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Another Look at Caravaggio and Religion

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Another Look at Caravaggio and Religion

I. Caravaggio's art and devotion in the Counter-Reformation: the state of the question

The starting-point for any serious consideration of Caravaggio's relationship to his religious milieu is Walter Friedlaender's discussion of this topic. Developing suggestions made earlier by P. Francastel and R. Hinks,¹ Friedlaender hypothesized that the direct communication Caravaggio establishes between the spectator and the sacred scene in altarpieces such as the *Madonna di Loreto* [Fig. 1] and *Conversion of St. Paul* [Fig. 2] has an affinity, on the one hand, with the informal mysticism and humility of St. Philip Neri and the Oratorians and, on the other, with the ideas and meditative practices of St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Moreover, according to Friedlaender, Caravaggio was probably introduced to the *Exercises* by the Oratorians.²

Friedlaender's hypothesis has had a very mixed reception by Caravaggio scholars. R. Wittkower, M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, and R. Spear agree that Caravaggio's religious paintings are close in spirit to both Neri and Loyola.³ However, while R. Jullian, A. Zuccari, and A. Moir admit Caravaggio's affinity only with Neri and the Oratory and either explicitly or implicitly exclude any parallels between Caravaggio and Loyola,⁴ G. Cozzi, H. Röttgen, and H. Hibbard reject the suggestion that Caravaggio was somehow influenced by Oratorian ideals.⁵ F. Bologna denies that there was any connection between Caravaggio and either Neri and the Oratory or Loyola and the Jesuits.⁶ Objections to the contrary notwithstanding, M. Cinotti, J. Gash, and T. Thomas are unwilling to dismiss the relevance of Neri's religious reform for understanding Caravaggio's religious art.⁷

Some observations should be made about Friedlaender's hypothesis and its reception.

1. There is no evidence to support Friedlaender's assumption that Caravaggio was introduced to the *Exercises* by the Oratorians. It is more likely that Caravaggio became familiar with the *Exercises* through the Augustinians, who were strong advocates of Ignatian spirituality.⁸ Hibbard noted that "There may have been some connection between Caravaggio and the Augustinians, whose headquarters were in Lombardy";⁹ he also detected "Augustinian" elements in Caravaggio's religious imagery, e. g., his use of light suggests an Augustinian emphasis on man's total dependence on divine grace and mercy.¹⁰ Caravaggio did three paintings for Augustinian churches – the *Conversion of St. Paul*, the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* [Fig. 3], and *Madonna di Loreto* – and two of these, the *Conversion* and *Madonna*, were singled out by Friedlaender for being in accord with the ideas and practices of the *Exercises*.¹¹ Although Neri confessed "that all he knew about mental prayer he had learned from St. Ignatius,"¹² the Oratorians were not corporately committed to any particular method of meditation.¹³ By contrast, the Augustinians were renowned as propagators of the *Exercises*, and hence Ignatian elements in two of the paintings Caravaggio produced for their churches would have been very appropriate.

2. Something more needs to be said about the *Exercises'*, meditative practices, which Friedlaender and others have considered relevant to Caravaggio's religious art. The "composition of place" and "application of the senses" aim to make Christian mysteries actual and tangible by having the meditator employ his imagination and senses to become and active participant in a gospel scene.¹⁴ Although the *Exercises* are the *locus classicus* of the description of the composition of place and application of the senses,¹⁵ these practices antedate Loyola; they are found in the works of medieval spiritual writers

