophy*; and Matthew Stewart, *The Courtier*

and *the Heretic*. I have also found helpful the volume *Spinoza Now*, edited by Dimitris Vardoulakis.

³⁰ Antonio Damasio, *Looking for Spinoza*, p. 209.

³¹ Damasio, p. 189.

³² Giovanna Colombetti, *The Feeling Body*, p. 3.

³³ See Irleamar Chiampi, *Barroco y modernidad*, and Bolívar Echeverría, *La modernidad de lo barroco*. For an account that discusses alternative modernities in twentieth-century neo-baroque literature, film, and visual culture, see Monika Kaup, *Neobaroque in the Americas*.

³⁴ Benedict de Spinoza, *Ethics* Part II, Prop. 19. Subsequent citations from Spinoza's *Ethics* will be as follows: Part (Roman numerals); Prop. (Arabic numerals) or Def. (Arabic numerals), so that readers may find citations in the various translations and alternate editions.

³⁵ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Prop. 6.

³⁶ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Def. 3.

³⁷ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Def. 2 and 3.

³⁸ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Prop. 18.

³⁹ Damasio, p. 53.

⁴⁰ Damasio, p. 86.

⁴¹ Damasio, p. 7.

⁴² Damasio, pp. 41–42.

⁴³ Damasio, pp. 67–70.

⁴⁴ Damasio, p. 211.

⁴⁵ Damasio, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Damasio, p. 88.

⁴⁷ Damasio, p. 112.

⁴⁸ Damasio, p. 198.

⁴⁹ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Introduction.

⁵⁰ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Prop. 6.

⁵¹ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part IV, Introduction; see also Copleston, p. 247, and Stewart, p. 178.

⁵² Damasio, p. 36.

⁵³ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Introduction.

⁵⁴ Colombetti, p. xiv.

⁵⁵ Colombetti, p. xvii.

⁵⁶ Colombetti, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Colombetti, p. 24.

⁵⁸ Stewart, p. 175.

⁵⁹ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Introduction.

⁶⁰ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Prop. 1.

⁶¹ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Def. 48.

⁶² Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Prop. 59.

⁶³ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Introduction.

⁶⁴ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part V, Prop. 2.

⁶⁵ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part V, Prop. 3.

⁶⁶ Damasio, p. 275.

⁶⁷ Damasio, pp. 11–12.

⁶⁸ Stewart, p. 177.

⁶⁹ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part V, Prop. 15.

- ⁷⁰ Lois Parkinson Zamora, *The Inordinate Eye*, p. 182.
- ⁷¹ Zamora, p. 192.
- ⁷² Frida Kahlo, *Diego and I*, 1949, 29.5 × 22.4 cm, oil on canvas mounted on Masonite, Collection of Mary Anne Martin Fine Arts, New York.
- ⁷³ Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Def. 3.
- ⁷⁴ Martin, p. 112.
- ⁷⁵ Damien Hirst, *For the Love of God*, 17.1 × 12.7 × 19 cm, platinum, diamonds, and human teeth, White Cube Gallery, London, 2007.
- ⁷⁶ Jeremy Lovell, "Hirst's Diamond Skull Sells for \$100 Million."
- ⁷⁷ Damien Hirst, www.damienhirst.com/for-the-love-of-god (accessed September 16, 2013).
- ⁷⁸ Hirst as cited in Castillo, p. 121.
- ⁷⁹ Castillo, p. 121.
- ⁸⁰ Catherine Dossin, "Niki de Saint-Phalle," p. 33.
- ⁸¹ Dossin, p. 33.
- ⁸² Spinoza, *Ethics* Part III, Def. 25. Spinoza distinguishes self-satisfaction from pride, which he views negatively and defines as "thinking too much of ourselves, through self-love." *Ethics* III, Def. 28.
- ⁸³ Luna as cited in Rubén Ortiz Torres, "Cathedrals on Wheels," p. 31.
- ⁸⁴ Shifra M. Goldman, "Luis Jiménez," p. 13.
- ⁸⁵ Goldman, p. 14.

Works Cited

- Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. Translated by John Osborne. London: Verso, 1977 [1928].
- Buci-Glucksmann, Christine. *The Madness of Vision: On Baroque Aesthetics*. Translated by Dorothy Z. Baker. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013 [1986].
- Capra, Fritjof. *The Web of Life: A New Scientific Understanding of Living Systems*. New York: Random House, 1996.
- Castillo, David R. *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012.
- Chiampi, Irleamar. *Barroco y modernidad*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000.
- Collins, James. *The Continental Rationalists: Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz*. Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Publishing Company, 1967.
- Colombetti, Giovanna. *The Feeling Body: Affective Science Meets the Enactive Mind*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014.
- Copleston, Frederick, S. J. *Modern Philosophy: Descartes to Leibniz*, vol. 4. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963.
- Damasio, Antonio. *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*. New York: Harcourt, 2003.
- De la Flor, Fernando R. *Barroco: Representación e ideología en el mundo hispánico (1580–1680)*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2002.

- Dossin, Catherine. "Niki de Saint-Phalle and the Masquerade of Hyperfemininity." *Woman's Art Journal* 31, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2010): pp. 29–38.
- Echeverría, Bolívar. *La modernidad de lo barroco*. Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1998.
- Goldman, Shifra M. "Luis Jiménez: Recycling the Ordinary into the Extraordinary." In *Luis Jiménez: Man on Fire/El Hombre en Llamas*, pp. 7–19. Albuquerque, NM: The Albuquerque Museum, 1994.
- Jay, Martin. "Scopic Regimes of Modernity." In *Modernity and Identity*, edited by Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman, pp. 178–95. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Jay, Martin. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.
- Kaup, Monika. *Neobaroque in the Americas: Alternative Modernities in Literature, Visual Art, and Film*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Leys, Ruth. "The Turn to Affect: A Critique." *Critical Inquiry* 37 (Spring 2011): pp. 434–72.
- Lovell, Jeremy. "Hirst's Diamond Skull Sells for \$100 Million," www.reuters.com, August 30, 2007 (accessed December 1, 2017).
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986 [1976].
- Martin, John Rupert. *Baroque*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- Panofsky, Erwin. "What is Baroque?" In *Three Essays on Style*, edited by Irving Lavin, pp. 19–88. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1995.
- Spinoza, Benedict de. *Ethics*. Edited by James Gutmann. New York: Hafner Publishing, 1949.
- Stewart, Matthew. *The Courtier and the Heretic: Leibniz, Spinoza, and the Fate of God in the Modern World*. New York: Norton, 2006.
- Torres, Rubén Ortiz. "Cathedrals on Wheels." *Art Issues* 54 (September/October 1998): pp. 26–31.
- Vardoulakis, Dimitris, ed. *Spinoza Now*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*. Translated by M. D. Hottinger. New York: Dover, 1950 [1915].
- Wollen, Peter. "Baroque and Neo-baroque in the Age of the Spectacle." *Point of Contact* 3, no. 3 (1993): pp. 9–21.
- Zamora, Lois Parkinson. *The Inordinate Eye: New World Baroque and Latin American Fiction*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Chapter 2

The Baroque Sublime: The Affective Power of Landscape

Helen Langdon

THE DOMAIN OF THE SUBLIME is vast, and in any period hard to define. In this essay, I attempt to explore the concept of the sublime in relation to seventeenth-century landscape painting, mainly from Italy. I have chosen some key works through which to explore aspects of the baroque passion for the stupendous and terrifying, in such phenomena as volcanoes, storms, the jagged peaks of mountains, and the crash of waterfalls, as well as in the prodigies and monsters associated with a dark and still-mysterious natural world. These works evoked emotions of wonder, mystical rapture, and horror or fear, which would only later be categorized as sublime. My concern here has been to contextualize these emotions, to suggest the strains of thought and feeling which contemporary viewers brought to them, and which suggest how the sublime was experienced in a pre-Burkian era.

Classical Sources of the Seventeenth-Century Sublime

The major source for the sublime in the seventeenth century was an anonymous treatise on rhetoric titled *On the Sublime*, probably written in the mid first century CE. It was long thought to be written by Longinus, and I shall here use this traditional name and association. For Longinus, the sublime was a rhetorical phenomenon, a quality of writing that expresses great thoughts in rich and emotionally powerful words and images. It uplifts the soul, and through its intensity and expression of vehement passion sweeps audiences off their feet in amazement, transporting them with wonder.¹ Longinus associates his “godlike authors” through metaphor, with the violence of the elements and with soaring beyond “the boundaries by which we are circumscribed.”² His instances of sublimity are predominantly drawn from the elemental forces of nature: from the violence of shipwrecks and battle, from immensity and energy, and he admires those writers who can create terror, who can make the hearer feel that they are “moving in the thick of the danger.”³ The orator had the power to create a lifelike image, causing an overwhelming and visceral shock in his audience, and most of Longinus’s examples of such images are associated with terror.

Of the natural world Longinus had little to say, but his citing of the *Fiat Lux*, where God says “Let there be light, and there was light; let there be land, and there was

land,”⁴ as one of the highest examples of sublimity, immediately associates the sublime with landscape.⁵ And, in a famous passage, Longinus declares that whatever is divine in humanity longs for the infinite. We admire, he writes, not small streams, but “the Nile, the Danube, the Rhine, and even more than these the Ocean”; not the household fire, but those of the heavens, shrouded in darkness, and the craters of Etna, whose “eruptions throw up from their depths rocks and even whole mountains, and at times pour out rivers of that earth-born, spontaneous fire.”⁶ Other ancient writers, as we shall see, fed into the seventeenth-century sublime. Most famous of these are perhaps Lucretius, whose similar catalogue of cosmic marvels and earthly wonders fills the sixth book of *De Rerum Naturae*, and Seneca, who wrote poetically of the power of nature to evoke the mysterious horror of the divine.

“The End of the Poet is to Arouse Wonder”⁷

In late sixteenth-century Italy there was a growing interest in Longinus’s text, nourished by the early modern fascination with wonder and the marvelous. Traces of Longinus first appear in poetic theory, where terms such as *stupore* (“wonder”) and *meraviglia* (“astonishment”) chimed easily with the Longinian sublime. At the opening of the new century, this fascination began to blend with the astonished delight aroused by the new scientific discoveries, both the tiny and the vast, as the world was now studied through the microscope, as well as through the telescope. Above all Galileo had revealed a new heaven of astonishing beauty. He made his discoveries accessible, and in the *Starry Messenger*, published in 1610, Galileo described with vivid passion the rough mountains of the Moon, “everywhere full of vast protuberances, deep chasms and sinuosities”; of stars “in myriads, which have never been seen before”; and of the beauty of the Milky Way, now for the first time revealed as a multitude of tiny stars.⁸ A woodcut image accompanying Galileo’s text shows the seemingly random journeying of endless chains of stars, moving beyond the limits of the page and sweeping away traditional concepts of the universe.⁹ In 1612, Lodovico Cigoli painted Galileo’s rough Moon, and placed it at the feet of the Virgin in his *Assumption of the Virgin*, found in the Pauline Chapel in Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.¹⁰

A year before Galileo’s book, Adam Elsheimer’s *The Flight into Egypt* (plate 3, p. xviii) had created magical effects which play on the tension between the tiny and the vast. He sets the meagerness of “household fires”—Joseph’s torch and the rising sparks of the campfire—against the vast depths of the starry sky, where the Milky Way seems to link the Earth with the unconfined spaces of the heavens like a ladder. Nature rustles around the small fleeing family, and its splendor seems to shelter them; the painting poignantly evokes the fragility of humanity amid the new wonder of the cosmos.¹¹ It is itself a *meraviglia*, intricately wrought on a small piece of copper, which creates a glowing luminosity; its evocation, on so tiny a scale, of the immense depths of the dark sky, filled with a profusion

of newly revealed heavenly bodies, would have filled the viewer with astonishment. Jan Brueghel's small tempest scenes from the 1590s create a similar response. His *Shipwreck with Castaways*, also known as *A Sea Storm*, shows the anguish of struggling figures confronting death and salvation, yet the painting is tiny, a wondrously crafted luxury object which delights the viewer with the tension between horror and aesthetic delight.¹² There is no fixed foreground, yet the scale and magical touch distance the viewer, who becomes Lucretius's watcher on the shore, who, free from fear, gazes on another's tribulations with pleasure.¹³

For the poets associated with Giambattista Marino, the sublime suggested the power to enchant and to astonish with something rare and exceptional. But for the Jesuits it had a mystic power, and it was this that was to inform the development of an ascetic sublime.¹⁴

The Chosen Men Meet God More Often: On the Peaks of Mount Horeb and in the Vale of Mamre

In the late years of the sixteenth century, hermits, who linked a threatened church with the heroes of its earliest days, became frequent in art. In the seventeenth century, the practice of spiritual retreat was popular, and images of the ascetic mountain men of early Christianity acted as aids to devotion. These hermits' view of nature contributed to the tradition of the sublime. In the writings of the Church Fathers, descriptions of savage and demon-haunted landscapes, of wastelands, caves, and abysses, were read with fresh interest. St. Jerome had evoked the challenge of a harsh solitude. "I would set out solitary to explore the desert," he writes, "and wherever I would spy the depth of a valley or a mountainside or a precipitous rock, there was my place of prayer, there the torture house of my unhappy flesh: and, the Lord Himself is witness, after many tears, and eyes that clung to heaven, I would sometimes seem to myself to be one with the angelic hosts."¹⁵ Implicit in St. Basil's description of his hermitage is a distinction between the sublime and the beautiful, as he overlooks the river Iris, and compares a rushing waterfall with a still stretch of the river Strymon. The cascade "roughened by the rock which borders upon it ... coils itself into a deep whirlpool, furnishing me and every spectator with a most pleasant sight."¹⁶

For the hermit, the harsh privation of such landscapes freed the soul to soar unfettered above the pleasures of the senses, and in the early years of the seventeenth century their power as images of hell and suffering remained strong. Such landscapes evoked fear, untempered by any ambivalent pleasure. Angelitta, giving advice to pilgrims traveling to Loreto, wrote that when they encountered precipices, deep valleys, lakes, cliffs, and other horrendous and ugly things, they should be inspired by them to imagine the pains of hell.¹⁷ By the late seventeenth century, when Passeri described Lanfranco's earlier hermit frescoes and paintings in Odoardo Farnese's Camerino, which is found in a building adja-

cent to the Palazzetto Farnese, he evokes a blend of savage wildness and beauty.¹⁸ Passeri writes that Lanfranco painted “some holy hermits living in solitary and savage places, and he represented those deserts as being so mountainous, horrid, and disastrous, that they contained in this horridness so much loveliness that in looking at them, the viewers would be invited to transport themselves to this slope to enjoy such charming loneliness.”¹⁹ These landscapes offered the pleasure of art, the “taste and flavour” on which the writer later comments, and at the same time they invite the viewer to enter imaginatively into the world of the hermits and pray with them. This description echoes St. Basil’s pleasure in contrasts, and to the viewer the painted landscapes created a tension between an ascetic and an aesthetic response to nature. Here the soul might rise to God; Lanfranco’s *St. Mary Magdalene*, naked, ethereal, freed from earthly snares, is transported beyond “the boundaries by which we are circumscribed.”²⁰

From the early years of the century a vogue for stories of hermit lives flourished. Paolo Bozzi’s *Sacred Thebaid*, a colorful tale of hermits gathered in the desert, with its evocation of craggy solitudes, ravines, and wind-swept mountain heights, is in a sense a popular version of the Christian sublime.²¹ Nicolas Poussin’s *Landscape with Three Monks* (*La Solitude*) shows three friars enjoying the deep solitude and tranquility of nature.²² Here, Poussin has created a harmony of contrasts; a shaded plain with still water and luxuriant grass is set against forbidding mountains. Poussin was perhaps consciously evoking the magnificent forested gorge of the Vale of Tempe, an ideal landscape described by ancient writers, after which this landscape of contrasts had been named.²³ In sharp contrast, Genoese artist Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione sets his *St. Francis in Ecstasy* on the rugged peaks of Mount La Verna, a summit reached through the chaotic brambles and thistles of an inhospitable world.²⁴ This is an emblematic landscape, where St. Francis ascends through tiers of stony darkness to a bright circle of light, a symbol of his union with God. Yet it also has a strong affective power. The low viewpoint, the restless torsion of the body, and the cord which snakes downwards involve the worshipper in the drama, so that the viewer experiences, along with St. Francis, the very moment at which the light breaks through the clouds.

“Of Antres Vast and Deserts Idle / Rough Quarries, Rocks, Hills Whose Heads Touch Heaven” (Othello, I. iii. 143–44)

The Christian sublime was triggered by mysticism and rapture, but increasingly there developed a sense of sublimity as inherent in the natural world. Before the mysteries of a new cosmos the writer and artist experienced *stupore*, the excitement of the mind of man soaring through the universe. *The Ecstatic Heavenly Journey*, the Jesuit scientist Athanasius Kircher’s imaginary tour of the cosmos, conveys the excitement of new advancements in science, so much so that Kircher describes this as “a fictitious rapture.”²⁵ In conversation with his friend Gasper Schott, Kircher claims he “dreamed a remark-

able dream. I saw myself led by my guardian angel to the Moon, to the Sun, to Venus, to the rest of the planets ... to the outermost boundaries of the universe."²⁶ Throughout the book Kircher wanders through an imaginary, heavenly world.

In the middle years of the seventeenth century, another Jesuit scientist, Daniello Bartoli, articulated more fully an aesthetic of the sublime. In his early career Bartoli had taught rhetoric, and in his popular treatise *The Man of Letters* he defines the sublime style as something that seizes the souls of those who "hear" it through the power of images and words. It is "wide ranging, eloquent, magnificent. A torrent, but most clear; a flash of lightning, but moderate."²⁷ A grand variety of figures and changing passions should be mixed without disorder. In this emphasis on balance and moderation, Bartoli is closer to Horace than to Longinus, for Horace believed that great thoughts and strong emotions must be subordinated to "the discernment and use of appropriateness, propriety, proportion and unity in the arts."²⁸

Bartoli was also a scientist, enthralled by the discoveries of Galileo, and in his later writings Bartoli increasingly articulated an aesthetic that envisaged the vast theater of nature as a stimulus for experiences of sublimity. In the early seventeenth century, the ideal nature which moved painters and poets had been idyllically pastoral, both sweet and serene. But Bartoli was drawn to the spectacular and overwhelming, and attracted to the rough and irregular. Immense forests, cliffs, the Sun, waterfalls, shipwrecks, caves, the Nile, and Etna permeate the writings of Bartoli, to which, under the direct influence of Galileo's *Starry Messenger*, Bartoli added images of the mountains of the Moon and the Milky Way. The *Man of Letters* opens with praise for the unconfined mind, beginning with a lengthy quotation from Seneca's *Natural Questions*, in which Seneca had urged humanity to look upward; to rise above the confines of the universe; and, from the starry skies, to look down on the puniness of humans and their petty concerns on earth.²⁹ In his later *Recreation of the Wiseman*, Bartoli describes the noble mind of humanity, which "is born, goes all around, sinks down, journeys with the stars, dances with the planets, and at the end is mirrored in the heights of heaven."³⁰ In this, Bartoli shares with Seneca the belief that humanity as a whole aspires to the divine, to "thoughts which burst through the ramparts of the sky."³¹ Very often Bartoli plays on the union of horror and delight, a *topos* rooted in ancient writing and in the imaginative writings of the poet Torquato Tasso. Bartoli's description of the Nile, a *topos* celebrated by both Longinus and Lucretius, is an exhilarating set piece on this union. Bartoli describes how the cascades of the Nile, "frightening and delightful" cause "awe and horror, mixed with an equal pleasure." He elaborates on an image of the waterfalls, and the rising rhythm of his repeated staccato chain of verbs—the water "foams, rages, threatens"—itself suggests the play of water on rock, its final headlong crash from the heights terrifying the viewer.³² Bartoli is using the Nile as a symbol, but nonetheless this passage suggests observation, and a tension between restraint and danger that is associated with the sublime. His writing is throughout intensely visual, and his splendid prose gains resonance from his blend-

ing of scientific curiosity with the nature poetry of late antiquity and the writings of the Church Fathers.

Lyric poets, throughout the seventeenth century and particularly in Naples, had written of wild and fearful landscapes, but as the century progressed the enjoyment of mountain horror grew, and pilgrimages to the monasteries of Mount La Verna and Camaldoli were enjoyed. Emotion is increasingly secularized throughout this period, and roughness and the violence of the elements present new aesthetic pleasures. Carlo de' Dottori wrote of an earthquake in Constantinople, and of a storm that he observed while walking in the mountain heights; the ruggedness of the Apennines became a common *topos*.³³ The painter Salvator Rosa himself traveled through the Apennines in 1662, apparently with no other end than for the search for new motifs, and he described this journey in a particularly interesting letter. Rosa's response is visual; he enjoys the contrasts of the wild and the domestic, and he takes pleasure in the colors of the mountain. But in his last few sentences Rosa describes the celebrated Falls of Terni: "An object to satisfy the bold-est imagination by its wild beauty [*orrida bellezza*], a river dashing down a mountainous precipice of nearly a mile in height, and then throwing up its foam to nearly an equal altitude."³⁴ Here, Rosa responds to the cascades in language very close to that of Bartoli.

“[Apelles] Also Painted the Unpaintable, Thunder,
for example, Lightning, and Thunderbolts”³⁵

In 1651, Leonardo da Vinci's *Treatise on Painting*, published in both Italian and French, gave new impetus to the interest in Longinus, which was growing among Barberini *letterati* ("scholars").³⁶ This brought to fresh prominence da Vinci's aesthetic of the sublime that was articulated, over a century earlier, in a highly expressive and literary language. In the *Treatise*, da Vinci had written of the pleasure of the painter in his godlike power to create a diverse world: "Places fearful and frightful, which bring terror to those who view them; and also pleasant places, soft and delightful with flowery meadows in various colours ... rivers that descend from the high mountains with the impetus of great deluges."³⁷ He evokes the challenge to the artist presented by the storm, of such motifs as "the clouds, torn and rent, swept along by the course of the wind ... trees and grass bent against the earth ... their branches twisted out of their natural direction, their leaves battered and turned upside down [... men] with their hands before their eyes because of the dust, are bent down to the earth, and their garments and hair stream in the direction of the wind."³⁸

The observations of da Vinci, as well as new scientific discoveries, stimulated the creation of new models of landscape. By the 1650s, Poussin, Gaspard Dughet, Rosa, and Claude Lorrain were all painting rocky mountain ridges; vast sceneries of lakes and forests; and skies flooded with sunlight or ominous with dark clouds. In 1651, Poussin painted his *Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe* (figure 2.1), and a detailed description



Figure 2.1. Nicolas Poussin, *Stormy Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe*, 1651, 192 × 273 cm. Photo © Städel Museum – U. Edelmann – ARTOTHEK

of this painting that he sent to a friend makes it very clear that he was pitting himself against both Leonardo and Apelles, who, as the title of this section of my essay makes clear, painted the unpaintable.³⁹ Here, the vast landscape is dominated by the horror and fear of death mingled with extreme grief and love, as Thisbe's pallor, so sharp in the dark foreground, seizes the viewer's attention, and her cry echoes through the painting. A profusion of subsidiary subjects take up the theme: a lion attacks a horse, a dog barks, and shepherds and horsemen flee before the wind. Beyond, the violence of the elements mirrors human passion, as lightning and torrential rain threaten, twisting the trees, and creating haunting and uncanny effects of light. And yet the painting does not disorientate the viewer. It remains clear and classically balanced, while the astonishing stillness of the lake in the center reminds us that the sublime must be, in Bartoli's words, "a lightning flash, but regulated."⁴⁰

Poussin's landscape remains a tragic drama centered on human destiny and fortune. In the next decade, Gaspard Dughet and Salvator Rosa, similarly responsive to da Vinci, painted nature as a spectacle beyond the human, its violence only just under control, with humans tiny and insignificant before its immensity. In the vast landscape collection and frescoed rooms that Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna assembled and commissioned in



Figure 2.2. Gaspard Dughet, *Landscape with Elijah and the Angel*, 1663, oil on canvas, 201.8 × 154 cm, National Gallery of London. Photo © National Gallery, London.



Figure 2.3. Salvator Rosa, *Landscape with Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman*, ca. 1662, oil on canvas, 125.7 × 202.1 cm, National Gallery of London. Photo © National Gallery, London.

the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, the splendor of seventeenth-century landscape unfolded before the viewer. Great decorative works, rich in the effects of chiaroscuro and moving patterns of light and air, evoke an illusory and theatrical world. They present nature as spectacle, a “theater of innumerable marvels” through which humans journey, caught between exaltation at nature’s grandeur, and fear at its power.

Dughet’s *Landscape with Elijah and the Angel* (figure 2.2), part of Colonna’s original collection, shows the moment when the angel declares to the prophet, “Go forth and stand upon the Mount before the Lord. And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord.”⁴¹ The composition, unlike that of *Pyramus and Thisbe* (figure 2.1), is open to the viewer, and a twisting path leads the eye to the heart of the drama. It seems that Dughet too was attempting to rival da Vinci, so precisely does he seem to follow da Vinci’s instructions on the arrangement of a storm and winds:

The trees bend to earth, with the leaves turned inside out on the bent branches, which seem as though they would fly away, as if frightened by the blasts of the horrible and terrifying wind, amid which is diffused the vertiginous course of the turbulent dust and sand from the seashore. The obscure horizon of the sky makes a background of smoky clouds, which, struck by the sun’s rays, penetrating through openings in the clouds opposite, descend to the earth, lighting it up with their beams.⁴²

The grand effect of Dughet's painting is sublime, and the abrupt asymmetry and the shock of the revelation of the divine have something of the Hebraic simplicity of the *Fiat Lux* of Genesis. On the town in the very center of the painting there falls a startling ray of light or lightning, an emblem of the sublime.

In the same collection assembled for the Palazzo Colonna, there hung two of Salvator Rosa's landscapes: *The Finding of Moses* and *Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman* (figure 2.3). At the time these paintings were created, Dughet and Rosa were stylistically close, and in these works Rosa too suggests the *maestoso orrore* ("supreme horror") which becomes a leitmotif in nature writing of the period. It is very likely that Rosa knew Seneca's famous *Letter to Lucilius*, where Seneca describes the mysterious presence of divinity in landscape:

If ever you have come upon a grove that is full of ancient trees which have grown to an unusual height, shutting out a view of the sky by a veil of pleached and intertwining branches, then the loftiness of the forest, the seclusion of the spot, and your marvel at the thick unbroken shade in the midst of the open spaces, will prove to you the presence of deity. Or if a cave, made by the deep crumbling of the rocks, holds up a mountain on its arch, a place not built with hands, but hollowed out into such spaciousness by natural causes, your soul will be deeply moved by a certain intimation of the existence of God.⁴³

Rosa's pictures echo the aesthetic and conceptual pairing put forward by Seneca. Rosa evokes a very ancient world, remote from civilization, wild and uncultivated, a landscape of crumbling rocks and awesome trees. The rock arch is based on an ancient painting well known in seventeenth-century Rome, and the sublimity of salvation resonates with this union of ancient and biblical worlds. The magical fable of *Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman* forms a surprising contrast, but both paintings show revelations that are startling and dramatic.⁴⁴ The numinous depths of Rosa's forest creates the mood of chivalric romance, as in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, where Angelica fled through "fearful dark woods ... wild, desolate and deserted places."⁴⁵ The fallen trunks seem animated, thrusting towards the heavens. Throughout Rosa's works, tree trunks, dripping with Spanish moss and splintered by lightning and dwarfing all that surrounds them with their jagged vastness, are sublime.⁴⁶ No other landscapes so movingly evoke a seventeenth-century sense of nature as a theater of marvels, of the wonder and astonishment aroused by the grandeur of the universe. As Marjorie Nicholson has so precisely written, "awe, once reserved for God, passed over in the seventeenth century first to an expanded cosmos, then from the macrocosm to the greatest objects in the geocosm—mountains, ocean, desert."⁴⁷ The sublimity of trees is a recurring *topos* in Bartoli's prose, who, in a remarkable description of a "forest in the air," evokes imitations of infinity as the "shadows over shadows of trees over trees" aspire to an eternal silence.⁴⁸

In the Palazzo Colonna, the viewer is led through rooms frescoed by Dughet, and these panoramic scenes evoke, through daring formal devices, a sense of infinite space.

One would move on to the continuous seascapes created by Pieter Mulier, where, in an illusionistic space, stormy seas are followed by pastoral scenes and beyond to calm seas enjoying a sunlit tranquility.⁴⁹ For their emotional effect, Mulier's frescoes depend on the contrast between terror and delight, and the viewer would perhaps have read the frescoed journey throughout this palace as a journey through all the grand spectacles of nature. They suggest the diverse world described by da Vinci, echoed in a remarkable passage in Bartoli's *L'uomo in punto di morte*. Bartoli, who surely knew da Vinci's *Treatise*, describes journeys through every kind of landscape, through grassy meadows scattered with flowers, small valleys and fields, and on to forests, "bare and solitary ... an earth that is dead and desolate, with opposite mountain crags and rocky alps." Here, torrents of water create "a delightful horror."⁵⁰

"A New and Marvellous and Horrible Subject"⁵¹

Longinus had cited Etna as an icon of the sublime, and in the seventeenth century the smoking volcano was established as a type of landscape. The subject was topical. In 1631, Vesuvius had erupted, with a violence matched only by that of the eruption of 79 CE, and the volcano was to erupt again in 1660. The terror of the spectacle—the "new and marvellous and horrible subject"—was described with an attempt at scientific coolness by the Neapolitan intellectual Giovan Battista Manso. In contrast, many lyric poets saw in the flames and boulders the crushing anger of God.⁵² In 1637–38, Kircher, in tribute to Virgil and to Lucretius, journeyed through the seismic zones of southern Italy, and there witnessed an earthquake, and the eruptions of Etna and Stromboli. Kircher looked into the fiery crater of Vesuvius, which was "terrible to behold ... It was just like Hell, lacking only demons to complete the picture."⁵³ His lavishly illustrated works of straightforward science made such experiences popular.

Etna was a landscape of myth and poetry, long associated with the forge of Vulcan; with the rape of Proserpina; and with that one-eyed giant, the lovesick Cyclops. At Etna, the philosopher Empedocles had embraced his fiery destruction, anticipating the death of the curious Pliny in the eruption of Vesuvius. In ancient literature, the terror of the volcano is set against the charm of the *locus amoenus*, and Pietro Bembo, in his poem *Etna*, continues this trope. In conscious homage to Pliny, Bembo's passion for knowledge dominating his fear, the poet climbed the mountainside, and contrasts the bleakness of his ascent with the lovely fertility of the surrounding countryside.⁵⁴ The volcano had all the ambivalence of the sublime; as the entrance to the Underworld, it seemed to link heaven and hell. It was the creator of life and of death; the source of passion and fear; and it was both the subject of scientific inquiry and a spur to human folly.

In the seventeenth century, landscape artists responded to this ambivalence. In 1649, Poussin painted *Landscape with Polyphemus*; this was followed eight years later by Lorrain's *Landscape with Acis and Galatea*.⁵⁵ Both artists, following the source in Ovid's

Metamorphoses closely, create a glittering Sicilian landscape; the harshness of Etna, found in Bembo's poem, is set against the riches of the landscape. In Poussin's painting, with the volcano smoking in the background, the one-eyed giant pipes of his love for the nymph. He seems to embody the violence of nature, his one eye "the size of a huge shield" resembling "the great sun in heaven."⁵⁶ Poussin shows the giant with his face averted; the moment is still but terror will follow, and nature "seems to hold its breath in expectation of some impending explosion," and from the volcanic peaks black smoke ascends the sky.⁵⁷ Lorrain, too, creates a sense of imminent violence. He sets the beauty of the setting Sun and the play of light on water against the dark clouds of smoke which roll from Etna's summit, creating a haunting sense of menace within a setting of idyllic beauty, so that, for the viewer, joy and terror mingle. Both these landscapes play on the imagination to create a sense of fear and danger that triggers the sublime.⁵⁸

The sublimity of Etna is most dramatically conveyed by Rosa's *The Death of Empedocles*.⁵⁹ Here, Rosa shows the heroic philosopher fearlessly plunging into Etna's boiling craters. Rosa abandons the restraint of the Bartolian sublime, as well as the classical structure of *Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman*. Boundaries completely disappear, and the viewer stares at the tiny figure, plunged into the midst of danger in a deeply disorientating composition. Clouds, smoke, and fire mix and blend across the surface of the entire composition, with no hint of a foreground foothold. Man becomes one with the immensity of nature, engulfed by elemental powers. No seventeenth-century landscape more closely anticipates later versions of the sublime. Rosa would have appreciated Burke's remark that the perpendicular forms the sublime, and that looking down into a precipice is more striking than looking upward.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Rosa's rough and jagged surface anticipates the work of Clyfford Still.

"For There Are Some Things that Distress Us When We See
Them in Reality, but the Most Accurate Representations of
These Same Things We View with Pleasure—as, for example,
the Forms of the Most Despised Animals and Corpses"⁶¹

The volcanic landscape was followed by the other landscape of horror: one constituted by the Underworld and hellish scenes, and populated by monsters, dragons, snakes, and specters. Virgil describes Aeneas's descent to Hades past the "many monstrous hybrid beasts"⁶² in a passage that remains iconic in traditions of the sublime.⁶³ Monsters had appeared on the stage since the early seventeenth century, and Filippo Napoletano had popularized small cabinet paintings of hellish scenes through the use of special effects. A little later, Kircher imaginatively populated his subterranean world with fire-breathing dragons.

Perhaps the most repulsive painting of the seventeenth century is Rosa's *Prometheus* (plate 4, p. xix).⁶⁴ In Naples, Giambattista Marino's celebrated dictum that "for

often horror goes with delight” had breathed life into a fascination with pain, and Rosa, the pupil of Jusepe de Ribera, painted the sufferings of the titan Prometheus with unbearable crudeness, showing the eagle ferociously ripping out spirals of intestines observed with gory pleasure heightened by a striving for anatomical accuracy.⁶⁵ A letter by Paolo Vendramin, praising Rosa, is a set piece of responses to the sublime culled from classical sources. Before writing, Vendramin begins that he had to forget the terror of looking at this painting, so overwhelming was the bloody vision before him. This terror, he continues, echoing Aristotle’s thoughts on the pleasure of distressing images, is overwhelming as it arises from the painter’s skill as creator. The viewer seems to touch a burning rock and to hear screams. *Prometheus* arouses emotion, and stimulates the senses of sight, touch, and sound, with the power of imitation that Aristotle accords to tragedy, and which creates pleasure from pain. The cries of Prometheus shake the viewer, and the eagle seems to attack *their* heart rather than the flesh of Prometheus. Here, Vendramin invokes the power of visualization, or *phantasia*, of which Longinus had written, and which sets the viewer at the heart of danger. In conclusion, Vendramin compares Rosa to Apelles, who could paint the unpaintable forms of thunder, for Rosa has painted the unseen cry of Prometheus, which we seem to hear echoing from the dark rocks before we see his torture.⁶⁶ In a related poem, Vendramin describes the painting in similar terms: “I am purged and afraid at the sight of such torture, astonishment and terror seize me, and I first pity such suffering, and then myself suffer.”⁶⁷ This poet sees the torn flesh and living tragedy with “reverent horror.” These descriptions privilege sound. The cry of Prometheus becomes a source of the sublime, anticipating Burke, who was later to write of the power of the sounds of men or animals in pain or danger, and the angry tones of wild beasts to convey great ideas.⁶⁸ Underlying Prometheus’s scream is the cry of the *Laocoön*, the ancient sculptural group, which was, throughout the seventeenth century, the *exemplum doloris*. Rosa’s *Prometheus* echoes many of the period’s great horror pictures, such as Ribera’s *Prometheus/Tityus* or Rembrandt’s *The Blinding of Samson*. The tradition was particularly strong in Naples, and Mattia Preti painted an extraordinary hellish landscape, with underground rivers and rocks where the three titans suffer endlessly in the darkness and solitude of the great deep.

Landscape painters soon began to see the possibility of including such horror in landscape, creating fear with the inclusion of monsters and the suggestion of sound. In Poussin’s *Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake* the spectator sees first the dead man, his flesh of a ghastly pallor, snared in the coils of a monstrous python.⁶⁹ Our eyes then take in the sequence of emotions: the different effects of horror and fear that zigzag across the landscape to culminate in the tiny touches of bright red on the bank. The landscape is bright and serene, with the horizontal and vertical planes carefully balanced, the reflections crystalline and smooth. But death and tragedy threaten this tranquility, and horror blends with beauty. Poussin, in painting this corpse and snake, surely remembered Aristotle’s description of the power of representation to render the repellent beautiful.⁷⁰

T. J. Clark has commented that “a painting like Snake puts the viewer at a distance.”⁷¹ The viewer is immediately aware of the terrifying spectacle, to which the figures respond in different ways across a far spreading countryside. It has been suggested that Poussin’s painting shows Cadmus.⁷² Perhaps, in response to Poussin, Rosa became interested in the dark side of Ovid, as well as interested in such descriptions as Cadmus and the serpent of Mars: “A dark gleaming serpent [... which] coiled its scaly loops in writhing circles, then with a spring shot up in a huge arc, raising more than half its length into the insubstantial air, till it looked down upon the whole expanse of the forest.”⁷³ In a series of Ovidian scenes, Rosa invited a participatory response by sharply contrasting means, assaulting the spectator with a threat of horror and danger. On a desolate seashore, the scaly body of Glaucus, his tail thrashing, erupts with horrifying menace from the waves, his hand clutching the pale flesh of Scylla. Jason drips poison onto the head of a dragon, “with its crest and three forked tongue and curving fangs,” and all the heaving muscular weight of its repulsive body tense and threatening.⁷⁴ And, in Rosa’s *Cadmus Killing the Dragon*, Cadmus, whose pose has something of the taut violence of the *Borghese Gladiator*, towers over the dragon, and seems to move into the viewer’s space, involving her or him in the immediacy of the moment. The grouping of the dragon and the shrieking boy, wrapped in the monster’s coils, is a homage to the *Laocoön*, and is used to deepen the resonance of the expression of fear and terror. The landscape is dark, almost monochrome, and its darkness and obscurity underline its sublimity.

In the eighteenth century, with the writings of Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, the sublime was codified, and came to stand for an aesthetic concept.⁷⁵ Kant in particular was to distinguish between three forms of the sublime: the terrible, the noble, and the magnificent. I have concentrated, in this essay, almost entirely on the terrible, highlighting the most popular aspects of the sublime, such as the storm, the grandeur of a wild nature, and the fragility of humanity before it. I have said little, through want of space, of the magnificent sublimity of the ocean, the setting sun, and the infinity of vast and spreading plains, all of which formed the subject matter of Claude Lorrain.⁷⁶ But, in suggesting the fluidity of the concept of the sublime in the seventeenth century, and expressing the need for an interdisciplinary approach that draws on both ancient and modern literature, rhetoric, and religion, I hope that I shall have opened up new areas of study.

NOTES

* I would like to express my gratitude to Caroline van Eck and Maarten Delbeke for inviting me to contribute to their volume *Translations of the Sublime*, to which this essay is indebted. For this definition of the pre-history of the sublime, see the introduction to Caroline van Eck and Maarten Delbeke, eds., *Translations of the Sublime*, p. 3.

¹ Longinus, *On the Sublime*, p. 114.

² Longinus, p. 155.

³ Longinus, p. 145.

⁴ Genesis 1:3.

⁵ Longinus, p. 124.

⁶ Longinus, p. 155.

⁷ Giambattista Marino, *Le Rime*, n. p.

⁸ Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Science and Imagination*, p. 14. Nicolson considers the *Starry Messenger* the most important seventeenth-century book for its impact on the imagination. Nicolson, p. 4.

⁹ Ingrid Rowland, *The Ecstatic Journey*, p. 73.

¹⁰ Hubert Damisch, *Théorie du nuage*, p. 244. Lodovico Cigoli, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1612, fresco, Pauline Chapel, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

¹¹ Elsheimer's painting pre-dates Galileo's *Starry Messenger* and whether the two are connected remains controversial. Elsheimer paints nothing that could not be seen with the naked eye, but it seems inconceivable that he had no interest in the new astronomy. For a summary of these arguments, see Rüdiger Klessmann, *Adam Elsheimer*, p. 177.

¹² Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Shipwreck with Castaways (A Sea Storm)*, ca. 1595, oil on copper, 25.5 × 34.5 cm, National Gallery, London (on loan from private collection). Lawrence Goedde argues that it is not until the eighteenth century that storm paintings are informed by "the concept and experience of the sublime." But Goedde is invoking a Kantian sublime, which affirms our "capacity for imaginative control of nature." Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck*, p. 4.

¹³ Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturae*, Book II; line 1.

¹⁴ For these seventeenth-century models of the sublime, see Marc Fumaroli, *L'Ecole du silence*, pp. 96–97.

¹⁵ St. Jerome as cited in Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, and Landscape*, p. 116.

¹⁶ Fitter, p. 119.

¹⁷ Girolamo Angelitta, *L'Historia della traslatione*, p. 95.

¹⁸ For the location of the Camerino, see Arnold Witte, *The Artful Hermitage*, pp. 10–11. See also Fabio Barry, "Pray to thy Father which is in secret," pp. 191–221.

¹⁹ Passeri as cited in Witte, p. 126.

²⁰ For an interpretation of this passage, and a discussion of the purpose of these landscapes, see Witte, p. 125. The painting referenced here is Giovanni Lanfranco, *Ascension of Mary Magdalene*, ca. 1616, oil on canvas, 109 × 78 cm, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.

²¹ See Paolo Bozzi, *Tebaide sacra*. Witte quotes from Bozzi a poem describing the spiritual renewal of St. Paul, the first hermit, amid "horrid cliffs, ancient stones, and broken demolished mountains." Witte, p. 123.

²² Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with Three Monks (La Solitude)*, ca. 1648–50, Beli Dvor, Belgrade, 117 × 193 cm.

²³ For more on the Vale of Tempe, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 198–99.

²⁴ Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *St. Francis in Ecstasy*, ca. 1650, oil on canvas, 195.6 × 135.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

²⁵ See Rowland, pp. 76–77.

²⁶ See Rowland, pp. 76–77.

²⁷ Daniello Bartoli, *L'uomo di lettere*, p. 392.

²⁸ Horace in Philip Shaw, *The Sublime*, p. 14.

²⁹ Bartoli, *L'uomo di lettere*, p. 29.

³⁰ Daniello Bartoli, *La ricreazione del savio*, p. 11.

³¹ Seneca, *De Otium*, lines 5–6. See also Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturae*, lines 70–73. Lucretius describes Epicurus as “advanced far beyond the flaming bulwarks of the sky.”

³² Daniello Bartoli, *Della geografia trasportata al morale*, p. 103.

³³ For these and other examples of mountain horror, see Giovanni Getto, *Barocco in prosa e in poesia*, pp. 302–4.

³⁴ For a literary appreciation of this letter, see Getto, p. 303.

³⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* as cited in *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, p. 133.

³⁶ Gustave Costa, “Appunti sulla fortuna del Pseudo-Longino,” pp. 123–43.

³⁷ Leonardo Da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting*, p. 113.

³⁸ Da Vinci, p. 114.

³⁹ Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe*, 1651, oil on canvas, 192.5 × 273.5 cm, Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. On Poussin and Leonardo, see Oskar Bätschmann, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 95–100, and Nova, *The Book of the Wind*, p. 106.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Clélia Nau, *Le temps du sublime*, p. 190. Alain Mérot draws attention to an interesting passage in Andre Félibien's *Entre sur les vies des plus excellents peintres anciens et moderne* where Félibien speaks of the necessity for moderation in violent subjects. See Alain Mérot, *Du paysage en peinture dans l'Occident moderne*, pp. 304–5.

⁴¹ I Kings 19:11. Gaspard Dughet, *Landscape with Elijah and the Angel*, ca. 1663, oil on canvas, 201.8 × 154 cm, National Gallery, London. For more on Colonna's collection, see H. Wine, *The Seventeenth Century French Paintings*, pp. 164–67.

⁴² Da Vinci, pp. 198–99.

⁴³ Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, p. 273.

⁴⁴ Salvator Rosa, *Landscape with Mercury and the Dishonest Woodman*, c. 1662, oil on canvas, 125.7 × 202.1 cm, National Gallery, London.

⁴⁵ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, pp. 4–5.

⁴⁶ Edmund Burke comments that the robust trees of the forest are not beautiful; they are “awful and majestic; they inspire a sort of reverence.” Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 116.

⁴⁷ Marjorie Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, p. 143.

⁴⁸ Daniello Bartoli, *De simboli trasportati al morale*, pp. 348–49. On Bartoli and Leonardo da Vinci, see Ezio Raimondi, *Il colore eloquente*.

⁴⁹ For more on Dughet's frescoes, see Marie-Nicole Boisclair, *Gaspard Dughet*, p. 62, cat. 305–8.

⁵⁰ Daniello Bartoli, *L'uomo in punto di morte*, p. 64.

⁵¹ Giovan Battista Manso as cited in Leonardo di Mauro, “L'eruzione del Vesuvio nel 1631,” p. 37.

⁵² Alwyn Scarth has suggested that Manso discussed the great eruption with John Milton, and may have inspired some of his descriptions of Hell in *Paradise Lost*. Alwyn Scarth, *Vesuvius*, p. 167. For poems on Vesuvius, see Giancarlo Alfano, Marcello Barbaro, and Andrea Mazzucchi, *Tre catastrofi*.

⁵³ Quoted in Tara E. Nummedal, "Kircher's Subterranean World," p. 38.

⁵⁴ See Pietro Bembo, *Lyric Poetry*, p. 225. In answer to his father, who mentioned Pliny's tragic enthusiasm for investigating Vesuvius, Bembo said, "we were so delighted with the spectacle, and filled with such amazement at the phenomenon, that none of us gave a thought of himself."

⁵⁵ Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with Polyphemus*, 1649, oil on canvas, 150 × 198 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; and Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Acis and Galatea*, 1657, oil on canvas, 100 × 135 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

⁵⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, p. 308.

⁵⁷ Willibald Sauerländer, "Nature through the Glass of Time," p. 107. Sauerländer argues that the narrative of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* fully explains this painting's meaning.

⁵⁸ This reading of Poussin here is indebted to Nau. "Les tempêtes allégoriques de Poussin, orages potentiels, ne sauraient davantage inspirer la terreur au premier coup d'oeil: leur 'terribilité' est à construire ... L'orage, même seulement imminent, ne fait peur que si l'on peut s'en 'représenter' concrètement ses effets" ("Poussin's allegorical storms, with their threat of thunder, could not inspire more terror at first glance: their 'simulation of terror' constructs ... the storm, even if it is just impending, and can only create fear if one is able to concretely 'represent' its effects"). Nau, *Le temps du sublime*, p. 240, translation by Samuel Harvey.

⁵⁹ Salvator Rosa, *The Death of Empedocles*, ca. 1665–ca. 1670, oil on canvas, 135 × 99 cm, Eastnor Castle, Ledbury. For the influence of Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus* on Rosa's work, see Helen Langdon, "A Theatre of Marvels," pp. 179–92.

⁶⁰ Burke, p. 72.

⁶¹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, p. 7.

⁶² Virgil, *The Aeneid*, p. 155.

⁶³ Burke comments that Virgil "seems to be seized with a religious horror, and to retire astonished at the boldness of his own design." Burke, p. 71.

⁶⁴ Salvator Rosa, *Prometheus*, 1648–1650, oil on canvas, 220 × 176 cm, cm, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Corsini, Rome.

⁶⁵ Giambattista Marino, *La Galleria*, p. 56. For an interesting discussion of the aesthetics of paintings of Prometheus and the Furies, see Miguel Falomir, "The Artistic Challenge," pp. 176–87.

⁶⁶ In Caterina Volpi, "Salvator Rosa," pp. 91–92.

⁶⁷ This poem is published in Leandro Ozzola, *Vita e opera di Salvator Rosa*, p. 249, and Walter Regel and Hartmut Köhler, *Hochgerühmt, fast vergessen, neu gesehen*, p. 140, and Floriana Conte, *Tra Napoli e Milano*, p. 567.

⁶⁸ Burke, pp. 82–84.

⁶⁹ Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake*, ca. 1648, oil on canvas, 118.2 × 197.8 cm, National Gallery, London.

⁷⁰ For an Aristotelian interpretation of this picture, see Nau, *Le temps du sublime*, p. 206. See also Maria Loh, "Outscreaming the Laocoön," pp. 393–414. Loh comments, "this painting taught its historical viewer 'how to scream' in front of the painting." Loh, p. 411.

⁷¹ T. J. Clark, *The Sight of Death*, p. 134. In Greek mythology, Cadmus was the founder and the first king of Thebes, a position that he claimed after killing a dragon.

⁷² Guy de Tervarent, "Le véritable sujet," pp. 343–50.

⁷³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, p. 75.

⁷⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, p. 159. The painting is currently housed in a private collection, but details of the painting can be found in Silvia Cassani, *Salvator Rosa*, p. 156. The painting is

catalogued as *Cadmus Killing the Dragon* but some oddities—the crossbow, the child—suggest that this may be a mistake. I have not been able to find an alternative so have left this title. Rosa was interested in the Cadmus story.

⁷⁵ Caroline van Eck et al., eds., *Translations of the Sublime*, p. 2.

⁷⁶ On Lorrain and the sublime, see Clélia Nau, *Claude Lorrain*.

Works Cited

- Alfano, Giancarlo, Marcello Barbaro, and Andrea Mazzucchi, eds. *Tre catastrofi: eruzioni, rivolta e peste nella poesia del seicento napoletano*. Naples: Edizioni Cronopio, 2000.
- Angelitta, Girolamo. *L'istoria della traslatione della Santa Casa della Madonna a Loreto*. Macerata: S. Martellini, 1580.
- Ariosto, Ludovico. *Orlando Furioso*. Translated by Guido Waldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974 [1532].
- Aristotle. *Poetics*. Edited by L. Golden and O. B. Harrison. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968.
- Barry, Fabio. “‘Pray to thy Father which is in secret’: the Tradition of coretti, romitorii, and Lanfranco’s Hermit Cycle at the Palazzo Farnese.” In *Barocke Inszenierung*, edited by F. Neumeier, J. Imorde, and T. Weddigen, pp. 191–221. Emsdetten and Zurich: Edition Imorde, 1999.
- Bartoli, Daniello. *L'uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato*. Bologna: Dozzi, 1646.
- Bartoli, Daniello. *La ricreatione del savio*. Rome: Ignatio de'Lazzer, 1659.
- Bartoli, Daniello. *Della geografia trasportata al morale*. Venice: Nicolo Pezzana, 1664.
- Bartoli, Daniello. *L'uomo in punto di morte*. Rome: E. Ghezzi, 1667.
- Bartoli, Daniello. *De simboli trasportati al morale*. Venice: Nicolo Pezzana, 1677.
- Bätschmann, Oskar. *Nicolas Poussin: Dialectics of Painting*. London: Reaktion Books, 1990.
- Bembo, Pietro. *Lyric Poetry: Etna*. Translated and edited by Mary P. Chatfield. Cambridge, MA: I Tatti Renaissance Library, 2005.
- Boisclair, Marie-Nicole. *Gaspard Dughet: Sa vie et son œuvre, 1615–1675*. Paris: Arthèna, 1986.
- Bozzi, Paolo. *Tebaide sacra, nella quale con l'occasione di alcuni Padri Eremiti si ragiona di molte, e varie virtù; et alter cose appartenenti al Cristiano; e specialmente a religiosi, I quali desideano profittare nella via dello spirit*. Venice: S. and M. Gillo Fratelli, 1621–25.
- Burke, Edmond. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Notre Dame, IN and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968 [1757].
- Cassani, Silvia, ed. *Salvator Rosa: Tra mito e magia*. Naples: Museo di Capodimonte, 2008.
- Clark, T. J. *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Conte, Floriana. *Tra Napoli e Milano: Viaggi di artisti nell'Italia del Seicento II: Salvator Rosa*. Firenze: Edifir Edizioni Firenze, 2014.
- Costa, Gustave. “Appunti sulla fortuna del Pseudo-Longino: Alessandro Tassoni e Paganino Guadenzio.” *Studi Secenteschi* 25 (1984): pp. 123–43.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

- Da Vinci, Leonardo. *Treatise on Painting*. Translated and annotated by A. Philip McMahon and Ludwig H. Heydenreich. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965 [1651].
- Damisch, Hubert. *Théorie du nuage: Pour une histoire de la peinture*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972.
- De Tervarent, Guy. "Le véritable sujet du paysage au serpent de Poussin à la National Gallery de Londres." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6, no. 40 (1952): pp. 343–50.
- Di Mauro, Leonardo. "L'eruzione del Vesuvio nel 1631." In *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, edited by Silvia Cassani, pp. 37–42. Naples: Electra, 1984.
- Falomir, Miguel. "The Artistic Challenge: Unnatural Foreshortenings and Extreme Expressions." In *Las Furias: Alegoría política y desafío artístico*, pp. 176–87. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2014.
- Fitter, Chris. *Poetry, Space, and Landscape: Toward a New Theory*. Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Fumaroli, Marc. *L'école du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVII^e siècle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1994.
- Getto, Giovanni. *Barocco in prosa e in poesia*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1969.
- Goedde, Lawrence. *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989.
- Klessmann, Rüdiger. *Adam Elsheimer, 1578–1610*. Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2006.
- Langdon, Helen. "A Theatre of Marvels: The Poetics of Salvator Rosa." *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 73, no. 9 (2004): pp. 179–92.
- Loh, Maria. "Outscreaming the Lacoön: Sensations, Special Affects, and the Moving Image." *Early Modern Horror (Special Issue: Oxford Art Journal)* 34 (2011): pp. 393–414.
- Longinus. "On the Sublime." Translated by Peter Murray and T. S. Dorsch in *Classical Literary Criticism*, pp. 99–158. London: Penguin Books, 2005 [1965].
- Lucretius. *De Rerum Naturae*. Translated by Alicia Stallings. London: Penguin Classics, 2006.
- Marino, Giambattista. *Rime: Amoroſe, Marittime, Boſcherecce, Heroiche, Lugubri, Morali, Sacre, & Varie*, Volume 2. Rome: Ciotti, 1602, https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_fkhdrGKt4EC (accessed November 5, 2017).
- Marino, Giambattista. *La Galleria*. Edited by Marzio Pieri. Padua: Liviana, 1979 [1620].
- Mérot, Alain. *Du paysage en peinture dans l'Occident moderne*. Paris: Gallimard, 2009.
- Nau, Clélia. *Le temps du sublime: Longin et le paysage poussinien*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005.
- Nau, Clélia. *Claude Lorrain: Scaenographie solis*. Paris: Editions 1, 2009.
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope. *Science and Imagination*. Ithaca, NY: Great Seal Books, 1956.
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope. *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*. Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Nova, Alessandro. *The Book of Wind: The Representation of the Invisible*. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011. Nummedal, Tara E. "Kircher's Subterranean World and the Dignity of the Geocosm." In *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopaedia of Athanasius Kircher*, edited by Daniel Stolzenberg, pp. 37–47. Fiesole: Edizioni Cadmo, 2001.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. St. Ives: Penguin Classics, 1955.
- Ozzola, Leandro. *Vita e opera di Salvator Rosa*. Strassberg: J. H. Heitz, 1908.
- Pliny the Elder. *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*. Translated by K. Jex-Blake. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1896.

- Raimondi, Ezio. *Il colore eloquente: Letterature e arte barocca*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995.
- Regel, Walter and Hartmut Köhler. *Hochgerühmt, fast vergessen, neu gesehen: der italienische Maler und Poet Salvator Rosa: Studien zur Neubewertung*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2007.
- Rowland, Ingrid. *The Ecstatic Journey: Athanasius Kircher in Baroque Rome*. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2000.
- Sauerländer, Willibald. "Nature through the Glass of Time: A Reflection on the Meaning of Poussin's Landscapes." In *Poussin and Nature*, edited by Pierre Rosenberg and Keith Christianen, pp. 103–18. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.
- Scarth, Alwyn. *Vesuvius: A Biography*. Harpenden: Terra Publishing, 2009.
- Seneca. *Epistulae Morales*. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. London: W. Heineman, 1917.
- Shaw, Philip. *The Sublime*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Van Eck, Caroline, Stijn Brussels, Maaren Delbeke, and Pieters Jurgen, eds. *Translations of the Sublime: The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture, and the Theatre*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2012.
- Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Translated by W. F. Jackson Knight. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985 [1956].
- Volpi, Caterina. "Salvator Rosa: Nuovi documenti e riflessioni sul primo period romano e su quello fiorentino." *Storia dell'Arte* 120, no. 20 (2008): pp. 85–116.
- Wine, H. *The Seventeenth Century French Paintings*. London: National Gallery, 2002.
- Witte, Arnold. *The Artful Hermitage: The Palazzetto Farnese as a Counter-Reformation Diaeta*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2008.

Chapter 3

“Their Jarring Spheres Confound”: John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* as a Counter-Baroque War Machine

Justin Clemens

The theology of glory constitutes, in this sense, the secret point of contact through which theology and politics continuously communicate and exchange parts with one another.

—Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory*¹

The Argument

In this essay, I shall argue on the basis of a reading of key passages of his great epic poem *Paradise Lost* that John Milton (1608–74)—Puritan radical, regicide proponent, and poet—is an eminent and exemplary instance of what I shall denominate “the Counter-Baroque.” Drawing on some claims made in the relatively recent return to the baroque in academic scholarship, as well as certain recurrent judgments in the historical interpretation of Milton’s epic (figure 3.1), I shall try to show that Milton considers “the baroque” to be at once atheistic and Catholic, and therefore to that extent a tyrannical Satanic device to be combatted strenuously with the most implacable of means. Nonetheless, because Milton is also very aware that part of the Satanic appeal of the baroque is the way in which it negatively integrates its opponents’ aesthetic, political, and theological tactics, he cannot simply break with the baroque without failing the poetic and practical challenges it proposes. So Milton responds in kind by incorporating characteristically baroque elements into his poem in such a way as to expose their necessary appeal *and* their nugatory falsity. This duality of necessity and falsity is especially pronounced in the cosmological and allegorical scenes of *Paradise Lost*, where the coupled legacy of continental European Catholicism and Royal Society science was particularly fraught—at least in Milton’s (by then, blind) eyes.

Milton’s own success in creating and wielding such a Counter-Baroque power is legible in a number of paradoxical moments. First, in that the “baroque” has never really become an effective term in English literary and political history, partially due to the priority that *Paradise Lost* seizes for itself in English letters; second, in that Milton’s own

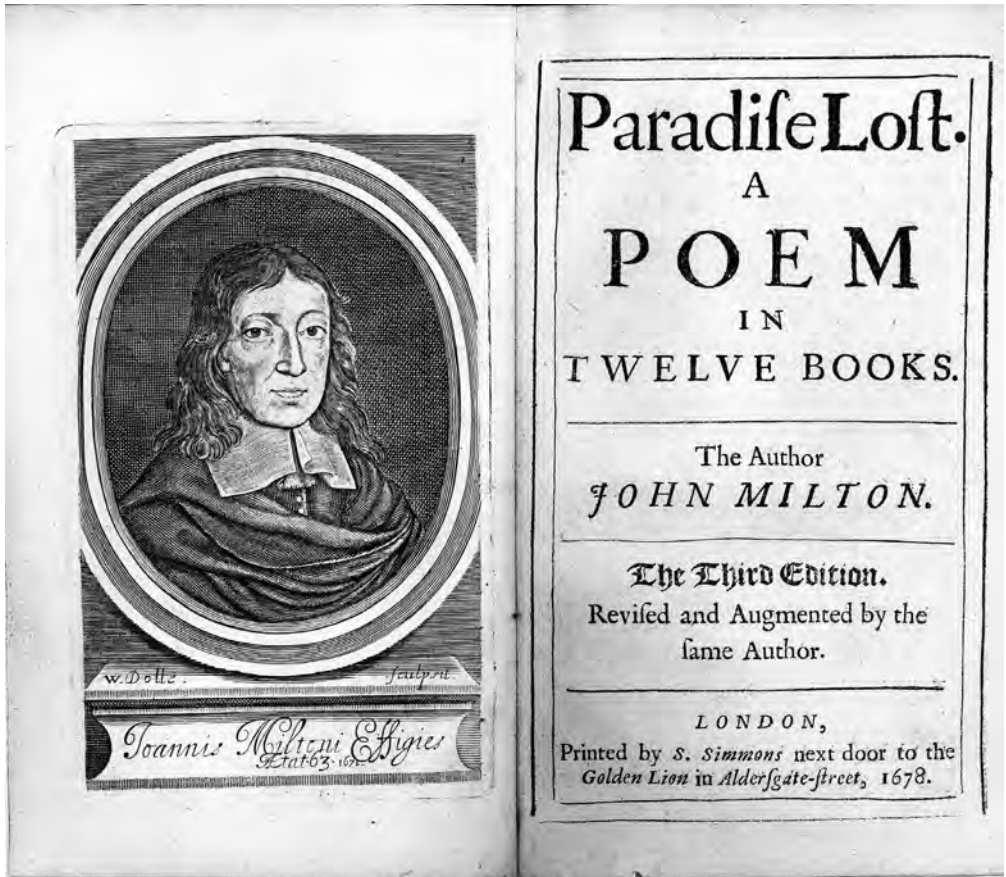


Figure 3.1. The third edition of *Paradise Lost*, revised and edited by John Milton, 1678.

Printed by S. Simmons, London, 1678.

Photo © Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina.

baroque moments have tended to be read as simply part of his deployment of the received genre of “allegory” or in the terms of “the sublime,” that is, as generically and affectively independent of the baroque; and third, in that the problematic of “representation” and “representability” broached by Milton dissimulates its own targets as an essential part of its work. This essay therefore seeks to give a new account of this situation. Circular as my argument risks being, then, its possible pertinence derives from its identification and reclassification of certain literary operations in Milton’s poem in the light of situational strategies and struggles. If there have indeed been insistent-if-not-altogether-satisfactory attempts to identify Milton as a baroque poet, my argument will give these attempts a new relevance by overturning them.

Is There a Counter-Baroque?

If the baroque—at least as a period term—has often primarily functioned as a name for a Counter-Reformation war machine directed against Protestant textual practices of conscience, then there is also a Counter-Baroque which takes up the practical and theological challenges issued by the baroque from a radical aesthetic and political standpoint. Moreover, if what is now termed “the baroque” clearly goes beyond a simple Protestant—Catholic divide, there are many reasons why the traces of this division cannot be ignored without falsification. Certainly, as Murray Roston pointed out in his study on *Milton and the Baroque*, it is impossible to ignore that the baroque is also historically and developmentally linked to the rise of early modern monarchical absolutism, a new form of governmentality that clearly cuts across religious differences, as well as to the new developments in cosmology, often summed up under the rubric of “Copernicanism” or “Galileism.”² Yet when Roston remarks that “the baroque should be seen less as a sectarian movement within the church, aimed at blocking the spread of Protestantism, but rather as universal in its appeal,” one might respond that such a remark can only make sense from a point of view that is already implicitly, even if perhaps unconsciously, Catholic.³ Why?

This is not simply because Roston’s claim that the baroque seeks to be “universal in its appeal” is itself a direct gloss of a basic meaning of the word “Catholic,” but because a major tendency within Protestantism was to dispute the sense and value of any putative “universal” other than the Bible in the fallen world. For Luther, the only salvatory action human beings can take is faith derived from the biblical text. In principle, no earthly institution is sufficient to ensure salvation, and radical schism cannot be rationally excluded from the purview of purified belief.⁴ As Milton himself argued throughout his life, the interpretation of Scripture must tolerate radical differences, a toleration constitutively excluded by the Catholic church.⁵

Moreover, and perhaps more pertinently in the current context, Protestantism notoriously cast suspicion on all images of devotion and their uses: this is its notorious “iconoclasm.” As Carlos Eire puts it in *War Against the Idols*:

Aiming to do away with any practice that compromised the “spiritual” worship commanded by God, the Reformed launched a vigorous attack on all external objects of devotion that had previously been charged with religious value. Chief among their targets were the cult of saints, with its images and relics, and the Catholic Mass, with its belief in transubstantiation and its reverence for the consecrated host. Their posture became uncompromising and disruptive: It led to a crusade against idolatry that manifested itself in iconoclasm, civic unrest, and eventually even in armed resistance against legitimate rulers.⁶

It is in part such iconoclastic impulses and acts that are targeted by the theological and artistic progenitors of the baroque, insofar as they sought to reinvest all sorts of daily

practices with a devotional import by means of a coordinated barrage of wonderment technologies. Hence, the crucial role played by the “passions” in baroque phenomenology, as fundamental forces and targets.⁷ I shall return to this point later.

If there is, of course, much to say about the baroque that renders it irreducible to a Counter-Reformation war machine, I nonetheless insist on flagging these fundamental religious affiliations, as well as the importance of reading its emergence *in situ*. To say this is also to say two further things. First, whatever the baroque is, it is important to make sense of it in terms of the enemies that it confronts, and tries to occlude, if not obliterate. Second, once the baroque is underway and winning-hearts-and-minds, then its enemies are themselves enjoined to respond in turn, sometimes even taking up and *détourning* characteristically baroque techniques in order to do so. This is at once a historical remark and a methodological one: it is to emphasize situations, problems, and polemics as a priority. Moreover, in doing so it should alert us to the fact that the possibility of the key to understanding the production and use of texts, images, and objects is sometimes literally imperceptible or indiscernible, precisely because those productions are designed to dissimulate their affiliations in order to all-the-better operate as transformers of doctrines or practices.

In the current context, and in the simplest terms, the baroque denominates the emergence of a new kind of ethical struggle, directed towards the regulation of the behavior of populations, regarding the proper comportment of individuals towards the relationship of reason to the senses, and exemplified by certain technological and psychophysical directives; for instance, Catholic immersion versus Protestant separation. Yet, at the same time, both tendencies demand an intensification of instructional, verificational, and monitorial practices. Matthew Martin demonstrates this in his contribution to this volume regarding the treatment of Stuart relics.⁸ I shall discuss these aspects further below.

Suffice it for the moment to say that what I am calling the Counter-Baroque—a name, as far as I know, without any historical basis or scholarly currency whatsoever, and that is part of my point—takes certain characteristic baroque operations to task, not simply from a position of exteriority or explicit antagonism, but from a position of what the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan might call *extimacy*.⁹ The Counter-Baroque deliberately engages with the baroque to the point that the two become almost indiscernible. And yet, at and through that very point of indistinction, the Counter-Baroque acts to expose and undermine what it considers the seamy lining of the baroque, in order to point to another way—another dispensation that is, in a word, altogether more *republican* in its politics. In doing so, I shall suggest that we can probably speak of a (qualified) success of the Counter-Baroque in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English context, in which baroque practices are ultimately rendered phenomenally feeble, hopeless, and ineffectual. In a word, the baroque is effectively neutralized as a religious, monarchical, and political technique. Yet the success of the Counter-Baroque comes at the price of several associated paradoxes. To the extent that it succeeds, it

runs the risk of being mistaken for its opponent, retaining elements of its opponent’s techniques, or, at the limit, itself disappearing altogether. Moreover, the conceptual and practical bifurcations of the baroque and Counter-Baroque both exacerbate the early modern governmental drive towards more and more micrological forms of bio-political control over the souls for which they are struggling.

The Appeal of the Baroque

Despite the recently renovated appeal of the baroque across a wide range of disciplines, and according to modalities that render it something far more impressive and pressing in its significance than a mere academic period-concept—I am thinking here of the very diverse works of Peter Davidson, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Lacan, Angela Ndalians, and Neal Stephenson—I must confess that I remain somewhat suspicious of this revivification.¹⁰ Certainly, I can see the point of a subversive rethinking of the baroque as offering metaphysical resources that affront the representative regimes of the transcendental subject; as a constitutive movement within modernity whose stunning productions and personalities at once opened up as yet unexhausted potentials for action; or as incarnating a dynamic logic of dis-ordering that at once permits new interpretations and inventions in and for the present. Moreover, one can easily see the political appeal, in a now-global context marked by a general hostility to the great projects of European Enlightenment, of returning to a phenomenon that, without giving up on rationality, perhaps seems to avoid some of the disturbing divisions and excesses of that formation.¹¹ To say “baroque” now, in other words, is an attempt to say “No!” to revolution, colonialism, European superiority, and the universal subject, but “Yes!” to wonder, perspectivalism, radical democracy, and inventive variation.

As Deleuze famously announces at the *incipit* of his book on Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *The Fold*:

The Baroque refers not to an essence but rather to an operative function, to a trait. It endlessly produces folds. It does not invent things: there are all kinds of folds coming from the East, Greek, Roman, Romanesque, Gothic, Classical folds ... Yet the Baroque trait twists and turns its folds, pushing them to infinity, fold over fold, one upon the other. The Baroque fold unfurls all the way to infinity.¹²

In the fulgurating complexity unleashed by this conceptual vision of ever-modulating differentiation coupled with an ever-varying integration, one can certainly discern an operation, or a trait, eminently appropriate for our global present. Though the techniques and technologies are today almost incomparably more sophisticated and powerful than those of the seventeenth century, there is certainly a sense in which, as Deleuze remarks on baroque architecture, contemporary information technologies “can be defined by this severing of the façade from the inside of the interior from the exterior,

and the autonomy of the interior from the independence of the exterior, but in such conditions that each of the two terms thrusts the other forward.”¹³ Moreover, one can give persuasive phenomenological redescriptions that explicitly link baroque inflections to contemporary phenomena, for example regarding the monadological structuring of experiences of individuals in cyberspace.¹⁴ For his part, Lacan announces that “the baroque is the regulating of the soul by corporal radioscopy.”¹⁵

Yet one can still have some worries as to what may be covertly freighted in the celebration of the baroque and the neo-baroque. Let me list three key anxieties.

1. *The baroque’s constitutively authoritarian political theology*, for which Nicolas Malebranche, Leibniz, and Isaac Newton, different as they may be, exemplify a kind of usurious competitive occasionalism of glory. As Giorgio Agamben notes of Leibniz’s theodicy, “it is against the background of the theory of glory from the Baroque era that one can understand how such usually sober-minded thinkers as Malebranche or Leibniz have been able to think the glory of God in terms of his self-satisfaction with his own perfection.”¹⁶ What the baroque presents is a total, if not totalitarian, ordering of materials as glorification, even if these are purportedly in the name of little differences or heterogeneous surfaces. Furthermore, the baroque presents a concomitant direct moralization of power.
2. *The baroque’s emphasis on affects, the senses, and sensations as the ultima ratio of its presentations*. As Michel de Certeau notes in an extraordinary essay, baroque splendor flourishes in totalitarian environments, whose practices and techniques are integrally coupled with an institutional reliance on torture. “The victim must be the voice of the filth, everywhere denied, that everywhere supports the representation of the regime’s ‘omnipotence,’ in other words, the ‘glorious image’ of themselves the regime provides for its adherents through its recognition of them.”¹⁷ Under this description, then, the affect of wonder invoked by the baroque has the almost inaudible imageless voice of the torture victim as its inexorable disavowed accompaniment.
3. *The baroque’s metaphysical and logical rejection of the function of the void*, that is, a null or indiscernible presentation, in favor of involuting and vertiginous vortices that exhaust all possible spaces of being and becoming. To do this, as Alain Badiou has demonstrated, the baroque is fundamentally coupled with what he calls a “constructivist orientation,” which, in order to establish its excessive and marvelous presentations, has to secure technical control over their production and apparition. In Badiou’s words: Leibniz “assumes the infinite divisibility of natural being without concession; he then compensates for and restricts the excess that he thus liberates within the state of the world—within the natural situation—by the hypothesis of a control of singularities, by “intrinsic nominations.” This exact bal-

ance between the measureless proliferation of parts and the exactitude of language offers us the paradigm of constructivist thought at work.”¹⁸ Baroque logic has a deep affinity with a particular kind of onto-logic.

In a sense, my reservations—the political, the affective, and the metaphysical, or, framed differently, glory, torture, and plenitude—are three avatars of a single program. Walter Moser has called this its “power-aesthetic,” which attempts to reign over the theological-political shock-market of *aisthesis*.¹⁹

Here, we come to the different treatment of division at the heart of the matter. The baroque responds to any and all divisions by reinjecting a very high-level form of continuity into those supposed divisions. If the baroque is indeed a rhetoric—that is, techniques directed towards the inducement and instrumentalization of affect—it is also simultaneously a *logic*, a logic of construction and operation. This is another way of conceiving the double address that Friedrich Nietzsche saw as operative in the baroque. On the one hand, the baroque drives towards the incitation of inconsistent intensities at the level of immersive and dispersive experience. On the other, it engages a hyper-organization of the architectonic conditions for such experiences. These levels must be bound together so as to avoid any too-strenuous division, and this binding must be marked both at the level of presentation and of organization. The binding presents as effecting itself through differentiation without division, according to a number of paradoxical modalities; for instance, a rupture of illusion within the illusion can serve as such an index of a binding of levels, including by means of anamorphosis, *chiaroscuro*, or *trompe l’oeil*.

Against this vision of the baroque, then, I wish to offer another vision, a Counter-Baroque that has always accompanied the baroque itself as an occluded and often deliberately self-occluding counterpart. To this end, I shall provide a short account of some elements of Milton’s great epic *Paradise Lost*, which, point for point, can be considered to constitute a riposte to the sensory and metaphysical affirmations of the baroque.²⁰ I shall concentrate here upon a very particular aspect of Milton’s work—his so-called “metaphysical monism”—for it is precisely at this point that he is at once infinitesimally close to baroque orthodoxy and yet radically departs from it. The crucial point of differentiation here concerns the limit of that which is neither something nor nothing, and which separates even God Himself from His totalization. Against the baroque celebration of glory, torture, totality, and plenitude, Milton arrays the puritan virtues of blindness, struggle, partiality, and impotence.

