

# PAST - PRESENT

*Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso*

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Fig. 99. Caravaggio, *Calling of St. Matthew*. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (photo: Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome 9779).

Fig. 100. Detail of Fig. 99.



*Calling of Saint Matthew: THE IDENTITY*

## OF THE PROTAGONIST

A powerful current runs through the entire history of Western art—a complex, imponderable, paradoxical metaphor that defines in visual terms the relationship between the world and Christian belief. The metaphor occurs in 1 Corinthians 13:12, where St. Paul explains the understanding that will come in the fullness of faith: “For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face” (*Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem*). One of the principal interpretations of the passage was that it alluded to the presence of God in everyday, ordinary, even unworthy things. Paul’s dictum was thus related both to the ancient rhetorical tradition of rhyparography, the art of portraying lowly and insignificant things, and to the Christian devotional tradition of the *sermo humilis*, or humble style, both of which have important corollaries in the visual arts. These traditions enjoyed a great florescence in the Northern European Renaissance, becoming a veritable mode of thought, as well as of persuasion, among the major thinkers of the age, including Nicholas of Cusa, Erasmus, and Rabelais.<sup>1</sup>

My subject here is really an episode in this millennial story, although a significant one, as I hope will become clear. Paul’s formulation in Latin

involves a conundrum that is obscured in the King James translation. The glass is a mirror (*speculum*) through which we see, and what we perceive “darkly” is an enigma. The point I want to focus on particularly, however—because I believe Caravaggio did so, in an unprecedented and utterly devastating way—is the second part of the metaphor. “Face to face” is also a conundrum: the phrase may be taken both metaphorically and literally—and this is exactly how Caravaggio took it. Appropriating the Renaissance understanding of physiognomy as the outward manifestation of psychological and moral character (see pp. 109, 212 below), Caravaggio used the face in the second part of Paul’s metaphor to portray (the pun is deliberate) the enigma of the first. Justification for Caravaggio’s interpretation was provided by Paul’s use of the same metaphor in 2 Corinthians 3:18, where he relates the image in the mirror to the *change of face* wrought by the spirit of the Lord in those who believe: “But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord” (*Nos vero omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes in eandem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem, tanquam a Domini Spiritu*).



My immediate purpose is to offer a counterproof to arguments recently made to re-identify the figure of the Jewish tax collector Levi, whom Jesus calls to the apostolate in Caravaggio's painting of that subject executed for the left wall of the Contarelli chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, the French national church in Rome (Figs. 99, 100; Plate IV). Besides the *Calling of St. Matthew*, Caravaggio painted three other canvases for the chapel between 1599 and 1603 at the behest of the executors of Cardinal Matthieu Cointrel, who had died in 1585: the *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* for the right wall (Figs. 101, 102) and two versions of the altarpiece showing Matthew composing his Gospel under the inspiration of his symbolic angel (Figs. 103, 104).<sup>2</sup> A

tradition universally accepted since the early seventeenth century had identified as the publican the elegantly dressed bearded man who, bathed in Christ's light, looks toward the approaching figure of the Lord and points to himself, assenting to the divine command "Follow me."<sup>3</sup> Caravaggio's paintings created an astonishing three-act religious drama in which—to judge by appearances—the chief protagonist played three completely different and incompatible roles.

An alternative suggestion has been made that Levi—who-became-Matthew should be identified with the youth seated at the left of the counting table, unaware of Christ's approach, engulfed in



Fig. 101 (*opposite*). Caravaggio, *Martrydom of St. Matthew*. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (photo: Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome 9773).

Fig. 102 (*above*). Detail of Fig. 101 (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome E24570).

darkness, his head down, grasping a money bag close to his chest.<sup>4</sup> The main arguments presented to support this interpretation, though reasonable, do not in themselves seem persuasive to me: that the pointing gesture of the seated figure could refer to his companions at the end of the table—in fact, the gesture seems clearly self-referential and not at all ambiguous; that the physiognomy of the youth is more readily reconcilable with the Socratic features Caravaggio gave the evangelist Matthew composing his Gospel in the original version of the altarpiece for the chapel—in fact, notwithstanding the difference in age, the evangelist's features seem much coarser; and that the design of the chairs on which

the two figures sit, the so-called Savonarola chair, is identical—in fact, Caravaggio also reused the bench under the youth with the sword (at right) for the evangelist in the second version of the altarpiece (Fig. 104), and he had already used both props in the London *Supper at Emmaus* (Fig. 105). The simple, undorned pieces of furniture were just that, props, like the Capuchin's frock and the pair of wings Caravaggio borrowed from the painter Orazio Gentileschi during the very period he was working on the Contarelli chapel.<sup>5</sup> In any case, accepting this partial cure for the consistently split personality of Caravaggio's hero would be worse than the disease, for we would then have to confront, without help from



Fig. 103 (above). Caravaggio, *St. Matthew Composing His Gospel*. Destroyed in 1945; formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (photo: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich 120854).

Fig. 104 (following plates). Caravaggio, *St. Matthew Composing His Gospel*. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (photo: Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome 9783).



Plate IV (above). Caravaggio, *Calling of St. Matthew*, detail. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome (photo: courtesy Maurizio Marino).

Plate V (right). Pieter Coecke, *Last Supper*, detail. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

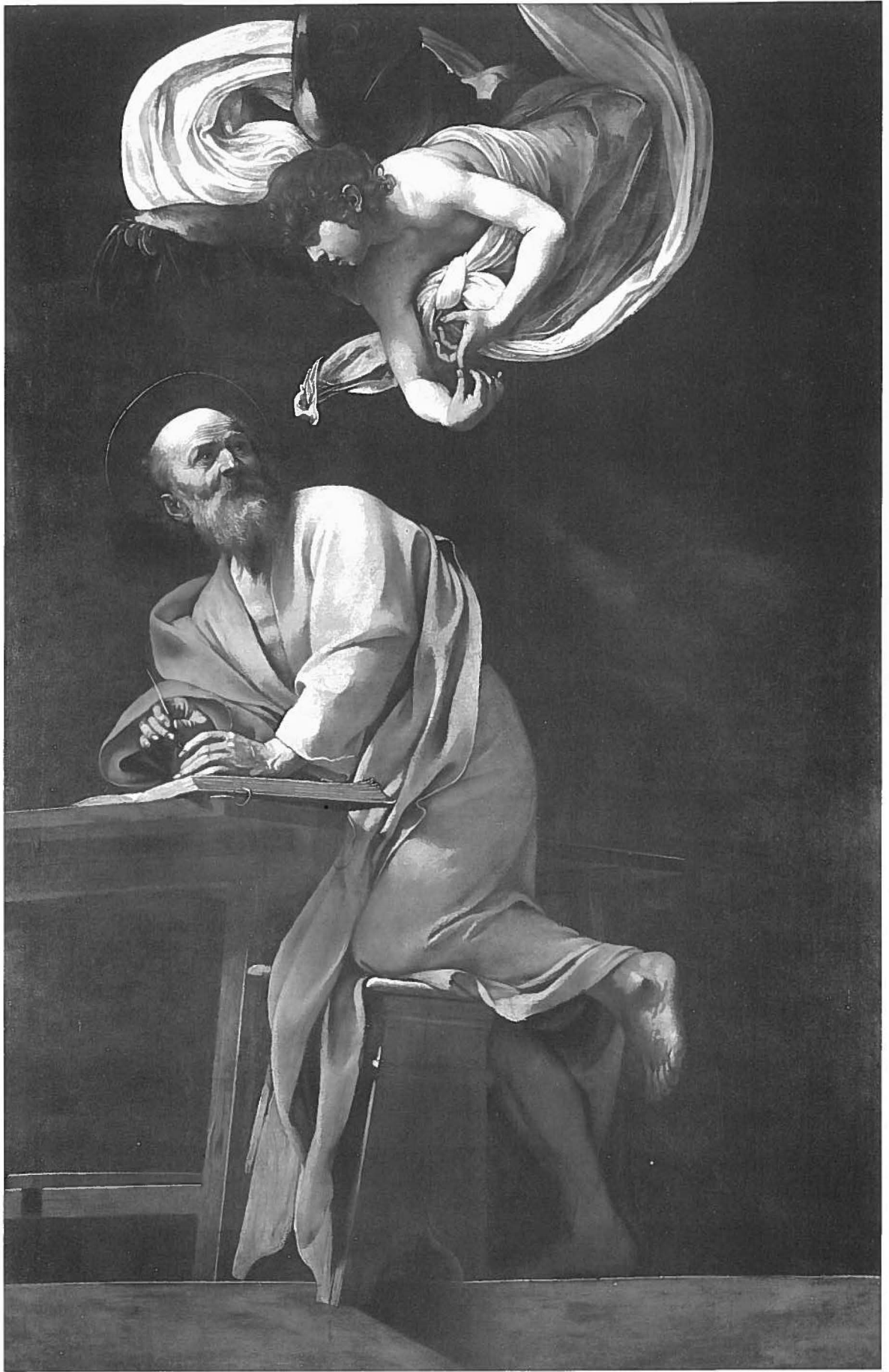
Plate VI (opposite, above). Jan van Hemessen, *Calling of St. Matthew*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Plate VII (opposite, below). Hendrick Terbrugghen, *Calling of St. Matthew*. Centraal Museum, Utrecht.









