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Ritual, Scenography and Illusion:  
Andrea Pozzo and the Religious  
Theatre of the Seventeenth Century

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Thesis submitted for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

History of Art

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## Declaration

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## Abstract

In this PhD thesis I offer an examination of the work of Jesuit Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), an artist known primarily for his works of perspectival fresco painting. Pozzo's development, his career and his multifaceted practice—which included painting, scenography, architecture, and a two-volume treatise on perspective—together serve as a prime case study for understanding the relationship of the religious art and architecture of the seventeenth century to the period's culture of ritual and performance. Pozzo's work, I argue, *is* religious theatre, and the key to reading both his ephemeral scenographies and the permanent works of painting and architecture lies in religious performance. Each of the works, I contend, functions as a work of religious theatre: architectural space, images, narrative, illusion and light are used to communicate messages, to engage the senses and the intellect, to activate the memory and the imagination, and to directly involve the spectator both internally and externally as a performer.

In my first two chapters I present an analysis of the environment in which Pozzo emerged, beginning with the religious, intellectual and visual culture of the Jesuits, before turning to the religious theatre of Northern Italy. Here I concentrate on the Counter-Reform culture of religious spectacle, before arriving at Pozzo's first recorded scenographies. In addition to their ritual function, I demonstrate how these works establish many of the recurring visual themes and techniques we see across Pozzo's work. In the third chapter I study Pozzo's earliest surviving major painting commission: the church of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì. I present the church as a *teatro sacro*—a permanent ritual scenography of architecture and painting which evokes the elaborate ritual processions of the time.

My fourth chapter focuses on the ephemeral scenographic works of Pozzo's Roman period. Pozzo's innovations in scenography and perspectival illusionism in Rome quickly establish his reputation and lead to the major commissions in the church of Sant'Ignazio, which I discuss with several major Roman works in my final chapter. The examination of the Roman projects returns us to the central theme of my thesis: art and architecture as theatre; both a setting for religious ritual and a means of persuasion through intellectual and spiritual engagement of the observer in a ritual performance.

In order to pursue this line of argument I have consulted a wide array of sources and secondary literature across a number of fields. Important primary sources studied include Pozzo's two-volume treatise, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* (1693,1700), Jesuit documents and archived correspondence, eighteenth-century biographies of Pozzo, prints and commemorative publications of festivals, works of classical authors, and theological writings of major figures in the seventeenth century. This project embraces a wide range of topics including painting, perspective, architecture, illusion, theatre and scenography, ritual and spectacle, theology, philosophy, early modern science, Counter-Reform religious culture, and Jesuit history.

## Acknowledgements

This PhD project has been both an adventure of learning and a new chapter in my life, and I would not have been able to undertake it without the support of both individuals and institutions.

I must begin with my supervisor Genevieve Warwick, whose interest in me and my interdisciplinary background opened the door to this new pursuit. Her book *Bernini: Art as Theatre* (2012) effectively brought me to Edinburgh and largely shaped the direction of my research by enlightening me to a new, and I believe critical, understanding of Baroque art and its relationship to the seventeenth century's culture of performance. Genevieve is also the person who pointed me to Andrea Pozzo as the focus of my research, and her help, encouragement, and guidance kept me on course throughout. I must also thank Carol Richardson, whose experience, insight, and scholarly rigour helped me to develop my argument and to refine my ideas in such topics as the art and culture of Catholic Reform, early modern religious culture, institutional patronage and the history and intellectual culture of the Jesuits.

I must thank the Edinburgh College of Art for the award of the ECA Postgraduate Scholarship, which helped to fund the first two years of this project. I must also thank the Association of Art Historians and Laurence King Publishing, whose travel grant allowed me to spend a substantial amount of time in Italy in order to complete the necessary research.

This work brought me into contact with a long list of research institutions, whose staff were both helpful and generous with their time. My thanks to the State Archives of Turin, Milan, Genoa, and Rome, and special thanks to the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Congregazione dei Nobili at the Gesù for opening their collections to me. Other institutions I must thank include, in Rome, the Biblioteca Hertziana, the Biblioteca Casatanense, and the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale; in Milan, the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana; in Genoa, the Biblioteca Berio; in Trent, the Biblioteca Comunale; and in Venice, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini. In the United Kingdom, I must thank the British Library, the Warburg Institute, the National Library of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh Centre for Research Collections.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Jesuit artist, architect and scenographer Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) is known primarily as the creator of two major works in Rome: the fictive dome and ceiling frescoes in the Church of Sant'Ignazio (1685-93), and the Chapel of St Ignatius in the church of the Gesù (1695-99) [figs. 0.1 and 0.2]. These works, while they are widely considered to demonstrate Pozzo at the height of his career, represent only one chapter in the life and work of the artist.<sup>1</sup> Pozzo's work actually spans nearly half a century and encompasses a very large territory, from Trent, Lombardy, and Liguria to Rome, Tuscany and ultimately Vienna. Through his work and teaching, his travels, and the publication and subsequent translations of his treatise, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* (first edition published in Rome, 1693 and 1700), Pozzo's ideas, techniques and designs were widely disseminated to both Jesuit and non-Jesuit churches and institutions throughout Europe, and ultimately worldwide, well into the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The early career of Pozzo and the major works from his pre-Roman period—namely the early fresco cycles in Piedmont and Liguria and the first scenographies in Milan and Genoa—have received far less treatment than the Roman works, and are

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<sup>1</sup> The commission and reception of the dome and ceiling in Sant'Ignazio are discussed with documentation and relevant bibliography in Chapter 5 of this thesis. For the altar of St Ignatius, see Levy, 'A Canonical Work'; Levy *Propaganda*, 160-82; Levy, 'Che cos'è un Autore/Architetto gesuita?'; Del Mas, 'L'altare di Sant'Ignazio'; and Gargano, 'L'altare di sant'Ignazio.'

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich W. Pfeiffer claims that Pozzo's transfer from Rome to Vienna resulted in the spread of 'a new ecclesiastical art which determined the Baroque style in all the churches of the eighteenth century in the Alpine countries, Bohemia, Poland, and central Germany. . . .' Pfeiffer, 'L'opera di Mondovì,' 31. Other authors have written on Pozzo's influence on church architecture in Central Europe. See Preiss, 'Pozzo e il pozzismo a Boemia.' The spread of Pozzo's architectonic language to Jesuit territories in other parts of the world, such as China, can be credited in large part to the translation and dissemination of his treatise. See Corsi, 'Pozzo's Treatise as a workshop.' Levy has discussed a number of examples of chapels and altars demonstrating the wide diffusion of Pozzo's architecture in both Jesuit and non-Jesuit contexts, from central Europe to India. Levy, *Propaganda*, 205-232.

almost entirely absent from the English literature.<sup>3</sup> It became clear at the outset of this research that Pozzo's early career and experiences in Northern Italy are fundamental to an understanding of his work and practice as a whole. More specifically, in the process of examining Pozzo's early period, I became convinced that the culture of ritual and performance in this region in the seventeenth century determined the trajectory that his career was to take both in the north and later in Rome. This culture, together with Pozzo's Jesuit education and religious training, must have instilled in him a particular way of thinking about ritual and its relationship to art: specifically, the way that architectural space, images, narrative, illusion and light are used to communicate messages, to engage the senses and the intellect, to activate the memory and the imagination, and to directly involve the spectator both internally and externally as a performer. I therefore argue that the key to reading Pozzo's works lies in performance; specifically, religious performance. Such performance, as I shall demonstrate throughout this thesis, was a major part of the persuasive strategy of the Jesuits and of the Catholic Church in the seventeenth century. I will return to this key aspect of my argument after first considering the scholarship on Pozzo and some key ideas which helped to determine the direction of this project.

In spite of wide acknowledgement in the scholarship of the importance of Pozzo's major Roman works within the history of Jesuit visual culture, and of his place in the history of perspectival illusionism, scholars do not seem to have known where

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<sup>3</sup> Levy's examination of the Corridor of St Ignatius is probably the first treatment of it in the English literature. Levy, *Propaganda*, 134-150. The recent translation of Felix Burda-Stengel's work, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art* (2013), is the first publication in English to offer more lengthily visual analyses of Pozzo's major illusionistic fresco works, including San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì, the Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa in Rome, and the fresco works and fictive cupola in Sant' Ignazio. In the Italian literature, Pozzo's pre-Roman works are largely discussed in essays in edited volumes to be detailed later.

exactly to place his work or how to assess his achievement within the broader context of Baroque art and culture.<sup>4</sup> Some regard Pozzo not so much as an artist as a brilliant technician. Remigo Marini lamented in 1959 that 'Pozzo the practitioner of perspective and the scientist. . . would unconsciously become the greatest enemy of Pozzo the poet.'<sup>5</sup> This raises an important issue in studies of Pozzo: the struggle to understand the artist and his activities as a totality, rather than as working modes belonging to separate professions. The tendency of scholars, critics and public to categorize skills and sharply delineate working modes was a challenge that Pozzo faced in his own time; in answering the claim that a painter cannot make a good architect, he considered the matter and presented the following forceful statement writing:

Therefore do not utter again that silly argument, 'He is a good painter; therefore he will not be a good architect'; but rather infer the contrary, 'He is a good perspective artist, therefore he will be a good architect.'<sup>6</sup>

Although any of Pozzo's diverse artistic activities—his research and achievement in perspectival illusionism particularly—lend themselves to very specific and individualised topics of research, an understanding of Pozzo and his overall practice depends upon a recognition of the interrelationships between the various modes in

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<sup>4</sup> Wittkower's remarks on Pozzo in 1958 limit his achievement, and his contribution to the art of the age, to technique and scale. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 334. Levy, using the term 'uncanonical' to refer to the period in which Pozzo's work is situated, has summarised the scholarly perception of the last decades of the seventeenth century in Rome as one of artistic, intellectual and political decline, resulting in its failure to produce significant works of art. Bernhard Kerber was the first, and only author thus far, to publish a comprehensive monograph on the work of Pozzo: Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo* (1971). Although it serves as a more or less complete catalogue of Pozzo's work, far greater treatment (and space) is given to the ceiling in Sant'Ignazio and the Chapel of St Ignatius in the Gesù than to any of the other works, and it tends to focus on identification of content and historical details; analysis is in many cases minimal. Kerber's work is clearly intended to serve as impetus for further research and discourse on Pozzo, and laid the groundwork, especially the archival research, for much of what followed.

<sup>5</sup> Marini, *Andrea Pozzo Pittore*, 33.

<sup>6</sup> Translation mine. 'Dunque non vi fate più uscir di bocca quello sciocco argomento: È buon Pittore; Dunque non sarà buon'Architetto: ma più tosto inferite il contrario, È buon Prospettico, dunque sarà buon Architetto.' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, Rome, Fig. 66.



which he worked. The gateway to understanding Pozzo, I believe, is a close study of his development and his practice by way of his scenographic projects.

Valentino Martinelli has described the ephemeral *macchine*, or scenographies which Pozzo produced for religious devotions, as constituting a new expressive genre in their full conflation of architectural and pictorial modes, their basis in material and spatial illusion, and their visual power.<sup>7</sup> Design transferability and the scenographic approach to architecture are major themes in discussions of Pozzo as a scenographer, and his permanent works are often compared to his ephemeral works. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco's 1992 essay 'Pensare effimero: il metodo e la pratica di Fratello Pozzo' presents the ephemeral works as the place of Pozzo's most notable scenographic and architectonic experiments.<sup>8</sup> He discusses a number of issues, including the transferability of Pozzo's designs between media and from one environment to another, as well as the role of light in the *macchine*. He identifies Pozzo's scholarly sources in the fields of scenography, perspective and optics, and highlights recurrent themes such as the triumphal arch and the frequent use of curves in Pozzo's designs.<sup>9</sup> Vittorio De Feo begins his essay 'Le cappelle e gli altari' by discussing one of Pozzo's altar designs as an example of an architecturally unorthodox plan which favours the frontal perspectival image, demonstrating that in designing these works, Pozzo was thinking from the beginning in scenographic terms.<sup>10</sup> This is, in fact, a discussion begun by Nino Carboneri in 1961, who highlighted the importance of Pozzo's ephemeral works as demonstrations of his

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<sup>7</sup> Martinelli, "Teatri sacri e profani" di Andrea Pozzo, 94-113.

<sup>8</sup> Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Pensare effimero: Il metodo e la pratica di fratello Pozzo.'

<sup>9</sup> *Macchina*: literally, a 'machine.' It can refer to any device, including a scenography, a stage mechanism, or even an altar, comprising several components which together produce a visual effect. In writings of the period it is often used interchangeably with *apparato*, which I use to refer to an entire scenography or installation: a multi-component device which transforms all or part of an interior or exterior place of spectacle.

<sup>10</sup> De Feo, 'Le cappelle e gli altari.' De Feo refers to Pozzo, *Perspectiva I*, Fig. 74.

distinctively scenographic approach to architecture.<sup>11</sup> I would further define this idea by saying that Pozzo was thinking of architecture as serving a function specifically associated with a performative context: the ritual for which the altar, or the scenography, was produced. Moreover, as we shall find demonstrated throughout this thesis, Pozzo's architecture not only provides a setting for performance, but also itself 'performs.'

The relationship of art and architecture to theatre and scenography brings us to a key point of this thesis: Pozzo's origins lie in theatre, performance, and the scenographic practice of the seventeenth century; furthermore, he remains firmly tied to this practice throughout his career. If we are to speak of 'theatrical effects' and 'theatricality' in the case of Pozzo or the Baroque as a whole, we must move beyond a discourse which centres only on visual considerations, and examine in specific terms the relationships of images, environment, and setting to performance. Theatre is performance, and therefore requires a performer. If Baroque art and architecture mean to elicit a response, they also require the active involvement of the observer as a performer. Authors such as Giovanna Zanlonghi and Silvia Carandini have begun to take the discourse on Pozzo in the direction of performance and ritual by examining Pozzo's scenography within the context of theatre history, and specifically the context of religious theatre.<sup>12</sup> I find this work especially important because it sheds light on the culture of performance and spectacle in which Pozzo developed and worked, particularly the world of Milan and the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. It goes beyond the analysis of Pozzo's work as visual art to consider it in relation to the theatrical culture of the age.

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<sup>11</sup> Carboneri, *Andrea Pozzo, Architetto*, esp. 21-27.

<sup>12</sup> See Carandini, 'Dalle quinte del teatro'; Zanlonghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo'; and Zanlonghi, 'Teatro senza attori.'

The culture of religious theatre in Trentino, Veneto, Lombardy, Piedmont and Liguria where Pozzo spent his early years included a wide variety of performance genres and contexts, ranging from civic celebrations and religious festivals to court performances and productions in the universities and religious houses.<sup>13</sup> It is represented visually in the scenographies produced for these occasions, as well as in the works of permanent religious art and architecture of the region, much of which appears to be designed and produced for the purpose of ritual performance. In northern Italy as well as Rome and elsewhere, the Jesuits were heavily invested in this culture of religious theatre, not only through their own theatrical productions in the colleges and courts, but through their direct involvement in the design and staging of numerous major urban festivals. The scenographies produced for such events in Milan and Genoa provided Pozzo with some of his earliest commissions. The study and practice of scenography thus became one of his earliest activities as an artist.

Carandini discusses Pozzo in the context of this broad and rich tapestry of spectacle and scenography of seventeenth-century Italy.<sup>14</sup> Although she focuses on theatre and spectacle in Rome, her discussion of Pozzo's work at Mondovì highlights the critical connection between church decoration and the form and functions of theatrical scenography. In her discussion of Pozzo's early career in the festival culture of Milan, Zanlonghi discusses the transformation of architectural space by means of scenography, illusion and light within the ritual context.<sup>15</sup> She is one of few authors who emphasize the role of light in Pozzo's ephemeral works, a theme

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<sup>13</sup> The theatrical culture of Northern Italy is the central focus of Chapter 2.

<sup>14</sup> Carandini, 'Dalle quinte del teatro.' Other work of Carandini in the field of ritual and spectacle includes *L'effimero barocco* (with Fagiolo dell'Arco) and *Teatro e spettacolo nel Seicento*.

<sup>15</sup> Zanlonghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo.'

which she discusses at length in her writing on Milanese spectacle.<sup>16</sup> An idea which has, to a large extent, determined the direction of this project is well-summarised in Zanglonghi's assessment of Pozzo's work as theatre in itself: 'The Pozzian universe is a total theatre' where the visual arts are made to collide and dissolve one into the other.<sup>17</sup> This concept strikes me as essential to understanding Pozzo, his work, and its broader cultural implications in the seventeenth century and beyond. However, up to now, ideas concerning theatre and theatricality have been put forward and applied with a rather 'broad brush' and in primarily theoretical terms over the trajectory of Pozzo's career, and have not been sufficiently developed or supported with detailed case studies of his works. More specifically, the role of Pozzo's practice of illusionism in relation to ritual and performance has not received any serious examination.

In the study and application of perspective, and in his approach to his work as a ritual scenography, Pozzo recognised the participatory role played by the observer-as-performer. While the major fresco cycles and the scenographies I will analyse feature narrative scenes 'performed' like theatrical presentations, these scenes are not visually separated from the observer, but joined with his space, even offered as points of entry into the greater sacred drama represented in the scenography or the church interior. Although this is an idea extending back to the early Renaissance—Masaccio's *Holy Trinity* in Florence (c. 1425-27) comes to mind—with Pozzo it takes a new turn, as architectural perspective becomes the 'bridge' between worlds,

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<sup>16</sup> Zanglonghi, 'Teatro senza attori.' Zanglonghi's work on Milanese spectacle, much of which features the contributions of the Jesuits, includes *Teatri di Formazione*, 'The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan,' 'Immagine e parola nel teatro gesuitico,' 'Sermo corporis,' and 'La tragedia fra ludus e festa.' Bösel and Insolera have also discussed the importance of light as part of Pozzo's thought process. Bösel and Insolera, "'Teatrizzare la stessa Architettura.'"

<sup>17</sup> Zanglonghi, 'Teatro senza attori,' 238.

producing a new level of continuity between the built space of the observer and the illusionistic space of the image.<sup>18</sup> Perspective thus assumes the rhetorical role held by the outward-looking figures in a Renaissance painting, making a direct appeal to the observer to enter. Moreover, beyond their appeal to the viewer to 'actively observe' or to 'enter' the scene, I propose Pozzo's illusionistic scenes as elements within a larger performative context: like any church decoration or theatrical scenography, they serve as a background to the ritual or drama enacted, and provide visual cues for the performers in the enacting of this ritual.

The particular complexity of the illusionism in both the *quadratura* frescoes and the scenographies of Pozzo is not merely that they present the perspectival image as an extension of the viewer's environment; it is also the revelation of the deceit of the perspectival construction, all the more startling because of the prior removal, on first viewing, of the distinction between the reality of the permanent architecture and that of the rendered image. Were such constructed illusions meant to be read as artifice, were they to be accepted as physical or spatial realities, or were they intended to persuade the spirit of the existence of a transcendent 'reality'? What do Pozzo's illusions mean?

While we can conjecture that the perspective in Pozzo's works contains philosophical and theological lessons, it would be equally valid to regard it simply as the largest-scale and most technically perfect example of a genre of art whose overwhelming profusion and success in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries point to a broader cultural phenomenon: the fascination of this society with illusion and perspectival effects, as we see evidenced in a range of works and media, from

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<sup>18</sup> For the joining of the viewer's space with that of the painting by means of both illusionism and gesturing figures, See Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 17-19. Van Eck cites Alberti, *De Pictura*, Section 42.

the theatrical scenographies and the *teatri sacri*, to Borromini's famous perspective gallery in the Palazzo Spada (1652-53), to the ceilings of Northern Italian *quadratura* artists.<sup>19</sup> Discussions of philosophical and theological meanings inherent in Pozzo's perspectival illusionism, therefore, call for its consideration within a broader cultural and historical context.

Perspective is, of course, among the key features of Pozzo's 'theatre,' and the element which most universally engages the observer in a participatory way, prior to involvement in the ritual. Marcello Fagiolo describes the religious metaphor represented in Pozzo's 'scientific' practice of art: '. . . perspective itself became the scientific instrument conferring physicality on the metaphysical realm of glory.'<sup>20</sup> Kerber's essay on Pozzo's perspective from 1992, entitled 'Pozzo e L'Aristotelismo,' discusses the single viewing position in the floor of Sant' Ignazio: its association with Aristotelian questions of both appearances and ethics, and its use as a metaphor for Jesuit religious life and organisation.<sup>21</sup> De Feo's book from 1988, *Andrea Pozzo: Architettura e illusione*, presents a further consideration of Pozzo's illusionism: the engagement of the observer in an intellectual process of discovery which ultimately leads to 'persuasion and the expression of faith.'<sup>22</sup> In this way, the experience of Pozzo's work, De Feo seems to suggest, is a journey of faith. Here De Feo has introduced the particular tension produced by Pozzo's illusions: the appeal to faith

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<sup>19</sup> The scenographies are studied throughout this thesis, especially Chapters 2 and 4. Among Northern Italian *quadratura* artists, Angelo Michele Colonna (1604-87) and Agostino Mitelli (1609-60) are among the most prominent of the Bolognese school; see Kemp, *The Science of Art*, 136-37. In Genoa, Valerio Castello (1624-59) and Andrea Seghizzi (1630-84); see Leoncini, 'Gli affreschi di Valerio Castello'; and Waterhouse, *Italian Baroque Painting*, 21. In Lombardy Morazzone (1573-1626) and Ghisolfi (1623-83); see Romano, 'Ancora su Andrea Pozzo,' 297; Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo dalla Lombardia a Mondovì'; Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo pittore,' 44-53; and Dardanella, 'Esperienze e opere.' Significant recent work on the subject of illusionism in Baroque art includes Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre* and Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*.

<sup>20</sup> Fagiolo, 'The Scene of Glory,' 234.

<sup>21</sup> Kerber, 'Pozzo e l'aristotelismo.'

<sup>22</sup> De Feo, *Andrea Pozzo: architettura e illusione*, 13.

through the intellect, or the meeting of the intellect with the emotion and the 'wonder' of the Baroque.

Discussions abound regarding Pozzo's practice of perspective, the complex relationship between art and science which many feel it represents, and the possible meanings inherent in the perspectival image.<sup>23</sup> The notion that Pozzo's perspective directs the intellect to discovery of the divine or even communion with it is addressed in my later chapters. At this introductory stage of the thesis, I believe it is important to recognize, as Fagiolo and others have, that Pozzo, in his works and in his practice, represents an artistic turning point, not only in illusionism, but in the art of the seventeenth century more generally: a direction that does not necessarily leave behind the appeal to the emotions and the 'wonder' and 'marvel' traditionally associated with the Baroque, but exerts an even more powerful, and potentially persuasive, effect on the observer by appealing to the intellect.

In his essay for the 2009 Pozzo symposium in Rome, 'Il teatro delle idée: prospettiva e scienze matematiche nel Seicento,' Filippo Camerota opens with a discussion of the perspectival practice of quadraturists in the sixteenth century and Pozzo's uncompromising adherence to a perspective system based on a single viewing position.<sup>24</sup> Pozzo's Corridor of Saint Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù in Rome is probably the best example of his technical rigour: the perspectival construction, executed over five surfaces, in a space with very unusual spatial and optical challenges, functions as a convincing illusion from only one designated point.

<sup>25</sup> The result of this system, many authors have said, is that the deception of Pozzo's

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<sup>23</sup> The literature on this topic is discussed throughout this thesis, especially in Chapter 5.

<sup>24</sup> Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idée.'

<sup>25</sup> This little-studied work of Pozzo was finally given due attention and analysis by Lidia Salviucci-Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il corridoio di S. Ignazio: una 'bellissima idea'* (2014), which includes

perspectival illusion is marvellously, and intentionally, revealed to the observer upon departure from this single point.<sup>26</sup>

This theme of the deceit, the *inganno*, and subsequent revelation of the deception, the *disinganno*, appears as a cultural metaphor of the period, finding expression in literature, rhetoric, and, as we see in the work of Pozzo, art.<sup>27</sup> The theme becomes central to the theory and discussions of perspectival illusionism by the early seventeenth century, as indicated by the title of Pietro Accolti's treatise of 1625, *Lo inganno degli occhi, prospettiva pratica*. It is also repeatedly raised within the text of Pozzo's own treatise.<sup>28</sup> *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico* (1670), by the Jesuit scholar of rhetoric and playwright Emanuele Tesauro, is regarded as a core text in understanding seventeenth-century culture, particularly the use of metaphor and symbol within systems of visual rhetoric.<sup>29</sup> One of the 'categories of metaphor'

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Camerota's very valuable analysis of Pozzo's method of image construction and transfer, accompanied by extensive computer models: Camerota, "Stimando per vero," 159-166.

<sup>26</sup> This theme runs throughout the literature on Pozzo. See especially See Bösel and Insolera, 'Mirabili disinganni'; Martinelli, "Teatri Sacri e Profani" di Andrea Pozzo'; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*. See also Zanlonghi, 'Teatro senza attori'; and Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idee.'

<sup>27</sup> *Inganno*: deceit or trick. In the study of illusionistic painting it refers to the perceptual trick whereby an object or space represented in painting appears to be real. *Disinganno* is the revealing of a trick; in painting and specifically perspectival illusionism, it refers to the revelation of the image or space as a perceptual trick. The Spanish equivalent, *engaño* and *desengaño*, is a recurring theme in early modern Spanish literature; as demonstrated in the writing of Balthasar Gracián and Cervantes, it is frequently associated with the falsity of perceptions and of situations brought on by deceit. A few references among the substantial body of literary criticism which addresses the theme include Acker, *The Baroque Vortex*, 28 and 45-46; Wagschal, *The Literature of Jealousy*, 23-26; and Robbins, 'From Baroque to pre-enlightenment.' In art historical studies, Henin indicates the psychological element of *inganno* in her definition of the term, which embraces two types of illusion: 'the illusion contrived by the decor, and the illusion suffered by the spectator.' Hémin, 'Parrhasius and the Stage Curtain,' 56.

<sup>28</sup> Pozzo uses expressions meaning to trick—either 'ingannare' or 'gabare'—throughout both tomes of the Treatise. He opens *Perspectiva*, I, with his address to the reader saying, 'L'Arte della Prospettiva con ammirabil diletto inganna il più accorto de' nostri sensi esteriori che è l'Occhio. . .'. In Fig. 60 he describes an altar design rendered as an ephemeral scenography: 'ingannerà chi lo rimira.' In Figure 66, of round structures, he says, 'se siano fatte con buon disegno, dipinte con maestria, e ben contornate, ingannano l'occhio a maraviglia.' In Fig. 101 of the same volume he describes the necessity of a single, fixed point of viewing for 'ingannar l'occhio.' In *Perspectiva*, II, Fig. 47 he describes the elements of one of his realised *Quarant'ore* scenographies each doing their part to 'gabar l'occhio,' explaining further that 'i disegni di opere grandi fatti con buona regola di architettura, pittura, e prospettiva gabano l'occhio. . .'

<sup>29</sup> Carandini has called the work 'the most important rhetorical *summa*, the most generalized theory of the aesthetic of the seventeenth century.' Carandini, *Teatro e spettacolo nel seicento*, 10. Zanlonghi



which Tesauro illustrates is the 'Metaphor of Deception,' or of the 'Unexpected.'<sup>30</sup>

He describes the experience as a 'delight to the intellect,' the delight of surprise:

It is therefore a secret and innate delight of the human intellect. . .  
because that transition from the *inganno* to the *disinganno* is a manner  
of learning by way of the unexpected.<sup>31</sup>

Tesauro's conception of the discovery of the 'trick' is not merely the registering of surprise as an entertainment; it demonstrates a moral virtue: a certain intellectual agility and playfulness (he cites Aristotle's *Eutrapelia*) regarding both jokes and perceptual tricks, and the ability to derive pleasure from certain kinds of deception.<sup>32</sup>

Because Pozzo's perspectival images are constructed based on a single viewing position, the illusion is already predisposed to be revealed on the first encounter.

What is the intended result of the *disinganno*, the revelation of 'truth,' when the mask is pulled away? The discovery of the illusion calls into question perception itself, and our faith in our own senses. Where we go upon this discovery is the next step, one that has led to the many philosophical and theological interpretations of Pozzo's perspective system.

The reception of Pozzo's works, both in the biographies and his own accounts, invariably centres on *meraviglia*. Beyond the marvel inspired by the perspectival

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maintains the work as a central point of reference in her analysis of the funeral of Philip III, for which Tesauro designed the rhetorical program, in *Teatri di Formazione*, 17-70. For a briefer discussion of the same event, see Zanlonghi, 'The Jesuit Stage,' 531-35. See also Conte, *La metafora barocca*, 105. Tesauro's metaphors appear in analyses of Baroque scenographies; see Noehles, 'Teatri per le Quarant'ore,' 91. For the life and work of Tesauro, see Zanardi, 'Vita e esperienza di Emanuele Tesauro'; and Hyde Minor, *Baroque Visual Rhetoric*, 15-16.

<sup>30</sup> Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 'Metafora Ottava, Di Decettione,' 460-61.

<sup>31</sup> Translation mine. 'Egli è dunque una segreta & innata delitia dell'Intelletto humano, l'avvedersi di essere stato scherzevolmente ingannato: peroche quel trapasso dall'inganno al disinganno, è una maniera d'imparamento, per via non aspettata; & perciò piacevolissima.' Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 'Metafora Ottava, Di Decettione,' 460.

<sup>32</sup> . . . 'tutte son DECETTIONI IN FATTO ò *Facette Urbane*, appartenenti à quella giocosa & giocanda Virtù Morale, che il nostro Autore chiamò *Eutrapelia*: cioè versabilità d'intelletto, adattantesi al genio di coloro con cui lietamente conversa, & passa il tempo.' Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 'Metafora Ottava, De Decettione,' 461. Tesauro cites Aristotle, *Ethics*, Chapter 8.

image itself, the deliberate revelation of the illusion signals a further marvel: Richard Bösel and Lydia Salviucci Insolera refer to Tesauro in describing the experience of Pozzo's astonishing *apparati* as one which unfolds over time: at first the spectator is amazed; then the realization that the image is a fiction causes another kind of wonder at this 'metaphor of deception.'<sup>33</sup> I take the position that the *disinganno* of the illusion serves not only an intellectual function, but a spiritual one as well; and this is revealed by examining the illusion in relation to the religious context for which the work is produced. Moreover, architectural perspective must be considered together with the other elements of the image—figures, allegorical and iconographic devices, colour, light—and understood as part of a broader rhetorical system designed with persuasive aims.

*Inganno* and *disinganno* is an idea related not only to perspectival illusion, but to material and process. Martinelli describes *inganno* on two levels: the illusion of the architectonic perspective construction, and the disguise of the means and materials.<sup>34</sup> Pozzo's work can thus be defined as mimesis occurring on two levels: the illusionistic image admits to its own fiction, while the materials and process involved in creating it make a performance of artifice.<sup>35</sup> One aspect of Pozzo that sets him apart from his predecessors is how he physically produced his works. This needs to be addressed not only on the level of image construction, but on the level of material production and its reception. As will be discussed in this thesis, much of Pozzo's 'brilliance' in the narratives and the accounts is associated with his ability to produce

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<sup>33</sup> Bösel and Insolera, 'Mirabili disinganni,' 19.

<sup>34</sup> Martinelli, "'Teatri Sacri e Profani' di Andrea Pozzo,' 112

<sup>35</sup> A few of many discussions of the theme of *mimesis* in both art and theatre include Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre* esp. 10, 14, 36-37; Van Eck and Bussels, 'The Visual Arts and the Theatre'; and Hénin, 'Parrhasius and the Stage Curtain.' For the origin of term in ancient Greek performance and its meanings, see Sörbom, *Mimesis and Art*, 11-40.

'marvels' with poor materials; and in comparing ephemeral to permanent projects in Pozzo's work, one begins to find that their design and execution take precedence over material and medium. Moreover, the discovery of the 'poor materials,' like the discovery of the spatial illusions in the perspective scenes, is the phenomenon which inspires 'wonder.'<sup>36</sup> Pozzo's impeccable technique as a painter and as a perspective artist could be said to bestow a certain 'wonder of creation' onto painted illusions and ephemeral constructions, rendering them worthy art objects in the eye of the public on a level with their marble and gilt bronze counterparts. The question of 'shamfulness' that Irving Lavin posed regarding Bernini's works of *bel composto*—produced with complex and costly means and materials—might just as aptly apply to Pozzo and his ephemeral constructions and frescoes: Pozzo's perspectival and material illusions, like the 'shamfulness' of Bernini's art, could be said to 'convey a message concerning the ultimate nature of reality and creation'.<sup>37</sup>

We must acknowledge that the word 'shamful' does not apply to Pozzo's work in quite the same way that it might apply to Bernini. While Bernini sought to imitate material or phenomena through the use of another material or materials—stone imitating flesh, drapery, foliage, clouds or fire; amber, glass and bronze-covered rods simulating 'heavenly light'—Bernini's *bei composti* are in all cases crafted in the mode of the 'permanent.' Pozzo's painted illusions and his ephemeral scenographies do not claim to be something other than a fiction, and in this sense are consciously and unapologetically fictive. They may trick the eye momentarily, or even for a period of time, but are eventually 'discovered'; and as described earlier, this intended discovery is a central theme in Pozzo's work. Moreover, the public of the

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<sup>36</sup> Levy, 'The "Perspectives",' esp. 25-26

<sup>37</sup> Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 4.

seventeenth century was fascinated with these fictive images and constructions as it is with the means by which they are achieved.<sup>38</sup> An idea which I will seek to illustrate in my discussion of Pozzo's illusionistic works, such as the 'temporary' dome in Sant' Ignazio and the ephemeral high altar at Mondovì, is that their immense success seems to signal a public acceptance, and even embracing, of scenographic illusions of architecture in place of actual construction.

The relationship of the ephemeral and the illusory to the 'real' and the 'permanent' in Pozzo, and the function such apparent dichotomies play within the intellectual, spiritual, and cultural contexts of the time are among the major questions to be pursued. A theme which has recently been given renewed emphasis in studies of seventeenth-century art and culture is the complex relationship between the 'real' and the fictive, between 'reality' and illusion.<sup>39</sup> In the field of art, architecture and scenography, this topic of discourse is given some of its richest case studies in the work of Pozzo, whose own particular interest was in joining one to the other, 'joining the false with the real.'<sup>40</sup> A compelling explanation of both the illusionism and the pictorial content of Pozzo's fresco programs is the overarching spiritual metaphor that Pfeiffer applies both to the iconography of the images and to the dissolution of barriers between celestial and terrestrial, 'real' and 'fictive,' which Pozzo's illusionism brings about: 'Andrea Pozzo creates a vision in which the heavens and the earth co-

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<sup>38</sup> Warwick identifies as a theme in seventeenth-century art studies the simultaneous 'viewing as a form of transport and as a study of the technical means of its illusion. . .' Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, esp. 12-13.

<sup>39</sup> Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*; also Adamson, 'The Real in the Rococo.'

<sup>40</sup> 'congiugendo il finto col vero,' Pozzo, *Prospettiva* I, Fig. 30. This theme is discussed in my analysis of Pozzo's earliest scenographies in Chapter 2, and is revisited in my discussions of the ceiling at Mondovì (see Chapter 3), the Roman scenographies (Chapter 4), and the ceiling and dome in Sant' Ignazio (Chapter 5). Virtually all of Pozzo's illusionistic frescoes feature extensions of the built architecture.

penetrate,' Pfeiffer says, 'where terrestrial things become celestial and vice versa.'<sup>41</sup> As I analyse Pozzo's works, I seek to identify just how the 'co-penetration' of worlds which Pfeiffer describes is achieved visually; and to identify the role that such an effect of illusionism serves in the performed context of ritual and prayer.

The dissolution, or confusion, of barriers between the real and the fictive as a trope of theatrical performance returns us to theatre, which I consider the central concern of Pozzo's work and our reading of it. Pozzo's major works—from his early scenographic projects to his fresco cycles, his altars and his grand *Quarant'ore* scenographies in Rome—are 'theatres' in their conception and their production. Beyond merely suggesting dramatic performance, they serve as environments for ritual performance and prayer. In confronting Pozzo's works within the constructed contexts of the religious buildings they adorn, and within the context of ritual for which they were designed, the observer engages in an internal and external performance through movement, discovery, and participation in the rites of worship. Moreover, the roles of artist, work and observer are related one to another in a manner which can be termed 'performative.' For the reasons I have here described, which I will illustrate throughout this thesis, I argue that the work of Andrea Pozzo does not simply function as a scenography, a device or background for religious theatre; it *is* religious theatre.

Critical to the success of such an inquiry is getting to the heart of religious performance and what comprises the rituals in question. We cannot understand a religious building, a church decoration, or a religious scenography without a thorough understanding of the ritual purpose for which it was made. Moreover, the

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<sup>41</sup> Pfeiffer, 'Teatro gesuitico e devozione,' 79.

fact of illusionism—perspectival, material, or otherwise—becoming a cultural and intellectual preoccupation of the age is linked not simply to wonder or admiration at technique and the successful employment of perceptual 'tricks.' Illusion is a central element of performance, and perspective is one type of illusion. The meaning and function of perspective and illusion in Pozzo's work—and indeed much art of the seventeenth century—can only be determined by examining illusionistic works in terms of the performances and rituals for which they served as performance settings, images of devotion or devices for reflection and contemplation.

My approach is contextual, as I seek to establish an in-depth understanding of the culture in which Pozzo emerged and worked as an artist. This culture includes the artistic and architectonic cultures of the regions in which he spent time, the intellectual and religious culture of the Jesuits—whose influence in the broader Catholic religious culture of the period cannot be overestimated—and, perhaps most importantly, the culture of performance and ritual which in many ways defined the Catholic Church and Italian society in the early modern. The reassessment of Pozzo in relation to the culture of religious performance which I offer in this thesis points to something of wider concern and implication: the life and career of the Jesuit artist from Trent, when approached by way of religious theatre, become a lens through which we might better understand the relationship of art and architecture, particularly the religious art and architecture of the Jesuits, to the culture of ritual and spectacle of the seventeenth century.

My first chapter is devoted to Pozzo's education and spiritual training. Here I seek to place him within the spiritual, intellectual and visual culture of the Jesuits. I consider Pozzo in relation to Jesuit religious life and education, with particular

emphasis placed on the field of rhetoric and performance, and I include a discussion of topics in Jesuit philosophy and theology as they relate to visual themes in Pozzo's work. I discuss the tradition of Jesuit imagery and visual culture, which is of clear importance in understanding the iconography of Pozzo's major works, and conclude with a brief contextual discussion of Jesuit research and scientific culture as I study the tradition of perspective research to which Pozzo contributed his own treatise.

Chapter 2 is devoted to Milan and Northern Italy, the region of Pozzo's artistic training and of his first years in the Society of Jesus. As I examine the culture of theatre and ritual in the region, I place emphasis on the political and ecclesiastical environment of Milan and its key players: Charles and Federico Borromeo, the Spanish monarchy, and the Jesuits. I focus on accounts and analyses of several genres of religious ritual and spectacle of the period, both prior to Pozzo and contemporary with his own activities, and I also examine the theatre stages and scenographic practices of the region. In this chapter I seek to illustrate the theatrical culture of northern Italy and the major themes and ideas represented in the rituals and scenographies, and to identify the sources of Pozzo's visual language and techniques. I then go on to examine Pozzo's first public works: the scenographic *apparati* for major religious occasions in Milan and Genoa.

I have devoted the third chapter to Pozzo's earliest surviving large-scale church decoration project, the church of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì. Here all of his skills and training were given expression and challenge in a complete *teatro sacro*. Key themes here will be the idea of architecture as scenography, and of the church interior and its sequencing of images, spaces and architectural forms as a complete

theatre produced as a place of individual spiritual journey and of collective ritual procession.

I dedicate the last two chapters to Pozzo's Roman period. Chapter 4 focuses on Pozzo's career in Rome as a religious scenographer, situating him within the tradition of religious theatre in the papal city and within the theatrical tradition of the Jesuits. The *Quarant'ore*, or devotion of the Forty Hours, is the major focus of this chapter as I discuss the tradition of the ritual in Rome, leading up to Pozzo's landmark scenographies for the *Quarant'ore* at the Gesù. In my analyses of these works and Pozzo's theatre sets for the Jesuit stage, I discuss the scenographic innovations of Northern Italy which he introduces to Rome.

My final chapter deals with a selection of Pozzo's great Roman 'masterpieces': the fresco cycle in the Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù, and the fictive dome and major vault frescoes in Sant'Ignazio. I present these works as 'theatres of transformation'; the transformation of space and structure through perspectival illusion, narrative scenes, 'performing' figures and systems of iconography; and transformation of the visitor and the faithful through ritual performance, intellectual discovery and spiritual transcendence. In both of the final chapters I consider Pozzo's role as a teacher: the didactic function of the works as teaching tools for his students in perspective, painting, and fresco technique; and the works as opportunities for Pozzo to instruct his public in the virtues and process of perspectival illusion.

Theatricality continues to be a major theme in the literature on Baroque art, and in the field of early modern studies more generally; in both cases, it is a topic which has at least begun to receive the kind of focused and detailed treatment needed to make it



a useful framework for the study of both the art and the culture of the period.<sup>42</sup> Considering Pozzo as a case study in Baroque art and culture, I seek to engage in a more precise discourse around such concepts as 'theatrical' and 'scenographic' to describe this culture, its art, and the role of religion in within it. As I consider the cultural, historical and religious contexts in which Andrea Pozzo formed and which gave rise to these works, I demonstrate that Pozzo represents not only the culmination of Baroque perspectival illusionism, but, far more importantly, the climax of the tradition of religious theatre, as developed and employed by the Church and the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, which would continue in various forms and in various places, for more than a century after his death.

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<sup>42</sup> Recent work in this field include Warwick's *Bernini: Art as Theatre* (2012) and van Eck and Bussels, *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture* (2011). For theatricality in architecture, see Gordon Dotson, *J.B. Fischer von Erlach. Architecture as Theatre in the Baroque Era* (2012).

## CHAPTER 1

### Pozzo's Jesuit Foundations

The complex images of Pozzo's art, particularly the major frescoes, have served as ready subjects of iconographic analysis for which a large body of art historical writing has been produced. Most of this writing centres specifically on their identifiably Jesuit content.<sup>1</sup> As works of perspectival illusionism, they suggest multiple levels of meaning, encouraging discussions regarding cosmology and even the ethics of illusionistic images in a religious context. What is largely missing in the literature, apart from the identity and formation of Pozzo as an artist, is a concerted effort to understand him *as a Jesuit*, and what this really means, artistically, intellectually and culturally. Fundamental to an understanding of both the works and the artist is an understanding of the religious order to which he belonged—from its founding principles and mission to its rules and expectations regarding conduct, daily life and work, to the pursuit of intellectual and artistic activities.

Situating Pozzo within the context of Jesuit life and culture will, I believe, provide many of the tools necessary to examine his major works, the origins of the imagery contained in them, and, most importantly, their ritual function. I would suggest, and shall argue further, that the primary purpose of Pozzo's art is the communication of faith, and through this communication, activation and, ultimately, persuasion. The following chapters will demonstrate that this end of persuasion is

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<sup>1</sup> See Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 54-74 and “‘Ignem veni mitteri in terram’”; Levy, ‘A Canonical Work’ and *Propaganda*, 150-160; Pfeiffer, ‘Dal teatro gesuitico,’ ‘L’iconografia e il messaggio,’ ‘The Iconography of the Society of Jesus,’ ‘Pozzo e la spiritualità,’ and ‘Teatro gesuitico e devozione’; Gallavotti, ‘Gli esordi pittorici a Roma’; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 16-23 and 143-51.

achieved in Pozzo's work in much the same way that it is achieved in the Jesuit theatre and in the festivals, rituals and other spectacles of the period: through performative engagement of the observer. A major objective of this chapter will be to establish the centrality of performance in Jesuit culture, as demonstrated in their spirituality, their educational system, and their cultural engagement with the communities in which they established a presence.

As an artist who achieved considerable fame in his own time, and a religious brother besides, Pozzo has predictably been subject to a good deal of mythologizing. The tendency, for example, of the biographers to portray him as saintly casts a certain mytho-spiritual light that pervades the events, the works, and the working process. The narratives of both Francesco Saverio Baldinucci (late 1720s) and Lione Pascoli (1736) identify the personality of the young Pozzo as marked by a kind of duality: he demonstrates tireless patience and humility toward his masters, benefactors, patrons, and public, and yet he is aware enough of his abilities and the virtues of his craft to recognise within them an obligation to teach the ignorant and to persuade the stubborn.<sup>2</sup> These biographies, taken as literary narratives, set up the 'drama' of Pozzo's life and provide valuable insight into how his works were received and remembered.

Pozzo's Jesuit foundations extend back to his youth. His elementary education in Trent took place at the Jesuit college; he was therefore, from his earliest years, a product of Jesuit education.<sup>3</sup> He was admitted to the order as a lay brother coadjutor

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<sup>2</sup> For Pozzo's series of anonymous early masters, see Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 315/c.121r.-316/c.122r. Pascoli's account of the painting of the dome in St. Ignatius—from upheaval to redemption to public praise, is one such heroic tale of Pozzo. See Chapter 5 and Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 695. For the dating and a comparison of these biographies, see Levy, 'The "perspectives."'

<sup>3</sup> Bianchi has estimated 1652 to 1659 as Pozzo's period the Jesuit schools in Trent. Bianchi, 'Regesto ragionato,' 131.

at the Casa Professa of San Fedele in Milan on 23 December 1665 at the age of twenty-three, and sent to begin his novitiate in Piedmont.<sup>4</sup> It was not long before Pozzo's talents were recognized, and his prolific painting activity became both a source of revenue for the order through outside commissions, and a means of spiritual instruction for the faithful within Jesuit churches.<sup>5</sup> His rapid rise as a painter in Northern Italy occurred at a time when the Jesuits were increasingly emphasizing images and church decoration as defining features of their liturgy and their identity.

We may say that Pozzo's career was driven by this artistic agenda of the Jesuits, as he became the lead protagonist of Jesuit art in the final decades of the seventeenth century. A major point I wish to make in this chapter, which is demonstrated both in Pozzo's works and in his practice, is that his choice of a spiritual path, and the Jesuit order specifically, determined not only the works he produced throughout his career, but his approach to the work itself: from its iconography to its rhetorical and liturgical role; the way he understood his role as artificer of religious art; and the way he conducted himself, particularly when coming under the fire of criticism and being caught in the snare of the politics surrounding the major commissions.

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<sup>4</sup> ARSI Med. 55, Cat. Trien. 1672-1675, 43r., Entry 23: 'Andreas Puteus, Patria: Tridentinus, Etas: an. 29; natus anno 1642. 30 dicembris, Vires: Bonae, Tempus Societatis: anno 1665. 23 Decembris. For an explanation of coadjutors and grades of membership, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 345-47. According to Baldinucci, he is sent to Piedmont for his novitiate. Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 317/c.123v.

<sup>5</sup> Eventually the requests for Andrea's paintings become so numerous that Andrea must quit his other duties and dedicated himself to painting. In a short time the paintings become profitable enough to support six new subjects in the college. Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 318/c. 124v.-125r.

## Pozzo and Jesuit Religious Life: Spirituality, Obedience and Artistic Authorship

In order to better understand Pozzo as a Jesuit artist, I feel it is essential to establish some key points regarding Jesuit religious life and spirituality, which I believe can shed light on the content and function of Pozzo's work as well as on his role as an artist within the order. The *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions*, a more expanded form of the original *Formula of the Institute*, form the founding documents of the Society of Jesus.<sup>6</sup> The *Constitutions* provided the structure and administrative protocols of the order as well as the rules for admitting new members and guidelines for the colleges. The *Exercises*, an essential component in the formation of novices, are considered by many to be a reference guide to understanding Jesuit spirituality.<sup>7</sup> Designed as a four-week retreat, the *Exercises* are meant to appeal to the three faculties of the soul: memory, understanding, and will.<sup>8</sup> The goal is to guide the exercitant toward the singular purpose of discerning and fulfilling God's will through a life which as closely as possible imitates that of

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<sup>6</sup> O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 37. For the *Formula*, created by the first members of the Society, see 4-5. Ignatius of Loyola *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Rome, 1558).

<sup>7</sup> The bibliography on the *Spiritual Exercises* is vast. Javier Melloni, S.J. has traced the history, sources context of the Exercises, including a 'geneological tree' demonstrating their basis in spiritual writings extending back to the early Christian period. Melloni, *The Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola*, 1-20, esp. 12-13. For the relationship of the Catholic Church to the Exercises, see Buckley, 'Ecclesial Mysticism in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius.' For the relationship of the *Exercises* to Jesuit theology, and a sense of how they are understood and used in contemporary Jesuit practice, see Haight, 'A Theology for the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius of Loyola.'

<sup>8</sup> Each week has a thematic focus: the first week is an examination of the conscience with a focus on mortal sin and its punishment, including a vivid sensual portrayal of hell; the second focuses on the Kingdom of Christ, comparing his call with that of a temporal ruler, with contemplations on the Incarnation, the Nativity, events in his early life, and the meditation on the Two Standards—that of Christ, the 'supreme captain' and that of Lucifer, the 'mortal enemy of human nature.' The third week focuses on Christ suffering in the Passion, and the fourth on the Resurrection. This last week is characterized by the intense light of joy permitted after the intense darkness of the Passion. St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*. For a discussion of the *Exercises*, their structure and meanings, and how they were administered and undertaken, including their individual nature and adaptability to different persons and circumstances, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 37-50 and 127-33.

Christ. The senses are employed as tools of prayer in the formulation of images for contemplation, rendering present scenes from scripture, especially the sacred mysteries and the Passion. The exercitant is encouraged to make himself physically present in the scene, imagining its associated sights, sounds and smells. By thus 'entering' the scene, he becomes an active performer in the stories from scripture and in the sacred mysteries, a participant in the sacred drama presented on an imaginary stage of memory.<sup>9</sup> Spiritual understanding is achieved through this active participation.

The interior visualisation, participation and personal involvement in the sacred mysteries called for by the *Spiritual Exercises*, together with the emphasis on the senses that we find in Ignatius' mystical experiences, underline the idea of faith, in Jesuit spirituality, as a performed narrative. This idea is evidenced in Jesuit visual culture beginning with the first commissioned Jesuit works of art, both paintings and works in print, which depict images of scripture and the lives and martyrdoms of saints.<sup>10</sup> It takes more coherent and concrete form in the increasingly planned and integrated design and decoration of Jesuit places of prayer and worship, reaching full maturity in the first Jesuit churches in Rome, where paintings were arranged, as Gauvin Alexander Bailey describes, 'as a sequenced pilgrimage of the soul, with a step-by-step ascent from the sins of one's past toward love of God and embracing of vocation.'<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Haight, 'A Theology for the Spiritual Exercises,' 167.

<sup>10</sup> Early Jesuit fresco cycles in Rome include the martyrdom cycle in the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo by Antonio Tempesta and Niccolò Circignani (1583); and the frescoes in San Vitale by Agostino Ciampelli (c. 1595). Bailey has highlighted the roles that such images played in the formation of novices in the colleges, citing the example of the lost cycle at the Jesuit novitiate at Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,' 130-135.

<sup>11</sup> Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,' 126.

From his novitiate onward, the *Spiritual Exercises* would have played a central role in Pozzo's spiritual life. It has been suggested that his work and research were in themselves a 'spiritual exercise,' even that the *Exercises* are the key to understanding Pozzo's work and his relationship to his art.<sup>12</sup> Evonne Levy has discussed the problems inherent in an over-reliance on the *Exercises* as an interpretive guide for Jesuit art, describing them as 'art history's sweeping *explanans* of the entire phenomenon of the Jesuit arts.'<sup>13</sup> Where Pozzo's work is concerned, I believe this single-reference reading too easily leads to the idea of the painting cycles following a formula or visual program directly tied the *Exercises*, which in most cases is simply not present.<sup>14</sup> I therefore do not consider the *Exercises* a means of interpreting specific aspects of Pozzo's work, or as a 'roadmap' for reading his fresco narratives and decorative schemes. Rather, I choose to regard them as a means of understanding Jesuit spirituality, specifically the method of prayer which makes extensive use of interior visualisation and the senses, and calls upon the believer to participate and to perform within a sacred narrative. This performativity, I am convinced, is key to reading Jesuit works of art and architecture. In Pozzo's work, performative engagement is brought about through the involvement of the believer (or convert) in the narrative of the painted scenes, through visual engagement in the perspective systems and the spatial illusions they produce, and through participation in the rituals for which they serve as a visual context.

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<sup>12</sup> Pfeiffer insists that the *Exercises* are the key to understanding Pozzo's work and his relationship to his art. See Pfeiffer, 'Pozzo e la spiritualità,' 14. See also Carta, 'Le finte cupole,' 63

<sup>13</sup> Levy, 'Early Modern Jesuit Arts,' 75-81. Hibbard convincingly argues that Jesuit painting cycles followed a programmed sequence, and in some cases refer to themes corresponding to the *Spiritual Exercises*. Hibbard, '*Ut picturae sermons*,' 29-49.

<sup>14</sup> The idea of the *Exercises* as an interpretive device for Pozzo's work is further discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to the Corridor of St Ignatius.

At the beginning of the *Exercises*, Ignatius puts forth the Principle and Foundation of the order:

Man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul. All other things on the face of the earth are created for man to help him fulfil the end for which he is created. From this it follows that man is to use these things to the extent that they will help him to attain his end. Likewise, he must rid himself of them in so far as they prevent him from attaining it.<sup>15</sup>

Two themes present in these lines, which I would like to highlight where Andrea Pozzo is concerned, are first, the principle of service and obedience; and second, singularity of purpose. Pozzo's relatively humble status within an order whose religious life placed such emphasis on obedience, and the biographical narratives which continually highlight his obedience, have both contributed to the image of Pozzo as a simple coadjutor obediently and faithfully carrying out orders.<sup>16</sup> The *Constitutions* lay forth a detailed series of traits required of those entering the order. In terms of personality, those admitted should be men 'of good conscience, sedate, tractable, lovers of virtue and perfection, given to devotion'; furthermore they should be 'calm, steadfast, strenuous in what they undertake for God's service.'<sup>17</sup> Conversely, 'it is by no means conducive to [the Lord's] greater service to admit men of *unmanageable tempers*.' Jesuit obedience is defined in the *Constitutions* in very clear terms:

It is especially conducive to advancement, nay even necessary, that *all yield themselves to perfect Obedience, regarding the Superior. . . as Christ the Lord*; and submitting to him with inward reverence and affection; let them obey not only in the outward performance of what he enjoins; entirely, promptly, resolutely, and with all due humility, without excuses, or murmurs, even though he order things hard to be done, and repugnant to their own sense; but let them also strive to

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<sup>15</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 47.

<sup>16</sup> The narratives of Baldinucci and Pascoli both repeatedly highlight Pozzo's humility and obedience.

<sup>17</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, First Part, Chapter II.2, II.4, II.8.



acquire perfect resignation and *denial of their own will and judgment to that which the Superior wills and judges*. . .<sup>18</sup>

Whether or not we accept the biographical accounts of the humble Jesuit brother bowing his head to authority, the biographers notably highlight the public response to Pozzo's works and how he handles himself in response to criticism. These narratives, with thematic similarity, describe a 'drama' of persuasion in which Pozzo is repeatedly made to convince his public by 'winning them over' through the marvel of his perspective and the scenographic effects he produces.<sup>19</sup> The painting of the fictive dome of Sant'Ignazio, an event whose uproar reached near-crisis proportions, is probably the best example.<sup>20</sup> Having given his 'lesson' to his audience through the great success of the works, Pozzo uses the treatise as an opportunity to defend himself and his process in writing, as we shall see.

It is important, in spite of having the definition before us, not to oversimplify the Jesuit idea of obedience. The obedience that Ignatius required depended on abnegation of self. This abnegation, however, should not be construed as a relinquishing or suppression of one's identity as an individual, but rather as the sacrifice of one's self-interest where the will is concerned, in order that one might more perfectly serve others, and, ultimately, Christ.<sup>21</sup> It was not the expectation, or the desire, of Ignatius or his descendants that the identity of the individual be obliterated or 'absorbed' into the order. This is essential in understanding Jesuit art and the art of Pozzo. Pozzo's uncompromisingly centralized perspective system, for

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<sup>18</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, Third Part, Chapter I. 23.

<sup>19</sup> The hostility and lack of understanding on the part of the Jesuit fathers and the public are discussed in relation to his Roman scenographies in Chapter 4, and to the dome and the vault of Sant' Ignazio in Chapter 5.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of this event, see Chapter 5. See Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 325-26/c.132v.-c.133av. Pozzo's defense is eloquently presented in Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 695. See also Levy, 'The "perspectives",' 26.

<sup>21</sup> See Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 91, 140; and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 351-56.

example, was interpreted as early as the eighteenth century as a metaphor for Jesuit obedience and centralized authority.<sup>22</sup> The metaphor contained in this system is evoked by the artist in his opening address to the reader in his treatise, in which he equates the central point at which all points converge with the Glory of God; Pozzo's perspective practice thus becomes an artistic endeavour undertaken *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*:

Begin therefore. . . happily your work; with the resolution of always drawing all the lines of your operation to the true point of the eye, which is the Glory of God. And I wish, and promise, that you will happily succeed in honouring yourself in the undertaking.<sup>23</sup>

This brings me to the second theme identified in the Principles and Foundation: the singular purpose of our existence, as Ignatius saw it, and therefore of all of our activities. The praise and service of God might be seen as the ultimate goal of all religious art, and certainly all Jesuit art; in Pozzo, the precise, methodical, studied manner in which the frescoes and scenographies are conceived and produced demonstrates a particularly linear way of thinking and working. At the same time, Pozzo's work is not an exercise in sobriety or stoicism; examples of his designs to be studied demonstrate an architectural sense based in classicism but reaching toward the 'dramatic gesture' of the more daring experiments of the day, initially those of Venice, Milan and the north and later the Roman works of Borromini.

The discipline of the emotions is a major theme in Jesuit moral philosophy, as demonstrated in the writings of the French Jesuit Nicolas Caussin, who in his work

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<sup>22</sup> Kerber and Pfeiffer cite Lutheran Christoph Friedrich Nicolai, who in the eighteenth century described the perspective in Sant' Ignazio as a metaphor for the Society of Jesus itself. Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, 650. Cited and transcribed in Pfeiffer, 'Pozzo e la spiritualità,' 13, Note 1 and Kerber, 'Pozzo e l'aristotelismo,' 39.

<sup>23</sup> Translation mine. See Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 'Al lettore.'

*The Holy Court* (1638) seeks to achieve ‘the absolute reformation of the soul by eternal principles, and the victory over the powers which oppose reason.’<sup>24</sup> He portrays man as ‘a middle creature between Angels and brute beasts’ who ‘participates both of Flesh, and Spirit, by an admirable Tie, which in him occasions continual war of Passions.’ Rather than interpreting Pozzo’s perspectival images as metaphors for the centralized authority and supposed ‘blind obedience’ of the Jesuit order and way of life, I prefer to approach the ‘strictness’ of Pozzo’s perspective system by considering its basis in rational thought. What we find in Pozzo’s words defending his system, whose success is evidenced in the works and their reception, is that the perspective becomes a metaphor not of Jesuit obedience, but of Jesuit rationality.<sup>25</sup>

Command of oneself and one’s reason and emotions, recognising the true from the false, and resisting the temptations both of earthly pleasures and the treachery of ‘illusions,’ all proceed from discernment, an essential skill acquired in Jesuit spiritual training, as outlined in Ignatius’ *Rules for the Discernment of Spirits*.<sup>26</sup> Discernment is essential to *election*, the ‘union with God’, which, Javier Melloni describes, ‘comes about in the act and art of choosing in each moment in terms of God’s will.’<sup>27</sup> The intellectual engagement which Pozzo’s perspective system elicits from the observer, the process of *inganno* and *disinganno*, encountering the perspectival illusion and discovering its artifice, and ‘finding’ the correct position from which to view it, is a process of decision-making, a visual and cognitive exercise in

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<sup>24</sup> Language and spellings modernised. Caussin, *The Holy Court*, ‘Prologue.’

<sup>25</sup> Pozzo’s perspective system, and his recorded comments defending it, will be discussed in relation to specific projects in Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>26</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 129-34. For a discussion of the ‘Rules for Discernment,’ See O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 41-43. Caussin’s *The Command of Reason over the Passions*, the fourth tome of his *Holy Court* serves as an expanded study of such discipline in Jesuit spiritual life.

<sup>27</sup> Melloni, *The Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola*, 50-51. See also O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 38-39.

discernment to which Jesuit spiritual metaphors are easily applied. The movement back and forth between the perfect alignment of the ‘correct view’ of Pozzo’s perspectival illusions, and the ‘distortions’ we see when viewing them from other positions, may be read as visual tests analogous to the spiritual tests—the discernment of right from wrong, true from false—which the faithful must undergo as they seek to move closer to God.<sup>28</sup> The implicit connection of this discernment with Ignatian discernment will be further discussed as I analyse the Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù in Chapter 5.

This process of election which leads to union with God is a process of searching, and must be undertaken by the free-thinking, freely acting individual. The union with the divine is not, as Ignatius saw it, a dissolution into the divine essence.<sup>29</sup> The ‘desire to be sublimated in the infinite, in the feeling of overwhelmingness and unfathomableness’ which Heinrich Wölfflin upheld as a central theme in Baroque art, particularly the art of the Jesuits, thus appears as a misunderstanding of both Jesuit spirituality and the intended function of Jesuit art.<sup>30</sup> It undermines and even negates the active role of the observer as an individual with free will who must ‘find’ answers, relegating the viewer to the essentially passive role of spectator viewing something presented as an absolute truth. Moreover, sublimation or suppression of the individual’s identity, will or initiative in the name of authoritative control or the desire to achieve union with God would work entirely against the work’s spiritual,

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<sup>28</sup> Insolera has discussed the theme of Ignatian discernment in relation to the Corridor of St Ignatius in Rome. See Chapter 5. Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 150-51. See also Kerber, ‘Pozzo e l’aristotelismo.’

<sup>29</sup> In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Guibert says, Ignatius’ ‘mystical union’ is not a “transforming union” which. . . in some way causes man’s own personal life to disappear within that of Christ. . .’ Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 55-56. Nor did the Jesuits’ mystical theology, O’Malley says, consist of ‘the transports and ecstasies typically connoted by the term, but . . . an inner understanding and relish of the truth translated into the way one lived.’ O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 243-44.

<sup>30</sup> Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 86.

rhetorical and ritual functions as well as its efficacy to persuade. In addition to the process of discernment discussed above, Pozzo's work calls for engagement in the individual performance of a ritual form of prayer, as well as participation in a ritual of worship and devotion collectively performed by a community of faithful. This will become more apparent as we study the culture of performed ritual of the seventeenth century, as well as the role of performance and the active involvement of the viewer in Pozzo's works.

Where individuality of the artist and artistic authorship are concerned, we find in the biographies, the correspondence and the accompanying text of his treatise that while Pozzo demonstrates the obedience required of the order and by Ignatius, his personality shines through, as do his leadership and initiative. The opening lines of Pozzo's letter to the Prince of Lichtenstein, in which he describes the ceiling's program, suggests that the design proceeded from a moment of spiritual and artistic inspiration: 'The first light that formed this idea came to me from those sacred words: *Ignem veni mittere in terram, e quid volo nisi ut accendatur. . .*'<sup>31</sup> We can be certain that the ceiling's program, like Pozzo's other major commissions, involved frequent consultation with his superiors. However, the fact that he takes credit for artistic initiative in a letter reproduced in his treatise—a Jesuit publication—stands as evidence of his authorship of the work as a whole. As I shall demonstrate in my discussion of Jesuit spirituality and visual culture, Pozzo would have been well-versed in the history of the order and the figures and symbols associated with this history; these symbols formed the iconography that the Jesuits had been employing to celebrate their history and to promote their missionary agenda. Where the major

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<sup>31</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, 'Copia d'una lettera.' This document is frequently discussed or cited in reference to Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio. See Battisti, 'L'azione spaziale,' 161; Koller, 'L'ultima opera,' 199; Kerber, 'Ignem veni mitteri in terram,' esp. 81; and Levy, *Propaganda*, 150-60.

painting programs were concerned, and probably the scenographies as well, it is not likely that Pozzo required minute instruction or dictation from his superiors. Pozzo's arrival on the scene at Mondovì is probably the first example in the biographies where we see him taking a situation in hand and maintaining a measure of control—but we must be careful not to regard this control as an expression of the artist's individual will.<sup>32</sup> Following the principle of Jesuit service, he would have seen his vision, and its successful execution, as the necessary fulfilment of the commission coming from his Superiors, and ultimately of God's will.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>33</sup> We may once again point to Pozzo's address to the reader in the treatise: Appendix, Pozzo, *Prospettiva*, I, 'Al lettore'

## Jesuit Education: Service, Cultural Engagement, and the Role of Rhetoric

If we understand Pozzo to be a product of Jesuit religious training, and we recognize this in his conduct as well as his work and his working methods, we should also consider the role that Jesuit education played in his intellectual and artistic development. Pozzo's formal education took place at the Jesuit school in Trent. Given the level of standardization of the Jesuit curriculum, as well as the holdings of the library of the Jesuit college in Trent, we can make certain assumptions regarding Pozzo's studies there as well as the curricula and academic culture of the Jesuit colleges where he spent most of his career.<sup>34</sup>

The first Jesuit secondary schools, as John W. O'Malley has described, followed a program based on Italian humanism, including Cicero and Quintilian, Greek logic and science; and, most distinctively, the studies of poetry, drama, history, and the discipline of oratory which formed the *studia humanitatis*.<sup>35</sup> The Jesuit curriculum at both the secondary and the university level is established in the *Constitutions* of 1556, and revised and expanded in the *Ratio Studiorum*, of which the 1599 version is considered 'definitive.'<sup>36</sup> Boys entered the schools as young as ten years of age, and began with four classes in Latin 'lower grammar,' and then proceeded to 'higher grammar,' including rhetoric, poetry and history. Only with a proper foundation and command of Latin, and the ability to deliver oratory, to articulate thoughts, and to argue points, could students progress to other languages such as Greek and Hebrew,

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<sup>34</sup> The catalogue of the Jesuit Library of Trent between 1640 and 1660 includes volumes of Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Caussin, Cicero, Plato, and manuscripts of *Geometria* and *Cosmographia*. Fedele et al, ed., *La Biblioteca del Collegio dei Gesuiti di Trento*.

<sup>35</sup> O'Malley, 'Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission,' 8.

<sup>36</sup> The curriculum of the schools is described in Chapter V of the Fourth part of *The Constitutions*; that of the Universities in Chapter XII. St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*. See also Mayer and Ball's English translation of the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Saint Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*.

and prepare for studies of philosophy. From the lower faculty of languages, students progressed in their teenage years to what may be called the secondary school: three years of study consisting of the following: ‘diverse languages, logic, natural and Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics and Theology,’ the latter including both positive and scholastic theology.<sup>37</sup>

Pozzo is recorded as having studied in the Jesuit school at Trent until the age of seventeen, though it is not clear how far he progressed in the sciences. Pascoli mentions the study of Latin and the humanities, and the presence of volumes of Aristotle, St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas, Caussin, Cicero, and Plato in the college library at Trent between 1640 and 1660 is consistent with the Jesuit foundational curriculum as described above.<sup>38</sup> There is no record of Pozzo having completed his Bachelor of Arts, so his level of study would have stopped short of that of many of his peers who proceeded to the Master of Arts. His Latin literacy, however, is confirmed in the records from his years at the Casa Professa of San Fedele in Milan, and it is possible that his studies were resumed, at least informally, during his time there.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, living in community with scholars in philosophy and theology must have granted him considerable exposure to Jesuit thought in these fields. As I shall discuss further on, the Jesuit research environment and intellectual culture in which Pozzo found himself in Milan and later in Rome,

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<sup>37</sup> Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*, 48-50; St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, Fourth Part, Chapter V, 31-32. Note: ‘Natural philosophy’ would have included mathematics and fields which today are termed ‘sciences.’

<sup>38</sup> Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 691. Fedele et al, ed., *La Biblioteca del Collegio dei Gesuiti di Trento*.

<sup>39</sup> ARSI Med. 55, Cat. Trien. 1672-1675, 41r-43v. Entry 23: ‘Andreas Puteus, Patria: Tridentinus, Aetas: an. 29; natus anno 1642. 30 Decembris, Vires: Bonae, Tempus Societatis: anno 1665. 23 Decembris, Tempus studiorum: novit legere et scribere, Ministria que exercuit: Est Pictor, et continuo pictura exercuit in Societate. Transcription mine. Also transcribed by Menichella, ‘Il pittore della casa.’



together with access to the most current published works of science and mathematics, would have allowed him to undertake self-directed research of such topics as optics and perspective.

George Edward Ganss associates the Jesuit instruction of the well-rounded man and his responsibility to society with the neo-Platonic idea of liberal education in the early Renaissance: Paideia, or the training of a child, ‘to take a capable part in the social, cultural and political life of his day.’<sup>40</sup> In his discussion of Jesuit education and the priority of training students as Christian citizens, O’Malley points us to Cicero’s *De Officiis*: ‘We are not born for ourselves alone’ (*Non nobis solum nati sumus*).<sup>41</sup> Cicero continues,

‘as men, too, are born for the sake of men, that they may be able mutually to help one another . . . we ought to follow Nature as our guide. . . by giving and receiving, and thus by our skill, our industry, and our talents to cement human society more closely together, man to man.’<sup>42</sup>

Jesuit service, and in particular the use of one’s talents and abilities, for the good of society thus finds a basis in classical philosophy. Ignatius took the Platonic ideal of the education of the man a step further, extending the complete training of a man to include the development of his ‘natural and supernatural powers.’<sup>43</sup> The principle of service and working toward the common good was promoted not only on the level of the individual through the instruction of students, but through the function the Society of Jesus and its schools served in greater society.<sup>44</sup> Cultural engagement

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<sup>40</sup> Ganss, *St Ignatius’ Idea*, 139. In *Republic*, Plato applies the virtues of courage, temperance, wisdom and justice to the individual, and by extension, to the state. Plato, *Republic*, Book IV, 430-442.

<sup>41</sup> O’Malley, ‘Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission,’ 8.

<sup>42</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.VII.22. 23-24.

<sup>43</sup> Ganss, *Saint Ignatius’ Idea*, 186.

<sup>44</sup> Simmons summarizes the Jesuit educational mission thus: ‘through institutional and pedagogical reform in education the Jesuits hoped to foster not only an informed citizenry, but also one with civic values, moral virtue, and Christian piety.’ Simmons, ‘Jesuit Aristotelian Education,’ 522.

became a principal way in which the Jesuits sought to achieve such reform and edification of society, and in addition to art, theatre and performance became among the most effective means of such engagement.<sup>45</sup> Jesuit ‘performance’ was not limited to the theatre stage; it included the staging of religious rituals and spectacles as well as the organisation of major festivals. Such events called upon the skills and ingenuity of both professors and students in the arts of rhetoric.

The instruction of students in rhetoric in Jesuit institutions was founded on the canonical texts of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.<sup>46</sup> Students were required to put such learning into practice: the various editions of the *Ratio Studiorum* published between 1586 and 1599 indicate the engagement of students in rhetorical activities of a wide variety. One of the rhetorical skills students learned was the composition of emblems, epitaphs and *imprese*.<sup>47</sup> These rhetorical devices were employed as visual means of edification and persuasion, and were deemed by theorists of the time among the most universally legible method of communicating messages primarily because of their use of images together with the written word, which is itself an image. The Jesuit Sforza Pallavicino argued that images make a more direct and powerful appeal to the mind and the imagination than do spoken words.<sup>48</sup> Emanuele Tesauro defined the ‘symbolic art’ represented by *imprese* and emblems as

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<sup>45</sup> O’Malley, ‘St. Ignatius and the Cultural Mission,’ 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Ratio Studiorum* (1599) REGULAE PROFESSORIS RHETORICAE,’ *Gradus*, 1.

<sup>47</sup> ‘. . . they will compose emblems, escutcheons, on certain definite matters; again they will write inscriptions and descriptions.’ See Fitzpatrick, *Saint Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum, The Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, ‘Rules of the Academy of Rhetoricians and Students of Humanities,’ 3. *The Exercises to Be Held by the Members*, 251. See also *Ratio Studiorum* (1586), DE STUDIIS HUMANITATIS, *Caput sextem* and *Ratio Studiorum* (1599), REGULAE PROFESSORIS RHETORICAE, *Carmina affigenda* 18. and REGULAE ACADEMIAE RHETORUM ET HUMANISTRARUM, *Quae academicis* 3.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Essendo più viva l’immagine che vien formata nel pensiero dell’oggetto con la specie sua vigorosa e fiammante, pur all’ora mandata da lui all’occhio, che con la specie già invecchiata, e quasi smontata di colore, la qual’è risveglia nell’animo per mezzo dell’udito,’ Pallavicino, *Del Bene*, Book III, Part II, Chapter 50, 457.

consisting of ‘the body and the soul; that is, images and words’.<sup>49</sup> This ‘synesthetic language’ of word and image, as Zanlonghi describes it, was designed to persuade by appealing to both reason and emotion.<sup>50</sup> As we shall find in the many examples to be studied, we see such image-text systems employed throughout Jesuit visual culture, from works in print to ephemeral scenographies to paintings to the decorative schemes of church buildings. Moreover, the use of these systems extends beyond the Jesuit sphere to become a feature of Counter-Reform culture more broadly, as shall be discussed in Chapter 2.

Ideas concerning the efficacy of images in activating the memory and the imagination, and thereby persuading the observer, have their basis in theories from antiquity; ideas which, again, would have been central to Jesuit thought.<sup>51</sup> Aristotle established the effectiveness of images for remembering, and even defined memory as ‘not without an image.’<sup>52</sup> He also placed memory and imagination in ‘the same part of the soul’ and defined the imagination as a ‘movement’ enabled only by sensation.<sup>53</sup> Therefore anything we ‘imagine’ must have a basis in something we have previously received through the senses. Quintilian describes memory as the ‘treasury of eloquence.’<sup>54</sup> In his discussion of the *ars memoria* he builds on Aristotle’s idea of ‘imprinting’ by emphasizing our capacity to remember places as

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<sup>49</sup> ‘l’Arte Simbolica comprende *Corpo & Anima*: cioè Imagini & Parole. . .’ Tesauro goes on to list ‘Gli Epigrammi, ò detti ingegnosi sotto le Statue & le Pitture: i Titoli delle Tombe, degli Archi, e de’ Trofei: le Dedicazioni degli Edifici, de’ Templi, e degli Altar. . .’ Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 122.’

<sup>50</sup> Zanlonghi, ‘Immagine e parola nel teatro gesuitico,’ 268.

<sup>51</sup> For an overview of the art of memory as theorized by classical writers, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, Chapter 1, ‘Models for the memory,’ 16-45.

<sup>52</sup> Aristotle, *De Memoria*, Chapter 1, 449<sup>b</sup>4-451<sup>a</sup>2.

<sup>53</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima*, III, iii.655-9.

<sup>54</sup> ‘memoria est eloquentia thesaurus,’ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Book XI, II, 1. For the tradition of the memory as an ‘arc’ or treasure chest, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 42-45.

well as symbols.<sup>55</sup> He also builds upon Cicero's theory of memory being facilitated by places and symbols arranged in a sequence by applying the analogy of the 'memory palace': a spatial-temporal mnemonic device in which one imagines proceeding through a house; or, we may say, a church interior, a place of devotion or a ceremony, or a scenography produced for a ritual or other type of performance.

Within this classically-based theory of rhetoric employed by the Jesuits in the colleges and in their communities, images and memory are closely linked to each other, and proceed from both the speech and the gesture of performance. Gesture itself is described by Quintilian as a form of eloquence or delivery, an idea reinforced by the Portuguese Jesuit Cipriano Soares in his reference to action as the speech of the body.<sup>56</sup> Quintilian codifies gestures and their meanings, extensively discussing each part and position of the body and how it is to be used in oration.<sup>57</sup> In the seventeenth century Federico Borromeo appropriated this classical codification of gesture by applying it to the rites of Catholic worship.<sup>58</sup> Zanlonghi describes the formation of the 'complete' person in the Jesuit system as consisting of the education of the body and the soul together, and gesture and dance are an important part of this education.<sup>59</sup> The gesturing figure is an image, or series of images; moreover, gesture and movement take place within a space, either real or fictive. While gesture is typically associated directly with performers and their movements, in the culture of early modern spectacle, scenographies frequently incorporate gestures which comment on, reflect, or 'perform' alongside those of the performers of the dramatic

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<sup>55</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Book XI, II, 1-21. Aristotle, *De Memoria*, 450<sup>a</sup>25.

<sup>56</sup> 'Est enim actio quasi corporis quaedam eloquentia,' Quintilian, *Orator* XVII, 55. Soares, *De rhetorica*, Chapter 58, 'De gestu,' 128. See Zanlonghi's discussion of Soares's treatise in *Teatri di formazione*, 105-229, esp. 204-210.

<sup>57</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Book XI, 3.

<sup>58</sup> See Chapter 2. F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu et Actione*.

<sup>59</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 222.

work or ritual for which they were made.<sup>60</sup> This use of figures and gesture carries into permanent works: the figures inhabiting Pozzo's scenographies and frescoes, both those representing living characters and those rendered as statues or carved reliefs, perform such multifarious roles.<sup>61</sup>

Jesuit performance in the colleges ranged from delivery of poems and dialogues in the classroom to the performance of fully-produced dramatic works at the time of the annual awards.<sup>62</sup> While these works could be classical or classically-based comedies or tragedies, major productions concentrated on the new form of Christian drama which the Jesuits had adopted as a tool of instruction as well as moral edification.<sup>63</sup> In the *Ratio* of 1586, theatrical presentations are described as a means by which both young men and their parents were 'delighted' and 'set aflame,' and at the same time were bound closer to the Society, as students showcased their rhetorical achievements.<sup>64</sup> Thus we see that by the end of the sixteenth century, theatrical performance had become a priority in Jesuit education in the discipline of rhetoric within the lecture halls. More broadly, it served as an integral part of Jesuit

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<sup>60</sup> Examples of these scenographies populated by gesturing figures are discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>61</sup> The major fresco works are studied in Chapters 3 and 5.

<sup>62</sup> See *Ratio studiorum* (1586), DE STUDIIS HUMANITATIS, 'Sexto, si quid carminum aut orationum publice proferunt aut pronuntiant. . .'; *Ratio studiorum* (1591) REGULAE PRAEPOSITI PROVINCIALIS, 84. 'Publica praemiorum distributio. . .'; and *Ratio studiorum* (1599), REGULAE RECTORIS, 13. *Tragoediae et comoediae*; REGULAE PROFESSORIS RHETORICAE, 19. *Pravatae scenae*; and REGULAE ACADEMIAE RHETORUM ET HUMANISTRARUM, 3. *Quae academicis*.

<sup>63</sup> Zanolghi has extensively studied Christian tragedy as a didactic genre performed by the Jesuits in the colleges and for the courts. See Zanolghi, 'La tragedia fra ludus e festa.' Zanolghi illustrates her discussion with an examination of Emmanuele Tesauro's *Ermenegildo*, (Turin, 1661). See also Cascetta, 'La "spiritual tragedia."'

<sup>64</sup> *Ratio Studiorum* (1586), DE STUDIIS HUMANITATIS, *Caput sextem*, 7. 'Adolescentes tandem eorumque parentes mirifice exhilarantur atque accendantur. . .' See O'Malley, 'The First Jesuits,' 222 and Filippi, 'Il teatro al Collegio Romano,' 174.

culture and community outreach through the presentation of works in the colleges for public audiences and visiting dignitaries.<sup>65</sup>

Scholarship has traditionally treated Jesuit theatre and rhetorical practice from the standpoints of literary studies and the history and theory of performance, focusing on the performances of the Jesuit stage in the colleges and the courts.<sup>66</sup> Jesuit theatre, as part of Jesuit rhetorical practice, was concerned with far more than written or spoken words. As Bruna Filippi has discussed, the Jesuit practice of theatre and performance in the seventeenth century placed increasing emphasis on the visual aspects of performance, and in this regard deviated considerably from the rules as laid forth in the *Ratio Studiorum*.<sup>67</sup> This is evidenced in the study of the works themselves, and in the descriptions of productions we find in the surviving accounts and *libretti*.<sup>68</sup> The increasing interest in the “poetics of marvel and invention”, both in the writing and the staging of works, can be recognized in the shift toward the ‘marvellous,’ driven in part by the development of stage effects and machinery, as well as the employment of perspectival illusion in the scenes, beginning in the early seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup> Jesuit theatre, engaged in the broader theatrical culture of the early modern, thus sought to achieve persuasion not only through the use of words and the performance of the texts, but also through images, the representation of locales, and visual effects.

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<sup>65</sup> Examples of Jesuit productions in the courts and the colleges will be discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

<sup>66</sup> The work of Filippi and Zanlonghi, which brings attention to the importance of images and visual production on the Jesuit stage, approaches Jesuit theatre and even the scenographies in primarily literary terms. See Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance’; Filippi, ‘Il teatro al Collegio Romano’; Filippi, *Il Teatro degli argomenti*. Zanlonghi, ‘The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan’; Zanlonghi, ‘Immagine e parola nel teatro gesuitico’; Zanlonghi, *Teatri di Formazione*.

<sup>67</sup> Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance,’ 512-17.

<sup>68</sup> Examples of these *libretti*, as well as descriptions of their settings and effects, are discussed in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>69</sup> Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance,’ 515-17.

The increasingly sophisticated theatrical productions put on by the Jesuits in their own institutions and in the courts occur as early as the 1620s, when rapid and spectacular scene changes were called for between acts and *intermezzi*, as were stage effects such as miraculous apparitions, light effects, moving clouds, raging seas and the like.<sup>70</sup> As evidence of this increased emphasis on visual spectacle Filippi has highlighted Jesuit Tarquinio Galluzzi's *Virgilianae vindicationes et commentarii tres de tragoedia, comoedia, elegia* (1621).<sup>71</sup> Galluzzi's treatise includes a section devoted to visual production in the crafting of performed drama, illustrating the stage and theatre based on an ancient Greco-Roman model, and describes machines which produced stage effects and transformations.<sup>72</sup> Irene Mamczarz has outlined the history of Jesuit treatises on theatrical production, identifying the main protagonists active in Jesuit institutions in Rome, where the traditions and practices of Jesuit theatre were established prior to being adopted in Milan and elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> Maciej Sarbiewski, resident at the Collegio Romano from 1622-1625, produced a treatise on theatre, *De Perfecta poesi, sive Vergilius et Homer* (1626), in which he describes performance as consisting not only in the spoken word, but in gesture, emotion, 'melody,' machines, and 'apparatus.'<sup>74</sup> Physical production—including the stage facility, lighting, costumes, scene changes and stage effects—is described by Sarbiewski not merely as the means of augmenting performance, increasing its credibility or intensifying audience response, but as an intrinsic part of this performance; an essential part of the overall rhetorical system of Jesuit theatre. He

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<sup>70</sup> Examples include *Pirimalus*, performed at the Collegio Romano for canonization of Ignatius and Francis Xavier in 1622. See Filippi, 'The Orator's Performance,' 512-513; also Filippi, *Il Teatro degli argomenti*.

<sup>71</sup> Filippi, 'The Orator's Performance,' 517 and 'L'illusione prospettica,' 216-17.

<sup>72</sup> Galluzzi, *Virgilianae vindicationes*, Chapter VII, 'De Apparatu: ac primò quidem de Theatro,' Chapter VIII, 'De Scena,' and Chapter IX, 'De Machinis, & Auelaiis.' 266-72.

<sup>73</sup> Mamczarz, 'La trattistica dei Gesuiti.'

<sup>74</sup> Sarbiewski, *De Perfecta Poesi*, Liber IX, Chapters III-VI, 231[462]-234[468].

explains the effectiveness of light—not just light for illuminating the scene, but controlled light, adjusted as appropriate to the drama—in both outdoor and indoor venues, for ‘cuing’ emotions and responses, for signalling the tragic ending, and for producing the ‘miracle’ of the sacred light at the end. He also candidly remarks on the effectiveness of artificial light sources for hiding the many ‘faults’ of stage machines.

Sarbiewski’s stage, which we may assume is based on the actual facility at the Collegio Romano of the time (in describing the theatre he refers to ‘our own theatre’) is a trapezoid shape, tapering from the front to the back in both plan and section; the floor is raked as is the ceiling, producing a foreshortened perspectival box [fig. 1.1].<sup>75</sup> This design served an acoustical function, as a theatrical ‘box set’ does to this day, naturally magnifying the voices and directing the sound outward toward audience.<sup>76</sup> The design also signals that the Jesuits were already, at this time, thinking of the stage in terms of a perspective scene. The scenes were rendered on a series of rotating, four-sided *periaktoi*, six at the rear and three on each side [fig. 1.2].<sup>77</sup> Sarbiewski’s *periaktoi* system, based on a tradition going back to Vitruvius, comprised units which were four-sided, allowing for four scenes rather than three.<sup>78</sup> Finally, Sarbiewski includes a section on stage effects for raising and lowering characters and scenic elements.<sup>79</sup> It is a rudimentary counterweight system, with

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<sup>75</sup> Sarbiewski’s fourth chapter, *De Structura Ipsius Theatri et Apparatu*, discusses the layout of the stage. Sarbiewski, *De Perfecta Poesi*, 232 [464].

<sup>76</sup> A theatrical ‘box set’ is a full enclosure of three or more constructed walls and sometimes a full or partial ceiling.

<sup>77</sup> Sarbiewski, *De Perfecta Poesi*, Chapter V, *De Lateribus Theatri* and Chapter VI, *De Latere Profundissimo Theatri Construendo*, 232[464]-233[466]. *Periaktoi*: a multi-sided prism-shaped unit used to change scenes on a stage. The units are placed in series, with different scenes painted on each side; the scene is changed by rotating them in unison.

<sup>78</sup> Vitruvius’ discussion of theatre buildings and stages is found in Book V of *De Architectura*, while stage scenery and perspective are discussed in Book VII, 11.

<sup>79</sup> Sarbiewski, *De Perfecta Poesi*, Chapter 6 [466]-234 [468].



ropes and other parts of the apparatus hidden behind clouds. Sarbiewski's stage made use of what was surely a limited space in the Collegio Romano, and provided the 'miraculous' effects, visual variety and, perhaps most importantly, the rapid changes of scene that an audience of the time had come to expect.

Jesuit stage production developed to a high level of technical sophistication by the mid-seventeenth century, as demonstrated by the 1649 edition of *La Perspective Pratique* by the Jesuit Jean Dubreuil, which includes an extensive section dedicated to stage scenography.<sup>80</sup> We may assume that the system Dubreuil proposed was the result of his own experiments at the Collegio Romano, and the designs and techniques he presents in the treatise may well have been in use there and at other Jesuit colleges from the middle of the seventeenth century onward. Dubreuil presents a different model for stage scenery: a system of flat painted scenery units, like those in use by Torelli and contemporaries in northern Italy [fig. 1.3]. He then introduces additional systems using this method in combination with the multi-sided units of Sarbiewski [figs. 1.4 and 1.5]. Apart from the practical aspects of Dubreuil's stage, his scenes make use of downstage elements and arched openings through which a scene beyond is viewed—a technique which vastly increases the apparent depth of the stage space and of the scene. Thus with Dubreuil, a scenographic system featuring a perspective scene executed on multiple planes is introduced to the Jesuit stage. Mid-stage elements which the actors pass behind and through visually coordinated with the upstage scene, signalling a development toward the multi-layered perspective scene which was already in use in the North of Italy, as I will discuss in Chapter 2.

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<sup>80</sup> Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Traité 4, 92-104. Dubreuil's scenographic projects are also discussed briefly and reproduced by Bjurström, 'Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits.'

This complex strategy of performance and visual spectacle, comprising word, gesture, and image, can be viewed as a complete system of communication and persuasion developed by the Jesuits, to which Zanlonghi has applied the term ‘total rhetoric.’<sup>81</sup> This system, Zanlonghi explains, ‘became an instrument towards an ideal of the person in which all that pertains to the senses—memory, fantasy, imagination—plays an active role in the cognitive life, thereby combining the psychological and emotional with the intellectual.’<sup>82</sup> The stage picture in the Jesuit theatre, including the scenography, costumes, and other visual elements, served as a direct appeal to the memory and the imagination. Image and space provided a narrative of their own, while also serving as elements of the performance, inseparable from word and gesture within this all-encompassing rhetorical system. Zanlonghi describes the stage apparatus and the text of the play running ‘parallel routes.’<sup>83</sup> The scenes themselves and the frequent *a vista* scene changes featured, as Filippi describes, a ‘constant interplay of *apparenze* and *lontananze*,’ alternating scenes within palaces or cities with forests, the seaside, gardens, and battle scenes or military camps.<sup>84</sup> We can apply this role of the parallel narrative which the scenography performed on the Jesuit stage, and its engagement of the intellect and the emotions, to all forms of Jesuit theatre and even religious theatre more broadly, including the rituals and festivals. Functioning together with the performance of the rituals, in which the public participated, the images and spatial transformations produced by the scenographies became part of a ‘total theatre.’

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<sup>81</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 201-04; ‘The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan,’ 538.

<sup>82</sup> Zanlonghi, ‘The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan,’ 538.

<sup>83</sup> Zanlonghi, ‘The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan,’ 537.

<sup>84</sup> Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance,’ 517.

Within the performed contexts of festival, theatrical performance, spectacle and ritual devotions, the rhetorical aims of *docere, delectare et movere*, which Cicero originally outlined for the orator, and which Paleotti appropriates to his theory of religious images, found visual correspondence in the goals of instruction, delight of the senses, and appeal to the emotions that formed the basis of scenographies, emblems and *impreses*.<sup>85</sup> I argue, and shall demonstrate with case studies of Pozzo's work, that we may read not only the theatrical and festival scenographies, but the art and architecture of the Jesuits, as further expressions of this Jesuit rhetorical system; that is, as Jesuit 'theatres.' If we understand the works of Pozzo—the ceilings, the altars, the fictive domes, the scenographies or complete church interiors—as 'performing' and as engaging the spectator as a performer within a ritual context, the idea of a 'total theatre,' involving both images and performance, may be applied to individual works as well as to ensembles of works. In later chapters I will be concentrating on ritual and theatrical performance, as I proceed to Pozzo's scenographic activities for the Jesuits first in Northern Italy and later in Rome. As Pozzo became increasingly involved in scenographic projects and the world of performance in the seventeenth century, his work came to demonstrate the intersection, in terms of practice, form and function, between scenography produced for individual occasions and permanent works of art, and architecture designed for corresponding performed contexts. Moreover, in Pozzo's work and practice we can observe a recognisable strategy linked to performance: the 'theatre' of Pozzo calls for active engagement of the observer; and this reveals itself on closer examination of his works within their ritual contexts. As I proceed through this thesis, I will

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<sup>85</sup> For *Docere, delectare et movere* ('to teach, to delight and to move'), see Cicero, *Orator*, xxi, 69-70 (356-57). For Paleotti's application of Cicero's goals of oratory to paintings, see Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, 111-118 (Chapters XXI-XXV).

apply the concept of 'total theatre' to the ephemeral scenographies of Pozzo, and extend it further by likewise applying it to the permanent works of painting and decoration—the permanent scenographies of Pozzo.

## Jesuit Visual Culture and Ignatian Spirituality: Images and the Senses

The importance of images and the senses in Jesuit spirituality is evident both in the early religious experiences of Ignatius, as we encounter them in biographies, and in the method of prayer and contemplation which he developed and promoted. The text of the *Spiritual Exercises* is regarded as containing some of the first widely-known Jesuit ‘imagery’ and to have established the method of using images—both rendered images and the images of the imagination—as a path to spiritual understanding.<sup>86</sup> Earlier I discussed the *Exercises* as a path of inquiry for art historians studying Jesuit art. In this section I will turn to other, less studied sources of Jesuit imagery, namely the recorded ‘visions’ of Ignatius of Loyola and Jesuit works in print. These images serve as recognizable sources for much of the content of Pozzo’s works, particularly the frescoes. The major Jesuit publications of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as series of images, provide valuable insight into the construction of Pozzo’s works and the way the observer is intended to engage with them.

Images seem to have served Ignatius of Loyola where words could not; he is described as having had difficulty translating his mystical experiences of the divine through verbal means.<sup>87</sup> The Jesuit historiographer Daniello Bartoli (1608-85) transcribed a portion of Ignatius’ journals, in which the saint repeatedly speaks of feelings which he cannot describe: ‘unspeakable emotions’ and ‘ineffable voluptuousness.’<sup>88</sup> Inadequate as Ignatius felt his powers of description to be, that which was laid down in his writings and the accounts provided a series of images

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<sup>86</sup> See O’Malley, ‘Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission,’ 26 and Bailey, ‘Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,’ 125-26.

<sup>87</sup> Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 44.

<sup>88</sup> Quotes here are drawn from the French translation of Bartoli’s history of the order includes extracts from Ignatius’ journals, originally in Spanish. Bartoli, *Histoire de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, 227.

from which the first generation of artists executing paintings and works in print for the order were able to produce a visual rhetoric.<sup>89</sup> The Jesuit imagery discussed in this section will focus on images and visual themes found in Ignatius' writings and biographies of the saint, and in works in print produced by the Society beginning in the late sixteenth century.

Bartoli underlines the importance of the senses in Ignatius' spiritual life. Music was spiritually transportive and a source of physical relief for him, the music sung to him by his brothers quite literally 'carrying him out of himself' and soothing the extreme stomach pain from which he suffered.<sup>90</sup> He took particular delight in fields of flowers, deriving 'sublime reflection' from their variegated colours and 'delicious perfumes.'<sup>91</sup> A number of Ignatius' visions appear in the the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (1609), an illustrated biography of the founding saint.<sup>92</sup> The work comprises seventy-nine engravings, to which Rubens is believed to have contributed designs, accompanied by simple captions.<sup>93</sup> The images in this publication established a corpus which many painters, including Pozzo, drew upon in the seventeenth century to depict scenes from the order's early history.<sup>94</sup> Recurring themes in the *Vita Beati* include images of the heavenly glory and of angels, the

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<sup>89</sup> See Pfeiffer, 'The Iconography of the Society of Jesus' and Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting.'

<sup>90</sup> 'La musique le transportait hors de lui-même au point de soulager son corps. Quelques cantique entonnés auprès de lui par nos frères suffisaient pour adoucir beaucoup ses grandes douleurs d'estomac.' Bartoli, *Histoire*, 224.

<sup>91</sup> Bartoli, *Histoire de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, 224.

<sup>92</sup> The authoring of the text is credited to three Jesuits: Nicholas Lacicius, Filippo Rinaldi and Peter Pazmany, and based on Ribadneira's *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* (1583). Graffius, ed., *The Rubens Engravings*, 103-104.

<sup>93</sup> The engraver is unknown, though presumed to be Flemish. Rubens is credited with having provided at least twenty designs. Graffius, ed., *The Rubens Engravings*, esp. 103.

<sup>94</sup> See Pfeiffer, 'The Iconography of the Society of Jesus', 209-217 and Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,' 177-84.

Blessed Virgin, the Trinity, and sacred flame. In each case, the scale and form of Ignatius' spiritual visions expands and becomes more intense with each occurrence.

Guibert describes Ignatius' spiritually defining period at Manresa between 1522 and 1523—just under a year after the wound at Pamplona—as a calm and tranquil beginning, followed by 'a period of stormy alternations of desolation and consolation, a tempest of intensive scruples which swept him on to the temptation of suicide. . .'<sup>95</sup> Such 'interior movements,' the test for mastery of oneself and for distinguishing between temptation and the correct path, between good and evil, would later become integral to the process of undergoing the *Exercises*, and the basis for the Discernment of Spirits.<sup>96</sup> In extracts from Ignatius' journals, experiences of the divine are nearly always accompanied by an 'abundance of tears' usually when he was saying mass.<sup>97</sup> Burning and the imagery of flame are recurring themes; Ignatius speaks of a 'burning desire for the Holy Trinity.'<sup>98</sup> Burning also carries into the Constitutions of the Society, as evidenced in the instructions concerning those to be admitted to the Society, who should be 'burning with zeal for the salvation of souls.'<sup>99</sup> Similarly, Francis Xavier was observed loosening his cassock to 'cool the ardour that glowed in him.'<sup>100</sup> This 'spiritual burning' is rendered as flame, a theme which appears repeatedly in Jesuit art and features prominently in Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio in Rome, to be discussed further on.

In the momentous and definitive spiritual event at Manresa, Ignatius experiences a series of spiritual visions which take powerful form with varying degrees of visual

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<sup>95</sup> Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 28. Guibert cites Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, I, 43.

<sup>96</sup> See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 41-43.

<sup>97</sup> Bartoli, *Histoire de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, 217-229.

<sup>98</sup> Bartoli, *Histoire de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, 226.

<sup>99</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, First Part, Chapter II.8.

<sup>100</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, Vol. II, 206.

specificity. The first vision Ignatius mentions at Manresa is that of the Holy Trinity, a theme which would return to Ignatius in many forms throughout his life [fig. 1.6]. At Manresa, the Trinity takes the form of the ‘three keys’ of a musical instrument; probably signifying a musical chord.<sup>101</sup> This might be read as the first instance of music and its symbolism entering Jesuit spirituality; in the work of Pozzo it becomes a prominent feature in Jesuit art, as evidenced at Mondovì and later the Casa Professa in Rome [figs. 3.20, 3.22-3.24, 5.9].<sup>102</sup> In another instance in which Ignatius describes his vision of the Holy Trinity, the three persons are enclosed within a sphere; the Trinity within or accompanied by a sphere becomes a major Jesuit iconographic theme, as demonstrated in the sculptural grouping crowning the pediment of Pozzo’s altar to St Ignatius in the Church of the Gesù in Rome [fig. 0.2].

Among the most important of Ignatius’ visions at Manresa, for my purposes, concerns the Blessed Sacrament, which would take on central significance in Jesuit religious culture.<sup>103</sup> During mass at Manresa, at the elevation of the host, Ignatius sees ‘with interior eyes something like white rays coming from above,’ which he understands to be a representation of ‘how Jesus was [present] in that most holy sacrament’ [fig. 1.7].<sup>104</sup> Light in the form of rays emanating from the divine being are mentioned twice at Manresa. This divine light, or light of understanding, will be explained later in a discussion of Augustine and Aquinas. Miraculous light takes on particular significance in relation to the Blessed Sacrament, as we find demonstrated

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<sup>101</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Autobiography*, 37.

<sup>102</sup> Although Ignatius may have taken pleasure in music, he initially resisted music as part of worship. See O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 159-162. Music is a major theme of Pozzo’s fresco cycle at Mondovì and appears again in the Corridor of St Ignatius. See also Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>103</sup> See O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 152-7.

<sup>104</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Autobiography*, 37.



in the elaborate scenographies produced for the devotion of the Forty Hours to be examined in Chapter 4.

One final spiritual vision of Ignatius which we find represented in Pozzo's work occurred at La Storta, when he was en route to Rome with the Society's first members: 'One day, while still a few miles from Rome, [Ignatius] was praying in a church and experienced such a change in his soul and saw so clearly that God the Father had placed him with His Son Christ. . .'<sup>105</sup> This vision appears in the *Vita beati* with the words 'In Rome I shall be propitious to you' (*Ego vobis Romae propitius ero*) [fig.1.8].<sup>106</sup> Pozzo rendered the vision in an exultant manner as the climax of the ceiling program in Sant'Ignazio [fig.1.9]. The supreme importance of the image of Christ in the ceiling's program is made clear by its placement in the very centre of Pozzo's fresco, all of the orthogonal lines of the perspective leading to him.

The role of prints in establishing the lexicon of images which come to comprise Jesuit visual culture as we see it in the time of Pozzo is further demonstrated by larger works commissioned by the order at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. The two works I will consider here were designed to serve the ends of evangelism and promotion of the order, respectively. The *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (1593), the great project of the Spanish Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal, is a lavishly illustrated volume of one hundred fifty-three engravings of scenes from the four gospels, as well as the death and the assumption of the Virgin.<sup>107</sup> The gospel scenes, a collaboration of several members of the well-

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<sup>105</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Autobiography*, 89.

<sup>106</sup> Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*, 39. *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae*, Plate 53.

<sup>107</sup> Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*. See O'Malley, 'Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission,' 25; Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,' 126' and Pfeiffer, 'The Iconography,' 202.

known Wierix family of engravers in Antwerp with contributions by other artists, are carefully indexed and explained with scriptural references and simple Latin captions.<sup>108</sup> They are designed to correspond to the Sunday readings of the liturgical year, and each plate contains multiple scenes arranged in a careful visual and theological strategy: to communicate the gospel messages by emphasizing key symbolic elements, typologically linking the gospel stories with related events in both Old and New Testaments.

The *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* is far more than an illustrated gospel book produced for the illiterate masses of faithful and converts; the complexity of the illustrations and the specificity of images and their associations are clear indication of Nadal's purpose in communicating not only core tenets of the Christian faith, but the Jesuit interpretation of the gospels and the sacred mysteries. These scenes are intended to supplement the written word of the gospel, and to serve as visual images of meditation. In this regard the work is firmly rooted in the Jesuit tradition of visualization as means of prayer and spiritual enlightenment, which begins with Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. In the *Universal Judgement* and *Christ Descending into Hell* after his death, the cosmos is depicted as a series of concentric spheres, beginning with hell below, then purgatory, then the earth, and finally heaven above [figs. 1.10-1.11]. Fire figures prominently in these scenes; not only the fires of hell and purgatory, but the fire raining down on earth from heaven. This is described as the 'purest' element of fire, which itself purifies as the earth is renewed: 'New elements; purest and most limpid element of fire.'<sup>109</sup> Fire as a Jesuit theme is later

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<sup>108</sup> Although the majority of the engravings are signed by Hieronymus Wierix, a number of them are credited to Anton and Johann Wierix.

<sup>109</sup> 'Elementa nova; purissimum, & liquidissimum Ignis elementum.' *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, Plate 99, *Feria II Post Domin. I quadrag. Iudicium universal*

given representation on a large scale in Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio. In his previously cited letter to the Prince of Lichtenstein, Pozzo describes both the overriding message of the ceiling and the significance of the fire, quoting Luke 12:49 ('I came to bring fire to the earth. . .') as well as Ignatius' famous words to his companions:

The first light that formed this idea came to me from those sacred words: *Ignem veni mittere in terram, e quid volo nisi ut accendatur*, appropriately adapted by the Holy Church to St Ignatius, as a great instrument for such great work, being as he was very zealous to propagate the Catholic Religion and the light of the Good News throughout the whole world, for this purpose frequently motivating the work of his companions with these famous words: *Ite omnia incendite et inflamate*.<sup>110</sup>

In Pozzo's ceiling, divine wisdom is transmitted in the form of a beam of incendiary 'fire,' projecting from Christ to the heart of Ignatius, and from there spreading to the four corners of the earth [fig. 0.1 and 5.38].

The engravings of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* would have been among the most widely distributed works of Jesuit production of the period, most assuredly appearing in the libraries of all of the colleges and very possibly studied by youngsters as part of their early catechism lessons. Architectural arrangements in perspective are employed for the purposes of dramatic emphasis, dividing the space of the multiple simultaneous narratives, and also serve as iconographic devices. The scene of *Christ Questioned by the Judges* is set within the Temple of Solomon; God the Father appears overhead with a gesture of blessing, and in the distance we see a structure resembling a church façade [fig.1.12]. The symmetrical arrangement and layering of architectural elements, and the framing of the scene with the massive

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<sup>110</sup> Translation mine. See Appendix, Pozzo, *Copia d'una lettera*.

Solomonic columns, both establishes the locale for the narrative scene and presents the temple as a symbolic representation of the one true Church.

The scenes of the *Evangeliae Historiae Imagines* are designed not only to communicate the stories and the meanings of the gospels; they are intended to render the scene visually present for the faithful, and to appeal to the viewer to ‘enter’ the story through the layering of spaces, simple and powerful iconographic devices, dramatic arrangements of figures, clear narrative emphasis through scale and composition, and high contrast lighting. These scenes, in their use of space, perspective, lighting, gesture and movement bear correspondence to the grand narrative scenes of the *Quarant’ore* of Pozzo and others, and also to Pozzo’s perspective fresco scenes.<sup>111</sup> We might consider this book an early version of the sequenced program of images, initially introduced in written form in the *Spiritual Exercises*, which encourages a very specific, participatory form of prayer through the use of illustrations together with text—the type of rhetorical program which reaches its grandest expression in the Jesuit church interiors.

