



CHAPTER VI

**The Pictorial  
Presence of  
Heavenly Grace  
in the Art of the  
Renaissance and  
Baroque**



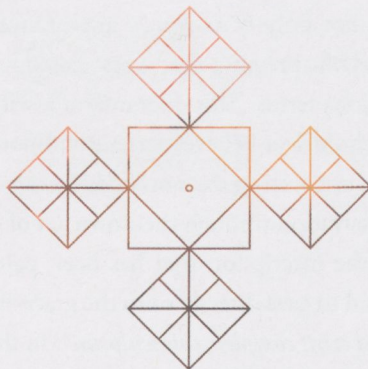
TITIAN

*Self-portrait* (detail), c. 1567

*oil on canvas, 86 × 69 cm,  
collection: Museo del Prado,  
Madrid*

KLAUS KRÜGER





This chapter is built on a core idea concerning perceptions of divinity in pictorial representations: that the visible, material image serves as an instrument that leads from the visible to the invisible.<sup>1</sup> According to this idea, which is disseminated widely in theological and mystical thought, the religious imagination is a process that passes through the material image and leads beyond it, to an experience of heavenly grace that transcends visual or physical perception. But, if the painted image serves primarily as an anagogic medium of transmission, as a passage *through*, as a transitional stage, then what specific importance is to be attached to its actual pictorial presence and intrinsic aesthetic value? Further, to what extent, and how, does the aesthetic experience contribute substantially to the religious imagination?

The systematic—but also the historical—spectrum of these questions is widely diversified, not least when one thinks of recent discussions of religious aesthetics and the significant question, energised by modernism, of a genuine aesthetic experience of the divine, as well as of current debates concerning re-enchantment, a post-secular age, and an often religiously founded culture of presence.<sup>2</sup>

As our point of entry, let us take a relatively modern example (page 101, left). This 1972 sculpture by British artist Robin Page (1932–2015) illuminates the religious–aesthetic discourse of modernity via a figure that has been canonical in Christian art since the Middle Ages: the crucifix. The sculpture highlights the dialectic, so universally prevalent in Christological picture theology, of a present absence, which it exposes as an inconceivable promise of salvation *in* and *through* art that emerges now quite palpably to perception.<sup>3</sup> As though having been packed and sealed into a wooden transport crate, the body of the Redeemer remains inaccessible (with the exception of the feet and lower legs), barred from

our gaze. As a consequence, not only is its *figural* appearance unredeemed, but so is the expectation of a *transfigural* salvific presence that is associated with it. Thus the beholder too remains unredeemed in religious terms. This dilemma of a withheld phenomenal presence can be overcome when the beholder or believer acts autonomously to counteract their spiritual indigence by exposing or uncovering the now-hidden crucified figure in its entirety, by working towards the desired salvation through their own act of creative completion. Indeed, such action is suggested by the inscription that has been painted on the object precisely where one might have expected to gaze directly onto the grace-imbued face of the Lord, *facie ad faciem*: 'In case of a spiritual crisis complete this sculpture'. In the style of stencilled shipping instructions that tell the receiver how to handle a crate, the inscription introduces—albeit with some irony—the notion of a dispatch from the unknown, and hence conveys connotations that metaphorically evoke the transmission of a salvific message and of messianic expectation.

The paradoxical and decidedly unredeemable character of this promise, this suggestion of completion, is indicated on the one hand by the fact that the crate is not a crate at all, and cannot be opened, but only subtracted via resolute labour with a chisel. Put differently: the work of religious completion (or perfection) that is proffered to the beholder can be fulfilled only through an *iconoclastic* act that eradicates the work, and is hence a manifest *negation* of art. On the other hand, the crucifix itself, to the extent that its figural form of existence already begins to emerge in the area of the feet, can only be conceived as being entirely black, and hence as visibly announcing the essential sign of aesthetic negativity. Apostrophised here unmistakably is that discourse of a dialectical dichotomy between 'negation and perfection' (Luhmann), and in general of forms of negation as a multi-layered praxis and method of constructing and constituting meaning, as reflected in variegated ways, particularly in the artistic concepts of modernity.<sup>4</sup>

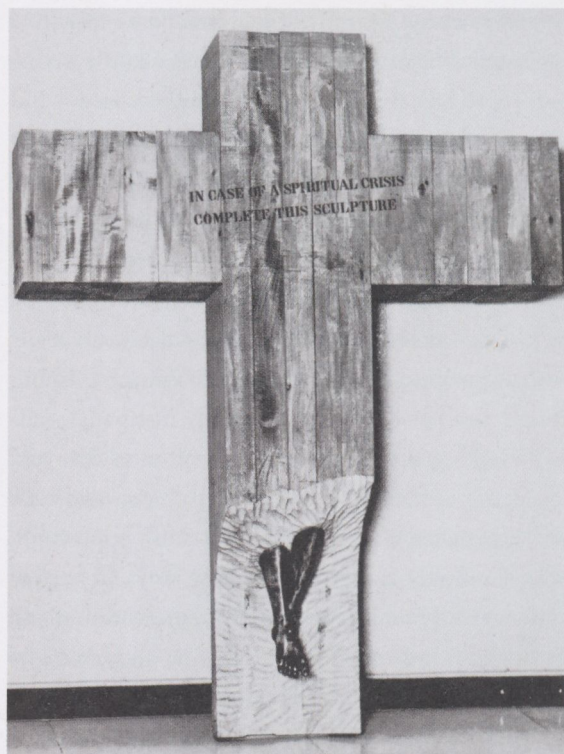
In this sculpture, Robin Page alludes or reacts to the concept (which was the norm in the Middle Ages) that the artist who produces religious images is only the executive organ of a divine, ordering *ratio*. It is first and foremost this divine, creative agency that conveys the work of art in its figural mode of existence in a binding way to a dimension of reality within which materiality and transcendence, the earthly and the celestial, interpenetrate. And grounded here, according to this topical notion, are all the credibility and comprehensibility of the power that is imputed to the work of art: of taking effect in its material qualities, that is, those fashioned by human hands, as a medium of divine grace and as the presence of divine salvation. It suffices here to refer to the remarkable testimony, in the form of a written note, that Sieneese sculptor Lando di Pietro concealed in the head of a crucifix he created in 1338 as a personal donation to the fraternity of San Domenico in Camporeggio, to whose church he was granted membership in 1340 (opposite right).<sup>5</sup> The text on this slip of paper states that the creation of the crucifix—carved in wood by the artist's own hands—had been

(LEFT)

ROBIN PAGE

*In Case of a Spiritual Crisis*, 1972

wood, 142 × 107 × 25 cm,  
private collection, Europe



(RIGHT)

LANDO DI PIETRO

Fragmented head of the Crucified  
Christ, 1338

polychrome wood, height: 32 cm,  
collection: Chiesa dell'Osservanza,  
Museo di Aurelio Castelli, Siena



occasioned by none other than God himself, and it was designed to resemble the true Christ ('*domene dio fece scolpire questa croce in questo legno a lando pieri da siena a similitudine del vero ihu xpo*'). At the same time, it expresses the expectation, grounded in precisely this resemblance, of a preferential granting of grace to the donor-artist ('*tu verace croce santa di yhu xpo ... rende el detto lando a dio*'), and goes on to affirm this expectation through a litany-style appeal to the Virgin and saints, whom he invites to join his appeal for mercy, which he directs towards the cross.

The hopes for the granting of grace and salvation that the artist associated with the work are then made clear by his inserting into the nose of the crucified figure—evidently after the work's earthly, material completion—an additional slip of paper, onto which he again inscribed his request for indulgence and compassion for his soul, and moreover with explicit reference to the work's completion ('*fu compiuta questa figura*') with an exact date reckoned in earthly terms. Precisely because he attributed the completion of his image to the divine artist, Lando di Pietro was able, in a postscript, to link the notion of a divine presence—said to be immanent to his crucifix—to the premise, drawn from the theology of images, that no material identity existed between image and prototype: you must worship Him, the true and living God, not this wooden cross ('*Et lui [dio vivo e vero] dovendo adorare et non questo legno*').