“Paradise Lost” in the Void

John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* was first published in 1667 in a ten-book version; the canonical twelve-book version, with its prose prefaces to the divisions, was the last work Milton saw through the press in 1674, just before his death. *Paradise Lost* is universally

acknowledged as one of the greatest poems of European literature, a rival to Homer, Virgil, or Dante. One of the things that immediately strike readers, from Milton's time to the present, is the poem's unprecedented, incredible sense of expansiveness, its genuine "over-going" of its own predecessors and models. Indeed, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Milton is first to use the word "space" in the modern sense of "outer space." As Marjorie Nicolson has written, "the older Milton perceives not only without dismay but even with a certain exultation the vast expansion of a world into a bewildering universe, the possible existence of other inhabited worlds, even the possibility of production of worlds to come."²¹ There has accordingly been a minor but insistent strand in Milton scholarship that emphasizes the baroque elements of his work.²²

Perhaps the most extended recent attempt to align Milton's work with a broader European baroque sensibility is the monograph by Murray Roston, already cited above. For Roston:

That theme—*A majorem gloriam Dei*—had provided the motto and the inspiration for the builders of the great baroque churches established throughout Europe, with their architectural response to the expanded view of the heavens and their symbolic representation in a wealth of marble and onyx of the abundance prevailing on man's earthly habitation. That purpose had animated Milton's epic too.²³

Moreover, as Catherine Gimelli Martin has more recently argued, drawing on Walter Benjamin's *Trauerspiel* book for inspiration, Milton's deployment of allegory, not least in the notorious scenes of Death and Sin, brings him very close to those metalogical baroque operations which celebrate "uncertainties by pushing the rationalist program to its own logical breaking point."²⁴ As Martin underlines, "whereas allegory's traditional role is to point toward eternal stasis, baroque allegory embraces linguistic modulation as the only mediation consistent with the uncertainties of temporal revelation."²⁵ Taking up allegory as a ruined genre into his Protestant epic, Milton thereby allegedly returns to this genre a melancholic baroque destiny, which gives it a force of unsettling established hierarchy and overturns ancient Christian doctrines of accommodation.

Unquestionably, then, as David Norbrook confirms, "*Paradise Lost* can be assimilated to a 'baroque' style: an emphasis [on] movement, tricks of perspective, uncertainties of closure—even if the poem's Pandemonium may parody St. Peter's in Rome. For Peter Davidson, Milton is 'one of the most baroque and most intensely Latinate poets of the seventeenth century,' though he finds *Paradise Regained* to be closer to his rather different paradigms for a "universal baroque."²⁶ Yet, as Norbrook immediately points out, this relationship also has to be nuanced by acknowledging the priority of the Miltonic allusions to his great classical forebears: in this context, above all, to Hesiod, Plato, Longinus, and Lucretius. What may seem to be specifically "baroque" about Milton's style is much better understood as deriving from a classical tradition whose animus is substantially *political* in nature—and was explicitly presented as such by its contemporaneous interpreters and translators.

I would like to confirm Norbrook’s suspicions regarding Milton’s putative baroque affiliations here, albeit on somewhat different grounds. Rather than expand upon his references to Plato and Lucretius—certainly among the key intertexts for which the metaphysical, political, and affective triplet operative in the baroque is most definitively confronted—I shall focus on a famous crux in the histories of interpretation of *Paradise Lost*: the interpretation of the allegory of Satan, Sin, and Death. I wish to show that a very peculiar kind of iconoclastic troping is operating in these passages, which unleashes “baroque” intensities as it undercuts them.

The Passage in Question

Satan has proposed to the conclave of devils in Hell, where they have awoken in agony after being flung into the pit by their ill-fated rebellion in Heaven, that he will escape their confinement and seek out the fabled new creation that is Eden and its inhabitants. In his quest, towards the end of Book II, Satan comes to the gates of Hell, where he unexpectedly confronts two appalling figures:

Before the gates there sat
 On either side a formidable shape;
 The one seemed woman to the waist, and fair,
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
 With mortal sting (II. 648–53)
 [...]
 The other shape,
 If shape it might be called that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
 Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
 For each seemed either; black it stood as night,
 Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell,
 And shook a dreadful dart; what seemed his head
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on. (II. 666–73)

Although Satan is repelled by these horrific creatures, and sets about to fight the second, the first intervenes. She explains that she is Sin, born, like Athena from Zeus, as a glorious armed goddess in Heaven from Satan’s head when he first conceived his rebellion. Becoming enamored of his own daughter, they had sex and she fell pregnant, but in the general disorder of the war, they were separated. In Hell, she was entrusted with the keys to the dungeon, and gave birth, hideously, to the hideous creature that is their incestuous son, Death. After further seductive (and, of course, duplicitous) entreaties by Satan, who is deeply repelled by his own progeny, Sin gives up the key so Satan can make his prison-break, and he escapes to pursue his dastardly plans.

A Baroque Sublime?

The allegory—which might even be read as exemplarily baroque, in accordance with the common descriptors identified in baroque scholarship more broadly, and with the abstract triple of a theology of glory, here, in its negative guise, high affect, and metaphysics—has found itself overburdened by conflicting interpretations. I will cite only a few of the major historical critics here, which will be enough to bring out the parameters of the discussion relevant in this context.²⁷

In his famous *Spectator* commentaries upon the characters of Death and his mother, Sin, Joseph Addison had expressly refused them the appellation “sublime.” Addison adjudged that, while “by which Means [Milton] has wrought into the Body of his Fable a very beautiful and well invented Allegory ... I cannot think that Persons of such a chimerical Existence are proper Actors in an Epic Poem; because there is not that Measure of Probability annexed to them, which is requisite in Writings of this Kind.”²⁸ If Addison at once remarks the substantial reasons Milton had for including such allegorical characters, alongside the structural unsuccess of their apparition—*allegory* here undermining the credibility of the *epic* into which it is incorporated and which it supplements—it is also to underline the ambivalence of their “chimerical existence.” For the characters of Death and Sin, along with an entire panoply of ancient figures, such as Chaos, Night, Rumour, Chance, Tumult, Confusion, and so on, are at once patently not embodied personages, but are given, by means of the trope of prosopopeia, a figure by which these abstract forces can interact as if they were “real characters.”

Dr. Samuel Johnson, picking up precisely this tension between the immateriality of the forces and their poetic instantiation, opined that: “Another inconvenience of Milton’s design is, that it requires the description of what cannot be described, the agency of spirits. He saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could now shew angels acting but by instruments of action; he therefore invested them with form and matter.”²⁹ Whereas Addison had appreciated Milton’s strategy and its necessity, if demurring that this strategy attained the heights of sublimity, Johnson found the strategy in itself a failure: to give form and matter—note Johnson’s use of Aristotelian terminology—to the incorporeal is already a failure. The failure is unavoidable. It is that of the impotence of representation itself in the face (so to speak) of such forces. If Addison points to a generic incompatibility, Johnson points to an ontological one.

In his *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of The Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1757, the eighteenth-century Irish litterateur and politician Edmund Burke famously asserted that several of the characters presented in John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* were unrepresentable by other means. Burke remarks that

no person seems better to have understood the secret of heightening, or of setting terrible things, if I may use the expression, in their strongest light, by the force of a judicious obscurity, than Milton. His description of Death in the second book

is admirably studied; it is astonishing with what a gloomy pomp, with what a significant and expressive uncertainty of strokes and colouring, he has finished the portrait of the king of terrors ... In this description all is dark, uncertain, confused, terrible, and sublime to the last degree.³⁰

Note how Burke’s description emphasizes the grandeur of Milton’s evocations as depending upon their “obscurity” and “uncertainty.” Moreover, as Jacques Rancière has noted in his brief interpretation of Burke’s lines, that “this is the sense in which Burke once declared that Milton’s description of Lucifer in *Paradise Lost* was unrepresentable in painting. The reason was that its sublime aspect depended upon the duplicitous play of words that do not really let us see what they pretend to show us.”³¹ In essence, Burke has taken up the criticisms of both Addison and Johnson, in order to give them a decisive twist. Like Addison, Burke appreciates the vitality of Milton’s allegory, but reevaluates its supposed generic incompatibility as precisely part of Milton’s powers to create sublimity. Like Johnson, Burke recognizes that the gap between real and representation is at play, but understands the exploitation of this gap itself as itself Milton’s object. Representation is enhanced by putting its own constitutive ontological failures to work. Moreover, it is a specifically literary or *linguistic* form of representation that is at stake, one in rivalry with image or object representations that it trumps.

It seems to me that this sequence essentially sets the terms that are still current in the passage’s interpretation. I have already briefly mentioned Martin’s approach, which reads the allegory through the lenses of the Benjaminian *Trauerspiel* as a kind of deliberate baroque sublime. In her reconstruction of the history of this debate, Victoria Kahn argues that the passage is at once “parodic and sublime” in its rhetoric of theological indifference, a form of self-critique and a concomitant critique of mimesis.³² It is what Kahn calls this element of “self-critique” as negation that I would prefer to phrase slightly differently: that of Protestant iconoclasm. As parody, it parodies, among other things, the baroque itself. For Milton’s own version of iconoclasm does not simply declare the need for the obliteration of images and objects, equating idolatry with the contravention of the prohibition upon graven images, and identifying Catholicism with this contravention—although these aspects are certainly at work here and elsewhere in Milton’s oeuvre. Milton is also offering an analysis of captivating imagery as precisely demonic. Sin, born from Satan’s skull, appears a goddess, but she is a mere self-created godless image of one; the spawn of Satan and Sin is the anti-figure of Death, representable only in terms of negation. Moreover, as can be seen from my comments on the sequence of authorities cited above, Milton has developed techniques to valorize the word over the image. In other words, to break with the representations of the baroque at the level both of *what* Milton says and *how* he says it, paradoxically negating its powers by exacerbating its techniques.

Several Concluding Anecdotes Regarding the Necessarily Uncertain Effects of the Counter-Baroque

My argument has been that key aspects of the baroque were targeted and troubled by Milton in such a way as to neutralize and reroute their affective, political, and theological powers. Precisely because Milton did this through a particular kind of incorporation of the baroque, his own self-elected inheritors have found the consequences difficult to discern, let alone to conceptualize. Here, it is critical to emphasize that, given Milton's Counter-Baroque strategy of reproducing baroque elements to the point that the two cannot be told apart according to any externally verifiable predicates or results of pattern-recognition, there can be no possible incontrovertible logical or evidential markers that can enable anyone in principle to make a substantial distinction between the two. Yet it is just as necessary for Milton, as perhaps for the non-tradition of the Counter-Baroque more generally, for one to make a decision regarding the effects of this imperceptibility in the absence of any certain criteria for doing so. This situation, "to decide an undecidable from the point of the indiscernible," as Alain Badiou has more recently put it, is nonetheless explicitly part of the Miltonic program, sometimes clearly and propositionally expressed in a political frame, or sometimes more covertly put to work in and as poetry itself.³³ One immediate consequence of this program is that there is no avoiding qualitative evaluation that ultimately cannot be well grounded. To be a Miltonist means that the attempt at justice must also mean to adjudge unjustly. Let me briefly assay this now.

In 2008, at the Ninth International Milton Symposium in London, celebrating the quartercentenary of Milton's birth, I attended a performance of Milton's late closet drama *Samson Agonistes*, which was accompanied by sung renditions of several of his sonnets. What was most striking about the performance was how the attempt to sing Milton's sonnets cut violently against the grain of the performance itself. The otherwise very capable opera singers struggled throughout with the rhythm of Milton's lines, with sustaining sense and suspense, up to the point where, if the reader will pardon the expression, the dead man's spirit arose in his words to almost literally throttle the idolaters. This experience reminded me of the continued enthusiasm of artists, filmmakers, and game designers for attempting to confront *Paradise Lost*, with very mixed results. John Dryden's contemporaneous musical stage adaptation, *The State of Innocence*, complete with rhyming couplets and requiring impossibly expensive special effects, has never been staged. The most recent attempt to create a film of the poem was canceled in pre-production. The very many illustrious illustrators of *Paradise Lost* have always only achieved at best mixed results, and the small-time videogame based on the poem, now enjoying a kind of geek hipster revival, is only very loosely based on the narrative.³⁴ What's the point of these perhaps unjustifiable anecdotes? To suggest that the double power of *Paradise Lost* is at once to compel and to crush those who would represent it as a work of baroque glory, and that this power is integral to what I have called here the Counter-Baroque.

In other words, I believe that the hypothesis proposed by Edmund Burke has now been confirmed: Milton’s Satan is indeed unrepresentable, if not (only) for the reasons that have usually been given. Rather, we should acknowledge that part of Milton’s genius is to revivify a form of Protestant iconoclasm against the anti-iconoclastic innovations of the baroque, using techniques drawn from the baroque itself. This power is itself primarily “spiritual” insofar as it forces out a pre-individual, imageless (or “iconoclastic”) process of ungrounded rational evaluation without any material proof of its efficacy; this “spirituality” trying to incarnate what, for Milton himself, would be the trace of the divine in all of us. This is the sense of the Counter-Baroque: to exacerbate the defection of affective glory by letting its gas out.

NOTES

¹ Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory*, pp. 193–94.

² See Murray Roston, *Milton and the Baroque*, especially chapter one.

³ Roston, pp. 18–19.

⁴ As James Simpson has argued, “vulnerability to schism is particularly pronounced within the terms of an evangelical Biblical reading culture. For the evangelical reader is persuaded of the truth of his or her reading (and therefore of his or her salvation) by, and only by, what Tyndale calls a ‘feeling faith,’ an inner, passionate conviction of being chosen and forgiven. That this conviction should be authenticated by intense feeling alone proves an unsteady ground for institutional belonging and solidarity. Such movements tend to produce spectacular and heroic displays of authentication, most obviously in evangelical readiness to endure the flame.” James Simpson, *Burning to Read*, p. 30. See also James Simpson, *Under the Hammer*, especially the sections on John Milton.

⁵ As Milton puts it in a late pamphlet titled *Of True Religion*, “no true Protestant can persecute, or not tolerate his fellow Protestant, though dissenting from him in som [*sic*] opinions, but he must flatly deny and Renounce these two his own main Principles, whereon true Religion is founded; while he compels his Brother from that which he believes as the manifest word of God, to an implicit faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his Brother’s soul, whether by rash belief, or outward Conformity: for *whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin*.” John Milton, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, p. 421, italics added.

⁶ Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols*, p. 3. See also Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*; Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*; and Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*. As Michalski notes of Luther, “his nominalist formation contributed to the fact that he conceived of the image as a conventional, relative sign: this was later to weigh heavily in his stance on images,” p. 4. Yet, as Luther put it in *Lectures on the Epistle to the Corinthians*, “to build churches, to adorn them ... with images and everything that we have in houses of worship ... all these are shadows of things worthy of children” (cited in Michalski, p. 5). If images and ornaments are shadows for Luther, they are not inherently and irremediably vicious. They must, however, be taken with at least a pinch of salt. Note too the term “Protestant” was first coined at the Second Diet of Speyer in 1529.

⁷ See Monika Kaup, “Feeling Baroque in Art and Neuroscience,” and Lisa Beaven, “Faith and Fetish” in this volume.

⁸ See Matthew Martin, “Infinite Bodies” in this volume.

⁹ See Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Seminar VII*, p. 139. It seems to me significant that Lacan broaches the neologism in the context of a discussion of art. Even more precisely, that of anamorphosis, a technique evidently beloved by baroque artists, and of ancient cave paintings.

¹⁰ See Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque*; and Neal Stephenson’s “The Baroque Cycle” comprising *Quicksilver*, *The Confusion*, and *The System of the World*.

¹¹ Angela Ndalians identifies the following major “parallels” between the various structures of the seventeenth century and the twentieth and twenty-first century: “Emphasis on serial narratives and the spectacular”; “delight in spectacle and sensory experiences”; “visual splendour”; “illusionism”; and, above all, “its refusal to respect the limits of the frame that contains the illusion.” Hence, the labyrinthine interweavings and mediatic and generic merging, all emerging in times of crisis and transition, leading to new experiments that engage scientists and artists alike. See Angela Ndalians, *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*.

¹² Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold*, p. 3. Note that the invocation of “infinity” in this context is a covert assault on all modern aesthetics stemming from the Enlightenment, in and for which aesthetics—as a discourse concerning “the beautiful”—must be essentially *finite*.

¹³ Deleuze, p. 28.

¹⁴ As Žižek notes, “no wonder that Leibniz is one of the predominant philosophical references of the cyberspace theorists: what reverberates today is not only his dream of a universal computing machine, but the uncanny resemblance between his ontological vision of monadology and today’s emerging cyberspace community in which global harmony and solipsism strangely coexist ... Are we not more and more monads with no direct windows onto reality, interacting alone with the PC screen, encountering only the virtual simulacra, and yet immersed more than ever in the global network, synchronously communicating with the entire globe?” Slavoj Žižek, *On Belief*, p. 26.

¹⁵ Jacques Lacan, *Seminar XX*, p. 116.

¹⁶ Agamben, p. 218.

¹⁷ Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies*, pp. 40–41.

¹⁸ Alain Badiou, *Being and Event*, p. 320.

¹⁹ See Walter Moser, “Introduction.”

²⁰ Todd Butler observes in a different but related context of Milton’s earlier polemics against the executed monarch Charles I. Butler writes that Milton invokes the king’s links to the emblematically royalist genre of masque to turn “the monarchy’s own spectacle against it.” For Butler, “in Milton’s hands the king’s actions prior to his execution now seem part of a carefully crafted stage play, one which presents the penitence of Charles I not as evidence of the king’s true virtue but as elements of a theatrical performance designed to create the appearance (rather than the substance) of piety.” Todd Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 133.

²¹ Marjorie Nicolson, “Milton and the Telescope,” p. 28.

²² In addition to Roston, see Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*; and Roy Daniells, *Milton, Mannerism, and Baroque*. However, it is significant that John Leonard, in his magisterial treatment of the history of interpretations of *Paradise Lost*, does not include “baroque” as an index listing. See John Leonard, *Faithful Labourers*.

²³ Roston, p. 176.

²⁴ Catherine Gemilli Martin, *The Ruins of Allegory*, p. 327.

²⁵ Martin, p. 24.

²⁶ David Norbrook, “Milton, Lucy Hutchinson, and the Lucretian Sublime.”

²⁷ See also David L. Sedley, *Sublimity and Skepticism in Montaigne and Milton*.

²⁸ Joseph Addison, *Notes upon the twelve books of Milton’s Paradise Lost*, p. 10.

²⁹ Samuel Johnson, *The lives of the most eminent English poets*, p. 130. Johnson continues: “The confusion of spirit and matter, which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven, fills it with incongruity; and the book in which it is related is, I believe the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge is increased.” Johnson, p. 131.

³⁰ See Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry*, p. 42.

³¹ Jacques Rancière, *Aesthetics and Its Discontents*, p. 123.

³² Victoria Kahn, “Allegory and the Sublime in *Paradise Lost*,” pp. 185–201.

³³ Badiou, p. 47.

³⁴ I believe one could include such luminaries as William Hogarth, William Blake, John Martin, and Gustave Doré among this lineage of eminent failures. However, see Lydia Hamlett, “Sublime Literature.”

Works Cited

- Addison, Joseph. *Notes upon the twelve books of Milton’s Paradise Lost, collected from The Spectator*. London: printed for a company of stationers, ca. 1739.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government*. Translated by Lorenzo Chiesa and Matteo Mandarini. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Badiou, Alain. *Being and Event*. Translated by Oliver Feltham. London and New York: Continuum, 2005.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of The Sublime and Beautiful*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1889 [1757].
- Butler, Todd. *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Christensen, Carl C. *Art and the Reformation in Germany*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1979.
- Daniells, Roy. *Milton, Mannerism and Baroque*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Davidson, Peter. *The Universal Baroque*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- De Certeau, Michel. *Heterologies*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987 [1986].
- Deleuze, Gilles. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*. Translated by Tom Conley. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993 [1988].
- Eire, Carlos. *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Hamlett, Lydia. “Sublime Literature: William Hogarth’s *Satan, Sin and Death (A Scene from Milton’s ‘Paradise Lost’)*.” In *The Art of the Sublime*, edited by Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding. London: Tate Research Publication, January 2013. www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/lydia-hamlett-sublime-literature-william-hogarth-satan-sin-and-death-a-scene-from-miltons-r1138666 (accessed April 29, 2015).

- Johnson, Samuel. *The lives of the most eminent English poets, with critical observations on their works*. London: J. Fergusson, 1819 [1779–81].
- Kahn, Victoria. "Allegory and the Sublime in *Paradise Lost*." In *John Milton: A Collection of Critical Essays*, edited by Annabel M. Patterson, pp. 185–201. London: Longman, 1992.
- Koerner, Joseph Leo. *The Reformation of the Image*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Seminar VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis 1959–1960*. Translated by Dennis Porter. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Lacan, Jacques. *Encore: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book XX: On Feminine Sexuality: The Limits of Love and Knowledge 1972–1973*. Ed. J.-A. Miller. Trans. with notes B. Fink. New York: W.W. Norton, 1998.
- Leonard, John. *Faithful Labourers: A Reception History of Paradise Lost, 1667–1970*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Martin, Catherine Gemilli. *The Ruins of Allegory: Paradise Lost and the Metamorphosis of Epic Convention*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Michalski, Sergiusz. *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image in Western and Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Milton, John. "Of True Religion." In *John Milton, Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. 8, 1666–82, edited by Maurice Kelley. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co., 1994.
- Moser, Walter. "Introduction." In *Neo-baroques: From Latin America to the Hollywood Blockbuster*, edited by Walter Moser, Angela Ndaljian, and Peter Krieger. Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 2017.
- Ndaljian, Angela. *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004.
- Nicolson, Marjorie. "Milton and the Telescope." *ELH* 2, no. 1 (1935): pp. 1–32.
- Norbrook, David. "Milton, Lucy Hutchinson, and the Lucretian Sublime." In *The Art of the Sublime*, edited by Nigel Llewellyn and Christine Riding. London: Tate Research Publication, January 2013 <www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/the-sublime/david-norbrook-milton-lucy-hutchinson-and-the-lucretian-sublime-r1138669> (accessed November 14, 2013).
- Rancière, Jacques. *Aesthetics and Its Discontents*. Translated by Steven Corcoran. Cambridge: Polity, 2009.
- Roston, Murray. *Milton and the Baroque*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980.
- Sedley, David L. *Sublimity and Skepticism in Montaigne and Milton*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 2005.
- Simpson, James. *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents*. Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 2007.
- Simpson, James. *Under the Hammer: Iconoclasm in the Anglo-American Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Stephenson, Neal. *Quicksilver*. London: Arrow Books, 2004.
- Stephenson, Neal. *The Confusion*. London: Arrow Books, 2004.
- Stephenson, Neal. *The System of the World*. London: Arrow Books, 2004.
- Sypher, Wylie. *Four Stages of Renaissance Style: Transformations in Art and Literature 1400–1700*. New York: Doubleday, 1955.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *On Belief*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

Chapter 4

“To Make Them Gaze in Wonder”: Emotional Responses to Stage Scenery in Seventeenth-Century Opera

Katrina Grant

An Opera may be allowed to be extravagantly lavish in its Decorations, as its only Design is to gratify the Senses, and keep up an indolent Attention in the Audience.

— Joseph Addison, 1711¹

JOSEPH ADDISON’S OBSERVATIONS, PUBLISHED IN *The Spectator* in London in 1711, offer a grudging acknowledgment that the visual aspect of opera serves to hold the attention of the audience by engaging the senses. In another *Spectator* article, dated a month later, Addison goes on to acknowledge the ability of set design and stage machinery to affect the emotions of the audience. He writes:

Aristotle has observed, that *ordinary* Writers in Tragedy endeavour to raise Terror and Pity in their Audience, not by proper Sentiments and Expressions, but by the Dresses and Decorations of the Stage. There is something of this kind very ridiculous in the English Theatre. When the Author has a mind to terrify us, it thunders; When he would make us melancholy, the Stage is darkened. The Tailor and the Painter often contribute to the *Success* of a Tragedy more than the Poet. Scenes affect *ordinary* Minds *as much* as Speeches; and our Actors are very sensible that a well-dressed Play has sometimes brought them as full Audiences, as a well-written one. The Italians have a very good Phrase to express this Art of imposing upon the Spectators by Appearances: They call it the *Fourberia della Scena*, The Knavery or trickish Part of the Drama. *But*, however, the *Show* and *Outside* of the Tragedy may work upon the Vulgar, the more understanding Part of the Audience immediately see through it and despise it.²

Although Addison’s dislike of stage scenery and special effects, or, to be more precise, his dislike of the misuse of them, is palpable, his criticism also articulates several aspects of the intended emotional effect of set designs and their reception by audiences. First, Addison observes that the “dresses and decorations of the stage” have an emotional effect on the spectator. Second, he makes it clear that certain scenic effects are associated with certain emotions, for instance darkness equates with melancholy. Third, he expresses the idea that set designs aim to “trick” or to “deceive the eye” of the viewer. And last,

he suggests that set designs are attractive primarily to an “ordinary” or lower class of audience who are easily impressed. In contrast, the “more understanding” members of the audience—among whom Addison clearly counts himself—will be moved instead by the text and the quality of the performance. Addison implies that opera, and by extension other theatrical productions, are now preoccupied with grandiose stage sets and heavy-handed special effects.

In part, Addison’s criticism was motivated by nationalistic concerns. In 1711, Italian opera was the latest fashion on the London stage, and it was not met with universal approval. Addison and others wanted to rank the poetry of English writers, such as William Shakespeare, above work of other countries, and above Italy in particular. A painting by William Dawes from the middle of the eighteenth century illustrates this nationalistic agenda (plate 5, p. xx).³ It is a painted satire of Covent Garden, which in the 1760s was perceived as peddling pantomime and opera instead of a house for serious drama. Shakespeare lies dead on the stage, stabbed by the elaborately over-dressed opera singer who now tramples over pages from his plays. The opera depicted is *Artaxerxes* by the Italian librettist Pietro Metastasio. It was a great favorite of English audiences and was staged dozens of times throughout the eighteenth century. The setting depicted in this painting is that by the English composer Thomas Arne, seen in the painting sitting at the harpsichord.⁴ The emotional reactions of the audience are caricatured as exaggerated and bordering on foolish. Like Addison, Dawes implies that opera and drama have been hijacked by visual spectacle.

Addison’s criticisms and Dawes’s painting are both expressive of a particularly English attitude towards opera; indeed, the emotional responses to opera by eighteenth-century English audiences would be a rich topic in and of itself. However, these criticisms are also typical of the constant tension that has existed since opera’s creation. On the one hand, we know that most patrons and audiences considered sets and machinery to be vital components of baroque opera, and more money was often spent on them than any other aspect of the production. On the other hand, throughout the seventeenth century there were critics who disparaged the “unnecessary” number of scene changes, or the nonsensical use of special effects, and even questioned whether sets and machinery had any place in opera at all.⁵ In most cases, critics argued that the use of sets could achieve, at best, only a lightweight emotional response and not a transformative one. It is at this point of tension that stage design is directed towards the inducement of affect, where the most revealing observations about the emotional impact of stage sets are often made.

While the capacity of music to move the emotions has received a good deal of attention from musicologists, philosophers, and psychologists, the history of set design has not considered how these sets created immersive environments that induced an affective response.⁶ Instead, the attitudes expressed by Addison continue to cast a long shadow over research into music and the performing arts. Twentieth-century scholarship

has often been dismissive of set design, regarding it as formulaic, unimportant, and a distraction from the serious poetry and sublime music.⁷ This dismissal of scenography has come about because set design has typically been studied only on the margins of musicology, art and architectural history, and theater studies. This is, in part, because there are virtually no opera sets that survive from the baroque period, requiring them to be reconstructed from drawings made as part of the design process and from engravings made after to commemorate the sets.⁸ These are typically monochrome and two dimensional, whereas in reality sets were vividly colored and three dimensional. In addition, much of the serious scholarship that has been done has concentrated on the progression of visual technologies.⁹ Studying the emotional effect of stage sets prompts us to look more closely at their reception, rather than at their construction. To understand how audiences reacted to the visual aspect of a performance is important not only because it fills in another missing piece in our attempts to reconstruct what a theatrical performance was like in the baroque period, but also because the visual spectacle itself generated so much controversy. There were endless debates, along similar lines to those discussed above, about whether operas should have sets, and whether performances were too focused upon the magnificence of the setting and the ingenuity of the machines at the expense of the poetry and narrative.

The Birth of Opera and the Rise of the Stage Set

The composers, poets, and patrons who drove the development of opera in Florence around 1600 wanted to create a new form of music and new performative techniques capable of moving the passions.¹⁰ The key difference between opera and earlier types of musical performance was the inclusion of solo singing by the performers. This solo singing accompanied by instrumentation was regarded as a revival of the style of performance practiced in classical Greece. Among the many reasons given for the necessity of creating this new musical form, a main objective was that it would more powerfully move the emotions of its audiences, and that this distinguished it from earlier forms of music and dramatic performance. The texts that accompany the published versions of the works all emphasize this point. For example, Alessandro Guidotti, in his preface to Emilio de’Cavalieri’s *Rappresentazione di anima, et di corpo*, performed around 1600 in Rome, described opera as

made in a style similar to that with which it is said the ancient Greeks and Romans were wont to move the spectators to diverse affections in their scenes and their theatre [...] If one wishes to cause this sort of music ... to elicit diverse affections, such as pity and joy, tears and laughter, and others like them, as was effectively shown in *La dispersione di Fileno*, a modern scene composed by him, in which Signora Vittoria Archilei, whose excellence in music is well known to all, recited, and moved everyone to tears while the character of Fileno moved [everyone] to laughter.¹¹

In the same year the composer Jacopo Peri, in his preface to *L'Euridice*—performed in Florence in 1600 and usually regarded as the first publicly performed opera—emphasized that the new style was intended to imitate and enhance the natural spoken voice in order to better convey the emotion of the text. He writes:

I recognized, as well, that in our speech certain words are intoned in such a manner that they allow harmony to be founded on them, passing, in the course of speech, through many others that are not intoned, returning eventually to another [word] capable of a new consonant movement. And having regard to those modes and those accents that serve us in lamenting, rejoicing, and similar moments, I set the bass moving at the same pace as those accents, now faster, now slower, according to the affections, and held it through dissonances and consonances until, running through various notes, the voice of the speaker arrived at ordinary speech, opening the way to a new consort.¹²

It is clear that, at least to its proponents, these first operas were regarded as one of the most emotionally affective forms of performance. But what was the role of sets in these early operas?

Jacopo Peri's first opera, *Dafne*, performed in 1597–98, had minimal staging, which is hardly surprising given that it was performed in a small room, and was probably regarded as too new and experimental to warrant the expense of elaborate set design. However, the first performance of *L'Euridice* in 1600 was quite different. It was performed as part of the celebrations held in Florence to mark the marriage of Maria de' Medici to King Henry IV of France. Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger wrote a description of the scenery:

In a worthy hall, beyond the curtains within a great arch with niches on either side (wherein statues, in a pretty conceit of the artist, represented Poetry and Painting), the magnificent apparatus showed the most enchanting woods both in relief and painted, placed in a well-composed arrangement and lit as if by daylight by means of aptly placed lights within. But as Hades was to be represented next, the woods were seen to turn into hideous and fearsome rocks which seemed real, over which twigs appeared leafless and the grass livid. And there, deeper inside, through a fissure in a large cliff was seen the city of Pluto all ablaze, tongues of flame flaring from the openings of its towers, the air all around turned to a coppery colour. After this change the first scene returned, nor were there any further changes. Everything took place with the greatest perfection and to the honour of all who had any share in its direction; and it gave a variety of pleasures both for the mind and for the senses to those who witnessed it.¹³

It is evident from this description that the staging of *L'Euridice* was very much in the tradition of the *intermedi*, which were short set pieces inserted between the acts of a play that dated back to at least the fifteenth century. These were originally intended to fill the empty stage between acts, but the Medici court developed them into full-blown

extravaganzas with music, costuming, set designs, and machinery.¹⁴ The sets and special effects would have been more familiar than the new operatic style of setting poetry to music. Despite, or maybe because of this, Buonarotti’s praise of the music and the singing is dealt with in just a few short lines, after which he turns to his much more detailed description of the visual aspect of the performance. He implies that the scenery was one of the most engaging things about the performance, which anticipates the debates about whether audiences were preoccupied with the visual splendor of opera at the expense of the music and the poetry.¹⁵ And, significantly for this study, Buonarotti emphasizes the way that the change in scenery elicited a change in the mood from “enchanted woods” to “hideous and fearsome rocks.” Both these aspects of Buonarotti’s description are typical of the way that the baroque audience responded, or at least typical of the recorded responses, to stage sets.

Stage sets played a crucial role in the transformation of opera into an immersive environment that transcended sound to appeal to all the senses simultaneously. Claude-François Ménéstrier notes this in his treatise *Des représentations en musique* (1681), when he recalls the introduction of operas to Venice by Claudio Monteverdi. Ménéstrier observes that Monteverdi

introduced there [in Venice] those sorts of representations that have become so well known for their magnificent stage settings and costume, their refined singing, their harmonious instrumental accompaniment, and the erudite music of Monteverdi himself ... Such dramatic entertainments must be given all these ornaments if they are to be well received; for if they boast nothing other than beauty of composition, people consider them just like any other piece of vocal music sung by several choruses or in recitative. But when all the decorative elements of a dramatic presentation were added, such as scene changes, stage machines, costumes, and orchestra ... these entertainments were received with great applause throughout Italy.¹⁶

Ménéstrier’s remarks make it clear that the ability to create elaborate and convincing visual worlds on stage was a necessary ingredient for the creation of opera as a distinct musical and theatrical genre in the seventeenth century. The sets were a crucial part of the whole. His description fits neatly with the idea of the *bel composto*, or the beautiful whole, in which multiple media (typically architecture, painting, and sculpture) are combined to create a whole, an integrated environment, which elicits a more intense sensory response from the viewer.¹⁷ Although in the seventeenth century this is a term that is applied to art—and specifically the art of Bernini—it is nevertheless a useful one for thinking about the importance of stage sets and machinery in baroque opera, and a theory of which composers like Monteverdi may well have been aware.¹⁸ The sets and machinery were necessary to enhance the audience’s sense of being immersed in the place where the action of the narrative was taking place, which would in turn create an emotional response that was intensified or more “real.”

While stage sets were expected to contribute to the “beautiful whole” of the opera, they were also required to comply with Aristotelian unities of time and space. These “unities” were of vital importance to many poets and critics at the time, including those involved with the creation of opera. They required that a text should contain just one coherent action, to which all events in the play contribute. Furthermore, this action should take place in a single fictive day. The three unities—place, time, action—were believed, if complied with, to ensure that the work would have the appearance of being “real,” or true to nature. In short, the opera would have verisimilitude. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, this meant that the settings of early operas tended to be restricted to pastoral settings because it seemed more plausible that characters such as shepherds, shepherdesses, and nymphs would sing their speech. Orpheus and Apollo were obvious choices as protagonists as they were musicians. This meant that, at least initially, the powerfully emotional music and poetry of the first operas, with their themes of love and loss of love, tended to be closely associated with landscape settings.¹⁹ Although these concerns about unity of place began to fall away as the century progressed, we do see a certain continuity of the landscape as a place that is associated with the types of emotions, such as love and loss, most often expressed in the earliest operas. However, as opera gained in popularity across the Italian peninsula this idea that sets should contribute to the “unity of place” began to be superseded by a focus on the visual appeal of sets, and the sense of “surprise” and “wonder” that they could induce in audiences.

The Set Designer as Magician

From the 1640s onwards, Venice became one of the key centers for the production of opera. In Venice, opera was performed mainly for a paying public, rather than only seen in court settings as it had been in the first centers in Florence, Mantua, and Rome. It is in Venice that one of the seventeenth century’s leading set designers, Giacomo Torelli, established himself as *la gran strega* (“the great sorcerer”).²⁰ Born in Fano in 1608, Torelli originally trained as an engineer, but shortly after his arrival in Venice he began to work for the public opera houses and enjoyed a productive career in Venice and subsequently in Paris, both as a designer of sets and an inventor of stage machinery. He famously designed a machine that changed stage sets instantaneously and could be operated “by a single boy of fifteen turning a handle,” instead of the usual large group of men.²¹ As well as being one of the most important and innovative set designers of the seventeenth century, Torelli is important as the surviving libretti often include engravings of his sets and written descriptions: these constitute one of the most complete records we have of the intended appearance of mid-to-late seventeenth-century set designs. In some cases, we also have accounts of how his sets were received by audiences. For example, a commemorative volume commissioned by Torelli, intended to document his achievements, includes a description of the audience’s response to the final scene of an opera:

At the birth of this scene the whole theatre, not just the stage or the buildings, was supposed to rise, and it rose indeed, for with the movement of those great backdrops and the disappearance of the sky, and upon seeing all the parts of that great machine turn and mix in great confusion, not one of the spectators sat still: they stood up and turned around and did not know what they were seeing or what to expect, if not a great novelty; but soon the eye was satisfied, because it saw the scene transformed into a lovely and delightful garden, which was far different from any that have been depicted, either on stage or in print.²²

This response of surprise and amazement is the one most often recorded in seventeenth-century accounts of opera performances. John Evelyn, writing of his visit to the opera in Venice in 1645, briefly mentioned the “recitative music by the most excellent musicians” and instead focused most of his description on the “variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the air, and other wonderful notions; taken together, it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent.”²³ The wonder also extended to the efficacy of the illusions when they showed things that were known to be impossible. In 1647, Ménestrier described a set for a performance of *L’Orfeo*, performed at the Palais Royale in Paris with sets and machinery by Torelli, as showing “a wood whose width and depth seemed to surpass the [size of the] Theatre more than a hundred times.”²⁴

This description of sets and machines as “wondrous” or “miraculous” can seem to be a bit of a cliché in accounts of opera, even occasionally appearing on the printed libretti distributed to the audience. It was a surprise that often seems to have been fully anticipated, similar to how we now anticipate the experience of being amazed at CGI effects in blockbuster movies. However, it would be simplistic to regard the response of wonder by the audience as one that played only to their superficial emotions because the experience of wonder was conceptualized as one of the passions in the seventeenth century. Descartes positioned wonder as the first of the passions:

When the first encounter with some object surprises us ... this makes us wonder and be astonished ... And since this can happen before we know in the least whether this object is suitable to us or not, it seems to me that Wonder is the first of all the passions. It has no opposite, because if the object presented has nothing in it that surprises us, we are not in the least moved by it and regard it without passion.²⁵

This observation is key to understanding the seventeenth-century obsession with wonder in theatrical productions, as wonder was intimately connected to emotional engagement. Descartes is stating that without surprise or wonder there is no passion.

This idea that wonder was a necessary prompt to further emotional engagement is also suggested by an anonymous description of Torelli’s sets for *Andromède*, performed in Paris in 1650, which describes the setting of Act 3 when the scene of a beautiful garden changed to show the sea surrounded by craggy rocks (figure 4.1). This description reads:

The myrtle and jasmine change into masses of frightful rocks, and their craggy and uneven shapes seem so exactly a result of Nature's whim, that she would seem to have contributed more than art has, in ranging them at the sides of the stag. Here the artifice of the design is marvellously effective in hiding the marks of its own handiwork. Sea billows engulf the scene, except for a strip five or six feet wide that serves as a shore. In the gulf formed by the towering cliffs, the waves break continually, and race out its mouth into the first sea. This sea appears so vast that one would swear the vessels, floating near the horizon which bounds the view, are more than six leagues away. No one who sees it can fail to regard this horrible spectacle as the deadly display of the gods' injustice, and of Andromeda's agony. And then she appears in the clouds, whence she is borne off violently by two zephyrs that chain her to the foot of one of the rocks.²⁶

This description emphasizes the idea that the set was more than just visually engaging: it served to enhance the "horrible spectacle." The vast sea and frightful rocks added to the audience's sense of Andromeda's despair and "agony" at being abandoned to the sea monster. Both these descriptions support Viale Ferrero's suggestion that over his career Torelli transformed set design from merely the practice of "building scenes" to become an art that "encompasses conceptual invention" and was capable of persuasion.²⁷ The technical innovations of designers such as Torelli, as well as those who came before him such as Giulio Parigi, transformed set design into something performative, capable of being as emotionally persuasive as the music.

Playing with the Audience's Emotions

The set designer who provoked the greatest audience reactions in seventeenth-century Italy though, was undoubtedly Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Despite the fact that there is a tantalizing lack of sources about the true extent of Bernini's involvement with the theater, those that we do have contain some important revelations about how he regarded the role of stage sets and stage machinery.²⁸ The first of these is a play written by Bernini in the 1640s and usually referred to as *The Impresario* or *Fontana di Trevi*, which may never have actually been performed, but for which the text survives. The narrative follows the main character, probably intended to be played by Bernini himself, an impresario called Signor Gratiano who is tasked with creating *belle prospettive* ("beautiful stage sets") for a *commedia* to be given in honor of a local prince.²⁹ This play is a simple *commedia erudita*, with characters based upon the *commedia dell'arte*. While there are scheming servants and foolish masters, it functions mainly as a witty critique by Bernini of the artifice of stage design and stage machinery itself. At one point, Gratiano admonishes his assistant, who has said that his sets will have the entire audience in fits of laughter: "damn you all, stage machines aren't to make people laugh, but to make them gaze in wonder. Who the hell's going to marvel at this contraption?"³⁰ Elsewhere he worries about secrecy of the sets, declaring, "I don't want anybody to see them. No one from court is to lay eyes on



Figure 4.1. François Chauveau after Giacomo Torelli, Scene for Act 3 of *Andromède* (Paris, 1650), etching, dimensions unknown. Photo © Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

them. Once they're seen, they're no longer thought beautiful."³¹ This guarding of secrets is one of the main themes of the play and here Gratiano/Bernini makes it clear that the element of surprise is crucial for the audience to find the sets compelling.

The characters also have much to say about illusion and naturalism. Gratiano's servant, Zanni, who is keen to display his knowledge of the complicated stage machinery, explains to the audience that “when a thing looks truly natural, there's got to be some craft behind it.”³² This is a revealing comment: it tells us that the audience is not meant to believe it to be the real thing; instead, they are to be amazed by the craft of Bernini, who has so cleverly created a perfect facsimile of the real thing. Later in the play, Gratiano explains to one of the stage carpenters, Sepio, that special effects must appear “completely natural” in order to deceive the audience:

SEPIO: Tell me straight out, how do you want it done?

GRATIANO: I want it to appear completely natural.

SEPIO: How do you mean, natural?

GRATIANO: By natural, I don't mean a cloud stuck in place up there. I want my cloud standing out, detached against the blue, and visible in all its dimensions like a real cloud up in the air.

SEPIO: Up in the air eh? There's nothing but doubletalk. Detach it from up there, you'll more likely see a cloud on the floor than in the air—unless you suspend it by magic.

GRATIANO: Ingenuity and design constitute the Magic Art by whose means you deceive the eye and make your audience gaze in wonder, make a cloud stand out against the horizon, then float downstage, still free, with a natural motion. Gradually approaching the viewer, it will seem to dilate, to grow larger and larger. The wind will seem to waft it, waveringly, here and there, then up, higher and higher—not just haul it in place, bang, with a counterweight.

SEPIO: Well, Messer Gratiano, you can do these things with words but not with hands.

Gratiano's explanation reveals that while the audience may be aware that it is an illusion, they want to be drawn into that illusion and surrender to it, which only works if they have no idea how it is being done, thus creating a sense of amazement and disbelief. Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella in their analysis of the play point out that this exchange is like a statement of Bernini's aesthetic principles that the "quality of the *meraviglia* comes only when the viewer recognises the degree to which man's ingenuity and artifice is responsible for the 'real.'"³³ This is not stupid wonder of the masses, as Addison's quote above suggested; instead, it is a sophisticated and layered form of cognition that recognizes and applauds the deception and the craft that lie behind it.

Accounts by audience members at one of the best known of Bernini's theatrical productions, *La Fiera di Farfa*, performed in 1639 as an *intermedi* for the secular opera *Chi soffre spera*, convey these sentiments almost exactly. The performance was put on during carnival in Rome in the *salone grande* of the Palazzo Barberini at Quattro Fontane. Although there are no extant designs, there are several first-hand descriptions.³⁴ For this performance Bernini created on the stage a country fair complete with live animals; a re-creation of the Barberini garden with passing carriages; and the illusion of a sunrise and a sunset. The *Avvisi di Roma* recorded that there were

real merchants on horseback ... the procession of carriages and the running of a *palio*, and at the end the effect the sun makes when it sets. In the last *intermedio* one sees the likeness of the garden of the same Palace of the Signori Barberini with the game of *pillotta*, the passage of carriages, horses, and litters, and similar things which arouse such great wonder that it has been judged universally a rare artifice and the most successful of those which ever have been seen in this city.³⁵

This description clearly demonstrates that the audience responded in the way that Gratiano/Bernini intended, with "wonder" and "surprise" at the cleverness of the illusion, enhanced by it being located in their immediate environment. However, two other plays staged by Bernini, and recorded by his son Domenico, show Bernini instead radically subverting the expectations of the audience.

A performance of a *commedia* by Bernini called *The Fair* (not to be confused with *La Fiera*), performed sometime before 1645, featured a scene where a carnival float was seen returning from a celebration accompanied by excited merrymakers holding torches.³⁶ Suddenly, one of the actors stumbled and dropped his torch, flames spread rapidly from the torch across to the scenery (constructed, we assume, of the usual wood, paint, canvas, and other flammable materials). The audience panicked, leapt up from their seats and rushed for the exit, desperate to escape the seemingly inevitable conflagration of the theater—an event that was not an uncommon occurrence in this period. Then, all of a sudden, “with marvellous orderliness, the scenery was transformed, and the fire that appeared to be burning on stage became a most exquisite garden.”³⁷ The fire was revealed as a piece of trickery. Bernini had made use of the sophisticated pyrotechnics and fire illusions, which were usually used for Hell scenes and onstage firework displays, specifically in order to frighten the audience. For another play called *The Flooding of the Tiber*, Domenico relates that Bernini

Made great quantities of actual water come forth from the distance, which, at the most appropriate moment within the action of the play, burst through their barriers at certain points that the Cavaliere’s clever handiwork had already weakened for precisely this purpose. The water then flowed across the stage and spilled over with a rush toward the seats of the spectators. The latter, in turn, taking this simulation for a real flood, became so terrified that, believing an accident that which was in fact done artfully on purpose, rose in haste to escape; some climbed atop benches in order to raise themselves above danger and in the general chaos trampled over everything between them. Then, all of a sudden, with the opening of a trap door, all of that great quantity of water was drained away, without any further harm to the spectators beyond the fright they had experienced.³⁸

In both these instances Bernini turns the experience of set design upside down. These productions have often been only a footnote to both Bernini’s artistic output and to seventeenth-century baroque theater, viewed as intriguing anomalies rather than key works. However, if we look at these performances not in terms of what they can tell us about Bernini as an artist, but for what they can tell us about the reception of stage sets, they are actually more revealing than many more conventional accounts of performances. Here, Bernini demonstrates what happens when the audience does not recognize the artifice behind the illusion but is instead entirely deceived. In both these instances it could be argued that Bernini causes real “core” emotional responses in the audience, who experienced real fear and panic.³⁹ These emotional responses are quite different from those of surprise or delight invoked above. Bernini scholar Irving Lavin has observed that

upon the illusion normally expected in the theatre he superimposed another illusion that was unexpected, and in which the audience was directly involved. The spectator, in an instant, became an actor, conscious of himself as an active, if disconcerted, participant in the “happening.” The crucial thing is that when he returned to his ordinary level of existence he became aware that *someone* had *created* this response.⁴⁰

Bernini was playing with the baroque audience's expectation that they would be "amazed" by illusions, but not truly tricked or deceived by them. He showed the audience instead what it meant to be truly taken in by an illusion. Bernini alludes to this trickery in his play when Gratiano's servant, Zanni, is trying to become involved with the design of the machines for the play. Gratiano declares that "it's no surprise when a Zanni becomes an operator [*machinatore*] in my household, but when an operator becomes a Zanni, look out!"⁴¹ Zanni is not simply Gratiano's servant, but also the traditional trickster in the *commedia dell'arte* productions. Bernini is here also saying, "beware the set designer who turns trickster," which is precisely what he does in the two plays described by Domenico.

Lonely Woods and Landscapes of Love

The example of Bernini reveals that baroque set design, like baroque painting, was not simply concerned with filling the gap between the representation and the real with an affective response; but rather, set design was concerned with exploiting the gap itself. Indeed, Vincenzo Nolfi wrote in the preface to his libretto for *Bellerofonte*—for which Torelli provided scenery—that "you are wasting time, O Reader, if with the Poetics of the Stagirite in hand you go tracking down the errors of this work, because I confess freely that in composing it I did not aim to observe any precepts other than the desires of the scene designer."⁴² Here, Nolfi asserts the dominance of stage scenery over the narrative of the opera. In his satire of an early eighteenth-century Italian opera, *Teatro alla Moda* (ca. 1733), Bernardo Marcello mocks the dominance of stage designers who would include scenes and special effects with little relevance to the plot. His instructions to "Stage Machinists and Painters of Scenery" includes the following passage:

The modern stage technicians and painters must outdo themselves when it comes to the set for the opera's finale. That scene will receive the greatest amount of applause ... Therefore this last scene should represent a summary of all previous scenes. Seashores, groves, dungeons, halls, smaller rooms, fountains, and fleets of ships should be there, along with a bear hunt, large and beautiful tents, banquets, thunderstorms, and bolts of lightning.⁴³

Marcello implies that stage sets needed only to garner applause, and to be impressive, and he implies that there was little need for them to relate too closely to the narrative. This reflects the reality of productions, which included scenes not integral to the plot in order to showcase the talents of the set designer.⁴⁴

The new technologies that were invented by designers such as Torelli meant that the number of sets that could be used in a standard opera performance was increased from around three to ten or more. As noted above, already in the earliest operas certain settings were associated with certain types of narratives, and with the emotions contained within them, such as the narrative of love and loss in a pastoral setting. The increase in



Figure 4.2. Matthäus Küsel, after Ludovico Burnacini, “Wooded Landscape on Mount Ida,” set 4 of twenty-three from *Il Pomo d’Oro* (Vienna, 1667–68), etching, 14.2 × 21.7 cm.

Harry R. Beard Collection, given by Isobel Beard. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

the number of sets meant that a range of different types of places—woodlands, seascapes, palaces, gardens—could be visually linked with specific narrative moments, and in turn to specific emotional states.⁴⁵ One production in which the places depicted in the set designs appear to have been intended to evoke, and therefore enhance, the emotional impact of specific narrative moments is *Il Pomo d’Oro*.⁴⁶ This *fiesta teatrale* was performed at the Hapsburg Court in Vienna in 1668 with music by Antonio Cesti, a libretto by Francesco Sbarra, and set designs by the Hapsburg court’s leading scenographer and theater designer, Ludovico Burnacini. *Il Pomo d’Oro* was an opera on a grand scale, with sixty-six separate scenes, twenty-three separate sets, and a host of subplots to accompany the main narrative based around the story of the judgment of Paris. The Aristotelian unity of action had given way to pure spectacle. Burnacini’s sets for *Il Pomo d’Oro* were among the most elaborate of the seventeenth century, and included a range of special effects ranging from storms with thunder and lightning to fire-breathing dragons, flying deities, and floating palaces. The places depicted ranged from a seaport with an armed camp to the mouth of Hell, and included several garden and woodland settings. The final setting represented Heaven, Earth, air and the seas.

Certainly the audience was meant to be in awe of the visions represented on stage, but the sets designed by Burnacini are also examples of the way in which certain settings



Figure 4.3. Matthäus Küsel, after Ludovico Burnacini, “River Xanthos,” set 12 of twenty-three from *Il Pomo d’Oro* (Vienna, 1667–68), etching, 26 × 43.1 cm. Harry R. Beard Collection, given by Isobel Beard. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

were symbolic representations of emotional points in the narrative of the opera.⁴⁷ The naturalistic settings are good examples of this. Although they were no longer required as settings that would offer a level of verisimilitude to the drama, scenes of nature, such as woods, wildernesses, and gardens, continued to be connected with themes such as love and loss that had been present in the early operas such as *Orfeo*, but were now joined by other emotional states and associated with specific places. The setting for a love duet between Paris and the nymph Ennone is an expansive grove in the woodland of Mount Ida, a continuation of the idea that tales of love are best set against a pastoral backdrop (figure 4.2). In another scene, when the shepherd Aurindo has been spurned in love and lost his way in life and subsequently plans to kill himself, he is found by the river Xanthos with a dense pine forest closing in around him; all traces of civilization have vanished (figure 4.3). This scene was clearly intended to evoke the emotion of abandonment and loneliness. It is worth noting that in the seventeenth century, wilderness was typically conceptualized as a dangerous rather than romantic setting, and it usually appears at points in a narrative when a character, beset by fear, has lost his or her way. Another scene from *Il Pomo d’Oro* shows a citron grove that was the setting for a soliloquy by Ennone about her sadness at not having been able to find Paris (figure 4.4). Although it is stylized to modern eyes, it would no doubt have evoked for the audience the *boschetti* (“small



Figure 4.4. Matthäus Küsel, after Ludovico Burnacini, “Citron Grove,” set 16 of twenty-three from *Il Pomo d’Oro* (Vienna, 1667–68), etching, 26 × 43.1 cm. Harry R. Beard Collection, given by Isobel Beard. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

woods”) common in gardens of the period where it was possible to be alone and away from the eyes of others, something that could be hard to achieve in day-to-day life. The sets created environments that symbolized emotional states, and which served both to cue and then amplify the audience’s emotional reactions.

To conclude, these examples, while far from an exhaustive survey of audience reception of stage sets, do demonstrate that stage sets acted as emotional triggers for seventeenth-century audiences. Between the last decades of the sixteenth century until the first decades of the eighteenth, the visual aspect of staged performances was completely transformed. The use of theater sets obviously pre-dates opera, and stage sets continued to be used for things other than opera. It is indisputable that the ability to create elaborate and convincing visual worlds on stage was a necessary ingredient for the creation of opera as a distinct musical and theatrical genre in the seventeenth century. Stage sets and machinery made real such things as divine intervention from the heavens, metamorphoses of people into animals, and the illusion of the control of nature with illusions of the Sun rising and setting. These effects prompted surprise and wonder and opened the way for audiences to respond with more heightened emotions to the music and the narrative of the opera. In turn, as stage design became more sophisticated it was possible for the scenes to reflect the emotional states of the characters more convincingly.

Far from being a distraction from “ordinary” minds, as Addison described them, stage sets functioned to amaze and astound the spectator, enabling a sensuous and emotional response. During the baroque period, set design both responded to and fed into the cultural fascination with surprise and wonder. Various new or rediscovered technologies were employed in public and private settings to make the opera-going experience more engaging and immersive. These included the fascination with fireworks that seemed to replace night with day at public and private festivals; the introduction of elaborate three-dimensional stage sets for the celebration of the Quarantore devotion in churches; and the popularity of hydraulically powered water-organs and automata in private gardens. Set design in combination with performance prompted audiences to become fully immersed in the “world” of the opera.

NOTES

¹ Joseph Addison, No. 5, *The Spectator*, p. 10.

² Joseph Addison, No. 42, *The Spectator*, p. 50.

³ On the iconography of this image, see Iain Mackintosh, “Deciphering the Downfall of Shakespeare,” pp. 22, 42–50. Mackintosh points out that despite the painting being a satire, it is actually a reasonably accurate representation of the opera house at Covent Garden.

⁴ Mackintosh, p. 22.

⁵ An Italian example is the criticism of Francesco Saverio Quadrio, who wrote in the 1740s that the ability of the music to “touch the soul” was “totally weakened and ruined by the impressions of the marvellous that the apparitions [scenery] induce.” Cited in Mercedes Viale Ferrero, “Stage and Set,” p. 6.

⁶ See, for example, Peter Kivy, *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music*; Sandra Garrido and Jane Davidson, “Musical Emotions,” pp. 11–22; and Joseph Harris, *Inventing the Spectator*, pp. 41–43.

⁷ This attitude has largely shifted in recent decades. Daniel Hertz has acknowledged that musicologists have traditionally paid far too little attention to the visual aspect of performance. See Daniel Hertz, *From Garrick to Gluck*, p. 15. See also Viale Ferrero, pp. 1–124.

⁸ The sets that do survive for European theater are mostly eighteenth century. For instance, the baroque theater at Drottningholm Palace in Sweden, built in the late eighteenth century, has around thirty sets from the late eighteenth century.

⁹ See, for example, Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, “From Scenery to City,” pp. 529–37; and Donald Oenslager, *Stage Design*.

¹⁰ On the birth of opera, see Nino Pirrotta, “Studies in the Music of Renaissance Theatre,” pp. 217–34; and John Walter Hill, “Florence,” pp. 121–45. Whether opera was created in Florence is disputed, and was being contested as early as 1600. See Piero Weiss, *Opera*, pp. 8, 19.

¹¹ Alessandro Guidotti as cited in Weiss, p. 20. The work was performed in Rome and, as Weiss notes, Guidotti is at pains to claim precedence in the establishment of wholly sung drama over those working in Florence. The original text in Italian can be found in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma*, pp. 1–11.

¹² Jacopo Peri as cited in Weiss, p. 15.

¹³ Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger as cited by Weiss, p. 15. The full description in Italian can be found in Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica*, p. 113.

¹⁴ On the Florentine *intermedi*, see James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*. On the sets specifically, see Mario Fabbri, Elvira Garbero Zorzi, and Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, *Il luogo teatrale a Firenze*, pp. 110–16.

¹⁵ In Italy, these debates stemmed mainly from the Arcadian Academy. See Robert S. Freeman, *Opera Without Drama*.

¹⁶ Méneſtrier as cited in Viale Ferrero, p. 6.

¹⁷ On the *bel composto* and the work of Bernini, see G. Careri, *Bernini*. Similar statements about “the fusion of the pictorial, gestic, verbal, and musical” were made in the eighteenth century in respect to the “new style” of opera promoted by Christoph Willibald Gluck and Ranieri de’Calzabigi. See Heartz, *From Garrick to Glück*, p. 267.

¹⁸ On Monteverdi and the *bel composto*, see Antonio Cascelli, “Review of *Divining the Oracle*,” p. 284. Cascelli does not argue for the idea of the opera as *bel composto*, but he suggests that Monteverdi may have been aware of the idea.

¹⁹ Very few sets survive from this period. A drawing by Ludovico Cardi may show a set for *L’Euridice* (1600). See Caterina Caneva and Francesco Solinas, *Maria de’Medici (1573–1642)*, pp. 186–87.

²⁰ On Torelli, see Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design*.

²¹ Bjurström, pp. 53–58.

²² The opera is not named but it was probably *Venere Gelosa*. See Giacomo Torelli, *Apparati scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo*, p. 39. For discussion of the volume, see Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, pp. 103–5.

²³ John Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, p. 202. The opera Evelyn saw was *Ercole in Lidia*. See Rosand, p. 107. Although Torelli’s name is not tied directly to this opera, the sets and machinery Evelyn saw would have been based on those Torelli had created for the Teatro Novissimo during his long association with the theater.

²⁴ Méneſtrier as cited in Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 171.

²⁵ René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, p. 52.

²⁶ Anonymous French description in S. Wilma Holsboer, *L’histoire de la mise en scène*, pp. 151–54. For more detail on the production of *Andromède*, see Jérôme de la Gorce, “Un aspetto del mestiere teatrale di Torelli,” pp. 235–41.

²⁷ Viale Ferrero, p. 17.

²⁸ On Bernini’s work in the theater see Cesare D’Onofrio, *Fontana di Trevi*, pp. 91–110; Franco Mormando, in his preface to Domenico Bernini’s *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*; Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, pp. 189, 237–39; and Irving Lavin, *Visible Spirit*, pp. 16–17.

²⁹ There are two published versions of the play. For the Italian version see D’Onofrio, and for the English version see Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella, “A Comedy by Bernini,” pp. 63–113. Both editions include a commentary on the text.

³⁰ Bernini as cited in Beecher and Ciavolella, p. 101.

³¹ Bernini as cited in Beecher and Ciavolella, p. 87.

³² Bernini as cited in Beecher and Ciavolella, p. 91.

³³ Beecher and Ciavolella, p. 70.

³⁴ For more detail on the first-hand accounts, see Frederick Hammond, “Bernini and the ‘Fiera di Farfa,’” pp. 115–18.

- ³⁵ *Avvisi di Roma* as cited in Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'" p. 116.
- ³⁶ Bernini as cited in Beecher and Ciavolella, pp. 133–34.
- ³⁷ Bernini, p. 134.
- ³⁸ Bernini as cited in Beecher and Ciavolella, p. 133.
- ³⁹ Patricia Greenspan has discussed this difference between the emotion of seeing something frightening or horrible in a film, and the emotion of actually feeling a sense of threat to oneself. See Patricia S. Greenspan, *Emotions and Reasons*, p. 32. See also Geoffrey Madell, *Philosophy, Music, and Emotion*, p. 125.
- ⁴⁰ Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, pp. 154–55.
- ⁴¹ Bernini as cited in Beecher and Ciavolella, p. 94.
- ⁴² Nolfi from the libretto of *Bellerofonte*, p. 2. See Bjurström, p. 98.
- ⁴³ Benedetto Marcello, "Il Teatro alla Moda – Part 1," pp. 91–2.
- ⁴⁴ See, for example, Hertz, p. 13 for a discussion of *La Forza del amore* (Venice, 1745).
- ⁴⁵ For a discussion of this in relation to an early eighteenth-century opera see Melania Bucciarelli, *Italian Opera and European Theatre*, p. 67.
- ⁴⁶ On the production of *Il Pomo d'Oro*, see Carl B. Schmidt, "Antonio Cesti's 'Il pomo d'oro,'" pp. 381–412. See also Robert Arthur Griffin, *High Baroque Culture and Theatre in Vienna*, pp. 83–115. On the symbolism of the opera, see Kristiaan P. Aercke, *Gods of Play*, pp. 221–52.
- ⁴⁷ This has been discussed in regard to nineteenth-century opera. See Viale Ferrero, pp. 44–47.

Works Cited

- Addison, Joseph. "Joseph Addison, No. 5 Tuesday March 6 1711." In *The Spectator: A New Edition with Biographical Notices of the Contributors*. London: William Tegg, 1866. www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/40518/ (accessed March 29, 2016).
- Addison, Joseph. "Joseph Addison, No. 42 Wednesday April 18 1711." In *The Spectator: A New Edition with Biographical Notices of the Contributors*. London: William Tegg, 1866. www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/40481/ (accessed March 29, 2016).
- Aercke, Kristiaan P. *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse*. Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Beecher, Donald and Massimo Ciavolella. "A Comedy by Bernini." In *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought*, edited by Irving Lavin, pp. 63–113. University Park, PA and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985.
- Bernini, Domenico. *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, edited and translated by Franco Mormando. University Park, PA and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011 [1713].
- Bjurström, Per. *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design*. Stockholm: Almsquist & Wiksell, 1962.
- Bucciarelli, Melania. *Italian Opera and European Theatre, 1680–1720: Plots, Performers, Dramaturgies*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000.
- Caneva, Caterina and Francesco Solinas. *Maria de' Medici (1573–1642): Une principessa fiorentina sul trono di Francia*. Livorno: Sillabe, 2005.
- Careri, G. *Bernini: Flights of Love: The Art of Devotion*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Caselli, Antonio. "Review of *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi's Seconda Prattica* by Massimo Ossi." In *Music & Letters* 86, no. 2 (2005): pp. 280–85.

- De la Gorce, Jérôme. "Un aspetto del mestiere teatrale di Torelli: la ritualizzazione della scenografia dell'Andromède per il Ballet de la Nuit." In *Giacomo Torelli: l'invenzione scenica nell'Europa barocca*, edited by Francesco Milesi, pp. 235–41. Fano: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Fano, 2002.
- Descartes, René. *The Passions of the Soul*. Translated by Stephen Voss. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1989 [1649].
- D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Fontana di Trevi: Commedia inedita*. Rome: Staderini editore, 1963.
- Evelyn, John. *Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by William Bray. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1950.
- Fabbri, Mario, Elvira Garbero Zorzi, and Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani. *Il luogo teatrale a Firenze, Brunelleschi, Vasari, Buontalenti, Parigi: Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Museo Mediceo 31 Reggio/31 ottobre 1975*. Milan: Electa Editrice, 1975.
- Freeman, Robert S. *Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675–1725*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Research Press, 1981.
- Garrido, Sandra and Jane Davidson. "Musical Emotions: Some Ideas from History, Philosophy, and Psychology." In *Grief and Joy: Emotions in the Music of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Rebekah Prince, pp. 11–21. Crawley: ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, University of Western Australia, 2012.
- Greenspan, Patricia S. *Emotions and Reasons: An Inquiry into Emotional Justification*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Griffin, Robert Arthur. *High Baroque Culture and Theatre in Vienna*. New York: Humanities Press, 1972.
- Hammond, Frederick. "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'." In *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought*, edited by Irving Lavin, pp. 115–78. University Park, PA and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985.
- Hammond, Frederick. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Hammond, Frederick. *The Ruined Bridge: Studies in Barberini Patronage*. Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2010.
- Harris, Joseph. *Inventing the Spectator: Subjectivity and the Theatrical Experience in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Hartz, Daniel. *From Garrick to Gluck: Essays on Opera in the Age of Enlightenment*. New York: Pendragon Press, 2004.
- Hill, John Walter. "Florence: Musical Spectacle and Drama, 1570–1650." In *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, edited by Curtis Price, pp. 121–45. London: The Macmillan Press, 1993.
- Holsboer, S. Wilma. *L'histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre français de 1600 à 1657*. Paris: Librairie Droz, 1933.
- Kivy, Peter. *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.
- Lavin, Irving. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. New York: Pierpoint Morgan Library & Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Lavin, Irving. *Visible Spirit: The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini*. London: The Pindar Press, 2007.
- Mackintosh, Iain. "Deciphering the Downfall of Shakespeare, Represented on a Modern Stage of 1765." *Theatre Notebook* 62 (2008): pp. 20–58.
- Madell, Geoffrey. *Philosophy, Music, and Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.
- Marcello, Benedetto. "Il Teatro alla Moda – Part 1." Translated and Annotated by Reinhard G. Pauly. *The Musical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1948): pp. 371–403.

- Oenslager, Donald. *Stage Design: Four Centuries of Scenic Invention*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975.
- Petrioli Tofani, Anna Maria. "From Scenery to City: Set Designs." In *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture*, edited by Henry A. Millon, pp. 529–37. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Pirrotta, Nino. "Studies in the Music of Renaissance Theatre." In *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, edited by Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, pp. 1–278. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Rosand, Ellen. *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991.
- Saslow, James M. *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Schmidt, Carl B. "Antonio Cesti's 'Il pomo d'oro': A Reexamination of a Famous Hapsburg Court Spectacle." *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 29, no. 3 (1976): pp. 381–412.
- Solerti, Angelo. *Le origini del melodramma: testimonianze dei contemporanei*. Turin: Bocca, 1903.
- Solerti, Angelo. *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637*. Florence: R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1905.
- Torelli, Giacomo. *Apparati scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo*. Venice: Vecellio e Leni, 1644.
- Viale Ferrero, Mercedes. "Stage and Set." In *Opera on Stage*, edited by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, pp. 1–124. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Weiss, Piero. *Opera: A History in Documents*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Chapter 5

The Role of Emotions in the Characters of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *Autos Sacramentales*

Javier de la Rosa, Adriana Soto-Corominas, and Juan Luis Suárez

Introduction

More than sixty years passed between Lope de Vega's hegemony as the most successful playwright and the rise in popularity of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) as the most celebrated and popular author of the second half of the 1630s in Spain.¹ During these years, emotions were the only constant element in the poetry and literary production of all authors that attained success. For the long time during which theater was mainly considered a spectacle, and only later established as a publishable product,² theatrical practice made increasingly more use of dramatic artifacts in order to build a sort of stack of dramatic techniques in which more recent methods did not cancel out the previous ones.³

Although in its first phase theater was especially dependent upon poetic text—keep in mind that this theater is always written in verse—the construction of the Coliseo del Palacio del Buen Retiro (1634) as part of the cultural propaganda and support of the arts by the Conde-Duque de Olivares,⁴ meant the beginning of a new cycle of performance that would be transferred to all theater stages.⁵ For the inauguration of the Coliseo del Retiro, Calderón composed the comedy *El nuevo Palacio del Retiro* (*The New Palace of El Retiro*) and began to work with Italian scenographers Cosme Lotti and Baccio del Bianco in a collaborative process that would produce even more sophisticated works in terms of special effects, use of technology, and elaborated scenography.⁶ Lotti and del Bianco were, in fact, engineers who had previously arrived in Madrid to take charge of different tasks related to the ponds, gardens, and theaters of the royal palaces.

The use of varied spaces in theater constituted a second line of development in Calderón's theater of imagination.⁷ Calderón exploits a concept of theatrical space, and ultimately of the theater itself as a total show that stems from the notion of imaginary space. This conception has its source in the theaters of memory from Renaissance humanism, and in the Jesuitical conception of imagination as the place of negotiation for affection.⁸ Calderón had studied at the Colegio Imperial in Madrid, a school run by Jesuits, and was therefore well acquainted with both sources. Proof of this comes from the most theoretical reflections about art that Calderón puts in his characters' mouths, in which theater is conceived as a stage of imagination.⁹ In this sense, imagination is the conduct

that triggers the affection of a character's senses by means of the actor's body and his voice; horror, admiration, news, marvels, and the linguistic play are the effects of the conceptual rhetoric of baroque poetry.¹⁰

While this meta-theatrical conception manifests itself in all of the texts by Calderón, its practical implementation changes depending on the dramatic spaces. Spanish baroque authors initially worked in public theaters, which were known as *corrales* ("farmyards"). The most famous *corrales* are in Madrid: el Corral del Príncipe ("The Prince's Farmyard") and el Corral de la Cruz ("The Farmyard of the Cross"). These *corrales* had a relatively small stage that had, at its sides, stands where the public could sit, and, at the back, a wall that was known as the "dressing building." It was precisely this wall that would open up in several ways to uncover different spaces that would oftentimes represent balconies, and which would accommodate the representation of remote places, magical effects, or extraordinary events that extended the boundaries of reality.¹¹ In contrast, the Coliseo of Buen Retiro was already a theater of the Italian type, based on the Teatro Farnese in Parma (1618) with a larger stage, a proscenium arch, a curtain, space at the back to create the illusion of perspective, and machines to re-create special effects.

Apart from these indoor theaters, which were mainly dedicated to the public from the city and from the court, Calderón used to work in open spaces such as palace gardens. For example, *Amor, honor y poder* ("Love, Honor, and Power"), performed in 1623, was represented on three different stages: the ponds in Parque del Retiro, and the squares and streets of Madrid. This diversity of theatrical spaces correlates well with the diversity of genres that were popular at the time, stretching from traditional comedies (or the "standard plays") and *autos sacramentales* (religious plays of allegorical nature), to the so-called "brief" genres (such as *entremeses*, *jácaras*, and *mojigangas*), to *zarzuela* and opera. Although *zarzuelas* and operas were typically created with a royal theater in mind, they were often represented in commercial theaters with less technology. This variety, in which Lope de Vega's poetry was key to satisfying the taste of the demanding audience, manifests itself in the diversity of topics with which these works deal, ranging from honor plays to *comedias de capa y espada* ("cloak-and-dagger comedies"), to *enredo* (situational comedies), and to the progressively more frequent presence of mythological topics in Calderón's most spectacular plays.¹²

Aside from spaces and themes, it may be claimed that Spanish baroque theater was a theater of emotions that constantly evolved, thanks to the public's unquenchable thirst for plays that were full of novelty and excitement. It is clear that as theater plays gained spectacularity, more technological and musical resources were used by the playwright to surprise the audience. However, it is important to bear in mind that literary and theater devices were always present in these works, and were never smothered by technology and special effects. Spanish baroque theater had the intention to affect its audience's imagination and senses, which, after all, shape the emotions.

In the aforementioned division of Calderón's works into comedies and *autos sacramentales*, it is commonplace to attribute a greater emotional content to the former since their rhetorical structure and the possible range of topics and characters allowed for greater creative freedom. The manner in which comedies were composed in Calderón's time generally followed the rules and formalities postulated by Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (*New Art of Writing Plays in this Time*, 1609). However, authors were subject to an ever-changing market due to the great number of plays being presented at the same time. Additionally, the market was influenced by the varying sociological characteristics of the audience that attended the plays.

The thematic scope of the *autos sacramentales*, always played in public venues during the feast of Corpus Christi and written to exalt the mystery of the Eucharist, is relatively more limited compared with other genres. To start with, the plays that were to be presented were selected by the city hall.¹³ Consequently, only the most popular authors of the time were likely to be chosen to write the plays. In addition, the topic of the play was restricted to just the mystery of the Eucharist, which, at least, could be approached from a variety of perspectives, such as biblically or historically.¹⁴ It was certainly the allegorical nature of the majority of the characters, such as *el Autor* ("the author"), *el Mundo* ("the world"), *el Pastor* ("the priest"), or *la Belleza* ("the beauty"), which restricted the rhetorical possibilities of authors such as Calderón.¹⁵ In many passages, the *autos* devote many verses to gloss over abstract theological issues—such as guilt, freedom, grace, or creation—or use the characters as bearers of virtues and vices. Due to this, the *autos* have been frequently studied as "intellectual" plays with an important theological and philosophical component that communicated a specific anti-Protestant message to a homogeneous audience.¹⁶ Thus, the *autos* are an essential part of baroque counter-Reformist Catholicism.¹⁷

However, the reality of the *autos* is rather different, as these are complex works that appeal to the religious inclinations of spectators by also targeting their emotions.¹⁸ If the social setting of the *autos* is marked by the Corpus Christi festivities, the celebration of the Eucharist, and the strong theological messages that conform to the Catholic dogma, then the dramatic nature of the *autos* still represents the artist's freedom and the open nature of the baroque work that are typical of seventeenth-century Spanish dramas.¹⁹ Regardless of the social and religious role of the *autos*, or, more precisely, in order to be effective in fulfilling that social role, the main goal of the playwright was to move his audience by playing with the emotions by means of language, staging, and the evolution of the characters.²⁰

In this study, we have researched the extent of the presence of emotions in the text of Calderón's *autos* with the help of a massive yet detailed study of the sentiments expressed by the characters that Calderón created. We have also delved into the distribution of these emotions by studying the occurrence of positive and negative sentiments among different typologies of characters, in order to offer a more nuanced view of the psychology of these characters, even those that are of an allegorical nature.

It may be claimed that the *autos* fulfilled the four characteristics that José Antonio Maravall used to describe the culture of the baroque; these characteristics being that the baroque was direct, massive, urban, and conservative.²¹ The *autos* were organized and funded by city hall as part of a specific type of religious festivity, and were directed to the masses of Madrid, who would attend the public representations staged in Madrid's public squares. The *autos* were, above all, dramatic spectacles that played an important role in spreading an ideological agenda more related to the Catholic church and religion than to the apparatus of the state. As spectacles infused with the poetics of the baroque, the *autos* were complex pieces of theater, structured in such a manner that they could appeal in different ways to the various social and economic groups that were the audience of early modern cities. That is, neither the homogeneity of the theological message that the *autos* conveyed, nor the allegorical nature of the characters, precluded the authors from composing multi-layered plays that aimed at both the emotions and the intellect of the spectator.