Turning finally to Jesuit triumphalism as represented in printed works, the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu* (1640), produced for the centenary of the Jesuit’s founding, features poems, declarations, and engraved images which celebrate their achievements.<sup>112</sup> It contains a number of visual themes which we see in Pozzo’s work, centring on the order’s expanding worldwide mission. The page celebrating the ‘Declared Missions of the Society’ (*Societatis Missiones Indicae*) features a cherub with a bow and arrow standing between the world’s two hemispheres, with

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<sup>111</sup> See Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>112</sup> *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu a Provincia Flandro-Belgica Eusdem Societatis Repraesentata*. Antwerp: Balthasar Moreti, Officina Palentinana, 1640.

the inscription below, ‘One world does not suffice’ (*Unus non sufficit orbis*) [fig. 1.13].<sup>113</sup> The frontispiece of the 1659 Italian edition of Bartoli’s previously cited biography of Ignatius and the founding of the order, engraved by Cornelius Bloemaert, similarly features a great globe supported by personifications of the four continents, and the figure of Ignatius bearing the IHS emblem, which casts the light of truth upon the world [fig.1.14].<sup>114</sup> The personifications of the continents very likely served as direct visual references for Pozzo’s fresco programs at both Mondovì and Rome, which celebrated on a much larger scale the order’s history and the success of its worldwide mission [figs. 3.25-3.28, 5.39-5.42].<sup>115</sup>

The last image from the *Imago Primi Saeculi* which I will consider features a mirror which anticipates Athanasius Kircher’s ‘Mirror of Archimedes,’ to be discussed later in this chapter.<sup>116</sup> In this scene Ignatius appears on a parapet catching the sun’s rays with a mirror and igniting an approaching ship at sea. The inscription reads ‘Ignatius inflames the assembly with divine love,’ and below the image, ‘He conquers with arms from heaven afar’ [fig. 1.15].<sup>117</sup> The Ignatian specificity of the concave mirror can be found in Filippo Picinelli’s *Mondo Simbolico*, where it is cited as ‘an instrument chosen by the Divine Sun, to arouse the fire of his holy love in the vastness of the world.’<sup>118</sup> Thus we have, in Jesuit visual

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<sup>113</sup> *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 326. This image is mentioned by O’Malley, ‘St Ignatius and the Cultural Mission,’ 8, fig. 1.7.

<sup>114</sup> Bartoli, *Della Vita e dell’Istituto di S. Ignatio*. This engraving is referenced by Pfeiffer, ‘L’iconografia e il messaggio’; and Levy, *Propaganda*, 153, fig. 48.

<sup>115</sup> For the connection of Pozzo’s ceiling with this image, Levy cites Wilberg-Vignau, *Andrea Pozzos Deckenfresko in S. Ignazio*, 21-22. Levy, *Propaganda*, 153, note 121. These fresco programs are examined in Chapters 3 and 5.

<sup>116</sup> *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 718. Kircher, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, Book X, Part II, *Magia Catoptrica*, Chapter I, ‘De Speculo Archimedes.’

<sup>117</sup> ‘Ignatius è cathedra divini amores igne concionem inflammat. Caelestibus armis eminus expugnat.’ *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 718.

<sup>118</sup> Picinelli, *Mondo Simbolico*, ‘Specchio Concavo.’ See also Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 73-74, note 160; Levy, *Propaganda*, 160; and Kerber, “‘Ignem veni mittere in terram”,’ 87.

culture, the repeating motif of the reflecting mirror and the ‘conquering with flames’ so widely discussed in Pozzo’s ceiling in Sant’Ignazio.<sup>119</sup> An angel bearing a concave mirror receives one of the beams transmitted from Ignatius, and with it, ignites the fire of judgment stoked by the angels on the other side of the vault [figs. 1.16-1.17].

As we seek to disassemble and interpret the large, complex images of Pozzo, the early recorded spiritual imagery of Ignatius as well as these Jesuit works in print can serve as a visual guide and reference for much of the imagery contained in them. Moreover, the printed works serve as early examples of the interactive nature of images in Jesuit visual culture, intended to be experienced as visual narratives, accompanying text and arranged in a sequence through which one progresses. Pozzo’s fresco cycles serve very similar narrative functions to these Jesuit publications; we might regard them as great open books for prayer, ritual, and the contemplation of the gospels, the sacred mysteries and Jesuit history. Like the pages of a book, we make a progress through them, studying and interpreting the sequences of images and characters that become increasingly familiar with each new study.

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<sup>119</sup> See Fagiolo’s discussion of fire in Pozzo’s ceiling in Sant’Ignazio. Fagiolo, ‘L’illusione dell’infinito’; Levy’s discussion of fire and its iconographic associations with Ignatius’ name as well as the society’s mission: *Propaganda*, 55; and Kerber, “‘Ignem veni mitteri in terram’,’ 81-83.

## Perception, Illusion and the Infinite: The Basis of Pozzo's Works in Jesuit Philosophy and Theology

Much of the scholarship on Pozzo has been preoccupied with the connection between Pozzo's highly sophisticated perspective practice and Jesuit philosophical and theological views.<sup>120</sup> To me the matter is best approached by considering the works within their appropriate context of ritual, liturgy and prayer: what function or meaning was perspectival illusion in Jesuit art seen to represent in its religious context, particularly when carried to the extent that we see it in Pozzo? In my introduction I discussed the performative relationship between Pozzo's perspectival illusions and the observer, beginning with the perceptual and intellectual exercise of *inganno* and *disinganno*. Beyond the question of perception and the discovery of the artifice, how is the observer intended to interact with the perspective image? Did the Jesuits hold extensive discussion on the subject of illusionism, an art form with which they, like the seventeenth-century public, were evidently fascinated? In order to engage in a more precise discussion, and approach any definitive answers, regarding the basis of Pozzo's work in Jesuit studies or positions in the fields of philosophy and theology, I will consider briefly some ideas drawn from Aristotle and Aquinas, who formed the foundational curricula of Jesuit pedagogy in these fields. I will focus specifically on those ideas related to perception, the senses and illusion, before proceeding to the infinite and the divine and their representation.

The seventeenth century's great preoccupation with perspective, demonstrated in architecture, painting, and theatrical scenography of the time, is characterised by a particular fascination with illusionistic extensions of the built environment, and with

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<sup>120</sup> See especially Kerber, 'Pozzo e l'aristotelismo'; Lucas, 'La galleria del Pozzo'; Oechslin, 'Pozzo e il suo Trattato'; Strinati, 'Gli affreschi nella chiesa di Sant'Ignazio'; Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art* 89-108; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 118-150.

other applications of perspective in contexts which seek to bring the observer into contact with the perspective scene, bridging the two ‘realities’: that of the observer and the space he or she inhabits, and that of the space represented by the perspectival construction. This practice in painting of ‘joining realities’ has a long tradition, arguably beginning with Masaccio in the *Trinità* fresco (c. 1425-27) in Florence. Masaccio presents the depicted space and its architecture as an extension of the viewer’s space, and also features a figure which appeals directly to the viewer as a witness and a participant in the scene represented.<sup>121</sup> In the seventeenth century it is expressed in the *quadratura* fresco painting of Northern Italy, which reaches its height of technical sophistication in the period; and in the scenes of the theatre stage, which seem to permit contact with or even entry into other worlds.<sup>122</sup> These themes of ‘joining’ real and fictive worlds, and of ‘entering’ the scene, dominate the oeuvre of Pozzo, who we may say is among their best exemplars, as shall be demonstrated with studies of both the frescoes and in the scenographies in following chapters. When used in religious contexts, did such specific types of illusion have any particular or exclusive connection with Jesuit thought or belief?

In the fields of philosophy, including logic, natural and moral philosophy and metaphysics, the works of Aristotle formed the core of Jesuit studies in the colleges.<sup>123</sup> The classical rigour and the Aristotelian basis of Jesuit philosophy tell us a great deal of the Jesuit way of thinking in many areas, including art. As

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<sup>121</sup> See Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 19, 73-75; and Sandström, *Levels of Unreality*, 71-108.

<sup>122</sup> Theatrical sets in Venice and elsewhere are discussed in Chapter 2. See also Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design*. See Introduction, note 19 regarding Northern Italian *quadratura* artists.

<sup>123</sup> St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions*, Fourth Part, Chapter XIV, 44. See also Fitzpatrick, *St Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum, The Ratio Studiorum of 1599, Rules for the Professor of Philosophy, 2. How Far Aristotle is to be Followed,* 167. Ganss lists four classes of philosophy, consisting of the *Logic* of Aristotle in the first year, followed by three years devoted to the following: *De Physico Audio*, *De Coelo*, *De Meteorologicis*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *De Anima*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Metaphysica*.



previously discussed, employment of the senses as a means of engaging the intellect in Jesuit art and liturgy can be traced directly back to Ignatius and the *Exercises*. Aristotle insists on the necessity of empirical evidence gathered through the senses as proof of the existence of the world, maintaining that ‘it is impossible for anyone to believe the same thing to be and not to be.’<sup>124</sup> However, perception does contain error: ‘. . . sensations are always true: but many phantasms are false’; similarly, ‘imagination can be true or false.’<sup>125</sup> Phantasms, a translation of *phainomena*, are perhaps better read as ‘appearances.’ Here is where illusionism—pictorial, perspectival, or otherwise—is permitted entry into the Aristotelian world of perception: appearances are incomplete, and may be false. The intellect must form decisions and judgements about what it perceives through the senses, and we may say that illusionistic images are deliberately designed to deceive the senses; this points us back to Ignatian discernment. If the Jesuits accepted and taught the Aristotelian theory of appearances as distinct from reality, clearly illusionistic art presented no ethical difficulty; in fact it served as a kind of ‘spiritual exercise’ in itself.

Illusion and the observer’s response to it are a central concern of mimesis, often discussed in relation to rhetorical performance or representation, but equally applicable to the visual arts, including scenography and illusionistic fresco painting.<sup>126</sup> The image which is discovered as an illusion or understood to be unreal makes an appeal to the intellect and the imagination: the observer is not asked to accept the image as a reality; rather, he is asked to analyse the artifice of the illusion

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<sup>124</sup> Aristotle, *Metaphysica* Book Γ.3,1005<sup>b</sup>, 22-23.

<sup>125</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima*, III.iii.645, 648.

<sup>126</sup> See Van Eck’s discussion of *mimesis* as theorized by classical authors, particularly Aristotle, Horace and Plutarch, and its application in the visual arts. Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 48-50 and 65.

and to regard it as the representation of that which does not actually exist. Aristotle remarks on the ‘pleasure’ that is derived from such imitation or *mimesis* in poetry, painting and sculpture; a pleasure derived from the representation rather than the actual thing or action.<sup>127</sup> Perspective, in the art of Pozzo, is the device which achieves *mimesis*, the representation of space which, the observer is led to discover, does not exist. It is also the agent by which the observer ‘enters’ the scene and participates directly in it, as his world and the world represented in the image become fully joined. Illusionistic painting and scenography as *mimesis* will be demonstrated with examinations of Pozzo’s works the church of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì in Chapter 3, and Sant’Ignazio in Rome in Chapter 5.

Perspective, as James Elkins has discussed, lends itself to a myriad of metaphors.<sup>128</sup> In the cultural context of the seventeenth century, we may consider whether the infinite distance which Pozzo’s perspective scenes seem to portray is intended to represent infinite space.<sup>129</sup> This idea, of course, is dependent on a conception of infinite space itself, a relatively new and unorthodox idea at the time. The representations of infinite space which perspective offered might be culturally associated with the radical breaks from Aristotelian conceptions of the universe proposed by figures such as Giordano Bruno, given further impetus by the invention of the telescope, the work of Galileo, and radical rethinking of the nature of the universe beginning with Copernicus.<sup>130</sup> Where the Jesuits placed themselves within cosmological discourse of the time is ambiguous; the Jesuits’ foremost authority in

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<sup>127</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, 1371b, 4-10.

<sup>128</sup> See Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective*, Chapter 1: ‘Into the Maelstrom of Metaphor,’ 1-44.

<sup>129</sup> Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective*, 16, 33-35.

<sup>130</sup> For Bruno and the cosmological positions of several Jesuit researchers, especially Kircher, see Rowland, ‘Athanasius Kircher.’ For the relationship of Galileo to the Jesuits, the Jesuits’ ambiguous position on his finds and those of others, the difficulties brought on by Copernican heliocentrism, and the ‘crumbling’ of Aristotelian cosmology brought about by both, see Coyne, ‘The Jesuits and Galileo.’ More expanded studies include Battestini, *Galileo e i gesuiti*.

mathematics and astronomy, Christoph Clavius (1538-1612), made a written case against the Copernican theory of the universe—thus officially maintaining Jesuit adherence to orthodoxy and avoiding any apparent conflict with biblical exegesis or Aristotelian cosmology—while apparently acknowledging off record that he subscribed to Copernicus’ ideas.<sup>131</sup> Bruno is regarded by some as having brought about a fundamental shift in consciousness, and possibly even a cultural crisis, through his proposal of infinite space and an infinite universe.<sup>132</sup> Whether or not the Jesuits officially subscribed to such an idea, the writings of Kircher indicate that it was open to discussion.<sup>133</sup> Did perspective in the seventeenth century, the works of Pozzo being among the best examples, seek to represent the concept of infinite space? If so, what do such scenes mean, within a religious context and specifically within the Jesuit context?

Turning to Aquinas, whose writings represented the core of theological studies in the colleges, we find a discussion of the infinite and the relationship of God to the universe which provides a compelling interpretation of Baroque representations of the divine and of infinity.<sup>134</sup> ‘Spatial boundaries,’ Aquinas says, ‘are spatial forms. . . . So lack of spatial limits is limitlessness of a material kind and not to be ascribed to

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<sup>131</sup> See Remmert, ‘Picturing the Jesuit Anti-Copernican Consensus.’ Works of Clavius cited include *In Sphaerum Ioannis de Sacro Bosco commentarius* (1570) and *Opera mathematica* (Mainz, 1612). Remmert also notes Jesuit cardinal Roberto Bellarmino’s warning to Galileo regarding Copernicanism.

<sup>132</sup> Fagiolo dell’Arco has discussed the ‘new consciousness of the infinite’ brought about by Bruno in the seventeenth century. Fagiolo dell’Arco, *L’Effimero Barocco*, 57. Bruno’s dialogues concerning an infinite universe and our perception of it can be found in his *De L’infinito, universo e mondi*, ‘Dialogo primo.’ Bruno, *De l’infinito*, 419-38.

<sup>133</sup> Rowland has pointed out that Kircher had read works of Bruno and was in agreement with him that ‘nothing but an infinite universe did justice to an omnipotent God.’ Rowland, ‘Athanasius Kircher,’ esp. 198-202. Rowland cites passages of Bruno’s *De Immenso et Innumerabilibus* (1591); Kircher admits having read Bruno in his own *Ars magna sciendi* (1669).

<sup>134</sup> Fitzpatrick, *St Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum, The Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, Rules for the Professor of Scholastic Theology, 2. ‘Following St Thomas,’ 160. See also Ganss, *Saint Ignatius’ Idea*, 15, 158.

God.’<sup>135</sup> Aquinas maintains that only God can be infinite, ‘without limit’; and following Aquinas, the universe cannot be infinite.<sup>136</sup> Following the Aristotelian and Thomistic doctrine maintained by the Jesuits, therefore, visual representations of the infinite, produced by pictorial or scenographic means, must not represent an infinite universe, but the divine essence: God Himself. However, God cannot, according to Aquinas, be comprehended; his infinite and infinitely perfect nature can only be suggested. Likewise in art, what is incomprehensible cannot be rendered visually, but merely suggested. If, then, we read the illusionism of Pozzo as representing the divine, or serving as a metaphor for the experience of the divine, this must be understood as taking place on the level of suggestion. Just as his scenographies open to unlimited spatial vistas, Pozzo’s ceiling in St Ignatius seems to telescope up to the heavens: the entire ensemble, architecture and figures, project upward to an ‘infinite’ distance, [figs. 4.4 and 0.1].<sup>137</sup>

Karl Noehles has discussed the illusionistic *teatri sacri* produced for the *Quarant’ore* in the seventeenth century as portals to the divine realm, transitory devices between two worlds.<sup>138</sup> He associates this effect with the ‘Argutie anagogiche’ of Tesauro, citing the passage from his ‘Argutezze Divine’ of *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*:

Anagogical *Argutie*, which draw upward, are those which metaphorically hint at some secret of things heavenly and eternal:

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<sup>135</sup> St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ia.7.1. Trans. Fr. Wilfrid Lescher in *Compendium of the Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas* (1560).

<sup>136</sup> St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ia.7.3.

<sup>137</sup> Fagiolo dell’Arco, ‘Pensare Effimero,’ 87.

<sup>138</sup> Noehles, ‘Teatri per le Quarant’ore,’ 91. This idea is further discussed with the case studies of Pozzo’s *Quarant’ore* scenographies in Chapter 4.

guiding the mind from the visible objects to the invisible; and from this life to the next.<sup>139</sup>

This metaphor of Tesauro might be applied to Pozzo's scenographies as well as to his frescoes; particularly the great vault of Sant' Ignazio: the perspectival image of a celestial scene appears connected to the world of the viewer by means of a 'transitory' architectural device that visually connects the two. The perspectival image, receding into an apparently infinite distance, gradually fades into an indistinct field of atmosphere and light. Pozzo thus melds the physical universe with the divine, 'infinite' realm by means of the perspectival construction as well as light effects. However, the intellect eventually discovers that what is represented, the appearance of the infinite, is not a substitute for the infinite itself. How, then, is spiritual persuasion achieved in Pozzo's works?

De Feo describes this persuasion as coming about as the result of an intellectual process of engagement; the issue is identifying precisely how this process occurs, and what it involves.<sup>140</sup> I would suggest that in the encounter with each of Pozzo's major works of scenography and illusionistic fresco, the observer is led through various levels of perceptual, intellectual and spiritual engagement. These bear correspondence with the tiered levels of vision proposed by St Augustine—corporeal, intellectual and spiritual vision—and with the levels of understanding theorized by Paleotti.<sup>141</sup> First is perceptual engagement, the initial contact with the image, leading to sensory persuasion: the acceptance of the image or images and the

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<sup>139</sup> 'Argutie Anagogiche, ò trahenti ad alto; son quelle che metaforicamente motteggiano alcun segreto delle cose Celesti & eterne: guidando la mente dagli obietti visibili agli'invisibili; & da questa all'altra vita.' Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 61.

<sup>140</sup> See Introduction and De Feo, *Andrea Pozzo: Architettura e illusione*, 13.

<sup>141</sup> St Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, Book 12, esp. Chapter 6:15; also Chapters 7-12; and Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, Chapter 22, 112-14. Paleotti's theory of levels of cognition is discussed in Chapter 2.

perspective system as a truth or ‘reality.’ The second is intellectual engagement, through the analysis, reconsideration, and recognition of the ‘falsity’ of the perspectival images—the *inganno* and *disinganno* leading to discernment. This analysis of the illusion may coincide with the analysis of the iconography and the rhetorical system of images, narratives, figures, emblems and other components. Discovering the perspectival artifice, the observer’s intellect is then persuaded of the ‘wonder’ of the mimesis, the representative image produced, and he begins to contemplate its meaning.

The final type of engagement is spiritual, and occurs through direct personal involvement with the image or the system of images, the understanding of their religious messages, and most importantly, through active engagement in a ritual performance—the context for which the image, and all of the other images and decorative elements, are produced. I suggest that this direct involvement and performance, in the end, is what achieves spiritual persuasion. The desire to believe the image translates into the desire to believe what it represents: the sacred narrative or celestial scene of glory which the believer wants to ‘enter.’ Entry is permitted through the visual joining of the world of the spectator with the celestial vision.

Augustine distinguishes the light of the created world from the divine light of wisdom: ‘The light born from God is the very Wisdom of God, but the light made by God is something mutable, whether corporeal or incorporeal.’<sup>142</sup> Aquinas describes a divine light—a light of understanding—similar to what we find in Ignatius’ visions. Recognizing God, according to Aquinas, seeing His ‘substance’ in one’s mind, requires something beyond our ‘nature,’ and therefore beyond our senses and

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<sup>142</sup> St Augustine, *On the Literal Interpretation*, Chapter 5, 157.

our ability to reason: he calls this the ‘light of divine glory.’<sup>143</sup> The theme of light as a spiritual metaphor for discovery of the divine, and the movement of the faithful toward the divine essence, figure highly in Pozzo’s work beginning with his religious scenographies in Milan. In the *Quarant’ore*, a tradition which the Jesuits championed in Rome and for which Pozzo designed some of his most famous scenographies, the visual theme of divine light is repeatedly represented in the image of the heavenly glory emanating from the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>144</sup>

Having considered thematic alignments of Pozzo’s works with Jesuit studies and views in philosophy and theology, we should recall that Pozzo’s formal education stopped short of upper level studies in these fields. The philosophical and theological training Pozzo would have received as a Jesuit would therefore have been largely a result of his immersion in Jesuit and spiritual intellectual culture: living in community with other Jesuits, engaging in conversation with professors and students, and partaking of the daily activity of the colleges. The role of independent study was crucial to his development in terms of both the technique and the content of his works. Such studies were enabled by access to the resources of the colleges, which brought him into contact with a long tradition of Jesuit research.

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<sup>143</sup> St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ia.12.2.

<sup>144</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the history and development of the *Quarant’ore* at the Gesù, its major themes, and Pozzo’s *Quarant’ore* scenographies.

## Jesuit Science and Research Culture: Perspective and Optics, and Pozzo's Treatise

Plato's definition of the philosopher as a lover of the 'whole' of wisdom, one who has 'a taste for every sort of knowledge' and a lover of 'the vision of the truth' strikes at the heart of the Jesuit preoccupation with scientific research and intellectual pursuits.<sup>145</sup> Through their educational mission and the channels of communication produced by their extensive travels, the Jesuits succeeded in developing a formidable research culture and in disseminating their achievements on a scale which contributed in large measure to the development of the scientific disciplines.<sup>146</sup>

The Jesuits had, by the seventeenth century, established their presence and reputation in education throughout Europe through the founding of colleges and a distinguished record of research, particularly in the sciences.<sup>147</sup> Under the directorship of Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), the 'museum of natural curiosities' at the Collegio Romano took a central role in showcasing Jesuit research activity in the late seventeenth century, and became a destination for visiting dignitaries from all over Europe.<sup>148</sup> Kircher was the Society's foremost figure in the sciences. While his initial position at the college was pedagogical—he was a professor of mathematics and oriental languages—in 1646 he was made a full-time researcher, and his work and inventions became objects of display and entertainment for dignitaries visiting the college.<sup>149</sup> We can see in Kircher, then, a prime example of the way in which the Society strategically employed those members of high stature

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<sup>145</sup> Plato, *Republic*, Book V, 475.

<sup>146</sup> For further and more detailed discussion of Jesuit travel and the scientific network of the Society, see Harris, 'Mapping Jesuit Science,' 212-233.

<sup>147</sup> Rivka Feldhay indicates the 1620s as 'the beginning of . . . the solidification of Jesuit science.' Feldhay points to their takeover of the University of Vienna as a sign of their arrival as 'a predominant cultural force in the Habsburg Empire.' Feldhay, 'The Cultural Field of Jesuit Science,' 109.

<sup>148</sup> The 'Museum Kirchanum,' briefly described by Harris, is fully catalogued and described in Sepibus, *Romani Collegi Societis Iesu*. Harris, 'Mapping Jesuit Science,' 227-28.

<sup>149</sup> Findlen, 'Introduction: The Last Man Who Knew Everything,' 11.



and intellectual output for the purposes of reinforcing its identity and prestige. We could say that Pozzo served a similar pedagogical and promotional role for the Jesuits in the field of art in the last decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>150</sup>

Kircher's well-known treatise on light and optics, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* of 1646, very likely served Pozzo as a reference for experiments in perspective and the production of anamorphic images, as well as the direction and magnification of light.<sup>151</sup> Experiments with lenses and mirrors had, partly owing to Kircher's work, become a nearly universal fascination in the period. Optics enter Jesuit visual culture by the 1640s, as indicated earlier in my discussion of the *Imago Primi Saeculi*. In the opening engraving of *Ars Magna* we find another precedent for the beams of light and reflecting mirror in Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio [1.18]. This introductory image establishes light as the divine gift of illumination, whose reflection, transmission and various uses, as extensively described and illustrated in Kircher's treatise, finds its source in God.

Camerota discusses Pozzo's fascination with Kircher's experiments in Rome, incorporating them into the ceiling of Sant'Ignazio in the form of the angel holding the curved mirror with the Christogram to direct and spread the light of truth emanating from Christ through Ignatius [figs. 1.16 and 0.1].<sup>152</sup> Camerota describes the concave mirror as a 'scientific icon' symbolizing 'the intermediation between divine wisdom and human knowledge.'<sup>153</sup> Kircher's experiments with light and

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<sup>150</sup> Pozzo's role as teacher is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>151</sup> Kircher appears regularly in the literature on Pozzo. See Corradino, 'I Gesuiti e la geometria'; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Pensare effimero'; Gallavotti, 'Gli esordi pittorici a Roma'; Strinati, 'Gli affreschi nella chiesa di Sant'Ignazio'; Martinelli, 'Teatri sacri e profani'; Zanlonghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo'; Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 7-20; Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il corridoio*, 107; Levy, *Propaganda*, 160; and Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idee.'

<sup>152</sup> Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idee,' 25-26.

<sup>153</sup> Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idee,' 26. The symbol of the mirror will be revisited in my analysis of Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio in Chapter 5.

mirrors may well have served Pozzo on more than a theoretical or symbolic level. The manipulation and control of light through diffusion, magnification, projection and concentration has a long history in theatre and scenography, and was a subject of experimentation going back to the Renaissance.<sup>154</sup> As we shall explore further in the next chapter, light played a very important role in Pozzo's scenographies, and it is likely that he explored the possibilities of Kircher's theories in order to employ the light emitted by lamps and candles to its greatest advantage.

At the end of *Ars Magna*, Kircher includes an epilogue concerning the metaphysics of light: *Metaphysica Lucis & Umbrae*.<sup>155</sup> Kircher seeks to scientifically substantiate ideas of divine light by finding and demonstrating the physical manifestation of this light in the natural world, and by assigning a rational structure to it. He clearly seeks not to investigate natural phenomena independently of a religious belief system, but rather finds further reinforcement of this belief through science. Some argue that Pozzo's perspective system was similarly a manifestation of divine laws 'revealed' through the research and practice of generations of artists and mathematicians.<sup>156</sup>

When and how Pozzo began his studies of perspective, which ultimately led to his large-scale *quadratura* fresco projects, remains a question. He would doubtless have received some training in mathematics and geometry in his Jesuit education as well as exposure to the current research in these fields in the colleges. Saverio Corradino describes the 'practical direction' of Jesuit research in mathematics, exemplified by

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<sup>154</sup> Serlio describes the use of brass reflectors and convex glass vessels filled with water to produce the effects of the sun and the moon in his *Treatise on Stage Scenery*. Serlio, *On Architecture*, Book I, 'Concerning Artificial Lights for Stages,' 92-93.

<sup>155</sup> Kircher, *Ars Magna*, Book 10, 'Epilogus, sive Metaphysica Lucis & Umbrae,' 797-805.

<sup>156</sup> See Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 107-108; and Oechslin, 'Pozzo e il suo Trattato,' esp. 199-201.

the work of Cristoph Clavius, who sought to reconcile abstract mathematics with the applied mathematics of Renaissance geometry.<sup>157</sup> Corradino takes the position that Pozzo ‘never did scientific studies’; rather than casting Pozzo in the light of scientist-artist, he sees a connection between the creative process of the artist and the research of the geometrician.<sup>158</sup>

Some would argue that Pozzo’s perspective training came primarily as a result of hands-on practice working with and under masters of *quadratura* in northern Italy.<sup>159</sup> His first fresco project in Genoa dates from 1672, and prior to this he had already been experimenting in scenography: his first public works to employ complex perspective techniques and architectonic arrangements were the *apparati* produced by the Jesuits for religious festivals in Milan.<sup>160</sup> These began with a *Quarant’ore* scenography for San Fedele, and later, in the same church, scenographies for the Canonisation of St Francis Borgia and for the festival of the Immaculate Conception in 1671-72.<sup>161</sup> I would therefore suggest that Pozzo’s training and early practice in the art of perspective, as well as his architectural training, came primarily by way of scenography.

Pozzo’s early scenographies would have required the study not only of perspectival constructions on a picture surface, but of its application within the space of the church, which involved its engineering and construction as a multi-component

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<sup>157</sup> Corradino, ‘I Gesuiti e la geometria,’ 63. Clavius, a teacher and researcher at the Collegio Romano, played a major role in the establishment of the *Ratio Studiorum*. His research in geometry was published in his *Geometria Pratica* of 1604. See Feldhay, ‘The Cultural Field of Jesuit Science,’ 109.

<sup>158</sup> Corradino, ‘I Gesuiti e la geometria,’ 73.

<sup>159</sup> See Spiriti, ‘Andrea Pozzo dalla Lombardia a Mondovì,’ esp. 188-91; and Pigozzi, ‘Il gioco fra verità e illusione,’ esp. 131-35. Also see Chapter 3.

<sup>160</sup> The fresco decorations in the Chapel of St Francis Borgia and the altar painting of the dedicatory saint, all in the Jesuit church of Ss. Ambrogio e Andrea, are mentioned in the transcribed archives of the Casa Professa in Genoa: Raffo, trans., *Historia Domus Professae*, Entry 353, ‘La cappella è finalmente terminata,’ 304.

<sup>161</sup> These first scenographies in Milan are discussed at length in Chapter 2.

installation. Illusionistic scenes rendered as partially constructed scenographies apply the same basic theory and techniques of perspective as those applied in *quadratura* fresco. However, the differences between these two art forms, particularly on the level of execution, call for further consideration and emphasis in the examination of Pozzo's oeuvre. Theatrical scenes present the added complexities of real material and space—that is, a perspectival illusion executed across several planes rather than one—and real light. Such undertakings required experimentation in the studio, as well as the study of theatres and of stage technology; this aspect of Pozzo's studies will receive further treatment in Chapter 2. They also indicate engagement with, and study of, the most current research in both perspective and the properties of light; particularly the work of Kircher described earlier.

Pozzo's own treatise on perspective, published in two editions in Rome at the end of the century, is clear evidence of his very close study of the most important publications on the subject.<sup>162</sup> *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* may be taken simply as a series of detailed demonstrations of the practical application of the perspective theories laid down by his forbears.<sup>163</sup> However, as we study the treatise we find it is much more than that. While it is certainly written for the artist, it represents a life's work of study and research within a field to which the Jesuits were major contributors. For this reason, and for the obvious reason of its publication by the Jesuits, I consider *Perspectiva* both a contribution to and a product of Jesuit science and research culture. I will here consider the tradition of perspective studies and treatises as it stood at the time of Pozzo's early career, in order to identify the

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<sup>162</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, I, II (orig. Rome, 1693, 1700).

<sup>163</sup> Pozzo declares his sources as Vignola, Serlio, Palladio and Scamozzi. See Insolera, 'Le prime edizioni del Trattato,' 207. References to Vignola run throughout *Perspectiva*, I, appearing in the texts of Figs. 9, 24, 44. Palladio and Scamozzi appear with Pozzo's page of the Orders of Architecture, Fig. 33A (in the 1723 edition this is the last figure).

work of authors upon which Pozzo based his methods and his treatise, as well as the aspects of his practice and research which can be considered to represent innovation in the field. I will include works by Jesuit researchers as well as other well-known works which must surely have been accessible to Pozzo in Jesuit colleges and the academies in Milan and Rome.

The primary concern of the generation of Italian perspective theoreticians prior to the seventeenth century—after Brunelleschi’s famous first experiment, major treatises include that of Alberti (1435), Serlio (1545) and Vignola (1583)—was to explain perspective and optics to artists and architects seeking to accurately represent spaces and objects pictorially.<sup>164</sup> Martin Kemp suggests that for the Italians, perspective was not seen as a breakthrough intellectual discovery, as it was in the Low Countries and Germany, but something that had evolved, in a practice-based rather than a theory-based way, over time.<sup>165</sup> From the Italian tradition, Vignola’s *Le Due Regole della Prospettiva Pratica* of 1583 would have been the best-known and most widely-studied treatise to date. Vignola’s treatise, which includes commentary by the Bolognese mathematician Ignazio Danti, is a fusion of scientific studies of the day with the visual concerns of representation for artists and architects.

Two consecutive chapters in Vignola’s treatise indicate him as one of Pozzo’s chief sources of study. His chapter ‘Of the method of making the perspectives in the balconies, and the vaults, seen from below’ is a clear precursor to Pozzo’s techniques

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<sup>164</sup> Alberti, *On Painting (De Pictura)*; Serlio, *On Architecture (Tutte l’opere d’Architettura et Prospettiva)*; Vignola, *Le due Regole della Prospettiva Pratica*. Other major treatises include Piero della Francesca (*De prospectiva pingendi*, 1474), Daniele Barbaro (*La pratica della prospettiva*, 1568), and Lomazzo (*Trattato dell’Arte della Pittura, Scultura et Architettura*, 1583). See Massey et al., *The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished*.

<sup>165</sup> Kemp points to the dearth of writing on perspective in Italy after 1500 in relation to the extent to which it is employed by artists, citing Vignola’s treatise as ‘the first specialised treatise on perspective by a professional artist.’ He surmises that ‘perspective was for the Italians an established part of their technique rather than an exciting new device in need of explanation, as it was in the North.’ Kemp, *The Science of Art*, 69.

and explanations for perspective ceilings; while ‘The method of painting perspectives in vaults’ addresses, albeit with limited visual aide, the difficult task of rendering a perspective scene on irregular surfaces [figs. 1.19-1.20].<sup>166</sup> Kemp has highlighted the comments of Danti regarding the optics of the human eye, and the necessity of maintaining a sufficient distance that the entire perspectival image can be seen in a single view.<sup>167</sup> This is one rule of Vignola and Danti from which Pozzo boldly departs in a major project in Rome: the Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù, in which the very close proximity of each plane of the perspective system to the eye is overcome, to produce a seamless illusion of space and structure in all directions [figs. 5.1-5.10].<sup>168</sup>

Pozzo’s position within the research and learning environment of the Jesuits was ideal, for before him lay a tradition of research in geometry established by Clavius and continuing with further studies in optics and perspective by Kircher and Jean Dubreuil.<sup>169</sup> Kircher’s studies of anamorphic projections of images is particularly informative where Pozzo’s work is concerned. In the section *Ars Sciagraphica* he illustrates the distortion of a shape when projected onto a surface which is oblique or perpendicular to the picture plane; then onto a cone and a cylinder—all important exercises for producing the counter-distortions necessary to render images on vaults

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<sup>166</sup> Vignola, *Le due Regole*, 86, ‘Del modo di fare le prospettive nei palchi, & nelle volte si veggono di sotto in sù’; and 89-90, ‘Il modo di dipignere le prospettive nelle volte.’

<sup>167</sup> Kemp, *The Science of Art*, 81. Danti, *Annotatione prima*, in Vignola, *Le due Regole*, Chapter VI, 69-70.

<sup>168</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>169</sup> The methods of Dubreuil are mentioned by authors only in general terms as a study subject for the Pozzo’s more difficult perspectival problems, such as the rendering of anamorphic figures. See Fagiolo dell’Arco, ‘Pensare effimero,’ 91; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 107.

[fig. 1.21].<sup>170</sup> Pozzo would not experiment with true anamorphoses (and then only selectively) until the project in the Casa Professa in Rome.<sup>171</sup>

The work of Dubreuil, whose contributions to Jesuit theatrical scenography were discussed earlier, would have been widely known in the major Jesuit colleges. Dubreuil's treatise represents a significant contribution to the discipline, providing a broad range of perspective lessons and examples for artists and architects. He also established many of the theories and techniques further developed by Desargues and Bosse, to be discussed further on. The full title of his treatise, *La Perspective Pratique necessaire a tous Peintres, Graveurs, Sculpteurs, Architectes, Orfeurs, Brodeurs, Tapissiers, & autres se servans du Dessein*, states its intended purpose as a guide to perspective for all artists and fine tradesmen.<sup>172</sup> In keeping with the Jesuit mandate of service to the public, it was produced as a widely accessible educational tool, much like Pozzo's treatise would be a half century later. Dubreuil opens the treatise with a preface that is distinctly Jesuit in its use of vision and perception as a spiritual metaphor, and exalts perspective above all other disciplines.<sup>173</sup> Of note in Dubreuil's treatise is the emphasis on representing the subject in many different situations, and its corresponding effect on perception. The viewing angle is closely studied, and secondary vanishing points are considered in addition to the central vanishing point.

Dubreuil applies the methods established by Serlio and Vignola to complete architectural interiors, and addresses round spaces such as the apse of a church [figs.

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<sup>170</sup> Kircher, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, Book II, Part II, 'Ars Sciagraphica,' Iconismus I.

<sup>171</sup> See Chapter 5, 'The Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù: an "Ignatian Theatre."'

<sup>172</sup> Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*. 3 vols, 1642, 1647, 1649.

<sup>173</sup> Dubreuil, *The Practice of Perspective*, Preface, iii.

1.22 and 1.23].<sup>174</sup> There is a section devoted to the scaling of figures in space, as well as a series of studies of the effects of light and shadow based on the position of the sun, and in interiors with multiple light sources [fig. 1.24].<sup>175</sup> The edition of 1649 features an extensive section on architectural structures and openings overhead, including rectangular, round and irregular openings seen from both centred and non-centred viewing positions; an introduction to domes; the projection of images onto vaults; a section concerning anamorphic images; and the section on theatrical scenographies previously discussed. [figs. 1.25-1.32].<sup>176</sup> The various editions of Dubreuil's treatise are, overall, pragmatic guides to the practice of perspective, concerned with the teaching of the rules through multiple examples and combinations of problems. They do not offer instruction on architectural details or ornament, which he very likely considered the domain of architects. However, the essential principles and techniques upon which Pozzo constructed many, if not most of his widely varying projects can be found in Dubreuil's work.

In 1648, six years after the publication of the first edition of Dubreuil's treatise, Abraham Bosse produced and compiled engravings from the perspective theories of Girard Desargues (1593-1661).<sup>177</sup> Bosse's treatise opens with an explanation of the perceived effects of positions and distances of objects relative to the picture plane,

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<sup>174</sup> Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Part I, Pratique 73, 74.

<sup>175</sup> Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Part I, Pratique 122-128; Pratiques pour trouver les ombres naturelles, tant au Soleil, & au Flambeau, qu'à la Chandelle, & à la Lampe, 134, 148, 150.

<sup>176</sup> Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Part III, *Traite* I, IV, V. For further discussion of *Traite* IV concerning scenography see Chapter 4.

<sup>177</sup> Bosse, *Le Manière Universelle de Mr. Desargues, pour pratiquer la Perspective par petit-pied, comme le Geometral* (1648). Corradino includes Bosse among Pozzo's likely sources: Corradino 'I Gesuiti e la geometria,' 72; while Migliari insists Pozzo's treatise is manifest proof that Bosse entered his studies: Migliari, 'Geometria e mistero,' 73. Martinelli, Galavotti, and Pigozzi discuss in varying levels of detail Bosse's methods for executing perspective on curved vaults and his method of image transfer using the grid and light projection. Martinelli, 'Teatri sacri e profani,' 108; Gallavotti, 'Gli esordi pittorici,' 45; Pigozzi, 'Andrea Pozzo tra Giulio Troili,' 41.



prior to introducing the vanishing point.<sup>178</sup> Desargues addresses the topic of images on oblique surfaces perhaps more clearly than do Kircher or Dubreuil by illustrating in simple terms what happens when the picture plane—the surface upon which the image is made—is angled in either direction away from its usual perpendicular position relative to the eye and the receding perspective planes [fig. 1.33].<sup>179</sup> This lesson, of course, is a necessary step before addressing more complex cases, from the rendering of images and entire illusionistic perspective systems on surfaces that are irregular or not perpendicular to the eye—the majority of situations in which Pozzo worked in his *quadratura* projects. Pozzo likely recognized in his first scenographic experiments that the majority of viewers of any perspective scene are not observing the scene from a position whose viewing angle is perpendicular to the image surface and aligned with its centre. This is also true in the court theatres, where the ‘privileged’ seat corresponding to the vanishing point of the scenography’s perspective was reserved for dignitaries and sovereigns.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, while virtually all perspective systems are dependent on the fixed position of the observer, in reality the observer is almost always moving. This consideration of the position of the viewer introduces the necessity of a visual strategy based on the built space and the inevitability of the observer’s movement and change of position in that space. It thereby opens the question of whether and to what extent the viewer’s position relative to the image can be predicted, and even dictated, by the image—in short, whether the viewer’s visual experience can or should be controlled.

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<sup>178</sup> Bosse, *Le Maniere Universelle de Mr. Desargues*, Part I, Figs. 1-20.

<sup>179</sup> Bosse, *Le Maniere Universelle de Mr. Desargues*, Part I, Fig. 42.

<sup>180</sup> Strong remarks on the relationship of the stage, the perspective system and even the action in court theatre in relation to the sovereign. Strong, *Art and Power*, 7.

In 1653 Bosse published another volume based on Desargues's studies, following on the introduction of non-perpendicular surfaces in the first treatise. *Moyen Universel pour Pratiquer la Perspective sur les Tableaux ou Surfaces Irregulières* is believed, by many, to unlock the 'mystery' of Pozzo's extraordinary success in transferring perspectival images onto curved vaults [fig. 1.34]. Figure 15 of Bosse's treatise shows a figure with a candle 'projecting' the perspective lines onto the curve of a vault with the help of a candle or torch [fig. 1.35]. This method of image transfer was appropriated by Pozzo in his fresco projects, and is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The production of perspectival scenes on curved surfaces, as we have seen, does not begin with Pozzo; the presence of such treatises as those of Bosse and Desargues at the middle of the century proves that the topic was being addressed.<sup>181</sup> Pozzo's achievement is to be found in the successful application of the theory in situations of large scale and high complexity, demonstrated in the fresco works to be studied in later chapters.

In attempting to trace Pozzo's research in perspective and his likely sources, what remains conjectural is what new research he had access to and when. We know, for example, that many of Kircher's works did not arrive at the College of Trent until 1671; while the perspective treatises of Desargues and Bosse do not appear in the collection until 1697.<sup>182</sup> However, the publications of both Clavius and Kircher based on their scientific work carried out in Rome certainly made their way to Milan, and Dubreuil's treatise as well as his scenographic work at the Collegio Romano

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<sup>181</sup> Pigozzi cites Guidobaldo Del Monte as the first to have studied the subject, referring to Del Monte's *Perspectivae libri sex* of 1600. Pigozzi, 'Andrea Pozzo tra Giulio Troili,' 35.

<sup>182</sup> Fedele et al., ed., *La Biblioteca del Collegio dei Gesuiti di Trento*, 'Catalogo,' Vol. I.

would have been well-known.<sup>183</sup> The Collegio di Brera, neighbouring the Casa Professa of San Fedele where Pozzo spent his early years, was one of the showcase Jesuit institutions of learning in the seventeenth century, and much of its original collection has been handed down to the modern day Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense.<sup>184</sup>

Pozzo's treatise *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* was published in two volumes in 1693 and 1700, originally in Latin and Italian, and subsequently translated into German, French, Flemish, English, Spanish, Greek, and Chinese.<sup>185</sup> Although it does not necessarily introduce any new methods to the tradition of perspective theory or perspectival constructions, it provides explanations and illustrations of methods of execution at an entirely new level of detail and specificity. Overall, it represents a major step forward in perspective treatise-writing in its sheer monumentality, its range of examples, and the precision and detail with which the established methods are applied. It is likely for this reason, and because of its worldwide dissemination, that Pozzo's treatise took its place among the best-known and most widely referenced and studied perspective treatises. In later chapters I will be studying selected projects within the treatise, particularly Pozzo's scenographies, and I will also consider what the treatise reveals about Pozzo's working methods. *Perspectiva* seeks to instruct the student of perspective, and to provide a set of tools to achieve the effects Pozzo mastered through his own experiments. It is first and

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<sup>183</sup> The 1649 edition of Dubreuil's *La Perspective Pratique* includes a section on scenography very certainly based on his experiments at the Collegio Romano. See Chapter 4.

<sup>184</sup> The copy of Kircher's *Ars Magna* currently held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense is listed and noted with a provenance of the Collegium Braydense Societatis Iesu, as are a number of treatises of Clavius.

<sup>185</sup> Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 267-270. Kerber lists the details and dates of the publications, beginning with the first Italian-Latin edition published in Rome by Johann Jakob Komarek.

foremost a practical manual, designed and produced for the purposes of students and of the working artist-scenographer.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> See Bigari, 'Andrea Pozzo e la sua eredità,' esp. 382; Insolera, 'Pozzo e la sua accademia'; and Insolera and Bösel, 'L'impegno didattico.'

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to provide a religious and intellectual foundation for Pozzo and his work through a broad examination of Jesuit life, education, science and visual culture. A major objective has been to dismantle the idea that Jesuit obedience and religious life call for the relinquishing of personal identity or initiative; a clarification which I believe is essential if we are to proceed further in an analysis of Pozzo and his work.

The Jesuit iconographic system which develops, and seems to have solidified by the time of the arrival of Andrea Pozzo, can prompt us to prematurely conclude that the content of his works, certainly that of the major fresco cycles, was largely dictated or predetermined by the specific messages that the order wished to communicate in its churches. Moving beyond the scholarly preoccupation with programmed content and ‘institutional message’ as the dominant, or even singular, driving and directing force in the design and production of works of art is perhaps the single greatest challenge in studying an artist such as Pozzo.

As I have demonstrated through examples, and will continue to demonstrate throughout this thesis, Pozzo’s work clearly reflects his spiritual and intellectual training as a Jesuit. From the story of Ignatius himself and the *Spiritual Exercises* to the study of scripture and the *Ratio Studiorum* of the colleges, Pozzo was given, even before taking his own vows, a mental framework of stories, images and ideas upon which to build as he undertook his first works. Certainly his immersion in Jesuit intellectual culture, first as a student and later through his research in the colleges and participation in their activities, played a considerable part in his views of issues ranging from spirituality and Christian life to philosophy and science. Furthermore,

Pozzo's activity, while remaining firmly within the boundaries of visual media, reflects an interest in seventeenth-century research and thought regarding space, perspective, light, optics, and possibly even new ideas in cosmology. His employment of Jesuit symbolism drawn from works in print and other sources is a reflection of his intimate knowledge and understanding, through Jesuit education and training, of the visual language the order used to reaffirm its identity, to promote its missions, and to instruct both the faithful and those whom it sought to convert.

Pozzo approached his work with the tirelessly experimental and analytical attitude of a scientist; indeed, he made painting, perspective and scenography science, and published his methods and findings in the way a scientist of the age would. Pozzo became for the arts of the Society of Jesus what Kircher had been for the sciences: a cultural representative, a name known among princes and their courts, and a figure who in large measure shaped the visual identity of the order by firmly establishing its iconography and giving visual expression to its achievements and missionary ambitions.

In Pozzo the Jesuits clearly saw a powerful instrument in continuing and further expanding their employment of images to inspire religious fervour and to communicate spiritual messages. Jesuit art took on even greater potential as Pozzo moved from festival scenographies to the large fresco cycles. The challenging scale of these works was well-matched by Pozzo's ability to manage projects and personnel, as well as his method of image transfer and his speed of execution. The importance of authority, structure and consistency of procedure in Jesuit institutions may partly account for Pozzo's remarkable efficiency in the larger projects.

The richness of the Jesuit visual lexicon which Pozzo inherited, and to which he contributed, is a reflection of the Jesuits' position as proponents of Counter-Reform visual culture and the agenda of promoting religious images. How such images were employed by the Jesuits and how they were intended to be received, especially within places of worship and within the context of ritual, leads us to the world of religious performance. If we are to view Pozzo and his work as the product of Jesuit education and research culture, we must look beyond science, mathematics and perspective technique and continue to examine the central role of communication and performance in Jesuit culture and pedagogy, and the corresponding performative and rhetorical functions of images and spaces within this context. This will be the task of my next chapter.

## CHAPTER 2

### **The Religious Theatre of Northern Italy and Pozzo's First Scenographies: Borromeo, the Jesuits, and the Spectacle of Reform**

Andrea Pozzo received his training as a painter and conducted his first studies of architecture in Northern Italy. His Northern Italian training is evidenced in themes and styles in his work which can be traced to sources in Lombardy, the Veneto and Liguria.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century this region was also distinctive, and particularly important for his development, in another respect: its rich, diverse and growing culture of theatre and ritual, both sacred and secular, and the traditions of scenography and stagecraft which accompanied it. Beginning in his childhood in Trent, Pozzo would have been witness to spectacles marking important public events, from the entrances of rulers and bishops to state funerals. Such experiences continued in his time in Milan, where he encountered spectacles of much greater scale and frequency, and quickly became involved in their making.

Theatre in the North of Italy was not, of course, restricted to religious or civic occasions. The importance of theatrical entertainment in the courts of Lombardy, the Veneto and Emilia Romagna gave rise to the construction of purpose-built theatres in these regions in the sixteenth century, and the design of these facilities reflected the importance of scenography as an essential element of such entertainments.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> For Pozzo's training and early career see among others Dardanello, "Il disegno fatto di suo mano è arcibellissimo."; 'Esperienze e opere'; and 'La sperimentazione'; Menichella, 'Il Pittore della casa'; Romano, 'Notizie su Andrea Pozzo' and 'Ancora su Andrea Pozzo'; Giacomelli, 'Tra apparati effimeri'; and Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo nell'ambiente artistico'; 'Andrea Pozzo pittore di architettura'; and 'Andrea Pozzo dalla Lombardia a Mondovì.'

<sup>2</sup> Palladio and Scamozzi's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza (1580-85) and Aleotti's Teatro Farnese in Parma (1618) are among the best-known of these early permanent theatres. For an overview of the development of theatre facilities in Northern Italy from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, see Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli*, esp. 23-52. Other volumes in the extensive literature concerning the early modern court theatres and stage facilities in Italy and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth



establishment of commercial theatres in Venice in the early seventeenth century led to the proliferation of such facilities throughout Europe, along with increasingly sophisticated stage machinery and methods for producing scenic effects quickly, cheaply, and to the satisfaction of a public which craved visual spectacle. Apart from the technical concerns of scenography, the visual ideas it would have inspired in the young Pozzo, and the opportunities it gave him to develop his craft, what I seek to establish in this chapter is a contextual understanding of the culture of performance and ritual in Milan and Northern Italy in the seventeenth century, particularly the visual concerns of this culture. All of the functions of Pozzo's art which I summarised at the beginning of this thesis—the engagement of the senses and the intellect, the activation of the memory and the imagination, and the direct involvement of the spectator both internally and externally as a performer—find correspondence in the spectacles and the scenographies of Northern Italy, most notably those spectacles produced or designed by the Jesuits. Such performative engagement of the spectator can also be applied to the permanent architecture of the region, which itself functions as a scenography for ritual. Finally, this performative religious culture is reflected in the ideas concerning images, church buildings, and sacred ritual found in the writings of Carlo Borromeo, Federico Borromeo and Gabriele Paleotti.<sup>3</sup>

It is in Milan and Northern Italy, I argue, that Pozzo's 'total theatre' was born: here he encountered the art of scenography and began to see its potential applications within the contexts of permanent art and architecture, as he undertook his first known

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centuries include Mancini, Franco, et al., eds., *I teatri del Veneto*; Ogden, ed. *The Italian Baroque Stage*; Angelini, *Il teatro barocco*; Marotti, *Lo spazio scenico*; and Daolmi, *Le origini dell'Opera a Milano*.

<sup>3</sup> Specific works of these authors are cited later in this chapter.

scenographic projects. Witnessing, and subsequently designing and making monumental and ‘spectacular’ ephemeral constructions for religious occasions served as foundational training for his scenographic practice, and informed his architectural language as expressed in his large-scale painting projects. The continual exchange of ideas between ephemeral and permanent modes and materials which we witness throughout his career, and the highly theatrical architectural and figurative languages which characterize his work, find their origins in Northern Italian spectacle. I have therefore dedicated this chapter to situating Pozzo within the context of religious theatre of Northern Italy in the seventeenth-century, with an eye to the particular character this theatre takes on in a region whose religious culture is shaped by the agendas of Catholic Reform as well as the significant involvement of the Jesuits.

Pozzo’s early scenographic projects have received far less attention than his later Roman projects recorded in detail in the treatise; this is not all that surprising, as there are no surviving drawings or prints of them, and with the exception of one—the *apparato* for the *Immacolata* at San Fedele in Milan—recorded evidence is very limited.<sup>4</sup> While his early career as a painter in this region has received considerable attention, the crucial role that the culture of theatre and ritual and their associated scenographies played in his development is in need of closer and more detailed examination. Giovanna Zanlonghi, both alone in collaboration with other authors, has written extensively on the history and culture of religious theatre and spectacle in

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<sup>4</sup> Overviews of Pozzo’s scenographic career which grant attention to the northern projects include Fagiolo dell’Arco, ‘Pensare effimero’ and Dardanello, “‘Il disegno fatto di suo mano è arcibellissimo.’” For further discussion of Pozzo’s work in the North and connections between scenography and architecture, see Carandini, ‘Dalle quinte del teatro and Pigozzi, ‘Il gioco fra verità e illusione’; also Dardanello, ‘Esperienze e opere.’ For an analysis of Pozzo’s *Immacolata* at San Fedele, see Menichella, ‘Il pittore della casa.’

Milan, and particularly the role of the Jesuits in this culture.<sup>5</sup> Zanlonghi has brought long overdue attention to the crucial role that this culture played in Pozzo's development.<sup>6</sup> In this chapter and throughout this thesis, I build on Zanlonghi and others by considering in more specific terms the critical connection between the theatrical productions, rituals and festivals of the region and Pozzo's work and practice. I include in this study not only the scenographies and their visual themes, but also their relationship to the rituals for which they were produced. I also widen this context of theatre and ritual where Pozzo is concerned beyond Milan to reflect his origins and travels in a large region in whose theatrical culture he was continually immersed from the beginning.

I will begin with Pozzo's early encounters with ritual, spectacle, and performance in Trent, before moving on to the ritual culture and traditions of Milan. Each of the spectacles I will discuss is replete with meanings, both religious and political; overall, they are characterized by complex visual communicative systems, which seek to actively engage the observer through the reading of messages and through participation in a ritual designed for the end of persuasion. I will examine the physical components of these spectacles, including the form and design of scenographic constructions and decorations. I will discuss their respective functions and intended meanings as performance spaces and as rhetorical devices for performed ritual, as well as the communicative systems they employed in order to persuade. Within my discussions of each spectacle genre, I will consider the

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<sup>5</sup> Zanlonghi's work on Milanese and Jesuit theatre and spectacle includes *Teatri di Formazione*, 'La tragedia fra ludus e festa,' and 'Immagine e parola nel teatro gesuitico.' For a more concise overview, see Zanlonghi, 'The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan.' See also the volume edited by Carpani, *La Scena Della Gloria*, and Carpani, 'Percorsi della cultura biblica e modelli di santità'; Carandini, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Seicento*; and Cascetta, Annamaria. 'La "spiritual tragedia."' For performative prayer in the writings of Federico Borromeo, see Zanlonghi, 'Sermo corporis' and Bino, 'Lo spiritual teatro e la sacra scena.'

<sup>6</sup> Zanlonghi's essays concerning Pozzo include 'La gloria dello sguardo' and 'Teatro senza attori.'

performative context of the events—what kind of performance or ‘theatre’ was intended to happen, who and what it involved and what it meant. This discussion will be guided by the writings and theories of Borromeo, Paleotti, classical writers visited in the previous chapter, as well as recent scholarship in the religious theatre of the period.

I will then proceed to a brief study of seventeenth-century stagecraft, focusing on the Jesuit theatrical tradition and the theatres and stages of Northern Italy. In the development of his scenographic practice, Pozzo’s early subjects of study would have included theatrical treatises and the scenographies produced by the Jesuits, as well as the theatres of Milan and Venice. He would have applied these studies not only to theatrical presentations in the colleges, but, I argue, to the elaborate religious scenographies he produced in the churches.

Finally, I will study Pozzo’s first recorded scenographic projects in Milan and Genoa in 1671-72, focusing on a close examination of his scenography for the festival of the *Immacolata*, or Immaculate Conception, at San Fedele in 1672. This project is the single Milanese scenography of Pozzo for which we have a detailed historical record. I will analyse the design of the scenography and its meanings, as well as the technique of its production, with a particular focus on the production and control of light and its meaning in the work. I will then discuss the roles of images, gesture and memory and light within the work’s ritual context.

## Trent: Early Encounters with Spectacle

The culture of religious spectacle that took root in the period of Catholic Reform was a key feature of the environment where Pozzo grew up. Nicolò Rasmò has summarized the ‘new mentality’ of an enthusiastic religious culture in Trent in the period following the Council; a culture in which religious orders such as the Jesuits played a major role in shaping.<sup>7</sup> It was characterized by a flourishing of religious art, church decoration and religious festivals promoted and funded by new confraternities and religious orders. Ceremonies and rituals featured processions with baldachins, rich tapestries and banners, painted and carved inscriptions and decorations, and statues of saints. In spite of their apparent visual exuberance, the spirit of such events in Trent, as described by Michelangelo Mariani in his notes on the high holy days, is characterized by modesty, precision, and silent devotion; a reflection of the culture of the alpine pilgrims who gathered there to pray and celebrate.<sup>8</sup>

Lead protagonists in the religious artistic culture of the Trentino were the family Carneri, architects, sculptors, and painters who received frequent commissions not only for altars and permanent works of art, but also scenographies for major spectacles beginning in the 1560s. Paolo Carneri (c.1560-1628) had collaborated with his father Simone (1548-82) on a series of triumphal arches commissioned by the city council between 1568 and 1580, and carried on the role of resident scenographer for the city of Trent through the late sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Paolo’s son Mattia Carneri (1592-1673) designed altars in the Trentino and Venice, and inherited

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<sup>7</sup> Rasmò, *Storia dell’arte Trentino*, 279-80.

<sup>8</sup> Mariani, ‘Trento con il sacro Concilio,’ 135.

<sup>9</sup> Cessi, *Mattia Carneri*, 9-12; Weber, *Artisti trentini*, 64.

the family tradition of designing festival scenographies.<sup>10</sup> These included a triumphal arch for the visit to Trent of Archduke Charles I of Austria in 1624, and another two arches for the passage of Archduke Leopold the following year.<sup>11</sup> The triumphal arch is a theme we see expressed in various forms and media across Pozzo's work, from the scenographies to the altars to the architectural projects. We can be sure he was made aware of its ceremonial function and iconographic possibilities beginning in his earliest years in Trent.

For the funeral of Bishop Carlo Emanuele Madruzzo in December of 1658, Carneri produced, in the span of a few short days, a catafalque in Trent's cathedral. This ephemeral monument comprised a pyramid flanked by sculpted figures of the four virtues of Mercy, Justice, Vigilance and Strength, situated on pedestals and accompanied by mottos and inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> The procession was led by the Jesuits of Trent, bearing painted *impresse*, followed by the Capuchins, the Franciscans, the Augustinians and the Dominicans. The sixteen-year-old Pozzo was surely in attendance for this funeral, and it may have been his first encounter with the monumental pyramid catafalque that was a repeating theme in the state funerals of Milan, to be discussed later in this chapter. Funerals, by their nature, called for scenographies that were conceived and constructed within a tight timeframe; equally important to serving the needs of the ritual and producing the requisite *meraviglia* was the need for swift, effective and sometimes economical solutions. An event

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<sup>10</sup> Many authors have discussed Mattia Carneri's work as the basis or as models of study for Pozzo's altars and scenographies. Giacomelli, 'Tra apparati effimeri'; Dardanello, 'La sperimentazione'; De Feo, 'Le cappelle e gli altari.'

<sup>11</sup> Cessi, *Mattia Carneri*, 17. Cessi cites Weber, *Artisti Trentini*, 45, 65. The commission of the arch for Charles I (referred to as Carlo Andrea of Austria) is recorded in ACT, Arch. Cons. 3534 Ann. 1624, 133v., Sunday 8 September 1624. The event of the visit of Archduke Leopold is recorded in ACT, Arch. Cons. 3531 Ann. 1625, 117v.-118v. Thursday, 23 October 1625.

<sup>12</sup> *Pompa Funebre ne' Funerali. . . Carlo Emanuele Madruzzo*, 13-16.

such as this would thus have counted among Pozzo's earliest lessons in the tradition and practice of ritual scenography.

The Jesuits clearly held a place of prominence in Trent's religious culture. The Jesuit college in Trent had been founded in 1625, and theatrical performance had been included in its activities from the very beginning.<sup>13</sup> The college was expanded throughout the seventeenth century, and plans of the third floor of the college from the end of the century indicate the large space occupying the east end of the complex, the 'major congregation hall' (*aula et Congregatio maior*) [fig. 2.1].<sup>14</sup> This room was flanked by an altar on the north end, and a permanent 'theatre' or stage (*theatrum semper permanens*) on the south end. Although this dedicated performance space was not constructed until several decades after Pozzo's departure, it indicates the importance of theatrical presentations in the life of the college. From the period of Pozzo's study at the college there are *programmi* of at least three such performances held in early September of the academic year.<sup>15</sup> We can imagine Pozzo taking part in these productions in some capacity, and he may have contributed his artistic talents to the scenographies. As described in my previous chapter, the teaching of rhetoric in Jesuit colleges included performed plays, and the evidence cited above indicates that annual theatrical presentations of some scale were part of the life of the college at Trent, just as they were in larger cities such as Milan and Rome.

Between his experiences of ritual and festival in Trent and his education at the Jesuit college there, Pozzo brought with him to Milan a firm grounding in the culture

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<sup>13</sup> Savoia, 'Il teatro dei Gesuiti a Trento,' 185-6. Savoia cites a production of *Augustinus conversus ac resipiscens* performed for Carlo Emanuele Madruzzo in 1626.

<sup>14</sup> De Finis, *Dal Collegium Tridentinum S.J.*, 17, 19, 80-89.

<sup>15</sup> These included *Ferrandus Gonzaga* (1656), *Conradus Secundus Imperator* (1657) and *Invidia triumphata* (1660). Emmert, *Rappresentazioni fatte nel collegio dei gesuiti*.

of spectacle. What he encountered in Milan was, of course, much larger in scale and determined by another, highly complex set of political and ecclesiastical dynamics and agendas. Milan had a particularly robust culture of spectacle; this was owed to the zealously reform-minded Charles Borromeo, who sought to make Milan the showcase city of the reformed faith, and to the culture of ritual and festival which characterized Spanish Habsburg rule. This culture of spectacle in Milan, in which the Jesuits played a major role, came to involve Pozzo directly during his time there.



## Seventeenth-Century Milan: Borromeo, the 'Ritual City' and the Jesuits

During the period of Spanish rule (1535-1706), Milan maintained privileged status and a situation of relative cultural and administrative independence within the empire precisely because of its strategic importance to Spain and its interests.<sup>16</sup> Where religion was concerned, the proximity of the Duchy of Milan to Germany and Switzerland to the north made it particularly vulnerable to the infiltration of unorthodox and heretical ideas.<sup>17</sup> Spanish kings, in alliance with the papacy, actively sought to maintain Catholic orthodoxy and piety. Milan, under the Spanish Habsburgs, became a staging ground for religious festivals; a place of 'controlled' celebration, transformed, as it had been in Madrid from the time of Philip II and later rulers, through ephemeral decorations.<sup>18</sup> The Milanese enjoyed the stability and the privileges of Spanish rule, demonstrating their loyalty to their rulers, while at the same time demonstrating their defence of the faith through the very visible support of Catholic traditions and doctrines in times of both celebration and mourning.<sup>19</sup>

Beginning in the late sixteenth century, Milan came to be identified with another agenda and authority: the religious renewal and austere discipline brought about by the zealous and determined archbishop Carlo Borromeo.<sup>20</sup> In his diocese of Milan, Borromeo saw the opportunity to put into practice the extensive reforms decreed by the Council of Trent, whose third session he closely presided over as Cardinal

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<sup>16</sup> D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 123-54.

<sup>17</sup> See Di Filippo, 'The Reformation and the Catholic Revival,' 93 and 99-102; and D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 96-97.

<sup>18</sup> See Cano, 'Festival interventions.'

<sup>19</sup> Although Milan did enjoy relative stability in this period, which benefited its economy, the complexities of a government formed of Milanese nobles answering to the king of Spain and his governor did lead to periods of tension. See D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 123-154.

<sup>20</sup> See Jones, 'The Court of Humility'; also Cochrane, 'Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation?'; Trisco, 'Carlo Borromeo and the Council of Trent'; Tamaro, 'San Carlo Borromeo and the Implementation'; and Di Filippo, 'The Reformation and Catholic Revival.'

Nephew of Pope Pius IV.<sup>21</sup> From the reorganization of the diocese to the training of priests, the reform of liturgy and instructions regarding the design and decoration of religious buildings, Borromeo made Milan a model of Catholic Reform which served as an example for dioceses throughout Europe.<sup>22</sup> Assuming control of the diocese at a time of particular hardship, Borromeo revived religious rites and devotion such as the *Quarant'ore*, the devotion of the Forty Hours, and initiated new ceremonial customs as well in order to direct his people toward spiritual renewal, and, perhaps more urgently, to appeal for divine mercy.<sup>23</sup> These are the conditions in which the culture of religious festival and ritual came to take a central role in the life of the city. Like Rome, Milan is referred to in this period as a 'ritual city' in which the people become involved as performers in the spectacles and the religious rites.<sup>24</sup>

The Jesuits established a permanent presence in Milan in 1567 when Borromeo bequeathed them the property of the church of San Fedele (which was completely rebuilt by Pellegrino Tibaldi beginning in 1569) and its adjoining house.<sup>25</sup> In 1572, with the approval of Pope Gregory XIII, they were given custody of Santa Maria di

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<sup>21</sup> Borromeo's role as superintendent from 1562 and his intensive involvement of the Council's final sessions is summarised in Giovanni Pietro Giussano's *The Life of St. Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan* (English Translation), 31-32. For further studies of Borromeo and Catholic Reform, see the volume edited by Headley and Tamaro, *San Carlo Borromeo*, esp. Trisco, 'Carlo Borromeo and the Council of Trent'; Tamaro, 'San Carlo Borromeo and the Implementation'; and Cochrane, 'Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation?' See also Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*; O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, esp. 163-64; and Di Filippo, 'The Reformation and Catholic Revival.'

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the bibliography above, see Voelker, 'Borromeo's Influence on Sacred Art and Architecture.'

<sup>23</sup> The *Quarant'ore*, or devotion of the Forty Hours, is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. For Borromeo's promotion of rituals such as the *Quarant'ore* as well as processions during lent, see Cattaneo, 'Carnevale e Quaresima.' See also *Notizie storiche della divozione delle Quarant'ore*.

<sup>24</sup> The term 'ritual city' surfaces repeatedly in studies of seventeenth century Milan; one essay of many being: G. B. Sannazzaro, 'La città dipinta,' 94. This article appears in the volume edited by Adele Buratti, et al., *La Città Rituale: La Città e lo Stato di Milano nell'età dei Borromeo*. See also D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 104-106.

<sup>25</sup> Haslam, 'Pellegrino Tibaldi and the Design of San Fedele, Milan,' 126. Haslam cites ARSI, Ven. 36, 22.

Brera and its spacious residence, which became the prestigious College of Brera.<sup>26</sup> The Jesuits at San Fedele and the Brera quickly took on a central educational and cultural role in Milan as the Brera became not only a training centre for those pursuing religious vocations, but the institution of choice to which the nobility sent their sons for higher education.<sup>27</sup> As defenders of orthodoxy, the Jesuits in Milan also served as close allies to Borromeo's successors and to the Spanish crown in the reform of worship and in the deployment of a variety of visual rhetorical strategies. They became directly involved in the staging of royal occasions celebrated in Milan, particularly the funerals, whose *apparati* typically featured visual rhetorical systems of text and image aimed at promoting the propagation of the Catholic faith and in maintaining Catholic orthodoxy, while at the same time reinforcing loyalty to the sovereign and the virtues of the Christian citizen.<sup>28</sup> The Jesuits thus carried on the work, begun by Borromeo, of promoting faith by means of ritual, and at the same time demonstrated their ideological alignment with the Habsburg Spanish monarchy. As a centre of Catholic Reform and a Jesuit stronghold, Milan continued throughout the seventeenth century to serve as a prime staging ground for ceremonies, rituals and festivals which continued to reinforce 'true faith.'

Borromeo's reforms in Milan featured a particular attachment to the Ambrosian rite of the mass and the insistence on preserving it in his diocese.<sup>29</sup> Differing from the Roman rite which remains the standard in most Roman Catholic dioceses, the

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<sup>26</sup> Giussano, *The Life of St. Charles Borromeo*, 297-98. See also D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 102.

<sup>27</sup> D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 102.

<sup>28</sup> See note 5 regarding Zanlonghi's work on this topic.

<sup>29</sup> On this matter, and later others, he parted ways with the Jesuits, who insisted on the Roman rite as part of their general policy of loyalty to the papacy before any local bishop. See D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 102, Note 39. D'Amico cites: Flavio RURALE, *I Gesuiti a Milano. Religione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992); and RURALE, 'I Gesuiti e l'autorità episcopale tra Cinque e Seicento,' in Passavino and Signorotto, eds., *Lombardia borromaica. Lombardia Spagnola, 1554-1659* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995), 895-913.

Ambrosian rite is notable for the more performative way that it engages worshippers: distinctive features include the emphasis on processing and on gesturing, the mnemonic devices of chanting and repetition, and frequent use of incense.<sup>30</sup> Borromeo's instructions concerning the rite of the mass covered every aspect of the sacerdotal office, from vestments and liturgical dress to the rite itself, the dressing of the altar, the colours to be used for the various feasts and periods of the liturgical calendar, and the 'interior preparation' and conduct priests were to maintain as representatives of 'the person of Christ.'<sup>31</sup> Federico Borromeo later produced his own unpublished treatise on gesture within sacred worship and prayer.<sup>32</sup> Through such instructions and 'meditations' we may say that Carlo and Federico Borromeo sought to regularize and codify the Catholic mass as a performed rite, and to underline the great responsibility of the priest as the performer of this rite.

Andrea Pozzo had already spent some years in Milan prior to joining the Society of Jesus in 1665, and after his novitiate in Piedmont, he remained associated with the Casa Professa at San Fedele until his departure for Rome in 1681.<sup>33</sup> Through his own efforts as a developing scenographer, Pozzo was joining a tradition of religious theatre that extended back to the days of Carlo Borromeo, one in which the Jesuits were heavily invested. The next three sections will focus on Milanese spectacles of the following genres: processions and triumphal entries, canonisation festivals, and state funerals. As I discuss the major elements of their design, including architecture, space, light, figures, images, and text, I will identify the major themes

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<sup>30</sup> See Fontana, 'Verbale e non verbale liturgico ambrosiano'; Cattaneo, 'Storia e particolarità del rito Ambrosiano'; and Alzati, 'Carlo Borromeo e la tradizione liturgica.'

<sup>31</sup> C. Borromeo, *Istruzioni ai Sacerdoti*.

<sup>32</sup> F. Borromeo, *De contemplationis, gestu et actione*.

<sup>33</sup> See Bianchi, 'Regesto ragionato,' 132. Pozzo's precise date of departure for Rome is discussed in Chapter 4. For his registration in Milan: 'Andreas Puteus, Patria: Tridentinus, Etas: an. 29; natus anno 1642. 30 dicembris, Vires: Bonae, Tempus Societatis: anno 1665. 23 Decembris.' ARSI Med. 55, Cat. Trien. 1672-1675, 43r., Entry 23.

around which I build my analyses of Pozzo's scenographies and permanent works in this chapter and those following. I will discuss the function of the scenographies within their ritual context, emphasizing their relationship to movement and gesture, as well as the appeal made to the imagination and the memory; the 'interior' and 'exterior' theatre of the observer-as-performer.

## Processions and Triumphal Entries

Archbishop Carlo Borromeo left Rome two years after the close of the Council of Trent to personally govern his diocese, entering Milan majestically on 23 September, 1565. He was twenty-six years old. The account from his biography reads as follows:

Great was the joy of the Milanese when it became known that their pastor was coming to them. The streets were decorated, and triumphal arches, adorned with mottos and symbols, attested to their veneration for him. . . Having put on the pontifical vestments in the church of St. Eustorgius, he made a progress through the city, mounted on horseback, under a rich canopy, accompanied by the clergy, the Duke of Albuquerque, governor of Milan, the senate, the magistrates, the nobility, and an immense concourse of people.<sup>34</sup>

This brief account describes the tradition Borromeo established which would be repeated by later bishops of Milan. From the long procession with baldachin to the participation of the city's government and nobility, the triumphal arches and the pontifical vestments, the event bore a striking resemblance to the papal *possesso* in Rome, which Borromeo was certainly seeking to emulate.<sup>35</sup> The form of the military triumphal, and the military imagery of the arches, served a clear symbolic function in this context: the Church Militant visually proclaimed itself as the Church Triumphant, victorious and at the same time still embattled in the fight against heresy and the loss of its own authority and territory.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Giusanno, *The Life of St. Charles Borromeo*, 60.

<sup>35</sup> For the history and description of the Papal *possesso*, see Viscelia, 'Papal Sovereignty,' 270-287, and for a more expanded study of triumphal processions in early modern Rome, Viscelia, *La città rituale*, 53-117. Among the most detailed accounts of the Roman *possessi* is Bonelli de Rasori, *Copioso e compito racconto. . . Innocentio X.*

<sup>36</sup> A. Pinelli, 'La "Philosophie des images,"' 16. The loss of lands in northern Europe to Protestantism with such momentous events as the Dutch Revolt of 1566 and the Thirty Years' War made such demonstrations of 'triumph' vital to both the Spanish and the Catholic Church. Milan frequently became a stage for such allied visual strategies. See D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 97-98, 104-110, 139-42.

The procession became, in the age of Borromeo, a core ritual of Milanese spiritual and civic life. He held frequent solemn processions beginning in the Jubilee Year of 1576, and these were undertaken in earnest during the outbreak of the plague which began that year and continued in 1577.<sup>37</sup> When the plague lifted he returned with a triumphal procession, celebrating the city's salvation.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the crosses and temporary altars, 'miraculous' images made to inspire reflection and piety were displayed on the exteriors of buildings.<sup>39</sup> All of these constructions and decorations may be said to comprise the religious scenography, partly ephemeral and partly permanent, which came to characterize the appearance of the city and even the urban fabric itself beginning in the late sixteenth century.

When Archbishop Cesare Monti entered Milan on 29 April 1635 he was not only hailed as the city's new religious leader; his name 'Caesar' translated into images and inscriptions referring to Julius Caesar.<sup>40</sup> The new archbishop had arrived to restore peace and order to the city after long wars, the devastating plague of 1630-31, and four years without an archbishop [fig. 2.2].<sup>41</sup> The account of this event is the most detailed record of archiepiscopal entries in Milan, and gives us a clear sense of the scale upon which such events were produced.<sup>42</sup> A total of five scenographic *macchine* are described, placed along the processional route from S. Eustorgio to the Duomo, and executed by the best architects and craftsmen available, under the auspices of various dignitaries of the city. The first double-sided arch, whose

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<sup>37</sup> Borromeo ordered three processions to the churches of Sant'Ambrogio, San Lorenzo and San Simpliciano. See, C. Borromeo, *Litterae de tribus solemnibus processionibus*, 628, 630-32.

<sup>38</sup> Giussano, *The Life of St Charles Borromeo*, 448.

<sup>39</sup> D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 105.

<sup>40</sup> For analyses of this event, see Zanlonghi: 'Immagine e parola nel teatro gesuitico'; Marchesi, 'Teatro e teatralità nelle scuole'; and Cavalca, 'Festeggiamenti per l'archivescovo.'

<sup>41</sup> ' . . . non parve Milano quel desolato da lunghe guerre, quel consumato da maligne infirmità. . . ' *Apparati e solennità dell'ingresso. . . Cesare Monti. . .*, 58.

<sup>42</sup> *Apparati e solennità dell'ingresso. . . Cesare Monti.*

rhetorical system of inscriptions and symbols was designed by the Jesuit Father Ludovico dal Pozzo, was installed at the Porta Ticinese.<sup>43</sup> The arch depicted Milan, as Cleopatra, receiving ‘the peace-loving Caesar’: on one side the city was represented jubilant, and on the other demonstrated obedience. Figures of Pallas Athena and Mars represented, respectively, ‘Milan glorious in letters, and in arms.’ The fifth and final arch, affixed to the main entrance of the Duomo, featured statues representing the four continents of Europe, Asia, Africa and America—magnifying the glory and the importance of the archbishop and his diocese to global proportions.<sup>44</sup> Such symbols, drawing on myths and references to biblical legend and classical antiquity, produce a rhetorical narrative which signals high hopes for peace and stability under the new archbishop.

The ephemeral scenographic constructions produced for Cesare Monti demonstrate both the form and the function of symbol as it was employed in these festivals. Messages were produced and transmitted through the extensive use of emblems and *imprese*.<sup>45</sup> In the case of the major events of Milan, the design of these communicative systems was often entrusted to the Jesuits, who, as discussed in Chapter 1, included the design of emblems, *imprese*, and other devices employing text and image as part of their rhetorical training. In their combinations of text and image—one interpreting and reinforcing the other—the emblems and *imprese*

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<sup>43</sup> *Apparati e solennità dell'ingresso. . . Cesare Monti*, 13-23. The architecture of the first arch was designed by Giovanni Angelo Crivello, the painting by Giovanni Paolo Volpino, and the sculpture by Giovanni Pietro Lasagna. See the discussion and interpretation by Zanlonghi, ‘Immagine e parola nel teatro gesuitico,’ 270-71.

<sup>44</sup> *Apparati e solennità dell'ingresso. . . Cesare Monti*, 43-44. This fifth arch was designed by Francesco Maria Ricchino.

<sup>45</sup> I use the word ‘emblem’ as typically defined as a device comprising image and text which express a concept that is generally recognized or understood. An *impresa*, on the other hand, is an image-text device associated more specifically with a person and an event, often more narrative in character and meant to demonstrate the person’s virtues and achievements.



became ‘the instruments of mass education and of edification.’<sup>46</sup> The persuasive power of the rituals employing these text-image systems resided in the call for active participation: they combined the activity of reading the narratives of the images and identifying the meanings of symbols, together with physical participation in the ritual itself. The individual and the group, while being instructed in the achievements and virtues of the honoured personage, would be convinced that they were partaking of, and contributing to, something of great social, historical and often spiritual importance.

In addition to the triumphal arches built for the outdoor procession of Cesare Monti, ephemeral *apparati* were constructed in S. Vicario, S. Eustorgio, S. Lorenzo, S. Sebastiano, and S. Alessandro. The *apparati* produced by the Barnabites in S. Alessandro transformed the interior of the church into a monument to Monti, which celebrated the honoured archbishop with symbols, allegorical figures of virtues, portraits of members of the Monti family, and inscriptions [fig. 2.3.]<sup>47</sup> Placed at the bases of the piers supporting the dome in the crossing were four colossal statues of the seasons representing four stages in the Cardinal’s career [fig. 2.4-2.5].<sup>48</sup> As Cecilia Cavalca describes, these ephemeral constructions inside Sant’Alessandro did not obscure or supplant the architecture; rather they ‘amplified the expressive potential [of the volumes produced by the architecture] in a way that constituted an “additive value.”’<sup>49</sup> They did this by animating the space with symbols and figures which both performed as protagonists and emotionally involved the spectator. This

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<sup>46</sup> A. Pinelli, ‘La “Philosophie des images,”’ 16.

<sup>47</sup> The engravings of these scenographies provide us with at least a partial visual record of the great event, documented in Boldoni, *Theatrum Temporaneum*.

<sup>48</sup> Spring represented his nunciature; summer was his patriarchate; autumn his cardinalate; and winter the episcopate. Boldoni, *Theatrum Temporaneum*.

<sup>49</sup> Cavalca, ‘Festeggiamenti per l’arcivescovo,’ 723-24.

idea of the ephemeral *apparato* creating a performance space, and at the same time producing its own performance, will be further explored in my discussion of funerals. I believe this idea is key to understanding not only ritual scenographies but also permanent church decorations in the seventeenth century, as I shall illustrate in the works of Pozzo.

In 1649 the people of Milan greeted Maria Anna of Austria, daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, as she made an official visit en route to Madrid, to be married to Philip IV of Spain.<sup>50</sup> This occasion was of immense importance to the city and the Spanish kingdom, and Milan rose to the occasion with a series of lavishly-produced events. They began with a triumphal entry on a scale of imperial grandeur which the Spanish Habsburgs had established with the entries Charles V in the early sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> In its form, its iconographic systems, and the messages reinforcing the legitimacy of rule, Maria Anna's entry may be said to correspond to the form of such royal entries throughout Europe generally, and to the entries of Habsburg royal consorts more specifically.<sup>52</sup> It is distinct from many royal entries in its emphasis on the Habsburgs as Catholic rulers, and their lands as Catholic lands. In this regard it serves as an illustration of how Milan had become a staging ground for festivals which represented a fusion of political and religious ideologies: they were expressions of political power and right to rule, and this right was seen as

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<sup>50</sup> The images and scenographies of this event have been studied by Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 241-260. Zanlonghi analyses the event, together with the theatrical performances, in 'Chapter 3, 'Rappresentare la regalità, l'arrivo di Maria Anna d'Austria nel 1649,' in *Teatri di formazione*, 131-73.

<sup>51</sup> See Strong, *Art and Power*, 75-91.

<sup>52</sup> The event is recorded in detail, with engravings, in *La Pompa della Solenne Entrata. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*. For a summary of the form of the royal entry, its medieval origins and the late Renaissance adoption of the ancient Roman triumphal model, see Strong, *Art and Power*, 7-11 and 44-50. See also Mulryne et al., eds., *Ceremonial Entries*. For entries of Habsburg royal consorts, see Fazio, 'The Grand Entry of Elisabeth of Valois' and Varallo, 'Margaret of Austria's travel.'

bestowed on the Catholic rulers by God himself.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the preservation and salvation of peoples ruled by Spain was dependent on its Catholic rulers, as ‘conquerors of heresy,’ maintaining and preserving Catholicism in Spanish-controlled lands.

The series of triumphal arches for Maria Anna again featured rhetorical programs designed by the Jesuits. These are recorded in engravings commissioned for the commemorative publication celebrating the event.<sup>54</sup> The first arch was the Porta Romana, a permanent structure built by Aurelio Trezzi originally for the entry of Margaret of Spain, in 1598.<sup>55</sup> For the entry of 1649 it was extended and embellished with ephemeral additions and decorations [fig. 2.6-2.7].<sup>56</sup> Here is a case of a structure originally built on the occasion of a festival, ephemerally embellished and becoming a permanent, evolving fixture of the ritual life of the city and its urban fabric. It was decorated with painted histories from the Old Testament representing biblical allegories alluding to the young new sovereign’s roles as wife, mother and queen [fig. 2.8-2.9].<sup>57</sup> The third arch at the end of the Corso Porta Romana featured statues personifying the four known continents, clear reference to the reach of the imperial dominion, and particularly lands ‘conquered’ by Catholic Christianity [fig. 2.10].<sup>58</sup> This scenography, like virtually all of the *apparati* produced to celebrate the Spanish and imperial crowns, emphasized the importance of the kingdom and its rulers to the Catholic Church in spreading and maintaining Catholicism worldwide in the face of the increasing protestant ‘threat.’ The festivities for this occasion and the

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<sup>53</sup> González García, ‘Festivals and Hagiography,’ 199-200.

<sup>54</sup> The copy of *La Pompa della Solenne Entrata. . . Maria Anna Austriaca* cited here is held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense and belonged originally to the collection of the Collegio di Brera.

<sup>55</sup> Varallo ‘Margaret of Austria’s travel,’ 139.

<sup>56</sup> *La Pompa della Solenne Entrata. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 10-14.

<sup>57</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 133.

<sup>58</sup> *La Pompa della Solenne Entrata. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 20-25.

particular ‘triumph’ it marked for the Catholic world would continue with a theatrical performance by the Jesuits at the ducal palace, to be discussed further on.

The triumphal scenographies produced for both Cesare Monti and Maria Anna of Austria illustrate a ritual tradition in Milan which finds expression in a repeating theme in Pozzo’s work, in both ephemeral and permanent contexts: the triumphal arch, as a single framing device and as a means of triumphant ‘passage,’ reproduced in series. Employed in various ritual contexts and visual arrangements—a royal personage or processions of faithful passing through them, a saint or holy figure being presented within them, or a sacred event taking place within or behind them—these arches lent visual structure, emphasis and meaning to images and figures, and served to define and direct the rituals which took place within the spaces they decorated. In the context of the triumphal entries, the most obvious function served by the arch was that of the port of entry; in the case of Anne of Austria, the Porta Romana became the partly-permanent, celebratory entry to the city. Pozzo’s scenographies, we find, similarly feature a grand arch which serves as the imagination’s ‘point of entry’ into the scene, as well as a triumphant proclamation of the event or personage to be celebrated. Subsequent arches in these Milanese triumphals—those placed along the parade route and terminating at the Piazza del Duomo—marked the route for the ritual procession and supplied the rhetorical programs of images and text which conveyed the intended messages to glorify the honoured personage.

Pozzo’s scenographies and his permanent works can be interpreted as perspectival images which lead the eye and the imagination along a triumphal procession—one which in many cases also involves a graduated ascent up tiered levels or stairs. Later

in this chapter I will apply this theme of visual procession to Pozzo's major scenographic project in Milan for the festival of the *Immacolata*, which features a series of arches which lead to the final arch glorifying the person of the Virgin Mary. In later chapters I will apply it again in my analyses of his Roman scenographies as well as his major fresco projects. As we shall see in the next chapter, it is a theme which takes on particular complexity in Pozzo's work beginning at Mondovì, as painted decorations, perspectival illusions and ephemeral elements transform architecture into a ritual scenography.

## Canonisation Festivals: Commemoration and Celebration

Canonisation festivals in seventeenth-century Milan were among the most noteworthy expressions of the city's culture of religious enthusiasm and festival tradition. These occasions mirrored their Roman counterparts in their lavishness; their staging, typically centring on a grand procession, took on the character of performed dramas in which the entire city participated.<sup>59</sup> The accounts and engravings give us an understanding of how ephemeral decoration was used in conjunction with permanent architecture to produce wonder and discovery. More specifically, we learn from them how movement and ritual progress, articulated with elaborate systems of images and symbols, encouraged meditation and emotional response from the participant. The ritual was meant to inspire the will to follow the example of the new saint, whose life, deeds and virtues were represented in both the program of the event and its decorations.

Where public religious festivals are concerned, perhaps no Jesuit spectacle of the seventeenth century in Milan compares with that produced for the canonizations of St Ignatius of Loyola and St Francis Xavier in 1622.<sup>60</sup> The piazza in front of San Fedele was transformed by architect Aurelio Trezzo into a 'theatre' with a fully constructed, ephemeral portico of faux painted marble [fig. 2.11].<sup>61</sup> The facade of the church formed an architectural ensemble with this portico which resembled that of Santa Maria presso San Celso (1568-70) by the Perugian architect and

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<sup>59</sup> For major Roman canonisation festivals and their scenographies, see Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco*, vol. 1, 30-33, 54-57, 66-68; and vol., 2, 97-100 and 224-25; also Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 61-63.

<sup>60</sup> The commemorative publication, *Breve Relatione delle solonissime feste. . . Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio*, rich with illustrations, is held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. The event is included in surveys of seventeenth-century theatre and spectacles in Italy, including Daolmi, *Le origine dell'opera a Milano*, 185-89.

<sup>61</sup> *Breve Relatione delle solonissime feste. . . Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio*, 7.

scenographer Galeazzo Alessi (1512-72), itself a 'permanent' stage set or theatre for ritual [fig. 2.12].<sup>62</sup> The major arches were crowned with groupings of statues representing the virtues of the saints. Above the smaller arches were paintings of their miracles and achievements. The interior of San Fedele was decorated with a 'theatre' containing statues of the saints in sacerdotal dress, decorated in blue, gold and silver; a colour scheme we encounter in Pozzo's altar to St Ignatius in Rome. [figs. 2.13 and 0.2]. Paintings of Ignatius and of Francis Xavier were made by Cerano and Procaccini, the most illustrious Milanese painters of the time, and the smaller side altars were decorated with rich brocades of silk and goldthread.<sup>63</sup>

The events celebrating the double canonization of 1622 continued for over a week, accompanied by horns and trumpets, and eight choirs were enlisted to produce music over a nine-day period. The festivities culminated with a parade following a long course from the Brera through the city and back to San Fedele, featuring a series of large and elaborate floats, each drawn by horses and preceded by a standard and retinue, representing Grammar, Poetry, Eloquence, Philosophy, Theology, and Charity.<sup>64</sup> Among the most spectacular were the second, representing Poetry, featuring Apollo on Mount Parnassus, wearing a gold crown set with diamonds; and Eloquence, represented by the figure of a queen with a sceptre demonstrating dominion over the city and its government [figs. 2.14 and 2.15]. The fantastically dressed allegorical figures which crowned these floats might be considered precursors to the allegorical figures we see in Pozzo's fresco programs, beginning at Mondovì [figs. 3.25-3.28]. Bailey has drawn an association between the kind of

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<sup>62</sup> For dates of Galeazzo's work on Santa Maria presso San Celso see documents listed in Maltese et al., *Galeazzo Alessi*, 'Regesto,' 696-97.

<sup>63</sup> *Breve Relatione delle solonnisime feste. . . Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio*, 11-12.

<sup>64</sup> *Breve Relatione delle solonnisime feste. . . Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio*, 16-21.

costume worn by the four women representing the four continents in Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio and those worn by the actors and figures in festival processions throughout the Catholic world [fig. 5.39-5.42].<sup>65</sup> Together with emblems, *imprese* and other devices, such allegorical figures form the lexicon of images employed in spectacle scenographies designed by the Jesuits, as we have seen in the state funerals. They also appear in Jesuit prints, as studied in the previous chapter. Such figures, in the contexts of rituals, festivals and printed works, thus form part of the Jesuit visual rhetoric which later enters the programs of Pozzo's permanent decorations in Jesuit churches.

This immense festival, highly studied for its rich visual account and its many levels of symbolism, was as much a celebration of Jesuit education, and of the pedagogical role of the order within its community, as of the order's founding saints. The achievements of the Jesuit educational system were quite literally paraded before the public, and the order's position in Milanese society was demonstrated with a clear rhetorical strategy. The decorations both inside and outside the church, the rich costumes, and the music, may all be considered part of the Jesuits' 'arsenal' of persuasive devices.<sup>66</sup> In this religious event, perhaps more than any other put on by the Jesuits, we see represented Zanlonghi's idea of a Jesuit 'total rhetoric,' comprised of ceremony, scenography, iconography, performance and gesture, carefully timed and orchestrated for maximum effect and involvement of the community.

While the event took place twenty years before Pozzo's birth, we can well imagine it quickly taking on legendary status as one of the greatest Jesuit events of

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<sup>65</sup> Bailey, 'Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,' 195.

<sup>66</sup> Music runs throughout the account; for the concluding fireworks see *Breve Relazione delle solonnisime feste. . . Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio*, 13.



the century. Like other major Jesuit spectacles such as the festivities for Anna Maria of Austria, it was recorded in detail in a publication held in the Collegio di Brera.<sup>67</sup> Together with the canonization festivities for these saints the same year in Rome, it established Ignatius and Francis Xavier as key historical and devotional figures in the order's tradition; it reinforced the presence, identity and status of the order in Milan; and it established for the Milanese an inventory of symbols and stories surrounding the saints as well as the order and its mission.<sup>68</sup> The event thus incorporated, in an ephemeral context, many of the iconographic aims of major Jesuit art works in the late seventeenth century, including Pozzo's works in Mondovì and Rome. Furthermore, the detailed and illustrated printed account, in addition to serving as a commemoration of the event, would have served as a valuable visual source for artists engaged in producing Jesuit works in subsequent decades.

Canonisation festivals held in 1671 give us a sense of the events with which Pozzo came in more direct contact; they also happen to coincide with his first scenographic activities in Milan, to be discussed in later in this chapter. On 7 August the Theatine fathers of Sant'Antonio held a festival to celebrate their founder St. Gaetano of Thiene, and on 23 August the Fathers of Santa Maria dei Servi celebrated a solemn festival in honour of St Philip Benizzi.<sup>69</sup> The canonization of San Gaetano of Thiene, like other major canonisations, triumphal entries, and funerals in the

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<sup>67</sup> The account cited above, *Breve Relatione delle solonnisime feste. . . Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio* belonged originally to the collection of the Collegio di Brera.

<sup>68</sup> The account of the great canonisation ceremony in St Peter's in Rome, which included Ignatius and Francis Xavier together with three other saints, is recorded in Bricio, *Relatione sommaria*. See also Carandini, 'Dalle quinte,' 160-61; Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 61-63. For the canonisation festivities at the Collegio Romano see Filippi, 'The Orator's Performance,' 512-513 and 'Il teatro al Collegio Romano,' 173-75; and Bjurström, 'Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits,' 101.

<sup>69</sup> Both festivals are mentioned and described briefly by Menichella, 'Il pittore della casa,' 13; and by Zanlonghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo,' 225-26. Zanlonghi suggest that the scenography for the canonisation of San Gaetano Thiene was the work of Pozzo; however, the account of the event (see below) provides no evidence that Pozzo designed the scenography.

preceding decades, involved the people of Milan as participants. We can also imagine it involving most, if not all, of the city's able sculptors and painters. This event, like others, was processional in nature, characterized by discovery and reflection as one moved from one space to the next.<sup>70</sup> A theme which runs through the account is amazement and disbelief, as one completed the course of one space replete with images, emblems and *imprese*, only to discover that other wonders lay ahead. The quantity of oil paintings produced (without individual artists named) suggests that anyone handy with a brush, including possibly Pozzo, would have been called upon to contribute.<sup>71</sup> Images made to celebrate the events and the virtues of the saint, as well as images to honour popes, kings, and nations, signal once again the use of such a festival and its elaborate and extensive use of images as a Counter-Reform expression and re-assertion of faith.

The scenography for St Gaetano again began with the motif of the triumphal arch, this time a pair of them, formed from three trees, and demarcating the processional space in front of the church. The facade of the church of San Antonio Abate was decorated with an ephemeral architectural structure containing yet another elaborate system of carved and painted images and statues; featured were painted images of the Cardinal Virtues of Justice, Strength, Temperance and Prudence.<sup>72</sup> The account describes the sense of surprise passing from the courtyard into the facade; given the majestic treatment of the facade, everyone thought that 'nothing could remain within to be seen,' as the richly decorated church of S. Antonio was already, 'one of the

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<sup>70</sup> Zanlonghi emphasizes the use of space in the event as well as the theme of discovery. Zanlonghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo,' 225-26. The event is given extensive description in the printed account: Orrigone, *Descrittione dell'Apparato. . . S. Gaetano Thiene*.

<sup>71</sup> Paintings adorned the exterior facade of the church as well as the interior and the courtyard. Orrigone, *Descrittione dell'Apparato. . . S. Gaetano Thiene*.

<sup>72</sup> Orrigone, *Descrittione dell'Apparato. . . S. Gaetano Thiene*, 29-30.

most rich and beautiful in the city.’<sup>73</sup> The church thus decorated with this extensive cycle of paintings, alternating with relief tablets, angels, and other decorations, is described as ‘creating for the glory of the Saint a temple more noble than that famous Pantheon consecrated by Marcus Agrippa.’<sup>74</sup> A very large painting over the high altar depicted the saint in ecstasy, his heart rising to heaven accompanied by angels.<sup>75</sup> Such a ‘temple’ to a saint, whose decorations climax in a scene of his apotheosis, anticipates Pozzo’s major frescoed church interiors, San Francesco Saverio in Mondovì and Sant’Ignazio in Rome.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, in its themes of surprise and wonder experienced in passing from one space to another, the narrative likens the occasion to a pilgrimage, anticipating the experiential quality of both of these cycles and of the Corridor of St Ignatius in Rome, to be discussed in Chapter 5.

Just two weeks after the festival to San Gaetano Thiene, the festival for San Filippo Benizzi was held by the Servite fathers of Santa Maria dei Servi. The standard of the saint was carried from the Duomo through the streets, which were decorated particularly richly in the area of the Gold Merchants, who had elected the saint as their protector.<sup>77</sup> More than one triumphal arch is mentioned, and the *apparato* built in the church of Santa Maria dei Servi was judged, according to the account of Marco Cremosano, to have ‘surpassed all others, including that of the

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<sup>73</sup> ‘In forma così maestosa diposto il parato al di fuori della Chiesa, credevasi ognuno, che altro di nuovo non gli rimanesse di dentro ad osservare; massime sù la riflessione, che la Chiesa di S. Antonio tutta oro, tutta marmi, tutta pitture, non si potesse ornare senza pregiudizio di quella sua ordinaria vaghezza, che la rende una delle più ricche, e belle di questa Metropoli.’ Orrigione, *Descrittione dell’Apparato*. . . S. Gaetano Thiene, 35.

<sup>74</sup> ‘. . . formare à gloria del Santo un Tempio più riguardevole di quel famoso Pantheon, consagrato da Marco Agrippa à falsi Numi. . .’ Orrigione, 41.

<sup>75</sup> Orrigione, *Descrittione dell’Apparato*. . . S. Gaetano Thiene, 39.

<sup>76</sup> See Chapters 3 and 5, respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Cremosano, *Memorie Storiche*, 34, 1671, 23 Agosto.

Jesuits, which was very well designed. . .'<sup>78</sup> The rare print of this *apparato* is among the best and most detailed records of a church decorated for a canonisation, and serves as an apt visual reference as we read of similar festivals in Milan and elsewhere [fig. 2.16]. The interior of the church, while architecturally unremarkable, was transformed with a dazzling array of framed painted scenes and portraits; medallions, inscribed tablets and cartouches; carved cherubs, candlesticks and sconces; festoons and bouquets of flowers; ribbons, bows and hanging swags of drapery. Every cornice, pilaster, window and arched opening of the church is decorated, while any 'blank' surface is covered with precious brocades and damasks. This type of festive decorative treatment serves as a visual reference for the context in which Pozzo's perspective scenographies, installed in the area of the high altar, served as the focal point for similar occasions. Moreover, the decorative motifs—flowers, garlands, portrait medallions, cartouches and tablets with mottos—bear correspondence to the decorative painting schemes in Pozzo's fresco cycles in both Mondovì and Rome. These decorations, the painted counterparts of ephemeral festival decorations illusionistically rendered in the permanent medium of fresco, serve the same purpose of celebrating the dedicatory saint [figs. 3.17, 3.47, 5.4].<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> 'L'apparato della chiesa e porte trionfanti de' detti PP. Serviti a giudizio di molti superò tutti gli altri apparati et in particolare quello de' Gesuiti, che veramente fu tanto ben inteso che niente di più.' Cremosano, *Memorie Storiche*, 34, 1671, 23 Agosto.

<sup>79</sup> See my analysis of the painting program of San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì, in Chapter 3.

## State Funerals: Rituals of Mourning, Memory and Light

The state funeral is the place where we see Milan's most distinctive contribution to the world of the Early Modern spectacle. In these great 'theatres of death,' as in the great processions, word and image functioned together with the funeral ceremony to create a sequenced progression of stories and reflections on the achievements and virtues of the deceased.<sup>80</sup> The exequies celebrated for Spanish monarchs in Milan corresponded to the precise ritual etiquette, discussed and documented in detail by Steven Orso, which had been established by the Habsburg court in Madrid.<sup>81</sup> The Jesuits were directly involved in the mounting of these spectacles, just as they were in the processions and other civic events. As they had in Trent, funerals in Milan would have counted among Pozzo's early experiences of large-scale religious spectacles. As highly choreographed rituals of devotion, reflection, and memory, they are noteworthy for their use of image and allegory, gesture and movement, and light.

Included in this Habsburg code of etiquette for royal funerals was the system of decorations, most notably the elaborate funerary catafalque which housed and displayed the objects symbolising the monarch.<sup>82</sup> The tradition of the monumental catafalque, which when lit resembled a great funeral pyre, was intended to associate the king and the empire with the greatness of ancient Rome.<sup>83</sup> In terms of the scale

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<sup>80</sup> Carandini refers to these funerals as '*teatri della morte*.' S. Carandini, *Teatro e spettacolo*, 61. For an analytical survey of Milanese funerals, see Grandis, 'Teatri di sontuosissima e orrida maestà.' The Jesuit Claude-François Menestrier's treatise on funerals of 1687, *Des Decorations Funebres*, is the best reference guide of the period for the form and internal components of funerals, using major funerals of kings, princes, popes, and cardinals as illustrative examples.

<sup>81</sup> Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*.

<sup>82</sup> Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*, 15-19. The elaborate catafalques designed by artists and architects and articulated with sophisticated iconographic programmes of images, emblems, etc. are considered to begin with the exequies of Charles V in Spain and Italy in 1558-59. See Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 62.

<sup>83</sup> Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*, 27-32.

of their catafalques and decorations, Habsburg exequies celebrated in Milan surpassed those in Madrid, and possibly anywhere else in the empire, owing in large part to the vast interior of the Duomo with its soaring vaulted ceiling.<sup>84</sup> Beginning in the late sixteenth century and continuing until the late seventeenth, the funeral catafalque in the form of a pyramid, or formed by a series of obelisks or pyramids, became central to the characteristic visual language of Milanese funerary scenographies.<sup>85</sup> While the form of the pyramid used in a funerary context was not necessarily unique to Milan, in the seventeenth century it was used at the exclusion of other types of catafalque structures; in this way the Milanese catafalques may be said to adhere more closely to older traditions, adapting the form of the *chappelle ardente* of previous centuries.<sup>86</sup> The Milanese version of the catafalque was virtually covered in the flames of lamps and candles, quite literally taking on the appearance of a great funeral pyre; like fire itself, and the souls of the dead, the pyramidal shape rose to heaven.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> In Madrid, the church used for the exequies of Philip IV and his successors was the La Encarnación, considerably smaller than Milan's Duomo. Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*, 60.

<sup>85</sup> In this regard, the Milanese catafalques adhered most closely to Menestrier's 'dictionary definition' of the catafalque: a pyramidal wood structure covered with lit candles. Menestrier, *Les Decorations Funebres*, 294. See also Berendsen, 'The Italian Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Catafalques.' The catafalque for Philip IV in Madrid, by contrast, was a two-level octagonal structure formed by columns, crowned with a dome. Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*, 29, 65-70.

<sup>86</sup> The *chappelle ardente*, the late medieval predecessor to the Renaissance catafalque, featured a low-pitched pyramidal roof covered with candles. See Menestrier, *Les Decorations Funebres*, 294 and Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 10-15. The 'flaming pyramid' has Roman precedent in the catafalques for King Sigisimund of Poland at San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1572. See Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 99, Fig. 3.7; and others in the same volume. For examples of seventeenth-century Roman funerary catafalques incorporating the form of the pyramid or obelisk, see Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco* and Tozzi, ed., *Feste barocche per inciso*.

<sup>87</sup> Carandini describes the blazing funerary pyre as a Christian symbol of transformation: through the rite of mourning, the pain of worldly death is transformed into a celebration of the 'triumph over death in the next world. . .' Carandini, *Teatro e spettacolo*, 61-63. The funeral pyre, a tradition whose ancient origins is discussed in the account of the funeral for Anne of Austria, can be traced to antiquity in the funerals for rulers of the Greeks, Egyptians and Romans: Tibaldi, *Descrizione de l'edificio*, A. 2v. See also Menestrier, *Les Decorations Funebres*, 291. In ancient Rome, the lighting of the pyre and the release of an eagle symbolically sent the soul of the deceased emperor up to heaven: Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*, 32.

For the ultimate extant visual record of the royal funerals in the Duomo, we turn to the funeral for Philip IV on 17 December, 1665.<sup>88</sup> The event took place just a few days before Pozzo's official registration with the Society of Jesus at San Fedele.<sup>89</sup> We can be sure he was present for the event, and it is possible that his skills as a painter were enlisted in producing its extensive ephemeral decorations.<sup>90</sup> This funeral *apparato* was as much a representation of power as of mourning, meant to serve as a reflection on the deceased king and his virtues, and to glorify what has been described as an empire already in decline.<sup>91</sup> The unfinished exterior of the Duomo on these occasions served as a kind of blank face which received an ephemeral mask, unique to each event; in the case of the funeral for Philip IV, it was appropriately scaled and ornamented to convey royal splendour. [fig. 2.17].<sup>92</sup>

The massive structure of the catafalque and the accompanying decorations throughout the church were produced following the design of engineer Giovanni Ambrogio Pessina, with two Jesuit fathers (un-named) charged with the task of designing a coherent program for the numerous, very large-scale decorative components; Carlo Maria Maggi, professor of rhetoric, assisted the Jesuits in the composition of the many inscriptions and *imprese*.<sup>93</sup> Above the cornice installed between the columns along the nave, centred in each arch, were figures on pedestals

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<sup>88</sup> The funeral was commemorated in a large printed publication, which features very large and fine engravings: Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*. This event has been analysed by Zanlonghi in *Teatri di formazione*, Chapter IV, 'Si perdeva lo sguardo nella gloria reale,' 175-93; she also references it in 'La gloria dello sguardo.' See also Grandis, 'Teatri di sontuosissima e orrida maestà.'