Against this background, we could say that the alterity, even incommensurability, of pictorial presence and sacred presence, of materiality and transcendence, is bridged by Lando di Pietro's attribution of the work to God's creative powers, thereby decisively legitimating—in a sense covertly—the *aesthetic* experience of the *religious*. In contrast, Robin Page's sculpture deconstructs (albeit through a rather cursory, and rapidly dissipated, self-reflexive visual joke) something that has for a long time constituted a central artistic and conceptually theorised task, namely the bridging of the above-mentioned alterity, and even of the gap between religious and aesthetic experience. The dynamic of a tense opposition, one that now becomes virulent, and which unfolds in perpetually new ways in medial configurations of absence and presence, latency and manifest awareness, representation and presence, generates its effects precisely through an indissoluble interweaving and entanglement of these poles; that is, a structure of liminality. And in this process, this structure of liminality gives form to an intrinsic relationship between work, referent and perception, in which reception can in many cases no longer be strictly delimited from production.

Against this background, the following question acquires greater definition and clarity: how, and in which historically diverse constellations, does the moment of a religiously founded promise of salvation acquire validity, not as the complement of an attribution, the product and result of a thematic application (as can be seen with Lando di Pietro or Robin Page), but instead by being substantiated aesthetically, as a quality that the work incorporates, which is accessible to experience, and which acquires evidence only in this mode of a genuine aesthetic consistency? This question extends to the configuration of the

aforementioned parameters of production and reception, in particular when the artist's own religious experience and endeavour come into play decisively through the aesthetic implementation or modelling of his or her own creative praxis.

A revealing instance of this interrelationship is a 1734 oil sketch by Louis de Silvestre, which displays the crucifixion as fashioned entirely from clouds (page 104).<sup>6</sup> We are well informed about the occasion and context of production of this remarkable image. Executed slightly later, based on this sketch, was a monumental painting on canvas, nearly 3 metres high, intended for the chapel of the Royal Palace in Dresden. A detailed inscription found on the lower right of the large altar panel explains that the subject is a celestial apparition in the clouds that appeared miraculously—by the grace of God—to the painter himself. As the text explains, this event transpired in the company of distinguished officials and representatives of church and court, among them Monsieur Pirenne, abbot of Rotschberg (near Meissen), who was also royal chaplain; Madame Embry, wife of the chief medical assistant of the Garde du Corps; and a number of other individuals, among them the local vintner, the gardener, and so forth, all of whom were listed as witnesses. This information is accompanied by the precise date, place and time of the visitation:

What is seen in this picture, which depicts Christ on the Cross, formed out of the clouds of a blue sky, was seen in the heavens, on the side of the setting sun [that is, in the west], in the vineyard of Rotschberg, a quarter after six on the evening of May 19, 1734. It lasted precisely a quarter of an hour ...

The witnesses formed a denominationally mixed group, implying that they were not one-sided as judges: 'The witnesses, who watched everything, were: Monsieur Abbé Pirenne. C. [Catholic], Monsieur Bildstein Junior and his servant. L. [Lutheran], Monsieur Favrier. C. [Catholic]', and so forth, 'and I, Louis de Silvestre, who painted it as seen here'. But the image not only claims the status of an authentic, certified document. As a painting associated with specific claims regarding its artistic elaboration, it attempts on the one hand to do justice to the norm of 'perfect resemblance' (*'la parfaite ressemblance'*)—in other words, to its *documentary* claim, as unanimously attested by the witnesses—and on the other to the desideratum of an adequate *aesthetic* expression of the supernatural, miraculous dimension of this celestial apparition, one that cannot be secured solely through a 'faithful', lifelike image, because only art (*l'art*) is capable of depicting such a marvellous and extraordinary thing: '*peut représenter une chose aussi admirable et extraordinaire*'?

The fact that here two incompatible orders get into each other, collide and interpenetrate—a celestial one, whose consistency ultimately remains incommensurable and unavailable in objective terms, and a terrestrial one, whose principle is based on objective determination and spatio-temporal assessment—is therefore met by the artist programmatically





LOUIS DE SILVESTRE  
*Christ on the Cross, Formed of Clouds*, 1734

*oil on canvas, 73 × 52 cm, collection:  
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden*

through the aesthetic specificity of his art and its genuine, twofold capacity of representation and self-presence. To bring out this double effect, he makes the peculiar idea, intrinsic to the subject, of the clouds as a medium of figuration that is shaping, yet unstable and fleeting, aesthetically productive by fluctuating and oscillating the depiction between object reference and painterly positing, between concrete figuration and abstract texture. Christ's body emerges sculpturally from the monochrome, opaque blue of the sky, but assumes a luminous, almost transfigural quality by virtue of its radiant brightness. While the upper body and arms display relatively clear contours, the figure merges in picturesque dissolution with the loincloth, more diffuse in its execution. The hands and feet, melting into indistinctness, flow into the amorphousness of the cross, its illegible inscription at the upper part formed by impasto brushstrokes. In this way, the depiction gives rise, so to speak, to a consubstantial mode of aesthetic presence in which all the figurative elements participate, including the surrounding clouds. All of the palpable figural phenomena produce an effect of presence whose actual substance, which is to be caught by the eye of the beholder, is manifested as that of colour and form, a fluid of delicately painted facture and finely nuanced colouration. Thus, the pictorial performance of the celestial phenomenon directly interlocks with the aesthetic effect of its withdrawal, and flows into a liminal visual experience, which in fact oscillates between representation and self-presence, between concrete figuration and the appearance of a reality, which is completely transfigured into its pictorial substance.

This effect is reinforced by the perspectival arrangement and the positioning of the scene in a view from below, which combines the impression of a telescopically achieved proximity of the crucified figure with that of its remote, non-localisable distancing. This un-localisability, the spatial indefiniteness of the celestial apparition, is achieved by means of a pictorial composition that is strictly axial and framed by clouds, which is to say, through the firmly fixed and clearly defined organisation of the picture surface. Ultimately, it is this double aesthetic order that is responsible for the entire effect of the pictorial scenario: as a spectacle in the restless heavens where the massive clouds, still tinged with darkness, suddenly open wide, revealing a pure and radiant blue that gleams forth from infinite depths and yet appears impenetrable, and which becomes an inconceivable heavenly backdrop to the cloudy formation of the luminous figure. And it is not by chance that it is precisely the face of Christ that—despite all its proffered discernibility—eludes concreteness through the effects of its shading and its painterly pastose dissolution. To emphasise, the salvific presence, the grace of this divine being that is presented here to the viewer, is experienced as the visually alluring, interminable aesthetic effect of an open (but nonetheless finely calibrated), subtly orchestrated texture of colours and forms.

A further aspect is worth mentioning. Although the painting stands before us as a self-contained and finished work, as an oil sketch of relatively modest dimensions, designed to serve as the model for a monumental altarpiece, it has the character of a draft, an outline,

(LEFT)  
GUILLAUME COURTOIS  
(AFTER BERNINI)

*Sanguis Christi*, c. 1670

oil on canvas, 98.0 × 64.5 cm,  
collection: Museo di Roma



(RIGHT)  
FRANÇOIS PIERRE (AFTER  
BERNINI)

*Sanguis Christi*, 1670

copper engraving, 47.3 × 29.0 cm,  
collection: Istituto Nazionale per  
la Grafica, Rome



an open, improvisatory form, and hence an aesthetic trial-run that was performed *ad hoc* directly in the presence of the celestial phenomenon itself. In other words, it is the image's inherent quality of open facture, the impasto paint application, and the flowing brushwork that function simultaneously as an index of the putative spontaneity of its execution and rapid off-the-cuff compositional design, and moreover wholly in the sense of a systematic category, namely as the aesthetic equivalent of the instantaneous and inconceivable character of the heavenly vision. In a nutshell: the aesthetic mode of the transitory and indefinite facture becomes here an *artistic* index and expression of a *celestial* manifestation of grace. In this way, religious epiphany and aesthetic experience are brought into a relation of consonance.

