GIACOMO MANZÙ AS A RELIGIOUS ARTIST

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ABSTRACT

Giacomo Manzù (1908-) boldly represents his interior vision in sculptures which are religious in nature. The most significant of these works is the bronze portal entitled the "Door of Death." In the "Door of Death," the sculptor created a personal iconography which reveals his own spiritual conviction - a conviction initially rooted in Roman Catholicism and subsequently centred on the life of humanity. Manzù's creative process is guided by his individual response to the world. In light of Jacques Maritain's treatise on creative activity, it is clear that Manzù seeks to fully express his vision or intuition of reality.

Historically, the Christian community has tried to delimit the creativity of artists by defining the correct role and iconography of religious artwork. Such definitions were formalized by conciliar decree; the most notable of which were issued by the Second Council of Nicaea (787), the Council of Trent (1563) and Vatican II (1963). Manzù freely expresses his intuition even though this brings him into conflict with members of the Catholic hierarchy. The sculptor's position is typical of sincere modern artists who must defend their freedom of expression for it is an outpouring of their very being. When confronted by ecclesiastical critics, Manzù is forced to defend his conception of reality which is embodied in his artwork. However, the sculptor was able to objectify his interior vision in the "Door of Death" owing to the encouragement of his chief patron, Pope John XXIII.

RESUME

Giacomo Manzù (1908-) représente audacieusement ses sentiments les plus profonds à travers ses sculptures de nature religieuse. Son oeuvre de plus grande portée est le portail de bronze intitulé "La porte de la mort." Dans "La porte de la mort," le sculpteur crée une collection d'images personnelles que révèle sa conviction spirituelle - une conviction initialement enracinée dans le catholicisme romain et ultérieurement centrée sur l'existence humaine. Le développement creatif de Manzù est guidé par sa première impression du monde. D'après l'exposé de Jacques Maritain sur l'activité créative, il est évident que Manzù cherche à exprimer pleinement sa vue intérieure ou son intuition de la réalité.

Anciennement, la communaute chrétienne a essaye de délimiter la créativité des artistes en definissant le rôle convenable et les modèles d'oeuvres d'art religieuses. Ces définitions furent formulées par des décisions conciliaires; la plus remarquable d'entre elles fut ordonnée par le deuxième concile de Nicée (787), le concile de Trente (1563) et le deuxième concile du Vatican (1963). Manzù exprime librement son intuition même si cela le met en conflit avec les membres de la hiéarchie catholique. L'opinion sincère du sculpteur est typique des artistes modernes qui doivent défendre leur liberté d'expression, cette dernière étant l'essence même de leur être. Quand il est confronté par les critiques ecclésiastiques, Manzù est forcé de défendre sa conception de

la realité, partie intégrante de son oeuvre. Cependant, grâce à l'encouragement de son patron le Pape Jean XXIII, le sculpteur put démontrer objectivement sa vue intérieure avec "La porte de la mort."

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PREFACE

The religious sculptures of Giacomo Manzù (1908-) caught my interest from the first encounter with his "Chapel of Peace" (1961)[Plate 1]. I wanted to know more about the artist, his oeuvre and his relationship with the Roman Catholic church. I recognized that if I could comprehend the value of the creative expression which Manzù brings to the Church, I might be able to see myself more clearly as a person who is both a member of the Christian community and a practicing artist.

It is probably safe to suppose at the outset that the Catholic tradition offers considerable scope to the work of artists. However, an artist's relationship with this tradition is a complex one. Manzù's experiences with the Roman church - at times negative, at times positive - are not without precedent but they do raise essential questions. May a sincere artist, whether or not he be a Christian, cultivate his freedom of expression when working with religious themes? Should the production of religious art be overseen by ecclesiastical authorities to assure both its quality and its 'orthodoxy'?

A publication entitled Environment and Art in Catholic Worship, issued in 1978 by the American Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, defines that quality which is necessary for the approval of religious artworks. Quality refers to the "love and care in the making of something, honesty and genuineness with any materials used, and the artist's special gift in

producing a harmonious whole, a well-crafted work"[1]. At the very least, the sculptures of Manzù fulfil these criteria set out for the creation of sacred art.

Manzù's creative vision, particularly as embodied in his sculpture the "Door of Death," is extant today because his primary sponsor, Pope John XXIII (1881-1963), believed that Manzù's sculpture should be revealed to the world. The "Door of Death" has a profound message for the modern viewer and serves to inspire him - whether it be to reflect, to pray or to act.

Manzù's artwork, however, evoked the opposition of many Catholic authorities, for conservative Catholic opinion is not yet open to the unrestrained vision of sincere artists. Imagery like Manzù's which arises from an honest response to the contemporary world, provokes a religious response in viewers. Such provocation is vital for the development of the Christian community.

Thus it is essential that religious art be given its freedom - even when this imagery springs from the hands of artists who do not profess the Christian faith. The Catholic writer Thomas Mathews has noted that the history of religious art shows that the novel or unfamiliar has regularly been embraced; this, then, should be the model for the future:

> The important element to observe is the lack of any fixity in the evolution of religious art in the past and the consequent impossibility of defining the character of religious art in the future by an appeal to history. If we are looking for a live religious art in our own generation, we can only expect the unexpected .... For as there is no traditional religious image that is not

> strictly speaking dispensable, so there is no future mode of art that can a priori be excluded from the 'religious.'[2]

It is often the "unexpected" image which invites the viewer to reflect upon his own beliefs. This should be a primary function assigned to religious artwork. Rarely, if ever, should one confine sacred art to the role of decoration or propaganda as conservative Catholic opinion is wont to do. If sincere artistic visions that challenge the viewer through novel iconography or style are encouraged, religious art will prove meaningful for present and future contexts.

ENDNOTES

1. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, Environment and Art in Catholic Worship (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1978) article no.20.

2. Thomas F. Mathews, "The Future of Religious Art," Liturgical Arts 35.2 (February 1964): 87.

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Colour photocopies of the "Door of Death" were reproduced from photographs in XXe siècle.

PART ONE: THE "DOOR OF DEATH"

INTRODUCTION

> The Church, continuing to bear witness to Jesus Christ, does not wish to divest man of any of his rights; she does not dispute his claim to his achievements or the merit of the efforts he has made. She wants to help him to rediscover himself and to recognize himself for what he is, to reach that fullness of knowledge and conviction which has at all times been desired by wise men, even by those who have not received divine revelation.[1]

The above universal vision was held by Pope John XXIII (1881-1963). The Italian sculptor Giacomo Manzù (1908-) shared this love for the dignity of humanity with Pope John and with Monsignor Giuseppe De Luca (1898-1962), who were responsible for encouraging Manzù to develop his chef d'oeuvre the "Door of Death" (1947-1964)[Plates 2-3].

The loving acceptance of the good inherent in humankind was a fundamental link in the relationship between Manzù, who ultimately rejected his Christian faith, and the two men of profound faith who became his greatest guides. For within the sculptor's belief in humanity itself, Pope John had perceived a spirituality which pointed towards the divine:

> 'Si on aime vraiment l'homme, on aime inévitablement Dieu,' dit-il [John XXIII] .... Car la route qui mène à Dieu commence par l'homme. Et le pape prévoyait bien que Manzù allait continuer le long de son propre chemin.[2]

The "Door of Death" is the most notable sculpture produced by Manzù. It was the product of an extended development. Manzù's initial concept for the door was formed in 1947 and the completed portal was installed seventeen years later. Manzù fashioned his bronze portal for St.Peter's

basilica in Rome. The sculpted door stands on the left-hand side of the narthex and is on a grand scale, being 25 feet high, 12 feet wide and 8 inches deep[3] [Plate 4].

The portal shows the manner in which people have died and continue to die, yet it is appropriate to consider the sculpture to be a "Door of Life." For the "Door of Death" portrays the outlook of the sculptor, that is, his belief in the value of human life and the dignity which should be granted to it. Many of the panels created by Manzù are a protest against the violent and evil way in which life is taken from humanity.

Iconographically, the panel titled "Death of John XXIII" [Plate 5] reveals the underlying theme of the portal. This panel, sculpted shortly after the pontiff's death, is the artist's recreation of Pope John in the "fullness of his life."[4] "Death of John XXIII" brings John 'back to life' in the central event of his life, the act of prayer. John's prayers had been for a better world for all humankind, a desire shared by Manzù and proclaimed by his "Door of Death." The panel "Death of John XXIII" shows:

> John alive and in prayer .... It was John, seen in the fullness of his life .... That was all there was to do. Nothing more was needed on the door - except a prayer for all the nights and days that remained to mankind. It was in John's three words and the sculptor hastily cut them in the panel: Pacem in Terris.[5]

EARLY RELIGIOUS ARTWORK

During his youth, Manzù lived in a religious milieu. He became aware of "the pronounced devoutness of his home town," and was acquainted with biblical stories and legends of the saints.[6] The sculptor's use of religious motifs became a natural mode of expression, that is, religious subjects became a vocabulary of forms for him.