Thus, it is also true that the range of emotions and the intensity in the *autos* by Calderón also lent his craft to the principles of extremism and suspension that Maravall uses to define baroque techniques. That is, even if we accept that Calderón's *autos*—and especially *El gran teatro del Mundo* (“*The Great Theater of the World*”)—are the best example of Maravall's vision of the Spanish baroque, these same *autos* are built through a toolbox of rhetorical resources that rely on the senses, the imagination, and the emotions of the spectator. The rhetorical and spectacular resources that play with the audience's emotional states fit in well with what Angela Ndaliansis calls the “assault on the sensorium.”²² The assault on the sensorium that Calderón exploits is achieved through the classical theory of imagination.²³

This theory of imagination, based on Aristotelian psychology and brought into modernity via multiple transformations, claims that imagination—one of the human body's inner senses—is actually part of the human being, and is used to filter what is perceived by external senses in its way to the most noble parts of the soul.²⁴ In the Neoplatonic branch of this tradition that highlights metaphorical knowledge, imagination was also part of human existence, and it had been formed with materials of a superior world, which was useful in explaining why humans had access to phenomena that belong to the afterlife, to magic, and to astrology.²⁵ Calderón would later exploit all these elements as part of his theatrical practice in an attempt to amaze, affect, and suspend his audience's emotions. The transition from psychology to dramatic poetry, as well as the poetry of baroque sermons, took place thanks to plays like *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (*The Examination of Men's Wits*), performed in 1575 and written by Huarte de San Juan, and *Philosophía Antigua Poética*, penned by Alonso López Pinciano in 1596.²⁶ In this way, when Lope de Vega composed his *Arte nuevo* in 1609, and claimed that satisfying the spectator's thirst was the only criterion that an author should follow in order to be successful in the Spanish theater industry, he was basically adapting the theory of imagination to baroque and contemporary aesthetics. In order to develop his theater of imagination and emotions,

Calderón was inspired by this aesthetic position and by diverse established practices in different decades of commercial theater and public performances.

In this way, a comprehensive study of the role of sentiments in the creation of the characters of the *autos* will help us understand how baroque theater created massively successful performances for many decades precisely by appealing to emotions and opinions that the audience may have shared. It seems likely that the sensorium apparatus of baroque theater was much more complex and more dependent on the creation of emotions and sentiments than has been previously believed by mainstream critics of Calderón's work.

In recent years, with the emergence of the Internet and the so-called Web 2.0, sentiment analysis has become an essential technique in decision-making processes.²⁷ Most companies and brands desire consumers' perceptions and opinions of their latest products so that their marketing strategies can be modified accordingly. The basic computational treatment of opinions consists in determining the semantic orientation of a text, that is, whether the text is expressing a positive or negative message. In order to establish this polarity, previously evaluated texts need to be provided and used as a baseline upon which new and unseen texts are assessed. Sentiment analysis is typically conducted using massive amounts of online comments and reviews already evaluated in popular sites, forums, or social networks. With a set of texts assessed by humans, techniques from natural language-processing and machine-learning allow us to build software programs able to predict the polarity of an arbitrary text. This software, usually referred to as classifier, allows companies to gain insight into what consumers loved most about their new car, or what people disliked in regard to their new gadget, insights that are always based on past opinions.

In this process, the flow always goes from people to products, since it is people who influence how the product will be modified in the future. The question we ought to ask, then, is whether we could use the inverse approach in order to influence how people feel by purposely altering a product feature. Taking this one step further, we could also ask whether people's reactions could be altered by creating a specific discourse. Looking at the field of psychology, there seems to be evidence that one may do so. The anchoring effect, by which individuals, when given a hint or an "anchor" in a question, tend to choose a response that bears a relation to the initial anchor, is an example of how people's reactions can be modified by the presence of a specific previous discourse.²⁸ Whereas previous studies have examined the extent of this effect mainly through the interaction of a question and a subsequent response, we speculate that adding anchors in a more subtle way—namely, by using the power of the theatrical metaphor, rhetorical tools, and interpretation—will yield similar results. In fact, the importance of language in the creation of emotional experiences and perceptions has been recently brought to light in developmental and cognitive science: "Language plays a role in emotion because language supports the conceptual knowledge used to make meaning of sensations from

the body and world in a given context.”²⁹ This notion of language as the “glue” that binds concepts to embodied experiences allowed Calderón to shape the processing of sensory information to create emotional experiences and perceptions.

If this is so, we would be able to understand why Maravall oscillates in his theory between two sets of ideas that are apparently contradictory. On the one hand, he defines baroque culture as a culture that is focused on the control of the masses. On the other hand, he refers to certain mechanisms of play and baroque work creation that appeal fundamentally to the *individual* emotions of spectators. But if we accept that the mass nature of baroque theater makes the dispersion of ideological and religious information more efficient, and that this dispersion makes use of mechanisms such as the provocation of emotional responses by means of the careful construction of the dramatic discourse, both parts of the Maravallian theory could be harmonized. In addition, we would have a more nuanced explanation of the affects that target the masses, and those affects that target the emotional individuality of the urban spectators from different social classes. Thus, we hypothesize that this tension has been extensively used by authors of plays of all times. Specifically, we believe that Calderón de la Barca voluntarily used illusion as a sophistry to spread subliminal messages to his audience as a way of having them empathize with characters in his plays.

Additionally, the introduction of the printing press in Spain, which brought with it the first mass media methods of the dissemination of information in the seventeenth century, also played an important role in the space occupied by Calderón in the machinery of sentiment-creation in baroque Spain. There is evidence to suggest that as the coverage of an issue in the media increases, the more accessible it will remain in the audience’s memories.³⁰ Despite the increased influence of the printing press in baroque Spain, it is unlikely that gazette editors at the time knew about the effect known as the accessibility bias, yet personalities including Juan de Austria—King Charles II of Spain’s favorite—commanded the creation of a gazette to promote his popularity. It would take at least another hundred years for the newspaper to become popular among the lower class, with the appearance of almanacs and signs. During this time the *corrales* filled the absence of an affordable medium ready to be consumed by a mostly illiterate population. Therefore, we propose that Calderón was one of the several successful subtle and elegant mass influencers of his time. We hypothesize that, through his works and their representations, Calderón had an influential effect on his audience similar to that of mass media today.³¹

In order to demonstrate how Calderón tried to influence his audience’s reactions through his discourse, we based our study on the characters created by him in his *autos* as characterized by the *Diccionario de los autos sacramentales de Calderón (Dictionary of the Autos Sacramentales by Calderón)*, first published in 2000 by Ignacio Arellano, which is, to this day, the most exhaustive and extensive account of the *autos*. We used the speeches of the characters as inputs for an automatic classifier previously built upon averaged real evaluations of all the sentences in ten of the *autos*.³²

Methodology

Our dataset is composed of seventy-three of Calderón's plays included in the collection of *autos* edited by GRISO at the Universidad de Navarra and Edition Reichenberger.³³ This collection, which started in 1992 and is close to being completed, has achieved a major undertaking by collating a set of volumes with critical editions of all the *autos* ever written by Calderón de la Barca, including those of dubious attribution.³⁴ As of now, seventy-six of the *autos* have been edited, of which only three were not included in this study since this project demanded that the *autos* had the date of composition or the date of first publication.³⁵

In the critical editions of the *autos*, some criteria were taken into account by editors that we disregarded for the purpose of our analysis. The first measure we took was to accept all the added omissions as part of the original text. For example, take the phrase [*Nembrot y Salvajes*]. The use of square brackets means that the text was originally missing and was later added by the editor. For our study, the phrase simply becomes *Nembrot y Salvajes*, as if it were part of the original text. We also decided to ignore all text that is not part of the speech of a character. This includes the omnipresent introduction of *chirimías* ("shawms") and all the stage directions given by Calderón, such as where the character must go or to whom they must talk.³⁶ Normalization of the names of characters was another necessary step, so that, for example, the three variations of Melchizedek—written in the plays as *Melquisedec*, *Melquisedech*, and *Melchisedec*—could be treated as just one in our analysis. Unfortunately, this process was less straightforward in other cases, as in the case of *Primer Adán* ("first Adam") and *Segundo Adán* ("second Adam"). As the purpose of our study was to identify how various characters' speeches are perceived, we merged both Adams together despite their obvious different conceptions, thus creating a unique *Adán* that would subsequently be included in a bigger category of characters.³⁷ Furthermore, speeches made by more than one character at the same time were unified under the term *Varios* ("several"), which is a grouping of characters that does not appear *per se* in the *autos*. It is important to note that *Varios* should not be confused with *Todos* ("everyone"), *Toda la Música* ("all the music"), or any other variant, as these groupings of characters keep their original name in Calderón's text and in our analysis. Finally, the verses that make up the speech of each character were put together and then split into sentences and words using Punkt tokenizer for Spanish, a tool that is included in the software for natural language-processing toolkit (known as NLTK).³⁸ Let us provide an example of the conversion of Calderón's texts into tables. We start with a speech given by Noah in the play *La torre de Babilonia* (*The Tower of Babylon*), 1675:

NOAH: Sovereign paranymp,
 faithful entrusted to your
 word, I depart where
 with constant faith

I will always be waiting for the day
 when I return to see again
 the innumerable family
 of the sons of Noah.
 Because you command I leave,
 if your feet I don't kiss it's
 because I do not deserve to touch
 the sandals of your feet.
He leaves. (ll. 579–90).³⁹

This excerpt is then split into sentences and converted into tabular data (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1. “Noah” excerpt now split into sentences and converted into tabular data.

Code	Title	Year	Character	Start	End	Speech	Words
TB	La torre de Babilonia	1673	Noah	579	586	Auditorium sovereign, faithful entrusted to your word, I depart where with constant faith I will always be waiting for the day when I return to see again the innumerable families of the sons of Noah.	35
TB	La torre de Babilonia	1673	Noah	587	590	Because you command I leave, if your feet I don't kiss it's because I do not deserve to touch the sandals of your feet.	20

Once the texts had been converted into tabular data, we started the creation of a sentiment-classifier in order to apply sentiment analysis to the texts. Sentiment analysis can be defined as the task of classifying the sentiment expressed in, or perceived from, a medium. The types of materials that undergo sentiment analysis are typically user-generated content, such as texts extracted from social networks or review sites. For these cases, which present a lot of texts to be handled at the same time, an automated approach to classifying is much more desirable. Binary classification of texts has existed in machine learning for a long time, and current implementations of automatic classifiers are based on early work by Peter Turney and Bo Pang, whose main goal was to identify the polarity, whether positive or negative, of product or movie reviews found on various consumer-oriented websites.⁴⁰ Although their methodology was applicable to our project, for two main reasons we were forced to build our own annotated corpus that would let us create a domain-specific classifier. First, there is a clear difference in complexity between product reviews and seventeenth-century Spanish Golden Age theater. Second, there is a lack of annotated corpora available for sentiment analysis of theater from this period. Creating our own annotated corpus allowed us then to apply Turney and Pang's methodology effectively.

From the aforementioned set of *autos*, we randomly selected ten to be used as a “training set” for the rest of the *autos*. These *autos* are as follows: *El cubo de la Almudena* (*Almudena’s pail*); *La humildad coronada de las plantas* (*The Crowned Humility of Plants*); *La hidalga del valle* (*The Noblewoman of the Valley*); *El lirio y la azucena* (*The Iris and the Lily*); *Llamados y escogidos* (*Called Ones and Chosen Ones*); *El árbol del mejor fruto* (*The Tree of the Best Fruit*); *No hay más fortuna que Dios* (*No More Fortune Than God*); *El orden de Melchisedech* (*Melchizedek’s Order*); *Quién hallará mujer fuerte* (*Who Will Find Strong Women*); and *El socorro general* (*The General Relief*).⁴¹ We then extracted the different sentences—more than 5000—and fed two different crowd-sourcing systems with them. The first system was our own deployment of the open-source Python-based PyBossa, which asked seven subject participants to read and assess the sentiment associated with the given sentences by using a discrete scale ranging from –2 to 2, until a redundancy of 3 evaluations per sentence was achieved.⁴² These participants were educated adults, between the ages of eighteen and thirty, who completed the task for economic compensation.⁴³ The second system was the Amazon Mechanical Turk, where three different subjects, who also shared the profile of our PyBossa participants, assessed all the sentences.⁴⁴ In this case, however, we were not able to define the scale and finished with a gradation from –1 to 1 and also a redundancy of 3.⁴⁵ In other words, we gauged positive and negative responses, including scales of intensity in each, which relate to emotional responses and that can serve as proxies of the emotional responses of Calderón’s audiences to the characters represented in the *autos*. The results derived from this study were used to build the database from which the classifier was later on developed.

After normalizing the different scales and averaging per sentence evaluation, we assigned the tag “pos” for values greater than 0; “neg” for less than 0; and then rejected the rest since we are not interested in neutral evaluations. In order to create a binary classifier, which would be able to predict, given a sentence, to which class a sentence belonged—“pos” or “neg”—we used the scikit-learn library,⁴⁶ along with Pandas and the IPython Notebook.⁴⁷ We randomly split the annotated corpus into two sets: a training set with 80 percent of the sentences, and a testing set with the remaining 20 percent. The slicing of the original corpus was later cross-validated. After trying several models, a Stochastic Gradient Descent Estimator (SDGC) with tf-idf weighting outperformed any other combination with an accuracy of 73.71 percent, precision of 75.26 percent, recall of 92.80 percent, and an unweighted F-score of 83.11 percent.⁴⁸ While 73.781 percent might be seen as not accurate enough, Amazon Mechanical Turk reported that humans only agree 79 percent of the time, which makes the performance of our classifier almost as accurate as that of humans.⁴⁹

We ran the classifier against the rest of the sentences—more than 30,000—and calculated the probability of a sentence being classified as either “pos” or “neg.” We also calculated the lexical diversity, which is defined as the number of distinct words divided by the total number of words, as well as the ratios of words per sentence and per verse, as

the complexity of a text measured in terms of its lexicon is usually used for the assessment of the sentiment expressed. This gives us the material to assess the emotional response to Calderón's texts and, therefore, to better understand the psychological evolution of these complex—albeit allegorical—figures that make up the *autos sacramentales*.

Typology of Characters

In baroque Spanish comedies there are several typical characters: the villain, the young lady, the gallant, the king, the joker, and all, in some occasions, are used in the *autos*. When they are present in the *autos*, the allegorical side of the characters is wrapped up around these archetypes. For example, the young lady can also represent Beauty or the vice of Luxury, depending on the work, whereas the old man could also be playing the figure of the Author. Given the hundreds of plays composed for the stage during the Spanish Golden Age—critics estimate that Lope alone wrote around 500 plays—and the development of an appreciation of this theater by the public, it is reasonable to assume that the public had certain expectations regarding the range of behaviors and emotions embodied by specific types of characters. At the same time, there is a level of ambiguity built into the poetics of Spanish baroque theater, as the model popularized by Lope in his *Arte nuevo* proclaimed the need to mix the comic and the tragic, and to make hybrids a resource to surprise and impact the public.

Some characters in the *autos* may seem to fall into recognizable types that could engage with specific emotional responses, as in the case of villains or heroes. Since there is no complete dictionary of the characters in the *autos*, an important part of our approach was to classify characters into different groups to locate the defining features of each. There has been previous research on some of Calderón's characters—either regarding specific plays or in a more general sense—but none that we are aware of has tried to classify all the characters into categories and analyze the positiveness of each group.⁵⁰ In this context, “positive” means that the sentences of the characters of a category have been classified as positive by our classifier, and therefore a human reader would likely assess those sentences as expressing a positive sentiment. This classification operates the same in regard to “negativeness.” We propose the following, and not mutually exclusive, types of characters, and let the analysis of the text decide how the characters can be classified. With this classification, we attempted to dispose of as much subjectivity as possible in order to avoid entering into the hermeneutics of Calderón's creations.

1. *Gender*. Guessing the sex of a character was evident sometimes, but at other times the sex could be deceptive. Characters such as *Aarón*, *Adán*, *el Rey* (“the King”), or *Isaias* are undoubtedly male. Incidentally, allseven deadly sins, usually perceived as negative, are feminine characters. As suggested by James Maraniss, this could have more to do with the Spanish language itself or even a Christian tradition than a

deliberate action on the part of Calderón, although this pairing of the feminine with sin still “suits Calderón’s thought well enough.”⁵¹ Therefore, when the sex of the character was not disclosed in the text, we proceeded in two different steps. To start with, if the character’s name coincided with a common noun of Spanish, such as *voz* (“voice”), which is a feminine noun, we used the gender of the noun to tag the character as either male or female. If, on the other hand, the gender of the character could not be deduced from other accounts, such as historical or biblical, and the name was not an existing noun in Spanish, we used the gender of modifying articles and adjectives to assign a masculine or feminine gender to the character. This was the case of *Amalec*, who could be a biblical figure, or the representation of a tribe, or signify a place. In this case, we classified this character as masculine because of the expression *Amalec valeroso* (“brave Amalec”), where the adjective is overtly masculine.

2. (*Existential*) *Plane*. This category covers the following cases in order of precedence: biblical characters such as *Saulo* (“Saint Paul”); theological abstractions like *Penitencia* (“penance”); allegorical incarnations, as in *los Cinco Sentidos* (“the Five Senses”); mythological beings such as *Andrómeda* (“Andromeda”); historical figures such as *Almanzor* (the *de facto* ruler of al-Andalus in the late tenth to early eleventh centuries); or just people, real or fictional, in supporting roles, like *Soldado* (“soldier”) or *Criado* (“servant”). *Gedeón*, an actual historical warrior and biblical judge, is annotated only as a biblical character because his biblical role has precedence over his historical one.
3. *Sphere*. This category encapsulates the social sphere with which the character is normally associated. As an example, *el Rey* is almost always linked to nobility, unlike the *Segador* (“reaper”), who is usually related to laymen, or *el Sacerdote* (“priest”), who is bound to clergy. With this classification we avoid the questionable class distinctions between “high” and “low” characters and, at the same time, we come closer to a more sociological approach that goes beyond the traditional types normally described in the manuals of literary history. As proposed by Maravall, a realistic social distribution adds an “objective” sociological dimension based on the principles of identity, totality, and opposition which are expressed not in individual opinions, but in the collective action of the members of a specific sphere.⁵² Although this seems to fit well with some of the characters in the *autos*, others would not play a role in society as we usually understand it nowadays, despite the fact that the role may be of vital importance in the allegorical world of Calderón. Examples of these characters are saints or allusions to Jesus Christ (classified as supernatural), and concepts of moral or psychological dimensions, such as *Entendimiento* (“understanding”), *Justicia* (“justice”), or *Razón* (“reasoning”).

4. *Role*. Occasionally, Calderón gave additional information about the characters, either in the text or at the beginning of the play in the *Personas* (“characters”) section. Different values such as villain, gallant, shepherd, wise man, gypsy, or priest are included in this category. It was also very common that some characters, biblical or historical, were intended to be played as themselves.

We could have created a typology as exhaustive as we would have wanted by, for example, splitting the social sphere to also cover the supposed addressee in the real world of each character’s speeches, or by differentiating their existential planes to include virtual artifacts, as in *Labranza* (“farming”), or physical ones, as in *Esqueleto* (“skull”).⁵³ However, such is the complexity of Calderón’s creations that such fine-grained categorizations would end up having almost as many sections as there are characters, thus becoming a pointless classification. In addition, it would rely too much on the interpretation of the texts, losing all traces of our first-intended objectivity. The categories we proposed are nuanced enough to differentiate almost each one of the characters: for example, *Levita* is classified as a feminine character, in an allegorical plane of existence, member of the clergy, and playing the role of a priest in the *auto*. No other character in the *autos* shares the same classification.

Quantitative Analysis of *Autos*

We analyzed more than 430 characters, whose combined discourses produced around 613,000 words distributed across 140,000 verses and 37,000 sentences.⁵⁴ The longest *auto* is *El convite general* (*The General Reception*), with 3249 verses, followed by *La nave del mercader* (*The Merchant’s Ship*); *La viña del Señor* (*The Lord’s Vineyard*); *El cordero de Isaías* (*The Lamb of Isaiah*); and *El día mayor de los días* (*The Greatest Day of the Days*). At the bottom of the list we find *El primer blasón del Austria* (*The First Blazon of the Austria*)

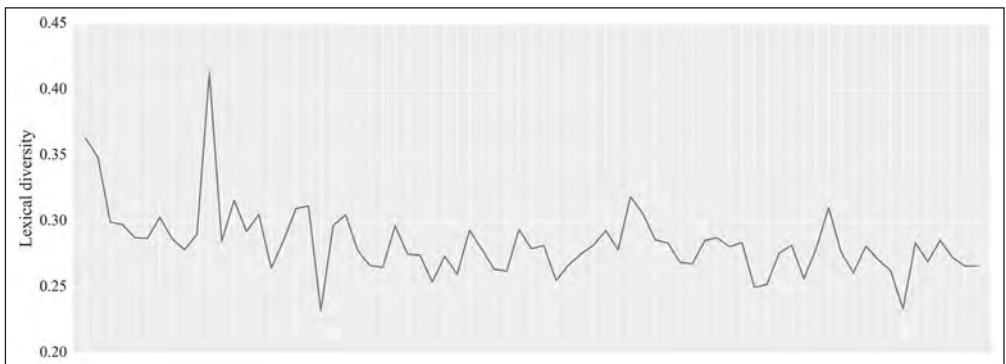


Figure 5.1. Lexical diversity of *autos* over time.
This graph illustrates the lexical diversity of the *autos* sorted by year.

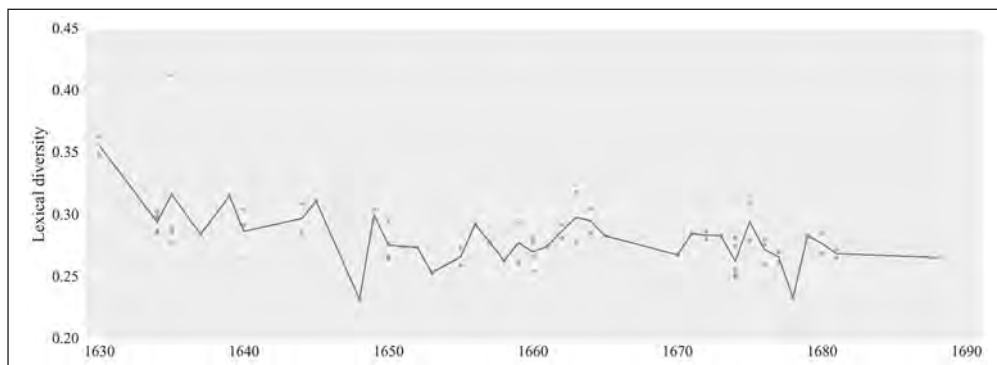


Figure 5.2. Lexical diversity over time. Lexical diversity of *autos* averaged by year.

as the shortest, and above it *El divino Jasón* (*The Divine Jason*); *El gran duque de Gandía* (*The Grand Duke of Gandía*); *La iglesia sitiada* (*The Besieged Church*); and *Los encantos de la culpa* (*The Charms of Guilt*). Regarding the complexity of the plays, figure 5.1 shows their lexical diversity, sorted by year and ranging from 0 for texts with no unique words, to 1 for texts that never repeat a single word. The *autos* *La vida es sueño* (*Life is a Dream*) and *El divino Jasón* are ranked as the most lexically diverse, whereas *El convite general* and *El día mayor de los días* are ranked as the least.

However, what is particularly important to notice is the fluctuation of lexical diversity as time progresses. This tendency still holds when grouping the *autos* by year, as shown in figure 5.2. There seems to be no historical reasons for this and we cannot help but wonder whether this is a deliberate ploy by Calderón, or just mere coincidence.

Given the fact that almost nothing is accidental in his work, and that the diversity of a play is a measure of its richness, we hypothesize that Calderón was adjusting the

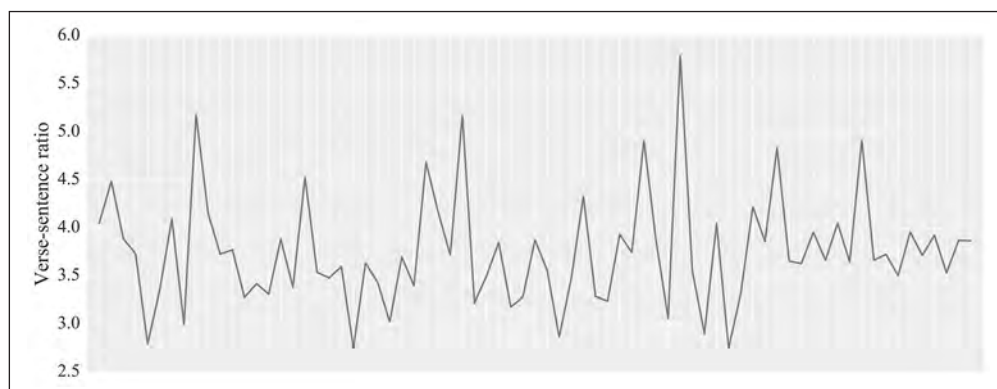


Figure 5.3. Verse-sentence ratio of *autos* over time. Number of verses per sentence in *autos* sorted by year.

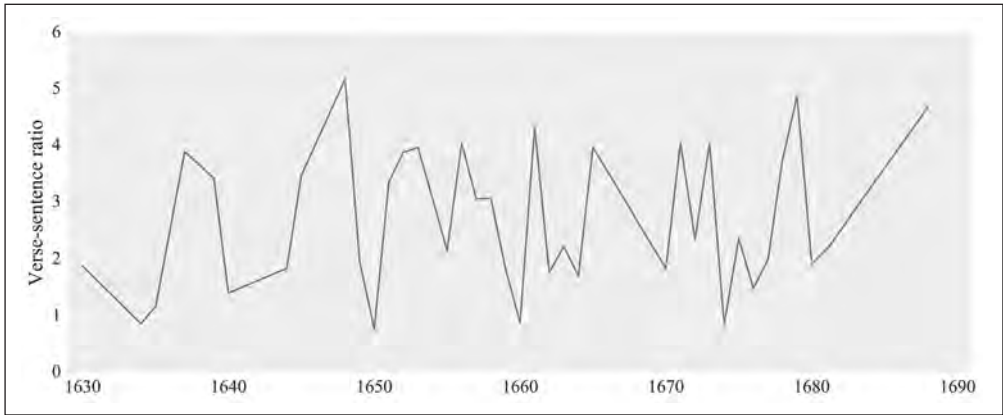


Figure 5.4. Verse–sentence ratio over time.
Average number of verses per sentence grouped by year.

complexity of his texts according to their audience. To further demonstrate this, we use a rough approximation of complexity: the ratio between the number of verses divided by the number of sentences. Longer sentences are split among many verses, thus making their meaning more difficult for the audience to grasp. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show consistency with this result, although correlation is only significant between averaged values of lexical diversity and verse–sentence ratio, both grouped by year (Pearson coefficient of 0.73, p -value < 0.01). Results are very similar for word–sentence ratio, and distributions are practically the same in both ratios (Pearson 0.97, p -value < 0.01).

Furthermore, the length of the *autos* grouped by year is also inversely correlated with both verse–sentence ratio (Pearson -0.80 , p -value < 0.01) and diversity (Pearson -0.90 , p -value < 0.01). In line with our intuitions, the longer the play, the less diverse and lower the number of verses per sentence. This could be a generalizable result or a clue about who was the intended audience of each play. However, the only relation between sentiments and the length of a play is a weak correlation with respect to the probability of a sentence being positive—the probability of a sentence being negative is just the opposite case—and averaged by *auto* (Pearson 0.46, p -value < 0.01) (see figure 5.5).

This fact adds to our previous result about the length of *autos*: the longer the *auto*, the more positive the overall sentiment classification of the play by our algorithm, which suggests that different *autos* were conceived with different emphasis for different audiences. Long, rich, and positive plays, possibly with more complex subtexts and deeper meanings, could have been primarily intended for nobles and well-educated people. Short, plain, and negative *autos* were presumably addressed to the less-educated sector of the population. Examples of the former include *El convite general*, or *Lo que va del hombre a Dios* (*So Far this Man to God*). Examples of the latter include *Los encantos de la culpa* and *Los misterios de la misa* (*The Mysteries of the Mass*). To further support this

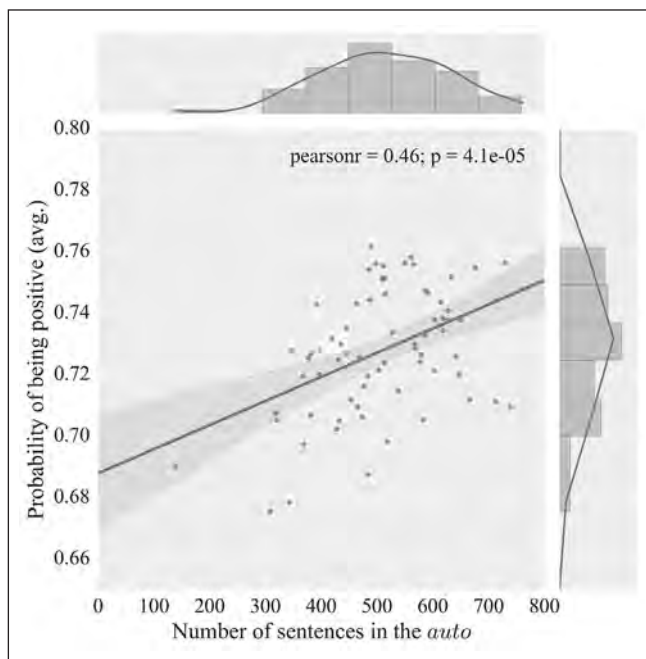


Figure 5.5.
Correlation between sentiment and length of *autos*. Distribution of the number of sentences in an *auto* and the probability of the *auto* being positive, calculated as the average of the probabilities of its sentences.

idea, we resorted to our typology of characters, and discovered that shorter plays usually have more representation of characters in the social sphere of the laymen. In particular, we found that in the ten shortest *autos*, the number of verses of characters in the laymen category outnumbered those in clergy by an average factor of twelve, those in nobility by seven, and those in supernatural by four.

These are the first pieces of evidence of Calderón's attempts to empathize with his audience. Not only that, but these results also show a conscious effort from Calderón to engage in emotionally different ways with diverse audiences. This is to say, if the shorter *autos* show a tendency towards low-social class characters and, in addition, these plays often communicate a negative message, we could hypothesize that such negativity outlines a feeling of fear that would drive these social classes to assent to their socio-political condition without questioning the social and economic *status quo*. This conservative version of the baroque has been traditionally defended by many critics, who have typically centered their arguments on the *auto El gran teatro del Mundo*. This *auto* certainly seems to support this political vision from a religious interpretation of the world: each of us has to accept the role we have been assigned in the play of life.

It should be taken into account that the vast majority of the *autos* ended up being represented in front of a diverse audience since they were meant to be shown in public celebrations on the streets of Madrid, among other cities. The fact that all sorts of audiences had access to these plays would question our hypothesis unless it were the case

that the identification of the different types of public with their social equivalents was so strong, and their sympathy for these characters so profound, that this psychological mechanism constituted a tool for Calderón to address his audiences in different ways.

Another important aspect that should be explored more carefully is the relation between longer plays and the festive nature that is typically associated with later plays, which featured more musical and mythological content. This comparison is complicated, as we do not always have specific information regarding the representations of the places and, in many cases, all we have is the dramatic text and some scattered information. We have proven that generally, the later the *autos* are composed, the longer they will be. Additionally, they will become more positive in terms of the emotions they convey. This is a direct result of the fact that later in his career, Calderón devotes more and more effort to develop works of a mythological theme that make part of the baroque total artwork that becomes the backbone of festive spectacles full of technology, special effects, and music. These are the very first works of entertainment of the early modern era. These pieces of entertainment water down the negative load of sentiments associated with earlier and more conservative plays.

In any case, these results clearly show the intention and command of Calderón over the emotional effect that his play would have on his public; his capability to regulate positiveness and negativeness of emotional messages; his choice of different social groups as the main object of his poetry; and his capability to alleviate emotionally the messages when plays become more spectacular and technologically advanced. Calderón would, therefore, be following what one of his characters says in the auto *Los encantos de la culpa*:

Don't you see
that they are Human senses
and that in the end it is needed
reliefs that divert them
from the fatigues they were born!⁵⁵

Character Sentiments

Unfortunately, total numbers and more generalized statistics do not contribute much to the understanding of the characters or the audience's perception of them. To investigate if Calderón was actually trying to promulgate empathy for specific characters, we need to look at the prevailing sentiment of their specific interventions. Using the results provided by our classifier and the different categories with which we annotated the characters, we know that characters such as *Nacor* or *Criado* ("servant") or *Leproso* ("leper") are among those with the most positive discourse as classified by our algorithm. In contrast, the interventions by *Bernardo*, *Leví*, or *Teutónico* receive the most negative perception. Even with an impressive average probability of 98 percent of being positive, *Nacor* is not

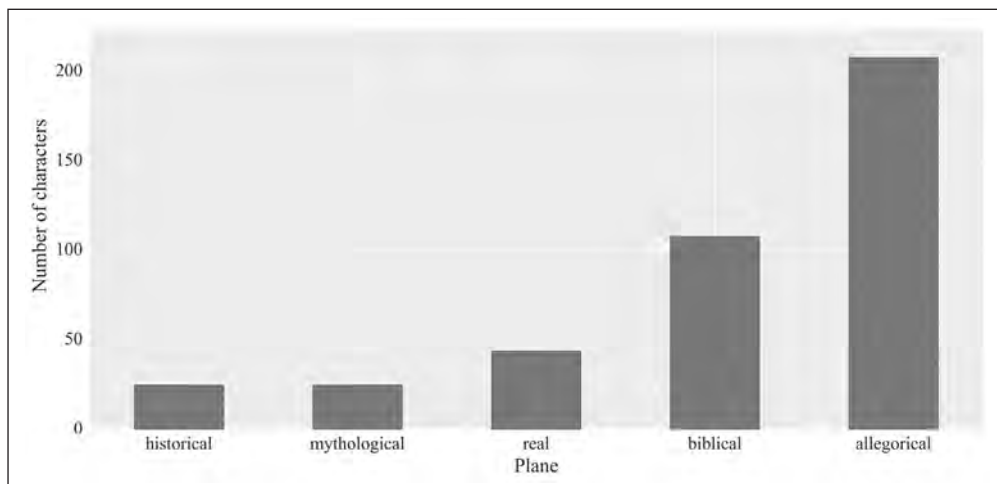


Figure 5.6. Number of characters by plane.

Total number of characters of each type in the category of existential plane.

representative, as his participation, which only takes place in the *auto El viático cordero* (*The Viatical Lamb*) barely adds up to 0.19 percent. For this reason, we ignore characters whose participation ratio is lower than 1 percent, measured as the result of dividing the number of verses of a character's interventions by the total number of verses of the play. If the character appeared in more than one play, then the ratio of participation is averaged. After excluding these, the characters with the most positive message are *Dentro* (the undetermined character used in the plays to designate that someone or some people are speaking outside the stage); *Centro* ("centre"); *Aqueronte*; *Aminta*; *Panadero* ("baker"); *Levita* ("levite"); *Labranza*; *Sísara*; and *Saúl*. On the other side, those with a more negative sentiment are *Ley* ("law"); *Melchisedech*; *Tiburtina*; *Pérsica*; *Orden Sacerdotal* ("priestly order"); *Felipe*; *Baptista*; *Templanza* ("temperance"); *Isaias*; and *Fortaleza* ("strength"). Although this seems to be a hodgepodge of characters—both males and females, in different existential planes, and playing a variety of roles—some patterns start to emerge.

As shown in figure 5.6, allegorical characters represent the majority of cases in Calderón's *autos*, followed by biblical characters, and then by the rest after a big gap. This result is in line with the notion of the *autos* serving as part of the machinery of the Catholic church that sought to spread its values by means of allegories.⁵⁶ Regarding our extended version of the social sphere, laymen have the highest number of characters, followed closely by nobility, theological, and moral, which supports our previous claims and the importance given to spiritual affairs (see figure 5.7). Supernatural, natural, and clerical characters then form the next step, as they seem to be less represented in the plays. Bureaucrats, places, and psychological concepts are in the lowest section the fewest number of characters.

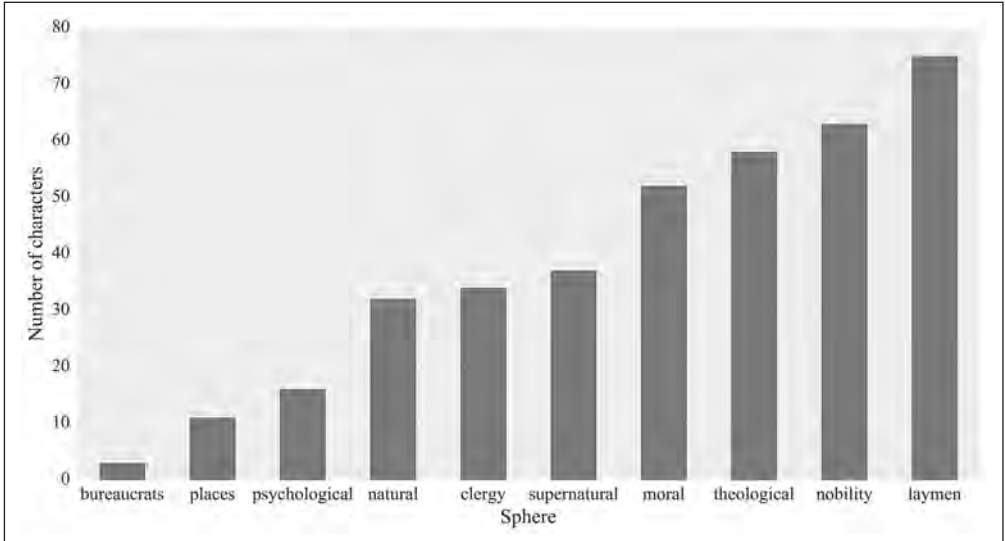


Figure 5.7. Number of characters by sphere.
Total number of characters of each type in the category of the social sphere.

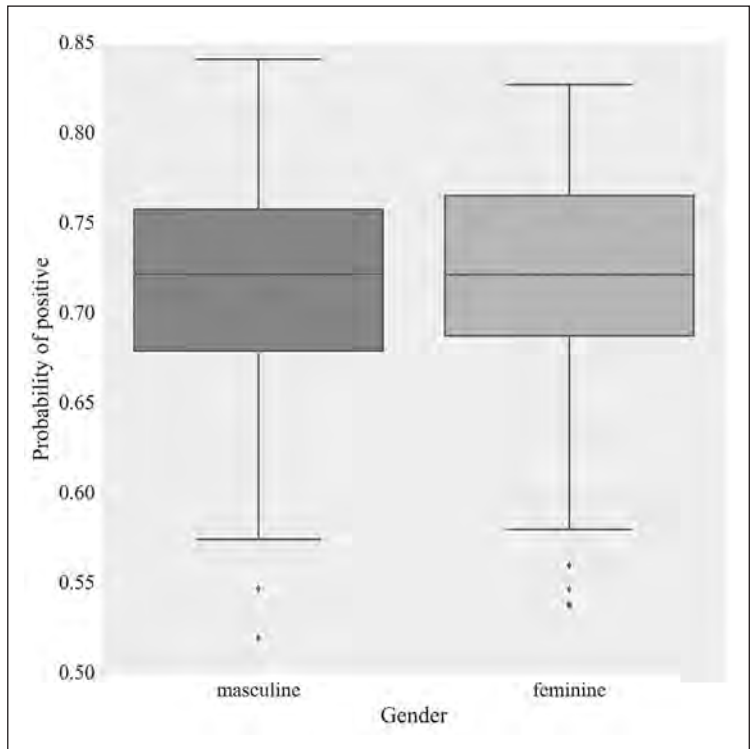


Figure 5.8.
Probability of positive sentence by gender. Probability of a sentence being classified as positive grouped by the gender of the character.

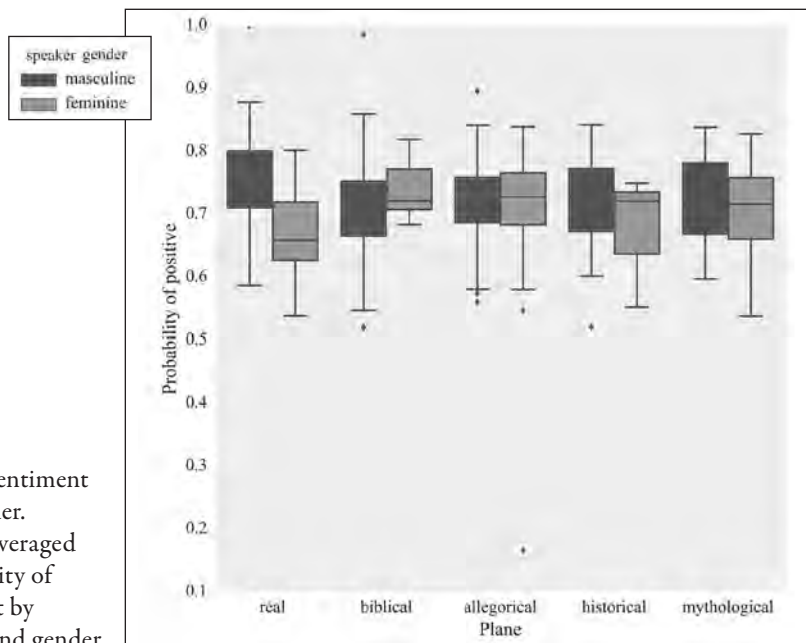


Figure 5.9. Distributions of sentiment by plane and gender. Distributions of averaged values of probability of positive sentiment by existential plane and gender.

In terms of positiveness of message, historical and allegorical characters have the highest values, and biblical and mythological the lowest. With respect to the social sphere, laymen, moral, and theological characters have the highest number of sentences classified as positive, while supernatural and members of the clergy have the lowest (see median values in figure 5.7). Saints and other characters of the biblical dimension have the most negative use of sentiments as derived from the artificially intelligent analysis of their interventions, sending a message that could be understood as them being depicted as non-merciful. Allegorical allusions to laymen and abstract artifacts related to the moral and theological characters send positive messages to the audience. We hypothesize that Calderón had a twofold purpose in doing this. First, he intended to make his audience identify with certain types of characters in the play. Second, he also attempted to show his audience that the morality of the Catholic doctrine was positive for them. This would be in line with ideological interpretations of baroque theater as an instrument to maintain social order and confirm the worldview sustained by the Catholic faith.

With regard to gender, both masculine and feminine characters follow similar distributions, with female characters' interventions having a slightly more positive perception (see figure 5.8). However, it should be noted that the number of female characters is half that of male characters. Therefore, women are under-represented in Calderón's *autos*. When considering the total number of sentences and verses, the difference narrows down; and female characters produce "only" 22 percent fewer sentences than men.

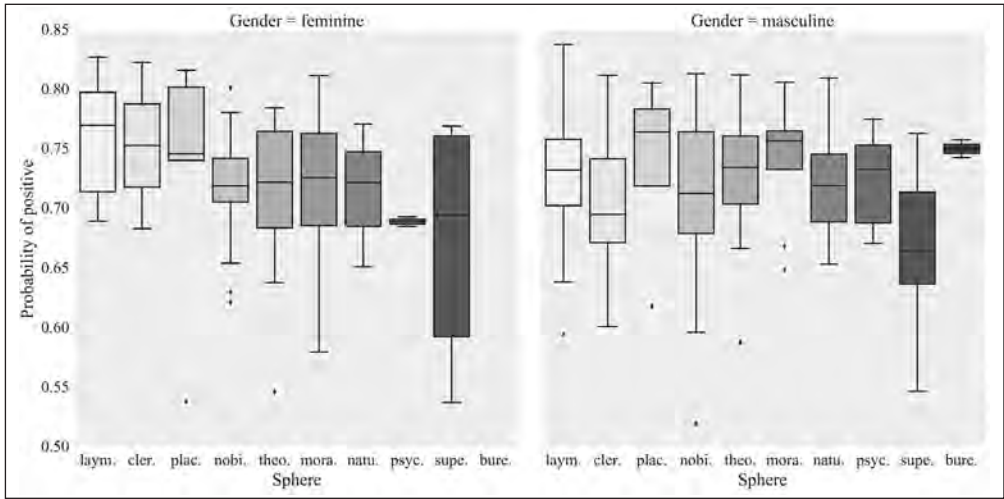


Figure 5.10. Distributions of sentiment by sphere and gender. Distributions of averaged values of probability of positive sentiment by social sphere and gender.

However, the distinction between genders is accentuated when the existential planes and social spheres of the characters are analyzed. Figures 5.9 and 5.10 show distributions of probability of positive sentiment for the categories of plane and sphere. In the existential plane, female characters of an allegorical, biblical, or mythological nature have more sentences classified as positive than male characters, although historical figures seem to be more positive when incarnated as male. The case of “real” people—characters who do not represent historical or biblical figures—shows the biggest difference, as female characters are depicted with a more negative sentiment than males. Regarding the social sphere, and excluding the case of bureaucrats, for which only a couple of masculine characters are found, median values of positive sentiment are higher for female characters when they represent characters in the laymen, clergy, nobility, nature, and supernatural spheres.

Antonio Regalado, whose monograph on Calderón spans two volumes and is over 1800 pages, discusses a “feminism” in Calderón’s comedies, which would consist of representing the archetypal and mythical dimensions of the feminine figure in a context in which the vision of the feminine characters refutes stereotypes and vulgarities about women.⁵⁷ The feminine figure shows the sensuality associated with the feminine body and the complex intelligence of characters such as *Semíramis* in *La hija del aire* (*The Daughter of the Wind*) or the sorceress *Circe* in *El mayor encanto amor* (*The Greatest Charm of Love*). These are characters that clearly differ from their masculine counterparts. They are, in many cases, women that need to navigate the social difficulties of their time, but they would have found an audience of their own in the women that attended the theaters and had a section for themselves to avoid contact with men and musketeers.

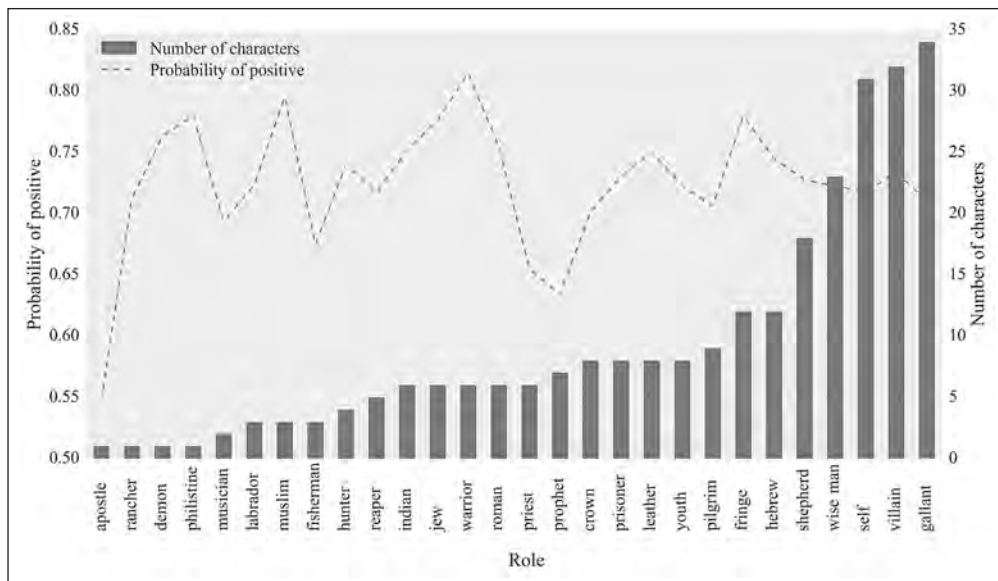


Figure 5.11. Number of characters and probability of positive sentiment by role. Total number of characters of each type in the category of the role given explicitly by Calderón in the *auto*, as well as the probability (from 0 to 1) of their sentences being classified as positive.

Regarding the *autos sacramentales*, the topic of feminine eroticism stems from the adaptation of the comedy *El mayor encanto amor* as the *auto Los encantos de la culpa*, in which the lecherous *Circe* represents, in a nuanced manner, the pleasures that surround sin. On the one hand, the religious and sinful dimension of pleasure has a presence. On the other hand, spectators witnessed the pleasures that derive from sexual intercourse and erotic games. *Circe/Sin* embodies a subjectivation of the world rooted in myth and tries to compensate for the excesses of rationality and contempt with the world that the very *auto* imposes in its dimension of theological discourse. This emotional dimension, an identity that is typically assigned to feminine characters, becomes apparent in the computational analysis of the *autos* and supports the coexistence of different ideological and emotional levels in the complex plays of baroque theater.

Finally, we examine the case of the explicit role assigned by Calderón himself in the *autos*. This case is especially intricate, as sometimes, although not very often, some characters start playing a role and during the play they change to a different one. For instance, in *Las espigas de Ruth* (*The [wheat] Ears of Ruth*), *Ruth* starts as a reaper and ends playing the role of villain in the same play. In those cases we kept the first identifiable role. As figure 5.11 illustrates, there is no correlation between the number of characters playing a specific role and the probability of their sentences being positive. However, some interesting results can still be extracted when analyzing the data. The set of the

three more numerous roles—gallants (with twenty-two women and eleven men); villains (twelve women and seventeen men); and characters played as themselves (eight women and twenty-three men)—accounts for almost 25 percent of all the characters, with values of probability of positive sentiment around the average of 70 percent, although villains have a slightly higher value. This suggests that Calderón was trying to polarize the main discourse of the *autos* by having onstage characters that were easily identifiable, while he added all the necessary complexity to make the plays interesting and surprising by making the discourse of other types of characters more positive.

Moreover, and counter-intuitively, the characters with the highest values of probability of positive sentiment are those of the non-Christian tradition, such as Muslims, Philistines, and Jews. Again, this was an exercise of Calderón to mislead the audience with arguments that did not always fit the expected character prototype. Sentences from apostles, priests, and prophets, although not very numerous, have the highest probability of being classified as negative, which apparently contradicts the idea of baroque plays, and *autos* especially, as being homogeneous representations of a given ideology and religious worldview.

Conclusions

Our results show agreement with the proposed thesis of this study. Analyzing characters and their speeches in Spanish Golden Age theater in an objective manner is not an easy task, and some of the assumptions and decisions we made could be argued against. Machine-learning techniques and natural language processing are obviously worthwhile when applied to vast amounts of texts, but this study does not try to substitute the thorough job of the traditional philological analysis of the experts in the field. On the contrary, it tries to complement and give them support by providing them with a valuable source of information and data. Even the most accurate of the classifiers face trouble when facing rhetorical figures. This is why we tried to take into account as much data as possible so that we minimize the effect of outliers.

Alongside this study, we have analyzed almost 37,000 sentences constructed from verses in dramatic and allegorical plays. Since our main objective was to demonstrate whether Calderón could be considered a mass influencer or not, and, if so, what artifacts he used to do so, we built an automated classifier to annotate all the sentences in his works. Afterwards, we tagged all the sentences and characters of the plays, and discovered the predominance of characters of allegorical and biblical dimensions in the social spheres of nobility, laymen, and theological abstractions. These clearly compose the intended audience of the *autos*, as these were staged in public spaces and free of charge for the entire population of Madrid.

Women seem to be slightly under-represented when compared with men, which could be considered standard when taking into account the contexts of society during

the era in which the plays were written. However, female members of the laymen, clergy, nobility, and supernatural spheres have more sentences classified as positive, which leaves men as the authority of moral and soul-related affairs, as far as our typology of characters is concerned.

We can conclude by saying that the architecture of sentiments in Calderón's *autos* is as complex as the dramatic structure of baroque plays, and that the various metaphysical and rhetorical interconnected levels of baroque technologies of speech make it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the empathy of the characters and the machination of the messages by baroque authors. Data can be contradictory at times. For example, according to our methodology, speeches by villains are classified as positive, which is in line with the notion of the *engaño* ("deceit") practiced in the baroque, but villains do not have the highest values of positive messages: Muslims, Philistines, and Jews can claim even higher values. In other cases, it is hard to decide whether Calderón was using a character's speech to send clear religious messages or just as a device to fool the audience and play with public assumptions. Be that as it may, the twisted nature of the baroque is once again brought to light.

NOTES

* This study has been possible thanks to the collaboration of the *Grupo de Investigación Siglo de Oro* (GRISO) Group at Universidad de Navarra, which kindly provided us with electronic text versions of all the plays, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which kindly provided funding.

¹ Ignacio Arellano follows the classification of this theater in two main cycles: that of Lope and that of Calderón. For a complete list of the codes, titles, and dates of the *autos* referred to in this essay, see Ignacio Arellano, *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVII*, pp. 139–40.

² Arellano, p. 61.

³ Arellano, p. 84.

⁴ See Federico Sánchez Escribano and Alberto Porqueras Mayo, *Preceptiva dramática española del Renacimiento y el Barroco*. The Parque del Retiro is currently a park in the center of Madrid, but in the 1630s it was one of the palaces on the outskirts of town where the king would spend most of his leisure time surrounded by cultivated gardens. The king's habitual residence was located in the Palacio de Alcázar, currently known as Palacio Real, which had originally been a Muslim fortress that burnt down in 1734.

⁵ Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *Un palacio para el rey*.

⁶ For various dates of each play, see Ignacio Arellano, *Autos sacramentales completos de Calderón*.

⁷ Juan Luis Suárez, *El escenario de la imaginación*.

⁸ It is important to bear in mind that in some versions of psychological theory of senses, imagination and memory overlap.

⁹ Suárez, *El escenario de la imaginación*.

¹⁰ Evangelina Rodríguez Cuadros, *La técnica del actor español en el Barroco*.

¹¹ J. M. Ruano de la Haza and John J. Allen, *Los teatros comerciales del siglo XVII*.

¹² Sebastian Neumeister, *Mito clásico y ostentación*.

¹³ Frank P. Casa, Luciano García Lorenzo, and Germán Vega García-Luengos, *Diccionario de la comedia del Siglo de Oro*, p. 19.

¹⁴ J. E. Varey, *Cosmovisión y escenografía*.

¹⁵ Arellano, *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVI*, pp. 691–97.

¹⁶ Arellano, *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVI*, pp. 690–91.

¹⁷ Emilio Orozco, *Manierismo y barroco*.

¹⁸ Juan Luis Suárez, “Complejidad y barroco.”

¹⁹ Juan Luis Suárez, “El paisaje del tiempo y la estética de la comedia nueva.”

²⁰ Hilaire Kallendorf has argued in her *Conscience on Stage* that baroque plays are built in part as complex and detailed arguments of casuistry, and that in many cases these plays put on stage “troubled consciences.” Kallendorf, *Conscience on Stage*, pp. 159–62.

²¹ José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco*.

²² Angela Ndalianis, *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*.

²³ Suárez, *El escenario de la imaginación*.

²⁴ For the development of this theory of imagination, see, for example, Avicenna’s *The Canon of Medicine*, completed in 1025, or Pico della Mirandola in *On the Imagination*, published in 1536.

²⁵ Vincent Martin, *El concepto de “representación,”* p. 46.

²⁶ Suárez, *El escenario de la imaginación*.

²⁷ Tim O’Reilly, *What is Web 2.0*. Sentiment analysis is also known as “opinion mining.”

²⁸ Fritz Strack and Thomas Mussweiler, “Explaining the Enigmatic Anchoring Effect,” p. 437.

²⁹ See Kristen A. Lindquist, Jennifer K. MacCormack, and Holly Shablack. “The Role of Language in Emotion.”

³⁰ Shanto Iyengar, “The Accessibility Bias in Politics,” pp. 1–15.

³¹ Ndalianis, p. 96.

³² Ignacio Arellano, *Diccionario de los autos sacramentales de Calderón*, vol. 28.

³³ For more on this group, see <http://www.unav.edu/centro/griso/> (accessed November 5, 2017).

³⁴ For a list of the specific *autos* used in this study, see Javier de la Rosa Pérez “Making Machines Learn,” pp. 74–82.

³⁵ Only plays with a date were considered as ultimately we aim to find patterns of emotions over time.

³⁶ A shawm is a wind instrument used profusely by Calderón in his plays. Every time a shawm was introduced, and delivered its penetrating tone, a change would usually take place in the play, such as characters leaving or entering the scene.

³⁷ Arellano, *Diccionario*.

³⁸ See Steven Bird, “NLTK,” pp. 485–525.

³⁹ Original Spanish text reads: Noé: *Paraninfo soberano, / en tu palabra fiel / confiado, parto donde / con siempre constante fe / estaré esperando el día / en que he de volver a ver / la familia innumerable / de los hijos de Noé. / Porque lo mandas me parto, / si el pie no te beso es / porque tocar no merezco / las sandalias de tus pies.*

⁴⁰ For binary classifications of text in machine learning, see Thorsten Joachims, *Text Categorization with Support Vector Machines*. Turney and Pang’s early works are described in Peter D. Turney, “Thumbs Up Or Thumbs Down?” and Bo Pang, Lillian Lee, and Shivakumar Vaithyanathan, “Thumbs Up?”

⁴¹ There are currently no translations in English of the given titles; some titles are culture-dependent and may make little sense in English. Articles and research that focus on the *autos* generally use the Spanish titles.

⁴² This scale would be classified as follows: “Very Negative”; “Negative”; “Neutral”; “Positive”; “Very Positive.”

⁴³ See <http://bossa.cultureplex.ca/> (accessed November 5, 2017).

⁴⁴ Gabriele Paolacci, Jesse Chandler, and Panagiotis G. Ipeirotis. “Running Experiments on Amazon Mechanical Turk,” pp. 411–19.

⁴⁵ This scale would be classified as follows: “Negative”; “Neutral”; and “Positive.”

⁴⁶ Fabian Pedregosa et al., “Scikit-Learn,” pp. 2825–30.

⁴⁷ Wes McKinney, *Python for Data Analysis*.

⁴⁸ See David M. Blei, Andrew Y. Ng, and Michael I. Jordan. “Latent Dirichlet Allocation,” pp. 993–1022; and Albert Bifet and Eibe Frank, “Sentiment Knowledge Discovery in Twitter Streaming Data,” pp. 1–15. Precision is a measure of hits versus errors, while recall is a measure of hits versus misses. High precision means that positive sentences do not end up being classified as negative; high recall means that no negative sentences end up being classified as positive. For a further explanation of the measures, see David D. Lewis and Marc Ringuette, “A Comparison of Two Learning Algorithms for Text Categorization.” Accuracy is a measure of the number of hits vs total number of instances.

⁴⁹ See <http://aws.amazon.com/mturk/> (accessed November 5, 2017).

⁵⁰ For example, see Arellano, *Autos sacramentales completos de Calderón*, vol. 31; William J. Entwistle, “La controversia en los autos de Calderón,” p. 223; and Dominique Reyre, *Lo hebreo en los autos sacramentales de Calderón*.

⁵¹ James E. Maraniss, *On Calderón*, pp. 18–28.

⁵² See Luciano García Lorenzo, *Calderón*; and José María Maravall and Ubaldo Martínez-Lázaro, “Estratificación social y operacionalismo,” p. 48.

⁵³ Juan Luis Suárez, “Para una teoría de la realidad virtual en Calderón.”

⁵⁴ More than 4500 stage directions were used to annotate characters’ categories but these directions were not analyzed.

⁵⁵ EC, 1645. The original Spanish text reads: *No ves / que son sentidos Humanos / y que al fin es menester / alivios que los diviertan / de las fatigas en que han nacido!*

⁵⁶ Viviana Díaz Balsera, *Calderón y las quimeras de la culpa*, pp. 87–88.

⁵⁷ Antonio Regalado, *Calderón*, p. 981.

Works Cited

- Arellano, Ignacio. *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVII*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1995.
- Arellano, Ignacio. *Diccionario de los autos sacramentales de Calderón*, vol. 28. Zaragoza, Aragon: Edition Reichenberger, 2000.
- Arellano, Ignacio. *Autos sacramentales completos de Calderón: Estructuras dramáticas y alegóricas en los autos de Calderón*, vol. 31. Zaragoza, Aragon: Edition Reichenberger, 2001.
- Bifet, Albert and Eibe Frank. "Sentiment Knowledge Discovery in Twitter Streaming Data." In *Discovery Science*, edited by Bernhard Pfahringer, Geoff Holmes, and Achim Hoffmann, pp. 1–15. Berlin: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2010.
- Bird, Steven. "NLTK: The Natural Language Toolkit." *Proceedings of the COLING/ACL on Interactive Presentation Sessions* (July 2006): pp. 69–72.
- Blei, David M., Andrew Y. Ng, and Michael I. Jordan. "Latent Dirichlet Allocation." *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3 (2003): pp. 993–1022.
- Brown, Jonathan and J. H. Elliott. *Un palacio para el rey: el Buen Retiro y la corte de Felipe IV*. Madrid: Alianza, 1988.
- Casa, Frank Paul, Luciano García Lorenzo, and Germán Vega García-Luengos. *Diccionario de la comedia del Siglo de Oro*. Vol. 9. Editorial Castalia, 2002.
- De la Rosa Pérez, Javier. "Making Machines Learn: Applications of Cultural Analytics to the Humanities" (2016), appendix, pp. 74–82. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/3486> (accessed December 5, 2017).
- Díaz Balsera, Viviana. *Calderón y las quimeras de la culpa: Alegoría, seducción y resistencia en cinco autos sacramentales*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1997.
- Entwistle, William J. "La controversia en los autos de Calderón." *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 2, no. 3 (1948): p. 223.
- García Lorenzo, Luciano, ed. *Calderón: actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Calderón y el teatro español del Siglo de Oro*. Madrid: CSIC, 1983.
- Iyengar, Shanto. "The Accessibility Bias in Politics: Television News and Public Opinion." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 2, no. 1 (1990): pp. 1–15.
- Joachims, Thorsten. *Text Categorization with Support Vector Machines: Learning with Many Relevant Features*. Berlin: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 1998.
- Kallendorf, Hilaire. *Conscience on Stage: The Comedia as Casuistry in Early Modern Spain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Lewis, David D. and Marc Ringuette. "A Comparison of Two Learning Algorithms for Text Categorization." In *Third Annual Symposium on Document Analysis and Information Retrieval: Proceedings April 11–13 1994*, pp. 81–93. Nevada: Information Science Research Institute, 1994.
- Lindquist, Kristen A., Jennifer K. MacCormack, and Holly Shablack. "The Role of Language in Emotion: Predictions from Psychological Constructionism." *Frontiers in Psychology* 6 (2015), <http://journal.frontiersin.org/article/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00444/abstract> (accessed November 5, 2017).
- Maraniss, James E. *On Calderón*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1978.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *La cultura del Barroco: Análisis de una estructura histórica*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2012 [1975].
- Maravall, José María and Ubaldo Martínez-Lázaro. "Estratificación social y operacionalismo: unas notas críticas." *Revista Española de la opinión pública* no. 23 (January–March 1971): pp. 31–48.

- Martin, Vincent. *El concepto de "representación" en los autos sacramentales de Calderón*. Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona and Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2002.
- McKinney, Wes. *Python for Data Analysis: Data Wrangling with Pandas, NumPy, and IPython*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media, Inc., 2012.
- Ndalianis, Angela. 2004. *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004.
- Neumeister, Sebastian. *Mito clásico y ostentación: Los dramas mitológicos de Calderón*. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000.
- O'Reilly, Tim. "What is web 2.0." 2005.
- Orozco, Emilio. *Manierismo y barroco*. Anaya, 1970.
- Pang, Bo, Lillian Lee, and Shivakumar Vaithyanathan. "Thumbs Up? Sentiment Classification using Machine Learning Techniques." In *Proceedings of the ACL-02 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing*, vol. 10, pp. 79–86. Philadelphia, PA: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2002.
- Paolacci, Gabriele, Jesse Chandler, and Panagiotis G. Ipeirotis. "Running Experiments on Amazon Mechanical Turk." *Judgment and Decision Making* vol. 5, no. 5 (2010): pp. 411–19.
- Pedregosa, Fabian, Gal Varoquaux, Alexandre Gramfort, Vincent Michel, Bertrand Thirion, Olivier Grisel, Mathieu Blondel, Peter Prettenhofer, Ron Weiss, and Vincent Dubourg. "Scikit-Learn: Machine Learning in Python." *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 12 (2011): pp. 2825–30.
- Regalado, Antonio. *Calderón: los orígenes de la modernidad en la España del Siglo de Oro*. Vol. 1. Destino, 1995.
- Reyre, Dominique. *Lo hebreo en los autos sacramentales de Calderón*, vol. 20. Zaragoza, Aragon: Edition Reichenberger, 1998.
- Rodríguez Cuadros, Evangelina. *La técnica del actor español en el Barroco: Hipótesis y documentos*. Madrid: Castalia, 1998.
- Ruano de la Haza, J. M. and John J. Allen. *Los teatros comerciales del siglo XVII y la escenificación de la comedia*. Madrid: Castalia, 1994.
- Sánchez Escribano, Federico and Alberto Porqueras Mayo. *Preceptiva dramática española del Renacimiento y el Barroco*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971.
- Strack, Fritz, and Thomas Mussweiler. "Explaining the Enigmatic Anchoring Effect: Mechanisms of Selective Accessibility." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol. 73, no. 3 (1997): p. 437.
- Suárez, Juan Luis. *El escenario de la imaginación: Calderón en su teatro*, vol. 42. Pamplona, Barañain, and Navarra: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2002.
- Suárez, Juan Luis. *El paisaje del tiempo y la estética de la comedia nueva*. N.a., 2002.
- Suárez, Juan Luis. "Complejidad y barroco." *Revista de Occidente* 323 (2008): p. 58.
- Suárez, Juan Luis. "Para una teoría de la realidad virtual en Calderón." *Anuario Calderoniano* 5 (2012): pp. 15–34.
- Turney, Peter D. 2002. "Thumbs Up Or Thumbs Down? Semantic Orientation Applied to Unsupervised Classification of Reviews." In *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*, pp. 417–24. Philadelphia: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2002.
- Varey, John E. *Cosmovision y escenografía: El Teatro Espanol en el Siglo De Oro*. Vol. 2. Editorial Castalia, 1987.

Chapter 6

Clouds and Calculated Emotions in the Production of Neo-Baroque Spatial Illusions in Las Vegas Hotels and Casinos

Peter Krieger

The ceiling explodes, and above the explosion there is left only sky.

—Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Vom Geist des Barock*¹

FOR TOURISTS TRAVELING TO LAS Vegas who arrive by plane, the landing approach offers some interesting meteorological and geological insights (see plate 6, p. xx). At times, cumulus clouds cover the desert zone around the sprawling city. Archaic sand and rock formations contrast with the artificial paradise for gamblers. Both are covered by clouds because both provide proper conditions for the generation of clouds, namely heat bulbs, which accelerate the condensation process of water into clouds. Yet the clouds over the city seem to be more expressive, as visitors may observe from the windows of the major hotel-casinos in Las Vegas. The city produces more pollution than the desert does. The fine dust of the desert blowing around the Las Vegas area is mixed with the aerosols from exhaust fumes of the city's traffic, and by emissions from air conditioners, and other excessive uses of energy. At sunset, this impressive aesthetics of pollution overshadows the spectacular buildings, which recover their semantic importance immediately after sunset due to the artificial illumination produced by neon lights.² But the image of the clouds, which arise thanks to the toxic aerosols, stands out even more intensely at sunset, when the short light waves are replaced by long ones, and when the sky's blue color merges into orange, red, and brown. The electro-magnetic light waves collide with molecules of gas from our atmosphere and, with the clouds, produce a visual effect, often termed "romantic," but also—and this is our guiding topic for this essay—as "baroque."

One can see this cultural determination of natural phenomena from the plane and hotel windows, but it continues as a fixed visual scheme in many interiors of the opulent hotel lobbies and vast gambling halls. The Las Vegas visitor, driving or walking outdoors, may see the spectacular buildings set off from a blue sky. This attractive color does not necessarily indicate clean air; actually, it can be toxic. Soon, the visitor will enter the closed and covered areas of gambling and entertainment, where they will find artificially produced and illuminated blue skies.



Figure 6.1. Interior of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.
Photo © Peter Krieger, 2010.

The Venetian is a good example of the abundance of the fake and collage-like architecture of the Las Vegas entertainment industry (plate 7, p. xx). Efficient spatial and visual constructions guarantee in most cases efficient amortization of the investments. The sculptural exteriors attract mass tourist *flâneurs*, who explore thrilling places for gambling. The Venetian shows the underlying principles of “theming” architecture, which is a design concept developed prototypically by architect Jon Jerde.³ A commercial building site on the Strip receives semantic programming through an architectural design, which transfers to Las Vegas highlighted images of cultural history, mostly from Europe. They appear in a decontextualized architectural time–space compression at the site. Photographs, postcards, and movie sets have given those elements mass cultural values.

Some of these “themed” architectural entertainment complexes offer prospects of artificial skies indoors, as in The Venetian, which reproduces the aquatic structures of Venice, as well as the city’s most significant landmarks (figure 6.1). Rational and standardized concrete shops and gambling halls are covered with Venetian late Gothic and Renaissance façades. An artificial, air-conditioned interior environment covered by

a barrel vault is painted blue with clouds in the sky. Such visual and fake concepts recall the baroque culture of illusion; they are transhistorical aesthetic elements, which make Las Vegas one of the most sublime expressions of the neo-baroque.⁴ Concentrating on the clouds, I want to emphasize that these neo-baroque visual and spatial environments manage people's impressions, so as to transform the collective emotions that are aroused by the reproduction of historical forms, in this case from medieval and Renaissance Venice.

The following examples from The Venetian, and also from Caesars Palace and the Paris hotel-casino, show how architectural and interior designs produce efficient collective emotions—"cheap" emotions in cultural and economic terms—,because the investment for the design and the painting of the ceiling have been unquestionably successful. Although I do not have the economic data for The Venetian, empirical observation, notably in the detail of the strolling tourists, with wide-open eyes and open mouths, suffices to demonstrate this hypothesis. It seems as if the neo-baroque production of illusions by the Las Vegas entertainment industry is an efficient tool of standardizing collective mental habits and determinating the tourists' and gamblers' simplified emotional reactions. Within this cultural and economic context, the neo-



Figure 6.2. Interior of Caesars Palace Hotel and Casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.
Photo © Peter Krieger, 2010.

baroque cloud painting on the ceilings of the hotels and casinos is a significant element of this investment machinery.

Some details of these Las Vegas interiors may illustrate how neo-baroque aesthetics, iconography, and psychology create an emotional synergy, which energizes the decorative presence of painted clouds as a principle of collective mind control (figure 6.2). A striking example of the persuasive power of painted clouds can be seen in a detail of a gambling hall at Caesars Palace. The almost endless rows of slot machines are visually framed by the yellow, red, and orange carpet that is ornamented with circles, and by a neo-Roman coffered ceiling with discreetly integrated light spots. But suddenly this modular visual frame is altered by a circular figure: a dome that opens the view towards a painted illusion with light cumulus clouds in a blue sky. This is a visual interruption of the relatively low ceiling. It's a calculated effect, known from Italian baroque churches with their painted ceilings, invented by Correggio in Parma during the 1520s. Over a century later this effect was brought to perfection in the Roman churches of the Counter-Reformation, seen, for instance, in Andrea Pozzo's *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* in Sant'Ignazio, completed at the end of the seventeenth century. Hubert Damisch, in his *Theory of the Cloud*, has shown how Catholic church ideologists long resisted Correggio's conceptual innovation, because he dared to paint a perspective without a horizon, where the cloud would no longer fulfill symbolic religious functions but serve only a pictorial function.⁵ The latest reflection of this secularization of an emotionally charged visual topic appears in the gambling halls of Las Vegas.

Implicitly, the designers and architects of neo-baroque Las Vegas learned their lesson from the management of impressions achieved by Roman baroque artists, especially the overwhelming church interiors where faithful European, and also Latin American Roman Catholics, were convinced to maintain—and also to finance—their relationship to religion. Many Las Vegas hotel and casino designs take advantage of the spatial and psychological function of those Catholic baroque decorations: the Roman faithful as well as the Las Vegas clients are meant to be impressed; to lose their rational orientation; and to spend their money. The elaborate theatricality and spectacle of the neo-baroque interiors in some Las Vegas hotels is an economically and psychologically calculated management of collective mental habits, based on the baroque visual experiences of Roman Catholicism.

Within this framework of cultural and mental history, the apparition of painted clouds stands out as a useful design tool for large-scale gambling and hotel business, because it opens illusory celestial spaces as controlled escapes from the overwhelming and overabundant interiors. Contrasting the artificial light from the slot machines and the dimmed illumination of the golden painted walls and ceiling, the illusory clouded-cupola appears to refresh the clients' emotional states. Gamblers are lost in dimly lit, labyrinthine environments of irrational consumption, but they can connect themselves visually with the sky as a space for the projection of hope. Like the faithful who sit in the pews of



Figure 6.3. Cloud and light effects on vault ceiling, interior of Caesars hotel-casino.
Photo © Peter Krieger, 2010.

the Roman baroque churches, the gamblers at Caesars perceive an emotionally codified view to the clouds. This provides a stark contrast of free and irregular forms against the constricted architectural design patterns. There is no need for the client to step out of the gambling areas, or to interrupt their psychic addiction to gambling; the gambling client finds the necessary spaces and images of compensation and contemplation *within* the walls of the casino. These visual interruptions with painted clouds guarantee higher efficiency in the acts of gambling and consuming, because they fulfill a basic neural requirement of contrast, interrupting possible monotony. Clouds specifically, with their celestial emotional connotations, determine this principle.

The creation of an appropriate emotional ambience for gambling and shopping also depends on light effects (figure 6.3). The interior shopping paths of the Caesars complex are covered with a barrel vault, painted with a blue sky, where some light cumulus and cirrus clouds float. In order to strengthen the visual effect of an open sky over the rows of shops, with their applied neoclassical and baroque façade designs, the vault's springing point is covered by ornamented moldings. Thus, shoppers have a holiday-like impression of strolling around the Roman piazzas and streets on a sunny summer day. Of course,



Figure 6.4. Shopping zones in interior of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.
Photo © Peter Krieger, 2010.

these wanderings are accompanied by strict security control and cleaning services, which excludes pickpockets and avoids other interferences like dog excrement in the authentic urban setting of Rome.

But the interior designers of the Caesars shopping area have even perfected the illusion of being outdoors by means of light effects that simulate the daylight sequences between sunset and sundown. In short cycles of about a quarter to half an hour, the illumination fades between light and dark, although never coming to an extreme of total darkness or full sunlight; this range of lighting coincides with the general condition of dimmed lights at all the Las Vegas casinos. Of course, the shops never switch off their artificial lights; their display with smooth and warm light supports the desired effect of a cosy interior atmosphere.

