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SAINT SEBASTIAN ATTENDED BY IRENE
AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY

by

Carolyn Kinder Carr

B.A., Smith College, 1961

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
Department of Art, Oberlin College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master's Degree

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Introduction

Martyred in Rome in the year 286, Saint Sebastian, whose feast day is the twentieth of January, is one of the most popular Catholic saints. The first to receive the title of Defender of the Church from the Apostolic See, given to him by Pope Calixtus I, he was believed to be a protector against the plague. As a hero of the faithful he became the patron of the City of Rome, Chiemsee, Mannheim, Oetting, Palma, and Soissons, as well as a patron of the confraternity of archers, cross-bowmen, lance makers, weavers, and the Order of Saint Anthony. As his relics could be found at Soissons, Echternach, Luxemburg, Malaga, Seville, Toulouse, Munich, Parish, Tournai, the Jesuit church in Antwerp and at the court chapel in Brussels, he was also of special significance for the people of these towns.

Because of this widespread popularity, the image of Sebastian, first represented in the art of the seventh century, is found in great profusion throughout Western Europe. In the innumerable representations of the saint he may be portrayed as young or old, bearded or clean shaven, nude, semi-nude or dressed. He may be shown as being martyred, having been martyred, or merely holding the instruments of his passion. He may be represented as an individual image, in the presence of other saints, or as part of a narrative cycle. Yet irrespective of the scope of Sebastian's popularity, regardless of the stylistic or formal diversities, there is an underlying unity in the representations of the saint. Without exception Sebastian

is conceived as powerful, impervious to his torture, a saint to whom one prays for both spiritual and bodily protection.

It is in the light of this unity of purpose and the continuity of this tradition that the appearance of a profusion of paintings in the early decades of the seventeenth century, which are no longer concerned with the customary image of the saint, become important. The artists of the Baroque, rejecting the traditional conception of Sebastian, portray the formerly invincible saint as wounded, suffering, no longer victoriously partaking of the fruits of his glorious martyrdom, but being found and cared for by Irene, the widow of the Christian martyr Castulus.

Such a change in iconography involves both a shift of the outward and visible as well as the intrinsic content of the pictorial matter. The significance of this thematic revolution has often been overlooked because it parallels the stylistic developments of the age, which, until recently, have captured more fully the imagination of art historians. Therefore, it is the purpose of this paper to deal specifically with this iconographic change which involves the portrayal of the moment when the saint is found and cared for by Irene.

The following discussion will attempt to evaluate the literary sources and the pre-Baroque pictorial types. It will examine the iconographic innovations which occurred in the seventeenth century and it will suggest their implications as

manifestations of the religious, moral, social, and artistic attitudes of the Baroque. It will also attempt to indicate the role of this legend in the cultural and pictorial traditions of the succeeding centuries.

Footnotes

1. _____, Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1912, Vol. XIII, p. 668.
2. Paul Perdrizet, "Les Fleches de la Colere Divine", La Vierge de Misericorde, Paris, 1908, p. 107-124, p. 109. The idea of Sebastian as protector against the plague seems to have developed during the late seventh century. It is believed that this idea is derived from the Iliad. Apollo, angry with the Greeks, supposedly destroyed them with invisible arrows which carried the plague. Paul le Diacre in his History of the Lombards mentions that the citizens of Pavia invoked the saint against the plague that was ravaging their town in the year 680.
3. S. Baring-Gould, The Lives of the Saints, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 305.
4. Ibid., p. 305.
5. Ibid., p. 305.
6. L. Reau, Iconographie de l'Art Chretien, Paris, 1956, Vol. III, Part III, p. 1191. The mosaic in St. Peters ad Vincula is dated to 680. It shows the saint dressed as a soldier.

Chapter I The Literary Tradition

The source material for the visual interpretation of the legend of Saint Sebastian is recorded in numerous accounts. While they vary in completeness and detail the most reliable and scholarly documents do agree that the saint was born in Narbonne, educated in Milan, and lived a major portion of his adult life in Rome. Here, as a favorite of Diocletian and Maximus, he was a cohort in the first company of the emperors' troops. They indicate that Sebastian, known for his charitable acts and various miracles, influenced many, who in turn were converted to Christianity and baptised by Polycarp, then Bishop of Rome. They agree that his work as a Christian was eventually discovered by Diocletian who ordered him to be taken to a field and shot with arrows. They relate how left for dead he was found alive by a woman whom most call Irene, the widow of the martyr Castulus, who had come to bury him. All state that she cared for him until he was well, and that when cured, he was asked to leave Rome by his friends who feared for his life. All indicate that he remained and challenged the emperor who this time ordered him to be put in prison and beaten until dead. Thrown in a sewer, it is then recorded that he appeared in a dream to a woman named Lucy, who recovered his body and buried it in the catacombs.

While the death of Saint Sebastian is first recorded in the Depositio Martyrum of 354 A.D.,¹ the circumstance of his life, no doubt part of the oral tradition of the Christians from the late third century, first appears in the Passio Sebastiani attributed to Saint Ambrose (340?-397). Of that aspect of the Sebastian legend which is the specific concern of this thesis Ambrose said

Aestimantes autem illum esse mortuum abierunt. Tunc relicta martyris Castuli Zetarii, nomine Irene, abiit nocte, ut corpus ejus tolleret et sepeliret. Et inveniens eum viventem, adduxit ad domum suam in scala excelsa ibi manebat ad palatum ibi intra paucos dies salutem integerrimam recuperavit in omnibus membris.(2)

Believed to be sufficiently true by Catholic historians, this event was included in the Acta Sanctorum published in part by the Bollandists in 1643, as well as in the 1668 edition of Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sanctis Benedicti, published under the direction of Mabillon. It was reprinted too in the eighteenth century in Migne's Patrologia Latina.³

This particular aspect of the legend where the saint is found and cared for after his first martyrdom was not wholly unknown throughout the Middle Ages. Jacob de Voragine, perhaps the most important of the medieval hagiographers in terms both of the nature of his sources and the widespread popularity of his writings, speaks of the event in his Golden Legend.

In his tome written in 1275 and first published in English by William Caxton in 1495 he states that

the night after came a Christian woman for to take his body and bury him; but (as) she found him alive (she) brought him to her house and took charge of him until he was whole.(4)

While Jacob de Voragine has captured the essence of the narrative, it is evident that he has abbreviated the text of Ambrose. In particular, the lack of concern about the name of the person who came to care for Sebastian, the indifference to this detail in an age which is concerned with the specific is significant. The omission forms an obvious corollary to the conclusion of this essay where he admonishes his readers to "pray to this martyr so that we will be delivered from the pest".⁵ While the latter statement is concerned primarily with Sebastian's role as a protector against the plague- an attribute which was not ascribed to him in the fifth century- both the omission and the addition imply a desire on the part of the author to emphasize only the omnipotent and miraculous character of the saint.

This tendency implicit in the writings of Jacob de Voragine, a tendency which indicates that he was as much a man of his times as an impartial scholar, becomes explicit in the works of other less conscientious medieval hagiographers. One Old English Martyrology, now in the British Museum, which was written in

the second half of the tenth century and presumably based on the ecclesiastical works of Bede states only that

on the 20th day of this month is the feast of the noble Saint Sebastian whom Diocletian ordered to be shot full of arrows as a hedgehog is of bristles. But as he could not kill him thereby he then ordered him to be beaten with sticks until he gave up the ghost and his body was buried at Rome in a place called the catacombs.(6)

Here the failure to incorporate into this narrative the significant intervening events is not only a matter of poor scholarship, and indicative of the fascination with the nature and character of the saint's torture, but it reflects the indifference to, or distaste for, the suggestion that the holy man should need or be dependent upon the care and attention of an earthly being, especially a female.

This indifference and confusion is not an isolated incident. Another source, a play entitled the Mystere de Monseigneur Saint Sebastien, Premiere Journee, performed in Lenslevillard in May of 1567, indicates a similar bias. A provincial work written by the layman M. Anthoine Platon for a cast of 60, it is a reflection of the popular attitude toward the saint. It represents the medieval taste for the miraculous and the theatrical. Reactionary in character, it was undoubtedly typical of the work being produced outside the mainstream of

sixteenth century thought.

In the play there is no mention of Irene, nor is there any mention of the second and ultimate martyrdom. Rather, the play ends when Sebastian, having been martyred by arrows, is carried to heaven by a band of angels. Throughout, the emphasis is on the noble and heroic character of Sebastian who died for the glory of God and to save the souls of others. His power is omnipresent, although it is particularly manifest in the scene in which he emerges triumphant in a wholly apocryphal duel with the devil.

Taken together these latter three works form a cohesive entity which reveal the attitude of the medieval world toward Sebastian. This attitude, which is substantiated in the art of the times, is essentially a desire to eclipse or entirely ignore details of the events between the two martyrdoms, and to focus primarily on the miraculous, invincible nature of the saint and the character of his glorious martyrdom.

In contrast to these medieval writings is the work of the ecclesiastical historian Caesar Baronius (1538- 1607). Writing in Rome, the most intellectually progressive center of the day, under the auspices of the Pope and under the guidance of Filippo Neri, the Cardinal, in his Annales Ecclesiastici sought to return to the original patristic sources and to eliminate many of the fanciful legends which

had grown up around the saint.

Speaking specifically of the visit of Irene to the wounded saint he said

...poserlo adunque i soldati nel mezo del campo, e tirarongli da ogni parte tante saette, e caricaronlo di esse per tal modo, che pareva esser divenuto un istrice e lasciarlo per morto. Mai itavi de notte la Irene mogli chesu di di Castulo Zetario martire, per prender il corpo e sepellirlo, trovo lui esser vivo e condusselo per l'alta scala in casa sua, dove dimorava nel palagio.(8)

The hagiographic writings of Baronius first published in 1583 for the congregation of the Oratory are significant as a reflection of the taste for historical authenticity and scholarly accuracy characteristic of the Counter-Reformation. They do, however, take on an additional meaning in the light of the writings of the Spaniard Francesco Pacheco(1564-1654). In his Arte de la Pintura of 1638 Pacheco quotes Baronius and cites him in regard to the manner in which one should portray Sebastian saying

Baronius reprehends painters who paint Saint Sebastian as a youth when they should paint him with the appearance of an old and bearded man, in accordance with the mosaic image that is preserved in its entirety in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula in Rome.(9)

This, and his reference to the writings of the Belgian
10
Johannes Molanus(d. 1585), whom he quotes by saying

Molanus says that the reason the church paints him (Sebastian) in his first martyrdom full of arrows and wounds, is that he is showing each wound and calming us through so many mouths, asking mercy for us; and he frees us from contagious evil.(11)

suggests that the seventeenth century artist was familiar with the scholarly and interpretative writings of the contemporary ecclesiastical authors.

It would perhaps seem logical at this point to conclude that the scholarship of the late sixteenth century directly influenced the thematic revolution of the seventeenth century, that it accounts for the popularity of the pictorial presentations of the legend of Irene caring for Saint Sebastian. Such, however, is not the case. In spite of Pacheco's apparent awareness of the orthodox hagiographic texts, one can ascribe only a limited role to this literature as a motivating factor in the iconographic innovations that occurred during the seventeenth century. First, the legend was completely reproduced, and there is nothing in it which precluded the selection of this particular passage as a primary thematic basis for the Baroque paintings dealing with Sebastian. Secondly, while the incident was omitted from less reliable sources it was never totally unknown as the writing of Jacob de Voragine were available in any ecclesiastical center of note. The Golden Legend, in spite of its sketchiness, did relate the details necessary for the painter to portray the event.

These facts assume additional importance when one considers that Pacheco's own account of the events after the attempted martyrdom does not wholly coincide with the writings of Baronius. The Spaniard abbreviates the Italian's text stating only

The following night the woman who had been the wife of the holy Martyr Castulus called, as we have said, Irene, coming near to bury him found him alive, treating him, and he became well(12).

Thus Pacheco chose to ignore the fact established by Ambrose, Jacob de Voragine, and Baronius that Irene took Sebastian to her house to care for him.

Of even more significance than this omission is the manner in which Pacheco embellishes his text. Embroidering on the somewhat cold, analytical narrative of Baronius, Pacheco describes the moment after which Sebastian has been left for dead by the soldiers by saying

his blessed soul, in the midst of pain
was in communion with God(13).

His words indicate that he sees the importance of the attempted martyrdom not in terms of the sacrifice of Sebastian, but as a necessary precondition for the state of ecstasy. His concern with the mystical experience of the saint suggests that Pacheco conceives of this moment in terms of the central religious motive of the seventeenth century.

In reviewing the art and literature of the Counter-

Reformation it becomes evident that an inverse parallel can be seen between that which occurred in the Middle Ages and that which took place in the Early Baroque. Whereas the former sought to ignore for the most part the implications of the scene of Irene caring for Sebastian, as they tended to contradict many of the basic premises of the needs and beliefs of the age, the latter era sought to exploit the potential inherent in the incident as it reflected the nature and character of their religious ideas. Thus it is not the revival or survival of the literary legend that is important, but rather its potential for meaningful interpretation which is of significance in the pictorial evolution of the theme of Saint Sebastian attended by Irene during the seventeenth century. The choice and development of the scene is less the result of specific literary sources than the result of broader cultural drives.

The role of hagiographic literature in the presentation of the Sebastian legend in the eighteenth and nineteenth century is apparently a neutral one. It would appear that the artists of the age depended less on sacred literature than on the paintings of their predecessors for their iconographic inspiration.

In the twentieth century, an age not known for its

ecclesiastical scholarship, the story of Sebastian can be found in those eclectic tomes which purport to describe the lives of the saints. The completeness with which the life of the saint is related varies. In popular accounts, such as the book entitled Little Pictorial Lives of the Saints, the story of Irene caring for the saint is omitted.

The legend of Sebastian is, however, popularized in an opera written in 1910 by the Italian expatriate Gabriel D'Annunzio(1863-1938) during his stay in France. The opera, entitled Le Martyre de Saint Sebastien, for which Claude Debussy wrote the music, was first performed between May 20th and June 2nd, 1911, in the Theatre Chatelet in Paris. The opera takes place in five acts. In the first act Sebastian is shown as being responsible for the martyrdom of Marc and Marcellanus. Having killed them, Sebastian then converts to Christianity. The second act is called the Magic Chamber, the third is entitled the Council of the False Gods. In the fourth act, Sebastian is martyred. It is called The Blessed Glory. In the fifth act the saint enters Paradise.

D'Annunzio's work indicates no awareness of either the orthodox legend or the Baroque interpretation of it. His opera is strictly within the tradition of a medieval mystery play. The succession of events, the description of the

martyrdom and its agony, the omission of the scene with Irene, and the second martyrdom, as well as the ultimate triumph of Sebastian as his soul enters heaven suggest the mentality of the medieval mind. Even the advertisement for the opera suggests this medieval spirit. Like M. Platon who proudly announced that his play was a cast of 70, the billboard for the opera states that there are 150 artists and 500 costumes used.¹⁷ Likewise his reference to Perugino's painting as a source of inspiration,¹⁸ and to the slain saint whom he calls "le bel adonis" indicates his affinity with pre-Reformation thinking.¹⁹

While the outward organization of the events are similar to those of a mystery play D'Annunzio's motives are somewhat different. His concern with the saint, his admiration of him does not wholly revolve around the saint's triumph over the devil or his glorious ascension into paradise. As Anthony Rhodes has pointed out

When D'Annunzio takes a religious theme such as Saint Sebastian, it is incipient Christianity at its most primitive that he portrays. In the character Saint Sebastian, it is not the divine serenity of the believer through all his torture, seeing always salvation, which is shown. He shows a masochistic saint in a crude desire to shed his own blood, who cries out to them to kill him if they love him(20).

Thus D'Annunzio's fascination with the story of the saint resides

not in the totality of the legend, but in its potential for the mingling of pain and love which come together in the martyrdom and its aftermath. Too, the presence of the women is determined, not as in the Baroque, because they are a symbol of charity and redemption, but because they are a vehicle by which D'Annunzio can intensify the Romantic agony. Thus the Italian's choice of subject matter and interpretation of it perpetuates the exoticism of the preceding century. His work represents the last flowering of the decadent tradition of the nineteenth century.

At the same time his play is witness to the birth of the sado-masochistic impulses which will dominate the twentieth century. D'Annunzio sees Sebastian as the man of his age, like himself, tormented by the world around him.²¹ Here he is guided in his thinking by those same impulses which are later manifested in the thinking of Tennessee Williams who in Suddenly Last Summer²² chooses the name Sebastian for his hero who is tormented and devoured by the world around him.

It is thus evident that in the twentieth century, as in the preceding eras, the basic elements of the Sebastian legend are adapted to fit the needs and desires of the age in which the story is reproduced.

Footnotes

1. _____, Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1912, Volume XIII, p.668.
2. J.P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. 17, p. 1056.
3. M. Sandoz, "Ribera et le Theme de Saint Sebastian Soigne par Irene," Actes des Journees Internationales d' Etudes de Bordeaux, 1955, p. 31.
4. William Caxton, The Golden Legend, London, 1900, Volume II, p.243.
5. Ibid, p. 244.
6. George Herzfeld, An Old English Martyrology, London, 1900, No. 116, p. 27.
7. F. Rabut, "Le Mystere de Monseigneur Saint Sebastien, Premiere Journee", Drame en vers joue a Lanslevillard au mois de Mais, 1567. Mem. et Doc. Publiees par la Societe Savanted' Histoire et d' Archeologique, Chambery, 1872, p. 259-452.
8. Caesar Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, Rome, 1586, Vol. I. p. 279.
9. Francesco Pacheco, Arte de la Pintura, Madrid, 1638, ed F. Sanchez Canton, 1956, p. 327.
10. Johannes Molanus, De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, Louvain, 1570.
11. Pacheco, Loc. Cit. p. 328.
12. Ibid., p. 329.
13. Ibid., p. 329.
14. Shea, J.D.G., Little Pictorial Lives of the Saints, New York, 1925, p. 69. Ironically a drawing at the beginning of the essay does depict Irene attending Sebastian.
15. Gabriele D'Annunzio, "Le Martyre de Saint Sebastian", L'Illustration Theatrale: Journal d' Actualites Dramatiques, Paris, May 7, 1911, p. 1-57.

16. Ibid., p. 15. A wholly apocraphyal interpretation of the events. It is obviously a device for thematic unity, for the play both begins and ends with a martyrdom and a conversion.