At first, Manzù consciously tried to imitate early Christian artwork[7] as in the "Annunciation" (1931) and the "Entombment" (1932)[Plates 6-7]. These early sculptures are not powerful for the figures are primitive and present little indication of an artistic vision that is unique to the sculptor. However, it is of interest that Manzù clothed his figures in modern dress in the "Entombment." The man to the left of the body of Christ is wearing a suit and tie. This element is characteristic of the artist's mature sculptures. It connects the religious subject matter to the contemporary world in an obvious way.

When Manzù relinquished early Christian models in order to follow his own concept of sculpture, his work began to reflect a unique artistic vision. The change was dramatic. The contrast between early works of Manzù and successive ones which mirror his inner ideas can be seen in the dissimilarity between the "Entombment" of 1932 and a bronze study for a "St.Sebastian" completed two years later [Plate 8].

Manzù's figure of St.Sebastian is obviously modelled from nature. Manzù had determined that he would sculpt figures on

the basis of models found in the natural world[8]; models which were attractive to him because they disclosed the sculptor's ideal concept of beauty.

Manzù also began to follow the example set by the sculptor Medardo Rosso (1858-1928). The artistic approach of Rosso closely mirrored the type at which Manzù was aiming. Manzù discovered from Rosso's artwork that "there is a special virtue and power in simplicity and that the impression of movement can be created by suggestion."[9]

The faithfulness with which Manzù attempted to learn from Rosso's example can be seen in the similarity between Manzù's "Portrait of Carla" (1936) and Rosso's "Child Laughing" (1890)[Plates 9-10]. Both wax sculptures delicately and impressionistically define the features of an actual child model. Such sculptures by Manzù reveal a particular ideal:

> It is precisely the great modesty and unpretentiousness of these heads which reflects the self-willed character of Manzù, who determinedly kept away from all modern trends with matter-of-fact certainty, tried to link up with the past and avoided all cheap effects in order to create directly what he considered beautiful and important .... the viewer is not only convinced of the likeness of his portraits but at the same time gets the feeling that the artist has ... held the most essential expression.[10]

During his youth, Manzù accepted the Christian perspective. To a certain degree this prompted him to create religious artwork. Nevertheless, according to John Rewald, Manzù made use of a vocabulary of religious symbols not so much from conviction as from the fact that it was a natural mode of expression for him:

> That he [Manzù] depicted Biblical themes so frequently and so gladly is not so much connected with his own religious convictions, as with the fact that this was a world with which he had been familiar since childhood. There he found subjects which he could not only grasp emotionally but also visualize with immediacy; they took shape in front of his eyes, so to speak.[11]

Manzù's use of religious motifs was grounded in a concern with humanity. His artistic sensitivity ran counter to the mainstream of modern art which emphasized form and thereby excluded content. Manzù did not cease to be concerned with the subject of human existence. The sculptor's basic concern was revealed in the late 1930's when he used religious motifs to protest against tyranny.

It is not surprising that Manzù conceived of employing a religious theme (the Crucifixion of Christ) in such a manner. It was an approach that stemmed from the milieu in which Italian artists found themselves:

> Que des peintres et des sculpteurs, dans un pays catholique come l'Italie, aient utilisé, même pour une allusion 'politique,' les éléments d'une scène sacrée était un fait assez naturel.[12]

Religious forms still held significance for Manzù and he was able to use them in ways which evoked great feeling. In his series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" ("Christ in Our Humanity") begun about 1939 [Plates 11-14], Manzù developed the image of Christ crucified so that the Saviour represented everyone who suffered at the hands of Fascists and Nazis:

> It became clear later to Manzù that he had begun to think of Christ as a brother, or a partisan fighter, or one of six million Jews killed by Germans in the ovens and machine-gun pits of Europe.[13]

The sculptor created his all-embracing portrait of Christ by omitting or altering historical details of the Crucifixion:

> The artist largely dispensed with detail and in some cases did not even indicate the cross ... without however weakening the expression of eternal agony. Since the crown of thorns is also missing, the crucified one ... seems to be nothing more nor less than a symbol of human suffering. While believers will unmistakeably recognize the Son of God, others may think of a strung-up anti-Fascist.[14]

There is explicit reference to contemporary political abuses. For example, Roman soldiers are replaced by ones who represent Nazis.

Differences in the expression of witnesses below the crucified figure contrast Fascist indifference with the sympathy and grief of ordinary people who witness the death of a fellow man [Plate 11]. In one variation, the figure of Christ has been replaced by a skeleton which hangs from the Cross by one arm [Plate 12]. An old, naked man holding a cardinal's hat gazes with sorrow at the skeleton.

A panel entitled "Deposition" [Plate 13] contains the figure of a standing woman who cries out with one arm up-raised. This figure reflects the imagery of Eugène Delacroix ("Liberty Leading the People," 1830) and François Rude ("La Marseillaise," 1833-36)[Plates 15-16], which present an explicit call to the viewer to rise up against injustice.[15]

The series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" is rooted in Manzù's own wartime experiences. The sculptor recreated the Crucifixion scene in novel ways in order to find expression for his own pain and anger as a witness of man's inhumanity to

man. In one version, a murdered man hangs from the Cross by his right arm, and is ignored by a woman whose attention is diverted to a life and death struggle between two men [Plate 14]. Manzù's various portrayals of the Crucifixion, thus, transport the scene into the contemporary world where people continue to kill one another.

Manzù's political outlook was anti-fascist and anti-nazi. His sympathies lay with the Italian Communists, although he never became a member of the party. Many of his friends were imprisoned or taken into exile by the Fascists. However, the most grievous wartime experience for Manzù was finding the corpse of a farmboy who had been an Italian partisan. It is this event, and the sculptor's inner response to it, which reveals both Manzù's faith in the promise of life and his corresponding revolt against life's violent end:

> Certainly no one witnessing a man strung up could ever forget it .... the partisan was naked, with only a torn undershirt caught around his chest. His body seemed very white against the red farmhouse wall .... Most startling of all were the dangling arms, outstretched as though appealing to the ground to open up and take him as he was. Legs that once walked the fields, hands that pruned peach limbs, a loin that knew another's warmth, a mouth that enriched wisdom with laughter, and eyes that blinked up at the sky - all of it hung there in a shocking column of silence. It was not safe to stay and stare. Yet he could not leave and so lingered on, as in an empty theater where the audience had fled in fright before such a hideous crime - begging now to be swallowed up by the earth which refused it.[16]

This occurrence was recreated many times by the artist.

It is represented on the "Door of Death" by the panel "Death through Violence" [Plate 39].

When the series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" was exhibited in Milan in the spring of 1941, the public reception was malicious. The political protest embodied by the sculptures was condemned by the Fascists, while the Vatican condemned the religious perspective of the works.

According to the ecclesiastical authorities, Manzù's vision was blasphemous. Failing to perceive the Sitz im Leben of the works, that is, failing to see the artwork as a sensitive denial of the brutality of the war, Roman church officials simply drew a comparison with traditional religious iconography. The artist's alterations of the historical figures were regarded as heretical, while their nudity was called obscene. For example, the nude figures of women which represented 'Everywoman' in Manzù's conception were confused with traditional images that portrayed the robed Virgin Mary at the foot of the Cross.[17] Thus, Manzù's efforts to transpose the Crucifixion were judged to be a denial of the original divine event.