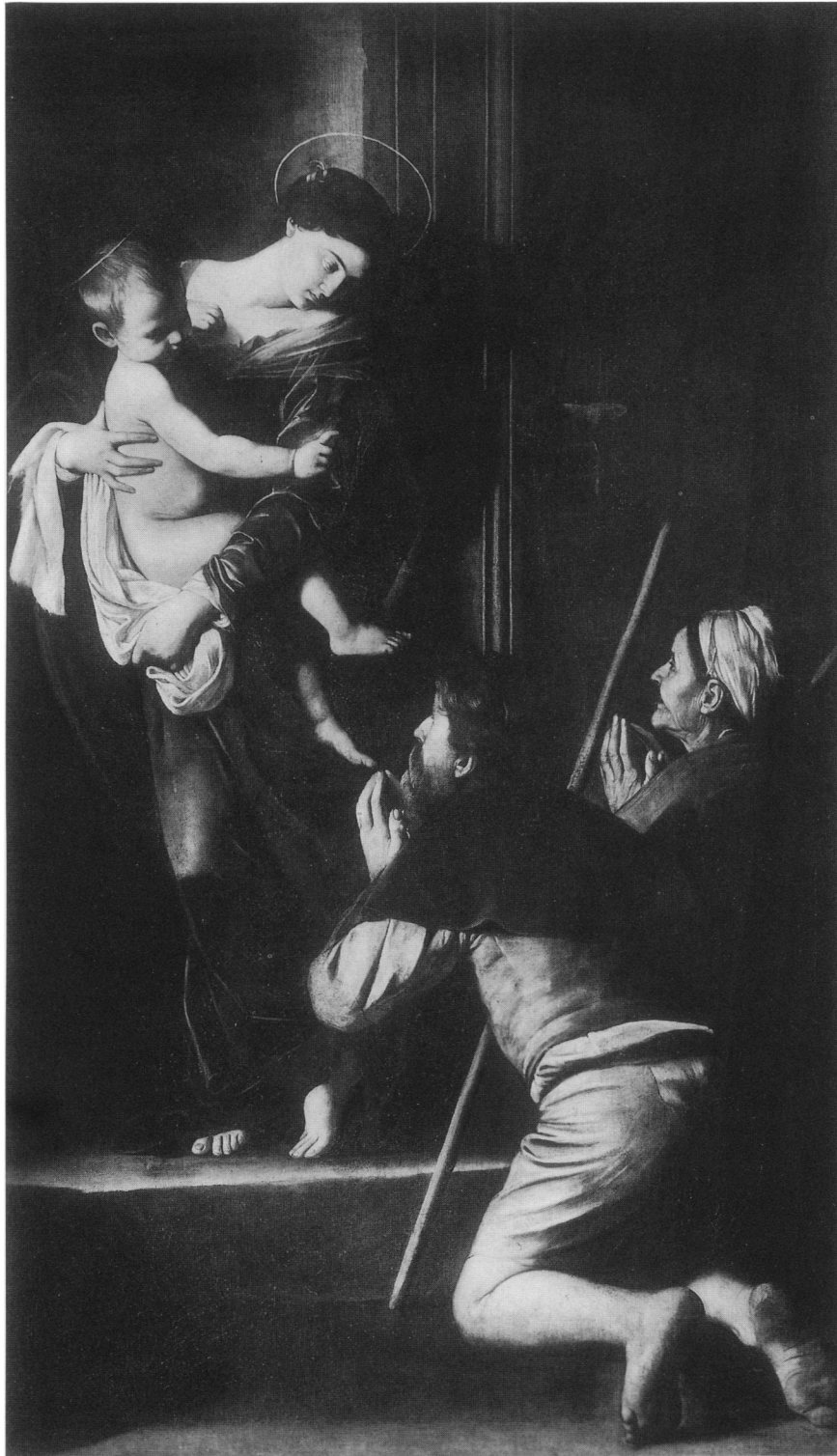
like St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, and many others, as well as in the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony's fourteenth-century *Vita Christi*, from which Loyola learned them.¹⁶ These practices are also contained in the works of countless other spiritual authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, in Italy during Caravaggio's lifetime they were available in the Italian translation of the Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada's *Book of Prayer and Meditation* (1554), and instructional manual on prayer;¹⁷ the number-one best-seller of the entire Spanish Golden Age (it ran through well over one hundred editions between 1554 and 1679),¹⁸ this work was translated into Italian in 1556 and went through two dozen editions between that date and 1610, the year of Caravaggio's death.¹⁹ Instructions concerning the composition of place and use of the senses in meditation were also accessible in native Italian sources, such as the Theatine Lorenzo Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*,²⁰ noteworthy too is that Scupoli's humanized image of the Virgin Mary is identical to Loyola's and Caravaggio's.²¹ Between 1589, when it first appeared in Venice, and 1610, also the year of Scupoli's death, over thirty editions of the *Combat* were published in Italian; translated into all the major European languages, it was also enormously popular throughout Europe, appearing in more than 250 editions between 1589 and 1750.²² Across the Alps, St. Francis de Sales included the composition of place and application of the senses in the method of meditation he offers in his *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1609),²³ as P. Askew has pointed out, although De Sales' writings could not have served as a source for Caravaggio, they, nevertheless, are relevant to his art because De Sales and Caravaggio were nurtured in the same religion climate, and hence De Sales' works provide information about the milieu in which the artist lived and worked.²⁴ However, these meditative techniques were not only recommended in books on prayer but also in preaching manuals of the period as ways of communicating the gospel and Christian doctrine more effectively to the faithful,²⁵ and we know that they were actually used for this purpose.²⁶ In short, the composition of place and application of the senses were part and parcel of a widely disseminated, and specifically Catholic, method of meditation during the Counter-Reformation.²⁷ One church historian has gone so far as to attribute the success of the Catholic reform to methodical meditation, which was an integral component of priestly formation in the Tridentine seminary and of the rules of both the new and old religious orders.²⁸ All of the orders for whose churches Caravaggio produced paintings – the Augustinians, Oratorians, Capuchins, Dominicans, and Discalced Carmelites – not only practiced methodical meditation but popularized it through preaching and the pastoral ministry.²⁹

3. One of the principal objections raised by Cozzi, Bologna, and Röttgen against Caravaggio's ties with the Oratory was that the

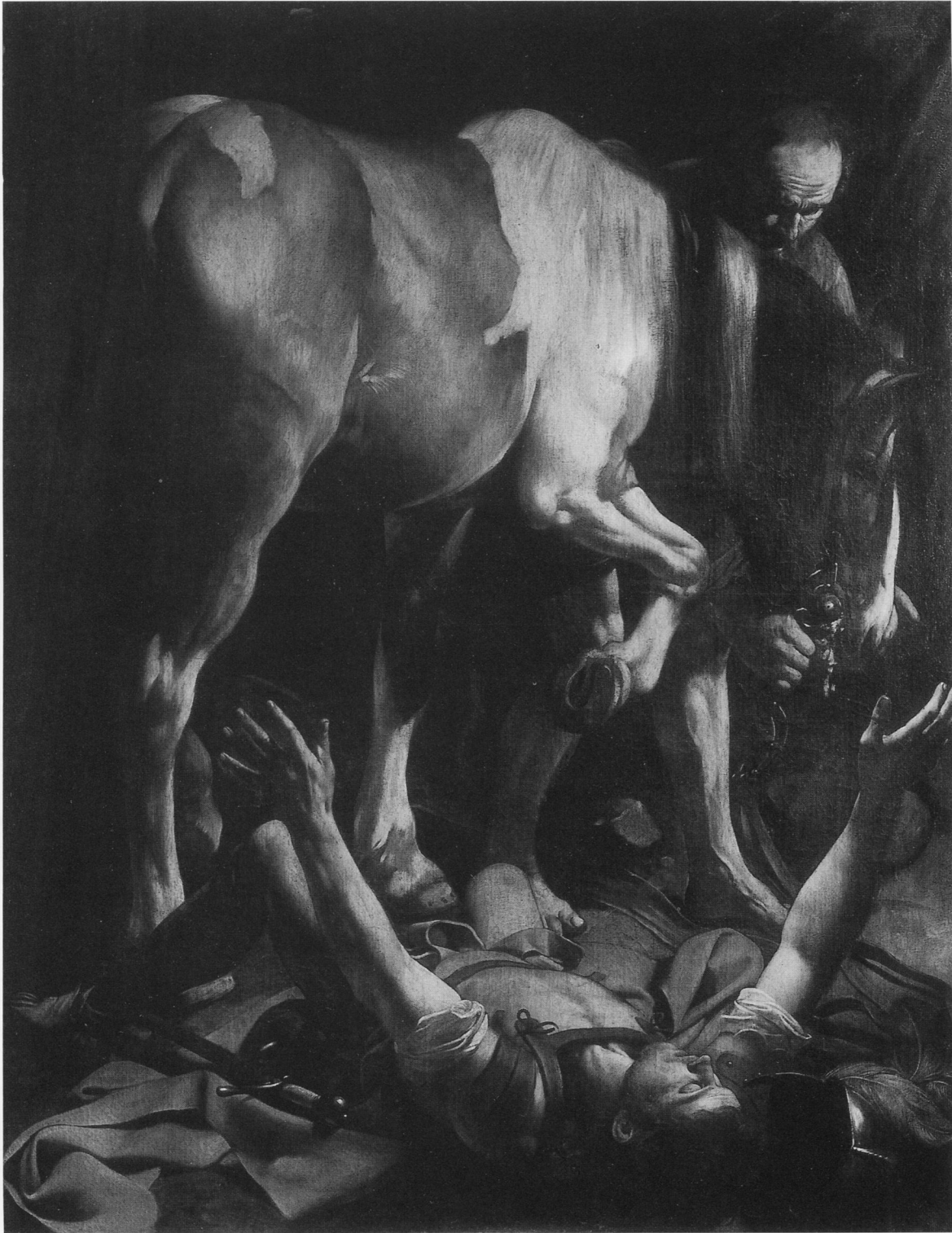
artist's breaches of decorum would have been offensive to the Oratorians, whose taste in art was conservative.³⁰ Thomas has perceptively observed that the flaw in this argument is that while it explains how the Oratory may have reacted to Caravaggio's paintings, it tells us nothing of how Caravaggio may have responded to and internalized the oratorian concept of humility.³¹ Jullian's and Bologna's arguments against Caravaggio's affinity with Loyola suffer from a similar weakness: they explain how the Jesuits may have reacted to Caravaggio but say nothing about how the artist may have responded to the *Exercises*, or, to be more precise, Counter-Reformation meditative practices.³² Equally off the mark is the distinction Bologna makes between the life and experience of Loyola and Caravaggio (i. e., that Loyola and Caravaggio could not be more different – Loyola's conception of Christians mysteries in terms of the actual and tangible originated in his mystical experience and sought to move the exercitant to contrition, asceticism, and ecstasy, three things very foreign to Caravaggio³³) because, again, it ignores Caravaggio's response to the *Exercises* and leads to facile conclusions about Caravaggio's complex and unconventional personality. Given the wide diffusion and popularity of Counter-Reformation meditative practices, Caravaggio was certainly aware of their importance, particularly for the orders for whose churches he did paintings. Furthermore, I contend that the hallmarks of Caravaggio's religious art identified by Friedlaender and others – the direct contact the artist establishes between the sacred scene and the spectator and his consistent humanization of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, as well as the population of his religious paintings with apparently poor, common, and very human types³⁴ – are primarily Caravaggio's artistic response to, and interpretation of, these practices. This contention is supported by a combination of various factors: the positive correlation between the character of Caravaggio's religious work and the purpose and content of Counter-Reformation meditative techniques; the interest in these practices by the orders for whose churches Caravaggio painted; the liturgical context of the artist's altarpieces and the liturgical piety of his age; and the close relationship between art and devotion in the Counter-Reformation.

II. Caravaggio's art and the religious climate of his time

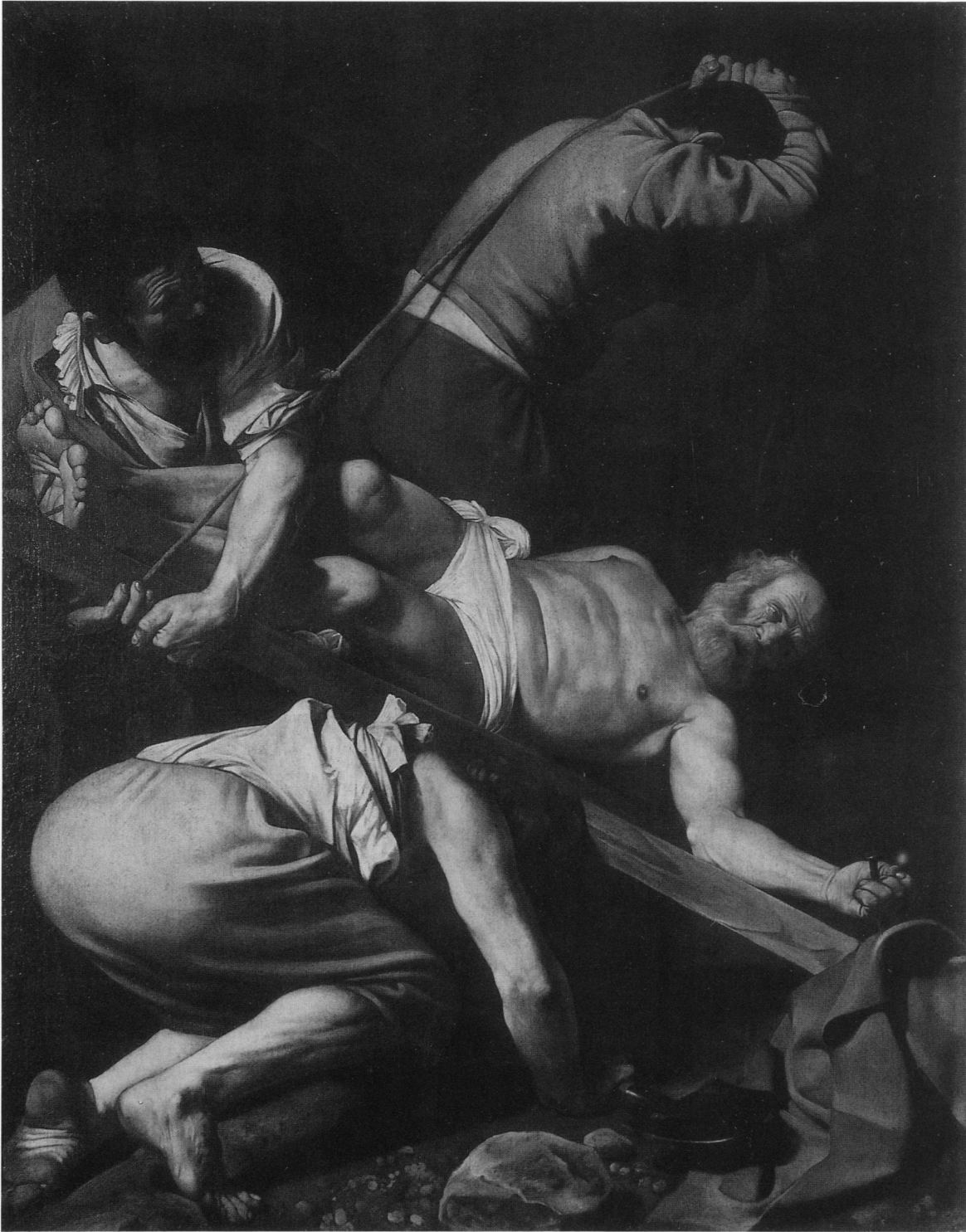
Counter-Reformation meditative techniques prescribed that the meditator imagine a religious scene as if it were taking place before him "now," or as if he were present at the historical moment, and then participate in it by means of the senses, or, more exactly, their analogues in the imagination. Caravaggio's religious paintings are the pictorial equivalent of these methods.



1) Caravaggio, «The Madonna di Loreto», Rome, Cavaletti Chapel, Sant'Agostino.



2) Caravaggio, «The Conversion of St. Paul», Rome, Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo.



3) Caravaggio, «The Crucifixion of St. Peter», Rome, Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo.

In both his early and mature works, the artist consistently portrays Christ, the Virgin, and the saints as human beings; he also often includes poor spectators alongside sacred persons, as, e. g., in the *Madonna di Loreto* and *Madonna of the Rosary*. The result is that sacred scenes are represented as human dramas.³⁵ Thus Caravaggio makes the supernatural actual and establishes a direct rapport between the scene and the spectator, enabling the spectator to identify with the mystery being portrayed. Consequently, just as meditative practices engaged the meditator immediately in Christian mysteries, Caravaggio's religious art achieves the same effect by bringing the supernatural "near to the spectator, almost to the degree of physical tangibility."³⁶

The prevalence of the humanization of sacred persons and scenes in Caravaggio's early and mature paintings suggests that the artist's response to the meditative practices of his period underwent a prolonged process of gestation and development. Caravaggio likely first came into contact with these practices in Lombardy, probably through the Augustinians and/or preaching.³⁷ However, the full potential of the meditative quality of Caravaggio's religious art was not realized until the artist began to execute altarpieces for the churches of the orders that popularized these practices. To appreciate Caravaggio's achievement in this regard, it is necessary to understand the close relationship that existed between religious art and piety in the Counter-Reformation.

The lives and writings of various Counter-Reformation saints reveal that during this period art was considered to be an aid to prayer and devotion. Loyola not only used pictures to help himself meditate on the mysteries of Christ's life, but asked the Jesuit Jerome Nadal to compose an illustrated book of gospel meditations to assist young Jesuits with the practice of the composition of place.³⁸ Similarly, St. Teresa of Avila recognized the important role of religious art in the life of devotion. For example, Teresa relied heavily on images as aids to prayer, especially in the early stages of her spiritual life; she not only had a preference for particular religious paintings but commissioned paintings of Christ, the Virgin, and her favorite saints of her monasteries because they helped worship and awakened the love of God; she lamented the devotional impoverishment caused by the Lutherans and others who condemned the use of images; and, as the depositions given at the processes of Teresa's beatification and canonization testify, she often had raptures while looking at religious paintings.³⁹ Neri wished the altarpieces of the Chiesa Nuova to be used for meditation,⁴⁰ and he himself would "all unconsciously be rapt into a sweet ecstasy" as he sat contemplating Federico Barroci's altar painting in the Chapel of the Visitation in the Chiesa Nuova.⁴¹ During his student days in Paris, De Sales had a great esteem for a black statue of the Virgin in the church of Saint Etienne des

Grès; when he struggled with his great temptation to despair of his salvation, he was delivered from this trial as he prayed the Memorare before this statue.⁴² Moreover, De Sales recommended images as a possible remedy for the dryness sometimes experienced in meditation because they are able to arouse the heart.⁴³

The impact of Caravaggio's altarpieces as devotional images can be grasped only when they are considered in the liturgical context for which they were intended. Caravaggio's conception and interpretation of religious subjects is in complete harmony with Counter-Reformation liturgical piety, of which meditative prayer was an integral part. By the end of the Middle Ages, the so-called "private mass" was firmly established as the model for its public celebration; the Council of Trent canonized and universalized this model. Consequently, until the restoration of the Second Vatican Council, the laity acted as spectators rather than as participants at the liturgy.⁴⁴ To keep the laity engaged in activity during mass, devotional writers encouraged them to meditate or to pray the rosary. For example, De Sales tells Philothea in the *Introduction to the Devout Life* that if she wishes to hear Mass properly, she should keep herself recollected by meditating on the mysteries of Christ's life or some other mystery of her choice.⁴⁵ The saint himself, when about to receive episcopal consecration, made a pious resolution always to pray the rosary when his duties required him to attend a public mass.⁴⁶ When prayed correctly, the rosary was to be a meditative prayer, a point insisted upon in rosary books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁷ These books typically included an illustration, composition of place, and points for meditation for each of the fifteen mysteries of the rosary.⁴⁸ Again, turning to De Sales' *Introduction*, the saint gives Philothea this advice about the rosary: "The rosary is a very useful form of prayer, provided you know how to say it properly. To do this, get one of the little books that teach us the way to recite it."⁴⁹ M. A. Graeve related the rosary program of the Chiesa Nuova and Caravaggio's *Entombment of Christ* to an early sixteenth-century rosary book by the Dominican Alberto Castellano that was in Neri's personal library.⁵⁰

Friedlaender attributed the "spiritual relationship" Caravaggio establishes between the sacred scene and the spectator to the fact that "Almost all of Caravaggio's religious works, beginning with the San Luigi series, were altarpieces designed for the worship of the Christian community and its members [...]."⁵¹ The liturgical piety of the age and the interrelationship between Counter-Reformation art prayer suggest that Caravaggio's altarpieces were intended to help worshippers to meditate while they attended mass. A passage from Granada's *Brief Memorial and Guide of the Duties of a Christian* (1561), which specifies the correspondence between the composition of place and painting, gives an idea of how Caravaggio's altar-



4) Caravaggio, «The Stigmatization of St. Francis», Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection, Wadsworth Atheneum.

pieces may have served as meditative aids: "Each day the Christian should select one or two or three episodes of the life of Christ for his meditation. He should represent each mystery as present to him here and now. The representation of these mysteries is a function of the imagination, which knows how a painter would portray them."⁵² By depicting Christian mysteries in human terms so that the spectator could identify with them,

Caravaggio's altarpieces would have assisted worshippers with meditative techniques such as the composition of place.