<sup>89</sup> See earlier note regarding Pozzo's registration with the Society of Jesus on 23 December, 1665.

<sup>90</sup> Events of this scale, owing to the volume of images needed as well as the short period in which they had to be produced, called upon the skills of numerous artisans. If Pozzo was working as a painter at this time and was known to the Jesuits either directly or by referral by other artists, he may well have become involved.

<sup>91</sup> Grandis, 'Teatri di sontuosissima e orrida maestà,' 700. Orso describes Philip IV and his reign as largely a failure and a period of 'devastating setbacks.' Orso, *Art and Death at the Habsburg Court*, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*, 7.

<sup>93</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*, 2-3.

[fig. 2.18]. These represented, along the right side of the church, the Spanish territories of the Old World, including provinces in Europe, Africa, and Jerusalem; on the left were the figures representing the ‘New World,’ including Christianized territories of the Iberian Peninsula, Central and South America, India and the Philippines.<sup>94</sup> All were accompanied by corresponding inscribed tablets and painted *impreses* below. This iconography of a world Christianized through Spanish conquest, given such emphasis in a funeral designed by the Jesuits, appears more than coincidental; it can be read as an opportunity for the Jesuits to proclaim their success in working with Spain to ‘conquer’ and convert new lands to Catholicism.

Following tradition, the soaring catafalque was situated on an octagonal platform, and each of the four staircases was flanked by two statues representing rivers of the Kingdom of Spain [fig. 2.19].<sup>95</sup> These were presided over by a massive figure of Religion on the top of the central obelisk, whose prominence is signal: the account makes a point of congratulating Philip IV for defending and promoting the tradition of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>96</sup> The whole mass was quite literally ‘crowned’ by a giant royal diadem suspended from the vault of the crossing.

Apart from its extensive use of allegory, particularly the representation of the virtues, the funeral of Philip IV is noteworthy in another respect: its exceptional ‘spectacularity and magnificence,’ as Zanlonghi has discussed, derived largely from its employment of light. ‘Every moment of the elevation of the gaze corresponded to an increment of light,’ Zanlonghi says, illustrating the visual progression upward as a metaphor for the progression toward the light of the divine essence.<sup>97</sup> The account

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<sup>94</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*, 11-14.

<sup>95</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*, 9-11.

<sup>96</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*, 22.

<sup>97</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di Formazione*, 183.



estimates five thousand lights varying from lamps to candles to large candlesticks.<sup>98</sup> The obelisks were faceted to ‘better reflect the light,’ and the sculpted figures were not only gilded; they were treated with *vetro volante*, a glittering material to enhance the reflection of the light.<sup>99</sup> Light and fire were of central symbolic importance in the funerals; as spiritual metaphors, their contextual meanings were numerous, including transformation, cleansing, renewal and, as mentioned earlier, the rise of the soul to heaven.<sup>100</sup>

The account of the funeral rite itself, like all accounts of Milanese funerals, emphasizes mourning as a cathartic process: virtually the whole city, along with numerous *forestieri* from surrounding regions, ‘made their way [to the Duomo], not so much to see the very sumptuous *teatro*. . . as much to animate it with their piety and with their tears.’<sup>101</sup> Thus the *apparato*, exhaustively described in the account, became a scenography for the performance of mourning: after passing through the triumphal arch of the façade in procession, ‘reading’ its figures, inscriptions, and *imprese*, ‘the gaze was lost in the royal glory’ as the individual progressed through the space, making a symbolic journey through the entire Spanish-Catholic world.<sup>102</sup> One then passed around the octagonal platform of the catafalque, and ascended the

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<sup>98</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali*. . . *Filippo IV*, 13.

<sup>99</sup> Barella, *Esequie reali*. . . *Filippo IV*, 9-10, 12.

<sup>100</sup> Menestrier emphasises lights as the most important elements of funerals, citing the lit lamp or candle as a symbol of the immortality of the soul, as a symbol of Christ as the light of the world, and bearing associations with other Christian rites such as the high services of Easter and the ceremony of baptism. Menestrier, *Les Decorations Funebres*, 181-82.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Essendo dunque la sera precedente, e la mattina del giorno all’ora prefissa invitato il popolo colla voce, e mestissimo suono di tutte le campane, chiuse le botteghe per ordine del Vicario di Provisione, votate le case per legge fatta à ciascuno dal proprio affetto, e concorse tutta la Città con molti forestieri di conto, non tanto per vedere il teatro più sontuoso, che habbia mai havuto il dolore, quanto per animarlo colla pietà, e colle lagrime.’ Barella, *Esequie reali*. . . *Filippo IV*, 68-70.

<sup>102</sup> ‘. . . si perdeva lo sguardo nella gloria reale, in cui però trovava il suo affetto qualche conforto all’animo addolorato.’ Barella, *Esequie reali*. . . *Filippo IV*, 12.

steps to the ephemeral temple of the deceased king, the eye beckoned upward by the soaring verticality of the flaming structure.

On 26 October, 1671 Milan mourned the death of the Duchess of Uceda, wife of the Duke of Ossuna, the Spanish Governor, in a solemn funeral at Santa Maria della Scala. The funeral catafalque and decorations were a collaboration of the royal architect Giovanni Battista Paggi and the painter Cesare Fiori, with a Jesuit charged with the design of the rhetorical program.<sup>103</sup> The event was extensively recorded in a commemorative pamphlet by the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Barella, with accompanying engravings.<sup>104</sup> Distinctively dramatic was the treatment of the exterior facade, draped in black and inhabited by figures of death [fig. 2.20]. It served as both a concealing and revealing device as well as a transition from the outside into the funerary ‘theatre.’ Through it one glimpsed, and eventually approached and entered, ‘a theatre of sorrow and of majesty, continuously growing with the reflections of innumerable blazing lights, ‘rendering exquisite the horror and tearful the pleasure’[fig. 2.21].<sup>105</sup> The sense of progress from exterior to interior, from death to life, and from darkness to light is more pronounced here than in any of the other recorded Milanese funerals. The windows were deliberately covered with black drapery, so that the church interior was illuminated only by the light of the lamps and candles.<sup>106</sup> The dais of the catafalque was surrounded by obelisks whose

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<sup>103</sup> Zanolonghi discusses this event and compares it to the funeral for Philip IV in the Duomo in 1665. Zanolonghi, ‘La gloria dello sguardo,’ 224-25. See also Zanolonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 192-93.

<sup>104</sup> Barella, *Teatro della Gloria*. The funeral was held on 12 October, 1671. Architect and painter are both identified on p. 12.

<sup>105</sup> ‘. . . tutto il tempio era fatto un teatro di dolore, e di maestà, che crescendo sempre co’ riflessi de’ lumi, che senza numero avvampavano, rendea vago l’orrore, e lagrimevole il diletto.’ Barella, *Teatro della Gloria*, 14. Note that the words ‘orrore’ and ‘orride’ frequently appear in accounts of funerals. In this context *orrore* does not connote the modern sense of ‘horror’ (or the modern Italian ‘orrore’) but something closer to the Latin term *horror*: dread and awe, or a mixture of wonder, fear and great respect particularly associated with religious experience. See Dekoninck, ‘*Sacer Horror*.’

<sup>106</sup> Barella, *Teatro della Gloria*, 35.

lamps were set in spiralling garlands of greenery, the whole crowned by a suspended baldachin above [fig. 38]. The nave of the church was draped in black with inscribed tablets, gilded decorations and the extensive lamps and candles familiar from the Duomo funerals.<sup>107</sup> The control of light directed one's attention, even from outside the church, to the funeral catafalque, the source of light, where the prematurely deceased duchess (who died in childbirth) was imagined already resurrected.<sup>108</sup> This funeral was held in Santa Maria della Scala the same year as the canonisation of Francis Borgia, for which Pozzo designed one of his first religious scenographies, to be discussed in the next section. It would have served as a key demonstration for Pozzo of how a church space could be transformed into a place dedicated to a specific devotional occasion and its attendant rites. Furthermore, he must have recognized in such an event the importance of light in such a setting for its symbolism, its transformative effects, and its meditative qualities.

We find in the accounts of the rituals and in the design of the scenographies that these funerals involved two distinct types of movement. First one moved forward in procession, passing through the triumphal arch of the facade, 'reading' its figures, inscriptions, and *impreses*; then along the length of the nave, making continual progress toward the dazzling catafalque. Then one ascended—in the case of the Duomo funerals, quite literally up the steps of the ephemeral temple—as the eye was beckoned upward by the soaring verticality of the structure, entirely aflame with lights. The idea of ascent is a major theme in the theological and philosophical thinking of the time. In my previous chapter I discussed Augustine's ascending

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<sup>107</sup> Barella, *Teatro della Gloria*, 13-15.

<sup>108</sup> Barella, *Teatro della Gloria*, 19. The child died shortly after the mother on the night of 8 October, 1671. ASM, *Uffici Regi*, 'Governo 1663-1678,' Folio 6, *Sopra li funerali della Sig. Duchessa di Ossuna*, 8 October 1671, Don Gaspar Tellez Giron, Duca d'Ossuna Governatore e Capitano Generale per Sua Maestà.

hierarchy of vision and understanding, as well as Aquinas' idea of the 'light of divine glory.' Methods of meditation developed by saints and clerical writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries emphasize this idea of ascent toward greater understanding of the divine.<sup>109</sup> Paleotti's treatise on sacred art describes three levels of understanding of images, beginning with the senses and progressing to reason and then to spiritual understanding.<sup>110</sup> Pamela Jones has discussed Federico Borromeo's hierarchical view of both society and of the universe as reflected in his spiritual writings.<sup>111</sup> His *Three Books of Divine Praise* celebrates creation by expounding on the natures of all created things and their respective roles in manifesting the glory of God's divine plan.<sup>112</sup> Contemplating this hierarchy is meant to lead to communion with the divine.<sup>113</sup>

The funeral *apparato*, taken as a whole, serves as a metaphor for the 'unitary conception of man,' which Zanlonghi has developed in the study of Jesuit rhetoric—among her case studies is the funeral of Philip IV—which she has suggested is also an overarching cultural theme in this period.<sup>114</sup> The metaphor for the human person contained in the *impresa*—the design and images representing the body, and the

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<sup>109</sup> Jones identifies three stages in Federico Borromeo's meditations, which were strongly influenced by Ignatius *Spiritual Exercises*: purgation, illumination and union. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 67. The progression of the *Spiritual Exercises*, from the meditation on sin, to the life, passion and death of Christ, and finally to the Resurrection, is described in Chapter 1. St John of the Cross's method of meditation as described in *The Dark Night of the Soul* (1578-79) is similarly based on a process of abnegation and purgation as the soul seeks to move away from the body and the burdens, temptations and desires of the flesh and to ascend in stages to spiritual union with God.

<sup>110</sup> Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, Book I, Chapter 22, 112-114.

<sup>111</sup> Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 34, 88. Jones refers to Borromeo's *I Tre Libri delle Piaceri della Mente Christiana* (1625) and *I Tre Libri delle Laudi Divine* (1632), and cites Bellarmino's *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum per Scalas Creaturarum* (1615).

<sup>112</sup> In *I Tre libri delle Laudi Divine* (Three Books of Divine Praise) Borromeo begins by describing the nature of God, followed the *creature*, the 'angelic nature' and the heavens; the second book concerns all things of the earth, including elements and living creatures; and the third deals with the elements of the human person, from human nature to the senses, the soul and the intellect. F. Borromeo, *I Tre Libri delle Laudi Divine*.

<sup>113</sup> Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 88.

<sup>114</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 175, 193.

rhetorical invention of the text representing the soul—can be considered in a broader sense to apply to the entirety of the event, including the *apparato* and the performance of the ritual for which it is made: the ephemeral architecture and decorations become the body, while the meanings and the memories produced by the scenography and the ritual become the soul.<sup>115</sup> The ephemeral nature of the decorations and the architectural construction correspond to the mortal nature of the body, occupying a place for a finite period of time and eventually passing away, leaving only the recorded memory, while the soul lives on. Thus beyond its function as a memorial to the celebrated personage, the scenography became, through its ephemerality, a metaphor of mortality.

At the funeral of Anne of Austria, Carlo Borromeo delivered a sermon which repeatedly referred to the *apparato*, emphasizing its ephemerality.<sup>116</sup> He explained to the congregation that when the lights were extinguished and the structure dismantled, they would be left with their memory of this event, the holy mass and the words of God, and of the memories of the deceased which are represented in the many symbols of the *apparato*.<sup>117</sup> The ritual of the funeral called upon the power of memory as an essential component in the ritual of mourning: the participant was led in a process of grief, memory and understanding, through the reading of the images, the contemplation of the deeds and virtues of the deceased, and finally to a reflection of his or her own life and inevitable death. The images produced by the ritual and the accompanying ephemeral *apparati*, both affixed on the memory, and the ‘interior

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<sup>115</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 204, Note 32. The ‘conditions’ of the *impresa*, including the roles and relative ‘proportions’ of the *anima* and the *corpo* are discussed by Paolo Giovo, *Diologo delle Imprese* (orig. 1555), to be found in *Ragionamento di Monsignor Paolo Giovo sopra i Motti e Disegni d’Arme e d’Amore che comunemente chiamano Imprese*.

<sup>116</sup> C. Borromeo, *Sermone*. The sermon was printed in Pellegrino Tibaldi’s published description of the apparto for the funeral, *Descrittione de l’edificio, e di tutto l’apparato*.

<sup>117</sup> C. Borromeo, *Sermone*, 14r.-14v.

journey' produced by the careful ordering and orchestration of such images and symbols, ensured the lasting efficacy of the event and its ability to persuade.

The power of memory, as Federico Borromeo eloquently describes, lies in its ability to transcend time and mortality. This idea is particularly resonant in the study of funerals, but can apply to performed rituals more generally:

[Memory] alone can resist the rapid torrent of time, by which all terrestrial things are carried, each of which remains unharmed, alive within her. . . she is a new life of things, having the virtue and strength of rendering incorruptible. . . those things which are of themselves corruptible, and of very brief life.<sup>118</sup>

In Chapter 1 I discussed the *ars memoria* as theorised by the classical philosophers and orators, who emphasized the efficacy of images and of places in the 'art of remembering.' In addition to their universal legibility, Paleotti claimed, 'Images serve to reinforce the three potencies of our souls: intellect, will, and memory.'<sup>119</sup> As we study the spectacles of the seventeenth century, memory becomes central to the design of the scenographies, the actions of the rituals, and the recording of the events. The statues, emblems, and *impres*e of the funeral *apparato* appealed to all present to remember the deceased and to emulate their virtues. The scenographies for the triumphal entries and canonisations performed a similar function of activating both the individual and collective memories. In later chapters I will consider how the employment of images, both as elements of ritual and as agents of memory in these ephemeral contexts, carries into permanent works of Pozzo.

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<sup>118</sup> 'Ella sola può contrastare al rapido torrente del tempo, che via ne porta tutte quante le cose terrene, ciascuna delle quali nella memoria si rimane illesa, non che viva, ed interna; dimostrandosi in ciò di più divina, e più eccellente natura, che non sono le cose stesse, le quali si vanno tutt'ora rammemorando. Laonde ella, non solo misura il tempo, ma lo ferma ancora: ed ella è una nuova vita delle cose, havendo virtù e forza di rendere incorruttibili, e presso che eterne etiandio quelle, che sono per se medesime corruttibili, e di molto breve vita.' 'F. Borromoe, *I tre libri*, Book III, Chapter VII, 'Della memoria,' 209-10.

<sup>119</sup> Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, Chapter 18, 106.

## Crafting the Scene: Scenography, Stagecraft and Theatres

As he contributed to the lively culture of religious theatre in Northern Italy and later in Rome, Pozzo became a protagonist in the tradition of Jesuit theatrical production and scenography, as well as research and writing on the subject, which extended back to the late sixteenth century. In this section I will consider specifically how his experiences in the North of Italy helped shape the visual language of his scenographic projects as well as the methods of execution as detailed in his treatise.

In the 1693 edition of *Perspectiva* Pozzo included a very detailed study and lesson in theatrical scenery, beginning with a design for a theatre [fig. 2.22].<sup>120</sup> This study was further augmented with a number of theatrical designs and further explanation of techniques in the 1700 edition.<sup>121</sup> Pozzo's theatrical projects are clear indication not only of his own keen interest in theatrical scenography, but of the development of sophisticated theatrical presentations and theatrical facilities in the Jesuit colleges as the seventeenth century progressed. With Pozzo, the scenic innovation of the perspective set comprising a series of painted scenic wings was introduced in the Jesuit theatre in Rome; it is likely that he was already experimenting with this method in Milan. In the *De' Teatri Comici* of the 1693 *Perspectiva*, Pozzo presents the system of moveable wings, for which Torelli had become famous in Venice as well as France [fig. 2.22].<sup>122</sup> The 'relief' referred to in his treatise and in the written accounts consists in the placement of these two-dimensional units on the stage, according to a spatial and proportional scheme

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<sup>120</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Figs. 72-77.

<sup>121</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, Figs. 37-42.

<sup>122</sup> See Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli*. Bjurström cites the first wing stage as the Teatro Farnese, 1628. 25.

determined by the perspective system. As Pozzo explains in his accompanying text, the construction of the perspective system for such scenes is dependent on the precise measurements of the performance space in which they are situated.<sup>123</sup> He therefore includes not only the stage, but the entire theatre: he begins by illustrating the theatre and its sightlines in plan, elevation and section. The placement of the perspective scene and its ideal viewing position within the context of the theatre or performance space is essential for the successful design of the perspective system itself; specifically, it is necessary for establishing this system in relation to the position and movement of the viewer within the constructed space. This importance of this relationship of the viewer to the space and the image also applies to Pozzo's fresco works, which I will analyse in the following chapters.

Pozzo's layout of his theatre establishes the perspective lines by illustrating the relationship of the stage to the auditorium; in this regard it is strikingly similar to that found in Fabrizio Motta's treatise on theatres of 1676 [fig. 2.23].<sup>124</sup> Motta's hypothetical theatre, in turn, bears a great deal of similarity—as Davide Daolmi has indicated—to the Teatro Regio in Milan, as described in accounts and documents.<sup>125</sup> As Milan was the first major city where Pozzo is reported to have spent time, the Teatro Regio may well have served as his first contact with a modern theatre stage and his first exposure to actual examples of theatrical perspective sets. We know that the stage was, by the 1670s, a fully-functioning modern theatre stage, supporting wing theatre sets and designed to accommodate deep perspective scenes [fig.

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<sup>123</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 72.

<sup>124</sup> Motta, *Trattato sopra la struttura de theatri*. See Filippi, 'L'illusione prospettica,' 213-14.

<sup>125</sup> Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 143-144. Motta, *Trattato sopra la struttura de theatri*. Daolmi cites a description of the theatre by Arconati Lamberto printed in Massimo Fabi, *Il Governo della duca d'Ossuna e la vita di Bartolomeo Arese* (Milan: F. Colombo, 1854), 27; and another by Carlo Torre, *Ritratto di Milano*, (Milan: Agnelli, 1674), 366.



2.24].<sup>126</sup> Moreover, the Jesuits had produced court performances in this theatre as early as the middle of the century: to the celebrations in honour of Maria Anna of Austria in 1649 they had contributed a production of *Theseus* (or *Il Teseo*), a ‘tragedy with a happy ending, by the example of Euripides.’<sup>127</sup> The piece was based on a story of Theseus, King of Athens, performed by the students of the College of Brera in Latin.

The scenography for *Theseus* was particularly lavish, and involved lavish expenditure. The settings, described in the *libretto*, included a forest, a seascape, a perspective scene of the city of Athens with a temple, a multi-room scene inside the palace, the garden of the palace, and a courtyard surrounded by a double loggia opening to garden views.<sup>128</sup> The account in the commemorative book describes the stage effects:

. . . the decoration of the scenes and the marvel of the machines was . . . invented by the best engineers and painters. . . the scene was a continuous course of marvels, featuring rapid torrents marvellously springing forth from various places and then ceasing, changing [to] the most delightful gardens in steep valleys; and where there were seas, in a moment rose beautiful cities, transporting the spectators from the beauties of heaven to the horrors of hell, and everywhere encountering wonders.<sup>129</sup>

The perspective stage settings were presumably produced and changed using the methods perfected in Venice, comprising a system of wings and drops not unlike

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<sup>126</sup> Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 141-54. The Teatro Regio (referred to also as the Regio Ducal Teatro) was part of the palace complex. In addition to court spectacles, it served, by this time, as a public theatre as well, accepting paying attendees in addition to the aristocracy.

<sup>127</sup> *Il Teseo*.

<sup>128</sup> *Il Teseo*, 11-36.

<sup>129</sup> . . . l'ornamento delle Scene, & la meraviglia delle macchine fù commandata dalla Grandezza dell'animo di S.E. di Caracena, fù supplita con l'Erario Regio, fù inventata da i primi Ingegneri, & Pittori, fù essequita con la provvidenza de Ss. Questori, & fu rappresentata con ogni perfettione. . . la scena fù un continuo corso di meraviglie, vedendosi rapidi torrenti incarcerati trà pochi spatij nascere, & morire mirabilmente, cangiarsi i più delitiosi giardini in dirupate Valli; ove erano i mari alzarsi in un momento bellissime Cittadi, & trasportarsi i spettatori dalle bellezze del Cielo à gli horori dell'inferno, & da per tutto incontrar stupori.' *La pompa. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 48.

those produced for Carlo Maria Maggi's opera the *Triumph of Augustus in Egypt*, performed at the Teatro Regio (or the Regio Ducal Teatro as it is called in the *argomento*) for the wedding of the Duke of Ossuna to his new wife Donna Anna Antonio in 1672 [figs. 2.25-2.27].<sup>130</sup> In his first Milan scenographies, as we shall see, Pozzo was already applying the contemporary scenographic technique of painted stage flats and wings to his religious scenographies in churches. In addition, the Teatro Regio also likely served as a study for stage lighting systems, a key element in Pozzo's scenographies at San Fedele and later in Rome, as I shall discuss later in this chapter and in Chapter 4. It is reasonable to suggest that the Teatro Regio, being of some scale and possessing all of the innovations of the day, served as a model for Pozzo's theatre.

Italy's most sophisticated stage facilities in the seventeenth century were to be found in the theatres of Venice. From the biographies and documents, we can construe that Pozzo spent time in Venice in early to mid-1672.<sup>131</sup> The correspondence of both his theatre designs and his scenographic practice to Venetian models strongly suggests that he studied theatre stages and theatrical sets during his sojourn there. Surviving drawings of the Teatro Vendramin and its stage machinery serve as a prime example of the kind of wing stage Pozzo was developing, which he adapted for his religious scenographies as well as the spectacles in the colleges [fig. 2.28-2.29]. Such a system of parallel wings allowed for the production of a series of perspective scenes which could be changed rapidly, as well as stage effects such as

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<sup>130</sup> Maggi, *Il Trionfo d'Augusto in Egitto*.

<sup>131</sup> Pozzo's time in Venice, according to the biographies, appears to have taken place sometime after the *Immacolata* in Milan in February of 1672, which would place it in middle to late spring of that year. Balducci, 'Vita del pittore,' 319/125 v. Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 692. In a letter of Father General Giovanni Paolo Oliva of 26 March 1672 to the provincial Father Ghiringelli of Genoa, Pozzo is granted a brief trip to Trento. ARSI Med. 33 I, Epist. Gener. 1672-1675. Carta, Dal Mas, and Gargano hypothesize that it is during this time that Pozzo spent 'some weeks' in Venice. Carta, Dal Mas, Gargano, 'Biografia,' 245.

moving clouds and the appearance of divine beings, operated by machinery above and below the stage. The Teatro Grimani at Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, meanwhile, was a standing example of the oblique wing system that we find in Pozzo's theatre, in which the wings were set on an angle [fig. 2.30]. This adjustment to the traditional wing system reduced visual distortion for audience members positioned along the curve of theatre's tiers of boxes, not at the centre of the theatre and therefore viewing the scene from positions not perpendicular to the picture plane.

Surviving *programmi* for operas staged in each of these Venetian theatres in 1672 indicate the kind of spectacles Pozzo may have seen there. *L'Adelaide* by Pietro Dolfin was produced at the Teatro Vendramin; while *Attila* of Matteo Noris was performed at the Teatro Grimani.<sup>132</sup> Both featured such scenic types as grand palace interiors, courtyards, and urban scenes, usually featuring classical architecture or evoking ancient Rome. *L'Adelaide* opened with a scene in a royal courtyard with a triumphal arch, and included scenes within the palace, as well as a 'spacious street of the city near the palace,' and the 'courtyard of the prison.'<sup>133</sup> The scenes of *Attila* similarly included a royal palace, a 'great courtyard with arches,' and, notably, a 'royal amphitheatre with machines' and flying elements.<sup>134</sup>

Pozzo devoted a substantial section of his treatise to theatrical set design, beginning with his theatre and stage system in the 1693 edition, described above, and continuing with series of set designs in the 1700 edition.<sup>135</sup> A comparison of Pozzo's theatrical set designs in his treatise with Venetian models demonstrates

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<sup>132</sup> Dolfin, *L'Adelaide*. Noris, *Attila*. The texts of both were dedicated in February of 1672 and we can assume they were also performed that spring.

<sup>133</sup> Dolfin, *L'Adelaide*, 12.

<sup>134</sup> Noris, *Attila*.

<sup>135</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Figs. 72-77; *Perspectiva*, II, Figs. 37-42.

correspondence in both setting types and architectural arrangements.<sup>136</sup> Figure 76 of *Perspectiva*, I is a columned courtyard which resembles a scene of Giacomo Torelli for *Venere Gelosa* (1643); while Figure 39 of *Perspectiva* II, *Teatro di Cortile*, can be compared to Torelli's courtyard scene for *Bellerofonte* (1642) [figs. 2.31-2.34].<sup>137</sup> We can also recognize similarity between Pozzo's *Teatro di Galleria* in Figure 41 and Giovanni Battista Lambranzi's 'Salone regio' for *Eteocle e Polinice* (1675) [figs 2.35-2.36]. Pozzo's *Teatro di Arsenale*, in some ways his most innovative, is an apparent reference to Venice's Arsenale; he describes the scene as being appropriate for a prison as well [figs. 2.37-2.38].<sup>138</sup> Where execution is concerned, Pozzo's interest in these projects, as in all projects in his treatise, is in establishing and demonstrating a reliable technique for the accurate representation of architectural arrangements and forms. In each of his theatrical scenes, he includes the plan of the architecture as it would occupy 'real' space, and the plan of this same architecture foreshortened according to the rules of the perspective system side by side. In his *Teatro di Cortile* he demonstrates the challenge of applying the perspective system to represent a 'straight' perspective space transitioning to a curved space [fig. 2.33].

The lighting systems of Venetian theatres would have served as ideal subjects of study for Pozzo, whose interest in the effects of light is clearly demonstrated across his work. A drawing of the Teatro Vendramin in Venice from 1675 shows a suspended bank of lights inside a reflective box, and this system, as employed at the Teatro di San Luca, is described by Nicodemus Tessin in his diary of 1688 [fig.

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<sup>136</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Figs. 76-77; *Perspectiva*, II, Figs. 37-42.

<sup>137</sup> *Bellerofonte* by Vincenzo Nolfi (1642) and *Venere Gelosa* (1643) by Niccolò Enea Bartolini were both performed at the Teatro Novissimo in Venice. A lavishly illustrated publication of Torelli's set designs for these works can be found in Torelli, *Apparati Scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo*.

<sup>138</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, Fig. 40, *Teatro di Arsenale*.

2.39].<sup>139</sup> Such a bank of lights would have been raised and lowered in tandem with scenic elements, much like the electric strips of modern theatre stages. Tessin also includes, with illustrations, descriptions of brass reflectors and convex glass vessels filled with water to produce the effects of the sun and the moon. Both of these methods are described by Serlio, whose tireless fascination with lighting effects fills a substantial section of his *Treatise on Stage Scenery*.<sup>140</sup> Stage lighting, like other stage machinery in the seventeenth century, was an area of experimentation and invention: scenographers and theatre technicians alike continually developed solutions to suit different theatres, situations and effects.

Pozzo recognized the importance of lighting in both scenography and painting. Both the rendering of light and the strategic placement of real light sources in coordination with rendered light are emphasised in his perspective projects, particularly the scenographies. His own words in the treatise, and the written accounts of the northern scenographies, particularly that of the *Immacolata* to be analysed in the next section, describe a complex employment of light and light sources, in coordination with the perspective and the *chiaroscuro*, to maximise the overall effect.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, light and its associated symbolism, as I have demonstrated in the Milanese scenographies, was at least as important for religious rituals as it was for the dramatic action of the stage. These scenographies depended on the effective use of light, and this light was a tool as essential as perspective,

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<sup>139</sup> See the section on the theatres of Venice from the diary of Nicodemus Tessin, *Unveröffentlichtes, von Nicodemus Tessin* transcribed and translated into Italian by Per Bjuström in Mancini et al., *Teatri del veneto*, Vol. 1, T. I, 286-88. The original German, together with illustrations, can be found in Merit and Magnusson, eds., *Tessin the Younger, 'Travel Notes: 1673-77,'* 367-68. Diary pages: 211-212.

<sup>140</sup> Serlio, *On Architecture*, Book I, 'Concerning Artificial Lights for Stages,' 92-93.

<sup>141</sup> Pozzo describes the method of lighting his scenography in his *Quarant'ore* for the Gesù of 1685. See Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva, I*, Fig. 71. He further discusses the use of real and rendered light in the notes accompanying the *Quarant'ore* of 1695. Pozzo, *Perspectiva, II*, Fig. 47.

painting, and sculpture in achieving the spiritual persuasion which the Jesuits sought in these scenographies and presentations.

Exposure to theatres and stage facilities in Milan and Venice would have made Pozzo well aware of the most current lighting methods of his day. It is very likely that his applied studies of perspective and his scenographic projects included light experiments, for which he had an ideal study reference available in the published experiments and writings of Kircher, discussed in Chapter 1. Kircher's 1646 edition of *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* includes the sections *Magia Parastatica* and *Magia Catoptrica*, which describe the use of concave and convex lenses to spread or focus light, and concave mirrors to reflect light and produce parallel rays. [figs. 2.40-2.41].<sup>142</sup> Although Kircher puts forward these studies in the applications of telescopes for distance viewing and reflecting mirrors for warfare (the 'Archimedes mirror' was meant to destroy one's enemy with light and heat), such principles of magnification and reflection can be applied to stage lighting: used in combination with lamps or candles, mirrors and lenses could produce an early modern version of the ellipsoidal spotlight used in theatres.<sup>143</sup> We can be sure Pozzo sought to control both the individual light sources and the total illumination of the scene with all the most current resources available to him; he would have utilized mirrors and reflective materials for intensifying and directing light, possibly also convex pieces of glass approximating lenses.

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<sup>142</sup> Kircher, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, Book X, Part II, *Magia Parastatica*, Chapter VIII, 835-36, Pragmatia III, 'De Telescopijs, eroumque effectibus'; and Part III, *Magia Catoptrica*, Chapter I, Corollarium II, 880, 'De Speculo Archimedes.' 880.

<sup>143</sup> An ellipsoidal spotlight is a stage lighting instrument commonly used in theatre and entertainment, formerly employing incandescent light sources but more recently incorporating LED. Light is collected and reflected using a concave ellipsoidal reflector and directed through a barrel containing a lens of adjustable position which allows the light to be 'focused.' The angle of the beam of light as well as its intensity determine its distance of projection, thus determining how far it can be placed from the stage or desired subject of illumination.

Pozzo's early immersion in the world of scenography had far-reaching implications throughout his career. His clear fascination with stagecraft, as well as his mastery of it, are demonstrated in his first recorded scenographies. His studies of scenography inform our understanding of his practice and methods, not only in the ephemeral context of theatrical and festival scenography, but in the large-scale permanent works which dominated his later career. Pozzo's early scenographies will be the focus of the next section, and I will again place them within the broader festival context of Milan; which, as we shall see, reached its zenith during Pozzo's time there.

## 1671-72: Pozzo's First Scenographies

The first years of the 1670s in Milan are of particular importance for Andrea Pozzo: this is the time in which he emerged both as a painter and as scenographer. The ritual culture of the city at this time provided him the opportunities that eventually brought him, and his work, to public attention. Baldinucci reports of him engaging in architectural and perspective experiments, and designing scenographies for *Quarant'ore* devotions and other religious rituals throughout the city.<sup>144</sup> Pascoli makes specific mention of his production of a scenography for the *Quarant'ore* at the time of Carnival in San Fedele, in which he 'succeeded in producing marvel.'<sup>145</sup> While it is not clear which year this took place, we may assume it was after his novitiate when he was back in Milan, sometime between 1667 and 1671.<sup>146</sup> In spite of the apparent success of these early scenographic efforts, Baldinucci describes Pozzo at this time as not yet entirely confident in his skills, limiting his activity largely to experiments carried out privately in the studio.<sup>147</sup>

On 26 July a festival was held to celebrate the canonization of St Francis Borgia, for which Pozzo produced an *apparato* in San Fedele. While the description of Baldinucci is brief and rather unspecific regarding the scenography itself, the response to Pozzo's 'first public work' is one of astonishment:

The time arrived for the canonization of St Francis Borgia, for which the Fathers of the College of San Fedele determined to make a beautiful and sumptuous *macchina* in their Church, appropriate to the festival which was to be celebrated. And they granted the execution

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<sup>144</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 318-319/c.125r.-c.125v.

<sup>145</sup> 'Nè s'ingannò, poichè essendogli stato dato a far l'ornamento dell'esposizione del Santissimo per le quarantore del carnevale nella chiesa di S. Fedele vi riuscì a meraviglia,' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 692.

<sup>146</sup> It seems reasonable that such a work would have been executed after Pozzo's return from his novitiate in Liguria, which Bianchi indicates hypothetically from 1666-1667. Bianchi, 'Regesto regionato,' 132.

<sup>147</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 318-319/c.125r.-c.125v.



of it to Father Andrea, who in a few days conducted to the desired end a *macchina* so well ornamented and of such beautiful architectural design, notwithstanding that it was the first work that he had exposed to public view, that not only did he surpass with it every expectation; but his own as well: to the astonishment and satisfaction of the entire city.<sup>148</sup>

As we will find again in later examples, this biographical narrative of the public response to Pozzo's works—a theatrical audience partaking of a 'performance'—is repeated in various ways for all of Pozzo's major recorded projects. The biographers, in a sense, portray Pozzo's career as a narrative performed on a stage: the unveiling of each work becomes the occasion for a virtuosic performance by the artist as protagonist, and the response by the public at times sounds like a theatrical chorus. Worth noting in Baldinucci's account of the canonisation scenography at San Fedele is the remarkably short time—only 'a few days'—in which it was reportedly produced. As in Rome, where Pozzo executed the painting work of the scenographies in a large room in the Collegio Romano, in Milan he very likely executed these projects for San Fedele in a space either in the Casa Professa or in the College of Brera, prior to their installation in the church.<sup>149</sup> The chronicler Marco Cremosano provides further descriptive account of the procession and the exterior of the church, which helps us imagine the ritual context of Pozzo's scenography:

On Sunday the standard of St Francesco Borgia was carried from the Duomo to the church of San Fedele of the [Jesuit] Fathers. There was a very beautiful *apparato* throughout all the streets, in particular [the street] of the Orefici, but above all was the church of San Fedele solemnly

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<sup>148</sup> Venne frattando il tempo della canonizzazione di San Francesco Borgia, in cui determinarono i Padri del Collegio di San Fedele di fare una sontuosa e bella macchina nella loro Chiesa, adatta alla festa che doveva celebrarsi. E ne fu data l'esecuzione al Padre Andrea; il quale in pochi giorni condusse al desiderato termine una macchina sì bene ornata e sì vagamente architettata che, contuttoché questa fosse stata la prima opera che esso avesse esposta alla pubblica vista, non solo superò con essa ogni aspettazione, ma eziandio sé medesimo: con stupore e sodisfazione di tutta la città.' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 318-319/c.125r.-c.125v

<sup>149</sup> Pozzo's Roman *Quarant'ore* projects and the dome of Sant'Ignazio are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively, as case studies for his method of scenographic execution. These discussions include documentation regarding location and timescales of production.

adorned with a triumphal gate. In the procession were the said Jesuit fathers and other Mendicant friars in addition to the Dominicans, and all the Capitols of the College churches, more than two hundred knights with torches and the Capitol of the Duomo.<sup>150</sup>

It is not certain if Pozzo was responsible only for decorations inside the church or on the exterior; nor whether the triumphal arch mentioned was affixed to the church or, as in the case of the double canonization of 1622, formed part of a *teatro* in the space in front. In any case the procession reached its climax with Pozzo's *apparato* inside San Fedele.

Pozzo was called to Genoa several times between late 1671 and late 1673, during which time he fulfilled several painting commissions as well as some fresco work in the Jesuit Church of Ss. Ambrogio e Andrea. Among his early projects there was a scenography for the canonisation of St Francis Borgia, the success of which must have reached the ears of both the nobility and the Jesuit fathers in Genoa, as well as the Father General Oliva in Rome.<sup>151</sup> The brief record of the event in the state archive in Genoa mentions a '*macchina* with a figure of the saint' occupying the place of the high altar.<sup>152</sup> The account in the *Historia Domus Professae* of Genoa further describes the occasion as one of considerable solemnity, magnificence, and civic importance. The Doge and the procurators of the republic 'participated in all of

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<sup>150</sup> Domenica si portò in Duomo lo stendardo di S. Francesco Borgia gesuita alla chiesa di S. Fedele di' detti PP. Era un apparato bellissimo per tutte le strade, in particolare quella degli Orefici ma sopra tutto era solennemente parata con porta trionfale la detta chiesa di S. Fedele. Vi erano processionalmente dett PP. Gesuiti, ed altri frati Mendicanti fuori che li Domenicani, e tutti li Capitoli delle chiese Collegiate, più di 200 cavalieri con torchie et il Capito del Duomo. Cremosano, *Memorie storiche*, 34.

<sup>151</sup> The commission of this scenography appears to be concurrent with the altar paintings, in the same church in Genoa, of the *Immacolata* (late 1671), as well as the fresco decorations in the Chapel of St Francis Borgia and the altar painting of the dedicatory saint (1672). Raffo, trans., *Historia Domus Professae*, Entry 353. 'La cappella è finalmente terminata,' 304. Pozzo's movements between Milan and Genoa in these years can be traced in the correspondence of Oliva with provincial Father Carlo Ghiringelli. ARSI Med. 33 I, Epist. Gener. 1672-1675, 6v., 58, 63 (Transcr. Menichella, 'Appendice documentaria' in DeFeo, Martinelli, eds., *Andrea Pozzo*, 236-37) and 94v.-95r.

<sup>152</sup> ASG, *Archivio Segreto*, 'Ceremoniarum,' no. 477, 1659-1671, 156r. 15 Novembre 1671 'Festa di S. Francesco Borgia.'

the solemn masses,' and the scenography is described in the context of the church and its decorations:

All admired the magnificence of the altar, similar to a beautiful theatre, the harmonious sound of almost all of the instruments, the elegant and splendid decorations of the whole church, the paintings hanging in the arches that represented the miracles and some of the important facts of the life of St Francis Borgia, and the eleven others filled with silver ornaments. . . <sup>153</sup>

Pozzo's engagement in projects and ceremonies of such high profile, and with such frequency in a given year, is clear indication that he had won the attention and esteem of the public and the nobility, that his skills were in demand, and that his reputation as a painter and as a scenographer was therefore spreading very quickly in Northern Italy.<sup>154</sup>

The festival of the *Immacolata*, or Immaculate Conception, held at San Fedele on 7 February 1672, marks the formal and official sanctioning of the doctrine in the Diocese of Milan.<sup>155</sup> The doctrine, which the Jesuits had defended beginning immediately after the Council of Trent, was definitively laid forth in a bull by

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<sup>153</sup> 'Tutti ammiravano la magnificenza dell'altare maggiore simile a un bellissimo teatro, il suono armonioso di quasi tutti gli strumenti, l'elegante splendida decorazione di tutta la chiesa, i dipinti appesi agli archi che rappresentavano i miracoli e alcuni fatti importanti della vita di S. Francesco Borgia, e gli undici altri colmi di ornamenti d'argento. . .' Raffo, trans., *Historia Domus Professae*, Anno 1672, 340. 1 January, 1672, 'I fasteggiamenti in onore di S. Francesco Borgia,' 303. See also Ivaldi, 'Un "teatro sacro",' 102.

<sup>154</sup> We must consider that the Jesuits in Genoa could have hired a local artist both for the paintings and for the scenography in Ss. Ambrogio e Andrea.

<sup>155</sup> The event and Pozzo's scenography are described in detail in printed commemorative account: see Appendix, Barella, *Relatione della solennità*. The argument for the institution of the teaching of the Immaculate Conception in Milan is described in pages 2r.-2v. The festival of the conception of the Virgin had been celebrated in one form or another beginning in the early centuries of the Church; in Europe it seems to have taken fullest form in France in the twelfth century. Preuss, *The Romish Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception*. The idea that the person of the Virgin Mary was immaculately conceived and therefore born without sin had been defended by scholars as early as the twelfth century, although interpretations of the idea vary. Aquinas discusses the precise moment when she was 'cleared of sin' and describes her being 'sanctified before animation': *Summa Theologiae*, IIIa. 27.1-3. Mary's exemption from original sin is explicitly stated in Session V of the Council of Trent, and a bull was issued by Sixtus IV, promising excommunication to anyone who condemned or persecuted those who believed in it; Buckley, trans., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Session V, 24, and Sixtus IV, 'Sess. v. Decret. de peccato originali,' 322-323. The feast day celebrating the event was not made a Holy Day of Obligation until the eighteenth century, and the doctrine did not become dogma until 1854 with Pius IX's bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*.

Alexander VII in 1661, and vigorously defended by the Spanish in their territories.<sup>156</sup> In the event at San Fedele, the triumph of the doctrine in Milan and Spanish-controlled regions of Italy was celebrated with an elaborate festival produced by the order of the Spanish Governor Don Gaspare Tellez Giron Duke of Ossuna. The sponsorship of the event by the Governor, who represented the king, may thus be read as a demonstration of the Spanish monarchy's adherence to faith and orthodoxy; another religious event charged with political importance.<sup>157</sup>

According to Baldinucci, the Governor was so impressed with Pozzo's work for the canonization of St Francis Borgia that he determined to commission another scenography, of equal splendour, to celebrate the Immaculate Conception.<sup>158</sup> Pozzo took this new commission very seriously, and 'set himself immediately to studying with the greatest vigour the rules of his architecture and perspective,' in order to please both the Governor and the public.<sup>159</sup> The scenography for the *Immacolata* was a complex architectural perspective scene—similar in the written account to a set for the *Quarant'ore* which Pozzo produced for the Church of the Gesù years later in Rome [fig. 4.4]. The set, comprising 'five double scenes,' filled the entire opening of the presbytery; according to the account, it 'resembled a temple of ancient use, transformed into a great theatre, and with beautiful depth carried the eye to an

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<sup>156</sup> Pope Alexander VII, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, 8 December 1661. In Spain the tradition was enthusiastically supported by the monarchy at least as early as Ferdinand and Isabella in the sixteenth century and continued with Philip III, who wished for it to be made official doctrine. See Goodwin, *Spain: The Centre of the World*, 360-66, 391. The defense and promotion of the tradition by Philip IV, as mentioned earlier, is described in Barella, *Esequie reali. . . Filippo IV*, 22.

<sup>157</sup> For the section of the account pertaining to the scenography, see Appendix, Barella, *Relazione della solennità*, 2v.-3v. Also transcribed by Menichella in De Feo and Martinelli, *Andrea Pozzo*, 'Appendice documentaria,' 236, Document 1. For the political context of the event and the commission of the scenography by the Spanish Governor see Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo nell'ambiente artistico,' 62-64.

<sup>158</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 318-319/c.125r.-c.125v.

<sup>159</sup> [Padre Andrea], per tal risoluzione trovandosi in sì grave impegno, messesi subito a studiare con maggior vigore le regole della sua architettura e prospettiva, per il desiderio che aveva di dare, tanto al Governatore quanto al pubblico, quella soddisfazione che s'aspettavano. Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 319/c.125v.

ample perspective scene.’<sup>160</sup> I will begin by describing the architecture and the figures, and proceed to a discussion of its possible sources and influences in Pozzo’s early studies, before addressing its meanings.

In the centre of the ‘first’ scene was a great triumphal arch, accessed by a staircase of twelve steps. This triumphal arch, like that framing an altar painting, may be read as a device designed to celebrate and sanctify the person and presence of the Virgin Mary. As we shall find in studies, Pozzo similarly framed saints and celebrated figures in his later fresco cycles and altars. The arch also established an imagined ritual procession which the faithful internally ‘performed,’ a theme which we encounter throughout Pozzo’s career. This arch was flanked by a portico on each side containing niches with figures of prophets; the whole was articulated by a system of six composite order columns of strongly figured marble resting on very high pedestals, which supported an architrave, frieze and cornice crowned by statues of sibyls. In the corners of either side of the arch were reliefs of two more prophets, presumably in a reclining position.

The second scene, immediately behind the first, was similarly articulated and consisted of four arches supporting a cupola above. This architectural arrangement, a four-sided pavilion, may have served as the prototype for Pozzo’s altar design in Mondovì, which later appeared in *Perspectiva*, I (1693) Fig. 64, and again in Vienna [figs. 3.48, 3.49, 3.50]. Beyond this was a third scene, raised on a second level of stairs and balustrades, comprising three more arches enfiladed in perspective, each supported by eight columns on similarly high pedestals. Above these arches rose another architrave crowned by a balustrade, decorated with great projecting corbels.

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<sup>160</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relatione dell solennità*, 2 v. Menichella provides a descriptive summary of the scenography: Menichella, ‘Il pittore della casa,’ 14-17. See also Zanlonghi’s analyses in ‘La gloria dello sguardo,’ 226-28 and in ‘Teatro senza attori,’ 230-31.

The fourth scene, beyond that described above, was a ‘semi-circular theatre’ with arched openings, each leading to additional perspectives beyond.<sup>161</sup> Finally we arrive at the fifth and final scene, an ‘arch of glory,’ framing the figure of the Virgin resembling the woman described in the Apocalypse, with stars encircling her head, standing on the moon.<sup>162</sup> Pozzo had completed an altar painting of the *Immacolata* only a few months before in the Jesuit church in Genoa [fig. 2.42]. Although a more ‘terrestrial’ apparition of the Virgin, it similarly features the iconography of the stars and moon, clouds and groupings of angels; it thus serves as a useful reference for how the Virgin may have appeared in the scene at San Fedele.

Within this first great perspective scenography at San Fedele, Pozzo laid the groundwork for many of the themes and motifs of his later scenographies, frescoes and architectural projects. I will first consider the architectural design of the scene, its sources and possible meanings, and its relationship to the architecture of the church. Pellegrino Tibaldi’s Church of San Fedele (1569-79) would have been Pozzo’s starting point [fig. 2.43]. As the resident church of the Jesuits, it is a building he would have come to know intimately during his time in Milan and would have served as his most immediate architectural model of study. Identifiable themes in San Fedele are massive columns, monumental scale, and a classicism derived from imperial Roman architecture, particularly Roman basilicas and imperial baths.<sup>163</sup> The broad vault of the nave and the massive disengaged columns projecting into the space—a feature in San Fedele not limited to the triumphal arch, but rather repeating in the nave at the central division of the vault, thus introducing a rhythm—bring to

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<sup>161</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relazione della solennità*, 2 v.

<sup>162</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relazione della solennità*, 2 v.-3 r. The image is derived from *Revelation* 12: 1-2.

<sup>163</sup> See Haslam, ‘Pellegrino de’Pellegrini,’ esp. 19-21 and 26; and Haslam, ‘Pellegrino Tibaldi and the Design of S. Fedele.’

mind Santa Maria degli Angeli, Michelangelo's remodelled baths of Diocletian [fig. 2.44]. The architectural language described in the account of the *Immacolata* corresponds very closely with Tibaldi's interior of San Fedele: composite columns on high pedestals and the rhythm of projections and recessions that they produced in the space; the triumphal arch leading to a cupola above; and the heavy projecting cornice uniting and crowning the whole.<sup>164</sup> Thus in this first recorded scenography of Pozzo one of the characteristic themes of his work is established: Pozzo was clearly seeking to imitate the constructed architecture of the church to produce continuity between the real space of the observer and the fictive space of the scenography.

The design of this *apparato*, consisting as it did of no less than five 'scenes' in sequence, ascending on several levels, and incorporating round spaces such as a cupola, shows a complex architectural sensibility at work in the young Pozzo, as well as a sophisticated knowledge and application of perspective technique. What were Pozzo's models of study for such a scene? As an early standing example of perspectival illusion rendered in permanent form, Bramante's Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro (1472-82) would have served as an excellent case study for the production of such perspectival illusions in a church space [fig. 2.45].<sup>165</sup> The shallow space behind the altar continues the perspective of the colonnaded vault into an illusory presbytery executed in low relief. Other Milanese models cited in Pozzo's development include San Lorenzo, noted by Andrea Spiriti for its 'dialectic

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<sup>164</sup> The presence, in Pozzo's work, of architectural themes attributable to Tibaldi is acknowledged in analyses by many authors, including Dardanello, 'Esperienze e opere'; Del Mas, 'Le opere architettoniche'; Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione'; and Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo dalla Lombardia a Mondovì' and 'Andrea Pozzo pittore di architettura.'

<sup>165</sup> Spiriti remarks on the importance of this 'symbolically ephemeral' building in the theatrical culture of seventeenth-century Milan. Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo dalla Lombardia a Mondovì,' 181.

between solids and voids' [fig. 2.46].<sup>166</sup> The relationships between the central space, the ancillary spaces and the ambulatory produce an array of architectural vistas as one moves through the church. Francesco Maria Richini's Collegio di Brera (1615-28) would have provided Pozzo with a ready model for the panorama of a two-level columned arcade with a balustered upper tier [fig. 2.47].<sup>167</sup>

Where the crafting of the scenography for the *Immacolata* was concerned, perspective stage sets Pozzo may have witnessed at the Teatro Regio described earlier would have served as models of study for the technique of executing architectural perspective in the medium of painted theatrical scenery. However, with this early scenography of Pozzo, we see an architectonic and perspectival complexity which goes beyond tunnel-like views into an infinite distance produced by a succession of arches or stage wings: here we encounter views into vistas extending in other directions: horizontal views left, right, and diagonally; as well as vertical views into a space rising above. The scene thus opens the architectural space of the spectator to infinite spatial possibilities in all directions.

The key question, of course, is: what was Pozzo seeking to achieve in such scenes, apart from technical feats of architectural and perspectival virtuosity, and general impressions of Baroque marvel and splendour? As I have sought to demonstrate in my discussion of Milanese spectacles in the years leading up to Pozzo's first works, the scenographic installations for religious rituals served a purpose whose intent extended far beyond that of passive viewing by spectators. These ephemeral installations, articulated as they were with elaborate and very specific systems of words, images, figures, colours and light, sought active

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<sup>166</sup> Spiriti, 'Andrea Pozzo dalla Lombardia a Mondovì,' 182.

<sup>167</sup> Carboneri cites Richini as one of Pozzo's Milanese architectural influences. Carboneri, *Andrea Pozzo, Architetto*, 12.



engagement of the public in rituals of celebration and devotion. They were not things only to be wondered at or admired; they were meant to be read, approached, walked around, and passed through; they were made to communicate an idea, to stir emotions, and to persuade. Beyond their short duration as ephemeral constructions, as images of memory they were meant to live on in the mind when they were dismantled and the event was finished.

The repeating motif of the triumphal arch, first in Pozzo's scenographies and later in his frescoes and altars, was certainly derived from the triumphal arches of festivals in both Milan and in Trent, with which he was very familiar. In the scenography for the *Immacolata*, this motif produced a sense of passage from one space to the next and served as a framing device for views onto other vistas. Most importantly, it framed the central subject of the event, the final scene of glory represented by the figure of the Virgin herself. The allegory of triumph associated with the tradition of the Immaculate Conception is clear in the account; we might think of Pozzo's scene as a triumphal procession in honour of the tradition's official approval. The series of triumphal arches, together with the series of ascending levels, produced the sense of an ascending procession in which the faithful would have imagined engaging.

Apart from the specific iconography associated with this religious event, this early representation of a heavenly scene rendered in architectural terms is a theme Pozzo would continuously develop throughout his career. In Federico Borromeo's highly visual description of heaven—doubtless the result of his intense interest in religious painting in the early seventeenth century—he imagines the celestial arc as a triumphal arch framing the splendid scene of heaven, whose variety of forms, objects, figures, colours, and marvels surpass anything of this world and which

mortals would never cease to gaze at were it visible to them.<sup>168</sup> Depicting heaven, and making it appear present and accessible within our worldly space, was a preoccupation of the age, and Pozzo's particular approach was to give structure to the familiar scene of saints, prophets, angelic hosts, clouds and light by means of a believable architectural perspective system.

Moreover, in Pozzo, the heavenly vision is not simply to be wondered at and admired; architecture and perspective connect the vision to the built 'reality.' The architectural perspectival illusion conceived and executed as an extension of the interior architecture of the church serves as an early example of a recurring theme in Pozzo's work: 'joining the fictive with the real'.<sup>169</sup> His scenes are not 'windows' into other worlds or the heavenly glory, but rather architectural extensions of our own world which visually join it with the celestial realm. At San Fedele, and in later scenographies and fresco projects, Pozzo built the heavenly scene from the real architecture that the observer inhabited, and this visual continuity reduced or eliminated the barrier between the imagination and physical reality, between the terrestrial and the celestial, between the quotidian life of the observer and the sacred scene represented. Like the perspective scenes of the seventeenth-century theatrical stage, the religious scenography of Pozzo served as an aid to the imagination, enabling one to 'enter' the scene and participate in the sacred drama. Such 'entering' and 'participation,' of course, are central themes in Ignatian spirituality as represented in the *Spiritual Exercises*. Pozzo's scenography thus becomes a means

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<sup>168</sup> F. Borromeo, *I tre libri delle Laudi Divine*, ed. Martini, Book II, *De' Colori*, 18-20/267. For Borromeo's collection and promotion of religious art, see Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*.

<sup>169</sup> 'congiungendo il finto col vero,' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 30.

of visually enabling the kind of prayer and meditation the Jesuits promoted in their ministry.

The use of staircases and levels in this scene is a theme we find in Pozzo's later works, and we can be sure it is produced for reasons other than dramatic visual effect. We might interpret Pozzo's scenography for the *Immacolata* in terms of spiritual and intellectual hierarchies found in theological writings of the period: Pozzo's grand scene, rising in increments to the glorious vision of the Virgin, like the funerary scenographies discussed earlier, can be read as the visual counterpart of Federico Borromeo's hierarchical, tiered vision of the cosmos, as well as to Paleotti's idea of levels of cognition discussed earlier. Just as the eye was guided up the steps to each level, so the individual was invited to 'enter' the scene and to ascend the steps, engaging internally in a journey through imagined space, to reach the longed-for goal of communion with the holy figure of the Blessed Virgin and the divine glory.

The employment and control of light in Pozzo's *apparato* for the *Immacolata* is given unusually detailed treatment in the account, emphasizing its importance in the work and also indicating the particular fascination with lighting effects at the time. Beginning with the figure of the Virgin, the stars surrounding her head 'shone brightly,' while the moon under her feet was encircled with clouds and angels hiding the light sources.<sup>170</sup> Further clusters of clouds are described throughout the *apparato*, either producing or reflecting light; in fact throughout the set was placed 'an infinity of candles,' functioning strategically with the painted highlights and shadows of the *chiaroscuro* painting to produce the greatest possible sense of depth.

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<sup>170</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relatione della solennità*, 2v.-3r.

To frame the whole scene, Pozzo designed a kind of architectural proscenium formed by very tall statues to the extreme left and right, and above them suspended angels which drew back a great red curtain. In spite of the immediate association one might make with a stage curtain covering or framing a theatrical set, it is more accurate within the historical and liturgical context of this scenography to interpret the curtain as an altar curtain, initially concealing and then revealing the area of the high altar and designating it as a sacred space.<sup>171</sup> This entire framing system concealed additional lamps to light the scene from the front, and the walls of the choir were draped in crimson damask embroidered with gold which further reflected the light. Pozzo had clearly studied contemporary stages for the breakdown and arrangement of scenic elements, and the lighting system corresponds approximately with those of the wing theatre stages of the day. If the overall effect of the scene were not enough, its illumination was orchestrated as a breath-taking theatrical moment, in which all lights were ignited in a single instant, the illumination traveling from the lowest level to the summit of the scene in a great flash.<sup>172</sup>

The decorations for the *Immacolata* did not end with Pozzo's perspective scene: the interior of San Fedele was draped with opulent textiles: just below the cornice of the nave were draperies of red damasks accented with gold, and below these a rich cycle of tapestries, whose design the account attributes to Rubens, depicting the 'triumphs of our Faith.'<sup>173</sup> The drapery system, in addition to serving as decoration,

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<sup>171</sup> For the history of altar curtains and theatrical stage curtains, see Hénin, 'Parrhasius and the Stage Curtain.'

<sup>172</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relatione della solennità*, 3r.

<sup>173</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relatione della solennità*, 3r. Menichella highlights this among other instances of Pozzo coming into 'direct rapport' with Rubens, known for his numerous Jesuit commissions. Menichella, 'Il pittore della casa,' 16-17. Most recently he would have seen Rubens' paintings in Ss. Ambrogio e Andrea in Genoa: the *Circumcision* (1605) and the *Miracles of St Ignatius* (1615-20). And we may recall the engravings of the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609, discussed in Chapter 1, with which Pozzo must have come into contact.

also served to further control the light in the church: the windows were covered, blocking out the daylight and thus irresistibly directing attention to the ‘splendours of the temple,’ maintaining the attention of the faithful, in the darkened church, on the rites of devotion and the glorious scene in the presbytery.<sup>174</sup> The importance of light in these Milanese religious *apparati* has been discussed in the great funerals; in Pozzo’s scenographies, light is the element which raises the scene from the level of abstract perspectival construction to a viscerally-experienced reality which captures the focus of the observer and renders the presence of the divine immediate and tangible.

This *apparato*, as we read the account, becomes the ultimate study and expression of the theatrical illusion produced for spiritual meditation. The most sophisticated techniques of architectural perspective and stage technology were brought together with religious iconography to produce a space of the mind and a vision of the soul, to which the spectator reached out and imagined entering. Baldinucci describes the scenography and the transformative wonder it produced, in spite of being made of humble materials:

Nor were [Pozzo’s] great efforts in vain having succeeded in showing the whole city a work which, by means of rags and watercolours, transformed the entire interior of the church, with the addition of beautiful pictures. . . and succeeded, at the same time, in deceiving the eye of not only of the Governor and all of his Court, but also that of all the professors and dilettantes of design, and the whole city; to the satisfaction and delight of all.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Appendix, Barella, *Relatione della solennità*, 3r.

<sup>175</sup> Translation mine. ‘Né furo vane le sue molte fatiche, essendogli sortito di far vedere a tutta la città un’opera colla quale, mutato a forza di cenci e d’acquerelli tutto l’intorno della Chiesa—coll’aggiunta di vaghissime pitture—a cangiatala in un’altra tutta diversa da quel ch’ell’era, gli sorti, nello stesso tempo, ingannare l’occhio non solo del Governatore e di tutta la sua Corte, ma eziandio quello di tutti i professori e dilettanti del disegno, e di tutta la città: con tutta sodisfazione e diletto de’ medesmi.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 319/c.125v.

Pozzo's perspective scene represents a decidedly new direction in Milanese religious scenography. As I have demonstrated through many examples, in the ephemeral constructions prior to Pozzo's scenographies in San Fedele, the structures and images which comprised festival and ritual settings were achieved primarily by sculptural means: three-dimensional objects, painted to resemble permanent materials, carved, decorated, and illuminated, which occupied the space of the observer-as-performer, temporarily altering and redefining it through physical presence and the introduction of apparent mass and volume. Painted images took the form of framed scenes, *impreses*, or portraits. The emphasis in these scenographies was on allegorical figures, rhetorical devices and narratives. Pozzo's scenography, like a theatre set, engaged the mind of the observer by producing a fictive world. Where it departed from the theatre set on a proscenium stage was in the elimination of the boundary between the fictive and the real, thus making it difficult to dismiss the scene as a fiction, and calling upon the observer to 'perform.' The perspective scene produced an intellectual tension in that it resided in the real space of the observer, and at the same time redefined this space by first extending it, and then joining it with an entirely imagined space of its own; this imagined space typically suggested 'infinity' or a celestial scene. This theme will be further discussed in studies of Pozzo's Roman scenographies as well as his permanent works of painting.

The metaphysical implication of this phenomenon, the 'theatricalized spatiality' as Zanlonghi calls it, is that the observer-as-performer, engaged in meditation on the object of devotion and the scene in which it is set, is both 'before' the scene and fully immersed in it, achieving a kind of mystical union, suspended somewhere between the physical reality of the church interior and the infinite space of the heavenly

scene.<sup>176</sup> As Nicolò Rasmò describes, this phenomenon represents a step forward in Baroque decoration, which previously had endeavoured to present the celestial scene as a ‘transcendent fact.’<sup>177</sup> Pozzo joined the transcendent scene with the real space and the real construction of the church, and thus rendered the real transcendent.<sup>178</sup> Pozzo thereby achieved something which, according to Rasmò, Counter-Reform culture had been striving for in the art and the spectacle of the time, ‘offering in place of a mathematically measurable reality. . . a mystical reality that brings the faithful back to God. . .’<sup>179</sup>

If we are to think of these perspective scenes of Pozzo and their connection with the real space of the built environment as producing a ‘theatrical space,’ we must consider this space in relation to performance. Theatrical space, the ‘third space’ which Henri Lefebvre identified as *representational space*, ‘is established as such through the dramatic action itself.’<sup>180</sup> The dramatic action, in this case, is the performance of the ritual of devotion, in which all partook. All of the scenographies discussed in this chapter were produced for a performance of one kind or another, and derived their form and meaning from this performance. I will therefore briefly describe the devotional ritual of the *Immacolata* at San Fedele, the performed context for which Pozzo produced his scenography, before proceeding to a discussion of how the scenography functioned in relation to the ritual and the performer.

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<sup>176</sup> Zanlonghi, ‘Teatri senza attori,’ 231.

<sup>177</sup> Rasmò, *Stora dell’arte nel Trentino*, 285.

<sup>178</sup> In later works, such as the Universitätskirche in Vienna, Pozzo would theatricalize the constructed architecture to the point of granting it a similar quality to his scenographies, which makes it appear to ‘transcend’ material and mass.

<sup>179</sup> Rasmò, *Stora dell’arte nel Trentino*, 285.

<sup>180</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 188.

The solemn service for the *Immacolata* began at seven in the morning on 7 February, 1672.<sup>181</sup> The Lord Governor processed in with members of the Secret Council and representatives of the city's nobility, and mass was celebrated by Monsignor Giovanni Rasino, Bishop of the City of Vegevano in pontifical dress, accompanied by several choirs. A theological sermon concerning the Immaculate Conception was given by Father Andrea Mendo of the Society of Jesus. After this the bishop, upon a satin-upholstered chair placed at the centre of the balustrade before the high altar, recited an oath, accompanied by the King's secretary to the council Carlo Francesco Gorrano. The Lord Governor then approached the altar and, kneeling, swore an oath to defend the doctrine, to which all members of the nobility and the state government followed suit. From this ceremony followed, hourly until two in the afternoon, the same rite of oath-taking by different administrative bodies, groups and religious orders of the city, including the Senate, the Supreme Council of Italy, College of Doctors, the College of Notaries, and even the city Militia. The Lord Governor remained 'disguised' in the choir throughout the day, appearing once again publicly at the final service; doubtless making sure that all of his counsellors and administration were taking the oath, and that it would be instituted and enforced throughout Milan's territories. This ritual was clearly a demonstration of the loyalty and obedience of the Spanish administration, representing the crown, to the diocese and to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The scene of devotion represented by the scenography was continually approached and reflected upon as each individual took the oath in the full solemnity of a ritual of both church and state.

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<sup>181</sup> For the account of the rite see Appendix, Barella *Relatione della Solennità*, 3v.-4v.



In addition to the external performance of the rite, including the gestures of worship, moving through the church space, approaching the altar in procession and kneeling in obedience and reverence, religious theatre of this kind included an internal component: the internal ritual of prayer and reflection. As in the funerals, the scenography appealed to the mind and the imagination, providing images which inspired this internal reflection. The scenography and its role in the rite thus serve as an illustration of the idea of the ‘interior theatre’ which Carla Bino has discussed in the examination of Federico Borromeo’s *I Tre Libri delle Laudi Divine* (1632) and *I Sacri Ragionamenti* (1640), in which he sought to redefine and invigorate sacred theatre within the liturgical context.<sup>182</sup> This interior theatre, ‘tied to the creation and mental fruition of images’ is, like the external worship and liturgy, the ‘concrete translation of the celestial vision.’<sup>183</sup> It functions simultaneously with the ‘exterior theatre’ of the physical performance of the ritual, the two complementing and engaging with one another. Pozzo’s scenography for the *Immacolata* thus served as a theatrical space for two kinds of performance: the ‘exterior theatre’ of the ritual held in the church for the religious event itself, and that of the individual performance, the action of the ‘interior theatre’ of the faithful performed through individual devotion and meditation.

The success of this scenography of Pozzo, associated as it is with a specific ritual, is dependent upon what Bino describes as ‘the relationship between meditation and image, contemplative experience and exterior representation or performance, eye of the mind and eye of the body, *visibility* and *invisibility*.’<sup>184</sup> The splendid heavenly vision which Pozzo produced served as a means of accessing the unimaginable. The

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<sup>182</sup> Bino, ‘Lo spiritual teatro’

<sup>183</sup> Bino, ‘Lo spiritual teatro,’ 269.

<sup>184</sup> Bino, ‘Lo spiritual teatro,’ 269.

suggestion of infinite distances produced by the perspective, and the brilliant light emanating from the sacred image, both joined as they were through means of Pozzo's scenographic technique to the space of the church, aided the individual in imagining and approaching the heavenly realm. Together they affixed an image on the memory which could then be carried away, elaborated upon, and invoked later in further contemplation of the sacred mystery celebrated in the rite.

Where the 'interior theatre' of imagination and memory meets the exterior is in the gesture and the word of ceremonial worship.<sup>185</sup> In the process of translation of action from interior to exterior performance which Bino describes, the 'exterior signals' function like animated images that ignite the soul and give expression to mental images.<sup>186</sup> The religious scenography provides a physical environment for performed worship, as well as images and rhetorical devices which inspire the imagination and the memory. These, in turn, find external expression in the movement and gesture of ceremony. The interior performance thus mirrors the exterior performance, the two engaging in a relationship of reciprocal exchange.

Gesture held an important place both in the performance of such a ritual and in the images which accompanied it in the scenography. The codification of gesture by classical authors such as Cicero and Quintilian, discussed in Chapter 1, was not only adopted by the Jesuits in their rhetorical instruction; it characterizes the religious culture of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries more generally. As Zanlonghi describes, the regularizing and codification of gesture was a central concern of Tridentine strategies of persuasion.<sup>187</sup> Carlo Borromeo's instructions for the

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<sup>185</sup> Bino, 'Lo spiritual teatro,' 273. Bino cites Borromeo's manuscript *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione*, 1-4.

<sup>186</sup> Bino, 'Lo spiritual teatro,' 273.

<sup>187</sup> Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione*, 224.

Ambrosian rite and Federico's writings on gesture and action within the context of prayer and ritual are among the clearest evidence.<sup>188</sup> In *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione* Federico describes the various gestures of the body as comprising a 'different language' from the spoken word, one with a power all its own.<sup>189</sup> He discusses each major member of the body and its respective movements and their meanings, citing numerous examples from scripture and from the lives of saints, thus connecting each gesture with a specific history and tradition. He describes kneeling, for example, as a deliberate diminishment of ourselves and our powers, attributing the gesture to the 'ancients' and speaking of the value of the pain that comes from this gesture of supplication.<sup>190</sup> Within the ritual context of the mass and of devotions such as that of the *Immacolata*, gestures become the performed 'choreography' of religious theatre. Such a coded system of gesture can be applied to our readings of religious images, including paintings, sculptures, and religious scenographies. In addition to the gestures enacted by participants in the ritual of the *Immacolata*, gesture played an important role in Pozzo's scenography: the sibyls and prophets described, as well as the Virgin Mary herself and the angels which accompanied her, would all have been charged with dramatic movement and engaged in signifying gestures. Such gestures contributed to the performance of a visual narrative which celebrated her role as the means by which God entered the world. Gesture, as we shall find as we study Pozzo's frescoes, played a key role in his art, and I will return to Federico Borromeo's treatise as I analyse Pozzo's ceiling of Sant'Ignazio in Chapter 5.

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<sup>188</sup> C. Borromeo, *Istruzioni ai Sacerdoti*. F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione*.

<sup>189</sup> F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu et Actione*, Liber primus, 1-221.

<sup>190</sup> F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu et Actione*, Liber primus, Caput 22, 'Degli'ossequij delle ginocchia,' 195-97.

Gesture has the power of both giving expression to the ‘interior theatre’ of the imagination and further activating it; it is thus part of the ‘theatre of memory’ of Federico Borromeo which can produce and preserve that which has no worldly source—original creations, we might say—as well as spiritual mysteries and things which have passed from this world.<sup>191</sup> The ‘treasury of memories’ carried by artist, performer and audience comprised the material of which the performed works, the spectacles and the scenography were constructed. The performance space, defined by the scenography and the space it inhabited, was animated and its complex images and narratives completed by performing figures, their movements and words, in a collective performance of ritual action, prayer, and memory. The images produced by the performance and the accompanying ephemeral *apparati*, and the ‘interior journey’ produced by the careful ordering and orchestration of such images and symbols, ensured the lasting efficacy of the work or the event and its ability to persuade.

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<sup>191</sup> F. Borromeo, *I tre libri*, Book III, Chapter 7, ‘Della memoria’ 210-211. See also Bino, ‘Lo spiritual teatro,’ 270.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to situate Pozzo within the context of performance and spectacle of Northern Italy, to demonstrate how he emerged as a scenographer within this culture, and to establish the basis of his work and practice in Northern Italian models. His contact with the world of religious spectacle began in Trent and continued in Milan, where it quickly determined the direction of his career. These spectacles were an expression of the renewed religious fervour initiated by Carlo Borromeo and encouraged by his successors; they were also a means by which the reformed Catholic Church sought to re-assert its authority and re-establish itself as the sole means of salvation. The Jesuits played a major role in this culture: as allies of both the Church and the Spanish crown, they were often responsible for the design of both religious and civic spectacles; specifically the rhetorical systems employed to communicate spiritual and political messages. These rhetorical systems placed an ever-greater emphasis on images, with the intent of reaching all strata of society through the most direct and universally legible means of persuasion.

The success of these spectacles as a means of achieving the end of persuasion derived principally from performance: through the rituals performed, and through the active engagement of the public as participants. The ephemeral decorations and installations produced for the spectacles served both as performance environments and as performing elements within the rituals: designed as visual progressions through both time and space, they were charged with numerous symbols, images and 'performing' figures intended to be read in a specific sequence. The spectators, as performers in the rituals, read the images and *impreses*, beheld the light, colours, textures and materials, listened to the music and to the words of sermons, and were

thus involved in a complex type of theatre which is both interior—involving the intellect, emotions and the memory—and exterior, performed through gesture and words in the ritual of worship and devotion. Federico Borromeo's reflection on Milan's culture of religious spectacle and ritual serves as both an illustration of this culture and a statement regarding the importance of these rituals in his vision of Catholic Reform:

I see today the streets made into temples, while indoors I see everywhere altars, and images, priests and sacrifices of penance, incense, and fires. . . I see the encircling crown, and these resplendent gems. I see the spiritual theatre and the sacred scene.<sup>192</sup>

Andrea Pozzo's contribution to Milan's culture of religious spectacle and scenography was the illusionistic perspectival scene, taken to a high level of architectural and technical sophistication, which introduced a new relationship between the ephemeral construction and the real architecture of the church. By fully joining the heavenly vision of the perspectival image with the built architectural space inhabited by the spectator, and by fully conflating ephemeral and permanent architecture, he produced a continuous theatrical space, and made the celestial vision immediate and accessible. Thus the persuasive power of the image, used to such great effect in previous spectacles, became far more concrete in the form of a celestial vision occupying actual space which the observer imagined 'entering.' The added dimension of spatial continuity with the physical reality of the spectator produced a new and more powerful kind of visual persuasion, achieved through complete immersion and performative engagement in the ritual and the image of

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<sup>192</sup> Translation mine. 'Vedo hoggi le strade fatti templi, mentre qui dintorno scorgo per tutto altari, ed immagini, sacerdoti, e sacrifici del cuore, ed incensi, e fuochi; ed hoggi pure io comprendo, adoperarsi per le ricchezze celestiali, e per comperarne il Paradiso, in luogo delle merci, e de'traffichi terreni. Io veggio la circonstante corona, e queste rispendenti gemme. Io veggio lo spirituale teatro, e la sacra scena.' F. Borromeo, *I Sacri Ragionamenti*, Vol. IV, Ragionamento I.

devotion. Beyond the extension of the built architecture, he exploited the powers of spatial progressions and their transcendent effects; and he employed to utmost effect the transformative and transcendent qualities of light, which in addition to completing the scenographic illusion, served as the symbol of heavenly glory and of divine wisdom. The 'theatricalized space' of Pozzo served as a performance space for the ritual of the event and for the interior theatre of the mind and the soul.

Although we do not have visual records of Pozzo's Milan scenographies as objects of study, the highly visual written accounts, particularly that of the *Immacolata*, demonstrate that much of his architectonic sensibility was drawn from studies in Lombardy and Trentino. Moreover, much of what we read in the Milan account finds correspondence in Pozzo's later scenographic works in Rome, to be analysed in Chapter 4. The sophistication of his perspective technique, already fully-developed by the early 1670s, finds evidence in his early fresco works, most notably San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì. The detailed study of this project which I undertake in the next chapter further underlines that much of what Pozzo would achieve in his scenographies, fresco works and altars a decade later in Rome was already taking full form in his years as an emerging artist in the North of Italy.

The world of religious festival in Northern Italy, in which Pozzo was fully immersed and ultimately became a protagonist, is the aspect of his development which best informs us of his approach to religious scenography, as well as his theatricalized approach to art and architecture. Beginning with his first scenographies, Pozzo repeatedly employed the devices of architectonic spatial progressions, perspectival views, rhetorical systems of painted figures and symbols, and repeating themes such as the triumphal arch, all as part of a continuing praxis of

rendering the church interior a space of religious performance. The emphasis on the performance of ritual as the determining agenda of church interiors and their decoration came to be, increasingly in these years, central to Jesuit liturgy and artistic practice. Pozzo was at the forefront of this new conception of Jesuit art and architecture.





## CHAPTER 3

### The Church of San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì: a *teatro sacro*

The church of San Francesco Saverio, or ‘La Missone’ as it is now called, stands tall and prominently faces the main square of the town of Mondovì in Piedmont [fig. 3.1]. It is little known outside of Italy, and remains virtually absent from the English literature on Andrea Pozzo.<sup>1</sup> Pozzo’s work in this church, executed between spring of 1676 and spring of 1678, was his largest commission to this date, and amounts to a total transformation of a church interior. In this single commission, which comprised an extensive decorative painting scheme, a series of illusionistic frescoes including a fictive cupola, and the design and fabrication of an ephemeral altar, Pozzo exhibited all of the painting, perspective, and scenographic abilities he had developed to this point in his career. The church is an early standing example of his ability to coordinate built structure with painted decoration to produce a unified whole, and served as a testing ground for Pozzo in the execution of the kind of programmed church decoration that the Jesuits had come to produce in this period.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The church has been called ‘La Missione’ since the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, at which point it passed to the Missionary Fathers of San Vincenzo de’ Paoli. Aspects of the painting and the architecture are discussed by Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 43-46; Carboneri, *Andrea Pozzo, Architetto*, 15-20; De Feo, *Andrea Pozzo: architettura e illusione*, 11-12; Dardanello ‘Esperienze e opera,’ 24-30 and ‘La sperimentazione’; Bösel, ‘Il profilo di Andrea Pozzo,’ 160-64; and Bösel and Insolera, “Teatrizzare la stessa Architettura.” Burda-Stengel visually analyses the cycle at Mondovì and its perspective: Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 2001, 45-55. In addition to contributing to recent conferences, Pfeiffer edited the first publication dedicated to the church: *Andrea Pozzo a Mondovì*, published in 2010 to mark the occasion of the church’s restoration. This includes essays by Canavesio, Pigozzi, Carandini, and Spiriti. This book, like nearly all other published work on Mondovì, remains untranslated.

<sup>2</sup> Bailey has described major Jesuit churches of the seventeenth century, beginning with the Gesù in Rome and continuing in Antwerp and elsewhere, as representing ‘a new approach to church interiors. . .’ Bailey, ‘Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,’ 126, 163, 166, 198. For Rubens’ cycle in Antwerp, see Knapp, ‘Meditation, Ministry and Visual Rhetoric.’ For the paintings in the Gesù see Hibbard, ‘Ut picturae sermones,’ 29-49; Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 78-84; and Engass, *The Painting of Baciccio*, 31-74.

The project was a perfectly timed opportunity for Pozzo in his early career as an artist, just as his presence in the region was perfectly timed for the Jesuits in their expanding agenda of large-scale scenographies for religious events and, later, decorative programs in churches. The illusionistic painted scenes at Mondovì, featuring architecture rendered in perspective and populated by gesturing figures, are executed as a complex system of visual rhetoric which combines with the constructed architecture of the church to form a complete *teatro sacro* for performed ritual and devotion.

I will begin by presenting a study of the architectural design of the church: its development, its key features, and its influences. In particular, I will consider the design and decoration of the church as the product of the architectonic culture of Northern Italy, the culture that gave rise to the style and visual language of Pozzo's art and his architecture. The building was nearly complete when Pozzo entered the project, and his involvement in the architecture has been the subject of recent scholarly investigation and reconsideration. My study of the architecture at Mondovì will include a discussion of architecture as scenography, an idea which I will seek to elaborate and qualify, where this building is concerned, by considering its visual and historical relationship to contemporary church projects, religious rituals and scenographies, and the theatre stage of the seventeenth century.

I will then proceed to an analysis of Pozzo's decorative painting scheme and the frescoes: their iconography as illustrations of the events and the virtues of Saint Francis Xavier, their function as rhetorical devices for the promotion of the educational and evangelical missions of the Jesuits, and their design and structure as a unified program of images meant to actively engage the senses of the observer in a

sequential, ritualized form of prayer. The illusionism that Pozzo employed at Mondovì is the earliest surviving demonstration of a theme which first emerged in his Milanese scenographies: he united the constructed architecture with the painted architecture through both the perspective system and the repetition of architectural themes, producing a sense of visual continuity between the actual architectural space and the fictive painted space. This remarkable synthesis of built architecture with painted illusion represented at Mondovì, I contend, indicates a unified thought process at work from the early days of Pozzo's career, which made him an ideal instrument for the Jesuits in their new church programs. It appears as if the fresco cycle and decorative elements had been conceived with the architecture from the outset, for they function together at a synthetic level rarely seen, even in this period. Together, they produce a visual, spatial and symbolic progression that serves as a theatre for meditation and ritual procession.

Having discussed the architecture, the images and the illusionism that Pozzo employs within the church—all of which comprise the religious scenography—I will turn to the discussion of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì as religious theatre, a place of active and ongoing performance, where architecture and its decoration involve the spectator as a performer and as a pilgrim on a spiritual journey. In addition to presenting the 'performed' narrative of the life and virtues of the saint, which the faithful are called to imitate, the fresco scenes, together with the architecture, engage the visitor in a process of discovery. The study of the painted elements and constructed elements, the revelation of the perspectival scenes as illusions, and the surprising climax of the whole in an ephemeral altar structure as

the focus of devotion, all lead the visitor to questions concerning materiality, artifice, and the nature of existence.

## Architecture as Ritual Scenography

San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì was designed by Giovenale Boetto (1604-78), architect, scenographer, painter, engraver, and military and civil engineer active primarily in Piedmont through the 1670s.<sup>3</sup> The church's long construction history, which began a full decade prior to Andrea Pozzo's arrival in 1675, was burdened with financial difficulties and numerous design changes.<sup>4</sup> Walter Canavesio has done more investigation than anyone to date on the origins and development of the church at Mondovì.<sup>5</sup> This work has shed new light on the politics surrounding the project and has restored proper credit to its architect. Pozzo's involvement in the architectural design of the church, apart from modifications which are documented in the building contract and correspondence, remains an area of speculation.<sup>6</sup>

Boetto's design for San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì was based on his plan of the church of the Gesù at Cuneo (Chiesa del Santo Nome di Gesù), which had been well-received by the fathers [fig. 3.2 and 3.6].<sup>7</sup> Notable in the architecture at Mondovì is the architectonic rhythm produced by protruding columns and deeply

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<sup>3</sup> Carboneri and Griseri, *Giovenale Boetto*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> The building history of the church is documented in the State Archives of Turin: AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì. Bundles examined include 230, 233, and 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' 245, and 247, all of which concern the building contract. This collection of documents, particularly 234, 4, has been frequently cited by authors examining Pozzo's Northern Italian projects, especially Dardanello, Menichella, Canavesio and Pigozzi. In 234, 4, the project of building a new church in the piazza is proposed to the city council by the Jesuit fathers on 3 January 1665: 'Li 3 di Genaro 1665 è stata in consiglio radunato . . . il P. Rettore del Collegio della Compagnia di Giesù et ha' proposto al Consiglio di edificare la nuova chiesa nella testa della Piazza vicino al palazzo della città nelle case da sudetti Padri dal fine comperate . . .' We find that a building contract was in place, with Giovenale Boetto named as architect, by February of 1665: *Dichiarazioni fatte a li 4 Maggio 1665 sopra la Capitolazione fatta tra il Collegio della Compagnia di Giesù di Mondovì e M<sup>o</sup>. Giovanni Fontana e Tomaso Pincheto fatta il 14 Febbraio 1665*. . . 245 contains documentation regarding donations to the project; 247 contains reference to the high altar.

<sup>5</sup> Canavesio, 'Il cantiere dell'architettura,' 39-47.

<sup>6</sup> The involvement of Pozzo in the architecture prior to his engagement on the fresco project is discussed further on.

<sup>7</sup> Carboneri and Griseri, *Giovenale Boetto*, 10-14. Boetto's church at of the Gesù at Cuneo (1655) had been lauded for its 'experimental' quality. Canavesio, 'Il cantiere dell'architettura,' 40.

projecting cornices, corresponding with arches that divide the space overhead [fig. 3.3]. Bösel has presented the plan of the church as we see it today as well as earlier versions [figs. 3.4-3.5].<sup>8</sup> The area of the choir was originally squared off with a window, and, similarly to his church of the Gesù at Cuneo, Boetto chose to change it to a semi-circular apse early in the process [figs. 3.6-3.7].<sup>9</sup> This change apparently was introduced subsequent to the artisans' 'bid' for the project.<sup>10</sup> The change of the choir wall to a round apse was accompanied by a widening of the transversal section of the church and an increase in the height of the structure.<sup>11</sup> The space of the altar was, comparatively, narrowed and lengthened into a full presbytery.

In both the design and the visual effects of the interior at Mondovì, as it was finalized, we can recognize echoes of architectural ideas circulating in Milan and the North of Italy at the time, many of which were considered in relation to ritual scenography in the last chapter. Chief among these ideas is that of spatial

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<sup>8</sup> The as-built plan is shown in Bösel and Karner, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien*, Part II, Figs. 179-180. Bösel later shows the plan of Laloyau along with a model of its hypothetical elevation in 'Il profilo di Andrea Pozzo,' 161 figs. 139-142. It is difficult to know how many phases of alteration the plan underwent from Boetto's original plan to the church's final form.

<sup>9</sup> Dardanello, 'La sperimentazione,' 121. In a letter of 1666, Provincial Father Ignazio Moncada says 'I cannot *not* [emphasis mine] approve the choice of the Fathers and of the architect to make the choir round' (Non posso non approvare il parere de' Padri, e dell'architetto di fare il coro tondo. . .) AST, I, Conventi soppressi, Mondovì, m. 233, *Copia di Ordinato della Città*, 21 Maggio 1666. Pigozzi, on the other hand, dates the decision of the round apse to 1668: AST I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, m. 234, 4, fasc. 'Fabbrica', 24 August 1668. Pigozzi, 'Il gioco,' 136. It is possible that the change was made by Boetto, tentatively approved, and entered the contract officially upon approval of cost, engineering, etc.

<sup>10</sup> In a document of January 1674, there is reference to a contract revision of April 1671, indicating that the choir was originally presented as a rectangular space; the change to a semi-circular space was significantly more difficult to engineer and therefore involved increases in cost. Thumbnail sketches in this document indicate the curved apses as designed versus the apse as built. AST, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, m. 234, Fasc. 4 'Fabbrica' 7 January, 1674, *Li padri della Comp di Gesù di Mondovì, volendo fabricare la Chiesa. . .*

<sup>11</sup> Canavesio cites AST, I, Conventi soppressi, Mondovì, m. 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' *Copia di Ordinato della Città*, 21 Maggio 1666, Canavesio, 'Il cantiere dell'architettura,' 42. This is further supported by AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, m. 234, 'Fabbrica,' 23 May 1670, *Nelle differenze vertenti tra i R.R.P.P. della Compagnia Gesù del Collegio della Città di Mondovì et il Mastro Giovanni Fontana, Capomastro della Fabbrica della Chiesa del Collegio*, 2: 'Nella Capitulatione al n. 6 si dice che se il parere del Sig. Boetto fine di ingrossare le muraglie le fianchi del Choro e Chiesa più di quello sta' nel disegno. . .'

progressions and perspectival effects which reveal themselves over time as one proceeds through the space. This is architecture designed for performed worship, and a kind of prayer and contemplation that finds focus by means of visual effects and images. I would suggest that the type of performance which the architecture of Mondovì seems intended for is the procession; and this procession—either individual or communal—begins on the exterior, with its facade. Like the scenographic facades of Tibaldi's San Fedele and Alessi's Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan, the facade of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì evokes the architecture and ornament of the ephemeral triumphal arches and festival *apparati* [figs. 3.1, 2.11, 2.12]. It is articulated in two distinct storeys divided by a wide entablature and full pedestal, a central *portone* and facade window, flanked by niches and groupings of pilasters and half columns. The door, windows and niches demonstrate a wide variety of shapes and styles in their pediments and framing ornament, while the high pedestals of the columns on the first level recall both Tibaldi and the Venetian school of Palladio and Longhena [figs. 3.8 and 3.9].<sup>12</sup> Beholding it from the piazza over which it majestically presides produces a sense of anticipation of the world to be discovered inside. We may note that Pozzo had a hand in the final appearance of this facade, requesting that the major window be raised and enlarged.<sup>13</sup> He also designed pyramidal finials to ornament the long balustrade; these were, finally, not executed.<sup>14</sup> The facade, in its overall effect, is a grand tableaux of its own, a ceremonial gate or triumphal arch meant to be passed through as one enters the place of worship.

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<sup>12</sup> For Tibaldi, see Chapter 2. For the relationship of Tibaldi's architecture to Palladio, see Haslam, 'Pellegrino Tibaldi and the Design of S. Fedele and 'Pellegrino de' Pellegrini'; and for themes of Palladio in Longhena's work, see Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 17-23.

<sup>13</sup> AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, m. 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' *Sotto delli estimi et Giornati fatti nella nuova Chiesa deli Molti Referenti Padri della Compagnia di Giesù nella Cita di Mondovì l'anno 1677*.

<sup>14</sup> AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, m. 234, 4 'Fabbrica,' *Capitolazione tra li M. R.R. P.P della Compagnia di Giesù del Collegio di Mondovì et il R. Carlo Pozzo . . . 23 Marzo 1677*.



As we proceed in to the interior of the church we behold what appears to be a consciously ‘scenographic’ arrangement of architecture in perspective [fig. 3.10]. While the exterior facade shows a degree of correspondence to Tibaldi’s San Fedele, the interior of is even more strongly reminiscent of Tibaldi’s architecture, which is similarly comprised of a vaulted nave area articulated with Corinthian order columns on very high pedestals, leading to an altar space framed by an arch, through which we see the receding perspective of the presbytery terminating in an apse [fig. 2.43]. The system of arches, supported alternately by full disengaged columns, half columns and pilasters, produces a visual effect remarkably analogous to the series of lateral wings and portals comprising a theatrical stage set. This arrangement directs our visual focus: as in a Baroque stage set whose perspective lines lead to the eye to the centre of the stage, where the most important action is concentrated, here the eye is led, through this enfiling of architectural elements and their corresponding perspective, toward the altar. In both San Fedele and San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì, the broad nave area is designed to gather the community in prayer in a space which maximises the communicative potential of rhetoric on both a visual and an auditory level.<sup>15</sup> It is a space which encourages communal worship, and visually and acoustically serves as an ideal setting for preaching.

As we look at the plan of the church at Mondovì, we note the contraction of the space from the nave to the presbytery, and the multiplication of columns which produce an architectural rhythm and demarcate the points of this spatial contraction

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<sup>15</sup> The preference of the Jesuits for single-nave church plans (although not exclusive) is evidenced by both realized church buildings and numerous designs from the late sixteenth century onward. See Bösel, ‘La Ratio Aedificiorum’ and *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien*; see also Vallery-Radot, *Le recueil de plans d’édifices de la compagnie de Jésus*. The Jesuits’ insistence on this type of plan for purposes of preaching and liturgy is discussed by Ackerman in ‘The Gesù in Light of Contemporary Church Design.’ Although this type of plan in Jesuit architecture is typically regarded as beginning with the Gesù and the Roman tradition, Ackerman suggests it had precedent in Northern Italy, independent of Counter-Reform ideas concerning liturgy.

[fig. 3.5]. A sense of progression toward the altar is thus established at ground level of the church, which finds correspondence overhead: Boetto's subdivision of the vault with transverse arches is based on the architectural unifying principle of each structural member finding an 'answer' in these crosswise ribs [figs. 3.11-3.12]. How the church came to incorporate such a series of arches and columns deserves some thought. Of the twelve transverse arches spanning the width of the church, six appear to be structural: two supporting the vault of the presbytery, and a total of four supporting the vault of the nave. We have confirmation in a document of 1674 that the six arches flanking the lateral windows of the church were added to the original design, implemented sometime before 1674.<sup>16</sup> These additional 'decorative' arches are joined to the structural arches, though with different radii, producing a 'double arch' effect. Moreover, eight of the twenty-four columns—four supporting the vault of the presbytery, and four supporting the vault over the side chapels—are claimed in 1669 to be structural; the rest are presumably non-structural.<sup>17</sup> By thus separating out structural from non-structural members, we can conclude that fully half of the arches in the church, and as many as two-thirds of the columns, are decorative additions implemented after construction began.

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<sup>16</sup> 'Li sei arconi disegnati di novo laterali alle Finestre con li due altri Arconi alla rotondita del Choro. . . ' AST, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 234, 4 'Fabbrica,' *Li domanda il parere degli Sig. Avvocati sopra la seguente controversia*. Giovenale Boetto's signed copy of the 'controversy' is dated 9 January, 1674.

<sup>17</sup> '[Sig. Cap. Boetto a Fossano] ha deciso che i fatti controversie et ogni sporto fuori della muraglia maestra, . . . sono ornamenti, e cosi non diceva. . . in particolare le otto colonne, perche tutte sono isolate, non dovessi in nulla misurare per essere fuori della muraglia. Replicava M. Giovanni che dette colonne sostentano il voltone del choro e capelle, e però dover passare per muraglia e [misurarli], come l'ha da misurare il voltone.' AST, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' *Risposta a varie pretensioni*. . . 29 Agosto 1669. The as-built plan shows fourteen semi-engaged columns, six disengaged columns, and four half-columns. The document presumably refers to six disengaged columns flanking the side chapels and the presbytery, and the engaged columns flanking the curved wall of the apse.

The additive process of the church's architectural design, which was altered considerably throughout its construction, resulted in an interior which, Giuseppe Dardanello points out, lent itself readily to the idea of a painted theatrical perspective set.<sup>18</sup> It is the multiplication of columns and corresponding arches, apparently for reasons entirely visual, that gives the interior its particularly scenographic character and signals the idea of Boetto's architecture conceived and executed as scenography. Comparisons have been made between the interior San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì and Baroque stage sets of the period, and this comparison is used in discussions of Pozzo's development as a scenographer [figs. 2.31-2.32, 2.35-2.36].<sup>19</sup> It has been suggested that Pozzo was involved in the completion of the church's architecture long before his arrival to begin the painting; even that the scenographic character of the architecture might be credited to him.<sup>20</sup> However, the evidence cited above proves that the transformation of the constructed architecture of the church into a stage set ultimately belongs to Boetto, who provided Pozzo, in this church, with an ideal model of study for 'scenographic architecture.'

The idea of intended scenographic effects in both the interior and exterior architecture of the church is supported by the fact that Boetto was himself an accomplished and experienced scenographer, and no stranger to perspective stage sets, as his engravings for productions at the court of Savoy indicate [fig. 3.13]. Moreover, he must have been familiar with the immensely successful architectural

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<sup>18</sup> Dardanello, 'La sperimentazione,' 121.

<sup>19</sup> See Bösel and Insolera, "Teatrizzare la stessa Architettura." Carandini includes the scene of Torelli's *Venere gelosa* in her overview of Pozzo's career as a scenographer. Carandini, 'Dalle quinte del teatro,' 169.

<sup>20</sup> Bösel and Pfeiffer suggest that Pozzo may have been involved in the architecture long before his official engagement to paint the frescoes. Bösel, 'Il profilo di Andrea Pozzo,' 160-64; Bösel and Insolera, "Teatrizzare la stessa Architettura," esp. 249-50. Pfeiffer, 'Dal teatro gesuitico,' 11-12.

settings by Torelli and others in Venice as well as at other Italian courts.<sup>21</sup> Boetto's scenographic activity included decorations and catafalques for funerals, as well as the arches and other *apparati* he designed for triumphal entries.<sup>22</sup> His *apparati* for the entrance of Carlo Emanuel II and Marie Jean Batiste of Nemours into Savigliano in 1668 are recorded in detail both in his engravings and in a printed account of the event [figs. 3.14-3.15].<sup>23</sup> The tradition of triumphal processions, the architecture and decoration of triumphal arches, and the iconographic language of dedicatory scenographies—including emblems, *imprese*, and allegorical figures—were all part of his working vocabulary, as they were of most architects of the day. He would have understood well the idea of the church at Mondovì as a festival scenography celebrating both Francis Xavier and the great success of the Jesuits' overseas missions.

While the architecture of the church encourages comparisons to scenery for the theatrical stage, from the standpoint of its design and function it is more accurate to regard it as a 'sacred theatre'; and this point will be further articulated as I discuss the church's role as a place of religious ritual. The architecture and images together become a permanent religious scenography, much like those Pozzo produced in Milan and Genoa, in which he applied the principles and techniques of the theatre stage to a religious context.<sup>24</sup> The church's 'theatricality' should therefore be understood not in a general visual sense, but rather in more precise terms; if it is a scenography, it is produced with a specific rhetorical language and ritual purpose.

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<sup>21</sup> For Torelli and Northern Italian scenography and stagecraft, see Chapter 2.

<sup>22</sup> Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione,' 137.

<sup>23</sup> *Relazione della solenne Entrata fatta nella Città di Savigliano.*

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 2.

## The Painting Work and the Frescoes: A 'Theatre' to the Saint

Pozzo's painting work at Mondovì includes two components: the painting of the built architecture with decorative motifs and faux marble treatments, and a series of illusionistic images in fresco. The idea of commissioning the painting project at Mondovì seems to go back to at least early 1675.<sup>25</sup> The scope of the fresco decoration was at first confined to the presbytery.<sup>26</sup> In a *capitolazione*, or revision to the construction contract dated 22 March, 1676, it appears that the vault was being prepared for the eventuality of painting, but that the fathers had not yet made a final decision.<sup>27</sup> It seems that the role of images in fresco took on increased importance in the mind of the Jesuit fathers as construction was in progress. The original straight wall in which the choir would have terminated featured a series of windows and Serlian arches; the later elimination of these windows and their substitution with the uninterrupted curved apse indicates a clear shift in priority in this part of the church from illumination to pictorial representation. Pozzo ordered that the arch framing the presbytery be reduced in depth to improve the visibility of the fresco scene in the apse, further underlining the importance of the image in the overall program of the church's interior [fig. 3.19].<sup>28</sup> Although the church does not appear to have been designed with large-scale frescoes in mind, the success of Giovanni Battista Gaulli's fresco work at the Gesù in Rome (1672-85)—then underway for four years—likely

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<sup>25</sup> ARSI, Med. 33, I, 1672-1675, 250v-251r. 26 January 1675, letters from Oliva to Father Francesco Vasco in Turin and Father Luigi Parpaglione at Mondovì.

<sup>26</sup> ARSI Med. 33, II Epistolae Generalis 1675-78, 306r. 21 July 1675, Oliva to Giovanni Maria Visconti, Provincial of Lombardy: 'À me preme inestimabile che per la unione e ben pubblico dalla Provincia si mandi à Mondovì da Milano il f. Pittore, per lavorare quella Tribuna.'

<sup>27</sup> AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, m. 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' 22 March, 1676, *Capitolazione fatt'et acordata*. . . 6: 'In caso che non vi dipingesse la volta detti Mastri farano li stuchi e stabiliture alle finestre della chiesa, e Cappelle, et essa fattura si fara estimare et si paghera ad estimo.'

<sup>28</sup> ' . . . li paghera a giornate un arcone nel coro, qual à richiesta del pittore deve disfarsi et rifarsi, come pure un pezzo di cornigione nel coro.' AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, m. 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' 22 March, 1676, *Capitolazione fatt'et acordata*. . . 4.

encouraged Father General Giovanni Paolo Oliva to follow this example of church decoration elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> As a scenographer and now as a fresco artist, Pozzo could not have arrived at a better time for the Jesuits; discussion of the commission for the frescoes at Mondovì resumed in January of 1675, and in a letter of July of the same year Oliva commanded Pozzo's release from the college in Milan to begin the work at Mondovì.<sup>30</sup>

Pozzo was relatively new to the art of fresco, having taken on minor projects in the early 1670s, and correspondence from Turin regarding the project at Mondovì in 1675 indicates that he had become aware of the durability and artistic possibilities of fresco by this point. He wrote to Father Gregorio Ghesio, rector at Mondovì:

. . . I wish to paint in fresco, a thing practiced by our forebears, whose works now appear beautiful and fresh after hundreds of years. I say so because a painter practiced in this method has demonstrated to me the skill in many places and various manners here in Turin.<sup>31</sup>

Pozzo's work in the chapel of St Francis Borgia in the Jesuit church of Santi Ambrogio e Andrea in Genoa is documented as taking place in 1672, which indicates he had been introduced to the technique before this date [3.46].<sup>32</sup> The church at Mondovì is an early example of the scale and complexity of projects that Pozzo would continue to take on in his career, and demanded an overall sense of time and labour management, as well as a measure of control of the total project.<sup>33</sup> Pozzo seems to have had a natural ability for managing such large-scale projects. In his

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<sup>29</sup> The dome and four pendentives of the Gesù were complete by this time, while the vault was begun in 1677, approximately one year into the concurrent project at Mondovì. See Enggass, *The Painting of Baciccio*, 43, 68-69. See also Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 78-89.

<sup>30</sup> ARSI, Med., 33, II, 306r. Oliva to Giovanni Maria Visconti, 27 July 1675. Cit. Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione,' 136.

<sup>31</sup> ' . . . voglio dipingere sul fresco cosa praticata da nostri vechi che doppo centinaia d'anni le opere loro si vedono al presente fresche e belle. Dico ciò perchè un Pittor pratico di questa materia me ne ha mostrato l'esperienza in molti luoghi qui in Torino del una e del altra maniera.' Vesme, *Schede Vesme*, 866, 6 September, 1675, Andrea Pozzo to Father Gregorio Ghesio.

<sup>32</sup> Raffo, *Historia Domus Professae*, Anno 1672, '353. La cappella è finalmente terminata,' 304.

<sup>33</sup> Pozzo's 'business model' and use of assistants is further discussed in Chapter 5.

correspondence with Father Gregorio Ghesio at Mondovì, he demonstrates a hands-on, practical, and budget-conscious approach to his work, including negotiating credit with suppliers for materials and knowing where to find the best prices.<sup>34</sup> Later in the same letter, he complains in Milan of having little time to prepare his drawings and all that is needed for the project, including its requisite travel.<sup>35</sup> As would be the case with any fresco project, the individual scenes and other elements of the cycle were prepared in full-scale as cartoons on paper prior to final execution; and this process, as well as the painting itself, required a team of artists. Kerber cites three painters, plus one assistant to execute the cartoons; one of them was Giuseppe Barbieri, a trained quadraturist credited for the ceiling fresco depicting the apotheosis of St Ignatius in the Jesuit college in Bologna [fig. 3.16].<sup>36</sup> The vault was prepared for painting shortly after March of 1676, and Pozzo left Milan sometime after mid-April.<sup>37</sup> Painters and painting expenses appear on account sheets beginning July 1676 until May 1678, and painters were apparently paid a total of sixteen months during that time.<sup>38</sup>

Recent work by authors and archivists has largely disproven an idea that has been traditionally accepted in the biographies of Baldinucci and Pascoli: that Pozzo was called in at the end to correct what were perceived by the fathers of the order as

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<sup>34</sup> Vesme, *Schede Vesme*, Pozzo to Ghesio, 6 September 1675, 865-66.

<sup>35</sup> Vesme, *Schede Vesme*, Pozzo to Ghesio, 14 April, 1675, 866.

<sup>36</sup> Pozzo writes, 'Scrissi al [Fratello] Barberi che venisse pure che tutti eran contenti. . .' Vesme, *Schede Vesme*, Pozzo to Ghesio, 14 April 1676. See also Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 43, Note 10. Kerber cites Berra, 'Spesa in vittio di tre pittori et un servento. . .' Berra, 'I Gesuiti a Mondovì,' 97. Giuseppe Barbieri, a trained quadraturist, is credited for the ceiling fresco depicting the apotheosis of St Ignatius in the Jesuit college in Bologna. See Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione,' esp. 131.

<sup>37</sup> Vesme, *Schede Vesme*, Pozzo to P. Ghesio, 14 April 1676, Milano.

<sup>38</sup> AST Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 234, 4 'Fabbrica,' *Spese nella fabrica da luglio 1676 sin 'a Marzo 1677; Fabrica della Chiesa dopo il saldo finita la volta deve per spese nella stabilitura di essa nelli anni 1676-77 sino a Maggio 1678*. The latter document details the payment of the painters for sixteen months.

architectural ‘defects.’<sup>39</sup> Pozzo first examined the space in August of 1675; Pascoli writes, ‘And finding it rather defective he sought to order it in a way to recover it at least in part from the defects.’<sup>40</sup> Baldinucci, with perhaps more narrative flair, has Pozzo boldly declaring, ‘Leave it to me! That which you call a defect I will make appear to have been intended for the benefit of the decoration!’<sup>41</sup> The ‘defects’ of the church at Mondovì cited in the biographies primarily concerned the ceiling, subdivided by Boetto’s series of arches into a series of narrow vaults, with only one large, nearly square vaulted space centred over the nave [fig. 3.17]. Canavesio suggests that it was this fragmentation that concerned the fathers, as it was viewed as an interruption in the pictorial surface.<sup>42</sup> In both of the biographical accounts, Pozzo is made into a hero carrying out a rescue operation: in Pascoli’s account, Pozzo sees defects; and in Baldinucci he is called in to correct what others regard as defects. From what we see in the documented evidence, the tensions that arose during the church’s construction are attributable less to the architectural design than to its execution: builders and masons not following Boetto’s design and therefore having to make corrections or waive fees.<sup>43</sup> In view of this evidence, Boetto’s ‘fragmented’ architecture has come to be regarded not as an accident or the result of a series of remedies or corrections, but as a design with both architectural and scenographic

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<sup>39</sup> Pigozzi, Canavesio, and Dardanello have all examined the archives and correspondence to provide a more accurate picture of the process and Pozzo’s involvement. Pigozzi, ‘Il gioco fra verità e illusione’; Canavesio, ‘Il cantiere dell’architettura’; Dardanello, ‘Esperienze e opere’; Dardanello, ‘La sperimentazione.’ Bösel and Pfeiffer suggests that Pozzo may have been involved in the architecture long before his official engagement to paint the frescoes. Richard Bösel, ‘*Teatrizzare la stessa Architettura.*’ Pfeiffer, ‘Dal teatro gesuitico,’ 11.