Manzù did not intend to offend the faith of Catholics when he created his series "Cristo nella nostra umanità." Instead, he wanted to protest against contemporary evil from a believer's viewpoint, "'I showed them - the Nazi soldiers and generals - because they were killing people with the help of a cult and a power set against the spirit of Christ.'"[18]

The official Catholic response to Manzù's series was either blind to the sculptor's intentions or it was a means of discrediting Manzù because of his political viewpoint. The offical standpoint is actually incomprehensible for:

> the Death of Christ is represented with such devout compassion that there can be no suggestion of rebellion against the Church. On the other hand the political allusions leave no doubt that Christ appears as a victim of Fascism as well. It seems peculiar that the Vatican considered severe punishment for this kind of artistic commentary, while the heads of the aggressor states escaped excommunication.[19]

The Vatican's condemnation of his series was a crisis in Manzù's life. It was a turning point in his search for meaning. Manzù's journey slowly led him away from belief in the Christian God. However, this attack by church officials against his sculptures - sculptures which embodied the artist's struggle to comprehend wartime experiences - fixed the course of his spiritual journey.[20]

COMMISSION FOR THE DOOR OF ST.PETER'S

In 1948, Manzù entered an international competition held to select designs for several new bronze doors for St.Peter's basilica. This novel commission, as well as the international contest, was the bequest of a German prelate. The basilica contained a single set of bronze doors by Antonio Averlino (c.1400-69), known as Filarete, which date from the Renaissance (1433-45)[Plate 17]. Filarete's portal was accompanied on either side by three wooden doors. The money

bequeathed by the prelate was to be used to replace as many of the wooden doors as possible with ones made of bronze.[21]

The portal by Filarete is an example of the traditional style of bronze doors fashioned for churches. The production of such portals was an artform based on models from classical antiquity. These models were monumental and cast in bronze. Their surfaces were subdivided into rectangular panels which in turn were surrounded by decoration.[22]

Filarete's finely detailed set of doors is divided into a number of rectangles containing various images, all of which are framed by scrollwork as well as contemporary vignettes from the pontificate of Eugenius IV (1431-47)[Plate 18]. Also, the various scenes are introduced by inscribed texts. Filarete's portal illustrates the "traditional approach of the late medieval goldsmith."[23]

The majority of bronze portals produced for churches stem from the Byzantine and Romanesque periods. Sculpted doors lost their significance during the Gothic period of church art when emphasis shifted to the decoration and iconography of the archways above them.[24] Bronze doors were revived, however, during the Renaissance with Lorenzo Ghiberti's creation of the "Gates of Paradise" (1425-52) for the east side of the Baptistery of S.Giovanni in Florence [Plates 19-20].

Manzù's early designs for the St.Peter's door did not depart radically in terms of structure and subject matter from traditional church doors. However, after he was selected in

1950 to receive a commission for one of the three new portals, Manzù's concept for the project did evolve.

The Vatican committee expressly stated that the overall theme for the portal assigned to Manzù was to be the "Triumph of Saints and Martyrs of the Teaching and Professing Church,"[25] and that a written text was to accompany each panel.

Manzù's initial designs for the Vatican competition followed the conventional division of a door's surface area. His proposal dating from 1949 [Plate 21] contains a series of rectangular panels surrounded by decorative olive leaves, leaving room for two large door knockers.

Manzù's 1949 design does not vary greatly from the example set by Ghiberti's "Gates of Paradise." On Ghiberti's portal the modelled figures are incorporated into background settings using contemporary techniques to create the illusion of depth.[26] Similarly, the panels fashioned by Manzù are self-contained narratives modelled to suggest that the figures recede away from the picture plane. The individual scenes are joined together thematically rather than visually, for they resemble separate vignettes as found in illustrated books.

Manzù was influenced early in his career by the Romanesque bronze door made for the church of San Zeno Maggiore in Verona by Stefano Lagerino (eleventh century)[27] [Plates 22-23]. This door is significant for the way in which the sculpted figures relate to the background area in individual panels. The figures emerge from the background surface

and approach three-dimensional sculpture. Many of the background areas are undefined, allowing the figures to emerge visually and interact with each other within a unified void.

John Rewald suggests that two sculptures by Manzù dating from 1951, titled "Crucifixion" and "Entombment" [Plates 24-25], were influenced by the example of San Zeno:

> [These sculptures are] high reliefs of almost free-standing figures against a uniform background. It does not seem impossible that memories of the curiously animated twelfth-century [sic] bronze doors of San Zeno Maggiore ... guided him in this new direction. Of prime importance is that he revealed, in the grouping of figures which are almost free from the background, a brilliant sense of composition and of spatial distribution.[28]

Both the "Crucifixion" and the "Entombment" reflect features of the San Zeno door. These sculptures formed a step towards Manzù's final project for St.Peter's - which is comprised of figures excellently arranged on stark upraised panels.

THE "DOOR OF LOVE"

In 1957, Manzù accepted the commission for a central bronze portal for the Cathedral of Salzburg. The sculptor agreed to a specific theme for the door:

> The main Salzburg portal was to glorify 'Love' in the form of 'Charity' .... The artist was advised that the virtue of love was to be represented by saints noted for their charitable deeds and who also had close connections with the archdiocese of Salzburg.[29]

Manzù's conception for this commission was innovative. It became one of the chief steps towards his project for the

Vatican basilica. Manzu considered the Salzburg commission to be "a kind of preparation for the much more extensive task that awaited him in Rome."[30]

The sculptor completed the Salzburg portal, entitled the "Door of Love," in 1958 [Plates 26-28]. Many of the features of this portal, which is 15 feet high and 6 feet wide,[31] were repeated in the larger scale "Door of Death." It was the overall composition of the "Door of Love" which was of the greatest consequence for the future portal.

The harmonious composition of the "Door of Love" arose from Manzù's distinctive approach to the project:

> Right from the start Manzù did not conceive his portal simply as a surface to be animated but as a surface to be creatively formed; even the obligatory anecdotal nature of the church legends had to take second place to his demand for an overall harmony.[32]

Manzù's design for the front of the Salzburg portal has fewer pictorial panels than his 1949 conception for the Vatican door. The "Door of Love" has an enlarged background area which is empty of decoration but which is not unbroken. That is, the background retains marks from the sculptor's hands imprinted upon the clay model from which the bronze was cast. The surface area thus has a certain vitality. This feature also characterizes the "Door of Death."

The panels of the Salzburg portal are noteworthy because they are not isolated units. Harmony was achieved in two ways. Firstly, the figures within the panels are not modelled in front of separate backgrounds employing perspective, as in Manzù's 1949 design. Resembling instead the San Zeno portal,

the figures on the "Door of Love" are modelled as if they were on a single plane coextensive with the empty surface area of the door (the executioner in the lower left panel is an exception, as he stands behind the saint whom he has just beheaded). Manzu developed this feature further in the portal for St.Peter's.

Secondly, the low relief figures on the "Door of Love" are separated from the stark background area only by means of inscribed lines. Manzù extended parts of the figures, particularly their feet, beyond these frames[33] as he did with the high relief figures in the "Entombment" of 1951. By doing so, the artist has created figures which are "organically bound to the ground area of the portal."[34]

Unlike his 1949 design, Manzù did not fashion medallions illustrating the pressing of wine and the gathering of wheat on the front of the Salzburg portal. Actual symbols of the Eucharist, a segment of grape vine and ears of wheat, replaced the medallions as door knockers. This, too, the artist repeated on the "Door of Death."

The upper portion of the rear of the Salzburg portal is animated by arabesques of inscribed olive branches, with two saints positioned below as door knockers [Plate 28].

Manzù fashioned animals associated with the idea of love at the base of the Salzburg door rather than rosettes, which did not possess any apparent Christian meaning. For example, the pelican in the lower right corner of the door symbolizes sacrificial love and redemption through Christ, as medieval

legend attests that the pelican will revive its young by pecking its own breast until blood flows upon the fledglings.[35] Manzù later placed animals at the base of his Vatican portal.

The artist took liberties with his representation of saints on the front of the "Door of Love":

> The treatment of the religious themes shows how extensively Manzù was guided by purely artistic considerations .... In fact the artist had a completely free hand in his choice of treatment of the various themes once the saints to be honoured had been selected.[36]

For example, in the lower left panel the beheading of the Blessed Engelbert Kolland, whose life may have been taken by other means, is being witnessed by St.Notburga who lived seven centuries before the event[37] [Plate 27].

Curtis Bill Pepper suggests that the chosen saints did not possess any real meaning for Manzù himself,[38] which may be one reason for the liberties taken by the sculptor. Nevertheless, a religious quality is expressed by the portal despite the artist's decline in faith:

> the purpose of the commission was never forgotten for, despite the monumental scale, the expression of the figures is one of deeply moving mysticism, which can hardly escape even those not familiar with the various events and their religious significance.[39]

Manzù freely developed the iconography for the Vatican portal although this time the imagery came to hold deep personal meaning.

THE "DOOR OF DEATH"

Manzù was summoned to Rome in 1960 by Pope John XXIII to begin his official portrait. Manzù had met the new pontiff on an earlier occasion when he was known as Angelo Roncalli, Archbishop of Venice. They had been introduced through their mutual friend, Monsignor Giuseppe De Luca. It is not clear how familiar John was with Manzu's work. It is possible that Manzù was chosen as the Pope's portraitist because of his friendship with De Luca.

Through the course of many sittings for the portrait, an important friendship was established between John XXIII and Manzù. It was as a personal favour to the Pope himself that Manzù promised to complete his commission for the Vatican door, as the sculptor had practically abandoned the project by this time.