17. Ibid., p. 5. It would be interesting to speculate as to whether D'Annunzio did not indeed know the work of M. Platon. The play, republished in 1887, in a scholarly journal, would have been accessible. D'Annunzio does admit that he depended on medieval writings for his inspiration. In his interview with the critic Gaston Sorbets from L'illustration Theatrale he said:

Mes etudes sur le sujet, il y a trois,
furent faites dans le domaine des laudes
dramatiques, devotions, des representations
suivant les formes primitives du theatre
Italien aux trizieme, quatorzieme, et
quinzieme siecle.

18. A. Rhodes, D'Annunzio, the Poet as Superman, New York, 1960, p. 153. In a letter to the Bishop of Paris, who had chastised him for casting a woman and a Jewess (Ida Rubenstein) in the role of the saint he replied

I have exalted the most ardent defender
of the faith..and the interpreter I
selected for him is pure in her manners
and gestures as pure as Perugino's
painting of Saint Sebastian

19. D'Annunzio, Loc. Cit. p. 49.

20. Rhodes, Loc. Cit. p. 128.

21. Francis Winwar, Wingless Victory, New York, 1956, p. 62. Writing to a Signorina X in 1932 D'Annunzio speaks of the saint and compares himself to him.

22. Tennessee Williams, Suddenly Last Summer, New York, 1958.

Chapter II The Early Cycles

In art as in literature the circumstances of Saint Sebastian being cared for by Irene are not wholly unknown. The scene is part of the pictorial vocabulary of all major countries of Western Europe. However, the event is rarely depicted before the seventeenth century and it is never illustrated as an isolated image. It occurs only in those works which portray several events from the life of the saint.

While the first known representation of Saint Sebastian is a seventh century mosaic in Rome in Saint Peter's ad Vincula, the first known presentation of the scene of Irene caring for the wounded saint is a thirteenth century copy of a tenth century fresco (Fig. 1). Formerly in the now extinct palatinate church of Santa Maria Pallara, which according to legend was placed over the spot where Sebastian was martyred, the fresco has been attributed to an artist named Antonio¹ d'Eclissi.

In a drawing which illustrates this work one can see the young, beardless, healthy Sebastian, seated in a room devoid of other furniture. Irene is standing to his left holding his left arm and removing an arrow from it. It is evident that this Italian master has chosen to illustrate that part of the narrative where Ambrose stated

Et inveniens eum viventem, adduxit ad domum suam in scala excelsa ibi manebat ad palatum ibi intra paucos dies salutem integerrinam recuperavit in omnibus membris.(2)

The available evidence indicates that this theme does not again become a part of the visual tradition of Western Europe until the late fifteenth century. What is remarkable is the exclusion of this scene, in spite of its role as a necessary hinge in the logical construction of the legend, in those works, regardless of how elaborate or how simple, which deal with the cycle of Sebastian's life.

In Italy, the birthplace of the visual presentation of the event, this omission is evident in such works as the 14th century triptych by Giovanni del Biondo in the Opera del Duomo in Florence³ and the predella in Empoli by Francesco di Giovanni Botticini(1446-1497).⁴ Outside Italy, in southeastern France, an area which experienced the plague in 1348, 1361, 1363, and 1467 there are a great many chapels dedicated to the saint, but in none is there a fresco cycle which depicts Irene attending Sebastian.⁵ In Germany the same appears to be true. Albrecht Altdorfer(1480-1538) in his Saint Florian Altarpiece illustrates only the scene of Sebastian before the emperor, Sebastian beaten, his martyrdom and his burial.⁶ In Spain the same condition seems to exist. In none of his books on Spanish painting does C.R. Post refer to the

illustration of this theme.

The inevitable question is; why do all these artists of different nationalities exclude this event from their visual presentation of the Sebastian legend? The answer is not wholly evident. In part, it lies in the taste for typology, for thematic and formal symmetry, and in the desire to adapt the form and content of the Sebastian legend to the existing presentation of the life and passion of Christ. In part, it resides within the requirements of the mystery play which demand not only of itself, but of its visual sources, the presentation of dramatic, climactic, events. Ultimately derived from that same intangible spirit which produced the tenth century martyrology and the mystery play of M. Platon, these illustrations are a visual reflection of their cultural milieu. Like their literary counterparts they are a product of an environment which saw the central dogma of Christianity as the redemption of man, not only through the suffering, death and resurrection of the Son of God, but through the suffering and glorious death and ascension of their favorite saint.

Despite the fact that the scene of Irene attending the wounded saint is omitted from the majority of those works which

illustrate scenes from the life of Sebastian, there are four late fifteenth century works, which in opposition to the iconographic trend of the times, do include this scene in their visual presentation of the Early Christian legend.

In Italy the motive can be found in an engraved devotional sheet, probably of Florentine origin, which dates c. 1465-1480.⁸ (Fig. 2). An impression of the print is in the Serai Museum in Constantinople. The scene is one in a series of eleven which surround the central image of the saint. The event takes place in a landscape setting. The semi-nude saint who is "shot full of arrows as is a hedgehog",⁹ is standing, his right hand raised in blessing. Irene is to his left and she holds his left hand. Behind Irene and to her left is a piece of architecture. As it appears to be a church, it would seem that the artist is familiar with the text of Ambrose who indicated that Irene "adduxit ad domum suam in scala excelsa" rather than with the more contemporary work of the scholar Jacob de Voragine who merely indicated that Irene brought Sebastian to her house. To the right of the saint is a column which looks very much like the Column of Trajan. No doubt it represents, on the part of the artist, an attempt to establish the geographical location of the martyrdom, i.e. Rome.

Except for the healthy nature of the saint, this scene has nothing in common with the earlier tenth century Italian fresco.

Thus, it would seem that there is no native or indigenous iconographic tradition for the presentation of the saint, for in the latter work, the setting, the role of Irene, and the attitude of Sebastian are wholly different. In addition this fifteenth century artist has introduced an angel into the scene. The motif, not indicated in the original text, is obviously a reference to Sebastian's holy nature, his victory over death, to the presence of God, as well as an indication of the fifteenth century taste for the mingling of the natural and supernatural.

This motive also appears as a background detail in a German triptych attributed to the Master of the Holy Kin¹⁰ (Fig. 3). Now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, it was originally commissioned in 1490 for the Cologne church of St. Anthony by the brother-¹¹hood of Saint Sebastian.

The manner in which this anonymous master has adhered to the orthodox literature is striking. In the main scene of the left wing he has depicted the saint preaching to Marcellanus and Marcus while they are in prison. In the distance he has represented the conversion of Claudius and the appearance of the angel to Sebastian as he is before the deaf and dumb Zoe, the wife of Nicostratus. In the center panel the Master of the Holy Kin has shown the saint, semi-nude, with his cloak on the ground, in keeping with the Roman custom. He is being

shot by archers who stand on either side of him. In the background Irene, with the assistance of an angel is caring for Sebastian who is still bound to the stake. To the right of this group one can see the scene in which Sebastian, now well, returns to challenge Diocletian on the steps of the emperor's palace. In the third panel, the artist has shown Sebastian slain in the presence of Diocletian and thrown in a sewer. In the background Sebastian appears to Lucy in a dream and there is the ultimate burial procession to the catacombs.

In its comprehensive character the painting by the Master of the Holy Kin seems to have much in common with the Italian engraving. However, in spite of this and the fact that both artists place the event in an outdoor setting, there is little other iconographic identity between the two. In the Italian engraving Irene is a passive figure, merely "presenting" Sebastian, and the angel does not aid the saint but is merely flying above.

The interpretation of the scene by this German is seemingly without visual precedent. Likewise, his interpolation of the text, either that of Ambrose or Jacob de Voragine, which both state that Irene found Sebastian and cared for him in her home, is a highly personal one. In many respects this German master anticipates the iconography of the Baroque and its taste for a landscape setting, a saint who is cared for while still attached to the stake of martyrdom, a "full-sized" angel assisting Irene,

and the subtle expression of Irene's adoration, portrayed through her gestures of ministrations. What distinguishes this late Gothic work from the products of the Baroque is that here Irene adores Sebastian for his physical prowess, rather than his spiritual glory, while there is no reference to the mystical experience of the saint. Likewise the landscape is a descriptive entity rather than an evocative force. Too, the major aspects of the iconography seem to have been motivated more by pictorial necessity - the limitations of the field of the triptych, than by purely theological considerations.

The veneration of the saint, implicit in the German altarpiece is a dominant idea in a French painting of c. 1498 which has been attributed to Josse Lieferinxe, an artist active in the area between Marseilles and Aix, (Fig. 4).¹² One of four panels now in the J.G. Johnson collection in Philadelphia, it shows Sebastian being cared for in the house of Irene, in keeping with the text of Jacob de Voragine and Ambrose. However, unlike the tenth century fresco which also employed this setting, the saint in this work, while still young, virile, semi-nude, is no longer seated but standing. Irene is to his right, removing an arrow from the Saint's

right side. She no longer attends Sebastian alone for beside her is a man who, kneeling, removes an arrow from Sebastian's thigh. In the background are two more men who have their hands folded in prayer. Rich in iconographic embellishments, the French interior has placed within it an altar with a statue of the Virgin and Child, two cruets and two patens. A candle is on the mantle. Indicative of the presence of God, it reiterates the liturgical and eucharistic meaning of the whole.

It is tempting to speculate about Irene and the man who is receiving the blessing of Sebastian. If it is true, as Sterling suggests, that the scene was one of eight originally commissioned for the nuns of the order of the Light of Saint Sebastian in the church of Accoules in Marseilles,¹³ then it would seem reasonable to assume that Irene, dressed in a dark habit, represents the nuns of the order, while the man is either the Bishop or the donor of the altarpiece. The significance of this iconographic ambivalence, this translation of a historical event into a phenomenon of contemporary meaning is that it does not depend upon a new literary source, but is rather a reflection of the taste of the times, of the genius of the medieval world which was able to translate the

universal in terms of the particular.

What this otherwise unique composition has in common with the Italian engraving is the attitude of Sebastian, his gesture of blessing. It is this which links these two works to a Spanish panel of about the same date which is attributed to the Maestro de Almudevar, an Aragonese painter, a disciple of Pedro Espalargues.¹⁴ (Fig. 5). Together with a panel which depicts the first martyrdom it forms the predella to a central tableau of the Crucifixion.

As in the tenth century Italian fresco and the fifteenth century French painting, the Master of Almudevar has shown Sebastian being cared for in the house of Irene. Here the widow is to the left of the saint. A halo emanating from her head suggests her saintly nature. She is attended by two females and two angels. What primarily distinguishes this work from its contemporaries is that this Spanish master has shown the now bearded saint neither seated, nor standing, but lying down. Seemingly a peculiar Spanish tradition, it appears elsewhere only in the works of Francesco Pacheco (Fig. 6). While it is a logical embellishment of the text which states only that Irene took the wounded saint to her home to care for him, it is, in reality, more than a merely imaginative pictorial development of the narrative. It is of definite liturgical

and eucharistic import. For if one removes the blanket of disguised symbolism so characteristic of the medieval mind, it becomes evident that the bed upon which the saint reclines, raised as it is upon a block of wood or stone, and covered with linen, is an altar.

In essence this panel represents a composite of the visual and symbolic imagery associated with the Stone of Unction. The iconographic identity between this and the Pieta¹⁵ in the Civic Museum, Pisa, and the Epitaphios in the Treasury of Saint Mark's is unmistakable. A theme of Byzantine origin, introduced into the iconographic vocabulary of Western Europe¹⁶ in the twelfth century, it became an especially popular device in the seventeenth century. It suggests not only the sacramental aspects of the first martyrdom, but it also stresses the mystical correspondence between Irene and Sebastian.

In this painting the mystical interdependence of Sebastian and Irene is also indicated not only by his gesture of benediction, but by the manner in which Irene's hand touches the saint's and the second arrow in Sebastian's body. What distinguishes this union from a similar one in the seventeenth century, is that in the Baroque it is Irene, rather than Sebastian, who is the dominating force in the relationship.

In retrospect it is evident that the scene of Saint

Sebastian, while rare, is not unknown in art prior to the seventeenth century. Likewise, it is evident that the visual interpretation of this theme is a highly personal one, that there is no one set iconographic tradition. However, it is equally apparent that despite the various pictorial embellishments there is an underlying unity in the presentation of this aspect of the Sebastian legend. For all, without exception, present the saint as the ever conquering, never suffering hero, the triumphant Christian, never the mortal man. In each Sebastian is admired because of his participation in and triumph over the martyrdom. It is this attitude which these works share with all other Medieval and Renaissance representations of the saint irrespective of their formal or iconographic schemes.

Footnotes

1. Joseph Wilpert, Die Romischen Mosaiken und Malereien der Kirchlichen Bauten vom IV-XIII Jahrhundert, Freiburg, 1917, Vol. II, p. 1005. Wilpert believes there were originally thirteen scenes in the cycle because on the epistular side of the church there were thirteen scenes from the life of St. Zotikus. Presumably D'Ecclési's choice of scenes was determined by the compositions which were still intact in the 13th century. Those remaining, in addition to that of Irene and Sebastian include the first martyrdom, the removal of the body of Sebastian from the sewer, the procession to the tomb, and the burial.
2. J.P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. 17 p. 1056.
3. George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting, Florence 1952, p. 917-927. Biondo has shown the martyrdom, Sebastian preaching, Sebastian beaten with maces, Sebastian thrown in the Cloaca Maxima and Sebastian's soul in heaven.
4. Ibid., p. 917-927. Botticini has shown only three scenes, the one in which the saint is encouraging Marcus and Marcellanus, the one in which he is seized by soldiers and the one in which he is brought before judges.
5. Marguerite Roques, Les Peintures Murales du Sud-est de la France: XIII-XVI. Siecle, Paris 1961.
6. Erich V. Strohmer, Der Altdorfer-Altar in St. Florian, Vienna, 1946.
7. C.R. Post, A History of Spanish Painting, Cambridge, 1928.
8. A.M. Hind, Early Italian Engravings, London, 1938, Vol. I, p.45.
9. George Herzfeld, An Old English Martyrology, London, 1900, no. 116, p. 27.
10. Alfred Stange, Deutsche Malerei der Gotik, Berlin, 1952, Volume V, pl. 167.
11. Ibid., p. 81.
12. Charles Sterling, Les Peintres du Moyen Age, Paris, 1942, p. 27-40, ill. 113.

13. Ibid., p. 39. M. Roques in her book, Les Aports Neerlandans dans la Peinture du Sud-est de la France, Bordeaux, 1963, p. 132-135 identifies the other missing panels.
14. F. Sanchez Canton, Letter, June 22, 1963.
15. Mary Ann Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's painting for the Chiesa Nuova" Art Bulletin, L, 1958, p. 223-238, fig. 7. and fig. 8.
16. Ibid., p. 230.

Chapter III The Birth of a Tradition

Although it is apparent that the legend of Saint Sebastian cared for by Irene is not unknown in art or literature prior to the seventeenth century, it is equally evident that the popularity of this motif as the thematic basis for many paintings of the seicento can be attributed to neither a revival nor a survival of an older literary, pictorial, or ideological tradition. The available pictorial material suggests that the artist of the Baroque, depicting this scene as a self-contained entity, no longer as part of a life cycle; representing Sebastian as the suffering hero rather than as the virile, omnipotent Christian; and portraying Irene not as the mere adjunct of the narrative logic, or the recipient of the saint's blessing, do not depend on their predecessors for either formal or psychological precedents.

In part the initial impetus for this profound quantitative and qualitative development in the presentation of the legend can be attributed to the ramifications of the dictates and decrees of the Council of Trent which were issued almost a half century before they became a wholly integral and accepted part of popular religious and artistic thought.

The most influential decree, from an artistic standpoint,

issued by the Council of Trent emerged from the twenty-fifth session of the Council which took place on December 3rd and 4th, 1563. Dealing specifically with the invocation, and veneration of relics and sacred images it states:

The holy council commands all bishops and others who hold the office of teaching and have charge of the cura animarum, that in accordance with the usage of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, received from the primitive times of the Christian religion, and with the unanimous teaching of the holy Fathers and the decrees of sacred councils, they above all instruct the faithful diligently in matters relating to intercession and invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the legitimate use of images, teaching them that the saints who reign together with Christ offer up their prayers to God for man, that it is good and beneficial suppliantly to invoke them and to have recourse to their prayers, assistance and support in order to obtain favors from God through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone is our redeemer and savior; and that they think impiously who deny that the saints who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven are to be invoked, or who assert that they do not pray for men, or that our invocation of them to pray for each of us individually is idolatry, or that it is opposed to the word of God and inconsistent with the honor of the one mediator of God and man, Jesus Christ, or that it is foolish to pray vocally or mentally to those who reign in heaven. Also, that the holy bodies of the holy martyrs and of others living with Christ and the temple of the Holy Ghost, to be awakened by Him to eternal life and to be glorified, are to be venerated by the faithful, through which many benefits are bestowed by God on men, so that those who maintain that veneration and honor are not due to the relics of the saints, or that these and other memorials are honored by the faithful without profit, and that the places dedicated to the memory of the saints for the purpose of obtaining their aid are visited in vain, are to be utterly condemned, as the Church has already long since condemned and now again condemns them. Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints are to be placed and retained especially in the churches, and

that due honor and veneration is to be given them; not, however that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them by reason of which they are to be venerated, or that something is to be asked of them, or that trust is to be placed in images, as was done of old by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols; but because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent, so that by means of the images which we kiss and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear. That is what was defined by the decrees of the council, especially of the Second Council of Nicaea, against the opponents of images.

Moreover, let the bishops diligently teach that by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be born in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and the gifts bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for these things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety. But if anyone should teach or maintain anything contrary to these decrees let him be anathema. If any abuses shall have found their way into these holy and salutary observances, the holy council desires earnestly that they be completely removed, so that no representation of false doctrines and such as might be the occasion of grave error to the uneducated be exhibited. And if that time happens, when this is beneficial to the illiterate, that the stories and narratives of the Holy Scriptures are portrayed and exhibited, the people should be instructed that not for that reason is the divinity represented in pictures as it can be seen with bodily eyes or expressed in colors or figure. Furthermore, in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, all superstition shall be removed, all filthy quest for gain eliminated, and all lasciviousness avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with a seductive charm, or the celebration of saints and visitation of relics perverted by the people into boisterous

and impiety as did Michelangelo's great figures in the Sistine Chapel.³

The decree also attempted to deal the final blow to the medieval image of the saint as suggested in the Italian engraving, (Fig. 2) the painting by Lieferinxe (Fig. 4), and the panel by the Master of Almudevar (Fig. 5) for it indicated that such saints as Sebastian were no longer capable of dispersing their own benefits and powers to the faithful.⁴ It is not improbable, however, that the demise of this latter attitude toward the saint was abetted by the fact that the protective powers formerly ascribed to Sebastian were being assumed either by his former "functional peer" St. Roch, or by saints of a more local character such as Charles Borromeo of Milan.⁵ Too, one cannot but believe that the development of medical science and the subsequent infrequency, more limited and controlled nature of the pest contributed to the lessening of interest in the old devotional image.