*Caravaggio's Calling of St. Matthew*



Fig. 105 (above). Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus*. National Gallery, London.

Fig. 106 (opposite). Pieter Coecke, *Last Supper*. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

the theory's proponents, the inconsistency of the same individual as Matthew in the first two scenes, but another in the third.

To my mind, however, the alternative identification is excluded *a priori* by other, more fundamental, considerations. A youthful beardless and hatless publican would contradict the worldly maturity universally attributed to this government official, however corrupt. The relative obscurity of the youth at the side as Levi would contradict the high drama of the composition as a whole, which focuses on the man in the center who looks toward Christ and points. A Levi oblivious to Christ's appearance would contradict the essential point of the episode, the publican's *response*—not lack of response—to the Call. A benighted Levi would contradict one of the most profound and innovative principles of Caravaggio's art, the use of light as a visual metaphor for

divine illumination. Indeed, the metaphor has particular relevance in the *Calling of St. Matthew*, as a visual analogue to a passage connecting Matthew's conversion to his vision of Christ's radiance, in the liturgy for the saint celebrated in the chapel on his feast day. The breviary quotes St. Jerome's luminous response, in his commentary on this episode in the first Gospel, to the shadow of doubt cast on the authenticity of the conversion by the pagan philosopher Porphyry and the apostate emperor Julian. They claimed that either the story was false or it bespoke the folly of anyone who would follow without hesitation at a call. Jerome replied that "certainly the radiance and the majesty of the hidden divinity which shone out from the human face of Christ could draw to Him at first sight those who saw Him."<sup>6</sup>

These points are obvious enough, perhaps even



self-evident. So too is the simple observation that the tax collector literally wears the sign of his profession, the gold coin attached to his hat as a brooch.<sup>7</sup> Another of Levi's salient features, however, requires special comment because, although it seems not to have been discussed heretofore, it is fraught with implications for the ultimate meaning of Caravaggio's painting (Plate IV). I refer to the central figure's auburn hair and beard. Red hair—*ruddiness* is the English term often used for the Latin *rufus*—is one of the physical characteristics most commonly, and opprobriously, associated with Jews, in works of art as in every other domain.<sup>8</sup> The association is particularly significant since ruddiness, far from being a Jewish genetic trait, is relatively rare among Semitic peoples. Surely one factor above all contributed to the development of the idea: in the Old Testament, David is twice referred to as *rufus et pulcher*, so that

what distinguished him in a positive way among the Jews came to characterize the Jews themselves in a negative way among Christians, who attributed David's ruddiness to his lust.<sup>9</sup> The extreme case of this ironic inversion, in which an unusual and attractive individual feature becomes an exemplary but repulsive genetic trait, is illustrated in the many works of art in which Judas, the archenemy of Christ and nefarious Jew *par excellence*, is shown with red hair and beard, often with a money bag. It is tempting to think that Caravaggio was particularly interested in a *Last Supper* by Pieter Coecke that has been described as one of the most popular Flemish paintings of the sixteenth century, known in more than forty versions and an engraving made in 1585 (Fig. 106; Plate V).<sup>10</sup> Here the ruddy Judas points in accusation to himself with the index finger of his right hand while grasping the money bag in his left

hand; he seems stupefied by Christ's revelation of the truth, overturning his bench in a striking anticipation of the action of Caravaggio's second St. Matthew the Evangelist.

In turn, the Jewishness of Levi the tax collector had special, twofold, significance. By virtue of his profession—Jews often served as tax collectors in the Middle Ages and after—he was egregiously associated with the main negative moral characteristic of his race, avariciousness and devotion to usury; this is the case in the Golden Legend, for example, the most popular of all hagiographies.<sup>11</sup> (Usury did not mean lending at exorbitant rates of interest, but lending at any interest at all. Medieval Jews became moneylenders because they were excluded from other trades but exempted from the laws against usury because they were not Christian.) Levi was also quintessentially Jewish because his name coincided with that of one of the tribes of Israel. Thus, paradoxically, portraying Levi in all the depravity of his Jewishness illustrated the totality of his metamorphosis into Matthew. By heeding the call, even the lowest can attain the highest. The point is made explicit in the episode of the feast in the house of Levi, which follows the Calling in the Gospel narratives (Mark 2:14, Luke 5:27). Asked by the scribes and Pharisees why he ate and drank with publicans and sinners, Jesus answered, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." In the well-known compilation of the lives of the saints by Domenico Cavalca, Matthew is taken as the model for the conversion of that most depraved of females, Mary Magdalene, the prostitute.<sup>12</sup>

Caravaggio was by no means the first to express this paradoxical meaning of the subject. He derived his basic interpretation from Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth century. Reacting to the phenomenal growth of trade that made Antwerp the leading commercial center of Europe, the painters of that city in particular had made a specialty of scenes depicting banking and money exchange, including the Calling of St. Matthew.<sup>13</sup> In almost claustrophobic images of covetous self-interest, these works gave powerful form to the strictures against the unrestrained pursuit of material gain that characterized the ascetic morality of the *Devotio moderna*, whose leading protagonist was that archironist Erasmus. Erasmus was actually rather tolerant of usury as such, but he fully grasped the import of Levi's conversion to Matthew; he declared that "suddenly to

turn into another" (*repente vertere in alium*) a man devoted to infamous profit and involved in inexplicable affairs (*inexplicabilibus negotiis*) was a more signal miracle than to restore the nerves of a paralytic.<sup>14</sup>