<sup>40</sup> Translation mine. ‘E trovato assai difettoso cercò d’ordinarlo in modo da ricoprire in parte almeno i difetti. . .’ Lione Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 693.

<sup>41</sup> Translation mine. ‘Lasciate fare a me! Ché quello che voi chiamate difetto io farò apparire fatto apposta per migliore ornamento!’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 320/c.127r.

<sup>42</sup> Canavesio, ‘Il cantiere dell’architettura,’ 41.

<sup>43</sup> AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 234, 4, ‘Fabbrica,’ contains numerous ‘controversies’ between the architect, the fathers, and the builders and craftsmen throughout the period of construction. Many contain comparative measurements, as well as documented payments, references to the original contract and its amendments, etc.



precedents, as discussed earlier.<sup>44</sup> It also became integral to the synthesis of architecture and painting, and the sequential arrangement of images, which further articulates the sense of ritual procession that characterizes the interior. What we may construe from all of this is that while the heroizing of Pozzo by Pascoli and Baldinucci makes for exciting biographical drama, we should look at the design and construction of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì as the result of a complex and organic process which in the end produced a surprisingly effective result.<sup>45</sup>

When Pozzo arrived toward the end of this process, his painting program became a clear priority, and those alterations which he introduced to the architecture were made in the interest of this program. If Pozzo altered the architecture, he did so most radically through painting: the decorative painting and the illusionistic scenes together represent a visual and spatial transformation. Boetto's subdivision of the ceiling with the arches meant that the large central vault of the nave and the apse over the altar provided the only two opportunities for expansive fresco scenes. In spite of such apparent limitations, Pozzo's fresco program goes beyond the function of decoration or pictorial narrative and iconography by illusionistically extending and opening the structure beyond its constructed confines. Here he employed a system of perspective that tested the technical limits of the art: a complex combination of images projected onto curved, vaulted and otherwise irregular surfaces, with angled viewing positions strategically placed to coordinate with the position of the observer moving through the space [fig. 3.18].

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<sup>44</sup> Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione'; Canvesio, 'Il cantiere dell'architettura'; Dardanello, 'Esperienze e opere'; Dardanello, 'La sperimentazione.'

<sup>45</sup> Pigozzi describes a 'constant dialogue beginning in 1665' between architect, craftsmen and the Jesuit fathers, referring to the original contract in AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, m. 234, 4, 'Fabbrica,' 4 Feb. 1665, *Capitolazione per la fabbrica della chiesa*. Marinella Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione,' 136.

Within this extraordinary system of architectonic illusion, Pozzo depicted scenes and images comprising an iconographic program associated with a specific event: the canonization of Saint Francis Xavier in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, an event further reinforced in Urban VIII's bull of canonisation the following year.<sup>46</sup> Francis Xavier was the order's first missionary to Asia, and is believed to have personally baptized over a million people.<sup>47</sup> The interior of the church became, through Pozzo's painting work, a permanent scenography for a canonisation festival re-enacted in perpetuity. In its celebration of the missionary saint, the church is also a triumphant visual statement of the success of Jesuit missionary activity worldwide, and a means of promoting this mission through an integrated system of symbols and allegorical images.

The decorative program highlights the fact that the Jesuits recognised early in their global mission the power and directness of images in narrating the gospels, communicating religious teachings, and telling the stories of Ignatius and other saints; this is evidenced in the printed works studied in Chapter 1. This employment of images carries particular resonance where Francis Xavier is concerned: the first missions in Asia presented to European men the challenges of communication and spiritual persuasion with little to no knowledge of local languages or customs. Francis Xavier is reported as having been given the gift of eloquence and the ability to move multitudes with the word of God in foreign lands, where he was

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<sup>46</sup> Urban VIII issued the bull in August 1623, to affirm Francis Xavier's canonization by Gregory XV on 12 March of 1622. Pope Urban VIII, *Canonizatio S. Francisci Xavierij*. See Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 61.

<sup>47</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 108. The bull of canonisation describes 'hundreds of thousands of men' who had been in darkness, led to the knowledge of the 'true light' through baptism. Pope Urban VIII, *Canonizatio S. Francisci Xavierij*, 17. It is important to note that the Jesuits did not introduce Christianity to India; the Portuguese presence and colonization since the end of the fifteenth century—forty years prior to Francis Xavier's arrival—had already led to the establishment of churches, bishoprics, religious houses and monasteries.

miraculously understood by people of many tongues.<sup>48</sup> Images, gestures and tone of voice were, on first contact, the principle means of communication for missionaries entering new territories, and remained important means of instruction and persuasion.<sup>49</sup> For a congregation already literate in both Christian imagery generally and Jesuit imagery specifically, who had received the benefit of Jesuit religious edification, the complex and saturated system of images and visual effects in the church at Mondovì were designed to inspire a method of prayer and reflection in which the senses played a key role. As I describe the iconographic program of the painting cycle and how it functions within the architectural space, I will present a reading of the church as a place where the faithful are encouraged to embark on a spiritual journey, much like the saint did in his missionary voyages, to contemplate his life and his virtues as a model for Christian life and service, and to both witness and partake of a religious performance.

As in the canonisation festivals described in the previous chapter, the major scenes of the saint, together with a system of symbols depicting his graces and virtues, are portrayed in the church in a sequence in coordination with spatial progressions established by the architecture. In this way, painted imagery, perspectival illusionism and architecture—both fictive and real—are tied together in a complete *teatro sacro*. While the church at Mondovì and its decorative programs

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<sup>48</sup> 'Subito enim à Deo diversarum ac incognitarum gentium uas, quas non noverat, edoctus; disertissime quasi in iisdem terris educatus esset, loquebatur: & acciderat quandoque, ut eum, ad diversarum nationum populus concionem habentem, unusquisque eodem tempore lingua sua, in qua natus erat magnalia Dei loquentam cum stupore, & ecstasi audiret: eoque miraculo multitudo magna commota, reciperet Verbum Dei.' Pope Urban VIII, *Canonizatio S. Francisci Xavierij*, 17.

<sup>49</sup> Much has been written on the importance of art and architecture in the Jesuit missions. See Bailey, *Art and Architecture on the Jesuit Missions*; and Bailey, 'Cultural Convergence.' For the use of language by early missionaries in Brazil, as well as the importance of music and dancing, cultural appropriation and adaptation of customs by missionaries, see De Castelnau-L'Estoile, 'The Uses of Shamanism,' 617-622. The Jesuit missionary Francesco Pinto used preaching 'to immerse and impress' the natives rather than to convert them.

are not necessarily designed to follow, complement or specifically reference the *Spiritual Exercises*, we can trace a sequential engagement of the senses which produces a sense of ritual progression.<sup>50</sup> Upon entering, the observer is presented with the dense and complex visual effects of the interior. As the observer proceeds through the church, the entire ensemble of architecture and painting, which features the major scenes concerning the saint and the allegories and emblems of his virtues, seeks to engage him in a process of recognition, contemplation, and wonder. This process in turn engages the three faculties of the soul that are core to the *Exercises*: memory, understanding, and will.<sup>51</sup> The architectonic progression produced by the marching rhythm of architectural elements, solids, voids, shapes, colours, light, and shadow, all converge at the ephemeral *apparato* of the high altar [fig. 3.48]. This progression is both visually and thematically tied to a progression in the iconographic program of the painting cycle, which climaxes in the apse and in the fictive cupola overhead.

The large, nearly square vault over the nave and the wall of the apse behind the altar are the great ‘moments’ of Pozzo’s fresco cycle, and they naturally command the attention of the visitor on entry [figs. 3.17, 3.19 and 3.20]. There are seven ornamented dividing arches, two of which frame the large vault of the nave, the final one framing the apse. The inside surfaces of these arches are decorated with shells and small coffers containing rosettes, coloured cartouches, cherub heads, and other grotesques. Before and after the large nave vault is a narrow band, deeply recessed between the dividing arches, and crowned by a nearly flat ceiling. A similar band of

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<sup>50</sup> See Chapter 1 regarding my position of the use of the *Spiritual Exercises* in the interpretation of Jesuit art. See also Levy, ‘Early Modern Jesuit Arts,’ 75-81.

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 1. The three faculties are explained and given examples in the Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises*.

recessed ceiling crowns the presbytery, separating the curved upper wall and ceiling of the apse from the projecting triumphal arch that frames the area of the altar. Each of these narrow bands is decorated with three fictive openings containing smaller scenes of *putti* engaged with various symbols, which will be described.

Pozzo's fresco cycle in the church works within this unusual distribution and subdivision of ceiling surface to remarkable effect. While the visual density of the architecture and the fresco program together may initially present the challenge of where to look first, upon entry the eye naturally moves directly forward to the apse, in which Francis Xavier presides over a grand tableau scene of baptism backed by a triumphal arch [fig. 3.19]. Here the observer recognises the saint engaged in the sacrament of baptism; we may regard such an historical scene of the saint's missionary activity as an appeal to the 'memory' of Jesuit recorded history. One can see and almost hear the gesticulating and speaking of the characters in the scene, who 'perform' the narrative depicted.<sup>52</sup> The observer then enquires about the saint and the means of following his example.

As the observer progresses toward the centre of the church, his or her gaze is directed upward to Pozzo's most dramatic pictorial and illusionistic moment in the church: an octagonal cupola, entirely produced in painted perspective, open to the heavens and populated by highly animated groups of figures [fig. 3.20]. In this fictive cupola at Mondovì, Pozzo established the perspective system that he would employ elsewhere, one which calls for the active engagement of the observer.<sup>53</sup> He knew that the visitor was likely to look up almost immediately upon entering the

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<sup>52</sup> See Chapter 1 regarding 'seeing' and 'hearing' in the practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

<sup>53</sup> In addition to San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì and Sant' Ignazio in Rome, Pozzo painted fictive domes in the church of the Gesù in Frascati (1701), the church of Saints Flora and Lucilla in Arezzo (1702), the church of the Gesù in Montepulciano (1703) and the Universitätskirche in Vienna (as part of a complete renovation, 1703-09).

church; and he recognized that the attention of the visitor could be directed to follow a specific sequence of images. The perspectival constructions are based on the idea of the observer advancing through the space in stages. Such a system has a precedent in the *quadratura* fresco work of Andrea Ansaldo (1584-1638), Giovanni Battista Carlone (c. 1603-84), and Giulio Benso (1592-1668) in Genoa, which Pozzo very likely studied during his time there.<sup>54</sup> Benso's fresco series *The Stories of the Virgin* (1640-44) decorating the vault of the presbytery in the church of the Santissima Annunziata del Vastato is a tour de force of figures and architectural perspectival illusionism which anticipates the complexity and theatricality of Pozzo's major projects [fig. 3.21].<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the perspective in Benso's scenes, like that of Pozzo in the church at Mondovi, is constructed for the point of view of an observer looking up and forward from the crossing while approaching the altar. The characters inhabit and 'perform' in a space which appears as an extension of the architecture of the church. Far more difficult than centring the viewing position directly under the image and its vanishing point, such a perspective system requires experimentation and calculation that was relatively new to the applied perspective research of the period.<sup>56</sup>

Before analysing the content in Pozzo's cupola I will describe the imagery of the ceiling in order from the entrance, focusing on the 'minor' scenes which are only apparent as one approaches the centre of the space and looks back. In the narrow

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<sup>54</sup> Many authors have recognised the correspondence between the work of these Genoese quadraturists and Pozzo's painting work and perspective technique. See Dardanello, 'Esperienze e opere,' 27; Strinati, 'Gli affreschi nella chiesa di Sant' Ignazio'; Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione,' 141; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il corridoio*, 103.

<sup>55</sup> For a discussion of Benso's work in Santissima Annunziata del Vastato and its connection with Pozzo's work in Sant' Ignazio, see Strinati, 'Gli affreschi,' 68-70.

<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 1 regarding Pozzo's perspective research and likely sources. Kircher, Dubreuil, Desargues, and Bosse proposed methods for achieving the desired effect for perspectival images rendered on irregular surfaces and seen from oblique viewing positions, as well as fully anamorphic images.

band over the entrance, three openings show us a glimpse of heaven and putti engaged with the following symbols: fruit, representing good works; flowers, representing Francis Xavier's saintly virtues; water, symbol of baptism and of the ardour of the saint; and pearls, divine favours bestowed on the saint [fig. 3.22-3.24].<sup>57</sup> These are flanked by openings to the left and right, through which we see an angel playing a lute, and another a violin. Music is thus established as a major theme of the cycle in the very first band of the ceiling. Between these two openings are small, very subtle fictive relief medallions of St Jerome on one side, and Saint Ambrose, in the likeness of Saint Charles Borromeo, on the other.<sup>58</sup>

As we return to the transept and the cupola, we find the theme of the Jesuits' global mission given monumental treatment in fresco. The four pendentives are decorated with personifications of the four known continents—Africa, Asia, America and Europe—which represent the order's mandate of global evangelization [figs. 3.25-3.28].<sup>59</sup> We may recall this iconography appearing in Jesuit printed works discussed in Chapter 1. Pozzo's pendentives at Mondovì are the first instance of the representation of these personifications as large-scale, central features of a church decoration program. Placed at the base of the cupola, in the heart of the church, the images of the continents represent a radical break with tradition of church decoration; more usual for this location was the depiction of the four Evangelists or Doctors of the Church.<sup>60</sup> Here the Jesuits placed their missionary symbolism in the

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<sup>57</sup> I credit my identification of the iconography of the various symbols here to Heinrich W. Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 61.

<sup>58</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 68.

<sup>59</sup> The program we see in the crossing at Mondovì would be depicted with even greater dramatic force, again with the representation of the continents, in Pozzo's fresco in the nave of Sant'Ignazio in Rome. See Chapter 5. For a discussion of the iconography of the continents and Jesuit global evangelization represented in Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio, see Levy, *Propaganda*, 150-160.

<sup>60</sup> In the case of the Gesù in Rome, the pendentives are decorated with figures and prophets from the Old Testament. See Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 83; and Enggass, *The Painting of Baciccio*, 37-

most prominent location in the church, and with the strongest symbolic force afforded by the fictive architecture.

The order's missionary work worldwide is aimed at global salvation and the glory of God, which we find triumphantly depicted in the cupola above. The painted architecture that rises from these pendentives and forms the fictive cupola is thrilling in its visual dynamism and intellectual conflict: the architectonic illusion is completely convincing, while the architecture itself pushes the limits of physical plausibility [fig 3.20]. This is a theme we will encounter again with the architecture of Pozzo's dome in Sant'Ignazio in Rome.<sup>61</sup> Here, pairs of *rosso di francia* columns on high pedestals, echoing the real columns of the architecture down below, are supported by massive projecting pairs of corbels and crowned with a large overhanging cornice. This cornice, which directly corresponds with Boetto's heavy cornice of the constructed architecture below, forms an almost violently jagged profile as it traces an octagon around the celestial blue heavens. The 'walls' of this octagonal temple are punctuated alternately with single rounded arches and Serlian arches, each opening to its own perspective scene beyond.

It is important to note that the space of the cupola is not an equilateral octagon; it is wider than it is deep, due to the constraints of the vault itself, and yet we overlook this geometric aberration as we take in the entirety of the scene. Here is one place where we can recognize Pozzo's 'intervention': he introduces equilibrium and visually corrects the proportions of a space which, according to Baldinucci, lacked

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42. Pfeiffer indicates the tradition of the Four Evangelist as originating in Byzantine churches; while that of the Four Doctors of the Roman Church began in the Renaissance, Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 68.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter 5.



both and therefore was in need of correction.<sup>62</sup> The cupola is an early example of Pozzo's ability to work within the constraints of structural and spatial irregularities, and not only overcoming them, but rendering them insignificant to the visual effect of the whole. The architecture of the cupola is at first glance a plausible extension of the church, but further consideration suggests its closer association with the theatrical vistas of architecture and figures we find in Pozzo's Roman scenographies [fig. 4.4]. Using the built architecture of the church as a basis for the design, Pozzo has 'pushed' it to incorporate the density, complexity and movement of Palladian elements and themes which he had likely assimilated in his Venetian studies. The octagonal form of the cupola and the protruding columns marking its corners may well have been inspired by Longhena's Santa Maria della Salute (1631-87), still under completion during Pozzo's time in Venice, which itself was designed as a permanent scenography for ritual and spectacle [fig.3.29].<sup>63</sup> Architectural themes such as the very deep arches and the heavy entablature returning around each column recall Palladio's San Giorgio Maggiore (1566-1610) [fig. 3.30]. The cupola is an early demonstration of Pozzo's 'theatricalised' architecture: the structure, in its complexity, movement and many openings and balconies, seems in large measure designed to accommodate groupings of figures, their activities and their interaction, and to 'reveal' the miraculous scene above. In this way the cupola becomes the scenography for the climax of a dramatic religious narrative, which itself is the iconographic climax and physical centre of the church.

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<sup>62</sup> Carta refers to Baldinucci's account of 'the little equality and proportion that deformed the entire building.' ('poca uguaglianza e proporzione che deforma tutta la fabbrica'). Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 320/c.126 v. Carta, 'Le finte cupole,' 58.

<sup>63</sup> See Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, esp. 128-53. We may recall from Chapter 2 that Pozzo spent time in Venice in spring of 1672.

In the heavenly paradise above, we see Francis Xavier's apotheosis: the saint is carried up to heaven by a host of angels in a scene analogous to the 'happy ending' of a Christian tragedy of the period, a dramatic genre for which the Jesuits were known [fig. 3.20].<sup>64</sup> Such works, performed in the colleges, seminaries, and the courts, were far less concerned with historic portrayals of saints' lives, than with mythic retellings of these stories as a form of religious instruction. The protagonists of the tragedies were usually Christian saints, who after a period of suffering and ultimately death experienced an apotheosis in which they were 'transformed into an instrument of glory': the apotheosis was the catharsis which came, and which was earned, at the end of a saintly life.<sup>65</sup> Such tragic works, like their classical counterparts, were intended to spiritually and morally edify their audience, providing them with a model of moral perfection in the figure of the saint. The saint's suffering, like that of a hero in a Greek tragedy, provided the opportunity for a collective spiritual catharsis, as well as hope: the 'happy ending' that distinguished the Christian tragedy from the classical tragedy lay in the fact that death itself was not an end, but the gateway to salvation and eternal life.<sup>66</sup>

The tragedy *Pirimalus*, performed at the Collegio Romano in 1623 to celebrate the first anniversary of the canonization of St Francis Xavier, is a dramatization of a violent tale from the saint's period in India, where a state of religious war had developed as a result of his campaigns of iconoclasm against the old religions.<sup>67</sup> The protagonist Pirimalus is an Indian prince who has secretly converted to Christianity. After a battle at sea in which Francis Xavier intervenes with divine assistance,

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<sup>64</sup> See Zanlonghi, 'La tragedia fra ludus e festa,'; also Cascetta, 'La "spiritual tragedia."'

<sup>65</sup> Zanlonghi, 'La tragedia fra ludus e festa,' 205-207 and 210-211.

<sup>66</sup> Zanlonghi, 'La tragedia fra ludus e festa,' 207.

<sup>67</sup> Donati, *Pirimalus Celiani Princeps* or *Pirimalo*. See Filipp, 'Il teatro al Collegio Romano,' 166.

turning the winds against the enemy, in the end Pirimalus is martyred for his faith. It is the effort of the faithful to identify with this particular saint and to imitate his virtues which defines the religious performance that is meant to happen in the church. In reading of the life of Francis Xavier, of which detailed records abound, we find adventure, danger, illness, and in the midst of all of it, a strength of will and generosity of spirit that seem to defy all odds. Accounts by Bartoli and the bull of canonisation contain numerous accounts of healings of the sick, resuscitation of the dead, speaking in tongues, and other miracles reported to have been performed by the saint in his travels.<sup>68</sup> He demonstrates himself as the model of the Ignatian rule: constantly available in the service of others, warm and ‘aglow’ with spiritual ardour and overflowing with ‘fervent charity.’<sup>69</sup>

Scenes of the apotheoses of martyrs signalled by the sudden appearance of the glory of heaven, and mystical visions such as the appearance of saints in clouds, were regular features of religious dramas, often marking the climax or resolution of the work. The *Apotheosis of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier* was performed in 1622 at the Collegio Romano as part of the celebration of their joint canonisation, and ended with just such a climactic scene [fig. 3.31].<sup>70</sup> After effigies of them were burned at the crest of a great pyre, the heavens opened and the two saints appeared ‘glorious and resplendent’ and pledged their protection to Rome and the other

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<sup>68</sup> Bartoli, *Dell’Istoria della Compagna di Gesù. L’Asia*; Bartoli, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*; Pope Urban VIII, *Canonizatio S. Francisci Xavierij è Societate Iesu*.

<sup>69</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 207. Schurhammer cites Augusto Carlos Teixeira da Aragão, *Descrição geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regents e governadores de Portugal*, 3 vols., Lisbon, 1874-80, 844.

<sup>70</sup> *Argomento dell’Apotheosi*. For a description of the multi-performance spectacle for the canonisations of Ignatius and Francis Xavier at the Collegio Romano in 1622, see Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance,’ 512-513 and ‘Il teatro al Collegio Romano,’ 173-74; also Bjurström, ‘Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits,’ 101.

provinces.<sup>71</sup> The ‘miraculous’ scene of Pozzo’s cupola is a similar allegory of saintly glory: a theatrical performance, rendered in fresco, of Francis Xavier’s soul rising to heaven. As a ‘happy ending,’ it can be read as a dramatic construction which focuses on the glory of the saint’s afterlife and canonisation rather than his ‘martyrdom,’ which was not particularly dramatic: after a life of tirelessly zealous and selfless work as a missionary in dangerous territories, the saint succumbed to a fever and expired on a beach on Shancuan Island, China. Although this death is not of the violent kind typically associated with Christian martyrs, Bartoli likens it to the death of Christ, affording the missionary saint little of the comfort provided by the angels in Pozzo’s painting of the subject, made the year prior to his work at Mondovì [fig. 3.32].<sup>72</sup>

The entire scene in the cupola is accompanied by men playing instruments on the balconies between the corbels, and their angelic counterparts completing the orchestra with their own instruments in the heavens above. Pfeiffer suggests that Pozzo’s apparent fascination with musical instruments, as symbols and as shapes, may have been a result of his contact with violinmakers in Cremona, where the young Stradivari was apprenticed.<sup>73</sup> We may recall the importance of music in Ignatius’ spiritual life, as evidenced in his writings, discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>74</sup> In the employment of the senses in the *Spiritual Exercises*, hearing plays a role equal to that of vision as the exercitant imagines the scenes which form the subjects of

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<sup>71</sup> Argomento dell’Apoteosi, 3v., Act V, Scene 2.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Noble souls only are permitted to close life in circumstances resembling their divine Master. . . in the total privation of all human comfort, forgotten by his own people, and uncared for by strangers; and what is still more, apparently abandoned by both heaven and earth.’ Bartoli, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, 389.

<sup>73</sup> Pfeiffer, ‘L’iconografia,’ 68.

<sup>74</sup> Ignatius’ early spiritual experiences, as discussed in Chapter 1, include ‘hearing’ the Trinity as three keys. St Ignatius of Loyola, *The Autobiography*, 37.

meditation.<sup>75</sup> Throughout their early history, music and the appeal to the aural sense took on increasing importance for the Jesuits in their liturgy and religious culture.<sup>76</sup> It proved a particularly important means of communication and persuasion in the overseas missions, beginning in Brazil, in the conversion of indigenous peoples.<sup>77</sup>

Where music, musicians and instruments appear as themes in Baroque church decoration, we ‘hear’ an orchestra just as we behold an orchestra of figures, shapes and colours. The chapel of St Cecilia (1695-1700) in the Roman church of San Carlo ai Catinari by Pozzo’s contemporary Antonio Gherardi (1638-1702) is a sculptural example of an orchestra of angel musicians situated in a cupola, producing a similar ‘auditory’ effect on the viewer [fig. 3.33]. In Pozzo’s frescoes at Mondovì, music is not represented statically accompanying the scene as a Baroque *continuo*, but is shown in a visual progression that suggests performance of an orchestrated musical melody in time. The music, as Pozzo renders it, begins softly, with the individual *putti* in the first vault over the entrance playing a single and violin and lute. Pfeiffer describes them playing a ‘a silent melody, a prelude to the great concert’ which we find in the cupola.<sup>78</sup> This ‘concert’ could be understood to include the entire musical programme of the ceiling, and is expressed in the work in quite specific visual terms. The melody established by the *putti* at the entrance is continued and expanded by the musicians on the balconies of the cupola. The music then reaches its climax in the angelic orchestra which surrounds the saint in the opening above, where angel

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<sup>75</sup> ‘Hearing’ the images and scenes, in addition to visualizing them, is emphasized throughout the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the meditation on hell in the first week, the second point is ‘To hear the wailing, the screaming, cries and blasphemies. . .’; in the second week the meditations on the Incarnation and the Nativity involve ‘hearing’ what the personages are saying, as well as what the Trinity is saying. St Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 59, 70-71.

<sup>76</sup> O’Malley cites music as a major element in Jesuit liturgy as early as the mid-sixteenth century. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 159-62; also O’Malley, ‘Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission.’

<sup>77</sup> Music was instrumental to conversion in the earliest years of the overseas missions: see Castagna, ‘The Use of Music.’

<sup>78</sup> Pfeiffer, ‘L’Iconografia,’ 61.

musicians in flight are intensely engaged in movement and the act of producing sound. Those playing stringed instruments direct their gaze toward the saint, as the instrumentalists of an orchestra would turn to the conductor, while those playing horns direct their sound outward toward the congregation, and the world, announcing his apotheosis.

The triumphal arch framing the presbytery is adorned in the centre with two great angels bearing a shield with the insignia of the Jesuits. [fig. 3.34].<sup>79</sup> Here Pozzo takes his cue directly from the theatrical stage, breaking from illusionistic painting confined to the surface of the architecture, and engages in a characteristic visual *scherzo* concerning levels of painted versus dimensional reality. As we find in a traditional painted theatrical set, or one which combines painted and fully-constructed elements, the painted shapes project into the space and are read together with the constructed architecture and ornament, thus doubling as three-dimensional forms [fig. 3.35]. In place of the more usual device of a sculpted arrangement adorning the arch—Bernini’s Scala Regia comes to mind—Pozzo has effectively introduced a small piece of painted theatrical scenery, treating the shapes as paintings, in full colour, enhancing the idea that the painted figures throughout the church are real and occupy our own space [fig. 3.36].

Continuing our study down to the apse, we come to the sole narrative scene in this fresco cycle drawn directly from accounts of the saint’s life: the great event of the baptism of Queen Neachile in India, who was deposed and ultimately executed for her conversion, an event recorded by Daniello Bartoli [fig. 3.19].<sup>80</sup> While Neachile’s precise identity and status, as well as the event of her baptism, vary between

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<sup>79</sup> IHS, the insignia of the Jesuits, is based the abbreviation of IHCOUC, the Greek word for Jesus.

<sup>80</sup> Bartoli, *Dell’Istoria. . . L’Asia*, 166.

accounts, the story undoubtedly serves as a powerful representation of the saint's missionary work, the sacrament of baptism, and the profession of faith.<sup>81</sup> The central scene is that of the saint baptising the queen, accompanied by an assistant struggling with a great book of scripture. The figure of the queen is presumed to represent the Duchess Marie Jeanne Baptiste, recently made Regent of Savoy.<sup>82</sup> Her appearance in the apse is no coincidence: the Jesuit fathers at Mondovì clearly wished to honour their local sovereign, who would later finance Pozzo's fresco work in the Jesuits' college church in Turin (1678-79; lost) as well as other commissions of Pozzo.<sup>83</sup> The baptism is surrounded by members of Neachile's family, including her father the king and her sons; groups of Muslims and Christians; Hebrew prophets and a philosopher.<sup>84</sup> Included in the group is a Jesuit, dressed in the identifiable black cassock, indicating the scene to the crowd of inquiring women. This is thought to be a portrait of Pozzo himself.<sup>85</sup> Pozzo's fresco in the apse further underlines the alignment of his painting work at Mondovì with Christian drama: it seeks to persuade and reinforce faith and orthodoxy by encouraging identification of the faithful with the symbolic drama of the stories of the saint depicted, more than with their associated factual events. Queen Neachile, bending her head in submission to baptism and to Christ, is recognizable as the new Savoy queen, showing by example

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<sup>81</sup> In Schurhammer's Volume II on Xavier's travels in India, the event of Niachile's (note different spelling) baptism is not actually mentioned as being associated with Francis Xavier. Her son, Tabarija, King of Maluco, was baptized in the Church of Saint Catherine in Goa by the vicar, and 'His mother and stepfather were later baptized in Ternate.' Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier II: India*, 250-254; 254 note 421. In *The Life and Letters of St. Francis*, it says 'the most distinguished of converts was the ex-queen Neachile, daughter of the King of Tidor.' Coleridge, S.J., *The Life and Letters*, 397.

<sup>82</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 109.

<sup>83</sup> See Menichella, 'Il pittore,' 17-18 and De Feo, Martinelli, 'Appendice documentaria,' Documents 27, 33-36: ARSI Med. 34, I, 160; 34, II, 327, 331, 334, 341. These include correspondence between Oliva, Pozzo and the Duchess Regent between August 1679 and October 1680.

<sup>84</sup> For the identification of the figures, and for more on the iconographic program of the apse, see Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 91-109.

<sup>85</sup> Pfeiffer identifies this figure as Pozzo; however the face, shown in profile, bears little resemblance to Pozzo as we see him in the self portrait in the Uffizi. Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 91.

her obedience, as a sovereign, to the one true Church. In the manner of a Christian martyr, Neachile lost her reign and ultimately her life in exchange for her conversion and defence of the faith.

While Veronese is not included by the biographers among painters Pozzo studied, authors have long recognised the striking correspondence between his major works of fresco, as well as his scenographies, and the monumental canvases of the Venetian artist.<sup>86</sup> The ‘Veronesian’ arrangement of figures in relation to architecture which characterises Pozzo’s work begins at Mondovì, where we find figures, poses, movement, architecture, colour and an overall composition reminiscent of Veronese’s grand ‘performing’ narrative tableaux.<sup>87</sup> In their great variety of figures, gestures and costume, as well as the balustrade and the monumental columns framing the scene, Veronese’s *Wedding Feast at Cana* (1562-3) and his *Family of Darius Before Alexander* (1565-7) are both representative of an approach to the narrative scene to which Pozzo’s fresco scene corresponds [figs. 3.37-3.38].<sup>88</sup> The device of the great drapery overhead, pulled back to ‘reveal’ the scene, together with another draped over the architectural structure, bring this apse painting into close association with religious scenographies, including that produced by Pozzo for the

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<sup>86</sup> Of the Venetian artists Pozzo studied, Pascoli only mentions Titian by name. Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 692. Baldinucci mentions Pozzo being sent by his father to Palma Giovane in his early years in Trent. Regarding Pozzo’s Venetian sojourn, he says very generally that he studied ‘le insigne pitture’ and describes Pozzo learning ‘il buon modo di colorire e di storiare.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del pittore,’ 315/c.121r., 319/c.125v. Those who have discussed Veronese in relation to Pozzo include Marini, *Andrea Pozzo pittore*, 16-22; De Feo, *Andrea Pozzo architetto*, 15; Menichella, ‘Il pittore della casa,’ 17; Dardanello, ‘Esperienze e opere,’ 32. Martinelli references Veronese in a discussion of Pozzo’s scenography *Le Nozze di Cana* in Rome. Martinelli, ‘Teatri sacri,’ 99.

<sup>87</sup> Marini mentions Veronese’s *Last Supper* or *Feast in the House of Levi* in a discussion of the apse fresco at Mondovì. Marini, *Andrea Pozzo Pittore*, 22. Kerber compares it to Veronese’s *Feast in the House of St Gregory the Great*. Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 45. For a discussion of the theatricality of Veronese’s scenes and the role of the architecture as scenography, see Van Eck and Bussels, ‘The Visual Arts and the Theatre,’ esp. 209-216, and Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts*, 80-82.

<sup>88</sup> Veronese’s *Wedding Feast at Cana* was originally commissioned for the refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice; while his *Family of Darius Before Alexander* was housed, during the seventeenth century, in the Palazzo Pisani Moretta. See Salomon, *Veronese*, 115-21.



*Immacolata* in Milan discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>89</sup> While it is an established theme in painting at this time, within the context of church's presbytery, we might regard the drapery—like that in the scenography for the *Immacolata*—as a great altar curtain.<sup>90</sup> The entire scene is set behind a balustrade, and backed with a Palladian arcade, the central opening of which serves as a final triumphal arch, with an infinite expanse of blue sky beyond. Angels above honour the saint with gifts of a laurel wreath, a chasuble and stole, and flowers. This theatrical arrangement of architecture and figures becomes characteristic of Pozzo's visual language, a narrative tableau which occurs again in his Roman *Quarant'ore* scenographies and in his apse painting in Sant'Ignazio in Rome [figs. 4.4, 4.17 and 5.46].<sup>91</sup> In addition to serving as a 'performed' narrative drawn from the saint's life for the faithful to contemplate, this painted scene in the apse has the effect of visually opening the space to a limitless horizontal and vertical expanse beyond the framing arch. The curved wall of the apse virtually disappears.

Having beheld the scene of the saint's apotheosis, and then the great baptism scene, we are encouraged to continue our progress forward. We must pass through the next series of arches in order to see what is happening between them. Our eye moves beyond the next dividing arch, and we come to a second short vaulted space. Here the three small painted fenestrations we saw over the entrance are repeated, this time with scenes of angels handing down crosses from heaven, the crosses of apostolic action, which the saint, and the faithful, accept with grace.<sup>92</sup> Beyond the

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<sup>89</sup> See Chapters 2 and 4 for the use of draperies as decoration and as revealing devices for rituals ranging from state funerals to the *Quarant'ore* devotions.

<sup>90</sup> See Hénin, 'Parrhasius and the Stage Curtain,' 58.

<sup>91</sup> Pozzo's fresco *St. Ignatius as miracle-maker* (1685-88) is studied in Chapter 5; his *Quarant'ore* scenographies in the Gesù are studied in Chapter 4.

<sup>92</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'iconografia,' 61-68.

next arch, over the apse, is the final vault [fig. 3.39]. In the centre is a small octagonal opening with putti holding aloft a crown, presented to the saint for sacrificing his life to the mission. Flanking this opening are smaller openings with putti representing divine and charitable love.<sup>93</sup>

To complete the iconography of the cycle, Pozzo presents, to the left and right of each arch, a series of female figures painted as grisailles in *chiaroscuro*, resembling sculpted reliefs [fig. 3.40-3.43]. These represent twelve virtues, including the theological virtues and heavenly virtues, intended to help the faithful 'to imitate the missionary saint.'<sup>94</sup> Presented here as an iconographic device adorning the series of arches, they call to mind the repeating theme of the virtues rendered as sculptures in the festival scenographies discussed in Chapter 2. In the history of church decoration, their depiction in relief as monotone *grisailles* is not a new idea, having a well-known precedent in Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua (c.1305) [fig. 3.44-3.45].<sup>95</sup> As painted pieces of sculpture, these figures mark a visual midway point between the illusionistic rendering of architecture and the full-colour rendering of 'living' figures. We might read them as Pozzo's device for joining the two painted illusionistic 'realities,' reinforcing the fusion of painted illusory elements in the church with the built architecture and sculpted ornament. I would further suggest that representing the gesturing figures of the virtues as devices of visual rhetoric in stone relief monumentalizes them, visually conveying their basis in an ancient tradition of thought; thus underlining the foundation of Jesuit education and intellectual culture

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<sup>93</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'iconografia,' 104-107.

<sup>94</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'iconografia,' 91. The seven virtues Pfeiffer refers to include the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity (1 Cor. 13:1-13), plus the classical cardinal virtues of Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Courage.

<sup>95</sup> Giotto's program presents Virtues and Vices in a series of contrasting pairs. See Basile, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel Frescoes*, 319-59. Davis demonstrates how Giotto's figures of the Virtues are far from static, but engaged, through action, in the program of the fresco cycle. Davis, 'Gravity in the Paintings of Giotto,' 149-150.

in classical philosophy and scholastic theology.<sup>96</sup> Looking toward the presbytery and altar, they appear in corresponding pairs: Contemplation and Peace, Justice and Prudence, Faith and Hope. Proceeding from the presbytery back to the entrance, we see Religion and Charity, Strength and Temperance, Fame and Chastity. Pfeiffer explains the sequence thus: ‘the cardinal virtues form the centre of the church, the more personal attributes of the saint form the entrance; the theological virtues, which bind earth to heaven, form the presbytery.’<sup>97</sup> This grouping and sequence of the virtues into three major stages emphasizes the idea of spiritual progression: as we enter the church we are introduced to the particular character and story of the saint. Then, as the space broadens, our view is broadened, to consider his place, and the place of the faithful, in the mission of evangelization within the global context represented by the four continents under the cupola.

The ceiling and the iconography of its frescoes engage the intellect as well as the emotions, guiding the visitor as a pilgrim toward the altar, the goal and the focus of salvation and divine grace. The faithful are thus encouraged to embark on an individual journey, in which the senses are engaged with each new discovery.<sup>98</sup> As the believer (or convert) proceeds forward, he sees the emblems of the saint’s graces and virtues in the small vaults and over the arches, and thus begins to develop an understanding of his nature and the means of imitating him. Upon ‘hearing’ the music of the concert in the ceiling described earlier, he is quickly caught up in the rapturous scene of the saint’s apotheosis in the cupola. Such a scene of saintly glory

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<sup>96</sup> See Chapter 1 regarding Jesuit education, including the core texts of philosophy and theology. Plato discusses the four virtues of the State—Wisdom, Courage, Temperance and Justice, in *Republic*, Book IV, 428-35. For Aquinas’ Discussion of the Cardinal Virtues (Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Courage) and Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity), see *Summa Theologiae*, 1a2ae.61-62.

<sup>97</sup> Pfeiffer, ‘L’Iconografia,’ 91.

<sup>98</sup> For a discussion of free will and individual experience of the divine in Jesuit churches see Bailey, ‘Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting,’ 198.

is surely intended to inspire the will to follow in his footsteps in spreading the message of Christianity.

## A Transcendent Space: Architecture, Illusion and Light

The illusionistic effects of Pozzo's perspective system at Mondovì are distributed over several episodes: the dome, the apse, and the secondary intervals between the major arches all have different, progressively sequenced viewing positions [fig. 3.18].<sup>99</sup> The subdivision of the fresco cycle of the ceiling into a succession of horizontal bands, and the dramatic punctuation of the vault with scenes of celestial blue, has several effects. First, it makes us unaware of the architectural form of the built ceiling, which disappears in the images represented on its surface. Although the perspective lines are tied to determined viewing points on the floor of the church, we are almost unaware of the perspective system and the 'correct' view of each scene. Pozzo's perspective construction reveals itself most clearly as we approach the centre of the crossing and find that the painted architecture of the cupola becomes progressively disengaged from that of the built architecture. The image thus reveals itself as a painted illusion. The breakdown of the perspectival illusion upon passing from the designated viewing position is one of the most discussed issues of Pozzo's fresco works in Rome; the work at Mondovì demonstrates that this became a defining characteristic of his perspective practice prior to his Roman period.<sup>100</sup>

As I have discussed in earlier chapters, Pozzo certainly had access to the most current published research and techniques in the field of perspective. His early scenographies and the first frescoes in Genoa are proof that he had set about experimenting with different kinds of perspectival constructions and different

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<sup>99</sup> Giuseppe Dardanella, in collaboration with Marco Boetti, produced a set of drawings reconstructing the interior architecture of the church and establishing Pozzo's perspective constructions, including the viewing positions. See Bösel and Insolera, eds., *Mirabili Disingani*, 256-57, Fig. 12.07 and Dardanella, 'Rilievo dell'architettura,' 194-211.

<sup>100</sup> This issue and the scholarly discourse surrounding it are discussed in relation to the Corridor of St Ignatius and the dome and vault of Sant' Ignazio Chapter 5.

viewing positions as early as his Milan period and certainly before his arrival at Mondovì [fig. 3.46]. We can recognize that by the 1670s, he had studied the construction of architectural structures in perspective, including openings and domes, viewed from non-centred positions, as described by Dubreuil [figs 1.25-1.31].<sup>101</sup> Daniela Gallavotti has upheld Pozzo's perspective scenes at Mondovì as evidence that he had been studying Kircher's experiments in anamorphosis [fig. 1.21].<sup>102</sup> Although Pozzo would not attempt fully anamorphic figures until his Roman period, we can recognise clearly in the cupola at Mondovì that he had already mastered the construction and execution of architecture in perspective on a curved surface, viewed at an oblique angle.<sup>103</sup>

To this end, we can assume he had also established the use of the grid and the technique of projecting the image onto the surface; here the lessons of Dubreuil, Bosse and Desargues would have provided guidance [fig. 1.32, 1.34-1.35].<sup>104</sup> This involves attaching cords at the cornice line in order to produce a grid at the position of the 'picture plane' of the image. By use of a light or torch, set at the designated viewing position, the lines of this grid are projected upward onto the curved surface of the vault. When traced on the vault's surface, this grid incorporates the curving and distortion necessary to adjust the lines and figures of the image to be rendered. The final image thus optically overcomes the curve and angle of the surface and its oblique position in relation to the viewer: when viewed from the determined viewing position, the perspective aligns and the figures and objects appear 'correct' and

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<sup>101</sup> See Chapter 1. Dubreuil, *La perspective pratique*, Part III, 1648, Pratique V-XXVIII.

<sup>102</sup> Gallavotti, 'Gli esordi pittorici,' 45. Kircher, *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, Book II, Part II, 'Ars sciagraphica,' Chapters III, IV.

<sup>103</sup> Pozzo's anamorphic figures in the Corridor of St Ignatius in Rome are discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>104</sup> Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 36-38; Bosse, *Manière Universelle de Mr. Desargues* (1648), Part I; Bosse, *Moyen Universel per Pratiquer la Perspective* (1653) Figs. 6-15. See Chapter 1 for discussion of these treatises.

accurately proportioned. This method will be demonstrated again in Chapter 5 as I examine Pozzo's fresco cycle in the Corridor of St Ignatius in Rome and his description of the method in his treatise.

The total painting programme at Mondovì is the prime illustration of the theme of *inganno* and *disinganno* in Pozzo's painted illusions.<sup>105</sup> In this space each instance of *disinganno*—the discovery of the illusion when one passes out of the 'correct' viewing position—is quickly replaced by the discovery of a new subject of interest. While this is in large part due to the architecture—the subdivision of the ceiling into smaller areas—the success of the painted illusions in this church is less dependent on the perspective system and its associated viewing positions than are, for example, Pozzo's frescoes in the Corridor of St Ignatius and the church of Sant'Ignazio in Rome. Thus the wonder of the *inganno* the viewer experiences is less tied to the individual success of each image than to the impression of the whole.

The overall effect of the interior is that of upward movement: the ceiling appears to float over the supporting architecture, weightless and ethereal; the eye is beckoned upward to participate in the scenes and to enter the infinite space represented by the frescoes. While illusionistic painting occupies the ceiling above the level of the cornice, it is tied to the architecture below through the use of colour and architectonic correspondence, reinforcing the sense of progression [fig. 3.10-3.11]. Boetto's columns were originally to have been fluted, and were later changed to smooth stucco. It has been suggested that this change was made on Pozzo's initiative.<sup>106</sup> This permitted the employment of strategically placed colour on the

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<sup>105</sup> See Introduction and Chapter 1 discussions of this theme.

<sup>106</sup> Pigozzi proposes that Pozzo might have recommended the alteration prior to his arrival in April 1676. Pigozzi, 'Il gioco della verità e illusione,' 137. In the documentation from August of that year the columns, fluted according to the original design, are to be rendered smooth in order to highlight

shafts: a very boldly figured *rosso di francia*, which accentuates the vertical lines of the space, enhances the architectural rhythm, and visually connects the built architecture to the fictive painted architecture above. The rest of the construction—pedestals, pilasters, cornice—is entirely in white plaster. The eye is surrounded, at the ground level, with a serene architectural ‘void’ of staggered column pedestals, standing almost to head height, with no contrasting colour or internal panelling detail. Our gaze is then directed up along the columns to the highly ornamented entablature and projecting cornice, and from there to the series of arches and the frescoed illusions above.

As I described in my introduction, the success of these painted illusions of Pozzo depends upon the active engagement of the observer in an intellectual process that is meant to lead to spiritual persuasion.<sup>107</sup> This persuasion, the ultimate goal of the entire interior, is achieved by the iconography of the frescoes in unison with the architectonic progression and the perspectival illusionism. At Mondovì, we encounter the phenomenon previously discussed in Pozzo’s scenographies, and certainly present in his later works of illusionism. Beyond the artistic ideal of mimesis, the perfect imitation or representation of the subject or of the physical world, which we may call a ‘second reality,’ a third reality is manifest.<sup>108</sup> Here distinctions between ‘true’ and ‘false’ spaces and objects dissolve. The continuation of the architecture of the church—the architecture of the observer’s space—into the

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the marble treatment: ‘Terzo, in quanto alle colonne che nel disegno sono incanelite lascia farle, solie e lustre à foggia di Pietra macchiata come marmo finto.’ AST Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, m. 234, 4 ‘Fabbrica,’ 4 August 1676, *Capitolazione tra il Coleggio della Compagnia di Giesu di questa città di Mondovì con il Sig. Marco Mutis stuccatore*. . .

<sup>107</sup> See De Feo, *Andrea Pozzo: architettura e illusione*, 13.

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter 1 for my discussion of mimesis and illusionism. Warwick describes Bernini’s ‘quest for lifelikeness’ as a preoccupation of the age, one extending from rendering of forms in sculpture to the theatrical performances which mirror the ‘reality’ of the audience. Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 10.



celestial scene viewed in the cupola and the other openings in the vault above momentarily breaks down the distinction between real structure and fictive structure, real space and fictive space. Physical structure and space blend with the fictive to the point where the 'real' begins to appear fictive, the fictive real.<sup>109</sup>

The effects of Pozzo's illusions, together with the iconography, direct the inquiring intellect beyond the confines of the built architecture, and implicitly encourage the faithful to 'journey' beyond these confines as well. The illusion of the architecture opening into the heavenly realm leads the imagination to contemplate the infinite and the divine. The limitations of the constructed reality, even of physical reality itself, momentarily fall away as one observes the heavenly vision, the infinite realm, not framed within or separated from the constructed interior of the church, but fully conjoined with it. The terrestrial is thus joined with the celestial, as it was in Pozzo's *apparato* for the *Immacolata* in Milan, and this theme would continue with his Roman works.<sup>110</sup> Through the iconography of baptism and the perfect fusion of built architecture with celestial visions, the 'real' earthly realm of the spectator and the fictive heavenly realm represented are both visually and metaphorically joined.<sup>111</sup> In this way the church and the illusionistic images function together to produce a 'transcendent space.'

The quality of light in the church is one of its most striking characteristics, and further evidence that Pozzo's overall vision included all the factors of the physical reality of the building. The directional continuity of the light is carried through from the constructed architecture to the fictive painted architecture above. The windows

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<sup>109</sup> See Introduction for my discussion of this theme, 'congiungendo il finto col vero . . .' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 30.

<sup>110</sup> For the *Immacolata* at San Fedele see Chapter 2.

<sup>111</sup> Pfeiffer, 'L'Iconografia,' 82.

in the narrower vaults flanking the side chapels, as well as the lateral walls of the presbytery, were essential for illuminating the space and the fresco images [3.12]. These were enlarged, while the facade window was both enlarged and raised on the orders of Pozzo; thus the level of light throughout the day was significantly increased [3.47].<sup>112</sup> The side windows flanking the chapels and those in the presbytery are masked by the arches and largely out of sight from the entrance of the church. This effectively makes them ‘invisible’ light sources not unlike what we find on the theatre stage: they light Boetto’s series of arches in the same way that a series of portals and wings would be lit by lamps and candles in a theatrical set; or, again, in one of Pozzo’s religious scenographies.<sup>113</sup>

The use of *chiaroscuro* painting to reinforce the effects of natural light is particularly evident in the cupola; Pozzo’s strong highlights and deep shadows—for which he would be criticized in his next great fictive dome in Rome—render the architecture remarkably palpable, and infuse the painted structure with dramatic presence.<sup>114</sup> What makes the painted architecture and relief elements believable, and allows the figures to inhabit the fictive architectonic spaces, is that Pozzo follows a naturalistic logic, where light is concerned, from the physical reality to the painted images. The *chiaroscuro* of the architecture and the figures in both the cupola and the smaller fictive openings is rendered to imitate sunlight coming from the southeast; thus the images would have had their most convincing effect during a morning service or ritual [fig. 3.17]. A similar *chiaroscuro* is employed in the

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<sup>112</sup> It is possible that the enlargement of the lateral windows was done on the initiative of Pozzo, though it is not clear. Regarding the facade window, Pozzo is explicitly mentioned: ‘Piu haver allargato et alcianto il finestrone della faciatta due volte di ordine del padre Pozzo. . .’ AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 234, 4 ‘Fabbrica,’ *Sotto delli estimi et Giornati fatti nella nuova Chiesa deli Molti Reverenti Padri della Compagnia di Giesù nella Cita di Mondovì l’anno 1677.*

<sup>113</sup> For Pozzo’s lighting techniques in his scenographies see Chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>114</sup> For the response to Pozzo’s painting of the dome of Sant’Ignazio, see Chapter 5.

figures of the Virtues, which appear, as they are intended, as sculpted reliefs whose highlights and shadows are determined by the adjacent windows [figs. 3.11, 3.40-3.43].

In its abundance of white plaster, with the selective intervention of the fictive red marble, the interior of the church makes full use of the sources of natural light. The play of light and shadow throughout the church animates the whole with movement and emotion, and lends strategic emphasis to the main figurative scenes of the apse and the cupola. Pozzo was well aware of the symbolic role of light in religious devotion, and had mastered its employment and its control in his *apparati*. At Mondovì, we see again Pozzo's use of light and its ability to shape and define space, to direct emphasis, and to inspire transcendence.

### The High Altar: The Ephemeral Becomes 'Permanent'

The high altar at Mondovì is the church's most curious and truly scenographic element [fig. 3.48-3.49]. It is Pozzo's only surviving ephemeral *macchina*, and while it may strike one as a temporary structure, it appears, at least upon entry, that the interior architecture of the church was conceived in conjunction with it [fig. 3.10]. The red columns and arches of the church, increasing in density, seem to 'march' toward the triumphal arch of the altar; considered another way, the architecture seems to radiate outward from the altar, like ripples on the surface of a pond. The entire system of this altar is a rare surviving example of theatrical scenery from the seventeenth century. Both its construction and its effect can serve as the model by which we might reconstruct the ephemeral *apparati* that Pozzo designed and built elsewhere.

The altar is also a surviving record, in the form of an ephemeral construction, of Pozzo's early exploration of a design which would surface repeatedly and take different forms throughout his career. A more developed version of the design appears in the 1693 volume of Pozzo's treatise, and like all of his perspective designs, the structure is worked out in plan and elevation as if it were fully constructed, dimensional architecture [figs. 3.50-3.51].<sup>115</sup> It is a triumphal arch, crowned by a broken curved pediment and supported by clusters of Corinthian order columns. Through this arch we see that the structure is a full pavilion or ciborium, a second arch in perspective indicating that it is comprised of four sides. On the top of the pediment sit angels blowing trumpets, and on the lower cornice to the left and right, two more angels stand playing instruments. In the design in Pozzo's treatise,

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<sup>115</sup> Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Figs. 63 and 64.

the structure is crowned by a dome, and this element of the structure also appears in the larger version of the altar, combining fully constructed and fictive elements, which Pozzo designed for the Franziskanerkirche in Vienna [fig. 3.52].

This altar design has been identified by Dardanello as a variation on a Venetian type traceable to architects and sculptors of the late sixteenth century: a triumphal arch framing a tabernacle or a figure of a saint, serving as a transparent screen between the choir and the rest of the presbytery [fig. 3.53].<sup>116</sup> The form can be found in Venetian side chapels as well, such as Longhena's altars in the rotunda of Santa Maria della Salute (1650s-1670s): the columns and broken pediment form a triumphal arch around the very large painted image of the saint or the sacred scene [fig. 3.54].<sup>117</sup> Chief among Pozzo's Venetian models, however, was fellow Trentino artist Mattia Carneri's high altar of the Church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (1652), which he directly cites in the altar at Mondovì as well as later altars (including the aforementioned altar in Vienna), scenographies and frescoes. [fig. 3.55].<sup>118</sup> This dramatic work of architecture and sculpture derives much of its visual impact from the bright light which comes from behind it, another theme which Hopkins has identified as characteristic of high altars in Venice.<sup>119</sup> In Trentino, Carneri was responsible for a number of other altars in a similar if less grand

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<sup>116</sup> Dardanello cites the work of sculptor Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608) in the altars of San Francesco della Vigna, San Giobbe, Santo Stefano and San Lorenzo in Venice. Dardanello, 'La sperimentazione,' 125-26.

<sup>117</sup> See Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 69-74.

<sup>118</sup> De Feo and Dardanello have amply demonstrated the influence of this altar on Pozzo's work as evidenced in the high altar at Mondovì. Dardanello, 'La sperimentazione,' 124-29; De Feo, 'Le cappelle e gli altari,' 114-19. Luciana Giacomelli has explored the work of Carneri and his likely influence on the architectonic language of both Andrea Pozzo and his brother, Jacopo Antonio. Giacomelli, 'Tra apparati effimeri,' 33-40. Versions of this structure appear in scenographies to be discussed in Chapter 4, and the frescoes in Sant'Ignazio discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>119</sup> Hopkins discusses this effect, also recognizable in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (1250-1338), being employed in later buildings such as Palladio's church of Il Redentore (1575-77) and Longhena's Santa Maria della Salute (1631-87). Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 79-83; 120-23.

language to that of Santi Giovanni e Paolo; these include the high altar of Santa Maria Maggiore in Trent (1631), which is steps away from the Jesuit college where Pozzo studied as a youngster [fig. 3.56].<sup>120</sup> Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapter, Carneri was a designer of festival *apparati* in Trent, and his architectural designs evoke the spirit of these ephemeral scenographies, particularly triumphal arches. Common motifs in Carneri's work are the curved, broken pediment, often with a central corbel; the use of highly contrasting coloured marbles; the clustering of columns; and the frequent liberty taken with classical proportion in the interest of visual impact. Pozzo had extensive exposure to Carneri's works during his youth in Trent, and his time in Venice would have provided the opportunity to study the altar in Santi Giovanni e Paolo first hand.<sup>121</sup>

Analysing the work in Pozzo's treatise architecturally, De Feo points out that in plan, the centrality of the intersecting axes is uncertain; the structure is slightly wider than it is deep, indicating that this reveals its 'scenographic specificity' [fig. 3.50-3.51].<sup>122</sup> Pozzo has deliberately manipulated the rules of architecture to make the structure more pleasing from the frontal perspective view. The piers are decorated with half-columns on three of four sides; the exterior side facing us is reduced to a pilaster behind the disengaged column. This makes the structure rectangular in plan rather than square, rendering the projecting elements on the outer faces of the structure more visible and less obscured by those elements projecting toward us. This unconventional architectural plan gives the structure a more dynamic outer profile, makes its various planes and elements more distinct, and permits the view of

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<sup>120</sup> Giacomelli cites the high altar of Santa Maria delle Laste (1656) and the high altar of Santa Maria Maggiore (1644), both in Trent. Giacomelli, 'Tra apparati effimeri,' 32-33. See also Rasmus, *Storia dell'arte nel Trentino*, 282-4 and Cessi, *Mattia Carneri*.

<sup>121</sup> For Pozzo's sojourn in Venice, see Chapter 2.

<sup>122</sup> De Feo, 'Le cappelle e gli altari,' 18.

voids through the columns. At Mondovì, we see the structure rendered as a scenographic *macchina*: a series of three theatrical flats, each shaped to the profile of the architecture and painted in perspective, produces, with the intervening space, the convincing appearance of a fully dimensional architectural structure [fig. 3.48-3.49]. An image of Francis Xavier is painted on a metal panel and suspended in the midst of the system, and can be raised with the still extant apparatus of a mechanical winch, hidden behind the scaffold that supports the structure. This effect is a representation of the miraculous levitation of the saint described in Urban VIII's bull of canonization, in which he was observed to enter a trance, his eyes fixed toward the heavens, overcome with the 'fire of divine love.'<sup>123</sup>

How the altar remained as it is today, of ephemeral construction, remains a question. A record of the city council indicates that a design for an altar existed as early as 1668, several years prior to Pozzo's engagement, though no record has been found as to its design.<sup>124</sup> We might regard Pozzo's ephemeral altar as a solution to the unfinished state of the church in 1678, due to a long history of disagreements over planning and design, as well as apparent financial difficulties.<sup>125</sup> However, it does not seem likely that the project for the high altar should have been de-prioritised in favour of the side chapels, both of which were eventually completed. According to Canavesio, one of these, the altar in the Chapel of the Virgin of Sorrows, may be

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<sup>123</sup> '... fieretque aliquando talis super eum mentis excessus; ut oculis in caelum defixis, divina vi a terra elevaretur; vultu adeo inflammatus, ut angelicam prorsus claritatem repraesentaret, nec divini amoris perferre valens incendium, sapeius exclamaret: *Satis est Domini, Satis est.*' Pope Urban VIII, *Canonizatio S. Francisci Xavierij è Societate Iesu*. See Pfeiffer, 'L'iconografia,' 109.

<sup>124</sup> AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 247, *Verbale di Consiglio Comunale del 16 maggio 1668*. The coat of arms of the city is approved to appear on the frontispiece of the high altar, with 'permission given by the Most Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus.' See Canavesio, 'Il cantiere dell'architettura,' 42-43.

<sup>125</sup> AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 245, 4, *Scritture per la donazione fatta dalla Maria Corderi al Collegio di scudi Lt./m stata quindi rivocata*. This file details the troubled history of the endowment established by Maria Corderi in 1666 for the construction of the church, whose continuation appears threatened by attempts by her heirs to alter the terms of her original will.

attributable to Pozzo and datable to 1680 [fig. 3.57].<sup>126</sup> Certainly the resemblance of the latter altar to Pozzo's ephemeral high altar, and to the altars of Carneri and Longhena in Venice, makes a strong case that it was built from a design of Pozzo. Why was Pozzo's high altar never translated into a permanent construction? Is its survival as an ephemeral construction mere happenstance?

Boetto's change of the shape of the presbytery from a rectangular space to a round apse, and the indication of an altar against this curved wall, tells us that the original conception of the high altar was quite different to Pozzo's altar, which is designed to be placed in the presbytery with the choir behind [figs. 3.4 and 3.48]. As we look at Pozzo's ephemeral altar in its corresponding plan in the treatise, as a ciborium or pavilion formed of four triumphal arches, it is clear that the space of the presbytery would not have accommodated such a structure and permitted space for the choir, if it were executed architecturally in three dimensions [fig. 3.51]. At most, a half-constructed, half 'ephemeral' version of this altar, like that which Pozzo designed for the Franziskanerkirche in Vienna, would have been possible in the presbytery of Mondovì [fig. 3.52]. It therefore seems unlikely that this ephemeral rendition of Carneri's altar was produced as a proposal for a permanent altar—a full-scale model constructed *in situ*.

It thus appears that Pozzo's altar was conceived and executed as a scenography. It may have been a temporary substitution for the missing high altar, built hastily to complete the church, at least temporarily, for its consecration. Its design would have been particularly appropriate for the celebration of the feast day of the St Francis

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<sup>126</sup> Canavesio, 'Il cantiere dell'architettura,' 49. For the date of the construction of this altar, Canavesio cites AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 263, *Note delle fature fate alli riverendi padri della Compagnia di Giesù, dicembre 1680: per una serradura alli tabernacolo della Madonna L. 1.0*



Xavier, which assumed particular importance in this church and its liturgical year.<sup>127</sup>

As previously discussed, the altar answers the permanent architecture of the church to the point of appearing as its inevitable climax or completion [fig. 3.10]. Perhaps this is how Pozzo and the fathers envisaged the presbytery after the architectural changes were made: as a religious *apparato*, a ‘permanent’ stage set for the repeated performance of the saint’s canonisation and ‘miraculous’ levitation. We may note that the apse, whose originally planned windows were removed, is the darkest part of the church. Apart from the lateral windows of the presbytery, which even during the day offer limited natural light due to the intervening arch, the illumination of the apse could have been achieved by the lighting of lamps and candles. We can imagine the scenography thus illuminated with hidden light sources placed between the flats, much like Pozzo’s scenographies in Milan and Rome. The figure of the saint, rendered on a metal plate, was made to be seen by candlelight, to shimmer and glow with an otherworldly, ethereal quality while he ‘miraculously’ levitated at the centre of the scene.<sup>128</sup>

Evidence from the time further suggests that the altar survived in ‘permanent’ form because it worked brilliantly as it was. However, this in itself raises questions regarding the position of ephemeral art and scenography within the artistic and architectonic culture of the seventeenth century. A letter of the Jesuit Francesco Vasco, cited by Canavesio, indicates the public response to Pozzo’s altar as well as

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<sup>127</sup> The feast day of St Francis Xavier is 3 December, and in the records relating to the church and the college at Mondovì, we find in 1683 a plenary indulgence offered to those participating in the church services. AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 234, 9 *Consuetudini del Collegio*. In 1729 receipts indicate musicians and a choir paid for both the mass and the vespers. AST, I, Conventi Soppressi, Mondovì, 230, *Festa di S. Francesco Xaverio, 1729*.

<sup>128</sup> See Pfeiffer, ‘L’iconografia,’ 109.

its dating; apparently it was executed in 1676, in the early stages of Pozzo's work in the church:

Everyone who comes to Mondovì speaks of the marvel with which the church, and the name of F. Pozzo, become very famous; but much more is said at seeing the high altar, where F. Pozzo demonstrated more than ever his value, as he had done in San Fedele in the feast of the Canonisation of St Francis Borgia.<sup>129</sup>

The praise of Pozzo's ephemeral altar, which was deemed to equal or even surpass his scenographies in Milan, gives us a sense of the resounding success of the design and of Pozzo's similar scenographic *apparati*. It also suggests that Pozzo's works, both ephemeral and 'permanent,' produced such a persuasive effect on the public as to render material irrelevant. This event is signal of the new status that ephemeral scenographic construction was taking on in the period, as demonstrated through the work of Pozzo, and thus represents a possible shift in the minds and taste of the public. In the permanent architecture of the church, we witness architecture *resembling* scenography in its appearance and function, providing a setting for performance; in the case of the altar, permanent architecture is actually *replaced* by ephemeral scenography which becomes, over time, 'permanent.' The initial response to the high altar at Mondovì, and the fact that it was not replaced with a 'permanent' structure (in spite of the later side altars of the church being constructed of stone), suggest that ephemeral constructions were perhaps becoming less distinct from permanent ones; that the ephemeral and the illusory were beginning to be regarded as having equal value and standing with the 'real'; or that ephemeral

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<sup>129</sup> Translation mine. 'Ogn'un che viene da Mondovì dice mirabilia di cotesta chiesa, è il nome del f. Pozzo diventa molto celebre, ma molto più si dirà al vedersi dell'altar maggiore, dove il f. Pozzo farà spiccar più che mai il suo valore come fece in San Fedele nella festa della canonicazione di san Francesco Borgia.' Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Mondovì, Miscellanea Gavotto, 39.B.21.57, letter of Francesco Vasco, addressed probably to father Ghesio, 10 November 1676. Transcribed in Bracco, 'Il collegio dei gesuiti,' 108; cited by Canavesio, 'Il Cantiere dell'architettura,' 46-47.

constructions and painted illusions were actually becoming a preference in art as the ultimate demonstration of the *meraviglia* of artifice. This idea will be revisited in Chapter 5 as I examine Pozzo's dome in Sant'Ignazio, another case in which a 'temporary' solution has remained a permanent feature of the church.

## Conclusion

The visitor entering a church such as San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì is not merely an observer, but rather a performer actively engaged in a religious rite and a journey of faith. To examine the church from the standpoint of religious theatre, we must think of this theatre as something involving not only visual effects, but movement, narrative, and personal involvement in both the rites of worship and the story unfolding in the fresco cycle. In this way the interior might be said to correspond to religious processions and rituals in Northern Italy discussed in the previous chapter. The elaborate processional scenographies, featuring series of triumphal arches decorated with allegorical figures, emblems, and *imprese*, find correspondence in this church, where the virtues and the activities of the saint are likewise presented in processional fashion, terminating at the altar, the location of the Eucharist and the centre of the liturgy. The representation of the virtues as fictive carved reliefs, as well as the garlands, floral motifs, urns and relief medallions adorning the arches, vaults and windows recall both the scenographies of the great processions and the lush decorations produced in church interiors for the canonisation festivals. The major scenes of the apse and the cupola provide the performed narratives for the faithful to contemplate as they seek to follow the saint's example.

In previous chapters I discussed the central role that theatre played in Jesuit culture, from performances in the colleges to religious and civic spectacles. The Jesuits' use of theatre as a means of communication, instruction and persuasion capitalized on the broader culture of religious theatre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a culture which Carlo and Federico Borromeo had recognized and

exploited in instituting, controlling and promoting ritual and festival traditions in the diocese of Milan.<sup>130</sup> A visitor entering a church such as San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì in the seventeenth century was predisposed to receiving spiritual instruction through the system of ‘total rhetoric’—word, image, gesture, and music—which the Jesuits had perfected; in other words, through religious theatre.<sup>131</sup> The individual in the church physically participates in the sacred rituals, processing through the space, past its images, engaging in the physical actions and gestures of liturgy, saying the prayers, hearing the sermons and music, and singing the hymns. For each of these activities, he can observe an example of the saint and his virtues in the fresco images and their myriad of gesturing, speaking and singing figures. The visitor becomes a performer within the space alongside the painted figures who ‘perform’ the events of the saint and his virtues, which he is called to emulate.

A church such as San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì is, of course, not only a place for the expression of individual faith, but a place of communal worship. Such worship, as demonstrated in religious festivals, is its own type of performance. In a church such as this, it consists in the practice of the ritual of ceremony, mass and group prayer. The ritual procession through the church, past the images of the saint’s virtues and miraculous events and climaxing at the altar, under the image of the baptism, is a faith journey for both the individual and the group of the faithful. It is thus a place of both an ‘internal and ‘external’ performance, of individual and communal ritual performed both separately and simultaneously. In the context of the church at Mondovì, a place of performed ritual, thought and action engage alternately in the movement through the space and the reception of the images and

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<sup>130</sup> In Chapter 2 I discuss in detail the theatrical culture of Spanish Milan under the Borromeos.

<sup>131</sup> The idea of Jesuit ‘total rhetoric,’ which I credit to Giovanna Zanlonghi and build upon with examples such as this church, is discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

their meanings.<sup>132</sup> The *apparato* of the altar, like Pozzo's previous *apparati*, becomes a means of directing attention toward the object of devotion, but also a means of participating in the spiritual drama of the Eucharist. Francis Xavier performs his baptism, and the faithful approach the saint to participate in this baptism and assist him in his miraculous levitation and ascent to heaven, represented in the cupola above.<sup>133</sup>

If San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì functions as a place of religious theatre, it does so not only as a setting for religious performance by the faithful, but also self-sufficiently in its overall visual effect, its portrayal of dramatic religious scenes, and in its production and materials. What makes the church particularly astonishing is the celebration of artifice characteristic of the Baroque theatre, represented not only in its complex illusions, but in the contrast of its grand and opulent appearance with its 'poor' materials—wood, plaster, canvas and paint.<sup>134</sup> Compared to its Roman counterparts and other richly encrusted Baroque churches throughout Italy, the church almost appears as an ephemeral construction in its entirety. The product of this artifice is clearly and consciously fictive, an artistic act of mimesis, not intended as a 'realistic' representation.<sup>135</sup> The Baroque 'marvel' which it produces derives in no small part from the triumphantly successful employment of artifice.

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<sup>132</sup> In her overview of the theoretical discourse on ritual, Bell summarizes the dichotomies presented between thought and action, individual and group, ritual and belief, 'actor' and 'detached observer'. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 19-29. Bell cites Lévi-Strauss, *The Naked Man*; Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*; Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*; and Schils, 'Ritual and Crisis.'

<sup>133</sup> Pfeiffer describes the spectator assisting in the saint's levitation. 'Dal teatro gesuitico,' 79.

<sup>134</sup> For the idea of 'deceptively poor materials,' employed by Pozzo, see Levy, 'The "Perspectives"', 23. In Baldinucci's account of Pozzo producing a *Quarant'ore* scenography in his early years in Rome, Pozzo is literally working with 'rags and old boards.' See Chapter 4. Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 322/c.128v.

<sup>135</sup> Sörbom, in his discussion of *mimesis*, emphasises the difference between 'realistic' portrayal and 'realistic' subject matter. In discussing the meanings of words in the '*mimeisthai*-group', he presents the act of imitation as not necessarily synonymous with deception of the audience. Sörbom, *Mimesis and Art* 23-24, 33.

The persuasion of Pozzo's illusions, as we shall see further evidenced in his Roman works, lies not in their comparison to reality, but in the fact that we accept these images, on their own terms, as we confront them.<sup>136</sup> The production of such a space, and such effects, with such materials, is a kind of performance. *Mimesis*, in this context, comes to signify not merely 'perfect imitation,' but the artistic 'performance' of producing this imitation; the 'audience,' likewise, engages in the performative act of viewing it and discovering its artifice.<sup>137</sup> Pozzo's painted architecture follows its own visual rules so consistently and is rendered with such assured dramatic force that we believe it, and we marvel at its production. And yet, while Pozzo's artifice of illusion momentarily deceives the viewer, it also seeks to be discovered. This idea that the act of producing a work of art, of representing a subject, carries even greater value than the subject represented, the 'lifelikeness' of the representation, or the materials with which the work is made—is precisely what renders the work performative in and of itself.<sup>138</sup> In the figurative imagery of the frescoes, theatrical performance takes precedence over factual representation. Queen Neachile, in decidedly European garb and depicted in the guise of a local sovereign, is a theatrical construction, as is the mythologized event in which she is represented [fig. 3.19]. The ephemeral *apparato* of the altar makes perfect sense within its context [fig. 3.48]. It is an architectonic illusion springing from the same idea of perspectively constructed reality found in the frescoes, rendered in multiple planes

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<sup>136</sup> See Gombrich's discussion on the relationship between illusion and expectation in viewing the rendered image, and the mind's ability to 'close the gap' between artifice and reality. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, Chapter VII, 'Conditions of Illusion, 170-204; esp. 170-75.

<sup>137</sup> See Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 48-49 and 63-65.

<sup>138</sup> Zanlonghi identifies as a Baroque theme the conception of the value and meaning of a work of art residing more in the operation of producing it than in the object represented. Zanlonghi, 'Teatro senza attori,' 233. This corresponds to Aristotle's discussion of *mimesis*: 'it is not the object itself which gives delight,' but rather the 'act of imitation.' Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, I, 1371b, 4-10.

which permit it to more credibly occupy the built space of the church. The whole ensemble of the church—constructed and fictive space, built and painted architectural elements, dramatic scenes in fresco—is triumphant in its particular combination of ephemeral, illusionistic, mimetic, and performative elements. In his Roman projects Pozzo would continue to perfect many of these themes and ideas in both ephemeral and permanent contexts.





## Chapter 4

### Pozzo and the Religious Theatre of Rome

Having now studied Pozzo's development and early projects in the North of Italy, I will proceed in these final two chapters to examine his Roman period. Pozzo's time in Rome was prolific, as he was called upon to produce ephemeral and permanent works, both of which increased in importance and scale during his tenure there. In this chapter I resume my discussion of the practices, techniques and the culture of scenography as I examine Pozzo's projects for the Jesuits in Rome. This discussion will centre on the religious theatre represented by the ritual of the *Quarant'ore*. As I have demonstrated in previous chapters, it is through the scenographies—the ephemeral quality of their design and construction, their use of illusion, the metaphors contained within them, and the ritual context for which they were produced—that we arrive at a true understanding of Pozzo's total practice, including the monumental Roman fresco works.

A major point which becomes more clear we study Pozzo's Roman projects in light of his northern experience is that his techniques in painting and perspectival illusionism, as well as much of the architectonic language, had been fully developed and demonstrated in his scenographies and fresco work prior to his arrival in Rome.<sup>1</sup> What did Pozzo contribute to religious theatre in Rome, and how did his work and his practice develop in this new artistic environment? Before proceeding to analyses

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<sup>1</sup> Insolera has suggested that Pozzo's studies of perspective were 'deepened' when he came into contact with the intellectual culture and the tradition of research at the Collegio Romano, represented in the legacies of figures such as Kircher, and that this is demonstrated in the Corridor of St Ignatius. I contend that the work in San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì, and Pozzo's access to the works of Kircher and others prior to his arrival in Rome, indicate that he had mastered the fundamental theories and techniques prior to his arrival. Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 100-107.

of Pozzo's architectural perspective scenes for the *Quarant'ore*, the genre of religious theatre most closely associated with Pozzo, I will explore the origins, structure and major elements of the ritual, as well as the official instructions associated with it. As in previous chapters, the reason for my emphasis on such material is to help us to recognise and understand the symbolism and the rhetorical functions of Pozzo's scenographies within their respective contexts of performance and ritual. Within my analyses of Pozzo's works, themes I will pursue include the idea of monumentality and splendour as expressed through material construction versus painted illusion, and the associated economics of each; the artistic and technical innovations present in Pozzo's scenographies and the architectural models they draw upon; the role of light in the works and in the ritual for which they were produced; and the connection between artistic persuasion and spiritual persuasion as demonstrated through perspectival illusion and the 'performance' of its execution and its reception. As evidence of the broad range of theatrical activity in which he was engaged as both artist and teacher in Rome, I will conclude the chapter with a brief discussion of Pozzo's notable contributions to the practice of scenography and stagecraft as represented in his theatrical projects, first discussed in Chapter 2. These projects, published in his treatise together with his *teatri sacri*, also served as a means by which his scenographic methods were disseminated to Jesuit centres worldwide.

## The Call to Rome: A Culture of Spectacle and a 'Theatre of Ideas'

As discussed in the previous chapter, Pozzo's projects in Northern Italy, not only the major fresco cycles but the commissioned portraits and religious paintings, had won the attention and high esteem of Father General Giovanni Paolo Oliva by the early 1670s. From Rome he followed and directed Pozzo's movements between Milan, Genoa, Turin and Mondovì.<sup>2</sup> Having already set about transforming the Church of the Gesù in Rome through the splendid stucco work and frescoes of Gaulli, Oliva was giving renewed attention and priority to religious art and church decoration as effective instruments of spiritual persuasion, with an increasing emphasis on Jesuit iconographic themes.<sup>3</sup>

Pozzo had expressed an interest in travelling to Rome to study as early as the 1660s.<sup>4</sup> In 1679, following the gift of two paintings to Oliva, we see in the correspondence that Pozzo's time has finally come: in a letter addressed directly to Pozzo in Turin (where he was painting the now lost fresco cycle in the church of the Jesuit college) Oliva has decided, with the encouragement of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, that Pozzo should be brought to Rome:

Just a few days ago Sig. Cardinal Barberini, having not without satisfaction contemplated your portraits, urged me to call you to Rome for a period, so that seeing those great works left by the most excellent artists will perfect the ability and the good disposition that appears in your work. . . I would therefore like to know how much longer it will take you to complete the painting of the college church, so that I can call you as soon as possible to this theatre of ideas, and school of the arts.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> ARSI Med. 33 I Epist. Gener. 1672-1675: 17 June, 1673, Oliva to Carlo Ghiringelli, Provincial of Lombardy; 26 January 1675 Oliva to Francesco Vasco, Rector of the house in Turin; and 2 February 1675, Oliva to Father Visconti, Rector in Genoa.

<sup>3</sup> Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 78-84; Enggass, *The Painting of Baciccio*, 31-74.

<sup>4</sup> According to Baldinucci, Pozzo expressed a desire to study in Rome as early as his Milan period, prior to joining the Jesuits. Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 316/c.122r. Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 316/122r.

<sup>5</sup> Translation and transcription mine. 'Non ha molti giorni che il Sig. Card. Barberin[in]o havendo non senza soddisfazione contemplati i vostri ritratti, mi disse stimolo a chiamarvi per qualche tempo a

This letter suggest that Oliva's decision is not motivated only by the needs of the order or his own plans for artistic projects, but also by the sincere desire, supported by the opinions of others, that Pozzo come to Rome to perfect his art. For Pozzo, as for most artists of the time, a period of study in Rome was deemed essential to achieving artistic maturity. Oliva's phrase, 'this theatre of ideas and school of the arts,' crucially identifies Rome, and the Collegio Romano, as an artistic and intellectual destination; an environment to which Pozzo might contribute, and where his training might be passed on to others. Oliva may have predicted that teaching the arts of painting and perspective would become an important activity in Pozzo's future with the Jesuits, complementing the order's longstanding tradition of education in the humanities and the sciences.

Pozzo's definitive departure for Rome would be delayed for another two years, due in part to commissions in Piedmont and the desire of the nobility to keep him there.<sup>6</sup> His presence in Rome is documented beginning in January 1682, and

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Roma, affinché con la veduta delle [opere] insigni che qui hanno lasciate a [i] più eccellenti artefici perfezionaste il talento e la buona disposizione che apparisce ne vostri lavori. Ne io son punto alieno da tal pensiero, si per mia consolatione come per vostro profitto. Desidero proprio intender da voi, fino a quanto tempo possa durare il vostro impegno nella Pittura di cot[est]a Chiesa affine di potervi chiamar quanto prima à questo teatro di Idee, e Scuola delle arti. Un tal mio disegno però resti per ora in voi solo e preg[at]e il Sig. e. per me.' ARSI Med. 34 I, Epist. Gener. 1678-1680, 1 August 1679, Oliva to Andrea Pozzo in Turin. Corrections per Menichella in De Feo and Martinelli, *Andrea Pozzo: 'Il pittore della casa,'* 18 and 'Appendice documentaria,' 238, Document 27. Also cited by Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idee,' 26.

<sup>6</sup> The Duke of Savoy reluctantly lets Pozzo go to Rome, with the understanding that he would stay for period of study and then return north. Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 321/c.128r.; Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 693. In a letter of 18 September 1680, Oliva assures the Madame Regent of Savoy of Pozzo's fulfilment of commissioned works. See Vesme, *Schede Vesme*, 1680, 18 September, G. P. Oliva to the Royal Madame Regent of Savoy. Baldinucci marks his arrival in 1681: 'Arrivato dipoi a Roma dell'anno 1681, dopo un mese passò a miglior vita il detto Padre Generale Uliva, gran progettore di esso . . .' Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 321/128r. Archived correspondence from Oliva, recently presented by Insolera, serves as further evidence of Pozzo's passage from Milan to Rome in the autumn of that year, and of Oliva's anticipation of his arrival: in June of 1681 Oliva recommends to Father Giulio Balbi in Milan that Pozzo wait until after the heat of the summer to make the voyage to Rome. ARSI, Med II, f. 470 v., letter to Giulio Balbi, Milan 16 June, 1681. On 8 September Oliva writes to Pozzo, 'Godo che finalmente sia finiti gl'impegni, che han ritardata tanto tempo la vostra venuta a Roma.' ARSI, Med. II, f. 515v. letter to Andrea Pozzo, Milan, 8 September, 1681. Both documents transcribed by Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 55, notes 1 and 2.

according to Pascoli, Oliva already had work prepared for him: prior to falling ill, the Father General had determined to set Pozzo to work on a fresco program to decorate the corridor adjacent to the rooms of the order's founder, Ignatius of Loyola, in the Casa Professa of the Gesù.<sup>7</sup> However, as Pozzo arrives in Rome, the biographers return to the theme of the artist as suffering saint: Oliva's sudden illness and death bring the corridor project to a swift halt, and with it Pozzo's burgeoning artistic career in Rome. With the loss of his 'protector,' and the champion of his artistic career, Pozzo suddenly finds himself without identity or status, and is immediately cast into the role of an anonymous brother performing menial duties in the kitchen.<sup>8</sup> This situation happily ends after five months as he is again put to work as a painter, and within a few short years he finds himself executing works of increasing visibility and scale for the most important Jesuit buildings in the heart of Rome.<sup>9</sup>

When Pozzo arrived in Rome, he encountered another 'ritual city'; *the* ritual city, in fact, which Milan, 'the second Rome,' was thought to emulate in its religious culture and festival traditions.<sup>10</sup> While Milan may have been the stage of Habsburg displays of power and Borromeo's showcase example of a reformed diocese, Rome

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<sup>7</sup> Insolera cites a letter from Charles Noyelle, Vice General of the order to the rector in Turin, Luigi San Giovanni: 'Hor che il Fratello si ritrova qui [Rome],' ARSI, Med. 35, f. 3v. Insolera, '*Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*,' 55, note 4. The catalogue for the Society in the region of Milan of 1682 indicates Pozzo's departure to Rome: 'Andreas Puteus Coad.re formatus. . . in eadem,' following 'P. Hieronymus Mra Cattaneus. . . in Romana.' ARSI Med. 3, Mediol. Catal. 1678-89, 'Abierunt ex Provincia 1682,' 106v. In Pascoli we find: 'Non mettendo il P. Uliva più in dubbio l'abilità d'Andrea gli concedè quel che bramava, e le tele furono attaccate nella sala del Noviziato, ove presentemente ancora si vedono, ed a lui assegnò la Casaprofessa per istanza con intenzione di fargli dipignere il corridojo, che conduce alle camere, in cui abitò, e morì sant'Ignazio.' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 693.

<sup>8</sup> ' . . . essendo il Padre Andrea quasi sconosciuto alla maggior parte de' Padri del Collegio. . . fu da' medesimi niente più stimato d'un semplice Fratello. . . Ed ecco di nuovo questo virtuoso Religioso, lasciati i colori ed i pennelli, e maneggiare la granata, servire alla cucina . . .' Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 321/c. 128r-128v.

<sup>9</sup> 'Dopo cinque mesi di questa novella pruova d'umiltà, fu levato dal servizio della cucina il Fratello Andrea, e messo a dipignere. . . Patrigani, 'Del Fratello Andrea Pozzo,' 253.

<sup>10</sup> For the development of Rome's festival culture of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Visceglia, *La città rituale*. Milan takes on this title in seventeenth-century writings and in contemporary criticism; see Chapter 2 and Buratti et al., *La città rituale*.

was the ancient seat of empire and the centre of Catholic Christendom, and its festival culture centred on the ancient traditions of the church and on the papacy as both a spiritual authority and a political power. Rome's festival culture experienced its greatest flourishing in the seventeenth century, as popes sought to promote Catholic Reform and to assert the central authority and traditions of the one true Church, its saints, its sacraments, and its cherished rites.<sup>11</sup> Religious ritual and festival were central to the life of the city both as expressions of papal and princely power as well as piety, and as visual strategies of communication and persuasion. Rome was, in this period, a city of performance. The tradition of Roman festival scenography featured the work of the leading artists and architects of the city, including Bernini, Pietro da Cortona and Carlo Rainaldi.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Rome's urban fabric during these frequent festivals, like that of Milan, became a mixture of structures and objects rendered in permanent and ephemeral media. On the level of design, architecture and scenography—or, we should say, ephemeral and permanent architecture—were conceived in increasingly similar visual terms, as architectural and ornamental themes were exchanged between the two modes.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For Rome's culture of festival in the seventeenth century there is a rich field of scholarly publication; some notable titles include Visceglia, *La città rituale*; Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco* I, II; Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Corpus delle feste a Roma*, I and II; and Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*. Printed accounts and engravings of festivals such as the papal *possessi* are numerous, including that for Innocent X: Bonelli de Rasori, *Copioso e compito racconto della Cavalcata. . . Innocentio X*.

<sup>12</sup> See Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 44-60; Cola, 'Carlo Rainaldi architetto di apparati effimeri'; Bauer, 'From architecture to scenography'; Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 43-51; and Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco*, vols. 1 and 2.

<sup>13</sup> Warwick describes this phenomenon as an 'inter-medial exchange,' and a 'cross-fertilization' of ideas between the ephemeral mode of theatrical scenography and the permanent modes of architecture and sculpture which resides in the preparatory processes of designing and crafting these works. Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 3, 22. See also Cola, 'Carlo Rainaldi architetto di apparati effimeri,' 259-61 and Bauer, 'From architecture to scenography,' 145. As Bauer has shown, the distinction between the ephemeral and the permanent was often obscured or even eliminated by the use of full-scale architectural models—either sculpted or painted or both—as temporary substitutes or 'visual tests' for permanent structures.

While theatrical performance in seventeenth-century Rome was dominated by court productions, religious spectacles were the place of Rome's grandest and most public 'theatre,' as the papacy and the religious orders continued throughout the century to devote considerable resources to events which reached the widest possible audience, in the interest of preserving and further promoting the faith. It was in the religious spectacles for the Jesuits in Rome that Pozzo applied the most current techniques of theatrical scenography to sacred theatre, as he introduced a new conception of the religious scenography, its relationship to permanent art and architecture, and its role in the performed ritual of devotion. Pozzo's 'Roman resurrection' from anonymity and servitude—if we believe the biographers—was brought about by his first large-scale, publicly-recognised commission in Rome: a scenography for the *Quarant'ore* in the church of the Gesù. Through such ephemeral projects Pozzo demonstrated his abilities as a perspective artist and a painter to the Jesuits and to the Roman public, and earned the respect of the artistic community, the nobility and clergy, and ultimately the papacy.



## The *Quarant'ore* in Rome: Ritual, Devotion and Images

The *Quarant'ore*, or Devotion of the Forty Hours, in which the Blessed Sacrament is displayed for forty continuous hours, developed from the Good Friday vigil corresponding to the forty hours Christ lay in the sepulchre before the resurrection.<sup>14</sup> The tradition of the *Quarant'ore* originated in sixteenth-century Milan: initiated in 1537 by the archconfraternity of S. Sepolcro, it was later officially instituted by Charles Borromeo, and remained an important tradition in Milanese religious culture into the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> The rite was introduced in Rome by Philip Neri in 1550, beginning on the first Sunday of each month.<sup>16</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century it came to be associated with the beginning of Advent and was held in the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican; later it became a major spectacle during Carnival.<sup>17</sup>

The *Quarant'ore* is perhaps the prime case study, in seventeenth-century art and religious culture, of the importance of the Eucharist in Catholic faith and worship in the post-Tridentine church. The Blessed Sacrament was given a central position not only in liturgy and worship, but in altar design and church architecture more generally.<sup>18</sup> The rite of the *Quarant'ore* became one of the seventeenth century's most visually spectacular devotions as the display of the sanctified host became

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<sup>14</sup> See Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 220; Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 44-46; and Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 115-20.

<sup>15</sup> In Milan the devotion was held during Holy Week, Pentecost, the Feast of the Assumption, and Christmas. See Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 221; *The Forty Hours Devotion*, 2; and Giussano, *The Life of St. Charles Borromeo*, 190. Its continuing importance in the eighteenth century is evidenced, and its history described, in a collection of letters: *Notizie storiche del devozione delle Quarant'ore*.

<sup>16</sup> Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 222. Bösel and Insolera date the first *Quarant'ore* of Philip Neri to 1548. Bösel and Insolera, 'Teatri sacri,' 232.

<sup>17</sup> Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 221. On 25 November of 1592, Clement VIII issued an encyclical, *Graves et diuturnae*, ordering that the *Quarant'ore*, already an annual solemnity held in the Pauline Chapel at the beginning of Advent, should be observed in succession in the major churches of Rome.

<sup>18</sup> See Noehles, 'Teatri per le Quarant'ore,' 88-99; also Gatti Perer, 'Cultura e socialità dell'altare barocco.'

increasingly emphasised. During the second half of the century, the *Quarant'ore* in Rome reached the height of its visual splendour, and elaborate *apparati* for the devotion at the Gesù became definitive projects in Pozzo's scenographic career.

The *Quarant'ore* has long been acknowledged as a form of religious theatre, but as a subject of art historical discourse, the tradition tends to be studied and evaluated primarily, if not exclusively, for its visual aspects.<sup>19</sup> It therefore suffers from the same problem that we encounter in studies of the art of spectacle generally: the scenographies are frequently discussed in isolation as works of art, removed from their architectural and ritual contexts.<sup>20</sup> We lack a sense of how the *Quarant'ore* scenographies appeared in relation to their environment and to other decorations in the church. Where the ritual is concerned, we tend to imagine the *Quarant'ore* as a form of silent, motionless theatre in which the faithful, as the audience, passively observe a religious tableau, a spiritual drama frozen in the image of the altar and its decorations. This is true of the literature on Pozzo's *Quarant'ore* scenographies, which widely proclaims them as representing his finest scenographic work as well as

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<sup>19</sup> Bjurström's essay of 1972 describes the devotion as a 'biblical pageant,' which actors performed within the stage setting; this reading of figures of the scenes as actors was later discounted by Weil in his seminal article of 1974. Bjurström, 'Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits,' 104-110. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 219, Note 1. Weil briefly describes the rite but focuses on the development of the scenographies and their relationship to permanent works of the Baroque. See also Weil, 'L'Orazione delle Quarant'ore.' Noehles's discussion of the *Quarant'ore* scenographies and their relationship to Baroque altars similarly focuses on visual analysis. Noehles, 'Teatri per le Quarant'ore.' Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini provide visual descriptions and themes of the *Quarant'ore* in *L'effimero barocco*, 2, 29-34. Of the many essays which analyse Pozzo's *Quarant'ore* scenographies, most concentrate almost entirely on visual concerns, their role as 'theatres' only discussed in vague terms: Giacomelli, 'Tra apparati effimeri'; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Pensare effimero'; Martinelli, "'Teatri sacri e profani'"; Zanolghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo'; Zanolghi, 'Teatro senza attori.'

<sup>20</sup> Surveys of seventeenth-spectacle in Italy, such as the definitive work of Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco*, tend to emphasize the scenographies and illustrations of them over the events for which they were made. Analysis of the scenographies focuses on iconography and text, while the events are often approached from a literary standpoint or acknowledged for their importance as historical events, with a minimum of space given to the rituals. See Carpani et al., *La scena della gloria*; Zanolghi, *Teatri di formazione*, and Schraven, *Festive Funerals*.

some of his most inventive architecture.<sup>21</sup> Until now, Pozzo's religious scenographies have scarcely been studied in relation to their ritual context.

The *Quarant'ore* was a rite involving movement, sound, smell and the full range of the senses in addition to vision. Perhaps more important than the communal rite, however, was the 'interior theatre' of the *Quarant'ore*: the ritual of prayer in which the faithful engaged over the forty-hour period of the exposition. I will not seek in this section to retrace the entire history of the *Quarant'ore* in Rome; Mark Weil's essay from 1974, while it emphasises the visual concerns of the tradition, remains the most comprehensive art historical survey of the subject and has provided sources and locations for much of the archival documentation upon which I build my examination.<sup>22</sup> Rather, I will emphasize some key facts, historical events, and artistic trends which led to the form of the devotion which Pozzo inherited, and to which he made his own contributions, beginning in 1683. I will first consider the place of the Eucharist in Catholic worship and the visual importance the sanctified host assumed within the church space beginning in the late sixteenth century, in order to shed light upon its elaborate presentation in the rite of the Forty Hours.

As I proceed to a discussion of this rite, and of the evolving tradition of scenography associated with it, my aim will be to build the 'missing connection' between the ritual and the visually spectacular treatment it receives up to and throughout Pozzo's time. I will examine the development of the rite, including practical aspects of the ceremony and the ritual actions, prayers and meditations

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<sup>21</sup> See Carboneri, *Andrea Pozzo, Architetto*; De Feo, Vittorio. *Andrea Pozzo: architettura e illusione*; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Pensare effimero'; Bösel and Insolera, "'Teatrizzare la stessa Architettura'"; Bösel and Insolera, 'Teatri sacri'; Filippi, 'L'illusione prospettica'; Carandini, 'Dalle quinte del teatro'; Martinelli, "'Teatri sacri e profani'"; Menichella, 'Il Pittore della casa'; Pigozzi, 'Il gioco fra verità e illusione'; Zanlonghi, 'La gloria dello sguardo.'

<sup>22</sup> Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' esp. 218-248.

undertaken by both the community of faithful and the individual. Guiding this discussion will be papal documents detailing instructions for the *Quarant'ore*, and an examination of a published treatise of forty 'spiritual exercises' written for the devotion by the Jesuit Luca Pinelli of Naples. Scenography, as I have stressed throughout this thesis, is designed for performance, and it is critical that we consider the *Quarant'ore* scenographies, including those of Pozzo, in relation to the religious belief and ritual for which they were produced.

The nature of the sacrament of Eucharist in Catholic belief had been set forward with renewed clarity, and its importance as a sacrament emphasized, at the Council of Trent: the host signified the physical presence of the divine, transformed into the actual body of Christ through the miracle of transubstantiation during the Eucharistic rite of the mass.<sup>23</sup> This fact was seen not only to justify, but to *demand* the most solemn devotion. Thus followed the great flourishing of elaborate monumental altars and tabernacles, as well as ephemeral decorations of altars for religious occasions and Eucharistic devotions such as the *Quarant'ore*.<sup>24</sup> In the seventeenth century the altar would come to embody the 'transcendent reality' of the Baroque which Maria Luisi Gatti Perer describes, produced by environment, material, colour and decoration, in which 'the grace of ornament becomes a means to the work of Grace.'<sup>25</sup> The altar became the 'theatre' in which the mystery of Christ's sacrifice and the salvation of mankind were enacted and glorified in perpetuity.

As in Milan, where it had been instituted some twenty years previously and promoted by Carlo Borromeo, the *Quarant'ore* in Rome was an appeal for divine

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<sup>23</sup> The nature of the Eucharist is the subject of Session XIII of the Council of Trent, 11 October 1551. Buckley, trans., *The Canons and Decrees*, 71-77.

<sup>24</sup> Gatti Perer, 'Cultura e socialità.'

<sup>25</sup> Gatti Perer, 'Cultura e socialità,' 16.

mercy in times of great hardship.<sup>26</sup> It became, by the end of the sixteenth century, a major spectacle, involving numerous candles and lights, tapestries and other decorations. On 25 November of 1592, Clement VIII issued an encyclical ordering that the *Quarant'ore*, already an annual solemnity held in the Pauline Chapel at the beginning of Advent, should be observed in succession in the major churches of Rome.<sup>27</sup> In Milan of the late sixteenth century, Borromeo's urgent appeal for the instatement and promotion of the *Quarant'ore* came about during the desperate times of the plague which was devastating his diocese.<sup>28</sup> In Rome the appeal came from the centre of a Catholic Church which saw Christendom on the brink of destruction: the salvation of the people of France was at stake as the Catholics battled with the Huguenots; the fight against heresy raged on throughout Italy and Europe; and the Church, together with Christian Europe, faced the continued threat of the Turks.<sup>29</sup>

The rules, or *Instructiones*, which Borromeo issued for the devotion of the *Quarant'ore* in Milan in 1577 became the template for *avvisi* by the popes in Rome, beginning with Clement VIII.<sup>30</sup> In Borromeo's instructions, the altar is dressed with 'religious cleanliness': the host in its monstrance is covered with a veil of silk, and lit with a minimum of six and a maximum of ten candles; twelve to thirteen additional lamps are permitted. It is also recommended that the chapel be darkened, so that the lights provide the only illumination, in order to reinforce the mystery of the institution and to inspire the faithful to greater devotion. Decorations, draperies or

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<sup>26</sup> *Notizie storiche della devozione delle Quarant'ore.*

<sup>27</sup> Pope Clement VIII, *Institutio orationis Quadraginta Horarum*. Clement's order concerning the *Quarant'ore* was continued (or repeated) by Paul V in 1606, as noted in the cited edition of the original bull.

<sup>28</sup> See Chapter 2 and Carlo Borromeo, *Memoriale di Monsignore Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinale di S. Prassede, Arcivescovo*, 8-10 and 358-59.

<sup>29</sup> Pope Clement VIII, *Institutio orationis Quadraginta Horarum*.

<sup>30</sup> Borromeo, *Instructiones pro Oratione quadraginta horarum*. The *Instruzioni* of Urban VIII, Alexander VII and Innocent XI essentially repeat Borromeo's instructions, with variations primarily in the decorations.

tapestries with ‘profane’ stories or images are not to be used, and only the chapel (the presbytery) is to be decorated. The host is removed from a closing tabernacle for the procession and for the forty-hour exposition; afterward it is returned and enclosed in the tabernacle.<sup>31</sup>

So important did the rite become in the seventeenth century that Urban VIII, Alexander VII, and Innocent XI each published their own versions of *istruzzioni* for the devotion.<sup>32</sup> Under succeeding pontificates, the *apparati* for the *Quarant’ore* became gradually more elaborate. All versions of the *Istruzzioni* re-iterate Borromeo’s rule forbidding ‘profane’ images. However, it seems Borromeo’s original insistence on ‘religious cleanliness’ gradually gives way to what we may call Baroque splendour. In keeping with Counter-Reform religious culture and its insistence on the efficacy of images, the *Quarant’ore* took on an increasingly spectacular quality, as religious orders, lay religious associations and the noble clergy devoted ever greater resources to producing sumptuous displays to attract the greatest possible attention and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>33</sup> Urban VIII’s published *Istruzzione* of 1625, which is re-written with slight variations by Alexander VII and Innocent XI, serves as a guide for the rite, adapted from Borromeo, as it was performed in the seventeenth century.<sup>34</sup> A detailed description is given as to how the observance is to be kept in the church, from the placement of the Sacrament, the dressing of the altar and the number of lights; to the vestments to

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<sup>31</sup> Borromoeo, *Instructiones pro Oratione quadraginta horarum*.

<sup>32</sup> Pope Urban VIII, *Istruzzione per fare l’oratione continua in forma di Quarant’hore* (1625); Pope Alexander VII, *Istruzzione per fare l’oratione continua in forma di Quarant’hore* (1655); Pope Innocent XI, *Istruzzione, et ordini da osservarsi per fare l’oratione continua in forma di Quarant’Hore* (1681).

<sup>33</sup> See Weil, *The Devotion of the Forty Hours*, 224-26. A landmark *Quarant’ore* scenography paid for by Cardinal Francesco Barberini and produced by Pietro da Cortona in San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1633 is among the grandest and most costly on record. See Imorde, ‘Francesco Barberini Vice-Chancellor,’ 54; Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, 43-45; and Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 47-48.

<sup>34</sup> Pope Urban VIII, *Istruzzione*.

be worn, the maintenance of lights and keeping of the hours; to the etiquette of the faithful and the separation of the men from the women.

The *Quarant'ore* devotion was held in several churches in succession, each beginning its devotion an hour before the previous church completed the rite. The devotion began and ended with the Mass of the Pre-Sanctified Host, followed by a procession, which would begin in the church and proceed outdoors, depending on weather. The procession is described in the *Istruzioni* in very detailed and strict terms, from the order and rank of those participating and their vestments to the handling of the Sacrament (under a baldachin); to the benedictions, prayers and litanies; to the kneeling and incensing (always done three times). The gathering of each procession was announced with bells; churches hosting the devotion were to coordinate with each other to ensure its smooth transition; and the schedule for the successive *Quarant'ore* of host churches was to be posted in all churches of the diocese. Lay confraternities and congregations, such as the Congregation of Nobles at the Gesù, were charged with arranging and coordinating the event, which was performed by members of the religious orders associated with the host churches. It should be noted that in no way was the devotion taken to be voluntary or the instructions to be understood as optional or open to variation: in Urban's *Istruzione* a stiff fine of one hundred *scudi* in gold was imposed for disobeying the instructions, as well as other punishments as deemed fit by the Holy See.<sup>35</sup> The *Quarant'ore* was thus an established ritual with very specific and tightly-controlled protocols; a compulsory form of religious theatre conducted and undertaken in religious earnest.

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<sup>35</sup> 'Che li sopradetti ordini si debbino inviolabilmente osservare, & acciò più facilmente si eseguiscono debba ciascuna persona di qual si sia grado, Ordine, Religione, o Compagnia, obedire al Deputato dall'Illustriss. & Reverendiss. Sig. Card. Vicario, sotto pena alli disubedienti di Cento scudi d'oro in oro, d'applicarsi a i luoghi pij, & alli Regolari della privatione di voce attiva, e passiva, di carcere, 7 altre pene maggiori riserbate al nostro arbitrio.' Pope Urban VIII, *Istruzione*.

Apart from the type of mass to be said—that of the Pre-Sanctified Host—the mention of sermons, the traditional prayers and hymns sung at the opening and closing processional, nothing appears in the *Instruzioni* regarding the content or the form of the prayers during the forty-hour vigil, which was presumably left up to the priests and religious orders hosting the devotion. The *Quarant'ore* was meant to be in large part a quiet event dedicated to prayer and reflection, in which an attitude of humble supplication before the Blessed Sacrament was maintained by the celebrants as well as the faithful. Any sermons given were to be brief, with the priest either kneeling with the others or off to one side of the altar—effectively out of sight.<sup>36</sup> This is where the ‘interior theatre’ of the rite enters the discussion, and becomes critical to our understanding of the rite as a whole.

In 1605 the Jesuit Luca Pinelli of Naples produced a series of forty spiritual exercises for the devotion, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali per l'oratione delle Quaranta hore*, which provides guidelines for the practical aspects of the rite. Also included is an extensive discussion of the association of the rite with scriptural texts, and the significance of the number forty. Pinelli cites, for example, the forty days of rain with which God punished the earth following Noah's construction of the arc, and forty days in which Christ remained in the desert.<sup>37</sup> Such citations of scripture, and others, would later find visual reference in the scenographies of the *Quarant'ore*. Regarding the manner in which the rite is to be held, Pinelli's notes underline the visual aspect that the *Quarant'ore* had assumed only a few years after Clement VIII's encyclical: the place of worship should be decorated with a number of lights

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<sup>36</sup> Pope Urban VIII, *Instruzione*.

<sup>37</sup> Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, Chapter 1, 9-11.



and paintings referring to the mysteries of the Passion of Christ.<sup>38</sup> He also prescribes that the place should be kept quiet, that the men should be separated from the women, and that brief sermons should be given to inspire the people to devotion and meditation.

For the exercises themselves, Pinelli provides a simple, consistent structure: each hour of the devotion begins with a point of meditation, followed by a *colloquio*, or conversation with oneself or God related to the theme; an oration or prayer; and the story of a miracle associated with the Blessed Sacrament. All of the exercises concern different aspects of the Eucharist, beginning with the theme of the love which Christ has shown by leaving this precious sacrament to his people.<sup>39</sup> The eighth exercise, concerning the magnificence with which the Church has treated the sacrament, is particularly relevant in regard to church architecture, religious art, decoration and the visual elements of liturgy. In this passage, we see Baroque *meraviglia* justified by the Sacrament of the Eucharist itself. In the tradition of Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, the emphasis is on the senses and on recalling the rich sights and sounds of ceremony. Pinelli asks the exercitant to contemplate the churches throughout the world, magnificently designed and built to serve the divine worship of the Blessed Sacrament on the altar; the tabernacles, altar decorations, and rich sacerdotal vestments; the solemn processions, the multitude of lights, and the music.<sup>40</sup> He further describes how every great prince falls to the earth to adore the Blessed Sacrament; and appeals to the exercitant to consider the *apparato* as part of

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<sup>38</sup> Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, Chapter 3, 18-19.

<sup>39</sup> Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, 'Primo essercitio per la prima hora,' 22-29.

<sup>40</sup> Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, 'Essercitio per la 8. hora,' 73-74.

the entire spectacle, emphasising how, in its magnificence, it is still far less than Christ deserves in return for granting this sacrament to the faithful.<sup>41</sup>

This exercise is followed by the ninth hour, which focuses on the theme of light: Pinelli explains how the Eucharist illuminates those who receive it, and how it is the true light of the world.<sup>42</sup> The fourteenth hour returns to the theme of marvel: how the sacrament is ‘the most stupendous, and most marvellous work of the World,’ such a small thing to which God’s entire created world submits, as a result of the miracle of transubstantiation.<sup>43</sup> For the twenty-third hour Pinelli raises a recognizable Jesuit theme: how the Sacrament ‘excites and inflames us in the things of the Spirit.’ He goes on to speak of the ‘flames of love’ and igniting our desire for eternal glory.<sup>44</sup> Toward the end of the rite, the attention turns toward the words of Eucharistic prayers and the theme of the Sacrament as a physical sustenance, beginning in the thirty-eighth hour with the *Ecce panis Angelorum* (Behold the bread of Angels).<sup>45</sup>

Pinelli’s treatise, taken as a whole, serves as a guide and a structure for the meditative component of the *Quarant’ore*—the ‘interior theatre’ which occupies the majority of the forty-hour period, and the role of images within this theatre. Where

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<sup>41</sup> Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, ‘Essercitio per la 8. hora,’ 74.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Contempla Anima devota, come essendo in questo sacramento quello, che è vera luce del mondo, illumina la mente di chi lo riceve, & discaccia il tenebre, non altrimenti che fa questo Sole materiale, quando appare nel nostro oriente.’ Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, ‘Essercitio per la 9. hora,’ 80-81.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Che questo Sacramento sia la più stupenda, è più maravigliosa opera del Mondo. 1. Contempla Anima mia, quel che si contiene in questa piccola hostia, e troverai maggior stupore, che in tutta questa gran macchina del mondo, la quale contenendo Cielo, & Terra, per creatione prodotti da Dio, cede alla Sacra Hostia, elle quale, è Christo, N. Sig. Dio, & Huomo per ministerio del Sacerd. Transostantio. Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, ‘Essercitio per la 14. hora,’ 116-17.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Come questo Sacramento ci eccita, & infiamme nelle cose Spirituali. . . 2. Considera, come havendoci il nostro Giesù lasciato questo amoroso dono per amore, non può fare, che non ecciti in noi fiamma d’amore. . . 4. Considera come essendo questo Sacramento pegno della gloria eterna accende il nostro desiderio verso essa.’ Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, ‘Essercitio per la 23. hora,’ 181-82.