Positively, the great ecumenical council sought to develop a new imagery. In particular it sought to develop an imagery which was historically accurate, exemplary, and God-oriented.

Presumably the desire for authenticity accounts for the re-examination of the hagiographic legend, while the desire for a

festivities and drunkenness, as if the festivals in honor of the saints are to be celebrated with revelry and with no sense of decency.

Finally, such zeal and care should be exhibited by the bishops with regard to the things that nothing may appear that is profane, nothing disrespectful, since holiness becometh the house of God. That these things may be the more faithfully observed, the holy council decrees that no one is permitted to erect or cause to be erected in any place or church, howsoever exempt, any unusual image unless they have been investigated and approved by the same bishop, who, as soon as he has obtained any knowledge of such matters, shall, after consulting theologians and other pious men, act thereon as he shall judge consonant with truth and piety. But if any doubtful or grave abuse concerning these matters should arise, the bishop, before he settles the controversy, shall await the decision of the metropolitan and of the bishops of the province in a provincial synod; so, however, that nothing new or anything that has not hitherto been in use in the Church shall be decided upon without having first consulted the most holy Roman pontiff. (1)

The decree of the Council of Trent was of both a positive and negative nature. Negatively, it sought to eliminate a number of abuses, including the worship of the image itself, the belief in the omnipotent power of the saint, and the acceptance of a multitude of apocryphal legends which had been attributed to the saint.

The decree destroyed the significance of the Renaissance prototype of Sebastian as the nude, virile, hero, the embodiment of a Greek idea, as in the painting done by Andrea Mantegna c. 1475-80, where the saint was to be admired as much for his beauty as for his sacrifice. Essentially, the formal presentation of Sebastian fell heir to the same crisis of impropriety

personage who would sufficiently embody the aims and ambitions of Catholicism accounts for the continued popularity of Sebastian despite the demise of his old image and former significance. For during the Counter-Reformation the church, seeking, in its intellectual and militant reform, to inflame the spirit of its missionaries and to glorify the courage of its martyrs turned to Sebastian as a witness of its aims and ideals. And who is a more logical choice than Sebastian, third patron of the City of Rome, the seat of official Christendom, whose catacombs had just been rediscovered?⁶ Who is a more logical choice than this third century warrior who died not merely for his own devotion, but in the service of the church in the conversion of pagans?

As Emile Male has pointed out, in the seventeenth century Sebastian "was no longer only, as in the Middle Ages the patron of the archers, the intercessor against the pest; he was first a hero for the times who carried witness with his own blood"⁷. This role as "defender of the church" is explicitly stated in the painting by Pacheco (Fig. 6) and in the painting by Domenichino.⁸ His role as a military hero, the original Early Christian conception of the saint, is evident in the painting by Rombouts (Fig. 38), in that by LaTour (Fig. 36),

in that attributed to Riminaldi (Fig. 41), and in the engraving by Lana (Fig. 27), to mention only a few, who indicate this status by placing armor beside the martyr.

But it is not merely the dogma of the Council and its destruction of the old image, its desire for authenticity, or its wish for an example of militant conduct which accounts for the prevalent Sebastian iconography. For the profusion of paintings depicting the events in the life of Sebastian after the first martyrdom are also a reflection of a broader cultural drama. The emergence and popularity of this theme is to a great extent dependent upon its inherent quality as a vehicle for the expression of the theocratic and mystical orientation of the age.

The basis of this theocratic orientation in the seventeenth century was mysticism, that doctrine which states that knowledge is obtainable by direct revelation. As a theory which advocates extreme meditation, it is a factor in determining the philosophic character of the Baroque. It is one of the coherent principles by which one is able to distinguish this era from the cultural entity which precedes and follows it.

The essence of this mysticism was ecstasy. Essentially a supernatural state, it is the twilight zone in which the devout is physically and psychologically suspended between life and death. For the man of the Baroque it was the result

of spiritual obedience, careful direction, and the principal
effect of the Exercises. ⁹ It was for the faithful of the
times, imagery and icon worship having been discouraged, the
sole means of communicating with the Divine.

All the great religious leaders of the Counter-Reformation,
Ignatius of Loyola, who founded the Jesuits, Teresa D'Avila,
the spiritual head of the Carmelites, Filippo Neri, founder of
the Congregation of the Oratory, to mention only a few, were
mystics. Mysticism was not a new element in the life of
the faithful Catholic, nor was it unique to these particular
Catholic leaders. Bernard, Catherine of Siena, and Francis,
the great saints of the twelfth and thirteenth century were
mystics. What distinguishes the mysticism of the seventeenth
century from that of the preceding epochs is the number, the
fervor, and the radiating activity of the believers. ¹⁰ The
mystical experience was no longer limited to a few. It was
not an isolated phenomenon, but a way of life. More
importantly its character had changed. Its purpose was no
longer the revelation of a miracle; it in itself was conceived
as a miracle. It was no longer conceived as a vehicle for
the manifestation of God's will, but as a manifestation of God.

That the church found in the historically authentic
incident of the events in the life of Sebastian after the

sagittation, the outward conditions necessary for the realization of its central religious motive is evident. That the realization of theocratic impulses were of primary import in the development of the new attitude toward Sebastian is unmistakable when one considers that without exception the saint, whether depicted alone, as in the painting by Honthorst,¹¹ cared for by angels as in the painting by Baglione¹² or in that by Vignon,¹³ or attended by Irene, is always in communion with God. In the seventeenth century, Sebastian is seen as the embodiment of the mystic soul, expressing his inward grace through the outward and visible manifestation of ecstasy.

That the church saw Sebastian as the Christian who, having suffered for the faith, near death, in that state of physical and mental limbo essential for communion with the Divine is supported not only by the pictorial evidence, but by the writings of Francesco Pacheco. In his Arte de la Pintura, the Spaniard states that

after the martyrdom, his blessed soul in the midst of pain was in communion with God(14).

The paintings of Sebastian are then the pictorial reflections of the sentiments of Pere Berulle (1575-1629) the founder of the Oratorio's in France who said

the cult of saints is essentially theocratic. So far from distracting us from the incarnate it should lead us to him.

as well as

as saints they exist for us only in so far
as they are united to the person of the word(15).

Thus the attitude toward Sebastian in the seventeenth century distinguishes itself from the attitude toward the saint in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Now he is no longer an object of worship, but an example of piety. Like the death head, he is an instrument through which one can be led to God. He is not the end purpose of the devotion of the faithful, nor is he a force through which God's power is dispersed. God's will resides in Sebastian, but the saint can no longer make manifest the will of God.

The implications of mysticism and its manifold ramifications are also revealed in the new attitude toward the martyrdom. If one examines the paintings of the theme of Irene caring for the wounded martyr done after the early 1620's one finds, with rare exceptions, that Irene attends the martyr at the spot where he was wounded. While this is a logical embellishment of the all too scant text which states only that she attended to him in her home, the fact that in the majority of these cases the tree of martyrdom appears in each, usually with Sebastian still attached to it, indicates that for the man of the seventeenth century the martyrdom

itself was not totally insignificant. What distinguishes the interpretation of the events after the attempted martyrdom from the presentation of the Sebastian legend in earlier decades is that in the preceding epochs Sebastian had been admired because he triumphed over the sagittation, now he is admired because he participates in it. For the man of the Baroque, the sagittation is important because it is the means by which Sebastian is able to enter into communion with God.

Of importance in the development of the Sebastian imagery is the analogy which can be established between this legend and the iconography of the passion. Underlying the diverse paintings of Irene attending Sebastian is the inspiration of the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Lamentation. Of this identity Pariset has said

although the saint is younger, he suffers for him. Tied to a tree, he is the Christ on the column. Extended upon the ground, assisted, sustained by the women saints, he is the Christ of the Deposition. Shown in a cavern as by Schedoni, he is the Christ of the tomb.(17)

The mere existence of these formal parallels is not unique to the seventeenth century. These parallels can be seen in Altdorfer's St. Florian Altarpiece, in Pietro Sorri's Flagellation, and in Domenico Passignano's Entombment. What is significant is that the evolution of the Sebastian iconography parallels

the development of the passion imagery in the Baroque, for during the Counter-Reformation the stress is less on the Crucifixion than on the Lamentation; it is less on the act of dying than on the mystical rebirth of the soul.

The development of the Sebastian imagery in the seventeenth century is witness to the same theological impulses which prompted Caravaggio's Entombment. ²¹ For the man of the Baroque the literary evidence of Sebastian's physical recovery provided the basis for the expression of his spiritual rebirth. The transcendental significance of these "andachtsbilder" is ²² evidenced in the constant reference to the stone of unction, while the eucharistic import of the event is attested to by ²³ the presence of the sacred linen, the chalice-like vessel in the Bowdoin drawing (Fig. 49), and the paten-like plate in Pacheco's painting (Fig. 6).

Inextricably linked with this new imagery is the development of the role and significance of Irene. Here, too, just as there is a parallel between the role of Christ and Sebastian, there is an identity between the role and function of the Virgin and Sebastian's benefactor Irene.

The original identification with the Virgin seems to be a

phenomenon of the late fifteenth century in northern Italy.

In a drawing by Jacopo Bellini (1424-1470?) which is in the
British Museum, there appears a woman present at the sagittation. 24

This is not a wholly unique instance; a woman is also present
at the attempted martyrdom which is depicted on a sculptural
relief by Matteo Civitali (1436-1501) now in the Lucca

²⁵
Cathedral. In both, the passive, devout attitude of the
young and beautiful Irene is comparable to the traditional
Virgin iconography. All that separates the two, and this
may have been done purposefully or out of ignorance, is the
fact that Irene is to the left, rather than to the right of

²⁶
Sebastian.

That an identity between the two existed in the minds of
the Counter-Reformation man is suggested not only by the
pictorial evidence, but also by the writings of the Belgian
Johannes Molanus and the Spaniard Ayala. Both warn that
Sebastian must not be shown on the knee of Irene. ²⁷ Their
statement suggests that they felt the analogy between
Sebastian and Irene, and the Son of God and the Virgin, to be
a bit too close.

One cannot fully understand the importance of Irene and
the popularity of the scene of the widow caring for the wounded

saint unless one realizes the importance of the Virgin in the seventeenth century. Not since the twelfth century had the Virgin assumed a role of such great importance in the religious thought of the devout Catholic. Bremond states

never before had there been celebrated so clearly, so fully the incomprehensible greatness of the mother of God

as well as

never before had souls been so linked to her by so profound a feeling of her rights, founded on a loftier conception of her dignity, and that not by simple outpourings of sentiment, but by discourses full of reason and doctrine...all of which come back to her as the sole foundation of the Incarnate (28)

The primary concern of the writers and painters of the seventeenth century is with the Virgin of the Lamentation. Writers and artists both seek to portray the mystical correspondences between her compassion and Christ's passion, i.e., to direct participation of Mary in the work of the redemption. One can see this concern in the paintings by Rubens and Carracci, and in the writings of Pere Bruelle where he proclaims that

the function of the Virgin is to be attentive to the hidden and spiritual life of her son, to be participating of Jesus and filled with Jesus

as well as

She is the mother of God by state. In this mystery and by this mystery...she enters into the powers of giving her son to the world, a power which dwells in her very

being and which shall never be taken
from her (30)

In addition innumerable chants and prayers draw a parallel between the incarnation and the reincarnation, between the birth of Christ and his rebirth.

This identity between the role of Mary and that of Irene is unmistakable. If Mary shares in the passion of Christ, Irene participates in the ecstatic experience of Sebastian and basks in the reflected glory of his state of Grace. If Mary is necessary to the redemption of her son, Irene is essential to the revival of Sebastian. Pictorially this mystical relationship between Sebastian and Irene is expressed in many ways. Compositionally it is suggested in the painting by Stanzioni (Fig. 31) and in that by LaTour (Fig. 34), in the pyramidal organization of the figures which traditionally has been used by those portraying the Pieta. Spada (Fig. 30) employs the geometry of the circle to indicate the eternal union between the saint and his benefactor, while Gimignani in his engraving (Fig. 28) and Rombouts in his painting (Fig. 36) show Irene holding the arm of the wounded martyr in a manner identical to the Virgin's gesture in Rubens' Lamentation. It is this union which distinguishes the paintings of Irene attending Sebastian from all other seventeenth century

paintings which also depict the saint in ecstasy after the martyrdom.

This union, however, is not totally new. It was suggested in the fifteenth century in the painting by the Master of Alameda (Fig. 5). What is unique and peculiar to the seventeenth century is the consistency with which it is employed and the fact that Sebastian is no longer the powerful, omnipotent force in the relationship. In the Bowdoin drawing (Fig. 49), in the painting attributed to Cavallino (Fig. 15), and in the painting by Schedoni (Fig. 50) Irene has her hand raised in blessing. Presumably this gesture, which is indeed in opposition to the dictates of the Council of Trent, was accepted during the Baroque because it grew out of, and was incorporated into the narrative action, rather than conceived as an independent entity.

Irene is not only identified with the Virgin, but with Mary Magdalene. Kneeling at the foot of Sebastian as in the painting by Rombouts (Fig. 36), holding the vase of unction as in the Bowdoin drawing (Fig. 49), dressed as Caravaggio's figure in the composition after Georges de LaTour (Fig. 34),³¹ and identical to Ribera's Magdalene from Ossunta in the Poitiers painting,³² the widow of Castulus thus assumes the attributes of the

penitent sinner.

The popularity of the scene of Irene caring for the wounded saint can also be seen as an outgrowth of that age which saw God "manifesting himself primarily in the order of Charity".³³ Pacheco calls Irene "a symbol of peace and mercy",³⁴ while a painting by A. Bellucci done at the end of the century is entitled Sebastian attended by Faith and Charity.³⁵ In her exemplary conduct Irene is, like Sebastian, a witness to the dictates of the Council of Trent and a reflection of the ideas of popular religious leaders like Filippo Neri who stressed simple and humble acts of devotion. She is the embodiment of an age, which in spite of itself, felt that the Protestant emphasis on good works was a necessary criterion for salvation.

This scene of Irene attending the saint is also born out of those same impulses which gave birth to a profusion of paintings depicting the parables. In particular there is the formal and iconographic identity between this legend and that of the Good Samaritan, as illustrated in the paintings of Carl Loth.³⁶ In each the ideological identity between the wounded heroes, both of whom are ^{seen} as prefigurations of Christ, and the similarity of the role and function of Irene and the Levite is evident. It is interesting that the Baroque masters chose to represent from the several episodes

of the legend the moment when the Good Samaritan, having found the unfortunate traveller, binds his wounds and places him on his horse. An allegorical reference to the power of Christ's love, ³⁷ it is identical in its significance and meaning to the seventeenth century interpretation of the Sebastian and Irene story.

This episode from the Early Christian legend parallels not only the choice and interpretation of events from the Bible, but it also forms a pictorial and ideological counterpart to the presentation of themes from contemporary "sacred" literature such as Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered. ³⁸ Tasso's story of Erminia caring for the wounded Tancred shares an unmistakable, although undoubtedly unconscious, identity with the legend of Irene attending Sebastian. In this epic, the beautiful Erminia, here a virgin rather than a widow, finds Tancred, who like Sebastian had been left for dead by the infidels. Like her counterpart, Erminia cures the wounded warrior, here with her tears rather than sacred water. She binds his wounds and thus "drives him from his deadly sleep".

³⁹ In a painting by Guercino, ⁴⁰ and in two by Poussin, the prostrate form of the nearly dead Tancred, the young and virile warrior, is not unlike the figure of Sebastian in the painting after LaTour (Fig. 45). Likewise, the figure of Irene, her

hand raised in that ambiguous gesture of surprise and benediction, as in the painting by Luigi Miradori (Fig. 35) and Matthias Stomer (Fig. 33) shares much with the figure of Erminia in Guercino's work. At the same time the figure of her faithful servant Vafrine and that of Irene's assistant in the painting by Rombouts (Fig. 36) have much in common.

Formal analogies between the legend of Sebastian and Irene and that of the episode in which Armida gazes upon the sleeping Rinaldo are also evident, although there is an obvious lack of correspondence between the two texts. The central protagonists in Poussin's painting in the Hermitage⁴¹ are not unlike those in the paintings by LaTour, (Fig. 34), Regneri (Fig. 48), or Rombouts (Fig. 36).

In addition to these, other pictorial parallel can be seen between the presentation of various classical myths and the representation of the Early Christian legend. While textual details differ, the formal similarity and the interpretive identity between Cittadini's Cephalus and Procris,⁴² or Poussin's Venus and Adonis,⁴³ and the Sebastian legend are unmistakable. In the latter work by the French classicist Venus, pouring water over the young hero, has assumed one of the attributes usually ascribed to Irene.⁴⁴

That there should be this identity between Sebastian and

the heroes of classical mythology and contemporary literature is not unique to the Baroque. Since the seventh century the saint has been identified with Apollo.⁴⁵ Alice Kemp-Welch⁴⁶ points out his probable association with Mithras, while the story of Cephalus and Procris appears as a background motif⁴⁷ in Aspertini's painting of Saint Sebastian, now in the National Gallery.

Rensselaer Lee in his article "Ut Pictura Poesis" points out that during the seventeenth century such artistic and literary borrowing was common.⁴⁸ Of significance is not merely the existence of these parallels, but their implications as a key to the culture of the Baroque. What distinguishes these borrowings from those of the Renaissance, an era which likewise looked back to antiquity for its inspiration, is that the seventeenth century is concerned not with the all conquering hero, but with one that is dead or dying. Behind the figures in Baroque paintings lies not the figure of Apollo, but that of Endymion.⁴⁹

Lee, too, suggests that it is the idyllic potential of these legends which accounts for their ascendancy in the Baroque pictorial vocabulary. Speaking of their popularity he said

(it is not merely) their intrinsic beauty

and human interest, but they had behind them a long tradition of pastoral import and literature extending back into antiquity with its implication of escape from the weary, complex life of the cities, and its haunting reference to the Golden Age when the happy idyllic life prevailed (50)

It is this idyllic potential, within the tragic nature of Sebastian's martyrdom that is expressed in the seventeenth century. With rare exceptions Sebastian is cared for in the field where he was martyred. This use of landscape is not an element unique to the seventeenth century presentation of the legend. The Master of the Holy Kin (Fig. 3) and the Anonymous Italian employed it in his engraving (Fig. 2). However, for these artists it was a purely descriptive element. For the painter of the Counter-Reformation, it is an evocative force, a subjective entity capable of expressing a mood and state of being.