In emotional terms, this scenography of dim light corresponds to the semiconscious state of the gamblers and shoppers, who are being impressed by neo-baroque design and light tools, in order to create optimized emotional conditions for spending money without rational control. It is the spatial psychology of shopping malls perfected in



Figure 6.5.
Interior of the Paris
hotel-casino on
Las Vegas Boulevard.
Photo © Peter Krieger, 2010.

neo-baroque designs. The penetrating light of the hotel is obviously excluded from these interior spaces of unlimited consumption. But visitors never experience complete darkness, such as the tourists in Rome, and also pedestrians in dangerous US downtowns, may sense and dread. At night, many urban spaces cause fear of being robbed, or getting lost. Here in the Caesars shopping area, visitors may also get lost, but in a protected ambience, and for commercial reasons. Additionally, the partial decoration of this mall with copies of ancient Roman statues, some of them martial warriors from the Roman Empire, generates an attractive symbolic image of protection.

This effect is supported by the painted light clouds, which indicate a light atmosphere. That is, these clouds refer more to Correggio and his Italian followers than to the Spanish mystic baroque painters who introduced the expressive, almost threatening cloud as a celestial sign for possible divine punishments. No tense, bizarre clouds such as those that El Greco painted in 1614 in his view of Toledo are found here.⁶ Clearly, the playful Roman baroque aesthetics of clouds serves as the design orientation for Caesars and other hotel-casinos in Las Vegas. Also excluded are the threatening dark clouds which might appear in many movies, from Leni Riefenstahl's films to Francis Ford Coppola's, as tools for dramatic support of the action. And even less do the clouds in Las Vegas suggest the political iconography of dark cloudy masses as signs of revolutionary conditions. Shopping and gambling require visual tools that evoke delight, not threat. Metaphorical and physical dark clouds appear later, when the gamblers and shoppers get back to their everyday life in their cold, rainy northern hometowns; receive their bills; and check their high debts on their credit cards.

Similar principles of creating affective conditions for shoppers and gamblers also determine the design concept of The Venetian on Las Vegas Strip (figure 6.4). Above the



Figure 6.6.
 Reproduction of the Paolo Veronese painting *Apotheosis of Venice* (1585) in the interior of The Venetian hotel-casino on Las Vegas Boulevard.
 Photo © Peter Krieger, 2010.

false Venetian façades at the re-created Piazza San Marco rises a flat vault with painted clouds, similar in conditions to its counterpart at Caesars, but slightly denser as Venice has a more northern and wetter climate.

Here, as well, painted clouds support the principles of architectural “theming” and “imagineering,” which generate emotions in spaces of high-level consumption.⁷ The efficient machinery of commercial illusions works better if it includes natural elements; in this case the flowing water of artificial canals and the fixed clouds on the ceilings. We see the blue and slightly clouded sky of mass-produced commercial postcard photography transferred into the interior world of a Las Vegas hotel, casino, and shopping complex.

These examples reveal how the production of visual illusion works as a tool for engaging the client’s emotions, and also how the baroque composition principle of painted clouds persists, negating sharp architectural borders.

However, not all the celestial simulations in Las Vegas’s commercial interiors are elaborated with the perfection of the Caesars and The Venetian. At the Paris hotel and casino, the interior passage displays historical false façades with neo-baroque Mansart roofs and balustrades that are too obviously attached to the painted flat ceilings (figure

6.5). The fragment of the Mansart roof has a sharp visual edge to the blue sky, which has just a few light cumulus clouds. Skyward-looking visitors can easily detect this scenographic fraud, because the design concept was executed badly. Furthermore, the concept of illumination contradicts the desired visual illusion, because the fake chimneys and other outstanding decorative parts cast shadows on the illusionary field of the painted sky.

The architects and interior decorators of the Paris shopping zone did not camouflage the supporting structure of the building: the concrete pillars are partially stuccoed, as are the façades, and the upper parts are painted in blue. The whole artificial ambience is incoherent, implicitly indicating the functional supporting structure of the whole complex. Even worse, when the illumination gets darker, the beam's shadows appear like toxic emissions from the chimneys.

In contrast to these design failures at the Paris, The Venetian tends towards high perfection of fake reproduction of baroque principles and images. In one part of the complex, the scenographic designers decided to reproduce a ceiling fresco by Paolo Veronese, who in 1585 painted the *Apotheosis of Venice* in the Palazzo Ducale, the Venetian Republic's administrative and representative center (figure 6.6). The painting displays a baroque aesthetic configuration of the cloud as a support for the glorification of a figure, in many cases the Virgin Mary, a saint, but in this case, she is also the personification of Venice.

While in the Las Vegas context, the blue and slightly clouded sky in the background visually leads to the other painted ceilings of The Venetian, the dense cumulus-stratus cloud which supports the figure in the foreground exposes one of the principal pictorial tools of the baroque. I am referring to the overshadowing of clear architectural structures with complex, metamorphic, and highly illusionary clouds. This is a visual tool suited not only to sixteenth-century Venice, but also to twenty-first-century Las Vegas; a baroque *trompe l'oeil* effect, used for glorification and devotion in the context of the Counter-Reformation, is perfectly suited to the production of visual emotions in the commercial ambience of Las Vegas. To sum: a baroque fresco with a "permanent sensory capacity of excitement"⁸ in Las Vegas presents an alternative and intense experience of cloud aesthetics for those shoppers and gamblers who look upward.

These different representations and functions of painted clouds in Las Vegas hotels and casinos exemplify the transhistorical efficiency of a baroque formula in the field of highly commercialized theatricality. Clouds are an essential part of the Las Vegas neo-baroque artificial environments, which foster collective mental stimuli for intense consumption. Those painted clouds evoke standardized patterns of emotions with compensatory functions. They support the neo-baroque mental habit of ontological instability.⁹ Perceiving the painted clouds on the ceilings of these casinos and hotels increases the desired effect, which is to disorient visitors to the commercial zones. Las Vegas casino investors and designers materialize paradigmatic structures and images for collective self-deception in what Guy Debord calls the society of spectacles.¹⁰

Today, the collective production of emotions through visual formulae is one of the key issues in brain research. Experiments have shown that visual perception is highly important for human action and reflection.¹¹ But perception and imagination are closely related neural operations; their fusion is defined as hallucination—and this is exactly the status of mind that the elaborate neo-baroque interiors in Las Vegas achieve.

The impression and sensation of painted clouds persist when tourists and gamblers leave Las Vegas by plane. Probably the celestial visual ambience of The Venetian, Caesars Palace, and the Paris hotel-casinos also determines the perception of the apparent emptiness of the nearby desert. As a counter-model to the artificial interior casino spaces, with their abundant decoration, the aerial aesthetics of the desert seems like a Calvinist antidote to neo-baroque excesses. But even this arid ecosystem is covered by “baroque” clouds, so that the dissolution of spatial and temporal references may continue in permanent hallucination.

NOTES

¹ The original German text reads: “Die Decke explodiert, und über der Explosion bleibt nur der Himmel übrig.” Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Vom Geist des Barock*, p. 84. Translation by Peter Krieger.

² See Peter Krieger, “Aesthetics of Pollution,” pp. 227–29.

³ See Daniel Herman, “Jerde Transfer,” pp. 403–7; and Sonja Beeck, “Gutes und schlechtes Theming?” pp. 12–15.

⁴ This is the topic of a book that I am preparing at present. See also Boris Groys, “Die Stadt im Zeitalter ihrer touristischen Reproduzierbarkeit,” pp. 187–98; and Joseph Imorde, “Imitation als Entwurfsproblem,” pp. 99–109.

⁵ Hubert Damisch, *Theorie der Wolke*, pp. 17, 240.

⁶ Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Barroco*, p. 157. I am referring to El Greco’s painting *La ciudad levítica*, painted in 1614 and housed in the Casa Museo del Greco in Toledo.

⁷ See Beth Dunlop, *Building a Dream*; and Ann Marling Karal, *Designing Disney’s Theme Parks*. See also Peter Krieger, “Desamores a la ciudad,” pp. 587–606.

⁸ Damisch, p. 43. See also pp. 14 and 17.

⁹ “Ontological instability” is a concept coined by Walter Moser. See Walter Moser, “The Concept of Baroque,” pp. 11–37.

¹⁰ Guy Ernest Debord, *Die Gesellschaft des Spektakels*, p. 20.

¹¹ See Wolf Singer, *Der Beobachter im Gehirn*; and Wolf Singer, “Das Bild in uns,” pp. 56–76.

Works Cited

- Beeck, Sonja. "Gutes und schlechtes Theming?" *Bauwelt* 16, no. 17 (2005): pp. 12–15.
- Damisch, Hubert. *Theorie der Wolke: Für eine Geschichte der Malerei*. Translated by Jatho Heinz. Zürich and Berlin: Diaphanes, 2013 [1972].
- Debord, Guy Ernest. *Die Gesellschaft des Spektakels*. Translated by Wolfgang Kukulies and Jean J. Raspaud. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Bittermann/Edition Tiamat, 1996 [1967].
- Dunlop, Beth. *Building a Dream: The Art of Disney Architecture*. New York: Disney Editions, 1996.
- Groys, Boris. "Die Stadt im Zeitalter ihrer touristischen Reproduzierbarkeit," pp. 187–98. *Topologie der Kunst*. Munich: Hanser, 2003.
- Hausenstein, Wilhelm. *Vom Geist des Barock*. Munich: Piper, 1924.
- Herman, Daniel. "Jerde Transfer." In *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping*, edited by Judy Chuihua Chung, pp. 403–7. Köln: Taschen, 2001.
- Imorde, Joseph. "Imitation als Entwurfsproblem: der italienische Platz im Norden." In *Konstruktionen urbaner Identität: Zitat und Rekonstruktion in Architektur und Städtebau der Gegenwart*, edited by Bruno Klein and Paul Sigel, pp. 99–109. Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2006.
- Karal, Ann Marling, ed. *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance*. Paris and New York: Flammarion, 2002.
- Krieger, Peter. "Desamores a la ciudad—satélites y enclaves." In *Amor y desamor en las artes: XXIII coloquio internacional de historia del arte*, edited by Arnulfo Herrera, pp. 587–606. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001.
- Krieger, Peter. "Aesthetics of Pollution." In *Manifesta 9: The Deep of the Modern—A Subcyclopedia*, edited by Cuauhtémoc Medina and Christopher Fraga, pp. 227–29. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2012.
- Moser, Walter. "The Concept of Baroque." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 33, no. 1, Special Issue: *La constitución del barroco hispánico: problemas y acercamientos* (Autumn, 2008): pp. 11–37.
- Rodríguez de la Flor, Fernando. *Barroco: Representación e ideología en el mundo hispánico*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2002.
- Singer, Wolf. *Der Beobachter im Gehirn: Essays zur Hirnforschung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002.
- Singer, Wolf. "Das Bild in uns – vom Bild zur Wahrnehmung." In *Iconic Turn: Die neue Macht der Bilder*, edited by Christa Maar and Hubert Burda, pp. 56–76. Köln: DuMont, 2004.

Chapter 7

Mirrors of Reason, Illusion, and Infinity: The Case of the Villa Patrizi

David Marshall

Introduction

Mirrors enlighten, fascinate, and disturb. When Snow White's wicked stepmother asks: "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the fairest of them all?" she expects the mirror to reflect back her features, as a mirror must. But she also expects the mirror to show her herself as she perceives herself to be. When the mirror replies that the fairest of all is Snow White, the situation moves beyond the space between mirror and the one who gazes at the mirror, to a secret world beyond the mirror that obeys its own laws. The mirror thus becomes a palantír,¹ a crystal ball that provides an image of another world driven by other agencies than the viewing self.

From there, the mirror opens into nightmares: to distortions and reflections where nothing is stable, nothing can be grasped. This is a theme that has been much loved by twentieth-century artists. The baroque wall sconce, reflecting the flickering light of the candle bracketed in front of it, comes alive as a living hand in Cocteau's *Beauty and the Beast* (figure 7.1).² In Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*, a nightmarish, Piranesian



Figure 7.1.
Scene with hands
holding candelabras.
Jean Cocteau, *Beauty
and the Beast* (*La
Belle e la Bête*). André
Paulvé Film/Films du
Palais Royal, 1946.
Film still. Fair use.

space is generated by complex interactions of mirrors.³ The scholarly interest in mirrors, too, tends to privilege their transforming power, as in Arnaud Maillet's *The Claude Glass*, which pursues the theme of the dark mirror.⁴

Yet in seeking to understand the use of mirrors in baroque culture, we should, perhaps, not be too eager to emphasize its surreal dimension. In the 1720s, Cardinal Patrizi was redecorating his new villa outside Rome, where one room would be a mirror cabinet. This is discussed at length in his letters, written from Ferrara (where he was papal legate) to his brother Mariano in Rome, who was supervising the construction and decoration of the villa. The question I would like to ask of this material is: in designing this room, what did mirrors mean to Patrizi? We can be sure it is not surrealist dislocation that drove him, but forces that were both more social and sociable, and which were intimately involved with matters of wealth and good taste. The evidence of the Villa Patrizi suggests that, for baroque culture, there were three mirrors with which we need to be concerned: the *mirror of reason*, the *mirror of illusion*, and the *mirror of infinity*.

The Mirror of Reason

The mirror as we use it in everyday life is the mirror of reason. It shows us the facts, with perfect transparency. We check the fit of our clothes, the perfection of our makeup, or the smoothness of our chin by looking at it, and expect it to be, as it normally is, an optically correct inversion of our image. We pay little attention either to its boundaries or to its surface. Such a mirror can embody both modern science and the pre-Enlightenment search for truth. For Benjamin Goldberg in *The Mirror and Man*

the invention of the looking glass literally and figuratively contributed to the Age of Humanism, an era of cultural change that substituted a worldly point of view for a religious one in art, literature, and government. Man became the point of reference rather than God. The clear and truthful looking glass literally showed man reality, and this led him to abandon the "dark glass" of Pauline philosophy.⁵

Such an account is also congruent with the lightness and clarity of the pier-glasses of Louis XIV and Louis XVI interiors and the Enlightenment ideas that were discussed in front of them. But this does not mean that such clear mirrors served only to reveal; they also served to expand the apparent space of the room.⁶

The search for the mirror of reason meshes easily with a history of the technological development of mirrors from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.⁷ Mirrors in the baroque period were backed with a tin–mercury amalgam, a technology that came into use in the late Middle Ages and became industrialized in early sixteenth-century Venice. The glass used for such mirrors was blown by the cylinder method, which restricted the size of panes to about one meter, and normally much less. Such mirrors were very expensive, since to make them the glass had to be laboriously ground smooth. Venice dominated glass

manufacture until Colbert and Louis XIV set about building a French glass industry, setting up a factory in 1665 that would supply the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles (1678–83).

Although in 1687 the French invented plate glass—where molten glass was poured onto a metal plate and was then rolled flat with a metal cylinder, permitting larger and more economical sheets of glass and hence larger mirror panes—the traditional process of blowing glass panes continued in Venice at the glass workshops on the island of Murano.⁸ The plate glass process would, however, prevail, followed in the nineteenth century by the invention of a process for silvering the backs of mirrors, and in the twentieth by the invention of float glass, enabling the creation of mirrors that are, for all practical purposes, flawless in the clarity of the image they return to the viewer.⁹

But while the makers of mirrors were striving towards such perfection, the use to which they were put by artists and architects in the baroque period was driven by aims other than clarity, since baroque mirrors, as often as not, were painted.

The Mirror of Illusion (1): The Painted Mirror

Figures and Flowers

Painted mirrors had appeared in Roman palace decorations shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century, when they were employed in an integrated decorative scheme in the Galleria Colonna. In the 1660s and 1670s the Colonna commissioned four painted mirrors by Carlo Maratta (1625–1723), Mario de' Fiori (1603–73), and the latter's pupil, Giovanni Stanchi (1608–75) (plates 8 and 9, pp. xxi–xxii). They were complete by 1673, when the frames were being made, and were to be found in the private apartment of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in 1689 before being installed in the Galleria Colonna on its completion in 1700.¹⁰

The importance of these mirrors was closely tied to their size and expense: Blainville in 1707, seven years after the gallery was inaugurated,¹¹ states that “Four Mirrors, and the largest Mirrors, as we were assured, in all Rome, likewise adorn this Gallery.”¹² Rudolph has suggested that the decorative scheme of the gallery with mirrors was conceived with the intent of reaffirming the primacy of Rome in the decorative arts when faced with the initiatives of Louis XIV, from whose court Maria Mancini (1639–1715) had recently arrived to marry Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in 1661.¹³ The presence of painted mirrors at the Palazzo Colonna may therefore be an early instance of French influence on Roman decorative arts. With the creation of the Galerie des Glaces, completed in 1684, the association of mirrors with French fashion and French power was complete, and in 1719 painted mirrors would still have had a fashionable French cachet.

The Colonna mirrors were followed in 1675–76 by the ground-floor *galleria* of the Palazzo Borghese,¹⁴ where the mirrors, painted by Ciro Ferri (who did the putti) and Niccolò Stanchi and Andries (André) Bosman¹⁵ (who did the flowers), are more tightly



Figure 7.2. Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, *Galleria*. View showing painted mirrors by A. D. Gabbiani, Bartolomeo BIMBI, and Pandolfo Reschi. Photo © David R. Marshall.

integrated into the decorative scheme by being installed in fixed stucco frames. This in turn was followed in 1690–91 by the Palazzo Medici Riccardi in Florence by A. D. Gabbiani, Bartolomeo Bimbi, and Pandolfo Reschi (figure 7.2).¹⁶

All these examples displayed a concern with the painting of the mirror glass. A technological explanation is sometimes proposed for this: because it was not possible to make large sheets of glass, painting was needed to disguise the joins. But there is no technical reason why large mirrors could not be assembled from regular panes of smaller panes butted together, which is indeed how clear mirrors were normally made even well after the introduction of plate glass manufacture. And in fact some painted mirrors are composed of quite large sheets cut into wastefully irregular shapes. The explanation must therefore be sought elsewhere, and it probably lies in the way the painted mirror provided opportunities to play with notions of reality and illusion.

The most recent precedent for what Cardinal Patrizi had in mind at the Villa Patrizi was the *stanza dell'udienza*, or audience room, in the Palazzo Ruspoli in Rome. This was one of a suite of rooms executed for Principe Francesco Maria Ruspoli between March and November 1715.¹⁷ The *stanza dell'udienza* was formed by the architect in charge, Giovanni Battista Contini,¹⁸ by closing off the stairs and entrance atrium opening to the Via del Corso designed by Ammannati in the sixteenth century. Being an elongated room running transversely across the middle of the enfilade it had elements in common with the Palazzo Borghese *galleria*, although functionally its counterpart was the *sala dell'udienza* in the Palazzo Patrizi at S. Luigi dei Francesi. The audience room of a Roman palace contained the *baldacchino*, signifying that the owner was a prince (as in the case of the Ruspoli) or *marchese del baldacchino* (as in the case of the Patrizi). The decision to use painted mirrors at Palazzo Ruspoli would have been a response to the elevated status of this room, which demanded, in its decoration, a more elevated and expensive treatment than the relatively economical murals employed in the other rooms.

The *stanza dell'udienza* room is described in detail in Rossini's *Mercurio errante*, published in the same year as the decoration was executed (1715). The degree of detail that Rossini provides undoubtedly reflects the degree of interest in what was the latest fashionable interior:

La settima stanza dell'udienza, situata nel mezzo dell'Appartamento con la nuova Ringhiera sopra il Corso, è adornata da due gran quadri di cristalli dipinti per il mezzo, e tramezzati da corone, e serti di frutti, e fiori, con molte figure di mano di Giulio Solimena, con bussole alle porte parimente di cristallo, dipintevi alcuni putti dal medesimo Solimena; vi si vedono quattro gran vasi di porcellana orientale.¹⁹

[The seventh room, the audience room, situated in the middle of the apartment with the new balcony above the Corso, is adorned with two large pictures of mirror glass painted in the middle, and crossed by wreaths and garlands of fruit and flowers, with many figures by the hand of Giulio Solimena, with swing doors at the doors likewise of mirror glass, in which are painted putti by the same Solimena; there are seen four large vases of oriental porcelain.]



Figure 7.3.
Florence, Palazzo
Medici Riccardi,
painted mirror
in the *Galleria*.
Photo © David
R. Marshall.

The figures were not, in fact, by Solimena; the documents reveal that they were by another Neapolitan painter, Onofrio Loth, and Michelangelo Cerrutti.²⁰ The garlands and birds were by Pietro Paolo Cennini, a pupil of Nicola Stanchi and sometime collaborator of Giovanni Paolo Panini.²¹

Cardinal Patrizi would have been well aware of this room, since it was completed in the year he became cardinal and when planning for the Villa Patrizi would have been at its most intense. Furthermore, in 1723 he planned to update the *sala d'udienza* on the Piano Nobile in the Palazzo Patrizi, which he would be using as his own audience room on his return from Ferrara, by installing mirrored *bussole* on either side of the *baldacchino*.²² He was, in effect, updating his father's palace to conform to new standards established by the Ruspoli.

The importance of the Ruspoli *sala d'udienza* is that the combination of mirrors and flower painting described by Rossini seems to have had a lighter and more airy effect than the Galleria Colonna, the Borghese *galleria*, or the Galleria Medici Riccardi. Certainly, by this date the flower painters no longer employed the meticulous Dutch-inspired naturalism of Mario de' Fiori. Early eighteenth-century flower painters were engaged in the exploration of a different kind of response to nature: one based on a social, rather than a botanical, conception of nature.

The Berninian *Concetto*

The baroque mirror also presented new opportunities for the Berninian *concetto*. In one of the mirrors at the Palazzo Medici Riccardi (figure 7.3), one pane is painted as a fictive mirror surrounded by an exuberantly painted frame. This mirror hangs at an angle from ropes held by putti, who are endeavoring to install it. A real mirror is thus presented as a fictive one.²³ This is an instance of the widespread *concetto* of figures (angels or putti) apparently lifting, carrying, or holding the frame of what is, in reality, a static picture. One example among many is the pair of angels supporting the frames of the transepts of S. Maria in Campitelli (figure 7.4). The angels impart a sense of instability to what is in fact stable. The altarpiece ceases to be something one looks through, and becomes instead an object that is suspended within the space of the room. The Albertian picture-as-window is denied, and the altarpiece asserts its true nature, as a painted canvas in a frame having real weight, a weight the angels must bear.

Yet this comparison reveals the difference between the operation of this *concetto* in sculptural and mirror forms. At S. Maria in Campitelli, the effect is wholly conceptual. At the Galleria Medici Riccardi and Galleria Colonna (figure 7.3 and plates 8 and 9), by contrast, the scene is alive. The mirrored ground reflects the light of candles and figures moving around in the gallery in a constant play of light and movement. The fictive mirror that the putti lift coexists as a real mirror decorating the wall of the gallery: the two are flattened into one. But only the fictive mirror frames a view of oneself in the way that an



Figure 7.4. Rome, S. Maria in Campitelli, chapel showing relief frame. Photo © David R. Marshall.

ordinary mirror does. It is the only point at which we can get a clear and rational mirror image—an Enlightenment image—of ourselves. The rest of the mirror outside the fictive mirror belongs to the gallery and is too cluttered with paint on its surface for us ever to get a clear view of ourselves or the other figures around us in the gallery. The fictive mirror is, therefore, the only part of the larger mirror that is a “mirror of reason,” and forces us to accept that our reality exists within a fictive realm, a realm where putti fly around erecting mirrors.²⁴

The Space Beyond

But the painted mirror is more than an illusionistic *conchetto*. Like the mirror of the wicked stepmother, it opens onto a different world, or at least into a different space. In this respect it is the precise analogue of the illusionistic ceiling. The great baroque illusionistic ceilings—Pietro da Cortona’s Barberini ceiling, G. B. Gaulli’s Gesù ceiling, or Andrea Pozzo’s S. Ignazio ceiling—consist essentially of a play between an awareness of the surface of the vault and its denial.

At one extreme, the Berninian Gesù ceiling labors the nature of the vault surface in order to intensify the effect of having a hole punched in it through which figures move



Figure 7.5. Rome, S. Ignazio, nave, with fresco by Andrea Pozzo. Photo © David R. Marshall.

freely from beyond to within. In the Barberini ceiling the fictive stucco framing similarly establishes the plane of the vault, while the illusionism of the figures establishes a within and a beyond. More complicated is the S. Ignazio ceiling (figure 7.5), where the *quadratura* seeks to establish, at first sight, a wholly fictional structure that dissolves the vault. Yet by moving to and from the yellow marble disk that marks the point of coherence of the fictive architecture, as we necessarily must, we are continuously reminded of the vault surface against which this fiction plays.

The painted mirror does the same thing more simply. In the case of the *gabinetto degli specchi* at Palazzo Sciarra (1743–50) this is literally the case, since here there is a mirrored ceiling with painted putti (plate 10, p. xxii).²⁵ The painted putti resolutely assert the surface of the glass, and make us aware of the *within* that is the space we occupy, and the *beyond* that our image inhabits. Because we can never properly view that beyond—the putti and flowers constantly intervene—that beyond becomes a place of mystery of potentially infinite extension.

If there is an aesthetic failing of these mirrors it is that these putti and flowers remain trapped by the surface that they serve to establish (plate 8, p. xxi). Though fully modeled, they never read wholly in relief, in the way that figures on illusionistic ceilings can do. In part, this may be a consequence of time and condition, but in part at least it is conceptual. In contrast to the remoteness of a ceiling, one is normally close enough to the surface of a mirror to be aware of the texture of the paint film, and its assertive flatness.²⁶ The volume of the figures is represented, but it does not create an illusion of relief. But such failings are more than counteracted by the way the reflections and lights within the mirror *are* real, as the image in a camera obscura is real, and as a crafted image can never be. The painted images on the mirror surface appear, as a consequence, to be interacting with the real figures in the spaces they open before and behind them.

The baroque mirror, then, is one that interlaces the fictive and the real. Even as late as 1799 the way the baroque mirror functioned was not forgotten. In that year, Jacques-Louis David, a painter normally characterized as anti-baroque, set up his *Intervention of the Sabine Women* at a paying exhibition in front of a *psyché*, a tall hinged dressing-room mirror that tilted back to show the whole body, and “contemporary commentators noted the illusion produced by the interpenetration of the painted bodies and those of the visitors.”²⁷

The Mirror of Illusion (2): The Mirror Cabinet and the Mirror Pilaster

Mirrors v. Paintings

In 1747, a generation after the decoration of the Villa Patrizi, a French writer, La Font de Saint Yenne, lamented the way mirrors had caused the decline of painting by displacing it from the monumental spaces to which it properly belonged:

La science du Pinceau a donc été forcée de céder à l'éclat du verre; la facilité mécanique de sa perfection, & son abondance ont exilé des apartemens le plus beau des Arts.²⁸

[The art of the brush has been forced to defer to the brilliance of the looking glass, whose technical perfection has exiled the finest of all the arts from our grandest homes.]

The Villa Patrizi brilliantly confirms La Font de Saint Yenne's lament, for, had the cardinal had his way, mirrors would have displaced paintings as the principal objects of attention in the Gallery. In the end, however, the principal decoration of the Gallery would be paintings by Raffaello Vanni.²⁹

Mirror Pilasters

It is possible that Cardinal Patrizi's lack of determination in pursuing painted mirrors in the gallery owed something to a growing awareness that there were other, and perhaps more exciting, things one could do with them. Palace and villa decoration was in a process of transition. Mirrors were only the first of a number of new luxury materials and decorative themes that were being introduced, which included porcelain and lacquer. These new materials had not yet crystallized into fixed pattern or types of decoration, and in the process of doing so they were taking the mirror—which at the Galleria Colonna had been thought of as a gilt-framed picture hung on the wall—into a new place: the theme room. In this respect the ground-floor rooms of Palazzo Ruspoli seem to be at a transitional stage. Although the Ruspoli audience room apparently took as its point of departure the painted mirrors employed in the Borghese and Colonna galleries, the mirroring, which extended to the doors, created a more overall mirrored effect.

In the Villa Patrizi, these various elements have separated out into three separate rooms: the Gallery, Stanza alla Cinese, and Stanza delli Cristalli. Two of these, the Stanza alla Cinese and Stanza delli Cristalli, correspond to the porcelain cabinet and the mirror cabinet as they were emerging in Northern Europe. The creation of the Stanza delli Cristalli, therefore, made it unnecessary for the Gallery to have painted mirrors. Indeed, the installation of the paintings by Vanni in the Gallery may have been more forward-looking than the cardinal realized, since within a generation the Gallery would be considered primarily a place to display pictures.

Cardinal Patrizi's Letters reveal that ideas for the Patrizi mirror cabinet began to emerge at the same time that the decoration of the Gallery was proceeding. These ideas were stimulated not by Roman precedent, but by what the cardinal had heard was happening in France. In December 1719 he favors for the Piano Nobile rooms French-style *boiseries* with inset mirrors and paintings,³⁰ and still in July 1720 he wants the Piano Nobile rooms to be lined with *boiseries* in which are set either pictures or mirrors.³¹ This, the cardinal points out firmly, is the latest fashion. But what he could see for himself was to be found in northern Italy. On October 19, 1720—that is, at the moment when he was proposing to hang the paintings by Vanni in the Gallery—the cardinal tells Mariano that he is about to go to Bologna, accompanied by his nephew Patrizio, who was staying with him.³² He has heard that Marchese Monti, having just been made *gonfaloniere*, has furnished his house with good taste: not with great richness, but according to the latest fashion. That the cardinal stresses this point may be significant in this context, for these terms are not those that applied in the years when the Galleria Colonna was being created. Rather, they are Arcadian ideas; “*buon gusto*,” or “good taste,” was the key critical term of the Arcadian Academy. For a relatively impoverished cardinal, the Arcadian concept of *buon gusto*, as well as the idea of fashion, neatly sidestepped the problem of raw wealth.

The palace that Cardinal Patrizi wanted to see in Bologna was probably the one now known as Palazzo Salina-Monti, now Brazzetti, at Via Barberia 13. Already in 1707 Blainville had singled out its furnishings and collections.³³ This palace was being rebuilt by Francesco Maria Monti, whom Clement XI had made a member of the senatorial class on April 1, 1719, which was the event to which Patrizi was alluding.³⁴ Work had begun in 1720 with the demolition of the old portico that ran across the front of the new building. (The façade, however, would not be made until 1736–38, by Carlo Francesco Dotti.³⁵) To judge from Patrizi's letter, these structural changes were accompanied by new decoration and furnishings. Among the earlier decorations of the palazzo are a ground-floor gallery designed by Gian Giacomo Monti in 1673 with frescoes by Marcantonio Franceschini and pupils of Carlo Cignani.³⁶ In 1721 Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, whose brother Francesco the cardinal had considered for frescoes in the villa, painted an architectural perspective on the back wall of the rear courtyard, now barely legible, designed to be seen as one entered through the central passageway.³⁷

The Palazzo Monti was, then, the most recently decorated interior in Bologna, and the cardinal was determined to find there ideas for his villa, and planned to have drawings made of things worth copying.³⁸ Perhaps it was here, or in one of the other *palazzi* in town or country that he and Patrizio visited, that they saw a room with tall columns or pilasters made from mirrors (*pilastrì di specchi*) in the corners “which would enlarge the rooms, look beautiful, and not cost too much.”³⁹ The cardinal claims the idea as his own, and, having had the Bolognese example measured, he sends the details with Patrizio to Rome. The cardinal proposes using the mirror pilasters in the two bedrooms, and assures

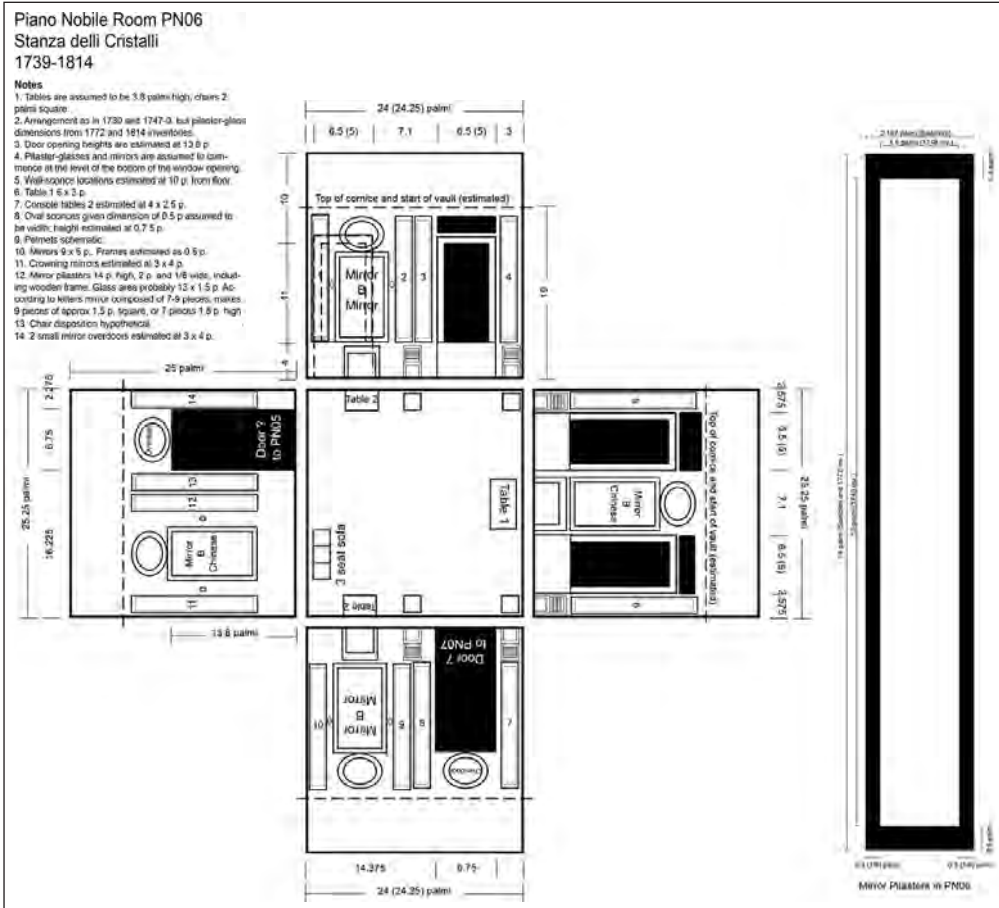


Figure 7.6. Villa Patrizi, 1715–27, reconstructed plan and elevations of Stanza degli Specchi.
Image © David R. Marshall.

Mariano, who is unclear about what the cardinal has in mind, that they will not be as expensive as he thinks. The cardinal had been unhappy with Mariano's proposal to use wall-hangings in the bedrooms, both because of the expense and because they would not be in keeping with the other rooms. Mariano proposes instead to use them in the Gallery in place of the unsatisfactory paintings by Vanni, which suggests that he is confusing them with the painted mirrors project.⁴⁰ The cardinal, having a clearer idea of what mirror pilasters would look like but willing to consider Mariano's suggestion, carefully explains that the mirror pilasters would go at the corners of the room and would not interfere with the paintings by Vanni, but complement them. They would, however, need to be bigger than those in the other rooms—he is perhaps still thinking of the bedrooms—or even of using mirror pilasters as a consistent motif throughout the Piano Nobile. Mariano

points out that in most rooms there is not enough room for full mirror pilasters.⁴¹ To get around the problem, the cardinal proposes using half-pilasters. By Christmas Mariano has provided drawings of one of the rooms, which probably means that Mariano had settled on the room that would become the *Stanza delli Cristalli*, and the cardinal asks for measurements so he can order the mirrors in Venice.⁴² By the beginning of January, however, the cardinal has decided to abandon the scheme for lack of funds, but gently mocks Mariano's understanding of how mirror pilasters were made. Mariano apparently had assumed that the pilasters were made of single pieces of glass measuring 18 palmi high by 1½ palmi wide, which would have been beyond the capacity of Venetian glass workshops at the time, rather than being composed of several smaller pieces.⁴³

When the cardinal was reappointed to his second term as papal legate of Ferrara later in the year, his financial situation improved. By March 1722 mirror pilasters are back on the agenda, but now as part of a *stanza delli cristalli* conceived as the complement to a porcelain room (figure 7.6).⁴⁴ By now, the painter Giovanni Paolo Panini, who was working on various frescoes in the villa, is firmly in charge of the decoration.⁴⁵ Like many of the painters the cardinal and Mariano favored, Panini came from northern Italy—from Piacenza—and was probably familiar with *quadratura* painting there. He would soon develop close connections with the French Academy, and in 1724 would become the brother-in-law of its director, Nicolas Vleughels.⁴⁶ Possibly the cardinal had learned in Bologna how important it was to have a “young man who is very able at furnishing houses,” and Panini was willing and able to fill that role.

By August 1722 the cardinal is thinking about the logistics of ordering items for the mirror room from Venice, which might include painted glass panels, though we hear no more of these.⁴⁷ In September his concern is with one of the framed mirrors that he had had made in Venice, which arrived in Rome in a smashed condition.⁴⁸ By November the cardinal has received from Mariano the measurements of the mirror pilasters, each of which was to be composed of seven panes. The cardinal makes his own calculations of the dimensions of each pane, assuming they use eight or nine panes instead, evidently hoping that more but smaller panes would cost less.⁴⁹ Mariano then follows up with his own calculation for the eight- and nine-pane options.⁵⁰ The cardinal evidently had good reasons for supposing that the size of the panes would affect the price, since when the quote comes back the nine-pane option turns out to be ten scudi less than the seven-pane option. Since the latter panes cost 1 scudo each, the difference was of the order of 10 percent, a figure that would interest a quantity surveyor today, but not the cardinal, who decides that the saving is not worth it.⁵¹

On December 12 the cardinal tells Francesco and Mariano that he has commissioned the mirrors but that it will take a month to make them,⁵² and on January 1, 1723 that it will still be another fifteen days.⁵³ By February 27 they had arrived in Ferrara. The cardinal was still holding onto them on April 10,⁵⁴ but by the next week he has had them despatched by water to Pesaro.⁵⁵ By May 15 they had left Pesaro on the overland trip to

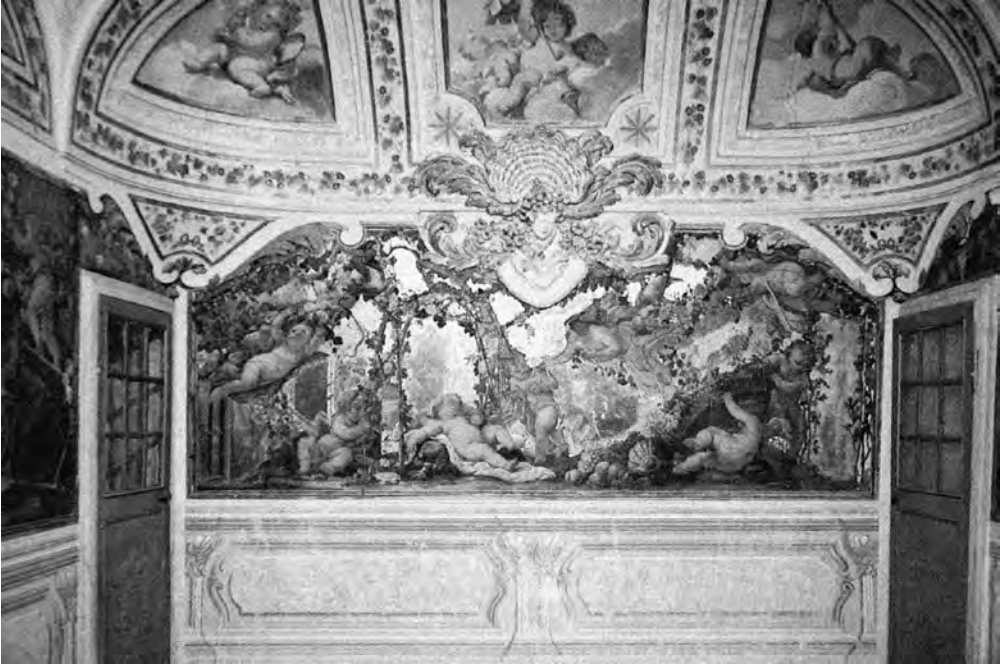


Figure 7.7. Soriano nel Cimino, house, painted mirror.
After Salerno, *La Natura Morta Italiana*. Fair use.

Rome.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, there was a change of mind or miscalculation, and by July 10 the cardinal has to order more from Venice, but it is midsummer and the furnaces have been shut down.⁵⁷ He points out that if these new mirrors had been ordered with the rest, the problem would not have arisen.⁵⁸ By July 21 the new mirrors have been commissioned, with Mariano making last-minute changes to the quantities,⁵⁹ and the price quoted is moderate.⁶⁰ On October 2, the cardinal has not heard of any progress with the commission for some time;⁶¹ however, a week later he has learned that the *stanza delli cristalli* has been well received, so it must have been almost finished. Possibly the outstanding panes were for one pilaster only, since the carpenter Giuseppe Santolini on the same day was working on the wooden backing and framing for one of the mirror pilasters. Either way, it took a lot longer for the remaining panes of mirror glass to reach Rome. The cardinal has them with him in Ferrara by February 5, 1724, but the opportunity to send them does not arise before the end of the month.⁶² Only on April 3, 1724, when the cardinal was in the conclave that elected Benedict XIII, does he declare that they have arrived.⁶³

From this account it is evident that neither Cardinal Patrizi nor Mariano began with a mirror cabinet as such in mind. Rather, the cardinal had identified an element of interest, the mirror pilaster, and was searching for the best way to use it. The *Stanza delli*

Cristalli that resulted combined repeated mirror pilasters with framed mirrors mounted over console tables (figure 7.6). From this process it is clear that the mirror pilasters did not come with a firm functional purpose: they are an exciting new idea looking for an application. But it was, in one sense, a slightly scary idea. A room full of mirrors, like a room full of precious ceramics, is an invitation to a disordered or embittered mind to engage in an orgy of destruction. The cardinal himself felt this impulse. With his usual anxiety over paying the bills, and determination the villa should not be a financial burden on his heirs, he jokes that if he dies insolvent his heirs may take up a stick in anger and smash the Stanza delli Cristalli.⁶⁴

Other Roman Mirror Cabinets

In his enthusiasm for mirrors Cardinal Patrizi was attuned to the latest trends. The mirror pilasters at Villa Patrizi pre-date those in Palazzo Barberini, after 1728,⁶⁵ and in Palazzo Altieri (dated by Schiavo to ca. 1732)⁶⁶ and Palazzo Sciarra (1743–45).⁶⁷ Nicola Pio's manuscript *Lives* of 1724 refers to a number of other mirror rooms, including one on the ground floor of Palazzo de Carolis, now lost,⁶⁸ and also the *sala degli specchi* in the *casino degli specchi* for Cardinal Annibale Albani at Soriano nel Cimino, painted by Pietro Paolo Cennini and Domenico Cerrutti, which survives.⁶⁹

It is curious how in Rome the mirror cabinet remained an experimental form and never settled down to a single-minded room type like its northern European counterpart, or even like the *salottino degli specchi* in the Palazzo Terzi in Bergamo. At Soriano the mirrors are conceived of as painted mirrors of the Galleria Colonna type set into fixed installations in a compact room (figure 7.7). At Palazzo Barberini mirror pilasters are combined with silk wall-hangings with bird's-eye views of the life of American Indians, so that the mirror theme is only partly developed, and at Palazzo Altieri the mirrors are almost overwhelmed by the stucco framing. At Palazzo Sciarra the wall mirrors are thought of more as paintings than as mirrors: they have the proportions of paintings, and read as Albertian picture-windows. Those with putti, which Pietrangeli considers to be earlier than the room and to date to some time after 1663 (they are similar in conception to those at Soriano),⁷⁰ are structured around a bracket and urn that seem part of the framing, and the putti are tied to these or to the top corners of the frame. Others constitute a curious experiment: Paninesque ruin-paintings (which Pietrangeli considers to be later than those with putti), the mirrors constituting the background sky and the joins in the panes disguised with arbitrary vegetation.⁷¹ The "stylistic incoherence"⁷² of this room, with mirrors, chinoiserie panels, and Delft floor tiles, demonstrates that it is conceived of as a collection of modern fashions, rather than as a mirror cabinet proper.⁷³ By comparison, the Villa Patrizi rooms, even though the ornaments of the mirror room are in a chinoiserie manner, imply a conceptual distinction between a mirror cabinet and chinoiserie/porcelain room. Perhaps this distinction was Panini's contribution.

The Mirror of Infinity: The Mirrored Enfilade

If we look at the use of mirror pilasters at Palazzo Barberini we can begin to understand why the cardinal was so interested in them. In the way that the cardinal was thinking of them—in the corners of the room—they would have given the effect of other rooms existing beyond them. They would have served to “pierce the walls in order to enlarge the apartments” (*percer le murs pour en aggrandir les appartemens*), as La Font de Saint-Yenne put it.⁷⁴ The mirror pilaster is thus the analogue of the layered spaces of contemporary north Italian *quadratura* (found also in Panini’s frescoes at Palazzo Alberoni),⁷⁵ where spaces, especially vaults, open up beyond the actual vault, not in a wholehearted way, but as tempting glimpses.

There was a more direct way of enlarging the space of a room, which was to place mirrors on opposite walls facing each other. In this way an infinite, tunnel-like recession could be created, marked by the endless repetition of the viewer standing between. While the effect can be created in any space that enables mirrors to be placed in accurate frontal alignment, it was most congruent with the enfilade. The purpose of the enfilade was to suggest an infinite extension. The visitor, gazing down the enfilade through which he or she was about to progress, saw a series of diminishing rectangular openings marked with door-curtains, attendant footmen, and regular bands of light from the adjacent windows. Suggested, but not revealed, are a series of spaces opposite the source of light. The extent of the enfilade is an expression of the magnificence of the palace and, by extension, its owner, and the point at which that owner met the visitor was a marker of relative status. The enfilade, in short, was the spatial embodiment of baroque social hierarchies.

A royal palace might have a sequence of rooms sufficient in number for the enfilade to appear to the spectator to be effectively infinite. In more modest buildings, the discreet employment of mirrors could achieve the same effect. Charles d’Agustin d’Aviler in 1710 recommended using mirrors in this way to prolong an enfilade of a Parisian town-house restricted by walls of neighboring houses.⁷⁶ The Villa Patrizi enfilades were not restricted by neighboring buildings, and during the day would have ended in a view through a window to the Campagna, and would therefore be, in a certain sense, infinite. At night, however, this effect would be lost, and the enfilade would terminate at whatever covered the window embrasures. If these were mirrored shutters, placed at both ends, they would indeed infinitely multiply the actual enfilade, and this magical effect would be intensified by the flickering reflections of the chandeliers and the candles in their sconces.

The possibility of such mirrored shutters is discussed by Cardinal Patrizi in his letters from May 30, 1722, where he presents his ideas for the approval of Mariano and Panini.⁷⁷ He proposes mirrored shutters (*bussola di cristallo*) over the windows at the four corners of the main villa building (the casino)—in other words, at the ends of the four enfilades. But he does not want them to obstruct the views during the day, and so proposes either that they be hinged on one side or be designed to slide to one side in chan-

nels so that they do not encumber the room. They would be of lightweight construction, the frames thin and the mirrors attached to a single plank of wood (*tavola*) of the same thickness as the mirror. He seems to be thinking here of one-piece shutters that if hinged would jut out into the room, and if sliding would box in the embrasures when closed and cover the adjacent wall when open, or perhaps slide behind wall paneling, as was the case in French examples.⁷⁸

Mariano seems to have raised the issue of problems with damp damaging the mirroring, to which the cardinal replies that mirrors are an ornament most appropriate in the country. In any case, where it is likely to be a problem smaller panes can be used, which would be easy to replace.⁷⁹ Mariano seems to have realized the impracticability of this scheme, and to have suggested mirroring the window frames (*fusti*) instead, from the top to the floor.⁸⁰ Small hinged doors (*sportelletti*) would solve the problem of damp and ventilation. The cost would not be excessive because the area involved was not large and small pieces of glass would be used. Apparently what he had in mind was to use smaller than normal pieces of glass to mirror the window frames, with hinged mirrored shutters corresponding to each of the four window sections. This still seems to Mariano to be an impracticable solution, and in the end the cardinal arrives at the obvious solution, which is to have double shutters hinged at the sides of the windows that would fold back against the sides of the embrasures when open (*facessero ornato alla grossezza del muro delle finestre*).⁸¹ With the shutters closed the full area of the window recess would reflect the enfilade. Since mirrored *bussole* are not mentioned in the inventories, this project must have come to nothing.

The idea for such mirrored shutters came not from Bologna, but from much closer to home: Costanzo's own apartment in Palazzo Patrizi at S. Luigi dei Francesi, where, we are told, such mirrored shutters "multiply the apartment."⁸² The model for these was probably the audience room of Palazzo Ruspoli, where, as was discussed above, there were mirrored *bussole* on either side of the *baldacchino*.

The cardinal also wanted mirrored *bussole* in his own audience room in the Palazzo at S. Luigi, for which he intended to recycle old mirrors. He had a supply of panes of mirror glass (*crystalli*) that were his personal property and were stored in his guardarobba in his apartment in the Casa de' Spagnoli next door, including some that had been removed from his carriages. The idea was to send them to Venice to have their mirror backing reapplied.⁸³ The project is mentioned as early as September 1718, and again in November 1722, but is most fully discussed between March and July 1723.⁸⁴ In the end, Mariano, very sensibly, decided to have the application of the mirror backing done in Rome, rather than sending them all the way to Venice and back with the consequent risk of breakage.⁸⁵ It seems that there were workshops making mirrors in Rome, but they were a last resort. First call on these panes would be the cardinal's bathroom and dressing room in the Palazzo (*stufa da spogliare e vestire*), and some were intended for the mezzanine of the Villa, although whether they were used there is not apparent from the inventories. Most,

however, were to be used for mirrored *bussole* in the audience room, and were to go on either side of the *baldacchino*. The cardinal would have liked mirror pilasters here as well, but is prepared to settle for wall-hangings held down by gilt framing at the corners.⁸⁶ A few months later, however, he no longer mentions the *bussole*, and wants the room to be mirrored from top to bottom, but “united with some paintings” (*unite con delle pitture*), in order more easily to adapt the mirror panes that he has.⁸⁷ This may mean either that he proposes to have painted mirrors, with painting covering the joins between the panes, or else to pad out the wall covering with paintings.

Conclusion

For Cardinal Patrizi, then, mirrors were an exciting new possibility for decorating his new villa in a way that was both fashionable and international. His thinking began with the grandest interior in Rome, the Galleria Colonna (completed in 1700);⁸⁸ he was influenced by what Prince Ruspoli was currently doing at Palazzo Ruspoli; and he was attuned to what could be seen in Bologna, as well as probably being aware through reports of what was happening in France and Germany. But above all Patrizi was prepared to experiment. He listens to what his brother Mariano, who was in close contact with Roman artists and artisans, especially Giovanni Paolo Panini, an internationally oriented Piacentine, has to say. Yet some of the cardinal’s ideas, especially the use of mirror pilasters, were unfamiliar in Rome. The result was a mirror cabinet that probably influenced later Roman examples, yet which, in the way it was associated with a room that was to have been a porcelain cabinet (although it ended as a *stanza cinese*), a pairing common in German palaces, seems to be unique in the Roman context.

NOTES

¹ The reference is to the fictional crystal ball of J. R. R. Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings*.

² Jean Cocteau, *Beauty and the Beast (La Belle e la Bête)*, 1946.

³ Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*. This theme is further developed in the film adaptation by Jean-Jacques Annaud (1986).

⁴ Arnaud Maillet, *The Claude Glass*; cf. David R. Marshall, “Review of C. Maillet.”

⁵ Benjamin Goldberg, *The Mirror and Man*, p. 160. See also Richmond Burdick, “Review of *The Mirror and Man*.”

⁶ As R. G. Clouston, “Eighteenth-Century Mirrors,” p. 39 observed in 1906, “a wall-mirror is not a ‘looking-glass.’ Its primary intention is, or ought to be, not only to give a feeling of air and space, but, where advisable, to alter the apparent proportions of a room.”

⁷ On mirrors generally, see Graham Child, “Mirror”; Graham Child, *World Mirrors*; Ralph Edwards, *Dictionary of English Furniture*; Serge Roche, *Mirrors*; Hans-Jürgen Schiffer, *The Mirror Book*.

⁸ A description of the practice of Murano glassworkers is found in Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières*, vol. 1, p. 259.

⁹ Such clarity can, nevertheless, serve an illusionistic purpose. At Sir Edwin Lutyens's Castle Drogo in Devon a false doorway in a bedroom is mirrored to form a dressing mirror, but the clarity of the mirror, combined with its frame that purports to be a doorway, means that a chair has to be placed in front of it to prevent visitors trying to walk through it.

¹⁰ Christina Strunck, "The marvel," p. 100, note 44; Christina Strunck, *Berninis unbekanntes Meisterwerk*, p. 553; Stella Rudolph, "Carlo Maratti figurista," p. 13; Patrizia Piergiovanni, *Galleria Colonna*, pp. 171–74.

¹¹ Strunck, "The marvel," p. 79.

¹² Monsieur de Blainville, *Travels*, II, p. 435.

¹³ Rudolph, pp. 13–14 and note 17, where she notes that, besides the projects for the Louvre and Versailles that were then under discussion, there was the *galleria* by Louis Le Vau in the Hotel Lambert.

¹⁴ Howard Hibbard, "Palazzo Borghese Studies II," p. 15; Elena Fumagalli, *Palazzo Borghese*, pp. 92–96 and note 221 on p. 101. Hibbard says that the glass is Venetian. Hibbard ("Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese," doc. 57, pp. 138–40) published the "*Misura e stima de Lavori di Muro*" by the "capo mastro muratore" Jacopo Mola dated October 18, 1671 that includes the item "Per haver pigliato numero 8 specchi della sala vecchia e portati ... per dipingere li Pittori." The "sala vecchia" was an older gallery on the site, and evidently the glass was reused. It is described in Sebastiani, *Pitture*, p. 130 as "La stanza degli Specchi" (Hibbard, *Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese*, p. 15, note 29) and by Blainville (III p. 87).

¹⁵ Hibbard ("Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese," p. 15, note 29) and Fumagalli, p. 101, note 221) identify the second flower painter, responsible for two of the six, as André Bosmans (Antwerp 1621–Rome 1692) citing payments in the Archivio Borghese.

¹⁶ Mina Gregori, "Gli Specchi dipinti," p. 75.

¹⁷ See Geneviève Michel and Olivier Michel, "La décoration du Palais Ruspoli." A summary account with revisions is found in Olivier Michel, "Pitture e pittori," while a revised version of the 1992 publication is Michel, "Les peintres du palais Ruspoli," in Olivier Michel, *Vivre et Peindre*, pp. 587–97.

¹⁸ Sandro Benedetti, "L'architettura," pp. 173–74.

¹⁹ Pietro Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante*, I, p. 63.

²⁰ Nicola Pio, *Le Vite*, p. 76.

²¹ Olivier Michel, "Images du 'Caffè nuovo';" Olivier Michel, "Un esempio di ecletticismo."

²² This is documented in the Letters (see below).

²³ Gregori, fig. 60.

²⁴ Some surviving English examples resist the aesthetic of the baroque *conchetto*. In painted mirrors at Cotehele in Cornwall and in the Victoria and Albert Museum the central panel is left clear so as to function as a looking-glass, so that the painted glass serves primarily as a painted frame, albeit one enlivened by reflections. (John Cornforth, "Looking-Glass Mysteries," pp. 73–74, figs 4 and 5.)

²⁵ On the Palazzo Sciarra *gabinetto degli specchi*, see Carlo Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Sciarra*; and Luigi Salerno, "Inediti di Luigi Vanvitelli," pp. 1–3, 4–8.

²⁶ On the importance of viewing-distance for the operation of true illusionism see Michael Kubovy, *The Psychology of Perspective*.

²⁷ Maillat, p. 178. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines*, pp. 136–39 and note 11 on p. 326; Jean Claude Lebensztejn, "Review," p. 154.

²⁸ Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions*, pp. 13–14, 16.

²⁹ David R. Marshall, *Rediscovering a Baroque Villa in Rome*, pp. 154–56.

³⁰ Letter, December 9, 1719 [4]. This and subsequent references are to David R. Marshall, “The Letters of Cardinal Patrizi,” pp. 143–520.

³¹ Letter, July 6, 1720 [1].

³² Letter, October 19, 1720 [5].

³³ Blainville, *Travels*, II, p. 205.

³⁴ Giampiero Cuppini, *I palazzi senatorii*, p. 309; Anna Maria Matteucci, *Carlo Francesco Dotti*, p. 132 cat. 25.

³⁵ Cuppini, , p. 309; Matteucci,, p. 132 cat. 25 and plates 111–12.

³⁶ Dwight C. Miller, *Marcantonio Franceschini*, pp. 126–27, cat. 31.

³⁷ Anna Maria Matteucci and Anna Stanzani, *Architetture dell’Inganno*, pp. 185–86, cat. 13, entry by Deanna Lenzi, which presents a reconstruction and plan.

³⁸ Letter, October 19, 1720 [5]; Letter, October 26, 1720 [5]; Letter, November 9, 1720 [5].

³⁹ Letter, November 30, 1720 [1].

⁴⁰ Letter, December 7, 1720 [3].

⁴¹ Letter, December 14, 1720 [4].

⁴² Letter, December 25, 1720 [2].

⁴³ Letter, January 4, 1721 [1].

⁴⁴ Letter, March 14, 1722 [4].

⁴⁵ Letter, October 9, 1723 [1]. On completion, the room was well received, “as could not be otherwise given the good taste of Panini.”

⁴⁶ Ferdinando Arisi, *Gian Paolo Panini*, p. 203.

⁴⁷ Letter, August 8, 1722 [3].

⁴⁸ Letter, September 9, 1722 [1]; Letter, September 26, 1722 [1].

⁴⁹ Letter, November 14, 1722 [4].

⁵⁰ Letter November 21, 1722 [2].

⁵¹ Letter, November 28, 1722 [4].

⁵² Letter, December 12, 1722 Letter 1 to Francesco [4]. Letter, December 12, 1722 Letter 2 [4].

⁵³ Letter, January 1, 1723 [1].

⁵⁴ Letter, February 27, 1723 [2].

⁵⁵ Letter, April 10, 1723 [5]. Letter, April 17, 1723 [3].

⁵⁶ Letter, May 15, 1723 [2].

⁵⁷ Letter, July 10, 1723 [2].

⁵⁸ Letter, July 17, 1723 [3].

⁵⁹ Letter, July 21, 1723 [3].

⁶⁰ Letter, July 30, 1723 [2].

⁶¹ Letter, October 2, 1723 [2].

⁶² Letter, February 5, 1724 [3]; Letter, February 12, 1724 [5]; Letter, February 19, 1724 [2]; Letter, February 26, 1724 Letter 1 to Francesco [1]; Letter, February 26, 1724 Letter 2 [1].

⁶³ Letter, April 3, 1724 [1].

⁶⁴ Letter, October 20, 1723 [4].

⁶⁵ Giuseppina Magnamini, “The Eighteenth-Century Apartments,” pp. 252–61. Lorenza Mochi Onori, *Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica*.

⁶⁶ In the *gabinetto di toeletta* on the Piano Nobile on the secondary courtyard is a room with mirrors which Schiavo dates to ca. 1732. (Armando Schiavo, *Palazzo Altieri*, figs. 58, 59.)

⁶⁷ Carlo Pietrangeli, ed. *Fondazione Memmo*, pp. 284–308; Salerno, pp. 1–3, 4–8. [Q: which Salerno ref. is this?]

⁶⁸ Pio, p. 198.

⁶⁹ Pio, p. 198. Luigi Salerno, *La natura morta Italiana*, pp. 272–73, 436.

⁷⁰ During restoration, drawings were found on the back that reused old sheets of paper bearing the dates 1661 and 1663. Pietrangeli, p. 295 fig. 269 and p. 305.

⁷¹ The inevitable attribution of these panels to Panini was first suggested by Salerno, *Inediti*. Pietrangeli was more skeptical, especially given the quality, and there is no evidence of Panini having worked for the Sciarra.

⁷² Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Sciarra*, p. 305.

⁷³ Salerno (“Inediti,” p. 8, note 3) was the first to observe that a group of drawings by Vanvitelli at Caserta referred to the *gabinetto degli specchi*, followed by Jörg Garms (*Disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli*, p. 79), Cesare de Seta (*Luigi Vanvitelli*) and Rosa Sabatini (in Cesare de Seta, *Luigi Vanvitelli e la sua cerchia*, pp. 262–64, cats. 109–11).

⁷⁴ La Font de Saint-Yenne, p. 14.

⁷⁵ Now installed on the Piano Nobile of Palazzo Madama. Arisi, pp. 316–17, cat. 175.

⁷⁶ Charles d’Agustin d’Aviler, *Cours d’architecture qui comprend les ordres de Vignole*, first published 1691, 1710 ed., p. 180. Cited in R. A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space*, p. 131.

⁷⁷ Letter, May 30, 1722 [4]. Letter, June 13, 1722 [2].

⁷⁸ Charles McCorquodale, *History of the Interior*, p. 116, refers to mirrors “on sliding window shutters where, cunningly concealed in the panelling by day, they completely disguised the windows by night.”

⁷⁹ Letter, June 27, 1722 [2].

⁸⁰ Letter, June 27, 1722 [2].

⁸¹ Letter, July 18, 1722 Letter 2 [2]. Letter, November 14, 1722 [5].

⁸² Letter, November 14, 1722 [5]. These no longer exist.

⁸³ That the mirroring was to be renewed seems more plausible than that it was to be applied to the backs of ordinary panes of clear glass.

⁸⁴ Letter, September 3, 1718 [1]; Letter, November 5, 1722 [3]; Letter, November 14, 1722 [5]; Letter, March 27, 1723 [4]; Letter, April 3, 1723 [3]; Letter, April 17, 1723 [3]; Letter, June 26, 1723 [4]; Letter, July 3, 1723 [4]; Letter, July 10, 1723 [1].

⁸⁵ Letter, 30 July 1723 [1]. Letter, 30 July 1723 [2].

⁸⁶ Letter, 17 April 1723 [6].

⁸⁷ Letter, 30 July 1723 [1].

⁸⁸ Strunck, “The marvel,” p. 79.

Works Cited

- Arisi, Ferdinando. *Gian Paolo Panini e i fasti della Roma del '700*. Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1986.
- Benedetti, Sandro. "L'architettura." In *Fondazione Memmo: Palazzo Ruspoli*, edited by Carlo Pietrangeli, pp. 139–84. Rome: Editalia, 1992.
- Blainville, Monsieur de. *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. Containing a Particular Description of the Ancient and Present State of Those Countries* London: Printed for J. Johnson and B. Davenport, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1767.
- Burdick, Richmond. "Review of *The Mirror and Man* by B. Goldberg." *Winterthur Portfolio* 22, no. 4 (1987): pp. 314–15.
- Child, Graham. "Mirror." *Grove Art Online*, 1990, www.groveart.com/. (accessed January 27, 2013). Child, Graham. *World Mirrors, 1650–1900*. London: Sotheby's Publications, 1990.
- Clouston, R. G. "Eighteenth-Century Mirrors." *Burlington Magazine* 9, no. 37 (1906): pp. 39–41, 43–47.
- Cornforth, John. "Looking-Glass Mysteries." *Country Life* 187, no. 42 (1993): pp. 72–75.
- Cuppini, Giampiero. *I palazzi senatorii a Bologna: Architettura come immagine del potere*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1974.
- De Brosses, Charles. *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740*. Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 2 vols., 1858.
- De Brosses, Charles. *Lettres d'Italie*. Dijon: Editions du Raisin, 1928.
- De Seta, Cesare. *Luigi Vanvitelli*. Naples: Electa Napoli, 1998.
- De Seta, Cesare. *Luigi Vanvitelli e la sua cerchia*. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2000.
- Eco, Umberto. *The Name of the Rose*. Translated by William Weaver. London: Secker & Warburg, 1983.
- Edwards, Ralph. *Dictionary of English Furniture*. London, 1964.
- Ertlin, R. A. *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Fumagalli, Elena. *Palazzo Borghese: Committenza e decorazione privata*. Rome: De Luca, 1994.
- Garms, Jörg. *Disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli delle collezioni pubbliche di Napoli e di Caserta*. Naples: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Campania, 1973.
- Goldberg, Benjamin. *The Mirror and Man*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1985.
- Gregori, Mina. "Gli specchi dipinti della Galleria Riccardi." *Paragone (Arte)* 23, no. 267 (1972): pp. 74–82.
- Hibbard, Howard. "Palazzo Borghese Studies II: The 'Galleria.'" *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962): pp. 9–20.
- Hibbard, Howard. "The Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 27 (1962): pp. i–xviii, 1–149.
- Kubovy, Michael. *The Psychology of Perspective and Renaissance Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- La Font de Saint-Yenne, Étienne. *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France: avec un examen des principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d'août 1746*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.
- Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa. *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David After the Terror*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

- Lebensztejn, Jean Claude. "Review of Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines*." *Les Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne* 75 (Spring 2001): pp. 112–17.
- Magnamini, Giuseppina. "The Eighteenth-Century Apartments in Palazzo Barberini." *Apollo* (1984): pp. 252–61.
- Maillet, Arnaud. *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art*. New York: Zone Books, 2004.
- Marshall, David R. "Review of C. Maillet, *The Claude Glass*." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 6, no. 2 and 7, no. 1 (2006): pp. 221–24.
- Marshall, David R. *Rediscovering a Baroque Villa in Rome: Cardinal Patrizi and the Villa Patrizi 1715–1909*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015.
- Marshall, David R. "The Letters of Cardinal Patrizi 1718–1727." *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani*. Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Miscellanea di Testi, Saggi e Inventari VIII, 2015, pp. 143–520.
- Matteucci, Anna Maria. *Carlo Francesco Dotti e l'architettura bolognese del settecento*. Bologna: ALFA, 1969.
- Matteucci, Anna Maria and Anna Stanzani. *Architetture dell'inganno: Cortili bibieneschi e fondali dipinti nei palazzi storici bolognesi ed emiliani*. Bologna: Arts & Co., 1991.
- McCorquodale, Charles. *History of the Interior*. New York and Paris: The Vendome Press, 1983.
- Michel, Geneviève and Olivier Michel. "La décoration du Palais Ruspoli en 1715 et la redécouverte e 'Monsù Francesco Borgognone.'" *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 89, no. 1 (1977): pp. 256–340.
- Michel, Olivier. "Un esempio di ecletticismo: La decorazione di Palazzo Ruspoli nel 1782." *Bollettino d'Arte* (1985): pp. 191–98.
- Michel, Olivier. "Images du 'Caffè nuovo.'" *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 1 (1987): pp. 85–96.
- Michel, Olivier. "Pitture e pittori del Palazzo nel Settecento." In *Palazzo Ruspoli*, edited by Carlo Pietrangeli, pp. 221–32. Rome: Editalia, 1992.
- Michel, Olivier. *Vivre et peindre à Rome au XVIIIe siècle: Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 217*. Rome: École Française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1996.
- Miller, Dwight C. *Marcantonio Franceschini*. Turin: Artema, Compagnia di Belle Arti, 2001.
- Mochi Onori, Lorenza. *Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini: dipinti del '700*. Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano, 2007.
- Piergiovanni, Patrizia, ed. *Galleria Colonna in Roma: Catalogo dei dipinti*, Rome: De Luca, 2015.
- Pietrangeli, Carlo. *Palazzo Sciarra*. Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma, 1986.
- Pietrangeli, Carlo, ed. *Fondazione Memmo: Palazzo Ruspoli*. Rome: Editalia, 1992.
- Pio, Nicola. *Le vite dei pittori scultori et architetti (Cod. ms. Capponi 257)*, Edited and With an Introduction by Catherine Enggass and Robert Enggass. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1977.
- Roche, Serge. *Mirrors*. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1985.
- Rossini, Pietro. *Il mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma, tanto antiche, che moderne*, 2 vols. Rome: Per Zenobj ... a spese di Gaetano Capranica, 1715.
- Rudolph, Stella. "Carlo Maratti figurista per pittori di nature morte." *Antichità Viva* 18 (1979): pp. 12–20.
- Salerno, Luigi. "Inediti di Luigi Vanvitelli e del Pannini: L'appartamento settecentesco di Palazzo Sciarra." *Palatino* 9 (1965): pp. 4–8.

- Salerno, Luigi. *La natura morta Italiana*. Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1984.
- Schiavo, Armando. *Palazzo Altieri*. Rome: Associazione Bancaria Italiana, 1964.
- Schiffer, Hans-Jürgen. *The Mirror Book*. Exton: Shiffer Publishing, 1983.
- Sebastiani, P. de. *Pitture più notabili nelle chiese ...* Rome: no publisher, 1677.
- Strunck, Christina. *Berninis unbekanntes Meisterwerk. Die Gallerie Colonna in Rom un die Kunstpatronage des römischen Uraldes*. Munich: Hirmer, 2007.
- Strunck, Christina. "‘The marvel not only of Rome, but of all Italy’: the Galleria Colonna, Its Design History and Pictorial Programme 1661–1700." In *Art, Site, and Spectacle: Studies in Early Modern Visual Culture*, edited by David R. Marshall, pp. 78–102. Melbourne: Fine Arts Network, 2007.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. *The Lord of the Rings*, 3 vols. London: Allen & Unwin, 1966.

Chapter 8

Infinite Bodies: The Baroque, the Counter-Reformation Relic, and the Body of James II

Matthew Martin

IF ONE VISITS SIZERGH CASTLE in Cumbria in the northwest of England today, seat of the Catholic Strickland family from the thirteenth century until 1950 when the property was gifted to the National Trust, one can find oneself confronted with something a little more curious than the usual assortment of early furniture, paintings, silver, and porcelain one normally expects to encounter in an historic English country house. Unusually among such tourist destinations, the visitor to Sizergh is given the opportunity to view a small collection of leather-covered wooden frames, nine in number, of uniform size, each containing a lock of hair or a bloodstained fragment of cloth. Each of these artifacts bears a label contemporary with the object, stating the name of the person from whom it originated: King James II, Queen Mary d'Este, King James III, Queen Maria Clementina Sobieska, and Princess Marie-Louise, James III's sister. These strange remnants of people long since dead, displayed with faded ink labels, are somehow oddly moving, as much for their obvious past importance and preciousness to the Strickland family as for the stories evoked by the names of the individuals themselves. In 1688, in the wake of a parliament-led coup d'état and the Dutch military invasion, the so-called Glorious Revolution began and James II, the Catholic king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was forced to flee to France. Sir Thomas Strickland, a Royalist veteran of the Civil War, a Restoration Member of Parliament, and privy counselor to James II, followed his monarch into exile.¹ Sir Thomas never saw his home again, dying in Rouen in 1696, but the Stricklands remained loyal courtiers to James II and his son, the titular James III. Members of the family returned to England impoverished, but with their Westmorland estates intact they continued in their staunch support of the exiled Stuarts, as a gilt portrait bust of Prince Charles Edward Stuart still preserved at Sizergh attests.

The Stricklands, of course, were not alone in their dedication to the Stuart cause. Throughout their years of struggle in exile, the Stuarts continued to have many supporters in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Such support was, naturally, treasonous under the post-1688 political settlement. In the face of repressive sedition and treason laws, these Stuart supporters—the Jacobites—developed an occulted symbolic code, which allowed them to express their proscribed political loyalties. Much of this non-verbal communication manifested itself in a Jacobite material culture, that is, material objects, including interiors and architecture, which embodied oblique and symbolic references to the Jacobite cause.²



Figure 8.1. *Hair of James II*,
Sizergh Castle, Cumbria.
Photo © National Trust.

The Sizergh collection of physical mementoes of the exiled royal family draws our attention to an intriguing aspect of this Jacobite material culture—a culture that has not been examined in any great detail—namely the role of bodily relics, in particular the bodily relics of King James II, in early eighteenth-century Jacobite ideology (figures 8.1 and 8.2). The preservation of locks of hair as acts of private memorialization was, of course, a widespread phenomenon in the period which we are considering—and long afterwards for that matter—but the preservation of blood traces less so. There are strong indications that when Jacobites like the Stricklands first came into possession of the physical mementoes of their monarch James II, something of a far more sacral quality was attributed to these objects.³ James II was a baroque prince, an ardent adherent to the principle of anointed kingship. He maintained, even in

exile, a lavish court which embodied a baroque culture of representation appropriate to his sacred, anointed status.⁴ This sacred character claimed by James II himself and attributed to him by others took on a new intensity when, in the wake of his death in 1701, the first reports of miraculous cures effected by the physical mementoes of the king's body began to appear. It is a cult of the relic, not of memory, that circulates these objects.

In this essay, I wish to explore some aspects of the relic cult which seems to have developed around James II in the first four decades of the eighteenth century. In order to do this, it will be useful to devote some consideration to the place of the relic in the age of the Counter-Reformation. The cult of relics, which had reached a high-point in Europe during the High Middle Ages, underwent radical transformation in the course of the sixteenth century in response to the fierce attacks on perceived abuses of the cult of saints launched by the Protestant reformers. The first part of this essay will consider the nature of the post-Tridentine cult of relics and attempt to outline its place in the baroque culture of which the Counter-Reformation was such an integral part. The second part will examine the history of the relics of James II in the light of these observations, and show how these artifacts, which were eventually transformed into celebrity objects of Romantic memory, were once potent demonstrations of Stuart legitimacy, and agents of James II's ongoing physical presence among loyal Jacobites.

To begin, we must say something about the intellectual hall of mirrors which is the concept of the baroque. The baroque has been defined as many things: a style, an epoch, a

culture. There is not the scope in a short essay like this to debate these matters in detail, but we shall attempt a brief overview of some key points relevant to the discussion here. The definition of baroque I shall employ in this space takes the term to refer to that culture of spectacle designed to move the emotions, and create a powerful effect both on and in the beholder, listener, or reader. "Spectacle" here refers to more than the mere visual which the word might at first suggest. In pursuit of affect, the

baroque employed the full range of cultural resources at its disposal: visual art, architecture, music, literature, and technology. All of these media were deployed to rhetorical effect.

