1 Pietro da Cortona, *Double Intercession*, 1647–59, cupola and tribune, Chiesa Nuova, Rome

Ian Verstegen

Earthbound Apotheosis: Pietro da Cortona's Portrayal of St. Filippo Neri in the Chiesa Nuova

The Chiesa Nuova, or Santa Maria in Vallicella, is the mother church of the Congregation of the Oratory, the counter-reformation Order founded by St. Filippo Neri (1515–1595), canonized in 1622.[1] The Chiesa Nuova boasts not only a Chapter House designed by Borromini but also one of the most impressive examples of Baroque fresco decoration in Rome (**Fig. 1**). There Pietro da Cortona painted a complex of three main frescoes, including the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the tribune dome and *God the Father, Christ, and Old Testament Prophets* in the cupola (**Figs. 2, 3**) and, finally, on the ceiling a *quadro riportato* of *The Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella* (**Fig. 4**).[2] One instinctively groups all three together as an ensemble, and they are united by their stylistic similarities. In each case, the architectonic forms in which the frescoes appear are simple and clear-cut. One is struck by the legibility of the extremely large figures, the most important of which are Christ and God the Father in the cupola and Mary in the tribune, and lastly Filippo Neri and (once again) Mary over the nave. Pietro da Cortona had a long relationship with the Congregation of the Oratory, beginning when he was a young man. In 1634 he painted an image of *St. Michael and Angels with the Instruments of the Passion* on the Sacristy ceiling (**Fig. 5**).[3] In 1636 he painted *St. Filippo Neri in Ecstasy* in the anticamera to Filippo's personal rooms in the church (**Fig. 6**).[4] Thus, Cortona was not an unlikely candidate to undertake this monumental decorative scheme. However, the unfolding of the various commissions took some time.

It was while working on the Palazzo Pitti projects for Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici that Cortona had the invitation to work again in the Chiesa Nuova, and immediately began the cupola with *God, Christ and Old Testament Figures* (1647–51). After the completion of the gallery of the Palazzo Pamphili (1651–54), Cortona returned to the Chiesa Nuova and painted the *Assumption of the Virgin* for the apse (1655–59). He then turned to the pendentives (1659–60). At this point, Cortona broke off his Chiesa Nuova commissions again and finished the sketches for the two last rooms for the Palazzo Pitti (the *Sala di Apollo* and the *Sala di Saturno)*, to be executed by his pupil Ciro Ferri. It was only with the Palazzo Pitti finally finished that Cortona prepared the last fresco for the Chiesa Nuova, the image of *The Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella* (January 1664-Spring 1665). As can be seen immediately, the execution of the various elements took place over several years. It was a time when the Oratory was occasionally suffering financial difficulties and Cortona was either besieged with commissions (some inflexible, like that issuing from Pope Innocent X Pamphili for his family palace) or, especially in the later years, had bad health. But this does not mean that because the three major frescoes were executed piecemeal; they were also conceived in the same manner. There is documentary, stylistic, and iconographic evidence that the frescoes were conceived as a whole, a true Baroque *bel composto* in the sense we associate with Bernini, but took several interrupted years to complete.[5] A communication exists from November 1650 in which it is written that after considering the time necessary for the completion of the cupola, the larger project, Father Girolamo Bernabei explicitly proposed to concentrate only on the cupola and pendentives leaving "*la pittura della tribuna ad*

altro trattato."[6] Therefore, at least the tribune and cupola were actually begun together, suggesting strongly that they were planned together.

Stylistically, when one stands directly underneath the *quadro* image of Filippo Neri and looks toward the apse, one can see both the Virgin Mary in the tribune and God the Father and Christ at the base of the dome, supported by two Old Testament prophets on the pendentives. In fact, Mary appears to be ascending to God the Father and Christ. Following a long tradition of dome painting, the dome and tribune figures are placed where they are for oblique viewing, or *Schrägsicht* as Wolfgang Schöne termed it in 1962, and form one visual whole (**Fig. 7**).[7] The fact that the ideal viewing point is directly below the nave fresco also suggests its integrality for the whole. Iconographically, as Avraham Ronen has demonstrated, one must also take the apse and dome images to be one program because it is only in that way that they can be seen to be demonstrating the theme of "double intercession," where God and Christ receive Mary's assumption as a means to intercede for the lives of both the living and dead, as God's vengeful angels are stayed from destroying humanity.[8] Normal double intercession scenes typically pair Christ's *ostentatio vulneris*, the showing of the spear wound at his side, with Mary's *ostentatio uberis*, the showing of her breast.[9] It is an originally Franciscan iconography that elevates Mary to an equal position with Christ as co-redemptrix.[10] As Christ and Mary display their sacrifice, God sends down the dove of the Holy Spirit, underscoring their interdependence. The double intercession was a popular invocation for those souls in Purgatory and during natural disasters, like a plague. A change in post-Tridentine taste left the standard double intercession unacceptable for its nudity, and so here we see more of a *sacra conservazione* in the cupola and an *assunta* in the tribune. But the same context, intercession on behalf of humanity to calm God's wrath, is still present.

2 *God, Christ and Old Testament Prophets*, 1647–51, cupola, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.

3 *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1655–59, tribune, Chiesa Nuova, Rome

The subject of the nave vault fresco is a miracle involving Filippo Neri and the foundation of the Chiesa Nuova. Filippo is shown beholding the Madonna swooping down from heaven to grab a beam as workmen look on. According to the legend, while Santa Maria in Vallicella was being rebuilt into the Chiesa Nuova (c. 1575), Neri had a dream that a weak beam was threatening the revered Madonna of Vallicella, the old cult image that was housed in the church (later enshrined by Rubens in his high altarpiece). In Neri's dream, the Virgin Mary miraculously supported the beam and saved the picture. The next morning Filippo reported his vision and everyone went and saw how that after removing the surrounding walls the beam indeed was suspended in the air. Cortona's example conflates Filippo's

4 Pietro da Cortona, *Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella*, 1664–65, Nave Ceiling, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
5 Pietro da Cortona, *St. Michael and Angels with the Instruments of the Passion*, 1634, Sacresty ceiling, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.

dream and the later discovery of the miracle.[11] Although the fresco of the *Miracle of the Madonna di Vallicella* is not related to the double-intercession theme, the image is related to it spatially because the proper viewing point to see the tribune-cupola ensemble is directly below it. Ronen has done a commendable job in laying bare the iconographic scheme of the cupola and tribune. For a church dedicated to the Virgin, it demonstrates the theological importance of Mary and belief in her active intercession which was a central part of Oratorian devotion. But instead of regarding the nave vault fresco of the miracle of St. Filippo Neri as an afterthought, perhaps some theological lesson can be told there as well.

In the following, I shall show that the stylistic and spatial means Cortona used to depict Filippo Neri reflects Oratorian theology. If the cupola features God the Father and Christ and Old Testament figures, and the tribune holds the Virgin and mostly New Testament saints, Cortona downplays illusionism in favor of detachment with the *Quadro riportato* form, which has the effect of separating Neri from the holy. His form of utter humility is communicated in the image, where there is no attempt to show Neri's mingling in the realm of the divine. Cortona was clearly very aware of the problem that faced him and sought clear means to portray the Oratorian saint in the proper way. By reviewing conventions of dome and ceiling painting, and Cortona's own choices in other commissions, the anomaly of the Chiesa Nuova vault emerges. Particularly in comparison to Jesuit practices that stressed the *bel composto* of unified, illusionistic spaces with humans mixing in divine orders as an apotheosis (the Ig-

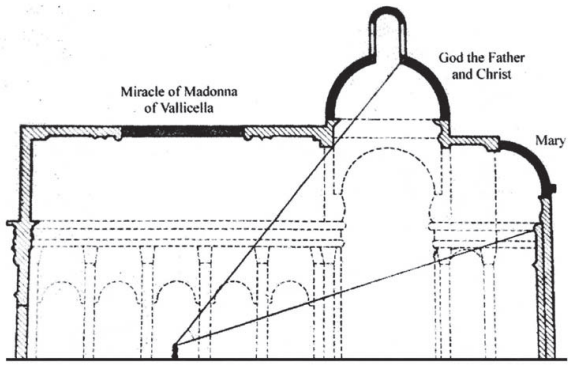
6 Pietro da Cortona, *St. Filippo Neri in Ecstacy*, 1636, Anticamera to the Superior rooms of the Saint, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.

natius chapel of the Gesù), the Oratorian Fathers led Cortona to radically limit Neri's mixing with the divine, pulling him back to the border of the apse fresco, and positively to earth in the nave fresco. His anti-apotheosis, if it can be called that at all, is an *earthbound* apotheosis.