While it is possible to speak of a new attitude inherent in the presentation of the Sebastian legend during the seventeenth century, to suggest the character of the Baroque digressions from prior pictorial and ideological traditions, and to indicate the nature of the cultural milieu from which these new possibilities emerged, such a discussion says little of the variety of formal types as of the diversity of iconographic inuendos. Thus it is the purpose of the second part

of this chapter to distinguish between the different modes of representation and to analyse the individual iconographic traditions.

As with the more medieval representations of this theme there is no one country or school in which the motif of Irene caring for the saint is singularly popular. The evolution of this motif is an international phenomenon. Likewise one can point to no indigenous iconographic or formal tradition, not to any linear or chronological development of pictorial schemes or symbolic ideas.

However, despite the heterogeneous character of the specific formal and iconographic combinations the presentation of the legend is not wholly anarchic expression of individualistic impulses. In addition to those basic cultural reflections which we have previously discussed, one can see that the realization of the inherent potential of the theme is an Italian phenomenon. Not only are the greater number of paintings dealing with the theme by Italians, but when the motif is illustrated by artists of other nationalities, it is done only by those artists who themselves have made the Grand Tour. ⁵¹

Secondly, the majority of works, with such notable exceptions as the engravings by Lana (Fig. 26) and Gimignani (Fig. 27) are recognizable by their material and compositional

simplicity which borders on austerity, their intense physical and spiritual devotion, and by their concern with the inner rather than external drama. Reflecting for the most part the ideals of the Caravaggists, these works, if one may be permitted a pun, are pictorial presentation of Irenics, that branch of philosophy which seeks to promote Christian unity by magnifying the essentials and minimizing the non-essentials in the theological argument.

Thirdly, and most importantly, there is a cohesion in the presentation of this legend which resides in the fact that the visual and symbolic illustration of this legend is based upon a formal and iconographic adaptation of the passion trilogy. Underlying the diverse paintings of Irene caring for Saint Sebastian is the inspiration of the imagery of the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Lamentation.

It is this scheme which provides the basis for the following discussion of the representations of the Sebastian legend. However, as an arrangement which provides a coherent pattern for the discussion, it does to a degree distort the true picture of the evolution of the Sebastian imagery. In quantitative and qualitative importance the use of this scheme in adapting it to the Sebastian legend is in reverse of its

original chronological order. To the artist of the Baroque the "Pieta" scheme was the most significant, insofar as one can determine a chronology for the evolution of the Sebastian imagery it was the earliest to be developed and the most exploited. The "Deposition" is next and the "Crucifixion" was the last to be developed, the latter being produced only by those artists not wholly in the ideological mainstream of the seventeenth century.

The one exception to this scheme of the passion trilogy and its innumerable variations and combinations is the work by Francesco Pacheco (1564-1654) done in 1616 for the Hospital of Saint Sebastian in Guadania (Fig. 6).⁵⁷ Destroyed in a fire in 1936 the painting is described by Pacheco himself in his Arte de la Pintura, which was published in 1638. Of his work Pacheco said

Saint Sebastian, looking about forty years old, was painted in the middle of the picture, in a bed, seated, with a bowl and spoon of pink syrup, and with that saintly widow, Irene, who cured him of his wounds, who standing accompanies him.

A table at the head of the bed, with a little glass of balm and some lint (for dressing wounds) on a plate, which a maid is bringing. The saintly matron is holding in her right hand an olive branch which she uses to keep the flies away, a symbol of peace the name of which

signifies that of Irene, a symbol of mercy as well. Next to the bed some arrows tied with a bloody garment of the saint which he wore for his second martyrdom. In the wall a window, through which the saint is seen in the country, tied to a tree, where they are shooting at him with arrows; at one side above his head is hanging a shield with its buckler which is also for defense; in the middle of the SHIELD a red cross on a field of gold, which represents his charity and his martyrdom; as a crest, at the top, two arrows crossed in the form of an X and around them a festoon of the flowers and fruits of May; below are hanging two knotted sticks, instruments of the last martyrdom, through which he met his end by order of Diocletian, on the shield an inscription on a board which says DEFENSOR ECCLESIA (52)

The painting is a curious work. The prolific and overt symbolism, the idea of a narrative sequence suggested by the portrayal of the first martyrdom in the window, indicates a mental habit more in keeping with the past than with the seventeenth century. Equally out of the mainstream of contemporary thought is the idea of a bearded and dressed saint, Sebastian the nobleman, rather than Sebastian the warrior. Likewise, in contrast to all but two other Baroque works, the painting by Spada (Fig. 32) and the engraving by Gimignani (Fig. 28), Sebastian is portrayed in a house. No doubt when Pacheco painted the work he meant the interior to have a dual meaning, to refer to both the house of Irene of which the

canonical writers (although not Pacheco) speak, and to the hospital for which the work was commissioned.⁶⁰ If indeed this is so, it indicates an attitude on the part of Pacheco, which is not unlike that of Lieferinxé (Fig. 4) who sought to take a generalized factor and convert it into one that had specific meaning for the donors. Equally medieval is the placing of the saint in bed. As this motif is found elsewhere only in the painting by the Master of Almudevar (Fig. 5) it would seem safe to assume that this is an indigenous Spanish tradition.

Like his contemporaries Pacheco has indicated the ecstasy of Sebastian, and he has shown the beneficence of Irene. However, Pacheco's Sebastian seems less thankful than indignant, hence his interpretation of the saint's ecstasy has more in common with the provincial paintings such as that by Miradori (Fig. 38) and that by Rustici (Fig. 25) and is essentially out of the mainstream of contemporary expression. Likewise, while the gesture of Irene recalls that of the widow in the Bowdoin drawing (Fig. 49) it too distinguishes itself from this and other similar works in that the gesture does not grow out of a narrative action, but exists as a separate entity. At the same time there is no sense of reciprocity between the saint and his benefactor, nor is there any indication, portrayed through their physical union, of the mystical union between the two as is found in the painting by Terbrugghen (Fig. 22).

Turning now to a discussion of those works whose formal arrangement and iconographic implications are derived from the passion trilogy, one can find four known works depicting Irene caring for the wounded saint which clearly reveal a parallelism with the first event of this trilogy, that of the martyrdom. What unites these works, despite other iconographic diversities, is the eclectic and reactionary interpretations of the figure of Sebastian. In each, the saint, standing upright and still bound to the tree, is portrayed as healthy and virile. His whole being emanates a strength, power, and sensuousness which is more characteristic of the Renaissance than of the Baroque. Throughout the stress is on the outward rather than on the inward drama. The narrative elements take precedence over the symbolic ones, and the lack of physical intimacy in the organization of the protagonists detracts from the psychological and spiritual union that is the essence of the majority of seventeenth century paintings.

A painting which typifies this iconographic scheme is that by Giovanni Dominico Cerrini (1609-1681) (Fig. 7) dated c. 1640⁵³ and now in Rome in the Colonna Gallery. Here the lovely, virile, semi-nude saint is standing bound, by both arms, to the tree behind him. The eclectic quality is manifest in the figure of Sebastian which recalls the presentation of the saint by Titian,⁵⁴ as well as in the interpretation of the scene.

Sebastian is attended by two females who rush toward him like angels of mercy. The one, kneeling before the saint as she tends his wounds recalls the adoring figure in the fifteenth century painting by Liefernxe (Fig. 4). What links this work to the spirit of the seventeenth century is the twilight landscape, which casting a soft glow over the whole, evokes the mood of the saint.

With slight variations, the type of Sebastian found in Cerrini's painting is repeated in a German relief dated 1634⁵⁵ and signed by the otherwise anonymous master A.F. (Fig. 8). While the excessive, flamboyant, sense of drama which pervades the whole is peculiarly German, the rest of the imagery is a curious mixture of motifs. None are wholly original with this German master, although the visual symbols which he incorporates into his relief are not those most commonly used by artists who depict this theme. None of the three women who approach Sebastian attends to his wounds. Instead the Master A.F. seems to have illustrated that moment when Irene "coming to bury him, found him alive". The "discovery" of Sebastian is portrayed elsewhere, and then only tentatively, in the otherwise wholly different paintings by Luigi Miradori (Fig. 38) and in that attributed to Mattias Stomer (Fig. 31). The presence of a trio, perhaps analogous to the three Mary's at the tomb, is found in

only one seventeenth century painting, that by Schedoni (Fig. 50), although it is a common motif in eighteenth century paintings.

The third female who has her hands raised in the traditional gesture of mourning, as well as the ascending pyramidal

arrangement of this group indicates that this Master, like

de LaTour (Fig. 45) was familiar with Caravaggio's Entombment. 56

The geographical, formal, and stylistic diversity of this 'martyrdom' scheme is evident in the painting by Bernardo Strozzi (1581-1644) done for the church of S. Benedetto (Fig. 9).

The painting by the Capuchin who went to Venice in 1626 is mistakenly, but indicatively called the Martyrdom of Saint

⁵⁷ Sebastian. The saint is in the center of the composition.

His hands raised above him, bound to the tree, suggest the orantes figures of the early Christian era. Encircling the saint are two elegant females. Above him are three putti.

The latter, indicative of a taste for the mingling of the natural and the supernatural, not only add to the outward drama, but as a visible symbol of the divine spirit, they suggest an iconography which stands in opposition to the majority of paintings dealing with this theme, in which the artists make the imminence of this spirit manifest through the ecstatic expression of Sebastian.

Waterhouse has said that Strozzi "was almost alone in understanding how to continue the great Venetian sixteenth century tradition and translate it into a Baroque idiom". Certainly this observation which while it pertained to Strozzi's stylistic developments is applicable to his iconography supports the contention of this thesis that the vision of those working within this iconographic scheme tends to be reactionary. Here the overt drama, the muscular figure of Sebastian, the omission of the stone of unction, the lack of spiritual and physical contact between the adoring protagonists and the saint, indicate a taste more in keeping with the past than with the quiet mysticism usually associated with the seventeenth century presentation of this theme.

The vertically extended, frontal presentation of the saint is reiterated in a painting by Andrea Vaccaro (1589-1670) which is now in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 10).⁵⁹ A curious mixture, the arrangement and presentation of the saint indicates the iconography of the "martyrdom" while the interpretation of the events is primarily a reflection of Vaccaro's Neapolitan heritage. Here the tenebroso, the subdued, personal emotional expression, the private ecstasy of the saint, the pronounced reference to the stone of unction,

and even the peculiar drapery which is tied with a rope, indicate the all-pervasive spirit of the Spanish expatriate Jusepe Ribera (Figs. 11, 39, 40) in the vision of Vaccaro. Likewise, the encircling females do not suggest, as in the painting by Strozzi (Fig. 9), the adoration of the saint, but rather, approaching him from the rear, the imagery of the "presentation."

Vaccaro's painting is closely associated with another iconographic grouping, one which can be seen to form a bridge between those works which recall the sagittation and those which are meant to suggest the symbolism of the deposition. This group, a transitional one, is comprised of paintings by Ribera and those closely associated with him. They are characterized, despite various diversities, by the fact that in each, Sebastian is attended by two females, and the saint is still bound to the tree, his hands raised above him in a manner indicating the imagery of the martyrdom, while the slumped position of his body suggests the descent implicit in a depositional scheme. In this formal corpus one feels a psychological affinity with the saint in the Flagellation by Pietro Sorri. Hence, one is more acutely aware of the

persistence of pain, than of its inevitable relief through the saintly ministrations of Irene, as is inherent in the Deposition and Pieta schemes.

The most popular composition which presents this iconographic scheme is that by Jusepe Ribera (1588-1656) (Fig. 11).⁶⁰ Today a copy of the lost original exists in the Valencia Museum of Fine Arts, in the Bonacossi Collection in Florence,⁶¹ and in the San Marino National Museum. The latter work is attributed to Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (1570?-1637?), a contemporary and close friend of the Spaniard, who in his own day was an equally prominent painter.

In the Valencia composition, the upright but slumped figure of Sebastian, which recalls that of Endymion by Annibale Carracci in the Farnese Gallery,⁶² is placed frontally within the dark, undescribed background, a favorite of Ribera. Sebastian's head is thrown back in the traditional ecstatic manner. His eyes are closed and his lips are barely parted as he submits to the ministrations of Irene and the will of God. One recognizes in the conception of the saint the familiar Riberesque trademarks; the realism of the hands discolored from lack of circulation, the presence of the stone of unction upon which Sebastian rests his knee, and the drapery held together

by a rope.

As in all the paintings by Ribera, Irene and her servant are to the right of Sebastian. Their ascending arrangement suggests an abbreviation of the formal organization which has become familiar through LaTour's Berlin composition (Fig. 45). Irene is kneeling behind the saint as she removes an arrow from his armpit. Another remains in his body. Her face is half hidden in the shadows as she gazes intently at the wound as if it, rather than the ecstatic saint, were an object of piety. In contrast to the elegant, youthful females in the painting by Cerrini (Fig. 7) and Strozzi (Fig. 9), Sebastian's benefactor is more mature and her round face reveals a plebian character.

Behind Irene, holding a jar of balm similar to that in the Philadelphia painting which has been attributed to Ribera (Fig. 14), is Irene's servant. She neither aids her mistress, nor looks at the wounded saint as are the common attitudes. Rather she gazes unseeingly outward at the outlooker. It is this unfathomable gesture which links her with the servant in Ribera's painting of 1631 (Fig. 40). Here, however, one feels her authority; she is not merely a subsidiary in the ministrations to the saint. For the orientation of her hands, not unlike

that of the servant in the painting in the Galleria d'Arte Antica Fig. 15), suggests that she transmits a life-giving or spiritual power to the kneeling Irene.

The most imaginative interpretation of this lost work by Ribera is that by Luca Giordano (1632-1703) now in the Dresden Museum (Fig. 12).⁶³ For the most part the iconography and formal organization of this composition by the most important artist in the second generation of Ribera's Neapolitan followers, follows that set forth by the Spaniard. The changes, however, are subtle but important, for they reveal not only an intensely personal interpretation of the event, but they reflect a new emotional attitude which is more in keeping with that of the High Baroque.

In this painting Giordano has again captured the ecstasy of the saint but here, in opposition to the work in Valencia, the emotions of the saint are not placed squarely before the viewer. Rather the face of the saint, turned from the spectator and half hidden in the shadows, suggests the highly personal, rather than public nature of Sebastian's experience. As before, Irene is to the right of Sebastian, but now she is clearly kneeling before the saint as she wipes the wound on his side. Her more humble position suggests that she has come not merely to attend the saint, but also to adore him. As she does not gaze at the wound, but directs her vision toward the

face of Sebastian one feels that Giordano wishes to stress less the pragmatic reasons for her visit than its spiritual implications. Likewise the servant, who again is standing behind Irene holding a jar of balm, ⁶⁴ directs her vision not toward the spectator as before, but toward the ecstatic saint.

In addition to these innovations, Giordano has eliminated any reference to the stone of unction, and has added two cherubs and a horse. The cherubs, traditionally a symbol of the martyr's triumph over death, seem to be the vehicle by which Giordano connotes Sebastian's impending physical resurrection. The horse presumably grew out of the same kind of literal thinking that originally produced the servant of Irene. Both these additions and the omission indicate Giordano's greater feeling for narrative drama.

An interesting aspect of this painting is the drawing by Giordano now in the Albertina (Fig. 13). ⁶⁵ It reiterates the artist's awareness of many visual sources, and his desire to experiment and portray the manifold implications of the theme. The drawing has been considered the first idea for the painting in Dresden. ⁶⁶ Certainly the action of the drawing in which Irene removes an arrow from Sebastian's side, suggests a time sequence

which precedes that of the painting. However, the greater intimacy of the whole indicated by the more compact composition - perhaps derived from the 1628 Ribera (Fig. 40) - and the physical contact between the servant and Sebastian - a rare detail in those works inspired by the Spaniard - indicate a psychological and artistic maturity not as clearly evidenced in the Dresden composition. Too, the presence of the stone of unction, the omission of the cherubs and the horse, and the suggestion of pain indicated by the extended body of the saint and the forward position of his head indicates an intensification of the spiritual and mystical implications of the scene.

Allied with the imagery of the Valencia composition and those by Giordano is a painting now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art which has been attributed to both Ribera and ⁶⁷ Giordano (Fig. 14). Incorporating all the devices of the Neapolitan school in the dark setting, the rope tied drapery, the blood drained hands, and in the number and description of Sebastian's attendants, the iconography of the painting is a kind of extension of the imagery suggested by the Albertina drawing. The orantes position of Sebastian's hands imply the iconography of the "martyrdom" while his extended form suggests that of the lamentation. Here it is the open,

loop-like arrangement which is not in accord with the traditional Pieta scheme.

This same loop-like composition is employed in a painting now in Rome's Galleria d'Arte Antica (Fig. 15). Attributed to both Bernardo Cavallino (1616-1654) and Mattia Pretti (1613-1699),⁶⁸ the painting like that in Philadelphia is a composite of images, for the slumped figure of Sebastian recalls the Valencia saint (Fig. 11) but the manner in which he is attached to the tree, here by one arm raised above him suggests the iconography normally associated with the descent.

Turning now to a discussion of those paintings which manifest a direct affinity with the symbolism of the deposition, one is confronted with two main types. The one, and by far the more important type, is that in which the deposition of Sebastian from the tree of martyrdom is not actually depicted, but merely implied by the positioning of the saint's body. The other is that in which the deposition is actually portrayed.

An excellent example of the former type is a painting attributed to a follower of Ribera and now in the museum at Poitiers (Fig. 16).⁶⁹ The painting shows Sebastian seated upon a large rectangular stone. His head is slumped forward thus indicating both the physical exhaustion of the saint, as well as the inwardly directed nature of his mystical

experience. Sebastian's hands are extended diagonally across the composition in opposition to the axial orientation of his body. His right hand touches the stone upon which he sits. His left hand, still bound to the tree, is raised above Irene as if in blessing. Irene is kneeling before the martyr. She holds the saint's knee with her left hand and with her right hand she wipes the wound on his thigh. Her gaze however is directed not toward her task, but toward the spot where the servant is holding Sebastian. Focused as it is upon what would otherwise be little more than a functional detail, it suggests that the hand of the servant which is touching the wound in Sebastian's side, is consciously arranged to exploit through formal means the iconography of the Doubting Thomas legend. The reference thus presented is not only that of the deposition, but also that of the spiritual and physical metamorphosis which the saint underwent.