I register here Walter Moser's identification of a basic division in the many attempts that have been made to conceptualize the baroque, that is, between typological strategies on the one hand, and historiography and periodization on the other.⁵ It was Heinrich Wölfflin who first attempted to define the baroque in typological terms. In his *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* of 1915, Wölfflin established the baroque as an artistic style characterized by five features: the painterly (*das Malerische*), recession (*die Tiefenkomposition*), open form (*die offene Form*), unicity (*die Einheitlichkeit*), and unclarity (*die Unklarheit*).⁶ These features were part of a series of binary oppositions: the painterly opposed to the linear; recession opposed to planarity; open forms opposed to closed ones; unity opposed to multiplicity; and unclarity opposed to clarity. Wölfflin's formulation of this series of binary opposites was an attempt to define where the Renaissance ended; the baroque was that which was not the classicism of the Renaissance. But it also, for the first time, established the baroque as a concept to be taken on its own terms. That is to say, the baroque was not the decline of the Renaissance, but instead its polar opposite. For Wölfflin, the Renaissance dealt with realities; the baroque with appearances. In other words, Wölfflin's formulation dealt with the problematic relationship between ontology and epistemology.

Wölfflin's formalist baroque was rejected outright by the historian José Antonio Maravall in his seminal 1975 study *La cultura del barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica*.⁷ Maravall saw the baroque in historiographic terms, and as a culture generated in response to a specific historical situation: namely the political, religious, and economic crises of the seventeenth century in Europe. For Maravall, baroque culture manipulated a



Figure 8.2. *Blood of James II*, Sizergh Castle, Cumbria.
Photo © National Trust.

mass, urban society in a conservative fashion to shore up the destabilized power of state and church, a destabilization that was the result of these crises.

Although in principle these two approaches are opposed to each other, they can be combined. As we see in Angela Ndalanian's work, where the concept of the type is taken over into the historical, certain historical periods are characterized by a state of crisis or transition which results in instability. These periods will generate a certain type of culture, a culture which can display particular typological features: in the seventeenth century, the baroque; in the twentieth century, the neo-baroque.⁸

As Moser suggests, although different scholars insist on different formal features within a definition of baroque aesthetics, there does seem to exist a consensus: that the production of strong effect through a range of sensory experiences so that the subject is moved is the primary goal of the baroque spectacle.⁹ The means employed in the creation of such spectacle and the concomitant orchestration of affect frequently reveal formal characteristics reminiscent of Wölfflin's typology. This includes the blurring of clear outlines (Wölfflin's "painterliness"), open forms, and the turn towards the limitless; that is, the creation of an overwhelming seeming.¹⁰

The historical baroque has been frequently associated by commentators with the Counter-Reformation and indeed, according to Maravall, the Reformation was part of the historical crisis which baroque culture sought to stabilize.¹¹ It is upon one particular aspect of Counter-Reformation material culture that I wish to focus attention here: the relic and its associated cult.

The Counter-Reformation heralded a transformation in, and reinvigoration of, the cult of the relic in Europe. In the face of the Protestant reformers' critique of perceived abuses of the cult of the saints and outright rejection of relics, the Council of Trent reaffirmed the church's commitment to the veneration of saints and their relics, but subjected these to close scrutiny, increased episcopal control, and historical verification.¹² Pope Sixtus V gave juridical form to the authentication of sainthood and of relics in 1588. This preserved the doctrinal basis of relics in Catholicism; established uniform guidelines for reviewing claims to sanctity; and created norms for the exhibition of relics.¹³ Bollandist scholars toured European collections of documents; critically examining hagiographical literature; separating fact from legend in saints' lives; and sometimes distinguishing between historical and fictional saints.¹⁴ Relics were catalogued; parishioners and priests were required to produce documents testifying to their authenticity; and the relic's proper housing and display were reviewed. In particular, Carlo Borromeo, the prominent late sixteenth-century bishop of Milan, gave some of the most thorough instructions on how relics should be securely labeled: an engraved or parchment inscription should document the names and bodies of the saints; the date when they were deposited; and the places from which they had been translated. Relics should be hermetically sealed in reliquaries and kept safe from tampering.¹⁵

The relic remained for the Counter-Reformation church an important means of reinforcing the belief in saints. Relics served to instruct the faithful on the proper spir-

itual meaning of the cult. So, for example, the veneration of relics of bishops or priests might be fostered not because one sought from them material aid in the form of miracles—although miracles were still believed to occur through saintly intercession—but because they reinforced in the faithful the importance of ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁶ Only by conveying this understanding of relics could the Catholic reformers protect themselves from Protestant attacks, and separate themselves from the presumed misunderstandings, superstitions, and irrationality of village religion. But more than this, the careful identification and categorization of relics served to incorporate them and the holy persons they instantiated, fully into established church power structures.¹⁷

Thus, the relic continued to occupy a central role in Counter-Reformation piety, and the baroque culture of spectacle was an integral part of that piety. The emphasis placed upon the relic's housing and display stressed its importance in the *theatrum sacrum* of Counter-Reformation liturgy. In a cultural context where the senses and sensory experience, and not reason, were deemed central to apprehension of reality, including any divine reality, it is hard to conceive of a more suitable vehicle for the appreciation of the sublime than the relic.¹⁸ In the relic, not only was the holy dead residing in heaven corporeally present, linked to the remnant of their physical body, which would be re-created in wholeness at the resurrection, but also they were apprehendable through the senses. The relic could be seen, sometimes touched, even smelled or tasted. If baroque aesthetics can be defined by the capacity to act upon the soul or mind through the body, then, by this measure, the relic was the quintessential baroque artifact.¹⁹

Other aspects of the body-relic are susceptible to construal in terms of baroque poetics. Open form which "points outwards beyond itself and purposely looks limitless" is, according to Wölfflin, characteristic of the baroque, and is opposed to the closed form of the classical that remains "a self-contained entity pointing everywhere back to itself."²⁰ It can be argued that through the relic, the human body is transformed into such an open form. The body-part relic facilitated a near infinite spatial expansion of the human body, each bodily fragment of a holy person, no matter how tiny, manifesting the same power and presence as the whole. This is the principle of *pars pro toto*. Considering the fragment in the context of the baroque, Omar Calabrese describes a dialectic between the whole and the fragment.²¹ The fragment, Calabrese states, signifies parts of the whole, "but the whole is in absentia."²² The fragment is both reliant on and independent of the whole. Such a description can equally be applied to the body-part relic. As fragments of a human body, no two body-part relics of a saint can ever be the same. Each is unique in its appearance, its housing, and the specifics of its context of display and devotion. Yet in each relic the holy person of whom it is a corporeal trace is equally immanent, and every relic signifies the potential wholeness of the body, which will be achieved at the resurrection. In this regard, the relic bears similarities to the ruin, a leitmotif of baroque visual culture. Ndalianis writes: "Like ruins, which contain within them the memory of past existence, an understanding of the meaning of the fragment functions as a nostalgic remnant or

emblem of the past, but also reinvents itself as a unique whole that belongs to its own time.²³ Like the ruin, the body-relic speaks of past lives and past deeds; the suffering of martyrdom; human mortality; and corporeal decay. But the relic also stands before the faithful in the here and now, complete in itself, as a conduit to holiness and a tangible promise of salvation. The relic points towards transformation, a primary characteristic of the baroque.

* * *

In the second part of this essay I wish to examine the fate of the body of James II of England, who died in exile in France in 1701. This essay will examine how the relic became symbolic of the reverence with which the body of James II was held by English Catholics, as a means of exploring these ideas about the relic.

Forced to flee into exile by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, James II, with the exception of a few brief absences on ill-fated military adventures attempting to recapture his lost throne, spent the rest of his life in France, where his cousin Louis XIV had granted him and his family asylum. James II died in exile on September 16, 1701 at the palace of Saint-Germain near Paris, the seat of his court in exile.²⁴ In his will, James II expressed the wish for his mortal remains to be privately interred in the parish church of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. But this was not to be. Louis XIV intervened and, with the agreement of James's widowed queen, Mary of Modena, insisted that James be given all the funeral honors of a reigning Catholic monarch. The king's body was to be embalmed so that it could later be taken back to Westminster Abbey in a hoped-for Restoration, while the vital organs were removed in order to be distributed to various religious houses. James died at 3pm on Friday September 16; twenty-five hours later his body was cut open, the vital organs removed, and the body embalmed. While all this was happening, observers dipped pieces of linen into his blood, cut off lengths of his hair, and even cut off part of the flesh of his right arm, all to be kept as relics.²⁵

The king's embalmed body was laid to rest in a triple coffin—one of wood, one of lead, and an outer wooden coffin covered in black velvet—at the Church of Saint Edmund in the House of the English Benedictines in the Rue St. Jacques in Paris. Here, the monks made two wax death masks of the king before the coffins were sealed.²⁶ One of these masks was sent to the English Benedictine nuns at Dunkirk, while the other was retained by the monks themselves.²⁷ James was not buried, but placed in one of the side chapels, closed off from the rest of the church by an iron grille. Louis XIV furnished the chapel with a black velvet *lit de parade* embroidered in silver upon which James's coffin was placed. An altar was dressed similarly but with a silver lamp, which remained perpetually lit until the time of the French Revolution, when the body, along with the Church of Saint Edmund and the entire English Benedictine complex, was destroyed in 1793.²⁸ The choice of a Benedictine house for the king's funerary shrine was made by Louis XIV and was not without significance; Westminster Abbey was by origin a Benedictine establishment (see figure 8.3).

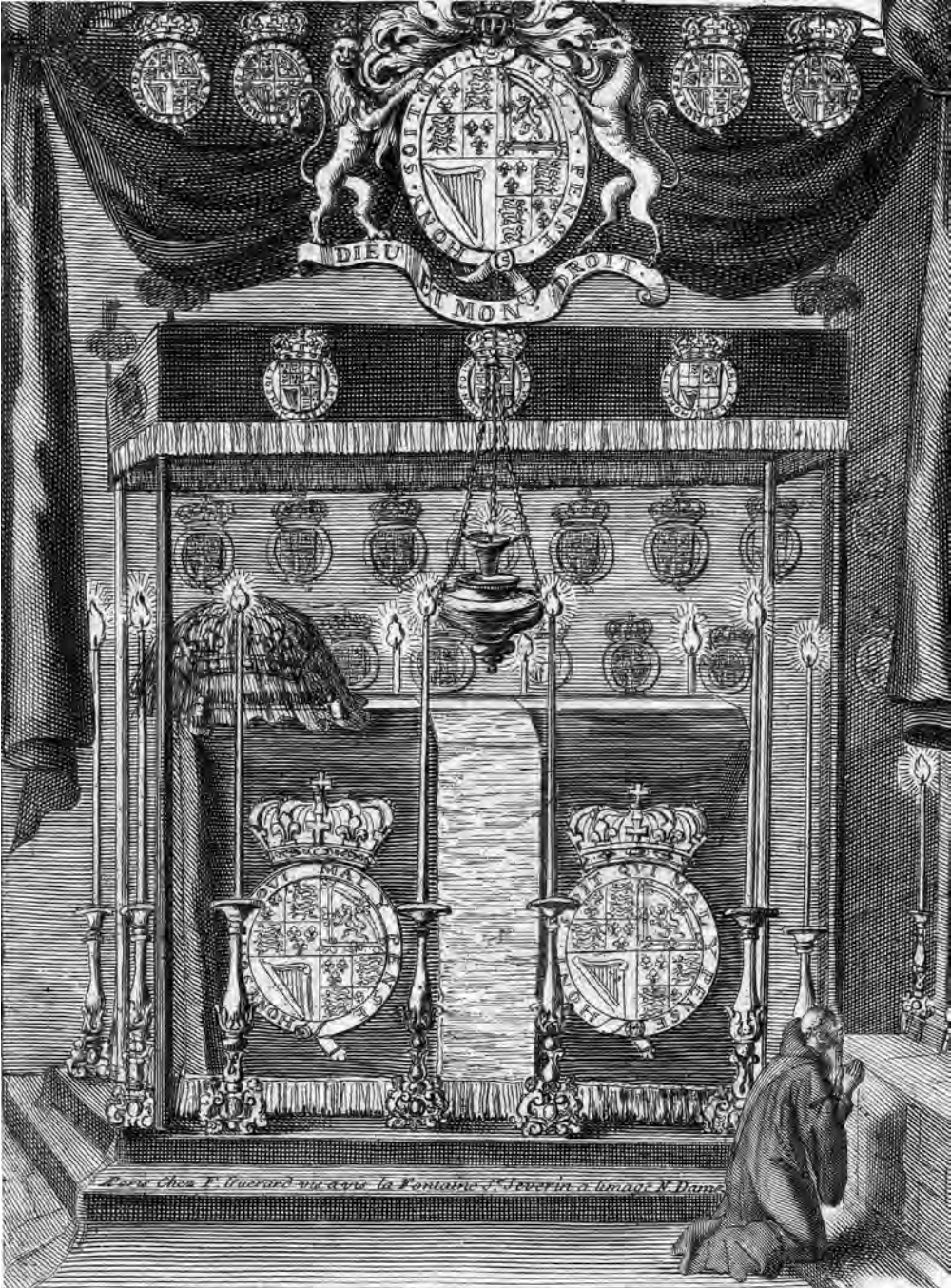


Figure 8.3. François Guérard, *Catafalque of James II*, 1701, etching and engraving, 28.9 × 18.9 cm, British Museum, London. Image © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8.4. Le Roy, Monument de Jacques 2d Roy de la grande Bretagne erigé dans la Chapelle du College Ecossois, 1720–40, engraving, 34 × 21.5 cm, British Museum, London. Image © Trustees of the British Museum.

While the king's body lay in Paris, his viscera were divided into two, and placed in gilt-bronze urns. The first was given to the English Jesuit College at St. Omer near Calais, the forebear of today's Stonyhurst College, and the second to the parish church of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. His heart was placed in a silver-gilt heart-shaped reliquary surmounted by a crown, and given to the convent of the Visitandine Nuns at Chaillot in Paris, the same place where his queen, Mary of Modena would later be interred.²⁹ His brain was placed in a small lead box and sent to the Scots College in Paris, where it was displayed in a monument erected by the duke of Perth (figure 8.4).

The initial recipients of the relics of blood, hair, and flesh harvested in the course of the king's embalming are only partly known to us. The Augustinian nuns of the Rue St. Jacques received part of the flesh of the king's arm; the other relics were presumably taken in the first instance by Jacobite courtiers, but their precise histories are difficult to trace. Nevertheless, a number of these relics are known to survive in English Catholic collections. Fragments of fabric dipped in the king's blood are to be found today at Ushaw College (Durham);³⁰ Stonyhurst College (Lancashire);³¹ Downside Abbey (Somerset);³² Chiddingstone Castle (Kent); and Sizergh Castle (Cumbria) (see figure 8.2). Cuttings of the king's hair are to be found at Stonyhurst, Chiddingstone, and Sizergh, and parts of the flesh from his right arm are to be found at Ushaw College and, again, at Stonyhurst.³³

The fates of the other bodily relics were less dignified. The majority of those in France were lost during the French Revolution. The brain does not appear to survive. The viscera of James II, Mary, and their daughter Louisa were found in containers inside an inscribed leaden box during the rebuilding of the parish church of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1824. The viscera were reinterred in a coffin under the altar.³⁴ A relic said to be part of James's heart survives at Chiddingstone in the form of a silver heart-shaped reliquary containing part of a pericardium. The object is said to have been taken out of France at the time of the Revolution, possibly by a member of the Visitation order fleeing the destruction of their house, although the provenance is currently unconfirmed.³⁵

It must be acknowledged that James II is not a canonized saint, martyr, or confessor of the Roman church, and therefore the appropriateness of referring to his bodily remains as relics might be questioned. As Alexandra Walsham has shown, protestants, like catholics, honored bodily remnants of martyrs. For example, those martyred during the reign of Mary Tudor in sixteenth-century England are honored, but these "relics" functioned as memorials or commemorative tokens, recalling the life of the martyr, rather than reflecting a sublimated resistance to the Reformation and the unconscious survival of Pre-Reformation beliefs. These were objects of semiotic, rather than sacramental, significance.³⁶

But the bodily relics of James II are, I think, demonstrably different. First, James II was an anointed king and shared in what Sergio Bertelli refers to as the Christomimetic character of such status.³⁷ He was believed to possess the hereditary healing power—the Royal Touch—which had been ascribed to legitimate English monarchs since the time of

Edward the Confessor. James performed, as we shall discuss below, touchings to heal during his lifetime, including during his exile in France, just as his sons are reported to have done after him.³⁸ Although he spent his early life as a Restoration libertine, James's later years in exile were spent in acts of devotion and charity, including the support of many of his impoverished followers in exile, and before his death he had already in some circles developed a reputation as a saintly martyr. This was a belief encouraged during the later years of the king's life by Armand-Jean de Rancé, the influential abbot of the Reformed Cistercian monastery of La Trappe, an establishment where James had on occasion sought retreat from the rigors of court life, and for which the king had held great admiration; Rancé had seen in James a saintly man.³⁹ Upon James's death, almost immediately reports of healings associated with his relics began to appear, and it is clear that he was regarded as a saint by many Jacobites.

From 1701 into the 1740s, supported by reports of miraculous cures, the English Benedictines intermittently explored the cause of James II's canonization, with the support of members of the French ecclesiastical hierarchy and James III himself.⁴⁰ In 1765, the Whig Thomas Pennant, visiting the church of St. Edmunds, recorded:

In a side chapel is the coffin of King James the 2d and another of his Daughter. That of the King is almost stripped of the velvet cover by zealots who preserve it as a relique. An impression of the King's face was taken in wax after he was dead, which is placed in a glass case by the coffins. A monk shewed me several crutches, &ca left by people on whom his deceased Majesty had wrought miraculous cures, all which he said were fully attested by Cardinal Noailles &ca.⁴¹

Indeed, James II's funerary chapel at St. Edmunds became a center of pilgrimage for both English and French Catholics. A letter dated August 12, 1702 by one Father Payen concerns the miraculous healing of a seriously ill Parisian woman, and includes a description of the grille which separated James II's funerary chapel from the rest of the church being covered in lit candles left there by the faithful.⁴² In the same year, Cardinal Noailles, archbishop of Paris, ordered Joachim de la Chétardie, curé of Saint-Sulpice, to commence an investigation into the miracles attributed to James II with a view to James's canonization in Rome. De la Chétardie assembled a dossier of nineteen verified miraculous cures—which included the curing of ailments like paralysis, fever, convulsions, hemorrhages, fistulas, tumors, and swellings among men and women from every rank of society—which were then passed on to cardinal Gualterio, the papal nuncio, for transmission to Rome. The case for canonization proceeded slowly until, in 1734, at the prompting of James III, Charles Gaspard Guillaume de Vintimille du Luc, archbishop of Paris, once again reviewed all of the evidence. A dossier was sent to Rome, but once more nothing came of it. The case for canonization was eventually abandoned as the Jacobite community was overtaken by political developments in the 1740s.⁴³ But even in 1767, the Protestant Philip Thicknesse, visiting St. Edmunds in Paris, could sneer: "One of the young monks

always attends to shew strangers the remains of *the old one*, to whom he gives, to all *good subjects* a little bit of velvet from the outside of the coffin, as an infallible cure for the itch and the *evil*.⁴⁴ The sarcastic mention here of “good subjects,” presumably loyal supporters of Stuart dynastic claims, clearly indicates the continuing significance of James II’s funerary shrine to the Jacobite community, even in 1767, a year after the death of James III in exile in Rome.

Eyewitness accounts that mention velvet being taken from the king’s coffin are typical of the relic cult. The cloth served as a contact relic, the king’s holy healing power being transferred, by the principle of contagion, from his corporeal remains to the coffin, and thence to the fabric covering. Contact relics were the lowest grade of relic. Above these, as secondary relics, stood pieces of the king’s hair and fragments of cloth dipped in his blood. Where provenances exist for the surviving examples of such objects, for instance the relics owned by the Strickland family at Sizergh castle, we gain the impression that these relics circulated among Jacobite courtiers and nobility. At least one instance is recorded of one of these pieces of bloodstained cloth effecting a miraculous cure in 1703—that of Sister Dumanoir, an Ursuline nun from a convent in Bourg-Saint-Andéol, north of Avignon. The papal city of Avignon was home to a significant Jacobite community in the first half of the eighteenth century, and James III would take up residence there in 1716 and 1717.⁴⁵

But it is the body-relics, the most precious of relics, which deserve special discussion. These were divided among various English and Scottish religious houses which were established on the continent. Many of these religious houses long pre-dated the exile of James II, and they had been important centers for the English Catholic diaspora since the advent of the Reformation. Through the fact that many members of their communities hailed from leading Recusant families, these houses formed part of an English Catholic network which provided, among other things, educational opportunities for the children of English Catholic families, and which had played a significant political role in the Restoration of Charles II.⁴⁶ The division of the king’s body among these communities is typical of the practices of many Catholic monarchies, as is the practice of dividing a saintly body among loyal religious communities. But we must also recall that the ideology of English kingship, ideology that retained its currency among the Stuarts and their supporters, included the notion of the king’s two bodies: his natural or physical body, and the body politic, which embodies the community of the realm.⁴⁷ In this context, the dispersal of the king’s bodily relics, in an act which is not dissimilar to the distribution of Christ’s eucharistic body, affects a spatial expansion of the king’s body which comes to encompass effectively the whole of the Jacobite polity. The king was where those loyal to him were to be found: he was in Saint Germain, the seat of his court; he was at St. Omer with the English Jesuits who were charged with the re-proselytization of England; he was with his Scottish subjects—the Stuarts being a Scottish house—in the Scor’s College of the University of Paris; and he was with the English Benedictines whose Parisian church

stood vicariously for the abbey church at Westminster which had been the traditional burial place of English monarchs since the thirteenth century.

And beyond the bodily relics, through relics like the blood-dipped cloth fragments, James II was among his former courtiers and the wider Jacobite community wherever it might be, as the curing of a nun in Bourg-Saint-Andéol evidences. As shown by the tale of pilgrims to his funerary shrine in Paris taking away fragments of velvet from his coffin shows, he was with every English Catholic who, moved by faith and loyalty, came to pay respect to the body of the exiled monarch. James II became, in every way, the physical embodiment of a British state in exile. Through the phenomenon of devotion to his relics, he demonstrated his continuing agency among his subjects, and through the miraculous cures attributed to these relics, he remained active among those loyal to him and the Stuart cause.

And the king's agency and his continuing presence among Jacobites was not restricted solely to the community in exile on the continent. Through a particular class of artifact—Jacobite glasses which incorporate Maundy coins into their stems—the king's body in its broadest sense maintained a presence among the faithful even in Britain. Jacobite glasses are perhaps the most ubiquitous class of Jacobite material culture and are certainly the objects that have been the subject of the most intense antiquarian interest. These are drinking glasses whose decoration makes coded reference to the Stuarts and their dynastic claims. The decoration can be more or less obvious in its political content. The ornamentation ranges from the use of floral emblems, like a white heraldic rose accompanied by one or two buds representing James III and his two sons, Princes Charles and Henry; emblems of drinking clubs whose membership included known Jacobites; to rather obvious statements of political loyalty, like portraits of Prince Charles, leader of the 1745 uprising, clad in tartan; or the so-called Amen glasses, engraved with verses from the Stuart royal anthem, "God Bless the King, I Pray," the texts concluding with the word "Amen." These Jacobite glasses played an important role in the social rituals through which supporters in Britain of the exiled Stuart dynasty could express solidarity with one another and with their monarch. Drinking a toast to "the king" in a glass bearing decoration like that just described transformed this common act expressing loyalty to the regime in the context of shared eating and drinking—an important social activity at this time—into a subversive gesture of political resistance.⁴⁸

Among Jacobite glasses, a small group incorporate into their stems coins minted during the reigns of the Stuart kings. These glasses are a subgroup of a larger class of drinking glass, generally English but not exclusively so, which appear to be a phenomenon of the end of the seventeenth century and later. Indeed, suggestively, no English examples appear to pre-date 1688.⁴⁹ In a demonstration of glassmaking skill, a small coin is captured in a blown hollow bulb, which is then incorporated into a larger object, often—but not always, as a perfume bottle in the collections of the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne demonstrates—the stem of a drinking glass.⁵⁰ The significance of this device

has often been debated, but commemoration of the monarch whose coin is incorporated into the glass must be one intended function. The notable number of eighteenth-century coin glasses containing coins minted during the reigns of Stuart monarchs supports this idea. Examples exist of coins from the reigns of Charles I and Charles II contained in glasses created around 1715 and 1745, the dates of the two most important eighteenth-century Jacobite uprisings.⁵¹ The dates of manufacture suggest that, in these instances, the choice of coins has Jacobite significance, and that these are Jacobite glasses. Charles II was often commemorated by Jacobites in an act which Murray Pittock has dubbed “false loyalism”; there was nothing *prima facie* illegitimate about celebrating the monarch of the Restoration, but as a Stuart who had once lost and then regained his throne, Charles II stood as the blueprint for Jacobite political aspirations.⁵² Similar importance was attached to the figure of Charles I, whose martyrdom was construed as a prefiguration of that of James II. The enormously successful *Eikon Basilike* of 1649, a best-selling work of devotion and Royalist propaganda that collected the pious thoughts of James II’s father, served as the model for the 1692 *Imago Regis*, a book which recorded the sufferings of James in exile.⁵³

A further series of glasses, however, suggests that, in some instances, there may have been far more than simple commemoration at stake. A 1685 glass containing a Charles II Maundy twopence is evidence of a tradition of commemorating the Christian charity of the monarch: since the time of Edward I, the Royal Maundy ritual has involved the reigning English monarch distributing alms to the deserving poor before attending Holy Thursday worship.⁵⁴ Thoroughly Jacobite in character is a small group of coin glasses which incorporate James II Maundy coins in their stems.⁵⁵ These glasses all post-date the death of James II in exile in 1701, so the use of coins of his reign must be significant. But the use of Maundy coins (which are relatively rare objects, given that James II reigned for only four years) suggests that something more is taking place than a calling to mind of the late king. A Maundy coin, a gift of the king to one of his subjects, was an object that had, at one point, been handled personally by the monarch. This fact takes on special significance when we recall that belief in the Royal or King’s Touch—the power claimed by French and English kings to cure scrofula and other ailments through the laying of hands on the sufferer—could lend to objects, which had been handled by the legitimate monarch, an aura of healing power. James was believed to possess the hereditary healing power which had been ascribed to legitimate English monarchs since the time of Edward the Confessor and indeed, the performance of touchings to heal clearly became an important part of Stuart strategies, emphasizing the legitimacy of their dynastic claims.

James performed numerous touchings during his time on the throne—sources suggest an annual peak of 14,000 a year—as well as during his exile in France.⁵⁶ Numerous orders for touch pieces—the pierced medallions touched by the monarch during the healing ceremony, and then worn by the recipient afterwards as both a reminder of the healing and of the Royal Healer—are recorded in the Stuart papers.⁵⁷ James II’s son, the

titular James III, is reported to have performed touchings at Glamis Castle in January 1716 during the uprising, and also in exile in Rome. James III's sons, Charles and Henry, later styled Henry IX, also continued the practice.⁵⁸ In addition, James's daughter, the Protestant Queen Anne—the last Stuart to occupy the English throne—performed touchings during her reign, emphasizing the independence of this “holy inheritance” of English monarchs from issues of confession.⁵⁹ By contrast, William of Orange and the Hanoverians would not perform the ritual, no doubt because of its perceived Catholic overtones, but to Jacobite supporters of the Stuarts this suggested that they *could* not, demonstrating the illegitimacy of their succession.

As the healing power of the Royal Touch that could be transmitted to objects through contact with the royal person, Maundy coins took on, for many, a talismanic and healing aura. But in addition to this miraculous power arising out of the quasi-sacerdotal character of James II as an anointed monarch, in the years following his death objects which bore a direct association with the king took on a new significance, as a cult began to form around the bodily relics of the king and the miraculous healings they were reported to have effected. Objects that the king had physically handled during his lifetime now assumed the aura of the contact relic. Maundy coins were thus doubly powerful artifacts, charged both with the sacred charisma of the living king, and with the saintly power of the king of blessed memory. The containment of such a coin in the stem of a drinking glass meant that, by the further extension of the principle of contagion that empowered the Maundy coin in the first instance, the glass, and thus the wine it contained, carried the power of the King's Touch. It is noteworthy too that, with regard to the materiality of the Maundy coin glasses, these objects can be seen to conform quite closely in formal terms with the requirements associated with the cult of relics promulgated by the Council of Trent. The relic, a Maundy coin, is clearly visible within the glass vessel which contains it; the stamping of the king's visage and titulus upon the coin clearly identifies the individual with whom the contact relic is associated; and the very nature of the sealed glass vessel within which the coin is contained precludes any direct tampering with the relic (see figure 8.5).

If the Maundy coin could be understood to stand as a contact relic, and the glass, which held it a reliquary of sorts, then to drink from such a glass was to encounter, indeed, to internalize the trace of the king's physical and spiritual presence. It cannot be coincidence that the extant glasses containing James II Maundy coins were all produced in the period when the pursuit of James II's sanctification was a live issue among many Jacobites, an undertaking strongly supported by his successor, James III. It is of note, too, that the capacity of some of these glasses is such that they could have been employed as communal glasses, being passed from one drinker to the next. It is possible to see a quasi-eucharistic significance in the use of these objects, something that sits well with the tendency on the part of many Jacobites to construe their anointed rulers as numinous, sacred, and sacerdotal figures. Just as Christ was materially present in the elements of the Mass wherever it was celebrated, James II was present among his loyal followers through

his relics, including contact relics like Maundy coins. Drinking from a Maundy coin glass graphically echoed the ritual of the Eucharist.

The act of using a Maundy coin glass in the Jacobite ritual of drinking to the health of the Stuart “king over the water” at gatherings of loyalists in England alerts us to the sensory, performative, and therefore, as I have suggested earlier in this essay, baroque character of these objects. These were artifacts that were deployed in a culture of display which, in its combination of luxury commodity (that being fine glassware) and the stimulation of the senses of taste, touch, and sight, together with corporate ritual imbued with the frisson of secrecy and exclusivity, provided a focus for the perpetuation of Jacobite loyalties.

The same observation may be made of the royal Stuart bodily relics. The relics of James II were displayed in a range of contexts, some, like the Church of St. Edmunds and the Scots College in Paris, prime examples of baroque funerary spectacle and locales, which became sites of pilgrimage for the Jacobite faithful. The relics effected cures and excited devotion among Stuart loyalists. The Counter-Reformation cult of relics, with its offer of a sensual encounter with holiness and the communion of saints who formed part of the Universal Church, can be characterized, as I have suggested, as wholly baroque in nature, as can the manner in which the logic of the body-part relic transformed the human body into an open-ended, near limitless form, which nevertheless retained, in every bodily fragment, the potential wholeness which will be achieved at the resurre-

ction. The typological baroque of the relic is, in the case of James II however, also revealed to be an historical response to an existential crisis which shook to the core the ideological framework of anointed kingship subscribed to by the Stuarts: the enforced exile of James II and his descendants from their God-given kingdoms. Through his relics, James II becomes, I have argued, not merely a symbolic but a literal embodiment of the Jacobite polity—the trace of his physical body is mapped spatially onto the nation. He is present among his people, curing their ills, and demonstrating himself worthy of their loyalty and affection. And if we might extend a little further the baroque poetics of the relic, just as the relics of a saint held the promise of the body re-created in wholeness on the Day of Judgment, the relics of James II, through their continuing agency, held the promise, at least for a few decades in the first half of the eighteenth century, of the restoration of the Stuarts to their British realms.



Figure 8.5. *Goblet*, ca. 1725, glass, silver (English), 25.5 × 11.2 cm diameter, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo © National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

NOTES

¹ Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, p. 102.

² On Jacobite material culture in general, see Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688–1760*; and Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites*.

³ See Marcia Pointon, “Materializing Mourning,” pp. 39–71.

⁴ On the Jacobite court at Saint Germain, see Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile*.

⁵ Walter Moser, “The Concept of Baroque,” pp. 11–37.

⁶ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*.

⁷ José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del barroco*.

⁸ Angela Ndaliansis, *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*.

⁹ Moser, p. 26.

¹⁰ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, pp. 14–15.

¹¹ Maravall, p. 8.

¹² Twenty-fifth and final session (December 3–4, 1563), approved and promulgated on December 3 a dogmatic decree on the veneration and invocation of the saints, and on the relics and images of the same. See John W. O’Malley, *Trent*, pp. 243–44.

¹³ Giovanni Papa, “La Sacra Congregazione.”

¹⁴ On the Bollandist enterprise, see H. Delehaye, *L’œuvre des Bollandistes*; and Paul Peeters, “L’œuvre des Bollandistes,” pp. 3–202. The Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, begun in 1643, contributed considerably to developing critical historical method.

¹⁵ E. C. Voelker, “Charles Borromeo’s *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiastica*,” chapter 16.

¹⁶ The post-Tridentine period saw a considerable decline in the number of canonizations, and those that did occur were almost invariably of priests or religious. See Jean-Michel Sallmann, “Image et fonction du Saint,” pp. 827–74.

¹⁷ They also served the absolutist state. See Guy Lazure, “Possessing the Sacred,” pp. 58–93.

¹⁸ I am thinking here of the arguments set forth in John Locke’s 1689 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. See Anthony Geraghty, “Nicholas Hawksmoor’s Drawing Technique,” pp. 125–41.

¹⁹ See Moser.

²⁰ Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, p. 124.

²¹ Omar Calabrese, *Neo-baroque*, p. 68.

²² Calabrese, p. 73.

²³ Ndaliansis, p. 60.

²⁴ The parish register of St-Germain-en-Laye reads:

“Deceds du Roy d’Angleterre

Du même jour (seize septembre mil sept cent un), à trois heures et vingt minutes après midi, est décédé dans le chasteau vieil de ce lieu très haut très puissant et très Religieux Prince Jacques Stuart Second du nom Roy d’Angleterre d’Écosse et d’Irlande aagé de 67 ans onze mois également regretté des peuples de France et d’Angleterre et surtout des habitants de ce lieu et autres qui avoient été témoins oculaires de ses excellentes vertus, et de sa religion pour laquelle il avoit quitté toutes ses couronnes les cédant à un usurpateur dénaturé, ayant mieux aymé vivre en bon chrétien éloigné de ses États et faire par ses infortunes et sa patience triompher la religion catholique que de regner luy mesme au milieu d’un peuple

mutin et hérétique. Sa dernière maladie avoit duré quinze jour pendant lesquels il avoit reçu deux fois le st viatique et l'extrême onction par les mains de Mre Jean François de Benoist Docteur de la maison de Sorbonne prieur et curé de ce lieu son propre pasteur, avec des sentiments d'une humilité si profonde, qu'après avoir pardonné à tous les siens rebelles et ses plus cruels ennemis il demanda mesme pardon à des officiers s'il leur avoit donné quelque sujet de chagrin. Il avoit aussy donné des marques de sa tendresse et religion au Sérénissime prince de Galles son fils digne héritier de ses couronnes aussy bien que de ses vertus auquel il recommanda de n'avoir jamais d'autre règle de sa conduite que les maximes de l'Évangile d'honorer toujours sa très vertueuse mère aux soins de laquelle il le laissoit, de se souvenir des bontés que Sa Majesté très Chrétienne luy avoit toujours témoigné et de plutost renoncer à tous ses États que d'abandonner la foi de Jésus-Christ. Tous les peuples tant de ce lieu que des environs ont eu la consolation de luy rendre les derniers devoirs et de le visiter pour la dernière fois en son lit de parade où il demeura vingt quatre heures exposé en vue pendant lesquelles il fut assisté du clergé de cette église, des révérends Pères Récollets et des Loges, qui ne cessèrent pas de prier pour le repos de l'âme de cet illustre héros du nom chrestien, que le Seigneur récompense d'une couronne éternelle.

Signé: P. Parmentier, secretaire”

(“Deceased King of England

The same day (16 September 1701) at three hours and twenty minutes after midday, passed away in the old castle of this place, the very high, the very powerful, and the very religious Prince James Stuart II [*Prince Jacques Stuart Second*], the name of the King of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, at age 67 and eleven months, [an event] equally regrettable to the people of France and of England, and especially the inhabitants of this place who had been an eyewitness of his excellent virtue and his religion, for which he had completely given up his crown to a denaturalized usurper, having preferred to live as a good Christian exiled away from his Government, [shaped] by his misfortunes and his patience to triumph in the Catholic Faith than to reign among a rebellious and mutinous people. His final sickness lasted fifteen days, during which he twice received the Viaticum and the Last Rites by the hands of Jean François Benoist, doctor to the house of Sorbonne, prior and priest to this place and its proper pastor, [and] with feelings of profound humility, after having pardoned all his rebels and his bitterest enemies, he himself asked forgiveness of the officers if he had given them any cause of sorrow. He also gave tokens of tenderness and religion to the serene Prince of Wales, his dignified son and heir to his crown, as well as his virtues to which he recommended [to the Prince] to never have another rule of conduct than the maxims of the Gospel; [to] honor everyday his very virtuous mother; [to] remember the kindness that his Most Christian Majesty had always shown him; [and to] renounce his Government than abandon the faith of Jesus Christ. All the people of this place and surroundings have had the consolation of making him the Last Rites, and to visit him for the last time in his *lit de parade* where he lay exposed for 24 hours, where he was assisted by the members of the clergy of this church, the Recollect Fathers and Loges, who never ceased to pray that this illustrious Christian's soul find peace. May God reward him with an eternal crown.

Signed: P. Parmentier, secretary”) (author's translation).

²⁵ Edward Corp, “The Last Years of James II,” pp. 19–25.

²⁶ John Miller, *James II*, p. 240. Henri-Emmanuel de Roquette, abbot of the abbey of Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys, gave the funeral oration.

²⁷ Corp, "The Last Years of James II," pp. 19–25.

²⁸ There are conflicting reports about the fate of the king's body during the French Revolution. David Hilliam disputes that his remains were either scattered or lost, stating that when revolutionaries broke into the church, they were amazed at the body's preservation and it was put on public exhibition where miracles were said to have happened. Hilliam states that the body was then kept "above ground" until George IV heard about it and ordered the body buried in the parish church of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1824. David Hilliam, *Kings, Queens, Bones & Bastards*, p. 205; Miller, p. 240. Maureen Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters*, p. 401, and John MacLeod, *Dynasty*, p. 349 both claim that James's remains were lost.

²⁹ Corp, "The Last Years of James II," pp. 19–25.

³⁰ Formerly the English College at Douai, the English Catholic seminary.

³¹ Formerly the English Jesuit College of Saint Omer.

³² The senior Community of the English Benedictines.

³³ Corp, "The Last Years of James II," pp. 19–25.

³⁴ In 1855, Queen Victoria paid for a memorial to James II at the same church.

³⁵ Personal communication with Maria Esain, November 22, 2013. See Edward Corp and Jacqueline Sanson, *La cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-laye*, pp. 145–49, especially p. 148 and note 178.

³⁶ Alexandra Walsham, "Skeletons in the Cupboard," pp. 121–43.

³⁷ Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body*.

³⁸ M. T., *A Letter from A Gentleman at Rome to His Friend in London*, reports healings carried out in Rome by the king, who must be James III. See below.

³⁹ Geoffrey Scott, "The Court as a Centre of Catholicism," pp. 244 and 256. Other Jacobite martyrs were also considered saints. The relics of James II in the collections of Stonyhurst College are framed together with relics of Thomas Percy and the earl of Derwentwater, both widely held to be martyrs. Indeed, Percy was beatified in 1895. The same group of relics includes a fragment of cloth from Queen Maria Clementina's scapular. The queen was the subject of a case for canonization in Rome in the 1730s and 1740s. On Derwentwater, see Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community*. On Percy, see "Blessed Thomas Percy" in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. See also Jan Graffius, "The Stuart Relics in the Stonyhurst Collections," pp. 147–69.

⁴⁰ Scott, *Sacredness of Majesty*, pp. 8–10.

⁴¹ Thomas Pennant, *Tour on the Continent*, p. 10.

⁴² Corp and Sanson, p. 151 and note 189.

⁴³ Corp and Sanson, pp. 150–51.

⁴⁴ Philip Thicknesse, *Useful Hints to Those who make the Tour of France*, pp. 46–47.

⁴⁵ Corp and Sanson, p. 150 and note 191. See Paul Achard, *Guide du voyageur*. See also Alice Shield, *Henry Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York, and His Times*, pp. 79–80; and Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 371 and p. 376.

⁴⁶ Claire Walker, "Prayer, Patronage and Political Conspiracy," pp. 1–23.

⁴⁷ See Bertelli, p. 61.

⁴⁸ On Jacobite glass in general, see Geoffrey Seddon, *The Jacobites and Their Drinking Glasses*.

⁴⁹ Grant Francis, "Jacobite Drinking Glasses," p. 279.

⁵⁰ An English perfume bottle, ca. 1740, containing a George II silver penny (D193-1973).

⁵¹ For example, Goblet, ca. 1715, Charles I silver six-pence, NGV D30-1973; Goblet, ca. 1715, Charles II 1663 shilling, NGV D114-1973; Wine glass, ca. 1715, 1683 Charles II three-pence, NGV D93-1973; Wine glass, ca. 1745, Charles II 1680 threepence, NGV D71-1981.

⁵² Pittock, p. 25.

⁵³ See Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of Charles the Martyr*, pp. 78–94, 213–14.

⁵⁴ Cordial glass, ca. 1685, Charles II 1673 Maundy twopence, NGV D177-1973.

⁵⁵ For example, Goblet, ca. 1725, James II 1687 Maundy threepence, NGV 1004-D4; Wine glass, ca. 1708–15, James II 1686 Maundy 2d, NGV D134-1973; Goblet, ca. 1714, James II 1686 Maundy 2d, NGV D96-1973.

⁵⁶ Pittock, p. 130.

⁵⁷ Guthrie, p. 207 and note 17.

⁵⁸ M. T. See also Guthrie, pp. 115–17. On James II and the Royal Touch in general, see Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, pp. 392–94.

⁵⁹ M. T.

Works Cited

- Achard, Paul. *Guide du voyageur, ou, Dictionnaire historique des rues et des places publiques de la ville d'Avignon*. Avignon: Seguin ainé, 1857.
- Association Frontenac-Amériques. "La ville de Saint-Germain-en-Laye." Translated by Samuel Harvey. www.frontenac-ameriques.org/louis-de-frontenac/article/la-ville-de-saint-germain-en-laye (accessed November 18, 2013).
- Bertelli, Sergio. *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- Bloch, Marc. *Les Rois thaumaturges: Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*. Paris: Librairie Istra, 1924.
- Calabrese, Omar. *Neo-baroque: A Sign of the Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Catholic Encyclopaedia. "Blessed Thomas Percy." www.newadvent.org/cathen/14697a.htm (accessed November 18, 2013).
- Corp, Edward. "The Last Years of James II 1690–1701." *History Today* 51, no. 9 (2001): 19–25.
- Corp, Edward, ed. *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Corp, Edward and Jacqueline Sanson. *La cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-laye au temps de Louis XIV*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992.
- Delehay, H. *L'œuvre des Bollandistes, 1615–1915*. Brussels: Subsidia Hagiographica 13A, 1959.
- Francis, Grant. "Jacobite Drinking Glasses and their Relation to the Jacobite Medals." *Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society* (1921): pp. 247–83.
- Geraghty, Anthony. "Nicholas Hawksmoor's Drawing Technique of the 1690s and John Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding." In *Rethinking the Baroque*, edited by Helen Hills, pp. 125–41. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Glickman, Gabriel. *The English Catholic Community 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009.
- Graffius, Jan. "The Stuart Relics in the Stonyhurst Collections." *Recusant History* 31, no. 2 (2012): pp. 147–69.
- Guthrie, Neil. *The Material Culture of the Jacobites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Hilliam, David. *Kings, Queens, Bones & Bastards*. Thrupp, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998.
- Lacey, Andrew. *The Cult of Charles the Martyr*. Woodridge and Rochester, New York: Boydell and Brewer, 2003.

- Lazure, Guy. "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial." *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): pp. 58–93.
- Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Edited by Peter H. Nidditch. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- M. T. *A Letter from A Gentleman at Rome to His Friend in London*. London: A. Moore, 1721.
- MacLeod, John. *Dynasty: The Stuarts, 1560–1807*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *La cultura del barroco: Análisis de una estructura histórica*, vol. 7 of *Letras E Ideas: Maio Series*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1975.
- McLynn, Frank. *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Miller, John. *James II*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Moser, Walter. "The Concept of Baroque." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 33, no. 1 (2008): pp. 11–37.
- Ndalianis, Angela. *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.
- Nicolson, Joseph and Richard Burn. *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. 1. London: Printed for W. Strahan, 1777.
- O'Malley, John W. *Trent: What Happened at the Council*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2013.
- Papa, Giovanni. "La Sacra Congregazione dei Riti nel primo periodo di attività (1588–1634)," *Miscellanea in occasione del IV centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588–1988)*, pp. 13–52. Vatican City: Guerra, 1988.
- Peeters, Paul. "L'œuvre des Bollandistes." *Académie royale de Belgique: Mémoires—Second Series* 54 (1961): pp. 3–202.
- Pennant, Thomas. *Tour on the Continent, 1765*. Edited by G. R. De Beer. London: Ray Society, 1948.
- Pittock, Murray. *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688–1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places*. Houndmills, and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Pointon, Marcia. "Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery, and the Body." In *Material Memories*, edited by Marius Kwint, Jeremy Aynsley, and Christopher Breward, pp. 39–71. Oxford: Berg, 1999.
- Sallmann, Jean-Michel. "Image et fonction du Saint dans la région de Naples à la fin du XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 91 (1979): pp. 827–74.
- Scott, Geoffrey. *Sacredness of Majesty: English Benedictines and the Cult of King James II*. San Mariano: Huntington, 1984.
- Scott, Geoffrey. "The Court as a Centre of Catholicism." In *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France 1689–1718*, edited by Edward Corp, pp. 235–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Seddon, Geoffrey. *The Jacobites and their Drinking Glasses*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995.
- Shield, Alice. *Henry Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York, and His Times*. London: Longmans, Green, 1908.
- Thicknesse, Philip. *Useful Hints to Those who make the Tour of France, in a Series of Letters, written from that Kingdom*. London: Ray Society, 1765.
- Voelker, E. C. "Charles Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiastica, 1577: A Translation with Commentary and Analysis." PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1977.

- Walker, Claire. "Prayer, Patronage and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration." *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000): pp. 1–23.
- Waller, Maureen. *Ungrateful Daughters: The Stuart Princesses who Stole Their Father's Crown*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2002.
- Walsham, Alexandra. "Skeletons in the Cupboard: Relics after the English Reformation." *Relics and Remnants, Past and Present*: Supplement 5 (2010): pp. 121–43.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1915.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*. New York: Dover, 1932 [1915].

Chapter 9

Chican@ Saints: The Persistence of Religious Bodies in Mexican America

Kat Austin

SHE RAISES HER HAND IN a moment of tension, signaling the possibility of danger and readying herself for a potential attack. The color, shadow, drapery, and narrative action that compose this scene evoke suspenseful drama. The female subject presents herself as a formidable force, capable of defending herself and her people with the aid of her mighty sword. Judith the divine assassin; Guadalupe the mestiza mother of Mexico; and Coyolxauhqui the rebel daughter of the mother goddess: all three religious figures serve as sources of inspiration denoting female strength and action. However, while Alma López may have changed the content of Artemisia Gentileschi's painting (see plate 11, p. xxiii), the Chicana artist has unleashed forms expressing the same dramatic movement and tension as in the seventeenth-century original. Baroque sensibilities seek out baroque models of inspiration.¹

This essay focuses on the baroque sensibilities which pervade Mexican America, a nation within a nation where the hybrid colonial baroque of New Spain continues to manifest itself in Chican@ art. In her book *Neobaroque in the Americas*, Monika Kaup has also traced elements of US Latino visual culture back to the New World baroque, pointing to similarities between the resistant mestizo art created by colonial subjects, and the rebellious hybrid re-imaginings crafted by Chican@ artists.² The term used to describe the style and attitude exuded by US borderland culture—*rasquachismo*—closely mirrors the neo-baroque to the point where one could say, without doubt, that *rasquachismo* is a type of neo-baroque emergence unique to Mexican America. In addition to its insistence on excess, flamboyance, and multiplicity, *rasquachismo* also involves adaptability, inventiveness, and critical defiance. Colonial Latin America was characterized by its adaptability and inventiveness, embracing the idea that, although the Spanish presence—and in particular Spanish baroque presence—was far-reaching by virtue of its colonizing status, pre-Hispanic civilizations were capable of adapting themselves to the new Western trends, which they assimilated to the point of “counter-creating” them and generating something new. Likewise, *rasquachismo* has a propensity for assimilating cultural artifacts and inventively adapting them to make new creations, which articulate critical discourse and help to form oppositional identities. In this respect, *rasquachismo* shares the same resistant quality as the baroque Latin American art of the *Reconquista* or Counter-Conquest articulated by Ángel Guido, and later by José Lezama Lima.³

As in the colonial baroque, where the works of artists and writers served as covert threats to Iberian colonizers and helped to foment a new sense of identity, the contemporary Chican@ baroque similarly criticizes US and Western hegemony while creating new and powerful identities.

Mexican America, which is central to this essay, has generated its own *barroquismo*, having thrived on the fruits of a colonial Mexican heritage and intensified within the unique cultural climate of the Southwest US. As second-class citizens, Mexican Americans have been excluded from the meta-narratives of the nation. However, this position as outsiders has granted them a unique vantage point from which to see a multifaceted and contradictory reality. Living in the socio-cultural margins, a certain way of thinking emerged which allowed for contradictions, ambiguity, and plurality: essentially, a baroque way of thinking. This particular consciousness combined with a colonial baroque cultural foundation produced *rasquachismo*, a sensibility that mirrors the baroque in many ways.

In his seminal essay, “*Rasquachismo: A Chicano Sensibility*,” Tomás Ybarra-Frausto articulates this US borderland attitude, which attempts to make the most from the least and, due to its adaptable spirit, produces inclusive structures, impure hybridities, and bold juxtapositions. *Rasquachismo* is an attitude and sensibility that emerged from conditions of financial scarcity; an environment that encouraged the development of an inventive spirit; and a propensity to combine the apparently uncombinable.⁴ Coming originally from the Mexican word meaning “garbage,” the *rasquache* spirit is resourceful and creative at its core, taking found materials, cultural detritus, and the fragments of history, and transforming all these things into something new, vibrant, dramatic, and defiant. This is the baroque created by the *abajo* (“underclass”), a resistant baroque that rails against the cultural norms of the Anglo establishment, provides a strong visual identity, and offers a flexible and inclusive conception of creative practice. These resourceful and inventive practices combined with a propensity for ornamentation and a playful love of “bad taste” aesthetics make *rasquachismo* the underdog baroque of the borderlands: the *rasquache* baroque. The works of art discussed throughout this essay participate in *rasquache* baroque practices, citing baroque history and summoning the ghosts of a colonial past while generating inclusive structures, impure hybridities and juxtapositions, flamboyance, excess, bold transformations, and critical humor. These *rasquache* baroque forms serve to negotiate an adverse and complex reality, and to culturally arm oneself against the dominant powers in an attempt to ensure cultural survival and resistance.

The drama and splendor of the historical baroque have never faded from the Mexican consciousness. As Mariano Picón-Salas affirms, “in spite of nearly two centuries of rationalism and modern criticism, we Spanish Americans have not yet emerged fully from [the baroque’s] labyrinth.”⁵ The sensibility of the historical baroque demonstrates a strong resilience in the visual and narrative arts of Mexican Catholicism. The aesthetics

and performativity of Mexico's religious art are responsible for forming Mexican eyes, as more often than not Mexicans' first encounters with colonial-style baroque art constitutes their first encounter with art itself.

Despite the resistance of many to the conservative aspects of Catholicism, a deep resonance with baroque Mexican Catholic sensibilities remains firmly planted in the shared imaginary of Mexican America. As artist Patssi Valdez elicits, "I'm not religious, but I do find the image of the Virgin fascinating because she is a woman. I'm into Virgin fashion. I like the clothing they wear. I'm inspired and in awe of the way they look."⁶ Surpassing Valdez's appreciation for Catholic baroque aesthetics and fashions, performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña speaks of an ethnically ingrained baroque sensibility, explaining how the performativity found in the dioramas of saints in colonial churches forms his very DNA.⁷ Though having grown up in the "agnostic fog of the seventies counterculture in Mexico City," Gómez-Peña recounts how Mexican Catholicism inadvertently surfaced in his work, combined or juxtaposed with expressions of transgressive politics and sexuality. While consciously contesting institutionalized religion, his works exuded the emotion, drama, and excess coming from his latent Mexican Catholic spirit.⁸

There is something so incredibly powerful about baroque Mexican Catholic aesthetics: the emotional intensity of suffering saints; the dramatic tension of life-sized dioramas playing out the story of Jesus; and the excessive ornamentation, textures, and colors. Considering the affective strength offered by baroque Catholicism, it is not surprising that it maintains a strong influence in Chican@ art, nor is it surprising that Chican@s make use of Catholic baroque aesthetics, figures, and tropes to provoke emotional and psychological responses in their viewers. This essay will explore how Chican@s utilize the elements and techniques of baroque Catholic tradition to persuade audiences through non-rational means: through the senses, the emotions, and the psycho-spiritual faculties.

Moreover, this Mexican baroque sensibility provides a powerful base on which to add more meaning, as it takes other cultural referents and combines them into something bold, innovative, and relevant for this complex new world. Like the historical baroque, the rasquache baroque privileges the sensately expressive plasticity of the divine body. Practicing rasquache mechanics, Chican@s appropriate divine figures from cathedrals, religious processions, and home altars, combining them with other elements and transforming them into something innovative, dramatic, powerful, flamboyant, and transgressive. While four centuries ago the expressiveness of the emotive religious body served the purposes of the church, these contemporary Chican@ articulations harness the power of the baroque body to further their own motives relating to the principle of *lucha* ("struggle" or "fight"). In the spirit of *lucha*, the religious body is used as an artistic strategy for contesting injustice and for creating new figures of inspiration.

The transformation of Virgins, Christs, and saints constitutes a standard practice in the world of Chican@ art. Curator Tey Marianna Nunn mentions how "reimaging La Virgen is now so common in the community that it has become an estab-

lished tradition in the Chicano and Latino art canon.”⁹ It is worth noting that the use of religious figures as symbols of power comes from a long tradition. The image of the Virgin Guadalupe, the mother of Mexico, was carried into battle, first by Hidalgo and his insurgent army during Mexico’s War of Independence, and then later by the United Farm Workers (UFW) as they fought for better wages and improved work conditions in California.

However, in contrast to the pure, unadulterated appropriation of the classic image of Guadalupe employed by the insurgents and UFW strikers, Chican@s participate in *rasquache* baroque mechanics, taking the figures and elements given to them by history and transforming them into new figures of resistance. Just as the colonized creative class of the baroque Americas appropriated European models and transformed them into new figures that articulated a distinctly hybrid identity that resisted Iberian cultural dominance, the creative class of Mexican America appropriates the colonial baroque legacy transferred across history via ultra-baroque Mexican Catholicism, and transforms elements of this heritage into new figures of identity and resistance. To be clear, though Chican@ artists have a deep-seated appreciation for Mexican baroque religious iconography, the *rasquache* act of recycling figures of their cultural history and placing them in new contexts of contemporary culture undermines their original historical signification and imbues them with a transgressive quality which allows them to become invested with socio-political meaning.

The various Chican@ Virgins, Christs, and saints who appear throughout the course of this essay demonstrate the latent baroque Catholic sensibilities and spiritualities underpinning Chican@ art and culture. The seventeenth-century Catholic church’s program, which sought to overwhelm the senses and move the spirit, was often interpreted with fervor, color, and unbridled imagination in Mexico and in much of Latin America. Moreover, this colonial propensity for ornamentation, drama, and the divinely sensate human form in acts of suffering or ecstasy constitutes a strong part of Mexican and Mexican American sensibilities, which continue to the present day.

Inheriting this continued baroque legacy, Chican@s grasp onto the performative and emotive religious figures which are firmly embedded in their shared cultural history. However, this cultural legacy is not taken acritically. Just as colonial sculptors José Kondori and Aleijadinho transgressively transformed the imposed models of the colonizer by inserting indigenous motifs or by insolently “throwing all classical proportion to hell,” Chican@s harness a similar spirit of colonial baroque defiance, twisting and transforming these figures and styles to the point of rupture, and at times provoking the outrage of those inside and outside their communities.¹⁰ Playfully, they exercise the elastic limits of traditional forms, creating new hybrids and impure communions, demonstrating both iconoclastic attitudes and profound respect. Under the chisel of Chicanismo, the religious figures of colonial baroque tradition become revitalized figures of a new spirituality capable of speaking to a contemporary world.

This essay argues how Chican@ artists and writers use rasquache baroque techniques and strategies to reconstruct and reinvigorate religious bodies, which serve as powerful and performative vehicles for contestation and provide material for new icons of empowerment. It begins with the reinvented performances of suffering Christs and the physically tormented bodies of Ana Castillo's contemporary saints, who allegorize the plight of the disempowered. The essay then shifts from the weakened, sickly, or injured figures of socio-political injustice to the strong bodies of the reinvented Madonnas of Chicana feminism, who communicate their power and resistance through iconoclastic hybridity and robust physicality. Ultimately, the rasquache baroque strategy of appropriating elements of history and modifying them to hold relevance for contemporary socio-political concerns offers a way to hold onto pieces of the Mexican past and resist the forces of US assimilation, while creating new figures which fight against injustice, give form to contemporary identities, and serve as new figures of inspiration.

Contesting Injustice: The Emotive Chican@ Body

Many Christian narratives have the ability to fluidly transform themselves into representations of the oppressed, becoming allegories of resistance. Representations of Christ's suffering can easily translate into allegories depicting the tribulations suffered by others, as in colonial Brazil where slaves and their descendants used Christ's flagellation as an allegory for slavery. For example, the flagellated Christ created by the slave artist Francisco das Chagas, o Cabra bears the lashes in which are inscribed the memory of violence. As noted by Marcus Wood, this Christ "suffers in such an intimate human space that he enforces identification as human slave victim, not as suffering Godhead."¹¹ Similarly, Aleijadinho, the mulatto son of a Brazilian slave, re-created life-sized dioramas of the Stations of the Cross, which, according to Gilberto Freyre, served as a veiled assault on Portuguese dominance, covertly substituting Roman soldiers with Portuguese officers, and using the suffering Christ to represent the agonies experienced by slaves.¹² Practicing the resistant art of the Counter-Conquest, the disempowered artists of the colonial world appropriated the Catholic church's imaginary, transforming it into new forms of thinly concealed subversion. Harnessing the colonial baroque's propensity for adaptation, they invested the inherited figures and narratives of the European world with new meanings.

Having faced a great deal of adversity in recent history, it is not surprising that Mexican Americans have utilized similar strategies of protest. Mexican Americans have undergone their own allegorical flagellations and crucifixions. A disproportionate number of Mexican Americans returned from Vietnam in body bags; farmworkers suffered deplorable conditions and toxic exposure to pesticides; US Mexicans were and continue to be subjected to harsh immigration policies; and Mexican Americans who have lived in the US for generations have incurred the hatred and discrimination of the dominant



Figure 9.1. ASCO, *Stations of the Cross*, performance, 1971. Photograph by Seymour Rosen, © SPACES—Saving and Preserving Arts and Cultural Environments.

society. In the same way that colonial Afro-Brazilians depicted injustice and oppression through the narrative imagery of Christ's flagellation, Chican@ performance and literature draws attention to the plight of the disempowered through the trope of the religious body, which becomes an allegorical vehicle for expressing a real lived suffering, writing of social injustice through the medium of flesh and bone.

One of the first Chican@ performances to transform and politicize the religious body was carried out by East LA collective, ASCO in 1971 when members Willie Herrón, Gronk, and Harry Gamboa enacted their own version of the Stations of the Cross (figure 9.1). The public intervention came about at a tumultuous time in Chican@ history: Los Angeles had recently experienced the National Chicano Moratorium March, a massive anti-war protest which culminated in a violent invasion by tear gas-firing police, bringing about a riot in which sixty-one people were injured and three protesters were killed, including the Chicano journalist and activist Rubén Salazar. In the years following the Moratorium March, the LA authorities exercised iron-fisted control on East LA's Whittier Boulevard, randomly stopping and searching citizens, prohibiting cars from cruising the street on weekend nights, and later canceling the annual East LA Christmas Parade.¹³ These restrictions inspired ASCO members all the more to stage a politicized performative intervention to reclaim the public realm. Transforming a beloved Mexican

Catholic tradition—the Stations of the Cross—ASCO carried out a procession through the police-monitored space of Whittier Boulevard. Playing the role of Jesus/Death, Herrón donned white robes, painted his face as a skull, and carried a fifteen-foot rasquache crucifix fashioned out of cardboard boxes. Gronk became Pontius Pilate, his costume finding its inspiration in the French clown played by Jean-Louis Barrault in *Les enfants du paradis*.¹⁴ Gamboa, having painted his face to appear corpse-like, played the part of a zombie altar boy, displaying the velour and lace cravats associated with ecclesiastic wealth. As the tormented image of Christ had once embodied the torment of slavery for some first-generation free blacks in Brazil, Herrón's Mexican body momentarily represented the many Mexican bodies of those who lost their lives in the war. ASCO's procession culminated at the Marine Corps recruiting office, where Herrón blocked the office door with the enormous cross, leaving this rasquache relic for the Marine recruiters to decipher.

Chican@s exercise a keen ability for adapting traditions to articulate contemporary concerns. In the same year that ASCO enacted its own Stations of the Cross, El Teatro Campesino, the original rasquache theater company, performed *La Pastorela*, a nativity play which continues to be performed biennially due to popular demand. However, *La Pastorela* does not tell the nativity story as it is commonly known, but instead adapts it to suit its contemporary environment. According to George Mariscal, in El Teatro Campesino's version of the story, "hell becomes a toxic waste site, and Christ the son of a migrant worker."¹⁵ The narration of Jesus's birth thus becomes a vehicle to speak about social injustice and environmental degradation. Twenty years later, in her novel *So Far from God*, Ana Castillo also drew analogies between the story of Jesus and contemporary issues. During a Holy Week procession in New Mexico, Castillo creates impure juxtapositions connecting the events of Jesus's final hours with social, political, and environmental issues: "Jesus fell, and people all over the land were dying from toxic exposure in factories ... Jesus met his mother, and three Navajo women talked about uranium contamination on the reservation ... Jesus was helped by Simon and the number of those without jobs increased every day."¹⁶

Like ASCO and El Teatro Campesino, Castillo is carrying out neo-baroque strategies of appropriation and critical transformation. As mentioned earlier, the peoples of the Americas appropriated and adapted the Iberian baroque, distorting the original meanings of cultural forms, and transforming them into the defiant art of the Counter-Conquest. The rasquache baroque works in a similar way, appropriating and adapting Christian figures and narratives, and charging them with new signification that disturbs their original meaning. However, the rasquache baroque differs fundamentally in terms of attitude and intention. While the colonial artists of the Americas transformed the imposed culture of the Iberian peninsula as a way of subtly rebelling against European cultural dominance, Chican@s appropriate elements of their Mexican cultural heritage, which is strongly influenced by colonial baroque Catholicism, and use these elements as

vehicles for communicating new meanings. In this sense, the rasquache baroque approximates Gonzalo Celorio's concept of the neo-baroque, which involves an appropriation of the past in an attempt to recover it and to "possess culture," resulting in parodical transformations which have the power to criticize through means of reflection, play, and humor.¹⁷ The emotive bodies and stories of Virgins, Christs, and saints belong to a Mexican past, and Chican@s appropriate the figures of this past in an attempt to "possess" this culture and keep it alive by metamorphosing it into something relevant for the contemporary world. Consequently, the revitalization and politicization of Mexican Catholic imagery and themes strongly characterize Chican@ art and literature.

However, besides functioning as a way of possessing culture, appropriating Catholic forms and narratives also allows artists to capitalize on the physical drama of the religious body to affect viewers and win their emotional engagement. A year after the publication of *So Far from God*, Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Roberto Sifuentes would also reshape the malleable traditions of Catholicism to create hybrid expressions of contestation. Posing as an illegal *charro* (an elegant Mexican cowboy) and an exaggerated *cholo* (a Mexican American type associated with gang culture), the artists bound themselves to crosses five meters high, and staged their own crucifixions.

The fusion of the crucified Christ with figures of Mexicanness—the *charro*—and urban Mexican American culture—the *cholo*—drew parallels between Christ's innocent suffering and the tribulations of US Mexicans and Mexican Americans. At the time, a strong current of nativist and xenophobic sentiment had flooded California, culminating in Proposition 187, an initiative that sought to prohibit undocumented immigrants from using state services. The corporeal drama and ritual sacrifice offered by the crucifixion presented the perfect vehicle for transmitting a politicized message condemning the hostile attitudes and harsh policies aimed at further marginalizing the already marginalized. Moreover, the realness of the artists' suffering bodies helped to emphasize the real suffering of the undocumented and the marginalized: Sifuentes passed out and Gómez-Peña dislocated his shoulder.

The artists used the visceral quality of the human body in physical torment to provoke an emotional response in their viewers, much in the same way that the baroque used the human body and its emotive power to psychologically move its audience. Herein lies the fundamental purpose of baroque art: to move the viewer. The Spanish historian José Antonio Maravall asserted that, among the baroque's trifold aim of *delectare–docere–movere* ("to delight, to teach, to move the affections"), *movere* "was the end to be obtained."¹⁸ Moreover, baroque techniques employed affectivity—overwhelming the senses and engaging the emotions—as a means of persuading audiences. However, while the historical baroque used the dramatic physicality of the human body in divine acts of ecstasy or martyrdom to persuade audiences to piety, which is a conservative agenda, the rasquache baroque uses the same techniques to sway audiences towards socio-political ideas that resist hegemony and demand social justice.



Figure 9.2. La Pocha Nostra, *Corpo Divino*, performance, 2008. Photo © Joshua Meles.

Gómez-Peña and his performance collective La Pocha Nostra continued to capitalize on the power of the religious body as a dramatic vessel for carrying messages of socio-political protest. Fusing icons of religious devotion with figures of societal contempt, La Pocha Nostra produced more sanctified icons of marginality: the “saints and Madonnas of unpopular causes,” hybrid figures who emblemize subaltern martyrs such as “border crossers, undocumented migrants, prisoners, [and] the infirmed and displaced invisible others.”¹⁹ As if an unseen force had breathed life into the tormented statues in a Mexican cathedral, these sanctified marginal figures perform with intense drama, fusing a reinvented Catholic spirituality with radical socio-political commentary. For example, Roberto Sifuentes’s New Barbarian radiates subaltern spirituality. Displaying various piercings and decorated with Aztec-inspired tattoos reminiscent of Mexican American gang culture, Sifuentes wears the bloodied *pañó de pureza* (“loincloth”) of Jesus while dramatizing heroin use (figure 9.2). The New Barbarian projects religious iconography infused with social fears concerning hard drug use, criminal activity, and racial otherness. Moreover, this ambivalent figure causes the spectator to consider the plight of marginalized others, and the human plasticity of his body engaged in ritualized drama provokes powerful sentiments. An older, teary-eyed woman described her reaction to the New Barbarian as such: “When he reached out [his] hand to me and I took it, it was almost like looking Christ in the eyes. The whole performance was very strong, almost impossible to describe. I was deeply moved.”²⁰ The barriers between the world of spectacle and the world of the audience had become fluid, allowing the performers to transcend repre-

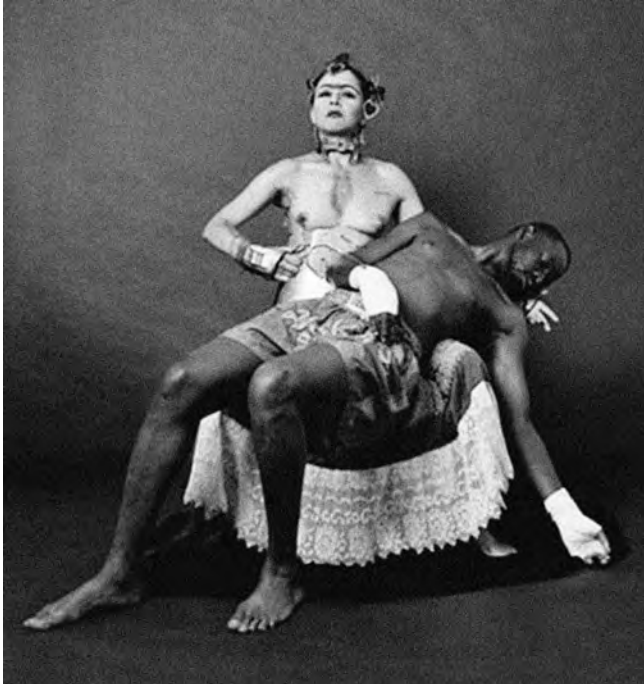


Figure 9.3.
La Pocha Nostra, Chi-Canarian
Expo, performance, 2005.
Photo © BRH-LEÓN editions.

sentation and become “real” by entering the reality of the viewer’s space, and yet simultaneously maintain their heavily symbolic charge, causing them to become figures which transcend human reality; a baroque mixing of the real, tangible human body with the aura of otherworldly spirituality that produces strong effects.

Likewise, the breaking down of the barriers between the audience and the work of art constitutes a crucial part of the baroque. Maravall argues throughout his *Culture of the Baroque* that the active participation of the public in the world of art was essential for the functioning of the conservative cultural machine of seventeenth-century Europe. In Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s Cornaro Chapel, for example, viewers find themselves inserted into the field of art between St. Teresa undergoing her ecstasy and the statues of the Cornaro family, who watch the saint’s experience from above, commenting on her union with God from their box seats. The living spectators are consequently enveloped in the space of the spectacle, becoming participants in the work of art.

Baroque art facilitates participation by effecting an expansion of the space of the art into the space of the viewer and vice versa, a concept defined by John Rupert Martin as “coextensive space.”²¹ This coextension of space between the world of art and the world of the living integrates the viewer into the work, demanding the viewer’s active participation in “the spatial-psychological field created by the work of art.”²² As in the baroque, the participation of the spectator plays a strong role in Chican@ art. La Pocha Nostra’s

performances in particular demand the active participation of the audience. When the New Barbarian reached out his hand to the audience member, as described above, he allowed the woman to forge a physical, psychological, and emotional relationship with the work of art. She became part of the field of the spectacle and, consequently, engaged in it. This engagement constitutes an essential part of persuasion. The woman described an intensity of feeling, of being deeply moved. The New Barbarian, with his tormented and emotionally charged divine body, entered the spectator's world, using baroque strategies to impress on her psyche the Christ-like suffering of his people.

However, the religious body provides much more than material for emblemizing suffering and oppression. The body in and of itself is charged with socio-cultural meaning, adding another layer of signification to politicized religious drama. When La Pocha Nostra's Violeta Luna and an African immigrant stage a parody of *La Pietà* in the Chi-Canarian Expo in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (figure 9.3), the racial difference of their bodies communicates meaning before anything else. Dressed as Frida Kahlo (one of Mexico's most beloved honorary saints), Luna performed the role of *La Dolorosa*, the suffering Virgin who receives the lifeless body of her son into her arms. The black body of the African immigrant interprets the role of the lifeless Christ, highlighting the sacrifice made by Sub-Saharan Africans as they make their way north across Europe's Rio Grande and the Straits of Gibraltar, seeking economic opportunity and fleeing violent conflict. The combining of two ethnicities and races into one Catholic motif highlights the similarity in experiences faced by people from the Global South's two hemispheres. Moreover, this image imagines the Latin American and the African as mother and son, an intimate link, which further cements the analogy.

Because religious imagery privileges the corporeal as a visceral form of communicating spiritual experience, its insistence on the body also lends itself to commentary concerning race. Allegories depicting the hagiographic suffering and martyrdom endured by racialized and gendered bodies appear in Chican@ writings as well. In Castillo's *So Far from God*, Caridad, a beautiful and sexually promiscuous young woman, sustains a brutal sexual attack by the *malogra* before undergoing a saintly transformation.²³ Interestingly, Castillo's *malogra* does not follow New Mexican traditions, but instead represents the forces of centuries-old racial and gender-based violence inflicted on women of color. Castillo's *malogra* is a monstrous composite, representing the continuing legacy of conquest and colonization: "A thing, both tangible and amorphous. A thing ... made of sharp metal and splintered wood, of limestone, gold, and brittle parchment. It held the weight of a continent and was indelible as ink, centuries old and yet as strong as a young wolf."²⁴ The description of the *malogra* conjures images of violence and Western civilization: the metal and wood of swords and lances; the limestone constituting the foundation of the church; the gold which lined Spanish coffers; and the parchment on which laws were written, land divided, and Western culture propagated. The narrative of the *malogra* is one in which the female body comes to represent conquered territory. Caridad was not

the victim of an individual attacker, but of an intangible systemic misogynist force: “It wasn’t a man with a face and a name ... Nor two or three men. That was why she had never been able to give no information to the police.”²⁵ Caridad too is another saint of unpopular causes, crafted by Castillo as an allegorical figure representing the continuing plight of indigenous and mestiza women due to gender and racially motivated violence.

Castillo’s novel harnesses the visual plasticity of the saintly body as a way of expressing testimony to the injustices enacted on marginalized people. Following the baroque aim of *delectare–docere–movere*, the corporeal expressiveness of the body is most capable of affecting the psyche and moving the emotions of audiences. The suffering of divine bodies capable of displaying a newfound depth of penetrating human psychology found its apex during the baroque. Consider Pedro Roldán’s *Cristo de Caridad* (“Christ of Charity”) with his imploring eyes raised towards heaven, his body injured with ribbons of blood cascading down his palpable flesh. Or consider José de Mora’s agonized Virgins with downcast eyes, sobbing half-open mouths, and endless streams of tears. Or consider Pedro de Mená’s *The Penitent Mary Magdalene* who, radiating an eerily human realism, holds her chest in desperation and displays her interior struggle through exquisitely crafted facial expression.