There is yet another dimension of Counter-Reformation liturgical piety that coincides with Caravaggio's emphasis on the tangibility of the supernatural in his altarpieces. As already indicated, while attending mass, the laity meditated or prayed the rosary. The part of the mass that was the main focus of the

people's attention and devotion was the consecration, particularly the elevation of the host by the priest. This focus came about as a result of the medieval controversies over how and when Christ became present in the Eucharist. Consequently, a "moment of consecration" was defined, and the importance of the canon was reduced to the words of institution.⁵³ A bell called the congregation's attention to this moment when the supernatural became present.⁵⁴ Caravaggio's altarpieces, which made the supernatural actual and tangible, were completely in keeping with the Eucharistic piety of his age. The example *par excellence* of this harmony is Caravaggio's *Entombment*: when the priest elevates the newly consecrated host for the adoration of the congregation, the host is perfectly juxtaposed with Christ's body in Caravaggio's altarpiece.⁵⁵

Finally, there remains the untidy problem of the rejection of some of Caravaggio's altarpieces. If they were in such harmony with Counter-Reformation meditative practices and liturgical piety and the interests of the orders for whose churches he produced paintings, why were some of them rejected? (Presumably the immediate commissioners of Caravaggio's altarpieces would have had a particular sympathy for the interests of the orders with which they were associated.⁵⁶) Caravaggio responded to the meditative techniques and liturgical piety of his day by consciously and consistently representing the human reality and significance of sacred scenes and persons. To achieve this humanization of the supernatural, the artist ignored conventional rules of decorum, and this led to the refusal of some of his work.⁵⁷ Caravaggio's concern with portraying the literal sense of sacred events is sometimes linked to the spirit of

the Protestant return to Scripture.⁵⁸ However, this concern was shared by several contemporary orthodox Catholic biblical scholars who also ran foul of ecclesiastical authorities for insisting on the biblical or historical truth of sacred events and persons precisely because this truth contradicted the way in which such events and persons were conventionally portrayed by religious paintings.⁵⁹

In summary, Caravaggio's religious paintings were nourished by, as well as nourished, Counter-Reformation meditative techniques and liturgical piety. While Caravaggio initially responds to these techniques in his early religious works, the full potential of the meditative quality of his interpretation of Christian mysteries is not realized until the artist begins to produce altarpieces for the churches of the orders that disseminated these practices among the laity. Caravaggio's altarpieces are perfectly integrated into the liturgical context for which they were intended: they serve to help the spectator/worshipper meditate and be conscious of the presence of the supernatural.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the preceding discussion, of course, does not exhaust the topic of Caravaggio and religion. Rather, it has focused on issues raised by the most studied and controversial aspect of this topic, namely, Friedlaender's hypothesis and its reception. Another important aspect, which has received much less attention, is Caravaggio's creation in the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* [Fig. 4] and *Magdalen in Ecstasy* of vivid pictorial equivalents for the description of ecstasy found in the writings of the great Counter-Reformation mystics.⁶⁰

I should like to thank Prof. Donald Posner for the guidance and encouragement he offered in the preparation of this article.

¹ P. Francastel, "Le réalisme de Caravage", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXX, 1938, pp. 45-62; and R. Hinks, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: His Life, His Legend, His Work*, London, 1953, p. 75.

² W. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 117-35.

³ R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1700*, New York, 1958 (rpt. 1982), p. 56; M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, "Le 'Opere di Misericordia': contributo alla poetica del Caravaggio", *L'Arte*, N. S., I, no. 1, 1968, pp. 37-61, esp. 41-3 and 47; and R. Spear, *Caravaggio and His Followers*, New York, 1975, pp. 6, 10-11, and 13.

⁴ R. Jullian, *Caravage*, Lyon-Paris, 1961, pp. 111 and 136, nn. 35 and 36; A. Zuccari, "La politica culturale dell'Oratorio romano nella seconda metà del Cinquecento", *Storia dell'arte*, XLI, 1981, pp. 77-112; and A. Moir, *Caravaggio*, New York, 1982, pp. 13, 22, 56 and 128.

⁵ G. Cozzi, "Intorno a cardinale Ottavio Paravicino, a monsignor Paolo Gualdo e a Michelangelo Caravaggio", *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXIII, no. 1, 1961, pp. 36-68, esp. pp. 62-5; H. Röttgen, *Il Caravaggio: ricerche e interpretazioni*, Rome, 1974, pp. 236-40; and H. Hibbard, *Caravaggio*, New York, 1983, p. 313.

⁶ F. Bologna, "Il Caravaggio nella cultura e nella società del suo tempo", in *Colloquio sul tema Caravaggio e i Caravaggeschi, organizzato d'intesa con le Accademie di Spagna e di Olanda*, Rome, 1974, pp. 149-87, esp. pp. 163-6 and 175-6.

⁷ M. Cinotti, with a critical essay by G. A. Dell'Acqua, *Michelangelo Merisi detto il Caravaggio*, Bergamo, 1983 (excerpted from *I pittori bergamaschi: Il Seicento*, I), p. 223; J. Gash, *Caravaggio*, London, 1980, p. 15; and T. Thomas, "Expressive Aspects of Caravaggio's First *Inspiration of St. Matthew*", *Art Bulletin*, LXVII, 1985, pp. 637-52.

⁸ See D. Gutiérrez, "Ermite de Saint-Augustin", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Paris, 1960, IV, no. 1, cols. 983-1018, esp. 1002.

⁹ Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 101-2 and 125-31.

¹¹ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹² V. J. Matthews, *St. Philip Neri: Apostle of Rome and Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory*, London, 1934 (rpt. Rockford, Ill., 1984), p. 72.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 71; and L. Ponnelle, L. Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of His Times (1515-1595)*, trans. R. F. Kerr, London, 1932, pp. 386.