The Cupola

In September 1646 the Oratorian Fathers wrote to Cortona "to see if he would paint our cupola and tribune."[12] In October Cortona accepted the commission, and the Fathers then proposed (13 October) that, "since the church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, it might be fit to dedicate the work to her" and further "one could put [in the apse] our Father St. Filippo or one of his deeds."[13] Cortona was then told to think of a subject for the nave vault, because he might be asked to paint it later. A letter of November 1647 from Cortona to Cardinal Francesco Barberini indicates he was working on cartoons for both frescoes.[14] As we will see in a moment, it is significant that it was not deemed appropriate to place Neri in the apse.

What precedents did Cortona have? The most obvious model was just down the street, in Giovanni Lanfranco's *Assumption of the Virgin* for the cupola for San Andrea della Valle, painted twenty years earlier (1629).[15] As Wittkower has pointed out, this was a long wait for another such illusionistically-painted cupola. However, as he clarifies, because of their style the new High Baroque churches that were presently being built, including Cortona's own, were not conceived to accommodate illusionistic



7 Wolfgang Schöne, *diagram of viewpoints in the Chiesa Nuova, Rome.*

paintings. It will be recalled the Gesù and San'Ignazio received later illusionistic paintings, but these were older edifices of a different nature.[16]

Cortona also would have been influenced by Cigoli's cupola for the Pauline Chapel (1610–1612) in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, which preceded Lanfranco's example by another twenty years. Cortona also would have known Federico Zuccaro's cupola for Florence Cathedral (1574) from his work for the Medici. But it seems that Cortona reached back to what had inspired these examples, Correggio's illusionistic cupola (1526–30) featuring the *Assumption of the Virgin* in Parma Cathedral. It has only recently been noticed that the ascending Virgin is visible both from the nave as well as from the crossing, giving her oblique accessibility to viewers.[17] Cortona was to use just this strategy of oblique visual accessibility to paint the Chiesa Nuova cupola, however, his positioning was not of a radical *di sotto in su* variety.

Cortona already introduced such an oblique element into his own work in the low hemi-spherical ceiling of the Salone (1633–39) of the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (**fig. 8**). John Beldon Scott has convincingly shown that, although we are not dealing with a cupola, an oblique position is the correct way from which to view the Salone.[18] The most significant feature of the ceiling is the way in which Cortona has altered the heavenly company so that they are also visible to the viewer near the entrance of the Salone. In spite of this, when we look at either Correggio's fresco for the cupola, or Cortona's fresco for the Salone Barberini, we see no attempt to treat two architectonically diverse items as a single group; this is new in the Chiesa Nuova.

In terms of content, Lanfranco's cupola was much different, as it featured two of the most important saints of the Theatine order in the cupola, introduced into Heaven by interceding saints. While they are not being delivered to Heaven, they do mix in the heady atmosphere of the cupola. Thus, we have a juxtaposition of new saint with the most aggressive spatial strategy. The highest vault, the most exalted for heavenly symbolism, accommodates not only God the Father, Christ and Mary, but also the apostles and Gaetano da Thiene and Antonio Avellino, each only beatified in 1629 and 1624, respectively.

Cortona's subject matter in the cupola is extremely unusual. Here the Trinity is surrounded by Old-Testament figures. Ronen can only cite one case, the cupola of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte in Rome, as another comparable example. It is at this point that we can see how a typology is established, with Old Testament figures reserved for the cupola and the New-Testament, or perhaps more accurately New-Era saints, intended for the tribune. On the pendentives the prophets Jeramiah, Isaiah, Ezechial, and Daniel are depicted, with inscriptions at their bases taken from their respective Old Testament books (from the entrance, Jeremiah is visible on the right and Isaiah on the left). Here we find another con-

nection to Cigoli who, in the Pauline Chapel, also included prophets on the pendentives. The inscriptions are unique; they read:

> SUCCENSAM/ EGO/ VIDEO/ IEREM (IA) (Jeremiah I:13: "I see a seething cauldron")
>
> NE/ IRASCARIS/ DOMINE/ SATIS/ ISAIAE (Isaiah LXIV:9: "Pray to God to control his wrath")
>
> REVERTERE/ AD VAGINAM/ TUAM/ EZACH (Ezekial XXI:30: "Return into thy sheath")
>
> EXAUDI/ DOMINE/ PLACARE/ DOMINE/ DANIEL (Daniel IX:19: "Sword of divine wrath ordered to return to its sheath")

8 Pietro da Cortona, *Triumph of the Barberini*, 1633–39, Palazzo Barberini, Rome (from ideal viewing point).

Usually, the inscriptions on pendentives are prophecies with reference to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. In the Chiesa Nuova, however, each refers in some way to God's wrath. With this in mind we can now see why God the Father is shown with two Angels of Destruction, one with sword and darts, and the other with a torch. The prophets point to the joint intercession of Christ and Mary, each staying God from destroying the world.

The Tribune

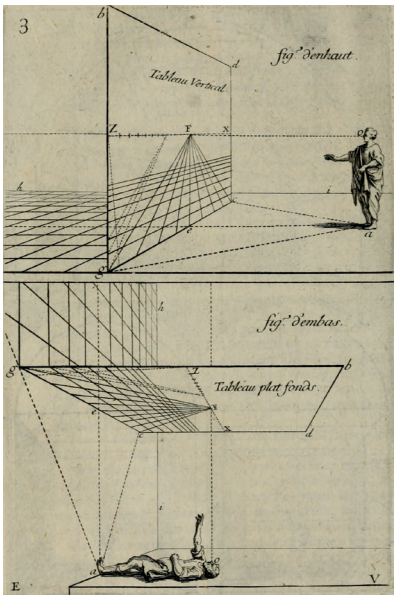
As mentioned before, when Cortona finished the cupola in 1651, he went on to work on the Palazzo Pamphili for three years (1651–4). At this point, he took up the tribune of the Chiesa Nuova, which he required four more years to complete (1665–59). It did not matter when Cortona returned to the tribune, because his task was already laid out for him. The illusionistic cupola required an illusionistic tribune. One could only unite two distinct spaces if they were conceived in tandem, so that the intervening church wall could be imagined to be a sort of occlusion interrupting the common space.

Furthermore, the very idea of illusionistically painting a tribune was common. After all, Michelangelo Anselmi, with designs by Giulio Romano, had illusionistically painted the apse of the church of the Madonna della Steccata in Parma with the *Coronation of the Virgin* (1540–2, 1547) in direct imitation of Correggio.[19] An up-to-date model once again had been provided by Lanfranco. This was not true in Sant'Andrea della Valle, where Domenichino had qualitatively separated the realms of the cupola and apse dome with his emphatic *quadri riportati* of the life of St. Andrew. In San Carlo ai Catinari (1646–7) in Rome, however, Lanfranco had extended his approach from Sant'Andrea della Valle into the tribune, much like Anselmi.[20] It was only left for Cortona to combine the separate traditions of illusionistic cupolas and tribunes into one whole.

Just as in Sant'Andrea della Valle, however, Lanfranco's daring perspective and illusionism was accompanied by iconographic daring. In San Carlo ai Catinari, Carlo Borromeo is rendered in the tribune dome, being presented by the Virgin Mary to Christ and God. A new saint (canonized 1610), it is remarkable that he is depicted centrally, just above the altar, although he of course is the dedicatee of the church.

In his composition of the tribune, Cortona chose to show Mary ascending on a cloud and surrounded by angels. This expresses her role as earthly mediatrix, closer to the human realm but able to communicate effectively with God and Christ in the dome. About her are adoring saints, including a small figure of Filippo Neri at the left, at the very base of the drum. However, he is not greeted by an interceding saint as with Sant'Andrea or in San Carlo ai Catinari. Instead, there is an emphatic modesty with which he is depicted, as John the Baptist peers back at him as if to say, "Who are you?!"