However, the divine body not only serves to move the psyche of its audience, but it also serves the *docere* (“teaching”) aim of the baroque, using the physicality of the body as a tool to articulate other concepts. Castillo employs the saintly baroque body to this end. Much in the same way that the saint’s injured and suffering body provides a visual and visceral representation of his or her devotion, the bodies of Castillo’s saints represent phenomena existing beyond their immediate physicality. In Castillo’s novel, meaning is inscribed in the body, signifying the injustices that have led to torture and death. Caridad’s body, through the violent signs enacted on it, gives testimony to the violent legacy of colonization and the persistence of *machista* (“sexist”) attitudes. When Caridad is scourged, branded, stabbed in the trachea, and has her nipples bitten off, this is not meant to represent an act carried out by individual men, but is meant to signify an idea more intangible and larger in scale. Every tribulation suffered on the baroque body exudes meaning: branding points to the treatment of women as property; the tracheotomy points to the silencing of women; and the loss of her nipples points to how she has been deprived of her ability to sustain life. Her sister Fe’s body, meanwhile, is slowly eaten away by cancer developed from working at a munitions factory, her martyred body representing the dangers of unregulated capitalist practices where profits carry more weight than human health. Meanwhile, the body of the youngest sister, La Loca, becomes emaciated through her immaculately contracted AIDS. In her blue bathrobe, reminiscent of the blue robes of the Virgin Mary, she exhibits a saintly purity despite her diseased body. Combining an AIDS-ravaged physicality with virginal innocence emblemizes the fact that these diseases affect the impoverished innocents and not just society’s perceived sinners and degenerates.

All of these images and narratives—from ASCO's *Stations of the Cross* to the La Loca Santa to the *Inmaculada* of AIDS—share many common tendencies and strategies. Ultimately, they are capitalizing on the intensely performative and emotionally evocative traditions associated with spiritual suffering and martyrdom—the baroque privileging of the body in all of its fleshly torment and communicative expression—to make an impression on the psyches of the viewer or reader, and to more strongly communicate socio-political messages through these lasting impressions. They are practicing baroque *rasquachismo*: appropriating the imaginary and affective strategies of colonial baroque art from their Mexican past and reimagining this legacy in ways that criticize the injustices of the contemporary world.

The baroque past not only provides Chican@ artists with the sensate visuality of the divine body, but also emotionally charges their works in ways which can move the psyches of contemporary audiences, articulating concepts through the visceral medium of the flesh. It is this psychological impact on the audience which broadens and intensifies the understanding of socio-political messaging underpinning Chican@ works. While one can pore through the facts about femicide and racialized misogyny, the symbolically driven understanding carried out by the allegorical bodies of Castillo's women in *So Far from God* leaves a lasting impression in the mind's eye of the reader, convincing them of the injustices suffered by impoverished women of color. However, as much as figures of suffering can effectively represent the lived human suffering of the marginalized and oppressed, Chican@s do not limit their articulations of politicized spirituality to tormented divine bodies. Rather, many religious figures in Chican@ art do not suffer at all, but serve as strong icons of empowerment.

Transformations which Empower

I grew up with those Catholic images of women ... they were very beautiful, [but] they were all suffering. My new virgins are not suffering. They are in control, they have power and strength; they rule the elements.

—Patssi Valdez²⁶

Transforming Catholic traditions not only serves to highlight injustice, but it also has the capacity to create new symbols and narratives of power. Whereas the *Saints of Unpopular Causes* capitalize on dramatic and highly visual displays of suffering, Chican@s also transform religious figures into icons that reject suffering in exchange for strength and exuberance.

Patssi Valdez was perhaps the first Chican@ iconoclast to create empowering transformations of religious iconography. In 1972, the year following ASCO's *Stations of the Cross*, Patssi Valdez and other ASCO members staged another intervention on Whittier Boulevard. Given that the city officials had banned the East LA Christmas Parade, ASCO



Figure 9.4. Ester Hernández, *La Virgen de Guadalupe defendiendo los derechos de los Xicanos*, 1975, etching and aquatint, 38 × 28 cm, Smithsonian American Art Museum. Purchase through the Frank K. Ribelin Endowment. © 1975, Ester Hernández.

decided they needed to invent their own procession. Their performance piece, *Walking Mural*, featured Gronk as a Christmas tree covered in green flounces and ornaments, Herrón as a mural wall, and Patssi Valdez as the Virgin of Guadalupe. Valdez framed herself in a rasquache cardboard *mandorla*; wore a black skirt with a revelatory slit ascending up her thigh; covered herself with voluminous black taffeta; and displayed a *papier-mâché* skull mask on the back of her darkly veiled head. This fusion of tradition and contemporary style combined her love of Catholic aesthetics with her rebellious punk attitude.

Valdez's transformation of la Guadalupe constituted more than an act of creative play; rather, she turned the Virgin into a figure of resistance with which she identified personally: she became the Guadalupe of punk. The syncretism of Guadalupe with punk aesthetics seems fitting, as the Virgin of Guadalupe has served as a figure of resistance for Mexican Americans since the mid nineteenth century, following the loss of the Mexican north to the US. In fact, nineteenth-century *Tejanos* (Texans of Mexican heritage) expressed their anxiety and resentment over their loss by intensifying their devotion to La Guadalupe through street processions that included song, candles, prayers, and cannon blasts.²⁷ During the 1940s, *pachucos* ("zoot-suiters") also tattooed her image on their bodies, a practice that has continued presence in Mexican American gang culture. However, note that the use of the Virgin of Guadalupe's image in criminal subcultures is not used subversively, but is genuinely represented as a symbol of ardent devotion. She offers protection to her followers, regardless of their lifestyle. While the activities of *pachucos* and criminals may be subversive, their use of the Virgin's image remained conventionally sacrosanct. Consequently, Valdez's reimagining of La Guadalupe was revolutionary, so controversially revolutionary that the public found it disrespectful and hurled insults at her as she walked down Whittier Boulevard.²⁸ Valdez was working in the rebellious attitude of the rasquache baroque, appropriating a key figure of Mexican tradition and transforming her into a new figure of resistance and identity. A punk Virgin of Guadalupe both served to affirm a Mexican past and provided a symbol to resist against Anglo assimilation, while her punk aspects simultaneously rebelled against Mexican tradition and the establishment. For many young Chicanas, punk offered a style and worldview that gave them a sense of empowerment, allowing them to resist Anglo authority as well as the conservative gender roles with which Mexican American society burdened them. For Valdez, the Virgin was no longer the docile model of Mexican traditionalism; but rather, she was a glamorous Chicana subversive just like herself.

As noted by Jeanette Favrot Peterson, in the late 1970s and early 1980s Chicanas began challenging the typical imagery which constituted their visual repertoire, including the Virgin of Guadalupe.²⁹ During this time, Chicanas were beginning to liberate themselves from the patriarchal elements of the Chicano Movement which had relegated Chicanas to playing supporting roles—revolutions are notoriously male-centric. However, the winds of change were sweeping the Chicana nation and in 1975, a year after Valdez's punk Guadalupe intervention on Whittier Boulevard, Ester Hernández designed

another symbol of emancipation and revolution: *La Virgen de Guadalupe defendiendo los derechos de los Xicanos* (“The Virgin of Guadalupe Defending the Rights of Chicanos”) (figure 9.4). In this etching, the Virgin, dressed as a ninja, kicks out of the confines of her *mandorla* in an act of assertive protection. No longer the passive sufferer, Hernández’s transformed Guadalupe presents herself as a model of action and empowerment.

This is not to say that La Guadalupe had not represented rebellion and resistance before the Chicana liberation of the 1970s. As noted previously, banners displaying Guadalupe’s image were carried into battle by Hidalgo and his insurgents during Mexico’s War of Independence and, a few decades later, she became a symbol of Mexican American resistance in the face of Anglo hegemony. However, despite the fact that the Mexican Virgin was purposefully adapted by the sixteenth-century ruling class to be more personally identifiable to the indigenous Mexican population—her skin became an ashy olive-tone and her hair became black and straight—Favrot Peterson notes how Guadalupe only became a symbol of freedom for all classes following the use of her image by Emiliano Zapata during the Mexican Revolutionary period of the 1910s, and only became recognized as an “Indian Virgin” well into the twentieth century.³⁰ The United Farm Workers took La Guadalupe into battle, and like Zapata used La Guadalupe’s image as a symbol of protection and resistance for the struggles of farmworkers. However, as much as the Virgin had historically served as a symbol of resistance, her image was taken acritically and remained sacrosanct and unchanged until Chicana artists like Ester Hernández intervened.

Giving the Virgin the allegorical form most appropriate for a symbol of resistance, Hernández rejected the demure figure with the downcast eyes for a new vision of a sacred woman in the midst of defensive action. Following a similar pattern, in 1978 Yolanda López transformed Guadalupe into a jogging woman: her mantle replaced by deep blue celestial short-shorts and a starry tank top, a bouquet of paintbrushes in her hand, and her powerful and radiant body exiting the frame of her *mandorla* in a dynamic *tableau vivant* (figure 9.5). Like Valdez exiting her mural, López exited the two-dimensional limits of the painted image and, exuding movement, entered the living world—the world of action. The Virgin reimagined as a ninja or as a jogging woman performs a neo-baroque revision of the Guadalupe tradition, appropriating this key figure of Mexican cultural heritage and reinventing her by placing her in contemporary contexts. To use Gonzalo Celorio’s wording, Hernández and López are appropriating the past “in an attempt to recover it and to ‘possess culture,’ resulting in parodical transformations which have the power to criticize through means of reflection, play and humour.”³¹ This reimagining demonstrates the rasquache baroque attempt to hold onto elements of cultural history while critically transforming these elements into works eliciting humor and rebellion.

While Hernández’s stylized Guadalupe could represent any Chicana woman, Valdez’s and López’s Guadalupe are extremely personal because they themselves are performing the Virgin. This personal and identifiable aspect implicit in the transformations



Figure 9.5.
 Yolanda López, *Tableaux Vivant* series, 1978.
 Photograph by Susan Mogul. Courtesy of the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center.

of La Guadalupe also brings about a sense of empowerment, because it bestows earthly women with an otherworldly quality, raising them above their humble status and signaling a certain sacredness involved in their earthly existence. In 1978, López's Guadalupe series transformed the Virgin by fusing her with the artist's mother and grandmother—an act that both sanctifies the everyday Chicana and humanizes the Virgin. Her painting, *Margaret F. Stewart: Our Lady of Guadalupe*,³² depicts her mother in the act of sewing her own sacred mantle, glorifying the labor carried out by her mother and other Mexican American women. Her other painting, *Guadalupe: Victoria F. Franco*,³³ pays homage to her grandmother, who had received little formal education, but displayed incredible

intelligence and resourcefulness, through which she taught herself to read, successfully practiced agriculture, and resiliently managed her household during the Depression.³⁴ Many of the baroque masters also modeled their saints after the real bodies of the humble classes, creating an emotionally stirring union between supernatural divinity and the physical realism of earthly existence. Live models posed for Caravaggio's work, and Spanish artist Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's works are populated with commoners acting out religious scenes.³⁵ Likewise, by melding real life figures of resilience and strength with religious icons, López's subjects achieve an aura of sacred power, suggesting perhaps that these are in fact the icons we should be praising, not a distant unknowable Virgin, but women that survive and thrive despite the obstacles that class, race, and gender have stacked against them.

A great deal of Chicana art involves renegotiating Catholic models to make them relevant to a current reality. This is nothing new: adapting Catholic models of piety to make the identifiable to the peoples of the Americas started with the Jesuits and, as mentioned previously, the Virgin of Guadalupe herself was modified by the Spanish to make her more appealing to an indigenous audience. The creator of Guadalupe's original image was likely inspired by an engraving of the Immaculate Conception from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; specifically, Albrecht Dürer's 1498 woodcut of the Apocalyptic Woman from the Book of Revelations.³⁶ Despite intense efforts to evangelize the indigenous populations of New Spain, their original religious beliefs remained strong. One of the solutions to this resistance to conversion involved substituting local deities with Virgins and saints while maintaining elements of indigenous religious practices. La Guadalupe was one such syncretism.³⁷ Just as La Guadalupe was adapted to make her more relevant to the bicultural reality of New Spain, Chicanas such as López have performed their own contemporary syncretisms. For López, this process involved fusing Guadalupe with real life models of womanhood, her mother, and her grandmother. For other Chicanas, however, infusing the Virgin with a real and earthly corporeality presented a greater concern. While Jesus and many male saints have been depicted in all of their fleshly plasticity, the bodies of Virgins and female saints have been covered to promote an ideal desexualized modesty. Consequently, much of Chicana art has contested the female body of Mexican Catholic tradition, attempting to liberate it from its desexualized state.

It has been the mission of many Chicana thinkers to highlight and contest the separation between the spiritual and corporeal self. Coming from a socio-cultural world which is Mexican and Catholic at its base, one of the largest obstacles confronting Chicanas concerns overcoming the detrimental virgin/whore dichotomy, and healing the rift between the body and soul. Catholicism instills in its followers the idea that the carnal body presents an obstacle to spiritual development. Artist Amalia Mesa-Bains notes that the life event of communion involves a forced separation between the concept of the body and the soul, a point where girls become conscious of their sins and express

them through confession.³⁸ In *Guadalupe*,³⁹ an Iris print emblemizing this rift, the artist displays a sixteenth-century anatomical model on the left of the image, its abdomen opened to reveal its various internal organs. On the right side of the print, the viewer sees a flipped image of the same anatomical model; however, the organs have been replaced with a resplendent image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Reminiscent of Frida Kahlo's painting, *Las dos Fridas*, Mesa-Bains's print shows two parts of the same self: the physical self and the spiritual self.

Throughout Mesa-Bains's installation work the criticism of the body/spirit division continuously reappears. The artist has cleverly articulated the problematic Catholic body by omitting it altogether, highlighting its absence in order to emphasize it all the more. In the artist's installation work, *Venus Envy: First Holy Communion Before the End*, a multiplicity of elements point to the absent subject of the work. The installation features a vanity table cluttered with objects for self-fashioning: brushes, perfumes, cosmetics, as well as statuettes of Virgins, and a photo of the artist's grandmother. The body of the absent woman has been replaced by a chair covered in white fabric and yoked down by an enormously heavy rosary. Everything in the installation emanates whiteness and purity while a rack of devotional candles provides an eerie and sacred light. A display case houses three dresses: one for communion, one for confirmation, and one for marriage. The dresses present effective substitutions for the absent body, as clothing represents an extension of the body itself, a part of the body constructed for communicating identity in the social world. These clever baroque proliferations and substitutions all highlight the presence of an idealized socially constructed body informed by baroque Catholicism and the cult of purity, while pointing out the absence of the real physical body.

A similar feeling is effected in Mesa-Bains's *Library of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, a room from *Venus Envy II: The Harem and Other Enclosures*. The artist has substituted the absent body of the ingenious Mexican nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, with an armchair that has been gashed into open, bloody wounds denoting some sort of corporeal infliction. Sor Juana's gendered body constituted a site of conflict and limitations for the colonial nun. In her celebrated poem *El Primero Sueño*, she writes how the soul only experiences freedom during the dream state when it leaves its earthly corporeal form. Liberated, the soul can understand knowledge without the confines of the flesh, particularly the confines of the female body. Though *El Primero Sueño* in its own way rejects the Cartesian separation between body and soul by seeing the body as vital for the soul's functioning, there is no doubt that Sor Juana's gendered body posed a social obstacle to her intellectual pursuits.⁴⁰ Moreover, the convent lifestyle further problematizes the relationship with the body by desexualizing nuns: cropping their hair upon taking vows, wearing the veil, and obfuscating the female form under heavy drapery. Sor Juana participated in this abnegation of the gendered body, particularly when she performed a symbolic mutilation of what she perceived to be a sign of female frivolity, cutting off her hair as punishment for not learning as quickly as she had intended. She later said,

in her *Reply to Sor Filotea*, “the hair grew quickly and I learned slowly. As a result, I cut off the hair in punishment for my head’s ignorance, for it didn’t seem right to me that a head so naked of knowledge should be dressed up with hair. For knowledge is a more desirable adornment.”⁴¹ Sor Juana’s act demonstrated her belief that the beauty of the female body was antithetical to intellectual pursuits. The brutalized armchair featured in Mesa-Bains’s installation work, in essence, displays the troubled relationship this highly spiritual woman had with her earthly body.

Recognizing the traditional division between the spiritual and the corporeal selves, artists and authors have attempted to heal this schism by giving a fleshly physicality to the Virgin and, conversely, bestowing a divine spirituality to the carnal body. In “Guadalupe the Sex Goddess,” author and poet Sandra Cisneros links her own lack of sexual knowledge as a young woman to the religious culture of covering, referencing in particular the unknowable body of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Cisneros writes,

When I see *la Virgen de Guadalupe* I want to lift her dress as I did my dolls, and look to see if she comes with *chones* and does her *panocha* look like mine, and does she have dark nipples too? Yes, I am certain she does. She is not neuter like Barbie. She gave birth. She has a womb. *Blessed art thou and blessed is the fruit of thy womb ... Blessed art thou, Lupe, and, therefore, blessed am I.*⁴²

Signaling the need for worshipping a model of feminine power having a sexual (and racial) body with which Chicanas can identify, Cisneros has restored the Virgin’s female body by giving her a dark nipples and a *panocha* (“vagina”).

Alma López also gave La Guadalupe a very real body, which strongly displayed itself in all of its fleshly glory, unfettered by the desexualizing robes of history and patriarchy. *Our Lady* (plate 12, p. xxiv) replaced the traditional image of the Virgin with a photo of Chicana performance artist Raquel Salinas who, assuming a power stance with her hands on her hips, stares the viewer directly in the eye with confidence and attitude. She wears a wrestler’s cape adorned with the stone image of the goddess Coyolxauhqui (the rebellious daughter of Coatlicue), and proudly displays underwear/athletic wear made of roses—the same roses the Virgin gave to the Nahua Indian Juan Diego as proof that she had appeared to him. Her body is strong: Mexican, female, and unapologetically free from modest coverings. The artist has stated that she chose to use roses to cover the breasts and pubis of this Virgin because, according to the legend of her apparition, the roses are a sign of the real, and the artist wanted to communicate the idea that this body was a real body.⁴³ As Cisneros explains in her “Guadalupe the Sex Goddess,” the Mexican Virgin had a womb: she had given birth after all. As such, it was important to give her a body that communicated the spiritual, physical, and sexual power of the woman who gave birth to God.

Giving Guadalupe a real body participates in the baroque strategy in which the powerful viscerality of the human body is used to affect the viewer’s psyche. Fusing the

divine with *Our Lady's* strong corporeal plasticity and penetrating psychology produces an emotional response in the viewer for whom the image acquires a palpable sense of realness combined with an aura of divinity. In the tradition of the baroque masters, such as Diego Velázquez, *Our Lady* looks at *us*, demanding our attention and pulling us into the field of art. In the relationship between viewer and spectator, she holds the power: she is the subject who is looking at us. López's *Our Lady* owes its vitality to the physicality of the baroque body and its penetrating psychology, which imbues her with emotional depth and newfound power. Moreover, carrying out a rasquache baroque revitalization of the conventional Guadalupe icon, López has appropriated this icon of the past and breathed new life into her, producing a new figure, which simultaneously holds onto elements of Mexican history while criticizing this history's refusal to display real female physicality.

López's *Our Lady* encountered an incredible amount of controversy, including mountains of hate mail, continued protests, interference from government officials, and death threats.⁴⁴ Perhaps ironically, *Our Lady* was too real, too physical, and perhaps too baroque for a conservative Catholic audience. One of the main concerns voiced by *Our Lady's* detractors was that the artist did not have the right to alter the image, because it did not *belong* to her: it belonged to the Catholic faith, and consequently was not hers to transform.⁴⁵ Ostensibly, people were upset at the transformative aspect of the image which López had reshaped with baroque iconoclasm.

Explaining why so many Catholic men found the image offensive, López states that "their faith and masculinity is threatened by my portrayal of the Virgin as a contemporary Latina."⁴⁶ However, the baroque was adept at contemporizing religious figures, casting the divine as everyday people, often the most humble of society, which allowed audiences to identify with these figures and lent a human aspect to religious understanding. *Our Lady*, like Caravaggio and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, uses real life models to infuse figures of devotion with a tangibly human quality. As Murillo heightened the real quality of his religious figures by using the lower classes as models, López has intensified her work's sense of realism by using living, breathing Latinas as models. López's *Our Lady* was simply too real, too physical, too powerful, and too identifiably Latina for conservative audiences. More importantly, the real flesh of her female physical presence contradicted the longstanding Catholic idea that the world of the flesh is antithetical to the world of the spirit. The Catholic tropes combined with the exposed flesh of her strong body and the penetrating psychology of her face brought a renewed female physicality and vigor to the static traditional icon, smashing the virgin/whore dichotomy and creating a new figure of devotion, which resonated with local contemporary experiences.

Powerful Transformations: Looking Backward to Move Forward

The Chicano scribe remembers, not out of nostalgia but out of hope. She remembers in order to envision. She looks backward in order to look forward.

—Cherrié Moraga⁴⁷

In addition to looking to the present reality as a source of inspiration for revitalizing religious figures, many Chicanas also looked into the distant past to expose the deep-seated cultural and religious roots of entrenched patriarchy. Castillo's Chicana feminism (*Xicanisma*) calls on Chicanas to "simultaneously be archaeologists and visionaries of our culture."⁴⁸ To be a cultural archaeologist is to recuperate the fragments of history and analyze their meaning, leaving behind that which is useless or harmful, taking that which is valuable and powerful, and incorporating these selected fragments into one's own cultural imagining. Investigations into the past not only produce deeper understandings in terms of Chican@s' current position in relation to centuries of subjugation, but they also provide a wealth of material with which to create new figures of devotion. This process of digging through the layers of a complex transatlantic history promotes healing as well as offering new sources of inspiration to lead Chican@s forward.

In an attempt to heal the disempowered religious body, Chican@s began to investigate the pre-Christian past in order to unearth previously occluded symbols of power. The 1980s and 1990s brought about a revisionary anthropology, which would focus on liberating the Virgin of Guadalupe from the carnival mirrors of official History. Yolanda López's painting *Nuestra Madre* presents an exemplary case of this strategy. The artist highlights the Virgin's syncretic past by replacing the image of Guadalupe with the Mother Goddess, Coatlicue. This is not an arbitrary connection: the mestiza Guadalupe can be traced to Coatlicue via a web of confused relations involving various goddesses.⁴⁹ Regardless of this descent, however, López partially restores the Virgin to her pre-Conquest form, using syncretism and revealing the mechanics underpinning the Virgin's sixteenth-century syncretism. Adding the body of the Aztec mother goddess infuses Guadalupe with new physical and sexual vigor. There is no reference to the chaste abnegation of the body in this hybridized divinity. Rather, her breasts sag from extensive nursing and, unlike the patient and passive Virgin Mary of official Catholicism, Coatlicue is a terrifying force, which both gives life and viciously consumes it. By unearthing the past, López has appropriated the powerful figure of the *Mexica* mother goddess and has transformed her into a symbol of revitalized spirituality, which affirms the indigenous/mestiza female body and creates a new figure of inspiration and strength.

Mesa-Bains also looks to the Mesoamerican past for figures of inspiration, healing the schism between body and spirit through revisionary anthropology and creative



Figure 9.6. Amalia Mesa-Bains, *Cihuatlampa, the Place of the Giant Women*, installation, 1997. Sketch by the author.

reimagining. In the third part of her *Venus Envy* series, she smashes the virgin/whore dichotomy altogether by creating fantastical giant women whose bodies explode the limits of patriarchy. *Venus Envy III: Cihuatlampa, the Place of the Giant Women*, displays the presence of enormously sensate women imagined as gigantic earth goddesses made out of rolling, mossy hills (figure 9.6). These are the *Cihuateotls*, the women who died in childbirth and, like heroic warriors, became exclusive members of a heavenly paradise, *Cihuatlampa*. Achieving the status of goddesses through the awesome physical feat of giving birth, they exude spirituality and an intense physicality at the same time.

Looking back to pre-Christian models of feminine power does not preclude quotation of the baroque. Interestingly, one *Cihuateotl* looks at herself in the mirror, mimicking Diego Velázquez's *Venus del Espejo* (*The Rokeby Venus*). However, instead of seeing her reflection, the *Cihuateotl* sees the Virgin of Montserrat—the Guadalupe of Europe—the syncretic black Madonna who bridges the West with the Near East and the African south. Practicing the rasquache baroque technique of appropriating the fragments of the past and combining them into new forms which express criticism, Mesa-Bains has critically transformed one of the classic reclining nudes of European art history into a pre-Columbian Earth Goddess who, through the device of the mirror, establishes pluricultural connections with a pre-Christian non-European world. The image of the Old

World Guadalupe reflected to the New World divinity draws a correlation between the Mesoamerican mother goddess, constructed out of the earth itself, and the syncretic mother Goddess/Virgin from the other side of the Atlantic. By referencing Montserrat, Mesa-Bains underscores this Virgin's pre-Christian past as a Mother Goddess who embodied both spirituality and earthly sexuality. This is important for understanding Mesa-Bains's rasquache baroque reimagining of *The Rokeby Venus*.

Simply put, Velázquez's Venus is an object of erotic beauty devoid of any sense of spirituality. As Christie Davies notes, casting this woman as a Roman goddess served as "an excuse for a very material aesthetic sexuality—not sex, as such, but an appreciation of the beauty that accompanies attraction."⁵⁰ Velázquez's Venus looks out of the painting to the viewer through the device of the mirror as an erotic medium for returning the (male) viewer's gaze. This way of addressing the male spectator ultimately places the male spectator in a position of power because the passively reclining Venus recognizes the male viewer as the true subject of the painting. As John Berger elaborates, in the nudes of art history "the principal protagonist is never painted. He is the spectator in front of the picture and he is presumed to be a man. Everything is addressed to him. Everything must appear to be the result of his being there."⁵¹ Mesa-Bains reimagines *The Rokeby Venus* as a way of reclaiming a goddess who was robbed of her spiritual power and whose passive sexuality was used to satisfy the male gaze. Critical of the patriarchal aspects inherent to Velázquez's nude, Mesa-Bains uses rasquache baroque mechanics to appropriate *The Rokeby Venus* from the world of Western art history, and transform her into a powerful Earth Goddess who both heals the rift between spirituality and physicality, and bridges the American and European continents.

However, Mesa-Bains goes beyond the territory of simple appropriation and into the realms of utopic imagining. These goddesses are not only enormous, but also enormously flamboyant. The artist hangs the *Cihuateotls'* dresses in the installation, as stand-ins for their gigantic selves. One dress is fashioned from golden organza and features a complex headdress of golden branches. The other dress is made out of a vibrant array of feathers, exuding color, texture, and exuberance. Both combine exorbitant aspects of the natural world, that is, baroque nature, with those of artificiality and creativity. With their size and power, these goddesses have effectively exploded the limits of patriarchal culture and *machista* history, marrying colossal corporeality with joyous spirituality and bridging the rift between the de-sexed Guadalupe and the fertility goddesses of the ancient past. No longer a product of male imagining, the *Cihuateotls* have taken control of their own self-fashioning—the visual articulations which construct their own identities. What is more intriguing is how they have chosen to construct these identities: with rasquache baroque ostentation, like fabulous peacocks exploding the limits of society and throwing off the oppressive trappings of history with laughter, drama, defiance, and glamor.

Long Live(d) Rasquache

The Chican@ imagination has a long history, from the hybrid and vibrant excesses of colonial cathedrals, such as in the church of Santa María Tonantzintla, to Mesa-Bains's monumentally glamorous re-imaginings of the pre-Hispanic past. The baroque, with its flexibility and inclusive spirit, allowed for these unbridled re-imaginings. From a European standpoint, the baroque reimagined Renaissance forms, transforming them to the point of rupture. This attitude and practice of appropriating and transforming cultural legacies granted the indigenous peoples of the Americas a certain amount of flexibility when confronted with imposed cultural models, allowing them to infuse these models with their own aesthetic understandings and reimagine European forms with their own creative spirits. Moreover, like the elements of resistance found in Chican@ rasquachismo, these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century indigenous reinterpretations of European forms also served as a means of responding and pushing back against the dominant influence of Europe to provide a new mestizo visual identity which subverted imposed imperial culture.

Rasquachismo is an extension and amplification of the mestizo baroque, employing the same techniques and aesthetics employed by the artists of colonial Mexico. While the colonial baroque remains a large part of the mestizo consciousness shared by Chican@s, the context of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century Mexican US is somewhat different. While Mexico's colonized indigenous peoples were aware of their state of *Nepantla*—the psychological and cultural shock coming from finding themselves in an unstable position between two worlds—this consciousness becomes heightened in the contemporary Mexican US. The awareness of straddling multiple worlds has granted Chican@s an intensified sense of otherness, an outsider's perspective that allows them to more effectively see the constructed quality of all aspects of identity; be they social, religious, cultural, or sexual in nature. Conversely, the realization that identities are constructed liberates Chican@s from imposed models of identification, and allows them to participate in creating their own identities through creative practice. As Gloria Anzaldúa explains, “when I write, it feels like I'm carving bone. It feels like I'm creating my own face, my own heart.”⁵²

Creating a sense of self, both personal and collective, involves carving the face, the heart, the bone; indeed, sculpting the entire body. Moreover, reconstructing the religious body plays a large role in furthering the formation of identities, particularly identities capable of exercising *lucha* in a world where patriarchy and Anglo-Euroamerican dominance continue to exert adverse forces. These bodies need to have open, flexible forms for carrying the myriad of referents of a pluri-cultural history. They need dynamic forms with a capacity for transformation so they can be reimagined as figures which hold relevance in a contemporary world of complexity and flux. Finally, they need to express a dramatic and deeply emotive physical power in order to move the affections of their audi-

ence and engage their psyches, persuade their minds, touch their hearts, and breathe fire into their spirits. The baroque body is capable of all these things.

In the baroque, as in *rasquachismo*, excess is favored over minimalist simplicity. Coming from a history of multiplicity, of syncretic layering, of occluded and fragmented collective memory, and of fractured worlds, Chican@s have the need for a paradigm capable of holding everything together, that is, holding the whole world together. The *rasquache* baroque provides such a paradigm and, as such, *rasquache* baroque bodies are capable of encapsulating multiplicity with dynamic physicality and drama. Under the influence of baroque *rasquachismo*, the Coyolxauhqui from Alma López's painting is no longer a static figure carved in stone, but a goddess in the robust active body of an indigenous woman, disguised as Guadalupe, and performing Gentileschi's Judith. In the baroque, the disguise is truth, the performed is real, and identities are created. The baroque sacred body offers this artificiality and dramatic performativity for creating resilient and vibrant new forms of expressive selves, selves having the power to face the world with strength, attitude, flamboyance, defiance, and a joyous creative spirit with which Chican@s can put their best—and most splendiferously ornamented—foot forward.

NOTES

¹ Chicanas and Chicanos are politicized Mexican Americans. This essay also uses the gender-neutral term "Chican@" to refer to both genders.

² Monika Kaup, *Neobaroque in the Americas*, p. 27.

³ See Ángel Guido, *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial*; José Lezama Lima, *La cantidad hechizada*; and José Lezama Lima, *La expresión americana*.

⁴ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Rasquachismo." See also Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Notes from Losaida," pp. xv–xviii, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement," pp. 165–82.

⁵ Mariano Picón-Salas, *A Cultural History of Spanish America*, p. 87.

⁶ Quoted in Tere Romo, "Patssi Valdez," p. 14.

⁷ Jennifer González and Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "Pose and Poseur," pp. 236–37.

⁸ Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "The Two Guadalupes," pp. 178–79.

⁹ Tey Marianna Nunn, "It's Not about the Art in the Folk," p. 29.

¹⁰ Ángel Guido, *Redescubrimiento de América en el arte*, p. 169.

¹¹ Marcus Wood, *Black Milk*, p. 154.

¹² Gilberto Freyre, *Brazil*, pp. 155–62.

¹³ Nicolas Lampert, *A People's Art History of the United States*, pp. 244–47.

¹⁴ Max Benavidez, *Gronk*, p. 30.

¹⁵ George Mariscal, "Can Cultural Studies Speak Spanish?" pp. 65–66.

¹⁶ Ana Castillo, *So Far from God*, p. 242.

¹⁷ Gonzalo Celorio, *Ensayo de contraconquista*, p. 102.

¹⁸ José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p. 77.

¹⁹ "Corpo Ilícito."

²⁰ "La Pocha Nostra."

²¹ John Rupert Martin, *Baroque*, p. 155.

²² Martin, p. 14.

²³ The *malogra* is a legendary otherworldly creature from New Mexico, which is made of wool and frequents crossroads during the night, waiting to asphyxiate those who pass by.

²⁴ Castillo, *So Far from God*, p. 77.

²⁵ Castillo, *So Far from God*, p. 77.

²⁶ Christina Fernández, "Patssi Valdez Dialogue with Christina Fernandez," n. p.

²⁷ Timothy Matovina, "Our Lady of Guadalupe."

²⁸ Tere Romo, "Patssi Valdez," p. 13.

²⁹ Jeanette Favrot Peterson, "The Virgin of Guadalupe," p. 46.

³⁰ Favrot Peterson, pp. 45–46.

³¹ Celorio, p. 102.

³² Oil pastel on paper, 22 × 30 inches.

³³ Oil pastel on paper, 22 × 30 inches.

³⁴ Veronica Alvarez and Theresa Soto, *Teacher's Guide for Yolanda M. López*, p. 2.

³⁵ Genevieve Warwick, *Caravaggio*, p. 17.

³⁶ Elisa Vargas Lugo, *Imágenes guadalupanas*, p. 60.

³⁷ Favrot Peterson, p. 40.

³⁸ In Jennifer A. González, *Subject to Display*, p. 147.

³⁹ 1997, 33 × 40 inches.

⁴⁰ Patricia Saldarriaga, *Los espacios del Primero Sueño*, p. 169.

⁴¹ Quoted in Gerard Flynn, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, p. 15.

⁴² Sandra Cisneros, "Guadalupe the Sex Goddess," p. 51.

⁴³ Clara Román-Odio, "Queering the Sacred," p. 129.

⁴⁴ Alicia Gaspar de Alba, "Our Lady of Controversy," pp. 2–4.

⁴⁵ Nunn, p. 34.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Kathleen Fitzcallaghan Jones, "The War of the Roses," p. 59.

⁴⁷ Cherríe Moraga as cited in Laura Pérez, *Chicana Art*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers*, p. 220.

⁴⁹ Gloria Anzaldúa, "Coatloapeuh," pp. 52–53.

⁵⁰ Christie Davies, "Velázquez in London," pp. 53–55.

⁵¹ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p. 54.

⁵² Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*, p. 95.

Works Cited

- Alvarez, Veronica and Theresa Soto. *Teacher's Guide for Yolanda M. López*. Los Angeles. CA: UCLS Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2008.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. "Coatloapeuh, She Who Has Dominion Over Serpents." In *Goddess of the Americas*, edited by Ana Castillo, pp. 52–55. New York: Riverhead Books, 1996.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera*. San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 2007.
- Benavidez, Max. *Gronk*. Los Angeles. CA: UCLS Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2007.
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BBC and Penguin Books, 1972.
- Castillo, Ana. *So Far from God*. New York: Plume, 1993.
- Castillo, Ana. *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma*. New York: Plume, 1995.
- Celorio, Gonzalo. *Ensayo de contraconquista*. Mexico City: Tusquets, 2001.
- Cisneros, Sandra. "Guadalupe the Sex Goddess." In *Goddess of the Americas*, edited by Ana Castillo, pp. 46–51. New York: Riverhead Books, 1996.
- "Corpo Ilícito: the post human society #69." *Pocha Projects 2011*, www.pochanostra.com/projects/ (accessed November 17, 2015).
- Davies, Christie. "Velázquez in London." *New Criterion* 25, no. 5 (2007): pp. 53–55.
- Favrot Peterson, Jeanette. "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?" *Art Journal* 51, no. 4 (Winter 1992): pp. 39–47.
- Fernández, Christina. "Patssi Valdez Dialogue with Christina Fernandez." Exhibition brochure to *The Painted World of Patssi Valdez*. Los Angeles. CA: Plaza de la Raza, 1993.
- Fitzcallaghan Jones, Kathleen. "The War of the Roses: Guadalupe, Alma López, and Santa Fe." In *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López's Irreverent Apparition*, edited by Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, pp. 43–68. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Flynn, Gerard. *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Brazil: An Interpretation*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1945.
- Gaspar de Alba, Alicia. "Our Lady of Controversy: A Subject that Needs No Introduction." In *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López's Irreverent Apparition*, edited by Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, pp. 1–11. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Gómez-Peña, Guillermo. "The Two Guadalupes." In *Goddess of the Americas*, edited by Ana Castillo, pp. 178–83. New York: Riverhead Books, 1996.
- González, Jennifer A. *Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008.
- González, Jennifer and Guillermo Gómez-Peña. "Pose and Poseur: The Racial Politics of Guillermo Gómez-Peña's Photo-Performances." In *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, edited by Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith, pp. 236–63. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Guido, Ángel. *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial*. Rosario: La casa del libro, 1925.
- Guido, Ángel. *Redescubrimiento de América en el arte*. Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1944.
- Kaup, Monika. *Neobaroque in the Americas*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- "La Pocha Nostra." www.youtube.com/watch?v=8bULnWRBVBk (accessed November 17, 2015).
- Lampert, Nicolas. *A People's Art History of the United States*. New York: The New Press, 2013.
- Lima, José Lezama. *La expression americana*. Havana: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1957.
- Lima, José Lezama. *La cantidad hechizada*. Havana: UNEAC, 1970.

- Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*. Translated by Terry Cochran. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- Mariscal, George. "Can Cultural Studies Speak Spanish?" In *The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Reader*, edited by Angie Chabram-Dernersesian, pp. 61–80. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Martin, John Rupert. *Baroque*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977.
- Matovina, Timothy. "Our Lady of Guadalupe: Patroness of America." *America*, <http://americamagazine.org/issue/463/article/our-lady-guadalupe-patroness-america>. December 8, 2003 (accessed November 21, 2015).
- Nunn, Tey Marianna. "It's Not about the Art in the Folk, It's about the Folks in the Art." In *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López's Irreverent Apparition*, edited by Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, pp. 17–42. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Pérez, Laura. *Chicana Art: The Politics of Spiritual and Aesthetic Altarities*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Picón-Salas, Mariano. *A Cultural History of Spanish America: From Conquest to Independence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962.
- Román-Odio, Clara. "Queering the Sacred: Love as Oppositional Consciousness in Alma López's Art." In *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López's Irreverent Apparition*, edited by Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, pp. 121–47. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Romo, Tere. "Patssi Valdez: A Precarious Comfort." In *Patssi Valdez: A Precarious Comfort*, edited by Tere Romo, pp. 9–31. San Francisco, CA: The Mexican Museum, 1999.
- Saldarriaga, Patricia. *Los espacios del Primero Sueño de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: arquitectura y cuerpo femenino*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006.
- Vargas Lugo, Elisa. *Imágenes guadalupanas: Cuatro siglos*. Mexico City: Imprenta Madero, 1988.
- Warwick, Genevieve. *Caravaggio: Realism, Rebellion, Reception*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2006.
- Wood, Marcus. *Black Milk: Imagining Slavery in the Visual Cultures of Brazil and America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás. "Rasquachismo: A Chicano Sensibility." In *Chicano Aesthetics: Rasquachismo*, edited by Rudy Guglielmo, pp. 5–8. Phoenix, AZ: MARS, Movimiento Artístico del Rio Salado, 1989.
- Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás. "The Chicano Movement/the Movement of Chicano Art." In *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*, edited by Gerardo Mosquera, pp. 165–82. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996.
- Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás. "Notes from Losaida: A Foreword." In *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture & Chicana Sexualities*, edited by Alicia Gaspar de Alba, pp. xv–xviii. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Chapter 10

The Ecstasy (?) of Saint Teresa

John Weretka

IN HIS RECENT BIOGRAPHY OF Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Franco Mormando writes of the sculpture commonly called *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa* (1647–52) (plate 13, p. xxiv):

Today Bernini's *Saint Teresa in Ecstasy* remains one of his most popular works ... Yet the reason for the popularity of Bernini's *Teresa* is not merely artistic or religious, it also, let us be honest, has a lot to do with sex. The statue titillates our senses as it provokes our wonder, if not our shock, about this blatant melding of the spiritual and sexual, within a Catholic church in the city of the popes during [the] supposedly morally vigilant times of the Counter-Reformation.¹

The supposedly sexually frank nature of the representation of the event more properly identified as the transverberation of the saint has become a commonplace of art-historical criticism of this sculpture. Simon Schama referred to it as “the most astounding peep show in art”;² Aldous Huxley's commentary on the sculpture is couched in the language of the peeping Tom catching a couple *in flagrante dilecto*;³ and I cannot help but think that the normally sober Rudolph Wittkower's description of the sculpture as showing the saint uttering an “almost audible moan” is framed within the language of sexual arousal.⁴ Stendahl in 1829,⁵ Burckhardt in 1855,⁶ and Taine in 1872⁷ all criticized the sculpture for its worldliness in terms more or less censorious. Lest we think this focus on the sexually charged nature of this sculptural group is a postmodern confection, we need only remember the comments of the *Président de Brogues*, who said of it: “There is a marvelous expression, but frankly much too lifelike for a church. If this be divine love, I recognize it.”⁸ An anonymous contemporary critic accused the sculpture of having “dragged that most pure Virgin not only into the Third Heaven, but into the dirt, to make a Venus not only prostrate, but prostituted.”⁹ Boucher was even able to turn Bernini's treatment of the subject in 1741 into an overdoor representing *Cupid Wounding Psyche* for the *Duchesse de Mazarin* (figure 10.1).

A wider reading of Bernini's culture shows that critical views were in the minority. Baldinucci's biography of Bernini, published in 1682, two years after the artist's death, says that “for its great tenderness and for all its other qualities this work has always been an object of admiration”¹⁰ and that Bernini himself thought of it as “the least bad work he had done.”¹¹ According to Domenico Bernini, the artist's son, public opinion main-



Figure 10.1. François Boucher, *Cupid Wounding Psyche*, 1741, oil on panel, 68.59 × 152.4 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. Photo © Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

tained that “in that group the Cavalier had surpassed himself and vanquished art with a rare object of wonder.”¹² The absence of censorious voices should surprise us in a Rome in which Michelangelo’s naked figures in the *Last Judgment* were covered, and several of Caravaggio’s paintings were rejected on the grounds of lack of decorum.¹³ Bernini’s own religious fervor, which extended to his friendship with Jesuit general Giovanni Paolo Oliva and is eulogized at length by Domenico Bernini,¹⁴ as well as the chastity that formed a particular focus of evidence submitted during the saint’s canonization process,¹⁵ must surely militate against the possibility of sexual imagery being used. Popular contemporary travel guide literature remains remarkably free of censure of the sculptural group;¹⁶ a contemporary report on the opening of the chapel could only be bothered to refer to the sculpture as “la belliss.ma statua di marmo della Med.ma Santa, con un’Angelo in atto di traffiggerla fatta dal detto Cavalier Bernino” (“the most beautiful marble statue of the same saint with an angel in the act of piercing her, made by the said Cavaliere Bernini”).¹⁷ Characterizations of *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa* as “sexual” rely on the belief that the visual tropes of sexual ecstasy and spiritual ecstasy are knowingly conflated in this sculpture. I shall argue briefly here that this is impossible, for the reason that the sculpture *does not, indeed cannot, represent ecstasy at all.*

The most significant contribution made to the study of the sculpture is Irving Lavin’s magisterial treatment of it in *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, to which this essay is naturally profoundly indebted. It is clear, though, that Lavin is convinced both that the statue represents the ecstasy of the saint and that the representation of that ecstasy owes much to erotic tropes, although he is somewhat circumspect about the lat-

ter.¹⁸ Lavin's own research makes obvious, however, that Bernini's treatment of the theme made significant departures from the iconographical tradition he inherited from the engraved images of the saint's life by Collaert and Galle, but I would hesitate to blur the line between "erotic" and "sexual" in the way that, for example, the *Président de Brogues* did. This essay is ultimately less concerned with the supposedly sexualized imagery of this sculpture, and the conflation that those who see it as representing the physically erotic make between sexual and spiritual ecstasy, than it is with examining whether the sculpture really represents ecstasy at all, particularly locating it within the traditions of Catholic spiritual writing on the ecstatic state. As such, it is an attempt to deal with this sculpture through the prism of Catholic theology rather than as an art object *per se*, and I conclude by offering some reflections on what kind of "theologian" we ought to see in Bernini.

I begin by considering the history of the ecstatic state in Catholic theology before treating at some length the exploration St. Teresa of Ávila and English Benedictine spiritual writer Dom Augustine Baker make of the ecstatic state, placing particular stress on the similarities of their morphology and physiology of this state. These similarities point to a deeper congruity that extends back to the medieval period and beyond that to the origins of Christian Neo-Platonism. Having established the basic morphology of the ecstatic state, I then consider in detail the so-called *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* by Bernini as a control case, inquiring further whether the *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*, completed in 1674, should be seen within a tradition of ecstatic representation.

As emic testimony, St. Teresa's descriptions of her "ecstatic" experience, reported in her *Vida*, are of incalculable importance in considering the question of the representation of ecstasy in art. Her narration of the event is retailed in every treatment of Bernini's sculpture; suffice it to say here that Bernini has faithfully replicated almost every detail of the saint's description of the event, from the angel's great beauty to the "great golden spear [with an] iron tip" and moaning of the saint.¹⁹ What is more rarely remarked upon is that Teresa's account is couched in the language of *vision* rather than *ecstasy*, a point she makes explicit in the preface to the narration of the event. Exploration of the nature of ecstasy has been the subject of Catholic philosophical inquiry from at least the period of the Scholastics. St. Thomas Aquinas, for example, devoted II-II.175 of the *Summa Theologiae* (1265–74) and *questio* 13 of *Quaestiones Disputatae de Veritate* (late 1250s) to it, taking as his point of departure St. Paul's account of his rapture narrated in 2 Corinthians 12:2–4:

I know a man in Christ, fourteen years ago, such a man who was caught up [*raptum*] to the third heaven — whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows. And I know that such a man as this was caught up [*raptus est*] into Paradise — whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows — and he heard many secret words, which man may not utter.²⁰

As Patrick Quinn summarizes his views, Aquinas concluded from his examination of this passage that

the whole point of rapture is to free the mind from the sensory powers in order to enable it to see God. Aquinas insists that such cognitive independence entails the curtailment of the sense faculties which might interfere with the mind's rapturous vision of God at this sublime level. Rapture thus describes a mental state, transitory in nature, in which the beatific vision occurs in life before death ... it [is] a mental elevation contrary to nature in which the mind is divinely and involuntarily snatched away ... from the apprehension of sensory entities and is uplifted to divine reality.²¹

St. Thomas's general epistemology presupposes a framework in which intelligible objects are derived from sensible experience. Importantly for our study, St. Thomas is interested in what St. Paul was capable of knowing in the state of rapture because of Paul's admission that he was "out of the body" in the state of rapture: that is, St. Paul's rapture provides St. Thomas with a case study through which he can examine what a human intelligence can know without access to its sense faculties; in this sense, rapture provides an insight into the kind of knowledge, unmediated by sense perceptions, that angelic intelligences can have of God.²² Several aspects of St. Thomas's treatment of the subject rely on the assumption of the suppression of the sensory faculties. He notes, for example, that Paul cannot remember the event clearly because there were no impressions on his memory, linked to his sensory faculty (*De Ver.* 13.3, 13.4); that the purity of heart necessary to see God in rapture as Paul did is impaired by the staining of sense perceptions, which must therefore have been inoperative during the experience (sixth *sed contra* to 13.3); that the dominating activity of the intellectual power suppresses the activity of the sensible power (*De Ver.* 13.3); and that a mind is more perfect the further from material things it is. As St. Thomas asserts, "one cannot be raised to the vision of the divine essence [e.g. what one experiences in rapture] unless he is wholly deprived of the use of the bodily senses" (*De Ver.* 13.3).²³

The kind of mystical experience represented by ecstasy formed an important strand of Catholic spirituality in Aquinas's medieval world but also enjoyed a sudden efflorescence in the Counter-Reformation world of St. Teresa. Spain proved particularly fertile ground for mysticism, producing the dominant Carmelite strand represented by St. Juan de la Cruz (1542–91) and Juan de Jesús Maria (1564–1615), the founder of the Jesuits St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), and St. Teresa herself. Standing in the same tradition of Counter-Reformation mysticism is the English Benedictine, Augustine Baker (1575–1641).²⁴

Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, a compilation of his writings assembled in 1657 by his disciple Serenus Cressy, is utterly characteristic of mid seventeenth-century writing on the subject. Baker's treatment of the topic is indebted to St. Teresa, whom he cites as an authority, but also striking are the continuities between Baker's theorizing of ecstatic experience and Aquinas's four centuries earlier.²⁵ Section 4 of the Third Treatise of *Sancta Sophia* develops a taxonomy of spiritual contemplation, dividing it into "philosophical" contemplation (which Baker calls "false" and "practised by some learned heathens of

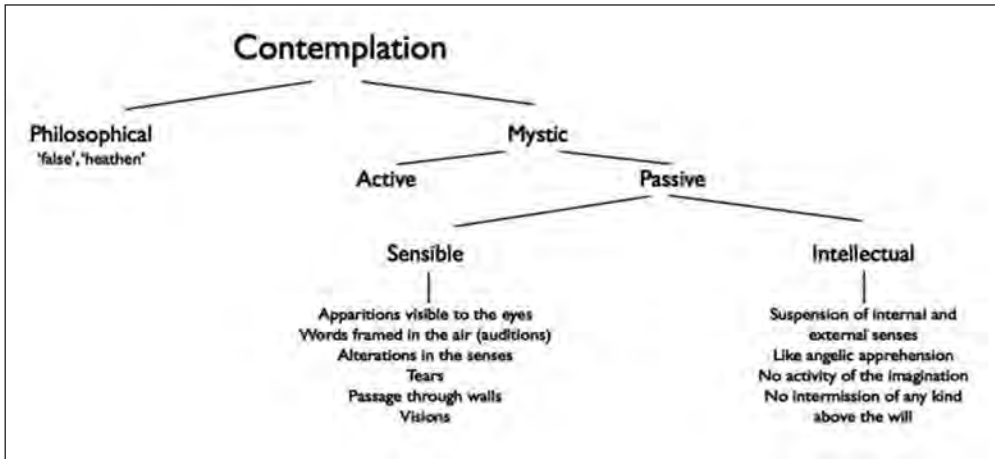


Figure 10.2. A visualization of Augustine Baker's mystical theology.
From *Sancta Sophia* (1657). Diagram © John Weretka.

old”²⁶) and “mystical” contemplation (see figure 10.2). Mystical contemplation is further divided into a lower “active” and the higher “passive” union. As Baker describes it,

[passive union] is not a state but an actual grace and favour from God, by which He is pleased at certain times, according to His free good pleasure, to communicate a glimpse of His majesty to the spirits of His servants, after a secret and wonderful manner. And it is called Passive, not but that therein the soul doth actively contemplate God, but she can neither, when she pleases, dispose herself thereto, nor yet refuse it when that God thinks good to operate after such a manner in the soul, and to represent Himself unto her by a divine particular image, not at all framed by the soul, but supernaturally infused into her.²⁷

Chapter 3, §4 of the Third Treatise explores passive unions further, dividing them into a lower type characterized by “sensible” graces and a higher type characterized by “intellectual” graces. “Sensible” graces are divided into two classes and are those experiences in which God acts upon physical bodies, typically through the senses. The first class produces effects such as “apparitions visible to the eyes” or “words framed in the air by the operation of Angels,”²⁸ or allows levitation or miraculous access in the manner of a glorified body. In the second, higher class, God infuses “supernatural images” into the imagination, allowing auditions or visions. Just as Aquinas insisted, Baker also insists that focus on the supernatural requires a suspension of the senses.²⁹

The most intense form of engagement the soul can have with God in Baker's mystical theology is the province of the “intellectual” union. These experiences correspond exactly to the experiences of St. Paul's rapture as characterized by Aquinas. They are “the supreme and most noble that can be had in this life ... whereby God is contemplated

without any perceptible images” and approach the nature of “angelic contemplation.”³⁰ Like St. Paul’s rapture experience, these experiences also entail the “alienation and suspension of all the senses, as well external as internal.”³¹

The greatest theologian of ecstasy is, of course, St. Teresa, who wrote extensively in her *Vida* of her spiritual experiences.³² St. Teresa’s exploration of this theme in the *Vida* is organized around four stages of prayer, the final of which is that of ecstatic or rapt union with God. Her descriptions of this state are valuable for her descriptions of its physiology. As she writes,

While seeking God in this way, the soul is conscious that it is fainting almost completely away in a kind of swoon, with a very great calm and joy. Its breath and all its bodily powers progressively fail it, so that it can hardly stir its hands without great effort. Its eyes close involuntarily, and if they remain open, they see almost nothing. If a person reads in this state he can hardly make out a single letter; it is as much as he can do to recognise one. He sees that there are letters, but as the understanding offers no help, he cannot read them, even if he wants to. He hears but does not understand what he hears. In the same way, his senses serve no purpose except to prevent the soul from taking its pleasure; and so they tend to do him harm. It is the same with the tongue, for he cannot form a word, nor would he have the strength to pronounce one. The whole physical strength vanishes and the strength of the soul increases for the better enjoyment of its bliss. The outward joy that is now felt is great and most perceptible.³³

She further describes the physical state of the ecstatic:

Very often they [experiences of rapture] seemed to leave my body as light as if it had lost all its weight, and sometimes so light that I hardly knew whether my feet were touching the ground.³⁴ But during the rapture itself, the body is very often like a corpse, unable to do anything of itself. It remains all the time in whatever attitude it was in when the rapture came on it; seated, for example, and with the hands open or closed. The subject rarely loses consciousness; I have occasionally lost it entirely, but not very often and only for a short time. Generally the senses are disturbed; and though absolutely powerless to perform any outward action the subject still sees and hears things, though only dimly, as if from far away. I do not say that he can see and hear when the rapture is at its height; and by “its height” I mean those times when the faculties are lost, because closely united with God. Then, in my opinion, it neither sees nor hears nor feels. But, as I said in describing the previous prayer of union, this complete transformation of the soul in God is of short duration. While it lasts, however, none of the senses perceives or knows what is taking place. We can have no way of understanding this, while we are on earth at least — or rather God cannot wish us to, since we have not the capacity for such understanding.³⁵

The eyes are generally closed, although we may not wish to close them, and if occasionally they remain open, the soul ... does not perceive anything or pay attention to what it sees.³⁶

Even this very brief exploration of this strand of rich tradition of mystical theology reveals the deep continuities, founded on the outlook of Christian Neoplatonism, that St. Teresa shares with her contemporary Augustine Baker and, in the more remote past, to St. Thomas Aquinas. The assumed epistemology of the tradition of mystical theology is that human knowledge in this mode of existence (i.e., the fleshly existence of normal human life) is obtained through sensory perceptions—we know anything because we receive data about the “real” world through our senses. However, the system of Christian theology believes that human beings are composed of a fleshly part (the body, which receives sensory information) and a spiritual part (the soul). St. Thomas Aquinas’s investigation into the rapture of St. Paul was undertaken to determine the kind of knowledge accessible to the spiritual part of human beings, that is, what kind of knowledge is possible *without* access to sensory input. The disembodied, spiritual mode of existence, in which knowledge is obtained without recourse to the senses, is hierarchically superior to the sense-based knowledge of temporal existence in this world—it is, indeed, the mode of knowledge of God himself. The mystical theological tradition holds that the state of ecstasy represents the state closest to the kind of purely spiritual existence we will enjoy in the life of the blessed after death, but can be enjoyed in temporal existence by those closest to God, at the prompting of God. This is why mystical theologians like St. Teresa and Augustine Baker *must* insist on the failure of sensory modes of knowledge during the ecstatic’s experience of the ecstatic state: the degree of proximity to God is directly proportional to the ecstatic’s degree of removal from human modes of knowing through sense perception.

This brief exploration of the theory of ecstatic states in Catholic mystical theology reveals immediately that the St. Teresa of Bernini’s sculptural group is *not* in ecstasy. The three theologians surveyed here agree that ecstasy is a state in which the senses and knowledge communicated through them are suppressed. This suppression is actually necessary, as ecstatic states allow the kind of non-sensory knowledge of God that is currently enjoyed by angels and will be enjoyed by human beings in the beatific vision after death. Accordingly, were St. Teresa in a state of ecstasy, she would be unable to *see* an angel piercing her with a spear—an ecstatic cannot see anything—nor would she be able to *feel* the severe pain of the piercing of the spear—an ecstatic cannot feel anything. But in fairness to her, St. Teresa does not even claim to be in ecstasy in her first-person account of this episode. Her short introduction to the episode specifically calls the experience a *vision* that she *saw*, clearly positioning the experience within the passive sensible unions that Baker places just below ecstatic experiences.

Ecstasy presented an unusual challenge to the visual arts. Due to its insensate nature, a visual artist seeking to represent it had to represent something that, by definition, could not be heard or felt, much less seen. The baroque nonetheless had a series of visual tropes for the representation of ecstasy to which Bernini makes no reference in this sculpture. Drawing on the evidence of the theology investigated here, one would assume



Figure 10.3. Nicolas Poussin, *The Ecstasy of St. Paul*, 1649–50,
oil on canvas, 148 × 120 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo © RM-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre/Stéphane Maréchal).

that depictions of ecstasy might stress, for example, the passivity of the subject and diminish overt physical gesture or posture in order to communicate the joy and surrender of the experience; they might draw attention to the insensate nature of the experience by indicating the failure of one or more of the senses. Ecstasy might also be characterized by the absence of external referents, emphasizing the non-spatiality and atemporality of the experience. Depictions of ecstasy might avoid the inclusion of elements that might be read as belonging to the visionary experience, which only sometimes accompanied ecstasy but was different in kind from it.

And, in fact, this is precisely what we do find in images that seem to belong to the iconography of ecstatic representation. Domenichino's *St. Paul in Ecstasy* for Giovanni Battista Agucchi³⁷ (plate 14, p. xxv) and Poussin's two dependent treatments of the same subject, painted respectively for Paul Fréart de Chantelou in 1643 (figure 10.3) and Paul Scarron (in the John and Mabel Ringling Museum) about six years later, all show the paradigmatic ecstatic effortlessly borne aloft by angels into heaven. His widespread arms represent his willing, passive acceptance of ecstatic union with God; his eyes are turned upwards to symbolize his fixation on heavenly things. Domenichino's image and the earlier Poussin painting are entirely or largely dominated by clouds, indicating Paul's passage into an atemporal and non-spatial "location"; in the Scarron painting, Paul pointedly leaves behind a discarded book and sword, symbolizing the things of the world. The correspondences between ecstatic representations and the traditions of representation of the assumed Virgin, who in her whole body was granted the beatific vision, can hardly be coincidental (see plate 15, p. xxvi).³⁸ Had Bernini really wished to represent ecstasy, however, he need have turned no further than the choir of the same S. Maria della Vittoria in which his *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* stands. There he would have found another representative of the ecstatic tradition, Gerard van Honthorst's ca. 1618 *Ecstasy of St. Paul*, the former high altarpiece of the church (now in the retrochoir) and a reminder of its original dedication to St. Paul's conversion. Lit by the light of divine union streaming from above, St. Paul stands with arms widespread and eyes turned to heaven, caught in a moment of union with God.

The historian of narrative Counter-Reformation art, including that of the baroque, cannot help but be struck by the commitment to non-narrative strategies in each of these paintings: these are fundamentally paintings "about" nothing. Each seeks to represent the unrepresentable, to show a moment in the mind, or rather in the internal experience, of the ecstatic. Bernini's *St. Teresa* is a fundamentally different matter. In place of the "iconic" representation of the "ecstasy of St. Paul" tradition, here we have an apotheosis of the baroque *istoria*: the depiction of a felt and seen experience, agent and acted-upon caught in the dance of the wound of Divine Love. Bernini's *St. Teresa* is a narrative in action in which the angel, having wounded the saint, draws back to wound her again; the saint, having been wounded, collapses backward in a swoon, the arc of her body a contrapuntal response to the lifted arm of the angel.



Figure 10.4. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*,
Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. Photo © John Weretka.

Frequently seen as a counterpart to *St. Teresa*, and plainly indebted to it iconographically, is one of Bernini's final sculptures, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* (figure 10.4). The statue, completed in 1674,³⁹ represents the Roman noblewoman Ludovica Albertoni, a Franciscan tertiary who died in 1533 after spending her widowhood in the service of the poor. Although venerated immediately after her death, her cult only achieved official status with her formal beatification in 1671 at the hands of Clement X. Work to renovate the chapel in which the statue is placed had commenced under the direction of Ludovica's grandson, the Marchese Baldassare Paluzzi degli Albertoni.⁴⁰ The installation of the statue, however, was prompted by Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni's adoption as the nephew of Clement X on the day of Clement's election to the papacy in 1670 and by the cardinal and his brother Gasparo's attempt to procure a family saint—an attempt that foundered quickly and is still languishing.⁴¹

Emic testimony of Ludovica's own spiritual life is lacking, and the scholar must therefore rely on etic evidence. Franciscan friar Benedetto Mazzara left a lengthy account of the life of the Blessed Ludovica in his *Leggendario Francesco* (first volume 1676; second volume 1689).⁴² In this account, he describes how the Blessed Ludovica did indeed experience religious ecstasy:

The Lord, seeing her so intent and fervent in the contemplation of his essence, perfection and works, was pleased to grant her the grace of ecstasy, bringing it about that, alienated from her senses, she should fixedly enjoy the consideration of Divine Greatness, raised from the earth into the air, according to what has been written, her soul receiving at that time the abounding influence of celestial favor.⁴³

Whether Bernini knew Mazzara's account is unknown, but Domenico Bernini made it clear that his father conceived the statue as representing the Blessed "in atto di morire."⁴⁴ Mazzara's account of the Blessed's death is reasonably sanguine and is clearly not of the kind to inspire an artist such as Bernini.⁴⁵ Much more stimulating must have been the account left by Fra Giovanni Paolo in his 1672 *Vita della B. Ludovica Albertoni*. Fra Giovanni, a descendant of the Blessed Ludovica, acted as the procurator for the cause of her beatification and, as his account effectively formed part of the evidence for that beatification, Bernini is quite likely to have known it every bit as well as he knew St. Teresa's account of her transverberation. Fra Giovanni Paolo's account of the Blessed's death seems to have been the principal literary account on which Bernini based his sculpture:⁴⁶

The final hour of her life had already arrived. For this reason, she took up a crucifix and, regarding it with a fixed gaze, she gave out many groans, and cries: "Mercy, Jesus! Mercy, Jesus!" And, imploring the aid of the glorious Virgin Mary: "Save me, o pitying Mother, from the snares of the infernal enemy, now" — said Ludovica — "and in the hour of my death." And, with the most devout sentiments, kissing the feet and all the sacred wounds of the Crucified One, weeping for compassion, she often repeated: "Into your hands, O Lord, do I commend my spirit" and with these last words, with a most fixed soul, intent in prayer, she fell asleep in the Lord. The

Blessed Ludovica was sixty years old when she died, having consumed twenty-seven of them in continuous penitence and mortification.⁴⁷

Etic witnesses these may be, but both point in the direction of an experience of something other than ecstasy. Indeed, the link between Bernini's *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* and his *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* is one of intense, painful, personal suffering. Bernini reinforces this for the viewer iconographically by depicting both women with mouths slightly agape and eyes rolled back into their heads; drapery tells outwardly of the intense internal experience. Nothing could be further from the iconography of the experience of ecstasy. While Fra Giovanni Paolo's account is vivid in its depiction of the fevered gasping of the Blessed Ludovica in her last hours, it remains silent about the cause of her death. Bernini, in a deeply affective spiritual lection, points to the cause in two places in the sculpture's niche. At the Blessed's feet and head, a heart is shown wreathed in flame, a symbol of the *incendium amoris* that also marked the religious experience of S. Filippo Neri (figure 10.5).⁴⁸ Furthermore, on the rear wall behind the Blessed's feet, two cracking pomegranates are shown (figure 10.6). These two point to the example of S. Filippo who, like the Blessed Ludovica, was dedicated to the charitable care of the poor. As his disciple Antonio Gallonio wrote of the saint in 1600:

[During the autopsy of S. Filippo,] the upper part of his chest having been opened, there were found, to the astonishment of those present, two of the ribs of the left side, the floating ones, as they are called, broken: these were the fourth and the fifth. The fracture appeared in the front of his chest, where the ribs come together at the cartilage. The ribs had been raised up to the height of a fist, or even more, as was professed by all. Who could deny that this had been done as a divine remedy so that his palpitating heart might not be damaged? ... It had its origin from the too-excessive force of divine love, and from the very great ardor of his heart, by which he was affected very greatly during contemplation ...

When they inspected his heart, it seemed great, and muscled beyond what is appropriate. Andrea Cesalpino and Antonio Porto swore this to be due to the great heat that came from the fervor of his spirit, and they gave public testimony to this effect.

[S. Filippo's pulmonary arteries were also found to be enlarged] so that he might be able to withstand the great heat of the celestial fire with which he constantly abounded.⁴⁹

The pomegranates, therefore, point to the experience of S. Filippo, whose chest literally burst under the force of the divine love of charity, a commitment to which also marked the life and ministry of the Blessed Ludovica. Through S. Filippo, the bursting pomegranate points further back to the suffering through love of Christ himself, as countless examples in the iconographical tradition of European painting show.⁵⁰

I have shown here that ecstatic states have had a distinct morphology and physiology, based upon a coherent mystical theology, since at least the Middle Ages. By the



Figure 10.5. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* (detail: *Flaming Heart*), Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. Photo © John Wretka.



Figure 10.6. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* (detail: *Pomegranates*), Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. Photo © John Wretka.

baroque period, this morphology had a distinct non-narrative iconography exemplified in the “St-Paul-as-ecstatic” iconographical tradition. A consideration of these traditions alone should show that Bernini’s *St. Teresa* and *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* cannot be understood as representations of figures in a state of ecstasy. Rather, the former shows St. Teresa of Ávila undergoing the experience of *vision*—a distinct mystical state with its own morphology and physiology—and the latter shows the Blessed Ludovica in her death throes. What unites the iconography of these sculptures is Bernini’s commitment to a reading of their engagement with the fire of Divine Love and the intensely sweet pain that results from that engagement.

What is really at stake in this investigation? At the very least, we ought to consider calling the St. Teresa exactly what it is: *The Vision of St. Teresa*. Secondly, we should consider seriously jettisoning sexualized explanations for the imagery of these sculptures: we are being confronted here with an utterly orthodox representation of a spiritual truth. It was understood this way in Bernini’s day and should be understood in that way now. Sexualized interpretations of this statue show just how far we have come from the kind of spirituality it represents, just as the spirituality of a St. Catherine of Siena or a St. Lidwina of Schiedam is now also far from our experience. Thirdly and finally, we ought to reread the spiritual life of Bernini. This is clearly an artist who read spiritual texts, thought imaginatively about the rendering of the experiences they describe in material terms, and even tried to enter the reality of them in a way redolent of the Ignatian Exercises. Understanding Bernini as a kind of theologian is perhaps not so far-fetched.

NOTES

* I should like to thank the members of the European Visual Culture Seminar (University of Melbourne) and the delegates of the “Baroque to Neo-baroque: Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses” conference, before whom and with whose assistance this essay has taken shape over a number of years. I should also like to thank Professor Hayden Ramsay (University of Notre Dame, Sydney) for the kind help he rendered in my exploration of the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas. This essay is offered to Daniel Murphy, *amicus optimus adolescentiae meae*.

¹ Franco Mormando, *Bernini*, p. 161.

² Simon Schama, *The Power of Art*, p. 78.

³ Aldous Huxley, *Themes and Variations*, p. 170.

⁴ Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini*, p. 158.

⁵ Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, p. 366. Stendhal notes that “l’intérieur [de l’église] fut décoré comme un boudoir par Charles Maderne” (“the interior [of the church] was decorated like a boudoir by Carlo Maderno”), p. 366.

⁶ Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 501. Burckhardt refers to the *hysterische Ohnmacht* (“hysterical faint”) of St. Teresa and the *lüsterner Engel* (“lascivious angel”) that comprise the group.

⁷ Hippolyte Taine, *Voyage en Italie*, pp. 380–81.

⁸ Charles de Brosse, *Le Président de Brosse en Italie*, pp. 78–79 (Letter 39, to M. de Quentin). All translations are the author's.

⁹ Text from the anonymous *Il Costantino messo alla Berlina ò Bernina su la Porta di San Pietro* (Rome, MS Bibl. Vat. 4331) cited in George C. Bauer, "The Life of the Cavalier," p. 53.

¹⁰ Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, p. 35.

¹¹ Bauer, p. 34.

¹² Bauer, p. 34.

¹³ Giuliano Briganti, Giuliano Chastel, and Roberto Zapperi, *Gli amori degli dei*, p. 53.

¹⁴ Bauer, pp. 37–39.

¹⁵ Walther Weibel, "The Representation of Ecstasy," p. 82.

¹⁶ A case in point is the highly influential travel guide of Abbate Filippo Titi (ca. 1640–1720 or 1721), initially published as the *Studio di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma* in 1674 and subsequently republished under various titles until at least 1763 (*Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, e architetture*). The 1674 *Studio* describes the Cornaro Chapel as "la sontuosa Cappella dedicata à S. Teresa fabricata con gran spesa dal Card. Federigo Cornaro, abbellita dalle Statue d'altri sei Cardinali di questa nobile famiglia, & ornata tutta di marmi finissimi con l'architettura del Cav. Bernini, che anche vi scolpi in marmo la statua della Santa con l'Angiolo" ("the sumptuous chapel dedicated to St. Teresa, built at great expense by Cardinal Federigo Cornaro, decorated with statues of six other cardinals, members of this noble family, and adorned entirely with the finest marbles, with the architecture of Cavaliere Bernini, who also sculpted there the statue of the saint with the angel," Titi, *Studio di pittura*, p. 332); the same wording is used in the 1686 *Ammaestramento* (a revised edition of the *Studio*; Titi, *Ammaestramento*, p. 264). The 1763 *Descrizione* concludes the description of the statue slightly differently, with: "che anche vi scolpì in marmo l'eccellente gruppo della Santa con l'Angiolo, che le trafigge il cuore" ("who also sculpted in marble the excellent group of the saint with the angel who transfixes her heart there," Titi, *Descrizione*, p. 295). This impartial critique of the statue is utterly typical of travel guides of the time.

¹⁷ Irving Lavin, *Bernini*, p. 205.

¹⁸ See, for example, Lavin, pp. 112 and 113.

¹⁹ Teresa of Ávila, *The Life of Saint Teresa*, p. 210.

²⁰ This elliptical description is commonly held to refer to Paul's experience of conversion on the road to Damascus. If so, this would be one of four differing accounts that St. Paul gives of this experience. In Acts 9:3–9, he relates the appearance of a light, a conversation with the voice of Christ, the fact that his co-travelers hear the voice but do not see the light, and his subsequent blindness. In Acts 22:6–11, he relates the appearance of a light, a conversation with the voice of Christ, the fact that his co-travelers see a light but hear nothing, and his subsequent blindness. In Acts 26:12–18, he relates the appearance of a light and a conversation with the voice of Christ. It is clear that St. Thomas's discussion *only* concerns the account in 2 Corinthians 12; he does not consider the inconsistencies that exist between the narrations of the Acts and 2 Corinthians.

²¹ Patrick Quinn, *Aquinas*, p. 66.

²² This marks a quite radical departure from Aquinas's normal heavy reliance on Aristotelianism in the direction of the kind of Christian Platonism that informed the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fifth/sixth century). Aquinas certainly knew the work of Pseudo-Dionysius and probably relied on the Neo-Platonism of his *Mystical Theology* in the discussion of ecstatic states.

²³ Quinn, p. 75.

²⁴ An excellent overview to the wider phenomenon of mystical theology in the Counter-

Reformation period is to be found in José Pereira and Robert Fastiggi, *The Mystical Theology of the Catholic Reformation*.

²⁵ The structure of the part of *Sancta Sophia* that deals with ecstasy seems to be modeled on the quadripartite path of prayer outlined by St. Teresa. Manuals and “methods” of prayer seem to have been common in the seventeenth century. St. Ignatius’s *Spiritual Exercises* are an example of this kind of manual. Perlove mentions the Jesuit *Cor Jesu amanti sacrum* as a further example (Shelly Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, p. 32).

²⁶ Augustine Baker, *Holy Wisdom*, p. 503.

²⁷ Baker, p. 505.

²⁸ Baker, pp. 520–21.

²⁹ Baker, p. 521.

³⁰ Baker, p. 532.

³¹ Baker, p. 533.

³² Salinger has characterized Teresa’s writings on ecstasy as “the most lucid and factual descriptions ... in all the literature of mysticism” (Margaretta Salinger, “Representations of Saint Teresa,” p. 102).

³³ Teresa of Ávila, pp. 125–6.

³⁴ St. Teresa was of course known for the frequency of her levitation, which sometimes occurred in the company of others: “On other occasions, when I felt the Lord was about to enrapture me again ... I lay on the ground and the sisters came to hold me down, but all the same the rapture was observed. Then I earnestly beseeched the Lord to grant me no more favours if they must have outward and visible signs” (Teresa of Avila, p. 137).

³⁵ Teresa of Ávila, p. 142.

³⁶ Teresa of Ávila, p. 143.

³⁷ This is the earliest known preserved painting of this subject, although a sketch by Ludovico Carracci at Windsor Castle might reflect the content of a lost painting by Ludovico on which Domenichino’s painting might have been based (see Richard J. Judson and Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, p. 93).

³⁸ Indeed, as Judson and Ekkart note (pp. 92–93), Honthorst’s painting is clearly indebted to Lorenzo Sabatini’s ca. 1570 *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Bologna Pinacoteca.

³⁹ While the dating of the conclusion of Bernini’s work on the statue is not in question, there remains some doubt as to the date of its commencement. See Perlove, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Perlove, pp. 5–6; details of the genesis of the chapel are given in more detail by Giovanni Careri, *Bernini*, p. 51.

⁴¹ For further information, see Perlove, p. 11.

⁴² Benedetto Mazzara, *legendario francescano ovvero istore de santi*, pp. 413–23.

⁴³ “Vedendola il Signore tanto Intenta, e fervente in contemplare la sua essenza, perfezzione, ed opre, si compiacque concederle la grazia dell’estasi, facendo, che alienata da sensi fissamente godesse la considerazione delle Divine grandezze sollevata da terra in aria, secondo si scrive, ricevendo in quel tempo la di lei anima copiose influenze di celestiali favori” (Mazzara, p. 418, col. 1). Fra Giovanni Paolo’s account of the life of the Blessed Ludovica also features a chapter on her ecstasies (chapter 14) but, like Mazzara’s account, it does not deal with the interior state of the blessed. Paolo, *Vita della B. Ludovica Albertoni*.

⁴⁴ “In the act of dying” (Domenico Bernini, *Vita del cavalier Gio Lorenzo Bernino*, p. 164).

⁴⁵ Mazzara, p. 420, cols. 1–2.