<sup>45</sup> Pinelli, *Quaranta essercitii spirituali*, ‘Essercitio per la 35. hora,’ 271.

cultural context is concerned, it provides a framework for understanding the enormous importance which the *Quarant'ore* assumes in the religious life of seventeenth-century Rome and the key visual themes that come to play in the scenographies produced for the rite. More broadly, it enlightens our understanding of the central position of the Eucharist, and the reasoning behind the elaborate art and ceremony surrounding it, in Catholic belief and worship in the period, particularly in Jesuit liturgy. Finally, it sheds further light on the role that the *Quarant'ore* played in determining the direction of religious art and church decoration in the seventeenth century.

In examining the rite of the *Quarant'ore*, its appeal to the imagination by means of the senses, and its invitation to the observer to become involved as a performer in a sacred drama, it seems natural that the tradition should have been adopted with particular enthusiasm by the Jesuits. They had, from the time of Ignatius, promoted frequent reception of the sacrament of the Eucharist.<sup>46</sup> The spiritual fervour with which Ignatius regarded the sacrament is evidenced in his early recorded spiritual visions.<sup>47</sup> The *Quarant'ore*, as O'Malley has remarked, provided the early Jesuits an opportunity for preaching.<sup>48</sup> However, the tradition took on greater liturgical significance for the Jesuits as they entered the seventeenth century: it became a powerful means of persuasion through ritual and the use of images; perhaps their most effective and public form of religious theatre. Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, the Jesuits in other areas of Italy had made a practice of holding the *Quarant'ore* in the last three days of Carnival, in order to dissuade people from the

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<sup>46</sup> O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 152-57.

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter 1 regarding the Ignatius' spiritual visions during the performance of the Eucharist as recorded in the biographies and in the *Vita Beati*.

<sup>48</sup> O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 93.

carnal pleasures of the season and to attract them to the light of salvation in preparation for Lent.<sup>49</sup> The need to compete for attention with the spectacle of Carnival, and to persuade the public by means of the senses, fuelled the growing tradition of spectacular displays produced by the Jesuits for the *Quarant'ore*.<sup>50</sup>

In Rome this tradition began with the Carnival of 1594, just over two years after Clement's encyclical, with the first commission of rich decorations in the chapel of the Congregation of Nobles at the Casa Professa of the Gesù.<sup>51</sup> The Congregation of Nobles, known more formally as the Marian Congregation of the Nobles of the Gesù, made the *Quarant'ore* one of its primary charitable religious activities.<sup>52</sup> Initially they held the devotion at several times throughout the year. However, after 1605 the devotion ceased to be celebrated at the three feasts of Christmas; and after 1608 it became an annual event held only at the time of Carnival.<sup>53</sup> The growing success and popularity of the tradition prompted the Congregation to treat it with increasing solemnity and splendour.<sup>54</sup> With the Congregation's resources and the liturgical guidance of the Jesuits, the *Quarant'ore* became an annual tradition at the Gesù, an event which regularly featured the work of prominent Roman artists, including Niccolò Menghini, Carlo Rainaldi, and, in the 1680s and 1690s, Andrea Pozzo. The

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<sup>49</sup> Weil traces the Jesuit tradition of the *Quarant'ore* to 1556. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 223.

<sup>50</sup> Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 223.

<sup>51</sup> ACN (Archivio della Congregazione dei Nobili) 19, 26-27.

<sup>52</sup> La Congregazione dei Nobili, or La Congregazione Mariana dell'Assunta; in seventeenth-century documents they are referred to as La Congregazione della Gloriosissima Vergine Assunta: a lay religious organisation, founded in 1593 and granted a chapel for worship in the Casa Professa of the Gesù, where they still hold weekly services today. In 1610 the Marian Congregation was joined with the knights of the Veneration of the Most Holy Sacrament, who had dedicated themselves to the promotion of the cult of the Holy Sacrament. Castellani, *La Congregazione dei Nobili*, 39-50, 60. For the relationship of the Jesuits to lay confraternities, and their founding of Marian congregations, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 192-99.

<sup>53</sup> Castellani, *La Congregazione dei Nobili*, 51-54.

<sup>54</sup> The Congregation's written *consuetudini*, or customs, of 1629 set forward the duty of the *Quarant'ore* at Carnival time, for which they were to collaborate with the Jesuit fathers, indicating that considerable expense was to be lavished on the enterprise. Castellani, *La Congregazione dei Nobili, Consuetudini della Congregazione*.

scenographies at the Gesù in the seventeenth century are some of the best and most consistently documented in the history of the *Quarant'ore*. They demonstrate a broad range of approaches taken in the design and execution of the decorations, and in the employment of images as means of prayer and meditation as well as religious instruction.

The *Quarant'ore* for Carnival of 1608 was the first to be held in the main church of the Gesù, and the printed account signals the new importance given to the decorations for the devotion.<sup>55</sup> The *apparato* constructed in the presbytery was a large installation of ephemeral architecture, the earliest conception of the *Quarant'ore* scenography at the Gesù as a true *teatro*. A group of the most prestigious architects of the city (un-named) collaborated on the display, described as a great curved structure of arches, articulated in four orders of architecture, and preceded by a grand divided staircase with a balustrade.<sup>56</sup> The niches of the *teatro* were inhabited by saints bearing relics, and placed throughout the structure were sculpted angels bearing lights. Lights not only filled the arches and adorned the structure of the *teatro*; they were hung in the presbytery, the dome and throughout the church, producing the effect of a night sky filled with stars. In the centre of this grand display was placed the host of the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by lights and precious brocades, resembling 'an object of paradise.'<sup>57</sup>

In this first large-scale *Quarant'ore* scenography for the Gesù, there is an architectonic idea of splendour at work, which expresses itself in grandiose,

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<sup>55</sup> Descriptive notes are taken from the printed account, held in the Biblioteca Casatanense: *Relazione del solenne e sontuoso apparato*.

<sup>56</sup> *Relazione del solenne e sontuoso apparato*, 4-5. I have chosen to interpret the form of the structure as curved in plan on the basis of the word *teatro*, (which in this case seems to suggest a round structure of arches like a Roman amphitheatre or a more contemporary stage meant to evoke classical theatres, such as the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza); and on the fact that the staircase is described as divided and following the circumference of an *arco teatrale*.

<sup>57</sup> *Relazione del solenne e sontuoso apparato*, 5.

monumental terms, in keeping with the Roman architectural tradition. The theme of a grand staircase approaching a multi-tiered structure, articulated with a hierarchy of architectural orders, draws upon the language of church facades, Roman amphitheatres and other architectural models which were part of the urban fabric.<sup>58</sup> We can also recognize an insistence on the three-dimensional and the tactile: all elements, as described, are built or sculpted, and this constructed architecture and ornament serves as an invitation to believers to ‘enter’ this sacred theatre of devotion. The artifice of illusion resides in the ephemerality of the built structure rather than in perspective or pictorial effects. The lights are not hidden, but rather displayed and arranged as an important part of the scene, suggesting a ‘heaven’ of stars in the dome and the presbytery; the effect recalls the myriad of lamps in a Byzantine church or a mosque. Andrea Pozzo would utilize many of the same architectural themes present in this first grand *Quarant’ore* at the Gesù, but would re-interpret them and extend their possibilities through the techniques of perspectival illusion, producing his own architectural scene which believers were similarly invited to ‘enter.’

To this rather weighty, architectural approach to the *Quarant’ore* we can compare that of Niccolò Menghini in 1640, a purely pictorial approach which emphasized figures and biblical allegory [fig. 4.1]. Revealed by the lowering of a red and gold taffeta curtain upon the placement of the Blessed Sacrament in its monstrance, this *apparato* featured a miraculous vision of the Mystic Lamb from the book of Revelation: the Blessed Sacrament was shown at the centre, in place of the Lamb,

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<sup>58</sup> The numerous possible architectural references in Rome include the Colosseum, the Theatre of Marcellus, the Capitoline, the facade of the Gesù itself, the Vatican Palace, the Villa Medici and the Villa d’Este in Tivoli.

surrounded by clouds, the twenty-four adoring Elders, and heavenly hosts.<sup>59</sup> Below stood Moses at the base of Mount Sinai with the tablets of the law surrounded by all of the tribes of Israel, and to the sides were scenes from Exodus which prefigure the saving power of the Eucharist.<sup>60</sup> The scene would have been executed in relief to fill the depth of the presbytery, with strategically-placed lighting: the account mentions more than four thousand lights, and forty people (most likely Jesuits or volunteers from the Congregation) to tend to them.<sup>61</sup>

The examples described above represent two distinct approaches taken in the design of the *Quarant'ore* scenographies of seventeenth-century Rome. In the *Quarant'ore* of 1608, a temporary architectural structure provided a magnificent environment for the display of the Blessed Sacrament. Menghini's scenographies produced some decades later featured narrative scenes populated by figures, independent of the architectural surrounding of the church, and focusing entirely on scriptural allegory connected with the Sacrament. The landmark perspective scene designed by Carlo Rainaldi for the Jubilee Year of 1650 established a new tradition of religious scenography at the Gesù, in which architecture itself served as allegory: the scene was the Temple of Solomon [fig. 4.2].<sup>62</sup> Rainaldi applied the principles of architectural perspective, mastered by Torelli and others in the stage sets of Venice and the north, in a way which does not serve merely as a framed dramatic scene to be observed, but which actually suggests a continuation of the space of the spectator

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<sup>59</sup> Revelation 5:1-9. The scene is described in Gerardi, *Relatione del solenne apparato*. Transcr. Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco*, Vol. I, 120-22. A description can also be found in Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 232-33.

<sup>60</sup> Genesis 20.

<sup>61</sup> Gerardi, *Relatione del solenne apparato*. Transcr. Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero barocco*, Vol. I, 120.

<sup>62</sup> *Apparato delle Solenni Quarant'ore*. . . 1650.

into a remote distance: a scene which one is invited to ‘enter.’<sup>63</sup> God the Father appeared amidst a host of ‘blessed spirits’ at the crest of the vault, and just below Him was the dove of the Holy Spirit.<sup>64</sup> Christ was represented as the Blessed Sacrament within its tabernacle, in a burst of brilliant light, at the vertical centre of the scene. The vision of the heavenly glory was suspended within the architectural space; or, we may say, the architecture gave way to the vision of heaven entering from above. Below Solomon appeared dressed as a prince, making gestures of adoration and supplication, while the priest performed the sacrifice with the help of attendants; masses of people approached from all sides with animals for sacrifice.

As is typical with such events, it is the written account in a printed pamphlet which completes our image of how this *apparato* appeared.<sup>65</sup> The architecture was made to appear most convincingly as white alabaster, while accents of gold on the ornaments and the coffers of the vaults flashed under the numerous lights. The heavenly glory was adorned with a variety of colours, the feathers of the angels’ wings tipped with gold, while the tabernacle containing the Holy Sacrament appeared to be lapis lazuli. The figures were painted with such life and gestures that they seemed truly to live and move. Light, and its relative brightness, played an important allegorical role: the ‘sun of suns,’ the light emanating from the Blessed Sacrament, was so brilliant that all else appeared darkened by comparison, including the rising flame on the altar of sacrifice below: the ‘new sacrifice’ had supplanted

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<sup>63</sup> For stages and stagecraft of Venice and Northern Italy, see Chapter 2.

<sup>64</sup> Description taken from engraving and *Apparato delle Solenni Quarant’ore*. . . 1650, 4-7.

<sup>65</sup> *Apparato delle Solenni Quarant’ore*. . . 1650, 4-8.



and outshone the ancient sacrifice.<sup>66</sup> The author summarizes the scene as ‘a great triumph of our faith.’<sup>67</sup>

The author lavishes praise on Carlo Rainaldi as the ‘inventor’ of this scene, and credits much of its brilliance to his Jesuit education in philosophy and mathematics.<sup>68</sup> We should note that, in the manner of a master architect, Rainaldi delegated aspects of the project to specialists. The figures were executed by his cousin Domenico Rainaldi, while the perspective painting was the work of Giovanni Maria Mariani, collaborator of Valerio Castello on a monumental series of *quadratura* frescoes for the Palazzo Balbi in Genoa, which Pozzo may have studied during his time there.<sup>69</sup> The scenographies for the *Quarant’ore* employed teams of workers. The account books of the Congregation of Nobles for the *Quarant’ore* at the Gesù tell us precisely the materials, labour and costs involved for these occasions.<sup>70</sup> For the *Quarant’ore* of 1650, the payroll indicates a total of forty working days.<sup>71</sup> There are nine carpenters and twelve additional workers listed; several specialists including one person for sewing; five painters; one person for producing the clouds; and one person in addition to Mariani for executing the perspective painting. In addition to wood, fabric, colours and brushes, major expenses include gold leaf and gilding supplies, candles, wax and oil. The workers were provided breakfast and lunch; possibly in return for modest wages in the name of religious charity. The

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<sup>66</sup> *Apparato delle Solenni Quarant’ore*. . . 1650, 5-6.

<sup>67</sup> *Apparato delle Solenni Quarant’ore*. . . 1650, 8.

<sup>68</sup> *Apparato delle Solenni Quarant’ore*. . . 1650, 8.

<sup>69</sup> The frescoes in the Palazzo Balbi were executed by Castello with assistants between 1652 and 1659. See Leoncini, ‘Gli affreschi di Valerio Castello,’ esp. 58-59; and Waterhouse, *Italian Baroque Painting*, 213.

<sup>70</sup> Weil selectively examined these volumes in order to assemble his historical overview of the *Quarant’ore* from the late sixteenth century into the eighteenth, and to investigate isolated issues. My own examination of these records has brought new information to light regarding the year of Pozzo’s first involvement in the *Quarant’ore* at the Gesù, as well as the process, costs and personnel involved in producing them.

<sup>71</sup> ACN XXXI, 67-72.

*Quarant'ore* was thus a major undertaking, a communal effort similar to any theatrical or festival presentation, involving specialists and construction crews. The production and installation of the scenery—the ‘setting of the stage’—was a spectacle in itself.

I will close this discussion of the Roman *Quarant'ore* scenographies prior to the arrival of Pozzo with one final example, which is notable for its connection to permanent works commissioned by the Jesuits, including Pozzo's great fresco in Sant'Ignazio. In 1675 Giovanni Maria Mariani designed an *apparato* which was a more or less direct visual interpretation of John's vision of the Mystic Lamb from Revelation.<sup>72</sup> This grand scene, like the other notable *Quarant'ore* scenographies at the Gesù, was given a highly detailed printed account, the only copy of which survives in the archives of Cardinal Carlo Cartari.<sup>73</sup> The scene seems to have served a dual function. In keeping with the grand and solemn tradition of the *Quarant'ore* at the Gesù, it was a spiritual lesson on the saving power of the Sacrament. It also served as a lesson in recent Church history, Christian evangelism, and the Jesuits' place in relation to both.

Mariani rendered the scene on a series of arches in succession, recalling Rainaldi's scenography of 1650, which represented a hierarchy of angels, saints, and other figures worshipping the Eucharistic Lamb. Over the scene presided the figure of God the Father enthroned, surrounded by the twenty-four elders and the winged beasts representing the four Evangelists.<sup>74</sup> Below was the Lamb bearing the book with the Seven Seals, surrounded by angels; among these were the seven angels

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<sup>72</sup> Revelation 4-10.

<sup>73</sup> *L'Agnello Eucaristico Adorato*. Cited and summarized by Weil, ‘The Devotion of the Forty Hours,’ 238-239.

<sup>74</sup> *L'Agnello Eucaristico Adorato*, 99r.-v.; Revelation 4.

sounding the seven trumpets of the day of Judgement.<sup>75</sup> The Jesuits and their global mission were given a prominent place in this grand vision of the Apocalypse: amid a host of saints were featured those canonised by Gregory XV and Clement X, including Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, and Francis Borgia.<sup>76</sup> The figures representing ‘all the regions of the world’, ‘of every language, and of every climate’ from Revelation were noted for their ‘beauty and variety of dress.’<sup>77</sup> Particular emphasis was given to newly Christianised peoples in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Central and South America.

As described in the account, this scenography suggests a Jesuit propagandistic agenda at work: it featured iconography which had been developing in Jesuit art from the late sixteenth century onward in order to promote the Society’s role in spreading the message of salvation worldwide.<sup>78</sup> As an allegory of their missionary work, and a visual statement of the order’s global ambition of turning all nations to the glory of God, Mariani’s scene prefigures the Jesuit ceiling programs which directly followed it both in the Gesù and later in Sant’Ignazio. As Weil has indicated, the scenography was a kind of rehearsal for Gaulli’s scene of the Mystic Lamb painted in the apse of the Gesù several years later (1679-80).<sup>79</sup> Moreover, the apocalyptic vision, described in the account as a ‘spectacle descended from heaven’ which has transformed the earth, bears striking parallels to Pozzo’s great scene on the ceiling of Sant’Ignazio—a similar, turbulent spectacle of the heavens descending to earth in a great revelatory scene of the divine plan—to commence ten years later

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<sup>75</sup> *L’Agnello Eucaristico Adorato*, 99v.; Revelation 6-8.

<sup>76</sup> *L’Agnello Eucaristico Adorato*, 100 r.

<sup>77</sup> *L’Agnello Eucaristico Adorato*, 100 r.-v.; Revelation 7: 9-10. A similar scene serves as the Second Prelude of Day 1, Week 2 (The Kingdom of Christ) in Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises*.

<sup>78</sup> See my discussion of Jesuit visual culture as represented in printed works in Chapter 1.

<sup>79</sup> Weil, ‘The Devotion of the Forty Hours,’ 239.

[fig. 0.1]. Specific corresponding imagery includes the trumpeting angels (familiar from Mondovì), the continents, and the Jesuit saints bearing witness and helping to transmit the fire of judgement sent to earth by the Holy Trinity. By prominently placing themselves and their mission in such a scene of the Apocalypse, the Jesuits were presenting in very clear terms the key role which they saw themselves performing in the salvation of humankind.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> See my analysis of Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio in Chapter 5. Levy describes the ceiling as 'the prophetic vision of the end of time into which the Jesuits inserted themselves.' Levy, *Propaganda*, 153.

## **Teatri Sacri: Pozzo's Scenographies for the *Quarant'ore* at the Gesù**

When Andrea Pozzo arrived in Rome at the beginning of the 1680s, his training and his reputation as a painter and a scenographer in Northern Italy led swiftly to his engagement in producing scenes for the *Quarant'ore*, which became the defining projects of his scenographic practice. The *Quarant'ore* at the Gesù was an event which carried very high expectations, as well as its share of challenges. For the Carnival previous to Pozzo's arrival in Rome in 1681, Pope Innocent XI had published a new set of instructions for the *Quarant'ore* which indicate an expectation that the grandeur which the rite had assumed in previous decades should continue.<sup>81</sup> At the same time that this vision of the *Quarant'ore* had been expanded by the papacy, however, the decades since the Jubilee year of 1650 show a general scaling down of the affair at the Gesù, at least where cost was concerned.<sup>82</sup> In Baldinucci's account, when the Congregation of Nobles approached Pozzo for an *apparato* for the rite after years of producing the scenographies 'entirely in relief' and at great cost, they had decided that year to perform the devotion with 'simplicity and without any magnificence.'<sup>83</sup> According to Baldinucci's narrative Pozzo declared confidently that he could produce a better effect with used canvases and rags; he cited a 'similar *macchina*' done previously at the Gesù which was done in 'relief,' and he said he could execute the same idea better entirely in paint.<sup>84</sup> Although this idea was

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<sup>81</sup> Pope Innocent XI, *Istruzione, et ordini*.

<sup>82</sup> ACN XXXI, 72, 126, 223. Mariani's *Quarant'ore* of 1661 cost just over five hundred seventy *scudi*, and the *Quarant'ore* of 1681 was even slightly cheaper; we can compare these with the 1650 production of Rainaldi, at over nine hundred *scudi*.

<sup>83</sup> 'Avvengaché in questo tempo accadde che nel Collegio del Gesù, essendo stato solito farsi dalla Congregazione di Sant'Ignazio l'esposizione del Venerabile per le Quarantore con belle macchine di tutto rilievo e con spesa dispendiosa e grave molto, pare a' signori della medesima, per quell'anno, di fare la sacra funzione con semplicità e senza alcun magnificenza.' Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 322-322/c.128v.

<sup>84</sup> 'Quando, discorrendosi fra i Padri di questa risoluzione alla presenza del nostro Pozzo, questi, fattosi innanzi, disse con molta libertà e franchezza, che l'averebbe fatta esso con stracci e tele usate:

initially rejected, there was, according to Baldinucci, a member in the Congregation of Nobles who was aware of Pozzo's reputation, presumably from his works in the north; and so they decided to give Pozzo a chance.<sup>85</sup> If the Congregation were looking to save money on the *Quarant'ore* this year, they succeeded: the final cost was just over four hundred *scudi*, the most economical *Quarant'ore* recorded to this point at the Gesù.<sup>86</sup> And where the expense accounts of previous *Quarant'ore* are generally dominated by the payments of workers and materials, here the longest and most detailed list of expenses is that for the colours.<sup>87</sup>

This first *Quarant'ore* scenography of Pozzo which was, according to Baldinucci, his first Roman project, has been presumed until now to have been executed for the Carnival of 1682, his first spring in Rome.<sup>88</sup> However, turning to the archives of the Congregation of Nobles, Pozzo's name does not appear in the record for the *Quarant'ore* of 1682; for this year, the name Giasparo Canciano, carpenter and architect, is listed as having built a *macchina* featuring a perspective colonnade with silver capitals and bases.<sup>89</sup> This, presumably, was the costly, fully-constructed *apparato* which prompted the congregation to scale back its spending the following year. This evidence has led me to the conclusion that Pozzo's first project for the *Quarant'ore* for the Gesù was executed in 1683, and we find a brief supporting account in the Congregation's archive, which reads as follows:

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con pochissima spesa e con maggior apparenza dell'altare, rigettata. Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 322/c.128v.

<sup>85</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 322/c.128v.

<sup>86</sup> ACN XXXI, 1683, 232.

<sup>87</sup> ACN XXXI, 1683, 231.

<sup>88</sup> Most recently, Bösel and Insolera have assigned Pozzo's first *Quarant'ore* scenography at the Gesù to the year 1682. Bösel and Insolera, 'Teatri sacri,' 234. The idea that this first *Quarant'ore* scenography followed only a few months after Pozzo's arrival in Rome is likely driven by the narratives of the biographers, in which it is the project that rescues him from base servitude and begins his career as an artist in Rome. Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 321-23/c.127r.-c.130r.; Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 693-94.

<sup>89</sup> ACN XXXI, 225.

4 January 1683

Work began on the 40 hours [according to] a design made by Brother Andrea Pozzo [who] made a beautiful *macchina* all in perspective with four canvases and various figures, and in the middle represented [the idol], where there was a beautiful [monstrance] in which the Most Holy sacrament was exposed with lights in front and behind to make the perspectives stand out. . .<sup>90</sup>

There is no particular information in this account regarding the narrative or allegory of the scene; only that it is a perspective scene executed on four planes, with figures and with the Blessed Sacrament displayed in the centre. Both Kerber and Fagiolo dell'Arco have proposed Figure 60 of the Treatise, Volume I, as the design for the first *Quarant'ore* of Pozzo at the Gesù, which is entirely speculative [fig. 4.3].<sup>91</sup> In the accompanying text Pozzo said he had used this tabernacle design 'several times for the exposition of the Forty Hours.'<sup>92</sup> While it may well have been an early design adapted to the use of the *Quarant'ore*, we don't know which year(s) it was used, and we can be sure it was only one component of a larger *apparato*. Nevertheless, this design is important in our study, as I shall discuss further on, for its demonstration of Pozzo's scenographic technique.

The narrative by Baldinucci for the first *Quarant'ore* of Pozzo is particularly important for the way it unfolds. It becomes the first of many stories in the biographies centring on the theme of artistic persuasion which characterizes Pozzo's Roman period. In the process of executing the *Quarant'ore* of 1683, Pozzo not only persuades the Roman public of his artistic ability; he gives them a lesson in the art of theatrical scenography and perspectival illusion, and is made to overcome doubts,

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<sup>90</sup> 'Si comincio a far lavoro per le 40 ore fatto il disegno dal fratello Andrea Pozzi Pittore fece una bella Machina tutto in prospettiva con no 4 Tellari e Varie Figure e nel Mezzo rapresentava [lidolo] dove vi era un bellissimo [ostensorio] dove stava esposto il Santissimo Sacramento con lumi avanti e dietro per far spicar le Prospetive. . . ' ACN XXXI, 228.

<sup>91</sup> Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 126; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Pensare Effimero,' 75-76.

<sup>92</sup> 'Di questo tabernacolo mi son servito alcune volte per l'espositione delle 40. hore.' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 60, *Tabernaculum octangulare*.

prejudices and even insults until the work is finally unveiled.<sup>93</sup> When the fathers and members of the Congregation see him working with ‘rags and old pieces of wood,’ they react with harsh words, declaring him a ‘reckless and presumptuous ignoramus’ undertaking such a project in the middle of Rome, where it would ‘whiten the hair of the masters of all the arts and sciences.’<sup>94</sup> The *Quarant’ore* at the Gesù had acquired great importance and prestige, and had come to be a major artistic undertaking by the greatest artists and architects of the city. What was this young Jesuit brother doing making a mess with rags and sticks on the floor?

Even more perplexing to them than the materials is Pozzo’s mysterious method of executing the perspective set in individual components. After he completes the work within a month, and people see the various flats, presumably on the floor of the church prior to assembly, they laugh and tease him.<sup>95</sup> Pozzo registers astonishment, not at the derision, but at the fact that, on the level of material and process, they cannot recognize the fundamental difference between real construction and a painted illusion.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, as Baldinucci underlines, they cannot recognize that all the parts unite and all the lines converge toward a single point. Baldinucci gives the

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<sup>93</sup> For a discussion of the themes of judgment, revelation and repentance in the public’s reception of Pozzo’s work and process in this first *Quarant’ore project*, see Levy, ‘The “Perspectives”,’ 25-26.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Ma vedendolo sul bel principio i Padri e alcuni della Congregazione, armeggiare con cenci e legni vecchi, senz’altro discorso gli furono tutti addosso con le cattive parole, dicendogli che era un temerario e un ignorante prosuntuoso volendosi cimentare ad un’impresa che avrebbe—anche in mezzo a Roma, dove sono i maestri di tutte l’arti e scienze—fatto mettere i capelli canuti a chicchessia per la difficoltà della medesima.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 322/c.128v.-129r.

<sup>95</sup> ‘. . . spiegò i detti telai uno per volta, separati l’uno dall’altro, alla vista de’ curiosi suoi malevoli: i quali, a veder quelli furoi del debito luogo, niente distinguevano che cosa fossero. E ridendo e facendosi beffe del dipintore, incominciarono a gridare contro esso con dire chi una cosa e chi un’altra, con strapazzo non ordinario: credendo esser riuscito il lavoro come sul bel principio avevano pronosticato.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 322-232/c.129r.

<sup>96</sup> ‘A questo fatto non si sgomentò il nostro artefice, ma molto *si maravigliò*, che, fra tanti che lo biasimavano, non vi fusse alcuno che sapesse non esser la prospettiva come il rilievo il quale, da qualsivoglia parte che si veda, si distingue per la forma materiale che riceve in sé, dove quella, non essendo materiale né sottoposta al tatto ma solo alla vista, non può conoscersi né distinguersi che con tutte le parti unite e dirette a quel punto che ha eletto, per direzione d’ogni ligne, il dotto e pratico dipintore.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 323/c.129r.-v.



central point curious emphasis: is the lack of understanding of how the single-point perspective system works a metaphor for the failure to recognize a central authority, an intelligent creator or ‘prime mover’ at the centre of the cosmos?<sup>97</sup> This idea is suggested by Pozzo’s own words, quoted in my first chapter, in which he instructs his students to draw ‘all the lines of your operation to the true point of the eye, which is the Glory of God.’<sup>98</sup> The centralized perspective system carries particular significance where the *Quarant’ore* is concerned, as it reinforces the idea of all light, all power and all creation emanating from the single centre, which is Christ; and conversely all creation and movement being directed back to that centre. Baldinucci portrays Pozzo as a kind of prophet or messianic figure, giving a lesson which extends far beyond mere visual and artistic concerns. It seems Pozzo is trying to show the public where all of his energy and activity as an artist is directed, as if he is using his perspective art to point the way to an understanding of the divine.

Continuing with Baldinucci’s account, Pozzo assembles the set behind a curtain to prepare for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and the predictable marvel occurs when it is revealed:

When the next day arrived, he covered the *macchina* with curtains while it was being installed, and put everything together without letting anyone see it, to allow the public to discover the exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament: from this followed the sudden view of a beautiful theatre picture, distinct in many loggias, and adorned with marvellous architecture. In the base of which, at a great distance, the Wedding Feast at Cana in Galilee was represented with many figures; not only those seated at the table, but indeed a number of others in various places and employed in different activities: with such perfection of perspective that all appeared real and in relief, such that it

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<sup>97</sup> Aquinas’ ‘proofs’ for the existence of God, including the theory of the ‘prime mover’, would of course have been central to Jesuit theological teaching: *Summa Theologiae*, Ia.2.3. This idea has its basis in Aristotle’s ‘prime mover.’ Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, Book Λ.6, 1071b-1073a.

<sup>98</sup> ‘Cominciate dunque o mio Lettore allegramente il vostro lavoro; con risoluzione di tirar sempre tutte le line delle vostre operationi al vero punto dell’occhio che è la gloria Divina.’ *Perspectiva I, Al lettore*.

was not possible for anyone curious, both the learned and the ignorant, to explain how the beauty of it was so suddenly achieved.<sup>99</sup>

We know from Pozzo's treatise that his scene of *Le Nozze di Cana* was produced two years later, in 1685.<sup>100</sup> Although Baldinucci misidentified this work as Pozzo's first scenography for the *Quaran't'ore* at the Gesù executed in 1682 (we now know 1683), it is the narrative of the work's reception which I wish to highlight here. The public admires the composition and the architecture, but especially the effect of the illusion, looking at it again and again, believing it to be all in relief, not rendered in flat planes.<sup>101</sup> Their praise and admiration are accompanied by regret and repentance for having derided the artist—a response we encounter again with Pozzo's other Roman works.<sup>102</sup> This narrative of Baldinucci can be read as a kind of repeating drama enacted by the artist and his audience; Pozzo's work and process thus become an artistic performance.

Pascoli's version of the story contains no account of difficulty, scorn, derision, or the like; Pozzo presents a drawing to the Congregation, which they ask him to execute in full scale.<sup>103</sup> When it is complete the narrative of marvel is more expanded than Baldinucci's account, and he makes special mention of the

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<sup>99</sup> Translation mine. 'Onde venuto il giorno seguente, fattosi chiudere con tende dove doveva collocarsi [la macchina], uni il tutto insieme senza farla vedere ad alcuno, per poi scoprirla in pubblico all'esposizione del Santissimo: come seguì, con vedersi in un momento creato un bellissimo teatro quadro, distinto in più loggiati, con maravigliosa architettura adorno. Nel fondo di cui, in gran lontananza, si rappresentavano le Nozze di Cana Galilea, non solo con molte figure alla mensa sedenti, ma eziando con una quantità d'altre disposte in varii luoghi e in diverse operazioni impiegate: con tanta perfezione di prospettiva che vere e di tutto rilievo parevano, talmente che non vi è chi possa spiegare quanto improvvisa, a tutti i curiosi sì dotti che ignoranti, giugnesse la bellezza di quella.' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 323/c.129v.

<sup>100</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71: *Teatro delle Nozze di Cana Galilea fatto nella Chiesa del Giesù di Roma l'anno 1685. per le 40 hore*. Pozzo's accompanying text is transcribed in the Appendix.

<sup>101</sup> 'Ognuno rigiravale dintorno, e mettendosi a rimirlarla, credeva la maggior parte che fosse di tutto rilievo e non piana; e guardandosi fra loro, restavano attoniti, pentendosi molto d'averne strapazzato l'artefice. E fu tale questo pentimento che molti di coloro che più l'avevano dilleggiato e deriso, portandosi da esso gli chiesero con somma mortificazione perdono, scuandosi di non aver prima conosciuto suo valore.' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 323/c.129v.-c.130r.

<sup>102</sup> Levy, 'The "Perspectives",' 25.

<sup>103</sup> Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 694.

‘proportionate distribution of visible and invisible lights, and the beautiful harmony of the illumination’; the eye, says Pascoli, was irresistibly fixed to the scene largely because of the lighting.<sup>104</sup> Lighting—its arrangement, distribution and control—is an element in Pozzo’s scenographic practice which I emphasized in the discussion of his scenography for the *Immacolata* in Milan in Chapter 2. Here its power to transfix one’s gaze and to attract on both a sensory level and a spiritual level take on particular significance: the light emanating from the Blessed Sacrament is equated with the light of divine wisdom, with salvation and with life itself. In the *Quarant’ore* scenographies, the importance and meaning of light was arguably even greater than in the funerals, canonizations and other religious devotions.

Pascoli marks the occasion of the 1683 *apparato* as Pozzo’s arrival as both a painter and an architect: so pleased is the Congregation with his work that they assign him the *Quarant’ore* for several more years.<sup>105</sup> Pozzo, not wishing to lose this privileged position and esteem, eagerly produces for them ‘new, fanciful and exquisite inventions’ year after year; of which, according to Pascoli, the *apparato* of *Le Nozze di Cana* (1685) ‘surpassed all the others.’<sup>106</sup> Pascoli does not proceed with a description of this scenography, citing the engraving in Pozzo’s treatise as the best and most complete record.<sup>107</sup> The title of the work, and the scene represented, come from John 2:1-11, the story of the Wedding at Cana, where Christ miraculously changed water into wine.

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<sup>104</sup> ‘E tanto spiccò la proporzionata distribuzione de’ lumi visibili, ed invisibili la vaga armonia della luce che l’occhio rimaneva, sebben pianamente appagato, non sazio di rimirla.’ Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 694.

<sup>105</sup> ‘Ed ecco il nostro Andrea divenuto pittore, ed architetto della congregazione; perchè ne restò così soddisfatta, che lui antepose per assai anni a tutti gli altri professori nelle susseguenti esposizioni.’ Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 694.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Nè volendo egli perdere l’acquistata vantaggiosa opinione ne diè annualmente sicuri segni con nuove bizzarre, e vaghe invenzioni. Con una però, in cui dipinse le celebri nozze di Cana passò tutte l’altre. . .’ Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 694. Pascoli refers to Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71.

<sup>107</sup> Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 694.

This *Quarant'ore* scenography of 1685, which appears in the 1693 edition of *Perspectiva*, is probably the most often cited of Pozzo's scenographic projects [fig. 4.4]. As in Pozzo's fresco works, beginning at Mondovì, the grand tableau of the feast seems an homage to Veronese, with its joyous banquet table, dramatically gesturing figures, and Christ seated in the centre [fig. 3.37].<sup>108</sup> The event is frequently presented in sermons and theological discussions as prefiguring the Last Supper, and bears strong associations with the wine of the Eucharist and the saving power of the Blessed Sacrament. The scriptural narrative, however, comprises only a very small area at the bottom of the scene; its importance is magnified by the multitudes of figures, each reacting to the miraculous scene, and by the monumental architectural edifice. Both the figures and the architecture seem to extend beyond the scene of the event infinitely in all directions; just as the wine in the gospel infinitely multiplied at Christ's command. The prophets above the arch and the saints crowning the whole seem likewise animated by the miraculous event.

The effect of architectonic splendour in the scene derives largely from its complex arrangement of spaces and volumes, and especially from its multiple vistas seen through various openings. A Roman theme which seems to have entered Pozzo's architectural language is represented in the dome which crowns the structure, which recalls Rainaldi's dome on the pavilions built in Piazza Navona for the Festival of the Resurrection in 1650 [fig. 4.5]. Apart from this feature, however, the architectural language is distinctly Northern Italian, and we can recognise in it themes Pozzo likely drew from the models to which he had direct access in his earlier years. Beginning with Lombardy and Piedmont we can see clear references to

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<sup>108</sup> See Chapter 3 for comparisons of Pozzo's scenes with the paintings of Veronese.

Pellegrino Tibaldi and Giovenale Boetto in the disengaged columns and their high pedestals, recalling both San Fedele and San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì [figs. 2.43 and 3.3]. The second arcade leading to the curved arched enclosure in the distance, a familiar theme from Pozzo's scenography for the *Immacolata* in Milan, again recalls Richini's Tuscan order paired-columned arcade surrounding the courtyard of the Collegio di Brera [fig. 2.47]. Also familiar from Pozzo's fresco work at Mondovì are the small curved *choretti* projecting from the arched openings to the left and right, and the relief figures of prophets flanking the monumental arch, which recall the figures of the virtues at Mondovì [figs. 3.20, 3.40-3.43].

As briefly discussed in Pozzo's work at Mondovì, another regional influence we can recognize in Pozzo's architecture in this scenography is that of Venice and the Veneto, whose architectural models he would have studied in his travels there. The whole of the facade of *Le Nozze di Cana* can be compared to the *scaenae frons* of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, similarly featuring a grand triumphal arch surrounded by a structure punctuated with additional openings and niches, decorated with gesturing figures [fig. 4.6]. Comparison can also be made to the exterior Longhena's Santa Maria della Salute, a dynamic display of domes, lanterns, massive volutes, and 'performing' figures, situated on a great dais of steps, initiating a ritual upon arrival as one ascends to the monumental triumphal arch [fig. 3.9]. An engraving of 1644 illustrates the church as it appeared in the context of a religious festival, as a procession passed through the arch into an interior marked by enfolding arches which continue into an indeterminate distance [fig. 4.7].<sup>109</sup> Like Santa Maria della Salute, Pozzo's whole design is marked by an ascending, processional quality;

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<sup>109</sup> Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, frontispiece and 81-86.

another important theme in the Milanese funerals and in Pozzo's scenography for the *Immacolata* at San Fedele.<sup>110</sup> A staircase leads to the scene of the feast, while additional steps lead through a series of triumphal arches, beckoning the spectator by way of the perspective vista to luminous spaces beyond. Thus evidenced in this landmark scenography in Rome are the themes of ascent and of progression through structure, space and performed narrative that characterize much of Pozzo's work. It is not merely a display of architecture or perspective technique; it presents to the observer the invitation to enter and to explore the scene, and to participate in a spiritual drama which complements the ritual of the *Quarant'ore*.

Much of Pozzo's descriptive and instructional text accompanying the design concerns the effect and the technique of the lighting: he remarks on the appearance of the scene under light, emphasizing that it was most striking at night by the light of both hidden and exposed candles, which illuminated the six different layers of canvases.<sup>111</sup> As in the major religious devotions in Milan, the church was completely darkened, so that the attention of the faithful would be directed toward the altar as the single source of illumination. One of the major expenses for the occasion was the covering of the windows—all of the windows—of the vast church with fabric, including those above the nave, the side chapels, the major window on the facade wall, and even the dome.<sup>112</sup>

In the treatise Pozzo mentions scenic elements representing 'clouds filled with angels adoring the Most Holy sacrament'; a heavenly glory characteristic of the

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<sup>110</sup> See my analysis of the scenography for the *Immacolata* in Chapter 2.

<sup>111</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71.

<sup>112</sup> ACN XXXI, 242.

visual tradition of the *Quararant'ore*.<sup>113</sup> In the engraving, Pozzo omitted the heavenly glory in order to 'better display' the architecture; and so we are left to imagine the appearance of the whole, with the heavenly glory in the centre of the major arch, as he describes.<sup>114</sup> Did the clouds pervade the scene, and partly obscure the architecture, as they had in Rainaldi's *apparato* of 1650 [fig. 4.2]? Pozzo's priority in his illustration for the treatise is clearly architecture; and I would suggest that his conception of a 'heavenly glory' is, in fact, architectural. His scenography features views into spaces beyond the immediate space occupied by the observer and the characters in the biblical scene. These views, articulated in architectural terms, appeal to the eye and to the imagination to conjure a celestial scene set amidst glorious architecture. And where other artists, such as Menghini and Rainaldi, portrayed heavenly light through the depiction of rays—either painted or in relief and gilded—Pozzo has chosen to portray actual light, through the sophisticated use of lighting sources and through the augmentation of this controlled light with the skilful use of *chiaroscuro* [figs. 4.1 and 4.2]. He describes lighting each layer, or set of theatrical flats which comprise the *apparato*, by placing the lights immediately behind each flat at an adequate distance to illuminate the subsequent flat.<sup>115</sup>

The *Quarant'ore* of 1685 is among the best subjects of study for Pozzo's perspective and scenographic method. He begins, in Figure 67 of Vol. I of *Perspectiva* with an architectural plan view, and proceeds to develop the structure in elevation, as if it were being built in permanent form [fig. 4.8-4.9]. In Figure 69, he

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<sup>113</sup> Examples of *Quarant'ore* scenographies featuring, or dominated by, the brilliant vision of the heavenly glory include those of Menghini and Rainaldi mentioned earlier, as well as Bernini's *Quarant'ore* for the Pauline Chapel of 1628. For the latter, see Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 227 and Plate 58b.

<sup>114</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71.

<sup>115</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71.

foreshortens the plan in order to establish the forcing of the perspective that is necessary to portray the scene and its depth within the limited space of the apse of the presbytery [fig. 4.10]. While Pozzo does not break the scene down into theatrical flats in the treatise, in his text he refers back to Figures 61 and 62 of the same volume as a guide to this technique [figs. 4.11-4.12].<sup>116</sup> In these plates he illustrates how the *macchina* is divided into a series of contoured shapes, mounted to a supporting frame. He then describes how the perspective is worked out and transferred to full scale, with the use of grids, on the floor. This technique, he says, can be applied to more complex designs with more layers.<sup>117</sup> The *Nozze di Cana* scene was broken into six elements or planes, which likely comprised the following: the platform and stairs; the two lateral walls with disengaged columns flanking the banquet scene; the facade containing the great arch; the second arcade seen through the arch; and a painted backing portraying the scene in the distance, which included the final curved arcade. In spite of appearing open at the top, we can be sure the scene filled the entire opening of the presbytery; Gaulli's fresco in the apse, completed the same year, was likely still in process.<sup>118</sup>

Pozzo's technique of illusionistically representing architectural structures by means of a series of painted theatrical flats is, of course, given its best surviving representation in the high altar *macchina* at Mondovì [fig. 3.48].<sup>119</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, the wing stage and its system of scenic units in the form of painted flats had been employed and mastered by Giacomo Torelli and others in the earlier years

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<sup>116</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71.

<sup>117</sup> 'Ciò che si è detto de' due disegni applicatelo a qualsisia numero di essi.' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 62.

<sup>118</sup> Gaulli completed the dome of the Gesù in April of 1675 and the vault in 1679, while the tribune and the work in the transept were completed in 1685. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 80-85. Haskell cites an *avviso* in *Roma*, XVIII, 1940, 238. For Pozzo's breakdown of the scene into parts see Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 71.

<sup>119</sup> See the section concerning the altar in Chapter 3.



of the seventeenth century in Northern Italy, especially Venice. The technique had also been applied to religious contexts: in the section on scenography from the 1649 edition of his treatise on perspective, Dubreuil had included perspective scenes for religious devotions, including architectural scenes and a heavenly glory [figs. 4.13-4.14].<sup>120</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, Pozzo, equipped with experience of theatres and stages in both Milan and Venice as well as treatises on theatrical scenery, had set about experimenting with such techniques in his own early scenographies. Rome provided new opportunities to put these techniques into practice, and on a larger scale.

Per Bjurström has emphasised Pozzo's attempt, in both this scenography and his *Quarant'ore* of 1685, to relate the scene architecturally to the interior of the Gesù into which it was installed.<sup>121</sup> Figure 30 of the first volume of Pozzo's treatise, in which we find the famous phrase 'conjoining the fictive with the real', demonstrates how he achieves this by visually joining the painted entablature of the set with that of the constructed architecture [fig. 4.15].<sup>122</sup> This technique, which he claimed to utilise both in Milan and Rome, offers an illustration, in literal terms, of the idea of the illusionistic scene functioning as an extension of the architecture of the church. Metaphorically, it underlines the concept of the scenography as a transitional space between the terrestrial reality of the faithful and the celestial scene represented. Apart from the entablature, however, Pozzo's architecture functions in both language and scale as its own entity, distinct in almost every way from the interior architecture of the Gesù, and this is true of his ceiling in Sant'Ignazio, as I will discuss in the next chapter [fig. 4.16]. Pozzo's act of 'joining the fictive with the real', in the case of the

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<sup>120</sup> Dubreuil, *La perspective pratique*, Part III, Traité IV, Pratique IX.

<sup>121</sup> Bjurström, 'Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits,' 109.

<sup>122</sup> Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, fig. 30.

Roman scenographies, consisted in convincingly locating the ephemeral architecture within the permanent setting, not necessarily in imitating the permanent architecture. Moreover, there may well have been an intervening device between the set and the space of the transept. We may recall that Mariani had built an architectural 'proscenium' to match the architecture of the church in 1675; we may also recall the relief figures and the great drape which revealed Pozzo's scene of the *Immacolata* in Milan.<sup>123</sup>

Pozzo's *Quarant'ore apparato* at the Gesù of 1695, represented in the second volume of his treatise, is perhaps the most innovative of all of the surviving designs of his scenographic career [fig. 4.17].<sup>124</sup> This work is typically referred to as *Sitientes Venite ad Aquas*, after the inscription which appears in very small lettering (only visible in the full-scale print of the scene) in the cartouche over the central arch. The words come from Isaiah 55: 1: 'Come, everyone who thirsts, come to the waters. . . .' The theme of water, and its power to destroy, to cleanse, to purify and to save, runs through the Old Testament; in the gospels, water comes to be directly associated with baptism, beginning with the announcement by John the Baptist of 'one who will baptize you with the Holy Spirit.'<sup>125</sup>

Rather than portraying a specific narrative from scripture in this *apparato*, Pozzo presents the fountain of salvation as the symbol of Christ; in this way the scene may be considered to represent all of the scriptural passages related to water and baptism. The theme of Christ as the source of salvation is further reinforced by the image of

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<sup>123</sup> See Chapter 2, '1671-72: Pozzo's First Scenographies.'

<sup>124</sup> This project is illustrated and described in Figures 45 to 47 of *Perspectiva*, II. Its date of 1695 is given in Pozzo's text accompanying Figure 45.

<sup>125</sup> John 1: 31-33. Old Testament references to water include God gathering the waters (Genesis 1:1-9) Noah and the Flood (Genesis 7-9), the crossing of the Red Sea (Genesis 14), the story of Moses and the rock (Exodus 17:6). From the New Testament: Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4: 7-26); and 'Let anyone who is thirsty come to me' (John 7:37-38).

the Mystic Lamb in the apse above: Christ is the sacrifice which saves all mankind, for all time.<sup>126</sup> The figures in the scene are anonymous, and therefore represent all of humanity; the scene is one of universal salvation and wonder. This shift in the content of the *Quarant'ore* scenographies from the very literal illustrations of scriptural passages of Menghini to the grandiose architectural scene of Pozzo, inviting all to come forward and partake of the saving waters, signals a shift in the devotion's imagery from instructional narrative to a more symbolic scene for contemplation, which is also a direct invitation to participate. Theological ideas are codified into images not necessarily tied to particular characters, events, or times. Thus the Eucharist, and its saving power, are demonstrated as both universal and eternal.

Stylistically, this *teatro* is considered a major step forward in Pozzo's oeuvre, the place where he seems to find his own uniquely scenographic architectural language.<sup>127</sup> Here is where he synthesizes his experiences in the north with studies of ancient structures and recent works of architecture in Rome. Pozzo retains much of his northern architectural training: the disengaged columns on very high pedestals of Palladio and Tibaldi grant the ephemeral construction a monumental presence, while the circular risers of the steps and the curving baluster crowned with sculpted figures again recall Palladio's Teatro Olimpico [fig. 4.18]. The great vaulted triumphal arch and the round courtyard in the distance bound by a curving arcade are both familiar from Pozzo's *Le Nozze di Cana*. However, the number of architectural layers is reduced and the vista opened up, allowing this latter feature which Pozzo

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<sup>126</sup> Again the Lamb from the Apocalypse: Revelation 5-9.

<sup>127</sup> See Carboneri, *Andrea Pozzo, Architetto*, 25-26; Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *L'effimero Barrocco*, II, 238; Fagiolo dell'Arco, 'Pensare effimero,' 79-82; Martinelli, 'Teatri sacri e profani,' 111; and Carandini, 'Dalle quinte del teatro,' 175.

had been experimenting with, and had ‘pushed into the background,’ to be confidently brought forward and made a main feature of the design. Pozzo’s architecture here is less ornamental and more austere. Moreover, themes of Borromini are immediately apparent: the strikingly dynamic interplay of diagonals and sweeping curves, and the sparsely adorned surfaces articulated with modified Corinthian order columns, arched openings and a very high, plain entablature suggest San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane [fig. 4.19].

As we study the plan of the architecture of the 1695 *apparato*, we see immediately how it is scenographically predisposed to a frontal view: the columns are not spaced evenly or distributed in even quadrants around the circle; rather there is a wider opening in the centre of the platform upon which the Blessed Sacrament would have been placed [fig. 4.20]. The architecture opens outward toward the viewer by the use of diagonally-placed ‘wings,’ and the pairs of columns projecting inward from the structure are grouped closer together toward the rear of the circle. The appearance of the ensemble maintains the pretence of a round pavilion, a *tempietto* or open arcade; at the same time, the architectural openings are arranged so that the spatial rhythms contract as we move ‘upstage’ toward the deepest area of the set. In elevation and in perspective, this manipulation of the architectural plan and the placement of its vertical members further enhance the effect of depth. This is a ‘theatricalised’ architecture; or, more precisely, a scenographic ensemble of architectural elements and spaces intended to be viewed by an audience facing it from the nave of the church. The architecture is designed to lend visual emphasis to the drama enacted within the scene. It is not conceived or presented as a viable or functional architecture structure.

Pozzo's great scenographic achievement in this work is the successful, and fully convincing, representation of a round space using the same scenographic technique of flat painted planes arranged in succession. Pozzo begins his description of the development of the design by referring to the rules established in previous studies of round spaces. In his Fig. 43, *Teatro di Tempio*, he depicts a round structure comprising an inner dome supported by a colonnade, surrounded by a round vaulted ambulatory [fig. 4.21]. His cutting away of the circle is a means of viewing and understanding the round space as it appears inside. This study is clearly drawn from Pozzo's studies of imperial and early Christian models in Rome, such as the Pantheon, Santa Costanza, and Santo Stefano Rotondo [figs. 4.22-4.24]. His *Fabbrica rotonda* represented in the first volume of the treatise, which was realized in Sant' Ignazio during Holy Week, is a further demonstration of both his success and his keen interest in the representation of round structures and their ability to produce marvel 'if they are made with a good design, masterfully painted, and well decorated' [fig. 4.25].<sup>128</sup>

As a work of architectural metaphor and a theatre of religious ritual, the *apparato* of 1695 also serves as an historical homage to the *Quarant'ore* tradition. Pozzo has here returned to the architectural idea of the *teatro* represented in the first major *Quarant'ore* of 1608—a round theatre, peopled by saints, apostles, and angels, in the centre of which the Blessed Sacrament is placed as the protagonist and the subject of devotion. While the succession of planes leads the eye to a remote distance, as it did in earlier perspective settings, the dominant motion is circular: the Mystic Lamb, and

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<sup>128</sup> 'Le immagini di cose rotonde, se sieno fatte con buon disegno, dipinte con maestria, e ben contornate, ingannano l'occhio a maraviglia.' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 66, *Fabbrica rotonda in prospettiva*. Pozzo does not identify the year in which this scenography was produced in Sant' Ignazio.

the Blessed Sacrament (one doubling as the other) are the cosmic centre around which the heavenly hosts and all things move and ‘have their being.’<sup>129</sup> This theme is reflected in the architecture in the repetition of curving and circular and arrangements: the major arch echoed by both the minor arches with balusters and the arches in the remote distance, the curve-and counter-curve of the platform and the steps, the round structure crowned by a ‘theatre of saints’ on the top—all architecturally echo the spiralling motion and perspective of the scene of the Mystic Lamb in the apse above.

While the lines and curves of Pozzo’s design for the 1695 *Quarant’ore* are determined by the perspective system, lighting is the element which finally achieves the effect of the round space. In addition to the challenges of the perspective drawing, Pozzo recognized that the success of rendering such spaces depends largely on the way highlights and shadows are executed. Figures 10 and 14 of Vol. II of *Perspectiva* evidence his studies of the lighting of round spaces and forms, important lessons for the architect, draughtsman or painter which he includes here for his students in preparation for complex projects such as round temples and church apses [fig. 4.26-4.27]. As we find in Pozzo’s dome in Sant’Ignazio to be examined in the next chapter, it is the high contrast of the *chiaroscuro* painting which would have made a scene such as *Sitientes Venite ad Aquas* appear to occupy the space of the observer. The strong directional light across the curved forms and surfaces, and the deft handling of highlights and shadows, produce in the rendered image the effect of real mass and real space. The painted highlights and shadows, when applied to

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<sup>129</sup> Acts 17:28 (quoting Paul): “‘In him we live and move and have our being.’” See also Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1a.2.3; see especially Aquinas’ proofs based on ‘change’ and ‘the nature causation.’ It should be noted that for the engraving in the treatise, Pozzo produced his own version of the vision of the Mystic Lamb, rather than copying Baciccio’s, which was completed in 1685 and was presumably visible above. See Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 80-85.

imitate the behaviour of light in the constructed space that the scenography occupies, cause the eye to read the forms as three-dimensional.

An examination of notes recorded for this *Quarant'ore* of 1695 by Congregation of Nobles, like those for Rainaldi's scenography of 1650, has provided new insight into how this *apparato* and others like it were executed.<sup>130</sup> These notes include brief descriptions in addition to detailing costs, labour and materials. Pozzo began work in early January in the Collegio Romano in an attic space above the lecture hall of theology. Seven painters are listed on the payroll, and we can assume Pozzo also made use of several students; the 'gifts' he gave them, mentioned in the expense accounts, were likely their payments. The scenic units are referred to consistently as *telari*—canvas-covered frames, with a craftsman listed to do the sewing. Carpenters worked for four days to set up the scene, and among their duties was the construction of the scaffolding to support the set, as well as scaffold in areas where the painters were working, and another scaffold for placing and lighting candles. The hoisting of the figures of the apostles into place on top of the balustrade appears as a line item, indicating it was probably no small task. Wax appears repeatedly, including candles for the illumination of the scene, and light for labourers and painters to work by. The project clearly required time outside of the daylight hours of the Roman winter.

In his description of this *apparato*, Pozzo proudly relates the anecdote of spectators so convinced of the illusion that they wanted to climb the steps: 'I remember having seen persons who wanted to climb these stairs, without realizing the error, to the point of touching them with their hands.'<sup>131</sup> Thus with Pozzo, the

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<sup>130</sup> ACN XXXI 306v.-309r.

<sup>131</sup> 'Tanto è vero che i disegni di opere grandi fatti con buona regola di architettura, pittura, e prospettiva gabano l'occhio: ed io mi ricordo aver veduto persone, che volean salir queste scale, senza avvedersi dell'errore, finche non le toccaron con le mani.' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, Fig. 47.

religious scenography succeeds in producing in the observer the visceral desire to ‘enter,’ and to make physical contact with the scene of glory. The direct involvement of the senses and the appeal to the imagination which the prayers and exercises of the *Quarant’ore* devotion encouraged are complemented by the apparent physical presence of a miraculous scene. Such an *apparato* would have served as a metaphor of spiritual exaltation and as the source of powerful visual cues for the meditations and rites of the devotion. The themes of ascent and of hierarchies of spiritual understanding which we find in the works of Paleotti and Federico Borromeo, discussed in relation to Pozzo’s earliest scenographies in the north in Chapter 2, are here represented in literal terms: the faithful sought to ascend to the place of the miracle and the source of salvation. Pozzo had put forward his best work in this *apparato*, knowing the importance of his audience: the College of Cardinals participated in the *Quarant’ore* at the Gesù on 19 February 1695, and Pozzo’s ‘sumptuous *apparato*’ was given special, if brief, mention in Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni’s memoirs as having greatly pleased the cardinals in both its painting and its architecture.<sup>132</sup>

Pozzo’s contribution to the *Quarant’ore* tradition at the Gesù, and in Rome more broadly, was a new approach to the architectural perspective scene which Rainaldi had introduced decades before; one which exploited all of the possibilities of perspectival illusion, while also testing its limits. The illusory and ephemeral nature of such scenes allowed him to explore architectural forms and spatial effects which in the realm of the ‘real’ and the ‘permanent’ would not have been possible. And Pozzo’s *teatri sacri* are not concerned only with architecture or space. While some

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<sup>132</sup> ‘Domenica mattina il Sacro Collegio interviene al Giesù . . . per le 40 hore, . . . et assai gli piacque il sontuoso apparato fatto li dalla Congregatione de Nobili con la nuova Pittura, et architettura del Fr. Pozzo.’ BAV Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3359, 33r. Cit. Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 128, Note 13.



might contend that Pozzo's architecture dwarfs the narrative scene and renders it insignificant, I counter that the figures are deliberately scaled to mimic the actual figures inhabiting the church space; they are credible as true 'actors.'<sup>133</sup> The scene is presented as a theatre, both a performance and a setting which seek to involve the observer directly: the figures are placed within the architecture, moving and gesturing within it, in such a way that the observer feels its immediacy, and imagines 'entering.' Moreover, like the sculpted figures in the great scenographies of Milan examined in Chapter 2, Pozzo's figures grant life and presence to the architecture, while the architecture grants them abundant opportunities for movement in all directions, and from one space to another. As I shall discuss in more depth in relation to Pozzo's ceiling in Sant'Ignazio in Chapter 5, Pozzo, as a painter, had a keen eye and a well-trained hand for the figure and an understanding of gesture: both the rhetorical meanings of individual gestures and the dramatic power produced by a variety of gestures and movements in a scene. All of this he would have learned from the study of painting, from the Jesuits' culture and pedagogy in the fields of rhetoric and performance, and from Counter-Reform religious culture and its emphasis on gesture within the context of liturgy and ritual.<sup>134</sup>

These *apparati* of Pozzo are scenes designed for the performance of a sacred rite, and serve as performances on their own as works of art. In their appeal to the observer to engage in a participatory way in the scriptural scenes enacted, they contribute to the larger 'theatre' of the ritual of the *Quarant'ore*. Thus within themselves, and within a broader performative context, they serve as some of the

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<sup>133</sup> Weil claims that Pozzo's *Quarant'ore* designs 'stress the vastness of the *quadratura* illusion to the extent that the narrative seems unimportant.' Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours,' 241.

<sup>134</sup> See Chapter 1 for gesture in the Jesuit's study of rhetoric; and Chapter 2 to for Federico Borromeo's treatise, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione*. Borromeo's codification of gesture is further discussed in my analysis of Pozzo's ceiling vault fresco in Sant'Ignazio in Chapter 5.

best surviving illustrations of an integrated system of visual rhetoric and performed ritual in Jesuit religious culture. The self-conscious artifice represented in the discovery of the illusion, the *disinganno* in Pozzo's religious scenographies, performed a function similar to what we find in the theatres and court performances of the time: that of challenging the intellect and producing 'delight' and 'marvel' at the illusion's discovery.<sup>135</sup> I would propose, however, that such illusions in religious settings served an additional, more important function. In the context of ritual and prayer, the community of faithful admiring such a scene was engaged in the narrative represented, and its meaning, just as they were in beholding the sacred image in a religious painting. The illusionistic image presented in the *apparato* was not produced, in this case, simply for delight or for the discovery of its own artifice. It served a meditative and ceremonial purpose: it was a sacred scene into which the imagination 'entered' and took part in the performed drama, just as it did in the *Spiritual Exercises*. The ritual context of the work which I have here discussed is fundamental to this reading: the image was observed and studied not merely as a perspective construction of impeccable technique, but as a religious narrative scene accompanying prayers, hymns, scriptural readings and ritual movement. It was part of a broader appeal to the senses as well as to the intellect to reflect on the presence and the meaning of the Blessed Sacrament itself. In its ephemerality it was like the images of the imagination, discussed by Augustine and Aquinas and promoted by

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<sup>135</sup> See my introduction for the intellectual function of *inganno* and *disinganno* as defined by Emanuele Tesauro. For a discussion of the craft and application of illusion and visual effects in seventeenth-century court entertainments, see Warwick, Bernini: *Art as Theatre*, 19-41.

Ignatius, Paleotti and Borromeo, summoned to aid the faithful in prayer and in achieving spiritual understanding.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> See Chapter 1 for a discussion of images, imagination, and the importance of memory in relation to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius; and vision and light in relation to Augustine and Aquinas. These discussions continue with the writings of Paleotti and Federico Borromeo regarding images and memory in Chapter 2.

## Pozzo and the Jesuit Theatre Stage in Rome

Pozzo was, for all intents and purposes, the Jesuits' scenographer-in-residence in Rome in the last two decades of the seventeenth century. The biographies mention his scenographic activities at the Seminario Romano, and archival sources prove that he was involved in mounting productions both there and at the Collegio Romano.<sup>137</sup> The most compelling evidence for Pozzo's involvement in theatrical productions, however, is the series of set designs in his treatise.<sup>138</sup> He was clearly invested in the practice of theatrical scenography, and his inclusion of these projects in the treatise indicate that he was actively teaching the discipline and disseminating his techniques and designs to other Jesuit institutions.

In spite of the limited evidence directly identifying the theatrical productions in which Pozzo was engaged, we should bear in mind the context of religious theatre in Rome in which he entered in the 1680's. Pozzo arrived from the north with unrivalled skills in perspective and scenographic techniques. In the lively and artistically prolific environment of theatrical performance and festival culture in Rome, such skills would have been in high demand. The triumphs at the Gesù signal that as soon as his ability was known, Pozzo must have become regularly engaged in scenographic projects, particularly within the Jesuit community, whose theatrical activities both within and outside the colleges and institutions surpassed those of the Jesuits in Milan. I choose to regard the *teatri* of the treatise, therefore, as evidence of what surely must have been a broad and extensive engagement of Pozzo with the theatrical life of the city, which extended far beyond devotions in churches to include religious and civic festivals and theatrical performances.

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<sup>137</sup> Pio, 'Le vite di pittori,' 17; Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 700.

<sup>138</sup> Many of these are discussed in Chapter 2; Pozzo, *Perspectiva* I, Figs 72-77; *Perspectiva* II, Figs. 37-42.

In the Jesuit institutions in Rome, the tradition of theatrical performance was central to the didactic mission of the colleges, and served as an effective public relations tool of the order.<sup>139</sup> Performances took place both at the Collegio Romano and at the Seminario Romano, and in the seventeenth century these performances developed into elaborate affairs.<sup>140</sup> Themes and messages aimed at moral edification, while the dramatic structure of the works, like plays produced in the courts of the time, sought to revive the theatrical form of classical antiquity, including the genres of comedy, tragedy, and tragicomedy. The works were divided into three acts, with prologues and *intermezzi*, and featured something akin to the Greek chorus. The *intermezzi*, which were typically the most spectacular moment of the performance, featured ballets, additional scenes and effects. They appear in virtually all of the extant *argomenti* of Jesuit plays, and became an essential component of Jesuit theatre in the first decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>141</sup>

Although such works were first and foremost demonstrations of the accomplishments of the students in the discipline of rhetoric, they were also showpieces for the public and, as previously discussed, served as devices of persuasion and edification. In Chapter 1 I discussed the importance of images and the emphasis on the ‘spectacular’ in the Jesuit theatre. This is evidenced not only in the works and their *libretti* but in the development of Jesuit stagecraft, recorded in the work and writings of Dubreuil, Sarbiewsky and Galluzzi. All three of these men

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<sup>139</sup> Zanlonghi describes Jesuit theatre as ‘one with the life of the city in which it developed.’ Zanlonghi, ‘The Jesuit Stage and Theatre in Milan.’ For the Jesuit theatre in Rome, see Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance’ and ‘Il teatro al Collegio Romano.’ 175. For the importance of theatre in Jesuit education see O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 121-25, 223.

<sup>140</sup> The development of Jesuit theatrical production is discussed in Chapter 1. See Bjurström, ‘Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits’; Filippi, ‘The Orator’s Performance,’ and Filippi, ‘L’illusione prospettica.’ A catalogue of plays at the Seminario Romano analyzed by Filippi give us an indication of the works and the level of spectacle involved. Filippi, *Il Teatro degli argomenti*.

<sup>141</sup> Filippi, ‘Il teatro al Collegio Romano,’ 167.

were major figures at the Collegio Romano in the early seventeenth century. The Jesuits seem to have been determined to keep in step with the theatrical tastes of the time in featuring novelty, invention and spectacular effects, which were largely concentrated on the prologues.<sup>142</sup> As the Jesuits' audience at the Seminario Romano included the aristocracy, and the history of their theatre demonstrates a growing taste for the spectacular, it is easy to imagine Jesuit theatre, at its most lavish, competing with the most elaborate court spectacles in Rome.<sup>143</sup>

Pozzo's involvement in the Jesuit theatrical stage, as well as other types of spectacle within the Collegio Romano and the courts, is mentioned in the biographies. Niccola Pio says 'he painted scenes for the Seminario Romano,' while Pascoli cites more specific occasions, claiming that he painted 'three mutations of scene for the theatre of the Seminario Romano, and a courtyard [scenography] for the theatre of Cardinal Ottoboni.'<sup>144</sup> While the plays at the Collegio Romano were performed in the great hall of the college, in the Seminario Romano a theatre with a stage was built 'at notable expense' in 1670.<sup>145</sup> The stage must have been equipped with the most sophisticated stage mechanisms available, and if we accept the biographers' brief accounts, this is the place where Pozzo concentrated his theatrical activities.

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<sup>142</sup> Filippi, 'Il teatro al Collegio Romano,' 161-82.

<sup>143</sup> For court spectacles and stage effects in early modern Rome, see Fagiolo dell'Arco and Carandini, *La festa barocca and L'effimero barocco*; and Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 19-41.

<sup>144</sup> 'Ha fatto quadri, dipinto scene per il Seminario Romano. . .' Pio, *Le vite di pittori e scultori et architetti*, 17. ' . . . dipinte tre mutazioni di scene pel teatro del Seminario Romano, ed un cortile per quello del cardinal Ottoboni. . .' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 700.

<sup>145</sup> For the stage of the Collegio Romano see Mamczarz, 'La trattistica dei Gesuiti'; she refers to the 'great hall' on 362-63. The theatre at the Seminario is described in two entries in the same volume of the ARSI: 'Nell'anno ancora 1670 del mese di Aprile la fabrica nel novo Teatro fù levata la camera grande de chierici detta di S. Gregorio. . .' and 'Nel Carnevale di quest'anno 1671 li chierici non fecero la solita Tragedia, per non haverne trovata una à proposito e per scarsezza de soggetti, in quest'anno fù aperto il novo Teatro che hora si vede fatto con notabil spesa con il novo palco fatto l'anno antecedente.' ARSI Rom 242, 117-119. Transcription mine. Cit. Filippi, 'L'illusione prospettica,' 217, Note 29.

From 1572 onwards, the Seminario had hosted seminarians preparing for ecclesiastical careers, as well as other guests, many of whom were members of the Italian and European aristocracy.<sup>146</sup> The theatrical season took place during Carnival, and served a purpose similar to that of the spectacular *Quarant'ore* scenographies at the Gesù: the Jesuits at the Seminario sought to distract people from the profane pleasures of Carnival by offering an alternative form of communal celebration. The works presented included both comedies and tragedies, and invariably began with prologues and featured *intermezzi* that included ballets. The numerous printed *argomenti* of Jesuit productions at the Seminario demonstrate just how active the Jesuit stage was in Rome, and what the theatrical spectacles consisted of.<sup>147</sup> In addition to summaries of the action and occasional notes regarding the scenes, these pamphlets list directors, ballet masters and performers. Unfortunately they do not give credit for the design of stage scenery. However, archive sources confirm the biographers' claims that Pozzo was called upon at both the Seminario and the Collegio Romano to contribute his services in mounting theatrical productions. In the archives of the Collegio Romano, we find evidence of Pozzo's involvement in scenographies produced for the reception of dignitaries. A brief account appears in an entry of 25 February, 1687, describing the visit of the Ambassador of England, for which 'the entire entry was decorated with paintings, *imprese*, epigrams, and especially some very beautiful paintings made by Brother Pozzo for that occasion.'<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Filippi, *Il teatro al Collegio Romano*, 175.

<sup>147</sup> A large collection of these *argomenti* is held at the Biblioteca Casatanense, Rome: VOL MISC. 2013 9, VOL MISC. 1731, AND VOL MISC. 1118. Filippi has compiled a summary of them: Filippi, *Il Teatro degli argomenti*, 378-421.

<sup>148</sup> 'Tutta la Portiera era oranata di pitture, imprese, e epigrammi, e specialmente d'alcune Pitture assai belle fatte dal Fr. Pozzo per quella occasione.' ARSI Rom. 150a, 97r-97v.

Pozzo's activity in the design and execution of scenographies for the Jesuit stage in Rome was a natural continuation of his scenographic activity in the north. The theatre and the theatrical sets of the treatise are evidence of the extensive thought he devoted to theatrical scenography, guided by his study of previous treatises of Giulio Troili, Fabrizio Motta and others as well as studies of theatres and stage facilities in Northern Italy.<sup>149</sup> They also demonstrate practical experience on the theatre stage—an acquired set of skills and knowledge which he was keen to pass on to his pupils. His Jesuit education and his experiences in Jesuit institutions would have made him particularly sensitive to the important role of images in Jesuit theatre, and he devotes to these projects the same level of care and precision that he demonstrates in the architectural perspective exercises and the *teatri sacri*.<sup>150</sup> These projects could not have merely served as hypothetical studies in scenography and perspective; I choose to consider them as works either derived from, or intended directly for, actual theatrical productions of the Jesuits in Rome, of which scenography and stage mechanics were clearly a major concern. Even their scale, considerably smaller than their northern counterparts by Torelli and others—in some cases the scene comprises just four pairs of wings plus a backdrop—suggests the modest proportions and notably shallow space of a theatre stage built within the typical college or seminary.

In Chapter 2 I described Pozzo's design for a theatre with a multi-scene stage system, based on Northern Italian models of Motta and the theatres of Venice [fig. 2.22]. This theatre was designed for the employment of a perspective technique

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<sup>149</sup> Pigozzi discusses the work of Giulio Troili as a likely subject of study in Pozzo's development as a scenographer. Pigozzi, 'Andrea Pozzo tra Giulio Troili e Ferdinando Galli Bibiena.' Troili's treatise, *Paradossi per praticare la prospettiva senza saperla* (orig. 1672) includes a significant section on scenography and stagecraft: Pratica XLIX. 'Per facilitare la pratica delle Scene.' For Motta, see Filippi, 'L'illusione prospettica.' Dubreuil's lessons in scenography in his *La Perspective Pratique* are discussed in Chapter 1. Fabrizio Motta's treatise, *Trattato sopra la struttura de teatri* (1676) is discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>150</sup> See Chapter 1.



developed specifically for theatrical scenery. I also highlighted the correspondence of several of Pozzo's theatrical sets with Venetian models, indicating his likely study of northern scenographic themes and techniques [figs. 2.31-2.36]. Pozzo demonstrates his Roman architectural experience with his 'Anticamera' in Figure 42, a rendition of the familiar scenographic genre of the elaborate antechamber or throne room, which seems modelled on the Roman basilica interior, the basis of early Christian churches in Rome [fig. 4.28]. In its basic form, without the architectural embellishments, we can compare it to San Vitale, one of the earliest churches bequeathed to the Jesuits in Rome: it is a great hall or nave, covered with a coffered ceiling, terminating in a wall with a prominent apse [fig. 4.29].

Looking at the works produced at the Seminario Romano in the late seventeenth century and their accompanying staging notes, Pozzo's architectural scenes—a courtyard, a gallery, an amphitheatre, a prison, an antechamber or throne room—appear to be far from arbitrary perspectival exercises; in fact they align perfectly with many of the scenic genres described in these plays [figs. 2.33, 2.35, 2.37, and 4.28]. From the years that Pozzo was in Rome, *argomenti* have survived from at least fourteen productions at the Seminario between 1692 and 1701.<sup>151</sup> *Andriano* of 1693 included a prison scene and an amphitheatre with animals; *Tempeste di Calma*, also of 1693, featured a throne room and again an amphitheatre; *Tiridate* of 1695 included an amphitheatre and a prison; and *Cinna* of 1701 was set in Rome in the Palace of Augustus. Other works set in exotic locales provided opportunities for scenographic experimentation: *Tolomeo* of 1694, set in Alexandria, featured a scene with a sepulchre under a pyramid; *Maurizio* of 1701, was set in Constantinople. The

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<sup>151</sup> Notes and *argomenti* of the works described here were found in the Biblioteca Casatanense, Rome, Vols. Misc. 1731, Misc. 1118, and in Filippi, 'Il Teatro degli argomenti,' 397-419.

settings described for these works, ranging from generic scenic categories to specific locales, served the visual narrative of the drama and provided the images which were, in Pozzo's time, integral to Jesuit theatrical performance.

Both archival evidence and Jesuit treatises on theatre indicate clearly that the Jesuit theatre stage was a place where perspective and stage effects were extensively employed. It is reasonable to assume that Pozzo's scenographic work must have appeared in many of the Jesuit productions in Rome during his tenure there. The use of images in the context of performance was ingrained in Pozzo from his early Jesuit training, and he would have been as earnest in producing visual 'eloquentia' for such Jesuit stage spectacles as he was for the *Quarant'ore* devotions. While we find settings and architectural themes frequently repeating from one work to another, Pozzo would doubtless have made each iteration of these subjects an opportunity for new and spectacular perspectival effects. Moreover, exotic locales would have provided opportunities for research and experimentation outside of the classically-based language within which he remained more or less rooted in his architecture, church decorations and religious scenographies.

Pozzo meticulously recorded his experiences and studies of theatrical scenography in the sections of his treatise devoted to theatre, which in turn were intended, like all the projects in his treatise, as teaching tools to be applied in practice.<sup>152</sup> Just as the architectural projects in the Treatise served the didactic function of instructing his pupils in the art of applied perspective, these theatrical projects were intended to instruct pupils in the fundamentals of theatrical set design and the execution of stage scenery—skills which were increasingly needed in the

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<sup>152</sup> For a discussion of Pozzo's treatise as teaching tool, see Insolera, 'Pozzo e la sua accademia,' 198-199; also Oechslin, 'Pozzo e il suo trattato.'

Jesuit institutions of the time. As Pozzo's career progressed in Rome, teaching became at least as important to his vocation as a religious artist as were the artistic commissions themselves. Oliva's original plans for Pozzo, as described at the beginning of this chapter, included not only his own development as an artist in service to the order, but his role as teacher, a defining figure in the 'school of the arts,' which could refer to Rome more broadly and the Collegio Romano more specifically.<sup>153</sup> Ultimately, through his treatise and the training of his pupils, Pozzo would become the instrument through which the new artistic agenda of the Jesuits, as well as the scenographic techniques of the Jesuit stage, would be disseminated worldwide. Pozzo's 'academy,' his use of students as assistants and collaborators, and his role as a teacher will be discussed further in relation to his major Roman projects in my next chapter.

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<sup>153</sup> For Pozzo's didactic role and his 'academy' at the Collegio Romano, see Insolera, 'Pozzo e la sua accademia,' esp. 197 and 199-202; and Insolera, 'L'impegno didattico.' Insolera bases most of her discussion of the academy on descriptions by the Balducci and Patrignani.

## Conclusion

Pozzo was without doubt the best-trained and best-positioned artist to answer the call of the Jesuit authority in Rome at a time when major works of painting and church decoration had become central to the Society's religious message and propagandistic agenda. Upon entering this city of ritual and of ideas, he knew he had much to learn, but, it turned out, also much to teach. The legacies of Bernini, Borromini, Pietro da Cortona and Rainaldi all left him with a wealth of architectural models to study. Moreover, the inter-medial artistic culture of the city and its culture of performance made seventeenth-century Rome the 'grand theatre of the world' where Pozzo's abilities, not only as an architect-scenographer but as an astute and experienced practitioner of stagecraft, would be put to use and given their greatest opportunities and challenges.<sup>154</sup> The numerous Jesuit spectacles in Rome, both the rituals and the stage productions, were the place of experimentation where Pozzo was able to channel his unique combination of resources into producing works which demonstrated the full power of images as devices of persuasion within the context of a rhetorical strategy. While Pozzo's 'arsenal' of visually persuasive tools centred on architecture and perspective, gesture and light brought his complex scenes to life and granted them the emotive power which their theatrical and ritual contexts demanded. Moreover, his precise and nuanced use of symbolism and allegory granted these works a rhetorical function within their ritual context that made their impact on the public more concrete in its intended meaning than the Baroque *meraviglia* with which such images are typically associated. Like all Jesuit scenographies, they were designed and produced to communicate very specific messages.

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<sup>154</sup> Silvia Carandini cites accounts of events in the 1660's by the French, the Spanish and the Florentines referring to Rome as 'Gran Teatro del Mondo,' or variations thereon. Carandini, 'La festa nella città,' 317.

From his early years at the Jesuit college in Trent to his time at San Fedele in Milan, and continuing in his years in Rome, Andrea Pozzo was immersed in the world of the Jesuit theatre. His scenographic work and his art demonstrate a kind of training and development in which rhetoric and performance, through either participation or exposure, played a central role.<sup>155</sup> The documented theatrical work of Pozzo, together with his surviving permanent works of art, demonstrate his role as architect and producer of a ‘rhetoric of images’ which was so vital to Jesuit culture and communication. Images were an integral part of the rhetorical system that the Jesuits employed in the plays, the rituals and the liturgies. Like the spoken performance of words in the Jesuit theatre, the production of images in these contexts—and we may say, in Pozzo’s work generally—was less concerned with the imitation of reality than with appealing to the imagination and giving form to the images within—images which served a persuasive function together with the texts and rituals with which they formed a rhetorical system.

Pozzo’s scenographic practice reached its highest development in Rome, and ultimately led to the permanent works which would establish his place in seventeenth-century art. In Rome he further developed the scenographic techniques he had learned in Northern Italy, introducing them to the Roman public and the clergy, transforming the Jesuit theatre and religious events through entirely new and very economical methods of stagecraft. At the same time, he had the opportunity of studying works of Roman architecture and sculpture, which transformed his own architectural language as we see it represented across his later works. The series of commissions Pozzo received soon after arriving in Rome, beginning with the

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<sup>155</sup> See Chapter 1. Pozzo could read and speak Latin (ARSI Med. 55, Cat. Trien. 1672-1675, 41r-43v.) but the extent of his formal education in rhetoric is unclear.

Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa of the Gesù and continuing with his well-known work in the great church of Sant' Ignazio, represented in every sense a continuation of his scenographic practice, as it extended into the permanent modes of fresco painting, architecture, and church decoration.



## Chapter 5

### Major Permanent Works in Rome: Theatres of Transformation

In this final chapter I will conclude my examination of the work of Pozzo of as religious theatre by applying this reading to his major works of illusionistic painting in Rome. The works to be examined include the fresco cycle in the Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù, and the dome and the major vault frescoes in Sant' Ignazio. Beyond the transfer of perspective techniques and architectural designs from ephemeral to permanent modes, Pozzo would manifest in these works the full conflation of real space with imaginary space, of built structure with fictive structure. Using perspectival illusionism as the unifying framework for a rhetorical system of images, he would transform built spaces into 'theatres' comprising both real and fictive architecture, making them places of ritual in which the observer becomes engaged as a performer. As I analyse these works I will summarize the physical and historical contexts of their commission and examine their individual themes and iconography. Throughout this discussion, I will highlight themes which apply to more than one work, and in some cases to all the works.

The subject which has generated the most discussion of any in the literature on Pozzo is his perspective system and the various meanings which have been ascribed to it. I will consider to what extent this system, as we see it in the Roman works, represents innovation in Pozzo's work and in perspective studies of the time, particularly within the context of Jesuit research. I will discuss some of the interpretations of Pozzo's perspective, offering some new ones as well, as I consider the relative place of philosophy and theology in his work and his practice. While



perspective provides a wealth of opportunities for interpretation and encourages discourse of very complex ideas, I will continue to emphasize the pragmatic aspect of Pozzo's method, as well as his role as a teacher, and the didactic role that his practice and writings served for both his students and the public.

A major theme I will discuss in relation to each of these works, continuing from my examination of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì in Chapter 3, is the idea of illusionistic painting and its architectural context as a 'permanent' scenography or *teatro*, conceived and produced with the working principle of theatricalised space and architecture designed for ritual. Each of the fresco works to be examined comprises architecture inhabited by gesturing figures and narrative scenes, all synthesized as part of an environment for ritual performance while at the same time 'performing.' In these works Pozzo astonished the Roman public with an art which fully conflates illusion with reality through the perfection of applied perspectival technique, *chiaroscuro* lighting effects, and dramatic use of form, atmosphere, and colours. These works, like the ephemeral works discussed in previous chapters, can be read as scenographies designed and produced for the performance of sacred rituals, and for the internal performance of contemplation and prayer. The interplay between reality and illusion, real space and fictive space, plays an important role in the way these works engage the visitor-as-performer in a process of discovery and persuasion.

A second theme to which I will return is that of substitution, and I will concentrate the discussion here on Pozzo's fictive dome in Sant'Ignazio. The idea of substituting the ephemeral for the 'permanent' has been demonstrated in the ephemeral high altar in San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì as well as the ephemeral

constructions for festivals and rituals discussed in Chapter 2. The act of substituting illusory space and structure for actual construction, and introducing architectonic spatial illusions which alter or extend the constructed architecture, has been demonstrated in Pozzo's scenographies and in the frescoes at Mondovì. This theme of substitution continues on a larger scale in Pozzo's 'permanent' works in Rome. Here, as in the north, Pozzo's painted illusion originates as a solution to an unresolved construction problem. The painted dome of Sant'Ignazio, which Pozzo never imagined would remain for more than a few years, becomes accepted as a replacement—first temporary, then permanent—for a constructed dome.

Transformation is an overarching theme which encompasses these works, their functions, their meanings and their effects: the transformation of space through images, fictive architecture and perspectival illusion; the transformation of both the individual and the community through discovery, understanding, and persuasion achieved by engagement with the works in their ritual context; and the global transformation envisaged by the Jesuits through education and their apostolic mission. A motif which occurs repeatedly in the works, particularly those in Sant'Ignazio, is apotheosis. This includes the apotheosis of individual saints, and, I will suggest, the apotheosis of the Society of Jesus, together with humanity as a whole. This is, in all cases, a performance in perpetual climax, an apotheosis which is active and in a continual state of unfolding.

Throughout this discussion I will demonstrate that from conception and proposal to execution and final presentation, these works of Pozzo, both the scenographies and the church decorations, are 'performances' in themselves. Although he had demonstrated remarkable leadership and adaptability arriving at the end of a drawn-

out and compromised design and construction process at Mondovì, probably nothing had prepared Pozzo for the complexities of dealing with the scrutiny of the Jesuit community in Rome, as well as a host of seasoned Roman artists and architects resistant to new ideas and methods. Like the narratives of his *Quarant'ore* projects discussed in the last chapter, the accounts of these permanent works commissioned of Pozzo present the continued 'drama' of the artist leading his superiors and his public through a process of discovery and persuasion. The audience discovers the magnificent scenes of performed narrative articulated with elaborate systems of visual rhetoric, and is persuaded of the intrinsic value of illusion and scenography, the spiritual metaphors contained within them, and the respective roles they play in the ritual performance of faith within this religious culture.

## The Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa del Gesù: an 'Ignatian Theatre'

The Casa Professa del Gesù in Rome, the Jesuit house attached to the mother church of the Gesù, is the place where St Ignatius spent the last ten years of his life, and where he died on 31 July, 1556.<sup>1</sup> The veneration with which the Society regarded the rooms of the saint in the house is clearly evidenced by the decision of Father General Claudio Acquaviva to preserve the rooms, a full decade before Ignatius' beatification and more than twenty years before his canonization. He chose to literally ensconce them within the structure of the new Casa Professa, which was begun in 1599.<sup>2</sup> By the middle of the seventeenth century, the amply-lit corridor which runs between the garden courtyard of the building and the rooms of the saint terminated in an altar, and had become a place of extensive visitation and pilgrimage. A decorative program for the corridor had been begun by Jacques Courtois in 1661, but was not completed before his sudden death in 1676.<sup>3</sup>

Under Father General Giovanni Paolo Oliva the corridor and its decoration became a renewed priority, and it has been inferred from his enthusiastic correspondence with Pozzo, as well as the account by Pascoli, that he was planning to make the project of the corridor Pozzo's first Roman commission.<sup>4</sup> In spite of Oliva's death shortly before Pozzo's arrival in Rome, the project was resumed under Father General Charles de Noyelles, who was convinced that with Pozzo's project, the corridor would undergo a transformation, becoming ' . . . no longer simply a corridor, but a beautiful, and magnificent Portico for the Chapels, that would render

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<sup>1</sup> Lucas, 'La Galleria,' 141.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas, 'La Galleria,' 141.

<sup>3</sup> Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 25-26.

<sup>4</sup> The relevant passage in Pascoli is transcribed in Chapter 4, Note 8. Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 693. See correspondence cited by Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 55-59.

them more noble and venerable,' making the site, 'one of the most beautiful sanctuaries of Rome, worthy of being admired and revered by any great Personage' [fig. 5.1].<sup>5</sup>

Insolera has recently proposed the start date of the project as sometime in the middle of 1682.<sup>6</sup> According to Maurizio de Luca's close analysis of the fresco cycle during its restoration, all the painting work would have been completed in approximately four months.<sup>7</sup> If this is the case, then the corridor was, in fact, Pozzo's first major commission in Rome; as I stated in the previous chapter, his first *Quarant'ore* scenography for the Gesù was not executed until winter of 1683. The completion date of the corridor frescoes is not known, and it is widely assumed that Pozzo worked on them concurrently with the projects in Sant'Ignazio.

The corridor is a pictorial homage to St Ignatius, comprising a complex system of fictive architecture which frames a series of scenes. These are based on biographical information as well as legends which glorify the saint and his qualities—much like the images devoted to St Francis Xavier at Mondovì. The scenes along the walls concern the life and miracles of Ignatius, while the major panels of the vault celebrate his place in heaven [figs. 5.2-5.4].<sup>8</sup> The cycle might be regarded as a pictorial rendition, and summary, of the various biographical sources on Ignatius, including the illustrated *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (1609), *De Vita et Instituto S. Ignatii Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* of Daniello Bartoli

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<sup>5</sup> Translation mine. '... il Corridore medesimo non sarebbe quasi più Corridore, ma come un bellissimo, e magnificentissimo Portico delle medesime Cappelle, che le renderebbe, e più nobile, e più venerabile. . . si rende questo luogo uno dei più belli Santuarij di Roma, degno d'essere ammirato, e riverito da qualsivoglia gran Personaggio.' ARSI Rom. 144, 303r.-305v., 'Alcune Considerationi da ponderarsi bene, e molto maturamente intorno al fare, o non fare l'Ingresso delle Cappelle di S. Ignatio nel Corridore,' transcr. Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 167-69.

<sup>6</sup> Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> De Luca, 'Gli affreschi della Galleria,' 146.

<sup>8</sup> The scenes and iconography are discussed by Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 50-54; Pfeiffer, 'Pozzo e la spiritualità,' 15-31; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 67-97.

(1650); and the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, by Petro Ribadeneira (1583).<sup>9</sup> The images are not arranged chronologically, and the scenes on the walls serve not so much as visual narratives of documented events, but rather as allegorical scenes of the saint as a heavenly intercessor on earth. The scenes of ‘miracles’ include, on the left wall, *The Saint Restores Life and Health with Water and Oil* and *Ignatius Frees a Possessed Man*; and on the right wall, *Ignatius Appears to an Ill Nun and Cures Her*, and *Ignatius, Invoked by Prayers, Extinguishes a Fire* [figs. 5.5-5.6].<sup>10</sup> As Insolera has explained, stories of the miracles are largely the product of the widespread fervour for the saint after his beatification and subsequent canonization, rather than recorded history.<sup>11</sup> Ribadeneira, the biographer who knew Ignatius personally, maintained that Ignatius never performed miracles in his lifetime. He further underlined in his biography that miracles were not necessary proof of sanctity.<sup>12</sup> The miracle scenes we see in the corridor, as Levy explains, ‘were represented as types rather than specific historical instances.’<sup>13</sup>

Like Pozzo’s project in the church at Mondovì, which presented to the painter less than ‘ideal’ architectural conditions, Pozzo’s artistic task in the corridor was, in part, to ‘correct’ its irregularities. Baldinucci says,

. . . he adorned it with a very beautiful architecture and perspective, which made it appear to everyone straight and regular; and of the

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<sup>9</sup> Insolera claims that of the various editions by Bartoli, the revised edition of 1659 was probably the one Pozzo consulted. Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 21. The Italian version is entitled *Della Vita e dell’Istituto di S. Ignatio Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù*.

<sup>10</sup> Additional scenes include *An Angel Disguised as a Pilgrim Completes a Portrait of St Ignatius* and *St Ignatius Appears to Prisoners and Comforts Them*. Levy, *Propaganda*, 147-49; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 73-8.1

<sup>11</sup> Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 145.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Probatio sanctitatis non est signa facere. . .’ Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, 654.

<sup>13</sup> Levy, *Propaganda*, 146.

narrow space that it was, he in fact made it appear very spacious and much larger.<sup>14</sup>

Applying his perfected perspective method—whose full rigour is demonstrated more clearly here than in any of his other fresco projects—Pozzo produced, on the surface of the existing space, a new architectural system comprising pilasters with a projecting cornice, and above it a series of horizontal beams supported by projecting corbels [figs. 5.7-5.8]. Between these beams the ceiling appears to rise and terminate in large coffers, which contain the major ‘celestial’ scenes of the saint; while below, between the pilasters, are the ‘miracles’ of the saint described earlier. Suspended within this architectural system are groups of *putti* and angels engaged in various activities and holding various symbols; some emerge from open roundels. At the opposite end from where one enters, the space appears to open and continue into a domed, round chapel with a portrait of the saint framed over an altar which recalls those of Longhena and Carneri [figs. 5.9, 3.54 and 3.56]. Preceding the fictive chapel are two angel musicians playing a violin and *viol da gamba* under a two column-deep Serlian arch; this is decorated with *grisaille* figures of virtues recalling those at Mondovì [figs. 3.40-3.43]. This is what we see when standing on the marked geometric centre of the corridor.

As we move away from the centre in either direction, we find the beams overhead distort dramatically into arcs, the vertical corners of the coffers lean inward as the coffers gradually collapse, the pilasters become wider and seem to turn away from us, and the figures of the angels and *putti* elongate [figs. 5.2 and 5.10]. We realize that the walls are a straight run of plaster, that the ceiling is a shallow barrel-vault,

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<sup>14</sup> Translation mine. ‘. . . l’adornò con una molto vaga architettura e prospettiva, che lo rendé alla vista di tutti diritto e regolare; e di angusto che era, infatti lo fece apparire spazioso assai e molto maggiore di quell che gl’era.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 323/c.130r.

and that the spacious chapel at the end is a scene painted on a flat wall—a wall which runs at a pronounced angle [fig. 5.15]. Pozzo's 'architecture' is a perspectival construction rendered on five surfaces, which completely fills our range of vision, and which optically changes the form of the space and dramatically expands its volume. It is inhabited with figures rendered with varying degrees of distortion to account for the optical foreshortening produced by viewing them at an acute angle.

A perspective system such as this, which functions on multiple planes (including curved surfaces) simultaneously to produce a fully convincing structure, has no real equal in Pozzo's oeuvre. Its uniqueness and its remarkability lie, to a large extent, in the fact that it functions from such close proximity to the viewer. Pozzo's ceiling frescoes and false domes at Mondovì, Sant'Ignazio and elsewhere are much further from the observing eye; in these works the sense of distortion experienced by moving away from the designated viewing position is far more subtle and occurs far less rapidly.<sup>15</sup> The question of how this perspective system in the corridor was achieved has been addressed in detail by Camerota.<sup>16</sup> Pozzo employed his uncompromising perspective construction based on a single viewing position. From the centre of the room, he established a single vanishing point for each surface of the corridor: one at eye level on each of the walls, corresponding to the marked centre of the room, and one directly overhead on the vault. Using these points to determine the perspective, he constructed the scene like he would any of his scenographic or architectural projects: he produced elevations for each surface based on the desired

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<sup>15</sup> This point concerning the distance of the observer from the subject in the perspective systems of Pozzo is also made by Burda-Stengel, who maintains that the close proximity of the painted surfaces of the Corridor to the observing eye are exactly what cause the illusion to 'fail'; thus revealing the intent of the artist in the work as conscious revelation of artifice. He sees the corridor as 'a study of the production of illusionism.' Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 70-79, 85, 96-99.

<sup>16</sup> Camerota, "'Stimando per vero'."



appearance of the whole, accounting for the respective viewing angles. He thus designed the illusionistic architecture and figures of the corridor as a totality: a complete viewing experience encompassing all directions of sight, which occurs at a single designated position in the space.

The transfer of the scenes to the surfaces of the corridor involved the construction of a scaled grid for each surface, distorted to account for the optical foreshortening from the central viewing position. Additionally, the production of the grid on the curved surface of the vault would have required a ‘counter-curving’ of the horizontals [fig. 5.11].<sup>17</sup> Pozzo explains this method as applied to the vault of Sant’Ignazio in his treatise, and Camerota’s computer models of the space demonstrate Pozzo’s method of using a torch or lamp to ‘project’ the grid, particularly the curving horizontals [figs. 5.12-5.13]. The angled wall depicting the chapel is an unusual technical achievement, but one for which Pozzo had an established method to refer to, illustrated and explained in some detail by Dubreuil [fig. 5.14].<sup>18</sup> To these studies Pozzo added the very successful rendition of anamorphoses, for which he had an ideal model of study in the frescoes by Emmanuel Maignan in the Minimite monastery of the Trinità dei Monti [fig. 5.16].<sup>19</sup> As a technical achievement, the corridor may be read as a life-scale ‘cabinet of anamorphoses’ produced to delight the visitor. However, it is much more than that, for reasons which extend beyond the iconography of the painted images.

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<sup>17</sup> This method is discussed in relation to the fresco work at Mondovì in Chapter 3.

<sup>18</sup> See my discussion of Dubreuil’s perspective research in Chapter 1.

<sup>19</sup> Maignan’s work in the monastery is described as a likely subject of study by Camerota and Insolera, both of whom mention his treatise *Perspectiva horaria* of 1648. Camerota, ‘Il teatro dell’idea,’ 26, 32; Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 107. Maignan’s treatise details the construction of anamorphic images in a corridor with a curved vault, represented in Book III, Fig. 40. Burda-Stengel describes the site and Maignan’s methods in some detail. Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 16-20.

It should be underlined that the corridor, while it is remarkable as a perspective system which completely surrounds the viewer, does not necessarily represent new developments in Pozzo's career as a perspective artist. The rendering of perspective scenes at oblique angles and on curved surfaces had already been demonstrated at Mondovì and elsewhere prior to Pozzo's arrival in Rome. His challenge here was to repeat these techniques at the much closer viewing range and on the more sharply curved surface presented by the vault. The anamorphic figures are the single feature which might be regarded as first-time challenges for Pozzo, and he is selective in his application of the technique. Only two figures—the male and female figure holding an urn at the end on the left, just before the fictive chapel—are rendered with the full distortion called for by the oblique viewing position; the putti figures holding vases of flowers under the major scenes along the walls gradually widen as one moves away from the centre of the corridor, but are only partially anamorphic [fig. 5.17-5.18]. Similarly, the angels and *putti* in the ceiling, in spite of their elongation, are not true anamorphoses rendered according to the rules of the perspective: they partly flatten when viewed from the centre of the corridor. [fig. 5.19-5.20]. In spite of the uncompromising perspective of the architecture, where figures are concerned—and this is true in Sant'Ignazio and elsewhere—Pozzo has practiced a certain level of compromise in order to avoid extensive 'monstrous' distortions in the figures.<sup>20</sup> This point of divergence within the perspective system between rendering figures and rendering architecture signals that the perspectival construction has functional limits: it presents an image that the observer is willing to accept *to a point*. Beyond this point, the artist must make a judgment regarding the appearance of an object in

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<sup>20</sup> Migliari believes that Pozzo constructed the figures in the corridor on the grid as drawings rather than conceiving and executing them in perspective as solids, like the architecture; suggesting that they are not by Pozzo's hand, but done by one of his assistants. Migliari, 'Geometria e mistero,' 78-79.

relation to the rules of perspective on one hand, and the viewer's experience and expectations on the other.<sup>21</sup> Pozzo's choice not to apply the same degree of foreshortening and elongation used in the architecture to all of the figures was, I believe, deliberate, done in the interest of keeping jarring distortions of human anatomy to a minimum.

As a display of perspective technique, the corridor may be considered a summary of both research and applied method in the field as it stood at the time of Pozzo. It has been suggested that Pozzo's work in the corridor is a manifestation of his recent experiences at the Collegio Romano—ranging from the findings in science and mathematics of Kircher and others to his likely contact with professors of theology and philosophy.<sup>22</sup> However, as I have discussed here, the corridor is not a 'breakthrough' for Pozzo, so much as a demonstration of his technical mastery and of the possibilities of applied perspective. In the biographical narratives, the corridor served as an artistic lesson to the Jesuits in Rome and the Roman public, who had not seen a perspective cycle of this complexity and precision before.<sup>23</sup> In Baldinucci, the students of the Academy of San Luca are especially congratulatory, signalling Pozzo's true 'arrival' as an esteemed artist, and eventually a teacher of artists, in Rome.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, Chapter VII, 'Conditions of Illusion, 170-204.

<sup>22</sup> Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 106-108; 148-150. See also Camerota, 'Il teatro delle idee'; and Gallavotti, 'Gli esordi pittorici.'

<sup>23</sup> Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 694-95; Baldinucci, 'Vita del pittore,' 320/c.130 r.-v.

<sup>24</sup> '. . . particolarmente ai pittori dell'Accademia di San Luca che, sentitone l'applauso commune, dopo averla veduta e ben considerata, la giudicarono molto vaga e del tutto lodevole.' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 323/c.130r.; '. . . più degli altri gli accademici di S. Luca se ne rallegrarono,' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 694.

## The Meaning of Pozzo's Perspective

When discussing Pozzo's perspective system, and any philosophical or theological ideas which one might apply to it, it is important to distinguish between the two 'central points.' The first is the central vanishing point of the perspectival image, or in this case, images; as discussed, the perspectival system of the corridor comprises five very large images or planes, each of which has its own vanishing point. The words of Pozzo in his address to the reader, instructing him to draw all lines to the 'point of the eye which is the Glory of God,' seem to be the source of the theological ideas which authors have repeatedly associated with the single-point perspective system.<sup>25</sup> These words effectively render Pozzo's single-point perspective system a visual metaphor for the Jesuit motto *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Rather than entering into the circle of speculation on this seemingly laden statement of Pozzo, I would posit that it is a simple affirmation of his vocation as a religious artist, dedicating all of his works and activities 'to the greater glory of God,' and insisting that his pupils do the same. It is in many ways very practical advice from an artist whose concern was practice, and practice will be the basis of my discussion of Pozzo's perspective.

The second 'central point' in Pozzo's perspective system, as we see it demonstrated here and in Sant'Ignazio, is the viewing position of the observer, which in the Corridor of St Ignatius is placed more or less at the geometric centre of the rectangle which the corridor occupies. This is the point at which the perspective system aligns, in the eye of the observer, and it is the point from which Pozzo intended the system to be viewed. In the case of the frescoes at Mondovì as well as

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<sup>25</sup> Translation mine. See Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, *Al Lettore*. These lines and their meanings are also discussed in Chapters 1 and 4.

the dome in Sant'Ignazio and virtually all of Pozzo's fictive domes, the single vanishing point determines that there is one 'ideal' position from which to view the work, and this does not in all cases correspond to the centre of the architectural space.

The various associations of a centralized viewing position with philosophical or theological ideas, or with ideas of Jesuit centralised authority and obedience (see Chapter 1) have been discussed in the literature primarily in analyses of the Sant'Ignazio vault, and, more recently, the Corridor of St Ignatius.<sup>26</sup> Kerber's essay from 1992 discusses the association of the central viewing position with Aristotle's theory of finding the proper 'centre' of virtue, or the mean between extremes, which only the discerning man can find.<sup>27</sup> In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle explains, '... it is no easy task to find the middle ... but for him who knows ... to hit the mean is hard in the extreme ...'<sup>28</sup> The idea of such a work of art 'marking the mean' of temperance and establishing a 'moral centre' of discernment is a compelling one, as these ideas are defining features of Jesuit thought and spirituality. However, with or without the central marker in the floor, the system of images rendered in perspective seems to guide and even to 'push' the visitor forward in order to find this mark, as soon as he or she realizes that forward progress is causing the environment to take on an increasing sense of order and rationality. 'Finding the

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<sup>26</sup> Pfeiffer cites the remarks of Lutheran Christoph Friedrich Nicolai of 1781, in response to the single viewpoint perspective of Pozzo's frescoes in the Jesuit church in Vienna, which he viewed as an illustration of the rigidity and single-mindedness of the Jesuit Order and its resulting alienation from greater society. Pfeiffer, 'Pozzo e la spiritualità,' 13. These remarks are also mentioned by De Feo, *Andrea Pozzo: architettura e illusione*, 15. Strinati refers to point of view in the perspective system as a 'metaphor of opinion' and the single viewing position as a visual lesson in logic, in keeping with the intellectual culture of the the Collegio Romano. Strinati, 'Gli affreschi nella chiesa di Sant'Ignazio.' For a discussion of the Corridor of St Ignatius similar to that of Kerber's Aristotelian essay on the St Ignatius ceiling, see Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 148; and for a theological discussion of the Corridor and its centralised perspective, see Lucas, 'La Galleria del Pozzo,' 143.

<sup>27</sup> Kerber, 'Pozzo e L'Aristotelismo,' 32-47.

<sup>28</sup> Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, Book II, Chapter 9, 1109a, 14-35.

centre,' in the corridor thus seems less a visual or philosophical challenge than an inevitability driven by the perspective system itself.

As an artist, Pozzo was chiefly concerned with finding the most consistently reliable way to execute projects, not only for the purposes of fulfilling his commissions (which invariably involved time constraints) and producing a pleasing result, but for the didactic purposes of training his students. He regarded the single-vanishing point system, which necessitates a single viewing position, as the only consistently reliable, practical and sustainable solution for creating convincing perspectival illusion:

. . . if in a Vault, for Example, where you would paint one entire Design of Architecture and Figures, you assign several Points of Sight, you will find no place whence you may take a perfect View of the Whole, and at best you can only view each Part from its proper point.<sup>29</sup>

His choice of this system seems, above all, to be based in rationality and driven by the practical concerns of technique and consistent execution of the illusion. Pozzo's second argument for the system is the closest he comes to stating a philosophical opinion about perspective itself:

Since Perspective is but a counterfeiting of the Truth, the Painter is not oblig'd to make it appear real when seen from *Any* part, but from *One* determinate Point only.<sup>30</sup>

Pozzo defines perspective as a 'counterfeiting of the truth': a construction and a fiction, not to be taken for 'reality'. Therefore, he says, the painter is not obliged to make the image appear real from more than one point. Moreover, in Pozzo's view, the distortions that appear as one moves away from the fixed viewing position only serve to prove the work excellent or praiseworthy; they demonstrate the perfection of the technique and its ability to transform the space:

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<sup>29</sup> See Appendix, Pozzo, *Rules and Examples (Perspectiva, I), Response to the Objection*.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, *Rules and Examples (Perspectiva, I), Response to the Objection*.