Ceiling Painting before the Chiesa Nuova



9 Abraham Bosse, *Moyen universal de pratiquer la perspective sur les tableaux ou surfaces irregulieres* (Paris, 1653

We now arrive at the point in 1664 when Cortona was ready to paint the nave vault. His iconography of the double intercession in the cupola and tribune was already complete; he now had only to honor somehow the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, Filippo Neri. The nave ceiling of the Chiesa Nuova is a long barrel vault. What would he do with it? Before we can answer this, we have to know the options available to Cortona in terms of the tradition of ceiling painting he inherited.

In the sixteenth century, ceiling painting is dominated by the *quadro riportato*, literally the picture transposed on the flat surface of the ceiling **(Fig. 9)**.[21] This idea strongly informs Roman ceiling decoration from Michelangelo's *Sistine Ceiling* (Vatican, 1508–1512) all the way to Annibale Carracci's *Farnese Gallery* (Farnese Palace, 1597–1601). Here, the main idea is to decorate the ceiling with individual panels that depict some narrative story: in Michelangelo's case, the Book of Genesis and in Annibale's case, the Loves of the Gods.

In the period in-between, during the heyday of Mannerism, we find these *quadri riportati* framed with rich stucco decoration. An example would be the decorations by Santi di

Tito, Federico Zuccaro and Federico Barocci for the Casino of Pius IV (1560–3) in the Vatican Gardens.[22] Regardless of whether the *quadri* are framed with painted or stucco decoration, the intent is the same: to *decorate* the ceiling along the architectonic forms suggested by the real architecture itself and to insert scenes without disrupting this architectonic order.

In the Bolognese school of the Carracci, even if stucco was shunned as it was in the Farnese Gallery, we still find a severely classicist approach to the *quadro*. For example, Guido Reni's *Aurora* fresco (1613–1614) in the Casino Rospigliosi, Rome, is a classic framed, horizontally-oriented *quadro*. The conservatism is still felt as late as Lanfranco's frescoes of the *Council of the Gods* (1624/25) painted in the loggia of the Villa Borghese.[23] Lanfranco clearly wished to dissolve the *quadro*. But by making the intended illusionistic ceiling begin at the cornice, it appears as one huge *quadro*, a feeling which is enhanced by the supporting fictive *ignudi*.

A change is signaled in Guercino and Agostino Tassi's *Aurora* fresco (1621–1623) in the Villa Ludovisi, Rome, not coincidentally as a result of Guercino's visit to Venice. The scene approximates Venetian perspective as seen in Veronese but because of the narrow structure of the Sala it is impossible to occupy a proper viewpoint for the illusion to work. Thus it is a de facto *quadro* dissolving as a passing overhead scene, shown amidst violently foreshortened *quadratura*.

It is Cortona himself who makes a break with this tradition in his ceiling decoration for the Gran Salone of the Palazzo Barberini, the *Triumph of the Barberini* (1633–39) **(Fig. 8)**.[24] Interestingly, a preparatory sketch in Munich indicates that Cortona experimented with an early *quadro riportato* scheme.[25] He considered framing scenes at the ends of the ceiling along the long axis. But this was quickly discarded in favor of an overall unified space, a device only possible without segmented forms. The new solution displays a mixed form of illusion, combining unlimited space with *quadratura* architectural extension, following the chastened Venetian tradition of Veronese, and can best be called a case of illusion in the service of legibility.

As noted before, the Barberini scheme utilizes *Schrägsicht* or oblique viewing from an ideal viewing point, because it makes use of the shallow curve of the ceiling to make the scene visible from near the entrance. In this way, Cortona cuts out the ambiguity of the *quadro* wherein there is a tendency to view it as having no relation to the actual ceiling. Instead, the painting conforms to the ceiling to appear as a vista through it, without violent foreshortening.

With the *Triumph of the Barberini*, Cortona became one of the most sought-after ceiling painters in Italy; thus we are justified in following this aspect of his career in commissions before the Chiesa Nuova. During this period, Cortona also painted the Barberini Chapel (1632–33) and began his first work for the Chiesa Nuova in the fresco on the ceiling of the sacristy (1633–34) **(Fig. 5)**, and it was during a brief trip to Florence and Venice that Cortona met Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici, which led to his important stay in the former city and resulted in his important frescoes in the Palazzo Pitti.

Here the frescoes decorated a number of rooms, all grouped according to an interrelated iconographic scheme, in the cinquecento style of Raphael, Giulio Romano and Giorgio Vasari. The subject is planetary, and the rooms include the *Sala di Venere* (1641–1642), the *Sala di Apollo* (1642, ?), the *Sala di Giove* (1642–43/1644), another *Sala di Apollo* (1645–1647, ?), and finally, the *Sala di Marte* (1644–1645/6).[26]

Once again, after this project at the Pitti Palace Cortona began the cupola in the Chiesa Nuova. After the execution of the cupola in 1651, Cortona interrupted his work to complete the ceiling of the long gallery of the Palazzo Pamphili (1651–4), recently built by Borromini.[27] Wittkower has noted

how Cortona was quite creative in this secular commission, unlike in the Chiesa Nuova.[28] Cortona seems to simply pick up where he left off in the Salone of the Palazzo Barberini, as if his religious commissions had never taken place.

Finally, Cortona worked on both the tribune of the Chiesa Nuova, which he decorated with the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1655–59) and the pendentives, with the four Old Testament prophets (1659–60), Jeremiah, Ezekial, Isaiah and Daniel. It would be about three years before he would gear up for the nave vault fresco.

Ceiling qua Ceiling, or a Vault to Heaven?

We may say, then, that when Cortona began painting the nave vault of the Chiesa Nuova there was essentially a tradition of ceiling-painting wherein the simple *quadro riportato* scheme was being loosened and emancipated from the ceiling. Cortona himself had been instrumental in this, in his great secular commissions in the Palazzo Barberini, the Palazzo Pitti, and the Palazzo Pamphili.

Here it is worth drawing attention to some of the perceptual qualities that different types of ceiling painting possess. All wall and ceiling decorations have essentially two spatial possibilities: to support the structure of the wall or to pierce an Albertian window through it. Sven Sandström has coined the principles of the "Closed Wall' and its opposite, the principle of the "Opened Wall" to refer to these possibilities, and Paul Duro writes of "containment" and "transgression."[29]

From our quick survey we can discern three more or less distinct traditions that are concrete manifestations of such tendencies. The old-fashioned *quadro riportato* is the fundamental means to support the Closed Wall. The term again literally means a picture repositioned, and this refers in turn to the treatment of a picture on a ceiling as if the ceiling were a wall. The *quadro* cannot relate itself spatially to the ceiling and relies on the viewer looking at it as if it shared the essential coordinates of the ground. As we saw in our survey, most of the sixteenth century artists didn't try to pierce the ceiling in any way but merely dotted *quadri riportati* along it.

Of Open Wall strategies, there can be any mixtures of (1) the pure open ceiling, (2) the *quadratura* of rigid perspectival extension of the real space of the room, and (3) the mixed tradition combining both architectonic and expansive elements. Artists like Correggio, Michelangelo Anselmi, Federico Zuccaro and Cigoli were important for the first tradition. When Guercino painted the *Aurora* fresco in the Casino Ludovisi (1623), he participated in the second tradition by having Agostino Tassi paint the architectural *quadratura* framework: this attempts to extend the space of the room and give further credence to the images it frames. It was Cortona himself who experimented with the last tradition in the Palazzo Barberini, by weakening the quadratura and mixing it with pure extension into space.

The closed wall presumes no viewpoint, because the viewer has to transpose him or herself to see the picture properly. The strict *di sotto in su* ceiling always presumes a rigid viewpoint, from Mantegna through Correggio and Lanfranco. This first has no viewpoint related to the actual space of the painting, because the conceit is that one is looking at a mere painting on a wall, which has its virtual space and that only. The *di sotto in su* fresco instead – at its most radical – is seen as extending the space of the room within which it is painted. In that case, the viewpoint is very important and the shape of the ceiling – barrel vault, flat – does not matter. As the painter creates the illusion against the grain of the physical space, such painting becomes a species of anamorphism.

There is finally an intermediate solution, which can be called "alla veneziana." This is a "compromise projection" between an oblique view and a flat view – especially appropriate for the Venetian sof-

fit – half frame, half illusion, and never parts company "entirely with the decorative plane of the ceiling."[30] In this scheme, the illusion is never complete but "mitigated" in Alessandra Buccheri's words, to provide an effective view from different positions. Generally, the angle is about 45-degrees.[31] The painting does extend into space from the oblique viewpoint but looks good elsewhere. This approach was used by Melozzo da Forli, Raphael, the Venetians, and as we have seen, Pietro da Cortona himself. Indeed, Cortona advises us in his treatise to avoid violent foreshortening.[32] Baciccio, as will see, followed the alternate *di sotto in su* tradition of radical foreshortening.