Caravaggio's indebtedness to Northern depictions of the Calling has often been emphasized, and he must surely have been aware of a portrayal like Jan van Hemessen's of the dandified red-headed and red-bearded moneymonger responding to Christ's sudden command (Fig. 107; Plate VI).<sup>15</sup> Caravaggio's figure, however, is much more sympathetic and, apart from his ruddiness, far less crudely "ethnic" than such predecessors; in this respect he conforms to Italian tradition and expresses his underlying (or nascent) nobility. Two other differences, quite unprecedented, are especially noteworthy because they reflect Caravaggio's subtle but fundamental reinterpretation of the story. The changes reflect the two salient moral features, both supremely ironic, attributed to Matthew in popular tradition, as in the Golden Legend.<sup>16</sup> Matthew was credited with humility, because in his own Gospel (10:3) he says he is a publican, an unsavory fact that the other evangelists who mention him omit. Matthew's self-referential humility is expressed in the painting by the self-referential gesture of his left hand. Matthew places his hand on his breast in certain versions of the subject that Caravaggio may have known (Fig. 108);<sup>17</sup> but these are traditional gestures of devotion rather than of reference. Normally interpreted as a bewildered "Who, me?" the accusatory action of Caravaggio's protagonist is better understood as a self-deprecating, "Me, a publican?" Matthew's humble confession—for that is what it was—also had another, deeper, implication important for Caravaggio's understanding of the evangelist's role in the history of salvation. The idea was formulated as follows by St. Jerome, whose text was incorporated in the liturgy for St. Matthew: "Out of respect and honor for Matthew, the other Evangelists did not wish to give him his usual name. They called him Levi: for he had two names. But Matthew (according to the saying of Solomon, 'The just man is the first to accuse himself' and again, 'Confess your sins that you may be justified') calls himself Matthew and a publican, to show his readers that no one need despair of salvation if he is converted to better things, since he himself was suddenly changed from a publican into an Apostle."<sup>18</sup> Matthew's reference to his sinful past was therefore not simply an act of

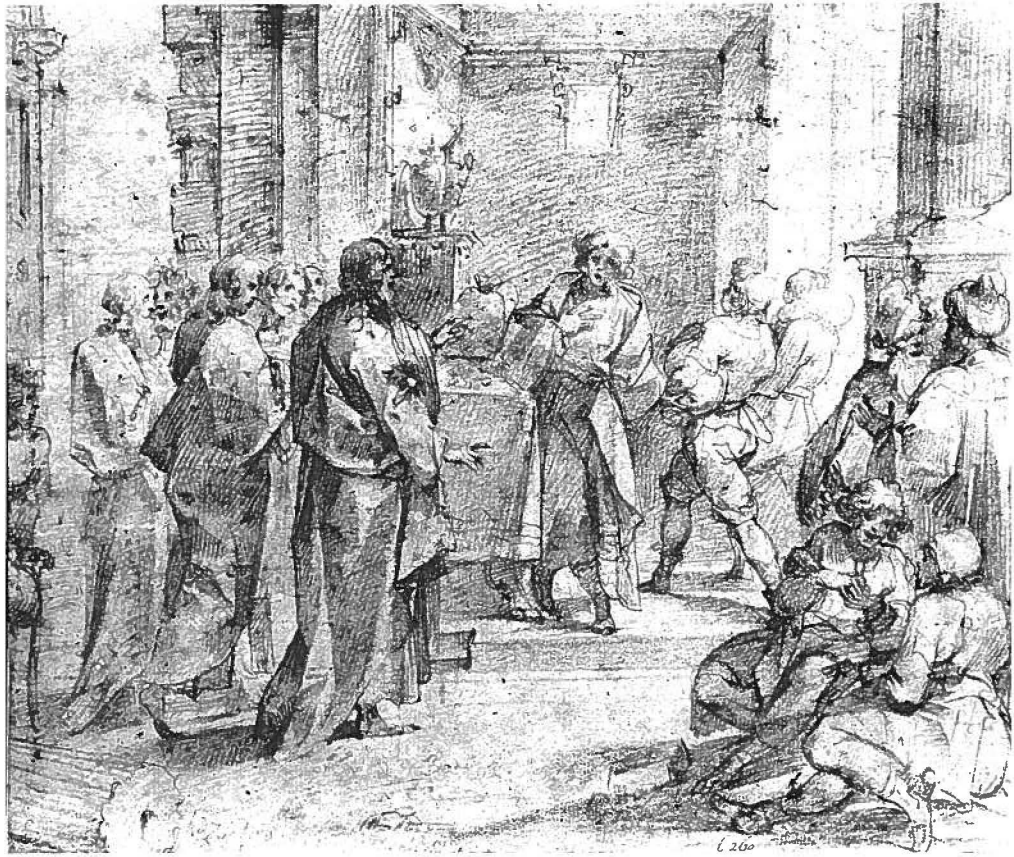


Fig. 107. Jan van Hemessen, *Calling of St. Matthew*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

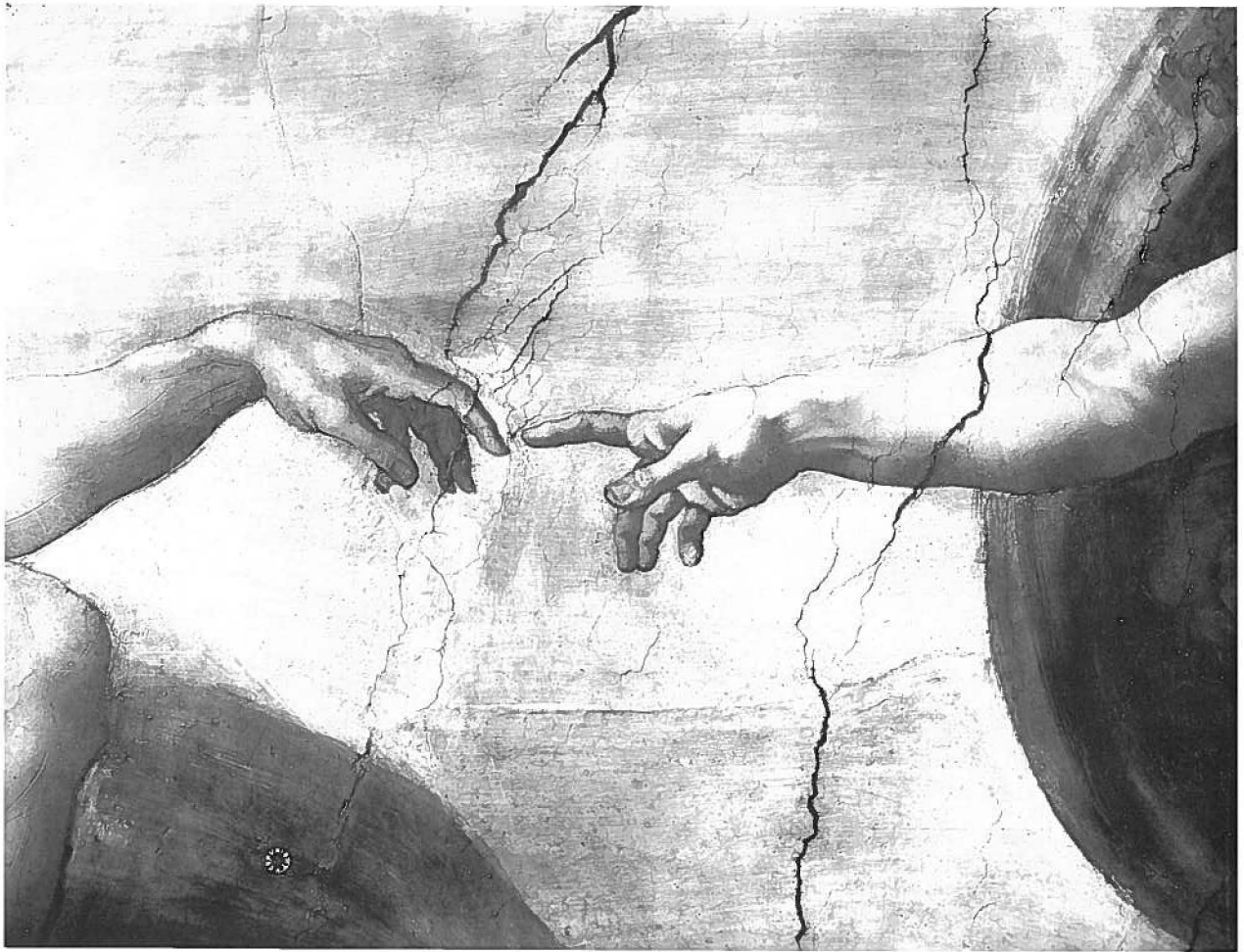
humility; it was also an exhortation—himself being the example—to those who had converted to remain firm in their faith. This was the very same motivation which, according to St. Jerome, inspired Matthew's equally extraordinary act of writing his gospel in his native Hebrew, the inspiration that Caravaggio explicitly illustrated in the first version of the altarpiece for the chapel. It is indicative of the depth of Caravaggio's response to and transformation of the Netherlandish tradition that his own ruddy Levi-Matthew, centrally placed and self-incriminating, was soon understood and adopted by Hendrick Terbrugghen (1621; Fig. 109; Plate VII).<sup>19</sup>