Such a constellation can be illuminated by another example. A painting executed in around 1670 after a late sketch by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (and under his direct supervision) depicts a celestial vision which—according to Bernini's own testimony—appeared to the Florentine mystic Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi on Pentecost in 1585 (opposite left).<sup>8</sup> Christ on the cross hovers high up in the sky, surrounded by God the Father above and angels at his sides, while directly in front of him the Virgin Mary kneels on a bank of clouds in a pose of humility, gazing upward in devotion. Flowing from Christ's wounds are streams of red blood, which form a boundless ocean far below him, its blood-red swells extending all the way to the immeasurably distant horizon. The two streams of blood that issue from the wound on his side are received by the Virgin, who holds up both hands to catch them, and to offer them in turn to God the Father with a beseeching gaze. Thus the core idea of the composition is an imploring appeal for divine grace, which Mary seeks with reference to Christ's self-sacrifice, and in her role as intercessor for humanity. It is a subject whose prehistory is as ramified in motivic terms as in iconographic ones, and one formed in diverse contexts and discourses.<sup>9</sup> Many times this theme was directly associated with the hopes for succour experienced by the faithful sufferer in his or her final moments on the deathbed. Indeed, this was the case for Bernini himself, who had the painting executed for his own personal use, and installed it in his sleeping chamber at the foot of his bed. It remained there until his death, an eloquent expression of his hope for the grace of divine redemption '*in vita, et in morte*' ('in life, and in death'), as Francesco Baldinucci reported slightly later, in his 1682 biography of Bernini.<sup>10</sup>

But Bernini's pictorial invention soon made a deep impression on the public, going beyond the artist's individual intentions and enjoying a wide diffusion through print reproductions and painted copies. In particular, as an engraving it served as a frontispiece to a treatise on religious edification by the Oratorian Francesco Marchese (Bernini's nephew), published in Rome in 1670 under the title 'The only hope the sinner has consists in the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ' ('*Unica speranza del peccatore che consiste nel sangue di N.[ostro] S.[ignore] Gesù Cristo*') (opposite right). This publication was the source of the traditional designation of Bernini's invention and its successors as the '*Sanguis Christi*' (Blood of Christ).

But it is the genesis of this pictorial invention that is of special interest to us. On the one hand, this concerns its motivic arrangement. Bernini entirely omits the figure of Maddalena de' Pazzi—the authentic, sole witness of this celestial vision. A late seventeenth-century painting found in Jesi near Ancona and executed for the local monastery of the Carmelite Order, to which the saint herself belonged, depicts—unlike Bernini's panel—the visionary witness as a direct participant in the event, kneeling on clouds on the lower right, gazing towards the crucified Christ (opposite).<sup>11</sup> Although in her pose she emulates, particularly in the gestures of her arms and hands, the model of the Holy Virgin in the spirit of a monastically regulated *imitatio Mariae*, she also acts as an intercessor, commending the Saviour upon whom she gazes to the circle of beholders—the nuns of the monastery, who are external to the image—as the final addressees of his celestial grace. The saint therefore appears as a mediator on the threshold between the beyond and the earthly world, between divine grace and mundane expectations of salvation. Correspondingly, the entire composition has been re-ordered: the crucified figure, now taking a strictly axial and frontal position towards the foremost plane of the picture, is virtually proffered by the saint for acts of devotion that would take place in front of the image.

Bernini's invention arose from an entirely different conception. By depicting the celestial event without a visionary witness or mystical epiphany, and hence without any interposed figure, he contrives *a priori* a different perspective. In Bernini's original, the celestial scenario confronts the viewer as though it were the viewer's personal vision. The mediatory role is assumed not by an interceding figure contained *within* the image, but instead by the *image itself*.

Besides the purely motivic, this concerns another aspect of the pictorial conception, one that involves the actual medium of representation, and hence the medium of the vision as well. Once it becomes evident that the medium of visual experience here is not a human witness to the vision, but the picture itself, the question of the image-generating process moves into focus, that is, the way in which the celestial apparition assumes the form and aesthetic consistency of an image. For with Bernini's picture, as with Silvestre's, the very first depiction of the celestial scenario, and thus its authoritative version, took shape as a sketch. In Bernini's seemingly spontaneous ink-and-wash drawing, created as a first draft (page 113), the figural group seems to be imperceptibly closer to the beholder than it is in the later painting. The drawing's overall aesthetic character is of a dynamically animated configuration of rapidly and sketchily executed lines, which are often curved or curly, continually interrupted and hence taking the form of short strokes, in association with the effects of light and shadow, varied in intensity via the application of wash, which produce the impression of a gloriole around Christ's upper body. This overall aesthetic character produces a double effect. On the one hand is a sculpturally modelled, figural development of a vivid, vibrant, airborne spectacle. This spectacle is enacted by its celestial protagonists

UNKNOWN ARTIST

*Sanguis Christi*, late 17th century

oil on canvas, 250 × 250 cm, collection:  
Monastero delle Monache Carmelitane  
della Santissima Trinità, Jesi



in violation of the laws of terrestrial gravity, but with fully incarnate physical presence and through vigorous, expansive gestures. On the other hand is an agitated, vibratory intonation that atmospherically coordinates the entire drama, even down to the costumes, clouds and puffs of breeze, orchestrating it in such a way that our gaze is ceaselessly stimulated and captured, is attracted, touched, even captivated, in the spirit of a sensual perception of the entire scenario, which surpasses its corporeal, space-filling presence and is surrendered to the powerful expression of another presence: that of its aesthetic facture.

As with Louis de Silvestre's cloud-Christ, the two aspects of this double effect are inseparable. They do not generate a dichotomy, but are entangled with one another in a consubstantial sense, as the form of perception of a subject whose dimension of meaning *qua* vision surpasses a purely figurative perspective. The aesthetic *Gestalt* is thematically bound; it is not autonomous, yet it gives rise to a mode of expression and perception of the theme different from that of a figural representation.

Even during Bernini's lifetime, certain members of his intimate circle recognised and named this interrelationship. In the foreword to the above-mentioned devotional book of 1670, Francesco Marchese states that the image in Bernini's frontispiece allows earthly beings to better comprehend and recognise that which is inherent in higher, divine things, which are in and of themselves ungraspable and impenetrable. Moreover, he says that, because this image is *enacted* by God as a form of grace and *created* by the devout artist (*'da mano di divoto artefice'*), religious meaning *and* artistic *Gestalt* are authentically united in a 'pious image' (*'diuota imagine'*).<sup>12</sup>

This connection emerges even more distinctly in a report by Bernini's son Domenico, who refers directly to the original drawing, describing in detail how Bernini ascends via his naturalness (*'naturalezza'*) to such a sublimity of ideas in the realm of devotion (*'una sublimità ... d'Idee in materia di divozione'*) that he is dissatisfied with conventional ideas and relies on those that guide him directly to heaven (*'al Cielo'*). Bernini is said to have arrived at his remarkable subject through the insight that, in his artistic achievements, he was linked to a celestial master, whose infinite and incomprehensibly great qualities he could never have beheld, as one says, with small coin.<sup>13</sup> Bernini realised his subject, as Domenico explains further, for the sake of his own, personal piety (*'per sua divozione'*) in a miraculous drawing (*'un meraviglioso disegno'*), which was then transferred into the media of print and painting.<sup>14</sup> The characteristic of the miraculous is deliberately brought into play here, invoking a semantic spectrum that oscillates between transcendence and immanence, religious and aesthetic values, thereby intrinsically linking the depicted *celestial* miracle with the *artistic* miracle of Bernini's representation. This artistic miracle is, however, a miracle of the sublime (*'sublimità'*), which is ultimately grounded in naturalness, in the power of an unmediated nativeness, originality, primordially (*'naturalezza'*). Accordingly, 'miracle' does not refer to subsequent printed or painted versions, to motivically or iconographically

elaborated and fixed pictorial formulae, but only and emphatically to the original drawing, where the miracle was spontaneously recorded in the creative medium of a sketch.