⁴⁶ Indeed, Mazzara himself describes the statue as being “in forma d’agonizante” (“in the form of one dying”) (Mazzara, p. 421, col. 2).

⁴⁷ “Era già arrivata l’ultima hora di sua vita. Per lo che preso in mano un Crocifisso, e quello con occhi fissi guardando, molti gemiti sparse, e molte fiate gridò, misericordia Giesù, misericordia Giesù: & implorando l’aiuto della gloriosa Vergine Maria; liberatemi voi o Madre pietosa dalle insidie dell’inimico infernale, *nunc*, dicea Ludovica, *nunc*, & *in hora mortis meae*, e baciando con divotissimi affetti li piedi, e tutte le sagrate piaghe del Crocifisso, piangendo per compassione replicava ben spesso: *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, & in questi ultimi accenti cō posatissimo animo *in oratione defixa* si addormentò nel Signore. Era la Beata Ludovica quando morì di anni sessanta, havendone ventisette consumati in cōtinue penitente, e mortificationi.” (Paolo, pp. 129–30).

⁴⁸ The *incendium amoris* is explored in Frank H. Sommer, “The Iconography of Action,” especially pp. 34–35, and Careri, especially p. 54.

⁴⁹ “Aperta anteriore parte thoracis inventae fuere, mirantibus qui aderant, sinistri lateris costae duae mendosae, ut vocant, fractae: erant hae quarta, & quinta. fractura in anteriore parte pectoris apparebat, ubi costae in cartilaginem desinunt: costae adeò elevatae erant, ut eas pugni magnitudinem non aequare modò, verùm superare etiam profiterentur omnes: remedium profectò id fuisse divinum quis neget? quò palpitans cor non lederetur ... Habuit ea initum à nimia divini amoris vi, summoq; cordis eius ardore, quo inter contemplandum vel maximè afficiebatur ... Cum cor inspiceretur, magnum apparuit, & musculosius ultra quàm esse soleat: à calore n. ob ferventium spirituum vim superfluenta ita effectum esse Andreas Cesalpinus, atque Antonius Portus iurati publico testimonio confirmarunt ... quò caelestis ignis summos illos ardores, quibus assidue abundabat ... sustinere potuisset” (Antonio Gallonio, *Vita Beati P. Philippi Nerii*, pp. 227–29).

⁵⁰ For example, the *Madonna of the Pomegranate* by Botticelli (ca. 1487) in the Uffizi.

Works Cited

- Baker, Augustine. *Holy Wisdom, or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, extracted out of more than forty treatises*. London: Burns and Oates, 1908 [1657].
- Baldinucci, Filippo. *The Life of Bernini*. Translated by Catherine Enggass. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966 [1682].
- Barcham, William L. *Grand in Design: The Life and Career of Federico Cornaro, Prince of the Church, Patriarch of Venice and Patron of the Arts*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2001.
- Bauer, George C. “The Life of the Cavalier Gian Lorenzo Bernini.” In *Bernini in Perspective*, edited by George C. Bauer, pp. 24–41. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Bernini, Domenico. *Vita del cavalier Gio Lorenzo Bernino descritta da Domenico Bernino suo figlio*. Rome: Rocco Bernabò, 1713.
- Briganti, Giuliano, André Chastel, and Roberto Zapperi. *Gli amori degli dei: Nuove indagini sulla Galleria Farnese*. Rome: Edizioni dell’Elefante, 1987.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *Der Cicerone: Eine Einleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, 5th ed. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1884.

- Careri, Giovanni. *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- De Brosse, Charles. *Le Président de Brosse en Italie: lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*. Paris: Didier et Cie, 1858.
- Gallonio, Antonio. *Vita beati P. Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta*. Rome: Aloisio Zannetti, 1600.
- Huxley, Aldous. *Themes and Variations*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1950.
- Judson, Richard J. and Rudolf E. O. Ekkart. *Gerrit van Honthorst, 1592–1656*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999.
- Lavin, Irving. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Mazzara, Benedetto. *Leggendario francescano ovvero istore de santi, beati, venerabili, ed altri uomini illustri ... dal Padre F. Benedetto Mazzara e in questa terza impressione più corretto, e per l'aggiunta di nuove vite ridotto in dodici tomi dal Padre Pietr'Antonio di Venezia*, 1st ed. Venice: Domenico Lovisa, 1721.
- Mormando, Franco. *Bernini: His Life and His Rome*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Pauolo, Giovanni. *Vita della B. Ludovica Albertoni Piermattei Paluzzi del Terzo Ordine di S. Francesco composta da un religioso riformato di S. Francesco a Ripa, raccolta dal processo della sua canonizatione*. Rome: Giuseppe Corvi, 1672.
- Pereira, José and Robert Fastiggi. *The Mystical Theology of the Catholic Reformation: An Overview of Baroque Spirituality*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006.
- Perlove, Shelly Karen. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.
- Quinn, Patrick. *Aquinas, Platonism, and the Knowledge of God*. Aldershot: Avebury, 1996.
- Salinger, Margaretta. "Representations of Saint Teresa." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8, no. 3 (1949): pp. 97–108.
- Schama, Simon. *The Power of Art*. London: BBC Books, 2006.
- Sommer, Frank H. "The Iconography of Action: Bernini's *Ludovica Albertoni*." *Art Quarterly* 23 (1970): pp. 30–38.
- Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle). *Promenades dans Rome*, vol. 1. Paris: Delaunay, 1829.
- Taine, Hippolyte. *Voyage en Italie*, vol. 1. Naples, Rome, and Paris: Hachette, 1872.
- Teresa of Ávila. *The Life of Saint Teresa of Ávila by Herself*. Translated by J. M. Cohen. London: Penguin Books, 1957.
- Titi, Filippo. *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma*. Rome: Mancini, 1674.
- Titi, Filippo. *Ammaestramento utile, e curioso di pittura scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma ... o vero Nuovo studio*. Rome: Giuseppe Vannacci, 1686.
- Titi, Filippo. *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma, opera cominciata dall'Abbate Filippo Titi con l'aggiunto di quanto è stato fatto di nuovo fino all'anno presente*. Rome: Marco Pagliarini, 1763.
- Warma, Susanne. "Ecstasy and Vision: Two Concepts Connected with Bernini's Teresa." *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 3 (1984): pp. 508–11.
- Weibel, Walther. "The Representation of Ecstasy." In *Bernini in Perspective*, edited by George C. Bauer, pp. 77–89. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*. London: Phaidon, 1997.

Chapter 11

Faith and Fetish: Objects and the Body in Catholic Devotional Practice

Lisa Beaven

LUDOVICO CARRACCI'S *Portrait of a Widow* (plate 16, p. xxvii) provides a rare glimpse into the world of private devotion in seventeenth-century Italy. It shows a woman dressed in black, shown in profile, facing a crucifix that is placed on a chest in front of her, against the backdrop of a curtain, possibly of gold damask. Her rosary and prayer book lie on the very edge of the same chest, as if she has just put them down. Attached to her rosary are a series of devotional medals. These were sometimes available at particular Catholic shrines, and were therefore evidence of pilgrimage, while others were made for specific holy years, or sold as religious tokens commemorating individual saints. While they function here to illustrate her extreme piety, the medals would also have added a sensual dimension to her prayer by chinking against one another when the rosary was being turned or, if she wore them attached to her clothing, when she moved. One hand is held out to the crucifix, palm up, while the other clasps her chest, a reminder of the emotional and spiritual intensity of her devotion to the passion of Christ. Her expression is one of ardent concentration as she prays to the figure of Christ, actively addressing it. Although the identity of the sitter remains unknown, she is remarkable for her display of religious emotion in an age when portraiture more commonly operated as a marker of social ambition and class.

In this essay, I intend to explore the role played by the senses as the interface between the body and the spiritual realm in relation to seventeenth-century private devotional practice, arguing that emotion and sensation are intimately connected in these encounters between people and objects.¹ As prayer and ritual began to be reinterpreted in the wake of the Council of Trent, small devotional objects like the crucifix, the rosary, carved statuettes of saints, portable relics, penitential jewelry, small devotional paintings on copper, and religious bas-reliefs mediated the early modern subject's encounter with Christ's passion and his extreme suffering. Via the senses, these objects become portals for the individual's private relationship with the divine in the hands of an innovative and renaissance Catholicism.

While in recent years there has been increasing interest in ritual and spectacle in seventeenth-century Europe, much of this has concentrated on how art and ephemeral objects function as rhetorical instruments of persuasion in public spaces. In this essay, I intend to explore a different aspect of baroque culture, by concentrating on the realm

of private prayer rather than public spectacle. How do emotions and sensation operate together at the site of the body, and between the body and objects of prayer, to create intimate “sticky” relationships, such that objects become saturated with “affect”?² And second, how did small-scale objects facilitate the imagining of sites and scenes within devotional meditational practices?

The role of the senses in relation to worship has always been recognized as important in writings on the church, but two developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries changed the nature of this relationship. The first was their championing by the Jesuits, and the other was a changed understanding of what constituted the senses.

What Seth Kimmel has dubbed “thematizing the power of artifice to compel belief” in the Jesuit order included an explicit appeal to the senses.³ This included St. Ignatius of Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*, which invited the reader to imagine various locations of the Bible, and then to populate them with the senses. But on a more local level, Jesuit preachers also used objects to stimulate the senses and enhance the theatricality of their performance in a variety of ways. The Jesuit preacher Jerónimo López, for example, would exhibit skulls during his sermons on death, while on the streets of Rome the Jesuit preachers came equipped with hand-held crucifixes, with which they engaged repeatedly in the course of their sermons.⁴ As these preachers interacted with these crucifixes, they made the relationship with Christ’s body tangible for their audience through spiritual intimacy in the form of repeated touch. Phillip Skippon, who was in Rome in the 1650s, wrote of witnessing one of these Jesuit preachers in Piazza Navona:

One evening stood a Jesuit, upon a stall in the Piazza Navona, and preached with much action and postures of his body; and at the conclusion, a crucifix was brought to him, which he kneeled to, and with great devotion prayed to it and embraced it; the congregation seemed greatly affected, by kneeling at the same time, and beating their breasts. The Jesuit having done, invited the people to another sermon; he kissed the feet of the crucifix, which was presently carried in procession, with two candles before, and the crowd following it; some priests singing, and the people answering.⁵

An understanding of what constituted the senses was also shifting in the seventeenth century, with the Aristotelian concept of the “sensibles”—entities which existed in the outside world and which collided with humans and animals to produce “sensations”—being increasingly challenged.⁶ Galileo argued instead that there were no colors, flavors, or smells that existed independently of sentient individuals.⁷ The implications of this were profound, as it meant that what a person saw in a work of art or tasted in a dish varied from individual to individual rather than being universal constants. This position, in turn, allowed a fundamental re-evaluation of the senses as the interface between an individual and the external world. Baroque aesthetics absorbed this new position by using the senses as the engine of perception. In what follows, I shall explore the ways in which the senses were activated in forms of Catholic worship after Trent by means of objects that were used in prayer and meditation, objects that were intimately associated with



Figure 11.1.
 Schelte Adamsz
 Bolswert, *St. Carlo
 Praying in Front of a
 Crucifix*, 1600–1650,
 engraving, 129 × 91 mm,
 British Museum.
 Photo © Trustees of
 the British Museum.

the body and were worn or handled, looked at or carried. The interconnectivity between these objects and the body, and the large spiritual worlds to which they facilitated access, meant that they, too, became technologies, forms of conceptual equipment that, in conjunction with an individual, provided a sensorial threshold to a vast, unseen realm.

While many of these objects had existed since the medieval period, and some since the antique period, the relationship between worshippers and these items changed profoundly at the beginning of the baroque as the character of Catholic thought and religious practice shifted perceptibly in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Catholic leaders after Trent encouraged new ways of imagining the complex relationship between God and the worshipper—relationships that were innovative and also interactive—that



Figure 11.2.
After Francesco Vanni, print
made by Francesco Villamena,
published by Matteo Florimi,
The Penitent Mary Magdalene,
1595–1601, engraving,
220 × 146 mm, British Museum.
Photo © Trustees of the
British Museum.

changed people’s relationship to devotional objects. Scholars such as Outram Evennett have argued that the Tridentine understanding of justification helped promote in Catholicism a more activist form of spirituality.⁸ Renewed emphasis on the sacrament of the Eucharist and meditative tracts encouraging contemplation on the sacrifice of Christ led to the proliferation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of images of Christ on the Cross in different sizes and media, from large-scale paintings, to small wearable crucifixes, and slightly larger crucifixes made for domestic or private altars, such as that seen in the Carracci painting.

The emotional resonance of such objects, and their many layers of religious significance, as well as evidence of how they were used, can be found in seventeenth-century wills. For example, the will of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino reveals that he owned a cross that was also a reliquary, made, he believed, from the wood of the staff that had been planted by St. Francis, which contained relics of all the saints and the blessed of

the Jesuit order. This, then, had multiple layers of signification: on one level representing Christ, on another not only associated with St. Francis but also constituting a form of contact relic, and finally incorporating as relics the saints and the blessed of the Jesuit order. Each piece of relic embodied in its entirety the individual concerned, so this cross had the capacity to function as a site and channel of concentrated spiritual power.⁹ The will also reveals that Sforza Pallavicino wore this always on his chest, and is bequeathing it to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, demonstrating how emotion circulates between bodies and sometimes sticks to objects, in this case sticking to the cross.¹⁰ Something that has been in intimate proximity to Sforza Pallavicino's body, and has developed an accumulated affective value through the repetition of actions over time, is now being transferred to his friend, revealing something of what Sarah Ahmed has described as the "sociality of emotion."¹¹

Devotional prints also reveal an intimate relationship between saints and the body of Christ, as they touch and embrace the crucifix. In paintings of the period, Christ ceases to be represented as a sculpture on a wooden cross, and increasingly becomes a miniature live body, amplifying the emotion of his passion.¹² Schelte Adamsz Bolswert's print of Carlo Borromeo (figure 11.1) shows Borromeo praying to a small crucifix with his rosary in hand.¹³ Prints such as these would have been used as devotional images in their own right, so that the saint stands in for and sets an example of ardent worship for the viewer. As Richard Rambuss has noted, Christianity presents us with "a nearly naked man offered up to our gazes ... for worship, desire, and various kinds of identification."¹⁴

In recent years, a number of scholars have addressed the issue of the sexuality of Christ in relation to early modern religious expression.¹⁵ This concept of devotion as a form of desire becomes explicit in the prints of the penitent Mary Magdalene worshipping the crucifix. In Francesco Villamena's engraving after Francesco Vanni (figure 11.2), the face of the Magdalene is practically touching the head of Christ as she gazes at his



Figure 11.3. Marcantonio Bellavia,
The Penitent Mary Magdalene, 1660–80,
engraving, 109 × 89 mm, British Museum.
Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 11.4. After Agostino Carracci and Francesco Vanni, *St. Francis of Assisi and the Musical Angel*, 1595–1620, engraving, 188 × 125 mm, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

body. The sexual tension of the work is conveyed through the nakedness of both bodies: the cloth that has slipped off her bare shoulders barely hiding her naked breasts, and held up only by the hand she presses into her chest. Michael Bury has suggested that the small format of this work, and what he terms “the exaggeration of the devout expression on the face of the saint” indicate it was conceived as an image to be used for devotional purposes, and perhaps its sensuality amplified its religious impact.¹⁶ Another much less developed print apparently also derived from the Vanni School, shows Mary Magdalene naked to the waist, bending over a very large crucifix of Christ on the Cross, while touching his leg, the proximity of the body of Christ and her naked breasts making the sensuous undertone of the Villamena print into something far more explicit (figure 11.3).

An engraving of St. Francis and a musical angel (figure 11.4), based on Agostino Carracci’s engraving after a print by Vanni, illustrates the moment when, in 1225, a musical angel appeared to St. Francis. The account of this vision in *The Little Flowers* reads:

Anon an angel appeared to him with exceeding great splendour, that held a viol in his left hand and a bow in his right; and ... the angel drew his bow once upwards across the viol; and straightaway St. Francis heard such sweet melody that it ravished his soul and lifted him beyond all bodily sense, so that ... he doubted lest his soul had wholly parted from his body, by reason of the unbearable sweetness, if the angel had drawn the bow downwards again.¹⁷

The saint’s expression reveals his intense emotional response to the music—he appears rapt with his eyes almost shut and mouth half open. The crucifix is pressed against his own body in a fervent embrace. The Latin quote below the print deliberately plays on the idea of the senses. It reads: “O Winged One, cease to touch the sweetly singing strings. For hearts are not able so much to hold the music. May rest come from this cross. May this cross sing to me in my ear. For it is better than the voices [for example, sounds] of this beloved lyre [for example, the violin].”¹⁸ The inscription refers to the deep experience—both emotional and physical after the stigmata visible in Francis’s hand—that the cross brings to St. Francis such that he can no longer bear the sound of the violin playing. He now receives a mystical experience in his heart from the crucifix, which has become his music.

In Vanni’s original print of this subject (figure 11.5), the lines radiating out from the cherubic angel, designed to represent the heavenly light, also suggest the presence of sound as they lead directly to the saint’s ear. Not only is the viewer invited to deploy their imagination to hear the heavenly music, but also to understand the depth of Francis’s emotional and spiritual engagement with the crucifix.

Paintings, too, assumed a new significance after the Council of Trent endorsed their utility and legitimacy for the Catholic faith.¹⁹ In other words, the idea that the spiritual was mediated through the visual was confirmed. But the role of images in the aftermath of Trent was complex, particularly as the decrees of Trent did not give any specific guidelines for sacred art. This was left to other Catholic commentators who argued that the preferred



Figure 11.5. Print made by Hieronymous Wierix after Francesco Vanni, *St. Francis of Assisi and the Musical Angel*, 1619 (before), engraving, 101 × 63 mm, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

Catholic art of the period should be affective and naturalistic. The Jesuit Luis Richeôme, for example, in his book *Le Peinture Spirituelle*, explained that the form of things came to the mind through the senses, and thus their naturalistic portrayal was associated with “truth.”²⁰ Greater naturalism and realism made religious paintings and paintings of individual saints compellingly lifelike and real, which in turn prompted an emotional response in the viewer. As the emotions in turn affected the will, which is the instrument of personal transformation, the affective quality of paintings became very important to Catholic reformers. Gabriele Paleotti makes this point very vividly when he writes:

To hear about a saint’s martyrdom, or the devotion and constancy of a holy virgin, or especially the Passion of Christ—these certainly touch us in the most immediate and lively way. But when we see before our very eyes this holy martyrdom, this suffering virgin, or Christ himself nailed to a tree, our devotion can hardly help being increased. It grips us ever more profoundly, and someone who doesn’t feel these things intensely would have to be utterly bereft of human feelings.²¹

Paleotti’s views were echoed by Spanish Jesuit Martin de Roa, who wrote that “painting with its colors and visible features can greatly teach the understanding with its immediacy; and the sight of it can engrave things more deeply on the soul with its liveliness.”²² Small devotional paintings were increasingly used in devotional practice and can be found in inventories. These paintings were often kept in bedrooms or hung at the head of the bed, and owners of such paintings may also have kept them in close proximity as personal talismans against misfortune.²³ One such example was the very small painting on copper hanging at the head of Antonio Barberini’s bed, “representing Saint Francis Xavier, who goes in the habit of a pilgrim, with two angels in the air, by Lanfranco.”²⁴

However, the decrees of the Council of Trent were also at pains to emphasize that, although visual images should be given due honor, this was only because “the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent.”²⁵ In other words, divinity cannot be pictured, and images can only serve as referents or prompts to imagine that divinity. As Paleotti expressed it: “Images of themselves are not things, but signs of things, that take their condition from that that they represent, like all the signs that one considers according to the things that they signify.”²⁶ To what extent images restricted rather than released the imagination of the devout, or, even worse, led it astray, was something that exercised the mind of many Catholic writers. The complexity of the relationship between viewer and sacred painting after the Council of Trent is summed up concisely by Klaus Krüger:

In this way, the beholder standing before the image becomes an observer of an act of vision, not one he has summoned himself in the exercise of his own imaginative powers, but one in which he participates when gazing at the image. And this is possible because the painting, placed before his eyes in lieu of an actual vision, possesses an ambivalent intermediate status and at the same time functions like a

membrane between the mundane and transcendent realms—between the space “before the image” and that “behind the image,” between visibility and invisibility.²⁷

Thus, the goal of sacred art was not simply to create affective images that convinced people of a higher truth, but to provide images that could activate their imagination and encourage meditation.

St. Ignatius of Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises* represented one of the most influential ways of imagining the complex relationship between God and the worshipper, and as a means of prayer the Exercises also changed people’s relationship to devotional objects. Performing the Exercises actively involved the sense of touch in multiple ways, both imaginary and real. To encourage penance, Ignatius recommended the “chastising of the flesh, thereby causing sensible pain,” achieved by “wearing hairshirts, cords, or iron chains on the body, or by scourging or wounding oneself, or by other kinds of austerities.”²⁸ Immersion in the sense of touch in the Exercises was not limited to mortification of the flesh or the handling of objects, however. The entire process represented an embodied form of prayer, involving different positions, such as lying prostrate on the ground.²⁹

An important part of the Exercises was the idea of a retreat to concentrate on the internal spiritual life of the soul. As part of this process, St. Ignatius emphasized the primacy of meditative techniques as part of prayer by conjuring up actual locations and places, and concentrating on populating and experiencing them via the senses. As John C. Olin and others have noted, the *Spiritual Exercises* function in this way as a form of mental pilgrimage as individual locations in the Holy Land are brought to mind.³⁰ Once these scenes are pictured, they are populated by the senses. In his *Annotations* on the Fifth Exercise, a meditation on Hell, Ignatius writes, “the first point is to see with the eye of the imagination the great fires, and the souls enveloped, as it were, in bodies of fire.” He goes on: “The second point is to hear the wailing, the screaming, cries, and blasphemies against Christ our Lord and all his saints. The Third point is to smell the smoke, the brimstone, the corruption, and rottenness ... The fifth point is to feel with the sense of touch how the flames surround and burn souls.”³¹ Ignatius emphasized the emotions excited by this meditative process, stressing the affective state of sorrow and contrition. It was particularly the five mysteries of the rosary, which concentrated on Christ’s capture, torture and death, that were deemed “sorrowful.”³² By means of the Jesuit networks, this powerful new technique of meditative prayer spread rapidly.

Luis de Granada, a Spanish Dominican preacher, in *The Book of Prayer and Meditation*, first published in 1554, amplifies some of St. Ignatius’s teachings in the *Spiritual Exercises*, writing in detail of the range of emotions felt while meditating on Christ’s passion: compassion, guilt, sorrow for one’s sins, sorrow for the suffering of Christ, and grief for his pain. Granada dwells at length on the agony endured by Christ on the Cross:

For it is not a speedy kinde of death (as to bee hanged or beheaded) but very long and lingering; and the wounds be in the most sensible parts of the body; to wit, in the

feet and hands, which are most full of veines and sinewes, which be the instruments of feeling. Moreover his paines were increased with the poize and weight of his owne body ... and augmented the griefe of his torments, and this caused his martyrdom to become so extreme grievous, that although hee had no deadly wound, yet by reason of the passing greatnesse of his paines, his most holy soule departed out of his most precious body.³³

Elsewhere in his treatise, Granada writes that those meditating on the passion of Christ must “suppose [themselves] to be present at such grievous torments as ever our Saviour hath suffered,” as if they were contemporary participants at those events.

Much of the instructional devotional literature suggests that an image or an object could be a useful prompt in reaching a meditative state, or as an aid to prayer. St. Teresa of Ávila was explicit about the importance of images in her religious meditation, stating:

I had so little ability for picturing things in my mind that if I did not actually see a thing I could not use my imagination, as other people do, who can make pictures to themselves and so become recollected. Of Christ I could only think: however much I read about His beauty and however often I looked at pictures of Him, I could never form any picture of Him myself. I was like a person who is blind, or in the dark ... It was for this reason that I was so fond of pictures.³⁴

Padre Fra' Tomaso di Giesu, in the *Compendium of Mental Prayer*, published in 1652, suggests having “an image or portrait of Christ, which is to your taste, not only to carry around on the chest, but also to talk to.”³⁵ Here, touch, sound, and sight are combined in the action of wearing the preferred image or crucifix, looking at it, and addressing it. Many devotional images of saints were kept behind glass, or behind crystal, suggesting not only that they were prized, but that they also occupied a status somewhere between a painting and a reliquary, calling into question their role as simply prototypes. For example, Cardinal Costaguti owned a small octagonal painting of St. Francis in miniature painted on glass with crystal in front of it, all in a gilded silver frame.³⁶

Relics, too, could be worn, and handled. In his will, Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino left to his friend Hippolita Ludovisi, the duchess of Bracciano, a little silver reliquary containing a relic of St. Thomas Aquinas, which Pallavicino carried around in his pocket.³⁷

The other indispensable object after the crucifix in relation to prayer, which is also visible in the Carracci painting initially discussed, was the rosary, which played a crucial role in Post-Tridentine religious practice and ritual. While the rosary was a medieval rather than early modern invention, it did not become immensely popular until the fifteenth century, when, as Carroll has noted, the praying of a Marian Psalter was merged with the use of prayer beads.³⁸ The rosary as a set of prayers and as a set of beads changed and adapted during the baroque to become the center of a network of confraternities, which were immensely popular. Chains of beads, called chaplets or rosaries, were used to count devotional repetitions of the *Ave Maria* (“Hail Mary”), the *Paternoster* (“Our

Father”), and the *Gloria Patri* (“Glory be to the Father”).³⁹ The Hail Marys were prayed in groups of ten (“decades”), each group separated by a single bead on which the Our Father was recited. To this circle of beads, a pendant was eventually attached, consisting of a medal, from which hung five additional beads and a crucifix. The pendant permitted the addition of a brief introduction to the decades of the rosary—the Creed (I believe in God), was recited while holding the crucifix, followed by an Our Father, three Hail Marys, and a *Gloria Patri*. Then came the rosary’s five decades (one Our Father, ten Hail Marys), recited while meditating on Christian “mysteries” (scenes drawn from the lives of Mary and Christ).⁴⁰

The important point about the rosary is that it relied on touch, sound, and the exercise of the imagination, rather than the ability to read.⁴¹ Touching the rosary was “a sensory way to feel infinity,” a concept also linked to the idea of the memory theater, as each bead represented not only a prayer, but also a prompt to visualize a scene from the mystery of the rosary.⁴²

The devotional experience of praying with a rosary immersed the worshipper in a sensorium. Added to the senses of sight, touch, and the sound of prayer was also smell. As Francois Quiviger has noted, smell was “considered an intermediary sense between the corporeal world of taste and touch and the spatial universe of sight and hearing.”⁴³ The use of flowers, specifically roses, as a metaphor for the rosary itself has a long history, and in prints this association is often made explicit, with roses substituting for beads, functioning as a trigger for imagined smell.⁴⁴ But smell was associated with rosaries in a real as well as a metaphorical way. Rosaries were sometimes made of aromatic woods, such as eagle wood (Aram wood) from the near East, and sometimes included beads that were containers for something aromatic, such as musk.⁴⁵ Cardinal Massimo owned an object that may have been just such a bead, described as “a scent ball,” but which was kept in a drawer with his other rosaries.⁴⁶ Rosaries are often described by means of their scent in many Roman inventories. Massimo’s death inventory contained a number of rosaries described in this way, as scented or perfumed rosaries.⁴⁷ He also owned two rosaries of calambac, a type of Cambodian agarwood which is strongly scented.⁴⁸

Touch, smell, and sound operated together in praying the rosary, where acoustic stimuli could change and alter the perception of the texture of the beads. Contemporary experiments in neuroscience and psychology have convincingly shown that the haptic perception of both the structural and surface properties of objects, as well as their perceived functionality, can be profoundly influenced by the other senses, most notably sound.⁴⁹

Amber was also commonly used for rosary beads, and Rachel King has shown that by the mid sixteenth century amber beads were cut and turned, and could be obtained as smooth balls, or faceted, sometimes even incised.⁵⁰ For many, the appeal of amber, apart from its translucence, was its aroma. According to Lodovico Moscardo and Pierandrea Mattioli, the “manifest smell of pine [was] left on the fingers which had stroked it”; in other words, as a material it responded to the temperature of the hands and emitted a

scent.⁵¹ Praying with an amber rosary was therefore a very sensory experience, as intimate engagement with the beads changed them. Many associated the smell with incense. King has suggested that rosaries were deliberately strung to increase the possibility that amber would “emit its fleeting smell,” by combining large beads and smaller ones that would rub together.⁵²

Coral was also a favorite material for rosaries, as it was perceived to have magical and protective qualities, and coral rosaries were commonly given as marriage gifts, forming part of the private possessions of women.⁵³ Rosaries were also made out of semi-precious stones, such as jasper, agate, or chalcedony. The Princess Facchenetti Pamphilij, for example, owned a number of ornate rosaries, one made of oriental jasper, another of filigree medallions of gold, and two made of coral, one of which included pearls and a pendant medal with an image of Saint Veronica on one side and the Sudarium on the other.⁵⁴ With the addition of pilgrimage badges and small medals, the sounds made by rosaries when they were carried would be augmented, to include the noise of metal clinking on metal as the medallions touched.

Rosaries could also be charged with spiritual energy by being held up to relics or sacred sites. Gregory Martin describes the practice of touching the beads to relics in his description of the behavior of pilgrims in Roman churches: “To take the beads of them that wil (and who wil not?) and with them to touche al the Relikes.”⁵⁵ John Evelyn also described seeing worshippers rubbing their rosaries against a pillar in the church of Santa Pudenziana, thought to be that to which Christ was bound when he was scourged.⁵⁶ By 1677, Cardinal Camillo Massimo in Rome owned “various *corone* from Jerusalem [which were] touched to the Sacred Sepulcher.”⁵⁷ These were kept in the same compartment of a *studiolo* in his bedroom as a box containing earth from the Grotta del Latte of the Virgin. In another compartment of the same *studiolo*, crosses touched to the Holy Sepulcher, their feet of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, were kept, along with models (*modelli*) of the Holy Sepulcher.⁵⁸ Some seventeenth-century models, like Massimo’s inlaid with mother-of-pearl, are extant today and provide a good idea of what the cardinal’s might have looked like. An example in the British Museum (figure 11.6) was made as a souvenir for an Italian recipient, as the architectural spaces are identified in Italian. Parts of it were detachable so that the interior spaces could be seen. It is possible that for devotional purposes the contents of these compartments in the *studiolo* were laid out to create a small-scale sensory environment of objects to assist meditation: to touch the earth from Bethlehem; hold and pray with the rosaries held up to the Holy Sepulcher; and handle the crosses touched to the Holy Sepulcher while looking at a model of it. In a similar vein, Cardinal Albizi kept in one drawer of a *studiolo* in his palace eight wooden crosses of various types; a model in wood of the Holy Sepulcher containing various reliquaries;⁵⁹ a number of rosaries kept in a rolled up piece of paper; two headbands or circlets of enamel that had been touched to the reliquary of St. John the Baptist in Malta; and two more of gold that had been touched to the Sudarium.⁶⁰



Figure 11.6. Model of the Holy Sepulcher, before 1753, made from wood and mother-of-pearl, 26.5 × 45 × 38.5 cm, British Museum. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.

These objects together facilitated the imagining of those places mentioned in the Bible, functioning effectively as spiritual props and as contact relics. By handling them, the worshipper could more readily engage their imagination in visualizing the sacred sites. This was recommended by St. Ignatius in the First Exercise of the *Spiritual Exercises* where he wrote of forming “according to a certain imaginary vision, a bodily place representing what we contemplate; as the temple, or a mountain, in which we may find Christ Jesus, or the Virgin Mary, and the other things which concern the subject of our contemplation.”⁶¹

Rosaries could also be charged with memories and personal significance by means of their previous ownership, in this way becoming affective or cult objects. Massimo, for example, owned a rosary that had previously belonged to Cardinal Bellarmine, that he kept in a small box, together with another box containing Bellarmine’s handkerchief.⁶² Moreover, rosaries could be personalized with the addition of extra medallions, as we

have seen in the Carracci example, or with the addition of a more elaborate terminal bead, such as a *memento mori* bead. Some of the existing *memento mori* beads made of jet can be traced to Santiago, and were added as the result of a pilgrimage there.

Memento mori objects were not, of course, unique to Catholicism, nor were they exclusive to the seventeenth century. But Loyola's inclusion in the *Spiritual Exercises* of a section exhorting and instructing worshippers to meditate on their own deaths, and subsequent Catholic publications such as Bellarmine's *The Art of Dying Well*, as well as the enormous popularity of the spiritual exercises throughout Catholic Europe, ensured that living with a token reminder of one's mortality became more popular than ever in the seventeenth century.

Sometimes these tokens took the form of mementos that could be handled or worn. Princess Facchenetti Pamphilij, for example, who died in 1716 in Rome, owned a pendant listed in her jewel collection in her private rooms as "a small dead person of gold, enameled white with a lunette of gold."⁶³ It may have looked something like the Torre Abbey Jewel (plate 17, p. xxviii). Francesco Barberini had something similar in his 1626–31 inventory which was described as "a small box covered in black, inside of which is a dead person in ivory of approximately half a *palm*."⁶⁴

The relationship between small-scale devotional objects like the crucifix, the rosary, and carved statuettes of saints, portable relics, penitential jewelry, and their owners approximates in a number of significant ways the relationship people now have with their mobile and hand-held devices, although in a secular, rather than religious, context. In the context of discussing these devices, Heidi Rae Cooley has emphasized what she calls the "fit": a type of seeing involving hands and eyes, a form of combined tactile vision.⁶⁵ She argues that what happens between the hand and the eye in the operation of a mobile phone, for example, is a "happening," a moment that "reveals the potential for dynamic and reciprocal engagement."⁶⁶ Communication and intimacy are combined in an action that involves the senses working together. The development of technologies has radically changed our relationship with the world around us, so that life is now structured around the use of mobile technologies, which have reshaped our cognitive landscapes. This was also true of the actions involved in using a rosary, which also involved the "fit," the same merging between the hand and the object to create an experience which is dynamic and constantly changing, a relationship that is contiguous rather than controlled. Like mobile phones, rosaries were always carried, and often personalized. In a similar way to the mobile phone, the rosary, crucifix, and hand-held relics, or small wearable religious images functioned as portals to a larger non-material realm situated outside the user's normal space. In early modern Europe, the reciprocity, beyond the beads, lay in the aspiration that the worshipper brought to the encounter, seeking a response from the spirit world. As a happening or occurrence between object and individual, one that was carried out between a real and an imagined world, sensation triggered and amplified the affective response.

NOTES

¹ The study of the senses in relation to early modern religion is a burgeoning area of scholarship. See, for example, Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, eds., *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*; Nicky Hallet, *The Senses in Religious Communities*; Alice Sanger and S. T. Kulbrandstad Walker, *Art and the Senses*; and Marcia Hall and Tracy Cooper, *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*. For the senses in relation to secular Renaissance painting, see Francois Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art*. Private prayer and books promoting private prayer became more popular after the Council of Trent, as increasing numbers of Catholics devoted more hours per day to prayer. At the same time, with the emphasis placed by church leaders on communal worship and parish structures, private devotional practices were viewed as somewhat suspicious. See Nathan D. Mitchell, *The Mystery of the Rosary*, p. 14.

² The terminology is borrowed from Sarah Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 4.

³ Seth Kimmel, “No milagro, milagro,” p. 434.

⁴ Kimmel, p. 436.

⁵ Phillip Skippon, *An Account of a Journey*, in John Churchill, ed., *Collections of Voyages and Travels*, p. 660. Skippon’s description is echoed by Gregory Martin, who in *Roma Sancta* also comments on the ability of Jesuit preachers to set up a pulpit in a shop window and “with only a crucifixe in their hand or ready aboute them, they beginne some good matter of edification.” Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, pp. 71–72.

⁶ Aristotle argued that color, taste, odor, sound, and touch were sensibles, which had “an autonomous existence, independent from the existence of individuals capable of perceiving them, and finalized to produce a specific sensory modality.” For a comprehensive account of the shift from an Aristotelian view of the senses in the seventeenth century to Galileo’s conviction that the senses were attached to individuals, see Marco Piccolino and Nicolas J. Wade, *Galileo’s Visions*. This above quote is from Piccolino and Wade, p. 167.

⁷ Marco Piccolino and Nicolas J. Wade, “Galileo Galilei’s Vision of the Senses,” pp. 585–90.

⁸ See H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, especially chapter 2: “Counter-Reformation Spirituality.”

⁹ For more on the spiritual power of relics, see Alexandra Walsheim, “Introduction,” p. 12.

¹⁰ This terminology is indebted to Ahmed’s terminology and discussion of how the objects of emotion circulate through culture. See Ahmed, p. 11.

¹¹ Ahmed, p. 8.

¹² This can be seen in Ludovico Carracci’s *Portrait of a Widow*, where the figure of Christ appears real.

¹³ Schelte Adamsz Bolswert, *St. Charles Borromeo, praying in front of a crucifix, a book and rosary in front of him*, 1600–1659, engraving, 12.9 cm × 9.1 cm, British Museum, London. Titled and signed in lower margin “S. Carolus Borromaevus” and “S. Bolswert fecit et exc. Cum Priuilegio.”

¹⁴ Richard Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, p. 11.

¹⁵ For the issues associated with possible conflicts between carnality and spirituality in relation to Christ’s naked body, see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ*; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*; and Bette Talvacchia, “The Word made Flesh,” pp. 49–73.

¹⁶ Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy*, cat. no. 159, p. 218.

¹⁷ *The Little Flowers*, p. 110. Compiled between 1322 and 1328, this florilegium was first translated into Italian in 1477.

¹⁸ The Latin inscription reads: “Desine dudciloquas Ales contingere chordas Nam nequeunt tantum corda tenere melos. Hac cruce fit requies, crux haec mihi cantet in aure. Praestat enim voces huius amasse lirae.” I would like to thank Joan Barclay Lloyd for her help with translating this passage.

¹⁹ The Council of Trent addressed the issue of the veneration of Images during the session of December 3, 1562: “The Images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the Other Saints, are to be had and retained, particularly in Churches.” Cited in Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy*, pp. 107–8.

²⁰ Cited in Richard Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross*, p. 208.

²¹ Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso* as cited in Mitchell, p. 54. Translation by Mitchell.

²² Martin de Roa, *Antiguedad*, ff.43, v.44r.

²³ See, for example, the numerous descriptions of images of the Virgin saving and protecting those who owned them in Tomaso Aurieremma’s *Affetti scambievoli tra la Vergine Santissima*, pp. 142–55, where the author recommends that his readers wear medals of the Virgin around their necks to protect them.

²⁴ Inventory of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 1671 as cited in Marilyn Lavin, *Seventeenth Century Barberini Documents*, IV, inv. 71, p. 315, item 484. The Italian text reads: “Un quadretto in Rame a capo a letto di grandezza di palmo uno per ogni verso incirca rappresentante S. Francesco Severio, che va in Abito di Pellegrino, con due Angelini in Aria, che tengono il nome di Giesú in lampo giallo con Ornamento di Ebano intertiato di Metallo d’orato mano del Lanfranco” (a small copper painting at the head of the bed the size of one *palm* for each side representing Saint Francis Xavier, dressed as a pilgrim, with two small angels in the air, who hold the name of Christ in yellow lightning with ebony decoration with inlays of gilded metal, by the hand of Lanfranco). Lavin, p. 315.

²⁵ J. Waterworth, ed. and trans., *Canons and Decrees*, p. 235.

²⁶ Paleotti, *Discourse*, pp. 199–200. The Italian text reads: “L’imagini per sé stesse non sono cose, ma segni di cose, onde pigliano la sua condizione da quello che rappresentano, sì come tutti i segni si consideranno secondo le cose che significano.”

²⁷ Klaus Krüger, “Authenticity and Fiction,” pp. 67–68.

²⁸ St. Ignatius of Loyola, *Powers of Imagining*, p. 122, no. 85.

²⁹ St. Ignatius, p. 121, no. 76: “The fourth: I will enter into meditation, at times kneeling, at times prostrate on the ground, at other times supine, or seated or standing, always intent on seeking what I desire.”

³⁰ John C. Olin, “The Idea of Pilgrimage,” pp. 387–97.

³¹ St. Ignatius, p. 119.

³² See, for example, Robert Bellarmine, *A Short Christian Doctrine*, p. 56: “Other five be sorrowful. 1. The prayer in the Garden. 2. The whipping at the pillar. 3. The crowning with thornes. 4. The carrying of the Cross. 5. The Crucifying and death of our Saviour.”

³³ Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer and Meditation*, p. 187.

³⁴ Excerpt from *The Life of the Holy Mother Teresa of Jesus in The Complete Works of St. Teresa of Jesus*, reprinted in Hugh Thomson Kerr, *Famous Conversion Experiences*, p. 22.

³⁵ Padre Fra’ Tomaso di Giesu, *Compendio dell’oratione mentale*, p. 55. The Italian text reads: “Quello che si può fare per aiuto di questo è il procurare d’haver un’imagine, ò ritratto di questo Signore, che sia a nostro gusto, non per portarlo solamente in seno, e nol mirar poi mai; mà per parlare spesso seco, che egli ci darà quello, che habbiamo da dirgli.”

³⁶ ASR, Notai Tribunale AC, successor Malvetij, vol. 4062, 230v. The Italian text reads: “Un quadretto in ottangolo di S. Francesco miniato nel vetro con un cristallo d’avanti con sua cornicetta di argento dorato” (A small octagonal miniature painting of St. Francis with crystal in front with its small frame of gilded silver).

³⁷ B.A., ms. 1659, 401v. The Italian text reads: “Alla Sig.ra D. Ippolita Ludovisia Duchessa di Bracciano le cui perpetue cort,esie verso di me superano quanto io potessi dir con lunghe parole, lascio una cosa à me carissima, e tal mi confido, che sia per essere anche alla pietà sua, cioè un picciolo Reliquiario d’argento, ch’io porto in tasca, con alquanto del bezzettino del grandissimo S. Tomasso d’Aquino, mio speciale Avvocato” (To Signora Dona Ippolita Ludovisia duchess of Bracciano, whose perpetual courtesy to me far exceeds that which I could describe at length, I leave a thing that is very precious to me, and such that I confide, that will be also for her faith, that is a small reliquary in silver, that I carry in my pocket, with something of the *bezzettino* of the great Thomas Aquinas, my special advocate).

³⁸ Michael P. Carroll, “Praying the Rosary,” p. 488. Carroll points out that prior to this time these beads were known as Paternosters, used to say Our Fathers.

³⁹ Carroll, p. 488.

⁴⁰ This description of the rosary is loosely based on Mitchell’s more comprehensive account. See Mitchell, p. 6.

⁴¹ Mitchell, pp. 6–7.

⁴² Mitchell, pp. 6–7.

⁴³ Quiviger, p. 125.

⁴⁴ The very name of the rosary points to its association with roses, more specifically a garland of roses. For more on this see Carroll, p. 496.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the small German musk ball in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. This was both a rosary bead and a pomander, and was divided into halves that could be unscrewed. See <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O105969/ball-for-musk-unknown/> (accessed October 12, 2016).

⁴⁶ B.A.V., Cod. Cappon. 260, f. 91 v. The Italian text reads: “Una Palla d’odori” (A perfumed ball).

⁴⁷ B.A.V., Cod. Cappon. 260, f. 91 v. The Italian text reads: “Una corona “d’adori” (A perfumed rosary).

⁴⁸ B.A.V., Cod. Cappon. 260, f. 91 v. The Italian text reads: “Due corone di Calambacco dentro una scattola di Piombo” (Two rosaries of calambac in a lead box).

⁴⁹ By manipulating the sounds that people hear when they touch a surface, researchers discovered they could change people’s perceptions of that surface. See Charles Spence, “The Multisensory Perception of Touch,” pp. 85–106.

⁵⁰ Rachel King, “The Beads with Which We Pray,” p. 157.

⁵¹ Cited in King, p. 167.

⁵² King, p. 169.

⁵³ Henri Bresc, “De sang et d’or,” p. 219.

⁵⁴ A.S.R., Not. A.C. b., 2684, ff. 159r–159v. The Italian text reads: “Una corona di coralli meranelli di quindic’ imposte con perlette orientali tra i paternostri, e sono in tutte le perlette trentaquattro con un’ornamento d’oro smaltato con S. Veronica, et il Volto Santo, che serve per medaglia.” The *Volto Santo* was the Sudarium of St. Veronica, a piece of cloth imprinted with the representation of Christ’s face, and the most revered relic in St. Peters.

⁵⁵ Martin, p. 49.

⁵⁶ John Evelyn, *Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn*, pp. 96–97: “In a little obscure place cancelled in with yron worke, is the Pillar or Stump at which they relate our Bl. Saviour was scourged, being full of bloody spots, at which the devout sex are always rubbing their chaplets, and convey their kisses by a stick having a tassel on it.”

⁵⁷ B.A.V., Cod. Cappon. 260, f. 92.

⁵⁸ B.A.V., Cod. Cappon. 260, f. 92v. The Italian text reads: “6.0 Tiratoro—Crocì toccate al S.to Sepolcro con li suoi piedi di legno interziate di madre perla—Sepolcri, overo modelli del S.to Sepolcro interziati pure di madre perla” (In the sixth drawer—crosses touched to the Holy Sepulcher with their feet of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl—Sepulchers, or rather models of the Holy Sepulcher also inlaid with mother-of-pearl).

⁵⁹ A.S.R., Notai Tribunale A.C., successor Malvetij, vol. 4062, f. 218v. The Italian text reads: “Un modelletto di legno del Santo Sepolcro con diversi reliquie” (A small wooden model of the Holy Sepulcher with various reliquaries).

⁶⁰ A.S.R., Notai Tribunale A.C., successor Malvetij, vol. 4062, f. 218v. The Italian text reads: “Crocette diverse di legno n.o otto,” “Un’ Involto di carta con diverse Corone di mistura,” “Quattro Cerchietti d’oro smaltato, ch’hanno toccate le Reliquie di S. Gio: Batta in Malta,” “Dui Cerchietti che hanno toccato il SS. Sudario e d’oro” (“Various wooden crosses number[ing] eight,” “a rool of papers with various mixed rosaries,” “four circlets of enameled gold, that touched the relics of Giovanni Battista in Malta”).

⁶¹ *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, p. 27.

⁶² B.A.V., Cod. Cappon. 260, f. 92r. The Italian text reads: “Una scatoletta col Fazzoletto da calice del Card.le Belarmine—una scatola con la Corona del med.o Card.le” (A small box with a clico handkerchief of Cardinal Bellarmine—a box with a rosary [owned] by the same Cardinal).

⁶³ A.S.R., Not.A.C., vol. 2684 (Inventory of Principessa Facchenetti Pamphilij), f. 158v. The Italian text reads: “Un morte piccola d’oro smaltato di bianco con una lunetta d’oro, e due perretini d’oro con Croce bianca smaltata, pesano in tutto due denari, e sei grani.” Extant English examples demonstrate that the practice of wearing a miniature pendant coffin with a skeleton inside it as a *memento mori* was quite common, often as an explicit reminder of the death of King Charles I. In some examples, the coffin opens to reveal a decomposing corpse, with maggots crawling over it.

⁶⁴ Inventory of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, 1626–31 as cited in Lavin, p. 75 (fol. 12r). The Italian text reads: “Un cassetino coperto di nero, con dentro una morte d’avorio di mezzo palmo incirca.” Italics added.

⁶⁵ Heidi Rae Cooley, “It’s All About the Fit,” pp. 133–55.

⁶⁶ Cooley, p. 137.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Archivio di Stato di Roma (A.S.R.) Not.A.C., vol. 2684 (Inventory of Principessa Facchenetti Pamphilij).
- Archivio di Stato di Roma (A.S.R.), Notai Tribunale AC, successor Malvetij, vol. 4062.
- Biblioteca Angelica, Rome (B.A.), Ms 1659 (will of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino).
- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (B.A.V.), Cod. Cappon. 260 (“Inventario dei beni ereditari della chiar. mem: dell’Em.mo Sig.re Cardinal Massimi”).

Secondary Sources

- Ahmed, Sarah. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.
- Auriemma, Tomaso. *Affetti scambievoli tra la Vergine Santissima, e suoi divoti*. Venice: 1712.
- Bacci, Francesca and David Melcher, eds. *Art and the Senses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Bellarmino, Robert. *A Short Christian Doctrine*. Translated into English. Saint-Omer: Widow of C. Boscard, 1633.
- Blunt, Anthony. *Artistic Theory in Italy: 1450–1660*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.
- Bresc, Henri. “De sang et d’or. Traces artistiques et archéologiques du corail medieval et moderne.” In *Corallo di ieri, corallo di oggi*, edited by Jean-Paul Morel, Cecilia Rondi-Costanzo, and Daniela Ugolini, pp. 217–24. Edipuglia: Bari, 2000.
- Bury, Michael. *The Print in Italy 1550–1620*. London: The British Museum Press, 2001.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987.
- Carroll, Michael P. “Praying the Rosary: The Anal-Erotic Origins of a Popular Catholic Devotion.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 26, no. 4 (1987): pp. 486–98.
- Churchill, John, ed. *Collections of Voyages and Travels*. London: Printed by assignment from Messrs Churchill for Henry Lintot; and John Osborn, at the Golden-bell in Pater-noster Row, 1746.
- Cooley, Heidi Rae. “It’s All About the Fit: The Hand, the Mobile Screenic Device, and Tactile Vision.” *Journal of Visual Culture* 3 (2004): pp. 133–55.
- De Boer, Wietse and Christine Göttler, eds. *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013.
- De Granada, Luis. *Of Prayer and Meditation: Containing foureteene Meditations, for the seven days of the Weeke ...* Eliz. All.de and to be sold by Robert Allat at the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard: London: 1633.
- De Roa, Martin. *Antiguedad veneracion i fruto de las sagradas imagenes i reliquias: Historias i exenplos a este proposito*. Seville: Por Gabriel Ramos Vejarano, 1623.
- Evelyn, John. *Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn*. Edited by William Bray. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1870.
- Evennett, H. Outram *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*. Edited by John Bossy. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970 [1968].
- Falkenburg, Reindert L., Walter S. Melion, and Todd M. Richardson, eds. *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

- Hall, Marcia and Tracy Cooper, eds. *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Hallet, Nicky. *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600–1800*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Kerr, Hugh Thomson. *Famous Conversion Experiences*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983.
- Kimmel, Seth. “‘No milagro, milagro’: The Early Modern Art of Effective Ritual.” *MLN (Hispanic Issue)* 128, no. 2 (2013): pp. 433–44.
- King, Rachel. “‘The Beads with Which We Pray Are Made from It’: Devotional Ambers in Early Modern Italy.” In *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Wieste De Boer and Christine Göttler. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Krüger, Klaus. “Authenticity and Fiction: On the Pictorial Construction of Inner Presence in Early Modern Italy.” In *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Reindert L. Falkenburg, Walter S. Melion, and Todd M. Richardson, pp. 37–69. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- Lavin, Marilyn A. *Seventeenth Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- The Little Flowers and the Life of Saint Francis with the Mirror of Perfection*. London and New York: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd and E. P. Dutton and Co., 1912 [1910].
- Martin, Gregory. *Roma Sancta*. Edited by George Bruner Parks. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969.
- Mitchell, Nathan D. *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2009.
- Olin, John C. “The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola.” *Church History* 48, no. 4 (1979), pp. 387–97.
- Padre Fra’ Tomaso di Giesu. *Compendio dell’oratione mentale*. Rome: Nella Stamperia di Giacomo Fei, 1652.
- Paleotti, Gabriele. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. Translated by William McCuaig. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2012.
- Piccolino, Marco and Nicholas J. Wade. “Galileo Galilei’s Vision of the Senses.” *Trends in Neurosciences* 31, no. 11 (2008): pp. 585–90.
- Piccolino, Marco and Nicolas J. Wade. *Galileo’s Visions: Piercing the Spheres of the Heavens by Eye and Mind*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Quiviger, Francois. *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Rambuss, Richard. *Closet Devotions*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Sanger, Alice and S. T. Kulbrandstad Walker, eds. *Art and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Skippon, Phillip. *An Account of a Journey thro’ Part of the Low Countries* In *Collections of Voyages and Travels*, edited by John Churchill, vol. 6, pp. 361–736. London: Printed by assignment from Messrs Churchill for Henry Lintot; and John Osborn, at the Golden-bell in Pater-noster Row, 1746.
- Spence, Charles. “The Multisensory Perception of Touch.” In *Art and the Senses*, edited by Francesca Bacci, and David Melcher, pp. 85–106. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. Edited by Charles Seager. London: Charles Dolman, 1847.

- St. Ignatius of Loyola, *Powers of Imagining: Collected Works*. Translated by Antonio T. De Nicolas. New York: State University of New York Press, 1986.
- Steinberg, Leo. *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*. London: Faber and Faber, 1984.
- Talvacchia, Bette. "The Word made Flesh: Spiritual Subjects and Carnal Depictions in Renaissance Art." In *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, edited by Marcia Hall and Tracy Cooper, pp. 49–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Viladesau, Richard. *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation*. Oxford, New York, and Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Walsheim, Alexandra. "Introduction: Relics and Remains." *Past and Present* supp. 5 (2010): pp. 9–36.
- Waterworth, J., ed. and trans. *Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*. London: Dolman, 1848.

Chapter 12

Hannibal: Baroque Horror Vacui and the Theater of Senses

Angela Ndalianis

Introduction

The television series *Hannibal* (NBC, 2013–15) is, without doubt, one of the most powerfully affect-driven shows ever to grace the television screen. *Hannibal* not only inflicts a cacophony of sensory assaults on the characters that inhabit its dark narrative universe, but also extends these assaults to the audience who participates in the world it has to offer. Showrunner Bryan Fuller understands the power that vision and sound have in orchestrating a synesthetic attack on the audience by triggering sensations from the other senses of taste, touch, and smell. The tastes synesthetically evoked by the spectacle of Hannibal's decadent feasts; the array of corpses that are displayed like performance-art pieces; the disturbing musical noises that haunt the mind of the viewer and compete with the refined sounds of Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart—all collaboratively work to absorb the "viewer" on the level of the sensorium.

The baroque is renowned for its affective charge. Entering a baroque church such as the Gesù in Rome, for example, the worshipper would have experienced the sacred space as a theater that was created to engage the senses. In addition to being greeted by the spectacular illusionistic ceiling fresco "Triumph of the Name of Jesus" by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, and the grandiose architecture of the St. Ignatius Chapel on the left (designed by Andrea Pozzo), the worshipper would have experienced the sounds of organs, lutes, bassoons, and vocalists during Vespers and Mass, the taste of the Eucharist, and the scents of incense and the burning wax of candles. As Lisa Beaven explains in her essay in this anthology, the senses also played an important role in the touch and smell of rosary beads, which were sometimes made of aromatic woods.

While its media methods vary greatly, to experience *Hannibal* is also to become immersed in a neo-baroque theater that is intent on creating a disturbing feast for the senses that simultaneously makes the spectator as much as the show's characters co-victims of Hannibal's machinations. The character of Hannibal Lecter, renowned psychiatrist and infamous cannibal serial killer, is driven by a desire to experience—both intellectually and affectively—every extreme state that life and death have to offer. To borrow Claude Lévi-Strauss's term, *Hannibal* is both "the raw and the cooked."¹ The savage and the cultured, and the disgusting and the sublime are no longer opposites but instead

the extremes of both thrust together in an experiment that is about testing the limits of human experience—the ultimate limit being life and death—within a highly theatricalized drama designed by the main character, Hannibal Lecter.

This essay analyzes both *Hannibal* the television show and Hannibal the character as expressions of a neo-baroque theatricality that have much in common with the historical baroque's fascination with the concept of "theater of the world," which, in turn, is intent on actively engaging the participant through multiple senses. I examine the ways in which Hannibal creates a theater of his external and internal worlds, while in the process testing the relationship between reality and illusion. In this theater, Hannibal plays the role of performer, artist, and creator, and he sees the lives of individuals who occupy his world as tools or unwary performers that he manipulates as a director would a play or a film. Hannibal makes a sensory theater out of his own psychotic, internal reality and forces it to perform in the external reality of the world he inhabits through the characters with which he interacts. In his role as creator, Hannibal's hubris is such that he sees himself as a god-like figure. Seasons 1 and 2 hint at Hannibal's grand vision as competitor to God; however, in Season 3 the audience is granted further insight into his methods and it becomes clear that Hannibal is intent on creating his own universe, one in which he explicitly and deliberately adopts the role of anti-God. In episode 1 of Season 3 ("Antipasto"), for example, not only does one of his victims, Abel Gideon, state that Hannibal is the personification of the Devil, but also that Hannibal—in his new role as curator at the Capponi Library in the Palazzo Capponi delle Rovinate, Florence—embraces this new role with passion. Driving this point home visually, as Hannibal presents a lecture about Dante's *Inferno* to the *studiolo* of academics in Florence, his figure merges with a slide projection of Cornelis Galle I's etching of *Lucifer*.² Hannibal is aware of the performances he stages and the persona he creates for himself as omnipotent being; in doing so, he creates a baroque theater out of the Truth according to Hannibal. The series progressively undermines and questions all manifestations of what might be "reality" by forcing the narrative world, characters, and the viewers to succumb to the seductive (and not always apparent) illusions and delusions conjured by Hannibal Lecter.

Hannibal, it will be argued, is baroque in the way it deliberately references baroque themes and conventions—the *Wunderkammer*, the Dutch still-life and *vanitas* painting tradition, the concept of the baroque theater of the world, a baroque horror vacui that fills space with bizarre and monstrous spectacles, and performativity that confuses reality and illusion. But the series is also neo-baroque in the way it assimilates its sources, reinvents them using the tools available to television production, and gives expression to an affective world that could only be the product of our times.

Baroque Horror Vacui

In his book *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities*, David R. Castillo argues that the Aristotelian concept of *kenophobia/κενοφοβία* or *horror vacui*—the fear of the void or empty space—was especially dominant in the seventeenth century.³ The discoveries of the Scientific Revolution radically transformed human understanding in the fields of mathematics, optics, astronomy, and mechanical philosophy; and the most radical change resulted from the so-called “new sciences” proving Copernicus’s theory that, rather than occupying a space at the center of the universe, the Earth was in fact one of many planets that revolved around the Sun. As I have argued elsewhere, “the Scientific Revolution gave validity to the conception of an infinite universe, and one manifestation of the infinite was found in the baroque interest in space, especially as articulated in *quadratura* painting.”⁴ Through *quadratura*, the illusionistic depiction of alternative, extended realities was taken to new limits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Empty space was replaced by co-extensive spaces that played with and collapsed the boundary that separated reality from the illusions that filled the void. Castillo explains that “the issue of the nature of space and the possibility of a vacuum was one of the most important foundational issues in seventeenth-century physics.”⁵ Philosophers of the period—including Adrien Auzout, Giovan Battista Baliani, Evangelista Torricelli, Gaspard Berti, Isaac Beeckman, and Blaise Pascal—performed experiments aimed at proving or disproving the existence of the vacuum or void. Was “space” empty? Did nothingness exist? As scientific experimentation attempted to prove (or disprove) that a void contained (or didn’t contain) substance or matter, for philosophers and artists this was a question of existential crisis.

As Castillo explains, the concept of baroque horror vacui extended to other arts, and more explicitly engaged with the meaning of “horror” through a curiosity for monstrosity, the fantastic, and the macabre. This curiosity was not only displayed in literature of the Spanish Golden Age (ca. 1550–1680), which produced works “devoted to the compilation of all manner of curiosities ... pitched as entertainment for a mixed audience with a taste for the odd, the shocking, and the rare,” but also in the growing number of *Wunderkammer* collections and theaters of anatomy and the macabre that appeared across Europe.⁶

“Symptoms of the baroque horror (vacui),” Castillo states, “continue to haunt our own era.”⁷ Rather than viewing examples such as “virtual reality and staged authenticity as recent developments of the postmodern age,” Castillo traces back the early modern roots of twentieth- and twenty-first-century horror vacui to the period of the historical baroque—a period renowned for its love of populating the vast empty spaces of wall and ceiling surfaces with illusionistic frescoes that defied and denied emptiness by transforming it into dynamic spaces that deceptively appeared to extend emptiness into “everythingness.”⁸ Furthermore, the “Age of Discovery,” which had begun in the fifteenth

century, and the colonization of the Americas, parts of Asia, India, and Africa, introduced Europeans to exotic new species of animals and plant life, and to new races. In their influential book, *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150–1750* Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston present a comprehensive account of the ways in which Europeans processed their exposure to these new discoveries, often translating and re-presenting beings that were part of a natural order as monstrous and bizarre. Beginning in the fifteenth century and flourishing in the seventeenth, numerous texts were published that described such creatures, often including illustrations. Ambroise Paré's *Des Monstres (On Monsters and Marvels)* (1573–85), Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum Historia* (1642), Gaspar Schott's *Physica Curiosa* (1662), Arnold Montanus's *Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld (The New and Unknown World)* (1671)—these among many others opened up the possibility of new worlds and fantastic creatures that altered human understanding of the “real,” natural world. Not only was the reality of Earth and its place in the universe under scrutiny, but also the nature of material reality itself was uncertain. Stephen Hessel argues that such anxieties are manifest during the seventeenth century in “proto-horror stories [that] ... lay bare the cause of the preoccupation itself; typically a preoccupation that comes from an aspect of a society in crisis ... The vacui functions as an absence or aporia that must be navigated through its aesthetic manifestations, which typically consist of labyrinthine abundance. This is the typically known nature of the baroque aesthetic.”⁹

In the case of *Hannibal* there are certainly many signs of a society in crisis—one obsessed with materiality and the branded elitism of consumer culture—but for the purpose of this essay, the crisis I shall examine is one of internal, psychological turmoil, one that Hannibal refuses to acknowledge. Like Alonso Quixano, who performs the mad fantasies and illusions of Don Quixote, Hannibal Lecter fashions himself into a fantastic being and projects his turmoil onto the world around him, exposing the people with whom he interacts to his Hannibalesque reality. But it's not the realization of the existence of a vast, empty universe that gives shape to Hannibal's void. Instead, it's a psychological trauma he experienced at a young age. Hannibal's horror vacui stems from a childhood trauma relating to his sister Mischa. The novel *Hannibal Rising* (2006) by Thomas Harris provides a casebook trigger to Hannibal's serial cannibalism: in 1944 deserter Soviet soldiers—and Nazi sympathizers—capture Hannibal and his sister in their home in Lithuania, and Hannibal bears witness to them eating his sister. The trauma creates a void in Hannibal's mind that he fills with a desire to repeat the act with other victims.

Hannibal the television series alters Harris's canon by providing little narrative information about the motivation that made Hannibal what he is. Instead, in Season 3 we are told that a mysterious man who is still held prisoner in a cage in the old Lecter castle in Lithuania was responsible for doing harm to Mischa. The specifics of the harm caused are never explained, but the episode “Secondo” (3:3) reveals that it was Hannibal who ate his sister. As Hannibal says, “nothing happened to me. I happened.” This revelation dehumanizes Hannibal, transforming him into a powerful force of nature that fol-

lows different rules from the rest of humanity. Hannibal attempts to fill and replace the horror vacui created by his act of sister-cannibalism—and by the ultimate nothingness that is death—by repeating and refining the act, creating himself as all-powerful in the process. For Hannibal, the serial repetition becomes an explicitly neo-baroque horror vacui staged as theater—Hannibal’s theater. The world becomes pliable in Hannibal’s hands and, with true baroque virtuosity, he strives to outperform his meticulously orchestrated performances: his killings; the displays of his victims; the creation of haute cuisine dishes that often include his victims; the performance he plays as Hannibal to his group of friends and acquaintances; and the roles he forces his friends and patients to perform for him with the help of hypnotism and drug cocktails. And for the series *Hannibal*, the serial form becomes a powerful tool that seduces the viewer, week after week, enveloping us into its world of beguiling characters, stylistic eccentricities, and theatrical performances.

Wunderkammer, Theater, and the Senses

As will be discussed below, Hannibal’s connection to the tradition of *Wunderkammer* and the theatricalization of the world is explicit in the series. His taste for the bizarre and monstrous is played out in the aesthetically charged displays of his victims and in the decadent feasts he prepares for his guests—feasts that, unbeknown to his guests, often include human flesh. The walls of his home are covered in art and bizarre paraphernalia that are arranged with meticulous care. Hannibal’s social mask is very much that of the seventeenth century “man of reputation.” Discussing the man of reputation, Castillo turns to the writings of seventeenth-century Spanish Jesuit, writer, and philosopher Baltasar Gracián y Morales that are presented in Morales’s grand opus *El Criticón* (1651–57). For Gracián:

The true men of excellence are those “bizarre subjects” [*sujetos bizarros*] who command the fascinated attention of others ... The word *bizarro*, which was once associated with negative moral qualities (ire and a hot or volatile temper), is used in the seventeenth century by authors such as Baltasar Gracián and Luis de Góngora, and also in the context of the theatre, to describe curious or peculiar appearance and behaviour explicitly aimed at attracting the attention of the public. Paraphrasing Gracián, we could say that those who aspire to shine in the courtly ... “theatres of reputation” ... must surround themselves with rare, awe-inspiring objects and equally fascinating personalities. While the Jesuit’s frame of reference is the Spanish court of the 1600s in which ostentation literally rules the land, his reflections on the functioning of the baroque “theatres of reputation” have found currency in our own postmodern worldly theatres.¹⁰

Gracián refers especially to the social masks adopted and the roles performed by “men of reputation” in the courts of Spain. Reputations relied on the performance of individuals



Figure 12.1. François Boucher's *Leda and the Swan* (ca. 1740) displayed on Hannibal's mantelpiece. © NBC. Screen grab. Fair use.

who displayed their uniqueness and bizarritry through their *Wunderkammer* collections, art collections, and cultured personalities.¹¹

In the episode “Dolce” (3:6), Hannibal admits to Will Graham, an FBI empath consultant, that “Florence is where I became a man.” The comment is loaded. Florence is where he acquired his refined taste for and knowledge of high culture, where he spent his early days seated in front of Sandro Botticelli's *Primavera* (ca. 1477–82) at the Uffizi, mesmerized while also trying to re-create the image in drawings. This is Hannibal's mask as he performs in the world: the cultured man, the man of taste, the man of reputation. Hannibal's role within the theater of reputation includes his role as collector of fine art. His vision is attuned to the refined beauty of art: the walls of his home are littered with Old Master prints and paintings, including François Boucher's erotic depiction of *Leda and the Swan* (figure 12.1). His bedroom includes an exquisitely designed Edo-period samurai warrior armor piece, and in his study hangs a triptych of ukiyo-e prints from early nineteenth-century Japan by Utagawa Kunisada that depict three *kabuki* actors performing in the play *Tales of Genji*. Hannibal's refined tastes are reflected in his classical music collection, which includes a prominent passion for the works of baroque composers, such as Rameau, Bach, Handel, Vivaldi, Beethoven, and Mendelsohn, among others. As one writer in *Rolling Stone* notes, Hannibal is “an aloof demigod with perfect manners and a killer wardrobe.”¹²

There are few who have seen Hannibal unmasked. Descartes, addressing philosophers of the sciences, wrote that they “are at present masked, but if the masks were taken off, they would be revealed in all their beauty.”¹³ When Hannibal removes his mask he does, indeed, reveal his capacity for beauty but a beauty that is wondrous, horrific, and monstrous. The unmasked Hannibal takes the characteristics of the man of reputation to new extremes by transferring and transforming his penchant for high culture into the diabolical art of his own creations, which are, to use Gracián’s term, “bizarre subjects.” When Hannibal refers to Florence making him a man, he refers not only to his status as a well-cultured man, but also to the fact that it was in Florence that he first merged his roles as art lover and cannibal serial killer. Hannibal’s “truth” is that, in the process, he became a very unique kind of artist. In the episode “Primavera” (3:2), for example, the Commendatore Rinaldo Pazzi reveals to Will that he met a young Hannibal twenty years earlier at the Uffizi when he saw Hannibal drawing Zephyrus about to capture the nymph Chloris from Botticelli’s *Primavera* (plate 18, p. xxix). The police investigator explains that this work of art inspired “il Mostro” (“the Monster”)—the young Hannibal—to display his two victims theatrically in positions that resembled those of Zephyrus and Chloris in the painting (plate 19, p. xxx).¹⁴

Hannibal’s vision and taste for art and aesthetics move beyond that of onlooker to active participant and creator. We witness his artistic flair not only in the numerous sketches he draws and music he plays, but also in the victims he transforms into artistic displays that announce to the world the virtuosic performances of Hannibal the serial killer, otherwise known as the Chesapeake Ripper. His passion for the Renaissance may shine through but Hannibal’s *modus operandi* is baroque—his performative obsession with the concept of horror vacui through his creations, his perception of the world as theater, and his deceptive blurring of the borders that separate illusion from reality. Throughout the series, Hannibal mentions acquiring experiences for his “memory palace.” The *Wunderkammer* of this man of reputation extends beyond the walls of his home to enter the world around him. Hannibal litters this world with his creations, which are diabolical curiosities displayed for the world to see and experience, and for Hannibal to store in his expanding memory palace.

In the anthology *Theatrum Scientiarum*, a number of authors discuss the theatrical nature of the *Wunderkammer*, theaters of anatomy, and collections of anatomical drawings. Helmar Schramm explains that during the seventeenth century there was “an interplay between Kunstkammer, laboratory, and stage,”¹⁵ and, more generally, an “obfuscation of defining boundaries of ‘theatre.’”¹⁶ As early as 1599, the frontispiece of the *Historia Naturale*, which displays the collector Ferrante Imperato, depicts “actors [who] mostly occupy the foreground and mediate from here between the viewer of the book page and the exhibits ... They present a link with the viewer but at the same time confirm the Wunderkammern as an autonomous stage.”¹⁷ True to the baroque, Hannibal brings together art, science, and theater, collapsing the boundaries that were later

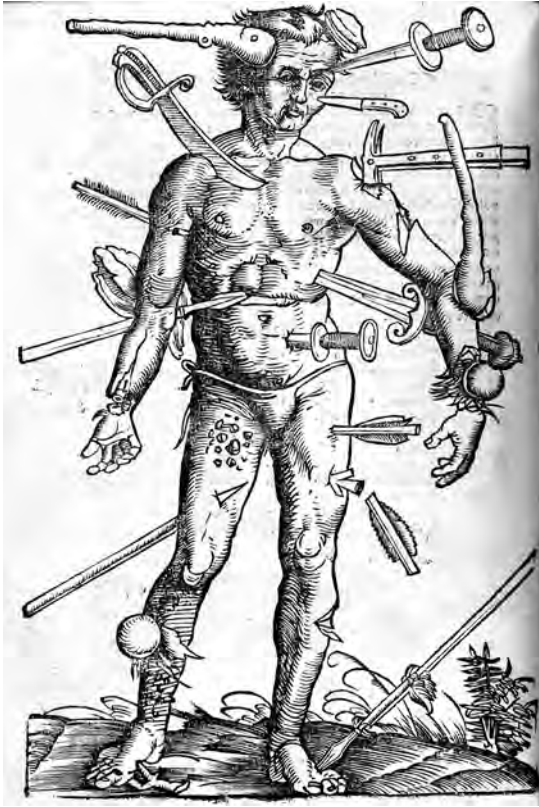


Figure 12.2. “Wound Man” from Hans von Gersdorff’s *Feldtbuch der Wundartzney* (*Fieldbook of Wound Surgery*), Strasburg, 1519. Public domain.

enforced during the Enlightenment, in the process creating a *Theatrum Mundi*—theater of the world.

One of Hannibal’s productions is the actual embodiment of the “Wound Man,” which first appears in “Entrée” (1:6).¹⁸ This popular image of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represented the fusion of art and science, and showed the body pierced by a variety of weapons that a physician might have to treat (figure 12.2). Miriam Lass, the trainee FBI agent, discovers one of Hannibal’s sketches of a “Wound Man” based on the actual murder of Jeremy Olmstead, one of Hannibal’s previous patients and victims. Hannibal repeats his “Wound Man” creation in “Yakimono” (2:7) when he frames the psychiatrist Dr. Chilton as the Chesapeake Ripper (figure 12.3). In “Mukōzuke” (2:5), Hannibal experiments with contemporary art: the body of Beverly Katz the crime lab scientist is found dissected vertically into six pieces and

displayed in glass cases in a composition reminiscent of Damien Hirst’s animal works, particularly *Mother and Child (Divided)*.¹⁹

Hannibal is a *bricoleur* who calls upon his skills as a man of medicine to deconstruct and reassemble the pieces with which he has to work. Somewhere between his medical knowledge of the human anatomy and his cultured taste for art a transformation occurs, and his victims metamorphose into wondrous and horrifying artistic displays that also function as scientific curiosities worthy of a man of reputation. In Hannibal’s theater of the world, he combines his roles as cannibalistic serial killer, haute cuisine (cannibal) chef, artist and musician, scientist, and connoisseur of fine art and music. His killing and cannibalism are great creations that Hannibal perceives as pure acts of art informed by science, which tell a story about art and the senses, death, and life.