That the artist did wish to incorporate the iconography of the deposition into his composition is most vividly revealed by the visual proximity between this work and that of the Descent from the Cross by Ribera which is now in the Rodrigues collection in Madrid. ⁷⁰ While the figure of Sebastian is the reverse of Christ, the mannerisms of the hand, the position

of the head, and the dead weight of Sebastian's body, are identical to that of the figure of Christ. Likewise the servant of Irene is conceived in a manner which reveals a kinship with the figure of Joseph. Hidden in the deep shadows his body is barely illuminated by that mysterious source of light which focuses on the bodies of the respective martyrs.

This analogy with the iconography of the Descent is also supported by the parallel between this work and the figure of the saint in the Deposition of Sebastian by Domenico Passignano ⁷¹ which is in the Borghese. The influence of the Descent imagery is reflected, too, in the fact that the servant of Irene is a man. An unusual detail, it appears also in the painting by Bylert (Fig. 17), and Rombouts (Fig. 36).

The painting at Poitiers can be seen as a classic statement of the theme. Like Myron, in his conception of the discus thrower, the master of his work has captured the scene in its ideal moment. The composition suggests the imminence of the preceding events as well as the nature of the events to come. At the same time there is an equilibrium between the sacrificial and sacramental character of the martyrdom.

Closely associated with the painting at Poitiers is that

by Jan Bylert (1603-1671) dated 1624 and now in the Harrach Gallery in Vienna. (Fig. 17).⁷² As in the painting at Poitiers this master from Utrecht who spent the early 1620's in Italy has placed the scene before a dark, undescribed background. As before, Sebastian is seated and is attended by two, one of whom is a male.

There exists a striking iconographic diversity between the two such formally similar compositions. Here Sebastian's eyes are open, he does not touch the stone of unction, the servant holds the arm of the saint rather than his body, and Irene is concerned solely with the task of removing the arrow from the chest of Sebastian. Thus the painting is of a more pragmatic and less mystical nature. Gone is any reference to the Doubting Thomas imagery and its suggestion as to the physical and spiritual metamorphosis which Sebastian has undergone.

Another variation of this deposition motif is found in a painting of the Bolognese school dated to the early 1620's which is now in the Hermitage (Fig. 18).⁷³

In opposition to the Poitiers painting and that by Bylerts, with which this anonymous work shares a formal identity, despite the twilight setting and reverse orientation of Sebastian's body, this painting reveals a less pragmatic

approach. Here Irene and her servant, now a female, does not attend to Sebastian's wounds, nor even look at him, but rather are involved in a conversation between themselves. Their passive nature indicates that couched within the composition is the imagery of the Presentation, a theme fully exploited in the painting by Cornelis van Poelenburgh (Fig. 19).

The undated painting by Van Poelenburgh (Fig. 19) which is now in the Copenhagen National Museum was probably done after Van Poelenburgh's return from Italy in 1622. As is traditional in deposition schemes the ecstatic Sebastian is seated, here frontally, before a large tree. He is attended only by Irene. This rare, though not unique detail, appears also in the paintings by Van Gost (Fig. 20), Sandrart (Fig. 26), Acebado (Fig. 44) as well as in two anonymous paintings, one in Madrid (Fig. 43), one in Modena (Fig. 42). Irene supports the body of the saint by holding him under his right arm and raising the left hand, now detached from the tree, in a gesture of triumph. The imagery corresponds to that of the Presentation of Christ by the angels as found in the work of Taddeo Zuccher⁷⁵o.

The theme of the Presentation as a secondary motif is evident in the painting by the Flemish Master Jacob van Gost (1601-1671),

now in Brussels in the Poterie. In all probability van Oost conceived of the composition during or after his journey to Italy which began in 1621. One immediately recognizes the diagonally oriented figure of Sebastian, his head thrown forward, his one arm raised and bound to the tree, which is the traditional formal arrangement for the deposition iconography. Irene alone attends the saint. Kneeling behind the saint as she removes the arrow from his left side, she appears to be presenting the saint to the world. Van Oost's most significant innovation within the confines of traditional imagery is revealed in the figure of Sebastian. For the saint, his right foot placed upon the great stone before him immediately recalls the figure of Piero della Francesca's majestic Christ of the Resurrection.⁷⁷ Van Oost thus emphasises less the suffering or ecstatic saint than the triumphant martyr. Sebastian is now the conquering hero who has overcome his physical torture and spiritual tribulation.

The widespread popularity of this deposition scheme is reflected in the painting attributed to the Theodule Bijot⁷⁸ (Fig. 21). An iconographic anomaly it can only be understood if one views it as a misunderstanding of the descent imagery.

Although there are many paintings which imply the iconography of the deposition there are only two which actually

show Irene and her servant removing the saint from the tree of martyrdom. One, and by far the more exquisite representation, is by the Dutch "Caravaggist" Hendrick Terbrugghen (1588-1629) (Fig. 22).⁷⁹ The other is a work by an anonymous Bolognese master (Fig. 23).⁸⁰

The painting by this Catholic artist from Utrecht who spent the years 1604-1614 in Italy is now in Oberlin, in the Allen Memorial Art Museum. The first illustration of this theme in the north,⁸¹ it was commissioned by a Dutch shooting company in 1623 and completed in 1625.⁸² In the painting Terbrugghen has shown the nearly dead Sebastian seated, his head slumped forward, his right arm still bound to the tree behind him. Behind Sebastian is the young Irene who supports the wounded saint as she removes an arrow from his side. Her gesture, a subtle expression of her power of benediction, is found in several paintings, among them that by Schedoni (Fig. 50). Standing behind Irene is her maid who is untying Sebastian's arm from the tree. The whole is set in a twilight landscape. With its calm, quiet feeling indicated by the subdued tones of red, gold, blue, and purple, it evokes the awesome stillness associated with the twilight stage in the martyr's life. The lone tree in the distance, its almost barren

branches reaching upward, indicates not only the proximity of death, the stoicism of the martyr, but the isolation of the saint in the moment of his earthly trials.

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The painting is a composite of pictorial sources and religious symbolism. We have here not only a description of the deposition, but a reference to the imagery of the Pieta. In addition to the familiar stone of unction, Terbrugghen has employed the triangular composition associated with the Lamentation and so placed the saint that he appears to be supported on the lap of Irene. In addition, Terbrugghen's ability not only to assimilate, but to innovate is reflected in the nature of the cloth which covers the stone. It is not merely the sacred winding cloth for its rich design suggest the noble status of the saint, while the pomegranate motif indicates the resurrection and immortality of the martyr.

In this painting, Terbrugghen's originality lies not only in the particular, but also in the whole. One cannot but feel that the Northern Protestantism which surrounded this artist has invaded his thinking. The genre character of the scene, the direct personal approach to religion, the inner grace and radiance of Irene, and the stress which is equally placed on Irene's charity, as well as Sebastian's suffering, suggests the integration of Protestant ideas with the mystical

orientation of the artist. Terbrugghen's painting strikes a balance between the two.

Although the painting attributed to the Carracci School (Fig. 23) in the Frankfort Museum portrays the same dramatic moment as did the Utrecht Master, it lacks the pictorial and ideological completeness of Terbrugghen's work. The horizontal format, the manner in which the figures are disposed across the foreground and the absence of the stone of unction takes away from the emotional intensity achieved in the Dutch painting. While a mystical relationship does exist between the protagonists - Sebastian's hands are extended in blessing as are those of the servant who untiles his arm - it is de-emphasized.

A re-interpretation of the figure of Sebastian as conceived by this anonymous Italian is employed in the engraving by Pierre Brebiette (1598-1650) which is signed and dated 1636 (Fig. 24). That this master who spent the years between 1617 and 1626 in Italy should incorporate this figure into his work and yet arrange the whole into a composition more closely allied with the iconography of the lamentation than that of the descent, indicates that whereas the master of the Frankfort painting has described the deposition of Sebastian, his formal presentation does not immediately convey the symbolic

scheme of the Descent.

Brebiette's engraving is a strange combination of source material. In addition to the inspiration of this Bolognese Master, the attitude of the two women recalls that of the women in Schedoni's painting (Fig. 50) and in that by Francesco Rustici (Fig. 25), while the vial of unction is similar to that in Vacarro's painting (Fig. 10). However, the soldiers in the background, whose presence indicates the narrative character of the events, reflect the native heritage of Brebiette since they appear elsewhere only in the painting by Eustache LeSeur (Fig. 29).

This diversity in the borrowing of the motifs and the highly personal re-interpretation of such motifs is seemingly characteristic of those works dealing with the Sebastian theme which were produced out of the mainstream of contemporary thought. Such is the case with the painting by Francesco Rustici now in the Borghese Gallery (Fig. 25).⁸⁶ The atypical is here evidenced in the figure of Sebastian, his imploring expression, in the harsh glance of the old woman and in the cold manner in which Irene attends the saint.

The impact of the seated Sebastian of the Deposition upon the vision of the Baroque painter is an all-pervasive phenomenon. An example of the misuse and misinterpretation of this formal

and iconographic scheme is evident in two paintings by the German Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688), (Fig. 26)⁸⁷ (Fig. 26a)⁸⁸. Not only does the figure of the seated Sebastian, bound to the tree by both arms, one raised, the other out to his side, appear nowhere else in this awkward, non-symbolic combination, but the nervous, highly agitated character of the saint who casts an imploring glance upward at the cherubs is out of keeping with all but the most provincial interpretations of the ecstasy of the saint.

Equally in contrast to the taste of other contemporary painters is Sandrart's use of light. In the 1658 painting (Fig. 26a) which is for the most part an elaboration of the earlier composition, the torch light suggests the fantastic, unearthly character of the scene, while the halo which emanates from Sebastian's head in the 1644 painting (Fig. 26) suggests his supernatural nature. Neither are in accord with the dictates of the Council of Trent, or the taste of contemporary Italian artists.

Although Sandrart has placed the scene in a night setting, in accord with the literary legend, the lack of equality between the saint and nature is unique. Sebastian no longer dominates his universe but is subordinate to it. Too, one feels that

nature is not wholly a benevolent force. It does not cushion the saint from the world as in the painting at Besançon (Fig. 41) but rather seems to isolate him from contact with humanity. Its old, bent, and warped character implies not the resurrection of Sebastian but his mortality. Here, coupled with the animism, is a fatalism which is more in keeping with the art of the eighteenth century than with the imagery and iconography of the Early and High Baroque.

Elsewhere the figure of the seated Sebastian is employed not, as in Terbrugghen's painting (Fig. 22) as part of the deposition iconography but, as in the tenth century fresco at Santa Maria Pallara (Fig. 1) as merely a convenient, and not illogical means, to describe the events after the deposition. In none of these works is there any reference to the Descent as Sebastian has been fully detached from the tree of martyrdom.

One such work which employs the device of the seated Sebastian merely for its narrative convenience rather than as a symbolic device, is an engraving by Ludivico Lana (1594-1646) (B. 4) dated 1643 (Fig. 27). The engraving by this provincial Bolognese Master is unusual because the melancholy Sebastian is attended not only by Irene and her female servant, but by two men. Thus, in this engraving Lana has expanded the iconography

implied in the Poitiers' painting (Fig. 16). Here Irene and her attendant no longer assume the attributes of Joseph and Nicodemus for now both of the old gentlemen of the deposition are portrayed in the same historical setting.

Lana has very carefully divided his composition. On the left, and behind Sebastian, who is now seated upon his armor rather than the stone of unction, are two men. The younger one supports the saint while the older man removes an arrow from his shoulder. Intent on their work, they thus have assumed the duty elsewhere given only to Irene. To the left of the saint are Irene and her servant. Both are young, beautiful, and elegant as is characteristic of the anti-Caravaggist School.

This careful division of personages is not purely accidental. A second inscription in Arabic letters reads

In Sebastiani vulnera Ireneae Pietatis
monumentum

It indicates that Lana dedicated this engraving not only to the wounded martyr but also to the mercy of Irene. Certainly it supports the conclusion which has become evident throughout the art of the seventeenth century which deals with this theme, i.e., that for the man of the Baroque Irene is as significant as Sebastian.

The spirit of Lana's engraving, the division of interest, the multiplicity of personages, the sense of external drama

and activity are found in another engraving dated 1649 by Hyacinth (Giacinto) Gimignani (1611-1681) (B. 7) (Fig. 28). Not an original design, it is a reproduction of Gimignani's painting of 1642 which he did for the Church of S. Domenico in his native town of Pistoia. Like Lana's engraving, and in contrast to the work of the followers of Caravaggio who sought to reduce the number of actors and to expand within the few figures the symbolic possibilities, this admirer of Carracci has sought to expand the material symbols and correspondingly reduce the symbolic implications of each.

The most unique aspect of this engraving is the fact that the scene is set within an interior. Atypical, this setting appears elsewhere only in the very early work of Pacheco (Fig. 6) and in the painting by Spada (Fig. 30). In opposition to the trend of the time it would seem to indicate Gimignani's awareness of the Early Christian and Counter-Reformation texts which state only that Irene took Sebastian home and there cared for him.

The arrangement of the protagonists in the engraving illustrates the dissolution of the iconographic tradition intimated in the Poitiers painting (Fig. 16) and explicitly stated in Lana's engraving (Fig. 27). Here, as in Lana's engraving, are Irene and her servant as well as the

protagonists of the Deposition. However, in this engraving, neither group participates in any interdependent function as was their original role, for one female who removes an arrow from the side of Sebastian is aided by the elder man who supports the saint, while the other, who cleanses a wound is assisted by a young lad who holds the basin of ointment. Gone is any association between the male actors or any reference to their original *raison d'etre*.

A detail inexplicable by its association with any traditional iconographic formula is the presence of the two men who emerge through the doorway behind and to the right of the saint. Recalling the intense, dynamic figures of Plato and Aristotle in Raphael's fresco of the School of Athens,⁸⁹ they appear as a visual witness attesting to the fact that Gimignani studied this work when he was in Rome as a student of Carlo Maratta and Pietro da Cortona.

Outside of Italy, the motif of the seated Sebastian attended by four is employed in a painting by the French Master Eustache LeSueur (1617-1655) (Fig. 29).⁹⁰ In opposition to the engravings by Lana and Gimignani this painting, now in the museum at Tours, shows Irene and her servant aided not by "transplants" from the deposition iconography, but by two

human-sized angels. An unusual detail, it is not wholly unique. Elsewhere these life-sized angels appear in the paintings by Baglioni, Van Dyck, Tazio da Varallo, and Claude Vignon, who also depict a moment in the life of Sebastian after the sagittation. However, in none of these do the angels appear in the same painting with the widow and her attendant. In thus incorporating both in the same composition the artist conscientiously distinguishes between the human and divine care which Sebastian receives. In other paintings cherubs may signify the presence of God, but in all Irene's dual nature is asserted. Elsewhere she is not merely the widow of Castulus, but also an angel of mercy.

A less elaborate version of this scene in which Irene cares for the seated Sebastian, now detached from the tree of martyrdom, is a favorite motif of both the early adherents of Caravaggio - those who knew him when he was alive - and a group of non-Italian artists active in the early 1630's. Each of these paintings is distinguished not only by its compositional simplicity, its greater emphasis on the symbolic intent of the events, but most importantly by the pyramidal arrangement of the protagonists, a formal organization which immediately implies the iconography of the Pieta.

The earliest known painting which employs the motif of the

detached, seated Sebastian, in fact the earliest known seventeenth century work depicting the theme of Irene caring for the wounded saint, is that by the Italian Leonello Spada (1576-1622) (Fig. 30.)⁹³. The painting, done for the atrium of the Valletta Cathedral sacristy was completed sometime after 1610 when Spada went to Malta as a substitute for his late master, Caravaggio. Presumably the work was commissioned by Fra Pedro Urrea Camarasa, Prior of the Order from 1601-1624, as his coat of arms appears within the painting.

Without doubt the choice and interpretation of the subject matter was motivated by impulses similar to those which prompted the painting by Pacheco (Fig. 6). Certainly the Knights of Malta could easily identify with this third century martyr who was not only invoked in battles, but who had long been associated with hospitals, as is evidenced by his role as a protector against the plague, and his presence on such works as the Besune Altarpiece by Roger van der Weyden.⁹⁴ Too, the idea of Irene, a symbol of peace and mercy, would have coincided with the image the Order had of itself. Likewise, while it is possible that Spada chose to depict the event within an interior, in contrast to the usual Baroque iconography because he was aware of the writings of Ambrose or Baronius, it is more probable that he, like Pacheco and Lieferinx (Fig. 4)

before him, wished to localize the event by placing it within the atrium of the sacristy of the church for which the work was commissioned.

In his painting Spada has shown Sebastian seated on the floor reclining against a linen-covered object, undoubtedly a stone of unction. It is evident that Spada was not inspired by the same prototype which later inspired Terbrugghen's conception of the saint (Fig. 22). The pose here is thought to have been copied directly from Caravaggio's ⁹⁵Magdalene. The ultimate source, of course, is the figure of Endymion which can be found on innumerable antique sarcophagi. Certainly Endymion, the youthful God who is saved by the love and charity of a woman from ultimate death, is a fitting prototype for the saint who was saved by the mercy of Irene!

Sebastian is attended by Irene, a mature, plainly dressed woman, and her servant. The chest of the latter, who holds a jar of balm similar to that in the ⁹⁶Plsa Pieta and in Cavallino's painting (Fig. 15), is bared. This detail, which anticipates the figure of Irene in Rombouts' painting (Fig. 36) is presumably meant to imply the iconography of the Madonna del Latte. Too, one cannot but feel that Spada was familiar with Caravaggio's Seven Works of Charity and wished

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to suggest its symbolism.

The pose of Sebastian found in Spada's painting is emulated in a work attributed to Massimo Stanzioni (1585-1656) (Fig. 31) which is dated c. 1615 and now in the museum at Lyons. ⁹⁸ Again, as at Valletta, Sebastian is shown as seated and in ecstasy. Here, however, there is a more coherent expression of the triangular grouping associated with the Pieta. In fact, ~~it~~ is probably a composition such as this to which Ayala and Molanus had objected when they forbade the artists of the Counter-Reformation to show Sebastian on the knee of Irene.

The most unusual aspect of this painting is the setting and the presence of the two small cherubs in the left center of the composition. The event seems to take place before a large wall. Apparently Stanzioni was more concerned with the fact that Sebastian was martyred outside the city walls, than with the fact that Irene found him in the field where he had been shot and left to die. As for the angels, they are copied directly from Carracci's figures in the fresco of Luma and Endymion in the Farnese. ⁹⁹ Perhaps then there is some relationship between them and the analogous iconography of the antique legend. Their uniqueness is further accentuated by the fact that unlike the cherubs in other paintings,

e.g. that by Strozzi (Fig. 9), they do not even bring the martyr the crown and palms associated with his triumph over death.

A part of this "Pieta group" is the painting in Bologna's Civic Museum which is attributed to the Theodule Bijot (Fig. 32).¹⁰⁰ The painting reveals the receptivity and responsiveness of this well-travelled Frenchman to many sources and ideas.¹⁰¹ The figure of Sebastian parallels that employed by LeSueur (Fig. 29), while the lantern device indicates his familiarity with and taste for the works of LaFour (Fig. 34). The gesture of Irene as she removes the arrow is comparable to that in various Italian works, as in the painting by Ribera (Fig. 11), while the manner in which the servant holds the arm of Sebastian indicates this master's sympathy for the mystical and redemptive implications of the scene.

The simple, austere setting and interpretation of the Pieta iconography is reiterated in the painting attributed to Mattias Stomer (c. 1600-1650) now in the museum at Valencia¹⁰² (Fig. 33). Datable to 1625-30, it is presumed to have been done in the north before this Dutch artist left for Italy. Certainly the figure of Saint Sebastian indicates that Stomer saw Terbrugghen's painting of 1625 (Fig. 22) in Utrecht before he began his Grand Tour. It is apparent however that Stomer

was more impressed by this particular figure than he was by the total iconographic significance of the Oberlin composition. Omitted with the compact rather than extended organization of the body of the saint, is any reference to the deposition, or any sense of the psychological agony and mute suggesting that was Sebastian's precondition for communion with God. Lacking too, with the new attitude and position of Irene, who with her hands raised in a gesture of surprise and benediction does not care for the saint but appears to be in the process of discovering him, is any reference to the pragmatic, practical quality which permeated Terbrugghen's symbolic statement. Likewise, the lack of physical union which in the earlier work had so succinctly symbolized the spiritual oneness of the protagonists is now gone.

A composite of ideas and images, the iconography also suggests Stomer's receptivity to numerous ideas, which while found in Northern paintings, are essentially of Italian origin. The extreme youthfulness of the figures recalls those in the paintings by Cavallino (Figs. 37 & 38) and Schedoni (Fig. 50). The vacant gaze of Irene's male attendant reminds one of Ribera's Valencia composition (Fig. 11), while the ambivalent gesture of Irene is similar to that in the painting by Miradori

(Fig. 35) and in that attributed to Cavallino (Fig. 15).

As the product of a great innovator the Rouen copy after
the lost work by Georges de la Tour (1593-1652)(Fig. 34) which
ascribes to the basic Pieta imagery but distinguishes itself
from contemporary illustrations of this iconography by the
highly personal interpretation of the component aspects of
the legend. Formally, the innovation of LaTour is evidenced
in the fact that the figure of Sebastian is so arranged to
suggest both the vertically oriented saint of the Pieta, and the
horizontally extended martyr of the Lamentation. This basic
predilection for a pessimistic interpretation of the theme,
for an iconography which stresses less the resurrection of
Sebastian than his ultimate demise, is reiterated in the rope
entwined column - a peculiarly French detail - and in the
figure of the mourning servant, two details which appear in
the artist's final interpretation of the theme (Fig. 45).

In the Rouen composition the mystical implications of
the scene are not oriented to the past but to the present.
The ecstatic consequences resulting from the martyrdom are
of no importance to LaTour, his sole concern is with the
relationship between Irene and Sebastian, and the implication
of her ministrations. Here Sebastian is no longer lost in
deep contemplation, but is gazing at the spot from which Irene

removes the arrow. The importance of this is reiterated in the use of the lantern-the symbol of God - for it illuminates not the face of Sebastian, but the handiwork of Irene.

Equally individualistic is LaTour's interpretation of Sebastian's benefactor. While the dual nature of Irene as a composite of the two Marys, the Virgin and the Magdalene, is the accepted iconography, LaTour, in opposition to his compatriots, has chosen to stress the latter nature of the widow's character. Not only is she placed at the foot of the saint as is the traditional position for the penitent and forgiven sinner, but her dress is identical to that of Caravaggio's Magdalene.

A painting which also employs the figure of the seated, extended figure of the detached Sebastian is that by Luigi Miradori (a. 1625-1655) (Fig. 36) which is now in Cremona.¹⁰⁴ The painting by Il Genovesino is a kind of visual travelog. The old woman who removes the arrow from the shoulder of the saint recalls the "Neapolitan type" found in the painting in Philadelphia (Fig. 14). Her gesture as she removes the arrow is reminiscent of that in the paintings attributed to Ribera and his followers, while the gesture of the other female who has her hand raised in blessing is similar to that in the

paintings attributed to Cavallino (Fig. 15) and Stomer (Fig. 33). The plain background and the use of light is indicative of an artist who was aware of the taste of the Caravaggists.

Despite the obvious attempts of this artist to indicate his visual erudition, the whole is a reflection of an essentially provincial point of view. The overly dramatic interpretation of the scene is suggested not only in the use of light, but is also revealed in the imploring expression of Sebastian which recalls that in the paintings by Pacheco (Fig. 6) and Rustici (Fig. 25). His one innovation, undoubtedly an outgrowth of his taste for the melodramatic, is the motif of wounded nature suggested by the two arrows in the twisted and gnarled tree against which Sebastian reclines. A metaphor indicating the nature of Sebastian's pain, it is a detail employed in only one other seventeenth century painting (Fig. 43). It does however anticipate the taste of the eighteenth century when this device is consistently employed to indicate the intensity of Sebastian's suffering.

Another variation of the Rouen composition is that found in the painting by Theodore Rombouts (1597-1637) (Fig. 36) in the Karlsruhe Museum. The painting is thought to have

been done sometime between the years 1625 and 1637, after this Flemish artist had returned from his stay in Rome where he had been part of Manfredi's circle. Here in opposition to the painting by LaTour (Fig. 34) the event is set in a landscape. Perhaps the most unusual aspect of this painting which ascribes to the usual Sebastian iconography is the manner in which the male attendant supports the saint. Identical to the attitude of the angel in LeSueur's painting (Fig. 29), it recalls the arrangement and imagery of Zuccherò's painting of the Presentation.

Linked to the Rombouts painting by the use of the extended, detached figure of Sebastian attended by two in an open, twilight landscape are two undated paintings attributed to Bernardo Cavallino. ¹⁰⁵ The one is in the Louvre (Fig. 37), the other in Verona (Fig. 38). Totally different in conception from the painting attributed to this master in Rome (Fig. 15), the arrangement and interaction of Irene and her servant suggests Cavallino's awareness of the 1628 painting by Ribera (Fig. 39). The painting at Verona is by far the more sophisticated of the two. Gone in it is the extreme youthfulness and playful attitude of the two who attend Sebastian in the Louvre composition. While the more compact

composition, and the greater emphasis on the horizontal extension of the saint in the Verona suggests the seriousness of the event and implies the proximity of death.

Closely related to this iconographic grouping which forms a kind of pictorial and symbolic pivot between the formal expression of the iconography of the Pieta and that of the Lamentation, is another group of paintings, which while they employ the horizontally placed figure of the semi-nude saint, show Sebastian still attached by his extended right arm to the tree of martyrdom. An iconographic and formal composite of the imagery of the Deposition and Lamentation, it is evident that the artists who employ this formal scheme are very much concerned with vividly recalling the cause of the saint's suffering and the nature of the preceding events.

This motif, seemingly of import solely to Italian artists is exploited in two paintings by Jusepe Ribera (1588-1656). The one, signed and dated 1628 is now in the Hermitage ¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 39). The other, dated 1631, is in the Bilbao Museum ¹⁰⁷ of Fine Arts (Fig. 40). A comparison between these two works by Ribera is interesting, for despite the identity in the positioning of Sebastian, in the age and number of protagonists, and the similarity in the dark night background, it is evident that the earlier of the two is the more sophisticated rendering and closer to the ideals of the

Caravaggiasts to which Ribera, at this point in his career, subscribed.

Although in the earlier composition Irene does not gaze at the saint as she removes the arrow from his side, but rather turns to consult her assistant, the manner in which the two hover over the saint indicates their intense concern for his welfare. Gone in the latter composition is this tight compact quality. In the Bilboa painting Irene is at the foot of the saint removing an arrow from his thigh. Her actions have been described as those of a "cold-blooded surgeon".¹⁰⁸ Certainly her distance from the wounded martyr suggests a spiritual aloofness not evident in the physical and hence psychological intimacy of the Hermitage painting. Too, the indifferent stare of the servant as she gazes outward with that vacant expression that one can also see in Ribera's Valencia composition (Fig. 11) detracts from the spiritual quality that pervades the earlier work. At the same time the presence of the two angels who bring the martyr his crown lend a sense of the theatrical to the painting, thus destroying the sense of the interior drama of the earlier composition. A symbolic inaccuracy, as the crown of the martyr is reserved for those who have died in the service of the church, it

reflects a taste for the blending of the natural and supernatural that is not in keeping with the taste for realism usually associated with the advocates of Caravaggism.

Of these compositions Sandoz, in his article on this theme in Ribera's paintings has stated

At Bilboa the composition of movement is so open that we have little sense of the human suffering necessary to the glory of God; at the Hermitage by contrast the composition leads in an admirable arabesque to the body of Saint Sebastian, solidly enclosing him in an undulating line, encircling a very "formal reconciliation" between life and death. (109)

Closely related to these paintings by Ribera is a work in the Besancon Museum, variously attributed to Orazio Riminaldi (1586-1630) and Giovanni Tomaso Guarino (d. 1637), (Fig. 41).¹¹⁰ Again the composition is dominated by the extended figure of the semi-nude Sebastian who remains attached to the tree of martyrdom by his extended right arm. The painting distinguishes itself from those by Ribera in that the very young Irene does not remove an arrow from the body of the saint, but is holding a cloth, as if in readiness to wipe his wounds. As in the paintings attributed to Cavallino (Figs. 38, 39 & 15), she gazes at her elderly servant for assistance. The old woman, a "Neapolitan type", is supporting the head of the saint and pointing to him as if this were a

"presentation" scene.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this composition is the landscape setting. It distinguishes itself from other twilight landscape settings by its multiple iconographic suggestions. Not only is there a reference here to the twilight zone in which the body and soul of Sebastian resides, and to the stormy character of the attempted martyrdom implied by the turbulent sky, but there is also an indication of the peace that has come to the saint after his agony. The foreground, enclosed as it is by clumps of trees and bushes suggests the tranquility and purity of the enclosed garden of the Virgin, while the lake and the stream to the right reiterate the purity of Sebastian's soul and the cleansing of his spirit. At the same time the classical buildings seem to allude to a vision of Arcadia; an allusion which is certainly not out of keeping with the Endymion-like pose of the Christian martyr.

It is not difficult to see the role which the transitional paintings by LaTour (Fig. 34), Miradori (Fig. 35), Rombouts (Fig. 36) and Cavallino (Figs. 37, 38) played in inspiring the ultimate interpretation of the Sebastian theme as a lamentation. For if one studies the painting in Modena (Fig. 42), in Madrid (Fig. 43), or that by Acebado (Fig. 44), LaTour (Fig. 45), Regneri (Fig. 48), or the drawings by Mola (Fig. 46, 47) and

that in Bowdoin (Fig. 49), it is evident that all that formally separates these works from the transitional iconography is the totally prone position of the saint. But this innovation within the confines of the traditional iconography has led to a wholly different interpretation of the Sebastian theme, one which stresses less the physical and spiritual resurrection of the saint, than the proximity, if not the actual death of Sebastian.

The original inspiration for the interpretation of this theme as a Lamentation was undoubtedly the extremely popular composition which has been attributed to Caravaggio, Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1620) and Grazio Riminaldi (1586-1630) ¹¹¹ (Fig. 42). Versions of the painting can be found in the Campori Gallery in Modena, in the Villa Albani in Rome, in the Museum at Tours and at Vicenza. The painting shows the half-length figures of Sebastian and Irene. The Saint, young, nude, is lying with his eyes closed upon a linen covered object, undoubtedly a stone of unction. Irene, an old woman bends over the saint as she anoints his wound with a feather. The instrument of Sebastian's passion is now the instrument for his redemption. Again, Irene's hand is so positioned as to indicate the nature of the benediction which she extends to

the martyr. In her left hand she holds a bowl of unction. Found elsewhere in the paintings by Spada (Fig. 30) and Cavallino (Fig. 15), it is analogous to that in the Pieta¹¹² in the Museo Civico in Pisa.

If one compares the face of Sebastian in the Modena painting with the anonymous work in Madrid's San Fernando Academy (Fig. 43) it is evident that the master of this work has seen a version of the Modena painting. Here, however, he has totally transformed the simple, quiet statement of the Italian Caravaggist into a highly melodramatic work. One is confronted with the whole body of the saint which now seems to writhe as if in great physical pain, an interpretation of the martyrdom associated only with the work of provincial artists (Fig. 25 and 35). Irene does not care for the saint, but merely has her hand raised over the saint in blessing. In his use of the broken arrow, the idea of wounded nature, and the peculiar manner in which Irene holds the rope which had formerly bound Sebastian to the tree the master anticipates the taste of the eighteenth century.

The painting by Christobaldo Acebado (b. late sixteenth century) likewise shows the young, extended figure of the semi-nude saint attended only by one (Fig. 44).¹¹³ Here, however, the arrangement of the figures suggests that Acebado was less

inspired by the Modena composition, than perhaps by some copy after Ribera's composition of 1631 (Fig. 40). The one totally unique, and totally inexplicable detail, is that Sebastian is not attended by Irene but by a man.

Perhaps the most beautiful statement of this formal and iconographic type is the composition by Georges de LaTour (Fig. 114 45). The work represents the climax of LaTour's thinking which dealt with the subject of Sebastian and Irene. A more elaborate painting, the completely prone position of Sebastian recalls the painting in Modena (Fig. 42), while the organization of the four who attend the saint suggests that LaTour was familiar with Caravaggio's Entombment.

LaTour's painting is a complex iconographic statement. It is very possible that he has not represented that moment when Irene finds the saint, but rather the events after the final martyrdom. For while the identifying arrow suggests the first martyrdom, the rope entwined tree, the mourning women (perhaps analogous to the three Marys at the tomb) as well as the step-like platform upon which they stand, indicative of the passage way into the sewer where Sebastian was thrown, suggests not the events after the sagittation, but many seemingly refer to the story of Lucy who found the body

of the saint after the flagellation. Too, the source of light, no longer a lantern, but a torch, the classical symbol of burial suggests that LaTour has indeed represented the death of Sebastian. This sense of pessimism and feelings of finality are not out of keeping with LaTour's own personal philosophy as he neared the end of his own life.

The figure of Sebastian as found in the painting by LaTour is reiterated in two drawings by Pier. Francesco Mola (1612-1666) (Fig. 46, 47). In his drawings Mola, the French expatriate who spent the major portion of his life in Rome has placed the bloated body of Sebastian, parallel to the picture plane, on a large slab which immediately recalls the great stone of unction in Caravaggio's Entombment. Here he not only indicates the sepulchral nature of the scene, but by showing Irene anointing the wound on the right side of Sebastian's body with her finger he suggests the imagery of the Doubting Thomas legend, thus stressing the nature of Sebastian's spiritual and physical transformation. Presumably the more sketchily drawn rendering of the scene (Fig. 47) is the latter interpretation of the theme. For while it is a less finished interpretation of the theme, the composition represents a more satisfactory arrangement as an

expression of the Lamentation iconography.

The painting by Nicholas Regneri (1590-1667) (Fig. 48) in Kingston-on-Hall, in the Ferens Art Gallery stresses a more pragmatic, optimistic and lyric interpretation of this theme. Here, while the iconography is consistent with the Lamentation theme, the diagonally oriented body of Sebastian, indicates that this Flemish master who studied in Rome under Manfredi and then spent the years after 1626 until his death in Venice, was more impressed by Tintoretto's figure of St. Mark, than he was by the prototypes favored by the followers of Caravaggio.

It is this diagonal orientation of the body of Sebastian which links Regneri's composition to an anonymous drawing which is now in the Bowdoin Museum (Fig. 49). The work has been attributed specifically to Georges de LaTour, as well as to either a French or Italian artist working c. 1630. If it is impossible to attribute this work to a school or master on purely stylistic grounds, it is equally difficult to assign this study to a school or master on purely iconographic grounds. The sketchy, mountainous background, the barren columnar tree, and the device of the torch, indicate this master's awareness of the taste of LaTour (Fig. 34, 35). On

the other hand, the gesture of Irene, the position of Sebastian, and the obviously classically inspired shape of the vessel of unction indicates a familiarity with motifs of Italian origin. An iconographic dichotomy, the drawing does support a conclusion of this thesis, that the presentation of this theme is not a local phenomenon, but one with international ramifications; that the artists who do treat this Early Christian legend are exposed not to one, but to a multitude of sources from which they ultimately derive their inspiration.

Although the arrangement and action of the figures is decidedly different, a painting which captures the spirit of the Berlin composition of LaTour (Fig. 45), is that by Bartolomeo Schedoni (1578-1615) (Fig. 50).¹¹⁸ The pyramidal arrangement of the figures who attend Sebastian, as well as the great slab upon which he rests, indicate that like LaTour, Schedoni has been impressed by Caravaggio's Entombment. Too, the cavern-like setting suggests that this too is the final martyrdom of Sebastian. As this painting, now in the National Gallery in Naples, was found unfinished in Schedoni's studio, it is interesting to speculate, since one does not know for whom the work was commissioned, if this highly personal interpretation of the theme is not a product of Schedoni's

awareness of his impending death. For one contemporary writer implied that the artists of the Baroque were often comparing themselves to the saint.

Footnotes
Chapter III

1. H. J. Schroeder, Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, London, 1941, p. 215-217.
2. E. Tietze-Conrat, Mantegna, New York, 1954, pl. 57.
3. L. Goldscheider, Michelangelo, London, 1959, pl. 229. See also the letter to Michelangelo from Pietro Aretino (E. T. DeWald, Italian Painting: 1200-1600, New York, 1961, p. 392-294). What is evident is that despite the propriety of the seventeenth century, there is the continuation of the pre-Reformation habits of thinking. For the paintings of the Baroque, such as those by Ribera (Fig. 11, 14, etc.,) or that by Cerrini (Fig. 7) indicate that the artist of the Baroque was as sensitive to the beauty of the nude body as had been his predecessor. His presentation of it is merely more discreet.
4. Again, despite the decrees of the Council of Trent, the power of Sebastian as an active force, is suggested in various paintings, as in that at Poitiers (Fig. 26), Valencia (Fig. 11), and Frankfort (Fig. 23), to mention only a few. All show Sebastian's hand poised in such a manner to indicate the benediction which he is bestowing on Irene. What distinguishes this gesture from that of the saint in the painting by Lieferinx (Fig. 4) is that here it is incorporated into a natural gesture resulting from the action, rather than as before, where it was shown as a separate and distinct gesture. The old habit of thinking persists, it is only the manner of presenting it that has changed. Too, there is a new reciprocity between Irene and Sebastian which is also distinct from the imagery of the pre-Baroque era (see p. 36).
5. L. Reau, Iconographie de l'Art Chretien, Paris, 1956, Vol. I, Part I, p. 374.
6. E. Male, L'Art Religieux du XVII Siecle, Paris, 1951, p. 122-3.
7. Ibid., p. 132.
8. H. Voss, Die Malerei des Barock in Rom, Berlin, 1924, fig. 210.
9. I. Loyola (1491-1556), Spiritual Exercises, N.Y. 1948.