Matthew was also especially noteworthy for the virtue of generosity, because after his conversion he offered a great feast in his own house for the Lord and his followers. This event is recorded in the Gospels (and the breviary) directly after the Calling; hence

it was the newly converted disciple's first Christian act. Matthew's immediate renunciation of his wealth—an emphatic counterpoint to his previous greed as Levi—had been alluded to by van Hemessen, whose Matthew doffs his elaborate red hat with his right hand and rejects with his open left hand the money bags on the table before him.<sup>20</sup> Caravaggio's Matthew demonstrates his generosity specifically by the gesture of his right hand, which is clearly not taking in the money but counting it out. This motif also occurs frequently in the Northern works, as in van Hemessen's, where accounts are being settled, but never in the hand of the apostle himself. It is as though Matthew, having put down his last coin, were meting out in saving grace the thirty pieces of silver gained by the other often red-headed apostle, whose faith was infirm. In fact, Matthew's gesture is pointedly juxtaposed and contrasted to the closed,



*Caravaggio's Calling of St. Matthew*



coin-hoarding hand of the youth at the left, who also conceals the money bag, as does Judas in scenes of the Last Supper.

This interpretation of Matthew's action in turn helps to clarify what is perhaps the most obvious visual citation in Caravaggio's picture. Christ's right hand conspicuously reverses the left hand of Adam in Michelangelo's Creation scene in the Sistine ceiling, where Adam receives the gift of life from God the Father (Fig. 110).<sup>21</sup> It is clear, therefore, that Caravaggio's Christ, the New Adam, not only beckons to Levi, signaling his new life as Matthew, but also *receives* the penance that Matthew pays for his sins with symbolic coins. In this sense, the reciprocal relationship seems explicitly to illustrate the lesson in the breviary on the feast in the house of Levi. The former publican is again taken as a model of conversion, now also of penance, and Christ repeats his call, now to all sinners and for mercy: the assembled publicans and sinners "saw that the publican converted from his sins to better things had found

Fig. 108 (*opposite, top*). Attributed to Giuseppe Cesari, *Calling of St. Matthew*, drawing. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 109 (*opposite, below*). Hendrick Terbrugghen, *Calling of St. Matthew*. Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

Fig. 110 (*above*). Michelangelo, *Creation of Adam*, detail. Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Rome (photo: Anderson 3789).



Quid prodest homini, si vniuersum Mun-  
dum lucretur, animæ autem suæ detri-  
mentum patiatur?

M A T T. X V I.



Che gioua al' huom, che tutto'l mondo ac-  
quisti,  
Se l'alma sua poi ne riceue danno?  
Onde ne i luoghi tenebrofi, & tristi  
Pianga dannata à sempiterno affanno.

Fig. III. Hans Holbein, *The Gambler* (from *Simolacri*, 1549).

an opportunity for penance; and so they themselves did not despair of salvation. Nor did they come to Jesus as remaining in their former vices, as the Pharisees and Scribes complained, but as doing penance. The Lord's words which follow indicate this: 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice. For I have come to call sinners, not the just.'<sup>22</sup>

With the two gestures of Levi-Matthew, Caravaggio gave unprecedented expression to that process of enlightenment whereby the selfish, money-grubbing Jew, the most execrable of the damned, becomes the charitable, poverty-loving Christian, the most exalted among the saved. This understanding of the picture as calling the iniquitous to faith makes particular sense of the one visual reference to an earlier work of art that has always been recognized as a factor in the genesis of the composition. Already in the seventeenth century Joachim von Sandrart observed that Caravaggio based his young man with the money bag at the left on the figure seated at the right of the gaming table in Holbein's woodcut portraying gamblers in the *Dance of Death* series (Fig. III).<sup>23</sup> It is clear from what has been said here, however, that there is much more to the relationship than a simple borrowing of a motif; Caravaggio's whole conception of his subject is indebted to, and is in turn illuminated by, Holbein's portrayal of the "calling" by Death and the Devil of a greedy sinner who, in his lust for money, "gambles" with his life. The figure at the left in Holbein's composition sees, understands, and is alarmed by what is happening while the huddled and benighted man at the right, intent upon raking in the pot, remains oblivious. The relevance to Caravaggio's interpretation of the story of St. Matthew is evident also from the caption to the illustration that appears in many editions of the work, including one of 1549 with the Italian translation below. The caption quotes the familiar passage in the Gospel of Matthew (16:26) in which Christ denounces worldliness ironically in terms of an exchange of values: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" (*Quid prodest homini . . .*) Caravaggio grasped Holbein's meaning as well as his design, and this relationship also makes clear who is Caravaggio's protagonist. Holbein's protagonist, the bearded figure at the center of the composition, shows what happens when the avaricious moneygrubber does not heed the call;<sup>24</sup> Caravaggio's shows what happens when he does. No less significant is the context

established in the preceding, even more familiar, passage of the Gospel, where Matthew, in effect, recounts his own metamorphosis. Addressing His disciples, Christ exhorts a total transformation of the self (16:24-5): "Then Jesus said unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it." In the Gospel, therefore, worldly renunciation and self-sacrifice follow directly from personal mutation; this was the basic spiritual idea that the physical permutations through which Levi-Matthew passes in the Contarelli chapel paintings made visible.

It might be said that in the *Calling* Caravaggio's characterization of the protagonist illuminated and transformed by Christ's appeal gave metaphysical form to two opposite states of moral existence: the avaricious Jewish publican Levi and the generous Christian apostle Matthew. Both personas have leading and heretofore unappreciated roles in the context of the commission for this great narrative cycle in which Caravaggio's art was itself transformed into maturity. Among the critical issues of the early church that were revived in the period of the Counter-Reformation was the conversion of the Jews. Although the number of people involved was small, the matter acquired new symbolic importance during the church's struggle to combat heresy, and the effort was greatly intensified in the course of the sixteenth century. Adrienne von Lates has noted in connection with Caravaggio's work that the parish priest of San Luigi dei Francesi was a zealous participant in this effort.<sup>25</sup> I need not emphasize the relevance of this fact, which I had overlooked, to my argument some years ago in a paper on the Hebrew text Matthew the Evangelist composes in Caravaggio's first altarpiece for the chapel.<sup>26</sup> Apart from reaffirming the tradition of the church concerning the divine inspiration "in the pen" of the first Gospel, the text echoes the report of St. Jerome that Matthew had composed his Gospel in the language of his fellow Semites so that those of them who had converted might remain firm in their faith. The metaphorical relevance of the message in the much more formidable struggle with the Protestants also needs no emphasis. Gregory XIII, Matthieu Cointrel's patron, was particularly solicitous of converts, founding the Collegio dei Neofiti for former Jews and Muslims who wished to further their

Christian education.<sup>27</sup> Precisely in this context, it becomes significant that the idea of conversion may already have been uppermost in Matthieu Cointrel's mind in 1565 when he made his original, testamentary, prescription for the chapel: he provided that Matthew baptizing the Egyptians, a scene emphasized in the Golden Legend, be the subject represented in the center of the vault (subsequently changed to a miracle scene). These facts, in turn, reinforce the suggestion that the seminude figures shown at the edge of a sunken basin in the lower part of Caravaggio's depiction of the martyrdom of St. Matthew are neophytes. The reference to baptism makes the *Martyrdom* a testimony to the transforming power of faith comparable to the *Calling*.<sup>28</sup>

Caravaggio's interpretation of the *Calling* of St. Matthew also reflects what must have been a much more personal concern of Matthieu Cointrel's executors, who actually commissioned the work from Caravaggio in fulfillment of the cardinal's legacy. In their view Matthieu Cointrel must have had far more in common with the apostle than a name. Cointrel, who died in 1585, had been one of the most powerful figures in the church hierarchy. The son of a blacksmith, he met as a young man Ugo Buoncompagni, later Pope Gregory XIII, who became a close lifelong friend. Pope Gregory made Cointrel, his protégé, a cardinal and appointed him to the key post of papal datary, which gave him control over all church benefices—the often richly endowed offices whose revenues it was his responsibility to confer, in good faith and *gratis*, upon worthy recipients. The position, which lent itself easily to corruption, was extremely sensitive, and when the great fortune Cointrel had amassed came to light at his death, he was accused by Gregory's reforming successor, Sixtus V, of simony, the selling of church benefices.<sup>29</sup> This was the most execrable of ecclesiastical crimes, in direct contravention of Christ's charge to his disciples—recorded in a key passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew itself—that they give freely the spiritual benefits they had received freely (*gratis accepistis, gratis date*; 10:8).<sup>30</sup> The papal datary was, in effect, the ecclesiastical equivalent of the ancient publican; he had the moral obligation, sometimes honored in the breach, to collect and transmit revenues fairly and honestly. The simoniac datary was thus the equivalent of the double-sinning Levi, who embodied both the avarice of his race and the guilt of the administrator who breaches the

trust—a sacred trust in Cointrel's case—of his public office for personal gain.

Pope Sixtus appointed a commission; after diligent investigation it found so many simonies that one of the datary's assistants, called to testify, fled and thereby incriminated himself as well as his former patron. The inquest continued and uncovered "very aromatic material" (*materia molto aromatica*) in which many officials of the datary were implicated, even Pope Gregory himself, who, it was suspected, had known of the malfeasance of this foreigner and his ministers. There was a threat to confiscate the entire legacy.<sup>31</sup> The heirs evidently offered, in vain, a settlement of 30,000 scudi. It was discovered that a certain Domenico Atton had usurped the income from seventy French monasteries; the pope had destined the money for the construction of the church of San Luigi dei Francesi, which received, instead, only 3,000 scudi. It also emerged that Cointrel had assigned pensions from Spanish benefices to nonexistent persons, which he then canceled, retaining the income for himself. The investigation discovered so much aromatic material, in fact, that it risked jeopardizing the Holy See's relations with France. Pope Sixtus finally thought best to suppress the whole issue, though not without a stern warning of prosecution to the officials of the datary, whom he expected to provide a model for others.<sup>32</sup>

Matthieu Cointrel's numerous charities were legendary. He built the Jesuit church at Tivoli, and at San Luigi dei Francesi, besides commissioning his own chapel, he contributed to the construction of the facade, as well as paying for the decoration of high altar. His munificence, which must have helped to arouse suspicion in the first place, was the main theme of the eulogy delivered at his funeral, and no doubt it figured largely in the efforts of his heirs to defend him and their patrimony.<sup>33</sup> Caravaggio's reinterpretation of the *Calling* of St. Matthew can be understood in this context. Focusing on Matthew's humility in confessing his evil past and his charity in expending his earthly wealth, Caravaggio portrays the model for redemption for the patron of the chapel.<sup>34</sup> The model is also universal, however, and the same call is made to the spectator, toward whom Christ gestures from the darkness with his left hand.

The full import of Caravaggio's meaning, and perhaps his most important innovation, would have been grasped only in the context of the chapel as a whole, where the three *different* personas of this

divine drama would have been patently juxtaposed. The spectator would have been dumbfounded by the physiognomical manifestations of the spiritual progression he beheld taking place in the chapel, from the arrogant Jew-becoming-Christian at the left, through the humble philosopher-becoming-evangelist at the altar, to the venerable priest-becoming-martyr on the right.<sup>35</sup> Caravaggio had made a comparable break with tradition in the *Supper at Emmaus*, where he portrayed the altered—that is, rejuvenated and beardless—face of the resurrected Christ, whom the astonished apostles recognize “in another form,” *in alia effigie*, according to the Gospel, at the sacramental blessing and breaking of bread (see Fig. 105).<sup>36</sup> The paintings of the Contarelli chapel offer, in an almost cinematographic sequence (see Figs. 99, 103, 101), the same opportunity: to behold and recognize the mysterious power of faith to illuminate and transform those able to see. The lateral scenes, with the conversion of the Jew by Christ and the conversion of the pagans by Matthew, complement each other as visual expressions of the salvific action of God’s word. They embrace in narrative terms the same portentous message embodied in the emblematic icon of Levi-Socrates-Matthew that Caravaggio originally intended as the chapel’s altarpiece: the great promise of the early church to triumph *ex circumcissione* and *ex gentibus*.<sup>37</sup>

Recalling the metaphor of St. Paul—“For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face”; “with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, [we] are changed into the same image”—we can see clearly that a key to understanding the Contarelli chapel lies in another text in the liturgy for St. Matthew, a passage from Gregory the Great quoted in conjunction with that from St. Jerome mentioned earlier. Gregory comments on Ezekiel’s momentous vision of four creatures with faces, one with the face of a man, on which the tradition of the symbols of the evangelists was based. Matthew enjoys the pride of place among the evangelists not only because he was the first called and the first to write his Gospel but also because he recounts the genealogy and birth of Christ, that is, the incarnation in human form of God’s only Son. Jerome therefore assigned to Matthew the man-creature, which ultimately became the evangelist’s angel. What Gregory says, reflecting the conundrum of St. Paul’s image, is this: “Now surely the face is the symbol of recognition . . . You recognize a man by his face . . . and by the same token the face is concerned with faith . . . and it is by our faith that we are recognized by almighty God. As he said of his sheep, ‘I am the good shepherd, as I know my sheep, and mine know me.’ And again he said, ‘I know whom I have chosen.’”<sup>38</sup>

istic studies: "Cum dispersa primum ac passim vagans hominum multitudo eloquentiae ac sapientiae viribus intra urbes ad civilem cultum coacta ferinos illos mores exuerit, ac deinde paulatim mansuefactis doctrina animis ad florentissimum vitae statum sit perducta, facile intellectum est literarum studijs nihil ad tuendam aut ornandam mortalium societatem antiquius, nihil aptius, nihil denique praestabilius inveniri posse, beatasque republicas illas esse, in quibus literarum cultus non postremus habeatur" (Tuttle, "Bononia," 1987, 238); "When first the dispersed multitude of wandering men gathered into cities by the powers of eloquence and wisdom had cast off those savage ways and then, their spirits tamed by education, gradually been led to a flourishing state of life, it was readily understood that to safeguard and adorn human society nothing could be found more ancient, more apt or preferable than the study of letters, and that those nations are blessed in which letters are not held in least regard."

47. "Delphinos autem esse ingenus hominum natura propensiores, ut verosimile sit cum illis pueros iocari, fidem faciunt ubique historiae, dum eorum beneficio Arionem, Palemonem, Phalantum, Tarantem, Telemachum et plerosque alios servtos commemorant" (Tuttle, "Bononia," 1987, 243); "Many stories attest that dolphins have an innate propensity toward human beings, whence it is natural that young boys play with them, and record that Arion, Palemon, Phalantus, Tarantis, Telemachus and many others were saved by the benevolence of dolphins."
48. On the dolphin see Tervarent, 1959, II, 143f.
49. "Sirenes quamquam apud aliquos illecebrarum loco habentur, non inepte tamen ab aliis ad significandam orationis dulcedinem flectuntur, unde illud Martialis Cato grammaticus latina Siren, ut praeteream aureas sirenum illecebras in Apollonis templo apud Philostratum suspensas legi" (Tuttle, "Bononia," 1987, 243); "Although according to some Sirens are considered beguiling, they are aptly construed by others to signify the sweetness of speech, whence Martial calls Cato the Grammarian the Latin Siren, and I also read

in Philostratus that the golden lures of the Sirens were hung up in the temple of Apollo. Moreover, since our Sirens express their breasts they seem to indicate that they excel not only by the delight of the voice, but also offer something more solid from within themselves. Therefore the artful construction and ornament of the leaping water speaks thus: the highest leisure and pursuit of peace thrive most if the ruler himself assumes the task of administering the realm."

50. Emphasis on Giambologna's absorption of the classical tradition has tended to obscure this fundamental debt to his Northern background. Holderbaum found evidence of a medieval revival in Giambologna's late religious works, which he also sees as Counter-Reformatory in spirit (1983, 207, 213f., 274f., 290).

There is some evidence that Giambologna himself may have had Protestant leanings during the 1560's (Holderbaum, 1983, 196–98); if so, he must later have returned to the Catholic fold, as his funerary chapel in SS. Annunziata in Florence testifies.

51. The relationship between Giambologna's art and contemporary political development was another enduring contribution of Holderbaum, 1983, 149ff.
52. Emiliani, 1989.

#### 4. Caravaggio's Calling of Saint Matthew: *The Identity of the Protagonist*

First presented in a session on Irony and Paradox in Northern Art at a meeting of the College Art Association in February 1990.

1. For the early history of Paul's metaphor, see Hagedé, 1957. For the exaltation of the lowly, see the pioneering and still fundamental studies of the paradoxical encomium by Colie (1966) and of the *sermo humilis* by Auerbach (1965). This essay is a sequel to an earlier study in which I discussed the Socratic irony embodied in Caravaggio's first altarpiece for the Contarelli chapel (Lavin, "Divine Inspiration," 1974).

2. For recent accounts of the complex and much-debated history of the Contarelli chapel, see Hibbard, 1983, 91ff., 138ff.; the marvelously comprehensive entries in Cinotti, 1983, 412ff., 525ff.; and Marini, 1989, 39ff., 426ff.
3. Bellori identifies the figure in his biography of Caravaggio (1672, 206), but the earliest testimony is Terbrugghen's painted interpretation of the picture, dated 1621 (Fig. 109).
4. This alternative view was suggested first by DeMarco, 1982, then by Prater, 1985, and Hass, 1988. The idea was rejected by Hibbard, 1983, 296; Kretschmer, 1988; Treffers, 1989, 247 n. 44; and Röttgen, 1991. (The study by Treffers, which came to my attention only after the present work was completed, coincides at certain points with my own, but errs in reading the chapel in Franciscan terms.)
5. Cf. Friedlaender, 1955, 278f.
6. "Certe fulgor ipse et maiestas Divinitatis offul-tae, quae etiam in humana facie relucebat, ex primo ad se videntes trahere poterat aspectu" (*The Hours*, 1964, III, 1570; September 21). Porphyry, here cited in the liturgy for St. Matthew, was the pagan writer whose report that Socrates was illiterate played a crucial role in the formulation of Caravaggio's first image of the evangelist writing his Gospel (see Lavin, "Divine Inspiration," 1974, 74f.). Hess, 1967, 303, showed that the revised breviary of 1568 was the specific source for the scene of Matthew reviving the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, painted earlier by Giuseppe Cesari in the vault of the chapel.  
Jerome in this passage seems to refer to the explanation St. Paul gives of the metaphor of the mirror and the changed face in the succeeding passage (2 Corinthians 4:2-6), which provides an almost complete gloss on Caravaggio's interpretation of the subject: "[we] have re-nounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully. . . . But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them. . . . For God, who com-manded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" ("abdicamus occulta dedecoris non ambulantes in astutia neque adulterantes verbum Dei. . . . Quod si etiam opertum est evangelium nostrum, in iis qui pereunt est opertum; in qui-bus deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infide-lium, ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriae Christi, qui est imago Dei. . . . quoniam Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem splendescere, ipse illuxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei in facie Christi Iesu").
7. On Renaissance cap-brooches as emblems of their wearers, see Beard, 1939; Schwartz, 1990, 56ff. On the varieties of headgear and other insignia Jews were required to wear in Rome, see the article "Ebrei" in Moroni, 1840-61, XXI, 5-43.
8. See the fine essay on the red-headed Judas by Mellinkoff, 1982. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin reminds me that the critically important prece-dent in Caravaggio's own work was the red-headed and red-bearded protagonist of the first version of the conversion of Saul into the apos-tle Paul for the Cerasi chapel (see Hibbard, 1983, 121ff., 298f.; Marini, 1989, 190f., color illustration, 447ff.). For the importance of Saul-St. Paul, see further below, n. 37.
9. "Erat autem rufus et pulcher adspectu decoraque facie" (1 Samuel 16:12); "erat enim adulescens rufus et pulcher adspectu" (*ibid.*, 17:42).
10. Marlier, 1966, 93-108; Snyder, 1985, 430, 435, color plate 69; not mentioned by Mellinkoff; the engraving by Goltzius reproduces the composi-tion in reverse. The analogy between the Calling of St. Matthew and the Last Supper in this con-text involves more than the simple fact of a group of men gathered at table; in both cases the essence of the episode lies in the distinction between recognition and obtuseness.
11. "Matthew committed the sin of avarice, by his panting greed for filthy lucre; for he was a keeper of the customs." (Voragine, 1969, 565f.)

The context of the passage is particularly interesting because it associates Matthew and his avarice with two other notorious Hebrews converted from their evil ways, Saul, who had his name from the proud King Saul and committed the sin of pride when he persecuted the Church, and David, who committed the sin of lust. The paradoxical moral is always the same, the wonder of the highest grace for the most depraved who convert: "These three men, therefore, were sinners. Yet their repentance was so pleasing to the Lord that not only did He forgive them, but also heaped His gifts upon them in greater abundance. Of the most cruel persecutor He made a most faithful preacher, of the adulterer and murderer He made a prophet and psalmist, of the miser and money-seeker He made an apostle and an evangelist. Therefore the words of these three are read to us most frequently [in the liturgy], so that none that wishes to be converted may despair of pardon, when grace wrought such wonders in such great sinners" (*ibid.*).

On Jewish tax collecting, see *Jewish*, XII, 69.

12. "E pensomi che disse: Vedete che essendo così buono questo Maestro e facendo tanti miracoli, si lo accagiarono i nostri maggiori, e dicono che mangia co' peccaroti e co' publicani e che egli perdona loro i peccati. E Maddalena, udendo questo, levò la mente per udire e intendere bene queste parole; e l'altro disse: I' te 'l dirò; Matteo, ch'era prestatore e teneva il banco in cotale luogo, ei chiamollo, ed egli lasciò istare ogni cosa, e hallo fatto suo discepolo, e va con lui continuamente" (Cavalca, 1830, VI, 16f).
13. Many works of this kind are mentioned and/or reproduced in Friedländer, 1967-74, XII, nos. 158-59, 167-70, 185-88; Fokker, 1928-29; Puyvelde, 1951 and 1957; Roethlisberger, 1966; Vlam, 1977; Wallen, 1983, 67ff.; Silver, 1984, 136ff. The last three sources, along with Hoover, 1948, and Moxey, 1985, discuss the genre in relation to the commercial development of Antwerp and the criticism of avarice.
14. "Jam hoc erat insignius miraculum, hominem infami quaestui deditum, et negotiis inexplicabilibus involutum, repente vertere in alium, quam paralytico suos nervos reddere" (*Paraphrasis in Evangelio Lucae*, in Erasmus, 1703-06, VII, col. 341; cited after Wallen, 1983, 68). The Antwerp tradition is considered in relation to Erasmus also by Vlam, 1977, and Marlier, 1954, 251ff.
15. Listed by Wallen (1983, 308) as a copy or variant. Calvesi, 1990, 301, 400, related van Hemessen's composition in the Metropolitan to Caravaggio's *Calling*, noting in particular the gesture of money counting, mentioned below.
16. Voragine, 1969, 565.
17. On this drawing and a fresco in the Palazzo Mattei-Caetani in Rome, the dating and attribution of which are uncertain, see Röttgen, 1974, 23ff., 102ff.
18. *The Hours*, 1964, III, 1569. On Matthew's self-accusation, see also Treffers, 1989, 247.
19. Nicholson, 1958, 99ff. In fact, Terbrugghen seems to have understood Caravaggio's physiognomical procedure, as well, merging all three facial types.
20. The female at Matthew's left is clearly a prostitute, so that the apostle rejects both Luxuria (David's sin) and Avarice. Vlam (1977, 568) notes the significance of these gestures and also discusses a version of the *Calling* by van Hemessen in Vienna; here the feast is shown in the background, with an allusion to the transformation of Matthew in Christ's parable of new wine in new bottles.
21. H. Wagner, 1958, 62; Hibbard, 1983, 100.
22. "Videbunt publicanum, a peccatis ad meliora conversum, locum invenisse paenitentiae; et ob id etiam ipsi non desperant salutem. Neque vero in pristinis vitiis permanentes veniunt ad Iesum, ut pharisaei et scribae murmurant, sed paenitentiam agentes, ut sequens Domini sermo significat, dicens: Misericordiam volo, et non sacrificum; non enim veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores." (*The Hours*, 1964, III, 1570-71)
23. Sandrart, 1925, 102. The illustration here is from the Italian edition, *Simolachri*, 1549.
24. Caravaggio may have seen a reference to Judaism in Death's action, since beard pulling was a common way of illustrating the sterile acrimony and

consternation of rabbinical disputations. The last two verses of the Italian subscription seem strikingly to anticipate the meaning of Caravaggio's "tenebroso" lighting: "whence in dark and melancholy places the damned soul wails in eternal affliction."

25. Lates, 1989, 33–38. According to Armailhacq, 1894, 30, the parish registers of San Luigi record many conversions. On October 4, 1604, amid great solemnities, ten Jews who had been instructed by the parish priest were baptized by the bishop of Sidon, and the same ceremony was repeated the following year.
26. Lavin, "Divine Inspiration," 1974; also *idem*, "Addenda," 1974, and 1980. For a perceptive discussion of a painting by Guercino similarly intent upon the conversion of the Jews, see Perlove, 1989.
27. Pastor, 1923–53, XIX, 249.
28. On the vault scene see Acqua and Cinotti, 1971, 186 n. 249. The suggestion that the lower figures in the *Martyrdom* are neophytes (Marini, 1974, 29, and 1989, 42) was confirmed in an article on the painting by Trinchieri Camiz, 1990, that appeared after the present essay was completed. The author argues convincingly that the figures allude to baptism and adduces some of the same evidence cited here concerning the conversion of the Jews. The "crucified" pose of Matthew in the *Martyrdom*, which recalls the evangelist's report, cited in the text above, of Christ's call to his disciples to take up the cross, follow him, and give up their lives, may also be related to the theme of Baptism; the tradition linking the blood of Christ to the waters of baptism was illustrated in a print by H. Wierix, labeled "Fons Vitae," showing Christ seated on the edge of a baptismal basin into which his blood flows (Mauquoy-Hendrickx, 1978–83, I, 102, fig. 581). Calvesi, 1990, 279–84, linked Caravaggio's *Calling* to Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism in 1595.
29. For a biographical sketch of Cointrel, see Fragnito (in *Dizionario*, 1960–, XXVIII, 68ff.), who, following a clue in Pastor, 1923–53, XXI, 129, recovered and described the reports of Cointrel's

malefactions in the *Avvisi di Roma*, which I quote here *in extenso*.

"Dopo una diligente inquisitione fatta da certi deputati da Palazzo sopra l'amministrazione del Car.le San Stefano nel Datario di Gregorio, si sono trovate tante simonie, che chiamato da loro al sindacato un certo Pietr'Antonio delli sostituti di detto Datario, et a presentare alcune scritture, sen'è fuggito di quà avvisando se stesso, et il già suo Prone con tal fuga, et il Papa per haverlo ha per più vie spediti Corr.ri, procedendosi in q.ta causa con esquisita curiosità" . . . "Il Frizolio sec.rio della congreg.ne del concilio, et già delli sustituti del Car.le Santo Stefano sta sequestrato in casa d'ordine delli superiori" (July 16, 1586, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Urb. Lat. 1054, fol. 321v. ff.).

"È così chiara, che 'l fisco pretende il giusto possesso di tutti i beni del Card.le S. Stefano per simonia, et per altre cose scoperte nelli suoi libri secreti, et nelle scritture delli suoi sustituti, per le qual cose, i diputati sono intorno con le male parole à mons.re Rubustiero aderiva à quell'anima negra in dispense, et risegne molte brutte" (August 13, 1586, *ibid.*, fol. 380).

"Si va innanzi tuttavia nella causa del già Car.le San Stefano, con un travaglio di nuova persone, ch'erano interessate seco, et perche si scopre materia molto aromatica, in un libro intitolato Nemini ostendatur, per il q.ale P.ro Ant.o è stato presentato alla corda, si vede che le cose andaranno in lungo, et per q.to gli heredi si lasciano intender' di composit.ne offerendo 30 m scudi. Altri sono d'opinione che per esser'stato scritto in Ispagna che venghino di là scritture, et testimonij per ca di tanti pensioni ritrovate estinte, et riservate, N. S.re stia in pensiero di deputare una congreg.ne per decidere utro Pontifex potuerit esse simoniacus, dubitandosi in qualche parte Gregorio possi havere havuto inditio delle ribaldarie di q.to Oltramontano, et de suoi ministri" (August 20, 1586, *ibid.*, fol. 393).