This intimate and reciprocal dynamic between the religious intensity experienced by the artist and its authentic precipitate as an aesthetic expressive force seems directly comparable to the case of Louis de Silvestre's oil sketch and its genesis, as attested by its inscription. At the same time, the term '*disegno*' as employed by Domenico Bernini, namely as the artistic manifestation of the experience of God, which now becomes the aesthetic concretisation of the miraculous, points beyond the representational or technical significance of the drawing and the practical sphere of its execution. It refers unmistakably to that interpretive tradition of artistic creation, founded on Scholasticism and Neoplatonism, which was extensively elaborated and disseminated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo and Federico Zuccari, with their concept of *disegno* as a cognitive capacity.<sup>15</sup> They conceived *disegno* as an intellectual outline and as a creative, nature-like principle that finally manifests the special sublimity and Godlikeness of the artist. *Disegno* is, as Wolfgang Kemp puts it, 'equated with idea' and 'apprehended as the vessel of all spiritual or intellectual things'. This notion is then reduced to a formula, as simple as it is catchy: Zuccari's etymologically embellished interpretation of *disegno* as '*segno di dio in noi*' ('the sign of God in us').<sup>16</sup> There can be little doubt that Domenico Bernini grounds his elucidation of his father's '*meraviglioso disegno*' in these semantic implications, as made clear by his apostrophised terminology ('*sublimità*', '*naturalezza*', '*Idee*'), and in general by his discourse of an artistic proximity to God.

That *disegno* genuinely presents itself against the horizon of this theological-metaphysical founding of artistic activity 'as an effluence of divine grace' (to cite Panofsky)<sup>17</sup> is strikingly illuminated by the conceptual status that is occupied by this 'miraculous drawing' in the biographical narrative of the genesis of Bernini's *Sanguis Christi*. But, starting from this, the concrete specificity of the *Sanguis Christi*'s aesthetic shaping and the characteristic form of its execution do not appear to be accidental. For Bernini's sketch cannot be interpreted as the materialised, external and visible form of a preceding 'idea', and hence cannot be assigned to the implicitly hierarchical distinction made in contemporary art theory between *disegno interno* (inner design) as a higher, intellectual formation of the idea, and *disegno esterno* (outer design) as a second-order, visual exemplification.<sup>18</sup> Its medial constitution instead represents the decisive condition for the conceptualisation of the subject, and for its development as a thematic configuration. It therefore proves to be the aesthetically conditioned form of a religious reference to an object which, in its authenticity, only acquires shape and becomes accessible in this way.

The drawing testifies to this through its technically differentiated shaping, the use of pen and wash, and its pictorial design. God the Father appears dynamically animated by the characteristic style of the lines, yet is essentially deprived of three-dimensional presence by



the tonally uniform, homogeneous application of thin, pale, transparent wash. This confines him to the sphere of the luminous, cloudy, slightly shadowy sky, with its airy throng of putti. In comparison, the figure of Mary, whose powerful, light–dark contrasts accented by angular forms characterise the almost sculptural articulation of the swells of drapery and the depressions in her garments, is endowed with a very different sense of physical presence. She acquires an exuberant vitality, becoming almost consubstantial with the bank of clouds. Embodying a transitional zone between these poles is the hovering angel to the right of Christ: the dark shadows on his legs and the soles of his feet contrast with his wings (parts of which bear thin wash, parts of which have been left bright white) and the very pale areas of his arm and shoulder. But the qualitative difference and spatial separation of this transitional zone are subtly downplayed by the angel's abruptly foreshortened underside, which nonetheless allows this gap to be perceived even more dramatically. Finally, Christ himself, at the centre of the scenario, acquires a powerful, almost athletic, physical presence through the clearly delineated contours and restrained, finely executed internal modelling with wash. At the same time, he radiates a sense of translucent, weightless transfiguration.

All of this is apprehended in this drawing as the manifestation of its thematic dimension in the immediate execution of its composition; its highly nuanced application of lines, strokes and contours; and its richly gradated application of light and dark tones with brush and pencil. Only the animated, even vehement application of formal resources, and hence a pictorial phenomenality that is not exhausted in the figural sense alone, makes this composition a dramatic visual experience. In the words of Domenico Bernini, it condenses the '*compassionevole spettacolo*' (which is consummated here as a beseeching appeal to the '*Santissima Humanità di Christo*' for the appeasement of, and defence from, a threatening '*Divina vendetta*') into a moving aesthetic experience.<sup>19</sup>

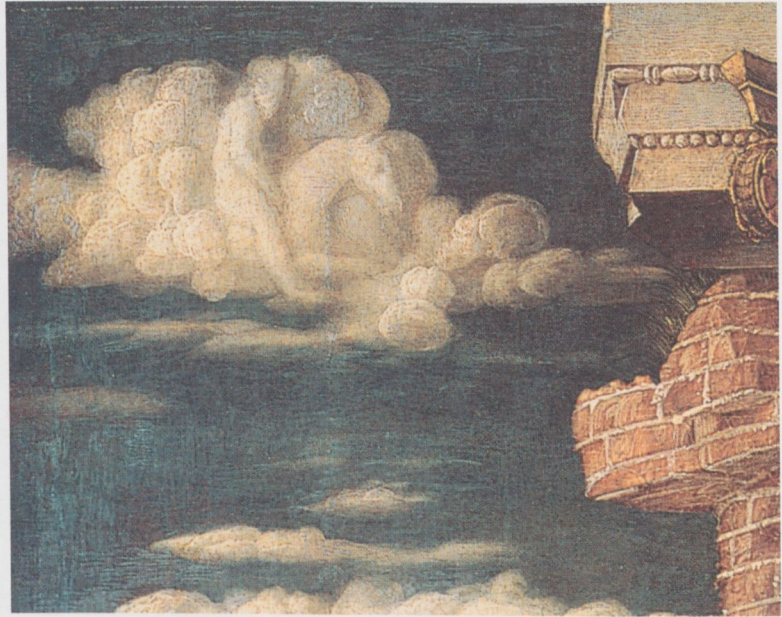
With this in mind, let us turn again to Louis de Silvestre's visionary image, for emerging here, as with the *disegno* discourse in relation to Bernini, is an art-theoretical context. This painting and the circumstances of its genesis are founded in the topos of cloud painting, which extends all the way back to Mantegna, Leonardo and Dürer (and possibly even further), and its assertion of the special artistic powers of the projective imagination. The famous cloud rider in Mantegna's *Saint Sebastian* (c. 1457–58) is only one example among many—though a very well known one (page 114).<sup>20</sup> In his 1549 art-theoretical treatise *Disegno*, for example, Anton Francesco Doni has recourse to this notion of figural apparitions in the clouds, so often potent for the process of painting: 'In the clouds I have just seen fantastic animals and castles, with endless and different people and figures' ('*nelle nuvole ho già veduto animalacci fantastichi e castelli, con popoli e figure infinite e diverse*'). But he does not locate the origins of this image world in pre-existing celestial phenomena: 'Do you believe that these things that you see are really in those clouds?' ('*Credi tu che le steno in quelle nuvole che tu vedi?*') Instead, he places them firmly in the artist's productive powers of



GIAN LORENZO  
BERNINI

*Sanguis Christi*, c. 1670

*brown ink on paper,*  
38.6 × 24.7 cm, collection:  
Teylers Museum, Haarlem



ANDREA MANTEGNA

*Saint Sebastian* (detail of a rider  
in the clouds), c. 1457–58

oil on wood panel, 68.0 × 30.0 cm,  
collection: Kunsthistorisches  
Museum Vienna

imagination: 'In the fantasy and in my imagination, in the chaos of my brain' (*Nella fantasia e nella mia imaginativa, nel caos del mio cervello*).<sup>21</sup> Emerging already from this clear prioritisation of the image-generating fantasy possessed by the artist—in opposition to an imaging entity that is localised externally, in the cloudy sky—is the precarious relationship that exists (in the discursive field of religious art) between vision and imagination, between apparitions granted by grace (by divine *gratia*) and the pictorial self-assertion of a projection that is the gift of fantasy, the potency of aesthetic appearance.