If therefore thro' the Irregularity of the Place, the Architecture appear with some Deformity, and the Figures intermix'd therewith seem any thing lame and imperfect, when view'd out of the proper Point, besides the Reasons just now given, it's so far from being a fault, that I look upon it as an Excellency of the Work, that when view'd from the Point determin'd, it appear, with due Proportion, straight, flat, or concave; when in reality it is not so.<sup>31</sup>

The encounter with the artifice, and the recognition of it as artifice—the *inganno* and *disnganno*—is thus a virtue of the work reinforced by the words of Pozzo himself. The artificial nature of the perspective as an 'imitation' which tricks the eye is something which Pozzo wants the observer to discover. The *disinganno* is central to his work and its reading; and, we may say, its meaning.<sup>32</sup> If Pozzo intended the artifice to be discovered, it is the meaning inherent in the observer's discovery of the artifice which should be our focus of attention.

In her discussion of the perspective of the corridor Insolera has highlighted the idea of Ignatian discernment, which is 'fundamental to spiritual life' and happiness, and an essential component of Jesuit training.<sup>33</sup> If the central viewing position is to be interpreted as an Aristotelian 'moral centre,' it might also be considered a metaphor for the point of discernment between the stable and the unstable, the true and the false, the real and the illusory, the ephemeral and the 'permanent,' the vain and terrestrial and the eternal.<sup>34</sup> This system, and the fragility of the images within it, challenge and even disturb the viewer with the distortions perceived upon leaving that perfect viewing place; it then calms the viewer again by putting everything right

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<sup>31</sup> Appendix, Pozzo, *Rules and Examples (Perspectiva, I), Response to the Objection*

<sup>32</sup> For further discussions of Pozzo's deliberate *disnganno*, see my introduction as well as Chapter 1. See also Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 79; and Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 150.

<sup>33</sup> See Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 150 and my discussion of Ignatian discernment, specifically the 'Rules for the Discernment of Spirits' in Chapter 1.

<sup>34</sup> Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 150.

as he returns to the centre.<sup>35</sup> The view from the fixed central point becomes more ‘stable’ than the changing ‘reality’ observed as one moves around. Our educated and discerning view of the world is more stable and ‘true’ than the world itself, which is vain, fleeting and unstable.

Thomas Lucas has highlighted the contrast between the architecture rendered in perspective and the anamorphic figures, and the sacred scenes on the walls and ceiling, which follow an internal, individual perspective system intended for frontal viewing.<sup>36</sup> The fictive architecture, representing our world—vain, unstable, fleeting—becomes the fiction, while the sacred images framed by this fictive architecture remain stable and unchanging and therefore represent ‘truth.’ This contrast between the narrative and allegorical scenes on one hand, and Pozzo’s perspective system on the other, offers another interpretation of the whole ensemble: we might consider that Pozzo as artist—or ‘Pozzo the theologian’ as Lucas calls him—is assuming the role of Ignatius, ‘guiding’ us to this golden mean, this ideal centre where all appears stable.<sup>37</sup> In the revelation of the perspective fiction, Pozzo might be emphasizing the vain, fleeting nature of the world, its deceptions and its distortions, and discouraging us from granting it more importance than spiritual realities.<sup>38</sup> The ‘unstable’ or ‘unsettling’ quality of the perspective system, together with the ‘stable’ scenes, might be thus be read as a metaphor for Ignatius guiding the pilgrim along the correct path, miraculously intervening in the worldly disorder, ordering everything into a rational and stable system, granting peace to the mind and the soul.

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<sup>35</sup> Gallavotti, 'Gli esordi pittorici,' 49.

<sup>36</sup> Lucas, 'La Galleria del Pozzo,' 140-43.

<sup>37</sup> Lucas, 'La Galleria del Pozzo,' 143. My discussion here is guided by Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 149-51; and Pfeiffer, 'Pozzo e la spiritualità,' 15-31.

<sup>38</sup> Insolera situates her discussion within the framework of Ignatian discernment, particularly the ability to recognize the ‘vanity of terrestrial things’ and the difference between ‘the vacuity of the ephemeral reality and the stability of the true vision.’ Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 150.



### Transformation: The Corridor as an 'Ignatian Theatre'

At Mondovì, Pozzo's fresco cycle is designed using a series of viewing positions, each one appropriate to the position of the viewer progressing through the space during the ritual. Similarly, in Sant'Ignazio (to be discussed next), the dome is not designed to be viewed from the centre of the crossing, but from the nave as one approaches the altar. The Corridor of St Ignatius, like all corridors, is a means of passage and therefore lends itself to forward progression; and the perspective system, as a result of this movement of the observer, undergoes a transformation from 'chaos' to 'order.'<sup>39</sup> In the context of Pozzo's fresco cycle, the scenes of the miracles, and those of the saint glorified in heaven, serve to inspire and comfort souls.

Pfeiffer has presented a reading of the corridor using the *Spiritual Exercises* as a guide to its layout and its iconography, concentrating on the scenes of the 'miracles' and their correspondence with various stages of the *Exercises*.<sup>40</sup> One can recognise a correspondence between the corridor's program and the *method* of the *Exercises*: the use of the imagination to construct a 'theatre' of sights and sounds and the progression through stages of spiritual understanding and enlightenment. We should note, however, that the images do not correspond to the content of the *Exercises*—scenes of scripture, hell, the 'two standards,' etc. Rather than attempting to use the *Exercises* as an interpretive device for reading the corridor and its content, I think it is more useful to consider that the images, the fictive architectural construction and the role of the viewer in the space comprise a 'spiritual theatre' in the broader sense.

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<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of the experience of the moving observer in the corridor, see Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 66-73.

<sup>40</sup> Pfeiffer, 'Pozzo e la spiritualità,' 15-16, Notes 18, 10, 17, 25. Pfeiffer cites Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 2, 19, 60-68, 97, 106, 222.

I further propose transformation as the overriding theme of the ‘performance’ which takes place within the corridor.

As one first enters the corridor, the fresco decoration is little more than a bewildering array of ornament, architectural forms, and figures. These forms gradually assemble themselves into a believable architectonic and pictorial structure—a ‘theatre’ to the saint, as one progresses toward the centre—the optimal viewing position, where pilasters, corbels, beams, and the figures inhabiting the space assume their correct appearance and position. The process of transformation requires forward movement through this gallery of perspectival illusions. In Pfeiffer’s interpretation of the spirituality in Pozzo’s perspective practice, in which the terrestrial world and the celestial world meet, the reading of the illusions becomes a metaphor for saintly enlightenment, the ability to recognise what lies beyond the earthly: ‘With the means of perspectival fiction, the painter depicts various categories of illusion, so that in the transition from one to the other the illusion becomes a true participation in the vision of the saints.’<sup>41</sup>

The corridor as a performance space is a theme which can be applied to both religious and non-religious observers. It is a place of movement, discovery, interaction with images and intellectual engagement with the perspective system, all of which lead to questions of ‘reality’ versus ‘appearances.’ Its functioning as a work of art depends upon the movement and the engagement of the observer progressing through the space. The reading which best encompasses its many effects and functions is that of a religious theatre; an ‘Ignatian theatre’ as Insolera has

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<sup>41</sup> Pfeiffer, ‘Pozzo e la spiritualità’, 16.

termed it.<sup>42</sup> If we consider the corridor as a theatre—not merely a theatre ‘set’ in three full dimensions or a perspective scene on five planes—but as a setting for the performance of procession and pilgrimage, we find that its perspective system, its iconography, and its many cases of whimsy all find their place in a performed intellectual and spiritual journey. This journey, this performance, is both internal and external, calling upon the arts of memory and imagination, as well as movement and action.<sup>43</sup>

To enter the corridor, one passes through Pozzo’s painted architectural façade of the entrance wall, marked by a cartouche bearing the inscription, ‘Enter the small sacred rooms to Saint Ignatius, one time inhabitant, now patron’ [fig. 5.21].<sup>44</sup> In the niches to the left and right are portraits of Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislav Kostka, both beatified in 1605, though not canonized until the eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Overhead in an oval frame is a portrait of St Ignatius. One proceeds along the corridor, observing the scenes and emblems of the saint on the walls and overhead, and watching the architecture gradually take form. The scenes of the saint’s ‘miracles’ on the left and right represent Ignatius as, in Pfeiffer’s words, ‘a mediator between heaven and earth,’ granting comfort to the suffering, healing the sick,

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<sup>42</sup> See Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 118-119 and 143-49. Although her chapter ‘Corridoio come “theatrum” ingnaziano introduttivo alle Cappelle,’ is very rich, the role of the observer as a performer is under-treated and appears only in the last two pages, which emphasise Ignatian discernment and do not attempt to analyse the role of performance in the space, in specific terms and in relation to the images.

<sup>43</sup> Insolera describes an ‘interior’ movement coinciding with the ‘exterior’ movement brought about by the perspective system, which she discusses in terms of perception and the imagination. Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 149. See Chapter 2 for my discussions of Quintilian’s theories of memory and gesture in the Jesuit theatre, Federico Borromeo’s writings on memory, and Bino’s ideas of interior and exterior performance in Borromeo’s writings (Bino, ‘Lo spiritual Teatro’).

<sup>44</sup> Translation of the Latin inscription: ‘Ingredere aediculas clim. Incolae nunc Patrono S. Ignatio Sacras.’

<sup>45</sup> Both saints were beatified by Pope Paul V in 1605, and canonized by Benedict XIII in 1726. Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e Il Corridoio*, 67.

intervening in crisis, etc.<sup>46</sup> The painting cycle is anchored in the centre with a portrait of the Holy Family on the left, while above is a *chiaroscuro* relief medallion depicting the death of the saint, flanked by his apotheosis in heaven and angel musicians glorifying his remains symbolised by an urn [figs. 5.22-5.23]. Music is represented, and made almost ‘audible,’ by the seated angel musicians playing under the arch leading to Pozzo’s fictive chapel [fig. 5.9]. These are two among a number of gesturing figures which are not merely decorative devices, but actually seem to inhabit and give life and movement to the space. The most striking of these are the angels bearing portraits of Jesuit saints, thought to be St Francis Xavier and St Francis Borgia: one, in blue and white, we find over the entrance, and the other green and white, just before the fictive arch leading to the chapel [fig. 5.19-5.20].

The journey through the corridor becomes a contemplative ritual in which the visitor as pilgrim performs both internally and externally. The scenes on the walls and ceiling provide the means of visualising and contemplating the life and virtues of the saint, as well as the idea of the saint as a miracle-performing mediator in the world. As in the frescoes and at Mondovì, the gestures and actions of the figures of angels and *putti* welcome and guide the visitor through this ritual performance, while the angel musicians accompany it. The procession through the corridor is remarkably similar to the processional movement at Mondovì, while the cycle itself is much more articulated in its narrative and allegorical representation of the founding saint. Here, as at Mondovì, Pozzo chose to divide the space into small panels and perspective ‘openings’; and, as at Mondovì, the corridor terminates with a fictive altar, rendered entirely as an illusion, like a theatrical backdrop. Pozzo has

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<sup>46</sup> Pfeiffer, ‘Pozzo e la spiritualità,’ 15.

done in Rome for Ignatius what he had done at Mondovì for Francis Xavier, celebrating the saint with images which combine biographical narrative, legend, and symbol, much like we find in canonisation festivals of the period.<sup>47</sup> The overall atmosphere is one of welcoming and celebration, with the angel musicians lending the corridor a particularly light-hearted quality.<sup>48</sup>

The corridor stands among the most remarkable of Pozzo's fresco cycles, a fully-integrated environment of fictive architecture and anamorphic figure painting which, like the cycle at Mondovì, both transforms the space and beckons the visitor along a path of discovery. The ensemble of images engages one in the performance of a processional-like meditation on the life and qualities of Ignatius of Loyola, which lay and religious alike are encouraged to emulate. While smaller in scale than the expansive fresco project Pozzo had executed at Mondovì, the corridor was of clear symbolic significance to the Jesuits, intimately associated with the rooms in which the founding saint had lived and died. The great apotheosis of St Ignatius would await its most monumental treatment in Sant'Ignazio, where Pozzo was finally able to produce a single, unified, uninterrupted scene over a large expanse, the grandest of all visual statements concerning both the saint and the order he founded.

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<sup>47</sup> See Chapter 2, 'Canonisation Festivals: Commemoration and Celebration.'

<sup>48</sup> Insolera describes the overall effect the whole, one of levity, movement and 'musicality,' as representation of Ignatian 'spiritual joyfulness.' Insolera, *Andrea Pozzo e il Corridoio*, 147-48.

### The Dome of Sant'Ignazio: a 'Temporary' Solution?

Less than two years after the completion of the Corridor (if we accept Insolera's dating), Pozzo was selected to provide a solution to a problem which had plagued the design, construction, and completion of the Church of Sant'Ignazio from its beginnings in the 1620s. The new church, dedicated to the founding saint of the Jesuits, and serving as the primary place of worship for the students and fathers of the Collegio Romano, is one of the largest churches built in Rome in the seventeenth century [fig. 5.24]. Sant'Ignazio replaced the church of Sant'Annunziata (1561-67), part of Giovanni Tristano's original complex of the Collegio Romano [fig. 5.25-5.26]. This original college church had been located on the site of the current west transept of the much larger new church of Sant'Ignazio.<sup>49</sup>

The great project of the church of Sant'Ignazio began soon after the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola, with a donation of one hundred thousand *scudi* in 1622 by Cardinal Ludovico Lodovisi, nephew of Gregory XV.<sup>50</sup> Work began on the church in 1626 from the design of the Jesuit Father Orazio Grassi, and proceeded with considerable interruption almost until the end of the century.<sup>51</sup> Sant'Ignazio was inaugurated, incomplete, in 1640, and finally opened to the public with a papal visit of Innocent X for the Jubilee of 1650.<sup>52</sup> It would remain in an unfinished state, lacking the dome which had been planned as well a high altar, for another thirty-five years.

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<sup>49</sup> Pirri, *Giovanni Tristano*, 27-30.

<sup>50</sup> ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico* 1343, *Giornale del Libro Mastro A della Fabrica della Chiesa di S. Ignatio, 1626-1655*, 3. Volume cited by Montalto, 'Il problema della cupola,' 34.

<sup>51</sup> Ludovisi's donation was made official with a notary on 16 January, 1626. The foundation stone was laid on 2 August, 1626. Montalto, 'Il problema della cupola,' 33. For the history of the design and construction of the church building, also Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 108-69.

<sup>52</sup> Montalto, 'Il problema della cupola,' 33.

A collection of correspondence and drawings concerning the dome of Sant'Ignazio, part of the archive of Virgilio Spada held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, details the issues concerning the dome's design and construction, which awaited resolution at a time when the church had already been under construction for two decades.<sup>53</sup> The design and construction of the dome were complicated by a number of concerns: how it could maintain a graceful external appearance, be high enough to be visible from the piazza in front (the piazza itself was a complex problem and not adequately scaled to feature the very large façade of the church), and at the same time not obstruct light from the Biblioteca Casatanense of the Dominican Friars of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, or 'air' from the courtyard of the neighbouring Collegio Romano.<sup>54</sup>

The structural challenge was to make the dome fit these aesthetic requirements and still be supported by the piers of the crossing. Grassi had originally designed a 'double dome,' considerably higher on the exterior, to suit both the internal and external appearance of the edifice of the church [fig. 5.27]. Problems seem to have begun when the exterior walls of the church were raised, during construction, a full twenty *palmi* higher than Grassi had originally designed them.<sup>55</sup> At issue was the external appearance of a dome whose tambour was constructed directly on the arches of the crossing: from the exterior it would appear to be 'sinking' into the roof.<sup>56</sup> In addition to its impact on neighbouring buildings including the college, raising the

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<sup>53</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, *Libro di Varij Disegni*, f. 99-117. Document partially transcribed by Montalto, 'Il problema della cupola,' 44-48. Cit. Carta, 'Le fine cupole,' 54, Note 2.

<sup>54</sup> Montalto, 'Il problema della cupola,' 40. BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, f. 108r.

<sup>55</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, f. 99.

<sup>56</sup> Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 125.

exterior ‘shell’ would place increased weight on the supporting arches, requiring further reinforcement of the building and raising the overall cost.<sup>57</sup>

In an effort to find a solution, Virgilio Spada sought the counsel of the city’s most respected architects, probably sometime shortly after 1650, and assembled a series of comments and recommendations from Gerolamo Rainaldi, Alessandro Algardi, Bernini and Borromini.<sup>58</sup> All offered various responses to an altered design for the dome proposed by Grassi, which eliminated the original outer dome, replacing it with a monumental decorated tambour surrounding the structure of the remaining inner dome, crowned with an ornamented lantern modestly rising above [fig. 5.28]. This design was not unlike Borromini’s domes for Sant’Ivo della Sapienza and San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, both encased in construction which masks their interior form and distinguished externally by their lanterns [figs. 5.29-5.30].<sup>59</sup>

Significant in Grassi’s solution is the reduction of the structure to an interior dome only, and the aesthetic debate it produces. Bernini did not find it wholly objectionable, while Algardi advocated not only raising the exterior of the dome, as Grassi had done in the first design, but raising the interior as well.<sup>60</sup> The overall increase in height, of course, would reintroduce the problems of engineering and cost mentioned above. This ‘conversation’ recorded in the correspondence gathered by Virgilio Spada demonstrates that, probably owing to the precedents set by Borromini, the severance of the proportional and aesthetic concerns of the exteriors of domes from the visual and spatial concerns of their interiors was a topic of debate

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<sup>57</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, f. 108r.-v.

<sup>58</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, f. 99-117. This consultation appears to have followed a memorandum by Grassi, who was in Genoa at the end of 1650, and provided two versions of the altered dome design. See Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 125. Bösel cites ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico* 1245, 1, f. 4.

<sup>59</sup> In his comments Borromini, as cited by Spada, supports his endorsement of Grassi’s solution by referring to the domes of both of his churches. BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, f.101r.

<sup>60</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 11257, f. 110-11.



in the field of architecture in Rome at the time. Certainly the exterior designs of domes were no longer strictly governed by the aesthetic conventions of the Renaissance, exemplified by Brunelleschi's dome in Florence, Bramante's Tempietto and Michelangelo's dome of St Peter's. In the case of Sant' Ignazio, it seems that to some architects it mattered less what the dome looked like, and what the church as a whole looked like on the outside, than that it be majestically proportioned, adequately lit and produce the necessary effect of transcendence on the inside. The reduction of the dome to its interior layer was an architectural compromise resulting from problems in the construction of the church from its earliest decades. It might be further considered as an intermediate step in a reductive process, albeit circumstantial, which would ultimately end with the dome assuming a completely fictitious form under the hand of Andrea Pozzo.

In spring of 1685, almost sixty years after the foundation stone had been laid, the Church of Sant' Ignazio still lacked essential features: a dome, a high altar, and the major chapel at either end of the transept. Pozzo rendered the high altar in perspective on a very large canvas, the design of which he includes in the second volume of the treatise; noting, however, that some changes had been made from the initial design [fig. 5.31].<sup>61</sup> Pozzo also mentions that this canvas remained *in situ* for some years; as the account books of the *Fabbrica* demonstrate, the altar was not

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<sup>61</sup> 'Et ancorche fosse uscito un disegno più grande di questo, alcuni anni sono sopra una mia inventione di prospettiva, dipinta solamente sopra tele; con tutto ciò ve lo fò di nuovo vedere al presente, come cosa più durevole, e più stabile, e per essere fabricata di nuovo vera, e realmente, però dissimile della prima.' Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, Fig. 81. The altar painted on a large canvas is documented in ARSI Rom. 150a, 96r.-96v.: 'Dovendosi aprire tutta Chiesa, si è risoluto di trasferire all'Altare Maggiore il Quadro di S. Ignazio, che stava nel mezzo della Chiesa su quel muro, che divideva il resto della Chiesa dalli due Cappelloni, e dalla Tribuna. E il Fr. Pozzo gli ha dato compimento di dipingere in tela un grand'Altare.'

completed with all of its decoration, including Pozzo's fresco panels, until 1701.<sup>62</sup> To resolve the issue of the dome, the Jesuit fathers held a competition for a fictive painted dome, in which a number of painters and architects participated. According to Baldinucci, it was on the recommendation of then lead architect of St Peter's, Mattia de Rossi, that they settled on their own lay brother for the commission.<sup>63</sup>

Pozzo's solution for the open cavity in the place where the dome would, it was assumed, one day finally be constructed, was similar to his temporary solution for the high altar and to his numerous scenographic projects: he produced the dome as a very large piece of stage scenery, rendering it in perspective on a large circular canvas, and mounting it onto a slightly concave wood frame which filled the opening.<sup>64</sup> Baldinucci describes this frame 'raised in the air at a height sufficient to comfortably paint from the ground.'<sup>65</sup> The project was accomplished with considerable speed: the canvas was produced sometime in March of 1685, and the completed work was raised into place in June.<sup>66</sup> It is unclear how many assistants Pozzo employed; the records indicate an unspecified number of youths paid as general assistants, mostly likely for preparing and mixing colours, laying out

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<sup>62</sup> Entries from late 1697 through early 1701 indicate construction of the high altar, while the payment for the panels for the lateral paintings by Pozzo are dated 10 August 1701. ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico* 1345, *Giornale del Libro Maestro segnato lettera B. . . per la fabbrica della Chiesa di S. S. Ignazio*, 167-171. A number of these have been studied and cited by Kerber, Andrea Pozzo, 262-63.

<sup>63</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 325/c. 132v.-c.133r.

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of the project and its comparison with similar projects, See Carta, 'Le finte cupole.'

<sup>65</sup> ' . . . fece un gran telaio di legno coperto di pura tela, alla misura dell'apertura della gran cupola; ed azaltolo in aria tanto quanto bastasse di potervi comodamente dipingere da terra. . .' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 325/133r. Baldinucci's describes it as a 'canvas stretched flat and covered only with chiaroscuro watercolours' ('una pura e fragil tela distesa per piano e coperta solo di puri acquerelli a chiaroscuro') Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 326/133 a r. If Pozzo was working with water-based colours and washes on canvas, as he had surely done for the *Quarant'ore* scenographies following the established practice of large-scale theatrical scenery, it is more likely that he worked on the ground, as theatrical scenic artists have done since at least the seventeenth century.

<sup>66</sup> ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1345, 140, 31 March, 1685: ' . . . prezzo fattura del telaro fatto fare per coprire il vano della Cuppola.' Transcr. Carta in De Feo and Martinelli, eds., *Andrea Pozzo*, 241. ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1346, 64v. 20 June, 1685: ' . . . pagati a facchini che hanno aiutato a tirasù nel sito della Cupola il telaro dipinto rappresentare la medesima Cupola, opera del nostro Fr. Pozzo.' Transcr. Montalto, *Il problema della cupola*, 48.

artwork, cleaning brushes, etc.<sup>67</sup> There is one student listed, whom we may guess Pozzo retained for the more skilled work of painting of both the dome and the altar.<sup>68</sup>

Beyond their importance as major artistic commissions in Rome, and their didactic purpose as religious art, the projects in Sant'Ignazio served a secondary instructional purpose: Pozzo used these projects, like the scenographic projects discussed in the previous chapter, as teaching 'laboratories.' Through these projects, Pozzo was able to instruct his students in both the art of perspective and in the logistical challenges of executing perspective scenes in large scale, on irregular surfaces in architectural settings. Being largely self-taught, Pozzo upheld hands-on practice as the best form of training. Cristiana Bigari's research on the projects of Pozzo and his student Antonio Colli sheds light on the effectiveness of Pozzo's method in disseminating his art of perspective painting, as well as his 'division of labour' or delegation of tasks within a project.<sup>69</sup> According to the example projects which Bigari has studied, students first assisted in the painting of architecture before eventually being allowed to execute entire areas on their own; Pozzo, in many cases, painted the figures himself. Pozzo's methods, demonstrated in practice and detailed in his treatise, provided even students with limited natural artistic ability a set of

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<sup>67</sup> ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico*, 1346, 64v., 19 May 1685: moneys paid 'a Giovani che aiutano Fr. Pozzo Pittore, e colori.' ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1345, 145, 30 June, 'Spese diverse alla detta dieci m<sup>ti</sup> pagati al nostro Fr Pozzo Pittore, disse per pagare i Giovani, che aiutano a dipingere l'Altar maggiore, e Cuppola finta.'

<sup>68</sup> ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1345, 148, 4 August 1685: moneys paid to Pozzo 'per dare il Giovine secolare per il lavoro fattogli fare.' Transcr. Montalto, *Il problema della cupola*, 49 and Carta in De Feo and Martinelli, eds., *Andrea Pozzo*, 241. It should be further noted that for such works executed on canvas, two to three artists, or a master with one to two apprentices, would have sufficed for the execution of the dome and the painting of the high altar. Even in contemporary scenic studios a large-scale scenery drop typically enlists the skilled labour of two to three scenic artists, in the interest of maintaining consistent technique throughout.

<sup>69</sup> Bigari, 'Pozzo e la sua eredità' and Bigari, 'Andrea Pozzo e Antonio Colli.'

tools that enabled them to construct perspectival representations of architecture and to execute them in full scale.<sup>70</sup>

Pozzo's use of assistants was essential not only to the fulfilment of his commissions, but to passing on his craft to future generations. By the last years of the 1690s Pozzo was much sought after as a professor of art. His 'academy' is described by the biographers as an artistic institution of great repute in the Collegio Romano: the 'vast' floor of the college occupied by his school was a spectacle of students of all nationalities studying architecture, drawing, etching and painting, with Pozzo's treatise serving as his instructional textbook.<sup>71</sup> Insolera describes Pozzo's academy not so much as a physical place, but as a 'living, mobile reality' in which knowledge and skills were transferred through hands-on practice and through the lessons of his treatise.<sup>72</sup> The floor of the college also likely served as a base of operations for his major projects of both painting and architecture, where tasks were assigned, drawings prepared and logistics managed.

Pozzo made a precise record of the projects in Sant'Ignazio, including the dome and the vault frescoes to be examined in the next section, for the benefit of future artists: the first tome of the treatise was published in 1693, prior to the completion of the major vault fresco. The projects in Sant'Ignazio are featured as key demonstrations in the design and execution of illusionistic domes and ceiling frescoes [figs. 5.32, 5.43-5.45].<sup>73</sup> In the case of the vault fresco, Pozzo recorded the process of constructing the perspective, and perhaps more importantly, the process of

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<sup>70</sup> Bigari, 'Pozzo e la sua eredità,' 382.

<sup>71</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita de pittore,' 333/c.140v.-334/c.141r; Patrignani, 'De Fratello Andrea Pozzo,' 254, VI. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of Pozzo's academy and teaching activities. See also Insolera, 'Pozzo e la sua accademia' and Insolera, 'L'impegno didattico.'

<sup>72</sup> Insolera, 'L'impegno didattico,' 201.

<sup>73</sup> The dome of Sant'Ignazio appears in *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 91.

image transfer with the use of the grid, with considerable precision during its execution, in order to feature it in the treatise [fig. 5.12].<sup>74</sup> The projects in Sant'Ignazio, like the scenographic projects examined in previous chapters, demonstrate the importance with which Pozzo regarded the precise and detailed recording of his methods. The treatise, which also served as the textbook for architectural projects, illusionistic fresco painting and scenography, became the teaching tool both for students under his direct supervision and those who were too distant to profit from personal instruction. Pozzo's treatise *is*, in a sense, his 'academy,' facilitating the study of his methods and their dissemination worldwide, across generations.<sup>75</sup>

The execution of the dome in Sant'Ignazio, like that of Pozzo's large-scale *Quarant'ore* scenographies described in my previous chapter, is narrated by the biographers as an episode which brought on scorn and derision.<sup>76</sup> To the untrained eye regarding the work removed from its intended context, and incapable of imagining the image *in situ*, it must have appeared strange, at best [figs. 5.32, 5.34]. The bizarre and very unstable appearance of the structure, leaning to one side, the lantern toward the edge of the circle, and the columns elongated to counter the foreshortening of a concave surface viewed at an oblique angle, would have appeared to anyone untrained in the art of perspective an incomprehensible distortion of architecture. The very strong contrast of the *chiaroscuro* in the painting of the dome—the 'big ugly marks' made by the apparent sweeping of a 'broom' on the

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<sup>74</sup> The grid method is described and illustrated in *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 100.

<sup>75</sup> For the role of the treatise in Pozzo's teaching, see Bigari, 'Pozzo e la sua eredità'; Insolera, 'Pozzo e la sua accademia,' 198-99. For the diffusion of the treatise, see Bösel and Insolera, '*Perspectiva*. . . La diffusione'; and Corsi, 'Pozzo's Treatise as a workshop' and 'La fortuna del Trattato.'

<sup>76</sup> Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 325/c.132v.-326/c.133 a v.; Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 695-96.

floor—were equally bewildering.<sup>77</sup> As at Mondovì, Pozzo established a viewing position for the dome not directly under the centre of the circle, but at an angle; placed, in fact, along the nave, just before the crossing [fig. 5.33, 5.35].

Comments from fathers that Pozzo's painting would 'ruin and defile the church,' together with the laughing and mocking by artist and masons, reportedly alarmed the rector of the Collegio Romano, Father Silvestro Mauro, to the point where Pozzo, according to Pascoli, composed a written response in order to calm him.<sup>78</sup> The theme of the misunderstanding public, and in this case specialists—the painters and craftsmen who were Pozzo's peers—is raised again, with Pozzo delivering a kind of moralizing sermon, admonishing them for judging the appearance of something without a contextual understanding of how it functions and how to view it:

It amazes me, most gentle father Rector, that the experts would want to criticize and cast judgment on paintings before they are finished, and denigrate the perspectives before they are placed in their site, and observed from their proper points. This is either talk of little expertise, or criticism made out of malice, spite, and envy rather than good will, truth or love.<sup>79</sup>

Pozzo goes on to make the point that he had prepared a drawing for approval, and that it is no easy task to transfer it to full scale.<sup>80</sup> This reported 'crisis' that Pozzo's art brings about—a crisis produced by the response of a public untrained in the art

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<sup>77</sup> 'Tantoché passando in questo tempo un Religioso della Compagnia e vedendo il Padre Andrea valersi d'un pennello che sembrava piuttosto una granata da spazzare che un pennello da dipignere, e con esso fare con tutta franchezza macchie informi, sudicie e oltremodo stravaganti. . .' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 325-26/c.133v.

<sup>78</sup> 'Ed i pittori, che vedevano, che si serviva anche de' pennelli, onde i muratori, per imbiancar le pareti si servono non si ritenevano dallo sparlare pubblicamente, e pubblicamente da per tutto se ne ridevano, e lo dileggiavano.' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 695.

<sup>79</sup> Translation mine. '*Assai mi stupisco P. rettor gentilissimo, che i professori criticar vogliano le pitture, a darne giudizio primachè sien terminate, e sparlino delle prospettive avantichè si alloghino ne' loro siti, e si mirino da' loro punti. Questo è un parlare, o da poco esperto, od un criticare per astio, per malignità, e per invidia anzicchè per izzelo, per verità, e per amore.*' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 695.

<sup>80</sup> '*Dovrebbero saper pure, che chi ha saputo anche colla loro approvazione fare il disegno, che è il difficile, saprà condur l'opera secondo tutte le proporzioni, ed attenenze, che è il facile.*' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 695.

and technique of perspective applied to full-scale architectural spaces and forms, and produced apart from its intended context—is presented as Pozzo’s great artistic lesson to his public. Pozzo proved in all of these projects that painted perspective was an art of nearly limitless potential applications as well as contexts. The level of discomfort (or, in the narratives, outrage) that the artist may have encountered in introducing these types of illusions and methods to permanent constructed contexts indicates a certain cultural barrier that Pozzo had to overcome: the Roman public of the time was not, at first, prepared to accept the idea of painted illusion serving as a substitution for constructed architecture. The persuasion of the public thus becomes the final goal and resolution of Pozzo’s ‘performance’ of his art.

Apart from the issues of perspective technique, scale and context, Pozzo’s dome is more than a ‘replacement’ for that which Grassi intended. Although it is architectural in conception, like Pozzo’s scenographies and his cupola at Mondovì, it is a ‘theatricalised’ architecture. The columns set on projecting corbels, a familiar theme from Mondovì, prompted a remark that such a construction would be structurally impossible were it to be rendered as real architecture.<sup>81</sup> Pozzo shows his humour in his response, saying that a painter friend of his would pay any damages should the columns and their corbels come crashing down.<sup>82</sup> The point to be made here is that Pozzo’s dome is not a real dome, and therefore license is taken in its design: it is produced with its associated viewing position, and its non-reality, taken into account. Pozzo emphasizes the columns by projecting them forward, over the cornice of the tambour. They cease to be members which support the structure of the

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<sup>81</sup> See Strinati, ‘Gli affreschi nella chiesa di Sant’Ignazio’ 66.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Si maravigliarono alcuni Architetti, che io appoggiassi le colonne davanti sopra mensole, ciò che essi non farebbono in una fabrica vera, e reale. Ma tolse loro ogni solecitudine un Pittore mio amico, il quale si obligò a rifar tutte le spese, ogni volta che fiaccandosi le mensole, le povere colonne venissero giù a rompicollo.’ Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 91.

dome, and instead serve as decorative elements which support the visual structure of the illusion. They are part of a deliberate building up of the dome's apparent mass and complexity: the arches and window openings, framed by additional clusters of columns, produce deeply receding spaces, the whole ensemble providing further opportunity to exploit the effects of light and shadow. The dome thus becomes more than simply a dome; it is a small temple of its own rising from the circular opening of the crossing, an architectural scenography unto itself, inhabited by a triumphant grouping of angels blowing trumpets.

Pozzo's strong *chiaroscuro*, the result of his studies of round forms and spaces, is a characteristic of his work which we have seen in the open cupola at Mondovì and in the Roman scenographies.<sup>83</sup> Apart from its dramatic impact, it is a response to the challenge of rendering painted architecture which would adequately convey the apparent dimensionality, form and mass of constructed architecture *within a constructed context*. This is achieved by establishing and emphasizing a strong directional light source. This was not simply theatrical scenery set within a proscenium frame, conceived and executed as a fiction, or with the expectation of the audience's 'suspension of disbelief.' This dome was not to *represent* Grassi's dome; it was to *be* the dome, or a version of it, and had to convey the space, mass and light of the constructed dome which it supplanted—even if it was clearly fictitious. Pozzo's painted canvas, in a sense, says 'dome' to the visitor without necessarily seeking to represent a real architectural dome. We accept it on its own visual terms, within the context of the church, and its effect derives as much from its acceptance as

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<sup>83</sup> See Chapters 3 and 4 and figs. 3.20, 4.4 and 4.17.



artifice, a ‘performance’ of artistic mimesis, as from its success as a structural and spatial illusion.

The work was unveiled for the feast of St Ignatius (31 July) and was unanimously praised and admired. Pascoli describes a constant stream of visitors, and particularly people going to look at it, turning to leave and then returning to study it again in disbelief.<sup>84</sup> Baldinucci says it won the esteem of all of Rome, and speaks of its lasting effect, even to the trained eye: ‘. . . it is able to deceive the eye not only of the common man, but even that of the most expert and erudite master, making anyone believe that it is a dome of permanent construction. . .’<sup>85</sup> A decade later, during the burdened and at times contentious process of finalising the design for the altar to St Ignatius in the Gesù, Carlo Fontana would declare,

If Father Pozzo were in the Indies, he would have to be recalled, and if he had done nothing other than that marvellous dome in Sant’Ignazio, it would suffice to remove all doubt concerning his work.<sup>86</sup>

Pozzo did not expect his canvas to be anything more than a short-term substitution; in the treatise, published eight years after the canvas was placed *in situ*, Pozzo remarked that his engraving would ‘without doubt have a longer life’ than his painted canvas; and his engraving, he candidly says, ensured that should the canvas wear out, ‘it could be made better than before’ [fig. 5.32].<sup>87</sup> Pozzo surely did not

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<sup>84</sup> ‘La maggior parte l’ammirava, e non finiva d’ammirarlo; ed alcuni partiti che n’eran, ed arrivati fino alla porta ritornata. . .’ Pascoli, ‘Di Andrea Pozzo,’ 696.

<sup>85</sup> Translation mine. ‘. . . apparisce una cupola così vera e sì riccamente ornata di nobilissima architettura che è capace di ingannare l’occhio non solo del volgo, ma eziandio d’ogni più esperto ed erudite maestro, con farla credere da ciascuno una cupola stabilmente fabbricata. . .’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 326/133v.

<sup>86</sup> Translation mine. ‘Se il P. Pozzi fosse alli Indie bisognarebbe mandarlo à chiamare, e quando non havesse fatto altro, che quella Cupola meravigliosa di S. Ignatio, bastarebbe per non haver dubbio delle sue opere.’ ARSI Rom. 136, *Roman. Hist.* XI 1690-99, *Diligenze fatte per l’elezione del Disegno per la nuova cappella del H.S.P. Ignazio dà farsi in questa chiesa del Giesu di Roma*, 19. The same quote appears in ARSI Rom. 140, f. 164. Cit. Gramatowski, ‘Il profilo di Andrea Pozzo,’ 457.

<sup>87</sup> Translation mine. ‘La cupola, che qui vedete, havrà senza dubio vita più lunga di quella, che io sopra un telaro piano grandissimo dipinisi l’anno 1685 nella Chiesa di Sant’Ignazio del Collegio

imagine that his 'temporary' solution would remain in Sant'Ignazio for three hundred thirty years, albeit considerably blackened and damaged by the ravages of time.<sup>88</sup> The dome of Sant'Ignazio was never constructed, and while there are certainly economic and political reasons for the abandonment of the project, not the least of which is the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, the fact of this ephemeral dome remaining in place until the modern era is clear evidence not only of its ultimate acceptance as a substitution for the real dome, but of the fascination with perspectival illusion which persisted long after the seventeenth century. Whether it has been regarded over the centuries as a replacement for real structure, a record of the abandoned project, or simply a curiosity, it continues to surprise and perplex visitors to this day.

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Romano. Per tanto se quella disgratiatamente si guastasse, per mezzo di questa si potrà rifare meglio di prima. Pozzo, *Perspectiva* I, Fig. 91.

<sup>88</sup> Montalto has noted the suffering of the canvas from the smoke of tall funeral catafalques in the eighteenth century, and lacerations caused by an exploding powder keg in 1891. Montalto, 'Il problema della cupola,' 33. The canvas as we see it today dates from a restoration in 1961-63. Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 55.

## The Vault Frescoes in Sant'Ignazio: A Theatre *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*

Pozzo's art, as we see amply demonstrated at Mondovì, in the Corridor of St Ignatius, in the scenographies, and in his numerous altar paintings, is not concerned only with perspective and architecture. The architecture must be read in relation to the figures which inhabit it, and the great fresco on the vault of the nave in Sant'Ignazio—widely considered Pozzo's masterpiece—represents his most triumphant figural-architectural ensemble.<sup>89</sup> Pozzo's fresco work in Sant'Ignazio is another case of substitution—not for something which was incomplete or unresolved, but for a decorative scheme which had been in place for some years. Since 1664 the ceiling of both the presbytery and the nave had been decorated with stucco work treated with silver leaf.<sup>90</sup> Grassi's section drawing and details of the vault indicate double raised bands which align with the pilasters, separating the bays and dividing the vault into panels [fig. 5.36].<sup>91</sup> The frames of these panels are decorated with small mouldings and raised stucco details; there is no indication of what was intended for the surface of the panel itself [fig. 5.37]. The accounts do not provide a favourable opinion of the stucco decorations: Pietro Bellori reportedly described the work as less than notable, while Pozzo himself felt the *stucchi* were 'more appropriate for adorning a kitchen than a church.'<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> The nave fresco is the largest and best-known work of a series of fresco works Pozzo executed in the church, which includes the pendentives supporting the fictive dome, the vault of the presbytery, the ceiling of the apse, and the painted panels of the high altar. The total project was executed in phases between 1685 and 1701.

<sup>90</sup> The stucco work of the vault and the presbytery appear to have been executed between 1655 and 1664. ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1343 and 1345.

<sup>91</sup> These drawings, held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and in the archive of the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, respectively, are included in Bösel's landmark 2004 publication devoted to Grassi. See Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 127 and 156-57.

<sup>92</sup> Pascoli quotes Bellori: 'Nè certamente s'ingannarono, poichè è vero, che la chiesa era prima armoniosamente ornate di stucchi, ma questi non erano così rari, che non se ne vedessero altrove de' migliori, nè così difficili, che ogni stuccatore non sappia farli.' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 698. In Baldinucci, ' . . . incominciato il guastamento degli stucchi che adornavano la vòlta—al parere del

Nevertheless, Rome had grown accustomed to the *stucchi*, and some reportedly felt their loss, and their replacement with painting, to have devalued the interior of Sant'Ignazio in comparison to the other Jesuit churches in Rome: Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, 'covered with marble,' and the Church of the Gesù, 'encrusted with gold.'<sup>93</sup> It may be said that Rome in the seventeenth century was a city with a material and tactile understanding of magnificence, accustomed to its church interiors being decorated with sculpture, relief, and precious materials. As Rudolf Wittkower pointed out, new Roman churches of the period had not been built with large fresco cycles in mind; and even Gaulli's great fresco at the Gesù was set within—and spilled over—an elaborately stuccoed and gilded ceiling, occupying only the central portion of the vault.<sup>94</sup> The idea of a church ceiling of this size entirely treated with fresco, whose only surviving precedent in Rome was Michelangelo's monumental fresco in the Sistine Chapel, was something Pozzo apparently had to re-introduce in Rome, just as perspectival illusion rendered by theatrical means, on flat surfaces, was an innovation in the *Quarant'ore* for which the public required convincing.

The fresco work in the presbytery was executed beginning in spring of 1687, and Pozzo worked with the help of students until the end of 1688.<sup>95</sup> The vault of the

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Padre Pozzo più propri per adornare una cucina che una Chiesa. . . ' Baldinucci, 'Vita del Pittore,' 326/c.133 b r.

<sup>93</sup> 'Peccato, dissero alcuni, che i Gesuiti, che vantavano d'aver tre bellissime chiese in Roma, e forse le più bene adornate, e tanto bene, che quella del Noviziato è tutta coperta di marmo, quella del Gesù è tutta incrostata con oro, e quella di S. Ignazio è tutta intonacata d'argento! Peccato ripetevano, che l'ultima abbia perduta con sì fatte pitture suo pregio?' Pascoli, 'Di Andrea Pozzo,' 698

<sup>94</sup> Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 328. Like Gaulli's work in the Gesù, Da Cortona's largest painted image on the ceiling of the nave of the Chiesa Nuova is a panel set within scheme of stucco relief decoration.

<sup>95</sup> Paper was purchased for the design of the fresco work in the presbytery in March of 1687, followed by scaffolding in April of the same year, and painting work continued until August of 1688. ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1345, 158. Cit. Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 61.

nave was unveiled for a papal visit by Innocent XII in July of 1694.<sup>96</sup> The reception of the fresco cycle is yet another case, in the narratives, of a public which is persuaded after its initial outcry, but only with the intervention of the highest authorities: the pope praises Pozzo, claiming that the triumph of the work will be his consolation for the great public protest and even persecution prompted by it; and among the first public visitors are professors and the intelligentsia who rush to endorse and defend the work.<sup>97</sup> Pozzo was sure to demonstrate gratitude to his students: in October of 1694 he held a celebration as a gift of thanks to the ‘young students’ who had assisted him on the vault.<sup>98</sup>

The program of the monumental vault fresco is described in detail in Pozzo’s letter to the Prince of Lichtenstein, as well as in the first volume of his treatise, cited in Chapter 1.<sup>99</sup> In the centre of the vault, Christ, bearing a very large cross and situated just below the Father, sends a beam of light to the heart of Ignatius, who in turn is borne up on a cloud by a heavenly host of angels [figs. 0.1, 1.9, 5.38]. From Ignatius the beam is transmitted in five directions: four beams are directed to female personifications of Asia, Europe, Africa and America, each dressed in ‘native’ costume, astride exotic animals associated with their respective lands, suppressing

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<sup>96</sup> It is not known when the nave was begun; Pascoli says the work took ‘a little over three years: ‘. . . in poco più di tre [anni] la terminò senza scoprirla, e dire d’averla terminata.’ We can assume he is referring to the nave only, and for this reason the nave fresco is usually dated 1691-1694. Pascoli, 697. For the unveiling: ARSI Rom. 150a, 72/99v.

<sup>97</sup> “. . . volle il Pontefice Innocenzio XII esser il primo a vederla dopo il suo scoprimento. . . E ben consapevole delle persecuzioni sofferte dal povero pittore per causa di essa lo consolò e l’escortò a render grazie al Signore Dio che gl’avesse dato tant’abilità di ridur sì grand’opera a termine così lodevole, in premio forse della sua sofferenza e della sua religiosa pietà. . . I professori. . . e gl’intelligenti dell’arte furono talmente difensori e dell’opera e dell’autore di essa che in poco di tempo, deposta ogni passione, mutarono la loro opinione e ne lodarono l’autore.’ Baldinucci, ‘Vita del Pittore,’ 327-328/c. 134v-135r.

<sup>98</sup> ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1345, 164, 24 October, 1694: ‘. . . al nostro Fratel Pozzo per tanti da esso spesi in una ricreazione fatta a’ suoi Giovani Secolari per l’ajuto datoli nel dipingere la volta della Chiesa.’ Cit. Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, 70.

<sup>99</sup> Pozzo’s description in *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 100, is a summary of the ceiling program, while a more extensive description of the iconography and major themes can be found in his letter to the Prince of Lichtenstein. Appendix, Pozzo, *Copia d’Una Lettera*.

figures of heresy and idolatry [figs. 5.39-5.42]. The fifth beam is received by an angel on the side of the vault adjacent to the crossing, bearing a great concave mirror with the emblem *IHS*, and below angels bear a cartouche which reads *Ignem veni mittere in terram* (Luke 12: 49: ‘I have come to send fire on the earth’) [fig. 1.16]. The Ignatian specificity of the concave mirror and the incendiary beam it transmits is discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>100</sup> Below the shield-bearing angel, other angels hold a flaming urn of divine love, and pass the flames to believers. Directly across from this angel, over the entrance, an angel dressed in yellow stokes another great fire produced by the beam—the fire of divine anger—behind a cartouche which reads *et quid volo nisi ut accendatur* (‘and I would that it were already kindled’), while other angels begin casting fire and stones onto figures of the vices at either side of the façade window [fig. 1.17]. Francis Xavier is shown rising above the continent of Asia, while in the opposite corner above Europe are St Francis Borgia, Aloysius Gonzaga, and Stanislav Kostka [fig. 5.38].<sup>101</sup> Placed throughout the scene are groups of angels helping souls to ascend to heaven.

As in the Corridor of St Ignatius, the single metaphor which encompasses all aspects of Pozzo’s ceiling in Sant’Ignazio it is that of a theatre. This theatre, however, is more expansive and monumental; it transform the entire, immense space of the church into a *teatro* to Ignatius, his order, and its ambitious (and to that date

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<sup>100</sup> Picinelli, *Mondo Simbolico*, 488, ‘Specchio Concavo,’ 183.

<sup>101</sup> Strinati, ‘Gli affreschi nella chiesa di Sant’Ignazio,’ 70; Burda-Stengel, Andrea Pozzo and Video Art, 70. Pozzo only identifies by name St Francis Xavier, who appears above Asia. The young man holding the lily appears to be Stanislav Kostka, whose face resembles the saint as portrayed by Pozzo in *Virgin with Child and Saint Francis Borgia Receiving Stanislav Kostka* (c. 1673-75) at Cuneo; Aloysius Gonzaga is probably behind him. Next to them is Francis Borgia in a chasuble, also recognisable from the painting at Cuneo as well as Pozzo’s *St Francis Borgia with the Virgin and Child and St Anne* (c. 1671-73) in Genoa.

very successful) missionary activity.<sup>102</sup> Like Pozzo's other frescos and religious scenographies, it is both a setting for performed ritual and a performance in itself. It is a theatre comprising architectural structure, images, allegorical figures, and other characters engaged in either performing the grand drama represented. And, like all of Pozzo's works discussed thus far, it engages the viewer as a performer through movement and intellectual engagement, while the religious observer becomes involved in spiritual engagement and the actions of ritual.

The scene of apotheosis, a theme of Christian drama which I discussed in Chapter 3, is here represented again in fresco. Although Ignatius, as the dedicatory saint of the church, is the central focus of the scene, the prominence of Francis Xavier signifies the original purpose of the church's founding: as a celebration of the canonisations of the two 'patriarchs' of the Jesuit order.<sup>103</sup> The ceiling could thus be considered a permanent visual representation of the spectacle celebrating the two saints which was performed at the Collegio Romano in 1622.<sup>104</sup> The fire of consecration which sent the two saints to heaven was 'performed' by various nations of their respective missions. We might connect this theme of the nations aiding and witnessing the ascent of the dedicatory saint to heaven with Pozzo's fresco, in which the personifications of the continents play a similar role. Moreover, the presence of other Jesuits and of numerous other figures, both celestial and terrestrial, depicted in a global context amid an elaborate system of symbols and allegories, widens the theme of apotheosis to refer to the Society of Jesus as a whole. Read in this way the fresco becomes a statement of the entirety of their achievement—their missionary

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<sup>102</sup> Burda-Stengel refers to the ceiling as Pozzo's grandest scenography, which spatially transforms the entire church. Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 107.

<sup>103</sup> Bösel, *Orazio Grassi*, 109.

<sup>104</sup> *Argomento dell'apoteosi*. See Chapter 3.

work, their battle against heresy and championing of orthodoxy, their revival of religious zeal, their educational mission, and their scientific research. It also depicts the source from which the great ‘fire’ of their missionary zeal proceeds—and to which all of their work, and, according to their motto, the efforts of all Christian souls, must be directed: *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Although the architectural structure which forms this great theatre is commonly read as an ‘extension’ or ‘redoubling’ of the architecture of the church, analysis of the construction of Pozzo’s architecture reveal that it is not quite this simple.<sup>105</sup> While it aligns with the structure of the church and visually extends the built space upward, Pozzo’s drawings make it clear that it is really its own architectonic entity [fig. 5.43-5.44]. His preparatory elevations of the fictive architecture are consistent with the way he approached all such projects, including scenographies and frescoes: the architecture had to be ‘built’ before it could be rendered on the vault. In the section dedicated to this project in his treatise, Pozzo begins with a full plan and longitudinal section of the Church of Sant’Ignazio; he includes in this section the constructed dome, indicating not only that he imagines it being completed one day, but that he conceives of it as an essential component of the building and its interior space [fig. 5.43]. From this foundation he effectively builds a temple on top of the existing temple, a monumental open loggia, such as we might see in a palace courtyard in the northern Palladian manner [fig. 5.44]. This structure features wide arches corresponding to the church’s clerestory windows, supported by piers adorned with the familiar theme of paired disengaged columns on tall pedestals. The whole is crowned twice with a massive projecting cornice, which follows the dynamic motion

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<sup>105</sup> See Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 101 and Fagiolo dell’Arco, ‘Pensare effimero,’ 87. Fagiolo undertakes a closer examination of the architecture as detailed in the treatise: Fagiolo, ‘L’illusione dell’infinito,’ 584-86.



of protrusions and recessions around the perimeter. This device, which frames the celestial scene, resembles Tibaldi's cornice at San Fedele and Boetto's at Mondovì [figs. 2.43 and 3.10]. The triumphal arches which anchor the structure at either end are further iterations of the altar design, based on Carneri, which we have seen at Mondovì and in Pozzo's *Quarant'ore* scenographies [figs. 3.48, 3.50 and 4.4]. From this basis of elevations Pozzo projects two quarters of the architecture in perspective—the diagonally corresponding corners of the nave—and by reversing and repeating these plates, the entire structure can be reproduced [fig. 5.45].

The architecture of the scene is intended as a framework and a setting for the sacred drama enacted by the figures. The figures, in turn, inhabit the architecture and charge the whole scene with life and complex movement in multiple directions. They are executed in a series of scales which correspond to their relative placement within, or distance from, the architecture. This graduated scale and placement of figures within the architecture, and rising above it, lend further emphasis to the vertical thrust produced by the architectural perspective. Figures and atmosphere penetrate and partially obscure the architecture, dissolving the boundary between celestial and terrestrial 'realities.' Here we get a clear sense of what Pozzo's *Quarant'ore* scenographies, in full colour with all of their angels and cloud effects, would have looked like. It is the extraordinary integration of the whole—architecture, perspective, figures, gesture—which make the ceiling a *quadratura* tour de force.

The scene is a great cataclysm: the Latin inscriptions, *Ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo nisi ut accendatur*, and Pozzo's own description, evoke an Ignatian apocalypse in which the fire from Christ, transmitted to the earth, ignites

everything, and everyone, in a violent motion either upwards—angels either ascending to heaven with the saved souls or pointing the way to Christ; or downwards—damned souls and the figures of heresy and idolatry are cast downward into darkness with the help of spears and arrows.<sup>106</sup> As Renato Troncon has described, the figures seem to be caught up in a great turbulent wind, and sent into a choreographed motion of ‘reciprocal nearing and distancing, attracting and repelling.’<sup>107</sup>

The writings of the Jesuit Nicholas Caussin, widely translated and disseminated in the seventeenth century, may well have served as inspiration for Pozzo’s great fresco, and have been cited in interpretations of the ceiling which focus on the figures and their movements.<sup>108</sup> Several passages of Caussin can be applied to Pozzo’s broader program and its symbolism. In his discussion of the ‘Celestial Amities,’ Caussin describes Christ and his ability to animate the world using the metaphor of the sun:

. . . this great star is the visible son of the first Bright; the Image of the sovereign King; the eye of the world; the heart of nature. . . He lighteth up the stars; in heaven he createth crowns, and rainbows in the air. . . he throws fire and vigour into all living creatures. . . His motion so rapid, his circumvolution so even, that so regular harmony of nights and days, those reflections, which are as fathers of so many Essences, set the whole Divinity before our eyes.<sup>109</sup>

Christ occupies the centre of the ceiling and the point at which all things converge, and this is reinforced by the radiating rays; he is also the point around which figures and atmosphere revolve. Fagiolo has described the perspective of the whole

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<sup>106</sup> See Chapter 1. Appendix, Pozzo, *Copia d’una lettera*.

<sup>107</sup> Troncon, ‘La retorica delle passioni,’ esp. 57.

<sup>108</sup> Battisti, ‘L’azione spaziale’; Troncon, ‘La retorica delle passioni.’

<sup>109</sup> Modernised spellings. Nicholas Caussin, *The Command of Reason*, First Treatise, Section X, ‘Of Celestial Amities,’ 552-53.

ensemble as a great spiral.<sup>110</sup> This spiral continues into an infinite vertical distance occupied by the Trinity. The rapid ‘circumvolition’ of Caussin can be read in the spiral trajectories of the figures that begin at the base of the scene and continue up to ‘infinity.’

The great image of the ceiling is inscribed with the lines of the five rays emanating from Christ and transmitted by Ignatius, which correspond to Caussin’s five methods of God’s communication:

... he hath cleft the cloud in five places, and is come to communicate himself to the world by five admirable ways of his magnificence, which are Creation, Conservation, the Incarnation of the word, Justification and exaltation of the soul to Beatitude.<sup>111</sup>

Thus in addition to representing the incendiary beam which ‘brings fire on the earth’ and additionally becomes the four-direction channel through which Christ communicates with the world, the five beams can be said to correspond to the five *ways* he communicates, according to Caussin.

All the figures in Pozzo’s ceiling are engaged in a complex interplay of gestures, occupied by their respective activities and yet not in any way conveying a crowded chaos. The figures of the four continents beat down and cast away figures of idolatry and heresy, while the souls of the saved are carried up. These gestures perform functions within the wider rhetorical program of the ceiling, just as they would in a drama on the Jesuit stage. Federico Borromeo’s codification of gesture in prayer and ritual, although an unpublished manuscript of the earlier part of the seventeenth century, provides guidance to our reading of gesture in religious paintings of the

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<sup>110</sup> Fagiolo, ‘L’illusione dell’infinito,’ 586.

<sup>111</sup> Modernised spellings. Caussin, *The Command of Reason*, First Treatise, Section XII, ‘The Practise of Divine Love,’ 557.

time, and can be applied to Pozzo's ceiling.<sup>112</sup> Within this spiritual drama in which earth meets the 'theatre' of heaven, the figures engage in ritual gestures which indicate their respective conditions.<sup>113</sup> One figure under the figure of Asia looks down and holds his head as if in the humility of a sinner: 'sweetly inclining [the head] means humility and subjection.' [fig 5.39].<sup>114</sup> Others look up to the light while trying to save themselves, 'to distract the view from things. . . representative of their evil state. . .' [fig. 5.41].<sup>115</sup> Some are only able to gesture with their heads and eyes as they clutch the angels which bear them aloft ' . . . in their gestures showing that they can, hating the earth and desiring Heaven, fly through the air; and extending the arms thus like wings, they raise up their entire person, not wishing to touch the earth. . .' [fig. 5.38].<sup>116</sup> Some hold their hands up in prayer or reach toward the light, offering up their souls to God: ' . . . raising the hands toward the Throne of God shows that we make a sacrifice to him, either of the soul, or of our memories. . . and with [the hands] we offer him a gift which is pure and holy.'<sup>117</sup> Still others spread their arms as if at the moment of surrendering to divine will, receiving the grace of conversion:

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<sup>112</sup> F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus*, 47-75.

<sup>113</sup> Borromeo describes heaven as a theatre to be admired by the devout who are given the grace of seeing it: ' . . . Iddio con le sue mani istesse havea effigiata sopra la [faccia] del Cielo le sue meraviglie, e scritto il suo proprio nome. Anzi questo e' come un teatro nel quale si fa' continua mostra e pompa di esse grandezze divine.' F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus*, Cap. XI, 'Del riguardare il Cielo,' 73-74.

<sup>114</sup> On the lowering of the head, Borromeo cites Job 42.11, Jeremiah 18.16, Isaiah 2.15. 'Et si come cio' che detto habbiamo significa dolore, cosi l'inclinarlo [soavemente] significa humilita' e soggettione.' F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus*, Cap. VIII, 'Dei movimenti del Capo,' 47.

<sup>115</sup> On the raising of the head and the eyes toward heaven: 'Similmente i fortimenti tribolati levano la testa in alto, per distorre la veduta da tutti le cose che abbiano dinnanzi, [si] come rappresentatrici del loro male stato. . .' F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus*, Cap. IX, 'Degli sguardi,' 53-58.

<sup>116</sup> ' . . . gli aflitti contemplatrici nei loro gesti mostrare, che le essi potessero, odiando la terra, e bramando il Cielo volerebbero per [l'aria]; et distendono le braccia [quasi ali], sollevano il capo a tutta la persona, per non volere toccare la terra.' F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus* Cap. IX, 'Degli sguardi,' 53-58.

<sup>117</sup> ' . . . alzando le mani verso il Trono di Dio pare che a lui facciamo sacrificio, o' dell'anima, o' delle memorie nostre, espesialmente delle mani, et gliele offeriamo in dono, si come pure et sancte. . .' F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus*, Cap. XIV, 'Del levare in alto le mani,' 112-113.

‘ . . . extending the hands and opening them, we leave as in abandon all the parts of our body, without defence, indicating that we want to appear before God. . . ’<sup>118</sup>

Just as Pozzo’s perspective system, joining the world of the viewer with that of the represented scene, appeals to the viewer to ‘enter’ and participate in this scene, the figures make a similar appeal through the gestures described above, as well as more direct means. As in his fresco scenes at Mondovì, Pozzo has placed figures at the corners of the frame and others perched on the balustrade [fig. 5.38]. These in some ways mimic the ambiguous presence and function of Michelangelo’s *ignudi* on the Sistine ceiling, gazing down at the viewer, addressing him directly as a potential participant in this great spectacle.<sup>119</sup> They are not alone in their address to the viewer: the angel bearing the great reflecting mirror as well as the figure of Africa make a similar direct appeal [figs. 1.16 and 5.41]. The wide variety of gestures represented in the scene render it a sacred performance which both functions on its own and complements the ritual performances taking place in the church. The actions of all the figures are choreographed as a series of simultaneous dramatic scenes spatially and gesturally functioning together as part of a persuasive ensemble, receiving its animating force from the divine source of power and light in the distance. This performance, like the performances we have studied in other works of Pozzo, actively engages the viewer who studies the ceiling and its perspectival illusion, examining the figures and symbols, pondering their meanings and the appropriate response to them. The religious observer, engaged in prayer and meditation or participating in the rituals of worship, sees in the vision of divine

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<sup>118</sup> ‘ . . . distendendo le mani et aprendole, lasciamo come in abbandono tutti le parti del nostro corpo, senza difesa, dando indiccio che appunto vogliamo comparire innanzi a’ Dio . . . ’ F. Borromeo, *De Contemplationis, Gestu, et Actione, Liber Primus*, Caput XV, ‘Dell’estensione delle mani,’ 120-21.

<sup>119</sup> For a discussion of the rhetorical device of the figure which gazes out at the viewer in Renaissance paintings, see Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 17-19. Van Eck cites Alberti, *De Pictura*, Section 42.

judgement and heavenly glory a series images bearing specific religious meanings. These provide subjects upon which to reflect and contemplate as well as examples to follow as he seeks to ‘enter’ the scene and approach the ultimate goal, union with God.<sup>120</sup>

Pozzo’s ceiling in Sant’Ignazio, while it may aim toward a universal Christian audience, crowns the college church; it bore particular significance for the students of the Collegio Romano as model Christians, future citizens of their respective cities and states, and potential clerics and missionaries. Through the images of this fresco, which cannot be taken into account in a single viewing, but rather studied in stages, the visitor is able to visualise what would be scarcely comprehensible otherwise: the Jesuits’ global view, the full extent of their mission, and the importance of the evangelism which was their founding mandate.<sup>121</sup> Aspects of this vision had been portrayed in various forms from the late sixteenth century onward, most notably in the printed materials.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, Jesuit triumphalism and divine judgment had recently been rendered in the church of the Gesù, both in Gaulli’s frescoes and in Mariani’s *apparato* for the *Quarant’ore* in 1675.<sup>123</sup>

In analysing the ceiling, it is nearly impossible to avoid the question of the perspective, which is central to the ceiling’s startling visual effect: the dramatic,

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<sup>120</sup> See Melloni, *The Exercises of St Ignatius*, 50. Melloni describes union with God in Ignatian spirituality as occurring through personal choices made in one’s life according to God’s will; ‘a quest and a tendency, never a definitive state.’

<sup>121</sup> The Jesuits’ centenary publication, *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (1640), discussed in Chapter 1, is a testament to their global reach and ambitions. Regarding their mission of evangelism, the *First Bull of Approbation* by Paul III (1540), sets forward the tasks of the members of the society, referred to as ‘Christ’s soldiers.’ *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Appendix, *The First Approbation of the Institution of the Society of Jesus by Paul III in the Year 1540*, 101-107.

<sup>122</sup> Included in Chapter 1 are images of the *Imago primi saeculi*, notably the illustration introducing the *Societatis Missionis Indicae* with its motto *Unus non sufficit orbis* as well as the frontispiece to Bartoli’s *Della Vita e dell’Istituto di S. Ignatio*, featuring personifications of continents [figs. 1.33 and 1.34].

<sup>123</sup> For the 1675 *Quarant’ore*, see Chapter 4. For a discussion of Gaulli’s ceiling, see Enggass, *The Painting of Baciccio*, 43-51. For a comparison of the critical reception of Pozzo’s fresco with that of Gaulli in the Gesù, see Enggass, ‘Pozzo a Sant’Ignazio e Baciccio al Gesù.’

almost irresistible feeling of ascent, the vertical thrust which wants to carry the spectator up. In spite of the ceiling's visual power, which arguably surpasses Pozzo's other perspective works, it is important to note that Pozzo's perspective system in Sant'Ignazio is not fundamentally different from that of his other fresco works or scenographies. Does the perspectival image in Sant'Ignazio contain a specific and identifiable spiritual metaphor? Is it intended to convey a meaning or set of meanings distinct from those of Pozzo's other works, or of works of perspectival illusionism more broadly?<sup>124</sup>

Perhaps the first metaphor to come to mind in Pozzo's ceiling, which derives not only from the perspective but from its use in representing the Trinity in the midst of celestial scene, is that of that of 'infinity' and 'eternity.'<sup>125</sup> One could approach the question of such a religious metaphor in the ceiling by way of process as well as representation. One theme which has arisen in the literature on the ceiling (which, again, could be applied to any of Pozzo's perspective works) concerns the perspective method: the idea that the process used to construct this image contains within it knowledge which enables the imagination access to the eternal, the infinite, and the divine. The idea of perspective somehow unlocking 'secrets' of divine knowledge, or revealing the concept of infinite space, immediately brings to mind Erwin Panofsky's description of the vanishing point as 'the concrete symbol for the discovery of the infinite itself.'<sup>126</sup> Pozzo's ceiling is often discussed in relation to the scientific research of the period, particularly that of the Jesuits—Kircher is often cited—and the 'divine wisdom' which was thought to be imparted to the world

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<sup>124</sup> Elkins discusses and summarises the numerous metaphors associated with perspective in *The Poetics of Perspective*, 1-44; see especially 33-34.

<sup>125</sup> 'In a formal sense, unplumbed depths are signifiers of eternities. . .' Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective*, 37.

<sup>126</sup> Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, 57.

through these studies.<sup>127</sup> Pozzo's perspective, after all, owes its existence to a long history of studies in mathematics and geometry, to which the Jesuits had made a significant contribution.<sup>128</sup> In his discussion of Pozzo's art of perspective, Werner Oechslin presents its intended meaning as 'a metaphor of divine knowledge and providence,' which symbolically, and even actually, served as a channel whereby divine wisdom and knowledge could be transmitted; an ideal artistic device for the *propaganda fide*.<sup>129</sup> Felix Burda-Stengel describes the system as representative of the 'beauty of divine laws' and therefore of a divine truth.<sup>130</sup>

In my first chapter, I discussed the idea of Pozzo's perspective scenes providing the imagination access to the infinite and the eternal through the representation of the divine in an 'infinite' space; in this case, the divine is represented at the geometric centre of that space. The centre of the vault, and the central vanishing point of the perspective, is the figure of Christ. There could not be a more literal representation of Pozzo's metaphor for the central point as the 'divine glory,' with which he concludes his address to the reader at the beginning of his treatise.<sup>131</sup> While such a scene may serve as a metaphor for the infinite, the eternal, the divine, or all three, I contend that it is intended to offer only a 'glimpse' of such mysteries.<sup>132</sup> In this interpretation, the role played by the imagination is paramount: the infinite, the eternal and the divine are not represented; rather, the images inspire the imagination to contemplate what cannot be represented. Pozzo's perspective thus becomes a

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<sup>127</sup> Among those who pursue this theme are Kemp, 'Perspective and Meaning'; Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 107-109; and Oechslin, 'Pozzo e il suo tratto.'

<sup>128</sup> See my section on Jesuit research in perspective in Chapter 1; see also Corradino, 'I Gesuiti e la geometria.'

<sup>129</sup> Oechslin, 'Pozzo e il suo Trattato,' 188-205.

<sup>130</sup> Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 107-108.

<sup>131</sup> See Appendix, Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, *All lettore*.

<sup>132</sup> See Chapter 1, 'Perception, Illusion and the Infinite: The Basis of Pozzo's Works in Jesuit Philosophy and Theology.'



means of ‘depicting the undepictable’; namely, God.<sup>133</sup> Kemp refers to the centre of the image as both a metaphor for infinity and an indication of the limit of the perspective system: ‘The dynamic perspectival convergence is integral to meaning, in that its spiritual focus—a point of infinite unknowability—becomes the ultimate source for the physical illumination which is but a poor reflection of divine truth.’<sup>134</sup> From most places in the church, the ceiling reveals itself as a perspectival construction, a work of human hands, by its own nature limited. Perspective, for all the importance of its discovery and development, is a human optical construction. In the context of the ceiling, we may consider it an aid to imagining the divine, and an aid to internalizing the ritual encounter with the divine, but one which openly and consciously admits its own limitations.

The best way to approach the problem of meaning in Pozzo’s perspective is to think of it in relation to the work’s *function*, which to me is determined by its ritual context. I have discussed the ceiling as a sacred theatre which seeks to engage the observer as a performer; and this engagement is achieved by architecture, symbols and figures. If, like the Corridor of St Ignatius and San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì, the church of Sant’Ignazio is a ritual space, what is the role of the perspective in Pozzo’s image within this space and within the ritual or rituals which take place here? The perspective engages the visitor on a perceptual and intellectual level; in fact it may be considered the first point of engagement as one encounters this ritual space and its frescoes for the first time. The perspective is the aspect of Pozzo’s work which, as in the scenographies discussed in earlier chapters, permits the viewer ‘entry’ into this theatre. The effect of the illusion convinces the observer—

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<sup>133</sup> Burda-Stengel, *Andrea Pozzo and Video Art*, 104-109.

<sup>134</sup> Kemp, ‘Perspective and Meaning,’ 252.

—at least momentarily—that the heavenly realm is joined with the built environment in which he is situated. It is therefore accessible, if not with the body, then with the mind and the spirit. Pozzo’s ceiling seems to ‘reach upward’ to heaven, and thanks to his technique of ‘joining the fictive with the real,’ the two realms, heaven and earth, actually appear to join.<sup>135</sup>

And yet, as stated earlier, from most places in the church the ceiling reveals itself as a perspectival construction. The nave of the church is a place of movement, a space passed through as one enters to attend mass, processes up to the altar, or traverses in any given direction toward the side chapels for prayer or confession. Through this movement, one observes the image, including its architecture, changing as one changes position, itself appearing to ‘move.’ The encountering of the artifice of Pozzo’s perspective, and its revelation as artifice—the *inganno* and *disinganno*—are central to the ritual function of the church of Sant’Ignazio and the movement of the observer within it—just as they are at Mondovì and the Corridor of St Ignatius. As one progresses through Sant’Ignazio, the dome comes into perspectival alignment at a place just before the crossing. Pozzo’s choice of this viewing position, away from the centre of the dome—similar to that established for the cupola at Mondovì—is not arbitrary: viewing the image from this position is less fatiguing, he says (certainly to the neck!); and more importantly, it allows one to ‘discover more of the architecture and the artifice.’<sup>136</sup> From here one is better able to admire the image and its construction; the craft involved in producing the illusion. It is also important to consider this view within the ritual context of the space: this is the place where the

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<sup>135</sup> ‘congiugendo il finto col vero’; Pozzo, *Perspectiva* I, Fig. 30.

<sup>136</sup> ‘Il punto dell’occhio l’ho messo fuori dell’Opera, accioche quei che la mirano si stracchino meno, e si scopra più l’architettura, e d’artifitio, il che non seguirebbe se la veduta fosse nel mezzo.’ Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, Fig. 90.

faithful engaging in the ritual of the mass approach the altar to receive the Eucharist. Thus within the context of worship, the full illusionistic power of the dome and the ‘wonder’ it inspires coincide with a period of both ritual movement and spiritual reflection.

From the centre of the crossing, another scene of apotheosis of St Ignatius, this time in his role as mediator, falls into correct perspectival view in the apse [fig. 5.46]. Within a triumphal arch, which opens into a great vaulted pavilion, the saint descends with a host of angels extending his hand over a multitude of people of all ages, including the sick, the crippled, the blind, mothers holding infants—nearly all imaginable cases of souls in need of healing.<sup>137</sup> This scene, referred to as *St Ignatius Miracle-Maker*, was painted after the dome and before the vault of the nave, from spring of 1687 to the end of the summer of 1688.<sup>138</sup> It is a more complex development on the grand Veronesian tableau in the apse at Mondovì, presenting themes of that earlier fresco, while incorporating the architectonic grandeur, compositional confidence, and integration of architecture with figures that Pozzo had practiced in his scenographies [figs. 3.19]. Although it bears correspondence to several scenes of Veronese, its architecture aligns most closely with *The Feast of Alexander the Great* in Vicenza [5.47].<sup>139</sup> Ignatius, in a miraculous appearance straight from the Jesuit stage, appears as an intercessor to all of humankind,

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<sup>137</sup> Pfeiffer describes Ignatius in Pozzo’s images as representative of the Baroque theme of saints as mediators between heaven and earth. Pfeiffer, ‘Pozzo e la spiritualità,’ 15-16. Ministering to the sick and needy, in addition to spiritual ministry, was established at the beginning as one the order’s chief activities. See O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 84-90 and 165-92.

<sup>138</sup> The fresco is rightfully described by Levy as ‘largely neglected.’ Levy, *Propaganda*, 150. Regarding its dating and its place in the overall project of Sant’Ignazio, payment for the ‘carta imperiale’ for designing the tribune was made on 29 March, 1688, followed by scaffolding in April and painting and colours in the succeeding months. The last payment relating to the tribune was made to the ‘young students’ who helped Pozzo, on 30 August, 1687. ARSI Rom., 1345, ‘Giornale del libro Maestro. . . B, 158-159.

<sup>139</sup> See Salomon, *Veronese*, 138-40.

descending in glory as if in a permanent *apparato*, ministering to multitudes in need.<sup>140</sup> Like the apse fresco at Mondovì, this image seems to eliminate the structural boundaries of the apse wall, ‘opening’ the presbytery to infinite space beyond.<sup>141</sup> While complementing the great theatre of cataclysm in the vault, it is a theatre of mercy which the faithful approach as they approach the sacrament.

Pozzo’s illusionistic works in Sant’Ignazio prompt observers to make decisions regarding what their eyes are perceiving and to discover how the illusions function. In order to undertake this process of intellectual discernment, one must, again, move around the space and examine them from different positions. As in the Corridor of St Ignatius, finding the ‘correct’ position from which to view the dome and ceiling frescoes of Sant’Ignazio is not only an intellectual challenge; it is an action which bears spiritual metaphors previously discussed: Ignatian discernment between reality and illusion, ‘good’ and ‘evil’; finding the Aristotelian ethical ‘centre’ between extremes; and discovering an objective truth, the place where all things align. At the same time, the perspective system demonstrates the fragility and transience of the physical world and of appearances. The experience bears a myriad of interpretations, thoughts and ideas about the nature of ‘reality’ and our place within it. As in all of the scenographies, spectacles, and performances studied in this thesis, the participatory role of the observer is what makes the entire system—the images and their relationship to the church space and the rituals performed within it—theatre.

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<sup>140</sup> ‘Miraculous’ scenes and stage effects in the Jesuit theatre are discussed in Chapters 1 and 3. See the section on the Corridor of St Ignatius earlier in this chapter for Pozzo’s earlier miraculous scenes of the saint.

<sup>141</sup> See my discussion of the fresco cycle, especially the apse painting, at Mondovì in Chapter 3.

## Conclusion

The theme which prevails across Pozzo's major Roman works, a theme which begins at Mondovì, is that of transformation. From the *Quarant'ore* scenographies which temporarily transformed the church of the Gesù, to the corridor in the Casa Professa, transformed into a sacred theatre to the Jesuits' founding saint, Pozzo demonstrated the possibilities of perspective painting, rendering these environments scenographies for sacred ritual. Pozzo's work in Sant'Ignazio is a monumental transformation. Through his interventions, a church which had remained in an unfinished state for much of the seventeenth century became a *teatro* of the Society of Jesus. Pozzo's dome, painted on a canvas, came to be accepted as a substitution for the dome which ultimately was never constructed. This recalls the substitution of the ephemeral and the illusory for the real and permanent represented in Pozzo's high altar at Mondovì. These two events not only demonstrate the cultural fascination with illusion which characterizes art and architecture of this period; they signal an acceptance of illusionistic substitutions for real spaces and structures, and possibly even a growing cultural preference for the illusory over the 'real.'

Pozzo's artistic act of transformation in Sant'Ignazio climaxes in a grand scene of apotheosis. The apotheosis that Pozzo portrays, however, is not simply a 'taking up' or departure of the saint from the world after death. While Ignatius appears to the multitudes in the apse over the presbytery, he continues to perform miracles of healing; in the vault he is not simply stationary or rising to heaven: he spreads the burning fire of divine love to the corners of the earth. The urgent and tireless action of his life is implicitly continued after his death.

As painted illusions which fully deceive the eye from only one strategically-placed point, or set of points, Pozzo's corridor, dome and ceiling are works of artifice which, like the frescoes at Mondovì, initially perplex, then delight the observer upon their discovery. Their ultimate goal is to appeal to the intellect and the imagination, and finally to the spirit; to this end, they demand active viewing and participation. The works and their effects are dedicated to the 'greater glory of God,' as penned by the artist, which is the stated goal of all activities of the order. The famously modest Pozzo would doubtless consider the visions of glory which he produced as humble efforts and in no way approaching even the technical perfection which he envisioned, much less the actual glory of the heavenly realm or the divine presence. We might say that the 'greater glory of God,' for Pozzo, was something one approached in the act of making, more than in the thing made, just as Jesuit election was a lifelong process of drawing nearer to God.<sup>142</sup>

The scenes which Pozzo depicts are not intended to be passively witnessed by the spectator. Rather, they appeal to the viewer to 'enter' and participate, and this appeal is made both through the perspectival illusion and through the figures which 'perform' the visual narratives. Moreover, like the scenographies, Pozzo's major works of painting in Rome were intended to bring about an internal transformation by involving the visitor in the movements, thought processes, and emotional trajectories of performed rituals. These rituals would have included processions, sacramental devotions, pilgrimages to the rooms of St Ignatius and relics of Jesuit saints, high masses, and individual prayer. Simply moving through these spaces becomes, even today, a kind of ritual in itself: time is momentarily suspended as the

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<sup>142</sup> See Chapter 1.

visitor beholds the sacred scenes and the illusionistic effects, finds the 'correct' view and tries to unlock the secrets of the illusion. The task of reading these works is made easier by a grounding in Jesuit history and iconography; however, the active process of identification of elements and pondering the meaning of the whole engages even the untrained and curious visitor in a process of research and of discovery.

## CONCLUSION

### **Pozzo's Work as Religious Theatre**

Pozzo's work both 'performs' and serves as a setting for performance. It is thus inextricably tied to the tradition of religious theatre and scenography of the seventeenth century. More specifically, it is representative of a rhetorical system in Jesuit art and theatre in which the image became increasingly important to the efficacy of communicative strategies for edification and spiritual persuasion. Through this contextual study of Pozzo and his major works of scenography and illusionistic painting, I have sought to demonstrate that the century's culture of performance is key to our reading of not only Pozzo's work, but much of the art and architecture of the period. The frequency and scale of events both political and religious, not only in major cities such as Milan and Rome, but throughout Italy, evidence the fervent religious belief that characterised the period as well as the intersection of political interests and religious ideologies. Ephemeral decorations and scenographies became essential elements of such performances, embodying the rhetorical themes and agendas which defined the events themselves. They functioned together with the built environment—public squares, roads, building facades and church interiors—comprising a 'total scenography' for performance. Gradually they came to take permanent form in both constructed and painted decorations, thus transforming these spaces and structures permanently. Pozzo's work is among the finest illustrations of ritual scenography and ephemeral architecture taking 'permanent' form within a constructed religious context, becoming an essential element of a ritual performance which is enacted in perpetuity.



If seventeenth-century society delighted in the arts of illusion, this fascination extended far beyond *delectare*. Illusion was an essential element of performance. In art, it made the reception of an image a performance by calling on the viewer to engage in an intellectual process of discovery and decision-making, which in the case of Pozzo's works required movement in the space. Moreover, the boundaries between illusion and reality in the period were far from fixed and were continually being tested. Pozzo's transformation of architectural space through perspectival illusions was not intended merely as a demonstration of the effects of perspective or an exercise in producing visual splendour. The perspectival illusion, like the complex systems of narrative, allegory and symbol for which it provides a framework, requires active viewing; and this active viewing becomes a ritual in its own right.

This visual engagement of the works was intended to complement the engagement of the individual in the performed rituals for which these architectural spaces were designed and decorated. Ritual and its visual context involved the exterior theatre of the senses as well as the movement and actions of the body; these, in turn, served as agents of the interior theatre, comprising the faculties of the intellect, the memory and the imagination. In this sense the works must be considered as 'theatres' and read with an awareness of both their associated ritual contexts and the role of the visitor as a performer in relation to them. The transformation of the church space which we witness at Mondovì and in Sant'Ignazio takes the form of an even more complete synthesis of architecture and illusionistic painting in Pozzo's last great *teatro sacro*: the Universitätskirche in Vienna, which became, through Pozzo's interventions, a prototype for church decoration throughout

Central Europe in the eighteenth century [figs. C.1-C.3].<sup>1</sup> Such interiors are more than religious scenographies; they are a manifestations of the religious theatre of the seventeenth century which gave rise to Pozzo and his practice. Their function is tied to the presence of the visitor, who enacts a ritual within the space, interacting with its images, symbols, and, in many cases, perspectival illusions.

Identifying the levels of ‘reality’ intended within Pozzo’s works is perhaps the most challenging aspect of analysing them. While they are visually ‘joined’ to the built environment, they maintain perceptual and experiential boundaries. The act of ‘entering,’ in all cases, is an act of the imagination, and it is in the imagination that these works and their success truly reside. We cannot ‘enter’ the dome of Sant’Ignazio or the cupola at Mondovì; their distance above us prevents us from attempting to do so. Until we pass directly under them and discover their artifice, the painted images act on our perception and our intellect in the same way as constructed architecture. The discovery of the artifice of the illusion takes place at the crossing of the church, as we approach the high altar, the most sacred place in the church. This discovery is an appeal to our imagination to reconstruct the work as a real piece of architecture. The *Quarant’ore* scenographies were not intended to be ‘entered’ physically, though, as I have discussed, they served to join the constructed world of the church with the imagined celestial realm, and encouraged the faithful to ‘reach’ toward this realm. Attempts were made to physically ascend their steps; this phenomenon, I am convinced, was the result not merely of perceptual error, but of immersion in spiritual fervour and the desire to participate in a religious narrative.

For the period of the devotional ritual, these scenes became to the beholder ‘real’

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<sup>1</sup> Bösel describes Pozzo’s Viennese projects as a ‘stylistic guide’ for Baroque churches throughout Central Europe in the eighteenth century. Bösel, ‘Le opere viennesi e i loro riflessi nell’Europa centro-orientale.’ See also Koller, ‘L’ultima opera di Andrea Pozzo a Vienna.’

places and events. The progress we make through the Corridor of St Ignatius in the Casa Professa, ‘finding’ its single viewing position, or through the church of San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì, with its multiple viewing positions—each associated with different features of the ceiling—is, in the end, a process of discovery of artifice: the repeating theme of *inganno* and *disinganno*. An audience watching the performance of any of the Jesuit plays for which Pozzo produced scenographies would have wondered at the perspectival illusions of the sets, the rapid changing of scenes, and the saintly ‘miracles’ and other effects. They knew all of these things to be theatrical illusions; but within the context of performance, the imagination accepted them as real places and real events. In all cases the illusion is predisposed to be discovered; and this discovery is part of the ‘performance’ of the observer in confronting these works. All of the works of Pozzo function within their ritual context, calling on the observer to ‘perform’ within the space, actively engaging the imagination in the construction, dismantling, and reconstruction of the image. The ‘marvel’ of the illusion is made even more powerful and memorable through the discovery of its artifice.

As I have demonstrated through many examples in different regions, the visual environment of the seventeenth century is characterised by a continual interchange between real and illusory space, between the painterly and the sculptural, between permanent and ephemeral construction. Visual ideas drawn from the world of ephemeral theatrical scenography frequently entered the visual language of constructed architecture and sculpture, as exemplified in the earlier part of the century by the work of Bernini, da Cortona, and Rainaldi. Pozzo developed intermediality in a new direction by applying his technical mastery of painting and

perspectival illusion to the contexts of constructed architecture, while at the same time granting visual structure to religious scenography and believability to its illusions with fictive architecture. His architectural sensibility, deriving from his scenographic training and practice as well as his studies of 'scenographic' models in the architecture of Northern Italy, tested the boundaries between the freely expressive quality of theatrical scenery and the 'stability' and formal conventions of permanent architecture. In this sense, while he may have been at times in conflict with the artistic and architectural establishment of Rome, his public found, and continue to find, that his architecture, like his illusionism, functions on its own theatrical visual terms.

The success of Pozzo's illusions indicates a growing cultural fascination with the illusory in art and architecture—the desire for the 'perfect illusion' which had been gradually taking root in the seventeenth century, and which the works of Pozzo bring nearer to fulfilment. These works not only highlight the tenuous and even undefined boundaries between illusion and constructed reality; they demonstrate the importance of artistic mimesis in this culture: the well-crafted illusion held a value equal to that of actual construction. Moreover, the perspectival illusions of architecture were meant to be discovered and understood as illusions: in examining Pozzo's works, we are not being asked to accept what is before us; rather, we are being asked to imagine what is not physically present, but could be. Pozzo did not seek to 'imitate' reality in these works; rather, he sought to encourage the production of a new reality, one constructed in the mind of the observer. In a culture which granted such importance to the imagination and to performance, space and structure could be constructed or simply rendered; they could exist in actual physical form, or they could exist only

within the mind. To the senses, there was little fundamental difference between the two. To the imagination and the intellect, the illusion held both fascination and the possibility of persuasion.

At the same time, such illusions seem to carry a particular resonance in religious contexts: to the Christian of the time, they may well have served as metaphorical gateways to a realm beyond. In the case of Pozzo, they were not designed to be mistaken for ‘miracles’ or heavenly visions, but rather emphasised humanity’s terrestrial existence. *Inganno* and *disinganno* are in a sense tied to the awareness, and continual confrontation, of mortality that is an essential component of Christian life. The ephemeral and the illusory might be considered metaphors for the human condition: as discussed in the Milanese funeral scenographies and rites, the longing for resurrection and for salvation is made all the more palpable by these continual reminders that all things material and terrestrial, including art and architecture, are ultimately insubstantial and based on a fiction.

Just as the intellectual process of discovering and analysing the illusion required the active engagement of the imagination, and the religious metaphors present in the illusion called for spiritual contemplation, the ritual context for which these works were produced called for active participation. Both the appeal to the imagination and the call to participate corresponded to the emphasis on visualisation and performance which were central to both Jesuit spirituality and seventeenth-century religious culture. To the religious observer-as-performer, these images and spaces provided the opportunity of ritual participation as well as a multitude of spiritual messages and mysteries to be contemplated along the path toward understanding.

## Images: Introduction



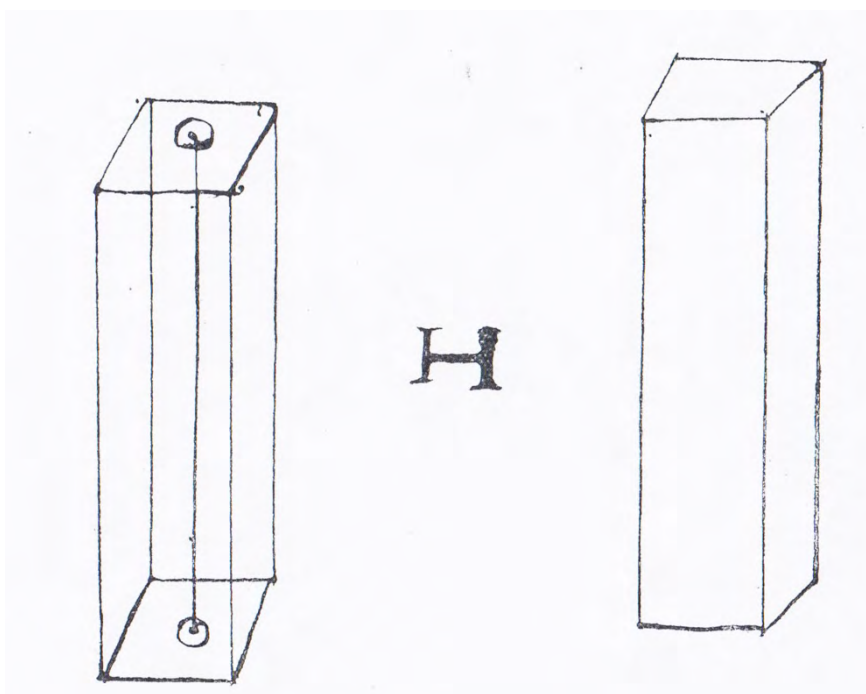
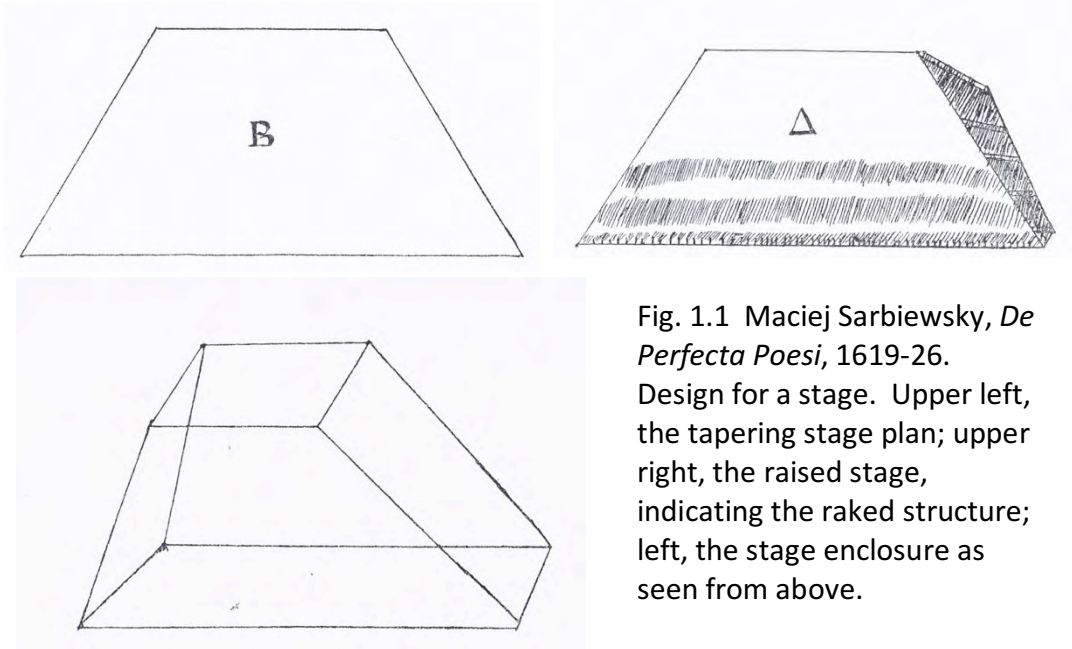
Fig. 0.1 Andrea Pozzo, *The Worldwide Mission of the Society of Jesus*, fresco, c. 1691-94. Church of Sant'Ignazio, Rome.





Fig. 0.2 Andrea Pozzo, Altar of St Ignatius, c. 1694-99. Church of the Gesù, Rome.

## Images: Chapter 1





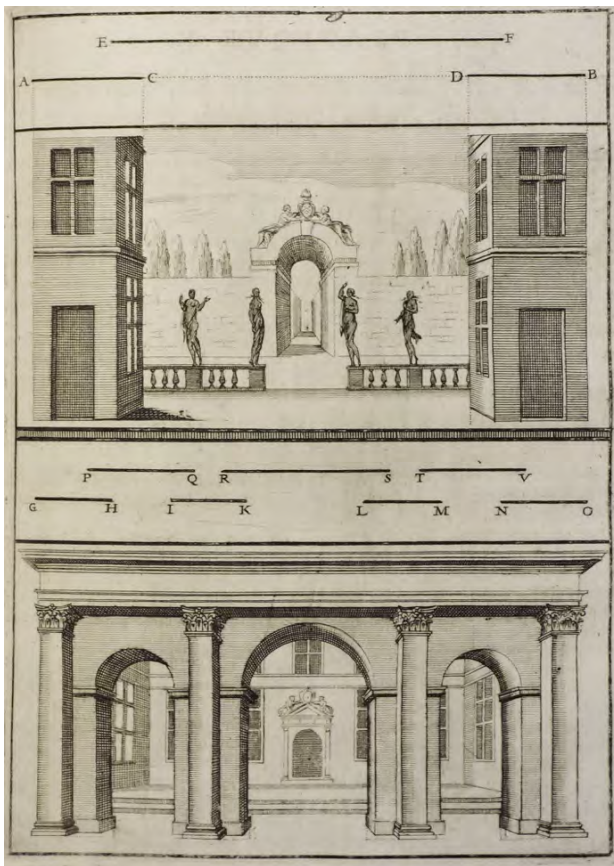


Fig. 1.3 Jean Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Paris, 1649, Traité IV, Pratique 1. Stage system of flat units.



Fig. 1.4 Jean Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité IV, Pratique 11. Combination stage system of *periaktoi* and flats.

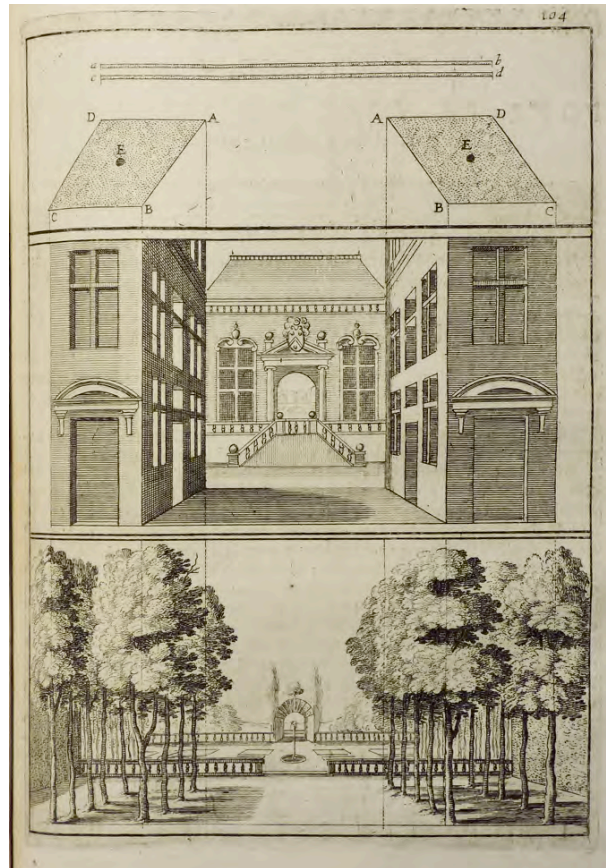


Fig. 1.5 Jean Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité IV, Pratique 12. Stage system of four-sided *periaktoi* and flat backing.





Fig. 1.6 Anon., *St Ignatius Writing the Constitutions*, engraving. Nicholas Lacinius et al., *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolæ Societatis Iesu Fundatoris*, Rome, 1609.



Fig. 1.7 Anon., *St Ignatius Celebrating the Eucharist*, engraving. Nicholas Lacinius et al., *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolæ Societatis Iesu Fundatoris*, Rome, 1609.



Fig. 1.8 Anon., after Peter Paul Rubens, *Vision of St Ignatius at La Storta*, engraving. Nicholas Lacinius et al., *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris*, Rome, 1609.



Fig. 1.9 Andrea Pozzo, *The Worldwide Mission of the Society of Jesus*, fresco detail, 1691-94, Sant' Ignazio, Rome.







Fig. 1.12 Anton Wierix, *Christ Questioned by the Judges*, engraving. *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, Antwerp,



Fig. 1.13 *Societatis Missiones Indicae*, engraving, *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu*, Antwerp, 1640.





Fig. 1.14 Cornelis Bloemart after Jan Miel, frontispiece to Daniello Bartoli's *Della Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignatio fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù*, Rome, 1659.

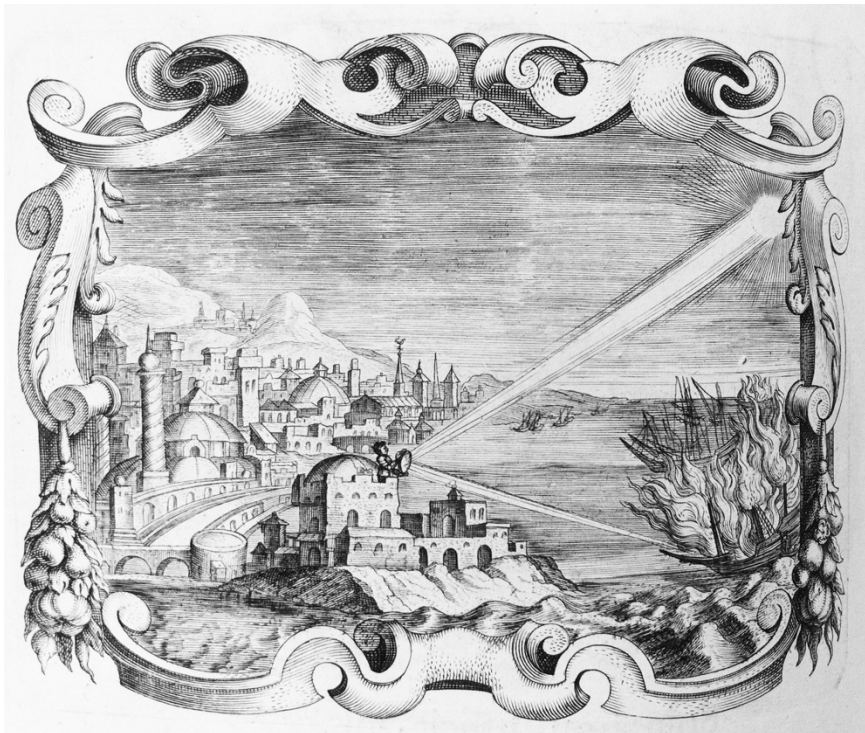


Fig. 1.15 'Ignatius è cathedra divini amores igne concionem inflammat. Caelestibus armis eminus expugnat.' Engraving, *Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu*, Antwerp, 1640.



Fig. 1.16 Andrea Pozzo, *The Worldwide Mission of the Society of Jesus*, fresco, detail of the angel with the mirror, c. 1691-94. Sant' Ignazio, Rome.



Fig. 1.17 Andrea Pozzo, *The Worldwide Mission of the Society of Jesus*, fresco, detail of angels stoking the flames, 1691-94. Sant' Ignazio, Rome.



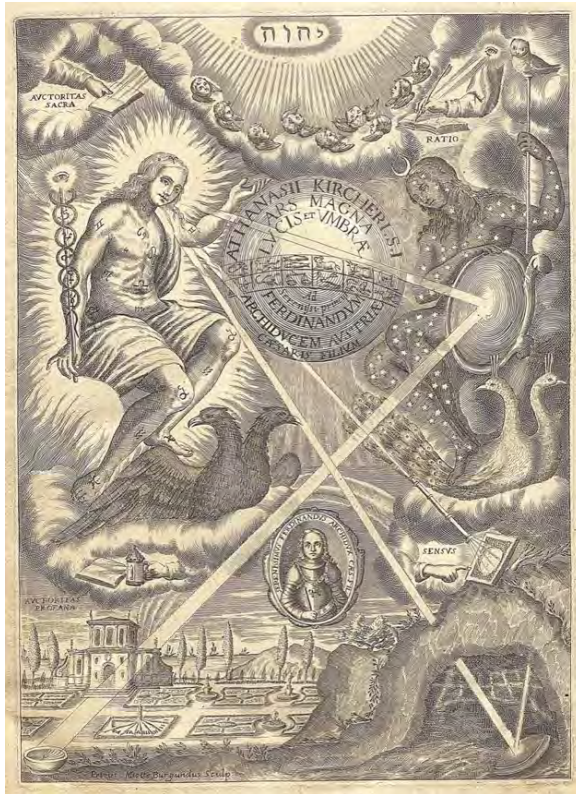


Fig. 1.18 Petrus Miotte Bergundus, frontispiece to Athanasius Kircher's *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, engraving, Amsterdam, 1671 (orig. Rome, 1646).

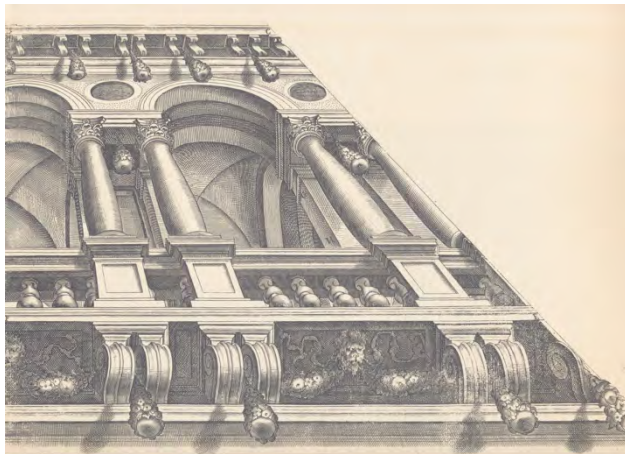


Fig. 1.19 Vignola, *Le due Regole della Prospettiva Pratica*, Rome, 1583, 'Il Modo di fare le prospettive nei palchi.' Design by Tommaso Laureti.

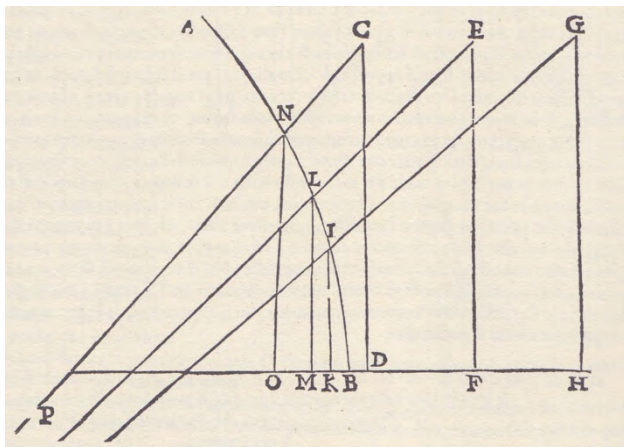


Fig. 1.20 Vignola, *Le due Regole della Prospettiva Pratica*, 1583, 'Il modo di dipingere le prospettive nelle volte.'



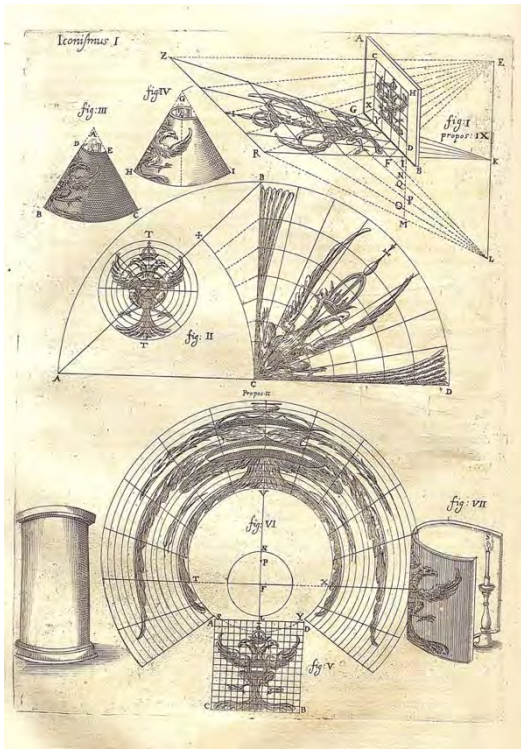


Fig. 1.21 Anasthasius Kircher, *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, 1646. Book II, Part II, 'Ars Sciagraphica,' Iconismus I.

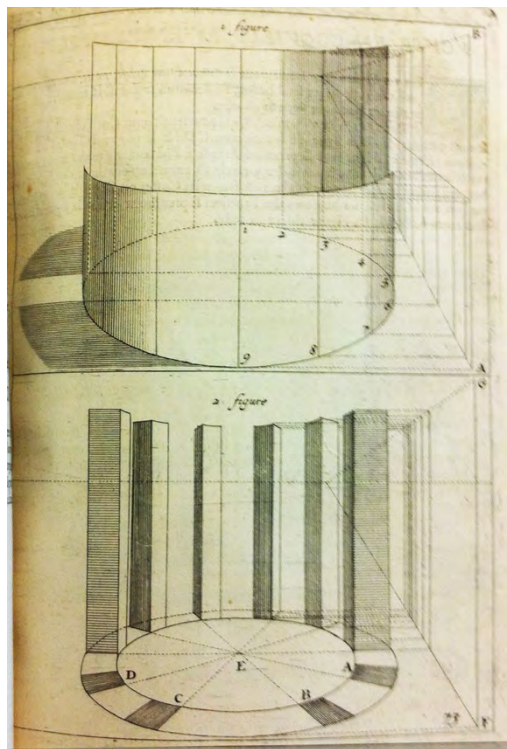


Fig. 1.22 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Part I, 1642, Pratique 73.