Manzù had lost his passion for the St.Peter's commission.[40] Condemnation of the artist and his work had continued following his controversial exhibition of 1941. As a result, Manzù became disillusioned with the Church, and gradually abandoned his traditional faith for a humanist perspective:

> his faith had gone. It had been crumbling, like a castle, for years and now there was nothing but a heap of stones on a hill beneath a low sky. He was no longer a Catholic. He did not believe in the Church, and God's existence was a matter which did not concern him.[41]

For Manzù, the Christian perspective was no longer able to answer questions of meaning. The sculptor had placed his

belief solely in the value of human existence. Manzù believed in the dignity of life and the reproduction of that life - an optimism which denied all that prevented humankind from experiencing its full potential to live and to love.

Manzù was no longer willing to carry out his design for the Vatican project because it would be a portal exalting the Catholic church's self-proclaimed attainment of the ultimate goals of humanity.[42] For this reason, Manzù did not feel that his creative impulse was bound any longer to the demands of the commission, and he wished to convey this to the new Pope:

> 'Santità, I wanted to say that those two inches of poetry which a man carries within him are at the service of no one today - no sovereign, no temporal or spiritual power. I don't mean, however, that they should be an end in themselves, but rather reach out to the benefit of everyone, and that every Muse remain in place and speak with its own tongue.'
>
> The Pope replied to this at once: 'Then I think it's better for you, with the Muses in place, to finish the doors for St.Peter's immediately. After that, we will see what our Lord has to say .... Finish them for me - can you do that?'
>
> 'Sì Santità, I will do it.'
>
> He heard himself saying it .... What had he said? He was a servant of no one - no sovereign, no Pope, no man. He was the slave of his work and his work was encompassed by belief. Yet this belief did not include a pair of doors for St.Peter's, attesting that Heaven was a private preserve for Christian glory.
>
> He could not participate in such a work. Yet he had now promised to do it for the man before him. He had given his promise as to a friend and to a man one could love and respect.[43]

The above excerpt, based on the personal recollections of Manzù, is important for it reveals that he undertook the completion of the Vatican doors because of the presence of Pope John himself. John's compassionate and expansive view of

the role of the Christian in the world mirrored the optimistic humanism of Manzu, and enabled the Pope to befriend an artist who had been rejected by many clerics.

Giuseppe De Luca, who shared both John's faith and his wide vision, had also befriended and supported Manzu in his artistic labours. In 1949, De Luca had anonymously published a book on Manzu's design for the St.Peter's door in order to defend him before the Vatican selection committee. This publication attracted the sympathy of the Italian press and persuaded the committee members to award one of the commissions to Manzù even though they considered Manzu to be unfit - having been denounced as an atheist and a Communist since 1941 - to create a prominent artwork for St.Peter's.[44]

Monsignor De Luca was able to guide Manzu in his iconographic representation on the Vatican portal. Yet it was the artist himself who changed the principal theme from "The Triumph of the Saints and Martyrs of the Teaching and Professing Church" to the "Door of Death."

By 1960, Manzu had fashioned plaster models for certain panels for the Vatican door which were satisfactory to him, while others were unsuccessful; they "died in his hands."[45] Manzù found himself attracted only to those subjects with which he could empathize. The sculptor was satisfied with his representations of the deaths of St.Gregory and St.Joseph for he found the deaths of these martyrs intelligible.[46] On the other hand, the glorification of Mary and Jesus in heaven,

conceived for the two upper panels according to design changes that Manzù had made in 1954, were no longer viable for him.[47]

After promising to complete the door for John, Manzù reevaluated the significance of the portal. Manzù was then able to apprehend his own meaning for the project; it was a meaning which reflected his humanist perspective:

> If he took Mary and Christ down from heaven, and began them again on their earthly trip, how far could he go with them? The answer was simple: to the moment of death .... in such a moment you do not look at death but at life which is leaving - that final uncoupling of mind and body which makes man both spiritual and human. So here the meaning of Christ and Mary is most evident. For in their manner of dying, one can understand how they lived .... Life is important. And its godlike gift is most evident at the moment it is being taken from man by violence or cruelty or greed or any of the other natural disasters which could be shown on the other panels of the door - So why not do that and make them all dead or dying? .... Why not? Why not the Doors of Death? Ghiberti had made the Doors of Paradise for the Baptistry in Florence and Rodin had cast his Gate of Hell. His could show the beauty of life and at the same time it could be a great shout, a violent protest in bronze against cruelty and violence and all else which steals life from man.[48]

A "Door of Death" would be a monument which revealed the value of life by capturing the moment when it is seized from humankind. For this reason, the portal was actually considered by the artist to be the "Door of Life": "'These are not doors looking at death. They are in support of life against what causes death.'"[49]

Coincidentally, once Manzù realized his new concept:

> it was soon discovered that the portal for which the new bronze doors were destined was once called the 'Door of Death'; it had been used almost exclusively for the funerals of important personages.[50]

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE "DOOR OF DEATH"

Pope John approved Manzu's new concept for the St.Peter's door. John was able to envision a religious import for the future portal on which the sculptor wished to represent the deaths of Jesus, Mary, certain saints and martyrs, as well as the deaths of ordinary people:

> he [John] had been thinking about the proposal to portray Christ and the Madonna on earth and not in heaven. 'It doesn't mean they are any the less for it .... In fact, it could show the reality of their presence in our lives today and how they exist with us everywhere - in our homes, in the streets, and wherever we are. That reality must always be made evident, though it should not be overlooked that the Resurrection is the greatest victory of Christ .... As for the saints and martyrs ... you [Manzu] will show them dying with their faith. And the others, the men and women you mention, if they are seen in their dignity as human beings, with their capacity for belief and love, you will have revealed the visible basis for the living Church.'[51]

Pope John XXIII granted Manzù a free hand in creating the portal once the overall theme had been changed.[52]

Despite John's sanction, however, there was constant interference from Vatican committee members who made unexpected visits to the artist's studio. These churchmen, especially Cardinal G. Testa, protested against the basic structure of Manzù's design as well as against specific iconographic elements. This practice was illegal. For the bequest of the German prelate stipulated that the artist who was awarded a commission was to have complete freedom of expression with no ecclesiastical interference, a fact kept secret from both Manzu and Pope John. The document specified that:

> the artist will be sovereign in the execution of the work, in both artistic and technical sense[s]. Neither the Commission, nor the single members will have the right to exercise any influence whatsoever on the artistic and technical execution of the work.[53]

This stipulation attests that the benefactor foresaw that some clerics would attempt to control the artist's creative activity.[54]

After the sculptor received permission to work with death as a leitmotif, Monsignor De Luca aided him in determining the type of scenes to be depicted on the final portal.[55] The pictorial composition of the door was to include two large upper areas depicting the Assumption of the Virgin and Christ's Descent from the Cross. Eight smaller fields were to be arranged below. The four in the upper row would represent the deaths of Abel, St.Joseph, St.Stephen and Gregory VII. The lower row would illustrate "forms of death occurring in everyday life."[56] These forms were death by violence, as well as deaths in water, space and on earth.

It should be noted that the arrangement of the iconographic elements was of prime importance to Manzù:

> The proportion of the fields and their distribution were fundamentally of much greater importance than thematic questions, especially since Manzù could - as in Salzburg - treat iconographic problems with a certain independence. Once having reached a satisfactory arrangement for the large area of the doors, he did not permit himself the slightest deviation from it .... it meant submitting himself to the rules of the overall arrangement which he had established only after a long search.[57]

Once the organization had been determined - a solution founded upon his experience with the Salzburg portal - Manzù

was able to proceed with individual panels for the "Door of Death." The sculptor built a scaffold to finalize the arrangement, and he then placed the finished panels within this framework.[58]

PANELS

1. In "Death of the Virgin" [Plate 29], the viewer may consider the figures above Mary to be angels. However, for the artist they were simply forms, empty of substance, which helped to balance the composition of figures in the adjacent panel.[59]

Studies were made for the two figures above Mary by shaping pieces of soaked cardboard into folds which suggested the passage of wind [Plate 30]. Heads and hands were attached as accessories, although the sculptor did not imagine that an actual body lay underneath the folds he shaped.

Manzù felt that the downward flow of the forms above Mary symbolized "the spirit leaving the body as it drops towards the dark grave."[60] Thus, "Death of the Virgin" expresses the moment of death of all women.[61]

2. Manzù's recreation of the Crucifixion of Christ [Plates 31-32] is both a compositional solution and a continuation of the artist's previous theme of "Cristo nella nostra umanita."

Manzù began by fashioning a more traditional image of Christ's death, Christ on the Cross mourned by Adam and Eve. However, the grouping of two witnesses below a figure outstretched on the Cross became a static composition when set

alongside the dynamic model for "Death of the Virgin."[62] In the sculptor's final version of "Death of Christ," the body of Jesus and the figure straining on the rope to lower him form a semi-circle which balances that of the falling shapes in "Death of the Virgin."

The image of the body of Jesus being lowered from the Cross by a rope was not just a compositional solution. For Manzù, it signified that:

> Christ could remain suspended near to where he met his death - a single column of a man who crossed the gap crying out to his God in a loud voice. Once lowered to the ground, he becomes possessed by the living and a subject for pity, prayer and adoration. But while still on the Cross, he is also a subject for anger and outrage against all those who would so kill him.[63]

Manzù's radical conception of the Crucifixion of Christ suggests his wartime memories of the body of a torture victim. Like the strung up youth, the body of Jesus is a stark column protesting against the crime which has been committed.

In the artist's view, "Death of Christ" recalls everyone who resists tyranny in order to defend life, thereby revealing each of them to be a redeemer of humanity.[64] The movement of the man and woman below Christ suggests that such a revelation can affect witnesses.

During one visit to the artist's studio, members of the Vatican committee determined that Manzù's vision of Christ's death was too realistic. Don Giuseppe successfully defended the sculpture:

> 'He [Manzù] is bearing witness to the sacred event ... just as you and I bear witness to Christ. And

> how can you expect a true witness to play down the drama and reality of Christ's sacrifice - especially in an age where there is growing skepticism that it ever happened?'[65]

3. Following the model of the Salzburg portal, the door knockers on the "Door of Death" are stalks of grapevine and wheat [Plates 33-34]. These symbols of the Eucharist are tied to Manzù's basic concern with life. For the artist, stems of grapevine and wheat sheaves symbolized "man's food on earth and, for all who believed, the Eucharistic link between Christ above and man below."[66]

4. In the panel called "Death of Abel" [Plate 35], Manzù depicted a figure who has already received the final death blow from Cain.[67] This image is based on Manzu's recollection of a fratricide that he had witnessed in Naples.[68]

It was perhaps at the suggestion of Cardinal Testa that Manzù fashioned the club held by Cain into the shape of a bone as a reminder that the original murder occurred in prehistoric times.[69]

Manzù rejected the Cardinal's suspicions that the contrast between a clothed and a nude figure would be misconstrued as a fight between an industrialist and a worker; a comparison which would have supported the Communist perspective.[70] The sculptor defended his belief that the nudity of Abel was a reflection of inner purity, while Cain's clothing revealed the existence of sin.

5. "Death of St.Joseph" [Plate 36] became a symbol of the death of John XXIII for Manzù. John's visage changed

drastically during the few years he was Manzù's beneficent patron. The Pope's terminal disease changed his features into that of an old and exhausted man. For this reason, Manzù inscribed the date of John's death below the feet of St.Joseph.

6. In the panel entitled "Death of St.Stephen" [Plate 37], Manzù presented a new type of iconography. He did not include the assailants as in traditional art,[71] but simply illustrated the relationship between the suspended weapons and the figure who yields to martyrdom.

7. "Death of Gregory VII" [Plate 38] is a simplified version of Manzù's 1949 portrayal of the subject, which included a third figure as well as a Latin inscription.

The figure of the youth in front of St.Gregory is now suggestive of a Nazi soldier who witnesses the death of the saint and feels some remorse.[72]

In contrast to his 1949 design, the sculptor eliminated inscriptions placed within each panel. The Vatican committee continued to insist that inscriptions were necessary, even though the artist believed that each panel's message was explicit. Manzù felt that texts restricted the meaning inherent in an image. For example, the collapsed figure in "Death of Gregory VII":

> did not have to be only Pope Gregory. It could have been Thomas Becket, murdered in his own cathedral by the knights of Henry II, or Dietrick [sic] Bonhoeffer dying in a Nazi concentration camp .... In this and in all the other panels, his desire was for the work to speak to as many people as possible.[73]

Thus the relief sculptures on the "Door of Death" are not simply representations of the deaths of specific individuals. They are symbols grounded in the common experience of humanity.

Cardinal Testa objected to the expansive nature of Manzù's relief sculptures. In contrast to John XXIII who shared Manzù's desire to communicate with as many people as possible, Cardinal Testa "feared that broad themes would hatch heresy."[74]

8. "Death through Violence" [Plate 39] suggests Manzù's own experience of a murdered Italian partisan. It is a theme repeated by the artist in many of his works, most notably in "Monumento del Partigiano" [Plate 40] which he donated to his native town of Bergamo in 1977.

9. "Death of John XXIII" [Plate 41] shows the Pope in prayer. The panel represents the manner in which the Pope lived, since John XXIII's death was not divorced from his life. As has been mentioned, this panel refers to the fullness of the Pope's life rather than specifically to his death.

This papal portrait replaced an unfinished panel entitled "Death in Water." The panel above the figure of John, "Death of St.Joseph," became a symbol of the Pope's death when Manzu inscribed the date the Pope died, 3 VI 63, below the feet of an old and failing St.Joseph.[75]

The sculptor's portrait of the Pope was freely sketched in clay immediately following his death. It reflects the

artist's impressions of the Pope gathered over a period of three years. Manzù had become familiar with the task of trying to represent this unique pontiff ever since he had been chosen by the Pope to create an official portrait. Manzù created four bronze images from which he invited the Pope to choose. However, the artist was only partially satisfied that one bronze bust portrayed the inner spirit of John, which was an interior discipline centered about a life of prayer[76] [Plate 42]. The Pope accepted Manzù's own choice for the statue which would represent him in the Vatican art collection.

Another of the bronze portraits was an image which represented how the world perceived John [Plate 43]. This sculpture portrayed a "happy Pope" and merely captured superficial perceptions of his character.[77]

Manzù was also commissioned to create the death mask of John XXIII [Plate 44]. This was a difficult, intimate task for the sculptor.

10. "Death in Space" [Plates 45-46] holds deep meaning. It depicts the death in space of an astronaut or an aviator. However, the image also symbolizes the person who feels that his life lacks any foundation.[78] Manzù's shouting figure is thus a protest against the existential situation of modern man.

11. The panel entitled "Death on Earth" [Plates 47-48] alludes to Manzù's own family life since it represents the imaginary death of his wife, Inge.[79] The child in the window

who screams at the unexpected death of its mother is Manzù's own daughter, Giulia.

The sculptor found Cardinal Testa's insistence that the woman in this panel should have a Catholic rosary in her hand particularly offensive. It had been difficult enough for Manzù to envision the death of the woman he loved without hearing Testa's proposal which would have restricted the significance of the image; that is, such an altered figure would merely picture the death of obedient Catholics.[80]

12. The animals placed at the base of the door were chosen by the sculptor because they "'give a sense of life and death'"[81] [Plates 49-50]. These animals are: a dove which has expired; a sleeping dormouse; a hedgehog; an owl; a tortoise struggling with a snake; and a raven.

13. Manzù had intended that the rear of the portal would be undecorated. The frieze entitled "Inauguration of the Second Vatican Council" [Plates 51-53] was added at the request of John XXIII. It contains figures which had special meaning for the sculptor. For example, the figure who is portrayed in the act of kissing the Pope's hand is Cardinal Rugambwa from Africa [Plate 52]. Manzù placed him in this position of honour because the sculptor knew that John XXIII had a special love for this prelate.

There are two other specific portraits within this frieze. The first is the prelate on the far left hand side which is a portrait of Giuseppe De Luca[82] [Plate 53]. However, Rewald suggests that the figure of a priest who seems to

be departing from the gathering [Plate 51B, left hand side] is an allusion to the death of De Luca which occurred on March 18, 1962.[83] The second portrait is the grand profile of a woman on the left edge of the frieze who faces the council members [Plate 53]. This figure portrays Inge, Manzù's companion.

The remainder of the figures are imaginary and stem from Manzù's "Cardinal" series, such as his 1953 portrait of Cardinal Lercaro [Plate 54].

The frieze commemorating Vatican II has a general significance suggested by Giuseppe Sandri. The varied movement of the figures is symbolic of the discussion, debate and conflict which characterized the work of the council.[84] Sandri also remarks that the profile of the woman on the far left is representative of all church members outside the council who attentively followed the historic proceedings.[85]

14. The "Door of Death" was dedicated by Manzù to Giuseppe De Luca; a desire which John XXIII granted the sculptor. An inscription on the rear of the portal reads: "A DON GIUSEPPE DE LUCA QUESTA PORTA DELLA MORTA DEDICA GIACOMO MANZU 1963."