Discussing the growth in anatomical theaters in the sixteenth century, which became even more popular in the seventeenth century, Ludger Shwarte draws attention



Figure 12.3.
Hannibal's reconstruction of the "Wound Man," which he creates to frame the psychiatrist Dr. Chilton as the Chesapeake Ripper ("Yakimono," 2:7, *Hannibal* © NBC, 2013–15). Screen grab. Fair use.

to the "performativity of spaces" that aimed at "the production of experience."²⁰ Anatomy theaters, in a similar manner to anatomical publications such as those by Dutch anatomists Govert Bidloo (*Anatomia humani corporis* [1685]) and Frederik Ruysch (*Thesaurus Anatomicus* [1701–9]), were highly theatricalized. As Benjamin Schmidt explains, the theaters were performed entrepreneurially, operating as medical spaces in which anatomical dissections and displays were performed for an audience, but also as anatomical collections that displayed skeletons and other objects.²¹ As is visible in the engraving of the Leiden Anatomical Theater by Willem Swanenburgh (1610), the audience witnessed the display of a corpse while surrounded by skeletons of diverse animals, which emblematically performed the concept of *momento mori*—a reminder of the inevitability of death (figure 12.4).²² "The production of the experience" was, therefore, one aimed at using theatrical strategies to produce intense affective responses in the viewer who had entered the stage, a viewer who, through affect also became a participant.²³

For Hannibal—both the character and the television series—the limits of the human experience demand the active participation of all the senses, which Hannibal has fine-tuned and orchestrated to succumb to his will. Hannibal constructs his theater in the world he inhabits. His anatomical theaters—comprising his art-serial killings—find an audience in the FBI and the forensic division, whose role it is to deconstruct and understand the artistic motivation behind the murder and display. The intention of Hannibal's theater is to incite the senses. He is a master of the human sensorium, and explores the most heightened possibilities of its expression. Hannibal's hands and mouth

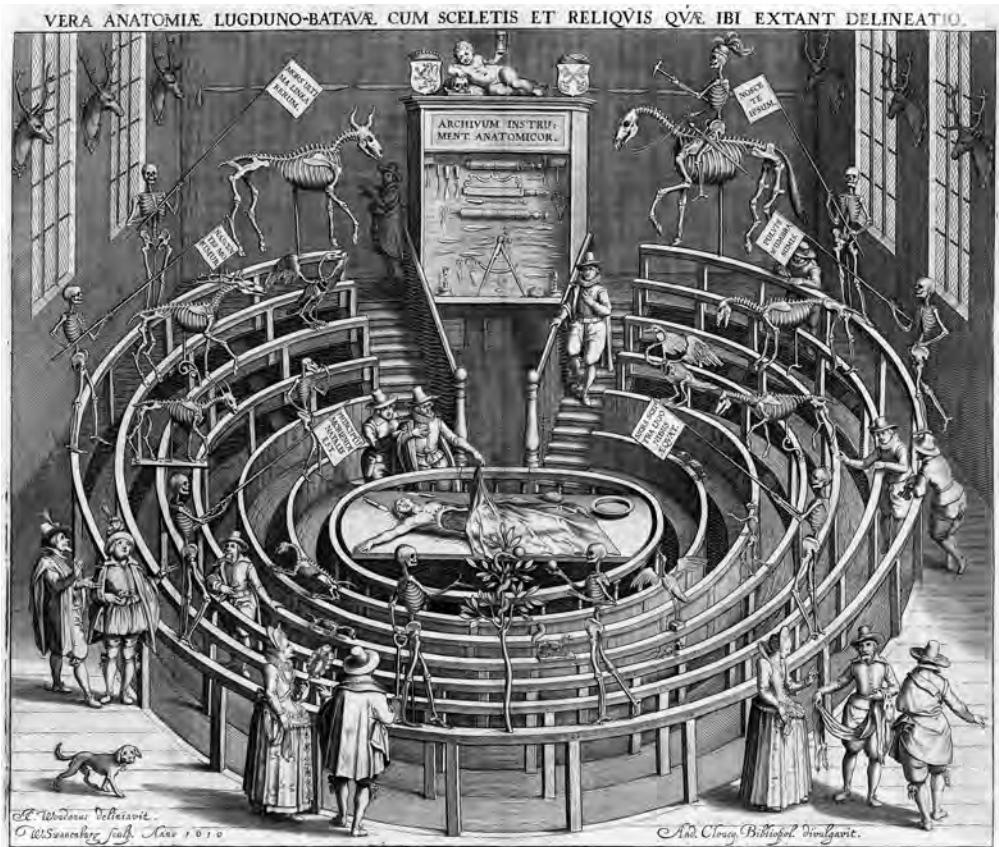


Figure 12.4. *Vera Anatomia* (Anatomical Theater) at the University in Leiden. Copperplate engraving by Willem Swanenburgh after Johannes Woudanus, 1610. © British Museum.

have touched and tasted things of his own creation that are the stuff of nightmares for the everyday individual. This is a man whose highly sensitized nose smelled the presence of cancer on his teacher at the ripe-old age of twelve, and then again on Bella, the wife of FBI agent Jack Crawford, years later, as seen in the episode “Coquilles” (1:5).

Consider the scenes that precede and include the discovery of the victim crafted into a “Tree Man” (“Hutamono” 2:6). In the third scene of the episode, we see Hannibal in his kitchen with Dr. Alana Bloom as Hannibal slices into a heart. His hands and fingers caress the heart as each piece is splayed out onto the carving board. The sight of Hannibal’s actions triggers in the audience a synesthetic connection to the sense of touch. Meanwhile, the scene is overlaid by the soft sounds of Mendelssohn’s “Songs Without Words” (Op. 85, No. 4 in D major). The music gently suggests that here we witness the cultured Hannibal, a Hannibal intent on displaying his advanced gastronomic skills.

We cut to a close-up of Hannibal's face, which we also recognize as marking a shift to a new scene, and the knowing smirk that appears across his lips is further echoed by a shift to the dark, disturbing experimental music of the show's sound designer, Brian Reitzell. An arrhythmic collection of bells ringing, clangs, bangs, and piano runs takes over in a frenzied crescendo, wiping out the comfort of the lulling melodies of Mendelssohn. Hannibal's fingers flip through his Rolodex, which contains the business cards of his numerous victims. The movement echoes Hannibal's fingers playing a harpsichord in the same episode, as he writes his own musical piece. He stops at the card of Sheldon Isley, councillor of the Baltimore City Council, who we later discover had ordered that a forest containing an endangered songbird be torn down and replaced by a parking lot. Hannibal then pulls out his recipe card for steak and kidney pie.

A cut to an extreme close-up of Hannibal's eye reveals a reflection of a montage of flowers that open their blooms, accompanied by the sounds of Reitzell's frantic music. In *Sonic Warfare*, Steve Goodman argues that "sound has a seductive power to caress the skin, to immerse, to sooth, beckon, and heal," but it can also have the opposite effect of assaulting and disturbing the mind and body.²⁴ Influenced by the experimental music of Japanese composer Toru Takemitsu, an influence that is particularly noticeable in Season 2, Reitzell's distressing, atonal scores are improvised in real time while watching and reacting to each episode in order to capture his "first gut response."²⁵ While Hannibal performs the role of cultured aesthete and aficionado of the high-culture melodies of classical music (while also creating similar melodies on his harpsichord), the wild, discordant rhythms of Reitzell's score now inform us that the savage Hannibal, stripped of the theatricality of bourgeois taste and refinement, is now beginning another of his productions.

As the camera zooms out, we realize that the flowers reflected in Hannibal's pupil no longer place Hannibal in his kitchen. The beauty of the unraveling blooms and their synesthetically induced scents continue to be paralleled by dissonant, abrasive noises that confuse the viewer, but soon the dissonance is resolved and the visual shifts to match the sonic. The camera zooms out further to reveal that the dazzling bouquet of flowers is embedded in a disemboweled corpse that has been grafted onto a tree with blossoms in full bloom—a thing of troubling aesthetic beauty that recalls Vincent Van Gogh's famous tree blossom paintings. With only the lungs visible, it becomes clear that the heart has been replaced by belladonna and a chain of white oleander has transformed into the intestines, while ragwood now takes over the role of liver. The tree, it is revealed, is planted into the broken up asphalt of an abandoned car park—the car park built by Councillor Isley (plate 20, p. xxxi). Later we discover that the victim had been left standing in water for 48–72 hours, his lungs operating like a wet sponge that watered the poisonous bouquet, and that also watered the tree roots that had been grafted into his body. This is the ultimate in bizarrry.

Whether it's Isley's internal organs that were reassembled into a form of fine art cuisine and consumed by Hannibal (and, presumably, Alana Bloom) as part of a steak

and kidney pie, or the metamorphosis of the corpse of Isley into a breathtaking, diabolical theater that gives birth to a new form of hybrid life—a “Tree Man”—for Hannibal the creation of the dinner and the creation of the Tree Man are the same: they are both expressions of his art. As Will—channeling Hannibal—frequently says when he visualizes the murders: “This is my design.” Like all of Hannibal’s perverse killer, cannibalistic, and gastronomic delights, the Tree Man is a performance about his presumed mastery over life and death. As Jack recognizes as he stands at the scene of the Tree Man, “it’s theater. Every time.” It’s a theater that is also a theater about the senses. In addition to sight and sound, which are often viewed as the more cultured senses, Hannibal brings to the fore touch, as well as taste and smell, the two primal senses that were etched into his memory palace as a young boy when he consumed his sister. In the episode “Dolce” (3:6), Hannibal explains to Will before he prepares to kill and eat him, that “taste and smell are the oldest of the senses and closest to the center of the mind ... they can be far more engaging theater.”

Master of the Universe

In *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse*, Kristiaan P. Aercke examines the function of the extravagant theatrical spectacles performed “at the courts of absolute rulers ... for selected courtly audiences, and especially in the middle decades of the seventeenth century.” Performances such as the grand carousel held at Versailles in 1662 for the inauguration of Louis XIV as the Sun King, which included “the ruler (with the court) as a participant, indeed, as an actor,”²⁶ were “primordially to serve the nation’s controlling institution: the absolute monarchy.”²⁷ Baroque theater performances were about the display of power.

One of the objectives of the game was to prove, time and time again, that the Baroque ruling class could indeed correct what it perceived to be the principal defect in Nature: namely, the upsetting fact that without the accouterments invented by Art and Artifice, it is usually impossible to distinguish a king from a valet or a princess from a peasant. The Baroque sensibility thus created a complex strategy to emend Nature’s relative egalitarianism. Together with exuberant perukes and stunning experiments with three-dimensional clothing, the grandiose festive performance was part and parcel of this playful yet serious strategy.²⁸

Specifically, a “key principle in the doctrine of absolute monarchy was precisely the proposed assumption of a direct, though metaphorical (‘as if’) relationship of filiation between the ruler and a divine system.”²⁹ The same may be said of the *Wunderkammer* and anatomical theaters owned by men of reputation: art and artifice combined to display objects from nature, but also to reveal human dominance over nature. The ruler and collector adopted a role akin to God.³⁰

Repeatedly, *Hannibal* invites a blasphemous comparison between Hannibal Lecter and God/Jesus Christ, while also evoking the Antichrist. In “Mukōzuke” (2:5), Hannibal



Figure 12.5. Mason imagines a theater that has Hannibal lying on a dinner table as the main course (“Dolce” 3:6, *Hannibal*, © NBC, 2013–15). Screen grab. Fair Use.

is caught by the serial killer Matthew Brown, who hangs his half-naked body in a manner that recalls the pose of the crucifixion with Hannibal’s arms stretched outwards. In “Primavera” (2:2), Will explains that Hannibal knows God “intimately” and also defies him. In “Futamono” (2:6), Hannibal prepares to feed Dr. Abel Gideon—yet another one of the show’s artistic serial killers—his own thigh. Hannibal explains how he prepared his thigh by wrapping it in clay, which “creates a succulent dish” that “adds a little theatricality to dinner.” Hannibal then paraphrases from the Bible—Job 10:9—placing Gideon in the role of Job when he asks God, “And would You destroy me?” to which Hannibal, as God, replies, “we come from clay, we return to clay.” After a few more exchanges, Gideon asks “you intend me to be my own last supper?” Finally, in the episode “Aperitivo” (3:4), the psychopath Mason Verger, one of Hannibal’s surviving victims, speaks to Cordell, his physician and bodyguard. The following exchange occurs:

Mason: The devout believe that through the miracle of transubstantiation they eat the flesh and blood of Christ.

Cordell: It is an impressive ceremony.

Mason: I need to prepare an even more impressive ceremony with no transubstantiation necessary ... I would like you to begin arrangements for Hannibal Lecter to be eaten alive.

Later, Mason speaks to his psychiatrist, Alana Bloom, who has been assisting in capturing Hannibal. As one of the show's most ambitious psychopaths, Mason Verger sees himself as Hannibal's competitor, and attempts to stage a production befitting the task at hand. As Alana explains: "you're preparing the theater of Hannibal's death. I'm just doing my part to bring him to the stage." Mason imagines a stage, with Hannibal lying on a dinner table as the main course ("Dolce" 3:6) (figure 12.5). However, despite Mason's determination, he soon realizes that Hannibal only stages and performs in his own productions.

Still Life as Theater

Hannibal's most notorious images center on Hannibal's kitchen and dinner table, which are yet another manifestation of his own theatricality and his mastery of it. In the kitchen and dining room, his haute cuisine dishes—which often consist of parts of the victims he displays as art works—are served to unsuspecting guests. Food designer Janice Poon creates the magnificent feasts for the series, while "culinary innovator" José Andrés—named "Outstanding Chef" by the James Beard Foundation in 2011—is the show's food consultant. Patti Podesta, the show's production designer, has described in interviews how Hannibal's house functions as a "dark auditorium," and the kitchen functions as "the shadowy wings for his final performance space." She continues: "If his kitchen is his backstage ... then his dining room is like the completely dressed opulent theater." The theatricality of his dining room, she explains, is further emphasized by "the white modeling across the top of the room [that] frames his table like a proscenium arch."³¹

The theater that is Hannibal's dining room is baroque theater that recalls not the *Wunderkammer*, in this instance, but the baroque still-life. The show's mise en scène and publicity images explicitly turn again and again to the painting tradition of seventeenth-century Dutch still-life. In the above-mentioned display of Hannibal as Mason Verger's dinner, Hannibal is displayed as a *pronkstilleven*—a banquet luxury still-life, which collected and presented a variety of objects, including prepared food. His body, roasted and covered with a hot honey glaze as one would prepare Peking Duck, is surrounded by a rich arrangement of foods and flowers: watermelons, orchids, pineapples, melons, pears, and grapes. In his in-depth study of Dutch still-life paintings, Norman Bryson presents an astute analysis of the meaning and function of this genre of painting in the seventeenth century. The still-life represented the wealth experienced in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, where "the transformations of the Dutch interior in this period are nothing short of spectacular."³² Floral still-life paintings often "combined flowers from different countries and different continents in one vase."³³ They were a *bricolage* that brought together time and space and—much like Hannibal's grisly displays of his victims—sought to seize life into a still image.

In his analysis of Ambrosius Bosschaert's *Bouquet in an Arched Window* (ca. 1618) and other flower still-life paintings, Bryson notes that "while there is a sense of abun-

dance ... the abundance is, surprisingly, not that of nature ... [the artists] conspicuously yoke together varieties that flourish at different times of year.”³⁴

The final painting is a gathering together of often many separate studies, a miscellany that could never exist or have existed in nature. One detects here a certain refusal of natural time and of seasonality that cuts the paintings off from a whole potential lyric register ... All the flowers in the Boschaert exist at precisely the same moment in their life-cycle, when their bloom becomes perfect. The simultaneous perfection of so many flowers from different seasons banishes the dimension of time and breaks the bond between man and the cycles of nature ... But Dutch flower painting takes its place in the same theoretical space which also produced the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, the first museums, those cabinets of natural curiosities whose function was to produce knowledge by arraying objects in a taxonomic or diagrammatic space designed to reveal variation against the background of underlying structure and type.³⁵

Similarly, Hannibal brings together diverse objects to give life to the creations that enter his *Wunderkammer* and memory palace, his aim being to attain “simultaneous perfection.” Bryson explains that with the beginning of industrialization, “the old discourse of ethics, which measures wealth according to moral conduct, is obliged to co-exist alongside a newer perception which substitutes for the term ‘luxury’ the term ‘affluence.’ ‘Luxury’ can never shed its ties to its medieval past, to the idea of psychomache, the battle of the soul against the deadly sins, *luxuria, superbia, vanagloria, voluptas, cupiditas*.”³⁶ He continues: “Affluence assumes that expenditure is not a matter of morals but of style.”³⁷ This is true of how Hannibal performs his life: he defies morality and embraces style. The series *Hannibal* forces morality to become a theme nevertheless.

Recurring *vanitas* motifs of the seventeenth century included flowers, which recall that all life is transitory; hourglasses, which are symbolic of the passing of time; and empty containers such as glasses, vases, and drinking horns, which point to the emptiness of earthly wealth. Still-life paintings present a staged space that incites all the senses, making the representation fire up the human sensorium—hearing, smell, taste, sight, and touch—in order that the message of the materiality and inevitability of death is driven home all the more potently. The *mise en scène* of Hannibal clearly evokes this tradition and the themes associated with it. Aside from the numerous dinner scenes that feature amazing gastronomic delights and still-life arrangements on the table, the publicity shots also drive home the connection (plate 21, p. xxxii). One of the show’s publicity shots presents the cast seated and standing in Hannibal’s dining room, the table decorated with a velvet cloth that is barely visible due to the abundant feast that threatens to spill off the table’s edges. Pomegranates, various meats, figs, silver bowls, a plethora of flowers, seas shells, strings of pearls and, at the front right of the table—where Hannibal dominates the image in the foreground—an enormous lobster, which is a recurring motif in paintings by Willem Kalf (plate 21, p. xxxii), Alexander Coosemans, Frans Snyder, Jans Davidsz de Heem, Abraham Hendrickz van Beyeren, and many others.

The still-life and *vanitas* traditions also intersect with the *memento mori*—“remember death/remember that you will die.” Often featuring images of skulls amid still-life displays, *memento mori* were also reminders of mortality and the vanity of earthly life. In another publicity shot, the producers of the series reveal that they are well aware of the tradition. Hannibal poses with his face leaning on his right hand, which is placed across the top of a skull. Surrounding him is a still-life arrangement of flowers, petals, horns, a book, a silver goblet, and shells. However, if the show’s producers want to deliver a moral message of human mortality, this is one that Hannibal refuses to acknowledge. As mentioned above, this genre was also “not a matter of morals but of style.”³⁸ Hannibal’s still-lives—his artistic corpse arrangements and his magnificent meals—may be still but, in his mind, they are alive. Like the Tree Man, he gives them life through his psychopathic reality.

One of the central characteristics of the baroque concept of the “theater of the world” is that it plays a game that tests the relationship between reality and illusion. This relationship is tested so far in that it is often difficult, in examples from literature, painting, theater, sculpture, architecture, film, and television, to untangle the borders of reality and illusion in order to distinguish one from the other. In the above-mentioned episode “Futamoto” (2:6), following the discovery of the Tree Man, Will visits the scene where the killer (Hannibal) made his creation. Will’s empathic vision replaces Hannibal’s creation with another reality. In his empathic flashback, Will’s vision reveals himself-as-Hannibal replacing the human organs with the flowers—in the process creating his hybrid being, the Tree Man. Hannibal’s creations are still-lives, but they are still-lives with a difference. According to the Theater of Hannibal’s Truth, rather than succumbing to the will of God and the afterlife as is typical of the *vanitas* themes that underscore the genre, they instead succumb to the will of Hannibal, who sees himself as a God, the maker of his own creations. Hannibal’s design is, in a sense, anti-*vanitas*. In his reality there is no decay, no death, just what he calls “evolution” to another way of being—that is, *his* way of being. As Will’s empathic vision continues, however, one of Hannibal’s *vanitas* dinner theaters presents a different reality: a scene of decay and the inevitability of life succumbing to death. Accompanied by Reitzell’s disturbing sounds and screeching violins, an alternative version of Hannibal’s excess is displayed: the array of gastronomic delights that fill the dining table have passed their use-by date and the taste, smell, and touch of rot and decaying food fill the screen, and impact affectively on the audience. As the camera tracks up the table and across the rotting feast, it eventually rests on Stag Man, or the Wendigo—Hannibal’s alter-ego—a mythical creature who could possess characteristics of a human or a monster and who was particularly associated with cannibalism.

In his anthropological study on cannibalism, William Arens outlines the different typologies of cannibalism “according to motives for the act.” In addition to ritual cannibalism and survival cannibalism, gastronomic cannibalism—“where human flesh is eaten for its taste and food value”—is the most prohibited and abominable, posing a threat to the social order.³⁹ In the Tree Man episode, Jack states that “cannibalism is an act of dominance,”

and in Hannibal's case he wants to weaken the boundaries of the social order by creating new rules. Hannibal's art is an art that disgusts. Winfried Menninghaus argues that it was Romanticism in the eighteenth century that made the sensation of disgust appropriate as an aesthetic in art practice.⁴⁰ As the "darkest of the senses," disgust, Menninghaus explains, not only "figures as an extreme subspecies of a modern aesthetics of the 'shocking'" but, for Nietzsche, disgust represented the "hallmark of metaphysical insight."⁴¹ Hannibal can create but cannot bear witness to his creations. Menninghaus explains that "the experience of (artistic) beauty requires distance; paintings, poems, and musical compositions are neither tasted nor smelled nor touched."⁴² Viewed differently, however, disgust invades the body by either directly or indirectly relying on what have traditionally been viewed as the "lower" senses: taste, smell, and touch. Its presence forces proximity rather than distance. In the words of Susan Miller: "Disgust is about dark interiors and moist depths," and focuses "attention on self-boundaries."⁴³ In the case of cannibalism, it is the victim's very identity that disappears because of "the cannibal's perverse appetite and ability to rob the Other of human identity and consume a human body as mere food."⁴⁴

In her study of the aesthetics of disgust, Carolyn Korsmeyer compares disgust with the state of the sublime, particularly as articulated by Edmund Burke. She argues that the "arousal of disgust seems to interrupt aesthetic thrall" that is typical of the sublime.⁴⁵ Rather than invoking states of fear, awe, and wonder that distance the viewer from the sublime art object, "disgust has an aesthetic counterpart of comparable intensity, importance, and meaning."⁴⁶ This counterpart is what she calls "the sublimate." While the sublime and the sublimate both "allude to death" in making the viewer ponder the nature of existence, disgust-arousing art also relies on a response of intense viscerality that is somatically "grounded," and which

also stimulates that curious second look, a perverse dwelling on the properties of the object of disgust ... for the overwhelming affect of disgust is aversion. But it is aversion with a backward glance, lingering over and even savouring its object ... Disgust apprehends not just destruction but reduction—of the noblest life to decaying organic matter in which all traces of individuality are obliterated.⁴⁷

And Korsmeyer concludes that "the counterpart to the sublime glimpse of cosmic power is the sublimate confrontation with the *vulnerability of material nature*."⁴⁸ While captivated by what at first appears to be the sublime entity that is the Tree Man, we are pulled back to the sublimate as our gaze returns to the poisonous bouquet in the man's chest, not wanting to see but nonetheless seeing the lungs that peak out behind it. Reitzell's music insists that we, the spectator, take "that curious second look" that also makes us ponder on absence: the absence of organs that were consumed by Hannibal.

More than any other character in the show, because of his empathic connection with the victims and dual ability to see through the eyes of the killer, Will Graham is powerfully seduced by the second look, that is, Hannibal's sublime look, and Will's

inability to look away tests his own sanity. Will is often our doorway: his visions create horrorscapes that generate a dialogic relationship between the sublime and the sublate—both affective states being the outcome of Hannibal’s creations. In the universe that is *Hannibal* we, much like Will, are like the Tree Man; we become victims, woven intricately into both Hannibal and *Hannibal*’s masterful style and affective power. In his study of baroque theatricality, Egginton argues that “the problem ... is that the subject of knowledge only ever obtains knowledge via his or her senses, via how things appear, and hence the truth thus sought will itself always be corrupted by appearances.”⁴⁹ However, *Hannibal* the series—and the creative team behind it—also draw upon the affective powers of the senses beyond vision. Sounds, as well as the synesthetic connection to the senses of taste, smell, and touch, give the viewer access to the sensation of disgust. Ultimately, it is our ability to engage and bring to the fore all of the senses that allows us to be disgusted and to (attempt to) shatter Hannibal’s Truth—his sublime theater—and replace it with a truth that tells a moral story about *vanitas*, psychosis, and the fragility of human nature. Ultimately, however, *Hannibal* the series, its characters, and we—the viewer—succumb to the seductiveness of the theater of Hannibal’s baroque horror vacui.

Theatrum Mundi: Nothing is What It Appears to Be

William Egginton argues that the baroque “theatricalization of space ... is the common problem at the heart of a philosophical understanding of the Baroque.”⁵⁰ Egginton sees the neo-baroque not as a return of the baroque but rather as a phenomenon that must be “understood as the aesthetic counterpart to a problem of thought that” began with “modernity, stretching from the sixteenth century to the present.” The baroque, he argues, is a “problem of thought ... that affects or unsettles an entire culture in the largest possible sense, that permeates its very foundations and finds expression in its plastic art, in its stories and performances, in its philosophy as well as in its social organization and politics.”⁵¹ He continues:

The Baroque puts the incorruptible truth of the world that underlies all ephemeral and deceptive appearances on centre stage, making it the ultimate goal of all inquiry; in the same vein, however, the Baroque makes a theatre out of truth, by incessantly demonstrating that truth can only ever be an effect of the appearances from which we seek to free it.⁵²

The theater of truth in *Hannibal* becomes increasingly difficult to untangle as the series progresses into its third and final season. The world as reality and the world as illusion begin to collapse in on one another; historical fact merges into *Hannibal* fiction; identities begin to blur (as Will tells Hannibal, “you and I have begun to blur” [3:6]); and space and time collapse in on one another.

Earlier, I mentioned the association of Hannibal with the actual serial killer “il Mostro di Firenze” (the monster of Florence) who, between 1968 and 1985 near Florence,

murdered sixteen people (fourteen if the 1968 killings are not included as Il Mostro's victims). In *Hannibal*, Chief Inspector Pazzi (who is modeled on Commissario Ruggero Perugini who investigated the crimes) tells Jack Crawford that il Mostro and Hannibal are one and the same, and that the Botticelli-inspired murders (plate 20, p. xxx) of the couple who, in death, performed the roles of Chloris and Zephyrus from the painting *Primavera* were, "in fact," Hannibal's first killings.⁵³ Historical events that belong to our reality interweave with the world of fiction and, in the process, Hannibal enters our world and we enter his. But *Hannibal* goes further in blurring the boundaries between illusion and reality.

Rewarding Pazzi for his diligence in tracking him down twenty years later at the Capponi Library, in the episode "Contorno" (3:5) Hannibal asks if Pazzi is one of *the* Pazzi, the family who infamously staged an attempt to overthrow—by murdering—the ruling Medici on April 26, 1478. While Giuliano de' Medici was murdered, his brother Lorenzo, also known as Lorenzo the Magnificent, survived and wreaked vengeance on the surviving conspirators who included Francesco de' Pazzi, the murderer of Giuliano. Francesco was hung from the third window of the top floor of the Loggia de' Lanzi.⁵⁴ Hannibal shows Pazzi a small relief sculpture representing the hanging of his ancestor Francesco de' Pazzi, and explains that depictions of Francesco's manner of death alter: some represent Francesco as having been hung from the window; others add the detail of his disembowelment, which is the manner of execution depicted in the relief Hannibal shows Pazzi. Hannibal, having clearly pre-planned his theatrical production of Pazzi's death, then murders the police investigator by repeating history and tying a noose around his neck, disemboweling him, and throwing his body out the window, Pazzi's internal organs plummeting outwards and hitting the courtyard beneath his dangling feet.

Lauro Martines, in his book about the Pazzi Conspiracy, explains that between "80 to 100 men were hanged or cut to pieces in the wake of the Pazzi Conspiracy," and "contemporary chronicles and other sources" reported that during such public punishments "in rage and vengeance people could tear at human flesh with their teeth."⁵⁵ Most likely, Martines states, the attack on the Medici brothers "ended with incidents of this sort. Here was a species of cannibalism as symbolic action, an act of speech that wants to be the action itself."⁵⁶ In murdering Pazzi—as employee of the Capponi who were supporters of the Medici—Hannibal re-performs history within his world of fiction. Or, more precisely, history is transformed into theater in Hannibal's hands, right down to the act of cannibalism, as he informs Pazzi he plans to eat his intestines and liver "as a good start." In this performance, however, Hannibal replaces the Medici: Hannibal is the ruler and, like Lorenzo the Magnificent, it is he who takes vengeance against someone who threatened the "reality" of the world he constructed. Cannibalism becomes "an act of speech" in a theater that has historical reverberations.

As Season 3 continues, there are more dramatic scenarios that play on the "illusion of appearances." In "The Great Red Dragon" (3:8), after Hannibal has been captured and

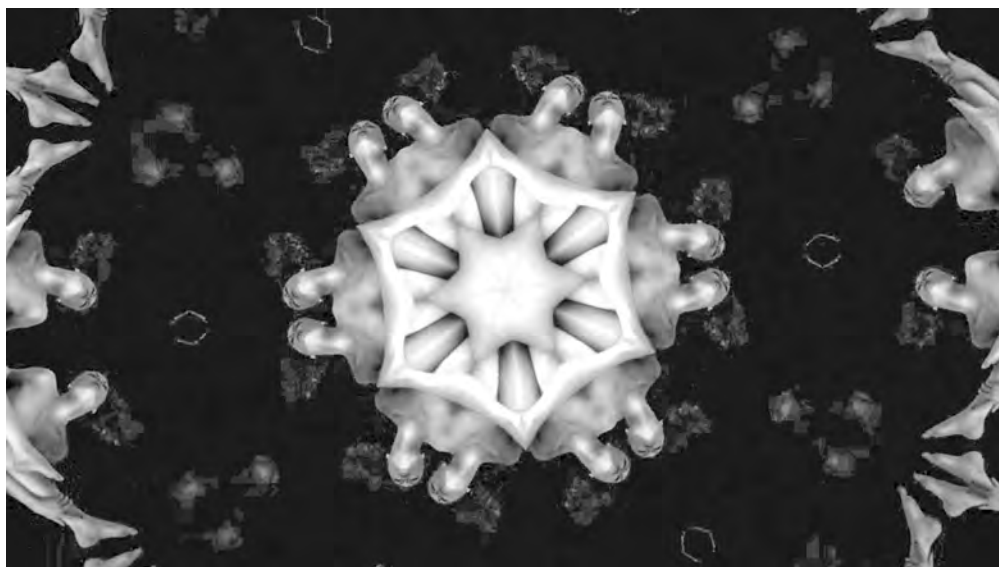


Figure 12.6. Alana and Margot's bodies merge and fragment, eventually dispersing into a frenzied kaleidoscopic image ("Dolce" 3:6, *Hannibal*, © NBC, 2013–15). Screen grab. Fair use.

imprisoned by the FBI, Alana Bloom and Hannibal sit across from each other sipping a glass of wine; a series of shot-reverse-shots reveals that the location is Hannibal's study, and an open fire is seen burning in the background. Alana congratulates him, raising a glass to Hannibal being declared officially insane, while in the same breath admitting that he defies categorization. As the camera cuts to an over-the-shoulder shot of Alana from the left, with Hannibal visible out-of-focus in the distance, she says, "this means you'll be spared the Federal death sentence"; the camera then pulls Hannibal into focus and he's revealed sitting not at the table in his study, but at the table in his place of internment. Whose illusion/delusion is this? It is never explained. Again, in the episode "Wrath of the Lamb" (3:13), a similar exchange of deceptive shot-reverse-shots places Will and Hannibal in the church in Palermo, eventually exposing the "real" location as Hannibal's prison. In "Secondo" (3:3), Will Graham arrives at the Lecter Castle in Lithuania, and there his mind transforms the woods by inserting in them the chairs in which Hannibal and he sat during therapy sessions in Hannibal's office. To complete the "veil of appearances" Will also places Hannibal in one of the comfortable chairs, and begins a conversation with him. Finally, one of the most experimental and disturbing displays of the nature of reality being questioned comes in "Dolce" (3:6). Throughout the series we have witnessed the blurring of identities of Hannibal and Will, but here it is Alana and Margot—both of whom have faced their own dark demons—who, in the throes of having sex, are shown to merge and fracture both as individuals and into and out of one another until

their bodies finally disperse into a kaleidoscopic effect that abstracts both forms into a series of pieces (figure 12.6).

Who are the creators of these illusions? With the possible exception of the scene with Will in the forest in Lithuania, it is difficult to say. Even then, it may be the show's creators' deliberately collapsing time and space into each other and fulfilling our desire to return to familiar places (Hannibal's study), spaces of reunion (the church in Palermo), or abstract spaces that externally visualize the inner state of two people making love. The status of each as reality, illusion, and who creates the reality/illusion is left unanswered.

The series as a whole plays on this relationship between reality and illusion. Christine Buci-Glucksmann writes that:

the baroque eye of the marvelous, of multiple pleasures, of difference is also the eye of disillusion (*desengaño*), a fatal spectacle, a theater of affliction and mourning. As if total immersion in the image would destroy all vision, as if the distance of the eye and the Gaze would be part of this. Baroque vision will not exhaust itself in a simple phenomenal element, in the jubilant rapture of appearances, in the naive enjoyment of spectacle and *trompe-l'oeil* taken at face value, as when one believes in it a little too quickly.⁵⁷

Hannibal's horror vacui is a baroque "theater of affliction and mourning" and he suffers what Buci-Glucksmann labels a "madness of vision." His theater has blurred with reality and the two operate on planes that are indistinguishable from one another. In the process of staging his theatrical productions he takes with him many characters—Will Graham, Jack Crawford, Alana Bloom, Bedelia Du Maurier—and all become victims of his theater. Ultimately, so does the viewer. Seduced both by Hannibal and *Hannibal's* affective power, we are equal victims of Hannibal/*Hannibal's* slippery (baroque) Truth.

NOTES

¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*.

² Cornelis Galle I, *Lucifer*, ca. 1595, engraving, private collection.

³ See David R. Castillo, *Baroque Horrors*.

⁴ Angela Ndaljianis, *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*, p. 176.

⁵ Castillo, p. 27. Pascal's assertion that the vacuum does exist sparked many philosophical debates on the topic. As Daniel Garber explains, it was Robert Boyle who asked that the matter be put aside, stating in his *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall, Touching the Spring of the Air, and its Effects* (1660) that "the Controversie about a Vacuum [seems to be] rather a Metaphysical, then a Physiological Question; which therefore we shall here no longer debate." Robert Boyle, *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall, Touching the Spring of Air, and Its Effects*, as cited in Daniel Garber, "Physics and Foundations," p. 57.

⁶ Castillo, p. 37.

⁷ Castillo, p. xiii.

⁸ Castillo, p. xiii.

⁹ Stephen Hessel, "Horri-fying Quixote," p. 27.

¹⁰ Quoted in Castillo, pp. 3–4.

¹¹ René Descartes was to extend this performativity further still when he wrote that "everyone enters the theater of the world masked." René Descartes, "Cogitationes privatae" as cited in Ludger Schwarte, "Anatomical Theatre as Experimental Stage," p. 83. The original Latin text reads, "ut comoedi, montiti ne in fronte appareat pudor, personam induunt: sic ego, hoc mundi theatrum consensurus, in quo hactenus spectator extiti, larvatus prodeo."

¹² Sean T. Collins, "Hannibal"

¹³ René Descartes as cited in John Coddington, *Cartesian Reflections*, p. 263.

¹⁴ The title "*il Mostro*" is a direct reference to Florence's real life serial killer (or serial killers)—also known as *il Mostro*—who embarked on a murderous spree of couples between 1968 and 1985. The killer was also inspired by Botticelli's *Primavera*: a gold chain was found in a victim's mouth that mimicked the flowers spilling from Chloris's mouth in the painting. The identity of the serial killer was never discovered. A film version—produced by George Clooney and based on the novel by Douglas Preston—is currently in the final stages of production. See Douglas Preston, "The Monster of Florence," and Andrea Voigt, "Italy's Dark Side."

¹⁵ Helmar Schramm, "*Kunst-kammer*," p. 31.

¹⁶ Helmar Schramm, "Introduction," p. xiv.

¹⁷ Robert Felfe, "Collections and the Surface of the Image," pp. 233 and 235. Felfe states that "the transformation of the concept of museum space ... can be understood as a tendency towards a theatrical model," a "proximity to theatre [that] becomes explicit" in the frontispieces for Vincent Levinus's *Wondertooneel der Nature* (Amsterdam, 1706) by I. V. Viane. Adapting visual tropes from stage architecture "like a proscenium arch, the portals of the collection frame a view into the depth of the image and at the same time emphasize the border between the real space of the viewer and the illusionary space of the theatrical representation. As with the theatre, the space of the collection of images is split into two parts, which are then assigned differing grades of reality. Though both areas seem to be connected with each other by a continuous stage floor and potentially remain a continuous space for one and the same performance, only at the front of the stage—the proscenium—does a performance take place that is directly addressed to the viewer." Felfe, p. 245.

¹⁸ See, for example, the Wounded Man images in Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus Medicinae/Book of Medicine*, published in 1492, and Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundartzney/Field-book of Wounded Surgery*, published in 1519. Examples of these can be found in Margaret Kaiser. "The 'Wound Man' in Two Recent Acquisitions."

¹⁹ Damien Hirst, *Mother and Child (Divided)*, 1993, glass, painted steel, silicone, acrylic, monofilament, stainless steel, cow, calf, and formaldehyde solution, 2 parts: 286 × 322.5 × 192 cm; 113.6 × 168.9 × 62.2 cm, Astrup Fernley Museum of Modern Art, Oslo.

²⁰ Ludger Schwarte, "Anatomical Theatre as Experimental Space," p. 79.

²¹ See Benjamin Schmidt, "Accumulating the World."

²² Willem van Swanenburg, *The Anatomy Theater, Leiden*, 1610, engraving, 32 × 39 cm, private collection.

²³ In his dissertation "A Theatre of the Senses," Kevin Carr examines the theatrical effects in Renaissance plays and masques in the late sixteenth century, and states that "new or evolving stage technologies such as squibs, cranes, pulleys, cannons, trap doors, and other apparatuses all contributed to the rise in popularity of what I refer to as an effects-driven 'theatre of the senses' in early-modern England [... these] theatrical effects were more than just visual; they affected all of the senses. The early-modern theatre truly was a 'theatre of the senses.' Theatrical spectacle, such as pyrotechnics (which frequently filled the stage with fire, light, smoke, and heat), the 'rolled bullet' and 'tempestuous drum,' and the *deus ex machina* (which raised and lowered actors to and from the stage), encompassed all of the senses for the early-modern audience." Kevin Carr, "A Theatre of the Senses," p. 7. The experience of a theater of the senses became even more prominent in Europe in the seventeenth century.

²⁴ Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, p. 110.

²⁵ Todd L. Burns, "Interview."

²⁶ Kristiann P. Aercke, *Gods of Play*, p. 19.

²⁷ Aercke, p. 2.

²⁸ Aercke, pp. 8–9.

²⁹ Aercke, p. 7.

³⁰ Robert Felfe explains the "analogical relationship between micro and macrocosm" that typified the *Wunderkammer*, arguing that "if man is formulated as a small world and microcosmic counterpart to earthly nature and the cosmos, then a relationship between nature and the total of the human arts could also be posited—a mimetic relationship in which art could be understood not merely as an imitation of nature (*natura naturata*), but analogue to its productivity (*natura naturans*), as actively creative." Felfe, p. 229.

³¹ Patti Podesta in Jess McLean, *The Art and Making of Hannibal*, p. 103.

³² Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, p. 103.

³³ Walter Liedtke, "Still-Life Painting in Northern Europe."

³⁴ Bryson, p. 104. Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, *Bouquet in an Arched Window*, ca. 1618, oil on panel, 64 × 46 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague.

³⁵ Bryson, pp. 105–7.

³⁶ Bryson, p. 96.

³⁷ Bryson, p. 96.

³⁸ Bryson, p. 96.

³⁹ William Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth*, pp. 17–18.

⁴⁰ Winfried Menninghaus, *Disgust*, p. 8.

⁴¹ Menninghaus, p. 9.

⁴² Menninghaus, p. 38.

⁴³ Susan B. Miller, *Disgust*, p. 173.

⁴⁴ Miller, p. 174.

⁴⁵ Carolyn Korsmeyer, "Fear and Disgust," p. 369.

⁴⁶ Korsmeyer, p. 367.

⁴⁷ Korsmeyer, pp. 373–74.

⁴⁸ Korsmeyer, p. 379, italics my own.

⁴⁹ William Egginton, *The Theatre of Truth*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Egginton, p. 18. Egginton focuses on the writings of Spanish Golden Age authors such as Luis de Góngora, Miguel de Cervantes, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and Baltasar Gracián, as well as the more current writer Jorge Luis Borges and filmmaker Pedro Almodóvar.

⁵¹ Egginton, p. 1.

⁵² Egginton, p. 2.

⁵³ In his riveting account of the il Mostro murders, the journalist and writer Douglas Preston writes that Inspector Perugini "searched Pacciani's house and came up with incriminating evidence. Prime among this was a reproduction of Botticelli's *Primavera*, the famous painting in the Uffizi Gallery that depicts (in part) a pagan nymph with flowers spilling from her mouth. The picture reminded the inspector of the gold chain lying in the mouth of one of the Monster's first victims. This clue so captivated Perugini that the cover of the book he would publish about the case showed Botticelli's nymph vomiting bloody flowers." Douglas Preston, "The Monster of Florence."

⁵⁴ Lauro Martines, *April Blood*, p. 125.

⁵⁵ Martines, p. 145.

⁵⁶ Martines, p. 145.

⁵⁷ Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *The Madness of Vision*, p. 3.

Works Cited

- Aercke, Kristiaan P. *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Arens, William. *The Man-Eating Myth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Bryson, Norman. *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting*. London: Reaktion Books, 1990.
- Buci-Glucksmann, Christine. *The Madness of Vision: On Baroque Aesthetics*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013 [1994].
- Burns, Todd L. "Interview: Brian Reitzell on Hannibal, Kevin Shields, and Japanese Soundtracks." *Red Bull Music Academy*, May 22, 2014, www.redbullmusicacademy.com/magazine/brian-reitzell-interview (accessed September 15, 2014).
- Carr, Kevin. "A Theatre of the Senses: A Cultural History of Theatrical Effects in Early-Modern England." PhD dissertation, Florida: The Florida State University, 2013.
- Castillo, David R. *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
- Coddingham, John. *Cartesian Reflections: Essays on Descartes's Philosophy*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Collins, Sean T. 2015. "Hannibal: The Sick Genius of TV's Darkest Show." *Rolling Stone*, June 4, 2015, www.rollingstone.com/tv/features/hannibal-the-sick-genius-of-tvs-darkest-show-20150604#ixzz3wAAvwiP9 (accessed November 15, 2015).
- Egginton, William. *The Theatre of Truth: The Ideology of (Neo)baroque Aesthetics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Felfe, Robert. "Collections and the Surface of the Image: Pictorial Strategies in Early-Modern Wunderkammern." In *Theatrum Scientiarum*, vol. 1, edited by Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig, pp. 228–65. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Garber, Daniel. "Physics and Foundations." In *The Cambridge History of Science: Early Modern Science*, vol. 3, edited by Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, pp. 21–69. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Goodman, Steve. *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2012.
- Hessel, Stephen. "Horrifying Quixote: The Thin Line between Fear and Laughter." In *Fear Itself: Reasoning the Unreasonable*, edited by Stephen Hessel and Michèle Huppert, pp. 23–44. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010.
- Kaiser, Margaret. "The 'Wound Man' in Two Recent Acquisitions." *Circulating Now*, July 22, 2014, <http://circulatingnow.nlm.nih.gov/2014/07/22/the-wound-man-in-two-recent-acquisitions> (accessed November 15, 2015).
- Korsmeyer, Carolyn. "Fear and Disgust: The Sublime and the Sublate." *Révue Internationale de Philosophie* 62, no. 4 (2008): pp. 367–79.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Raw and the Cooked: Mythologiques*, vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983 [1964].
- Liedtke, Walter. "Still-Life Painting in Northern Europe, 1600–1800." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003, www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/nstil/hd_nstil.htm (accessed July 1, 2015).

- Martines, Lauro. *April Blood: Florence and the Plot against the Medici*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- McLean, Jess. *The Art and Making of Hannibal: The Television Series*. New York: Titan Books, 2015.
- Menninghaus, Winfried. *Disgust: The Theory and History of a Strong Sensation*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Miller, Susan B. *Disgust: The Gatekeeper Emotion*. Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 2004.
- Ndalianis, Angela. *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004.
- Park, Katharine and Lorraine Daston. *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150–1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Preston, Douglas. “The Monster of Florence: A True Crime Story.” *The Atlantic* July/August, 2006, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/07/the-monster-of-florence/304981/ (accessed February 20, 2015).
- Schmidt, Benjamin. “Accumulating the World: Collecting and Commodifying ‘Globalism’ in Early Modern Europe.” In *Centres and Cycles of Accumulation in and Around the Netherlands During the Early Modern Period*, edited by Lisa Roberts, pp. 129–54. Berlin: Verlag, 2011.
- Schramm, Helmar. “Introduction: Place and Trace in *Theatrum Scientiarum*.” In *Theatrum Scientiarum*, vol. 1, edited by Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig, pp. xi–xxix. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Schramm, Helmar. “*Kunstammer*—Laboratory—Theatre in the ‘*Theatrum Europaeum*’: On the Transformation of Performative Space in the 17th Century.” In *Theatrum Scientiarum*, vol. 1, edited by Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig, pp. 9–34. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Schwarte, Ludger. “Anatomical Theatre as Experimental Stage.” In *Theatrum Scientiarum*, vol. 1, edited by Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig, pp. 75–102. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Voigt, Andrea. “Italy’s Dark Side: Clooney, Florence and the ‘Crucified’ Girl.” *The Week* May 7, 2014, www.theweek.co.uk/europe/58419/italys-dark-side-clooney-florence-and-crucified-girl (accessed November 15, 2015)

Contributors

Kat Austin is a social media language specialist with In the Chat Communications Inc. She completed her Master of Arts thesis—“Rasquache Baroque in the Chicana/o Borderlands”—at McGill University, where she was also a research assistant on the Hispanic Baroque research project. Her research publications focus on the Mexican neo-baroque, and publications include “The Neo-baroque in Lucha Libre” (*Refractory*, June, 2009) and “Codex Espangliensis: Neo-Baroque Art of Resistance,” *Latin American Perspectives* (May 2012) with Carlos-Urani Montiel.

Lisa Beaven was a research fellow in the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, University of Melbourne, between 2015 and 2017, and is currently a lecturer at La Trobe University. She has published widely on collecting and patronage in seventeenth-century Rome. Her book, *An Ardent Patron: Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his Artistic and Antiquarian Circle*, was published in 2010 (Paul Holberton Press and C.E.E.H.). Her most recent publications include (with Karen Lloyd) “Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni Altieri: The Evidence of his Death Inventory, Part 1,” *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 28, no. 2 (2016): pp. 175–90; and (with Angela Hesson), “Objects of Love”, chapter in *Love: The Art of Emotion* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria exhibition catalogue, 2017), 124–39.

Justin Clemens is Associate Professor in the School of Culture and Communication at the University of Melbourne. He has published extensively on psychoanalysis, contemporary European philosophy, and Australian art and literature. His recent books include the collections *The Afterlives of Georges Perec* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), co-edited with Rowan Wilken; and *What is Education?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), co-edited with A. J. Bartlett. He is currently working on an Australian Research Council grant “Australian Poetry Today.”

Katrina Grant is a lecturer in the Digital Humanities at the Australian National University. Her publications include “Hedge Theatres of Lucca” in *Art, Site and Spectacle* (ed. David R. Marshall), 2007; “Planting ‘Italian Gusto’ in ‘a Gothick Country’: The influence of Filippo Juvarra on William Kent,” in *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 2011; and “Gardens in Lucca,” in *Place: An Interdisciplinary e-journal* vol. 1, 2007, <http://www.elsewhereonline.com.au/place/>.

Monika Kaup is Professor of English at the University of Washington, USA. She is the co-editor (with Lois Parkinson Zamora) of *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest* (Duke University Press, 2010); and the author of *Rewriting North American Borders in Chicano and Chicana Narrative* (Peter Lang, 2001)

and *Neobaroque in the Americas: Alternative Modernities in Literature, Visual Art and Film* (University of Virginia Press, 2012).

Peter Krieger is Research Professor at the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas (Institute of Aesthetic Research) and Professor of the Graduate program of Architectural Design, both at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. He was 2016 Aby Warburg Professor of the Hamburg Warburg Haus. His recent books include *Transformaciones del paisaje urbano en México. Representación y registro visual* (MUNAL, 2012), and *Visual Epidemics: The Las Vegas Neobaroque in Mexico City / Epidemias visuales: El Neobarroco de Las Vegas en la Ciudad de México* (Escotto editores, 2017).

Helen Langdon is a specialist on seventeenth-century Italian art. She has written widely on aspects of the life of Salvator Rosa, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, and Claude Lorrain. She is the author of *Claude Lorrain* (Phaidon, 1989), *Caravaggio: A Life* (first published 1998), and curator, with contributions by Xavier Salomon and Caterina Volpi, of *Salvator Rosa: Bandits, Wilderness and Magic* (2010). Her book, *Caravaggio's Cardsharps: Trickery and Illusion*, was published by the Kimbell Art Museum in 2012.

David R. Marshall is Principal Fellow, Art History, School of Culture and Communication, University of Melbourne, and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities. He is the author of *Viviano Codazzi and the Baroque Architectural Fantasy* (1993) and (ed.) *Art, Site and Spectacle: Studies in European Visual Culture* (2007), and (with Susan Russell and Karin Wolfe, eds.), *Roma Britannica: Britain and Rome in the Eighteenth Century* (2011). His book *Rediscovering a Baroque Villa in Roma: Cardinal Patrizi and the Villa Patrizi 1715–1909* (L'Erma di Bretschneider) was published in 2015. Also published in 2015 was his edition of the cardinal's letters, "The Letters of Cardinal Patrizi 1718–1727," *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani* (Dall'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Miscellanea di Testi, Saggi e Inventari VIII, pp. 143–520).

Matthew Martin is Curator of International Decorative Arts and Antiquities in the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV). His research interests include the role of porcelain in the baroque cultures of representation. He recently curated "Kings over the Water," an exhibition of Jacobite glass in the collections of the NGV. Recent publications include *Chinoserie: Asia in Europe, 1620–1830* (co-authored with Carol Cains) (National Gallery of Victoria, 2010); "Joseph Reeve SJ, the Park at Ugbrooke and the Cliffords of Chudleigh," in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation, c.1570–1800*, edited by J. E. Kelly and S. Royal, pp. 142–62 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); and "Joseph Willems' Chelsea Pietà and Eighteenth-Century Sculptural Aesthetics," *Art Journal of the National Gallery of Victoria* vol. 51 (2013): pp. 21–32.

Angela Ndalianis is Professor in Media in the Department of Media and Communication at Swinburne University of Technology. Her research focuses on entertainment culture

and media histories as well as the transhistorical and transcultural nature of the baroque. Her publications include *Neo-baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (MIT Press, 2004), *The Horror Sensorium: Media and the Senses* (McFarland, 2012), *Science Fiction Experiences* (New Academia, 2009), *The Contemporary Comic Book Superhero* (ed., Routledge, 2008), and *Neo-baroques: From Latin America to the Hollywood Blockbuster* (co-edited, Rodopi Press, 2017).

Javier de la Rosa is a Research Engineer at the Center for Interdisciplinary Digital Research, a unit at Stanford University Libraries focused on digital scholarship. He holds a Post-doctorate research fellowship and a PhD in Hispanic Studies at Western University, Ontario, where he also served as Tech Lead for the CulturePlex Lab. He completed both his MSc. in Artificial Intelligence and BSc. in Computer Engineering at University of Seville, Spain. His work and interests span from cultural network analysis and computer vision, to text mining and authorship attribution in the Spanish Golden Age of literature.

Adriana Soto-Corominas is a PhD student in Hispanic Linguistics at Western University, Ontario. Her main area of research is language acquisition, especially morphology and morphosyntax. She completed her BA in English Philology at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and her specialization in Linguistics at the University of California Los Angeles. She has been part of the CulturePlex Lab at Western University since 2015 and has been involved in a variety of projects as a research assistant. She is currently working with IBM Watson and researching computational humor.

Juan Luis Suárez is Associate Vice-President (Research) and Professor in Hispanic Studies, Digital Humanities, and Computer Science at Western University, Ontario, where he is also the Director of the CulturePlex Lab—one of Canada's leading centers for digital research and innovation within the humanities. He also led the Major Collaborative Research Initiatives grant *The Hispanic Baroque: Complexity in the First Atlantic Culture*, which was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Over seven years a group of thirty-five researchers from universities around the world studied the origin, evolution, transmission, and effectiveness of the baroque patterns of behavior and representation in the Hispanic world.

John Weretka holds an undergraduate degree in medieval history and musicology and advanced qualifications in art history, theology, and Classical and post-Classical Latin. He is currently an MPhil candidate at the University of Divinity, translating and commenting on the Proemium and Liber Primus of Sicard of Cremona's *De Mitrale*. His publications include "The Non-Aedicular Style and the Roman Church Façade of the Early Eighteenth Century," in *The Site of Rome* (ed. David R. Marshall, 2014), and interdisciplinary papers on the iconography of Homer as a lironist in the painting of Pierfrancesco Mola and the depiction of the musette and guitar in the painting of Watteau.

Index

- aesthetics, 7–8, 9, 20, 21, 23–25, 32, 35–37, 45–48, 52, 56, 65, 69, 88, 102–3, 127, 129–30, 133, 135–36, 148, 168, 169, 188–89, 201, 210, 211, 236–37, 260, 261–63, 267, 273, 274
- Addison, Joseph, 72–73, 79–80, 88, 94
- affect, 30, 37, 43–62, 80, 239
- Aquinas, St. Thomas, 13, 219–23, 245
- Arellano, Ignacio, 104, 123n50
- Ariosto, Ludovico, 52
- Aristotle, 55, 79, 250n6. *See also* senses
- ASCO, 193, 199
- astonishment, 9, 44–45, 52, 55, 85, 228.
See also wonder
- Autos Sacramentales*, 10, 99–125
- Bach, Johann Sebastian, 1, 257, 262
- Badiou, Alain, 68, 74
- Bal, Mieke, 15
- Barberini, Antonio, 243, 251n24
- Barberini, Francesco, 239, 249
- Barberini, Maffei (Pope Urban VIII), 88, 146
- baroque: definitions, 1–4;
and emotions, 1–2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19–23, 25–27, 29, 32, 34–35, 37–38, 44, 102–3, 104, 108, 114, 129, 134, 136, 167, 189, 198;
and the senses, 2, 6, 7, 9, 13, 21, 25, 66, 68, 83, 100, 102, 114, 121, 169, 179, 189, 190, 194, 223, 22n37, 257–59, 261, 274;
and the sublime 8–10, 25, 75–62, 72–73, 129.
See also barocco, barroquismo, *bel composto*, *trauerspiel*, tragedy, German baroque, Hellenistic, illusion, immersion, infinity, painterly, passions, senses, sensorium, sight, space, theatricality, wonder, worship
- Barocco. *See* baroque
- barroquismo*, 12, 188. *See also* baroque
- Bartoli, Daniello, 47–49, 52–53, 54
- Barry, Fabio, 57n18
- Bätschmann, Oskar, 58n39
- Beaven, Lisa, 257
- bel composto*, 83, 95nn17–18
- Bembo, Pietro, 53–54, 59n54
- Benjamin, Walter, 22–23, 25, 32, 37, 70, 73; and *trauerspiel*, 22–23, 70, 105;
and the German Baroque, 22–23
- Bergamo, 154. *See also* Palazzo Terzi
- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, 1, 10, 12–13, 37, 83, 86–90, 145–46, 196, 217–19, 223, 217–34; and *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, 217–234; and *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*, 219, 227–30
- Bertelli, Sergio, 173
- Beverly, John, 5
- Bibiena, Ferdinando Galli, 150
- bizarre, 2, 14n, 20, 263
- Bjurström, Per, 95n20
- body relics. *See* relics
- Bologna, 150, 152. *See also* Palazzo Salini-Monti: 150, 152, 156–57
- Borromeo, Carlo, 168, 184, 239
- Borromini, Francesco, 1, 14n17
- Bozzi, Paolo, 46
- Braider, Christopher, 4, 7
- Brueghel, Jan, 45
- Buci-Glucksmann, Christine, 7, 21, 22–25, 37–38, 40, 277
- Buen Retiro, 99–100
- Buonarotti, Michelangelo the Younger, 82–83
- Burckhardt, Jacob, 3, 217
- Burke, Edmund, 8, 54, 55, 56, 72–73, 75, 273
- Burnacini, Ludovico, 91–93
- Butler, Todd, 76n20

- Caesars Palace (casino). *See* Las Vegas
 Calabrese, Omar, 1, 169
 Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, 1, 10, 38, 99–125
 Caravaggio. *See* Merisi
 Careri, Giovanni, 95n17, 232n40, 233n48
 Carracci, Agostino, 240, 241
 Carracci, Annibale, 1
 Carracci, Ludovico, 232n37, 235, 238, 245, 249, 250n12
 cartesian, 20–21, 23, 2–27, 29, 205
 Castiglione, Giovanni Benedetto, 46
 Castillo, Ana, 191, 193, 197–99, 208
 Catholicism, 3, 11, 13, 23, 32, 35, 63, 65–66, 73, 101–2, 115, 117, 130, 165, 168–70, 173–76, 178, 181–84, 188–90, 193–94, 204–5, 208, 235–56
 Cerrutti, Michelangelo, 145
 Cesti, Antonio, 91
 Chagas, o Cabra, 191
 Cigoli, Ludovico, 44
 Chican@, 12, 187–215.
 See also rasquachismo; barroquismo;
 Mexican baroque
 Chicana feminism, 191, 208
 Circe, 119
 Clark, T. J., 56
 Clemens, Justin, 9, 63–78
 clouds. *See* Las Vegas
 Cocteau, Jean, 139
 Colombetti, Giovanna, 8, 20, 26, 29–30, 37
 Colonna, Lorenzo Onofrio, 49
 Colonna, Palazzo, 51–52
 Colonna, Galleria, 141, 145, 149–50, 154, 157
 color, 10, 21, 33–36, 127, 187, 189–90, 197, 210, 243, 250n6
 Correggio, 130, 133
 Council of Trent, 168, 178, 235, 241, 243, 250n1, 251n19
 Counter-Conquest, 187, 191, 193
 Counter-Reformation, 1, 5, 9, 12, 23, 32, 65, 66, 130, 135, 165–85, 217, 220, 225
 crucifix, 239
 Da Cortona, Pietro, 1, 146
 Damasio, Antonio, 8, 20–21, 26–31, 37
 Damisch, Hubert, 130
 David, Jacques-Louis, 148
 Davidson, Jane, 94n6
 Da Vinci, Leonardo, 48, 29, 51, 53
 De Fiori, Mario, 141, 145
 De Certeau, Michel, 68
 De Cervantes, Miguel, 1
 Delectare–docere–movere, 194, 198.
 See also emotion
 Deleuze, Gilles, 1, 2, 3–4, 6, 67, and the fold 3, 76n12
 De Medici, Maria, 82
 De Mena, Pedro, 198
 De Rancé, Armand-Jean, 174
 Descartes, René, 8, 10, 19, 20, 22, 26–28, 30, 85, 263
 D’Este, Mary, 165
 De Vega, Lope, 1, 99–102
 devotion, 13, 45, 65–66, 94, 135, 169, 174, 176–77, 179, 195, 198, 201, 205, 207–8, 235–56
 Diderot, Denis, 2
 divine, 12, 13, 23, 44, 47, 52, 75, 93, 111, 133, 169, 187, 189, 190, 194, 197–99, 206–7, 217, 220, 221, 225, 227, 228, 230, 232, 235, 268
 D’Onofrio, Cesare, 95n28
 Drottningholm Palace, 94
 Dughet, Gaspard, 9, 48–52
 East Los Angeles, 192
 Eco, Umberto, 139
 Edward I, king of England, 177
 El Greco, 136
 El teatro Campesino, 193
 Elsheimer, Adam, 44, 57n11
 emotion, 1, 2 5, 6, 7–8, 9, 10–11, 12, 13, 19–41, 43, 47–48, 53, 55, 79–98, 99–125, 127–37, 167, 189, 194, 197, 198, 199, 204, 207, 235, 238–39, 241, 244
 England, 12, 165, 170, 173, 175, 179, 181, 279n23
 Etna, 44, 47, 53–54
 Evelyn, John, 85, 247
 extravagance, 2, 20, 22, 32, 79, 83, 268
 Falomir, Miguel, 59n65
 Farnese, Odoardo, 45–46

- feminism, 118, 191, 208
 Ferrero, Mercedes Viale, 86
 Florence, 81–82, 84, 94n10, 143, 258,
 262–63, 274, 280n53
 Fuller, Bryan, 257. See also *Hannibal*
- Galerie des Glaces, 141
 Galilei, Galileo, 65
 García Lorenzo, Luciano, 123n52
 Garrido, Sandra, 94n6
 Gaulli, Giovanni Battista, 146, 257
 German Baroque, 22
 Goldberg, Benjamin, 140
 Gómez-Peña, Guillermo, 8, 20, 35–38, 189,
 194, 195
 Gracián, Baltasar, 1, 261, 263, 280n
 Grant, Katrina, 9–10, 79–98
 Greenspan, Patricia, 96n
 Gross, Daniel, 7
 Guadalupe, 187, 190, 200–10, 212–15
 Gurlit, Cornelius, 3
 Hammond, Frederick, 95n24
 Handel, George Frideric, 1, 262
Hannibal: and baroque *horror vacui*, 13,
 257–61, 277; and baroque music,
 13, 257, 262–64, 266–67, 273; the
 character, 13, 257–82; as Chesapeake
 Ripper, 263, 264; as man of reputation,
 261–64; novels and Thomas Harris,
 260; television series, 13, 257–82; and
 theater of the world, 261, 263, 274,
 278–79; and theatricality, 258, 261,
 263, 265, 268–70, 274–75, 277;
 and *Wunderkammer*, 13, 258–59,
 261–63, 268, 270–71, 278, 281
 Hartz, Daniel, 94n7, 95n17, 96n44
 Heidegger, Martin, 21
 Hellenistic, 2
 Henry IV, King of France, 82
 Hernández, Ester, 201–2
 Hibbard, Howard, 158nn14–15
 Hills, Helen, 2
 Hirst, Damien, 8, 20, 32–33, 38, 100, 264
 Hobbes, Thomas, 8, 19, 20
 Holly, Michael Ann, 7
 horror, 9, 13, 19, 43–62, 100, 257–82
 horror vacui, 257–61
 illusion, 1, 11, 23, 53, 69, 76n11, 85,
 87–90, 93, 100, 104, 127–37, 139–63,
 257, 258, 259, 260, 263, 272, 274–78
 immersion, 6, 10, 66, 244, 277
 infinity, 139–63
 Italy, 14n19, 43, 44, 53, 60, 83, 86, 95, 150,
 152, 235
- Jacobite, 165–66, 173–80, 182–84.
See also Stuarts
 James II, king of England, 12, 165–85
 James III, king of England, 165, 174–76, 178
 Jay, Martin, 23, 25, 37
 Jesuits, 10, 45–47, 99, 173, 175, 204, 218,
 220, 232, 236, 239, 242–44, 250, 261;
 and St. Ignatius of Loyola, 220, 236,
 244; and Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, 230
 232, 236, 244, 248–49; and Jerónimo
 López, 236; and Luis Richeôme, 243
 Jesus, 109, 130, 181, 189, 193, 196, 204,
 220, 227, 248, 257, 268
 Jiménez, Luis, 8, 20, 35–38
 Johnson, Samuel, 72, 73
- Kahlo, Frida, 8, 20, 31–32, 35, 38, 197, 205
 Kahn, Victoria, 73
 Kant, Immanuel, 8, 56, 57
 Kaup, Monica, 1, 2, 5, 8, 19–41, 187
 Kircher, Athanasius, 9, 46–37, 53–54
 Klein, Norman, 1, 2
 Koerner, Joseph Leo, 75
 Krieger, Peter, 11, 127–37
- Lacan, Jacques, 66–68
 Lambert, Gregg, 2, 4
 landscape painting, 8, 9, 43–62, 84, 90–91
 Lanfranco, Giovanni, 45–46, 57n20, 243,
 251n24
 Langdon, Helen, 8, 43–62
 Las Vegas, 11, 16, 127–37; and Caesars
 Palace, 129, 130, 136; and clouds,
 129–31, 133–36; and Paris Hotel-
 Casino, 129, 133, 134, 135, 136;
 The Strip, 11, 128, 133; and The
 Venetian, 11, 128–29, 132–36
 Latin America, 1, 2, 5, 11, 12, 34, 35, 27,
 130, 187, 189, 190, 197, 212, 215

- Lavin, Irving, 89, 218–19
 Lecter, Hannibal. *See Hannibal*
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 4, 67–68, 76n14
 Levy, Evonne, 3
 Loh, Maria, 59n70
 Longinus, 9, 43–44, 47–48, 53, 55
 López, Yolanda, 202–4, 206–8, 212
 Lorrain, Claude, 48, 53–54, 56
 Loth, Onofrio, 145
 Louis XIV, King of France, 5, 140, 141, 170, 268
 Lübcke, Wilhelm, 3
lucha, 12, 189, 211
 Lucretius, 44, 45, 47, 53, 70–71
- Madell, Geoffrey, 96n39
 Maillet, Arnaud, 140
 Mancini, Maria, 141
 Manso, Giovan Battista, 53
 Mantua, 84
 Maratta, Carlo, 141
 Maravall, José Antonio, 2, 4, 7, 22–23, 27, 102, 104, 109, 167–68, 194, 196
 Marcello, Bernardo, 90
 Marino, Giambattista, 9, 45, 54
 Marshall, David, 139–64
 Martin, John Rupert, 19, 186
 Martin, Matthew, 11–12, 66, 165–85
 martyrdom, 23, 32, 170, 173–74, 177, 182, 194–95, 197–99, 243, 245.
See also saints
 marvellous, 9, 44, 68, 217, 277
 Massimo, Camillo, 246–48
 Maundy coins, 176–79
 meditation, 236, 238, 244–47, 249
 melancholy, 22–23, 31–32, 38, 70, 79
memento mori, 33, 249, 253, 272
 Ménesrier, Claude-François, 83, 85
meraviglia, 9, 44, 88. *See also marvellous*;
 astonishment; wonder
 Merisi, Michelangelo 1, 9, 204, 207, 218
 Mesa-Bains, Amalia, 204–6, 208–11
 Metastasio, Pietro, 80
 Mexican baroque, 12, 31–33, 35, 37, 188–215. *See also rasquachismo*
 Michalski, Sergiusz, 75n6
 mirrors, 11, 139–63, 241, 210
- Milton, John, 9, 58n, 63–78
 monstrosity, 54, 55, 198, 258, 260, 261, 263; and Ambroise Paré's *Des Monstres* (1573–85), 260; and Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum Historia* (1642), 260; and Gaspar Schott's *Physica Curiosa* (1662), 260; and Arnold Montanus's *Nieuwe en Onbelkende Weereld* (1671), 250
 Monteverdi, Claudio, 1, 83
 Mormando, Franco, 217
 Moser, Walter, 1, 2, 69, 167–68
 music, 1, 9–10, 13, 25, 74, 81–86, 91, 94, 100, 106, 114, 167, 241, 258, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 273
- National Gallery of Victoria, 176
 Nau, Clélia, 59n
 neo-baroque, 1–9, 11–13, 20, 31–38, 39n33, 68, 128–36, 168, 188, 193–94, 202, 257–58, 293, 274;
 and blockbuster film, 5;
 and entertainment, 5, 127, 129;
 and global culture, 5;
 and postmodernism, 4, 5
 Neri, Filippo, 228
 neuroscience, 8, 19–41, 246
 Ndalians, Angela, 1–17, 67, 76n11, 102, 168–69, 257–82
 Nicolson, Marjorie, 70
 Nolfi, Vincenzo, 90
 Norbrook, David, 70–71
- opera, 1, 4, 7–8, 9–10, 74, 79–98
 Ovid, 53–54, 56, 59n57, 59nn73–74
- painterly, 3, 21, 167
 Pallavicino, Sforza, 238–39, 245
 Palazzo Borghese (Rome), 141–43, 158nn14–15
 Palazzo Ducale (Venice), 135
 Palazzo Ruspoli (Rome), 143, 145, 149, 156, 157
 Palazzo Salini-Monti (Bologna), 150, 152, 156–57
 Palazzo Sciarra (Rome), 148, 154, 158n25
 Palazzo Terzi (Bergamo), 154
 Panini, Giovanni Paolo, 145, 152, 154–55, 157

- Panofsky, Erwin, 21, 22, 32, 37
Paradise Lost, 9, 63–78.
 See also Milton, John
- Paris (Hotel-Casino). See Las Vegas
- passions, 8, 10, 20–22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 37, 38, 47, 66, 81, 85
- Patrizi, Giovanni Battista (Cardinal), 11, 140, 143, 145, 149, 150, 153–54, 155, 157
- Patrizi, Mariano, 11, 140, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157
- Patrizi, Villa, 11, 139–63
- Payne, Alina, 3
- Peri, Jacopo, 10, 82
- performativity, 1, 189, 212, 290, 265.
 See also theatricality
- Pesaro, 152–53
- Pinciano, Alonso López, 102
- Pliny the Elder, 58n
- Pocha Nostra, La, 195–97
- Pope Benedict XIII, 153
- Pope Sixtus V, 168
- porcelain, 143, 149, 152, 154, 157, 165
- Poussin, Nicolas, 46, 48–49, 53–56, 225
- Pozzo, Andrea, 130, 146, 257
- prayer, 45, 201, 222, 227, 235–36, 244–46
pronkstillevens, 270. See also still life
- Protestant, 9, 22, 65–66, 70, 73, 75, 101, 166, 168, 169, 173, 174, 178
- quadratura*, 152, 155, 259
- Rameau, Jean-Philippe, 1, 262
- Rancière, Jacques, 73
- rapture, 43, 46, 219–23, 277
rasquachismo. See *Rasquache* baroque
rasquache baroque, 12, 37, 187–215
- Regalado, Antonio, 118
- Reigl, Alois, 3
- Reitzell, Brian, 267, 272–73.
 See also *Hannibal*
- relics, 11, 12, 13, 65, 66, 165–85, 193, 235, 238–39, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250n9, 252n54, 253n60
- reliquary, 12, 173, 178, 238, 245, 247
- Renaissance, 3, 5, 7, 21, 22, 23, 25, 99, 128, 129, 167, 211, 250n1
- Rome, 3, 11, 37, 44, 51, 52, 70, 84, 88, 94n11, 132–33, 140–41, 143, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156, 159, 174, 175, 178, 218, 236, 247, 249, 257; church S. Luigi dei Francesci, 143, 156. See also Palazzo Borghese; Palazzo Sciarra; Palazzo Ruspoli
- Rosa, Salvator, 9, 48, 49, 52, 60n74
- rosary, 205, 236, 271, 244–49, 253n62, 257
- Roston, Murray, 65, 70
- Saint-Phalle, Niki de, 8, 20, 31–34, 38
- Saint Teresa of Avila, 12, 219, 230, 231n16, 231n19, 245. See also Bernini
- saints, 6, 65, 109, 117, 135, 166, 168, 169, 174, 178, 179, 180n12, 187–215, 217–34, 236, 239, 241, 243–45, 247, 249, 251n19
- Sarduy, Severo, 1, 5
- scenery, 9, 79–98
- scenography, 10, 81, 99, 132
- Schiavo, Armando, 154, 159n66
- senses, 1–2, 6, 7, 9, 13, 21, 25, 45, 55, 66, 79, 82–83, 100, 102, 141, 146, 121n8, 169, 179, 189–90, 194, 217, 220, 222, 223, 225, 227, 235, 236, 241, 243, 244, 246, 249, 250n1, 250n6, 257–58, 261–68, 273–74, 279n23
- sensorium, 10, 13, 102, 103, 246, 258, 265, 271
- Sifuentes, Roberto, 194–95
- sight, 7–8, 55, 179, 246, 267, 268, 271
- Simpson, James, 75n4
- Sizergh Castle, 165–66, 173, 175
- Sobieska, Maria Clementina, 165
- Solimena, Francesco, 143, 145
- Soto-Corominas, Adriana, 10, 99–125
- space, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 20, 34, 45, 52, 53, 56, 70, 84, 99–100, 104, 120, 128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 139–40, 145–49, 155, 191, 193, 196, 235, 244, 247, 249, 257, 258, 259, 265, 270, 271, 274, 277, 278n17
- Spain, 4, 99, 104, 220, 261; Spanish baroque, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 22, 100–102, 108, 120, 133, 187–88, 194, 197, 259

- spectacle, 1–2, 5–6, 9, 11, 49, 51, 53, 56, 59n54, 76n11, 80, 81, 86, 91, 100, 102, 114, 130, 135, 167, 168, 169, 179, 195, 196, 197, 235, 236, 257, 267, 268, 277, 279n23
- Spinoza, Benedict de, 8, 20–21, 25, 26–32, 34, 37–38
- stage, 9, 10, 75, 76n20, 79–98, 99–125, 263, 265, 270, 279n23
- stage set, 9, 10, 79–98
- Stephenson, Neal, 67
- still-life, 270–77
- Strickland family, 165–66, 175
- Strip, The. *See* Las Vegas
- Stuart, Charles Edward (prince).
See also Jacobite, 165, 166, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179
- Stupore, 44, 46. *See also* Wonder
- Suárez, Juan Luis, 10, 38n19, 99–125
- sublime, 8–9, 25, 43–62, 72–73, 81, 129, 169, 220, 257, 273, 274
- Theatrum Mundi*, 264, 274
- theater, 9, 10, 13, 38n, 47, 51, 79–98, 99–125, 193, 246, 257–82
- theater of the world, 13. *See* *Theatrum Mundi*
- theaters of anatomy, 259, 263, 265
- theatricality, 1, 2, 37, 11, 13, 130, 135, 236, 258, 270, 274
- Toledo, 133
- Torelli, Giacomo, 10, 84–87, 90
- transcendent, 13, 26, 67, 244
- Trauerspiel*, 22–23, 70, 73.
See also Benjamin, Walter
- trompe-l'oeil*, 69, 135, 277. *See also* illusion
- Valdez Patssi, 189, 201
- van Eck, Caroline, 57n
- vanitas*, 33, 258, 271–72, 274
- Vanni, Francesco, 150, 238–39, 240, 242
- Velásquez, Diego, 1
- Venetian, The. *See* Las Vegas
- Venice, 83–85, 128–29, 135, 140–41, 152–53, 156. *See also* Palazzo Ducale
- Veronese, Paolo, 135
- Vivaldi, Antonio, 1, 262
- Vleughels, Nicolas, 152
- Weiss, Piero, 94n10
- Weretka, John, 12–13, 217–34
- Witte, Arnold, 57n18
- Wollen, Peter, 1, 25
- Wölfflin, Henrich, 167
- wonder, 10, 44, 52, 66, 67, 68, 79–88, 217, 218, 260, 273.
See also astonishment; *stupore*
- worship, 13, 46, 65, 75n6, 177, 206, 236, 238–39, 244, 246–49, 250n1, 257
- Wunderkammer*, 13, 258, 259, 261–68, 270–71, 279n30
- Zamora, Lois Parkinson, 5, 32

Typeset in Garamond Premier Pro
Composed by Martine Maguire-Weltecke

Medieval Institute Publications
College of Arts and Sciences
Western Michigan University
1903 W. Michigan Avenue
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5432
<http://www.wmich.edu/medievalpublications>



WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY