

# Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana

BAND 42 · 2015/2016

---

**HIRMER**

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DER BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA  
MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE  
ROM

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
TANJA MICHALSKY UND TRISTAN WEDDIGEN  
REDAKTION SUSANNE KUBERSKY-PIREDDA  
REDAKTIONSASSISTENZ MARA FREIBERG SIMMEN, CATERINA SCHOLL

Die Beiträge des *Römischen Jahrbuchs* werden einem doppelten anonymen  
Peer Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

Bibliographische Informationen der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie;  
detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

© 2018 Hirmer Verlag GmbH, München  
Gestaltung und Satz: Tanja Bokelmann, München  
Lithographie: ReproLine Genceller, München  
Druck: Memminger MedienCentrum, Memmingen

Printed in Germany

ISBN 987-3-7774-3154-3

Thomas Frangenberg †

Little-known Responses to Art  
in Seventeenth-Century Roman Poetry:  
Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687)  
and Some of Her Contemporaries

Following a brief but severe illness Thomas Frangenberg passed away on the 12th of March 2018.  
He released this essay, his last scientific publication, for printing a few days before his death.

## Summary

Maria Porzia Vignoli and her literary milieu 300

Vignoli's *L'Obelisco di Piazza Navona* 305

Vignoli's *La Maraviglia* 314

Vignoli's *Nel suo monacaggio. Sonetto* 327

Appendix I 328

Appendix II 328

## Abstract

The present article studies two poems by Maria Porzia Vignoli on Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers* and Cerrini's frescoed dome in Santa Maria della Vittoria. It also aims to shed light on this writer's literary milieu, and assembles further poems on art written in this circle which have thus far escaped attention.

Maria Porzia Vignoli and her literary milieu

The production of poetry was an extremely widely practiced form of social interaction in Italy during the seventeenth century. Poems were used in social exchanges such as congratulatory notes, and could be deployed as vehicles for exchanges of views or as a convenient vehicle to comment on contemporary events or cultural achievements, including works of art.<sup>1</sup> Poetry could also give direction to the activities of academies; one such association, the Accademia de' Forzati founded by Giovanni Battista Capalli (ca. 1625–1695) was established for the specific purpose of the improvisation of poetry.<sup>2</sup> The vast majority of poems were written by authors who were not, nor intended to become, writers by profession. In some instances it emerges that an individual's poems were largely written during the period of their youth.<sup>3</sup> One of the aims of this paper is the reconstruction of a small, loosely-knit literary community and its changing configurations, in which the articulation of poetic responses was the chosen avenue for engaging with topical subjects. Particular focus will be on one female writer who for nearly a decade was part of this community. A review of the literary output of these authors has shed light on numerous poems on art which have so far attracted little or no scholarly attention.

Although in terms of quantity the poems written by men vastly outnumber those by women, female voices are not absent from Italian poetry of the seventeenth century. A conspicuous witness to this fact is found in a collection of poems by female writers published by a female editor, Luisa Bergalli, in the eighteenth century: the *Componimenti poe-*

*tici delle più illustri rimatrici d'ogni secolo*, which appeared in Venice in 1726.<sup>4</sup> Among the writers included in this collection we find Maria Porzia Vignoli,<sup>5</sup> an author who stands out from her peers, both male and female, for having devoted two substantial poems, a significant proportion of her small published output, to works of art. In addition, Vignoli is among those writers who chose the expansive literary formats of idyll and ode rather than the much more concise sonnet, the most common format adopted for poems on artworks and artists, which allowed her to verbalise a complex set of responses to the works in question. An idyll, in the present context, is a simple poem describing a peaceful scene, whilst an ode is a substantial poem in an elevated style, expressing exalted emotion, usually written in praise of its subject. Vignoli's two poems are therefore a suitable starting point for an enquiry into the degree to which poems witness, and can be used to reconstruct, at least some patterns in the reactions of contemporary audiences to works of art.<sup>6</sup>

Like most of her non-professional fellow writers, Vignoli has attracted some scholarly attention only very recently, and what is known today about her life is in large measure owed to two sources: the second volume of Prospero Mandosio's *Bibliotheca Romana seu romanorum scriptorum centuriae* of 1692, and an autobiographical manuscript written by a relative, Giovanni Vignoli (1667–1733).<sup>7</sup> Mandosio's book was printed five years after Vignoli's death,<sup>8</sup> but the wording of the entry on Vignoli suggests that the latter was written during her lifetime: Mandosio states that her unpublished works are still in her possession. Mandosio's detailed knowledge of Vignoli's manuscripts

<sup>1</sup> COLASANTI 1904; KRANZ 1973; ALBRECHT-BOTT 1976; GENT 1981; KRANZ 1981–1997; GILBERT 1991; DUNDAS 1993; GOLAHNY 1996; FERRARI 1997, pp. 151–161; *Poetry on Art* 2003.

<sup>2</sup> CRESCIMBENI 1720–1721, vol. 2, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, LIVARDINI 1688, whose poems are 'fiori della mia gioventù'.

<sup>4</sup> BERGALLI 1726.

<sup>5</sup> BERGALLI 1726, vol. 2, p. 161. The poem is quoted after CRESCIMBENI 1702–1711, vol. 3, p. 322. On p. 289 BERGALLI 1726 provides some biographical information which is largely incorrect.

<sup>6</sup> An approach in the latter sense is advocated in HERKLOTZ 2004, pp. 411–429.

<sup>7</sup> RUBINO 2008–2009, pp. 23–27 (Archivio, Pitigliano, no. 267, serie II Carteggio, sottoserie 2 Minutario: Giovanni Vignoli, "Al S[igno]r Card[ina]le Panfilj Argomento Racconta la sua vita e implora la protez[i]on[e] di S[ua] E[minenza] Re[verendissima] per sue convenienze e p[er] maggiori suoi avanzamenti", 1 June 1719). For a family tree see RUBINO 2008–2009, p. 10. I thank the archivist Elisabetta Peri for sending me an electronic copy of the manuscript which contains two important pages not transcribed by Rubino, and Marta Rubino for generously sharing her findings with me.

<sup>8</sup> MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, pp. 192–194: "Maria Portia Vignola, italicis carminibus admirabilis, Monialis Ordinis Sancti Dominici in Coenobio eidem Sancto dicato in Civitate Viterbiensi: nata anno 1632. parentibus Philippo Vignola, et Helena Merli: religiosam induit vestem anno 1658. Caelum ei omnes contulit dotes, quibus sexus muliebris magis inclarescere potest; eximiam habuit enim corporis pulchritudinem, ingenium rerum omnium capax, iudicium supra sexum excelsum, manum ad quaecunque docilem, et industriam mirificam; pietatem verò egregiam, atque modestiam; memoria ita felici praedita, ut libros praesertim pios semel et iterum lectos integros recitet. Latinae linguae notitiam suo fermè Marte sibi comparavit; hinc post Grammaticae studium, politioribus sedulò literis dedit operam, poeticam perbelle exercuit, ad quam a natura facta videtur, Arithmeticae quoque, nec non Astronomicis scientiis studuit. Regimini Novitiarum praeposita singularem prudentiam demonstravit. Carolus à Sancto Antonio Patavino Anconitanus, Religionis Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum perdoctus alumnus, in libro praenotato Musae Anconitanae, sive Epigrammaton Libri, Vignolam laudibus effert lib. III. et praecipuè sequenti anagrammate.

MARIA PORTIA. (*a, in e*)

MIRA POETRIA.

makes it likely that he was in correspondence with the author.

Much of what is known about the Vignoli family is owed to the autobiographical sketch by Giovanni Vignoli, perhaps the best-known member of the family through his activity as librarian at the Biblioteca Vaticana. The document is a copy of a letter to Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili (1653–1730), as Cardinal Librarian Giovanni Vignoli's superior. The original was written on 1 June 1719;<sup>9</sup> it sheds light not only on Giovanni's life, but also on Maria Porzia's immediate family. Filippo Vignoli, having moved to Rome from Modena, married Elena Merli. The couple had at least three children other than Maria Porzia. Giovanni Filippo Vignoli taught at the botanical garden of the University of Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XI (1676–1689)<sup>10</sup> and left a manuscript catalogue of the plants he had intro-

duced into the garden.<sup>11</sup> A second brother, Francesco, was educated in the Piarist school in Rome, as is witnessed by a letter, dated 1656, of the Piarist Carlo Mazzei to Maria Porzia to which we shall return.<sup>12</sup> The name of the sister attested by Giovanni Vignoli was Angela Eletta, as is witnessed by a poem written by Giuseppe Livaldini on the occasion of the two sisters entering the Dominican convent of San Domenico in Viterbo.<sup>13</sup> Giovanni Vignoli's text also reveals that Maria Porzia did not take the literary output of her youth with her when she withdrew to Viterbo; her manuscripts remained with her family, and by 1719 were in the possession of Giovanni Vignoli, after which date their whereabouts are unknown.

Vignoli's account suggests that Maria Porzia was born in Rome, and the same is affirmed by Quadrio.<sup>14</sup> Mandosio tells us a good deal about Maria Porzia, and given the pau-

Plura scripsit docta haec mulier, eaque digna typo, attamen ex ditissima ingenii, sui que spiritus officina, sequentia tantum in lucem opuscula dari permisit.

*Sonetti Eroici, Sacri, e Lugubri.*

*L'Obelisco di Piazza Navona. Idilio.*

*Il Genethliaco del Prencipe Primogenito del Rè di Polonia.*

*Il Vaticinio della Sibilla Tiburtina.*

*Il Tebro Festivo. Idilio.*

*Roma Trionfante. Canzone.*

*Talia Mascherata.*

*La Maraviglia. Ode.*

*Omnia carmine.*

Ms. Opera verò, quae apud se (ad hanc diem exarata) custodit, sunt *De Iudiciis Genethliacorum. Volumen unum.*

*Il Campidoglio. Panegirico per la Maestà di Cristina Regina di Svezia.*

*La Serafica Sanese, Panegirico.*

*Cristo, e Maddalena nell'Orto. Dialogo per Musica.*

*L'Amore Bambino nel divino Natale al peccatore. Ode.*

*La Fortuna. Ode in lode della Casa Comnena.*

*Oratorii per Musica. Volumen unum.*

*Canzonette, et Ariette per Musica, Sacre, e Morali. Volumen unum.*

*Sonetti, e Madrigali. Volumen unum.*

*Risposta al Sig. Antonio Abati nel dichiarargli il sistema della figura di lui astrologica.*

*La Metamorfosi dell'Arancio.*

*Gli Amori del Panaro. Drama per Musica.*

*Le Quattro Stagioni. Componimento per Musica.*

Et alia multa."

QUADRIO 1739–1752, vol. 2, 2, pp. 122, 357. QUADRIO 1739–1752, p. 122, states: "Fu ella versatissima nell'Astronomia, nell'Aritmetica, e nella Latina, e Volgar Poesia." Vignoli's aptitude for Latin poetry is strongly drawn into question, however, by a letter by Carlo Mazzei; see PICANYOL 1937, pp. 132f.; on this letter, the original of which is preserved in the archive of the Scuole Pie in Rome (Reg L Sc 257), see n. 147 below. The information provided by Renazzi is based on Mandosio; see RENAZZI 1803–1806, vol. 3, p. 126.

<sup>9</sup> The section of concern, RUBINO 2008–2009, p. 27, Archivio, Pitigliano, no. 267, Vignoli (as in n. 7), fols. 20v–21r, reads: "Filippo Vignoli zio di mio padre fù l'ultimo de' nostri ad uscir da Modena, il quale essendosi accasato in Roma con Elena Merli, nipote del Card[ina]l Panciroli,

oltre al P[adre] Gio[vanni] Filippo Vignoli Agostiniano, che fù Lettore in Sapienza, e che accrebbe il Giardino de' Semplici di quattro mila piante forestiere, sopra le quali anche scrisse, ebbe dalla medesima due figliuole, morte ambedue monache nel Monastero di San Dom[eni]co di Viterbo: una delle quali, che morì l'anno 1688, già nota agli eruditi per le sue composizioni poetiche, le quali parte sono già stampate, e parte si conservano manoscritte in casa mia." There are no indications that Maria Porzia's writings passed to Pitigliano with the *carteggio* of her relative.

<sup>10</sup> CARAFA 1751, vol. 2: De Professoribus Gymnasii Romani liber secundus, p. 372.

<sup>11</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, D III.28 (1337).

<sup>12</sup> PICANYOL 1937, p. 132.

<sup>13</sup> LIVARDINI 1688, p. 29:

"Professione delle Sig. Angela Eletta, e M[a]ria Portia Vignole nel Monasterio di S. Domenico di Viterbo avanti il Santissimo Natale Le Vigne de gl'Engaddi in mezzo al verno / Fioriro già con disusato stile / Si che parve Dicembre un nuovo Aprile / De ghiacci argenti, e de le nevi à scherno. /

Merce che nacque à debellar l'Inferno / Dal sen di Verginella in loco humile / Sotto spoglia mortal caduca, e vile, / Fatto Bambin il Creatore eterno. /

Presto il divin Natal l'Anno ritorna / E due Vignole ecco spiegar vegg'io. / Fecondo autunno, e Primavera adorna. /

Fior di pura, e cast' Alma, e frutto pio / Di Virtù di Sant' opre hor così torna / A rinovar sue meraviglie Iddio."

I do not know if two sonnets, "Alla Signora Portia N. Compositrice de fiori finti, e Poetessa" and "Risposta Della medesima all'Autore Poeta, e Dottore" (ibid., pp. 40f.) concern Maria Porzia Vignoli.

<sup>14</sup> QUADRIO 1739–1752, vol. 2, 2, p. 122. Later publications claim that Vignoli was from Viterbo; see CANONICI FACHINI 1824, pp. 162–163 (of Vignoli's works Canonici Fachini mentions four, *L'Obelisco, Il Vaticinio, Roma trionfante*, for which see below, and a "Volume di Poesie sacre", giving 1651, 1665 and 1667 as dates of publication; the last two dates may be erroneous) and *Delle donne illustri italiane* n.d., p. 193 (the credibility of this publication is increased by the precise date of death it provides: 17 January 1687). No documentation is provided for Clement's assertion that a statue to Vignoli was erected on a square in her native city; see CLEMENT 1974, p. xxxii.

city of information on this author, his statements are echoed throughout later literature. He maintains that Maria Porzia was not only uncommonly beautiful, but also possessed of a lively intelligence, dedication, and an excellent memory. Such gifts permitted her to acquire Latin as an autodidact, an assertion that implies Vignoli did not receive a formal education such as that given to her brother Francesco. Mandosio also suggests that Vignoli studied numerous other subjects, such as arithmetic and astronomy, under her own aegis. Most importantly, the first thing Mandosio tells his readers about Vignoli is that she was admirable as a poet in Italian.<sup>15</sup>

As far as I can tell, all of Vignoli's publications appeared between 1651 and 1658, the year she became a nun;<sup>16</sup> I have thus far been unable to locate copies of three publications cited by Mandosio, the *Sonetti Eroici, Sacri, e Lugubri*, *Il Genethliaco del Prencipe Primogenito del Rè di Polonia*, and *Talia Mascherata*.<sup>17</sup>

The chronologically first publication known to me, and perhaps Vignoli's most ambitious work, deals with a highly topical subject, Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers* on Piazza Navona in Rome, published in 1651, the year of the fountain's unveiling (fig. 1). The poem is entitled *L'obelisco di Piazza Navona. Idillio ... con la dichiarazione delle statue, animali, piante e di tutto quello, che si contiene in detto obelisco*.<sup>18</sup> The choice of subject was strategically astute. Probably due to the fame of the fountain, the poem was accepted for publication by Francesco Moneta (c. 1614–1689), a publisher whose wide-ranging output covered guides, novels, treatises on medicine, physics, philosophy, law, politics, and dramatic works, but also included topical and – often short – texts, some of which were clearly intended to curry favour with those in power.<sup>19</sup> Vignoli's publication survives in a significant number of copies, suggesting it was well received. This early success may have given Moneta the confidence to print many, and perhaps all, of the works submitted by Vignoli before her decision to enter the Dominican Order.<sup>20</sup>

The poem on Bernini's fountain is dedicated to Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphili, Princess of Rossano (1622–1681) to whom Vignoli refers as her 'Padrona'. Olimpia, who after her husband Paolo Borghese's death, in 1647 wed the nephew of Pope Innocent X, Camillo Pamphili, was an ambitious choice of patron for the young author, despite Olimpia's difficult relationship with the Pope and above all the latter's overbearing sister, Olimpia Pamphili Mairalchini (1594–1657).<sup>21</sup> Several publications suggest that Maria Porzia staged theatre performances for the Pamphili.<sup>22</sup> The assumption of Maria Porzia's involvement in stage productions could help to explain the number of libretti mentioned by Mandosio among Vignoli's unpublished works.<sup>23</sup>

The poems published over the subsequent years seem to indicate that Vignoli attempted to establish herself as a self-sufficient author. The works, all encomiastic in nature, are dedicated to high-ranking members of the nobility and the Church, apparently an attempt to gain patronage and secure an income.

A first such work is *Il Tebro festivo. Idillio* of 1653, dedicated to Donna Francesca d'Avalos, Princess of Galliciano.<sup>24</sup> In 'these few verses produced in very short days',<sup>25</sup> Vignoli glorifies Francesco Marino Caracciolo (1631–1674), the son of Francesca d'Avalos and Marino Caracciolo, Prince of Avellino; he excels in both literary studies and in battle, and thus deserves to be apostrophised as 'warrior Apollo and studious Mars'.<sup>26</sup> In the same year the text was reprinted, with minor modifications, under the title *Il Tebro giocondo. Idillio*.<sup>27</sup>

In 1653 Vignoli also published *Il Vaticinio della Sibilla Tiburtina nel ritorno del Sereniss. Sig. Prencipe Rinaldo Cardinal d'Este in Roma. Canzone*, dedicated to the subject of the poem.<sup>28</sup> Again deploying the theme of excellence in disparate fields, Vignoli's sibyl maintains that this son of Alfonso III d'Este<sup>29</sup> shines in equal measure in church and on the battlefield.<sup>30</sup> The prophecy proceeds, asserting that the Prince will defeat Islam in Africa, and

<sup>15</sup> See MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, pp. 192–194.

<sup>16</sup> See n. 168 below.

<sup>17</sup> See MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, pp. 192–194.

<sup>18</sup> VIGNOLI 1651; see below.

<sup>19</sup> See FRANCHI 1994, pp. 556–568, on Vignoli see p. 560.

<sup>20</sup> A margin of doubt is introduced by the three publications I have not yet located; see nn. 8, 17 above.

<sup>21</sup> CIAMPI 1878, pp. 122–137 and passim; VASSALLI 1979, ad indicem.

<sup>22</sup> CIAMPI 1878, p. 276: "[...] Maria Porzia Vignola, pur monaca, celebrata poetessa (allora), metteva il piede nel terreno profano coi drammi per musica *Gli amori del Panaro e Le quattro stagioni*"; both works are mentioned by MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, pp. 192–194, and the author may owe his information to this text; COLONNA 1941,

p. 171: "[...] e un'altra monaca, Maria Porzia Vignola, inscenavano rappresentazioni sacre."

<sup>23</sup> MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, pp. 192–194.

<sup>24</sup> VIGNOLI 1653 a, dedication sig. A 2r–v.

<sup>25</sup> VIGNOLI 1653 a, sig. A 2r: "questi pochi versi fatti in brevissimi giorni."

<sup>26</sup> VIGNOLI 1653 a, sig. [A 5r]: "Guerriero Apollo, e studioso Marte."

<sup>27</sup> VIGNOLI 1653 a; for two small corrections, two rewritten lines, one additional line and some further, if minor modifications, see sigs A 3r, [A 5v]–[A 6v].

<sup>28</sup> VIGNOLI 1653 b.

<sup>29</sup> On Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este (1618–1672) see MORONI 1843, p. 108; BERNABEI 1885, pp. 258–261.

<sup>30</sup> VIGNOLI 1653 b, p. 10.





1 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, 1648–1651. Rome, Piazza Navona (photo author)

goes as far as to suggest that he will ascend to the Papal throne.<sup>31</sup>

The subject of the threat of the Muslim world to Christianity is taken up in Vignoli's *Roma trionfante. Canzone*, published in Rome in 1655.<sup>32</sup> This poem, written on occasion of the election of Pope Alexander VII Chigi, is dedicated to the Pope's compatriot, Father Mario Venturini, General of the Carmelite Order. Among the promises of Alexander's reign, Vignoli again dwells on the struggle against the Ottoman Empire.<sup>33</sup>

A sign of the esteem in which she was held by contemporaries or near-contemporaries is the inclusion of one of her poems in Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni's *Comentari ... intorno alla sua istoria della volgar poesia*.<sup>34</sup> The text celebrates a member of the Borghese family and, as in the case of Prince Rinaldo Cardinal d'Este, gives expression to the hope that he may be elected Pope.<sup>35</sup> Giovanni Vignoli included a further poem in his autobiographical sketch, a sonnet celebrating the elevation of Benedetto Pamphili to the rank of Cardinal, written, so Giovanni opines, "in accordance with the style of those times and in accordance with the capacities of a woman"; these qualifications are counterbalanced, however, by the inclusion of a composition in praise of

Maria Porzia by the Carmelite Lodovico Giacomo di San Carlo.<sup>36</sup> In her sonnet Vignoli invokes Fame and Glory to proclaim the Cardinal's merits, and again she projects the culmination of his life into the future, activating mythology to give resonance to her vision: he will be celebrated as a new Atlas shouldering the burden of the present Pope when he will himself be elected to the Papal office.<sup>37</sup>

The praise of Vignoli written by Lodovico Giacomo di San Carlo in Paris in 1652 shows that the renown of the young author, and in particular of her poem on Bernini's fountain, had quickly spread beyond the confines of Rome, eliciting the sender's hope that he might soon be able to read more of her works.<sup>38</sup>

A further poem Vignoli devoted to an artwork, *La Maraviglia. Ode*, celebrates a recently completed fresco, Gian Domenico Cerrini's dome painting in Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome, depicting the *Ravishment of Paul to the Third Heaven*. It appeared in a collection of poems on this work, *Poesie sopra il Ratto di San Paolo nella cupola della Madonna della Vittoria. Pittura del signor Gio. Domenico Cerrini Perugino ...*, again published by Francesco Moneta in 1656.<sup>39</sup> The last of Vignoli's known published works dates from 1658.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>31</sup> VIGNOLI 1653b, pp. 16f.

<sup>32</sup> VIGNOLI 1655.

<sup>33</sup> VIGNOLI 1653b, pp. 6f.

<sup>34</sup> CRESCIMBENI 1702-1711, vol. 3, p. 322:

"Maria Porzia Vignuoli.

Dritto era ben, che al tuo saver sovrano, / O degli Eroi Borghesi alto splendore, / Fortuna offerisse con novello onore / Fido il cor, fermo il piè, pronta la mano. /

Che veda ben, che sovra il suol Toscano / Ove t'ellesse il Ciel Padre, e Pastore, / Alla tua gran virtude, al tuo valore, / Il vitio altrui contraster-ebbe invano. /

Vanne dunque felice, ove di Piero / Il Successor t'invia: vanne giocondo, / Il freno à sostener del nuovo Impero. /

Lieve al tuo spirito è di tal Greggia il pondo: / Ma con l'ese[m]pio di tal Greggia spero, / Che un dì per suo Pastor t'acclami il Mondo."

<sup>35</sup> The poem may have been written in 1658 on the occasion of Giovanni Battista Borghese (1639-1717) taking possession of Sulmona. Giovanni Battista was the son of Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphili, Vignoli's patron, from her first marriage to Paolo Borghese.

<sup>36</sup> RUBINO 2008-2009, p. 27; Vignoli (as in n. 7), fol. 21r-v: "fra le molte altre lodi da lei [Maria Porzia] date all'Ecc[ellentiss]ma Casa di V[ost]ra Em[inen]za volle darsi anche l'onore d'applaudire alla degnissima sua promozione al Cardinalato con un sonetto fatto secondo lo stile di que' tempi e secondo la capacità di una donna, conforme si degnerà osservare dalla copia che annessa umil[men]te gliene porgo insieme con l'elogio, che fà della med[esi]ma non ancor monaca il P[adre] Giacomo di San Carlo Carmelitano Scalzo, e scrittore celebre."

<sup>37</sup> RUBINO 2008-2009, p. 27, fol. 22v: "Per la promoz[i]one al Cardinalato dell' Em[inentiss]mo Sig[no]re d[on] Benedetto Panfilii Sonetto di Maria Porzia Vignoli

Pur gran Panfilj odo a' tuoi meriti al fine / Applausi tributar fama

vagante: / E pur veggio la gloria offerir festante / Dopo dotte fatiche ostri al tuo crine. /

A palesar tue glorie, oltre il confine / Quella già v[er]à d'ignoti lidi errante: / Questa ti acclamerà qual nuovo Atlante / Di quei, ch'ora sostien veci divine. /

Poscia nel soglio ti porrà di Piero, / Fatto con tue virtudi al mondo eterno, / Spirto Real degnissimo d'Impero. /

E già da lungi col pensier ti scerno / Dar nuove leggi all'universo intero / Aprir il Cielo, incatenar l'Inferno."

<sup>38</sup> RUBINO 2008-2009, p. 27, fol. 23r: "Ie[su]s M[a]r[i]a

Nil, opinor, peccabo in modestiam tuam, nobilis et erudita virgo, si te in hunc feminarum illustrium chorum audeo evocare. Gaudebunt illae consuetudine tua: nec secius ipsis arridebis doctrinae ac virtutis similitudine. Non poterat hisce elogiis coronis imponi felicior tuo nomine, quod per sese grande est elogium, quippe quod in aetate adeo tenera et virtutes Christianas in *Maria*, et priscam Romanarum tum fortitudinem, tum eruditionem in *Portia* indigitat. Si ludere liceret in nomine et stemmate, honorificam partum ingenii faecunditatem in gentilitia tua Vineae eo certius augurarer, quo fructus iam video suaviores, qui Galliae nostrae mire sapiunt. Libavi duntaxat aliquos, et in iis Obeliscum Pamphilium, qui in Idyllio tuo altius, quam in Agonali foro assurgere mihi videtur. Cetera ingenii tui monumenta quia nondum adorare licuit, propterea ad amicum confugio, qui eorum syllabum extorqueat a modestia vestra, et ad me transmittat. De Elogio nihil dico. Facile erit apud te de illius tenuitatem excusare; vel enim ideo placebit, quia ieiunum. Apud alios excusabo, quia virginem per suas dotes et opera laudatissimam laudare supervacaneum. Datum Lutetiae Parisiorum Idib[us] Octobr[is] MDCLII. Perillustri D[omin]ae V[est]rae Devotissimus in Christo servus F[rater] Ludovicus Jacob a S. Carolo Carmelita."

<sup>39</sup> See below.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 168 below.

Vignoli's *L'Obelisco di Piazza Navona*

Almost immediately upon its completion the *Fountain of the Four Rivers* (1648–1651) by Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) became one of the most celebrated artworks of its day, addressed in numerous writings both in prose and in verse.<sup>41</sup> Vignoli's is one of the most revealing of such literary responses in that she reveals to what extent at least some contemporaries were able to perceive a straightforward and powerful political message as the intellectual core of the monument.

In her dedication to Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphili the author defines her poem as a 'description'; early on in the text, however, she makes it apparent that she considers her poem as more than just that. In her invocation of Apollo's aid, she indicates that she aims to produce a work in its own right, with a style of its own (l. 13), worthy of, but not equivalent with, the described object and its 'wonderful art' (l. 7). Vignoli brings to bear her knowledge of mythology and history well beyond the demands of the iconographic components of Bernini's fountain so as to extend their associative reach; she displays her ingenuity also in making the poem in its entirety into an encomium, in part following the lead of the fountain, in part complementing the monument's political message with her own suggestions. In line with the poetic genre of the idyll, she presents the fountain as a portrayal of the natural world in which the benefits of peace may be enjoyed due to the presence of the monument's patron. Lastly, and perhaps most unusually in the context of poetry on art, she provides intellectual access to the fountain by means of an assessment of the artist's merits in his previous works,<sup>42</sup> a fact first observed by Cancellieri in 1811: "Her composition seemed to me to be the best among those that were published on this occasion, also because it contains the enumeration of the most illustrious works Bernini had produced up to this time [...]"<sup>43</sup>

The poem's title as much as the first verses reveal that for Vignoli, as for most of her contemporaries who left behind written responses to Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, the primary focus of attention was the obelisk and the fact that it had been re-erected in the centre of Rome by the

reigning Pope, rather than the elements pertaining to the monument's function as a fountain, such as its rocky base, sculptural adornments, or the management of water. The first thing the reader's attention is drawn to is the obelisk's ancient history as well as its modern deployment on Piazza Navona.

Regarding the ancient history of the artefact, however, Vignoli is imperfectly informed. Not only does she share her contemporaries' belief that the obelisk dates back to the age of the Pharaohs, whereas today we know it to have been carved in Egypt for Emperor Domitian,<sup>44</sup> but more importantly, her 'great king of the Sotians' (l. 5)<sup>45</sup> is a fabrication due to an error. We do not know for certain where Vignoli derived her information about the obelisk; it is possible, however, that she consulted a work published in 1650, Athanasius Kircher's *Obeliscus Pamphilius*.<sup>46</sup> On the very first pages, and there is no evidence to suggest that Vignoli read beyond these, she could have learnt that the stone had in all probability been erected by Sothis in Heliopolis.<sup>47</sup> Kircher, who was involved not only in the restoration and completion of the ancient stone needle that had survived in a damaged and incomplete state, but likely also in the fountain's iconographic conceptualisation, included in his work some early drafts for inscriptions to be placed on the base of the obelisk.<sup>48</sup> One of these contains the phrase 'A Sothi rege Heliopoli erectum';<sup>49</sup> it may well have been Vignoli's uncertain grasp of Latin that led her to the reading she offers in her poem.

After the initial verses Vignoli introduces a second dedicatee of the poem, who throughout the rest of the text will prove to be the principal one: pope Innocent X Pamphili; two lines emphasize his name, Innocent (ll. 15, 16), to which the poem will return. In fact, Donna Olimpia is addressed only in the initial prose dedication and is not referred to again.

Vignoli proceeds to address the setting; Rome on its seven hills is characterized as the city of Mars. This theme is expanded in comments on Piazza Navona. This location, now known to have been the Stadium of Domitian, a site of athletic exertion, was consistently understood throughout the seventeenth century to have been a circus, a place

<sup>41</sup> See MONTANARI 2003, pp. 177–184. On the poetic fortuna of Bernini and the fountain see also CANCELLIERI 1811, pp. 46–65 [for 56]; FRASCHETTI 1900, pp. 198–201; ROMANO/PARTINI, 1944, pp. 124–126; PREIMESBERGER 1974; FERRARI 1997, p. 156f.; MONTANARI 1998, pp. 127–164; MONTANARI 1999, pp. 455–461; SAN JUAN 2001, pp. 199–207; HERKLOTZ 2004; FEHRENBACH 2008, passim.

<sup>42</sup> FRANGENBERG 2003, p. 206.

<sup>43</sup> CANCELLIERI 1811, p. 49: "Essendomi sembrato il suo *Componimento*, il migliore di quanti ne uscirono in quell'occasione, anche per-

chè contiene l'enumerazione delle *Opere* più insigni del *Bernini*, fatte fino a quel tempo [...]"

<sup>44</sup> IVERSEN 1968, pp. 76–92 (80–82).

<sup>45</sup> This peculiarity is noted, but not explained, in FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 42, n. 58.

<sup>46</sup> KIRCHER 1650.

<sup>47</sup> KIRCHER 1650, sigs d 2r – [d 3r].

<sup>48</sup> HUSE 1970 pp. 10–13; FEHRENBACH 2008, pp. 99–107 (104f.).

<sup>49</sup> KIRCHER 1650, sig. ev.



2 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Monument to Countess Matilde of Canossa, 1633–1637. Vatican City, St Peter's Basilica, from *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano, Atlante fotografico*, ed. Antonio Pinelli, Modena 2000, p. 810, fig. 1098

of potentially bloody spectacle.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, one etymological derivation of 'Navona' from 'navis', 'ship',<sup>51</sup> and the early modern habit of organizing small-scale sea battles on the square,<sup>52</sup> convinced Vignoli and some of her contemporaries that such bloody displays were enacted on small boats. The military character of Rome is extended into the immediate present in Vignoli's comment on the

market, where Pomona and Flora are in noble combat (l. 41).

Perhaps these verses provide an indication that the poem was written, or at least commenced, prior to the unveiling of the fountain. The market of Rome had been moved in 1477 from the foot of the Capitoline Hill to Piazza Navona.<sup>53</sup> However, during a visit to the fountain prior to its unveiling, on 6 June 1651, Innocent X. pronounced an edict against the vendors on Piazza Navona which he repeated in a sharpened form on 8 June.<sup>54</sup> In light of the subsequent clashes and upheavals, it is unlikely that Vignoli would have included a positive evaluation of vendors and their produce on the square after early June.

Again referring to Innocent and his decision to deploy the obelisk on Piazza Navona, Vignoli moves the readers' attention to the maker of the 'beautiful work' (l. 49). The 'expert Bernini', in the first instance seen as the brilliant engineer who, as a new Archimedes (ll. 50, 51),<sup>55</sup> lifted the huge stone on its new base, is then also presented as a superlative artist. The list and evaluations of previous masterpieces are, as we have seen, among the most unusual components of the poem. She comments on Bernini's *Baldacchino* (1624–1633)<sup>56</sup> and the *Monument to Countess Matilde* of Canossa (1633–1637; fig. 2),<sup>57</sup> both in St Peter's, to then turn to the *Tomb of Urban VIII* in St Peter's (1628–1647),<sup>58</sup> perhaps surprisingly given the misfortunes of the Barberini family during much of the reign of the Pamphili Pope,<sup>59</sup> praising the success of Urban's reign rather than the tomb monument itself. Less controversially, she then dwells on the collection of Bernini sculptures in the Villa Borghese. The group of *Apollo and Daphne* (1622–1623) is singled out first; she very perceptively describes the contrasting emotions and the drama of the crucial moment in which the god is still in loving pursuit, the nymph still in flight but at the same time already being metamorphosed into a tree.<sup>60</sup> With comparable poignancy she verbalizes the involvement in action of the *David* (1623–1624), about to slay his foe.<sup>61</sup> This, Vignoli recapitulates, is Bernini, who created his most recent sculpture as the culmination of his illustrious works.

Returning to her initial evaluation, Bernini is portrayed first and foremost as the engineer who erected the obelisk (ll. 84, 85). Under his supervision, the trench was excavated

<sup>50</sup> PREIMESBERGER 1974, pp. 85f., 96.

<sup>51</sup> PREIMESBERGER 1974, pp. 86, 150, n. 61; FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 144f.

<sup>52</sup> RASPE 1996, p. 362.

<sup>53</sup> PREIMESBERGER 1974, p. 86.

<sup>54</sup> PREIMESBERGER 1974, p. 115f.; see also COZZI 1970, pp. 54–61 and SAN JUAN 2001, pp. 187–217.

<sup>55</sup> Archimedes (c. 287 BC–212 BC), mathematician, inventor and engineer; see HERKLOTZ 2004, p. 419; FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 165, n. 734.

<sup>56</sup> FAGIOLO/FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1967, no. 32.

<sup>57</sup> FAGIOLO/FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1967, no. 72.

<sup>58</sup> FAGIOLO/FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1967, no. 63.

<sup>59</sup> Cardinals Antonio and Francesco Barberini were allowed to return from France to Rome only in 1653.

<sup>60</sup> FAGIOLO/FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1967, no. 23.

<sup>61</sup> FAGIOLO/FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO 1967, no. 24. For reasons that cannot be reconstructed, Vignoli does not comment on Bernini's *Rape of Proserpina*.

Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687) and Some of Her Contemporaries



3 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: the Nile (photo author)



4 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: the Ganges (photo author)



5 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: the River Plate (photo author)



6 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: the Danube (photo author)



7 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: Horse (photo author)



8 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: Dolphin and Armadillo (photo author)

for the foundations, workmen labouring to remove the soil, and a mountain was constructed that rises into the sky and is equated by the poet with the giant Typhon buried under Mount Etna,<sup>62</sup> so that the ancient relic could be restored to its splendid former state.

The expansiveness of what follows is evidence of the importance of what is being described, that is, the principal element of the Pamphili coat of arms. At the top, a gilt dove carries an olive branch, in a beak that is innocent, the last word clearly an allusion to the patron, so that the phrase “beloved bringer of longed-for peace” may be read as reference both to the dove, and to the Pope (ll. 106–111).<sup>63</sup> Vignoli was certainly aware of the solar symbolism associated with obelisks since antiquity.<sup>64</sup> She constructs her own solar discourse, which acquires considerable weight in her

evaluation of the fountain. Coming from the east, the direction of the rising sun, and from Heliopolis, the city of the sun, the obelisk now forms a monument to another sun, that is, the glory of the Pamphili family.

Following an assertion that the water is that of the Acqua Vergine (ll. 168–171),<sup>65</sup> the rivers are described in the direction of the motion of the sun.<sup>66</sup> The Nile and the Ganges (figs. 3, 4) placed on the east side face the morning sun, whilst the River Plate and the Danube (figs. 5, 6) turn their backs to it, facing the setting sun evoked in Ovidian terms as Apollo retreating to the bosom of Thetis.<sup>67</sup> The discussion of the four animals associated with the River Gods demonstrates that the latter are standing in for the four parts of the world. The noble horse represents Europe (fig. 7), the armadillo America (fig. 8). That is to say, in

<sup>62</sup> FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 43. Typhon is discussed at length by Kircher; see *ibid.* pp. 107–112 and *passim*, but for Vignoli Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* is a more plausible source; see n. 84 below.

<sup>63</sup> On the construction of Innocent X as bringer of peace see PREIMESBERGER 1974, pp. 80–83; HERKLOTZ 2004, p. 423; FEHRENBACH 2008, pp. 149–156.

<sup>64</sup> PREIMESBERGER 1974, pp. 109–112.

<sup>65</sup> On the Acqua Vergine, the source of which was according to legend shown to the soldiers of Agrippa by a virgin, see FEHRENBACH 2008, pp. 227f.

<sup>66</sup> See FEHRENBACH 2008, pp. 42, n. 58, 78f., n. 232.

<sup>67</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 68f.



9 *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, detail: Lion (photo author)

both instances the animal is placed to the north of the personification of the river. This might explain why Vignoli seeks the appropriate animals in a northward direction also regarding the eastern side of the fountain, allocating the lion to Asia (Fig. 9). This reading created an awkwardness with regard to Africa, associated by most seventeenth century and later writers with the lion, since there is no other animal able to rival the visual impact of the three mentioned so far. For Africa Vignoli proposes a creature at some distance from the river god that she identifies as a dolphin (fig. 8).<sup>68</sup>

The water that, according to the author, all four animals are eagerly drinking, provides the occasion to reintroduce the theme of the encomium of Innocent X., who quenches the entire world's thirst for grace (ll. 177–182),<sup>69</sup> and the poem

concludes with praises for this pope. Vignoli's art historical interests emerge once more in a number of comments on the artistic patronage of Innocent X. He refurbished San Giovanni in Laterano to spectacular effect (fig. 10),<sup>70</sup> constructed the 'superb' palace on the Capitoline Hill (fig. 11),<sup>71</sup> and brought the Vatican to its ultimate perfection (fig. 12).<sup>72</sup> The merits of this pope deserve universal admiration, the world must be the theatre of his glory, and for martial Rome the Pamphili's olive branch holds the promise of eternal peace.

The structure of the poem is remarkably clear. Its individual sections all find their culminations in considerations on Innocent X. The initial engagement with the obelisk is followed by the dedication to the Pope. A second part, on the location, the maker and the making of the fountain, ends with an evocation of peace under Pamphili rule. A

<sup>68</sup> See PREIMESBERGER 1974, pp. 109–112, 124–131; FEHRENBACH 2008, pp. 90f., 117; see p. 90f., n. 289, for two further texts that assign the lion to Asia.

<sup>69</sup> See HERKLOTZ 2004, p. 424.

<sup>70</sup> FAGIOLO 1971, pp. 5–44.

<sup>71</sup> On the Palazzo Nuovo, erected by Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi following Michelangelo's designs for the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see BENEDETTI

2001. CANCELLIERI 1811, p. 53, mockingly points out that Innocent X funded his acts of only apparent generosity not by giving any money but by abolishing offices paid out of state coffers, and even teachers' fees.

<sup>72</sup> During the reign of Innocent X the nave piers received their marble incrustation and reliefs prominently displaying the Pamphili doves, and the personifications above the arches were executed; see MONTAGU 1989, pp. 128–134; TRATZ 1991/1992, pp. 337–374.



10 Francesco Borromini, Archbasilica of St. John Lateran, nave walls, 1644–1650, Rome (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Andrea Jemolo)



12 Nave piers with incrustations executed during the Pontificate of Innocent X. Vatican City, St Peter's Basilica (photo author)



11 Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi, after designs by Michelangelo, *Palazzo Nuovo*, 1603–1654. Rome, Capitoline Hill, from *Il Palazzo dei Conservatori e il Palazzo Nuovo in Campidoglio. Momenti di un grande restauro a Roma*, ed. Maria Elisa Tittoni, p. 97, tav. 8

third, describing the river gods and animals, concludes with the grace dispensed by Innocent. The fourth and last section dwells on the artistic patronage of the Pope, and in the last lines finds the hope for eternal peace on Innocent X. Rome herself, the mother of heroes, may be turned into an idyll.

Vignoli is not only aware that the act of writing is able to constitute artworks in their own right, with their own style; more significantly, her poem sets out to produce an equiva-

lent of the message of the fountain. Vignoli offers a succinct and plausible iconographic reading of the monument; in her portrayal, the *Fountain of the Four Rivers* is a representation of the world, the only appropriate stage for the peace-giving agency and glory of Innocent X. For Vignoli, and presumably for many of her contemporaries, the spectacular visual appearance of the fountain as much as the potent simplicity of its iconography was at the heart of the work's extraordinary impact.



Maria Porzia Vignoli, *L'Obelisco di Piazza Navona. Idillio ... con la dichiarazione delle statue, animali, piante, e di tutto quello, che si contiene in detto obelisco*, Rome, Francesco Moneta, 1651 (fig. 13)

sig. [A1 v]

All'Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Sig. la Signora D. Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamfilii Principessa di Rossano etc. Padrona mia Colendissima.

La brama, che sin' hora ho havuta, di dedicare a V. E. qualche mio componimento in segno della mia divota servitù; Ecco mi rende ardita di venire ad offrirgli in tributo la presente Descrizione; et assicurata dall'innata benignità di V. E. resto persuasa, che se le sue benefiche stelle<sup>73</sup> risplenderanno a me propitie con la scorta della sua luce la mia debole penna quasi picciola navicella non restarà sommersa dall'horribili procelle delle satiriche lingue; ma, passando con sicurezza ogni periglioso golfo; giungerà alla desiata meta di spiegare un dì come ambisco gli Encomii di V. E. a cui per fine humilmente m'inchino.

Di V. S. Illustriss. et Eccellentiss.

Humiliss. e Divotiss. Serva

Maria Portia Vignoli.

sig. A2 r

Idillio.

Spinta da gran desio

Di spiegar gli alti honori  
Del famoso Obelisco innalzo il canto;

Di quella eccelsa Mole,

Che il Magno Re de'Soti<sup>74</sup> 5

Eresse già nella Città del Sole,<sup>75</sup>

E con mirabil'arte

Il gran foro d'Agone hoggi riparte.

Apollo, hor tu, che col tuo dolce plectro

Spirto sai dare a i marmi,<sup>76</sup> 10

<sup>73</sup> Stars form part of the Aldobrandini coat of arms.

<sup>74</sup> See above.

<sup>75</sup> Heliopolis.

<sup>76</sup> Vignoli appears to allude Amphion, who animated the stones required for the construction of the walls of Thebes with the instrument sacred to Apollo; see e.g. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, III, 323 f.; Horace, *Ars poetica*, 394–396.

<sup>77</sup> Vignoli refers to the last of Innocent X's predecessors to have shared his name, Innocent IX (1591).

<sup>78</sup> Given Vignoli's lexis in this poem, I read this word as 'famosa' rather than 'formosa'.



13 Title page, detail, from VIGNOLI 1651

Aita porgi a i non purgati carmi;

Tu ben ch'inetto, e vile

Al par del gran soggetto erge il mio stile.

E a te Sommo Pastore,

Che sovra il Nono<sup>77</sup> rinovar sul Tebro 15

Sai d'Innocentio il Glorioso Nome,

A cui scettro sovrano

Diede il Cielo Romano,

E di tre Regni in grembo

Della fomosa [*sic*]<sup>78</sup> Roma 20

Triplicata Corona orna la Chioma

A te l'inculto metro

Riverente consacro,

E s'io spiegar non so ne' fogli miei

Il tuo gran pregio eletto 25

Al men gradisci del mio cor l'affetto.

In mezo [*sic*] a i sette, Tiberini Monti,

Che fan corona a la Città di Marte,

Lunga Piazza si stende,

Ove già pria si vide 30

Il Popolo Latino,

Entro picciole barche

D'ira, e d'honore vaneggiante, et ebro

In fiero Agone insanguinare il Tebro.

Quindi prese il bel nome 35

Il vago foro: e vaghe

sig. A2 v

Di rinovare i Marziali honori,  
 Con novelle battaglie  
 Rimiransi ogni giorno  
 Rendere il Campo adorno 40  
 La Dea de' Pomi, e la gran Dea de' fiori;<sup>79</sup>  
 E in ogni tempo ancora  
 Farvi contesa altera  
 Autunno, e Primavera.  
 Stabili quivi il Successor di Piero, 45  
 Che l'Obelisco altero  
 Fusse al Tebro fastoso  
 Ornamento pomposo.  
 Ma chi poi fu di si bell'opra il fabro?  
 Fu l'esperto Bernini, 50  
 Che qual nuovo Archimede  
 Col suo valore ogni valore eccede:  
 Dicalo il Vaticano  
 S'a quel Ciborio insigne  
 Fatto da sua gran mano il Mondo ha pari, 55  
 Over se di Matilda  
 Più bella imago eresse  
 La sua gran destra arditata:  
 E dove l'Urna Io lascio  
 Di quel superno Sole 60  
 Del luminoso Urbano  
 Li cui potenti Raggi  
 Mentre splendero in terra  
 Pace recaro a i giusti, a i rei la guerra.<sup>80</sup>  
 Dicalo il bel Giardino 65  
 De'gran Borghesi Heroi,  
 Che più bello non ha Cipro tra suoi,  
 Se qui tal'hor si mira  
 Il suo Corso frenare Eto e Piroo,<sup>81</sup>  
 Perche il Sol tutto intento 70  
 La bella Dafne a rimirar si pone  
 Dell'amoroso ardor dolce cagione.  
 Ei la scolpì sì viva,  
 Che par che fugga ancora

sig. [A3 r]

Dal Sol, che sì l'adora; 75  
 Ma fuggir non si vede,  
 Perche (sì vuole il fato suo crudele)  
 Cangiato ha in tronco il fuggitivo piede.  
 Non son Minori i pregi  
 Del Davide guerriero, 80  
 Che a la tenzone accinto  
 Sembra, che cader faccia a lui d'avante  
 L'orgoglioso Gigante.<sup>82</sup>  
 Il Bernini fu quegli,  
 Che l'Obelisco eresse, 85  
 Perche d'ogn' opra al fin le glorie prime.  
 Al suo cenno al suo impero  
 Entro chiuso steccato  
 Di profonda caverna  
 Mill' alme, e mille cori 90  
 Si rimiraro intenti  
 A grand' opre, sudor, fatiche, e stenti.  
 Altri con crudo ferro  
 Svenaro il bel terreno;  
 Altri trasser dal fondo 95  
 La lacerata terra;  
 Altri ad un tempo istesso  
 Alzaro un'alto Monte  
 Per cui si spinse a fronteggiar coll'Etra<sup>83</sup>  
 Un novello Tifeo converso in pietra<sup>84</sup> 100  
 Stupido ogn'un restò quando ch'in alto  
 Dal suol si eresse il Mausoleo<sup>85</sup> superbo,  
 Perche se già lo fè cadere al suolo  
 Di fiera gente l'essecrabil' ira  
 Reso al primiero honore hoggi si mira. 105  
 Quivi sù l'alta cima  
 La dorata Colomba arreata i vanni  
 Con l'Olivo tranquillo  
 Ne la bocca innocente,  
 Apportatrice amata 110  
 Di pace desiata.  
 O avveturoso [*sic*] Bronzo,

<sup>79</sup> Pomona and Flora. On the market, see above.

<sup>80</sup> A reference to the War of Castro (1641–1644). An allusion to this war could be seen as appropriate in the present context because in the second War of Castro of 1649, Innocent X had brought the conflict to a final conclusion.

<sup>81</sup> Two of the four horses drawing Apollo's chariot. In this passage Vignoli playfully conflates the sun and the sun god. The Borghese garden is asked to confirm that the real sun arrested its course when Apollo's pursuit was halted by Daphne's metamorphosis.

<sup>82</sup> Goliath.

<sup>83</sup> The spelling is as intended; the word does not allude to Mount Etna, as apparently suspected by FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 43, n. 60, even though Typhon (buried under Mount Etna) is somewhat confusingly referred to in the following line. Following an Ovidian precedent, 'Etra' translates as ether or heaven; see n. 84 below.

<sup>84</sup> This account of Typhon/Typhoeus is derived from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, pp. 346–348: "Vasta giganteis ingesta est insula membris / Trinacris et magnis subiectum molibus urguet / aetherias ausum sperare Typhoea sedes." The theme of a challenge to the ether is taken up by Vignoli.

<sup>85</sup> A metaphor for 'monument', that is, the obelisk.

sig. [A3 v]		Humile stassi ossequioso, e chino	
O fortunato Marmo		Per adorar, chi regge il bel Quirino. <sup>88</sup>	150
Ambo nati a le palme ed' a i trofei			
Hor già se le tue glorie, o sasso invitto	115	sig. [A4 r]	
Cadder su'l Tebro un tempo		Quei, che son primi a rimirar la luce	
E de' Gothi provaro il fiero sdegno		Del luminoso Auriga <sup>89</sup>	
Ecco il fatal destin ti fa più degno.		Quando l'estiva lampa	
Ben fortunato a pieno		In Oriente accende,	
O del foro Romano <sup>86</sup>	120	E quei, che primi sono	155
Magnifico splendor, fasto primiero		A riveder l'horrida Notte oscura,	
Mole immortal, che dal natio tuo tetto		Quando d'Anfriso <sup>90</sup> il riplendente [sic] arciero <sup>91</sup>	
Da Innocentio il sovrano		Nel sen di Theti <sup>92</sup> le pupille ha spente.	
Fosti a l'honore eletto;		Vengano tutti, e le gran luci intente.	
Sia tuo superbo vanto	125	Volghino a i bei Colossi,	160
Per cui poscia non resti altrui secondo,		Del gran Rio de la Platta [sic],	
Ch' hor se di quell' altera		E del Danubio ardito,	
Illustrata Magione,		Che vedran come può d'autor sovrano	
Onde per arricchir di luce il Mondo		Erger al Cielo i Marmi industrie mano.	
Hebbe chiaro Oriente	130	Questi volto hanno il tergo a i rai del Sole, <sup>93</sup>	165
L'Inclito sol de la Pamfilia Gloria		Quando nel Ciel pennelleggiando indora	
Nel Teatro Agonale alta memoria.		Le belle gote a la vermiglia Aurora.	
Ma chi all'alto stupor non ferma il guardo		Un'onda leggiadretta in terra scorre	
Mirando l'alto scoglio		Dal vago scoglio immenso,	
Che base forma all'elevata Guglia,	135	Che da l'ampie sue vene	170
Ove in sembianza altera		Vergine intatta a tributar sen viene. <sup>94</sup>	
Quattro superbi Fiumi		Qui d'Europa il Destriero,	
Veggionsi d'ogn' intorno,		Qui d'Asia il fier Leone,	
Che con le tumid' onde		Qui d'Africa il Delfino,	
Bagnan festosi le vicine sponde.	140	Qui d'America ancora	175
Primiero un Nil ver dove spunta il Sole.		Belva di squamme armata, <sup>95</sup>	
Rivolto tiene il foribondo aspetto,		Miransi insime [sic] entro de' molli argenti	
Che con un bianco lino		Bagnar l'avide labra;	
Copre l'altera, et incurvata testa,		Onde n'apprenda il Mondo,	
E con sette suoi fonti humidi, e molli	145	Che de le gratie a i fonti	180
Riverisce di Roma i sette Colli. <sup>87</sup>		D'Innocentio sol puole <sup>96</sup>	
Il Gange poi con le dorate arene		Spegner la sete l'universa Mole.	
Al destro lato del superbo Nilo			

<sup>86</sup> By the 17th century, Piazza Navona was referred to as a Forum Romanum, whilst the true Forum Romanum, overgrown and used as farmland, was usually referred to as Campo Vaccino; see PREIMESBERGER 1974, p. 86.

<sup>87</sup> A reference to the seven mouths the Nile had in antiquity, repeatedly referred to in ancient literature; s. Catullus, *Carmen*, XI, 7f.; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 254f.; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, IV, 2, 12; Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI, 800.

<sup>88</sup> The direction ('on the right-hand side') she establishes is from the perspective of the river god, not the viewer. Quirinus was a god to whom a shrine had been erected on the Quirinal Hill. He was believed to have lent his name to this hill of Rome, and in the present context stands in for the hill itself. Vignoli may have referred to him because since the first century BC he was identified with the deified Romulus; see *Paulys*

*Realencyclopädie* 1963; EVANS 1992, pp. 103–108.

<sup>89</sup> Apollo in his chariot.

<sup>90</sup> The Amphyssos is a river in Thessaly. By its banks Apollo fed the herds of Admetos.

<sup>91</sup> Apollo, often shown with the attributes of a bow and arrows.

<sup>92</sup> The sea goddess Thetis stands in for the sea. The union of Apollo and Thetis evoked here is a reference to the sunset in Ovidian terms; see n. 67 above.

<sup>93</sup> FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 78f., n. 232, unconvincingly proposes that in Vignoli's text the River Plate and the Danube are described as looking into the sun.

<sup>94</sup> See n. 65 above.

<sup>95</sup> Armadillo; see FEHRENBACH 2008, p. 117.

<sup>96</sup> Archaic, for puote.

Voi che nel Latio, o Peregrini erranti  
 Giungete a riverir le sacre Porte:  
 Sian pur mentre tornate al patrio nido 185  
 Vostre lingue veraci,  
 Chiare trombe loquaci  
 Per celebrare ogn' hora,

sig. [A4 v]  
 La Virtù, la Pietà, ch' in petto asconde  
 Il gran Pastor de le Latine sponde. 190

Voi che del Laterano  
 Vagheggiaste tal' hora  
 Il gran Tempio Sovrano,  
 Che d'Innocentio al riverito impero  
 Reso in breve si mira 195  
 Di pietà di stupori  
 Spettacolo pomposo a mille cuori.  
 O del Tarpeo famoso<sup>97</sup>  
 Voi ch'ammirate intenti  
 L'Edificio superbo 200  
 Se per suo cenno al Sommo  
 Giunta del Vatican la meraviglia  
 Stupide inarca a vostri rai le ciglia  
 Spiegate pur con cento bocche, e cento  
 In ogni parte in ogni clima estrano 205  
 D'Innocentio il sovrano  
 Gran senno, alto valore, Opre sublimi,  
 Onde s'ammiri al fine  
 Sotto ogni impero o più remoto lido  
 D'alma si grande il glorioso grido, 210  
 E sia per noi fatto Teatro altero  
 Di tua gloria immortale il mondo intero.

O te felice, o Roma  
 O te beata a pieno  
 Mentre chiudi nel seno 215  
 Quel innocenza altera  
 Ch'al Cielo al mondo, et a gl'abissi impera,  
 Colma il petto di speme  
 O gran Madre d'Heroi,  
 E al ombra de gl'olivi alma verace, 220  
 Spera pur lieta Eternità di Pace.

Il Fine.

### Vignoli's *La Maraviglia*

Vignoli's second poem devoted to an artwork, *La Maraviglia. Ode*, appeared in 1656, in a collection of poems on Gian Domenico Cerrini's<sup>98</sup> (1609–1681) dome in Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome (figs. 14–17), depicting the ravishment of St Paul to the Third Heaven, probably painted in 1655. The church of Santa Maria della Vittoria was originally dedicated to San Paolo rapito al terzo cielo. This name, as rare for the dedication of a church as it is a subject for paintings, is based on St Paul's account of his ecstasy in 2 Corinthians 12.2–4:

“I know a Christian man who fourteen years ago (whether in the body or out of the body, I do not know – God knows) was caught up as far as the third heaven. And I know that this same man (whether in the body or apart from the body, I do not know – God knows) was caught up into paradise, and heard words so secret that human lips may not repeat them”.

However, when, in 1622 an image of the Virgin adoring the Christ Child, believed to have been the cause of the Catholic victory in the Battle at the White Mountain near Prague in 1620, was transferred to the high altar of the church, its dedication was changed to the present one. The subject of St Paul's ravishment was first portrayed in an altarpiece of 1617 by Gerhard van Honthorst; its removal due to the arrival of the miraculous image was remedied several decades later by the portrayal of this subject in the dome.<sup>99</sup> The book celebrating this work, entitled *Poesie sopra il Ratto di San Paolo nella cupola della Madonna della Vittoria. Pittura del signor Gio. Domenico Cerrini Perugino* and published by Francesco Moneta, may have been occasioned by the not altogether positive critical reception of the fresco. The frontispiece depicts *Fame conquering Envy* (fig. 18) and several of the poems contained in it likewise address the subject of envy.<sup>100</sup>

Vignoli's poem is worthy of attention for a variety of reasons. In the first instance, she sheds light on seventeenth-century responses to illusionistic ceiling painting, oscillating between admiration of such frescoes as artworks, and a more or less qualified acceptance of the illusion as reality. In the second, the inclusion of her poem gives rise to several questions. For instance, what can be learned about Vignoli's cultural milieu from the selection of authors represented in

<sup>97</sup> The Tarpeian Rock as *pars pro toto* for the Capitoline Hill.

<sup>98</sup> For Cerrini's life see PASCOLI 1992, pp. 119–125 (this section edited by F. F. Mancini); RAU/RASTRELLI 1769–1776; BOREA 1978; MANCINI 1980; ANSELMINI 1996; above all and most recently *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005. On Cerrini's dome painting and its uncommon subject

matter see FRANGENBERG 2003; MARABOTTINI 2005, pp. 71–74; CARLONI 2005, all with previous literature.

<sup>99</sup> VIGNOLI 1656, pp. 46–54. On this collection of poems see FRANGENBERG 2003; MANNA 2005.

<sup>100</sup> See FRANGENBERG 2003, pp. 203–205; MANNA 2005, p. 98.

Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687) and Some of Her Contemporaries



14 Gian Domenico Cerrini, *The Ravishment of St Paul to the Third Heaven*, ca. 1655. Rome, Santa Maria della Vittoria (photo author)



15 *The Ravishment of St Paul to the Third Heaven*, detail (photo author)



16 *The Ravishment of St Paul to the Third Heaven*, detail (photo author)



17 *The Ravishment of St Paul to the Third Heaven*, detail (photo author)

the volume, and the extent to which she interacted with her literary environment? How far was she integrated into or separate from the loosely knit, variable, but in this case entirely male community of writers or amateur writers? And finally, why and by whom was Vignoli invited to contribute to this publication?

The only professional writer represented in the *Poesie* is Francesco Sbarra (1611–1668). Born in Lucca, from 1636 he wrote poetry to be set to music; he was court poet in Innsbruck from 1659, producing a large number of works for the stage, and he concluded his life at the Court of Vienna.<sup>101</sup>

Several of the authors were involved in teaching. Henry van Kiefel (1583–1656), born in Antwerp, became blind in 1610 but was nonetheless employed as a professor of rhetoric in Rome. Almost all of his works were published between 1604 and 1635, and the text in the *Poesie* appears to be his last work, in which his pen celebrates a fresco that the author was unable to see.<sup>102</sup>

Three further lecturers, Michele Stanchi, Giovanni Lotti and Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi, are among a group of authors who may be understood as forming the core of

the literary scene represented in this publication. Michele Stanchi (?–1668), a Roman by birth, achieved doctorates in law and medicine. He produced a number of works for the stage that enjoyed the esteem of his contemporaries.<sup>103</sup> Giovanni Lotti (?–1688) is of particular interest since among his large poetic output we find three poems on Gian Lorenzo Bernini. After spending thirty-five years in the service of Cardinal Carlo Barberini, he entered the employment of Lorenzo Colonna, Viceroy and Gran Contestabile of Naples, to educate his sons; for several years he taught Logic at the Sapienza in Rome.<sup>104</sup> An author whose career instead unfolded predominantly outside Rome is Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi (1625–1676), professor of rhetoric and philosophy in Udine and later Padua.<sup>105</sup>

Contacts between members of this group of contributors were facilitated or occasioned by their membership in the same academies, places of privileged intellectual exchange. Already in 1637 Francesco Benetti,<sup>106</sup> Bernardo Evangelisti,<sup>107</sup> and Girolamo Garopoli (c. 1605–1678)<sup>108</sup> were members of the Accademia dei Fantastici.<sup>109</sup> By 1673, Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi, Giovanni Lotti, Bernardo

<sup>101</sup> See HADAMOWSKY 1955, pp. 72–75, 78; WALKER 1980; BLETSCACHER 1985, pp. 15f., 98–125; FRANCHI 1988, pp. 375–378, 404; for his very numerous works see also SARTORI 1990–1994, p. 320.

<sup>102</sup> See FRANGENBERG 2003, p. 206f.; since MANNA (MANNA 2005, p. 100) gives only the approximations of titles as found in ALLACCI 1633, p. 128f., I list the works I have traced: KIEFEL 1604; KIEFEL 1607; KIEFEL 1615; KIEFEL 1621; KIEFEL 1625; KIEFEL 1628; KIEFEL 1635; KIEFEL 1849; see also FRANCHI 1988, p. 141.

<sup>103</sup> FRANCHI 1988, pp. 273, 374f., 403–406, 409f., 592, 919; MANNA 2005, p. 103. See the dedication by LUPARDI 1668, p. 3: “L’Opere Sceniche del Sig. Michele Stanchi per l’acutezza dell’inventionne, per la politia del dire, e per la varietà degl’accidenti, dal commun giudizio de Letterati [...] si sono già acquistata l’immortalità”; and the dedication by Francesco Leone in Michele Stanchi, *Il S. Gimnesio opera scenica postuma*, LEONE 1687, sig. A 2r: “il cui nome sostenuto da tante altre sue Opere ammirate ne i Teatri dal Mondo et particolarmente da Roma, ove furono alcune rappresentate nella sua medesima Casa, onorata non solo dalla più parte de Principi e Cardinali, mà ancora dalla Real presenza della Regina di Svetia [...]” According to STANCHI 1662, sigs Ar–A 2v, the work was first performed in Stanchi’s house during the carnival of 1653. An early work was the fourth intermezzo on the subject of ‘il Limbo’ referred to in GALATINO 1647, see FRANCHI 1988, p. 273.

<sup>104</sup> On Lotti’s career, and one of his poems on Bernini, see FRANGENBERG 2002. For a second poem see MANNA 2005, p. 105, n. 36. The last is found in LOTTI 1688, pt. 1, p. 8: “Alle glorie del Signor Cavalier Bernino Per la Cattedra di S. Pietro illustrata da lui di più sublime sito, et ornamento, e per l’ammirabil Teatro di Colonne nella Piazza del gran Tempio Vaticano.

Di Pier la Mole, che stancato havea / Mille Archimedi, e infinità di Bronti, / Esausto in strugger bronzi, e tragger Monti, / Di tanti Regnator, l’Arche, e l’Idea. / Egra ne’suoi gran fasti, ancor volea / Trono ele-

vato ad arrestar le fronti, / E perche ‘l basso foro equal sormonti, / Di Salomone un Portico chiedea. / Le brame tu del Vatican secondi, / E mentre il Soglio augusto in alto esponi, / Di Pietro allor la Maestà più fondi. / Ma quando poi cerchio immortal componi, / E di Colonne ampio confin circondi, / Di tant’Anni, e sudor l’opra incoroni.” Lotti was the author of numerous libretti, most of which remained in manuscript; see FRANCHI 1988, pp. 256, 601–604; SPECK 2003, pp. 268–277 and ad indicem; PLANK 1985. For a further sonnet see VITTORI 1644, sig. †3r; FRANCHI 1988, p. 255f. For his poems presented in academies see *Fasti dell’Accademia* 1673, pp. 6, 15, 79; *Poesie de’ signori* 1678, pp. 211f., 369–370; *Poesie de’ signori* 1684, pp. 164, 349. On poems on art by Accademici Intrecciati see MONTANARI 1998, pp. 157–162.

<sup>105</sup> See MANNA 2005, p. 101. Publications by Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi not listed there: NEGRONI CORSI 1668; NEGRONI CORSI 1674; NEGRONI CORSI 1675a NEGRONI CORSI 1675b. For further works see OLDONI 1680, p. 327f. For poems see *Fasti dell’Accademia* 1673, pp. 43, 46, 48–50.

<sup>106</sup> The only further works known to me are in *Poesie de’ signori* 1637, pp. 65–99 (pagination discontinuous).

<sup>107</sup> Evangelisti had studied law prior to 1644; see *Fasti legales* 1692, p. 49f. He was greatly admired by Mandosio, MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 1, p. 107. His works are “Di[s]corso per la Pentecoste ... detto il giovedì 19. Maggio 1644”, in *Discorsi sacri* 1673, pp. 207–209; *Poesie de’ signori* 1637, p. 33; *Fasti dell’Accademia* 1673, pp. 8, 10f., 13, 16f., 23, 25f., 28, 34, 86.

<sup>108</sup> Garopoli was under the protection of Cardinal Rinaldo d’Este, the subject of Vignoli’s *Il Vaticinio della Sibilla Tiburtina* of 1653; see SPERA 1999; see *ibid.* for his literary output, culminating in two ‘heroic poems’ that earned the author wide-spread renown; see also; FRANCHI 1988, p. 390. For shorter poems *Poesie de’ signori* 1637, p. 174; *Fasti dell’Accademia* 1673, pp. 56f., 59f., 63; *Poesie de’ signori* 1684, p. 226.

<sup>109</sup> See *Poesie de’ signori* 1637, pp. 33, 65–99, 174.

Evangelisti, Giovanni Lorenzo de Gubernatis,<sup>110</sup> Giovanni Battista Passeri,<sup>111</sup> Girolamo Garopoli, Rutilio Lepidi and Ulisse Rossi<sup>112</sup> had read their works at the Accademia degli Intrecciati,<sup>113</sup> and by 1678, and possibly earlier,<sup>114</sup> Giovanni Battista Passeri, Giovanni Lotti, Giovanni Pietro Monesio,<sup>115</sup> Giovanni Simone Ruggieri,<sup>116</sup> and Girolamo Garopoli were members of the Accademia degli Infecondi.<sup>117</sup>

These intellectuals' membership at the academies encouraged literary exchanges and collaborations. In 1643 Giuseppe Livaldini<sup>118</sup> contributed a poem in praise of the author to a book written by Giovanni Simone Ruggieri.<sup>119</sup> In 1651 Ruggieri furthermore included a poem by Livaldini explaining the frontispiece of his *Diario* in the latter book, a particularly interesting case since the interpretation of an image is at stake. In the frontispiece (fig. 19), an angel pulls away a curtain, thus revealing the Porta Santa, opened for the Jubilee Year 1650, through which parts of the crossing of St Peter's with Bernini's *Baldacchino* can be glimpsed, whilst a pilgrim, invited forward by a figure with the hairshirt and cross staff of St John, sinks to his knees. Livaldini interprets the angel as Religion, and the figure with the attributes of St John as Penitence. The figure of the pilgrim is read as the visualization of one of the numerous souls that came to Rome during the Jubilee Year of 1650 to revere 'the sacred gates'. In the engraving, the 'sacred refuge', where Divine grace is being dispensed, takes the form of the basilica of

St Peter's, but is interpreted by Livaldini as Heaven itself. Both the image and the poem suggest in their individual ways that, given the sacredness of the location, the pilgrim's place is by the entrance; his access to this heaven must remain a purely visual one, but even in his liminal position his soul is regaled by the promise of Divine mercy.<sup>120</sup>

In his *Diario* Ruggieri also refers to Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi<sup>121</sup> as one of the foremost Accademici Humoristi and an oration of his in Sant'Eustachio in Rome and to Giovanni Lotti as a member of the Accademia La Veglia;<sup>122</sup> moreover he presents two anagrams by Carlo Mazzei (1621–1695).<sup>123</sup> Ruggieri also wrote the synopses and a stanza in praise of the author for Girolamo Garopoli's *Il Carlo Magno* of 1655,<sup>124</sup> and sonnets in praise of the author by Ruggieri also appear in Michele Stanchi's *L'amore tra nemici*,<sup>125</sup> *La Rosaura*,<sup>126</sup> *I personaggi finti*,<sup>127</sup> and *La Madalena*.<sup>128</sup> Livaldini's *La Cetra* of 1688 contains not only the poem on Ruggieri's frontispiece, but also a poem on the painter Giovanni Battista Passeri.<sup>129</sup> Giovanni Pietro Monesio included in his *Poesie per musica* poems in his honour by Passeri and Lotti.<sup>130</sup> Carlo Mazzei published a number of poems by his fellow Piarist Francesco Serra (i.e. Francesco [Baldi] ab Annunciazione, ? – after 1672)<sup>131</sup> in his *De arte epigrammatica* of 1650,<sup>132</sup> and wrote a section on Lotti, including two poems using anagrams, in his *Liber anagrammaton* of 1674.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>110</sup> De Gubernatis studied law with Carpano from 1653; *Fasti legales* 1692, p. 20. For another work see *Fasti dell'Accademia* 1673, p. 50.

<sup>111</sup> On Passeri see *Künstlerbiographien* 1934; TURNER 1973; GRAF 1996, with further literature. Apart from the numerous titles listed in MANNA 2005, p. 101f., with the exception of the *Vite* almost all unpublished, see also *Il Silenzio discorso* 1670, and *La Fantasia discorso* 1673; *Fasti dell'Accademia* 1673, pp. 45 (a poem on Pietro da Cortona's dome in the Chiesa Nuova, like all other poems referred to in this volume not transcribed), 50, 79, 81, 92, 95; *Poesie de' signori* 1678, p. 166.

<sup>112</sup> For further works by Lepidi and Rossi see *Fasti dell'Accademia* 1673, pp. 46, 48f., 54.

<sup>113</sup> *Fasti dell'Accademia* 1673, pp. 6, 8, 10f., 13, 15–17, 23, 25f., 28, 34, 43, 45f., 48f., 50, 54, 56f., 59f., 63, 79, 81, 86, 92, 95.

<sup>114</sup> The Accademia degli Infecondi was constituted in 1650; see MAYLENDER 1926–1930, p. 254.

<sup>115</sup> Monesio (?–1684), was given a chain with a gold medal by Emperor Leopold and received an annual stipend from Empress Leonora; see MONESIO 1674, vol. 1, pp. 1, 8, and he was active as secretary of Cardinal Francesco Maidalchini (MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, p. 60). He also wrote works for the stage: MONESIO 1678; MONESIO 1680; MONESIO 1681; *Il figlio prodigo* n.d.; see SARTORI 1990–1994, Index vol. 1, p. 295; BLETSCHACHER 1985, pp. 14, 42–69; FRANCHI 1988, pp. 469–474, 520, 531f., 538f. See also WEILEN 1901, p. 9f. and SPECK 2003, pp. 420, 422, 459. For shorter poems see *Poesie de' signori* 1678, pp. 215–219; *Poesie de' signori* 1684, p. 167.

<sup>116</sup> On Ruggieri see MARRACCI 1648, vol. 2, p. 473f.; NEGRI 1722, p. 255; FRANCHI 1988, pp. 356, 361, 374, 387f., 404, 421, 908; MANNA 2005, p. 102f. Among Ruggieri's works are RUGGIERI 1642; RUGGIERI 1643;

RUGGIERI 1644 (includes the author's *La fuga vittoriosa*); RUGGIERI 1651; RUGGIERI 1665. See also *Poesie de' signori* 1678, pp. 222f..

<sup>117</sup> See *Poesie de' signori* 1678, pp. 166f., 211f., 215–219, 222f., 226, 369f. Also noted in MANNA 2005, p. 95f. Several further authors represented in this volume address matters relating to visual art; among these one finds Abbate Claudio Scoppa de gl'Ursini, on Bernini's *Tomb of Urban VIII* in St Peter's, Vatican (p. 73); Felice Antonio Secreto, on the Tomb of Clement IX in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, by 'Domenico Guido, Ercole Ferreri, e Cosimo Fancella' (Domenico Guidi, Ercole Ferrata, Cosimo Fancelli) (pp. 88–94); Giovanni Battista Levanti, on Domenico Guidi's Tomb of Cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali in S. Agostino, Rome (p. 163); Giovanni Filippo Alfonsi, on Domenico Guidi's *Historia [Fame Reviving the History of Louis XIV]*, Versailles (p. 185); Giuseppe Gabbioli, on Domenico Guidi (p. 235); Pietro Quaranta, on perspective effects caused by air and water (p. 283); Giuseppe Maria Soares, on Bernini's *Louis IV*, probably the bust in Versailles rather than the equestrian image there (p. 378).

<sup>118</sup> On Livaldini see LIVALDINI 1688, n.p., where he calls himself 'Accademico'; SPECK 2003, p. 279, suggests that his Academy was that of the Sterili (which was in existence from c. 1644 – c. 1655). Since the author still calls himself an academician in 1688, he must have belonged to at least one other academy as well. See also MANDOSIO 1682–1692, vol. 2, p. 304f.; FRANCHI 1988, pp. 605–607; SPECK 2003, pp. 279–290 and *ad incidem*. He was active as a lawyer and affirms that his poetry and works for the stage were written during his youth; LIVALDINI 1688, dedication, n.p.; SPECK 2003, p. 281 dates his writings between "at the latest 1644 and at least 1653"; Livaldini's contribution to the *Poesie* is thus a late work, followed principally by the introduction to the





18 *Fame conquering Envy*, Frontispiece, from *Poesie sopra il Ratto di san Paolo nella cupola della Madonna della Vittoria*. Pittura del signor Gio. Domenico Cerrini Perugino, Rome 1656 (photo Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome)



19 Frontispiece, from RUGGIERI 1651 (photo Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome)

edition of his own poems of 1688 (as above). A further work is LIVALDINI 1644.

<sup>119</sup> RUGGIERI 1643, p. 5: "Del Signor Gioseppe Livaldini in lode dell'Autore. Madrigale."

<sup>120</sup> RUGGIERI 1651, n.p. [326], here quoted after LIVALDINI 1688, p. 35: "In lode del Signor Gio. Simone Ruggieri Per il Diario dell'Anno Santo 1650. S'esplica il Frontespicio del suo Libro.

Mentre n'apre del Ciel l'alte cortine / Religione amica. Alma contrita / Corre la dove Penitenza addita / Piover il Sommo Dio gratie Divine. / Sparge divote preci; humide, e chine / Porta le luci, e di dolor vestita / Adora i Sacri Asili, a l'altre unita, / E perdono à suoi falli impetra al fine. / Quante ne trasse il lor desio giocondo / Di Roma à riverir le Sacre Porte / Spiega Dotto Ruggier con stil facondo. / Ciascun lode gli dia, mentr' hebbe in sorte / Far che la fede, e la Pietade al mondo / Splendano, eterne a debellar la morte." On the frontispiece see SAN JUAN 2001, p. 82f.

<sup>121</sup> RUGGIERI 1651, p. 242.

<sup>122</sup> RUGGIERI 1651, p. 246.

<sup>123</sup> RUGGIERI 1651, pp. 192, 309; on the Piarist Carlo Mazzei (Carolus a Sancto Antonio Patavino, 1621–1695) and his literary output see GARRIDO 1935a, p. 112–119, 195–201; PICANYOL 1937, pp. 5–24; PICANYOL 1952, p. 130f; AUSENDA 1983b, p. 366f. The areas of Mazzei's expertise were ancient Latin and the art of writing epigrams

and anagrams. For a poem on Alessandro Algardi's *Pope Leo and Attila* in St Peter's see MAZZEI 1674b, p. 204f.

<sup>124</sup> GAROPOLI 1655, n.p. and passim.

<sup>125</sup> STANCHI 1662, sig. A 4r.

<sup>126</sup> STANCHI 1664a, p. 6.

<sup>127</sup> STANCHI 1664b, sig. A 4r.

<sup>128</sup> STANCHI 1667, sig. A 3r; on two further sonnets in the works of other writers see FRANCHI 1988, p. 387f.

<sup>129</sup> LIVALDINI 1688, pp. 35, 87: "Ad D. Io. Baptistam Passarum Poetam, et Pictorem Tetrasticon.

Passare, dum splendes gemina Virtute perennis / Nullum preferri, qui tibi possit habes, / Cernat opus quicumque putat me Vana referre / Pingere Apelleum est Pangere Apollineum."

<sup>130</sup> MONESIO 1674, vol. I, n.p.

<sup>131</sup> Francesco Serra, i.e. Francesco [Baldi] ab Annunciatione, received the habit in 1617, but became a secular priest in 1651 and was later not allowed back into the Piarist Order. His main work, SERRA 1654 and later editions, was published under the pseudonym Francisco Serra. Further works are SERRA 1647; SERRA 1648; SERRA 1649; see GARRIDO 1935b; AUSENDA 1983a, p. 71. MANNA 2005, p. 103, discusses another person of the same name.

<sup>132</sup> MAZZEI 1650, pp. 14, 82, 121f., 126, 150.

<sup>133</sup> MAZZEI 1674a, p. 113.

For some of the writers no such personal interrelations can be established. Guido Ubaldo Abbatini (1600/5–1656), the second painter represented in the *Poesie*, may have wished to contribute to this collection because he had recently decorated the ceiling in the Cornaro Chapel in the same church; only two further poems, a sonnet and a madrigal, are known by him.<sup>134</sup> Several of the other contributors likewise have very small literary oeuvres, such as Giovanni Jacopo Baccherio,<sup>135</sup> Andrea Domenico Moneta,<sup>136</sup> and another lawyer, Giovanni Paolo Quintili (1632–1705), who apart from his contribution to the *Poesie* appears to have published only on legal matters.<sup>137</sup> Three further clerics represented in the *Poesie* wrote predominantly on religious subject matter, Francesco Maria Caffori (Marinarius), Bishop of Castro since 1681,<sup>138</sup> Giovanni Battista Capalli, Deacon at Arezzo Cathedral and Founder of the Accademia dei Forzati which joined with the Arcadia in 1692,<sup>139</sup> and the Benedictine Abbot Pietro Clavarino.<sup>140</sup> Regarding several authors represented in the *Poesie* nothing appears to be known.<sup>141</sup> A very intriguing case is that of Pietro Giacomo Favilla, who left behind an encomiastic poem<sup>142</sup> and a description of Siena in verse, both with frontispieces based on designs by Salvator Rosa (figs. 20, 21);<sup>143</sup> the latter contains a detailed description of Siena Cathedral, displaying admiration for its Gothic architecture and an interest in its furnishings. These range from the *opus sectile* floor to the sculptural decoration of the building, comprising a cycle of apostles that was still in the planning stages.<sup>144</sup>

This survey of the literary output of the contributors sheds light on the different degrees of literary ambition and diverse uses of writing by intellectuals who engaged in the

composition of poetry. Conclusions suggested by the *Poesie* may well be applicable to other collections of poems, or to the innumerable single poems that have survived in all manner of contexts, both in manuscript and in print. For some contributors to the volume, writing was so marginal an affair that they left no literary trace outside the *Poesie*; for others, it was principally a delectation of their youthful years. Several authors wrote predominantly within the area of their professional specialization, such as religion, language or law. For some, their academic membership seems to have formed the principal outlet of their literary or poetic pursuits. A number of contributors left a substantial amount of work in manuscript, possibly due to an unwillingness to work towards its publication, or else after failed attempts to publish it. Most contributors of the *Poesie*, as we have shown, were not writers by profession, but the cases of Garopoli and Monesio demonstrate that authors who did not use writing as their only source of income could achieve considerable, even international, recognition. In addition to poetry, often encomiastic in nature, the literary genres that enjoyed particular popularity among many of the contributors were libretti and other works for the stage. Several authors, that is, Favilla, Livaldini, Lotti, Mazzei and Passeri, wrote verses on art beyond their contributions to the *Poesie*.

Several further observations can be made. For some contributors, their work in the *Poesie* appears to mark the end of their writing for publication. For neither Kiefel nor Serra, both authors of ambitious scholarly and encomiastic works, publications after 1656 are known at present, and the same holds for the less productive writers Baccherio, Benetti, Favilla and Moneta. Several authors, e.g. Caffori, Capalli,

<sup>134</sup> On Abbatini's career see SUTHERLAND HARRIS 1996; on his poems see FRANCHI 1988, pp. 197f., 225; MANNA 2005, p. 99.

<sup>135</sup> BACCHERIO 1652.

<sup>136</sup> See MANNA 2005, p. 101. The text mentioned here can still be traced: MONETA 1655. Given that the author's name does not fully match that of the writer of the poem, their identity is not certain. The catalogues in the Casanatense and Vallicelliana Libraries in Rome declare G. Alitino to be a pseudonym of Domenico Moneta.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. *Romana* 1695. On several works that remained in manuscript, including libretti, see CRESCIMBENI 1720–1721, vol. 2, pp. 256–258.

<sup>138</sup> I am aware of three of his works: CAFFORI 1674; CAFFORI 1675; CAFFORI 1681.

<sup>139</sup> See CRESCIMBENI 1720–1721, vol. 2, pp. 256–258; see MANNA 2005, p. 99f., and CAPALLI 1680; CAPALLI 1682; CAPALLI 1689.

<sup>140</sup> See MANNA 2005, p. 100, and CLAVARINO 1624; CLAVARINO 1643.

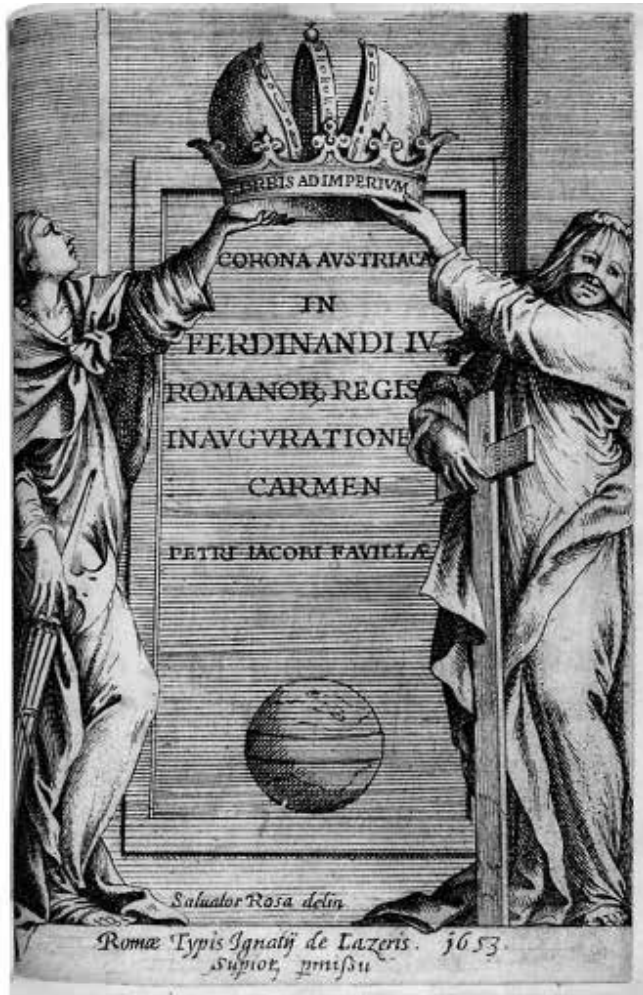
<sup>141</sup> Alessandro Bucci, Giacinto Fieraboschi, Giuseppe Francesco Pastori, Desiderius Chellinus, and Nicolaus Mirrheus, the last two perhaps evading identification because we are not given their Italian names. The name of the author of one poem was not known even to the publisher; see VIGNOLI 1656, p. 45: "D'Incerto".

<sup>142</sup> FAVILLA 1653. The manuscript index in Vol. Misc. 313/25 in the Bib-

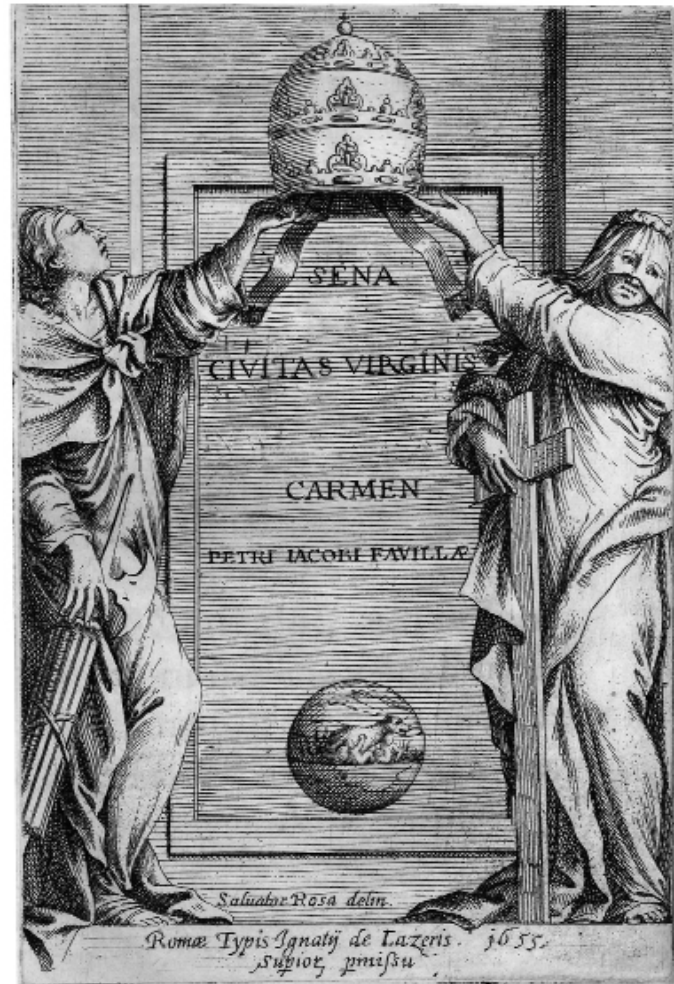
lioteca Casanatense, Rome, "Carmina Panegirica diversa Patrum Soc. Iesù" suggests that Favilla was a member of the Jesuit Order.

<sup>143</sup> FAVILLA 1655. The frontispiece re-uses the plate of 1653, replacing the crown with a Papal tiara and changing title and date. A section of the *Corona Austriaca* suggests that the two personifications on the frontispiece should be interpreted as (earthly) law and (heavenly) faith: "[...] de more fides iuratur, et alta / Sydera testantur Proceres, ni iure legatur / Optimus, ac tantam dignus gestare coronam. / Sacramenta opus assequitur: nam protinus omnes / Quem Caelum, Tellusque, unà quem fata vocabant, / Romulidum Regem te, Ferdinande, coronant"; FAVILLA 1653, p. 20.

<sup>144</sup> FAVILLA 1655, pp. 17–19; see Appendix 1. The reference to the marble apostles that are still to be put into place indicates that this group of sculptures, today in the Brompton Oratory in London (see BUTZEK 1991), was planned prior to 1655; a similar cycle was commenced for Orvieto Cathedral; cf. ANGELINI 1998, p. 181. The poem begins with a description of the Siene territory and the city itself, praise of its citizens, and comments on their devotion to the Virgin. This section culminates in the description of the Cathedral, filling one and a half of the poem's thirteen pages. The text continues with a reference to Siene popes, dwelling at length on Alexander VII and ending with



20 After Salvator Rosa, Frontispiece, from FAVILLA 1653 (photo Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome)



21 After Salvator Rosa, Frontispiece, from FAVILLA 1655 (photo Biblioteca dei Lincei, Rome)

de Gubernatis, Lepidi, Monesio, Negroni Corsi, Passeri, Quintili, and Rossi, were at the very beginning of literary careers of varying ambition; all of their other publications postdate 1656.

Several writers can be seen to form the core group of contributors to the volume; by the mid-1650s they were well established as writers or academicians, and continued to develop these activities over the following decades.<sup>145</sup> Garopoli, Livaldini (who did not write much after 1656), Lotti, Mazzei, and Ruggieri were involved in the collaborations and mutual acknowledgements between academicians predating the book of 1656, later establishing similar ex-

changes with other writers such as Monesio, Passeri and Stanchi. It seems possible that members of this group of writers assisted the publisher Moneta in conceptualizing the volume celebrating Cerrini's dome and in suggesting further contributors.

Vignoli's output corresponds in several respects to the patterns established here. Much of her literary production consists in encomiastic poetry and works for the stage, and much of it remained unpublished. All her works were produced during her youth, and if she ever maintained herself through her writing, she certainly did not do so for longer than eight years. By 1652 her acclaim had spread to Paris,

the promise that the city will be forever secure under the protection of the Virgin.

<sup>145</sup> Clavarino and Sbarra were not part of this group presumably because

they were not resident in Rome. There is no indication as to why Stanchi, active as writer since at least 1647 (see STANCHI 1662), did not collaborate with this group prior to 1656.

as the letter written by Lodovico Giacomo di San Carlo of that year reveals. In contrast to most of her fellow contributors, however, her poems on art are by far the most ambitious works within her published literary output.

Vignoli may have been known to some of the contributors after 1651, two of whom likewise composed poems on Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers*,<sup>146</sup> but no contacts between Vignoli and the other writers represented in the volume are documented prior to 1656. It further emerges from a letter Carlo Mazzei wrote to Vignoli in 1656 that she was not a member of any of the academies, and that Mazzei himself had only very recently become acquainted with her writings.<sup>147</sup> Her collaboration in this project probably accounts for Mazzei's interest in her earlier writings and for the poem Livaldini dedicated to her and her sister in 1658.<sup>148</sup>

Mazzei wrote to Vignoli after she had sent him some of her publications – he specifically mentions *L'Obelisco* and *Roma trionfante* –, perhaps via her brother Francesco who attended the Scuole Pie; Mazzei certainly intended to use her brother to pass on his reply to her. His assessment of her poems is extremely positive; he singles out their elegance, clarity, erudition and finesse, qualities even more noteworthy given her young age. Mazzei maintains that *L'Obelisco* was written when Vignoli was only sixteen, apparently an incorrect assumption, given that the early sources consistently attest to a birthdate of 1632. In any event, Mazzei may well be correct in stating that in the light of her young age this poem elicited widespread admiration, and there is likewise no reason to doubt his assertion that the most prestigious academies would gladly have accepted Vignoli among

their members. That Vignoli was not a member of any learned association was perhaps by her own choice, but Mazzei's letter insinuates that her limitations may go some way towards explaining this fact. Immediately following his comment on the issue of academy membership, Mazzei exclaims: "If only you devoted yourself to Latin poetry as well!" Although he accepts similar shortcomings for himself, since he writes only in Latin, he dwells on Vignoli's limitations forcefully, devoting approximately half of his letter to two writers, one of whom is female and both of whom were linguistically more versatile. Nonetheless he concludes his letter with a reference to an anagram with epigram that he had composed in Vignoli's honour after reading her works. These texts are not preserved with the copy of the original letter, but they were included by Mazzei himself in two of his publications, both of which appeared in 1674.<sup>149</sup>

In light of what appears to have been some degree of intellectual isolation from the period of her education, at least in part as an autodidact, into her early adult life, it seems likely that Vignoli was invited to contribute to the volume on Cerrini's dome by Francesco Moneta, who had regularly published her poems during the previous five years.

In *La Maraviglia*. *Ode* Vignoli constructs a subtle interplay of diverse voices. Her authorial voice opens the poem with the *paragone* between ancient art and Cerrini's modern dome fresco, one of the most widely deployed literary strategies throughout the *Poesie*.<sup>150</sup> Cerrini outdoes Apelles, and whilst the works of Parrhasius were concerned with the world, Cerrini's brush offers up the heavens for the venera-

<sup>146</sup> LIVILDINI 1688, pp. 58–65. Since this poem does not appear to have been considered in the literature on Bernini's fountain, it will be quoted in full in Appendix 2. For Mazzei see MAZZEI 1674b.

<sup>147</sup> PICANYOL 1937, p. 132f.: "Mariae Portiae Vignolae, Romanae Poëtriae praestantissimae.

Francisco Fratres tuo, in disciplinam mihi a Patre tradito, est sane, doctissima Portia, cur admodum gaudeam: bellissime enim se se dat occasio, cum mihi praesto sit, qui meas ad te litteras perferat, meam de tua virtute existimationem patefaciendi; quae quidem admirabilis est, praesertim in hetrusca poësi, in quam potissimum incumbis, tibi quae iam peperit immortalitatem: quis enim peritura putat unquam, quae (ut alia praetermittam) de Obelisco in Agonalem plateam iussu Innocentii X translato, ac de laudibus Alexandri VII in lucem edidisti? Sunt enim perquam elegantia, dilucida, erudita, plenaque suavitatis. Felix hoc saeculum, si tuae vitae anni plures accesserint! Quam egregia, quam alta, quam mira erunt, quae tuo ex ingenio promanabunt, si quae de Obelisco Pamphilio scripsisti aetate tenerrima, tam bene scripsisti, ut admirata sit Roma universa; nam tunc annum sextum dumtaxat ac decimum agebas. Felix, inquam, hoc saeculum, quod nobilissimis ingenii tui foetibus perfruetur: imo cuncta ventura temora fortunata, ad quae tua pulcherrima monumenta devenient. Iure quidem Principes te Poëtae invisunt maximeque dilaudant, primariaeque Academiae ad suum eruditissimum coetum aggregari percipiunt. Utinam ad latina

quoque carmina operam conferres. Sed fortasse genium repugnat, ut ego, ad hetruscos versus faciendos, quamvis ipsi placeant, nihil prorsus sum idoneus." Mazzei proceeds to give examples of writers who did excel in both Italian and Latin verse, first Jacopo Sannazzaro, but then dwelling at length on Marta Marchina (1600–1646), whose as yet unpublished works Mazzei greatly admired and in whose honour he had composed an anagram with epigram (on Marchina see CANONICI FACHINI 1824, p. 156: "Alcune Rime, scritte con molta energia, restano di lei."). Returning to Vignoli, Mazzei (ibid.) continues: "Quod quoque praestiti in honorem tuum perlectis tuis libris, quos ad me diebus proxime superioribus misisti. Accipe igitur cum his litteris anagramma, et epigramma, ex quibus te a me plurimi fieri, observarique vehementer, intelligas, volo. Vale. Romae, ex aedibus S. Pantaleonis. Postrid. Non. Apr. 1656"; see ibid., p. 139f., for a letter to Lotti of 1663.

<sup>148</sup> See n. 13 above.

<sup>149</sup> This anagram, later quoted by Mandosio (see MANDOSIO 1682–1692), was published in Mazzei (MAZZEI 1674b), p. 197:

"In laudem Mariae Portiae Vignolae Romanae hetruscis carminibus admirabilis, Anagramma cum Epigrammate.

MARIA PORTIA. Anagramma. a, in e.

MIRA POETRIA.

In anagramma.

Cum sacra, tùm Coelo quae se sublimia tollunt, / Prosequitur miris

tion of the viewers. Vignoli's voice then invites pilgrims to make their way to the church that Victory constructed for the Virgin Mary, the giver of victory, to behold a work, *St Paul Ravished to Heaven*, from Cerrini's 'fateful brush'.

The following quatrain verbalizes a complex experience that oscillates between vision and hearing.<sup>151</sup> The author sees angels that produce celestial harmonies and sing the praises of the name of St Paul to the sound of golden cithers. Such perception of acoustic phenomena by means of vision is ended by something the author believes she hears: the happy shout of Wonder, who will be the speaker for almost the entire remainder of the poem, with the exception of three lines in which Vignoli reconfirms that it is Wonder who is being heard (v. 31).

As Wonder begins to speak, addressing the painter directly, she gives expression to her essence, listing observations that defy easy comprehension or which are indeed paradoxical. Can art achieve so much? Has St Paul not died? How can he be brought back to life by painting, and how can the painter's shading give him back his human life?<sup>152</sup> And even more, what art is it that allows the painter to bestow eternal life on someone thus revived?<sup>153</sup> Wonder makes several attempts to explain or at least to contextualize the painter's achievement. It may be a gift of heaven. As alternatives Wonder offers figures from mythology who were able to make the improbable real: Medea through her sorcery and Prometheus through the theft of divine fire. Did Cerrini, as a new Prometheus, mobilize the sun to animate his painted figure?

After this wondrous exercise in absurdity, Wonder adopts a more rational tone. Already in the previous verses strong emphasis had been placed on the artistic means deployed by the artist, such as colour and shading. Wonder now more resolutely considers Cerrini's work as art, as the product of

his brush. Very subtly undermining the marvels of illusion, she asserts that St Paul only appears to be alive. The image provides 'welcome deception'.<sup>154</sup> Comparably, when in 1690 she describes another painted ceiling, this time by the Piarist father Pietro Francesco Zanoni, and verbalizes Filippo Gherardi's fresco in the nave of San Pantaleo in Rome, she qualifies the literary rendering of pictorial illusion using the words 'as if'.<sup>155</sup> In the principal genres of art literature such as artists' biography and art theory, the perceptual psychology of illusionist painting does not play any notable part. Textual genres that are commonly treated as minor exponents of art literature, such as descriptive pamphlets and poems, but which do address responses to illusion, therefore constitute a valuable complement to the canonical body of writings on art, permitting important steps towards an understanding of how seventeenth-century audiences reacted to ceiling painting.

Wonder suggests that deception does occur when looking at Cerrini's illusionistic dome fresco, but the fact that such deception is welcome, implies that it pleasurably enters the consciousness of the onlooker. Illusion and the enjoyment of the art as art are in dialogue. The beholder sees heavenly glory expressed by the artist's brush, and whilst admiring it as a visual fact produced by art, is led to believe in a direct experience of heaven itself. Wonder's response succinctly verbalizes the perceptual challenges and rewards of seventeenth-century ceiling painting.

Wonder then introduces a caesura, explicitly moving from encomiastic and critical approaches to a historical one. Vignoli introduces the artist to the reader in terms of his previous works, as she had done in her *Idillio*. Two of Cerrini's earlier works are offered for consideration. Again Vignoli displays an awareness of the usefulness of art historical knowledge when approaching an individual work of

*Portia* mira modis. / Nunc superum celebrat Numen, castamque Parentem, / Et nunc Aligeris, Coelitibusque sonat. / Nunc canit Heroas, virtus quos extulit, et nunc / Elatas Moles altiùs ire iubet. / Indignatur humum tam MIRA POETRIA, et astra, / Astra, quibus digna est, carmine celsa, petit.

De obelisco Caracallae, iussu Innocentii X. Pont. Max. erecto Romae, in platea Agonali, qui supra sexto carmine indicatur, vide epigramma primum libri superioris."

Indeed, Mazzei includes a poem on Bernini's *Four Rivers Fountain*, alluded to in the sixth line of his epigram, in this work; see MAZZEI 1674b, p. 93 f.: "Obeliscus Aurelii Antonini Caracallae Imp. Romae in Circo Agonali erectus iussu Innocentii X. Pont. Max. Ostenditur Mortalitatatis, et Immortalitatis repraesentatio.

Hic, ubi laeta super, petit astra Columba, Obelisco, / Quattuor et subter flumina vasta fluunt, / Spectabatur Agon: mentem erige, grandia volve, / Attonitus qui tam nobile cernis Opus. / Saxa vetusta notant, et lubrica flumina, Mortem: / (Vita hominum properae labitur instar aquae) /

Ipsam signat Agon Mortem quoque: Iustus at unus / Mortis victor abit; celsa Columba docet. / Quae bene cum ramo: Mortis conamine fracto, / Cum palma victor Iustus ad astra volat."

Mazzei republished his anagram and epigram on Vignoli, with a slightly revised title, in MAZZEI 1674a, p. 121.

<sup>150</sup> See FRANGENBERG 2003, p. 208f.

<sup>151</sup> On the suggestion of the perception of acoustic phenomena in the *Poesie*, see FRANGENBERG 2003, p. 210.

<sup>152</sup> On the dichotomy of historical death and life through art see FRANGENBERG 2003; regarding the deployment of the notion of wonder, already found in Vignoli's *Idillio*, see HERKLOTZ 2004, pp. 416–418, with further literature.

<sup>153</sup> On immortality bestowed by Cerrini's art in the *Poesie* see FRANGENBERG 2003, p. 208.

<sup>154</sup> On approaches to illusion in this collection of poems see FRANGENBERG 2003, pp. 211, 214.

<sup>155</sup> See FRANGENBERG 2006, pp. 165–181.



22 After Gian Domenico Cerrini, *San Carlo Borromeo praying to the Virgin to intercede on behalf of the plague-stricken in Milan*, 1650, once Rome, San Carlo al Corso, lost (photo Biblioteca Comunale Malaspina, Varzi, PV)

art, an approach that was alien to her fellow contributors. The first painting, *San Carlo Borromeo praying to the Virgin to intercede on behalf of the plague-stricken in Milan*, then in San Carlo al Corso, Rome, is discussed at consider-

able length (fig. 22).<sup>156</sup> Wonder's address takes the form of an imperative: "behold!".<sup>157</sup> Thus the presentation of the altarpiece may be understood as an expansive instruction on how to view it. Attention is first given to the painting's emotional message; in portraying suffering, the painter instils pity and terror. Significantly, however, the painter also inspires delight. This positive reaction is generated not only by the sight of the selfless devotion of the Saint, but also by the success of the image in communicating abjection. The most remarkable combination of terms deployed by Vignoli, "terror, duolo, e diletto", could suggest Vignoli's acquaintance with Aristotelian poetic theory.<sup>158</sup>

In the tradition of Vasarian description,<sup>159</sup> Wonder does not verbalize the visual appearance of the painting, but the circumstances of the event and emotional responses to it. On occasion she goes beyond mere description in naming reactions that the image does not, and cannot represent, such as husbands leaving their wives and their homeland. The saint is first introduced within this narrative context; placating Divine ire, he put an end to the dying. At this crucial juncture of the text the work is reaffirmed as a painting, and as a painting by Cerrini. A second "behold!" establishes the core of the image and introduces the climax of the description. The focus is the saint's face that expresses his inner life as he implores the Virgin to intercede on behalf of the suffering population of Milan.

Any pilgrim wishing to see an even rarer work is advised to observe Cerrini's altarpiece with the *Vision of St Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi* in Santa Maria in Traspontina, Rome (fig. 23),<sup>160</sup> a work that in the Wonder's estimation can document how closely Cerrini's portrayals approximate their models. The choice of this painting probably rests on its constituting a precedent of the heavenly vision in Santa Maria della Vittoria, and many of the observations made regarding the dome also hold true for the altarpiece. In fact, the conclusion of Wonder's speech is applicable to both of these works. Cerrini's art generates the perception that Paradise has been transported to earth. The poem ends with a final address to the painter, in which the speaker proposes the spirited *conchetto* of Wonder being overcome by herself.

<sup>156</sup> Now on the high altar of San Carlo al Corso is an altarpiece by Carlo Maratta. Cerrini's *S. Carlo Borromeo praying to the Virgin to intercede on behalf of the plague-stricken in Milan* of 1650 is lost; see BOREA 1978, pp. 8, 12; MARABOTTINI 2005, pp. 68–69, but the composition is preserved in an autograph drawing in the Uffizi; see ROLI 1969, p. 141, no. 188; FAIETTI 2005; the composition is reproduced in two prints; see KUHNMÜNCH 1976, pp. 65, 67; BOREA 2005.

<sup>157</sup> MANNA 2005, p. 98, unconvincingly contrasts Vignoli's *La Maraviglia* with her *Idillio*, suggesting that only the former offers a "guida

all'osservazione". The *Idillio* requires consideration in its entirety. The viewing of the Borghese sculptures is mediated by the literary fiction that the location itself possesses the powers of observation, and direct appeal to viewers is reserved for the climactic last section of the poem in which the international fame of Innocent X is at stake.

<sup>158</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, pt. 4. Vignoli may have indirectly acquired knowledge of Aristotelian theory, since similar notions are found in earlier poetry; see e.g. MARINO 1979, vol. 1, p. 56: "spesso l'orror va col diletto."

*Poesie sopra il Ratto di San Paolo nella cupola della Madonna della Vittoria. Pittura del signor Gio. Domenico Cerrini Perugino dedicate all'Illustriss. e Reverendiss. Sig. Monsig. Rospigliosi Arcivescovo di Tarso, e Segretario di Stato di N.[ostro] S.[ignore],* Rome, Francesco Moneta, 1656, pp. 46–54

p. 46

La Maraviglia

Ode.

Dela [sic] Signora

Maria Porzia Vignoli

A che tu pur con sì fastose laudi 1  
Mentre de' tuoi Pittor l'opre decanti  
Grecia sleal con tanti encomi, e tanti  
A le lor glorie adulatrice applaudi?

Ah taci pur del tuo famoso Apelle, 2  
E degl' Emuli suoi l'alte fatiche,  
Che son d'oltraggio a le memorie antiche  
Del moderno Cerrin opre più belle.

Deluso il Mondo attrar co' suoi bei veli 3  
Sia di Parrasio pur la mano ardità,  
Che del Cerrini hoggi il Pennel n'invita  
Tratti in un Tempio a riverire i Cieli.

p. 47

Vieni pur Pellegrino, e curioso 4  
Colà volgi il tuo piè, colà t'invia  
Dove già la Vittoria erse a Maria  
(Che Vittorie ogn' hor da) Tempio famoso.<sup>161</sup>

Ch'ivi vedrai sovra l'empirea sfera<sup>162</sup> 5  
Solo in virtù del suo Pennel fatale  
Rapito quei, che fu Tromba immortale  
Del sommo Re, ch'a l'universo impera.

Qui de' Ministri alati io veggio il choro 6  
Con celeste armonia svegliar le corde,  
E di Paolo il gran nome ogn' hor concorde  
Lieto spiegar sovra le cetre d'oro.



23 Gian Domenico Cerrini, *Vision of St Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi*, 1639. Rome, Santa Maria in Traspontina (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana)

Ma che? parmi d'udir grido felice, 7  
Ch'il cor ritrahe da quegli etherei canti,  
Sì, sì per dirmi del Cerrino i vanti  
Parla la Meraviglia, e così dice.

p. 48

Ben di Fabro sovrano opra è sol questa? 8  
Non morì dunque Paolo? hor come a noi  
Redivivo lo pingi, e come puoi  
Con l'ombre far, c'humanità rivesta?

<sup>159</sup> ALPERS 1960.

<sup>160</sup> On this altarpiece of 1639 in Santa Maria in Traspontina in Rome see *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005, p. 265 f.

<sup>161</sup> Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome.

<sup>162</sup> In or beyond the Emphyrean, located above the highest of the heavenly spheres, the seat of the Lord was assumed.

Qual' industria è la tua? deh qual può tanto Virtù fabrìl con colorite tempre Un' alma in vita ritornar per sempre, E impoverir de l'empia Arciera <sup>163</sup> il vanto!	9	Mira là dove a Carlo il Tempio sorge S'allude all'altar maggiore Come pingendo l'altrui mali ei move nella Chiesa di detto santo al Lal me [sic] <sup>164</sup> a pietade, e in forme antiche, e nove Corso pittura del medesimo. Terror, duolo, e diletto in un ne porge.	18
Forse ti diede il Ciel forme divine? O pur forse a Medea l'arte togliesti, O per altri animar dal Sol tu festi Quasi nuovo Prometheo alte rapine?	10	Trionfatrice ogn' hor la peste ria Disabitava di Milano il regno Togliendo a l'Huomo il natural sostegno Ove la cruda sua falce feria.	19
Quegli tolto là sù foco vitale Seppe in marmi destar moto, ed' affetto; E porger senso a un non spirante petto De' tuoi color può la Virtù fatale.	11	p. 51 A mitigar de i putrefatti humori L'occulto morbo, che con rio veneno Accommuna la morte entro del seno Privi eran di Virtù gli alti ristori.	20
p. 49 Ecco chi sparse già facondi accenti (Poiche fù al terzo Ciel l'alma rapita) Estinto ancor per Te rassembra in vita, E son del tuo Pennello opre i portentì.	12	La Fisich' arte havea sue forze inferme, Natura a l'Huomo ogn' hor negava aita, E'n vano soccorrea Virtù la vita S'era a se stessa di conforto inerme.	21
Da l'Arte hor sì che la Natura è vinta Se abbandonato un così fragil velo, Fa a l'Huom bramar di trasportarsi in Cielo L'immagine di Dio da Te dipinta.	13	Fuggia dal Padre il figlio, e'l caro Sposo Abbandonava in uno, e Patria, e Moglie, E a ciascun' alma le communi doglie Faceano il viver divenir noioso.	22
E così ben del Ciel la gloria espressa Hoggi dal tuo Pennello il Mondo vede; Che con gradito inganno anco si crede Mentre l'ammira di goder l'istessa.	14	Quando per raffrenar l'ira Celeste Sorse d'Insubria il porporato Duce, <sup>165</sup> Che quasi matutina amata luce Di Morte discacciò l'ombre funeste.	23
Si lo stupore a lo stupor contrasta, Che rende di ciascuno immoto il guardo, Ond' io ne le tue lodi il dir ritardo, Che dire è del Cerrin l'opra mi basta.	15	p. 52 Carlo dich' io, ch' a temperar sen venne L'esterminio de' Regni; hor Questi in tele Dipinto è dal Cerrin quando il crudele Strale ripor ne la faretra ottenne.	24
p. 50 Questi di là dal Perugino suolo Roma in te venne a tributar sue glorie, Questi farà, che de le tue memorie Spiegghi la Fama glorioso il volo.	16	Mira come in quel volto il core espresse, Che dal gran Dio alta pietade impetra, Tanto in oscuro lin con ombra tetra Arte formare al suo Pennel concesse.	25
Già presagisco i fasti tuoi superni, Ed' ecco (homai) che sua virtù t'addita Novi portentì: ond' a mirar t'invita Nelle Pitture sue prodigi eterni.	17	Ma se di rimirare opre più rare D'errante peregrin tragge il pensiero, Come renda il suo finto uguale al vero In un ritratto sol venga a mirare.	26



Maddalena de' Pazzi <sup>166</sup> è il bel soggetto S'allude al quadro di detta Del suo lavoro, e così ben la pinse, Beata nella Traspontina Che con una sol linea Apelle ei vinse, pittura del medesimo. E de' Zeusi ogn' honor rende negletto.	27
p. 53 Rapita ella nel Ciel rapisce ogn' alma, Che la contempla con il guardo fiso, E crede esser con essa in Paradiso, E star divisa da la fragil salma.	28
Ogn' honor diasi dunque al gran Cerrini, Ogni lode si doni a' suoi colori Se sovra i lini ad incantare i cori Offre del suo valor parti divini.	29
Ei de' prischi Pittor le glorie atterra, E così al vivo ciò che pinge espone, Ch' a l'Huom ne fa parer con gran ragione Hoggi portato il Paradiso in Terra.	30
Così a Roma, anzi al Mondo ogn' hor rivolta Articolava il dir la Meraviglia; Quando ardita vie più con liete ciglia Disse, o Cerrin queste mie note ascolta.	31
p. 54 Solo a la Destra tua virtù concessa Fu con vanto immortal di gran valore Di farne con insolito stupore Meravigliar la Meraviglia istessa.	32

Vignoli's *Nel suo monacaggio. Sonetto*

In 1658 Vignoli entered the convent of San Domenico in Viterbo. Giuseppe Livaldini, likewise the author of a substantial poem on the *Fountain of the Four Rivers* and one of her fellow contributors to the collection of poems on Cerrini's dome, celebrated this event in a poem that he later included in his *La Cetra. Rime* of 1688.<sup>167</sup> Vignoli herself published the poem *Maria Portia Vignoli Nel suo monacaggio. Sonetto all'Eminentiss.mo et Reverendiss.mo Sig. Card. Brancacci* to mark this occasion.<sup>168</sup> In this text she takes leave of the world, rejecting her previous life as vain, and the error of her youth. We do not know if Vignoli continued writing after taking her vows, but judging by those publications I have been able to trace, it appears she did not choose to submit any further works for publication.

<sup>163</sup> In line with the gender of the Italian word, *la morte*, Vignoli portrays Death as feminine.

<sup>164</sup> For: L'alme.

<sup>165</sup> St Charles Borromeo (1538–1584), Cardinal and Archbishop of Milan.

<sup>166</sup> Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi (1566–1607).

<sup>167</sup> See LIVALDINI 1688.

<sup>168</sup> VIGNOLI 1658. A copy of this flysheet is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome (34.9.I.122); see CAROSI 1990, p. 135. The poem reads:

“Torno à Dio, lascio il Mondo, ah' ben' vegg' io, / Ch' ogni cosa mortal passa, e non dura: / Ratto di fral contento il Sol' s'oscura, / Ratto il bel sà rapir notturno oblio. /

Ahi qual barbaro cor nel petto mio / Notrì l'imperversata empia Natura? / Se priva di ragion per breve cura / Di vanità cadente, offese un Dio. /

Che farò dunque, ahi lassa? ah mio Signore / Perdon ti chieggio: hor tù mio Dio n'incolpa / Più, ch'il fallir, di gioventù l'errore. / Pietà, Signor, pietade. à la mia colpa / Perdono implora il già pentito core: / Un bel pentirsi ogni fallir discolpa.”

## Appendix 1

Pietro Giacomo Favilla, *Sena Civitas Virginis. Carmen*, Rome 1655, pp. 17–19:

At tibi qualè micans ponet de marmore Templum! / Extima frons mixto, ac tenui concinna labore / Aspectum aspectu feriet, statuis que decora, / Virginis auricoma radiabit imagine: at intus / Templum augustum, operosum, ingens, cui plurimus arte / Gotthicus elucet labor, atque inventa recentum / Artificum, caelata novis monumenta figuris / E vario lapide; et distincta alboque, nigroque / Ingens mole domus: Ternae stant ordine Templi / Alae, conspicuae centum lateralibus aris, / Nobilibus cultae tabulis, opibusque superbae. / Sed maior Cella, et medium coplexa theatrum, / Sidereum referet pretioso fornice Caelum, / Sideraque, et flavum promet tholus intima Solem: / Parietibus medijs, quà cingunt Orbe Coronae, / Pontificum series sculptis ex ordine

signis, / Mox et Caesarei subter, capita ardua, vultus / Extabunt, iugi redimiti stemmate frontem. / At vicina solo fratrum duodena meorum / Hinc, atque hinc albo stabunt è marmore signa! / Grande pavementum laevi candore coruscat, Inventisque novis, miro simulacra decore, / Arte refert mira; nàm nigri marmoris umbra, / Marmoris albertis simul et distincta nitore, / Artificique manu affabrè caelata; superbum / Splendebunt opus; atque animos, oculosque tuentum / Attonitos figent; vocesque efferre negabunt, / Cum muta aspicient coràm propè saxa profari: / Inde ubi subsidet Templi summa area, surget / Ara ingens, aramque super compacta metallo / Aedicula in Caelum turrato condita giro / Tendet, et augustae Cereri penetrare reponet. / Quin ex aere gravi circumpennata luventus / Bis septem complexa faces, noctùque, diùque / Puras sacrificio depascet lumine ceras.

## Appendix 2

Giuseppe Livaldini, *La Cetra. Rime*, Rome 1688, pp. 58–65: L'obelisco, e fontana di Piazza Navona. Ode.

1 / Abbandonate o Ninfe il vostro fonte / Che lieto bagna le Gargarie sponde / Abbandonate o Muse il Vostro monte / Ove Pegaso l'acque sue diffonde / Più bel Rio più bel luogo, aura gradita / Roma v'appresta, et a goder v'Invita.

2 / La dove un tempo entro l'ondoso lagho / Corser le prore ad Incontrarsi altere / E con la pugna lor spettacol vago / Offersero tal'hor Turbe guerriere / Hor perche pace una Colomba spira / Meraviglie, e non guerre il mondo ammira.

3 / Quivi un fonte nel mezzo al nobil foro / Fatto da Industrie man sorgere si vede / Ove l'opra sublime, e 'l bel lavoro / De l'Arte di Vulcan le glorie eccede / E fà che di più pietre una sol pietra / Cangiata in scoglio muova guerra à l'Etra.

4 / Perche s'insegna al Mare Immobil scoglio / Frenare i suoi furor quando s'irrita, / Impari ancora a raffrenar l'orgoglio / Il fiero sveco, e 'l Temerario scita / Dove Innocentio il Successor di Piero / E' de la nostra fè lo scoglio altero.

5 / Qui l'alta mole con mirabil arte / Sostien di quattro fiumi il nobil pondo / Che diluviando l'acque in ogni parte / Recano a l'altrui luci horror giocondo / Si che con modo Inusitato pare / Che sia da un scoglio partorito il mare.

6 / Stupida ammira la Natura istessa / Quel che seppe formare Arte maestra, / E fra se stessa così dir non cessa. / Se tanto può un Ingegno una sol destra? / Teco rimane ogni mia gloria estinta? / L'Arte più di me val, Natura è vinta?

7 / A che tanti formai parti novelli / Ne la terra, ne l'aria, e dentro l'acque / S'a mio scherno formarne altri e piu belli / Con diversa materia a l'Arte piacque; / Nulla giovò, che per oscura farmi / Sanno i Prometei dar la Vita a i marmi.

8 / Chi de l'oodosa [for ondosa] Theti ammirar vuole / Guizzar vivi i destrier, mostri, e delfini / Chi brama ancor de la terrena mole. / Veder parti più vaghi, e peregrini / Qui venga pure, e vedrà s'altri a prova / I secoli di Pirra hoggi rinova.

9 / Ecco (certo dirà) sembiante humano / Informa Un sasso. E par ch' a l'aure spira / Sembra facile il piè molle la mano / Altri par ch'ad altrui le luci giri / Altri par che favelli, e se nol senti / T'assorda il suon de l'Acque sue cadenti.

10 / Ma pur gli parerà ch' Il grand Eufrate / In questi detti la sua lingua sciolga: / Su venite stranieri, et ammirate, / Se maggior meraviglie il mondo accolga / Hor ch'al Gange, al Danubio, al Nilo / Mi vede trasportato in questo lito. (Unico)

11 / Opra è sol d'Innocentio il Grande il Giusto / Cui Tributaria e ogni Provincia, ogn'alma, / E fà ch'al nuovo il secolo vetusto / Vinto ceda l'honor, ceda la palma, / Si che al suo cenno al suo poter superno / Gode il suol, s'apre il Ciel, trema l'Inferno.

12 / Qui mi trasse Innocentio è dir mi lice / Ch'un altro Paradiso ho per confine / Se a questa si piacevole pendice /

Celeste Forza mi trasporta al fine / E distinguer non so, se questa o quella / Siesi piu delitiosa over più bella.

13 / La fioriscon l'Ulivi, e qui non meno / Spiega Ulivo novel pompa fiorita; / La in uno il Ciel ridente, e il suolo ameno / Eterna primavera a i fiori addita, / E qui grata quiete, e dolce calma / A l'ombra de bei Gigli ottien ogn'alma.

Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687) and Some of Her Contemporaries

14 / Così disse Natura, e poi si tacque / Da tante meraviglie al fin confusa. / Quando di Pindo abbandonate l'acque / D'Innocentio a cantar venne ogni musa, / Ma Febo a queste alto silenzio indisse / Poscia temprò l'Eburnea Cetra, e disse.

15 / Ben di fabro sovran scalpello altero / Con Intaglio gentil mi rese adorno, / Del mar che cinge l'Universo intero, / L'Uscio superbo ond'io conduco il giorno / Ma qui con modo più gradito pare

/ Veder ristretto entro brev'Urna il mare.

16 / Qui rimiro il gran Nilo, il Nilo Immenso, / Che con rapido corso il mondo gira, / E del Cancro fuggendo il raggio accenso / da l'Austri a i Libii il piè drizzar si mira, / E tralasciando al fin l'adusse piagge / A i sette colli i passi erranti tragge.

17 / Viene perche s'a lui gelide brume / San là nel Verno irrigidir sue Vene. / Hor qui cangiando il natural costume / Vuol ricrear l'està l'aduste arene / E del latrante Can fatto Nemico / Mostrarsi a Roma con sue Nevi amico.

18 / E Se colà ne la Stagione estiva / Li Giacci aduna, e più feroce cresce / Si che sprezzando haver argine, o riva / Sù l'Arbori guizzar si vede il pesce / E l'pastor dormiglioso in un momento / Vede, notar ne l'onde il proprio armento.

19 / Roma non temer nò l'esta vedrai / Senza periglio i flutti suoi più alteri / In cui potran sicuri a i caldi rai / Guizzar ne l'onde sue mille destrieri / E con forte contraria entro il suo letto / In vece di spavento haver diletto.

20 / Ma Tu Roma nol Sai; Tebro nol credi / Che questi il Nilo sia tanto famoso, / Perche il suo Capo altier non miri, o vedi; / Mentre lo tiene un sottil velo ascoso / Anzi perch'egli il Capo a te nasconde / Credi del Nilo pur queste son l'onde.

21 / Da Cielo sconosciuto a te sen'passa / Da le sette Urne sue Versando argenti / E per Vie sotterranee anco trapassa / Perche d'Alfeo l'alto stupor rammenti: / E dice o Tebro ritornar io voglio / A fecondar tue palme in Campidoglio.

22 / Ecco Palme, ecco rose, e cedri, e gigli / Effigiate qui mostro et addito / O de l'Italia gloriosi figli / Ne l'Egitto a far preda ecco v'Invito / Destisi in Voi o Generoso germe / La Virtù che fin hor sen giacque inerme.

23 / Ite che vincerete, e questa ch'ergo / Con destra obediante altera insegna. / Vi sia nel guerreggiar scudo. Et usbergho / Che col suo lampo a debellar v'Insegna; Nulla al Gran Innocentio homai co[n]trasti. / L'Arme sua vi difende, e tanto basti.

24 / Già le tue glorie presagisco, o Roma / E a le Vittorie tue le palme appresto / Già le rose, e gl'allori a la tua Chioma / E di fiere i spettacoli ti desto / E de Theatri antichi in paragone / T'offre spettacol novo hoggi un Leone.

25 / Di poc'onda egli ha sete, e tal si mira / Da l'ardente sua febre ogn'hora oppresso / Che chi lo mira ancor langue, e sospira / Et assetato ne diviene anch'esso / Quegli di dar riposo a l'ardor sui, / Questi di dissetar la sete altrui.

26 / Così dicea stupido Apollo, e in tanto, / Che rimirava si bell'opra intento / Per meraviglia astratto il nobil canto /

Sospese, e de la cetra anco il concento / Ma poi che de la Platta al Rio si volse / a dir così riprese, e l'Labro sciolse.

27 / Questi di la dove ha la tomba il Sole / Qui Roma viene a tributar liquori / Prostrato ammira quell'Augel che puole, / Torre a suoi lidi i martial furori, / E perciò versa ogn'hor lieto, e contento / Arene d'oro, e liquefatto argento.

28 / Vede poscia il Danubio al vivo espresso / Che copiosi i flutti suoi diffonde, / E un bianco corridor gli mira appresso / Festeggiante guizzare entro quell'onde / Qui stupido s'arresta, e perche brama / Finir il canto in questa guisa esclama.

29 / Roma s'ergesti già l'Archi, e i trofei / A Chi ti diè soggetto il mondo intero / Erger questa gran mole hor ben tu dei / Al Gran Pamfilio al Successor di Piero: / S'ei più d'ogn'altro cinto ogn'hor di palme / Con più raggion sà trionfar de l'alme.

30 / Tu per esso n'andrai sempre fastosa / Glorioso ei per te del tempo à scherno / Tu de le glorie sue riccha, e pomposa / Egli ne l'opre tue mai sempre eterno / S'ambo potesse con saper profondo / Produr l'ottava meraviglia al Mondo.

## Bibliography

- ALBRECHT-BOTT 1976 Marianne Albrecht-Bott, *Die bildende Kunst in der italienischen Lyrik der Renaissance und des Barock. Studie zur Beschreibung von Portraits und anderen Bildwerken unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von G. B. Marinos Galleria*, Wiesbaden 1976.
- ALLACCI 1633 Leone Allacci, *Apes urbanae, sive de viris illustribus, qui ab anno MDCXXX. per totum MDCXXXII. Romae adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgarunt*, Rome 1633.
- ALPERS 1960 Svetlana L. Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's Lives", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23 (1960), pp. 190–215.
- ANGELINI 1998 Alessandro Angelini, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e i Chigi tra Roma e Siena*, Siena 1998.
- ANSELMi 1996 Alessandro Anselmi, "Cerrini, Giovanni [Gian] Domenico", in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 6, London 1996, p. 347f.
- AUSENDA 1983a G. Ausenda, "Baldi, Francesco", in *Dizionario enciclopedico escolapio*, ed. Claudio Vilá Palá and Luis Maria Bandrés Rey, vol. 2: Biografías de escolapios, Salamanca 1983, p. 71.
- AUSENDA 1983b G. Ausenda, "Mazzei, Carlo", in *Dizionario enciclopedico escolapio*, ed. Claudio Vilá Palá and Luis Maria Bandrés Rey, vol. 2: Biografías de escolapios, Salamanca 1983, p. 366f.
- BACCHERIO 1652 Giovanni Jacopo Baccherio, *Mazzo di fiori pindarici ridotti in sero per coronarne il sepolcro della eccellentissima Signora Donna Giacinta Sanvitali Conti Duchessa di Poli, e Marchesa di Castel Guelfo*, Parma 1652.
- BENEDETTI 2001 Simona Benedetti, *Il Palazzo Nuovo nella Piazza del Campidoglio dalla sua edificazione alla trasformazione in museo*, Rome 2001.
- BERGALLI 1726 Luisa Bergalli, *Componimenti poetici delle più illustri rimatrici d'ogni secolo*, 2 vols., Venice 1726.
- BERNABEI 1885 Nicola Bernabei, *Vita del Cardinale Giovanni Morone vescovo di Modena e biografie dei cardinali modenesi e di Casa d'Este, dei cardinali vescovi di Modena e di quelli educati in questo Collegio di San Carlo*, Modena 1885.
- BLETSCHACHER 1985 Richard Bletschacher, *Rappresentazione sacra: Geistliches Musikdrama am Wiener Kaiserhof*, Vienna 1985.
- BOREA 1978 Evelina Borea, "Gian Domenico Cerrini. Opere e documenti", *Prospettiva*, 12 (1978), pp. 4–25.
- BOREA 2005 Evelina Borea, "Anonimo incisore: San Carlo prega la Vergine di intercedere per la cessazione della peste", in *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005, pp. 150–153.
- BUTZEK 1991 Monika Butzek, "Giuseppe Mazzuoli e le statue degli Apostoli del Duomo di Siena", *Prospettiva*, 61 (1991), pp. 75–89.
- CAFFORI 1674 Francesco Maria Caffori, *In celebritate diei festi S. Laurentii martyrio consecrati paraphrases in epigrammata super antiphonas ex tertio noctur. officij eiusdem diei*, Rome 1674.
- CAFFORI 1675 Francesco Maria Caffori, *In celebritate diei festi S. Laurentii martyrio consecrati paraphrases in epigrammata quas auctor tribus ab hinc annis prosequitur super antiphonas officij eiusdem diei*, Rome 1675.
- CAFFORI 1681 Francesco Maria Caffori, *Universo clero, et populo civitatis, et dioeceseos Castrensis*, Rome 1681.
- CANCELLIERI 1811 Francesco Cancellieri, *Il mercato, il lago dell'Acqua Vergine ed il palazzo Panfiliano nel Circo Agonale detto volgarmente Piazza Navona*, Rome 1811.
- CANONICI FACHINI 1824 Ginevra Canonici Fachini, *Prospetto biografico delle donne italiane rinomate in letteratura dal secolo decimoquarto fino a' giorni nostri*, Venice 1824.
- CAPALLI 1680 Giovanni Battista Capalli, *Ricamo dell'abito monacale. Discorsi sagri*, Venice 1680.
- CAPALLI 1682 Giovanni Battista Capalli, *Delle lodi di Monsignore Alessandro Strozzi vescovo di Arezzo ... Orazione ... recitata pubblicamente dall'autore nell'esequie celebrate il dì 27. Ottobre 1682 ...*, Florence 1682.
- CAPALLI 1689 Giovanni Battista Capalli, *Il capitano della fede San Donato vescovo martire, e protettore d'Arezzo. Panegirico*, Arezzo 1689.
- CARAFa 1751 Josephus Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano et de eius Professoribus ab Urbe condita usque ad haec tempora libri duo*, 2 vols., Rome 1751.
- CARLONI 2005 Livia Carloni, "Gian Domenico Cerrini: San Paolo che ascende al terzo cielo", in *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005, pp. 160–162.
- CAROSI 1990 Attilio Carosi, *Le edizioni di Bernardino, Mariano e Girolamo Diotallevi (1631–1666) e di Pietro Martinelli (1666–1704). Annali e documenti*, Viterbo 1990.
- CIAMPI 1878 Ignazio Ciampi, *Innocenzo X Pamfili e la sua corte. Storia di Roma dal 1644 al 1655 da nuovi documenti*, Rome 1878.

Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687) and Some of Her Contemporaries

- CLAVARINO 1624 Pietro Clavarino, *Theoremata ex sacra theologia, et morali philosophia*. A D. Petro Clavarino ab Urbe monacho cassinensi proposita, Perugia 1624.
- CLAVARINO 1643 Pietro Clavarino, *Musarum plausus Perusii in augusto D. Petri Monast.o Congregationis Cassinensis ad anni MDCXLIII. generalia patrum comitia excitatus, auctore D. Petro romano eiusdem Monasterii priore*, Perugia 1643.
- CLEMENT 1974 Clara Erskine Clement, *Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D.*, New York 1974.
- COLASANTI 1904 Arduino Colasanti, “Gli artisti nella poesia del Rinascimento. Fonti poetiche per la storia dell’arte italiana”, *Reperitorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 27 (1904), pp. 193–220.
- COLONNA 1941 Gustavo Brigante Colonna, *Olimpia Pamphili ‘Cardinal Padrone’ (1594–1657)*, Verona 1941.
- COZZI 1970 Laura G. Cozzi, “Il mercato”, in *Piazza Navona: Isola dei Pamphili*, Rome 1970, pp. 54–77.
- CRESCIMBENI 1702–1711 Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *Comentari ... , intorno alla sua istoria della volgare poesia*, 6 vols., Rome 1702–1711.
- CRESCIMBENI 1720–1721 *Notizie istoriche degli Arcadi morti*, ed. Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, 3 vols., Rome 1720–1721.
- Delle donne illustri italiane* n.d. *Delle donne illustri italiane dal XIII al XIX secolo*, Rome n.d.
- Discorsi sacri* 1673 *Discorsi sacri e morali detti nell’Accademia de gl’Intrecciati eretta dal dottore Giosepe Carpano ...*, ed. Antonio Stefano Cartari, Rome 1673.
- DUNDAS 1993 Judith Dundas, *Pencils Rhetorique: Renaissance Poets and the Art of Painting*, Newark 1993.
- EVANS 1992 Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*, Ann Arbor 1992.
- FAGIOLO/ FAGIOLO DELL’ARCO 1967 Marcello Fagiolo and Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, *Bernini: una introduzione al gran teatro del Barocco*, Rome 1967.
- FAGIOLO 1971 Marcello Fagiolo, “Borromini in Laterano: ‘Il Nuovo Tempio’ per il Concilio universale”, *L’Arte*, 13 (1971), pp. 5–44.
- FAIETTI 2005 Marzia Faietti, “Gian Domenico Cerrini: San Carlo prega per la liberazione dalla peste”, in *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005, p. 148f.
- La Fantasia discorso* 1673 *La fantasia discorso accademico recitato nell’Accademia di Roma de’ signori pittori, scultori, et architetti ...*, Rome 1673.
- Fasti dell’Accademia* 1673 *Fasti dell’Accademia de gl’Intrecciati ... riportati dal registro che si conserva presso il dottor Giosepe Carpano rettore della medesima Accademia*, ed. Giosepe Carpano, Rome 1673.
- Fasti legales* 1692 “Fasti legales romanae Academiae Intrecciatorum”, in *Institutionum iuris canonici breviarium a Iosepho Carpano romano ... directum ... Additis fastis legalibus romanae Academiae Intrecciatorum*, Rome 1692.
- FAVILLA 1653 Pietro Giacomo Favilla, *Corona Austriaca in Ferdinandi IV Romanorum Regis inauguratione carmen*, Rome 1653.
- FAVILLA 1655 Pietro Giacomo Favilla, *Sena Civitas Virginis. Carmen*, Rome 1655.
- FEHRENBACH 2008 Frank Fehrenbach, *Compendia Mundi: Gianlorenzo Berninis ‘Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi’ (1648–51) und Nicola Salvis ‘Fontana di Trevi’ (1732–62)*, Berlin 2008.
- FERRARI 1997 Oreste Ferrari, “Poeti e scultori nella Roma seicentesca: i difficili rapporti tra due culture”, *Storia dell’arte*, 90 (1997), pp. 151–161.
- Il figlio prodigo* n.d. *Il figlio prodigo. Oratorio cantato nell’augustissima capella dell’Imperatrice Eleonora*, Vienna n.d.
- FRANCHI 1988 Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana. Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio. Secolo XVII*, Rome 1988.
- FRANCHI 1994 Saverio Franchi, *Le impressioni sceniche. Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800*, Rome 1994.
- FRANGENBERG 2002 Thomas Frangenberg, “Giovanni Lotti on a Lost Work by Bernini”, *Burlington Magazine*, 144 (2002), pp. 434–437.
- FRANGENBERG 2003 Thomas Frangenberg, “Praise Beyond Reason. Poems on Cerrini’s Dome in S. Maria della Vittoria”, in *Poetry on Art* 2003, pp. 199–214.
- FRANGENBERG 2006 Thomas Frangenberg, “‘As if ...’: Pietro Francesco Zanoni on Filippo Gherardi’s Ceiling in S. Pantaleo, Rome”, in *The Beholder. The Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Frangenberg and Robert Williams, Aldershot 2006.
- FRASCHETTI 1900 Stanislao Frascchetti, *Il Bernini: la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo*, Milan 1900.
- GALATINO 1647 Francesco Galatino, *Argomento della notte festiva per la nascita di nostro signor Gesu Christo Drama Sacro*, Rome 1647.
- GAROPOLI 1655 Girolamo Garopoli, *Il Carlo Magno, o vero la Chiesa vendicata poema heroico ... con gli argomenti del Signor Gio. Simone Ruggieri*, Rome 1655.
- GARRIDO 1935a T. Garrido, “Calasancianades insignes latinitatis assertores. P. Carolus Mazzei a S. Antonio Patavino (1620–1695)”, *Ephemerides Calasancianae*, 4 (1935), pp. 112–119, 195–201.

- GARRIDO 1935b T. Garrido, "Calasantiades insignes latinatis assertores. P. Franciscus Baldi ab Annuntiatione", *Ephemerides Calasantiadae*, 4 (1935), pp. 59–66.
- GENT 1981 Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560–1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance*, Leamington Spa 1981.
- Gian Domenico Cerrini 2005 *Gian Domenico Cerrini, il Cavalier Perugino tra classicismo e barocco* (exhibition catalogue Perugia), ed. Francesco Federico Mancini, Cinisello Balsamo 2005.
- GILBERT 1991 Creighton E. Gilbert, *Poets Seeing Artists' Work: Instances in the Italian Renaissance*, Florence 1991.
- GOLAHNY 1996 *The Eye of the Poet. Studies in the Reciprocity of the Visual and Literary Arts from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Amy Golahny, Lewisburg 1996.
- GRAF 1996 Dieter Graf, "Giovanni Battista Passeri", in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 24, New York 1996, p. 238.
- HADAMOWSKY 1955 Franz Hadamowsky, "Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof. 1625–1740. Mit einem Spielplan", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung* (1955), pp. 7–117.
- HERKLOTZ 2004 Ingo Herklotz, "Eine zeitgenössische Beschreibung von Berninis Vierströmbrunnen nebst einem Plädoyer für eine publikumsorientierte Kunstwissenschaft", in *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft*, Hildesheim 2004, pp. 411–429.
- HUSE 1970 Norbert Huse, "La Fontaine des Fleuves du Bernin", *Revue de l'art*, 7 (1970), pp. 6–17.
- IVERSEN 1968 Eric Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile. I. The Obelisks of Rome*, Copenhagen 1968.
- KIEFEL 1604 Henry van Kiefel, *Vitae S. Catharinae Virginis et Martyris libri sex*, Rome 1604.
- KIEFEL 1607 Henry van Kiefel, *Vitae S. Laurentii Martyris libri duo*, Rome 1607; *Vitae S. Pancratii Martyris libri duo*, Rome 1607.
- KIEFEL 1615 Henry van Kiefel, *Pauli Quinti Pont. Opt. Max. temporum felicitas*, Rome 1613; *Lacippiados seu de bello Granatensi per Ferdinandum regem catholicum gesto. Liber primus*, Rome 1615.
- KIEFEL 1621 Henry van Kiefel, *In nuptiis serenissimorum principum Friderici de Ruvere et Claudiae Medices ... carmen*, Rome 1621.
- KIEFEL 1625 Henry van Kiefel, *L. Annaei Senecae Thebais per Henricum Chifellium ... chori totius, et quinti actus adiuectu suppleta*, Rome 1625.
- KIEFEL 1628 Henry van Kiefel, *Panegyricus illustriss. et reverendiss. D. D. Ludovico Card. Ludovisio S. R. E. Vicecancellario dictus*, Rome 1628.
- KIEFEL 1635 Henry van Kiefel, *Panegyricus eminentiss. mo et reverendiss. mo D. Francisco Card. Barberino S. R. E. Vicecancellario*, Rome 1635.
- KIEFEL 1849 Henry van Kiefel, *Beati patris Francisci Assisiatis opera omnia ..., cantica ejus a H. Chifellio et Jac. Lampugnano latine ... reddita*, ed. J. J. von der Burg, Cologne, Bonn and Brussels 1849.
- KIRCHER 1650 Athanasius Kircher, *Obeliscus Paphilius, hoc est, interpretatio nova et hucusque intentata obelisci hieroglyphici quem non ita pridem ex veteri Hippodromo Antonini Caracallae Caesaris, in Agonale Forum transtulit, integritati restituit, et in Urbis Aeternae ornamentum erexit Innocentius X. Pont. Max.*, Rome 1650.
- KRANZ 1973 Gisbert Kranz, *Das Bildgedicht in Europa. Zur Theorie und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung*, Paderborn 1973.
- KRANZ 1981–1997 Gisbert Kranz, *Das Bildgedicht. Theorie. Lexikon. Bibliographie*, 3 vols., Cologne 1981–1987.
- KUHNMÜNCH 1976 Jacques Kuhnmünch, "Carlo Maratta graveur. Essai de catalogue critique", *Revue de l'art*, 31 (1976), pp. 57–72.
- Künstlerbiographien* 1934 *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, ed. Jakob Hess, Leipzig 1934.
- LEONE 1687 Francesco Leone, "Dedica", in *Il S. Ginesio opera scenica postuma*, ed. Michele Stanchi Rome 1687, sig. A 2r.
- LIVALDINI 1644 Giuseppe Livaldini, *Descrittione dell'arco fatto fare in Roma per l'andata à S. Giovanni in Laterano di N. Signore Innocentio X. seguita il di 23. Novembre 1644. dal serenissimo Odoardo Farnese, Duca di Parma, e Piacenza. Inviata all'illustrissimo signor Gio. Francesco Pavonio, governatore di Piacenza*, Rome 1644.
- LIVALDINI 1688 Giuseppe Livaldini, *La Cetra. Rime*, Rome 1688.
- LOTTI 1688 Giovanni Lotti, *Poesie latine, e toscane*, ed. Ambrogio Lancellotti, Rome 1688.
- LUPARDI 1668 Bartolomeo Lupardi, "Dedica", in *La conversione di Travancor, e Dacen Regni dell'Indie. Opera scenica*, ed. Michele Stanchi, Rome 1668, p. 2f.
- MANCINI 1980 Francesco Federico Mancini, "Cerrini, Gian Domenico, detto il Cavalier Perugino", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 24, Rome 1980, pp. 16–20.
- MANDOSIO 1682–1692 Prospero Mandosio, *Bibliotheca romana seu romanorum scriptorum centuriae*, 2 vols., Rome 1682–1692.

Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687) and Some of Her Contemporaries

- MANNA 2005 Jacopo Manna, “In lode di Cerrini. ‘Poesie Sopra il Ratto di S. Paolo’”, in *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005, pp. 93–105.
- MARABOTTINI 2005 Alessandro Marabottini, “Cerrini e Roma”, in *Gian Domenico Cerrini* 2005, pp. 61–79.
- MARINO 1979 Giovanni Battista Marino, *La Galeria*, ed. Marzio Pieri, 2 vols., Padua 1979.
- MARRACCI 1648 Ippolito Marracci, *Bibliotheca Mariana alphabetico ordine digesta, et in duas partes divisa*, 2 vols., Rome 1648.
- MAYLENDER 1926–1930 Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d’Italia*, 5 vols., Bologna 1926–1930.
- MAZZEI 1650 Carlo Mazzei (Carolus a S. Antonio Patavino), *De arte epigrammatica, sive de ratione epigrammatis rite conficiendi libellus*, Cologne 1650.
- MAZZEI 1674a Carlo Mazzei, *Liber anagrammaton multis epigrammatis ornatus, inter quae anagrammata, aliquot inscriptiones, sive elogia novae inventionis ... cui adiunctus eiusdem auctoris Libellus aenigmaton cum scholiis*, Rome 1674.
- MAZZEI 1674b Carlo Mazzei, *Musae anconitanae sive epigrammaton libri IV. I. Sacrorum, II. Moralium, III. Heroicorum, IV. Iucundorum, variorumque. Quibus plurima anagrammata inserta sunt, variaque aenigmata cum notis*, Rome 1674.
- MONESIO 1674 Giovanni Pietro Monesio, *Poesie per musica*, 2 vols., Rome 1674.
- MONESIO 1678 Giovanni Pietro Monesio, *Celeste annunzio di pace al popolo cristiano musicalmente espresso per la notte del Santiss[im]o Natale nel Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Rome 1678.
- MONESIO 1680 Giovanni Pietro Monesio, *La Baviera trionfante. Applauso festivo per la maggiorità del Serenissimo Elettore Massimiliano Emanuele Duca di Baviera ... Componimento per musica*, Rome 1680.
- MONESIO 1681 Giovanni Pietro Monesio, *Canora rimembranza nel giorno natalizio dell’Augustissima Sposa Maria Luigia Regina delle Spagne solennizzato dall’eccellentissimo Signor Marchese del Carpio etc. Ambasciatore di S. M. C. in Roma. Componimento per musica ...*, Rome 1681.
- MONETA 1655 Domenico Moneta, *Relatione dell’ultima malattia, e della morte della felice e S.ta memoria di Papa Innocentio Decimo tradotta dal Latino di Germano Alitino nell’Italiana favella da Domenico Moneta romano*, Rome 1655.
- MONTAGU 1989 Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*, New Haven and London 1989.
- MONTANARI 1998 Tomaso Montanari, “Sulla fortuna poetica di Bernini. Frammenti del tempo di Alessandro VII e di Sforza Pallavicino”, *Studi Secenteschi*, 39 (1998), pp. 127–164.
- MONTANARI 1999 Tomaso Montanari, “Prolegomeni a un ‘corpus’ berniniano: appunti sulla fortuna critica contemporanea di Gian Lorenzo Bernini”, in *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: regista del Barocco*, ed. Maria Grazia Bernardini and Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco (exhibition catalogue Perugia), Milan 1999, pp. 455–461.
- MONTANARI 2003 Tomaso Montanari, “A Contemporary Reading of Bernini’s ‘Maraviglioso Composto’: Unpublished Poems on the Four River Fountain and the Cornaro Chapel”, in *Poetry on Art* 2003, pp. 177–198.
- MORONI 1843 Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 12, Venice 1843.
- NEGRI 1722 Giulio Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini*, Ferrara 1722.
- NEGRONI CORSI 1668 Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi, *Veritas iugulata ...*, Udine 1668.
- NEGRONI CORSI 1674 Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi, *Panegyricus Francisco Nerlio S. R. Ecclesiae cardinali dictus*, Padua 1674.
- NEGRONI CORSI 1675a Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi, *Breve ristretto della vita, e miracoli della beata Elena Enselmini nob. Padovana, raccolto da molti autori*, Padua 1675.
- NEGRONI CORSI 1675b Giovanni Battista Negroni Corsi, *Panegyricus Galeatio Marescotto S. R. Ecclesiae cardinali dictus*, Padua 1675.
- OLDOINI 1680 Agostino Oldoini, *Athenaeum ligusticum seu syllabus scriptorum ligurum nec non sarzanensium, ac cyrenensium reipublicae Genuensis subditorum ... collectus*, Perugia 1680.
- PASCOLI 1992 Lione Pascoli, *Vite de’ pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, ed. Alessandro Marabottini, Perugia 1992.
- Paulys Realencyclopädie* 1963 *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 14, Stuttgart 1963, cols. 1318–1321.
- PICANYOL 1937 Leodegario Picanyol, *Selectae latinitatis epistolarium P. Caroli Mazzei a S. Antonio Patavino cum brevi de auctoris vita operibusque commentario*, Rome 1937.
- PICANYOL 1952 Leodegario Picanyol, *La biblioteca scolopica di S. Pantaleo di Roma. Parte prima. Libri, opuscoli e scritti minori*, Rome 1952.
- PLANK 1985 Steven Plank, “Of Sinners and Suns: Some Cantatas for the Roman Oratory”, *Music & Letters*, 66 (1985), pp. 344–354.
- Poesie de’ signori* 1637 *Poesie de’ signori Accademici Fantastici di Roma*, Rome 1637.
- Poesie de’ signori* 1678 *Poesie de’ signori Accademici Infecondi di Roma*, Venice 1678.

- Poesie de' signori 1684 *Poesie de' signori Accademici Infecondi di Roma. Per le felicissime vittorie riportate dall'armi cristiane contro la potenza ottomana nella gloriosa difesa dell'augusta imperial città di Vienna l'anno 1683*, Venice 1684.
- Poetry on Art 2003 *Poetry on Art. Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Thomas Frangenberg, Donington 2003.
- PREIMESBERGER 1974 Rudolf Preimesberger, "Obeliscus Pamphilius. Beiträge zu Vorgeschichte und Ikonographie des Vierströmebrunnens auf Piazza Navona", *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 25 (1974), pp. 77–162.
- QUADRIO 1739–1752 Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, 5 vols., vols. 2 and 3 in two parts, Bologna (vol. 1) and Milan 1739–1752.
- RASPE 1996 Martin Raspe, "Borromini und Sant'Agnes in Piazza Navona. Von der päpstlichen Grablege zur Residenzkirche der Pamphili", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 31 (1996), pp. 313–368.
- RAU/RASTRELLI 1769–1776 Antonio Francesco Rau and Modesto Rastrelli, *Serie degli uomini i più illustri nella pittura, scultura, e architettura con i loro elogi, e ritratti incisi in rame*, 13 vols., Florence 1769–1776, vol. 13: Supplemento alla Serie dei trecento elogi e ritratti degli uomini i più illustri in pittura, scultura e architettura o sia abecedario pittorico dall'origine delle belle arti a tutto l'anno MDCCLXXV, cols. 674f.
- RENAZZI 1803–1806 Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Roma, detta comunemente la Sapienza: che contiene anche un saggio storico della letteratura romana dal principio del secolo XIII sino al declinare del secolo XVIII*, 4 vols., Rome 1803–1806.
- ROLI 1969 Renato Roli, *I disegni italiani del Seicento. Scuole emiliana, toscana, romana, marchigiana e umbra*, Treviso 1969.
- Romana 1695 *Romana*, Rome 1695.
- ROMANO/PARTINI 1944 Pietro Romano and Peppino Partini, *Piazza Navona nella storia e nell'arte*, Rome 1944.
- RUBINO 2008–2009 Marta Rubino, *Per la storia della Biblioteca Vaticana: le carte di Giovanni Vignoli a Pitigliano*, unpubl. Diss., Università degli Studi di Udine, 2008/2009.
- RUGGIERI 1642 Giovanni Simone Ruggieri, *Nel serenissimo natale del Prencipe di Toscana Genetliaco*, Rome 1642.
- RUGGIERI 1643 Giovanni Simone Ruggieri, *Oratione in lode di S. Filippo Neri recitata ... nel giorno della festa di detto Santo ...*, Rome 1643.
- RUGGIERI 1644 Giovanni Simone Ruggieri, *Delle lodi di S. Filippo Neri oratione ... recitata nell'Accademia degli Sterili eretta in casa del Sig. Michel'Angelo Brancavalieri*, Rome 1644.
- RUGGIERI 1651 Giovanni Simone Ruggieri, *Diario dell'anno del santiss. giubileo M.D.C.L. celebrato in Roma dalla Santità di N. S. Papa Innocentio X. Raccolto da ... romano*, Rome 1651.
- RUGGIERI 1665 Giovanni Simone Ruggieri, *Compendio della vita di S. Francesco di Sales cavato da' processi della sua canonizzazione ...*, Rome 1665.
- SAN JUAN 2001 Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: a City out of Print*, Minneapolis 2001.
- SARTORI 1990–1994 Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, Cuneo 1990–1994.
- SERRA 1647 Francesco Serra, i.e. Francesco [Baldi] ab Annunciazione, "Vaticinium", in *Pius plausus illustriss. et excellentiss. D. D. Francisco de Magnis*, Rome 1647.
- SERRA 1648 Francesco Serra, i.e. Francesco [Baldi] ab Annunciazione, "Dedication", in *Innocentia triumphans in SS. MM. Iusto, ac Pastore germanis fratribus*, Rome 1648.
- SERRA 1649 Francesco Serra, i.e. Francesco [Baldi] ab Annunciazione, *Neothyron sive nova porta in linguam latinam*, Rome 1649.
- SERRA 1654 Francesco Serra, i.e. Francesco [Baldi] ab Annunciazione, *Synonymorum apparatus*, Venice 1654.
- Il Silenzio discorso* 1670 *Il silenzio discorso sopra la pittura recitato nell'Accademia di Roma de' signori pittori, scultori, et architetti ...*, Rome 1670.
- SPECK 2003 Christian Speck, *Das italienische Oratorium 1625–1665: Musik und Dichtung*, Turnhout 2003.
- SPERA 1999 Lucinda Spera, "Garopoli, Girolamo", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 52, Rome 1999, p. 377f.
- STANCHI 1662 Michele Stanchi, *L'amore tra nemici. Opera comica*, Macerata 1662.
- STANCHI 1664a Michele Stanchi, *La Rosaura. Opera scenica*, Rome 1664.
- STANCHI 1664b Michele Stanchi, *I personaggi finti*, Rome 1664.
- STANCHI 1667 Michele Stanchi, *La Madalena. Rappresentazione*, Rome 1667.
- SUTHERLAND HARRIS 1996 Ann Sutherland Harris, "Abbatini, Guido Ubaldo", in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 1, London 1996, p. 20f.
- TRATZ 1991/1992 Helga Tratz, "Die Ausstattung des Langhauses von St. Peter unter Innozenz X.", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 27/28 (1991/1992), pp. 337–374.
- TURNER 1973 Nicholas Turner, "Four Academy Discourses by Giovanni Battista Passeri", *Storia dell'Arte*, 19 (1973), pp. 231–247.



Maria Porzia Vignoli (1632–1687) and Some of Her Contemporaries

- |               |   |              |   |
|---------------|---|--------------|---|
| VASSALLI 1979 | Donata Chiomenti Vassalli, <i>Donna Olimpia o del nepotismo nel Seicento</i> , Milan 1979.  | VIGNOLI 1658 | Maria Porzia Vignoli, <i>Nel suo monacaggio. Sonetto. All'Eminentiss.mo et Reverendiss.mo Sig. Card. Brancacci</i> , Viterbo 1658.  |
| VIGNOLI 1651  | Maria Porzia Vignoli, <i>L'Obelisco di Piazza Navona. Idillio [...] con la dichiarazione delle Statue, Animali, Piante, e di tutto quello, che si contiene in detto Obelisco</i> , Rome 1651.   | VITTORI 1644 | Loreto Vittori, <i>La Santa Irene. Dramma</i> , Rome 1644.  |
| VIGNOLI 1653a | Maria Porzia Vignoli, <i>Il Tebro festivo. Idillio</i> , Rome 1653.   | WALKER 1980  | T. Walker, "Sbarra, Francesco", in <i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 16 vols., London 1980, pp. 541f.  |
| VIGNOLI 1653b | Maria Porzia Vignoli, <i>Il Vaticinio della Sibilla Tiburtina nel ritorno del Sereniss. Sig. Principe Rinaldo Cardinal d'Este in Roma. Canzone</i> , ed. Francesco Moneta, Rome 1653.   | WEILEN 1901  | Alexander von Weilen, <i>Zur Wiener Theatergeschichte. Die vom Jahre 1629 bis zum Jahre 1740 am Wiener Hofe zur Aufführung gelangten Werke theatralischen Charakters und Oratorien</i> , Vienna 1901. |
| VIGNOLI 1655  | Maria Porzia Vignoli, <i>Roma trionfante. Canzone</i> , Rome 1655.  |              |   |
| VIGNOLI 1656  | Maria Porzia Vignoli, "La Maraviglia. Ode", in <i>Poesie sopra il Ratto di S. Paolo nella cupola della Madonna della Vittoria. Pittura del signor Gio. Domenico Cerrini Perugino dedicate all' Illustriss. e Reverendiss. Sig. Monsig. Rospigliosi Arcivescovo di Tarso, e Segretario di Stato di N.[ostro] S.[ignore]</i> , ed. Francesco Moneta, Rome 1656. |              |   |