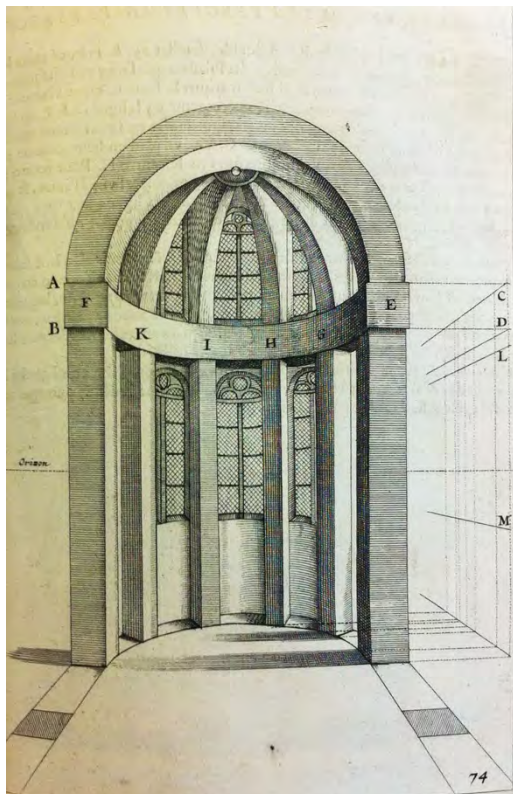


Fig. 1.23 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Part I, 1642, Pratique 74.

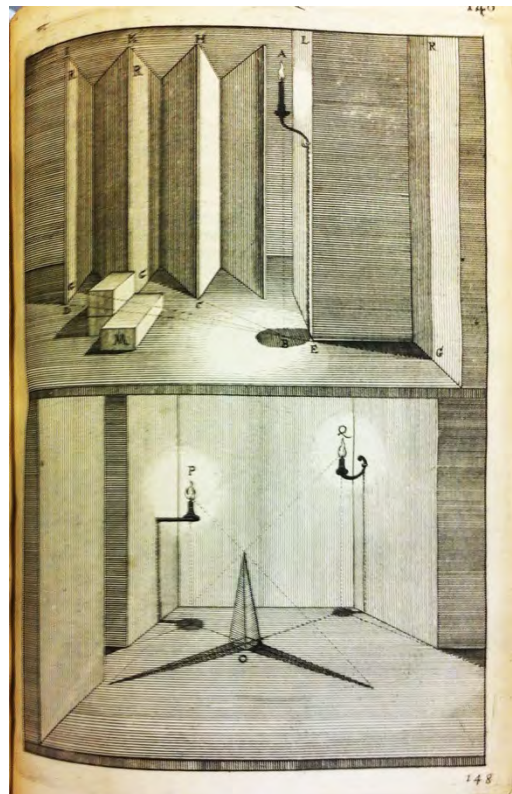


Fig. 1.24 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Part I, 1642, Pratique 148.



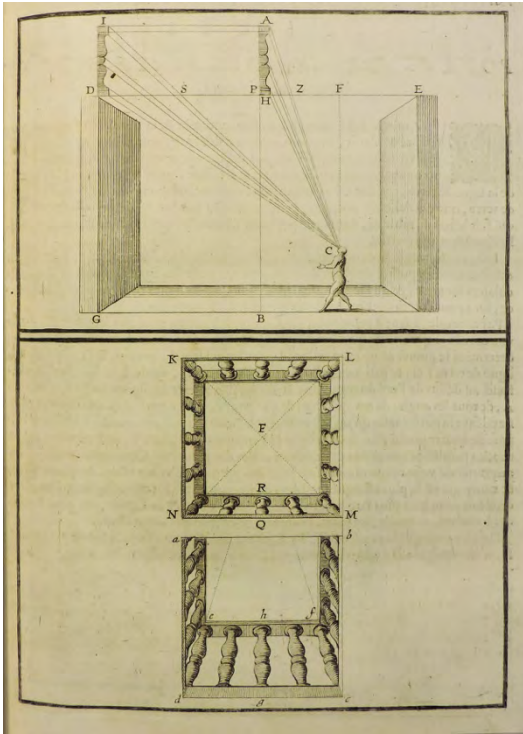


Fig. 1.25 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Avis 8.

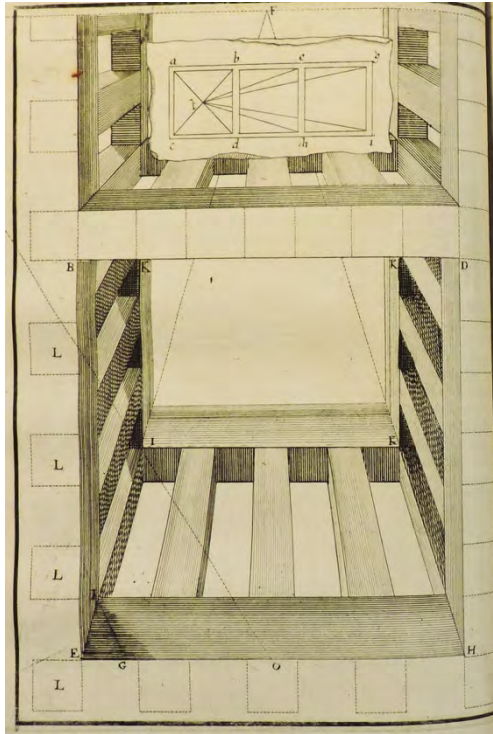


Fig. 1.26 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 8.

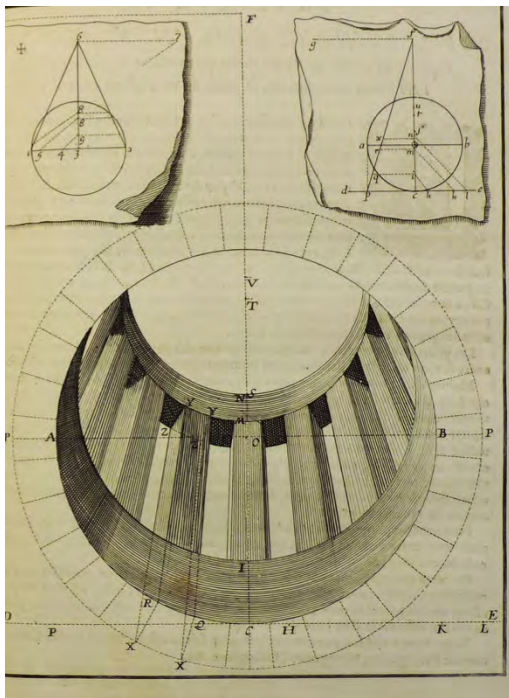


Fig. 1.27 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 8.

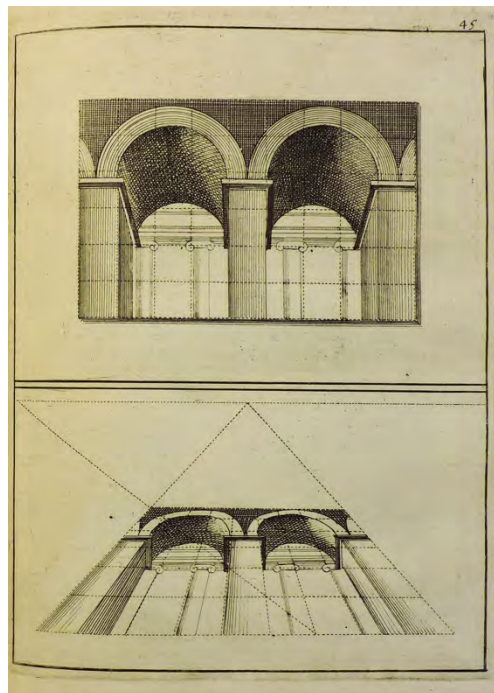


Fig. 1.28 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 35.

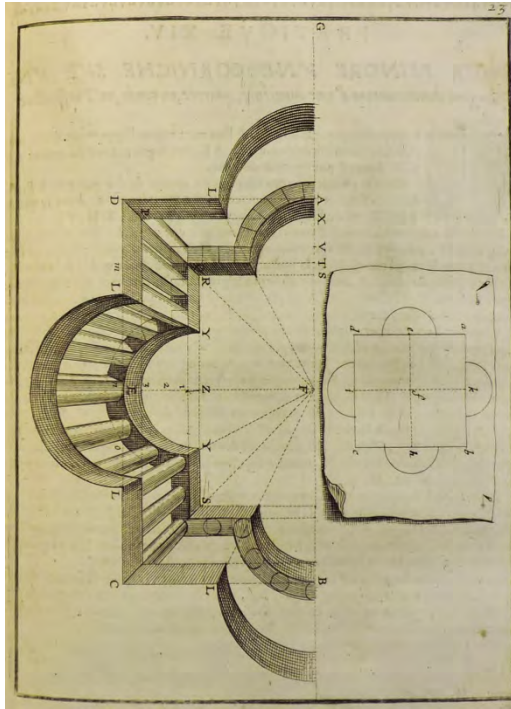


Fig. 1.29 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 13.

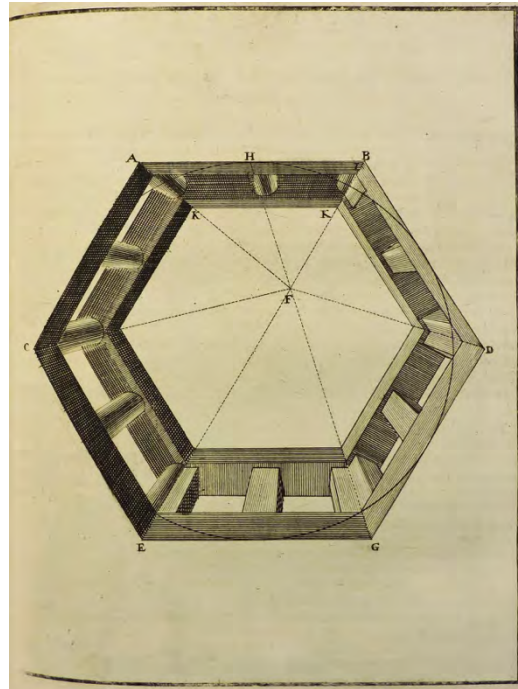


Fig. 1.30 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 25.

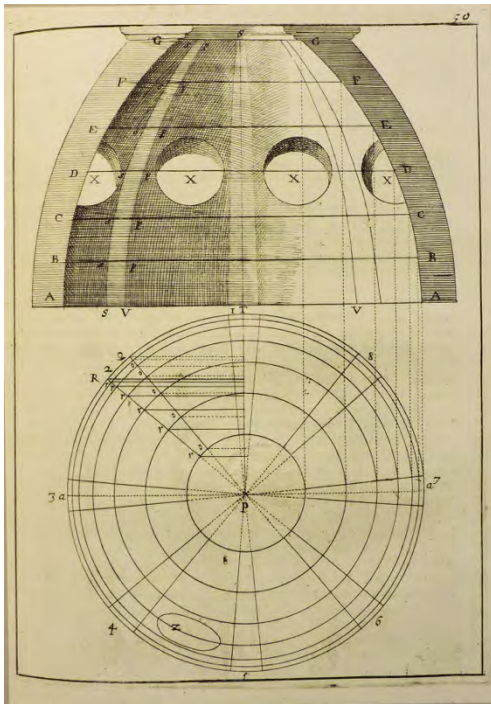


Fig. 1.31 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 40.



Fig. 1.32 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité I, Pratique 38.



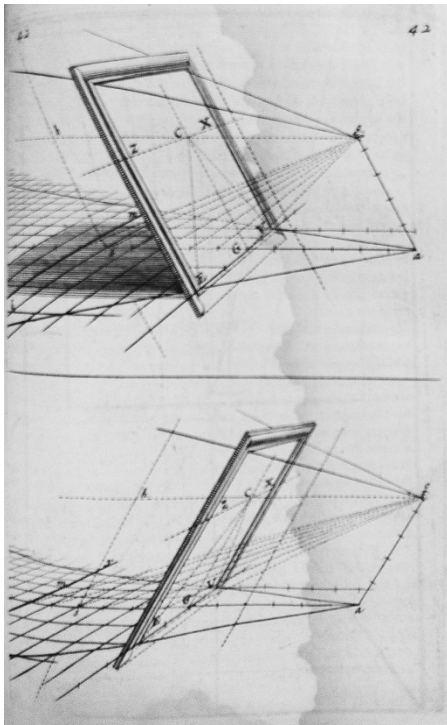


Fig. 1.33 Abraham Bosse, *Le Maniere Universelle de Mr. Desargues, pour pratiquer la Perspective. . .*, Paris, 1648 Part I, Fig. 42.

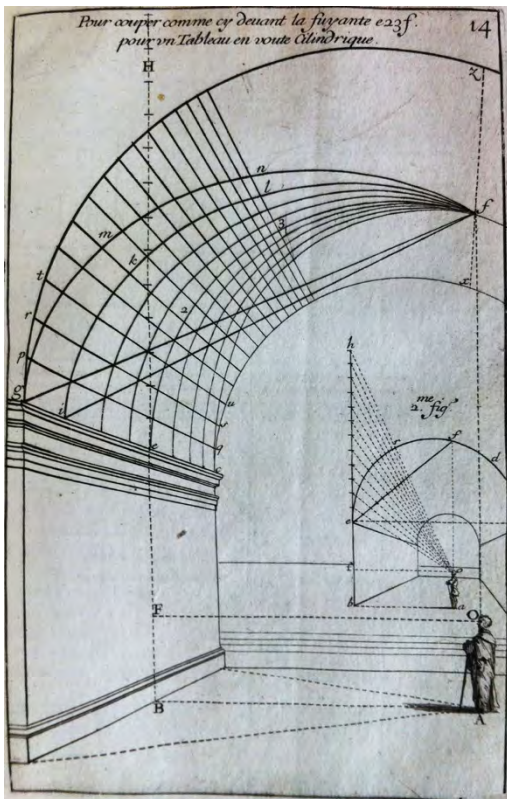


Fig. 1.34 Bosse, *Moyen Universel pour Pratiquer la Perspective. . .* 1653. Figure. 14: establishing a perspective system on a curved vault .

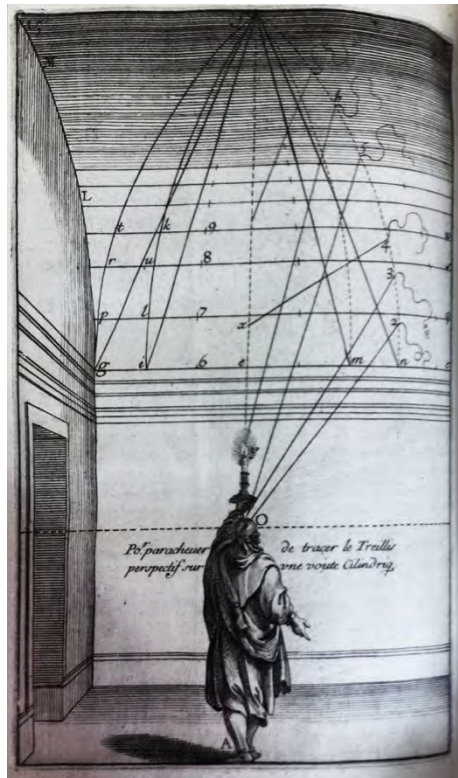


Fig. 1.35 Bosse, *Moyen Universel pour Pratiquer la Perspective. . .* 1653. Fig. 15: method of projecting a grid onto a curved vault.

## Images: Chapter 2

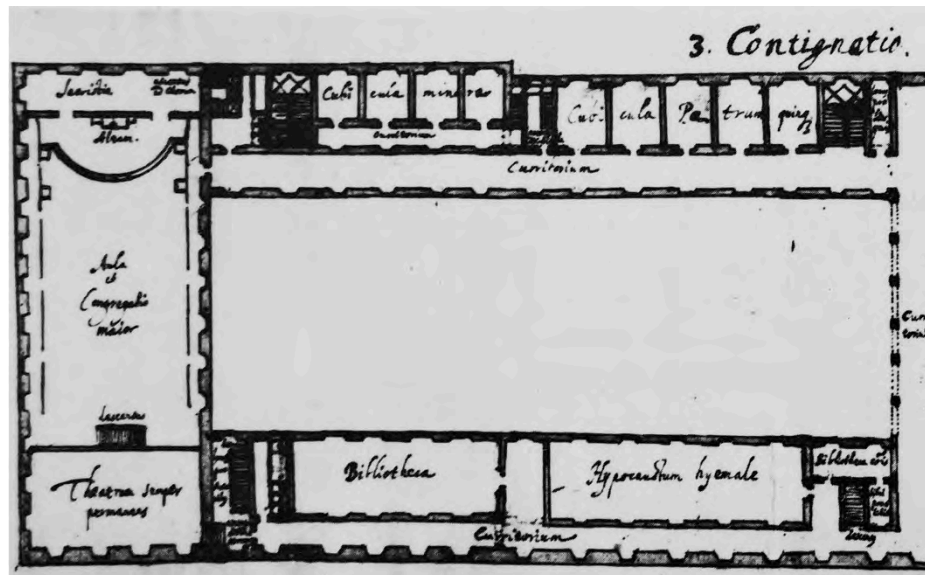


Fig. 2.1 Plan of the third floor of the Jesuit College, Trent, c. 1686-90. On the far left: *aula et Congregatio maior* and *theatrum semper permanens*.





Fig. 2.2 M. Gardini, *Entrance of the New Archbishop Cesare Monti, 19 April 1635*, engraving, c. 1636.



Fig. 2.3 Lorenzo Binago and Francesco Maria Richino, *Church of Sant'Alessandro in Zebedia, Milan*. Begun 1601.





Fig. 2.4 *Theatrum temporaneum*, 1635. Allegories of the seasons for Cesare Monti, Church of St Alessandro, Milan. Left: *Spring*. Right: *Summer*.



Fig. 2.5 *Theatrum temporaneum . . . Caesaris Montii*, 1635. Allegories of the seasons, for Cesare Monti, Church of St Alessandro, Milan. Left: *Autumn*. Right: *Winter*.





Fig. 2.6 Porta Romana, Milan. Orig. 1596.

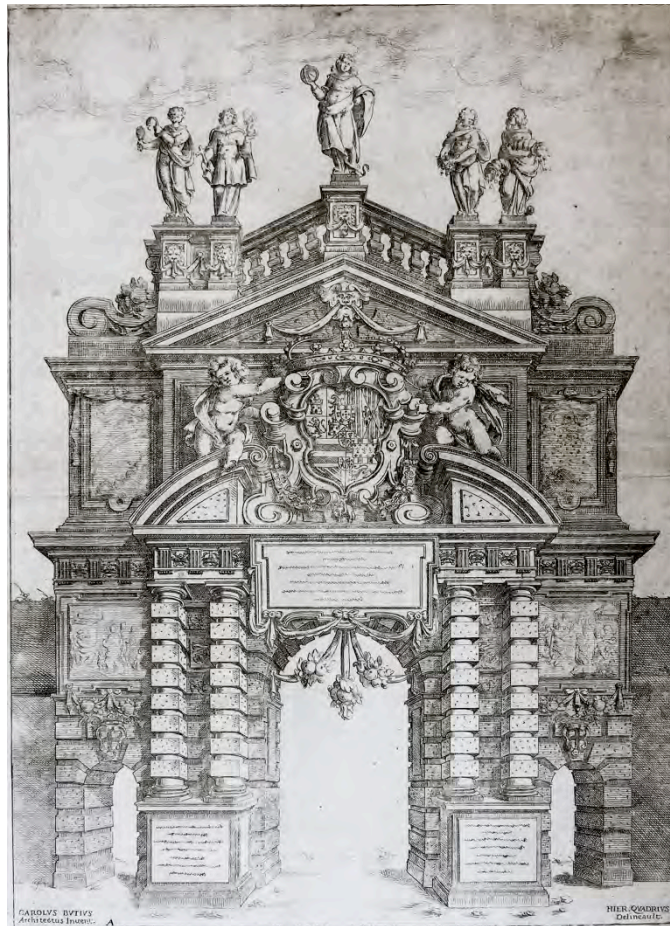


Fig. 2.7 Carolus Butius, first triumphal arch for Maria Anna of Austria, Porta Romana, engraving, *La Pompa. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 1651.



Fig. 2.8 Gian Cristoforo Storer, *Rachel Being Received as Wife of Jacob*, decoration for the Porta Romana, engraving, *La Pompa. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 1651.



Fig. 2.9 Gian Cristoforo Storer, *The Queen of Sheba at the Throne of Solomon*, decoration for the Porta Romana, engraving, *La pompa. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 1651.

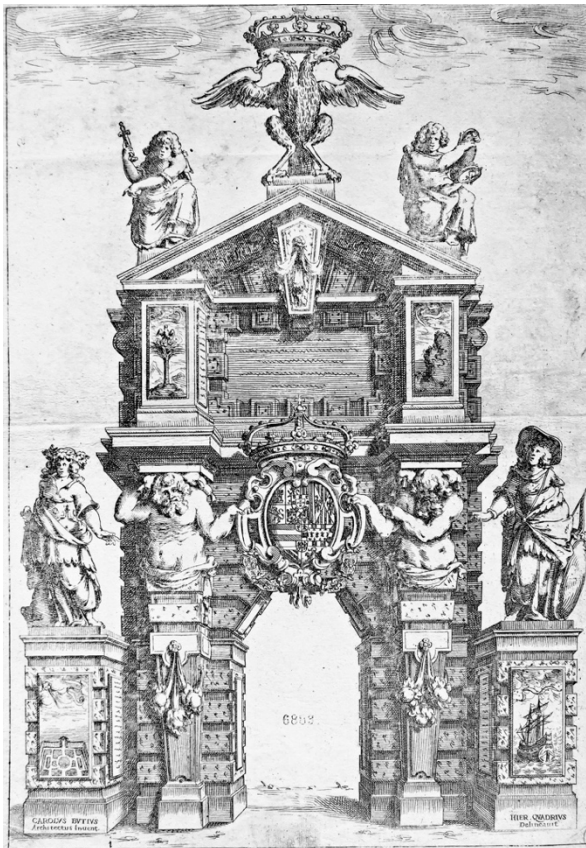


Fig. 2.10 Carolus Butius, third triumphal arch for Maria Anna of Austria, engraving, *La Pompa. . . Maria Anna Austriaca*, 1651.



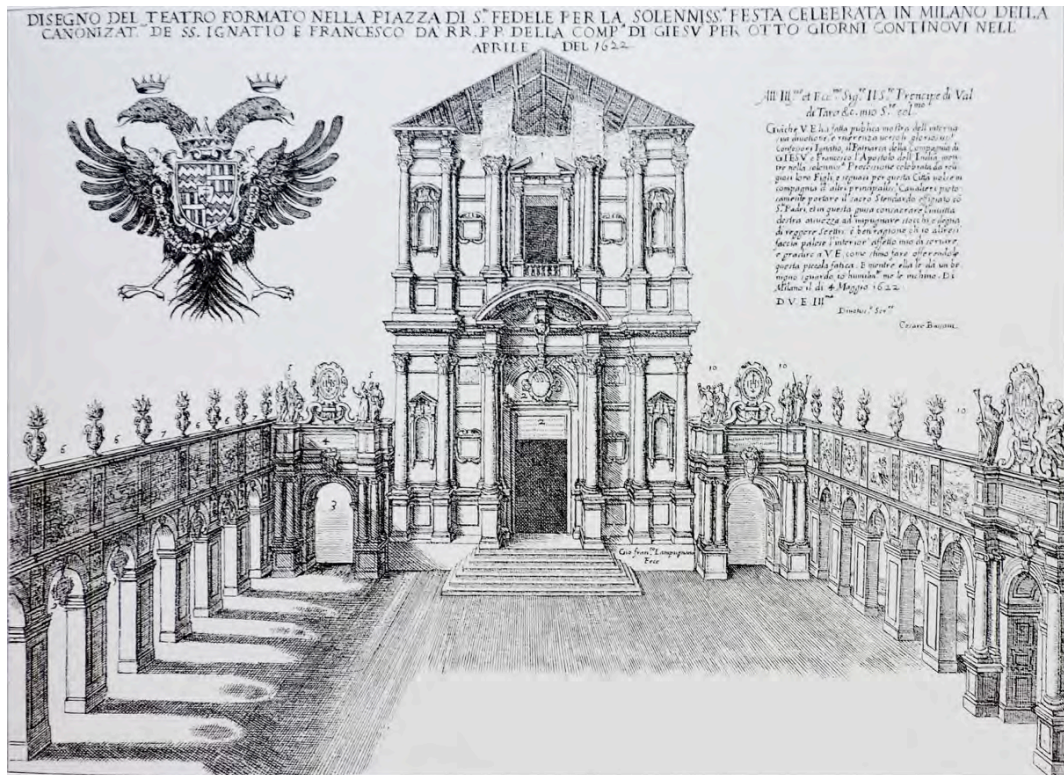


Fig. 2.11 Giovanni Francesco Lampugnano, *teatro* constructed in front of the church of San Fedele, engraving. Design by Aurelio Trezzo. *Breve Relatione. . . Canonizatione de' Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio. . .* 1622.



Fig. 2.12 Galeazzo Alessi, Santa Maria presso San Celso, Milan. 1568-70.



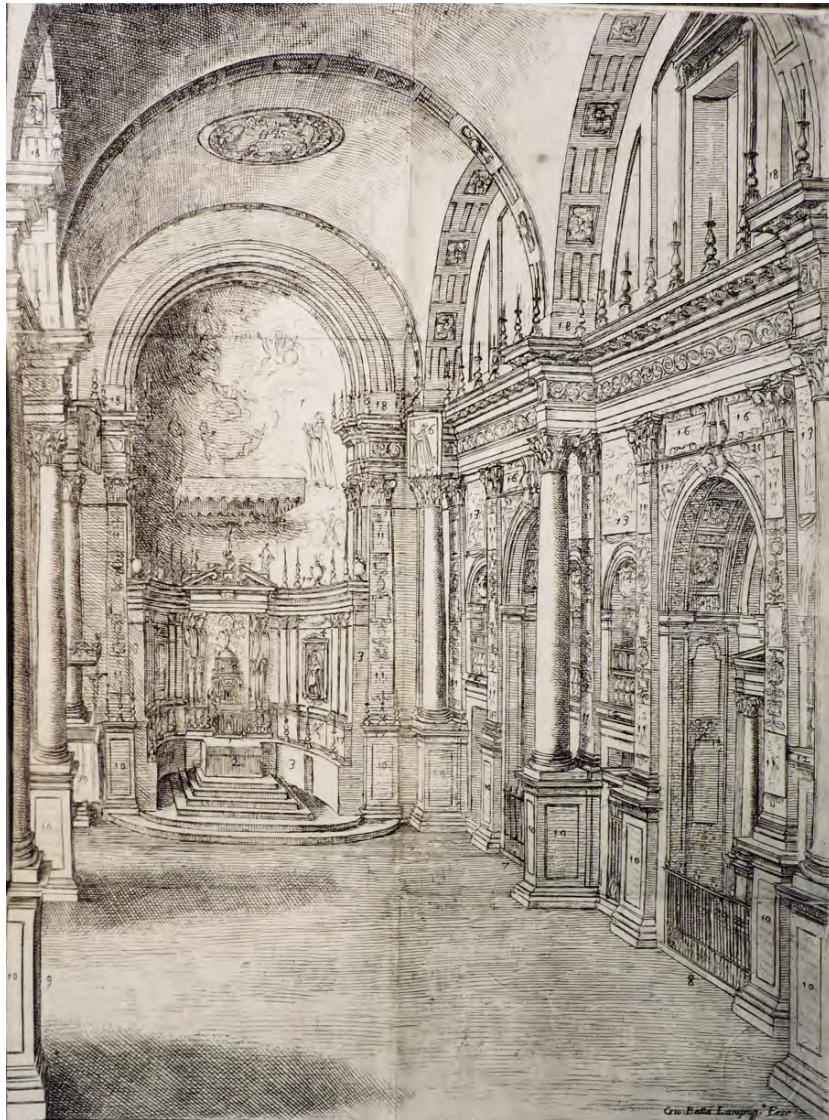


Fig. 2.13 Giovanni Battista Lampugnano, interior of San Fedele, engraving, *Breve Relatione. . . Canonizzazione de' Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio. . .* 1622.



Fig. 2.14 Giovanni Francesco Lampugnano, processional float representing Poetry, engraving, *Breve Relatione. . . Canonizatione de' Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio. . .* 1622.

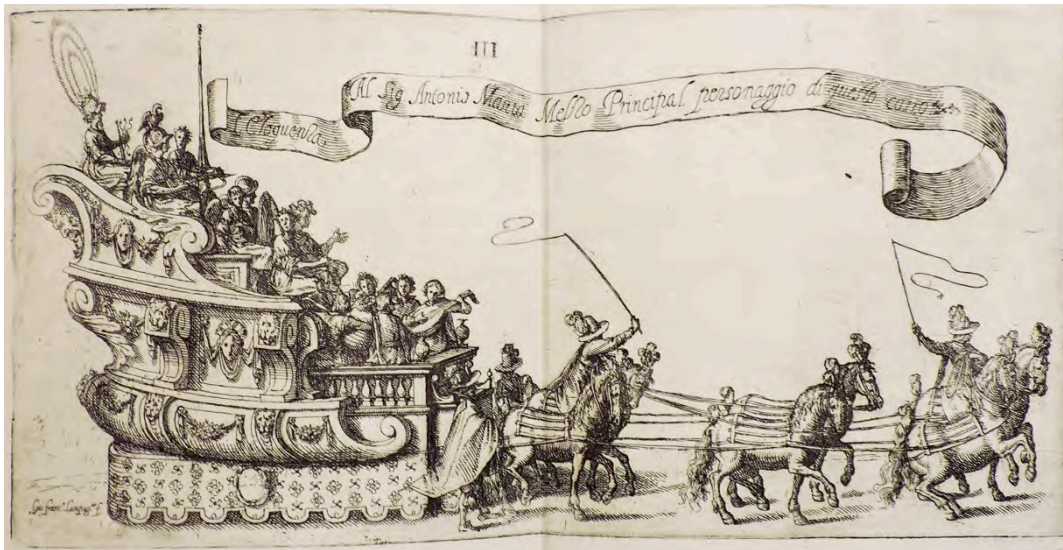


Fig. 2.15 Giovanni Francesco Lampugnano, processional float representing Eloquence, engraving, *Breve Relatione. . . Canonizatione de' Santi Ignatio Loyola. . . e Francesco Saverio. . .* 1622.



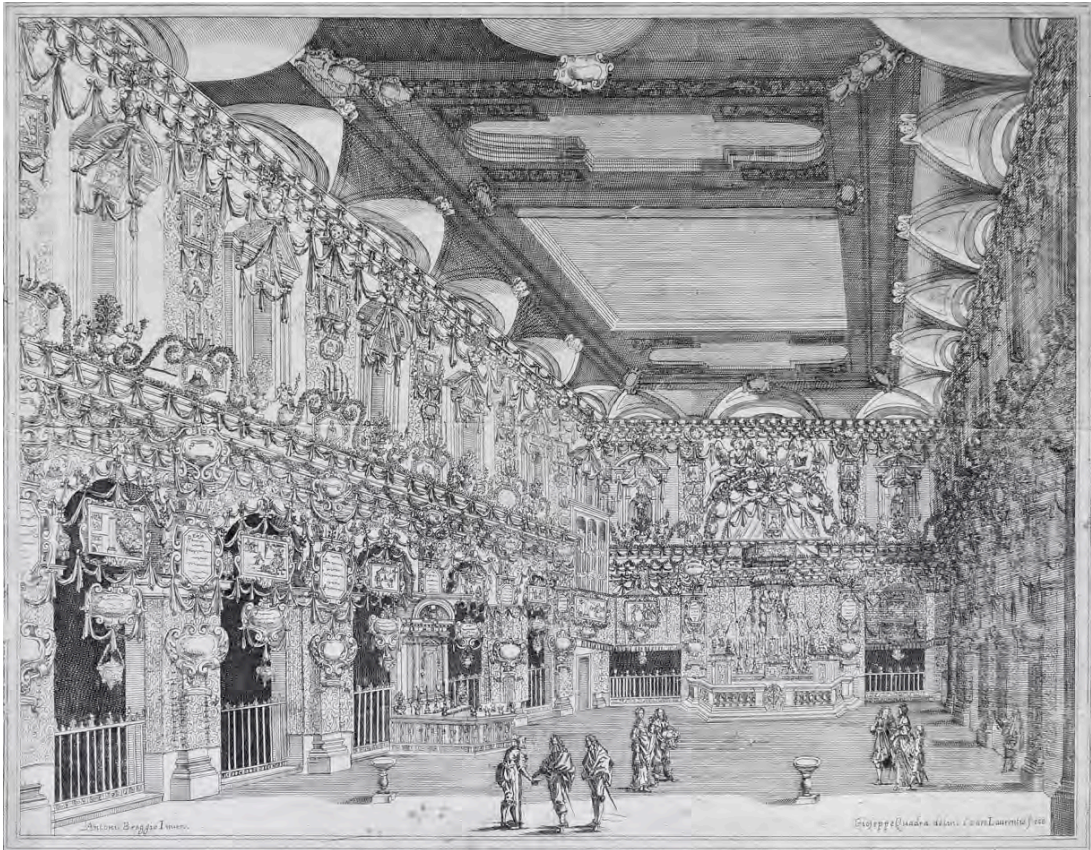


Fig. 2.16 Giuseppe Quadra and Cesare Laurentio, after design by Antonio Broggio, scenography in Santa Maria dei Servi, Milan for the canonisation of Filippo Benizzi, engraving, 1671.

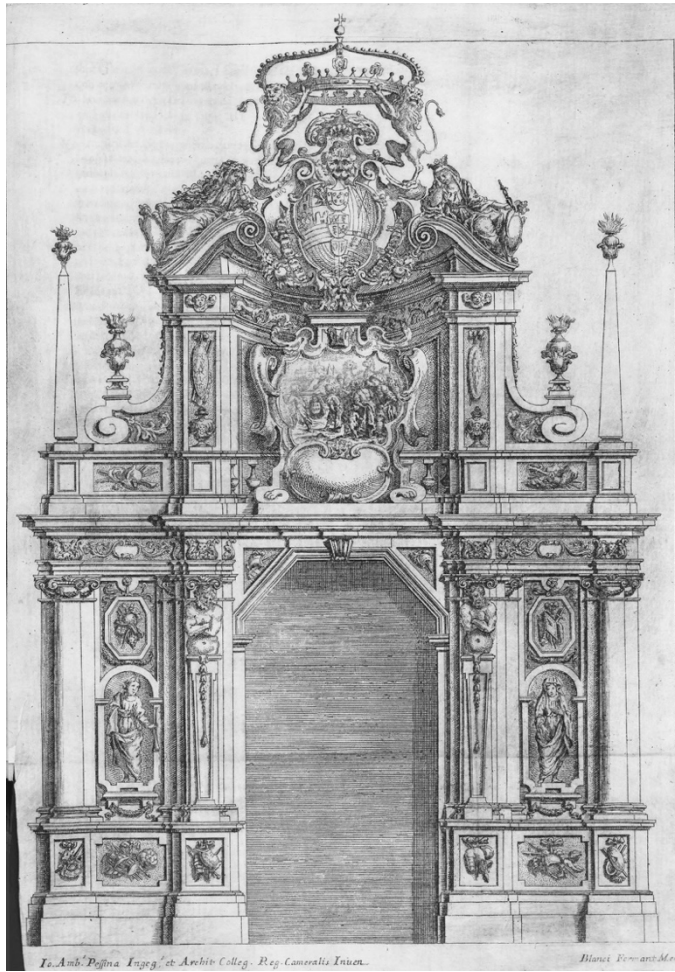


Fig. 2.17 Ambrogio Pessina, Triumphal Arch for the Main Door the Duomo. Funeral of Philip IV, engraving, Barella, *Esequie Reali*. . . 1665.



Fig. 2.18 Decorations for the nave of the Duomo, Milan, for the funeral of Philip IV, engraving, Barella, *Esequie Reali*. . . 1665.



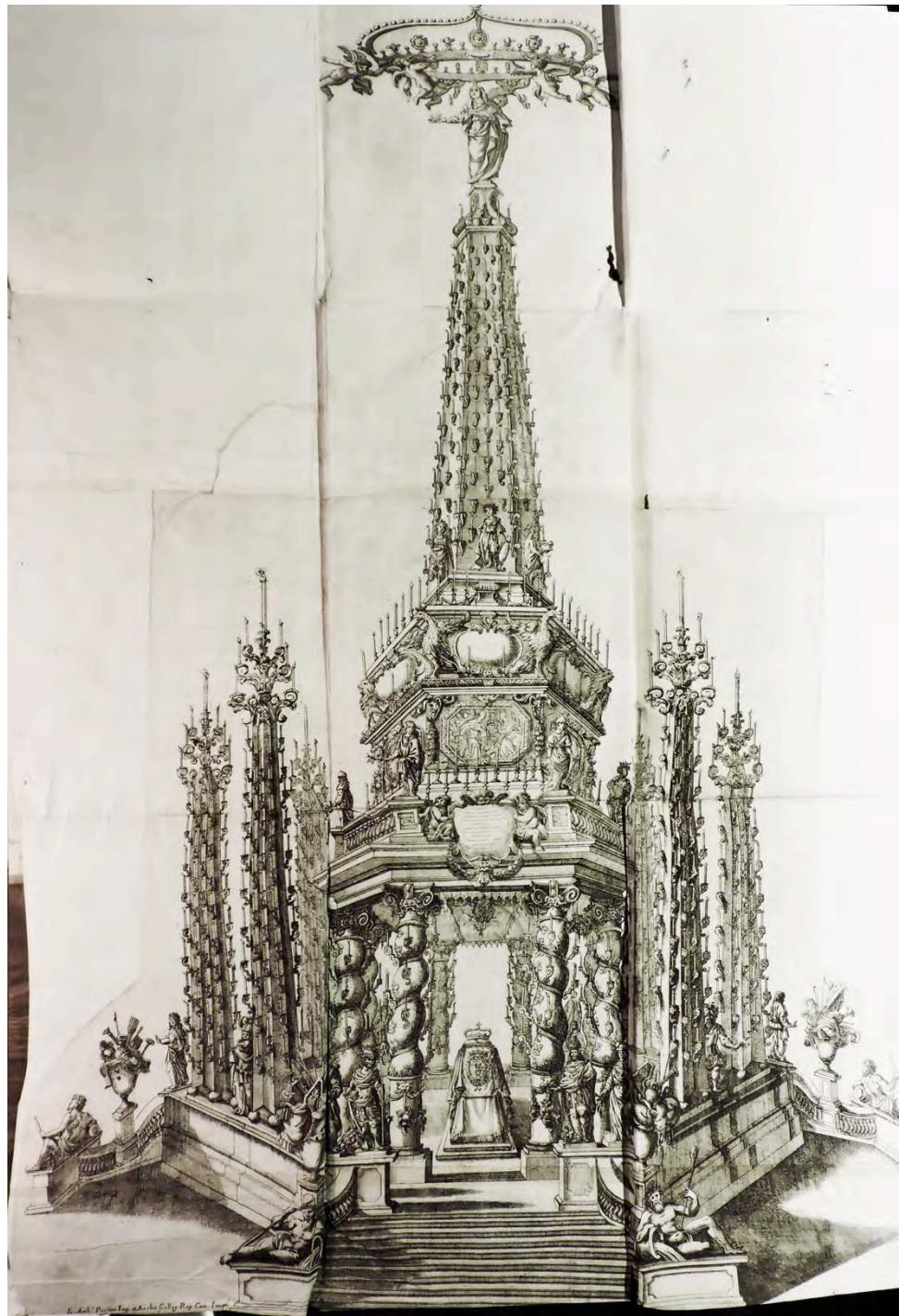


Fig. 2.19 Ambrogio Pessina, funeral catafalque for Philip IV. Duomo, Milan, engraving, Barella, *Esequie Reali*. . . 1665



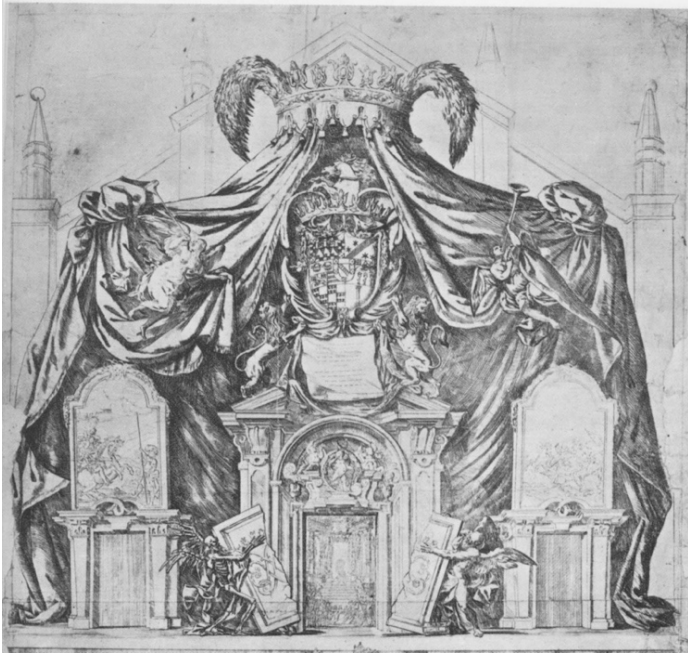


Fig. 2.20 Cesare Fiori:  
Facade of Santa Maria  
della Scala for the funeral  
of the Duchess of Uceda  
by Giovanni Battista  
Paggi, engraving, Barella,  
*Teatro della gloria*. . .

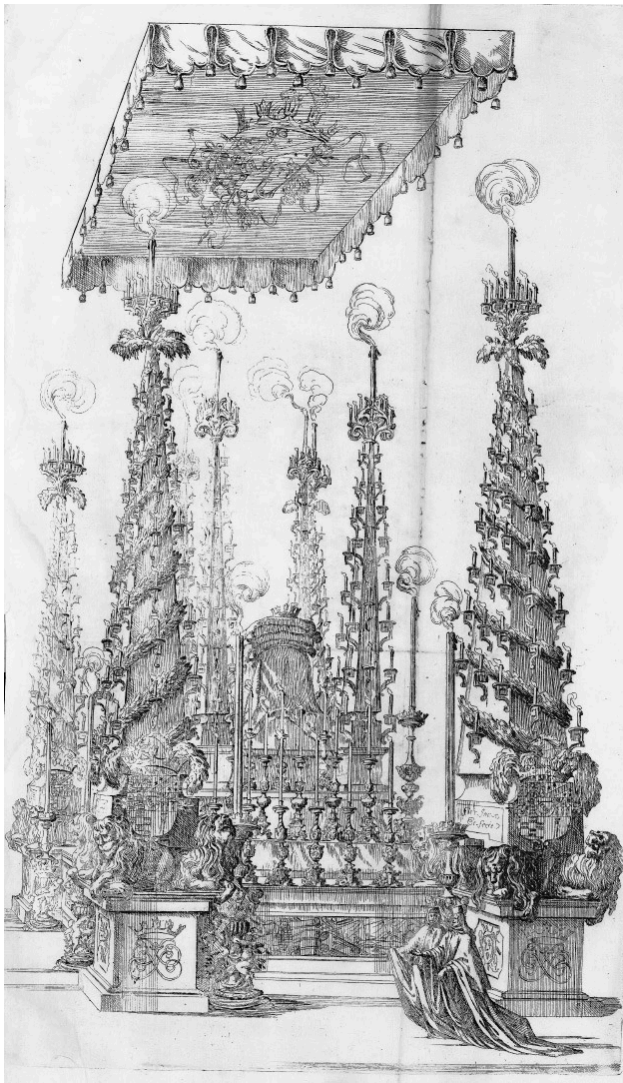


Fig. 2.21 Cesare Fiori, funeral  
catafalque for the Duchess of  
Uceda by Giovanni Battista  
Paggi, engraving, Barella,  
*Teatro della gloria*. . . 1671.

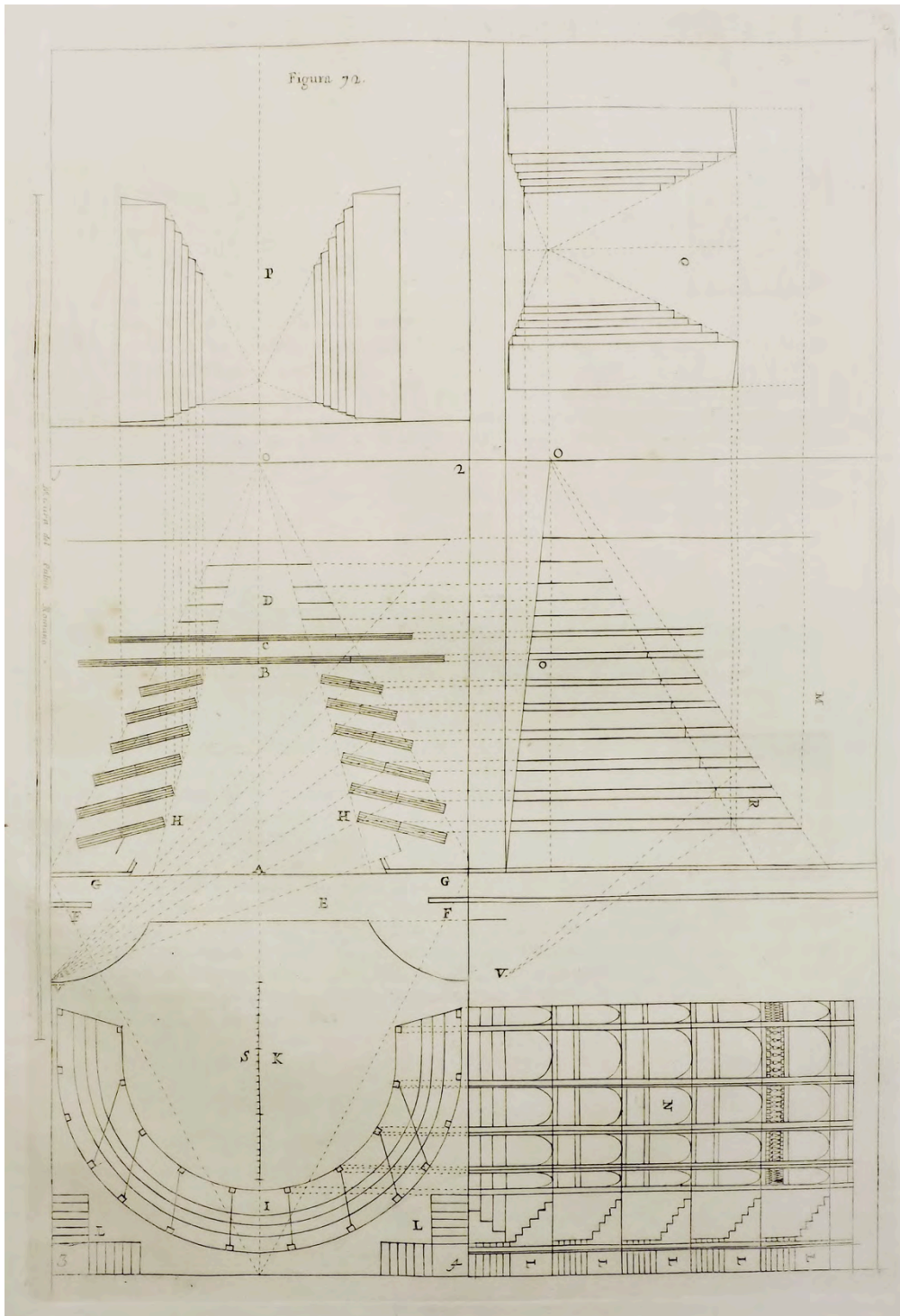


Fig. 2.22 Andrea Pozzo, *Persepectiva I*, 1693, Fig. 72, *De' Teatri Comici*.



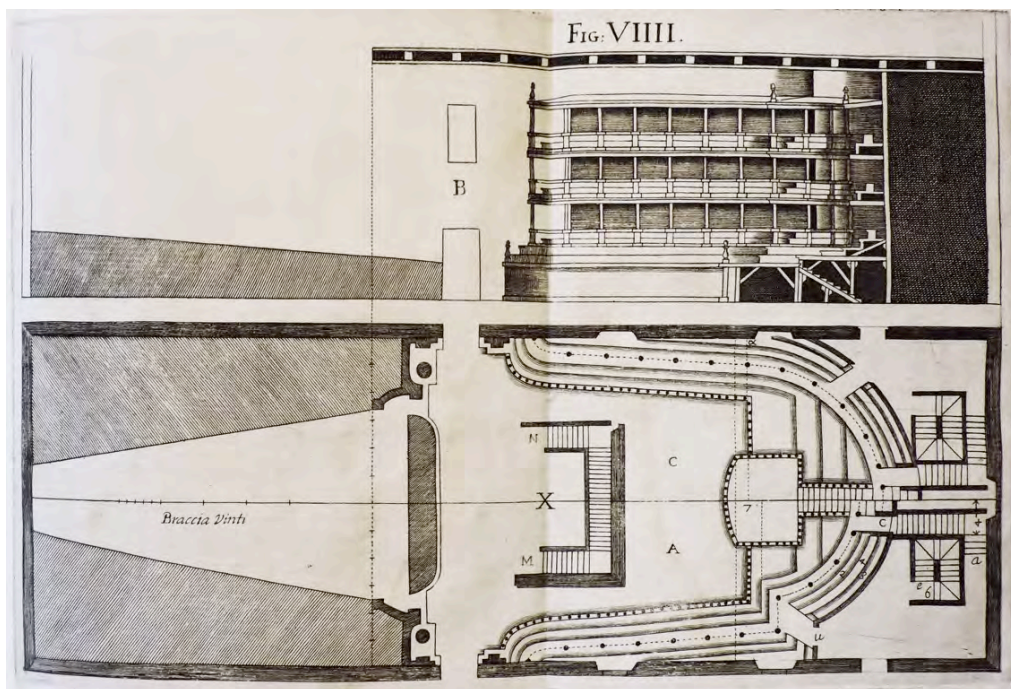
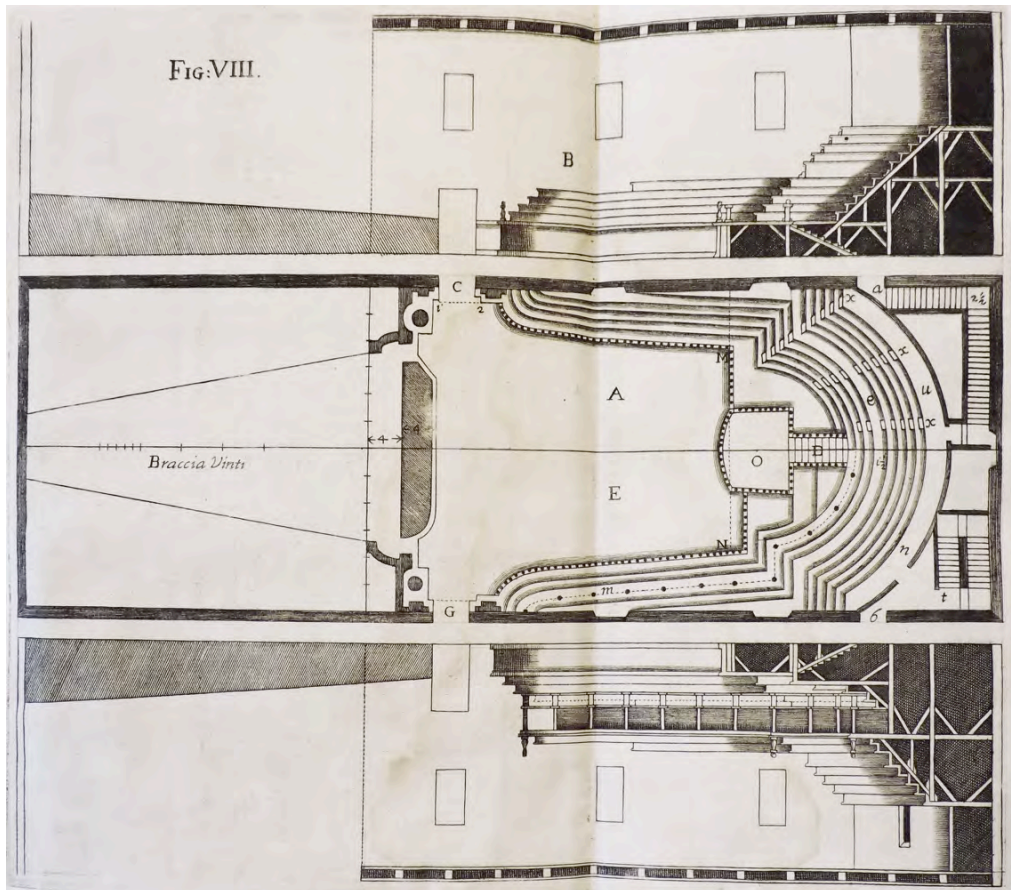


Fig. 2.23 Fabrizio Carini Motta, *Trattato sopra la struttura de' teatri e scene*, 1676. Plans and elevations of a theatre.



Fig. 2.24 Cesare Laurenzino, stage of the court theatre, Milan, engraving, 1671. Set design by Pietro Mani for *La felicità rinvenuta*.





Fig. 2.25 'A forest,' set design for Carlo Maria Maggi, *The Triumph of Augustus in Egypt*, engraving, 1672.



Fig. 2.26 'A sacked city,' set design for Carlo Maria Maggi, *The Triumph of Augustus in Egypt*, engraving, 1672.

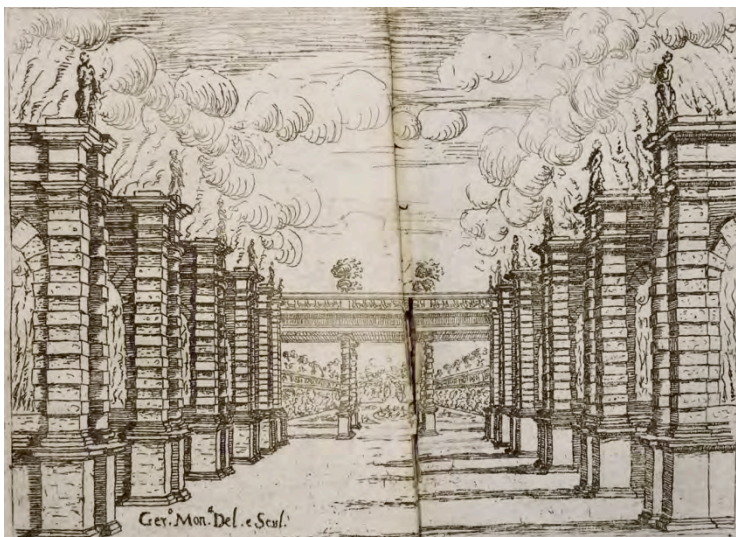


Fig. 2.27 'The Palace of Pluto,' set design for Carlo Maria Maggi, *The Triumph of Augustus in Egypt*, engraving, 1672.



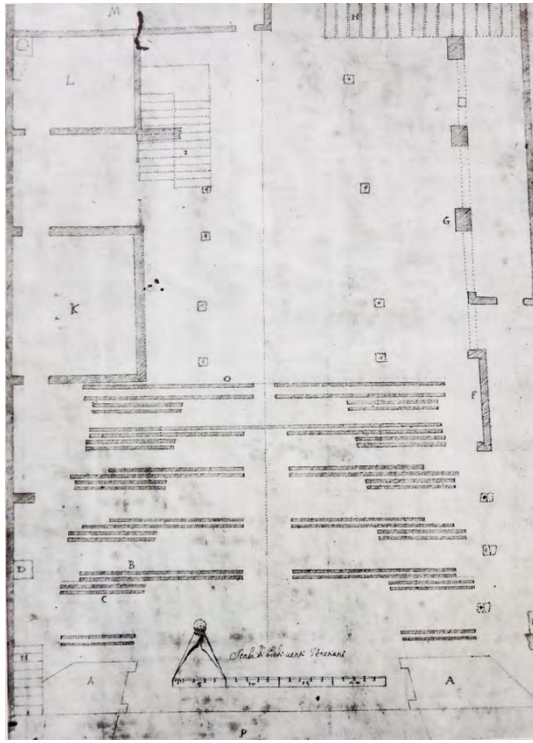


Fig. 2.28 Plan of the stage of the Teatro Vendramin, Venice. Before 1675.

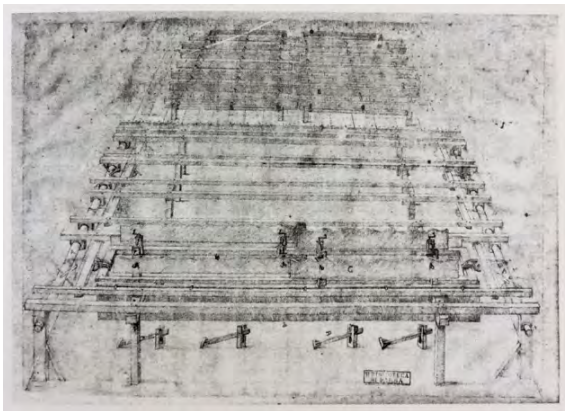
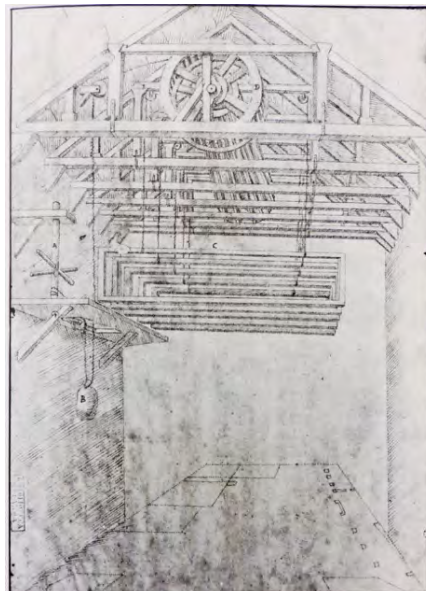
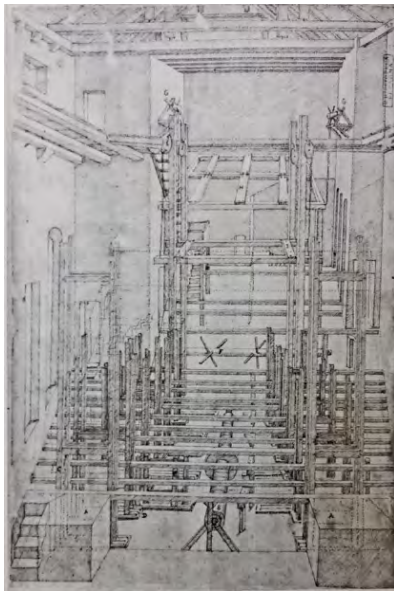


Fig. 2.29 Stage machinery of the Teatro Vendramin, Venice. Before 1675.

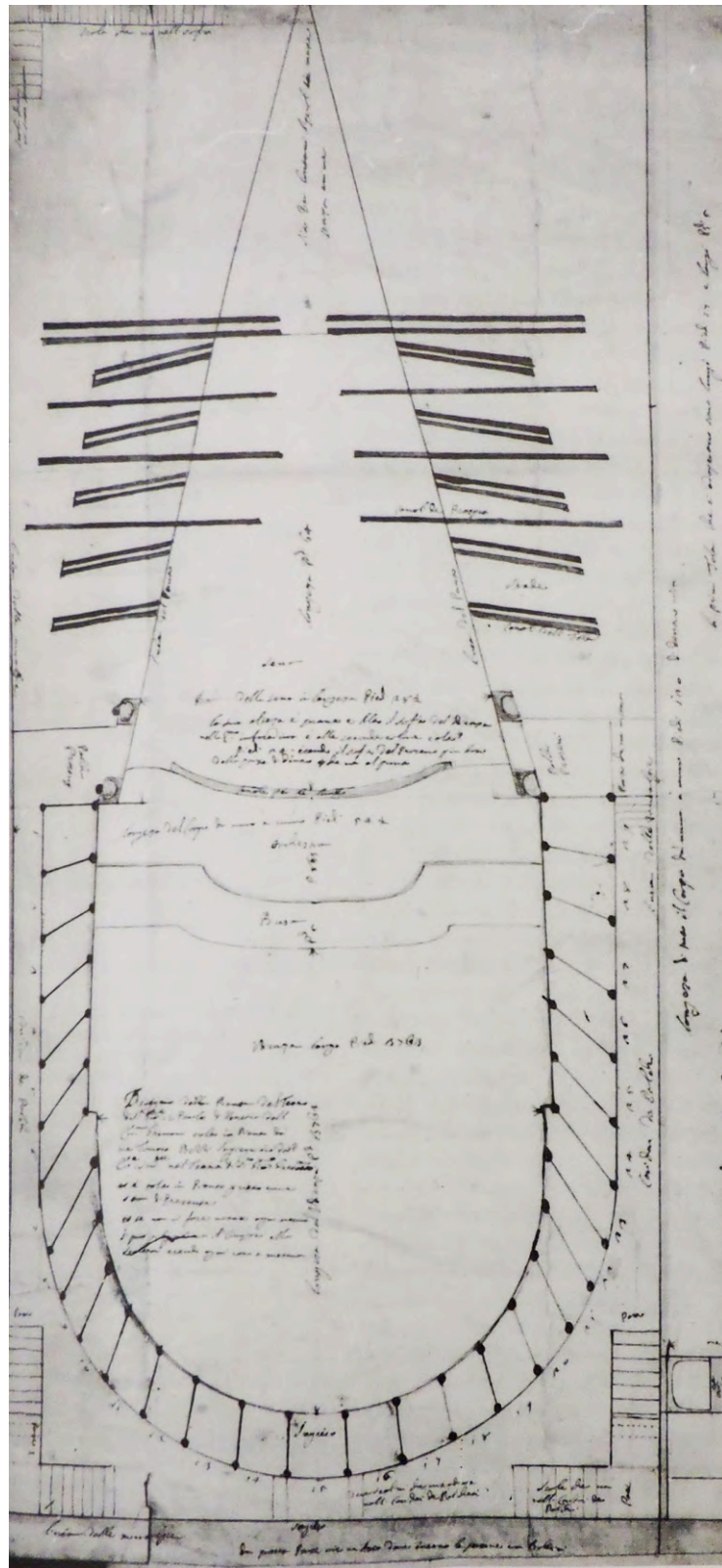


Fig. 2.30 Carlo Fontana, plan of Teatro Grimani ai Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, 1691-93.



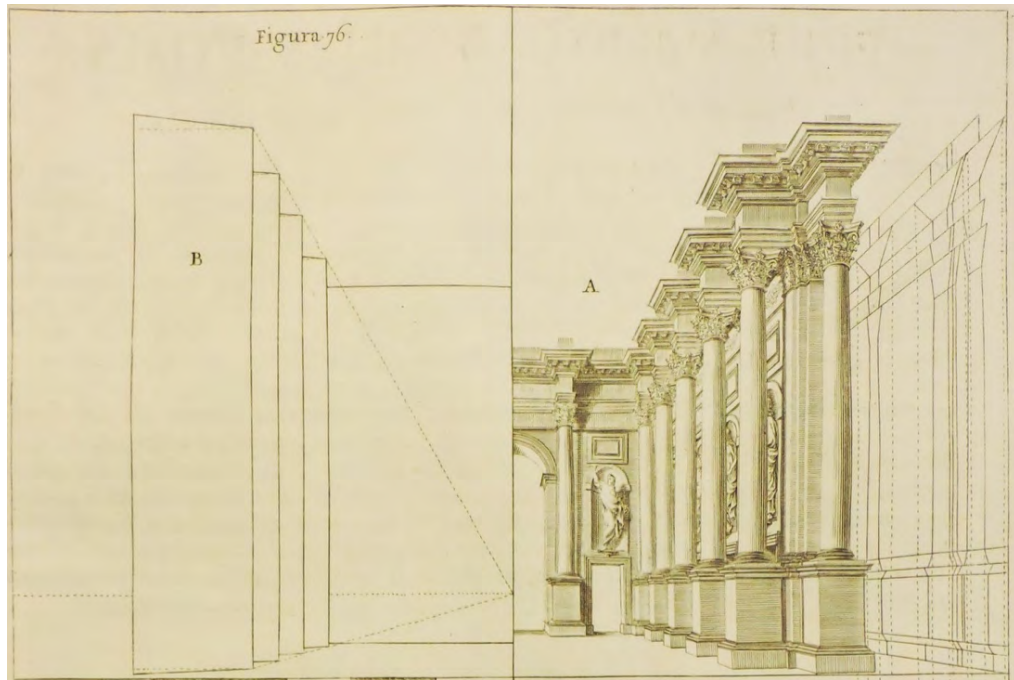


Fig. 2.31. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 76, *Modo di fare il disegno delle scene.*



Fig. 2.32 Giacomo Torelli, Scene from *Venere Gelosa*, engraving from *Apparati Scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo di Venezia nell'anno 1644.*



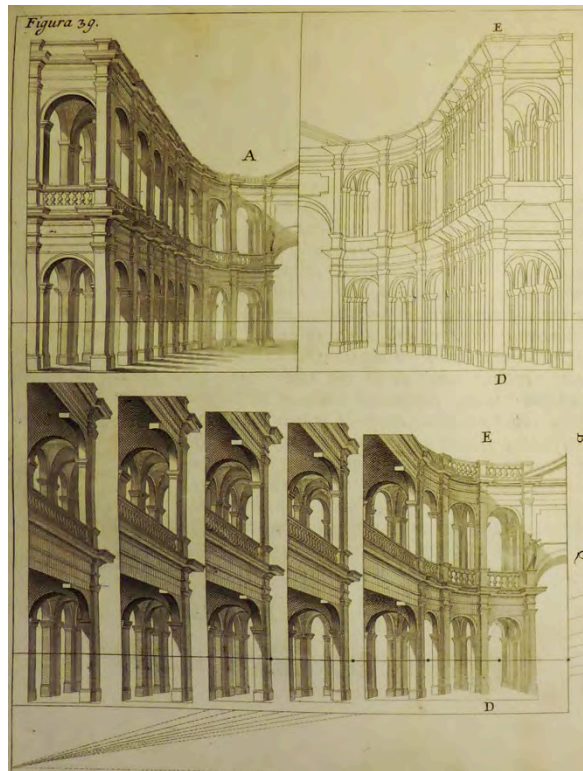


Fig. 2.33 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 39, *Teatro di Cortile*.



Fig. 2.34 Giacomo Torelli, Act I Scene 4, 'Courtyard,' engraving from *Bellerofonte*, 1642, *Apparati Scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo di Venezia nell'anno 1644*.



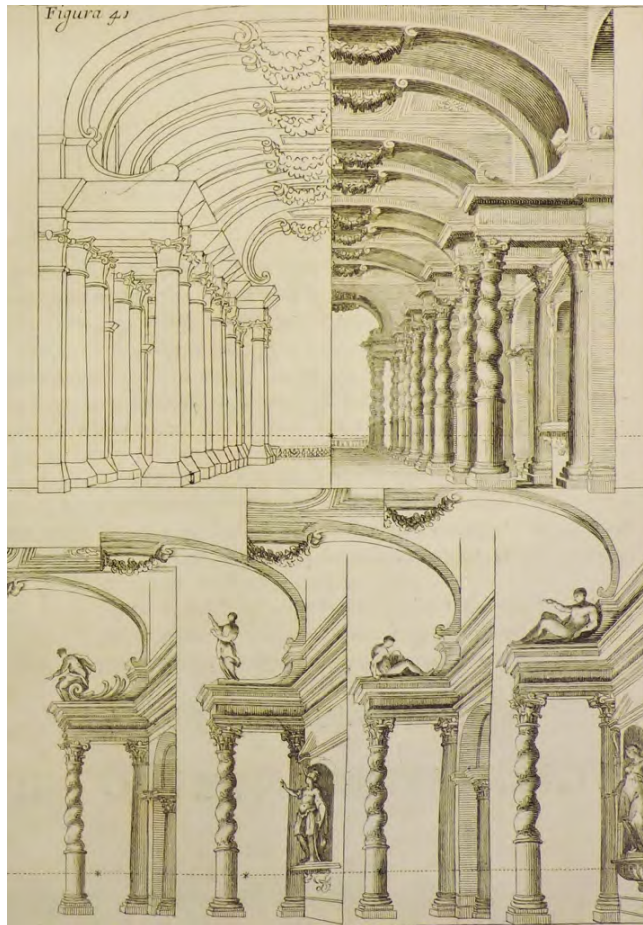


Fig. 2.35 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 41, *Teatro di Galleria*.

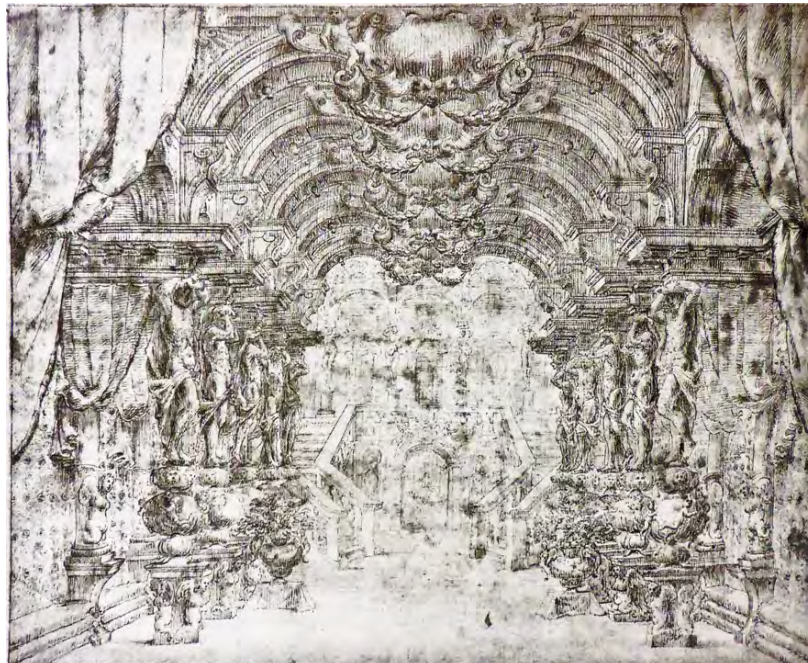


Fig. 2.36 Giovanni Battista Lambranzi, *Salone regio*, Act I of *Eteocle e Polinice* of G. Legranzi, 1675.

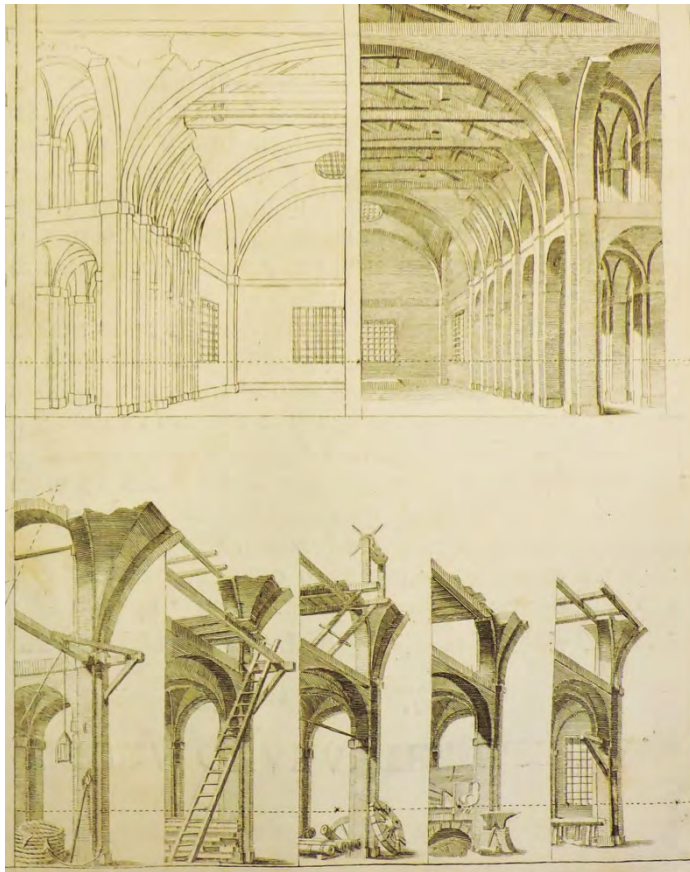


Fig. 2.37. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 40, *Teatro di Arsenale*.



Fig. 2.38 Buildings of the Arsenale, Venice.



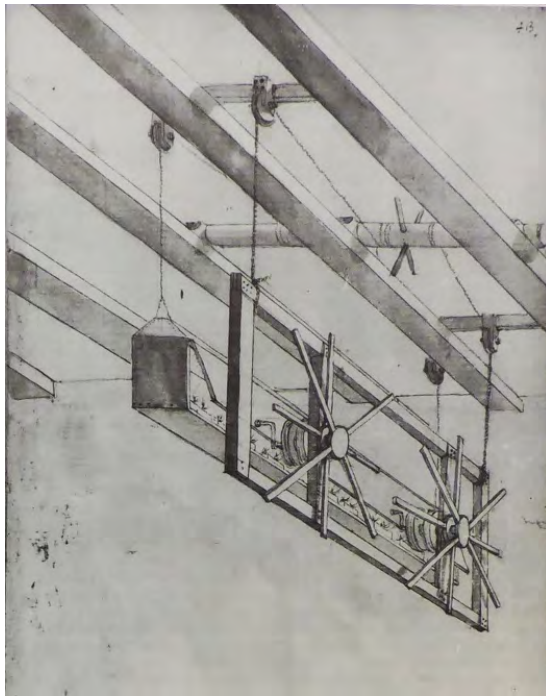


Fig. 2.39 Lighting system, Teatro San Luca, Venice. c. 1675

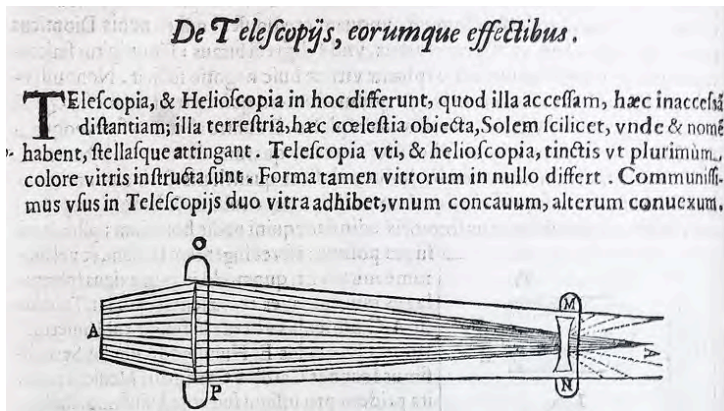
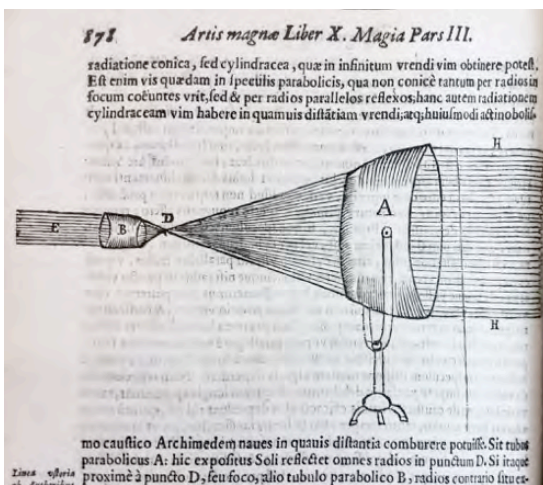


Fig. 2.40 Kircher, 'Of telescopes.' *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, 1646, Book X, Part II, *Magia Parastatica*, Chapter VIII, 1646.



2.41 Kircher, 'Of the Archimedes mirror.' *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae*, 1646, Book X, Part III, *Magia Catoptrica*, Chapter I.



Fig. 2.42. Andrea Pozzo,  
*L'Immacolata*, Oil on canvas,  
1671-72. Church of Ss. Ambrogio  
e Andrea, Genoa.



Fig. 2.43 Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Fedele, Milan, 1569-79.





Fig. 2.44 Michelangelo, Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri, Rome, 1562-64.



Fig. 2.45. Bramante, Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan, 1472-82.





Fig. 2.46. San Lorenzo, Maggiore, Milan, c. 400. Dome rebuilt 1619.



Fig. 2.47 Francesco Maria Ricchini, Accademia di Brera (Collegio di Brera), Milan, 1615-28.

## Images: Chapter 3



Fig. 3.1 Giovanale Boetto, San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì. 1665-75.





Fig. 3.2 Giovenale Boetto, Church of Il Santo Nome del Gesù, Cuneo, 1655-71.



Fig. 3.3 Giovenale Boetto, San Francesco Saverio, Mondovi, 1665-75. Frescoes and painting by Andrea Pozzo, 1676-78.

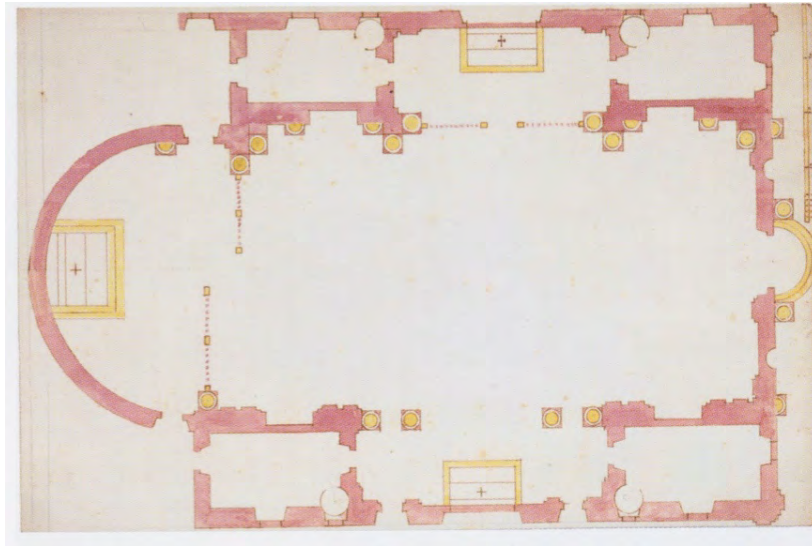


Fig. 3.4 Henri Laloyau, San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì: plan and elevation, after Giovenale Boetto, c. 1665-66.

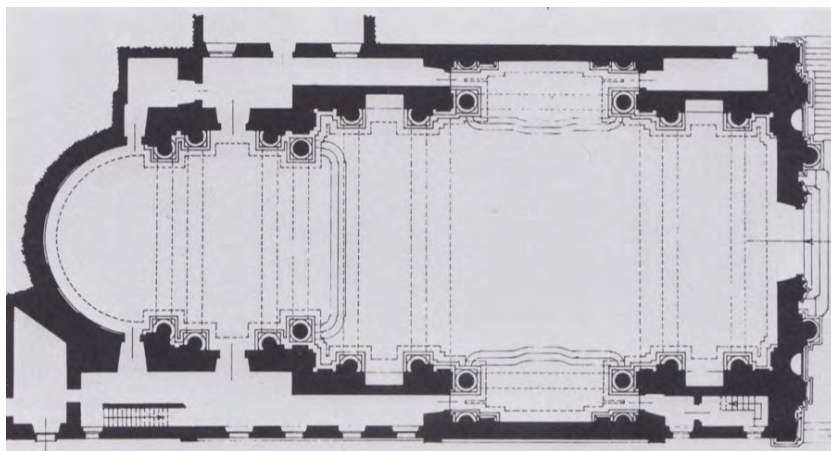
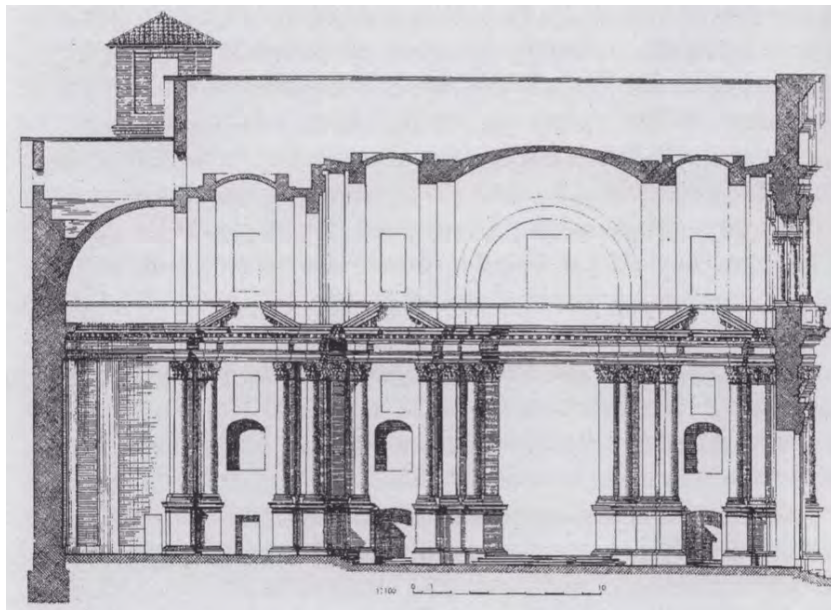


Fig. 3.5 San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì. As-built plan and elevation, c. 1985.



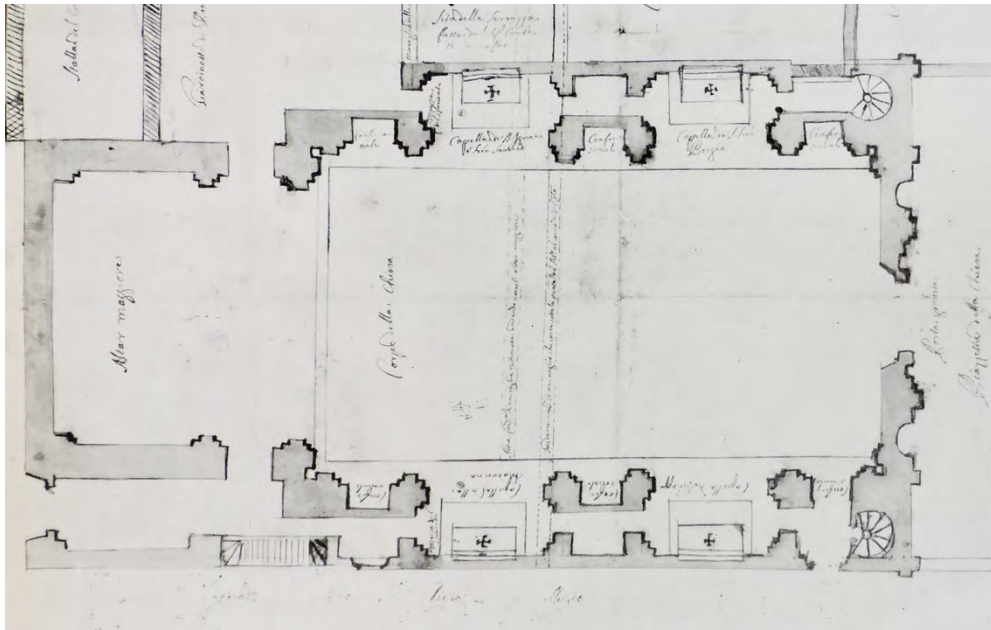


Fig. 3.6 Carlo Rusca (after Giovenale Boetto), original plan of the church of Il Santo Nome di Gesù, Cuneo. c. 1678.

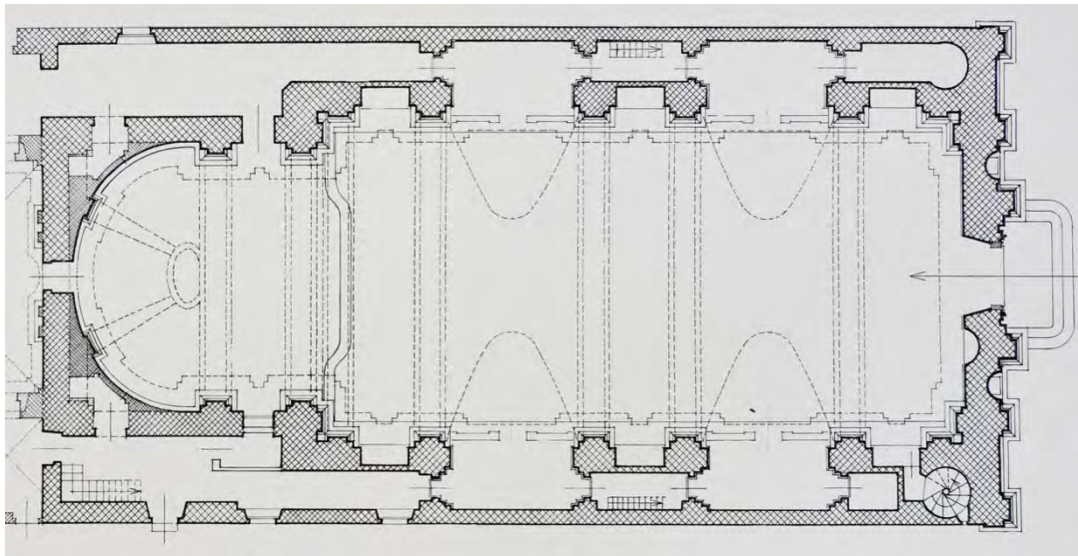


Fig. 3.7 Il Santo Nome di Gesù, Cuneo (as built plan). Drawing c. 1966.



Fig. 3.8 Palladio, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, 1566-1610.



Fig. 3.9 Longhena, Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, 1631-87.



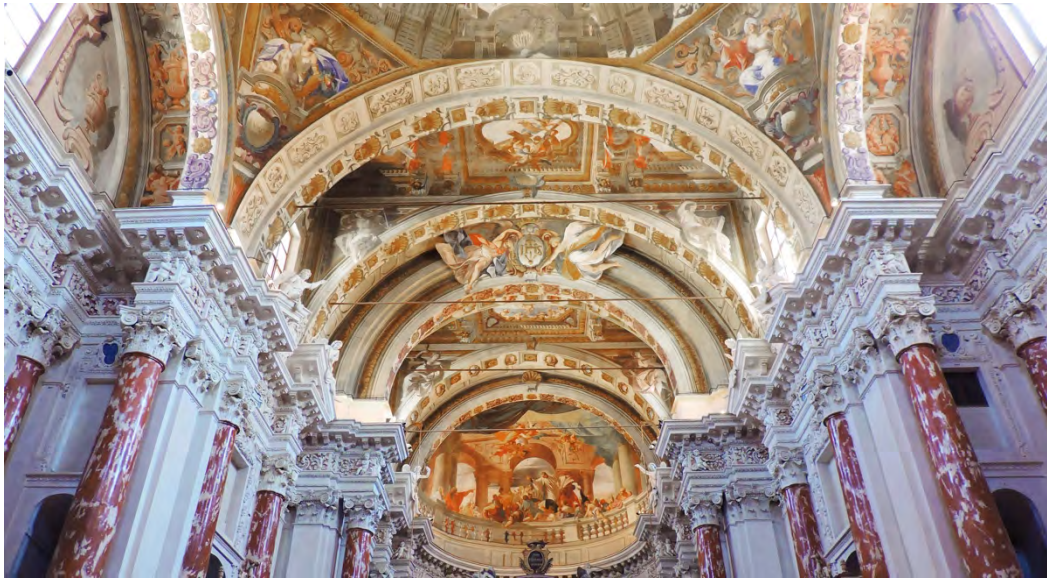


Fig. 3.10 Interior: San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì. Architecture by Giovenale Boetto, 1665-75. Frescoes, painting and high altar by Andrea Pozzo, 1676-78.





Fig. 3.11 San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì: interior, 1665-78.



Fig. 3.12 San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì: lateral windows, 1665-78.



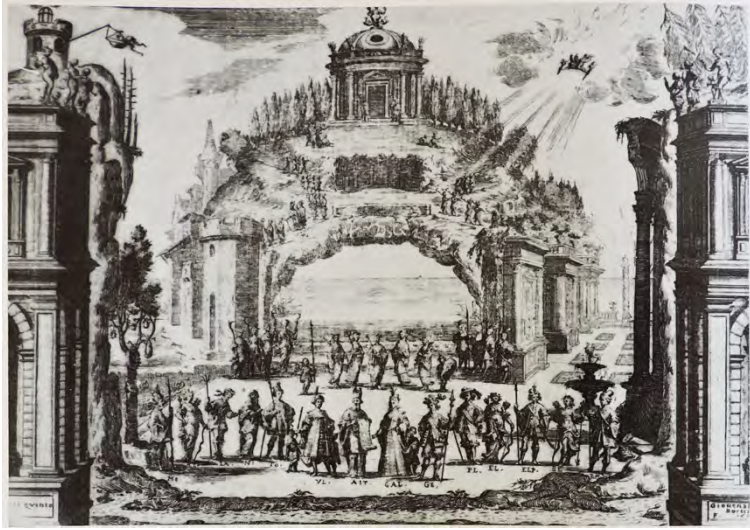


Fig. 3.13  
Giovenale  
Boetto, Set  
design for *Il  
Gelone*, Act V,  
engraving, 1654.



Fig. 3.14 Giovenale  
Boetto, first triumphal  
arch for the entrance of  
the Duke and Duchess of  
Savoy into Savigliano,  
engraving, 1668.



Fig. 3.15 Giovenale Boetto, second triumphal Arch for the entrance of the Duke and Duchess of Savoy into Savigliano, engraving, 1668.



Fig. 3.16. Giuseppe Barbieri, *The Glory of St Ignatius*, fresco, c. 1675. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.





Fig. 3.17 Andrea Pozzo, ceiling of San Francesco Saverio, Mondovi, fresco, 1676-78.

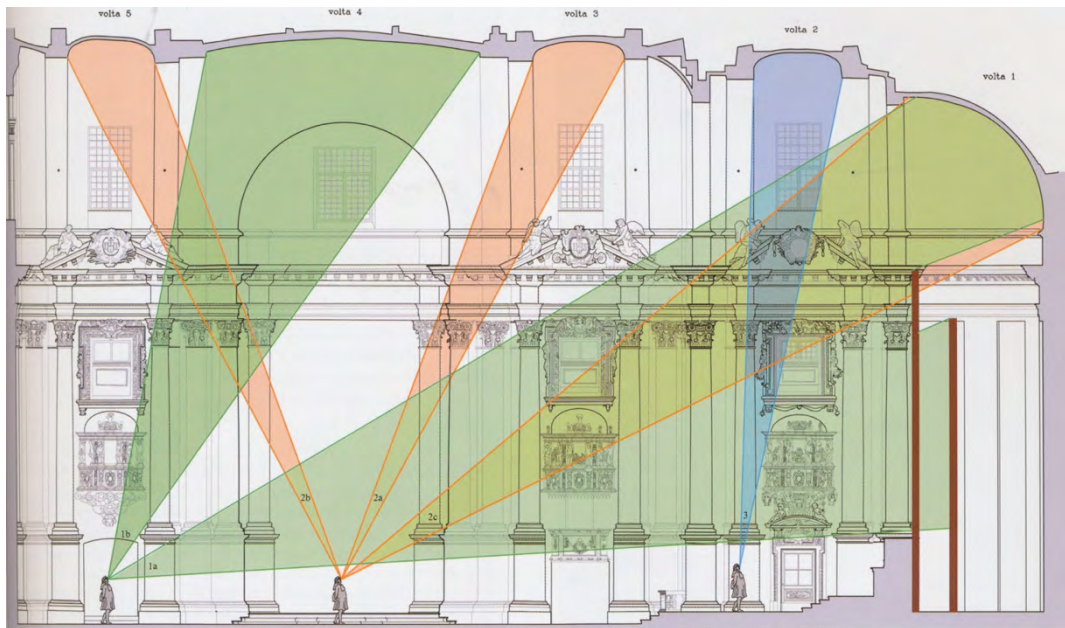


Fig. 3.18 San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì: elevation showing the sightlines of the perspective scenes. Reconstruction of the architecture and sightlines by Giuseppe Dardanella and Marco Boetti, 2009.









Fig. 3.21 Giulio Benso, *Stories of the Virgin*, fresco, 1640-44. Church of Sant'Annunziata del Vastato, Genoa.





Fig. 3.22 Andrea Pozzo, vault over entrance and details, fresco, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio Mondovì.



Fig. 3.23-3.24 Andrea Pozzo, vault over entrance and details, fresco, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio Mondovì.



Fig. 3.25-3.28 Andrea Pozzo, pendentive frescoes depicting personifications of the Four Continents, fresco, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì. From upper left: Europe, Asia, America and Africa.





Fig. 3.29 Baldassare Longhena, interior, Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, 1631-87.



Fig. 3.30 Andrea Palladio, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, 1566-1610.

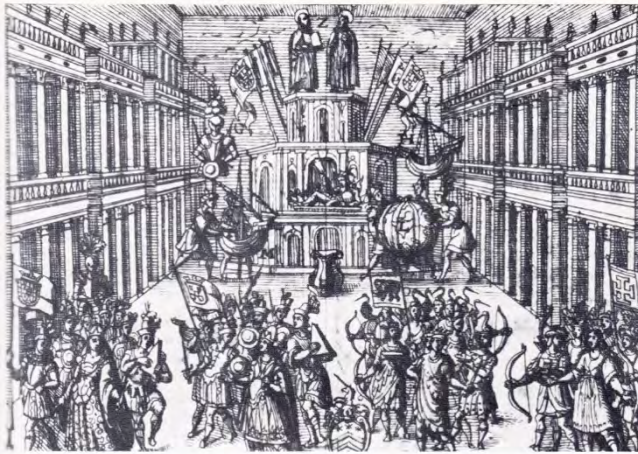


Fig. 3.31 F. Greuter, scenes from *The Apotheosis of Saints Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier*, engraving. Performed at the Collegio Romano for the canonization of 1622.



Fig. 3.32 Andrea Pozzo, *The Death of St Francis Xavier*, oil on canvas, c. 1675-76. Church of Ss. Vittore e Corona, Grazzano Badoglio.





Fig. 3.33 Antonio Gherardi, Chapel of St Cecilia, 1695-1700. Church of San Carlo ai Catinari, Rome.



Fig. 3.34 Andrea Pozzo, angels bearing the IHS monogram, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì.



3.35 Andrew Horn, painted stage scenery for Act I of *Tosca*, Baltimore Opera Company, 2001. Set comprised of fully-constructed, three-dimensional elements (left and right) with relief and painted elements (centre) and a fully illusionistic painted drop in the background.



3.36 Bernini, Scala Regia, Vatican City, 1662-65.





Fig. 3.37 Veronese, *Wedding Feast at Cana*, oil on canvas, 1562-63, Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 3.38 Veronese, *Family of Darius Before Alexander*, oil on canvas, 1565-67, National Gallery, London.



Fig. 3.39. Andrea Pozzo, final vault over presbytery, fresco, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì.



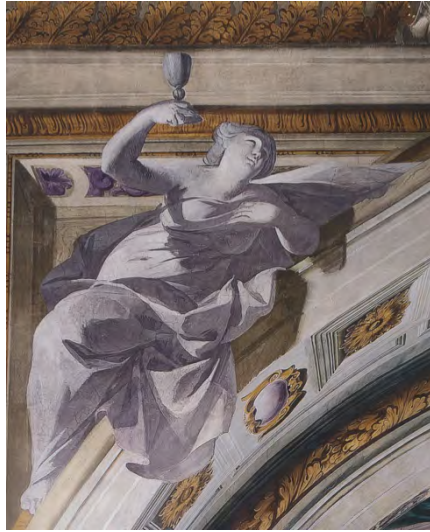


Fig. 3.40-3.41 Andrea Pozzo, grisaille allegories of virtues, fresco, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì. Left, *Faith*; right, *Hope*.



Fig. 3.42-3.43 Andrea Pozzo, grisaille allegories of virtues, fresco, 1676-78. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì. Left, *Justice*; right, *Prudence*.



Fig. 3.44-3.45 Giotto, allegories of the virtues, fresco, c. 1305. Arena Chapel, Padua. Left, *Faith*; right, *Temperance*.

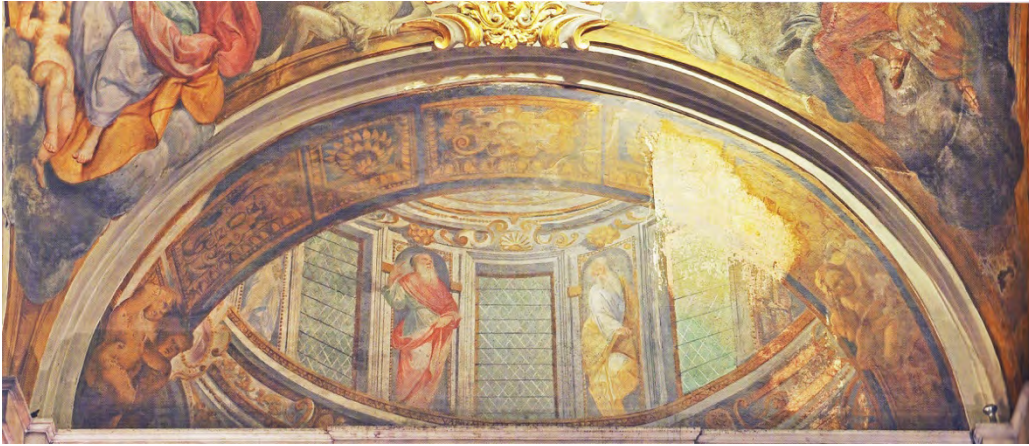


Fig. 3.46 Andrea Pozzo, frescoes depicting prophets, c. 1671-72. Chapel of St Francis Borgia, Church of the Gesù (Santi Ambrogio e Andrea), Genoa.

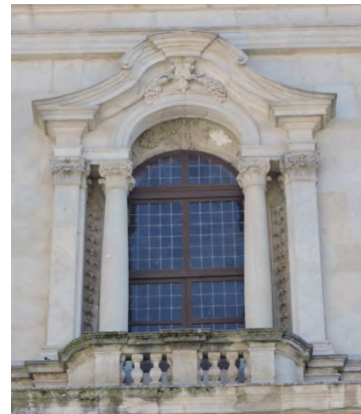


Fig. 3.47 Façade window, San Francesco Saverio at Mondovì, 1665-78. Left, interior; right, exterior.





Fig. 3.48 Andrea Pozzo, high altar, 1676. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì.



Fig. 3.49 Andrea Pozzo, high altar, 1676. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì. Front and rear views.



Fig. 3.50 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 64.

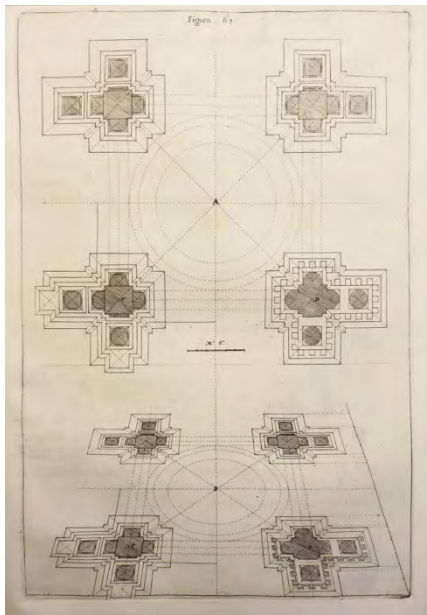


Fig. 3.51 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 63.





Fig. 3.52 Andrea Pozzo, high altar, 1706-07.  
Franziskanerkirche, Vienna.





Fig. 3.53, High altar, c. 16<sup>th</sup> c. San Giobbe, Venice.



Fig. 3.54 Longhena, Southeastern chapel and altar, 1657. Santa Maria della Salute, Venice.



Fig. 3.55 Mattia Carneri, high altar, 1652. Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.



Fig. 3.56 Mattia Carneri, high altar, 1634. Santa Maria Maggiore, Trent.



Fig. 3.57 Andrea Pozzo (?) Chapel of the Virgin of Sorrows. San Francesco Saverio, Mondovì, c. 1680.





## Images: Chapter 4

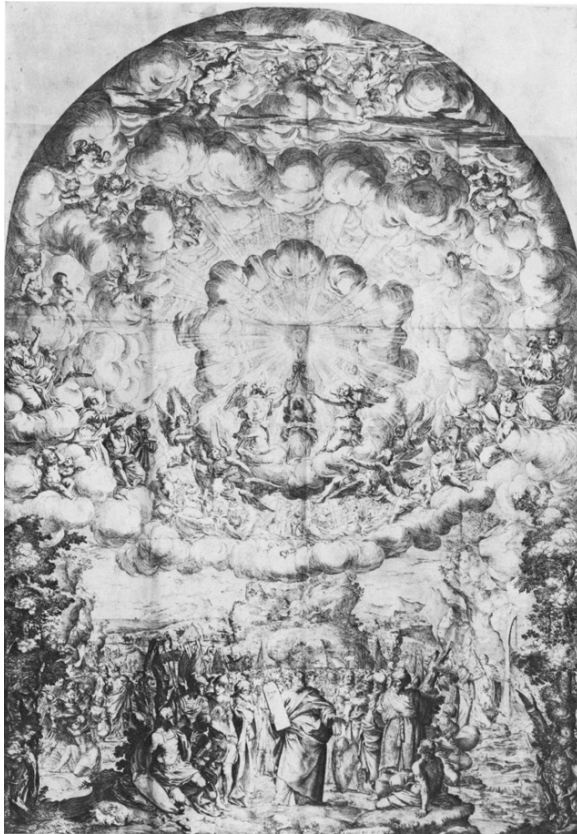


Fig. 4.1 G. F. Grimaldi, engraving after Niccolò Menghini, *apparato* for the *Quarant'ore* in the church of the Gesù, Rome. 1640.



Fig. 4.2 Carlo Rainaldi, *apparato* for the *Quarant'ore* in the Church of the Gesù, Rome, engraving, 1650.



Fig. 4.3 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 60, *Tabernacolo Ottagonale*.



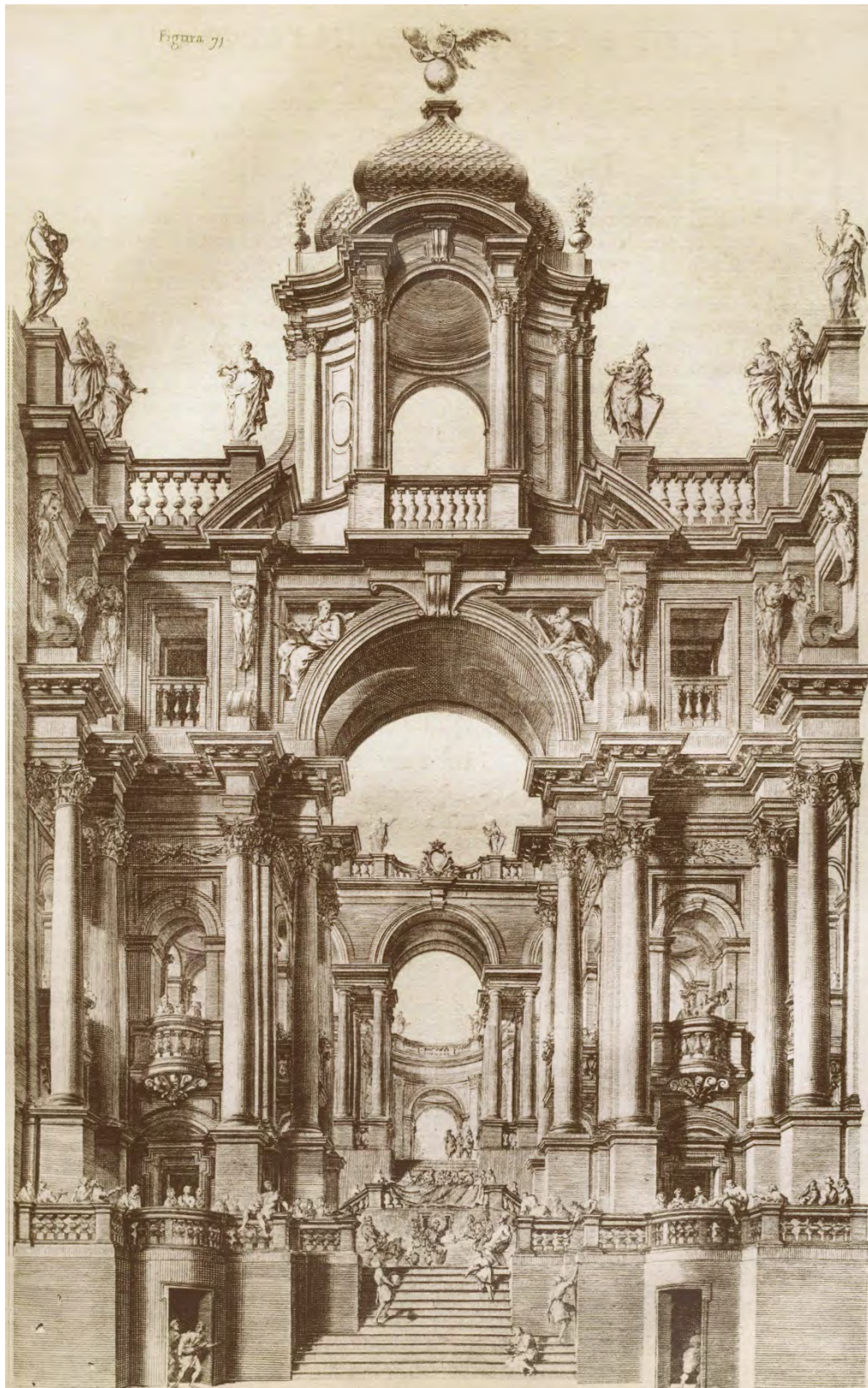


Fig. 4.4 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 71, *Teatro delle Nozze di Cana Galilea fatto nella Chiesa del Giesù di Roma l'anno 1685 per le 40 hore*.