¹⁴ The "composition of place" entailed using the imagination to visualize a particular scene in the life of Christ in all its details. The "application of the senses" goes further: the exercitant is to apply each of the five senses (or rather, their analogues in the imagination) to the scene in question.

¹⁵ See, e. g., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. L. J. Puhl, Westminster, Md., 1951, pars. 47, 65-70, 91, 103, 106-7, 112, 114, 116, 121-5. Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, discusses several of these passages on p. 121.

¹⁶ See J. Maréchal, "Application des sens", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Paris, 1932, I, cols. 810-28, esp. 822-6; L. Spear, "Prayer with Images", *The Way*, XIII, 1973, pp. 236-44; J. Walsh, "Application of the Senses", *The Way Supplement*, XXVII, 1976, pp. 59-68; and D. M. Stanley, "Contemporary Gospel-Criticism and 'The Mysteries of the Life of Our Lord' in the *Spiritual Exercises*", and E. H. Cousins, "Franciscan Roots of Ignatian Meditation", in *Ignatian Spirituality in a Secular Age*, ed. G. P. Schnier, Waterloo, 1984, pp. 26-50, esp. 28-30, and pp. 51-64, resp.

¹⁷ See *Summa of the Christian Life: Selected Text from the writings of Venerable Louis of Granada, O. P.*, 3 vols., trans. J. Aumann, St. Louis, 1954-8, vol. II, p. 317.

¹⁸ K. Whinnom, "The Problem of the 'Best-Seller' in Spanish Golden-Age Literature", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, LVII, 1980, pp. 189-98, esp. p. 194.

¹⁹ M. Llaneza, *Bibliografía del V. P. M. Fray Luis de Granada*, 4 vols., Salamanca, 1926-8, vol. I, nos. 15-145, *passim*; and G. M. Bertini, M. A. Pelazza, *Ensayos de literatura espiritual comparada hispano-italiana*, Turin, 1980, pp. 204-8. In fact, of all the Spanish spiritual works published and disseminated in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the editions of Granada's works were the most numerous (St. Teresa of Avila's works occupy a distant second place): see Bertini, Pelazza, *op. cit.*, p. 214. The popularity of Granada's writings in sixteenth-century Italy is well attested; for example, St. Charles Borromeo (1538-84), whose spirit dominated not only the Milan of Caravaggio's youth but the entire Counter-Reformation Church, often preached from Grenada's works: see A. Huerga's introduction to the *Summa of the Christian Life, op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. xvii-lxxxvii, esp. lxxix.

²⁰ L. Scupoli, *The Spiritual Combat and a Treatise on Peace of the Soul*, trans. W. Lester and R. Mohan, New York, 1978, pp. 46-7, 69-70, 72-3, 138, and 147-8.

²¹ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 141-4; and Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

²² H. A. Hodges, "A History of *Unseen Warfare*", in *Unseen Warfare, Being the Spiritual Combat and Path to Paradise of Lorenzo Scupoli*, trans. E. Kadlubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer, London, 1963, pp. 227-81. The popularity the *Combat* attained outside Italy is often attributed to the recommendation given it by St. Francis de Sales in the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, trans. J. K. Ryan, Garden City, 1972, p. 108, and letters of spiritual direction: cf. St. Francis de Sales, *Selected Letters*, trans. E. Stopp, New York, 1960, pp. 61, 138, and 142-3. Moreover, De Sales himself testifies that he carried a copy of the *Combat* in his pocket for more than eighteen years and read from it

daily: see *ibidem*, p. 138; and J.-P. Camus, *The Spirit of St. Francis de Sales*, trans. C. F. Kelley, New York, 1952, p. 43.

²³ De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life, op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁴ P. Askew, "The Angelic Consolation of St. Francis of Assisi in Post-Tridentine Italian Painting", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 280-306, esp. 288-9.

²⁵ See H. D. Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age: A Study of Some Preachers of the Reign of Philip III*, Oxford, 1978, p. 67.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 67-8; and E. Orozco, *Manierismo y Barocco*, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1981, pp. 89-91.

²⁷ Catholic meditative techniques aimed at having the meditator "apply himself to the subject, so that he participates in it; he imagines a scene vividly, as if it were taking place in his presence, analyzes the subject, and stirs up emotions appropriate to the scene or event or personal spiritual condition. The typical Protestant procedure is very nearly the reverse: instead of the application of the self to the subject, it calls for the application of the subject to the self - indeed for the subject's location in the self [...]"; from B. K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, Princeton, 1979, p. 151. M. Deutsch Carroll has related Rembrandt to Counter-Reformation meditative techniques: cf. "Rembrandt as Meditational Print-maker", *Art Bulletin*, LXIII, 1981, pp. 585-610. Recently, however, D. R. Smith has challenged that connection and argued for Rembrandt's relationship to Protestant meditative methods: cf. "Towards a Protestant Aesthetics: Rembrandt's 1655 *Sacrifice of Isaac*", *Art History*, VIII, 1985, pp. 290-302.

²⁸ L. Cristiani, *L'Église à l'époque du Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1948, pp. 253-4.