It is important to note some correlated issues of narrativity here.[33] Sixteenth century painters like Michelangelo or Annibale Carracci used *quadri riportati* because they had to combine numerous stories, in Michelangelo's case from Genesis and in Annibale's case from Ovid. The lack of spatial extension is important for the "stacking" of so many images, which are simply collected and do not create a spatial ambiguity. The same could be done off the wall. Domenichino painted the tribune dome of Sant'Andrea della Vale in a conventional segmented style upon the strict dictates of Annibale's classicism.[34] The coffering allowed narrative scenes of St. Andrew's life to be multiplied.

But it is in tribunes and cupolas that one most often finds single subjects, like the *Last Judgment*, or more iconic images, like the *Ascension*. Whether interpreted narratively or not, as single subjects they also allow for illusionism more easily because a single subject produces no ambiguity (as in the appearance of a saint more than once in a continuous narrative). In our historical survey, we saw that illusionistic space was in fact first used in the cupola, borrowing the cosmic connotations which it already possessed. Illusionistic spaces in naves and galleries, whether supported by architectural details or not, were long in coming. It is significant that because of the narrative dictates of religious art the *quadri riportati* disappeared first (and conversely then radical illusionism appeared first) in *private* palaces like the Palazzo Barberini.[35]

This is because open spatial extension is ultimately a conceit. It suggests that those inhabiting the ceiling are somehow a part of Heaven. Even though at the same time it also conversely brings the airy company closer to us, the line of the ceiling is still a qualitative barrier. E. H. Gombrich has written that "In heaven there is no distinction we can grasp between angels and those spiritual entities we call personifications. Looking into heaven is in any case a visionary experience, where metaphors gain reality not as tangible representations but as meaning."[36] In fact, the first great case of a church nave with an open illusionistic vault does not come until a decade after Cortona's contribution to the Chiesa Nuova, with the great works of Baciccio in the Gesù and Pozzo in Sant'Ignazio. The mixing of realism with visionary experience has been cited as a hallmark of the High Baroque.[37]

Oratorians and Jesuits

Italian art history was punctuated by religious revivals that stressed poverty, charity and simplicity, which had their effect on art. The foundation of the mendicant orders (particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans) in the thirteenth century, the revival of the Observances of both Dominican and Franciscan Orders in the early fifteenth century, and the creation of the new Counter-Reformation Orders of the Jesuits and Oratorians in the sixteenth century, are examples.

Different dilemmas faced the new orders, such as how extravagantly to build. For example, in the building of the Gesù in the 1570s, Cardinal Farnese overturned the Jesuit fathers' request for a flat timber roof, which they thought was ideal for its acoustical qualities and its early Christian connotations. Instead, as patron, Farnese had a more magnificent vaulted ceiling installed.[38] Similarly, when the Jesuit

10 Baciccio, *Adoration of the Name of Christ*, 1676 79, Church of the Gesù, Rome.

Collegio Romano was founded next door in 1582, Gregory XIII overruled Claudio Aquaviva and insisted that its decoration be less sober.[39] The Oratory expressed similar concerns at the same time. In 1590 Father Germanico Fedeli wrote of the nave ceiling: "leave everything rough, which Father Filippo did not intend to stucco."[40]

As Francis Haskell has pointed out, the issue was essentially one between the patron, who affixed his coat of arms on the works he patronized, and the church. At least for the Jesuits, the big change may be attributed to one man, Gian Paolo Oliva (1600–1681), General of the Jesuit Order from 1664–1681.[41] While he too was sensitive to open display, he sharply distinguished between the living quarters of the Jesuits themselves, which ought to be austere, and the churches, which ought to delight and appeal to the masses through their beauty.[42] With this intellectual switch, he ushered in the great High Baroque monuments of Bernini, Baciccio and Pozzo. According to this point of view, the Chiesa Nuova frescoes might seem to be rather conservative because they preceded Oliva's revolution in taste.

But it should be noted that Cortona's fresco of *The Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella* **(Fig. 4)** was painted when Oliva's influence was beginning to be felt. Beginning in 1658 Gian Lorenzo Bernini had already begun Sant'Andrea al Quirinale for the novices of the Jesuit Order.[43] It is this commission that is identified strongly with the *bel composto*, and Bernini orchestrated painting, sculpture and architecture for the high altar for a transformative experience of witnessing Andrew's martyrdom (on the altarpiece) and following the saint's (sculpted) progress upward, through the actual light emitting into the church. Commissioned by Cardinal Camillo Pamphili, it has been suggested that Oliva himself persuaded this nephew of the Pope to build the new church and replace the earlier 'crumbling ruin.' Bernini's church is architecture and Cortona's fresco is painting, but the totality of the building, the way it dictates the total experience of the visitor down to the very last detail, is in striking contrast to Cortona's conventional *Quadro*. We might say that with this image Cortona has refused to enter the High Baroque.

From 1672–5, Baciccio painted the dome fresco of the Gesù, *The Church Triumphant in Heaven*. From 1676–1679 he painted the nave vault (**Fig. 10**). Departing in large part from Cortona's nave vault design, he has transformed the *quadro riportato* into a true illusionistic space, a rectangular aperture through the ceiling. Some have argued that this dramatic spatial conception, indicated in a famous ink drawing, is due to Bernini's influence.[44] The nave vault shows the *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* which is, as pointed out by Evonne Levy, "the first major public appearance in Rome of a type of triumphal imagery that specifically exalts the Society."[45] From 1680–83 Baciccio painted the apse with the *Adoration of the Lamb of God* and in 1685 Baciccio painted Ignatius ascending to heaven in the left transept chapel – a figure essentially based on Bernini's figure of Andrew in Sant'Andrea.[46]

11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Death of Ignatius of Loyola*, Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolæ Societatis Iesv fvndatoris, 1615.

We noted that Sts. Gaetano da Thiene and Andrea Avellino remarkably appeared at the base of the dome of Lanfranco's dome of Sant'Andrea della Valle while merely beatified, as did Filippo Neri in Cortona's tribune dome in the Chiesa Nuova as a saint. And while Lanfranco featured Carlo Borromeo being presented to the Virgin in the apse dome of San Carlo ai Catinari, the transept vault of the Gesù is probably the first apotheosis in Rome of a counter-Reformation saint – and importantly one can say that Ignatius ascends to the same Heavens delineated in the nave. Thus, in the vault the order and then in the side chapel the founder was exalted by being thrust up into heaven.

A similar dilemma faced all orders in the promotion of their saints. Both Jesuits and Oratorians faced censure in the presentation of the death cults of their founders – Ignatius of Loyola and Filippo Neri – leading up to their joint canonization in 1622. As Ruth Noyes has outlined in detail, each order – sometimes through a coordinated effort – tried to defend the veneration of a founder's cult, through adoration of the tomb, placement of images or diffusion of prints.[47] Baronio and Bellarmino, from the Oratorians and Jesuits respectively, worked together with Clement VIII's *Congregazione dei beati* to allow for the unfettered growth of their cults, necessary for the proliferation of miracles necessary for sainthood.

But ultimately, we run into fundamental differences between the two orders that lead beyond these hopeful promotions of sainthood. Briefly, Neri and the Oratorians promoted a much more passive stance in regard to his role. It was reflected in their emphasis on internal reflection leading to ecstasy, and an acceptance of a notion of passivity to God's determining action in the world bordering on Quietism.[48] In contrast, the Jesuits followed Ignatius, the ex-soldier, and mobilized spiritual reflection for action in the world, promoting free will and attacking Quietism.[49]

As we can see, the two developed in "dialectical relationship" with each other; that is, what it meant to be a Jesuit developed in contrast to what it meant to be an Oratorian, and vice versa.[50] The first differences are organizational. The Jesuits were centralized, with a general in fealty to the pope, while the Oratorians were a voluntary congregation. Consequently, seeing each order as a continuation of the

Franciscan-Dominican contrast – in that the Franciscans were highly centered on a Christ-like figure prone to push more aggressive theological commitments (like the Immaculate Conception) while the Dominicans were corporate and consensual and upheld theological orthodoxy (e.g., Thomas Aquinas). Not surprisingly, the Jesuits honored Francis within the Gesù itself.[51]

If both Oratorians and Jesuits depicted their founder saints with the trappings of sainthood – halos and effulgence – other iconographic traditions immediately separated the two orders. For example, in the life of Ignatius of Loyola of 1609, published to accompany his beatification, the death scene shows Ignatius' beatified soul ascending to Heaven (**Fig. 11**).[52] A tiny soul is born aloft by angels, amidst a "great, conspicuous effulgance" (*ingenti splendore conspicua*). This is the first case of iconographic apotheosis within the Jesuit tradition. In comparison, the death scene of Filippo Neri of 1622 is extremely low-key.

On the occasion of the canonization of Ignatius in 1622, the Jesuits organized an apotheosis drama complete with mechanical apparatus.[53] The Jesuits played on the name of Ignatius and fire (*Ignus*) to portray him in the manner of the ancient emperors, burned and their spirits returned to Heaven. Even thereafter, however, only saints had been apotheosized (Domenichino, *St Andrew*; Bernini, *St Andrew*) or ruling families allegorized (Pietro da Cortona, Palazzo Barberini; Luca Giordano, 1682–86, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi).

This is a conceit, which is carried on in Pozzo's great ceiling fresco of Sant' Ignazio, begun in 1691. It is an allegory of the missionary work of the Jesuits featuring in monumental form the apotheosis of Ignatius of Loyola. God's Holy Spirit is channeled through the body of Ignatius and from there reaches the four corners of the world. Here the spatial extension of Cortona's style of cupola had already been diverted to the nave vault by Baciccio in the Gesù, but the new style of loosely dotted figures is introduced. The air is more rarified and far-reaching, and into this ether Ignatius extends.

Once again, when we examine contemporary Oratorian patronage, we find nothing comparable. From 1695 to 1700 the Chiesa Nuova was decorated with fifteen paintings between the chapel arches of the nave and transept (and front door and choir balconies), in stucco frames and gilding.[54] The paintings are extremely modest and conceived as decorative compartment, harmonizing with the architecture. The iconography is simple and non-doctrinaire. Had Cortona lived, we get the idea that he might have appreciated this decoration and objected to Pozzo's.

Since Cortona developed the iconography of the church with the Fathers, we cannot simply assume that his idea of decorum would be shared by them. After all, Cortona worked as well for the Jesuits and penned the well-known *Trattato della pittura e scultura* (1652) with the Jesuit Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli.[55] Thus, it is not Cortona but the Oratorian Fathers who were responsible for the treatment of their principal saint in the nave of the Chiesa Nuova, and a long tradition of anti-apotheosis iconography proves it.

Filippo Neri's Iconography

The problem to which we naturally turn is what kind of iconography existed for Filippo Neri before Cortona painted the nave vault. In other words, it is quite well and good if there was an Oratorian style of modesty, but if this was manifested in all Oratorian commissions except those treating Neri, they would be of little import.

As a matter of fact, Neri's iconography followed that of most sixteenth century holy men and women bound for sainthood. There were a few attempts to record his appearance before his death in

1595, but although his very personality resisted such immortalization, this did not stop his Order from promoting him. The biography of Neri by Antonio Gallanio that appeared five years after his death and prematurely commemorated his beatification (not made official until 1615), the *Vita del beato Filippo Neri*, contained no illustrations.[56] The early illustrations of Neri showed him with a halo about his head – a sign of sanctity – yet even then he is always firmly on the ground, either standing or kneeling.[57] He is granted a view of Heaven but it is a divine vision for a mortal soul. Furthermore, his gesture is akin to the *Misericordia*, focused on the faithful, not the holy man's commerce with the heavenly.

This visual tradition was reflected in the first important early image of Neri by Guido Reni (*St. Filippo Neri in Contemplation of the Virgin*, 1615 **(Fig. 12)**.[58] This was an extremely important work that helped standardize an image-type. Importantly, Neri is kneeling and beholding the Virgin. Like his saintly peers, Neri had visions, but his kneeling-worldliness and the otherness of the Virgin is stressed. This shall appear again and again. Guido Reni appeared again when the first illustrated life was published by Father Pietro Giacomo Bacci, the *Vita di San Filippo Neri* (1622), celebrating the saint's canonization in 1622.[59] Accompanying it were forty-two engravings by Luca Ciamberlano after drawings of Reni and three engravings by Christian Sas after drawings by Jacques Stella.[60] Here the most significant miracles and visions of Neri's life are duly recorded, as well a meeting with Ignatius of Loyola, but Neri always effects his miracles through his humanity.

12 Guido Reni, *Filippo Neri in Contemplation of the Virgin*, 1615, Chiesa Nuova, Rome

Significant images that followed were Cortona's aforementioned fresco from the entrance hall to Neri's personal rooms in the church, the *St. Filippo Neri in Ecstasy* of 1636 **(Fig. 6)**. Cortona's fresco is obviously important here, and his work can be considered a transformation of Reni's to profile (and it was essentially reproduced in the apse fresco). Similar is the altarpiece by Guercino in Filippo's private room, the *Vision of St. Filippo Neri* of 1643.[61] The Saint is shown once again kneeling as he beholds the Virgin; he trembles at the vision and does not participate in it but rather witnesses it.

Also important is a statue contemporary with Cortona's fresco of 1636: Alessandro Algardi's *St. Filippo with an Angel* (1638) from the Sacristy of the Chiesa Nuova. Located in the same room as Cortona's *St. Michael with Saints and the Instruments of the Passion* **(Fig. 5)** it is significant for its author and its style. Jennifer Montagu has noted its "aesthetic rejection of the dramatic in favour of the expression of timeless physical and spiritual grace."[62] Algardi was no classicist but Cortona practiced a decorous Baroque style, in contrast to his rival Bernini. Indeed, one can fruitfully compare Algardi's Neri to Bernini's Andrew. Both have a heavenward gaze, but Neri's weight is born by his legs, while Andrew is born aloft by clouds, just as Ignatius of Loyola would some decades later.

Here it is useful to address the fact of Neri's ecstatic levitations. These miracles would suggest that there is a heavenward element built into Neri's hagiography. However, just as Neri is always shown on

the ground – whether standing or kneeling – when he levitates he is always tethered to the ground. There is never any chance that he might fly out of bounds. In other words, levitation always presumes the earth, not Heaven (**Fig. 6**).

To add to the contrasts drawn between Jesuits and Oratorians, we might stress that the Jesuits are more focused on the immortal soul, and the Oratorians the body. The immortal soul is oriented to outward spectacle whereas the body is subject to internal and somatic transformation.[63] We can contrast the spectacle – the *Quarant'ore* – of the Jesuits to the Oratorio, the mode of devotion of the Congregation of the Oratory. If contemplative images for Jesuits were windows on events, and for Oratorians were visions, then it is not surprising to see the factual emphasis of the Jesuits on the literal transportation of the soul, and the withdrawn imagination of the heavens by Oratorians. The levitation then is largely a matter of personal transformation, although it seems to partake of the mechanics of Jesuit apotheosis.

The iconography of Filippo Neri reflects, then, his radical humility. He is shown in utter submission to the terrible power of God and Christ, whom he can only hope to address via the compliant Virgin Mary. There is never any suggestion that Neri – though worthy of beatification and canonization – ought to join the heavenly company, and we see this divine order maintained in the nave frescoes.

Cortona, Filippo Neri and the Nave Vault

In 1662 Cortona began to direct the stuccoists to work on the nave vault of the Chiesa Nuova. These two students of Bernini, Ercole Ferrata and Cosimo Fancelli, began to work in July 1662 and finished in December 1665, after Cortona had finished painting.[64] At first the Oratorian Fathers suggested that Cortona paint in oil, to reduce the time that the disruptive scaffolding would be up, but they consented to his desire to continue the use of *buon fresco*. Unlike the apse and dome, whose illusion begins immediately beyond the entablature, the nave fresco is heavily framed, and supported by stucco angels. It is a feigned picture, then, wholly different from the other ceiling decoration.