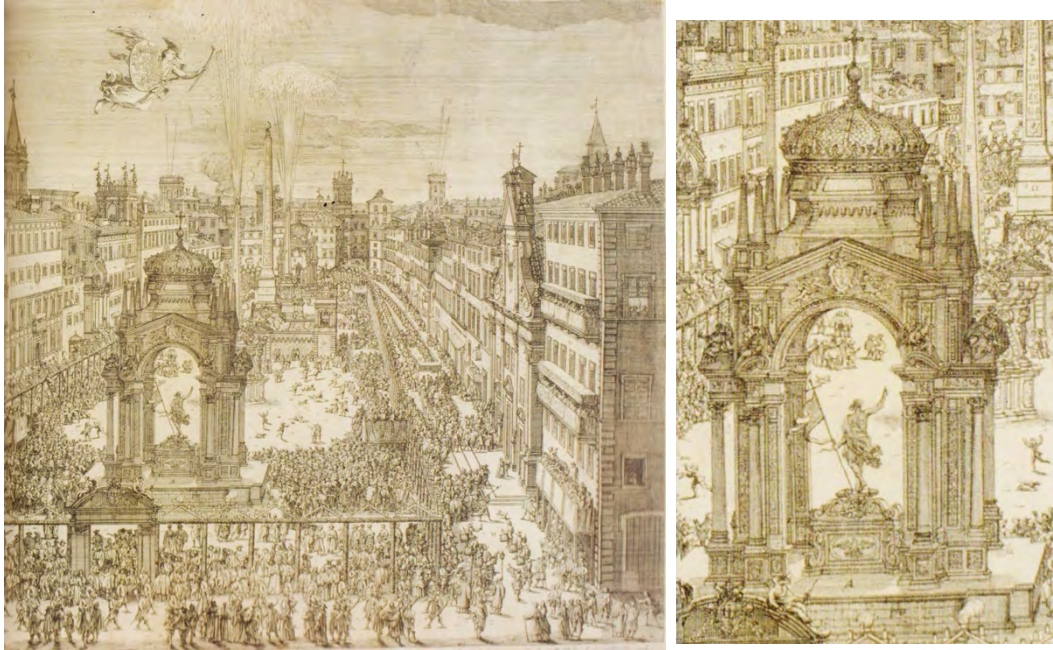


Fig. 4.5. Dominique Barrière, Decorations in Piazza Navona for the Festival of the Resurrection of 1650, engraving. Left, detail of pavilion by Carlo Rainaldi.



Fig. 4.6 Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi, Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, 1580-85. *Scaenae frons*.



Fig. 4.7 Marco Boschini, *Procession to Santa Maria della Salute*, engraving, 1644.



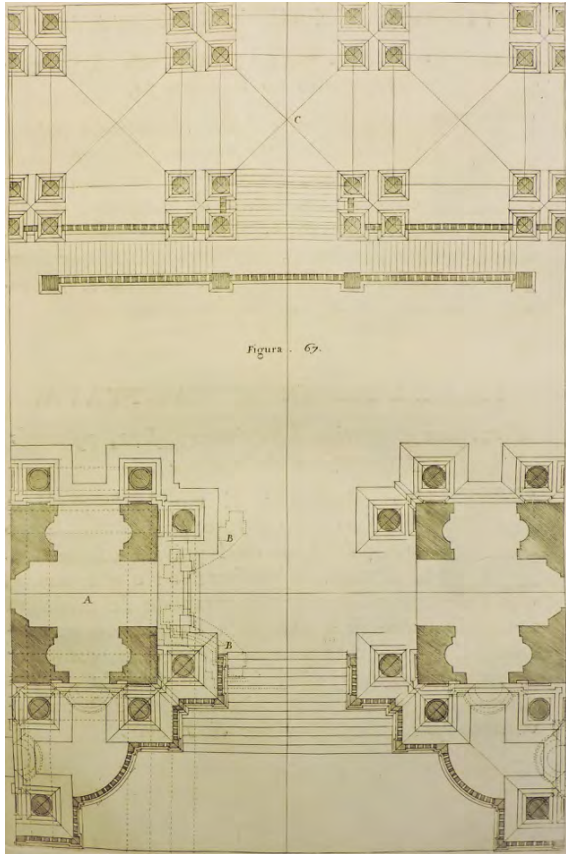


Fig. 4.10 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 69.

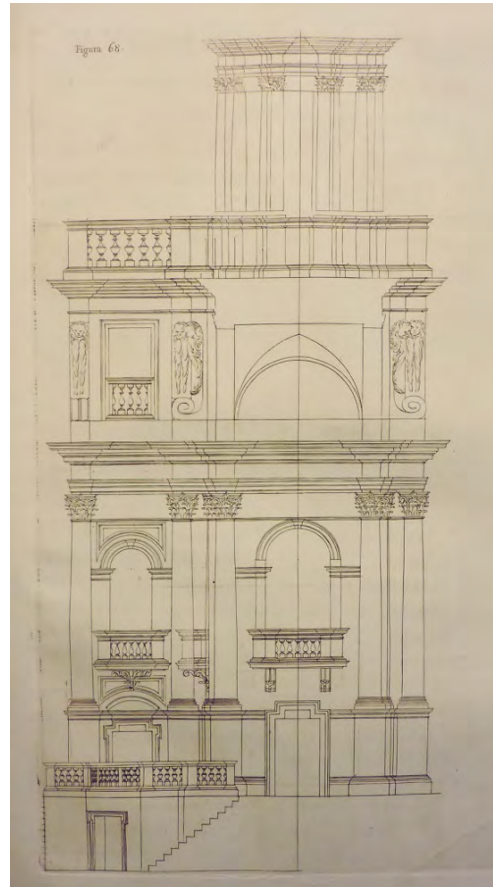


Fig. 4. 9 Andrea Pozzo, , *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 68.

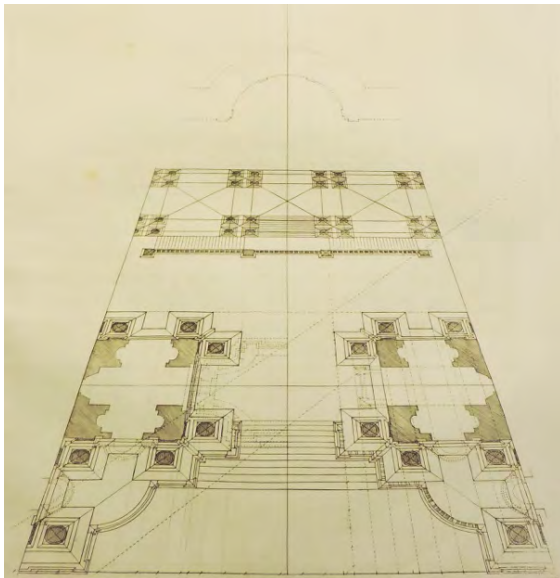


Fig. Fig. 4.8 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 67.

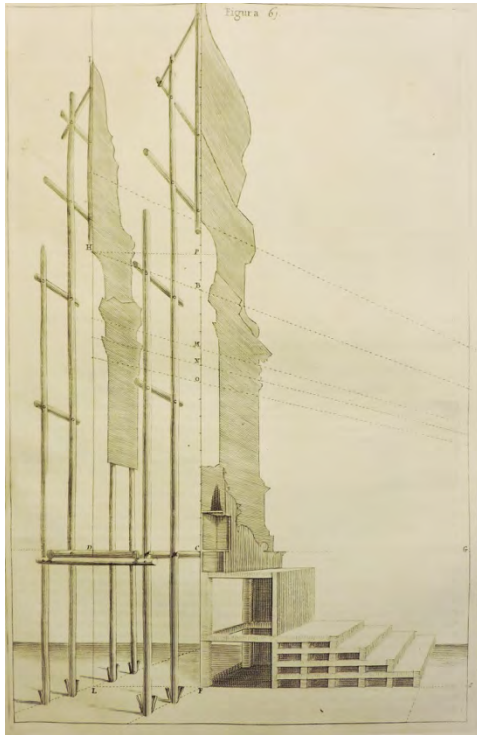


Fig. 4.11 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 61.

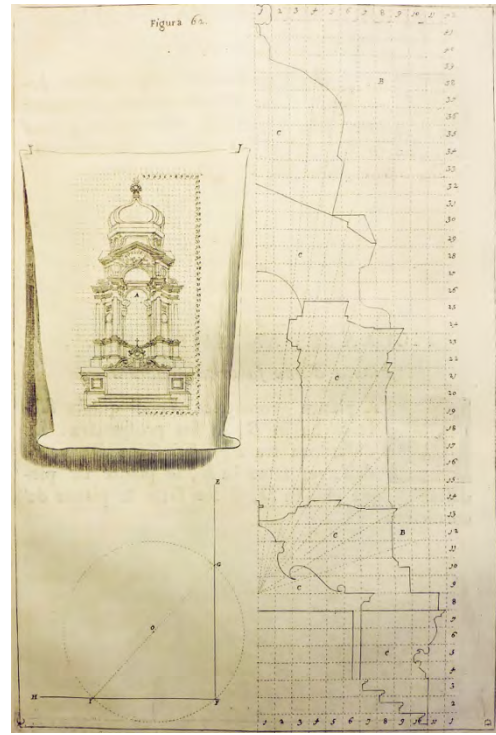


Fig. 4.12 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 62.

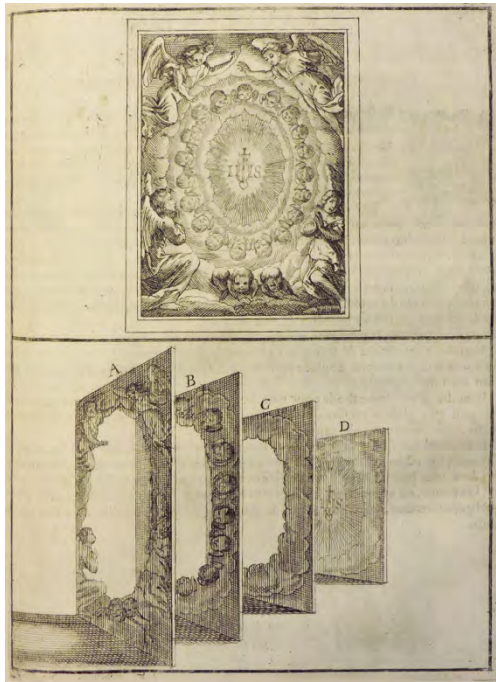


Fig. 4.13 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité IV, Pratique 9.

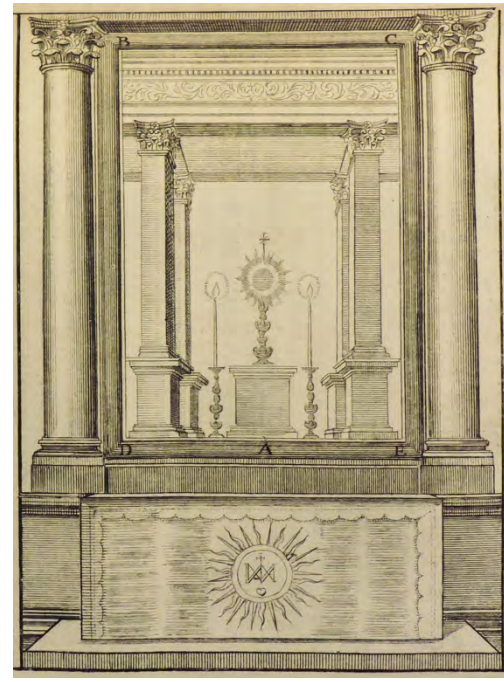


Fig. 4.14 Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, 1649, Traité IV, Pratique 8.



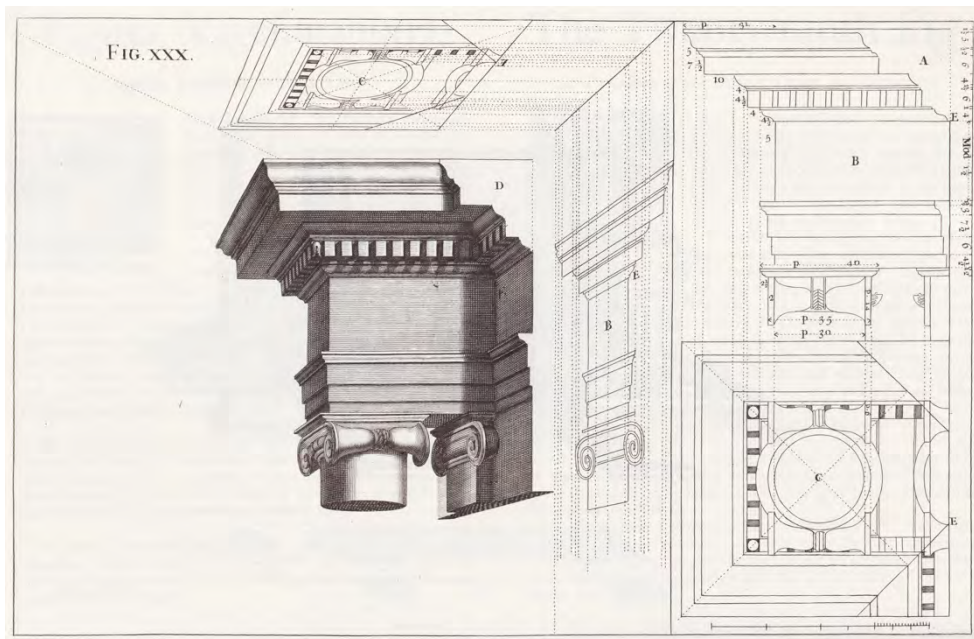


Fig. 4.15 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 30, *Cornice Ionica col modo di congiungere la finta con la vera.*

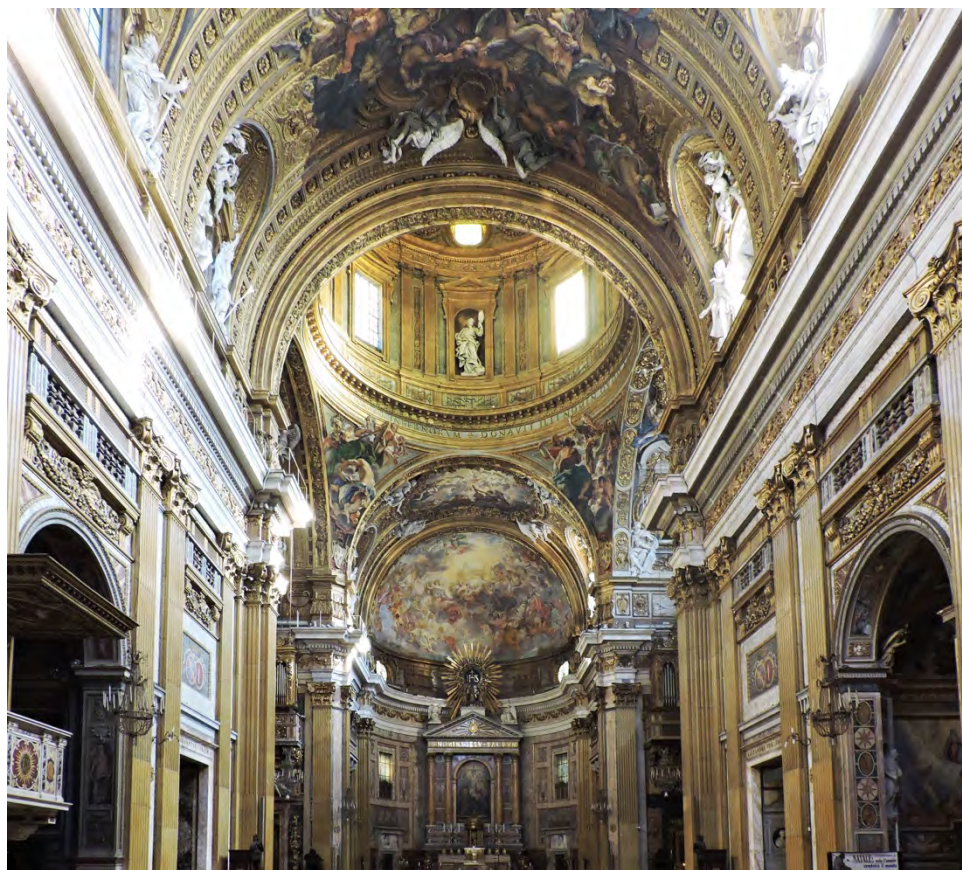


Fig. 4.16 Vignola and Giacomo della Porta, church of the Gesù, Rome, 1568-80. Frescoes by Giovanni Battista Gaulli 1672-85.





Fig. 4.17 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 47, *Sitientes Venite ad Aquas*. Apparato for the Quarantore, Church of the Gesù, Rome, 1695.





Fig. 4.18 Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi, Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, 1580-85. Auditorium.



Fig. 4.19. Francesco Borromini, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, interior Rome, 1638-1646.

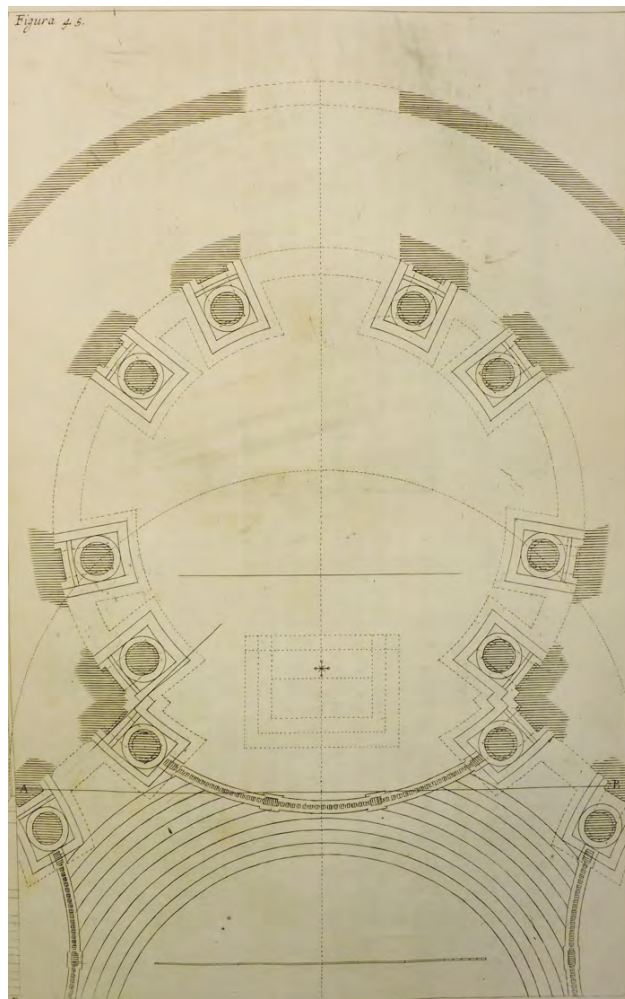


Fig. 4.20 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 45.

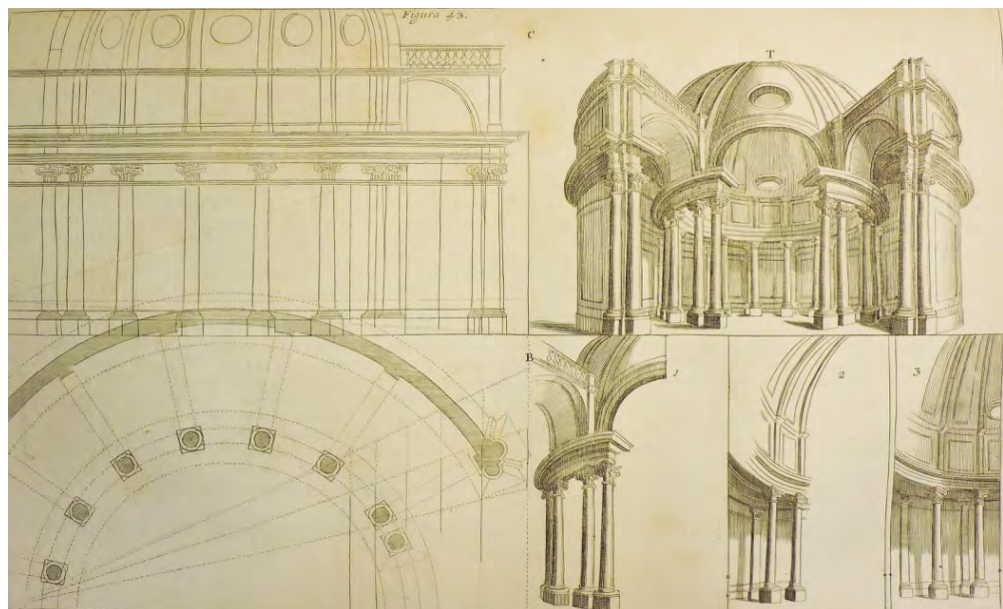


Fig. 4.21 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 43, *Teatro di Tempio*.





Fig. 4.22 Pantheon, Rome, completed c. 128 AD.



Fig. 4.23 Church of Santa Costanza, Rome, c. 360 A.D.



Fig. 4.24 Church of Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome, c. 370 AD.



Fig. 4.25. Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 66, *Fabbrica Rotonda*.

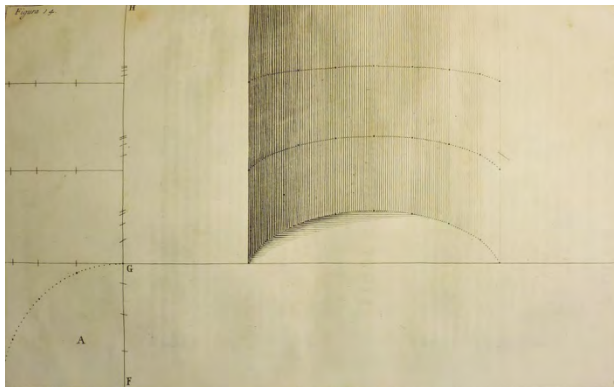


Fig. 4.26 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 10.

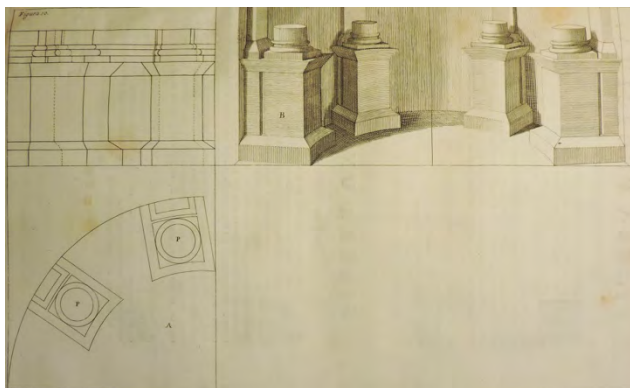


Fig. 4.27 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva* II, 1700, Fig. 14.



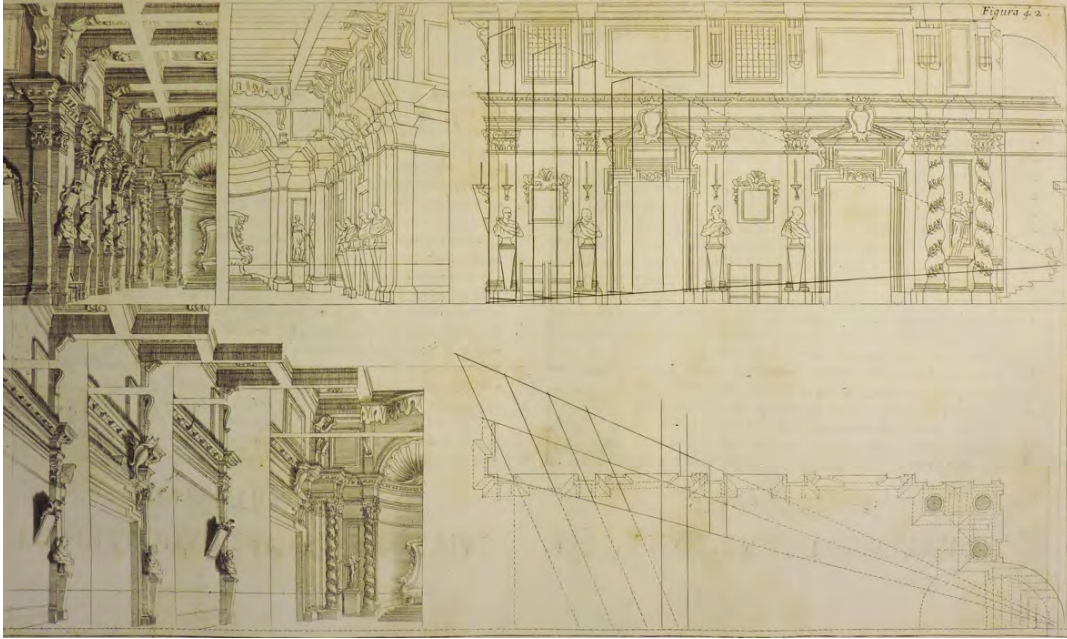


Fig. 4.28 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 42, *Teatro di Anticamera*.



Fig. 4.29 San Vitale, Rome, c. 400.

## Images: Chapter 5



Fig. 5.1 Andrea Pozzo, fresco cycle, Corridor of St Ignatius, c. 1682-86. Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.





Fig. 5.2 Andrea Pozzo, fresco cycle, Corridor of St Ignatius, c. 1682-86. Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



Fig. 5.3 Andrea Pozzo, fresco cycle, Corridor of St Ignatius, c. 1682-86. Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



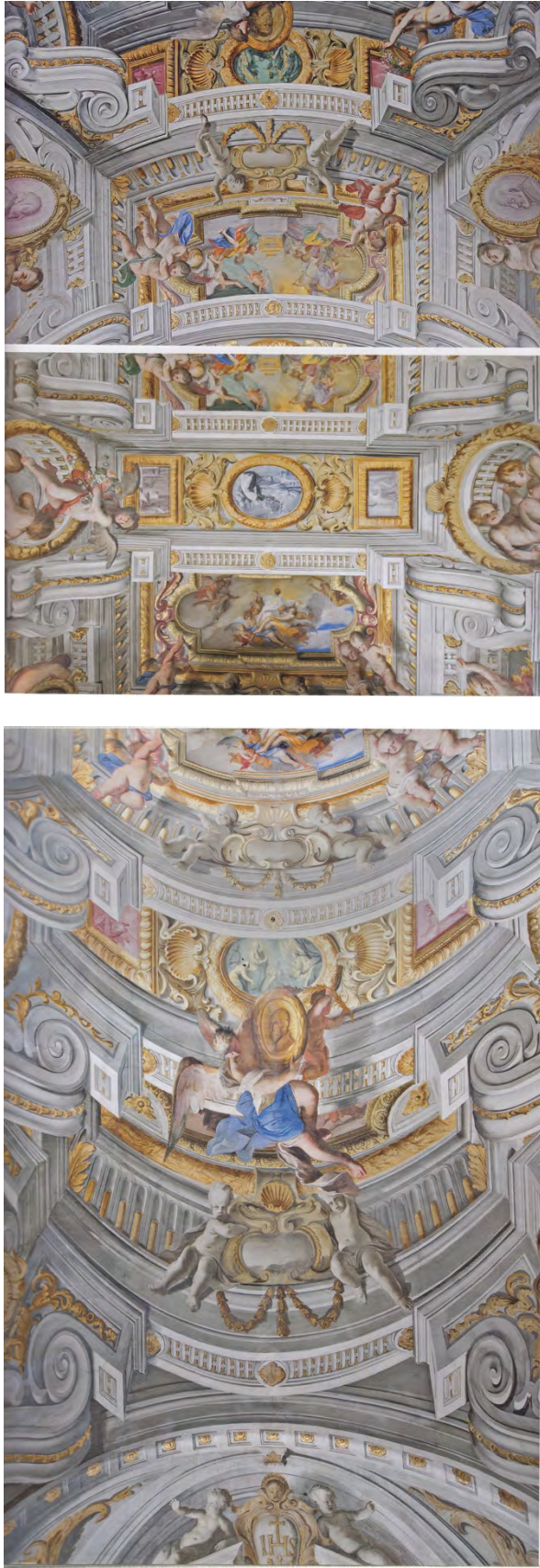


Fig. 5.4 Andrea Pozzo, ceiling fresco, c. 1682-86, Corridor of St Ignatius. Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



Fig. 5.5 Andrea Pozzo, *The Saint Restores Life and Health with Water and Oil* (left); *Ignatius cures a Possessed Man* (right), fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



Fig. 5.6 Andrea Pozzo, *Ignatius Appears to an Ill Nun* (left); *Ignatius Extinguishes a Fire* (right), fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius. Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



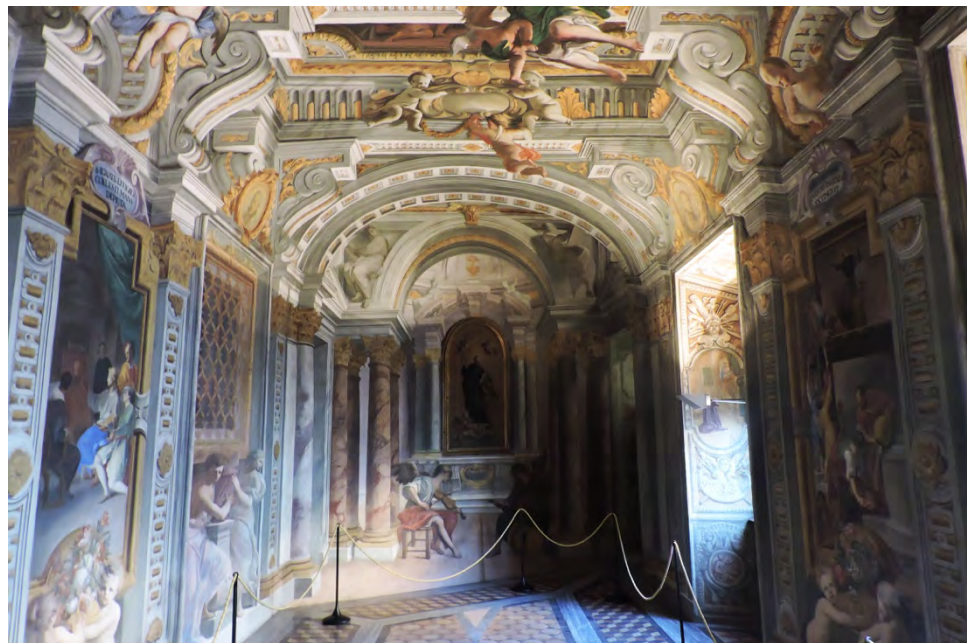


Fig. 5.7 Andrea Pozzo, frescoes seen from the central marker toward the chapel wall, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.





Fig. 5.8 Andrea Pozzo, frescoes seen from the central marker toward the entrance, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.





Fig. 5.9 Andrea Pozzo, chapel wall in fresco with *St Ignatius in Glory*, tempera on canvas, 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome. View from central marker.



Fig. 5.10 Andrea Pozzo, fresco cycle, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome. View away from chapel wall toward entrance.



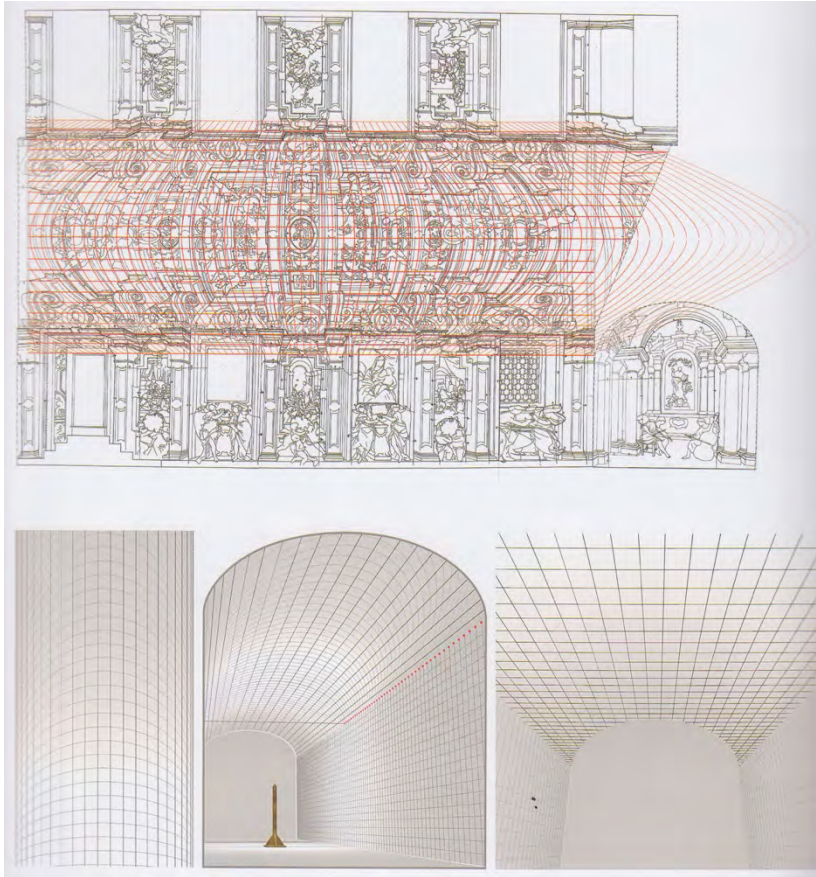


Fig. 5.11 Filippo Camerota, computer model of Pozzo's grid system in the Corridor of St Ignatius, 2014.

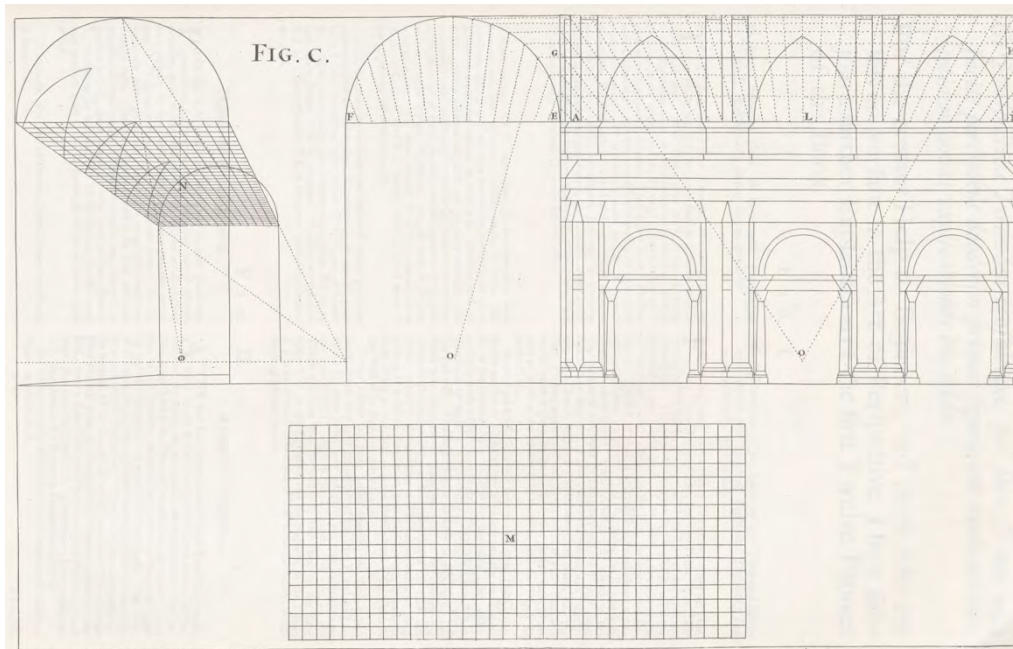


Fig. 5.12 Andrea Pozzo, Fig. 101, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693.

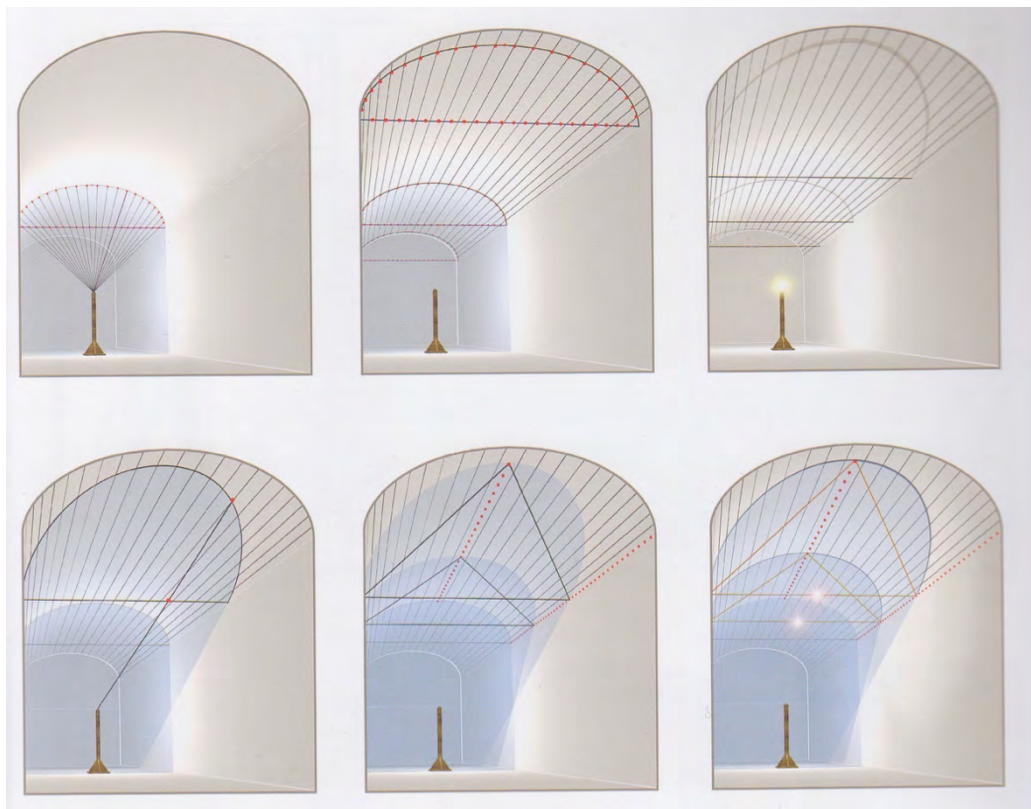


Fig. 5.13 Filippo Camerota, computer model of Pozzo's projection system for the vault of the Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome, 2014.



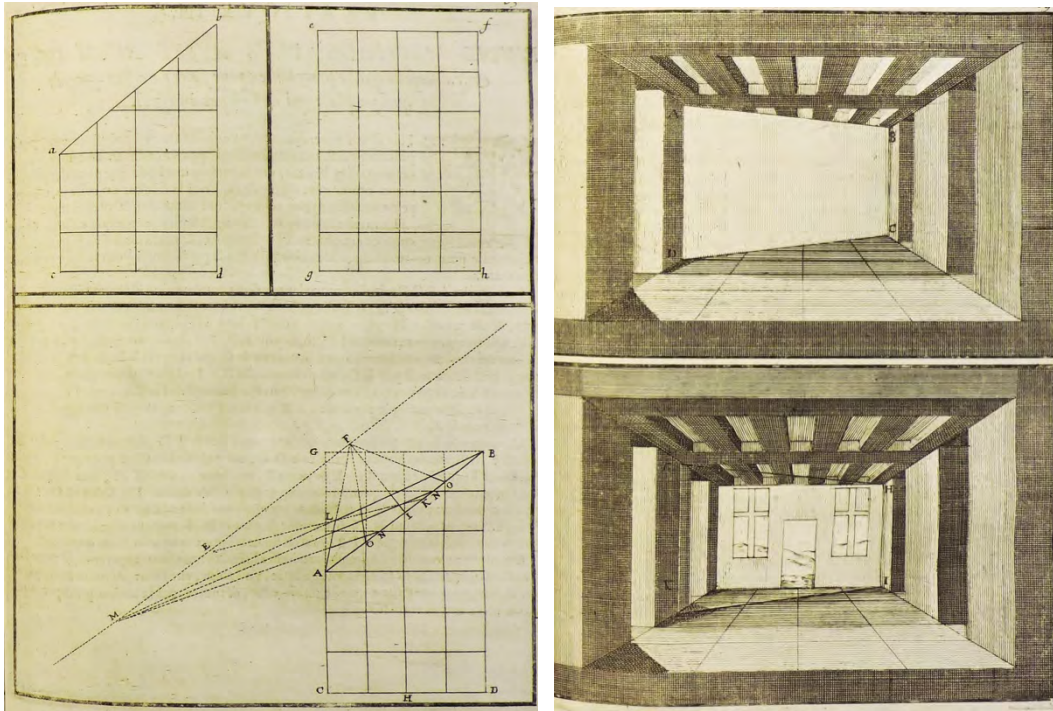


Fig. 5.14 Jean Dubreuil, *La Perspective Pratique*, Vol. III, 1649. Left, Pratique II, 'Pour faire paroistre quarrée'; right, 'Corolaire ou Pratique VI. Le defaut d'une salle, reparé par la Perspective' (method for determining the perspective for angled walls).

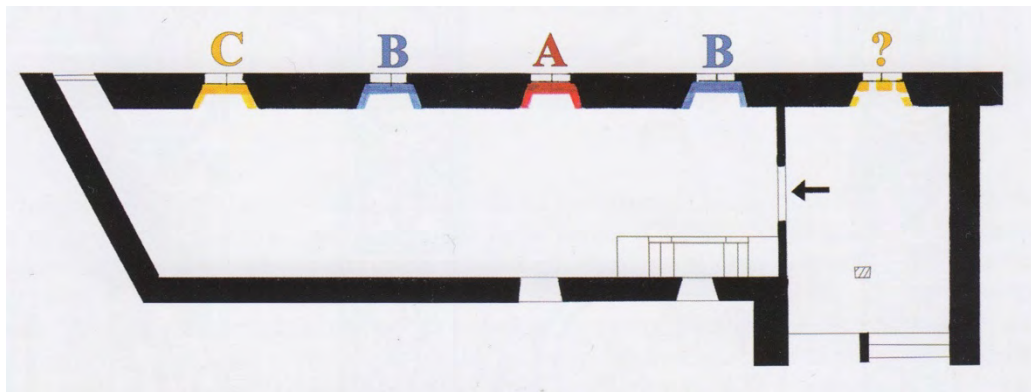


Fig. 5.15 Maurizio de Luca, plan of the Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome, 2014.



Fig. 5.16 Emmanuel Maignan, anamorphic frescoes of San Francesco di Paola and a landscape, 1642. Monastery of the Trinità dei Monti, Rome.





Fig. 5.17 Andrea Pozzo, partially (left) and fully (right) anamorphic figures viewed from the centre of the corridor, fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.

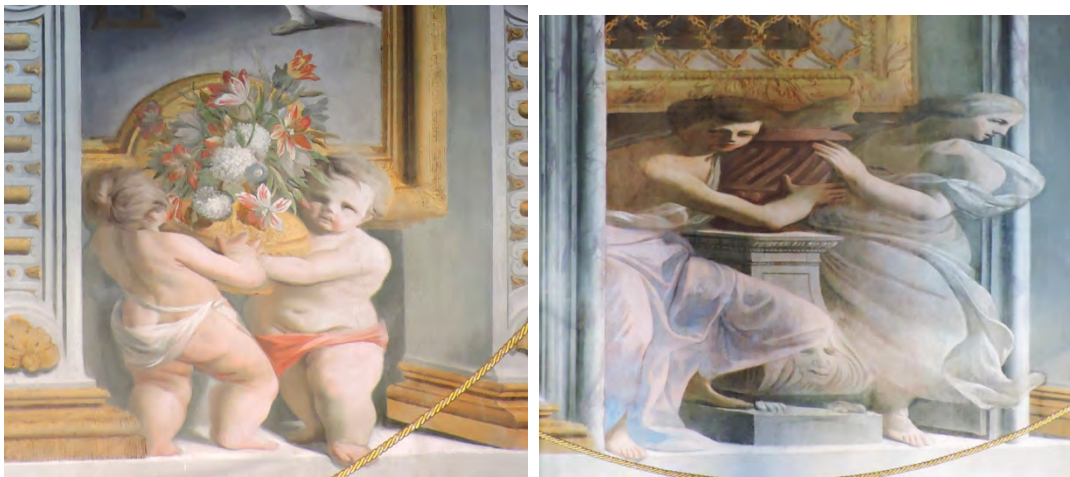


Fig. 5.18 Andrea Pozzo, partially (left) and fully (right) anamorphic figures, frontal view, fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



Fig. 5.19 Andrea Pozzo, partially anamorphic angel bearing the portrait of St Francis Xavier, fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.

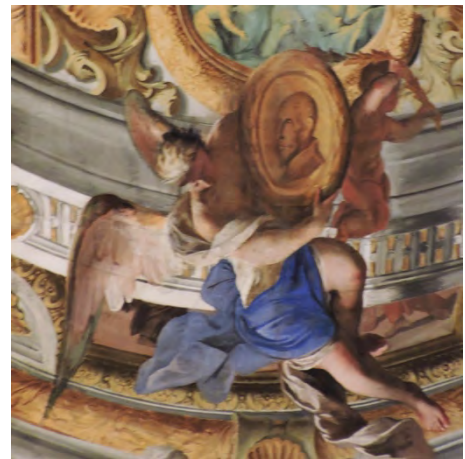
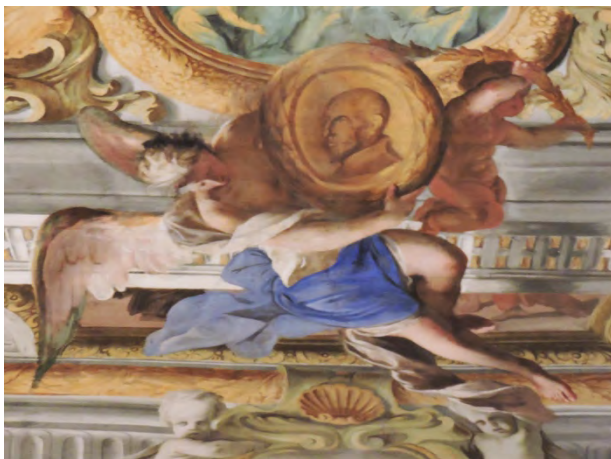


Fig. 5.20 Andrea Pozzo, partially anamorphic angels, fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.





Fig. 5.21 Andrea Pozzo, entrance wall with portraits of Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislav Kostka, fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



Fig. 5.22 Andrea Pozzo, *The Holy Family*, fresco, c. 1682-86. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome.



Fig. 5.23 Andrea Pozzo, central panels of the ceiling, fresco, c. 1686. Corridor of St Ignatius, Casa Professa del Gesù, Rome. Centre: *Death of St Ignatius*. Above, *Apotheosis of St Ignatius*. Below. *St Ignatius Beatified in Heaven*.



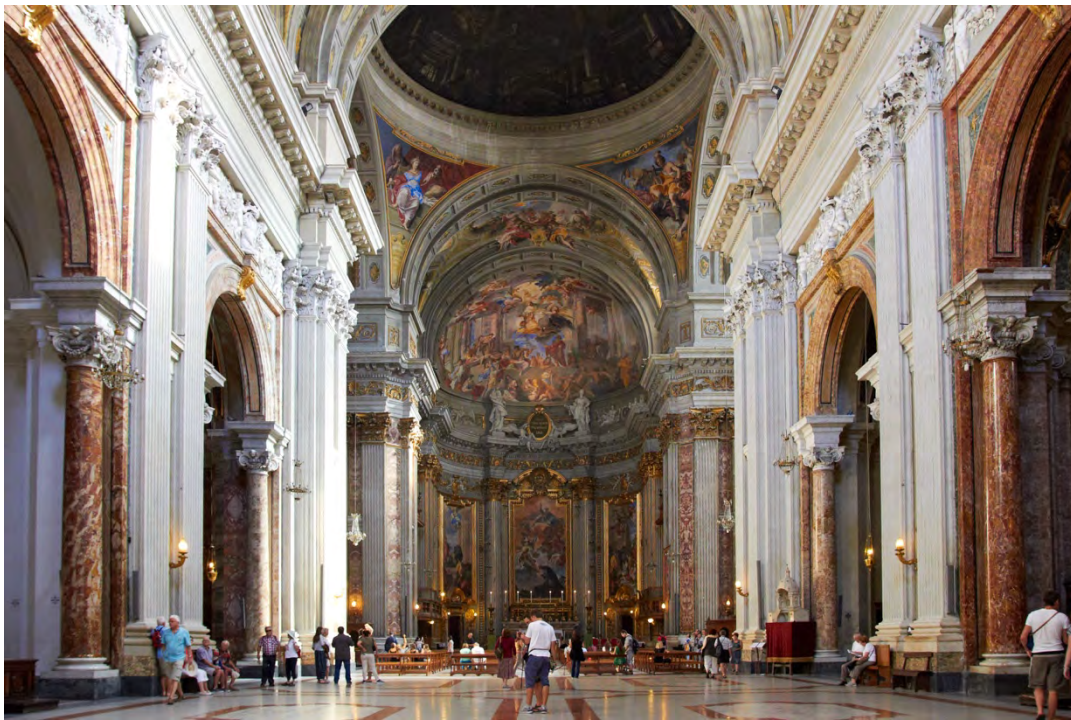


Fig. 5.24 Orazio Grassi, Andrea Pozzo and others, Sant' Ignazio, Rome, 1626-1701.

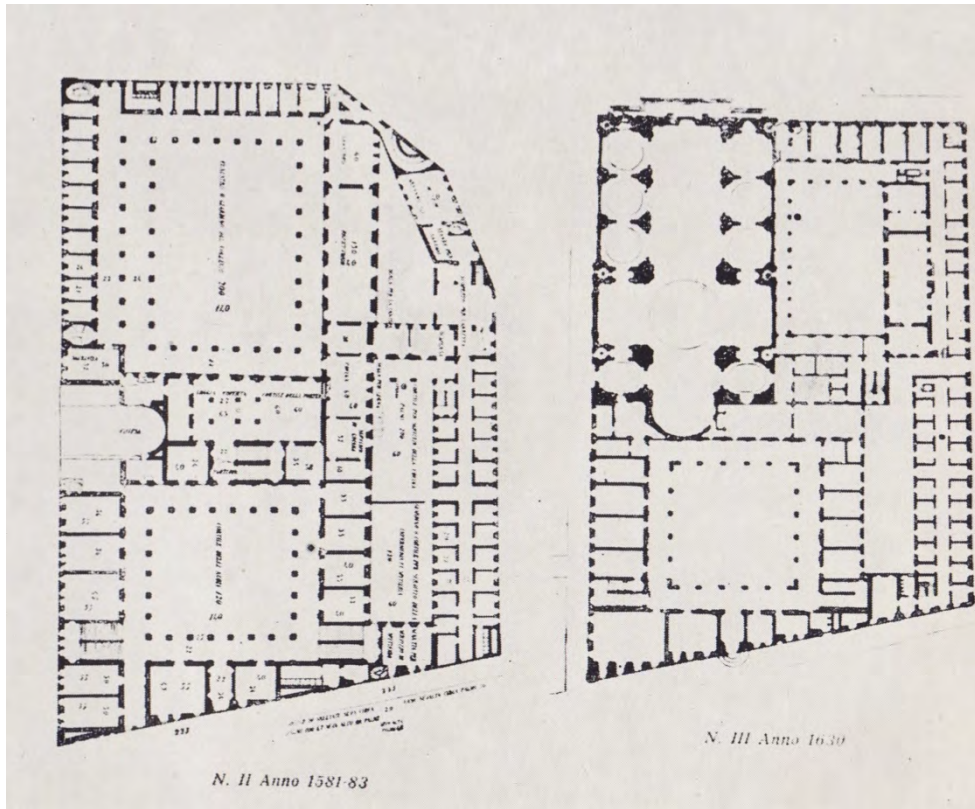


Fig. 5.25 Plans of the Collegio Romano. Below Left: Giovanni Tristano's plan of 1581-83; Right: the plan of 1630 with the new church of Sant'Ignazio.

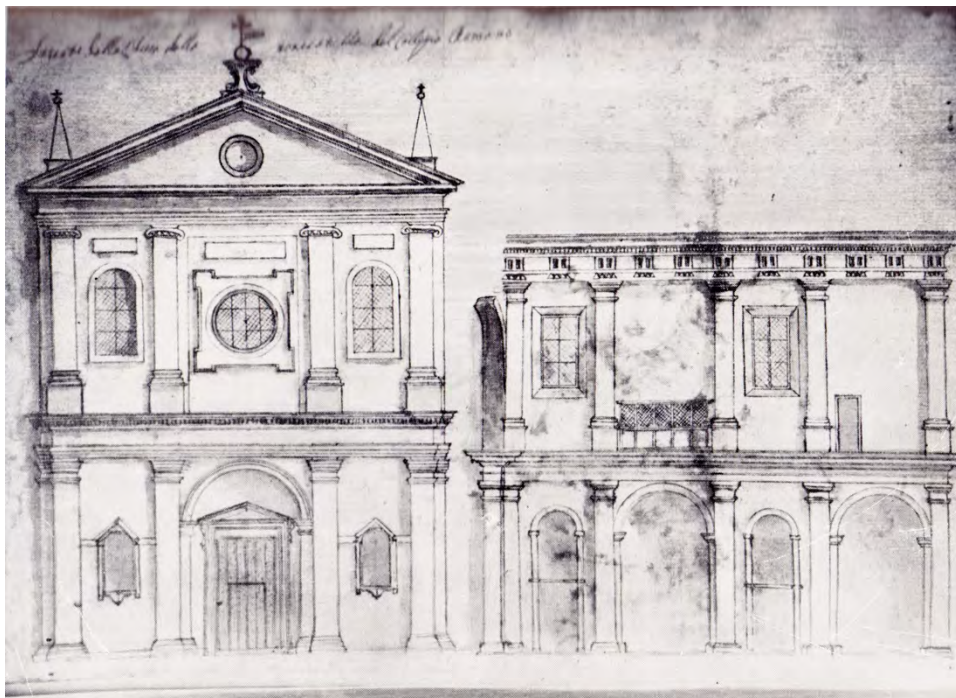


Fig. 5.26 Giovanni Tristano, original elevation of Sant'Annunziata, Collegio Romano, c. 1560.



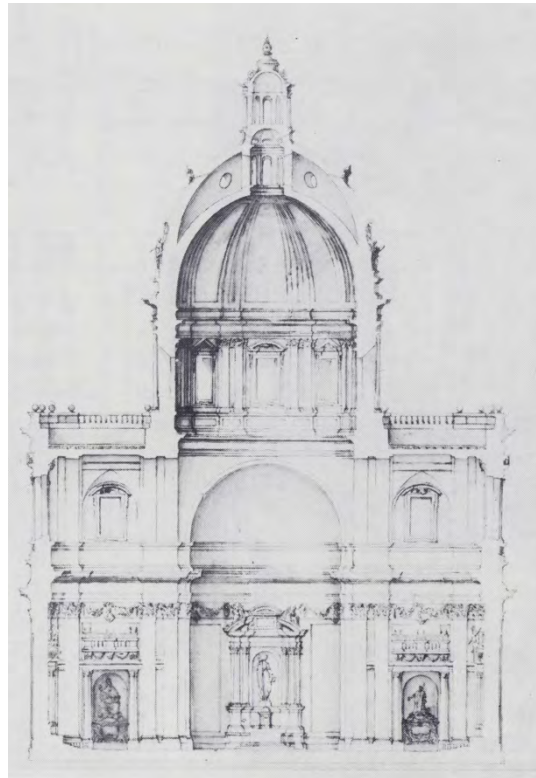


Fig. 5.27 Orazio Grassi, design for the dome of Sant'Ignazio, c. 1651. Left: the heightened dome and façade of the church. Right, section through the crossing and transept, indicating the 'double dome' structure.



Fig. 5.28 Orazio Grassi, proposed revised design for the dome of St Ignatius, c. 1651. Vat. Lat. 11257, fol. 117.

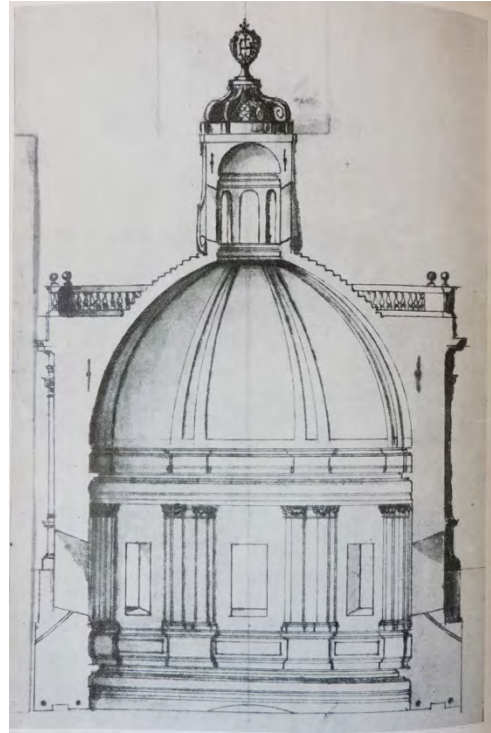


Fig. 5.29 Borromini, dome, Sant'Ivo della Sapienza, Rome, 1642-1660.

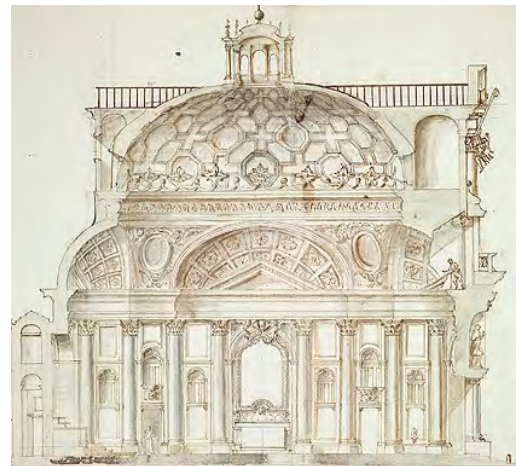


Fig. 5.30 Borromini, section, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Rome, c. 1634-38.





Fig. 5.31 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 81, high altar and presbytery of San'Ignazio.



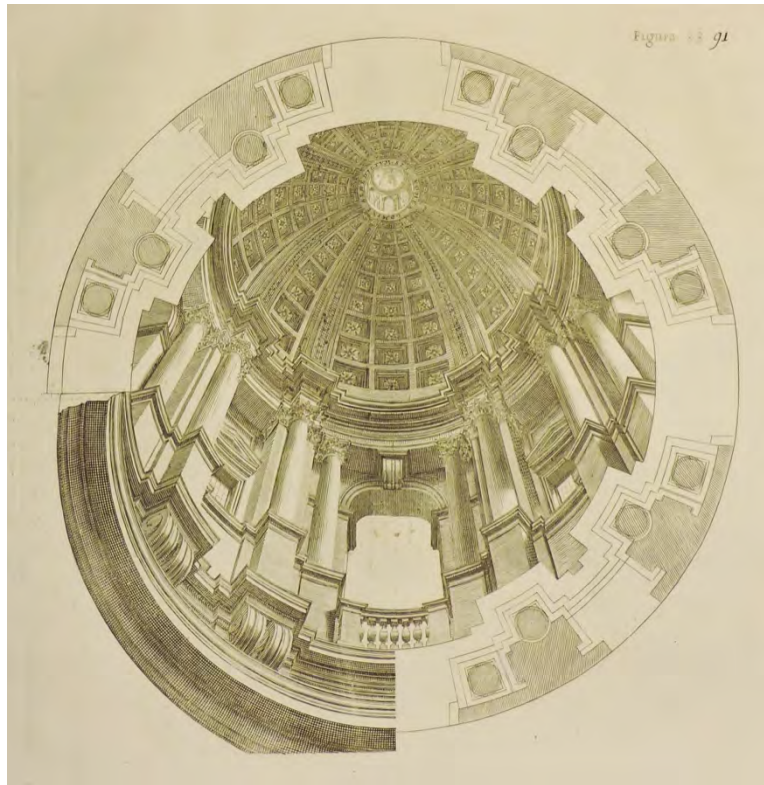


Fig. 5.32 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 91, design for the dome of Sant' Ignazio.



Fig. 5.33 Andrea Pozzo, fictive dome of Sant' Ignazio, tempera on canvas, 1685 (subsequently restored). View from the designated viewing position at the beginning of the crossing.



Fig. 5.34 Andrea Pozzo, fictive dome of Sant'Ignazio, tempera on canvas, 1685. View from the centre of the crossing.

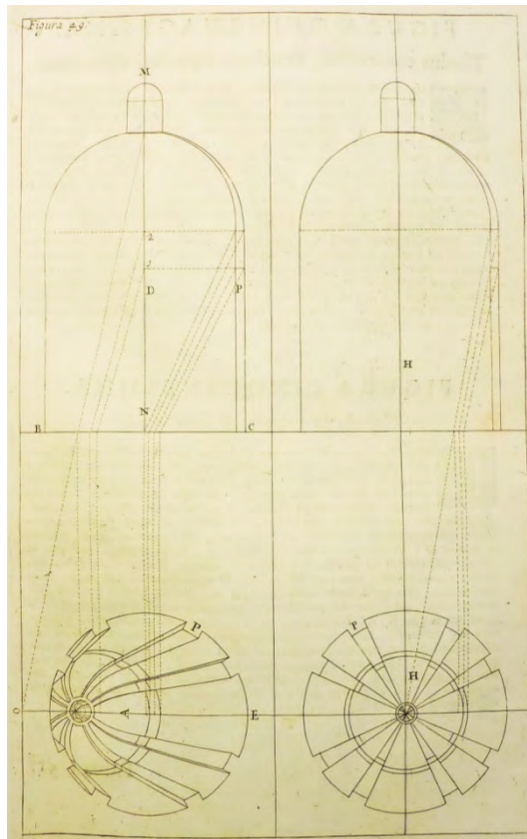


Fig. 5.35 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, II, 1700, Fig. 49. The sightlines showing the image of the dome produced by an oblique viewing position and a centred position, respectively.



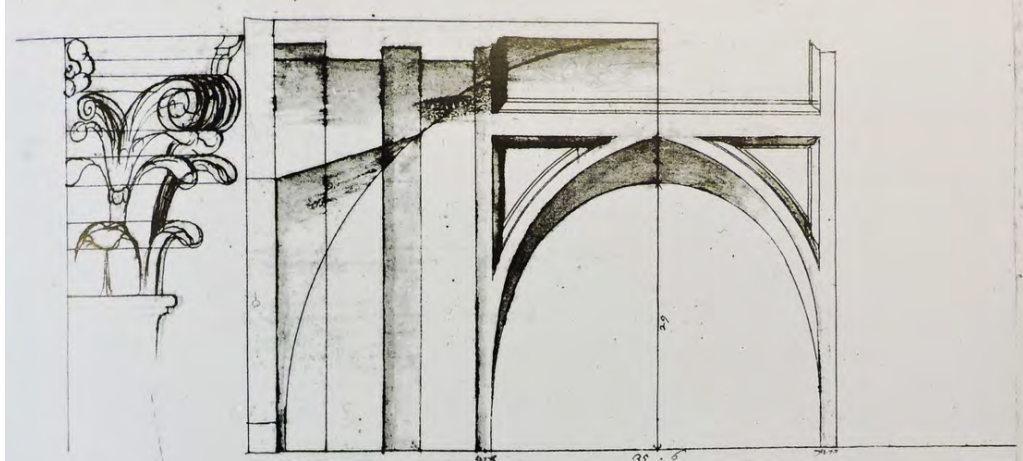


Fig. 5.36 Orazio Grassi, detail of the vault indicating raised ribs, c. 1626.

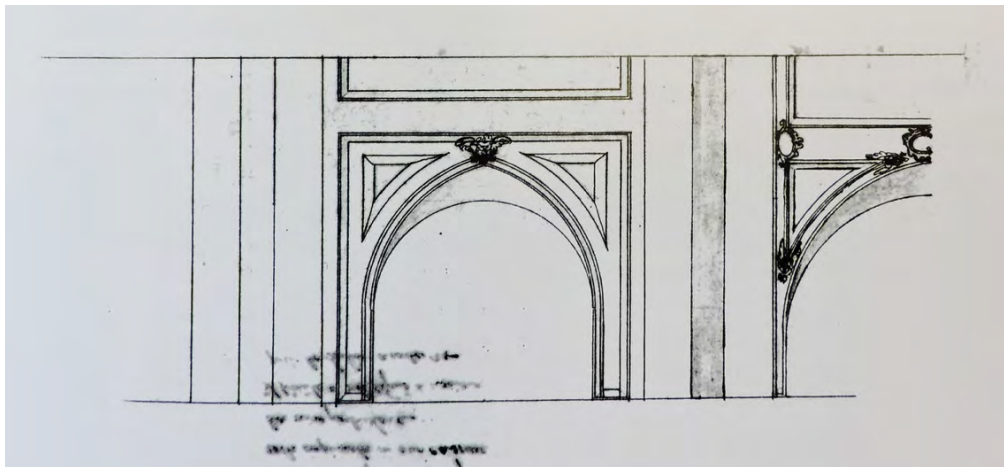


Fig. 5.37 Orazio Grassi, detail of the paneling and ornamental *stucchi* of the vault, c. 1626.



Fig. 5.38 Andrea Pozzo, *The Worldwide Mission of the Society of Jesus*, fresco, c. 1691-94. Church of St Ignatius, Rome.





Fig. 5.39 Andrea Pozzo, Asia, fresco, c. 1691-94. Sant' Ignazio, Rome.



Fig. 5.40 Andrea Pozzo, Europe, fresco, c. 1691-94. Sant' Ignazio, Rome.



Fig. 5.41 Andrea Pozzo, Africa, fresco, c. 1691-94. Sant' Ignazio, Rome.



Fig. 5.42 Andrea Pozzo, America, fresco, c. 1691-94. Sant' Ignazio, Rome.

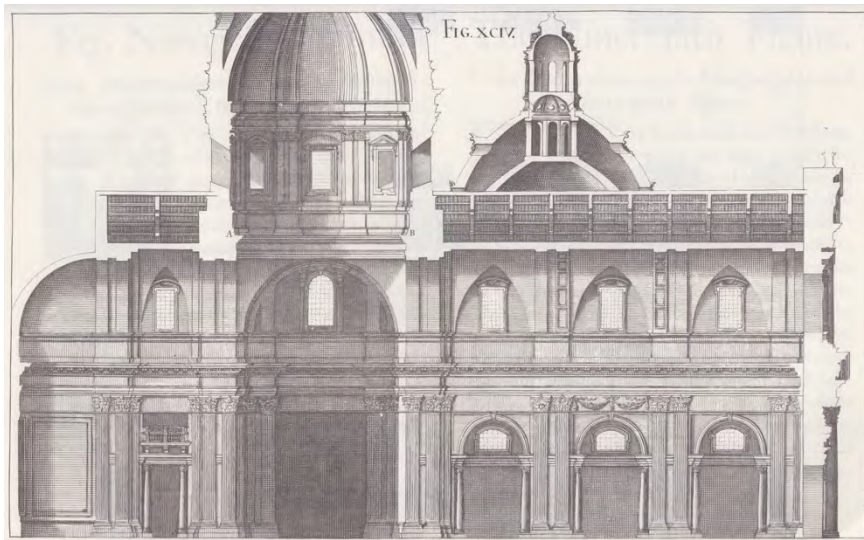


Fig. 5.43 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 94, longitudinal section of Sant' Ignazio.

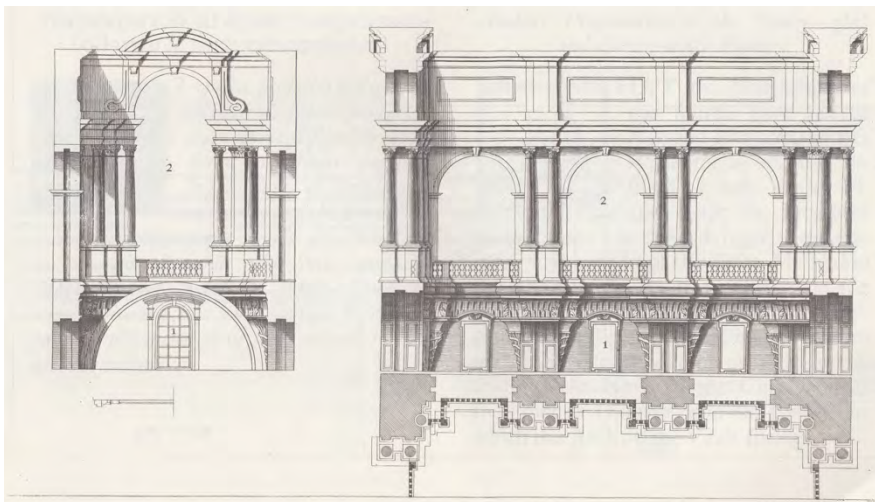


Fig. 5.44 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 96, preparatory elevation of the painted architecture for the vault of Sant' Ignazio.

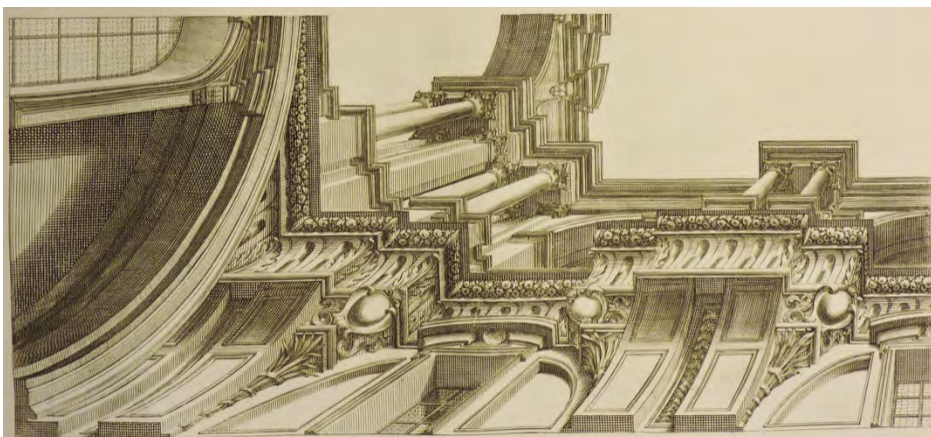


Fig. 5.45 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva*, I, 1693, Fig. 99, the fictive architecture in perspective for the vault of Sant' Ignazio.





Fig. 5.46 Andrea Pozzo, *Saint Ignatius as Miracle-Maker*, fresco, 1687-88. Apse, Sant' Ignazio, Rome.



Fig. 5.47 Veronese, *The Feast of St Gregory the Great*, oil on canvas, 1572. Santuario della Madonna di Monte Berico, Vicenza.





## Images: Conclusion

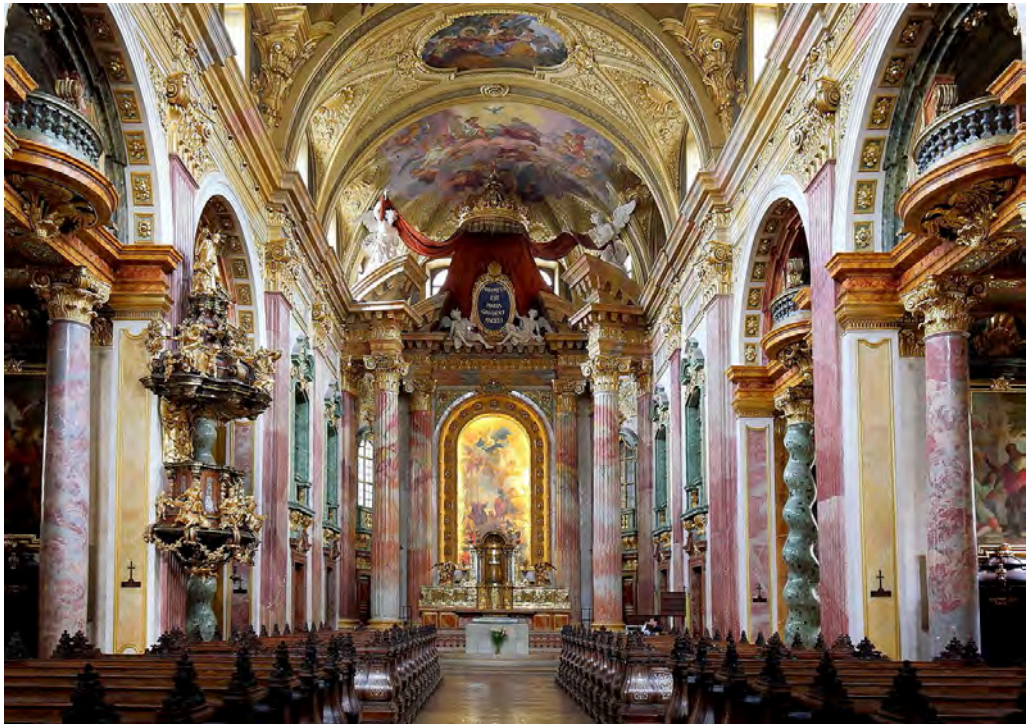


Fig. C.1 Universitätskirche, Vienna, 1627-33; remodelled by Andrea Pozzo 1703-09.



Fig. C.2 Andrea Pozzo, ceiling, 1703-09. Universitätskirche, Vienna. Restored 20<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. C.3 Andrea Pozzo, high altar, 1709. Universitätskirche, Vienna.





## Appendix: Documents

**Barella, Giovanni Battista.** *Relatione della solennità con quale Eccellentissimo Sig. Duca d'Ossuna Governatore di Milano, e Capitano Generale dell'Armi in Italia, Fece Voto, e Giuramento di difendere la Gloriosissima Concezzione della Vergine Santissima Madre di Dio, e Nostra Signora e della forma, con quale universalmente si celebrò in tutto lo Stato.* Milan, c. 1672.

2 r.

Così antico il culto divino nell'uso de' voti, e de' giuramenti, per obligare la volontà ad esser leale, e il cuore ad esser costante, che fin ne' primi secoli si trovano abbracciati somiglianti lacci non solo da Patriarchi, e da Profeti, mà da Gentili ancora, e dagl'idolatri, venerando questi con ossequiose dimostrate li loro falsi Dei, e adorando quelli il vero Creatore del Cielo, e della terra, adempiendo gli uni e gli altri con insustriose maniere le loro promesse. Giuravano li Persiani per il Sole. Quei d'Epidauro per Semele; Gli Egitij per Osiride; Gli Etiopi per il loro Defunti; Li Nasomoni, e li Maslageti per lo Tanai. A riferir di Platone Teleo fece voto, che le ritornava coi suoi libero da Creta, di riconoscere in Delfo con tributo convenevole la grazia da Apolline; onde gli Ateniesi continuarono per molto tempo à man dare ogni anno à Delfo la Nave, che servito l'avea in tragittar quei Mari. Sconfitti pure gli Ateniesi la Lacedomi, per implorare il soccorso de' loro Dei, e per timore di più gravi disastri fecero voto, gli huomini di non portare crine in capo, le Donne oro nelle vesti. Li Consoli, e gl'Imperatori Romani prima di uscire in campo alle militari Imprese con pubbliche cerimonie molto perfette, e solenni porgevano preghiere, e voti. Per caminare sù l'orme de'maggiori, che così si dee, benche queste conducessero à un falso culto, anche i Plebei ne' loro bisogni ricorrevano con voti ai Dei; gli Agricoltori à Silvano; li Marinari à Castore, e Polluce; gli Afflitti à Tutano; li Pastori à Pan; li Pellegrini ad Ercole; fin gli Assassini a Laverna. Si come adunque trà le virtù morali signoreggia da Reina la Religione; e trà gli atti della Religione è più nobile il giuramento, che la sola promessa; e d'ambidue è migliore il voto; così chiunque offerisce, e consagra volontaria, e liberalmente se stesso, ò qualche cosa del suo fa un'atto molto singulare di religione osservanza.

Volendo per tanto l'Eccellentissimo Sig. Don Gasparo Tellez Giron, conforme al suo natural costume, regolare il suo vivere tanto con le virtù morali, quanto con la Religione, e avvivare le illustri memorie degli Eroi, che la sua Casa hà dato al Mondo, particolarmente in una devozione la più tenera, e la più segnalata, già da molto tempo professata, e praticata da' suoi Eccellentissimi Antenati con eterne testimonianze ti Tempj, di Università, di Ospedali, e di altre opere magnifiche, e pie tanto ne' loro Stati, quanto altrove, eretti, e consagrati all'onore, e al nome della purissima Concezzione della Vergine Madre di Dio, e Nostra Signora concepita senza macchia di peccato originale nel primo istante del suo essere, obligando à non poter entrare à godere il beneficio di quei luoghi pij senza far precedere il giuramento di seguir sempre così santa opinione; nel che pure il Duca Don Pietro suo Auo impiegò ogni studio introducendo ne'Regni si Sicilia, e di Napoli, mentre era loro glorioso V. Rè, il guiramento, e il voto di sempre difendere questo Sacrosanto Mistero; il qual costume si è mantenuto poi in ambi que'Regni durevole: bramando perciò S. Ecc. mettere sì buon uso nella gran Città, e nello Stato di Milano, ove si

praticava bensì, per ordini Reali, da' Cavalieri d'abito, ma non era passato agli altri, e travando tutti molto bene disposti per loro naturale pietà, ottenne da' primi Ministri del suo primo Tribunale fin' à gli ultimi Vassalli un volontario consenso, tanto uniforme, e universale, che per ridurlo ad atto pubblico, dispose una Ottava nella insigne Chiesa di S. Fedele d' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù, (2 v.) ove alla sua presenza; e sotto suoi occhi si fecero li voti, e giuramenti solenni, con l'ordine, e nella maniera, che si anderà esponendo.

Per dar principio al racconto, nel quale entro con timore di esser machevole, e di non poter rappresentare la maestà dell'apparato con le altre funzioni, e ceremonie senza toglier molto al vero; tuttavia sperando di esser con patito per quello in cui averò mancato, riferitò al primo luogo l'ornamento del Tempio; e stimando di piacere in tal guisa a' Lettori di questo ragguaglio, comincerò dalla Cappella maggiore. Si vedeva in questa una Macchina d'ordine composito, per essere al parere degli Architetti questo il più grave, e il più vago. Rassebrava un tempio all'uso antico, che andava à convertirsi in un gran teatro, e con bellissima fuga metteva termine all'occhio in un'ampia prospettiva. Era composta di cinque scene doppie. La prima si formava da un'arco eminente, e per campeggiare si ergeva sopra una base alta cinque braccia di pietra rozza quadrata. Ascendea nel mezzo con dodeci gradi una scalinata, che portava al primo piano. Posavano sù questo per ordine sei piedestalli trè per parte alti quattro braccia, ciascuno de'quali reggeva una sontuosa colonna finta di marmo vivo macchiato co'capitelli d'ordine composito, che sostenevano architrave, fregio, e cornice dell'istesso ordine. Corrispondevano queste colone à due gran portici, quattro delle quali formavano nel vano due nicchi à due simulacri di Profeti alti cinque braccia. Sopra le loro cornici sorgevano altrettante statue delle Sibille correndo à lato de'portici in altre due fila. Le altre due colonne reggevano l'arco di mezzo, su'l quale caminava una gran cornice dell'istessa architettura, che faceva frontespizio, e con bellissimo rilievo risaltavano da ambe le bande ne'pilastri due statue di Sibille, e due altre di Profeti finte di mezzo rilievo intagliato in atto di sedere negli angoli formati dell'arco.

Seguiva seconda scena, che nella disposizione, e nel lavoro corrispondeva al primo arco, e formava somigliante il suo, architettato con tal maestria, che si apriva in quattro archi, sù quali posava la cupola di figura concava, con apertura circolare nel mezzo, intorno à cui rigirava un bell'ordine di balaustri.

Rappresentava la terza scena altri trè archi in fuga sostenuti da otto colonne per arco, le quali posavano sù le basi formate dal secondo piano elevato sopra il primo quattro braccia; ascendevasi ad esso per una scalinata francheeggiata da ambe le bande da balaustri con piedestalli, e colonne.

Sopra de' trè Archi si stendeva un gran campo con un'altra balaustrata, che havea nel mezzo una maestosa cornice con vago risalto di figura quadrata, e semicircolare sostenuta da bellissimi modiglioni, corrispondendo il tutto con fregi, ed arabeschi.

Rassebrava la quarta Scena un gran teatro semicircolare di buona architettura, che con la varietà de gli archi, e delle aperture e fuga portava il guardo molto lontano.

La quinta, ed ultima Scena terminava la prospettiva con apertura di molte lontananze.

Sovra le ultime trè scene si apriva un arco di gloria, in mezzo alla quale campeggiava il simulacro della Vergine à somiglianza della Donna descritta nell'Apocalisse. *Mulier amicta Sole, Luna sub pedibus eius, & in capite eius Corona Stellarum duodecim.* Brillavano le Stelle in Capo; campeggiava (3 r.) la Luna sotto ai piedi à lumi nascosti in un viluppo di nuvole, e di Angeli coloriti, e atteggiati in varie guise rigirando, ò toccando musicali strumenti. Nell'altro servivano di Cielo molto nubi aggruppare, che ricevendo, e ripercuotendo la luce di molti faci nascoste, o gli davano luminose Stelle, o splendori d'uno chiaro giorno. Tutta la macchina in ogni parte nascondeva un'infinità di candele, da riflessi delle quali restava la sua bellezza scoperta, e le ombre poste in fuga facevano comparire tanto più maravigliosa la prospettiva, quanto la portavano più lontana. Degna pure di meraviglia fù l'industria nell'Architetto nell'accendere in un momento tutte le faci, e in farle salire tutte insieme dal piano alla sommità della macchina, che sorgeva all'altezza di 40 braccia. Per darle abbondante lume egualmente in tutte le parti, oltre le molte torcie, che in palese, e di nascosto avvampavano, innanzi a i lati della prima Scena del Teatro in proporzionata distanza si ergevano sopra piedestalli da ambe le bande due Statue all'altezza di 12 braccia. Sopra di esse si vedevano in aria quasi all'altezza della macchina due Angeli, in atto di una parte di far risuonar con le trombe le glorie dell'Immacolata Concettione, e dall'altra parevano aver ritirata una cortina, che prima cuoprìsse il Teatro, la quale insieme sostenevano, e lasciavano cadere a padiglione colorito di rosso con varij, e bizzari panneggiamenti dietro le Statue inferiori per loro ornamento; Corrispondevano à meraviglia queste due mezze Scene all'Architettura, e Prospettiva dell'apparato, e nascondendo molti lumi rendevano luce abbondante alla prima facciata del maestoso Teatro. Innanzi ad esso tutte le pareti del Choro riccamente addobate di Damaschi cremesì, trinati d'oro riflettevano più vaga, e più fiammeggiante la luce, che ricevevano.

Non era di men belli e sontuosi addobbi guernito il rimanente del Tempio. Tra la Cornice, e l'Architrava corteva un vaghissimo freggio d'arabeschi coloriti. Sotto il Cornicione caminava un'altro ordine di Damaschi rossi trinati d'oro, mà più facevano pompa altre pregiatissime tapezzerie, le quali rappresentavano i trionfi di nostra Fede Istoriati con oro al disegno, & originale del famoso Rubens. Nella parte inferiore di disposero altri richissimi arazzi. Pompeggiava la facciata interiore con molte fila di repostiere di veluto crem[a] sì che mostravano nel mezzo con finissimo ricamo l'arme della Casa d'Ossuna, e negli orli varij trofei ed imprese militari pur di ricamo d'oro, nella quali si è trovato il Sig. Duca Governatore. Concorrevano far simetria le cortine di Damasco dell'istesso colore, le quali toglievano alle fenestre la luce per far maggiormente compeggiare gli splendori proprij del Teatro, e per tenere gl'animi più raccolti colle tenebre del Tempio nelle devozione.

Non hà bisogno la facciata esteriore della Chiesa d'alcun'ornamento, mentre da se stessa ne abbonda. Tuttavia su'l fronte pizio della porta s'innalzarono due grand'arme di S.E., e in mezzo ad esse una Cartella maggiore, e sontuosa con un'Inscrizione.

*Sacratissimam Dei param Verginem Mariam absque ulla labe originalis noxe in primo instanti naturali sua vita & conceptam Excellentissima Domus Ossune prima in Hispania solemni pompa celebravit, veritatem misterij usque ad aras defendendam, à Neapolitanis confessibus voto, ac iuramento se ab stringentibus Excellentissimus ibi Prorex D. Petrus Tellez Giron Dux Ossuna (3 v.) in Italia primus promovit. Ipsius Nepos Excellentissimus Dom. Don Gaspar Tellez Giron Ossunae & itidem Dux, ac status Mediolensis Gubernator, & Belli Imperator idem iuramentum, ac votum emittendum in cunctorum animos insigni pietate induxit.*

Si diede principio a si grande solennità la Domenica 7. Di Febraro del 1672 con l'assistenza del Sig. Duca, il quale accompagnato dall'Eccelso Consiglio Segreto entrò nella Chiesa con numeroso seguito di Nobiltà dell'Essercito, e dello Stato, cominciandosi nell'istesso tempo la Messa solenne con esquisissima Musica ripartita in più Cori. Celebrò Pontificalmente Monsignore Giovanni Rasino Vescovo della Città di Vigevano, che essendo del patronato Reale volle impiegarsi in questa funzione, nella quale fece non meno risplendere la sua virtù, che l'ossequio, e la stima dovuta a si gran Principe. Dopo il Vangelo fece l'orazione panegirica sopra l'Immacolata Mistero il Reverendissimo P. Andrea Mendo della Campagna di Giesù, Qualificatore del Consiglio della Santa Inquisitione di Spagna, Predicatore di Sua Maestà, Confessore e Limosiniere maggiore di S. E., nella quale venne insieme a mostrare con peregrini concetti, e con dottrina elevata il suo molto sapere, e la verità del Mistero, che'ei persuadeva. Terminato il Panegirico, e cantato con piena armonia il simbolo di nostra fede si fece il giuramento ricevuto da Monsignor Vescovo in questa guisa.

Venne egli all'ultimo della Capella maggiore vicino a balaustri, dove gli fù portata la Sedia rasa, ove postosi a federe, Carlo Francesco Gorrano Segretario di S. M. nell'istesso Consiglio, ad alta, e chiara voce recitò la forma seguente del giuramento.

*Don Gaspar Tellez Giron Enriquez de Rivera, Duca d'Ossuna, conte di Vregna, Marchese di Penafiel, Governatore, e Capitano generale dello stato di Milano, e tutti, e ciascuno del Consiglio Segreto, insistendo alla Costituzione del Sommo Pontefice. Alessandro Settimo di felice memoria data sotto gli 11 di Settembre del 1661, & alle altre Bolle de Sommi Pontefici suoi antecessori, facciamo voto, promessa, e giuramento di Dio Nostro Signore, che tanto in publico, quanto in privato, costantemente affermaremos, publicaremo, e difenderemo, che la Gloriosissima Vergine Maria Madre dell'istesso Dio, e sempre benedetta, sempre santa, come pure lo fù nel primo istante naturale della sua Concezione, e nell'istesso istante libera dal peccato Originale, e preveduta a fin dall'Eternità fù preservata con la Divina grazia per li meriti del suo Santissimo Figliuolo, perche non incorresse in questo peccato, essendo conceputa in grazia, e che già mai ci partiremo un punto da questa risoluzione, come ne facciamo voto, promessa, e giuramento: Così Dio ci aiuti, ci assista, e questi Santi Vangeli.*

A questa funzione attendea S.E. dalla sua cortina, essendo passato d'Eccelso Consiglio Segreto dal luogo, ove sedeva, al fianco di essa, per esser presente all'atto del giuramento. Publicatosi questo dal Segretario, vicì S.E. dalla cortina, quando Monsignor Vescovo si alzò in piedi, e facendo al Sig. Duca l'usato inchino, lo

ricevè; ripostosi di poi Monsignore sù la sedia, inginocchiatosi S.E. sul coffino per ciò apparecchiato, con la mano sul Missale disse; così lo giuro; Sorgendo di nuovo Monsignore à salutare il Sig. Duca, egli si ritirò alla sua cortina, usando in tutto le cerimonie prescritte dal ceremoniale Ecclesiastico nella forma pratica in sasi somiglianti col Principe; dopo questo ritornando Monsignore Vescovo alla sua sedia vicino (4 r.) a scalini dell'Altare ricevè sedendo il giuramento degli altri, li quali seguendo l'ordine de'loro carichi, e dell'antinità gli Eccellentissimi Signori, e gli Illustrissimi Signori. . .

Agli otto fece l'istessa funzione l'Eccellentissimo Senato, di cui è degno Presidente l'Illustriss. Reggente Conte Bartolomeo Arese, il quale benche avesse già giurato al luogo del Gran Cancelliere nel corpo dell'Ecelso Consiglio Segreto, lo volle ratificare insieme con li Senatori. Celebrò la Messa il M. Reverendo P. Gabrielle Archinto Preposito della Casa Professa, come pure tutti gli altri giorni, toltone l'ultimo. Predicò il Sig. Bartolomeo Argenta Paroco di S. Vito in Pasquirolo, e della Sagra Congregazione degli Oblati, Soggetto eminente, e non può non esser tale, mentre è stato eletto da un Tribunale venerato da tutta l'Europa.

Alli 9. Assistè, e giurò, l'illustriss. Conte Carlo Bellone del Consiglio di S. M. nel Supremo d'Italia, e Presidente dell'Illustriss. Magistrato delle ordinarie rendite dello Stato di Milano, insieme con gli altri Questori di quel Tribunale. Fece il panegirico il M.R. Padre Fr. Gabriello della Santissima Nunciata Carmelitano Scalzo, Soggetto d'ingegno elevato.

Alli 10 toccò all'Illustriss. D. Orazio della Torre, Reggente del Supremo Consiglio d'Italia, e Presidente dell'Illustriss. Magistrato dell' rendite Straordinarie di questo Stato, il quale fù accompagnato da suoi Questori, e Fiscali. Predicò con grande energia il M.R. Padre Presentato Fr. Nicolas de Galuez dell'Illustriss. Ordine Domenicano, Lettore di Teologia nella Provincia dell'Andaluzia, Sogetto famoso.

Alli 11. Giurò il Consiglio Generale degli'Illustrissimi Signori Sessanta Decurioni dell'Inclita Città di Milano, e fece panegirico il Sig. Giuseppe Valvasore Paroco di S. Michele Gallo, che hà il vanto sì singolar dottrina.

Alle 12. Intervenne l'Illustrissimo Collegio de'Dottori di Milano, e predicò il M.R.P. Don Gio. Battista Grassi dell'ordine de'Padri Chierici Regolari Somalchi.

4 v.

Alli 13 assistè, e giurò il Collegio d'Notari di questa Città. Predicò il M.R. P. Fr. Giacomo Antonio di Grignasco Predicatore generale, e Lettore di Teologia nel Convento del Giardino dell'Ordine riformato di S. Francesco con eguale dottrina, e vigore.

La Domenia a' 14, nel quale giorno si diede fine all'Ottava, ritornò l'Eccellentiss. Sig. Duca in publico, poiche gli altri giorni fù presente incognito in un coretto della Chiesa. Fù servito dall'inclita, e nobilissima Militia nell'Esercito, e dello Stato, e tutti ratificarono il giuramento del primo giorno recitato ad altra voce da Don Luca Saenz de Cortazar Ufficiale Maggiore della Segretaria di guerra di S.E. nelle mani

dell'istesso Vescovo di Vigevano, il quale si come avea dato principio, così volle dar compimento alla solennità con la sua assistenza. Predicò il M. Reu. P.D. Paolo Riveglia Monaco Caffinese dell'Ordine di S. Benedetto, e Priore di S. Spirito di Pavia: Personaggio di virtù, e di letteratura divina, ed humana, al quale toccò giustamente senza offesa degli altri dicatori, con la gentile, e leggiadra sua eloquenza terminare una solennità tanto gloriosa. Gloriosa per l'Immacolato Mistero, per lo quale si celebrava; Gloriosa per la pietà del Principe, he l'ha promessa; Gloriosa per la maestà dell'apparato; Gloriosa per lo straordinario concorso de' Cittadini, e Forestieri, che non capivano nel Tempio, & alla fine gloriosa per la Casa d'Ossuna, che trà le altre eroiche prodezze de suoi Reali Antenati, lascierà questa gran memoria scritta ne' fasti dell'eternità, obligando la Divina Maestà, e la sua Santissima Madre ad assistere à S.E. nella Corte Celeste per l'adempimento felice della sue rette intenzioni nel governo di questo Stato.

Concorse ancora notte alla solennità della festa con sonoro, e lieto rimbombo d'una salva reale, diposta dall'Eccellentissimo Signore Mastro di Campo Generale Don Baldassar Mercaderio in questo Reale Castello, nella quale venne à mostrare non meno la sua devozione alla Vergine, che il suo ossequio agli orgini dell'Eccellentiss. Sig. Duca Governatore. A questo però è restato il dolore di non poter maggiormente far palese il suo affetto verso la Reina del Cielo, alla quale hà reso soggetto il volere, e fatto l'oglio tutto il suo operare.

Vanno seguitando questo Santo istituto tutte le altre Città dello Stato, che à gara faranno copeneggiare la loro pietà in così santa funzione con la magnificenza, e con lo splendore. Queste sono Cremona (perche Pavia, e la sua Università l'hanno fatto prima), Lodi, Como, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Vigevano, e Bobbio, come pure le Provincie, ciascuna ne luoghi più insigni del suo distretto: così ancora diversi Borghi non aggregati ad esse, come Varallo, Monza, Domodossola, Casal Maggiore, Medi, Castelnuovo di Scrvia, e molti altri.

Al Marchesato del Finale, come à corpo separato si sono mandati gli ordini opportuni per l'esecuzione di cosa tanto santa, e tutte le Provincie doveranno alla Cancelleria Segreta li loro arti in forma autentica, perche si conservino negli Archivij Reali à perpetua memoria.

**Pozzo, Andrea.** *Copia d'una lettera Scritta da Andrea Pozzo della Compagnia di Giesu Pittore, Al'Lustrissimo, ed Eccellentissimo Principe Antonio Floriano di Liechtenstein Ambasciadore dell'Augustissimo Imperadore Leopoldo Ignazio presso la Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Innocenzo Duodecimo Carica alli Significati della Volta da Lui Dipinta nel Tempio di Sant'Ignazio in Roma.* Rome: Gio. Giacomo Komarke Boëme, 1693.

Il primo lume che ebbi a formar quest'idea mi venne da quelle Sacre parole: *Ignem veni mittere in terrum, e quid volo nisi ut accendatur*, congruentemente adattate da santa Chiesa a S. Ignazio, come grande instrumento di sì grand'opera, essendo egli stato zelantissimo di propagar la Religione Cattolica e la luce dell'Evangelio per tutto il Mondo, servendosi perciò dell'opera de suoi compagni e figliuoli frequentemente da lui incitativi con quelle celebri voci: *It omnia incendite et inflammate.* Ma perchè



ogni fuoco ed ogni lume celeste convien che provenga dal Padre de' lumi, perciò nel mezzo della Volta dipinsi un'immagine di Gesù, il qual comunica un raggio di luce al cuor d'Ignazio, che per vien da esso trasmesso alli seni più risposti delle quattro Parti del Mondo da me figurate co' suoi Geroglifici nelle quattro Imposte della Volta. Queste investite da un tanto lume stanno in atto di rigettar di sè i deformissimi Mostri o d'Idolatria, o di Eresia, o di altri vizj, che prima le dominavano; godendo di que' ceppi, e di quelle catene, di cui li mirano avvinti. Esterminati i vizj, e fecondate da questo lume divino come da seme di ogni virtù le quattro Parti del Mondo, si trasmette da esse al Cielo Messe Beata di Anime santificate, che mediante la cultura di molti indefessi Operai, o dalla Infeltà passarono alle Fede, o da una Fede morta per la perversità de' costumi federo ritorno alla Grazia. Il primo di questi indefessi Operai è l'Apostolo dell'Indie San Francesco Saverio, che mirasi dall'Asia guidare al Cielo un grande stuolo di Convertiti. L'istesso si esprime fatto da altri della Compagnia di Giesu nell'Europa, nell'Africa, e nell'America. Qual poi fosse il fine dell'Altissimo in partecipare ad Ignazio luce si copiosa, ben' si vedrà espresso da chiunque rifletterà, che dall'istesso seno del Renditore, si spicca un'altro raggio, che portandosi ad uno scudo, in cui mirasi impressi il nome di Giesu, lo corona di luce; significandosi con cio, che avendo il Redentore per mira la gloria del suo nome, volle onorare Ignazio; mentre ogni pensiero, ogni affetto, ed ogni opera d'Ignazio ad altro non tenevano, che *ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*. Miransi poi nelle dui stremità della Volta li dui mezzi più efficaci di cui servissi, per la conversione del Mondo Ignazio co' suoi figliuoli: il primo fu quello dell'Amor divino, espresso in quelle fiamme vitali, in cui gli Angeli Tutelari delle provincie e de' regni ammolliscano i cuori duri e pertinaci per la infedeltà, e rassodano i molli e gli effeminati per la impurità de' costumi. Il secondo mezzo fu quello del Timor de' divini castighi da me figurati nell'ultima estremità della Volta, in cui si mira un'altra fiamma, ma dissimile in tutto alla prima; fabricandosi in essa fulmini, e saette, con cui si minacciano dagli Angeli Esterminatori rovine e morti a que' perversi, che sono pertinacemente ribelli o al lume della fede, o al calor della grazia. Ma perchè gli stessi divini castighi sono spesse volte di rimedio alla colpa, ed estinguono in noi l'ardore degli affetti terreni per accendervene de' celesti, perciò piacquemi di esprimere un tal pensiero in quell'Angelo, che con una mano sostiene in alto un face, e con l'altra gitta dell'acqua un fuoco tenebroso ed oscuro accesso sul terreno. Il corpo poi che racchiude in se tanto varie figure si è un'artificiosa Architettura in Prospettiva, che serve di campo a tutta d'Opera. Essendo questa stata da me dipinta secondo le regole di tal'arte, nel mezzo del Tempio più che in altro lato si mira più vagamente. L'Idea di una tal prospettiva vien'espressa in gran parte nel mio libro di Architettura e Prospettiva ricevuto con particolar gradimento dal peritissimo intelletto di Vostra Eccellenza. Compatirà l'Eccellenza Vostra questi rozzissimi tratti della mia penna, non punto dissimili a quelli del mio pennello, riflettendo a quell'umilissimo ossequio, con cui offerisco e le dedico con questi miei poveri sudori anche me stesso.

Divotissimo, ed Obligatissimo Servo,

Andrea Pozzo della Compagnia del Giesu.

**Pozzo, Andrea.** *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum, Pars Prima (Prospettiva de' Pittori, et Architetti, Parte Prima)*. Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1723 (orig. 1693).

*Al Lettore Studioso di Prospettiva*

L'Arte della Prospettiva con ammirabil diletto inganna il più accorto de' nostri sensi esteriori che è l'occhio; ed è necessaria à chi nella Pittura vuol dar la giusta situatione e diminutione alle figure; e la maggiore o minor vivezza che conviene a' colori e alle ombre. Al che insensibilmente s'arriva, se la persona non contendendosi di fare studio nel solo Disegno, s'avvezza à digradare esattamente tutti gli Ordini d'Architettura. Nondimeno trà molti che fin ora con gran coraggio si sono messi à tal impresa, pochi se non contano, i quali non si sieno ben presto perduti d'animo, per mancanza di maestri e di libri, i quali con chiarezza e ordine insegnino a dare alle Prospettive i loro scorci, da i principii dell'arte sino alla total perfezzion d'essa. Hor trovandomi d'haver io acquistata qualche felicità in questa professione, con l'esercitio continuato di molti anni; stimo di dover incontrare la sodisfattione degli Studiosi, e cooperare al profitto loro, dando in luce i modi più sbrigati, con cui posson disegnarsi in prospettiva tutti gli Ordini d'Architettura, per via della Regola comune, togliendo da essa tutti gl'intrighi dell' linee occulte. Dapoi, in un altro Libro, mostrerò il modo di fare tutte le Prospettive con la Regola che al presente io adopero, ed è più facile, e universal dell'ordinaria, e comune; benchè questa sia il fondamento dell'altra. Cominciate dunque o mio Lettore allegramente il vostro lavoro; con risoluzione di tirar sempre tutte le line delle vostre operationi al vero punto dell'occhio che è la gloria Divina. Ed io vi auguro e vi prometto a sì onorati desiderii felicissimo riuscimento.

Fig. 71

*Teatro delle Nozze di Cana Galilea fatto nella Chiesa del Giesù di Roma l'anno 1685. per le 40. hore.*

Dalle preparazioni antecedenti si è cavata questa nobile architettura, la quale si empiva l'occhio, mirandola alla luce del giorno, più lampeggiava a lume di candele, molte delle quali erano scoperte, e altre noscoste, per illuminare tutti sei gl'ordini de' telari, che componevano la machina, senza contar quelli, i quali nel mezzo dell'arco maggiore fingevano nuvole piene d'Angeli, che adoravano il Santissimo Sacramento: e tali nuvole ho qui lasciato di disegnare, per non coprir le parti delle fabbriche più indentro. Nel situare i telari, e nello sceglier le loro distanze, offervammo la maniera, che fù dichiarata nelle figure 61., e 62., facendo anche in modo, che i lumi messi dietro a ciascun telaro potessero investire la facciata di quei di dentro. Il numero poi de' telari corrispondeva a quello de' membri più principali delle due maggiori facciate, onde appena si poteva discernere dove si congiugnessero assieme. E oltre di ciò, alcune paia di telari erano unite con le centinette, accioche potendo stendersi e ripiegarsi, fossero più manegievoli, e più lungamente si conservassero.

Non dubito punto, che chi mi haverà seguito sino a questo termine, da se stesso proseguirà felicemente il suo viaggio, per arrivare à far cose più belle, e di maggiore perfettione, che non son queste.

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*An Answer to the Objection made about the Point of Sight in Perspective (translation of Respondetur objectioni circum punctum oculi optidorum).*

Every one does not approve, that in Perspective of great Extent one Point of Sight only should be assign'd the whole Work; as for example, In the whole Length of the Nave, Cupola, and Tribune, express'd in the Ninety-third Figure, they will by no means allow of one single Point, but insist upon several.

I answer, This objection may be understood two ways; either that one Point alone is not sufficient for that whole Length, and in this sense 'tis true; for that Space being very long, it ought to be divided into Parts, and proper Points assign'd to the Tribune, Cupola, and Vault of the Nave; as is commonly taught, where the Situation is of great Length, and not very high. Or it may be understood of any One of the said Parts, and so is altogether false. *First*, Because in the Vaults or Halls or Churches painted by the greatest Masters, if they consist of one Piece only, we find but one Point of Sight assigned. *Secondly*, Since Perspective is but a counterfeiting of the Truth, the Painter is not oblig'd to make it appear real when seen from *Any* part, but from *One* determinate Point only. *Thirdly*, Because, if in a Vault, for Example, where you would paint one entire Design of Architecture and Figures, you assign several Points of Sight, you will find no place whence you may take a perfect View of the Whole, and at best you can only view each Part from its proper point. From all which Reasons I conclude, that the Introduction of many Points into the same Piece, is more injurious to the Work, than making use of one only: Wherefore 'tis absolutely necessary in a regular Situation, and where the Work is all of a piece so to place the same, as that the Figures and Architecture may from every part of the Design have respect thereto. This suppos'd, I confess that I myself make use of one Point of Sight only, in very large Vaults that consist of one Design, such as that of the Nave of the Church of St *Ignatius*. If therefore thro' the Irregularity of the Place, the Architecture appear with some Deformity, and the Figures intermix'd therewith seem any thing lame and imperfect, when view'd out of the proper Point, besides the Reasons just now given, it's so far from being a fault, that I look upon it as an Excellency of the Work, that when view'd from the Point determin'd, it appear, with due Proportion, streight, flat, or concave; when in reality it is not so.



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### Abbreviations: Archives and Manuscript Collections

ACN	Archivio della Congregazione dei Nobili
ADT	Archivio Diocesano Trentino
ACT	Archivio Comunale di Trento
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Med.=Provincia Mediolanensis Rom.=Provinciae Roma Fondo Gesuitico
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASM	Archivio di Stato di Milano
AST	Archivio di Stato di Torino
BAM	Biblioteca Ambrosiana Milano
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

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