Since the Renaissance, humanists and theoreticians have found the principal witnesses for this debate in antiquity. On the production of statues of the gods, Philostrate explains that a Phidias or a Praxiteles could hardly have ascended to heaven in order to fashion 'likenesses' of the gods found there. Their statues must therefore be attributed to the creative achievements of their artistic *phantasia*. Mimesis alone, Philostrate claims, can only recapitulate the visible, whereas fantasy discloses the invisible.<sup>22</sup> This argument has retained its force, and is used by Giovanni Pietro Bellori in his influential text *Idea* of 1672. With Philostrate and related examples as a point of departure, he discusses Guido Reni's 1635 painting of the Archangel Michael as a contemporary example of this phenomenon (page 116), and cites the artist's own (epistolary) explanation of the image's genesis:

I wished I had possessed the paintbrush of an angel [*pennello angelico*] or the forms of paradise [*forme di Paradiso*] in order to depict the Archangel and to behold him

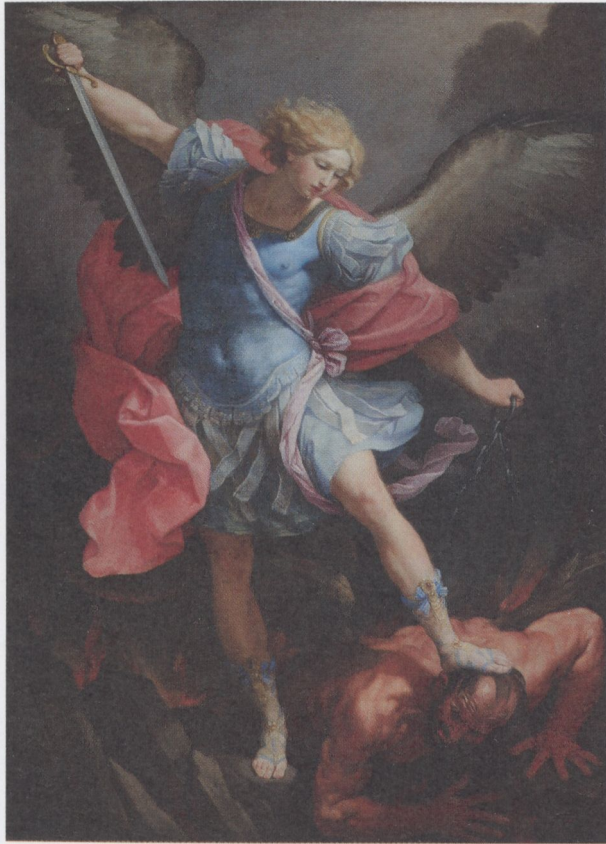
in heaven [*vederlo in cielo*]; but I was unable to ascend so high, and I sought him on earth in vain. Then, I espied him in the form in which I shaped or solidified him in my idea [*ho riguardato in quella forma, che nell'idea mi sono stabilita*].<sup>23</sup>

Still unquestionably efficacious in such art-theoretical testimonials and conceptualisations (whether with reference to the capacities of Reni's angelic gaze, or to Silvestre's cloud vision, granted by grace) is the discourse, long-established and widely ramified since the Middle Ages, on the theological-religious definition of the function of images. This is also a discourse on participation in the sacred through a salvific contemplation of, or acts of devotion towards, religious images. The status of images has been often discussed—by Augustine and Bernhard of Clairvaux, by Bonaventura, by Thomas Aquinas and countless others—with regard to differentiated modalities of a sensuous-corporeal, a spiritual, or an intellectual vision, a vision with the eye of the spirit, the heart or the soul. This status was therefore negotiated in relation to a variety of religious functions and aims (*memoria, affectus, imaginatio* and so forth).

In the early Trecento, for example, the Dominican Fra Giordano da Rivalto repeatedly referred in his sermons (delivered in various Florentine churches) to this practice of spiritual vision, and to the complex modes of religious experience. Presumably he usually did this while standing directly in front of a painted crucifix, such as Giotto's celebrated crucifix of c. 1290–95 in Santa Maria Novella (page 117). Giordano would turn directly to his audience and address, in a very concrete mode of personal speech, the individual believer, 'who gazes at and contemplates Christ on the Cross' (*'chi guata e contempla Cristo nella Croce'*).<sup>24</sup> He would explain in detail how such an act of contemplation could be maximally salvific:

Do you wish to be redeemed, to experience grace? Yes? [*Vuoi tu essere sanato? sì?*] Then gaze at Christ, gaze at him on the cross [*or ragguarda Cristo, ragguarda nella croce*]. And how? [*E come?*] In such a way that you experience a certain resemblance between yourself and the crucified Christ [*in modo che tu ricevi alcuna simiglianza in te della croce di Cristo*]. For if you behold him merely with the eyes of the body [*Ché se tu la guati pur coll'occhio del corpo*], you will receive no salvation [*non ti sanerà*]. Nor, if you gaze upon him as well with the eye of understanding [*Ovvero, se tu eziandio guatandola coll'occhio della mente*] will this bring you salvation either [*questo non ti ancora sanerà*].

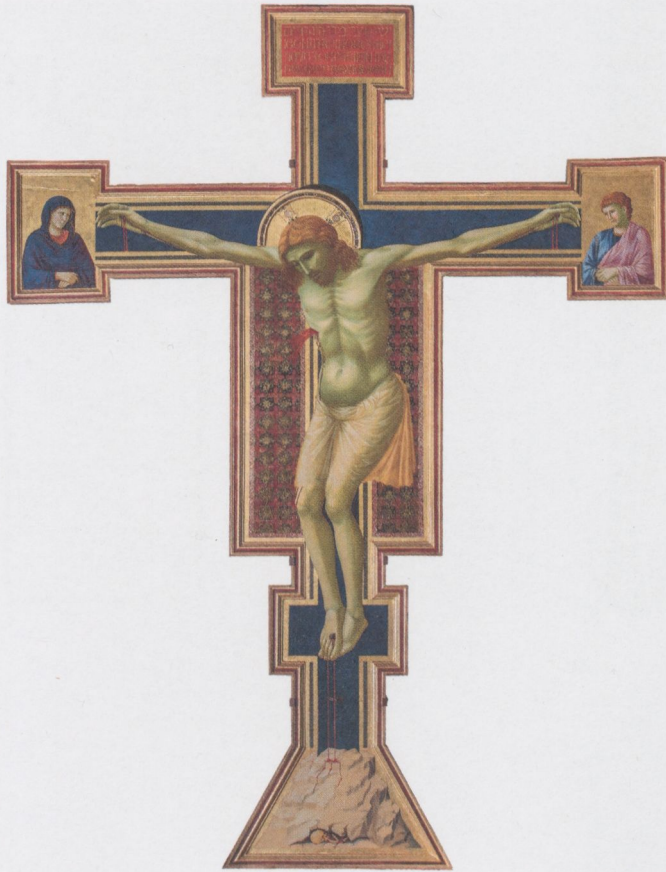
The true gaze onto the picture, Fra Giordano says, is the one that contains a potential for resemblance, for emphatic, corporeally felt compassion: 'Otherwise, your gaze is not really a gaze onto Him' (*altrimenti il tuo guatare non è guatarlo*), and the believer cannot partake of His salvific power of grace.<sup>25</sup>



GUIDO RENI  
*The Archangel Michael*, 1635  
 oil on silk, 293 × 202 cm,  
 collection: Santa Maria della  
 Concezione, Rome

For Fra Giordano and others, the relationship between religious contemplation, image-viewing and salvific vision is a reciprocal one, entangled in the image as a medium of a threshold experience. Accordingly, it cannot be described in dichotomous terms, or translated into a binary model of religious *or* aesthetic experience: religious devotion over here—*aesthetic* contemplation over there. Rather, religious experience involving images is unavoidably and intrinsically aesthetic in character. More precisely, it is bound up with the aesthetic process of becoming visible, within which intermingle immediacy *and* cognition, the affective *and* the reflective, the sensuous *and* the conceptual. I do not discuss the systematic aspect here in greater detail, nor Giotto's famous (and, at its time, highly innovative) crucifixion panel, except to say that it is no accident that the external religious gaze is elevated there to the level of a functional form of the beholder within the image itself (opposite, bottom).