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "DOOR OF DEATH"

John Rewald has noted that on the "Door of Death" Manzù tempered the portrayal of death in various ways.[86] The artist modified the subject matter by excluding traditional symbols of death, since he was "consciously intent on softening as much as possible the usual expression of cruelty of 'the old

man with a scythe.'"[87] By employing his own iconography, Manzù was able to restrain the severity of his leitmotif. For example, in the final version of "Death of Abel" Cain has already dealt the death blow to his brother; this was a change from earlier studies showing Cain in the midst of executing his violent crime[88] [Plate 55].

The sensitivity of the modelling of the figures also softens the representation of death:

> Not only did Manzù avoid stressing the cruelty and horror of death in the individual compositions, he also sought to lighten the darker aspect of his leitmotiv by his execution. The gentleness - one might almost say the tenderness - of the modelling ... give[s] evidence not only of a rare mastery but also of the intimate relationship between the artist and his work.[89]

The movement of the artist's hands, and the response of the clay medium, remain imprinted on the cast bronze figures and background.

Of great significance is the perception that the portal is no longer a screen separating the sacred from the profane, but instead is a world unto itself.[90] The "Door of Death" has become the threshold of a world which is presented to the viewer for reflection, "Non e piu diaframma: e la soglia, nella sua autonoma figurativita e come simbolo, di un altro mondo."[91] Manzu achieved this by means of the structure of his work.

The structure of the front of the portal is comprised of raised panels, the backgrounds of which do not include linear perspective. These panels with relief figures are raised a

specific height from the rest of the surface of the door. Manzù did this so that the portal would present a single, unified face:

> too great a separation of these reliefs placed above and beside each other had to be avoided. The artist achieved the necessary unity by sacrificing all indication of perspective in individual reliefs .... Due to the lack of a spatially defined background it seems as if all scenes are developed on the same plane, and there is no conflict between diverging perspectives.[92]

Since there is no indication of a three-dimensional background behind the figures, there is no point beyond the surface plane of the portal to which the images recede.[93] The figures are suspended before the viewer on the same plane, and they literally have a life of their own in front of the base surface of the door. As well, the eucharistic symbols and the animals formed in high relief actually project from the surface of the portal, reaching a level which matches that of the figures. In this way, all the iconographic elements arranged on the front of the "Door of Death" form a singular world.

As the front of the portal is significant <u>in itself</u> in relation to the viewer, Manzù has departed in a radical manner from the traditional religious role assigned to artwork on church doors. Traditionally, bronze portals were regarded as gates separating the exterior profane world from the sacred space within the church building. Such doors acted as sentinels:

> Church doors have served simultaneously to glorify God and to instruct the illiterate; and, as the

> threshold to the sacred, they have prepared the faithful for their spiritual experience within.[94]

The figures by Manzu, however, are no longer illustrations which announce a sacred world lying behind the portal, but form a visionary world embodied by the portal itself. Manzu's figures meet the viewer as he stands in front of the "Door of Death"; they do not direct him towards a future goal in another space. The viewer must interact with Manzù's vision before entering through it, since the sculptor believed the viewer to be a witness of the deaths he had recreated in bronze.[95]

Manzù's programme for the Vatican portal contrasts with the outlook implicit in Lorenzo Ghiberti's "Gates of Paradise" and in Auguste Rodin's "Gates of Hell" (1880-1917)[Plates 19-20 & 56]. The doors of Ghiberti and Rodin serve as reminders of humanity's position before God, while the "Door of Death" reflects upon the divine quality of human life itself; for, "Manzù voyait le 'sacré' uniquement dans l'homme."[96]

Ghiberti's portal is composed of ten gilt bronze panels illustrating Old Testament narratives. Iconographically, the "Gates of Paradise" reveals the intervention of the divine into actual human life. However, as the portal was fashioned in the International Style prevalent in western Europe around 1400 to 1420, the beauty of the figures on the door distances them from real life:

> the realism of the International Style did not extend to the realm of the emotions. The figures, in their softly draped, ample garments, retain an

air of courtly elegance even when they enact scenes of violence.[97]

In other words, the figurative scenes by Ghiberti remain at the level of illustrations.

Rodin's portal was intended for the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris although it was never brought to completion. Rodin based the iconography of his "Gates of Hell" upon various literary sources such as Dante's "Inferno," as well as upon two pictorial sources, Michelangelo's "Last Judgement" (1536-41) and "Fall of the Damned" (c.1614-18) by Peter Paul Rubens[98] [Plates 57-58]. Many of the individual figures on Rodin's portal are recreations of spontaneous poses which models struck for the sculptor in his studio.[99] Although the "Gates of Hell" does not have an integrated iconographic design,[100] it is a portrait of agonies which await unrepentant humanity. It is a vision of a world cast away from the divine.

The portals created by Ghiberti and Rodin are instrumental in reminding the viewer of humanity's position before God. The "Gates of Paradise" illustrate moments in history when God intervened in human life, while the "Gates of Hell" show a potential world separated from the divine. In contrast, Manzù in his "Door of Death" reflects upon what is godlike in human life itself at this very moment.

The presence of God is nevertheless manifested by Manzù's portal in the demeanour of the figures who direct their thoughts towards heaven at the moment of death. The sculptor

explicitly contrasted the manner in which his figures accept death.[101] For example, the figure of St.Stephen meets his death without protest while the figure in "Death in Space" shouts out in obvious horror.

Pope John XXIII perceived a certain spiritual import within Manzu's iconography. The viewer himself may also perceive religious meaning in this sculpture. Yet there is a passage from the writings of Don Giuseppe De Luca which offers a most eloquent interpretation for the figures who inhabit the "Door of Death":

> Jesus is present in all who suffer .... He is here in the tortured flesh, the grieving soul, the broken heart, in the child born weeping, the old man who dies alone, and the woman who is insulted and afflicted. We call ourselves Christians, but we are many other things first; only at the last moment, and if there is still time, are we Christians .... So, when do we begin to be Christians, real Christians? Perhaps at the moment of our death. Then when we can no longer be anything else - then we are Christians - there is nothing else for us to be.[102]

The process that lies behind the creation of an artwork such as the "Door of Death" is of importance. For the manner in which an artist creates a material representation of his inner concept lends value to the final expression, that is, the work of art. Writing from the Catholic perspective, Jacques Maritain (1882-1973) explored the nature of the artistic process. Maritain's outline provides a viewpoint from which to judge the creative activity of Manzu, in order to determine its spiritual aspects.

ENDNOTES

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2. Curtis Bill Pepper, "Un artiste et le pape," XXe siècle: Hommage à Manzù Nouvelle série 58 (January 1984) 74.

3. The dimensions of the portal are approximately 765 x 365 x 20 cm.

4. Curtis Bill Pepper, An Artist and the Pope (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1968) 249.

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8. cf. Ibid., 19.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 20.

11. Ibid., 16.

12. Mario De Micheli, "Manzù," XXe siècle 15.

13. Pepper, Artist, 71.

14. Rewald, Manzù, 35.

15. De Micheli, XXe siècle 25.

16. Pepper, Artist, 162-63.

17. Ibid., 71.

18. Ibid., 78.

19. Rewald, Manzù, 43.

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21. Ibid., 120.

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23. Oreste Ferrari, Masterpieces of the Vatican, trans. G. Webb (New York: Harry N. Abrams, [1971?]): 109.

24. Galavaris, Encyclopedia.

25. Rewald, Manzù, 54.

26. Frederick Hartt, Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, vol.2 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1976) 43.

27. Rossana Bossaglia, et al, 1200 Years of Italian Sculpture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1968): 43.

28. Rewald, Manzù, 54.

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40. Ibid., 85.

41. Pepper, Artist, 20.

42. Ibid., 110.

43. Ibid., 110-11.

44. Ibid., 25.

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46. Ibid., 26.

47. Ibid., 27. Also cited in Rewald, Manzù, 86.

48. Pepper, Artist, 117-18.

49. Ibid., 126.

50. Rewald, Manzù, 81.

51. Pepper, Artist, 129-30.

52. Ibid., 140. Also cited in Rewald, Manzù, 81.

53. Pepper, Artist, 168.

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55. Rewald, Manzù, 91.

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57. Ibid., 91-92.

58. Ibid., 92.

59. Pepper, Artist, 158.

60. Ibid., 159.

61. Ibid., 160.

62. Ibid., 162.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., 164.

65. Ibid., 166.

66. Ibid., 145-46.

67. Rewald, Manzù, 95.

68. Pepper, Artist, 172.

69. Cf. Ibid., 174.

70. Ibid.

71. Cf. Rewald, Manzù, 95.

72. Cesare Brandi, Giacomo Manzù: Studi Per La Porta Di S.Pietro, Bozzetti e varianti (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1964): section 20 [n. pag.].

73. Pepper, Artist, 171.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., 249.

76. Ibid., 211.

77. Ibid., 45.

78. Ibid., 8.

79. Ibid., 171.

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81. Ibid., 10.

82. Giuseppe De Luca, Altar, Gift and Gospel, trans. Dorothy White (Springfield, Illinois: Palm, 1967): jacket cover.

83. Rewald, Manzu, 91.

84. Giuseppe Sandri, "La Grande Intuizione," Giovanni XXIII: Papa di Transizione, ed. Loris F. Capovilla (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979): 86.

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91. Brandi, Studi, section 2.

92. Rewald, Manzù, 92.

93. Cf. Pepper, Artist, 145.

94. Galavaris, Encyclopedia.

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96. De Micheli, XXe siecle 29.

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PART TWO: THE CREATIVE PROCESS

INTRODUCTION

> By Art I mean the creative or producing, work-making activity of the human mind.
> - Jacques Maritain[1]

Within his description of the creative process, the Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain (1882-1973) remarks that the pivotal point of creativity is found at the centre of an artist's soul. Maritain describes the creative process as being an experience whereby the artist intuits a facet of the reality which underlies his self and the world about him. The artist's creative vision penetrates the screen of the sensible world and this singular understanding is ultimately expressed through the fashioning of an art object. In essence, the artist's intuition points towards the divine source of all being and in this way the creative efforts of all artists can be considered to be spiritual.

By comparing Giacomo Manzù's artistic process with Maritain's aesthetic framework, it becomes apparent that the sculptor fully exercises his creative nature. The vision of Manzù has led him to express a spiritual image of human life within his "Door of Death."

The creative process functions in a natural way for the majority of artists, but for the Christian artist Maritain believes that the practice of art must be guided by the Spirit of God. On the basis of this point, Maritain would not consider Manzu to be an artist who fashions true Christian imagery. Yet it is difficult to maintain such a judgement of

Manzù and his oeuvre. For the truth embodied in Manzù's artwork was defended by the sculptor's spiritual advisers.

THE CREATIVE PROCESS

Maritain's view of creativity is noteworthy as a disclosure of the way in which an artist is moved to express a singular intuition of existence. Maritain's schema of the creative process is based on traditional Catholic understanding.

Following Scholastic theology, Maritain considers the artistic process to be creation "in the second degree."[2] Augustine (c.354-430 CE) had defended the view that the God in whom Christians believe is the one who created the world ex nihilo.[3] It was understood that artists are able to imitate but not repeat this divine act of creation. Artists cannot create in the first degree, so to speak, though they can fashion new objects out of preexistent material. For instance, Athanasius (c.293-373) remarked that "God creates, in that He calls what is not into being, needing nothing thereunto; but men work some existing material."[4]

The physical world itself was thought to be chiefly a reflection of the Creator. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) considered divine beauty to be an inherent feature of the natural world, since objects mirror transcendental beauty "by the fact of their existence and participation in being."[5] The "form" of things, that is, their "inner, ontological principle," reflects divine beauty.[6] It is the form of things

which actually reveals the movement of the Creator's mind - a mind "purely formative and forming."[7] Maritain explains:

> Every form ... is a remnant or ray of the creative Mind impressed upon the heart of the being created .... So, to say with the Schoolmen that beauty is the splendour of form shining on the proportioned parts of matter is to say that it is a lightning of mind on a matter intelligently arranged. The mind rejoices in the beautiful because in the beautiful it finds itself again: recognizes itself, and comes into contact with its very own light. This is so true that they especially perceive and particularly relish the beauty of things who, like St.Francis of Assisi, for example, know that they emanate from a mind and refer them to their Author.[8]

The relationship between the artist and the natural world was an essential part of the Scholastic framework, for it was held that the artist perceives the form of things through the vehicle of beauty in the sensible world, that is, aesthetic beauty; "Beauty dwells in the very heart of things. It shows itself to those who are equipped to see it as coming from the depths of reality."[9] The artist expresses his perception of the transcendental beauty embodied in the natural world by means of a secondary figure, the art object.

Maritain considers that an artist's attitude towards the study of the natural world is significant. For Maritain believes that an artist's interrelationship with the natural world can bring forth insight into underlying reality, as well as insight into his own self.[10]

Maritain believes that in practicing his art, the genuine artist does not seek to copy nature, rather he encounters within the natural world that which spurs within him an intuitive understanding.[11] Artistic production involves the

recreation of the hidden reality which the artist perceives within nature. The artist, then, neither creates something ex nihilo, nor fashions a mere imitation of a natural object. He freely transforms materials from the sensible world into an image which mirrors his original creative intuition:

> What is 'imitated' - or made visibly known - is not natural appearances but secret or transapparent reality through natural appearances .... Such a genuine concept of 'imitation' affords a ground and a justification for the boldest kinds of transposition, transfiguration, deformation, or recasting of natural appearances, in so far as they are a means to make the work manifest intuitively the transapparent reality which has been grasped by the artist.[12]

Maritain believes that the intellect or reason is involved in the creative process. He outlines his basic view of the creative event in the following passage:

> at the root of the creative act there must be a quite particular intellectual process, without parallel in logical reason, through which Things and the Self are grasped together by means of a kind of experience or knowledge which has no conceptual expression and is expressed only in the artist's work.[13]

Maritain describes the creative act as "knowledge through connaturality"; it is a view based on mystical understanding, which discloses that one's soul may attain obscure or nonrational knowledge through union with another entity.[14]

For Maritain, creativity originates within the centre of one's soul. The creative act originates in the "Preconscious of the Spirit,"[15] which is the unified inner being of the artist's soul. Within the "Preconscious", the creative experience is such that one is able to perceive a profound correspondence between oneself and the sensible world.

Maritain refers to this encounter as "poetry," for poetry is "that intercommunication between the inner being of things and the inner being of the human Self which is a kind of divination."[16] Artists have identified this intercommunication or intuition as being their particular "vision."[17]

The artist's intuition is a non-conceptual flash of understanding, though Maritain also identifies it as the artist's "conception". The artist's conception is not the theme or the plan of the work, and it is not the subject matter expressed in the finished art object. The conception of an artistic work is rather the "spiritual germ or seminal reason" of the work.[18]

In Maritain's view, the artist must concentrate on the movement of his creative intuition; everything else must be sacrificed to it.[19] Creative activity is actually sustained "for the sake of the work."[20] The Schoolmen had connected art with "making" (factibile) in terms of human experience. In the practice of "making," the sole concern is with the object being fashioned. All other considerations are divorced from such activity:

> Making is ordered to such-and-such a definite end, separate and self-sufficient, not to the common end of human life ... [that is] it relates to the peculiar good or perfection not of the man making, but of the work made.[21]

Maritain's respect for this directive - that creative activity must be sustained "for the sake of the work" - may be a consequence of the potency which Maritain attributes to the

art object itself, that is, its capacity to be a revelation of the artist's creative vision.

For Maritain, creative intuition naturally leads to the formation of an artwork.[22] Since the artist's intuition is objectified within his handiwork, the art object itself possesses value. That is, the art object is significant as it is a "sign" of an otherwise inexpressible vision:

> Be it a painting or a poem, this work is a made object - in it alone does poetic intuition come to objectivization. And it must always preserve its own consistence and value as an <u>object</u>. But at the same time it is a sign - both a <u>direct sign</u> of the secrets perceived in things, of some irrecusable truth of nature ... and a <u>reversed sign</u> of the subjective universe of the poet, of his substantial Self obscurely revealed.[23]

The artist's intuition, if it is ingenuously expressed, will shine through the finished artwork. This is the spiritual nature of the creative effort; for in spontaneously fashioning the art object, the artist introduces that divine reality which cannot otherwise be made known:

> he [the artist] is first and foremost a man who sees more deeply than other men and discovers in reality spiritual radiations which others are unable to discern. But to make these radiations shine out in his work and so to be truly docile and faithful to the invisible Spirit at play in things, he can, and indeed he must to some extent, deform, reconstruct and transfigure the material appearance of nature.[24]

Maritain remarks that the artistic process is to be considered as separate from the technical skills which the artist uses to make the art object. As creativity per se is a mind-directed event, the artist's vision for an artwork will not be limited by the technical means that the artist

employs,[25] although "the more exalted the conception, the more the means run the risk of proving inadequate."[26]

Further, the beauty of the finished artwork is not dependent upon a particular manner of expression. Maritain emphasizes that an artist's representation of his vision should be freely expressed and should never be restricted to an unnatural style:

> On the side of vision or conception, simplicity, spontaneity, unself-conscious candour, is the most precious gift the artist can have .... If such a gift is superseded by some system or calculation, some prejudice of 'style' ... the 'deformation' or, rather, ingenuous transformation which owes its simplicity to spiritual fidelity to the form shining in things and their profound life, gives way to an artificial 'deformation,' to deformation in the sense of violence or deceit; and art so far withers.[27]

MANZÙ'S CREATIVE PROCESS

When a comparison is drawn between Jacques Maritain's aesthetic outline and the artistic process of Giacomo Manzu, it becomes apparent that the sculptor has fully developed his creative nature and has devoted his life to the exercise of his unique artistic vision. Manzu's creative process is a realistic example of how Maritain sees the artist's inner vision coming to fruition in the art object itself.