It took Cortona a little over a year to finish his nave vault fresco, *Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella* (begun January 1664 and finished in the Spring of 1665) (**fig. 4**). Recalling once more that Filippo Neri was originally proposed as the subject of the apse fresco, we might first ask why he was not allowed to be its sole subject? First, the apse is near the High Altar, and is a privileged space relating to the dedicatee of the church. But also, apse and cupola spaces lend themselves to illusionistic "wall-breaking" strategies. Given the architectural unit of the apse, this would have suggested that Neri was thrust into the heavenly company (instead, the actually painted Mary duplicates the *Madonna of Vallicella* on the high altar).

Turning back to the nave, it is interesting that for this religious commission Cortona rejected his earlier illusionistic solutions in the Barberini, Pitti and Pamphili ceilings. One need only recall how Cortona had earlier sketched the Barberini ceiling in *quadri riportati* and rejected it in favor of an illusionistic solution. Conversely, we can imagine him sketching a spatially unified solution in the nave and rejecting it. Could it be that the difference between a secular commission, as the Barberini Salone was, urged him in this decision?

A clue is provided by the fact that the Barberini Salone was painted at the same time as the image of *St. Michael and Saints with the Instruments of the Passion* in the Sacristy in the Chiesa Nuova (**Fig. 5**).[65] Admittedly, one is for a rich Pope and the other is for a modest religious Order, which might have dictated the gross area that might be covered. But here Cortona has followed essentially the same spa-

tial strategy. The figure of St. Michael holds the crucifix, and an angel holds the whipping column, such that we see their bottoms and they are tilted away from us. When seen from the threshold of the Sacristy door, the crucifix stands upright (much like the figure of Providence in the Barberini) and therefore is a convincing case of oblique viewing.[66]

When turning to the similarly framed image of the Miracle of the *Madonna of Vallicella* Cortona changes his strategy completely. If anything, the Virgin on top of the fresco (at the opposite direction from the apse, where she might be implicated in the apse-cupola drama) tilts *toward* us. Therefore, when viewing the scene from the center of the nave **(Fig. 7)**, there is no similar illusion; it is actually an anti-illusion. The image when seen directly from below – again, where the best oblique view of the apse and dome is found – breaks radically from any sense of continuity despite the common viewpoint. It has no concession to the viewer, no perspective illusion, and truly is a *Quadro riportato*. The ideal viewpoint seems to hold both perspectives as privileged but incompatible.

Contrast this approach to the solution later adopted by Baciccio in the Gesù just a few years later. He essentially carries over the shape of Cortona's massive *quadro*, which is also a frame. There are even perfunctory angels holding it aloft. However, because of the famous undermining of the pictorial nature of the implied *quadro* through the clever overlapping of pictorial matter, these debts to Cortona are quickly discarded.

In the transept chapel, added later, Ignatius was represented in such a way that he could mix and join the heavenly company of the nave. If Cortona had represented the miracle scene in a similar way, and even if the artist had accepted the theological conflict of the Virgin Mary appearing in the tribune dome and in the nave, Neri was represented firmly on the ground and would still be kept radically apart from the heavenly company. Instead, he is resolutely denied from breathing the same air as the blessed company of God the Father, Jesus and Mary. His is an earthly life and he is content with it.

To understand Cortona's important choice here we must recognize, first, that the *quadro* had a conventional meaning attached to it. As Merz notes, earlier in the 17th century older churches had been renovated with coffered ceilings and such *quadri* as Santa Maria in Trastevere with the image of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1617) by Domenichino and *San Crosogono* (1622) in San Crosogono in Trastevere by Guercino.[67] These renovations were partly inspired by the Oratorians, and above all Cesare Baronio, who was famous for his restorations of early churches.[68] Furthermore, the ceiling is heavily stuccoed. This was an inheritance of the sixteenth century Venetian tradition that for reasons of cost was rapidly going out of fashion. The way was being prepared for the great illusionistic and *quadratura* ceilings of Baciccio and Pozzo. They could cover the ceiling more cheaply and do more astounding things.[69]

But it also changed the content. The cartouche shaped molding that marks off Filippo Neri both stablilizes him and makes a sharp *bordure* between the ceiling and the *quadro*.[70] As we have seen, there is a tendency to view *quadri riportati* frontally, so that we adopt our own framework and apply it to the work as if it we were viewing it on a wall. The strategy it allows is wholly different from the open vault. To be sure, the *quadro* is oriented vertically, and this allows an easier transposition to the ceiling. But since the image therein is not foreshortened, no effort is made to present an ambiguity as to an illusionistic vista. But even with this caveat, the conservative nature of the *quadro riportato* should be clear. It is resolutely narrative.

As a matter of fact, at the same time that Cortona painted the nave, debates were raging in France about the status of the *quadro riportato* **(Fig. 9)**.[71] Abraham Bosse represented the strict Renaissance tradition according to which only images ought to be allowed on ceilings that were illusionistic from a

single viewing point.[72] Against him were some like Roger de Piles who, in his notes to Dufresnoy's *De arte grafica* (1668), defended especially the Carracci's use of the *quadro riportato* in the Farnese Gallery, regarding strict perspective as mechanical.[73] It is no surprise that when *quadratura* and illusionistic ceilings went out of fashion in the eighteenth century, *quadri riportati* as in Anton Raphael Mengs' *Parnassus* (1761) in the Villa Albani, Rome, reappeared.[74]

One might say that Cortona conceived of Neri in radically earthly and narrative terms. When illusionism strongly suggests that a single space and time is shown, it interferes with sequential unfolding.[75] Cortona's subject was indeed a Saint, but a worldly saint, who was engaged in many earthly deeds, not just one. Cortona's saint did not deserve the iconic treatment typical of a heavenly figure *in maestà*. The temporality of the *quadro* assured Cortona his subject would lose all heaven-symbolism typical of domes and apses. Because the *quadro* forces us to look at it in a context of a ground framework, and as a mere picture of a story, he is of this world.

The consequence for Filippo Neri is clear. He is not only no part of the heavenly company of God the Father, Christ and Mary in the tribune and cupola, but even within the *quadro* on the ceiling his relation to the miraculous Mary is hierarchically distinct. This might be called a sort of double demotion or "earthbound" apotheosis. The Oratorians did not want an apotheosis, the way that Pozzo was to depict Ignatius of Loyola some thirty years later. Cortona had indeed executed a secular apotheosis, that of the Barberini family, for the Salone of their palazzo. Even though that was for a Pope's family, it was still a secular commission where the demands of decorum were different. However, Cortona and the Oratorian Fathers working with him proved unwilling to provide such an apotheosis in the 1660s.

Conclusion

Cortona went about the decoration of the Chiesa Nuova with specific painterly means to relate the Saint of the Congregation, Filippo Neri, to the universal figures of Mary and Christ. The Virgin Mother, her son, and God the Father formed a perceptual unity across architectural elements (the apse and cupola). They partook in an Apotheosis where Mary joins her Son as an intercession for mankind.

While Neri does appear in the apse adoring Mary, his major space is reserved for the nave quadro of the *Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella*. There Filippo stands on the ground beholding the Miracle. Mary floats high above and the two are separated. Similarly, Filippo's vision takes place in a quadro, not tied illusionistically to the ceiling but earthbound, participating in a narrative. His mission is visually differentiated from that of Christ and Mary. At every opportunity Cortona takes his painterly means to make his religious statement very traditional, with no admixture between modern saints and universal figures. In this, I have suggested, Cortona and the Oratorian Fathers with whom he was consulting, opted to provide a very humble image of their saintly leader.

Endnoten

1 On Filippo Neri and the Oratorians see L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet. *St. Filippo Neri and the Roman Society of His Times*, trans. R. F. Kerr, (London 1932); and A. Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri. L'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana. Storia e Spiritualità*, III vols., (Brescia 1989).

2 On the Chiesa Nuova see Costanza Barbieri, Sofia Barchiesi, and Daniele Ferrara, *Santa Maria in Vallicella: Chiesa Nuova* (Roma 1995), which supersedes E. Strong, *La Chiesa Nuova* (Rome 1923). On Cortona in the Chiesa Nuova, see Giuliano Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona: o della pittura barocca*, 2nd edition (Firenze 1982), 205–206, 248–249, 261, 267–268, Anna Lo Bianco, "Pietro da Cortona e gli Oratoriani," in *La Regola e la Fama: San Filippo Neri e l'Arte*, (Milano 1995), 174–193, and for the

drawings, Jörg Martin Merz, "I disegni di Pietro da Cortona per gli affreschi nella Chiesa Nuova a Roma," *Bollettino d'arte* 86–7 (1994), 37–76.