Nonetheless, through a final example I would like to shed further light on the process of displacement and superimposition that took place in the early modern era in the relationship between religious and aesthetic experience (as shown in the examples of Bernini



(TOP)  
GIOTTO  
*Croce dipinta*, c. 1290–95  
*tempera and gold on panel*,  
578 × 406 cm, collection:  
*Santa Maria Novella, Florence*

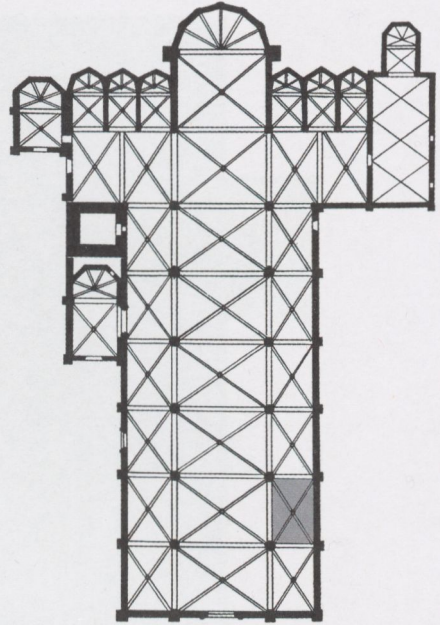
(BOTTOM)  
GIOTTO  
*Croce dipinta* (details):  
Mary and John





UNKNOWN ARTIST  
Painted crucifix, c. 1270–80

*tempera and gold on panel, 327 × 236 cm,  
collection: Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice*



Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice: ground plan, showing the former Cappella del Crocifisso

and Silvestre), without, however, positing a dichotomous model of change that would have led 'from cult images to the cult of images'. For the historical and artistic facts cannot be adequately grasped through the binary model of a more-or-less linear dynamics of secularisation and an ultimately teleologically implied shift from religious to aesthetic values and perceptions.<sup>26</sup> Once again, the point of departure is an image of the crucified Christ, and in particular the powers of grace, the salvific presence, that were attributed to it (above left). This late thirteenth-century crucifixion panel, today nearly forgotten by art historians, was found in the Frari Church in Venice, and placed there in the choir chapel. But in earlier times, and as late as the fifteenth century, it was located in a place to which the faithful enjoyed far greater access: the second altar on the right-hand-side aisle (above right), which today is the exact location of the monument to Titian, which dates from the era of the Canova school in the early eighteenth century (opposite). There, the crucifixion panel became the increasingly venerated object of a lively and intense cult, and was regarded as a miracle-working image; Sansovino refers to it matter-of-factly in 1581 as '*il Christo miracoloso*'. It guaranteed a considerable flow of donations and votive gifts; a specially delegated friar was even appointed to regulate this influx.<sup>27</sup>



ANTONIO CANOVA  
(WORKSHOP AND PUPILS)  
Tomb of Titian, c. 1838–52  
(commissioned to Canova in 1790)

*collection: Santa Maria Gloriosa dei  
Frari, Venice*



TITIAN

*Pietà*, c. 1576

*oil on canvas, 389 × 351 cm,  
collection: Galleria dell'  
Accademia, Venice*



TITIAN

*Pietà* (detail): votive image  
in lower-right corner



It is therefore all the more remarkable that, only a few years before Sansovino's comment, no less a figure than Titian—when his place of burial near the altar was chosen—produced an alternative image for the chapel altar, which he hoped to see installed in place of the miraculous crucifix. This monumental sepulchral painting was his celebrated *Pietà*, of c. 1576 (opposite).<sup>28</sup> In just a few points, I want to elucidate this paradigmatic case of the intentional displacement and superimposition of an old, highly venerated cult image by a 'new' religious painting, which would also serve as the artistic legacy of the highly reputed painter.<sup>29</sup>

Titian's *Pietà* provides a series of typological, allegorical or otherwise allusive references to the presence of God the Saviour, by thematising in many ways His evidence or non-evidence through pictorial and iconographic motifs, and through form.

The first is Titian's depiction of the statue of Moses, who prefigured Christ in himself ('*in se figurato*', as formulated by Tertullian),<sup>30</sup> and who appears both incarnate and at the same time as a typological shadow (as *umbra*, in grisaille), and as *figura* in the mode of a non-actual existence (as a sculpture).

The second is the analogous representation of the Hellepontine Sibyl. As a prophetic symbol, she bears the cross and the crown of thorns, appearing alive to the viewer, albeit somehow shadow-like, as a statue.<sup>31</sup>

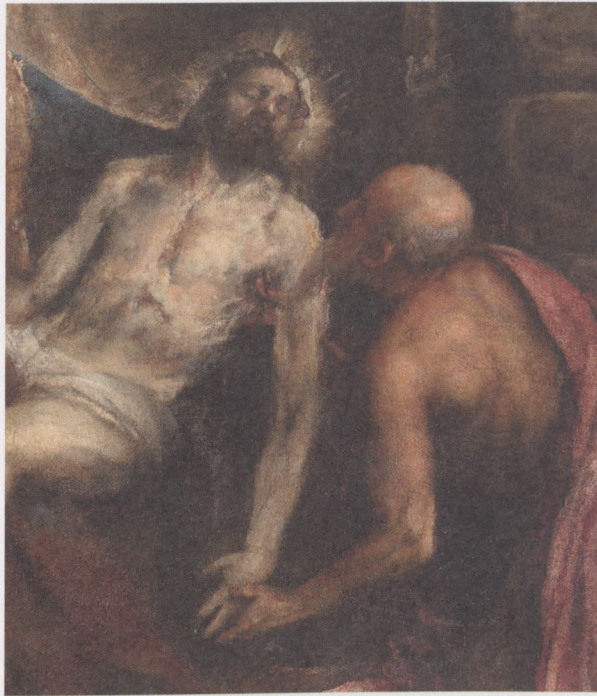
Thirdly we have the mosaic in the niche, whose iridescence sets off the pelican represented on it. The pelican was thought to have nourished its fledglings with its own blood, and was hence interpreted in the *Physiologus* as an allegory of Christ's crucifixion and the sacrament of the Eucharist.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, the votive image-within-the-image on the lower right (above) depicts Titian and his son, so that both appear in the larger work as a second-order image. But while the *Pietà* materialises as a real celestial presence compared to the votive painting, it seems to stand in the 'first-order' painting before our own eyes in a pictorial mode only.

In short, the presence of divinity as a principle of salvation is conveyed through various figurative media (sculpture, mosaic, painting), but remains absent in its absolute plenitude, thereby generating the paradoxical effect of figural evidence as mediated immediacy. By the same token, the expressive modes or affects of the figures also qualify as the media in the evocation of a (mediated) divine presence, strengthening the paradoxical implications of figural evidence as achieved in the painting. I refer to the Magdalene, who by means of a rhetorical declamatory pathos signifies that the presence of the Lord is no longer recoverable; or, in an antithetical fashion, to the contemplative attitude of Jerome.

To put it succinctly: Titian's *Pietà* is about divine salvation and the plenitude of its redemptive action. But the presence of divinity becomes graspable only *as* and *in* its pictorial appearance or figural evidence. Consequently, the richness and density of medial devices is fully deployed in the figure of Christ (opposite), whose body—in stark contrast with Jerome's darker complexion—appears to radiate light, while nonetheless consisting of patches of paint and being on the verge of self-dissolution and disfiguration (the right forearm, for example). Christ's body becomes less distinct, less tangible as one draws closer to it, and seems to dissolve in a network of brushstrokes, so that gradually any single part of it loses focus and seems to vanish. The radiant figure of the dead Christ, almost disintegrated and yet transfigured, oscillates between brightly luminous and dark flesh tones, down to patches of bluish-black. Through the figural evidence of the *Pietà*, forms and pigments, sharpness and blurriness, presence and absence become consubstantial, in the end in analogy with the Eucharistic interconnection between presence and re-presentation (*praesentia* and *repraesentatio*), and by this the entanglement of historical, sacramental and glorified body.<sup>33</sup>

This artwork's variety of expressive tensions—between illusion and materiality, focus and indistinctness, transparency and opacity, perceptual depth and close-up viewing—can be better understood if we consider Marco Boschini's detailed description of Jacopo Bassano's monumental *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the *Ricche minere* of 1674.<sup>34</sup> Bassano's 1592 altar-piece, still in situ in San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, is 4.21 metres high (pages 124 and 125). In Boschini's words, whoever has the pleasure to behold this marvel—'meraviglia', that is, a miracle transformed by aesthetic means into immanence—will be seized by genuine astonishment at the brightly radiant figure of the Christ child ('*quei lucidissimi splendori che scintillano dal Bambino Gesù*'), through which God, who becomes a man, and is then divinised as a man ('*umanato Dio*'), manifests Himself. If, however, driven by curiosity one approaches the painting ever more closely (Boschini continues), one experiences the greatest confusion, as the figure of the Redeemer who lies in the manger dissolves before our eyes and grows impalpable, so that it becomes impossible to distinguish between form and substance ('*né forma né sostanza*'). This visual impression, Boschini claims, makes the viewer wonder whether they have improperly approached the Godhead ('*quella rappresentante Divinità*').