²⁹ See Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*, cols. 1007-8; A. Cistellini, "Oratoire philippin", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Paris, 1982, XI, cols. 853-76, esp. 860; J. Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel*, 4 vols., Darien, Ill., 1975-82, vol. II, pp. 229-30; and O. de Veghel, "Spiritualité franciscaine aux 16^e et 17^e siècles", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Paris, 1964, V, cols. 1347-91, esp. 1349-53. The Dominicans promoted the rosary as a meditative prayer: cf. below; and D. Abbrescia, "Frères prêcheurs en Italie du 16^e siècle à nos jours", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Paris, 1964, V, cols. 1445-64, esp. 1450 and 1457.

³⁰ Cozzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-5; Bologna, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6; Röttgen, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-40.

³¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 642-3. At the same time Thomas notes that the virtue of humility was emphasized not only by Neri but also by other Counter-Reformation spiritual masters such as Loyola and De Sales (p. 647). To this list should also be added the names of Grenada and Teresa of Avila. For Granada, "humility is the foundation of all the virtues and the disposition for the reception of all graces" (*Summa of the Christian Life, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 398). Moreover, Granada enumerates six degrees of humility: cf. *ibidem*, vol. II, pp. 400-5. Similarly, Teresa considered humility to be the foundation of the whole spiritual life: cf. *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3 vols., trans. K. Kavanaugh and O. Rodriguez, Washington, D. C., 1976-85, vol. I, p. 86, and vol. II, p. 447. Recently, it has even been argued that Teresa's autobiography is essentially a practical treatise on humility: see R. Senabre, "Sobre el género literario del Libro de la vida", in *Actas del Congreso Internacional Teresiano*, eds. T. Egido *et al.*, 2 vols., Salamanca, 1983, vols. II, pp. 765-76.

³² Jullian, *op. cit.*, p. 136, no. 35; and Bologna, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-6.

³³ Bologna, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

³⁴ See, e. g., Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and 129; Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Spear, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Moir, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7; and Gash, *op.*

cit., p. 10.

³⁵ See, e. g., Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 126-7, and 129; and Spear, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6 and 10-11.

³⁶ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

³⁷ Editions of the Latin translation of Granada's preaching manual, *Ecclesiastical Rhetoric* (1576), in which he encourages preachers to use the composition of place to make their subject more vivid and immediate for their audience, were published in Venice in 1578 and Milan 1585 and 1588: see Llana, *op. cit.*, vol. III, no. 2845 and nos. 2847-7; and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³⁸ T. Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome", *Art Bulletin*, LVIII, 1976, pp. 424-33, esp. 425.

³⁹ M. Florissonne, *Esthétique et mystique d'après Sainte Thérèse d'Avila et Saint Jean de la Croix*, Paris, 1956, pp. 49-86; and J. Rhodes, "St. Teresa and Devotion to Christ's Passion", *Mount Carmel*, XXVII, 1979, pp. 108-37, esp. 119-20.

⁴⁰ M. A. Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova", *Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, pp. 223-38, esp. 234.

⁴¹ F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy*, New Haven, 1980, p. 69.

⁴² M. Henry-Couannier, *St. Francis de Sales and His Friends*, trans. V. Morrow, Staten Island, 1973, pp. 33-6.

⁴³ De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, 2nd ed., trans. J. Halliburton, New York, 1979, pp. 94-152; and W. H. Willimon, *Word, Water, Wine, and Bread: How Worship Has Changed Over the Years*, Valley Forge, 1980, pp. 51-74.

⁴⁵ De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-5.

⁴⁶ L. Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, Notre Dame, 1955, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Abbrescia, *op. cit.*, cols. 1440 and 1457; and J. Rhodes, "The Rosary in Sixteenth-Century England II", *Mount Carmel*, XXXII, 1984, pp. 4-17, esp. 7-10.

⁴⁸ Abbrescia, *op. cit.*, col. 1450; and Rhodes, *op. cit.*, 1984, pp. 7-10.

⁴⁹ De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3.

⁵⁰ Graeve, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6.

⁵¹ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁵² My translation. *Obras del V. P. M. Fray Luis de Granada*, III (Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 11, Madrid), 1945, p. 197.

⁵³ Willimon, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-8.

⁵⁴ J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. F. A. Brunner, 2 vols., New York, 1951-5, vol. II, pp. 209-10.

⁵⁵ See G. Wright, "Caravaggio's *Entombment* Considered in *Situ*", *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, pp. 35-42; and Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Caravaggio's humanization of the supernatural would have also been in keeping with the Roman Catholic doctrine of the communion of saints. According to this doctrine, because of Christ's conquest of death by his resurrection, not only the Church militant on earth but also the Church triumphant in heaven is present at the sacrifice of the mass: see, e. g., De Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.

⁵⁶ Gash, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-6.

⁵⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 643.

⁵⁸ See, e. g., Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁵⁹ See C. P. Thompson, "En la Ascensión: Artistic Tradition and Poetic Imagination in Luis de León", in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P. E. Russell*, eds. F. W. Hodcroft et al., Oxford, 1981, pp. 109-20, esp. 111-2.

⁶⁰ This aspect of Caravaggio's religious art has been briefly commented on by Askew, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-8; Gash, *op. cit.*, p. 14; and Hibbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61 and 211.