3 Barbieri et al. (as Note 2), 143–147.

4 Barbieri et al. (as Note 2), 152–153.

5 For the *bel composto*, see Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York 1980) and Rudolf Preimesberger, "Berninis Cappella Cornaro;" Rudolf Preimesberger, "Berninis Cappella Cornaro. Eine Wort-Bild-Synthese des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zu Irving Lavins Bernini Buch," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49 (1986) 190–219; Steven Ostrow, "*'Appearing to Be What They Are Not'* Bernini's Reliefs in Theory and Practice," in *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture*, edited by Anthony Colanuono and Steven F. Ostrow (University Park 2014).

6 Girolamo Bernabei, v. Biblioteca Vallicelliana, ms. 0.60, c. 95; cited in Barbieri et al, (as Note 2), 173, n. 180.

7 Wolfgang Schöne, "Zur Bedeutung der Schrägsicht für die Deckenmaleri des Barock," in Martin Gosebruch (ed.), *Festschrift für Kurt Badt* (Berlin 1961) 144–172. Technically, when the view changes significantly from one viewing point to another it is a case of anamorphosis.

8 Avraham Ronen, "Divine Wrath and Intercession in Pietro da Cortona's Frescoes in the Chiesa Nuova," *Römischen Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989) 181–205. See also G. Incisa della Rocchetta, "Pietro da Cortona ed i padri dell'Oratorio," *L'Oratorio* 26 (1969) 81–87.

9 See E. Kirschbaum and W. Braunfels (eds.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. II, (Freiburg und Basel 1970), 346–352; c.f., J. Vegh, "The Particular Judgment of a Courtier," *Arte Cristiana* (1986), 303–314 and Avraham Ronen, "Gozzoli's St. Sebastian Altarpiece in San Gimignano," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz* 32 (1988), 77–126.

10 For Franciscan theology in the Chiesa Nuova, see Ian Verstegen, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians* (Kirkville 2014).

11 The story is told in both of the earliest biographies: Antonio Gallonio, *Vita di San Filippo Neri* (Rome 1601); Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo (ed.), *Vita di San Filippo Neri* (Rome 1995) and Father Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di San Filippo Neri* (Rome 1625). This is the same Bacci mentioned below who had dealings with Cortona.

12 27 September 1646, in G. Incisa della Rocchetta and Joseph Connors, "Documenti sul complesso borrominiano alla Vallicella (1617–1800)," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 104 (1981) 66: "per vedere se vuol dipingere la nostra cupola e la tribuna."

13 Barbieri et al. (as Note 2), 195, n. 443: "Quanto all'istoria da esprimersi nella cupola non habbiamo, per ancora, determinatione particolare; ma. . .per essere la nostra chiesa dedicata alla Beata Vergine ci parrebbe a proposito, che l'opera tendesse in honore di lei. . .si potesse in qualche maniera, dar luogo al nostro Padre S. Filippo, o ad alcuna sua attione ci piacerebbe." For a discussion of the earlier altar program for the altarpieces in the church, see Verstegen (as Note 10).

14 Briganti, (as Note 2), 145; Incisa-Connors (as Note 12), 69; Barbieri et al. (as Note 2), 40.

15 Philippe Morel, "Morfologia delle cupole dipinte da Correggio a Lanfranco," *Bolletino d'arte,* 23 (1984) 1–34; Alba Costamagna, "La cupola di Sant'Andrea della Valle," in *Giovanni Lanfranco: Un pittore barocco tra Parma, Rome e Napoli*, hrsg. Erich Schleier (Milan 2001) 71–76; Alessandra Buccheri, *The Spectacle of Clouds* (Farnham 2014) 162–165. According to Buccheri, Giovanni di San Giovanni's *Glory of Saints*, 1623, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome, was important for Lanfranco.

16 Rudolf Wittkower: *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600–1750*, 5th edition, New Haven 1982, S. 328.

17 Carolyn Smyth, *Correggio's Frescoes in Parma Cathedral* (Princeton 1997). Smyth makes reference to John Shearman's research in regard to this point (summarized in his *Only Connect: Art and Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* Princeton 1992), apparently without knowledge of Schöne's work.

18 John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of the Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton 1991), 150–159, as already intuited by Hans Posse, "Das Deckenfresko des Pietro da Cortona im Palazzo Barberini und die Deckenmalerei in Rom," *Jahrbuch der preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 40 (1919) 93–118 and 126–173.

19 Elisabetta Fadda, *Michelangelo Anselmi* (Turin 2004), 81–85.

20 Erich Schleier, ed., *Giovanni Lanfranco: Un pittore barocco tra Parma, Rome e Napoli,* 2d ad. (Milan 2002).

21 The term "quadro riportato" is a little vague. For the purposes of this paper, a *quadro riportato* need not have a fictive or real frame around it, making it appear to be a real painting. What is important is that its perspective is not coordinated to the room or ceiling, and therefore there is no illusionistic foreshortening to make it appear as if one is looking up at a scene. For the history, see Wiebke Fastenrath, *'Quadro riportato': Eine Studie zur Begriffsgeschichte mit besondere Berücksichtigung der Deckenmalerei* (Munich 1990); Thomas Puttfarken, *The Invention of Pictorial Composition: Theories of Visual Order in Painting 1400–1800* (New Haven 2000), 212–213.

22 Graham Smith, *The Casino of Pius IV* (Princeton 1977).

23 Buccheri, (as Note 15), 160.

24 See Briganti, (as Note 2), 196–203; Scott, (as Note 18).

25 Munich, inv. No. 12741. The drawing is reproduced and discussed in Scott, (see Note 18) fig. 96, and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, ed., *Pietro da Cortona e il disegno* (Milan 1997), 101–102.

26 See Giuliano Briganti, (as Note 2), 225–227, 235–239 and especially Malcolm Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects* (Princeton 1977).