TITIAN  
*Pietà* (detail): body of  
Christ and Saint Jerome

So they step back, and the previous, marvellous view of the Lord reassembles itself once again at a distance.<sup>35</sup>

In Titian's *Pietà*, several other related aspects become crucial. First and foremost is the relationship between vision and touch, or pictorial evidence and tactility, which is here suggested by Christ's body sliding from Mary's lap and arms. Christ's highly precarious positioning in the work is so difficult to define in terms of pictorial space or corporeal logic that it is impossible to determine precisely how he is supported. Moreover, Saint Jerome touches Christ's body (even seizes or receives it) while at the same time—linking *tactus* and *visus* through his own religious experience—he rivets his eyes with focused intensity on the Lord's face. But this face remains unaware of Jerome's gaze, and of the gaze of the beholder, who is thus not granted that experience of grace (*gratia*) that comes from a gaze 'face to face' (*facie ad faciem*).<sup>36</sup>

It is no coincidence that the figure of Jerome (portrait-like in conception) is privileged, not least through the authorial reference to the person of Titian himself (for example in the work on page 96). Through this figure, the entire complexity of the material and pictorial relationships on which figural evidence is articulated in the work opens onto a discourse on art and artistry. Playing with the correlation and opposition of the visual and the tactile (*visus* versus *tactus*), this discourse is presented through the depiction of different artistic media (sculpture in the round, relief, mosaic, architecture, painting in colour and in grisaille) and various forms of writing. Simultaneously, albeit at a farther remove, the painting thematises a discourse on the Christian painter (*artefice cristiano*) and/or the divine artist (*artista divino*). This notion of divine artistry is equally conveyed through the evocation of



(LEFT)  
JACOPO BASSANO  
*Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1592  
oil on canvas, 421 × 219 cm,  
collection: Santa Giorgio  
Maggiore, Venice

(OPPOSITE)  
BASSANO  
*Adoration of the Shepherds*  
(detail): the Christ child

a variety of medial modes, but above all through the arrangement at different scales of allegorical and typological presences (that is, through a combination of *'figurae'* in Auerbach's sense).<sup>37</sup> If figural evidence is understood in this sense as a mode of the 'in-between', as a process of the 'becoming manifest of something as something', as a generative transformation of 'something' into its palpable, visible, memorable aspects, then it can also become comprehensible as the consummate, perfected product of medial efficacy, or as an effect of specific medial interactions that integrate heterogeneous techniques and materials, one that is apt to reflect (through a variety of symbols, for instance) institutional circumstances and conditions; social, cultural or religious practices; or specific forms of knowledge.

Against this background, a short coda on the creation of Titian's *Pietà*. On the one hand, the Franciscans refused to accept and install the new altar painting, because they were unwilling to relinquish their older *'Christo miracoloso'* for the sake of the new work: *'non vollero quelli perder l'antica devotione del Crocefisso, che vi si uede'*, as Carlo Ridolfi commented laconically in 1648.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, Titian had long since been acclaimed by his contemporaries as a painter who created genuine miracles: *'Tiziano non è dipintore, et non è arte la virtù sua, ma miracolo'* ('Titian is not a painter, and his virtue is not art, but a miracle'), as Sperone Speroni put it in 1542.<sup>39</sup>



- 55 See Paul Cullen, letter to Tobias Kirby, 5 May 1874, NK/4/2/64, PICRA.  
 56 Quoted in Linehan, pp. 9–10.  
 57 See Press, p. 81. Most, if not all, were apparently given to Murphy by Cullen.

## CHAPTER VI

### The Pictorial Presence of Heavenly Grace in the Art of the Renaissance and Baroque

- 1 This article follows, largely unchanged, my lecture delivered at the 2018 colloquium *A Baroque Bishop in Colonial Australia*. Accordingly, the notes and references are limited to the essentials. A comprehensive and greatly expanded elaboration, with detailed references, has appeared as a book (Krüger, *Bildpräsenz—Heilspräsenz*).
- 2 Most prominent in various writings of Gumbrecht; see especially *Production of Presence*. Detailed discussion in Krüger, *Grazia*, esp. pp. 7–26.
- 3 Robin Page: *Werke 1969–1974*, cat. 107; see also Mertin.
- 4 Most relevant are Weinrich (and therein Luhmann, p. 469); Hübener; Westerkamp, esp. pp. 185ff ('Negative Theologie im Diskurs der Moderne'); Menke, pp. 17–40 ('Das Kunstwerk: Zwischen Möglichkeit und Unmöglichkeit'); Rentsch, esp. pp. 8ff, 119ff.
- 5 After a bombardment in 1944, only the fragmented head, one knee and the left arm survived. See *Scultura dipinta*, pp. 65ff, cat. 12; King, esp. pp. 125ff; Cooper, esp. pp. 47–50; Bartalini, esp. p. 310, cat. 1.
- 6 Marx, 'Christus am Kreuz aus Wolken gebildet'; *Louis de Silvestre (1675–1760)*, p. 36, cat. 11; *Meisterwerke der Dresdner Gemäldegalerie in Berlin*, p. 116, cat. 43; *Sehnsucht und Wirklichkeit*, pp. 328ff, cat. 136; *Rembrandt, Tizian, Bellotto*, pp. 54–5, cat. 10.
- 7 'Ce que l'ont voit dans ce tableau, représentant un Christ en Croix formé par des nuées d'un ciel bleu, a esté vu au ciel du coté du Soleil couchant à la vigne de Roischberg à six heures et un quart du soir le 19 May 1734. Sa durée parfaite a esté d'un quart d'heure. Les spectateurs étoient: / Mr. l'abbé Pirenne. C. [Catholique] / Mr. Bildstein le fils et son valet. L. [Luthériens] / Mr. Favrier. C. / Md. Embry. C. / Md. Richter veuve. L. / Les vigneronnes, les vigneronnes et le jardinier. L. / Md. Sylvestre et ses deux filles. C. / et moi Louis Sylvestre qui l'ayt peint tel que l'on voit ici. Les personnes cy-dessus nommées dont la plupart l'ont vu peindre sont convenues de la parfaite ressemblance autant que l'art peut représenter une chose aussi admirable et extraordinaire.'
- 8 Lavin, *Bernini e il Salvatore*, esp. pp. 15–40; Bindi, cat. 222–226; Petrucci, 'Il sanguis Christi di Bernini'; Lavin, 'Il "sanguis di Cristo" riscoperto'; Bernardini and Bussagli, p. 405, cat. 141 (Valeria di Giuseppe di Paolo), with extensive references.
- 9 See Britt-Wadell; Loda, with further literature, there also pp. 195ff.
- 10 Baldinucci, pp. 61–2: '*questa pia meditazione [del Sangue di Cristo Redentore] fecesi anche dipingere in una gran tela, la quale volle sempre tenere in faccia al suo letto in vita, et in morte*'; Bernini's son Domenico reports in his biography of his father that the artist, while looking forward to the end of his life, '*volle che a piedi del letto s'alzasse come un Altare et in esse fece esporre il Quadro rappresentante il Sangue di Giesù Cristo*' (Bernini, p. 174). See in detail Lavin, *Visible Spirit*, pp. 287–353 ('Bernini's Death').
- 11 *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi*, p. 128, cat. 45; *Dipinti del Barocco romano da palazzo Chigi in Ariccia*, p. 96 (Valeria di Giuseppe di Paolo); Capriotti, esp. pp. 293ff.
- 12 '*Ah che l'huomo carnale non penetra le cose superne, e che da Dio prouengono: perciò à farle meglio capire, l'infinita carità del Signor Iddio hà ora con particular prouedimento disposto, che da mano di divoto artefice sia delineata l'Imagine del Salvatore Crocifisso, grondante Sangue in tanta copia, che se ne formi un ampio mare, e che per mani della Beatissima Vergine Maria conforme al pio sentimento di S. Maddalene de Pazzi io sia del continuo offerto all'eterno Padre à favore de' peccatori, (per la cui esplicatione si è composto il presente libro) affinche con tali mezzi agli occhi dell'huomo carnale rappresentati, il tuo cuore sia più facilmente disposto à udire, e ad ubidire à suoi celesti ammaestramenti. Apri adunque l'orecchio del cuore, mentre fissi l'occhio alla diuota imagine, o leggi questi fogli.'*
- 13 Bernini, pp. 170–1: '*sua naturalezza lo portò a una sublimità tale d'Idee in materia di divozione, che non contento delle communi, a quelle si appigliò, che sono per così dire la scortatoja per giungere al Cielo. Ond'ei, che nel rendimento di conto delle sue operazioni haveva da trattare con un Signore, che Infinito e Massimo n'è suoi attributi, non haverebbe guardato, come si suol dire, a mezzi bajocchi*'.
- 14 '*A tale effetto egli fece per sua divozione ritrarre in Stampa & in Pittura un meraviglioso disegno, in cui rappresentasi Giesù Christo in Croce con un Mare di Sangue sotto di esso [etc.]*'.
- 15 Panofsky, esp. pp. 39ff; Wolfgang Kemp, pp. 219–40.
- 16 Wolfgang Kemp, p. 235 ('mit Idea gleichgestellt' and 'begriffen als das Gefäß aller geistigen Dinge').
- 17 Panofsky, p. 51 ('als ein Ausfluss der göttlichen Gnade').
- 18 See for example Alberti, p. 18: '*Il disegno [esterno] è una apparente espressione e dichiarazione del concetto, che era prima nell'animo*' and p. 19: '*che cosa sia il disegno esterno, in forma sua visiva ... hora il pratico dico essere forma di tutte le forme esemplare di tutte le cose, ch'immaginare, e formare si possono*'.

- 19 'un meraviglioso disegno, in cui rappresentasi Gesù Christo in Croce con un Mare di Sangue sotto di esso [etc.], tutto intenerito a sì compassionevole spettacolo ... Ed era sì viva in lui [Bernini] questa fiducia, che chiamava la Santissima Humanità di Christo, Veste de' Peccatori, e perciò tanto maggiormente confidava, non dover esso esser fulminato dalla Divina vendetta, quale dovendo prima di ferir lui, passar la veste, per non lacerare l'innocenza, haverebbe perdonato al suo peccato' (Bernini, pp. 170–1).
- 20 Janson; Berra; Bittner; Gamboni; Guldin; Campbell. On Mantegna and the meta-pictorial meaning of his painting and cloud motive, see Pfisterer, esp. pp. 130–4; Bogen; Hauser; Helke; Campbell, pp. 11ff.
- 21 Doni, p. 585.
- 22 See Martin Kemp, p. 367.
- 23 Published in 1672 as *Proemio to his Vite*: 'Vorrei aver avuto pennello angelico, o forme di Paradiso, per formare l'Arcangelo e vederlo in cielo, ma io non ho potuto salir tant'alto, ed in vano l'ho cercato in terra. Si che ho riguardato in quella forma, che nell'idea mi sono stabilita' (Bellori, p. 6). See Cropper, pp. 81–6; Di Stefano, pp. 17–18. On Guido Reni and his painting, see Pepper, p. 272, cat. 154; Spear, pp. 106ff; Emiliani.
- 24 For example, in a sermon of 13 May 1303 in Santa Croce (Da Rivalto, p. 59).
- 25 *Prosatori minori del Trecento*, p. 23; see also Battaglia Ricci, esp. p. 21; and most recently Cannon, p. 52.
- 26 See, for example, Ferino-Pagden, 'From cult images to the cult of images'; Sander; Jacobs; Garnett and Rosser, pp. 11ff; Dent; Krüger, *Grazia*.
- 27 Sansovino, p. 188. The *croce dipinta* was painted c. 1270–1280 and probably served as a monumental cross on the rood screen in the former church, built in 1250. Its function and status changed in the second church, which was completely rebuilt from 1330 onwards and consecrated in 1428. Here, the cross was transferred to the aforementioned chapel on the right aisle, which became known as the Cappella del Crocifisso, where—as witnessed since the second half of the Quattrocento—it was given a cult as a miraculous image of grace. Presumably in the course of this change of function and meaning, the former side and top image fields were sawn off. See Gatti, esp. pp. 134ff; Santini, esp. pp. 185ff; Gaeta.
- 28 Wethey, pp. 122–3, cat. 86; Rosand, 'Titian in the Frari', esp. pp. 208ff; Meyer zur Capellen; von Einem; Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice*, pp. 75ff; Goffen, pp. 151ff; De Marco; Bohde, pp. 63ff; *Der späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei*, pp. 354–7, cat. 3.22 (Giovanna Nepi Scirè, with extensive references); Nichols, pp. 7ff and 201ff; Nygren.
- 29 For a deeper interpretation of Titian's *Pietà*, with detailed references, see Krüger, *Bildpräsenz—Heilspräsenz*, pp. 121–71.
- 30 'Certe quidem bonus pastor animam pro pecoribus ponit, ut Moyses non domino adhuc Christo revelato etiam in se figurato ait: Si perdis hunc populum, inquit, et me pariter cum eo disperde' (Tertullian, p. 34 (XI, 1)).
- 31 See generally Stumpfe, esp. pp. 29ff, 55–6, 75–6, 137–8.
- 32 Holl et al., pp. 310ff; Rubin, pp. 310ff.
- 33 See also Rosand, 'La mano di Tiziano', esp. p. 136 on the *Pietà*: 'the somatic transsubstantiation of paint acquires a truly eucharistic meaning'; Bohde, pp. 82–3.
- 34 Boschini, 'Breve instruzione'; Boschini, *La Carta del navegar pitoresco*, pp. 726–7; Wasmer, vol. 1, pp. 122ff, 263ff. On the painting of Jacopo Bassano: *Jacopo Bassano*, pp. 202–3, cat. 84; Aikema, pp. 147ff; Berdini, pp. 27ff; Bortolotti, pp. 305–20. On Marco Boschini, see Sohm, pp. 146–7; Dal Pozzolo.
- 35 '[di modo che,] quasi temendo d'aversi inavertentemente troppo avvicinato a quella rappresentante Divinità, scostandosi alquanto, ritorna allora a vedere la perfezione che già aveva veduta, non potendosi acquetare di far stupori e meraviglie'.
- 36 The well-known *locus classicus* is I. Cor. 13:12: 'videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate tunc autem facie ad faciem'. See, among others, Rahner; Ruh, pp. 268ff, esp. pp. 280ff ('Sehnsucht und Schen, von Angesicht zu Angesicht'); Huizing; Kehl. For the mystically accentuated interpretation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Beierwaltes.
- 37 See more detail in Krüger, *Bildpräsenz—Heilspräsenz*, pp. 161–71 (Das Kunstwerk als *figura*).
- 38 Ridolfi, vol. I, p. 206. For the circumstances and their documentary evidence, in addition to the literature cited in note 28, see esp. *Hope*.
- 39 'Titiano non è dipintore, et non è arte la virtù sua, ma miracolo. Et ho opinione che i suoi colori sieno composti di quella herba meravigliosa, laquale gustata da Glauco, d'huomo in Dio lo trasformò. Et veramente li suoi ritratti hanno in loro un non sò che di divinità: che come il cielo è il paradiso dell'anime, così pare che ne' suoi colori Dio habbia risposto il paradiso de' nostri corpi, non dipinti, ma fatti santi, et glorificati dalle sue mani ... Et credo che l'essere dipinto da Titiano ... sia una nuova regenerazione de gli huomini' (Speroni, pp. 547–8).

## CHAPTER VII

## Collecting for Conversion: Bishop Goold's Passion for Late Baroque Painting

- 1 One part of our ARC project has been to rediscover and identify Baroque pictures in Catholic