10. H. Bremond. A Literary History of Religious Thought in France, New York, 1928, Vol. II, p. 2.
11. J. R. Judson, Gerrit van Honthorst, The Hague, 1958, fig. 28.
12. Summer Exhibition of Old Masters: May 15 - June 16, 1962, London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, 1962.
13. B. Nicolson, "In the Margin of the Catalogue", Burlington Magazine, Vol. C, March 1958, fig. 34.
14. F. Pacheco, Arte de la Pintura, 1638, ed. F. J. Sanchez-Canton, 1956, Vol. II, p. 328.
15. Pere Berulle, quoted in Bremond, Loc. Cit. Vol. III, p. 81.
16. E. Panofsky, Der Gefesselte Eros, Oud Holland, Vol. I, 1933, p. 193-217. Tied to a tree the saint appears as a Christian eros, but like Cupid when he is bound he is the symbol of chastity and all that is pure.
17. F. Pariset, Georges de LaTour, Paris, 1948, p. 210.
18. E. Strohmer, Der Altdorfer Altar in St. Florian, Vienna, 1946.
19. A. Venturi, Storia dell'Arte Italiana, Milan, 1934, Vol. IX, part VIII, pl. 631.
20. Ibid., pl. 353.
21. M. A. Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova", Art Bulletin, Vol. XL, no. 3, September 1958, p. 223-238.
22. Of the seventeenth century paintings illustrated in this thesis, half show the stone of unction in one form or another. However, in other works, such as the engraving by Gimignani (Fig. 28), the altar-like shape of the object upon which Sebastian sits suggests the imagery of the stone of unction, while the compositional arrangement in other paintings such as that after LaTour (Fig. 34) is similar to that employed in the works which show the stone.

23. The source of this imagery is John 19:38-42 where he describes the accoutrements of burial. The mystical significance of the grave clothes which reiterate the transcendental nature of the theme is suggested in W. Smith, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, London, 1892, Vol. II, p. 1428 where he states that the grave clothes represent the garments of incorruption in which the body will be clothed when it is restored to life.
24. V. Moschini, Disegni di Jacopo Bellini, Bergamo, pl. 55.
25. C. Ragghianti, "Arte e Umanesimo a Firenze," Sele Arts, Vol. 8, no. 49, p. 11.
26. It is interesting that with rare exceptions (pl. 42) Irene, like the Virgin, the mother of a 33 year old son, is always shown as young. Equally interesting is the fact that in the seventeenth century Irene is rarely depicted as caring for the saint by herself. Perhaps an outgrowth of a literal imagination, which felt that no lady would go out at night unattended, or that Irene could not have buried the body by herself, this pictorial elaboration of the all too scant text, is possibly a reflection of the propriety of the Counter-Reformation.
27. Reau, Loc. Cit., Vol. III, part III, p. 1197. Juan de Ayala, Pictor Christianus, n.d. and Johannes Molanus, De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, Louvain, 1570. There are, to my knowledge no paintings which actually show Sebastian seated on the lap of Irene. However, many paintings which employ the triangular grouping of the Pieta, i.e. Stanzioni (Fig. 31) or Stomer (Fig. 33) intimate this position, and this approximation may be to what Ayala and Molanus refer.
28. Bremond, Loc. Cit. Vol. III, p. 75.
29. Male, Loc. Cit. p. 283, fig. 165 and p. 285, fig. 167.
30. Bremond, Loc. Cit., Vol. III, p. 81.
31. W. Friedlaender, Caravaggio Studies, Princeton, 1955, pl. 15.

32. E. Trapier, Ribera, New York, 1952, p.
33. R. C. Zaehner, Mysticism Sacred and Profane, Oxford, 1957, p. 133.
34. Pacheco, Loc. Cit. p. 327.
35. E. Cook, Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, Dulwich, 1914.
36. Tresors d'Art des Eglises de Paris, Paris, 1956, fig. 35.
37. P. Askew "The Parable Paintings of Domenico Feti", Art Bulletin, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, March 1961, p. 21.
38. T. Tasso, Jerusalem Delivered, Trans. E. Fairfax, London, 1901. Chapter 19, verse 103-114.
39. A. Figler, Barockthemen, Budapest, 1956, Vol. II, p. 453.
40. O. Grautoff, Nicholas Poussin, Munich, 1914, Vol. II, p. 62, pl. 39, and A. Blunt, Exposition Nicholas Poussin, Paris, 1960, fig. 53.
41. A. Blunt, Ibid., fig. 14.
42. E. de Liphart, "Les Italiens du XVII siecle au Chateau de Gatchina," Storia Godi, 1916, Vol. 11, pl. 34/35.
43. A. Blunt, Loc. Cit. fig. 25.
44. C. Cahiers, Caracteristiques des Saints dans l'Art Populaire, Paris, 1876, Vol. I, Cahiers points out that the vessel of water is Irene's attribute, one which she of course also shares with the Magdalene.
45. P. Perdrizet, "Les Fleches de la Colere Divine", La Vierge de Misericorde, Paris 1908, p. 107-124.
46. A. Kemp-Welch, "Saint Sebastian and Mithras: a Suggestion", Archaeological Journal, Vol. LXXII, 1915, p. 285-297.

47. Paintings and Sculpture from the S. H. Kress Collection, Washington, National Gallery of Art, pl. 101. There is some doubt as to whether the relief behind Sebastian does depict the story of Cephalus and Procris. I tend to believe it does. Probably the identity does not stem, as it does in the seventeenth century, from the association of the dying protagonists, but rather from the fact that it is to Cephalus that Aeacus told the story of the plague which had stricken his lands. Ovid, The Metamorphosis, trans. H. Gregory, New York, 1960, Book VII.
48. R. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis," Art Bulletin, Vol XXII, no. 4, December 1940, p. 197-269.
49. Ibid., fig. 3, 6.
50. Ibid., p. 242.
51. A visit to Italy cannot always be documented as in the case of Georges de LaTour and the Master A. F. However, the iconography of their paintings does seem to substantiate the conclusion that they did, as was the custom, leave their native land for a brief visit to Italy.
52. Pacheco, Loc. Cit., p. 327-28. It is interesting to speculate as to whether Pacheco's own thinking underwent a transformation between the conception of the painting (1616) and the publication of his book (1638). In his description of the events after the martyrdom he says only "while his blessed soul, in the midst of this pain, was in communion with God, the following night the woman who had been the wife of the holy martyr Castulus...coming near to bury his body found him, treated him and he became well." He thus makes no mention of the fact, illustrated in his painting, that Irene cared for him within an interior. His narrative suggests that in the intervening years he was influenced by the corpus of seventeenth century works which indeed do show Irene caring for the saint in the field where she found the saint.
53. Voss, Loc. Cit., pl. 170.
54. E. Tietze-Goneat, Titian, Vienna, 1937, pl. 58.
55. T. Demmler, Die Bildwerke in Holz, Stein, und Ton, Berlin 1930, Vol. II, p. 398, fig. 4855.

56. Friedlander, Loc. Cit. pl. 35.
57. E. K. Waterhouse, Italian Baroque Painting, London, 1962, pl. 107.
58. Ibid., p. 125. Likewise the compositional proximity and the similar spirit between this work and the painting attributed to Paris Bordone (1500-1571) which shows Irene and an angel attending the saint, supports this conclusion (Ill. H. Heibing, Altes Kunstswerb: Sammlung Glaser, Munich, May 3-4, 1933).
59. G. von Terey, Die Gemalde-Galerie des Museums fur Bildenden Kunst in Budapest, Berlin, 1916, Vol. I, p. 226.
60. Trapier, Loc. Cit. p. 232, fig. 153.
61. V. A. Cerni, "Un Trasunto del San Sebastian de Jose de Ribera del Museo de Valencia, el la Pinacoteca de San Marino," Archivo del Valencia, 1962, p. 29-31.
62. Voss, Loc. Cit., pl. 170. It also bears a resemblance to his painting of the saint of 1635. (Trapier, Loc. Cit.)
63. H. Posse, Die Staatliche Gemaldegalerie zu Dresden, Berlin, 1929, Vol. I, p. 208, fig. 479.
64. The jar of balm is similar to that held by the servant in Ribera's composition of 1628 (Fig. 39) and 1631 (Fig. 40). Such a borrowing indicates Giordano's familiarity with the whole corpus of Ribera's paintings dealing with this theme.
65. A. Reichel, Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1941, Vol. VI, pl. 131, fig. 598.
66. Ibid., p. 54. The catalogue mentions two other drawings of this theme by Giordano which I have not seen, which are in the Uffizi.
67. Letter, Barcelona, Mas, Feb. 2, 1962.
68. F. Hermann, "Acquisti della Regia Galleria d'Arte Antica in Rome", Bolletino d'Arte, 1924, p. 2-10. p. 9. When I

sent to Rome for a photograph of Mattias Pretti's painting in the Corsini I received this.

69. M. Sandox, "Ribera et le Theme de Saint Sebastien Soigne par Irene", Actes des Journees Internationales d'Etudes de Bordeux, 1955, p. 65-78, Sandox suggests that this may be a work by Giordano. I disagree on purely iconographic grounds although the style, too, lacks the sweetness of Giordano's work. The deposition imagery indicates that it was done sometime during the mid-1620's. Such a supposition is further supported by the proximity between this painting and Ribera's paintings at Ossunta and Madrid, both done c. 1620. Is it possible that this too is a copy of a lost original by Ribera which he did before his composition of 1628?
70. Trapier, Loc. Cit., p. 42, fig. 27.
71. P. Pergola, Galleria Borghese, Rome, 1959, Vol. II, pl. 59.
72. A von Schneider, Caravaggio und der Niederlander, Marburg, 1933, fig. 24a.
73. W. Stechow, "Terbrugghen's Saint Sebastian", Burlington Magazine, Vol. XCVI, March 1954, p. 70-74, pl. 6.
74. As is typical of paintings produced by the Bolognese School, it is difficult to tell which of the two females is Irene. The bowl which the one female holds is similar to that held by the servant in the Philadelphia composition. (Fig. 14).
75. Male, Loc. Cit., p. 290, fig. 172.
76. H. Gerson, "Review of B. Nicolson's Hendrick Terbrugghen", Kunstchronik, Vol. 12, 1959, 314-319, fig. 4a.
77. K. Clark, Piero della Francesca, London, 1951, pl. 111.
78. B. Nicolson, Un Caravagiste Aixois, "Le Maitre a la Chandelle", Art de France, Vol. IV, 1964, p. 117-139, pl. 38.
79. B. Nicolson, Hendrick Terbrugghen, London, 1958, pl.
80. Kraeling, Loc. Cit. p. 83.

81. J. R. Judson, Gerrit Van Honthorst, The Hague, 1958, p. 90, note 1.
82. Nicolson, Loc. Cit., p. 86.
83. One recognizes its affinity with Honthorst's Sebastian of 1623 in the National Gallery, London (Judson, Honthorst, pl. 28), with Baglioni's Sebastian attended by an angel (Thomas Agnew and Son) as well as its identity with the paintings in the Hermitage (Fig. 18), in Poitiers (Fig. 16) and in Vienna (Fig. 17).
84. J. Thuillier, "Brebiette", L'Oeil, Vol. LXXVII, May 1961, p. 48-56, p. 54.
85. Ibid., p. 49. That Brebiette uses this same figure for the melancholy Apollo in his engraving of Ovid's Metamorphosis again attests to the interchangeability between classical and Christian stories, as was pointed out in the introduction to this chapter.
86. Pergola, Loc. Cit. Vol. II, pl. 72.
87. F. Marder, Die Kunstdenkmaler von Bayern; Stadt Landshut, Vol. IV, part XVI, pl. 18.
88. Osterreichische Kunsttopographie; Lambach, Vol. 34, p. 293, fig. 353.
89. G. Fischel, Raphael, Trans. P. Rackham, London, 1948, Vol. II, pl. 72.
90. Kraeling, Loc. Cit. pl. 84.
91. E. Schaeffer, Van Dyck, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909, pl. 101.
92. Paintings and Sculpture from the S. H. Kress Collection, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1959, p. 224, pl. 302. I am not wholly convinced that both of those who present Sebastian are angels.
93. J. Hess, "Caravaggio's Paintings in Malta", Connoisseur, Vol. 142, December 1958, p. 145, pl. 2.

94. E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, London, 1953, pl. 325.
95. Hess, Loc. Cit. p. 146.
96. Graeve, Loc. Cit. fig. 8.
97. Friedlander, Loc. Cit. pl. 49d.
98. P. Dissard, Le Musee de Lyons, Paris, 1912, pl. 59.
99. Voss, Loc. Cit. pl. 170.
100. B. Nicolson, Art de France, Loc. Cit. p. 131. Cat. No. 29 and 30. A version of the painting in Bologna is also in London in the J. Weitzner Collection.
101. Ibid., p. 118. Nicolson identifies the Candlelight Master with Theophile Bijot, a Master from Aix who was impressed with LaTour and Stomer. He suggests he was in Rome between 1630-40.
102. B. Nicolson, "The Candlelight Master: A Follower of Honthorst in Rome". Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, Vol. XI, 1960, p. 155, fig. 15.
103. S. M. Furness, Georges de LaTour of Lorraine, London, 1949, p. 112. Furness believes that this painting is datable to 1631 and was the one presented to Louis XIII when his army was in Lorraine, although he does not rule out the possibility that it was the earlier composition painted for Duke Charles IV. He does, however, rule out the possibility that this was the one ordered by the Town Council of Luneville for presentation to the governor in 1649. He does believe that this composition was done after the copy of a LaTour in Berlin. I do not disagree that this work was done in the early 1630's, but the iconography indicates that it is an earlier work than the one in Berlin (Fig. 45).
104. W. Bernt, Die Neiderlandischen Maler des XVII Jahrhunderts, Vol. II, fig. 685.
105. E. Sestieri, "Cenni Sullo Svolgimento dell'Arte di Bernardo Cavallino", L'Arte, Vol. XXIII, 1920, p. 244-269, fig. 5, fig. 4.

106. Trapier, Loc. Cit. p. 39, pl. 24.
107. Ibid., p. 73, pl. 46.
108. Sandox, Loc. Cit. p. 72.
109. Ibid., p. 74.
110. Letter, July 1963.
111. R. Longhi, Proporzioni, Vol. I. Florence, 1953, p. 55, note 73.
112. Graeve, Loc. Cit. Fig. 7.
113. J. C. L. Jiminez, "En el III Centenario de la Muerte de Velasquez", Archivo de Arte Valencia, 1961, p. 79.
114. Furness, Loc. Cit. p. 68. See footnote 103. Furness believes this is the earlier of the two known compositions by LaFour. On the basis of the iconography I disagree. This is by far the more mature statement. Too, it completes the imagery only tentatively suggested in the Rouen composition. I agree with Jamot (Gazette Beaux Arts, May 1939) that indeed this might be the composition commissioned in 1649 for the French Governor of Lorraine.
115. B. Nicolson, "Winter Exhibition at the Royal Academy, II", Burlington Magazine, Vol. CIV, March 1962, p. 110. fig. 12.
116. Friedlander, Loc. Cit. p. 19, fig. 5.
117. Letter, March 20, 1962, Bowdoin, Walker Art Museum.
118. V. Moschini, "Schedoni", L'Arte, Vol. XXX, 1927, 119-148, p. 136.
119. F. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, London, 1947, p. 290, note 1.

Chapter IV
The Last Flowering of the Baroque Tradition

If the representations of the Sebastian and Irene legend during the Early and High Baroque can be seen as a manifestation of the needs of that age, it is equally apparent that the continued popularity of this theme during the Late Baroque (ca. 1675-1750)¹ is likewise a reflection of the fact that the man of the eighteenth century found within this aspect of the Early Christian legend a sufficient vehicle for the expression of his needs, his fears, his desires, and his beliefs.

In analyzing the Late Baroque representations of this legend, it becomes evident that the pictorial statements of this age are dependant upon the formal and iconographic motifs developed during the early seventeenth century. Here, Sebastian, like his counterpart in the former era, is presented as young, virile, semi-nude, and occasionally bearded. The compositions of this age are based upon the passion trilogy, and, as in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the saint may be shown standing, seated, or extended upon the ground. As before, Irene is usually young and beautiful. She may attend Sebastian alone, or she may be assisted by one or more in her ministrations to the wounded hero. Likewise, the taste in setting and the moment to be

depicted is identical. With the exception of the woodcut after the painting by Daniel Saiter (Fig. 74) all the artists of the Late Baroque place the event within a landscape.

In fact, it is not difficult to cite specific borrowings from seventeenth century paintings. Undoubtedly the drawing in the Albertina by the Italian Pietro Novelli (Fig. 52) is based upon Bernardo Strozzi's painting in S. Benedetto (Fig. 9). The armor in the anonymous Budapest drawing (Fig. 65) likewise suggests that this anonymous master had been impressed by Strozzi's composition in Venice. Presumably the woodcut after Saiter's painting (Fig. 74) was derived from Gimignani's composition (Fig. 28), while the two females in the engraving by Pietro Rotari (Fig. 77) indicate an awareness of the type of figures which had been employed in the Hermitage painting by the anonymous master of the Bolognese School (Fig. 18).

Despite, however, the indebtedness of the Late Baroque master to his immediate predecessors, there is indeed a difference between the pictorial statements of the individual epochs. One finds in the later era a choice and re-integration of ideological schemes and motifs which thus present a new and altogether unique expression of religious sentiments.

In the interpretation of the events after the first martyrdom the decided preference of the Late Baroque artist is for a vertical format and for the vertically extended form of the saint. In choosing what was the least popular symbolic format of the Early and High Baroque as their major formal device these artists indicate their predilection for an image that suggests not the repose of sleep, not the resolution of the tensions of the martyrdom, but the continuity of pain. Slumped as he is upon the great rock as in the Budapest drawing (Fig. 65), or in the painting by Battoni (Fig. 63), the image of the saint suggests less the wine than the blood of the lamb. For the man of the Late Baroque the importance of the martyrdom lies less in its sacramental character than in its sacrificial implications.