27 See Giuliano Briganti, (as Note 2) 250–251.
28 Wittkower, (as note 16), 258.
29 Sven Sandström, *Levels of Unreality* (Uppsala 1963); Paul Duro, "Containment and transgression in French seventeenth-century ceiling painting," in Paul Duro, ed., *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork* (New York 1996). See further Ingrid Sjöström, *Quadratura. Studies in Italian Ceiling Painting* (Stockholm 1978), and the interesting discussion of Rudolf Arnheim, *The Power of the Center*, New Version (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988), 37–40.
30 Juergen Schulz, *Venetian Painted Ceilings of the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), 14–15, and "gentle foreshortening," 16.
31 For the conventions of Venetian soffits, see Schulz, (as Note 30), 49; for Rubens in St. Charles Borromeo, Antwerp, see J. R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (London 1968), 42.
32 Buccheri, (as Note 15), 173.
33 For an important discussion of narrativity and single vs. multiple scenes, see Lew Andrews, *Story and Space in Renaissance Art: the Rebirth of Continuous Narrative* (New York 1995).
34 Steffi Roettgen, *Italian Frescoes: The Baroque Era, 1600–1800* (New York 2007), 124–130.
35 For a rich discussion of this topic, including one time-one place dictates, see Silvia Tomasi Velli, *Le immagini e il tempo: narrazione visiva, storia e allegoria tra Cinque e Seicento* (Pisa 2007).
36 E. H. Gombrich, *Means and Ends: Reflections on the History of Fresco Painting* (London 1976), 57.
37 Wittkower 1982 (as Note 16), 139–40.
38 See James Ackerman, "The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design," in Irma Jaffe and Rudolf Wittkower (eds.), *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York 1972), 15–28.
39 Carlo Bricarelli, "Chi fu l'architetto del Collegio Romano?" *Civiltà Cattolica* 83 (1932), 251–64.
40 Barbieri et al, (as Note 2), 22: "si lascia ogni cosa rustica, che il padre messer Filippo non intende per conto alcuno stuccare;" c.f., Ponnelle and Bordet, (as Note 1), 413; Costanza Barbieri, "To Be in Heaven": St. Philip Neri between Aesthetic Emotion and Mystical Ecstasy," in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, edited by Marcia Hall and Tracy Cooper (Cambridge 2013), 218.
41 Francis Haskell, "The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes," in Irma Jaffe and Rudolf Wittkower (eds.), *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York 1972), 51–62.
42 Some earlier evidence for this view seems to be provided by Howard Hibbard, "The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù," in Irma Jaffe and Rudolf Wittkower, eds., *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York 1972), 29–49, who notes that Peter Canisius had argued in 1579 that churches could be richly decorated.
43 On Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, see Wittkower, (as note 16), 181–84.
44 E. g., Richard Enggass, *The Paintings of Baciccio: Giovanni Battista Gaulli, 1639–1709* (University Park 1969).
45 Evonne Levy, "'A Noble Medley and Concert of Materials and Artifice:' Jesuit Church Interiors in Rome, 1567–1700", in *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism*, hrsg. Thomas Lucas (Vatican City 1990), 53.
46 Enggass, (as Note 45).
47 Ruth Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati Moderni* (New York 2017).
48 On Quietism, see M. Petrocchi, *Il quietismo italiano nel seicento* (Roma, 1948); Eulogio Pacho, "Quiétisme," in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. The truly founding document of Quietism was Miguel de Molinos' (1628–1696), *Guida Spirituale* (Venice 1675). He was arrested in 1685, recanted his views in 1687, and spent the rest of his life in prison. The main condemning document, which led to a Papal *processo* was by the Jesuit Paolo Segneri (1624–1694), *Concordia tra la fatica e la quiete nell'oratione* (Florence 1680).
49 Pier Matteo Petrucci (1636–1701) was born in Jesi, studied in Macerata and frequented the Oratory of San Filippo Neri of Jesi. He became a Oratorian priest 2 February 1661; on 20 April 1681 he was made bishop of Jesi in the Chiesa Nuova; and in 1686 was made Cardinal by Innocent XI. He recanted his views, resigned his bishopric but was retained as Apostolic visitor. His main work was the *Della contemplazione acquistata*, (Jesi 1681).
50 On the contrast between Jesuits and Oratorians see the twin papers by Alessandro Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio Romano della seconda metà del cinquecento," *Storia dell'Arte* 41 (1981), 77–112, and, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio Romano nelle imprese artistiche promosse da Cesare Baronio," *Storia dell'Arte* 42 (1981), 171–193; and Verstegen, (as Note 10). For a recent statement of Jesuit patronage, see Gauvin Bailey, "The Jesuits and Painting in Italy, 1550–1690: The Art of Catholic Reform," in *Saints & Sinners* (Chicago 1999), 151–175.
51 On Ignatius as "Franciscus sub specie Ignatii," see Raffaele Russo, *Il ciclo francescano nella chiesa del Gesú in Roma* (Rome 2001), 42–46.
52 *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome 1609).
53 This was Johannes Hieronymous Kapsberger's *Apotheosis sive Consecrato SS. Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii*, performed at the Jesuit's Roman College in 1622.
54 See Marilyn Dunn, "Father Sebastiano Resta and the Final Phase of the Decoration of S. Maria in Vallicella," *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 601–618.

55 Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli and Pietro Berrettini (da Cortona), *Trattato della pittura e scultura*, (Firenze 1652), ed. V. Casale, (Treviso 1973). On Cortona's collaboration with Ottonelli, see Marco Collareta, "L'Ottonelli-Berrettini e la critica moralistica," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 5 (1975), 177–196.
56 Gallonio, (as Note 11).
57 For the early portraits – Antonio Tempesta, 1600, Greuter, 1605, Roncalli's lost work – are documented in Antonella Pampalone, "La raccolta iconografica di san Filippo Neri dell'Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma," in Alberto Bianco, ed., *Iconografia di un Santo* (Rome 2017), and Noyes, (as Note 47), ch. 2.
58 Barbieri et al. (as Note 2), 152; Olga Melasecchi, "Madonna con Bambino e il beato Filippo Neri," in *La Regola e la Fama: San Filippo Neri e l'Arte*, (Milano 1995), 535–536.
59 Father Pietro Giacomo Bacci, *La vita di San Filippo Neri* (Rome 1622, reprint 1699).
60 See Olga Melasecchi, "Nascita e sviluppo dell'iconografia di S. Filippo Neri dal Cinquecento al Settecento," in *La Regola e la Fama: San Filippo Neri e l'Arte* (Milano 1995), 34–49; Pampalone, (as Note 57); Noyes, (as Note 47).
61 David Stone, *Guercino: Catalogo complete dei dipinti* (Cantini 1991), 238.
62 Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven 1985), 64. Significant here in light of Guido Reni's success with the Oratory is Malvasia's comment that Algardi was a "a new Guido in marble" Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice: Vite de' Pittori Bolognesi*, ed. Giampietro Zanotti, 2 vol (Bologna [**1678**] 1841), 2–26.
63 These elements are also related to gender arrangements, on which see Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (Cambridge MA and New York 1994); c.f. Verstegen, (as Note 10).
64 Briganti, (as Note 2), 267.
65 Scott, (as Note 18).
66 Merz, (as Note 2), 69, characterizes the perspective of the scene (just as Beldon had characterized the Barberini Salone) as "di sotto in sù alla veneziana".
67 Jörg Martin Merz, (as Note 2), 37, 69.
68 Santa Maria in Trastevere had been patronized by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who had ties to the Oratory; Scipione Borghese, commendatore of the Oratory, patronized San Crisogono. On the Oratorian practice of the renovation of early churches, see Alexandra Herz, "Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de'Appia," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), 590–620.
69 For brief remarks on the economics of stucco and fresco, see Ebria Feinblatt, *Seventeenth Century Bolognese Ceiling Decorators* (Santa Barbara 1992), passim.
70 Compare the brief comments of Irving Lavin, "Pietro da Cortona and the Frame," *Art Quarterly* 19 (1956), 55–59.
71 On the "perspective wars," see Martin Kemp, "'A Chaos of Intelligence': Leonardo's *Trattato* and the Perspective Wars in the Académie Royale," in *'Il se rendit en Italie'. Etudes Offertes à André Chastel* (Paris 1987); Carl Goldstein, "Studies in Seventeenth Century French Art Theory and Ceiling Painting," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965), 231–256; Duro, (as Note 29).
72 Abraham Bosse, *Moyen universal de pratiquer la perspective sur les tableaux ou surfaces irregulieres*, (Paris 1653).
73 Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *De arte grafica*, (Paris 1668); Goldstein, (as Note 71), 246–247.
74 Carole Paul, "Pietro da Cortona and the Invention of the macchina," *Storia dell'arte* 89 (1997), 74–95; c.f. E. H. Gombrich, (as Note 36), 60.
75 E. H. Gombrich (as Note 36), 44, writes "[I]n this extraordinary room [Camera degli Sposi] Mantegna did not have to contend with the narrative aims of Christian didactic art, which proved so hard to assimilate to the novel means of illusionistic painting. Where a sequence of scenes was demanded, the easiest way out of the dilemma was still provided by the real architectural articulation of a wall."

Picture Credits

1 Pietro da Cortona, *Double Intercession*, 1647-59, cupola and tribune, Chiesa Nuova, Rome (Photo: Fabi-Mancini Soprintendenza B.A.S. Roma).
2 *God, Christ and Old Testament Prophets*, 1647-51, cupola, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
3 *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1655-59, tribune, Chiesa Nuova, Rome (Photo: Fabi-Mancini Soprintendenza B.A.S. Roma).
4 Pietro da Cortona, *Miracle of the Madonna of Vallicella*, 1664-65, Nave Ceiling, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
5 Pietro da Cortona, *St. Michael and Angels with the Instruments of the Passion*, 1634, Sacresty ceiling, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
6 Pietro da Cortona, *St. Filippo Neri in Ecstacy*, 1636, Anticamera to the Superior rooms of the Saint, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
7 Wolfgang Schöne, *diagram of viewpoints in the Chiesa Nuova, Rome*.
8 Pietro da Cortona, *Triumph of the Barberini*, 1633-39, Palazzo Barberini, Rome (from ideal viewing point).
9 Abraham Bosse, *Moyen universal de pratiquer la perspective sur les tableaux ou surfaces irregulieres* (Paris, 1653)
10 Baciccio, *Adoration of the Name of Christ*, 1676-79, Church of the Gesù, Rome

11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Death of Ignatius of Loyola*, Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolæ Societatis Iesv fvndatoris, 1615.
12 Guido Reni, *Filippo Neri in Contemplation of the Virgin*, 1615, Chiesa Nuova, Rome

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