"Hanno i deputati sopra la causa del Car.le San Stefano assegnate la casa per carcere à D.ncò Atton Agente del Duca di loreno interrogato sopra le sepdizioni di 70 Monasteri in Francia



per via secreta passate per man sua con dare ad intendere à Gregorio, che servivano per la fabrica di San Luigi, secondo che S. B.ne haveva destinato, et poi si trova, ch'egli à detta fabrica non ha dati più di 3 m scudi di tanti, che ha riscossi per dette speditioni. Et Pietro Antonio è interrogato sopra le pensioni, che si mettevano sù le Chiese di Spagna, per hu.oi [?], de quali mai sen' ha possuto havere cognitione, et poi si facevano estinguere in utile (per q.nto si trova) di detto Datario, il qual veniva ad esser lui q.el solo delli tanti, c'havevano havute le pensioni" (August 30, 1586, *ibid.*, fol. 424).

"Dicono alcuni, che per altro non si procede adesso nella causa del Car.le San Stefano, che per dubio, che l'Amb.re di Francia non faccia officio caldo co'l Papa in suo favore. et che poi non sia in potere di S. B.ne di negargli ogni gratia per l'amore eccessivo, che mostra portare à q.ti ss.ri Galli" (September 17, 1586, fol. 454).

"Se il Papa troverà cosa alcuna di mal fatto nelli sustituti del Datario, come ha presentito possono essere sicuri di non andare senza acqua calda, perche vuole S. S.ta che siano, i suoi sempre i primi a dar norma agli altri" (January 24, 1587, MS Urb. Lat. 1055, fol. 28; cf. Pastor, 1923–53, XXI, 129).

30. This text is also cited by Treffers, 1989, 255, in a different context.
31. This claim on the part of the apostolic camera is alluded to in one of the documents concerning the executors' delay in completing the work (Mahon, 1952, 20f.).
32. It may be relevant that the Jesuit Jacobo Laynez, who had been a close associate of Cointrel (*Dizionario*, 1960–, XXVIII, 68), was the author of an important treatise on simony (published in Lainez, 1886, II, 322–82).
33. The eulogy, by the Jesuit François Rémon, is published in Chacon, 1677, IV, cols. 96ff.
34. Although she identifies the man as a taxpayer, Hass (1988, 250) perceives that his gesture may allude to Cointrel's charities and suggests that he may actually represent the cardinal.
35. These physiognomical differences are so con-

spicuous that they must be deliberate and cannot be explained simply by the sequence in which the pictures were executed. The second version of the altarpiece established a compromise with Caravaggio's original, radical, differentiation: the evangelist and the martyr were now recognizably the same person, and what remained was the visible transformation of the Jew into the Christian.

36. See the essay on this painting by a former student of mine, Scribner (1977). Caravaggio's preoccupation with this idea in the Contarelli chapel is attested by newly discovered documents indicating that the London picture must be virtually contemporary with the first St. Matthew; see Correale, ed., 1990, 41, 77.
37. See Lavin, "Divine Inspiration," 1974, 78. To my mind it cannot be coincidental that the bald and bearded head of Matthew in the *Martyrdom* distinctly recalls the standard image of St. Paul. The reference would be appropriate not only because of Paul's general importance for the imagery of the chapel but also because of the specific traits he had in common with Matthew: Paul was also converted suddenly by Christ's call; his name was also changed along with his character (Caravaggio had given the Jews' red hair and beard to Saul-becoming-Paul in the first version of the *Conversion* for the Cerasi chapel; see n. 18 above); and he also died by the sword. Moreover, Paul invokes the same paradoxical notion of Socratic ignorance that Caravaggio applied to Levi-Matthew in the first version of the Contarelli altarpiece ("And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know" [1 Cor. 8:2]; see Lavin, "Divine Inspiration," 1974, 66ff.). And whereas Matthew by his Gospel was the apostle of the Jews, Paul by his mission was the apostle of the Gentiles. (In the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, Paul and Matthew had evidently been related in this same context: Paul holds a book inscribed with the opening words of the first Gospel; *ibid.*, 78 n. 66.)
38. Quid per faciem, nisi notitia . . . Per faciem quippe unusquisque conoscitur . . . Facies itaque

ad fidem pertinet . . . Per fidem namque ab omnipotenti Deo cognoscimur, sicut ipse de suis ovibus dicit: Ego sum pastor bonus, et cognosco oves meas, et cognoscunt me meae. Qui rursus ait: Ego scio quos elegerim" (*The Hours* 1964, III, 1568).

### 5. Bernini's Portraits of No-Body

First presented in March 1987 in a colloquium at the University of Maryland honoring my friend George Levitine, to whom it is now sadly dedicated *in memoriam*.

1. See Wittkower, 1981, 177, no. 7.
2. See Lavin, "Five Youthful Sculptures," 1968, 239f., and Appendix A, pp. 125–29. New documentary evidence presented here supports the 1619 date proposed by Wittkower for the *Anime* busts on stylistic grounds.
3. On the coins, see Head, 1911, 805; G. F. Hill, 1914, lxxxviii f., 182f., pl. XX, 1–3. The few instances of coins with facing heads on both sides (Baldwin, 1908–9, 130) nearly all involve male–female confrontations. For the mosaic, found on the Aventine in Rome, see Bieber, 1920, 162, no. 137. Theater masks were sometimes actually associated with portrait busts, as on a Roman sarcophagus in the Camposanto at Pisa that shows three masks, a youth, a female, and a grizzled Pan, beneath a medallion containing busts of a man and his wife (Aries *et al.*, 1977, 114ff.). Among the classical precedents revived and much illustrated, often as bust portraits, from the Renaissance on were the philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus, who, respectively, laughed and wept at the foibles of the world (see p. 268, n. 58).
4. I have discussed the revived *Ars moriendi* tradition and Bernini's profound relationship to it in life and death (1972). On the *Ars moriendi*, see Delumeau, 1983, 389ff.

On the *Quattuor novissima*, see Lane, 1985. My own remarks on the visual tradition of the Four Last Things, including Bernini's busts, offer only

modest supplements to those in the excellent article by Malke, 1976.

5. See Franza, 1958; Turrini, 1982. The illustrated catechisms have been studied by Prosperi, 1985.
  6. On the engravings by Theodor Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck and a painting of the same theme by Heemskerck, see Grosshans, 1980, 214–43. Other important suites are by J. B. Wierix after Martin de Vos (Mauquoy-Hendrickx, 1979, II, 271f.), Hendrik Goltzius after Johannes Stradanus (Strauss, ed., 1980, 309f.), Jan Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz (Judson, 1970, 64f., 74, 140–42).
  7. In these instances, it seems the purpose was to establish a deliberate link between the universal character of the *Quattuor novissima* and the individual focus of the *Ars moriendi*.
  8. Although the moral component of Bernini's interest in expression was diluted, his position in this development is clear. So far as we know, Leonardo's drawings do not portray any particular emotions or pattern or system of emotions. Della Porta's physiognomics are consistent, but they are not really devoted to expression; they attempt, instead, to link various physiognomical types with corresponding character types, based on counterparts in the animal kingdom. Descartes was the first to study human emotions systematically, and it was Le Brun's contribution to relate that effort to the visual tradition represented by Leonardo, Della Porta, and Bernini, producing the first systematic exploration of the facial effects of emotion.
- The most recent interpretation of Bernini's sculptures in this vein, which entails characteristically a focus on the *Anima Dannata* as a "self-representation," will be found in a fine essay by Preimesberger, 1989, with further references.
- On Messerschmidt's character studies, see Behr *et al.*, 1983.
9. Mair's engravings are reproduced in Hollstein, 1954–, XXIII, 146ff., with further bibliography. Johann Conrad (1561–1612), who had lived for several years in Italy, was a great patron of the arts and maintained close ties with the Jesuits; Sax, 1884–85, II, 478–93; H. A. Braun, 1983,

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