Throughout the emphasis is on the physical rather than on the metaphysical character of the events. It is the decay of the body that fascinates Martin Johann Schmidt and his contemporaries (Fig. 58-62). In the painting by Antonio Pellegrini (Fig. 55) the shadows seek not to evoke a mood but to destroy Sebastian's corporeality.

Gone with the disappearance of the transcendental interpretation of the events is a concern for the God-oriented

potential of the legend. The eighteenth century artist is no longer concerned with the ecstasy of Sebastian as a vehicle by which the saint communicates with God. Nor is he concerned with portraying the saint as one who will inspire the spectator in his own devotion. For the men of the Late Baroque it is Sebastian's relationship to the world around him, to a tangible rather than an intangible realm, that is of significance.

Gone now is the optimistic fatalism of the preceding epoch. Sebastian is envisioned as the Laocöon of his age. Almost invariably bound to the tree of martyrdom - only Pellegrini (Fig. 66) and Saiter (Fig. 74) show him detached or being detached -- Sebastian no longer passively submits to his destiny. In the painting by Peter Strudel (Fig. 54) and in that by an unknown Austrian Master (Fig. 53) he is struggling to free himself from the chains which bind him to his fate, while the imploring nature of his gaze in the paintings by Durand (Fig. 69) and Unterberger (Fig. 71) indicate his attempt actively to solve his dilemma rather than passively to accept the inevitable. Yet his position in the middle ground of the compositions, in the paintings by Schmidt (Fig. 58-62), Paul Troger (Fig. 56) and Michael Rottmayr (Fig. 57) indicates that the saint no longer dominates and controls his environment.

One has only to compare these paintings with that by Terbrugghen (Fig. 22) to see the philosophical transformation.

In the eighteenth century there is an animism which stands in direct opposition to the essentially anthropomorphic quality of the seventeenth century religious statement. This animism is revealed within the attitude toward particular elements in the landscape which assume a new shape and meaning during the Late Baroque. The tree to which Sebastian is attached is no longer a spiritual rock of Gibraltar. No longer massive and straight as in the painting by Terbrugghen, (Fig. 22), no longer filled with abundant foliage as in the various works attributed to Bernarado Cavallino (Figs. 15, 37 & 38), the trees in these eighteenth century paintings give no suggestion of the continuity and revival of life within nature. Rather the tree to which Sebastian is attached is, with rare exceptions, dead. It is gnarled, bent, destroyed by adverse forces beyond its control. Broken, bearing no fruit, as in the sculpture by Luis Bonifas (Fig. 76), it is the symbol of Sebastian himself. Even the great holes in the tree by Bonifas suggest that the flesh of nature has been torn open, just as the body of Sebastian has been wounded by the arrows.

At the same time, nature is no longer a wholly benevolent force. The night landscapes of Schmidt (Figs. 58-62) and

Pellegrini (Fig. 55), while an outgrowth of earlier iconography, do not isolate the saint in a spatial limbo as does the darkness of the Riberesque compositions at Poitiers (Fig. 16) and Philadelphia (Fig. 14). It does not separate Sebastian from a world of chaos as it does in the Valencia copy after Ribera (Fig. 11). Nor does the twilight landscape of Pellegrini's painting (Fig. 73) absorb the soul of the saint into its golden womb as does the warm glow of the Oberlin work (Fig. 22). Rather the turbulent clouds as in Unterbergers's painting (Fig. 68) or in that by the Austrian Master (Fig. 53), the piercing light emanating from them, suggests the power of a cataclysmic force.

The formal and iconographic innovations evident in the Late Baroque attitude toward Sebastian and nature are likewise apparent in the interpretation and presentation of Sebastian's benefactor and her attendants. Dependent upon the prototypes of the previous epoch the artists show Sebastian attended by one or more females. In the painting by Durand (Fig. 89) Irene alone attends the saint. In the paintings by Michael Rocca (Fig. 64), Hans Adam Weissenkircher (Fig. 67), and an anonymous master of the school of Carlo Maratta (Fig. 75) Sebastian is attended by two. In the historical presentation of the theme by Pietro Vasta (Fig. 78) four attend the saint, while in the woodcut after Saiter (Fig. 74)

even more assist Irene. However, in opposition to the prevalent taste of the seventeenth century the majority of Late Baroque artists prefer to show Sebastian cared for by three attendants.

In each case, without exception, Irene and her assistants are young, beautiful, aristocratic and elegant females. Comparable to the females in Cerrini's painting (Fig. 7) they reveal the indebtedness of the Late Baroque masters to the Bolognese tradition. What is striking is the total disregard of the Neapolitan tradition which showed either Irene or her servant as an old woman.

With this orientation to the young and the beautiful, and the three females there is a new anonymity. It becomes increasingly difficult to tell which is Irene. Gone with the new division of functions is the old hierarchy of importance which had been asserted in the seventeenth century. In the drawing by Giovanni Segala (Fig. 78), both females remove arrows from Sebastian. In Rottmayr's painting (Fig. 57) one wipes a wound, another removes an arrow, while the third female holds the rope which binds the saint to the tree of martyrdom.

Gone also is the idea of Irene as the penitent Magdalene, the motherly Virgin, or even the devout Christian. Gone, too, is that pyramidal building up of the composition which in the

seventeenth century suggested the manifold ramifications of this mystical experience. In the Late Baroque one witnesses a new compositional grouping which tends to ignore the format of the passion trilogy. In the paintings by Rottmayr (Fig. 57), Troger (Fig. 56), Schmidt (58-62), Rocca (Fig. 64), Battoni (Fig. 65) and in the drawing by Tiepolo (Fig. 52) the women who attend the saint encircle him. While it is possible to read this arrangement in terms of the traditional symbolism, that is, as representative of the cycle of life, the sense of ritual with Sebastian as the totem, the object of worship, is the overriding implication of the grouping.²

Co-existing with this arrangement is a new sensuality in the inter-relationship between the protagonists. Not only do Durand (Fig. 69), Pellegrini (Fig. 55) and the anonymous master of the Budapest drawing (Fig. 65) present the unencumbered body of Sebastian in a manner which recalls the iconography of the Renaissance, but throughout there is a non-functional arrangement of the gestures of the females which implies a desire deliberately to portray physical contact. In the painting by the anonymous Austrian (Fig. 53) the gesture of the servant is so contrived that her hand which shields the light is so placed that it seems to be caressing the saint.

It is apparent that the ideological basis and the pictorial character of the presentations of the Sebastian theme during the Late Baroque suggest a relationship with the seventeenth century which is analogous to the relationship which existed between the Age of Mannerism and the High Renaissance. In both cases one finds that whereas the man of the later epoch depended upon his predecessor, in each era there is a shift away from the previous norm. In each instance there is a distortion of form and content, a moving away from the objective to the subjective interpretation of the pictorial material. Gone in the eighteenth century are the simplicity, the clarity, the genre character of the seventeenth century paintings. In place of this one sees a pictorial statement which is based on what Hauser has described as the "anti-rationalism of the age", which reveals itself in a philosophy which tends to ignore empirical reality.³

While one can describe the iconographic changes which occurred during the Late Baroque, one cannot fully understand the significance of the symbolic innovations unless one realizes that with the exception of the sculpture by Luis Bonifas (Fig. 76), the painting by Durand (Fig. 69) and perhaps the woodcut by Nicholas LeSeuer (Fig. 74) after Saiter, the legend of Sebastian being cared for by Irene is

included in the thematic repertoire of only German and Italian artists. Among these, it was most popular with those whose artistic training was primarily within the Venetian sphere of influence.

The rejection of this theme by artists of those schools which in the Early and High Baroque had embraced this event and included it in their corpus of pictorial motifs, is not so strange when one considers the historial situation in these areas as well as the contemporary "cultural psyche". What possible significance could this legend have had for the autocratic Louis XIV, or his pleasure-loving followers? That the most progressive statements of the Sebastian theme were not produced in Rome is concrete testimony to the lack of papal power and the decline of patronage in the eternal city which came with the death of Alexander VIII.⁴

Conversely, the role of Venice and the southern middle European area as the source of the pictorial representations of Sebastian and Irene is not unusual when one considers the situation in these areas. Wittkower, marveling at the artistic fecundity of Venice in the eighteenth century, states that he cannot explain the rapid rise to prominence of Venetian art or artists at this time as the city and its artists were not only out of the mainstream of early seventeenth

century art, but the city at this moment was a weak and dying city, solely dependant upon foreigners who admired its historical foundation. While Wittkower does not explain the ascendancy of Venice to artistic power, he does, inadvertently, indicate a reason for the popularity of the Early Christian legend and the nature of its interpretation among the artists within the realm of this city. For the dramatic, unstable presentation of the Sebastian and Irene legend is but a reflection of an era of crisis. It is witness to the chaos which confronted not only this seacoast town, but Germany, which in the eighteenth century was undergoing a political and social revolution.

Footnotes
Chapter IV

1. R. Wittkower, Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750, p. 235. Wittkower's terminal date has, however, been extended in order to include the paintings of Schmidt, Durand, and Unterberger, as they too, reflect the spirit of the eighteenth century.
2. F. E. Manuel, The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods, Cambridge, 1959, p. 260ff. One cannot but feel that these paintings are a reflection of the attitudes set forth in Diderot's Essay on Painting (1765), or in Winkelmann's History of Ancient Art (1765). Both extol the sensuous and its role in religion and art. Both, too, saw in the rites of the ancients the fact that physical love and religion were emotions inextricably intertwined.
3. A. Hauser, The Social History of Art, New York, 1958, Vol. III, p. 100 ff.
4. Wittkower, Loc. Cit. p. 235.
5. Ibid., p. 314.

Chapter V The Decadent Tradition

As in previous epochs the theme of Saint Sebastian being cared for by Irene is not excluded from the pictorial repertoire of the nineteenth century. It is not, however, as in the two preceding eras, a subject of major significance.¹ More importantly, the illustration of this Early Christian legend in the nineteenth century, unlike its presentation in the Late Baroque, represents a revival rather than a survival of the seventeenth century tradition.

That the theme of Saint Sebastian being cared for by Irene should lose its validity for the nineteenth century German artist is not surprising when one considers the aims of the two main artistic movements within this country. Of what significance is a sick and wounded hero for those late Neo-Classicalists who are trying to revive the glories of antiquity and attempting to find beauty and perfection in the human body?² Of what significance is this Christian and the intimacy of this scene to those Romanticists who held that the grandeur and sublimity of nature was supreme?³

That the French painters of the nineteenth century made a conscious attempt to return to the forms of the Baroque as well as to capture the spirit of the seventeenth century

paintings is evident. Eugene Delacroix's (1798-1863) painting of 1836 now at Nantua (Fig. 79) could have been based upon Cavallino's painting in the Louvre (Fig. 37), although Huyghe suggests the inspiration of Rubens' Deposition. Theodule Ribot's (1823-1829) painting of 1865 (Fig. 80) represents an interpretation of Ribera's 1628 composition (Fig. 39), and is in turn a reflection of the kind of taste that prompted the opening of the Spanish wing of the Louvre in 1839. Jean Jacque Henner's (1829-1905) painting (Fig. 81) exhibited in the Salon of 1888, suggests his familiarity with the seated figure of Sebastian as employed in LaTour's painting (Fig. 34) while the stone of unction indicates his awareness, although not understanding, of significant seventeenth century iconography.

The presence of this theme in French nineteenth century painting is a reflection of the taste of the Romantic era for Christian subject matter. Biblical themes, sharing an affinity with those from the Oriental and Medieval world, were viewed as exotic. Sebastian's importance may stem also from the fact that he was not merely a man of the past, but a Roman hero, one who had lived in the place and during the time of great decadence. Thus he would be a perfect

vehicle for the expression of the taste for the strange and unknown.

What links the art of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century together is the taste for the suffering hero. This is the magnetic force which attracts all artists to this theme of the saint cared for by Irene. However, the artist of the nineteenth century unlike the man of the Baroque does not see Sebastian's suffering as a pre-condition for a greater glory. Nor, like the man of the eighteenth century does he see this fact as a conflict between man and superior forces. Now, completely detached from the tree of martyrdom, Sebastian's proximity to death is seen only as the ultimate expression of melancholy.

Gone in the nineteenth century is any feeling for the mystical implications of the event. Gone is any awareness of the eucharistic import of the theme or the theocratic orientation of the events. Ribot's painting was admired because he had painted better than anyone else the decomposition of the cadaver and the phenomena of putrefication. This was an era that loved the sick hero, which saw in the pale and emaciated the symbol of the passionate personality. Undoubtedly Henner's painting of the isolated hero was admired because of

the sensuous presentation of the semi-nude saint. Certainly too, the furtive glances of Irene's assistant, who seems fearful of being caught performing her unorthodox ^Ktast, establishes the tenor of the nineteenth century interpretation of the Early Christian legend, and reiterates the fact that while all these works attempt to emulate the style and philosophy of another age, the original statement has undergone a substantial change.

The lone Italian painting by the Italian Giuseppe Mancenelli (1813-1875) (Fig. 82) suggests this Neapolitan's fascination with the Bolognese tradition of the seventeenth century. The figure of Sebastian recalls those by Guido ⁷ Reni, the females those of Domenico Cerrini (Fig. 7), while the twilight landscape is in keeping with the traditions of this Northern Italian school. Far from a delight in the morbid, the decadent, or the erotic, Mancenelli's painting appears as a toast, a homage to the glory that was once Italy's.

Footnotes
Chapter V

1. In addition to the four paintings illustrated in this thesis
A. Robaut, L'Œuvre Complet de Eugene Delacroix, Paris, 1885
P. lists seven other works by Delacroix also depicting the
theme of Irene attending the sounded saint.
2. F. Novotny, Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1780-1880,
Baltimore, 1960, p. 37.
3. Ibid., p. 53.
4. R. Huyghe, Delacroix, New York, 1963, p. 332.
5. E. Trapier, Ribera, New York, 1952.
6. G. Pelles, Art, Artists and Society, Englewood, 1963,
p. 122 ff.
7. V. Kraeling, Saint Sebastian dans L'Art, Paris, 1938,
pl. 90.

Chapter VI
The Dissolution of the Tradition

If the presentation of the Sebastien and Irene legend in the nineteenth century can be viewed as representative of the decadence of the Baroque tradition, then the illustration of this theme in the twentieth century can be seen as its ultimate dissolution. The theme of Sebastien attended by Irene has no place in contemporary imagery. The ecstatic experience of the saint, the role of the female and her relation to Sebastien is no longer understood by the twentieth century mind.

Indicative of twentieth century iconography is the triptych by Rene Piot (1866-1934) (Fig. 83). Obviously Piot was inspired not by the original Early Christian legend, but by D'Annunzio's interpretation of it. Like D'Annunzio, Piot is fascinated with the pain and agony of the martyrdom. While he depicts the scene of the mourning of the saint and the burial of the dead here in the right panel of his painting, it is apparent that he, like the Italian has no conception of seventeenth century iconography. He fails to understand either the redemptive role of Irene, or the mystical and theocratic orientation of the events after the sagittation.

The legend of Sebastien is also incorporated into the

pictorial vocabulary of the Austrian Anton Faistauer (1887-1930) (Fig. 84). Here the two females do not attend the saint, but merely stand behind him, as if their concern were for his psyche rather than his physical condition.

Just as the image of Sebastian is incorporated into American literature of the twentieth century so the image of the saint appears in the painting of a contemporary American Fred Taubes (1900-) (Fig. 85). In a letter of September 1963, written in response to a query as to the motivation behind this painting, Taubes replied

I have taken a theme much in favor with the Renaissance painters, and tried to endow it with contemporary feeling.

His statement reveals not only the attitude of the contemporary artist toward the legend, but it also reflects their misunderstanding of the past, its motivations, and its iconography.

Conclusion

In retrospect it is evident that the seventeenth century development of the Early Christian legend of Saint Sebastian cared for by Irene is dependant upon neither a revival nor a survival of a prior literary, pictorial, or ideological tradition. From the available evidence it would seem that the evolution of the Sebastian iconography during the Baroque stems directly from the re-thinking of the hagiographic tradition that followed the Council of Trent, and is a reflection of the militant, offensive as well as defensive, propaganda characteristic of the Counter Reformation. It appears to have been born out of an atmosphere that was preoccupied with mysticism, ecstasy, and personal piety. It seems to have emerged as a manifestation of an age in which the female principle, embodied with all its ramifications in the figure of Mary, rose to an almost unprecedented power and importance. It appears, too, as an outgrowth of a culture which was concerned not only with the narrative importance of an event, but with its eucharistic and liturgical implications. Likewise, it seems to be witness to a milieu which was concerned with the parables and homely tales of Charity, while parallels can be established between the emergence of the Sebastian iconography and the attitude of the Baroque toward antiquity.

While the realization and total integration of the formal and thematic possibilities of the scene of Saint Sebastian being cared for by Irene is a phenomenon of the seventeenth century it is not without implications for succeeding epochs. However, it would appear that the popularity of this scene in the pictorial repertoire of artists of other eras is less a reflection of the continuity of Baroque theology, than of the fact that the basic elements of the legend could be adopted to express the philosophic needs of these later periods.

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Appendix I

Other known illustrations of Sebastian Attended by Irene neither illustrated nor discussed in this thesis.

Austrian

Anonymous (Mid eighteenth century) formerly Budapest, Cloister of the Sacred Heart.
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Dutch

Gelder, Aert de (1645-1727)
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Flemish

Regnier, Nicholas, (att.) (1590-1667) Rouen, Museum of Fine Arts.
(Source: Letter, September 30, 1963, Rouen, Museum of Fine Arts)

Wierix, Antoine (1552-1624) etching
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

French

Deruet, Claude (1588-1660), formerly Nancy, Museum of Fine Arts.
(Source: Letter, September 20, 1963, Nancy, Museum of Fine Arts)

Italian

Anonymous, Florentine (First half of seventeenth century)
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Anonymous, Venetian, drawing (Seventeenth century)
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Bordone, Paris (1500-71)
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Cavallino, Bernardo, (1632-1705). Naples, National Museum
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Cervi, Bernardo, (1596-1630), engraving 1628
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

David, Giovanni (1743-90) aquatint
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Appendix II

Donducci, Giovanni Andrea (1575-1655) Bologna, Celestini
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Franceschini, Marcantonio (1648-1729), engraving
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Meloni, Francesco, Antonio (1676-1713) engraving
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Polazzo, Francesco (1683-1753) Rovigo, Casa Silvestri
(Source: A. Figler, Barock themen)

Trevisani, Angelo (1699-1753)
(Source, A. Figler, Barock themen)