In 1980, Umberto Parricchi provided a summary of the nature of Manzu's creative activity:

> In fifty years of uninterrupted activity, the work of Manzu has been fully contained in the recurring themes to which the artist has steadily remained fast. Each theme always arises from a recollection, an image stored in his memory or from a sudden inspiration, to be subsequently formed into a successful, spontaneous, plastic expression

to which Manzù's imagination returns freely and with assured creativity until he has completely exhausted his theme.[28]

Manzù decided in 1928 that he would dedicate his life to his creative powers. When teaching students at the International Summer Academy in Salzburg, the sculptor impressed the need for such commitment upon his students, a necessity emphasized by Maritain, "'It is essential to subordinate all talent to the artistic urge, to sacrifice everything for it; only thus can one reach true artistry.'"[29]

Manzù also directed his pupils to practice their art only when they felt open to an interior creative movement:

> '... work only if you are gripped by an inner, spiritual excitement. If you do not feel this inner excitement, it is senseless to continue working since this means that you have nothing to say.'[30]

Manzù himself creates artwork solely in response to an inner movement:

> 'Si l'on me demande pourquoi j'ai crée une certaine sculpture ... je l'ai créée [sic] telle qu'elle est tout simplement, parce que la force créatrice qui bouillonnait en moi a poussé mes mains à plasmer l'argile de cette manière-là, parce que j'obéissais ainsi aux ordres de cette force intérieure à laquelle j'obéis, d'ailleurs, sans me poser un tas de pourquoi et de comment.'[31]

Manzù has concentrated on his own interior response to subjects he encounters in the natural world. The sculptor's creations express a unique intuition and are not mere copies of nature. To his pupils, Manzù said:

> 'Do not be afraid of nature - she will not hinder you! If you work with nature, even reproduce her, you can create something new, for the result will not be something external but that which lies hidden in yourselves.'[32]

Manzù's relationship with the natural world is, thus, the very association which Maritain had in mind.

Encounters with particular individual figures such as female models, costumed prelates and tortured revolutionaries, stimulated Manzu to recreate these subjects in clay. The sculptor's method is representative of the "poetry" which Maritain suggests is the root of the creative process, for Manzù expresses his empathy with certain figures in the world about him. The encountered model is not an entity which the sculptor tries to copy, but is that which moves him to create an image, whether the impulse is fully comprehended by him or not.

Manzu's original intuition often gestates for a lengthy period before he is able to express it within a figurative sculpture. Manzù's "Door of Death" had an especially "long and laboured gestation."[33] In this context, Rewald remarks:

> It is typical of Manzu's method of working that a long time may often elapse before his ideas take shape, and that they may then occupy him for years. He constantly goes back to a given subject, alters its form and develops it further.[34]

Within his outline, Maritain does remark that such distance between an original conception and the corresponding material expression in a work of art is possible.[35]

Manzu often bases his sculptures upon his memory of an encountered figure. He employs a small quantity of sketches and clay studies done in the presence of models, although these are generally either reworked or they simply provide a reference for new images fashioned by the sculptor in his

studio. For instance, Manzù's initial encounter with the dead partisan was recorded only within his memory. This individual experience was later recreated entirely on the basis of the sculptor's recollection.

Manzù often works serially in order to express his interior vision. He has created a number of thematic series, including "Death of a Partisan," Crucifixions and Cardinals. Each sculpture in a particular series does not represent a new conception but is considered by the artist to be one facet of the same intuition. Thus, each of Manzù's repeated motifs is an expression of a profound vision which cannot be confined within an individual sculpture.

The serial nature of Manzù's creative activity is a concrete example of Maritain's assertion that an artist's creative intuition is a perception which reaches out and apprehends many layers of meaning. Maritain states that such a vision and the resulting artwork are as 'meaning-full' as a symbol, for the artwork itself is a sign:

> Just as things grasped by poetic intuition abound in significance, just as being swarms with signs, so the work also will swarm with meanings, and will say more than it is, and will deliver to the mind, at one stroke, the universe in a human countenance.[36]

In the case of Manzù, his intuition is often objectivized within a series rather than being embodied by a single work of art. However, even a sculpture series may not fully reveal Manzù's conceptions. He has acknowledged that:

> les sujets que je prefère, ceux que je répète plusieurs fois, sous forme de variantes continuelles ... j'aban-

> donne ensuite parce que je ne suis pas capable de réduire un sujet, si beau soit-il et si profondement senti par moi, à la pure rhetorique.[37]

As for Manzù's "Door of Death," this artwork is composed of images which passed through a series of developments before the sculptor was convinced that they successfully expressed his conception. The final portal itself stands as the greatest manifestation of Manzu's vision for the project. Rewald has stated:

> The many stages of the portal of St.Peter's, the numerous discarded designs, and the countless preliminary studies prove how difficult Manzù made things for himself before he was satisfied with the expression he had given to his thoughts and feelings.[38]

Another aspect of Manzu's activity is his practice of artistic auto-da-fes.[39] Manzu has destroyed hundreds of unsuccessful images, both those freshly created as well as those finished in bronze.[40] Though seemingly a departure from Maritain's schema, this aspect of Manzu's creative process does satisfy Maritain's call for art objects which embody an artist's conception. For Manzu's destruction of certain images is his negation of that which falls short of the intuition he has sensed within himself:

> All men in their actions, and especially artists, seek a precise image of their work ... But concept is one thing, and doing it is another. Manzu's problem ... was basic with all artists: sometimes he had the impression he was approaching an image when actually he was going away from it. Whenever he went too far away, and so felt unable to continue a work, he usually destroyed it and began again.[41]

The sculptor's act of destruction actually indicates faith in his own ability to recreate his vision in future artworks.

With respect to Manzù's intuition of reality, it is one that seizes meaning within the life of humanity itself. The value of life is in this way the spiritual conviction of Manzù; "Manzù est un homme religieux, il est religieux dans ce sens qu'il proclame que la vie, le miracle et le mystère de l'existence sont de la plus haute valeur."[42]

It is life which Manzù perceives beneath the human form and which he objectifies within his figurative sculptures - all in the face of an anti-human world fashioned by mankind itself; thus, Manzù's sculptures cannot be considered to be fanciful forms unrelated to the actual world:

> Pour lui, l'art n'était pas une 'parfaite hallucination,' mais bien un itinéraire, douloureux et vécu, vers l'expression du tremblement et de la crainte que l'on éprouve face à l'existence, de la difficulté que l'on a d'être humain dans un monde hostile à l'homme.[43]

In the "Door of Death," Manzù attempted to represent his conception of the value of life. This portal is a manifestation of the sculptor's response to ordinary people about him, as well as to specific advisers and companions who appear in portraits. Ordinary people were:

> the people who had made his doors possible. They were on them. With their flesh and blood, they formed the stuff of the panels. It was all there: their beliefs and doubts, their loves and pain, their dignity - and their dying. Without them, the doors would have no substance - no more than the Church itself.[44]

An interesting problem becomes apparent here regarding the nature of Manzu's intuition. The sculptor's fundamental insight, that is, his respect for human life, is manifested by each of his artworks. Manzù also has a particular conception

for each subject that he desires to represent. This suggests that the intuition of the artist consists of two planes. The first is a primary perception - concerning life itself - that influences both the subjects Manzu responds to and his personal style.[45] The second level of intuition reaches out to individual figures or subjects that the artist encounters in the world.[46]

The "Door of Death" was Manzu's own conception, approved by his spiritual advisers. It was envisioned as being a testament to life, but the fashioning in bronze of this seminal idea was worked out iconographically in the artist's studio only through the action of "making" itself. It is through the making of the art object that Manzu is able to reconstruct his interior vision. Pepper offers insight into this aspect of Manzu's creative activity:

> He [Manzu] never thinks of <u>how</u> to do a work, but simply of <u>doing</u> it. All the problems appear in the moment of action and are satisfied at the same time. Manzu was interested to discover from Picasso that it is the same with him. A work is born and satisfied in one overall action. This can take place in a minute or an hour or longer. If it is a work of heroic size, it can take days or weeks.[47]

Maritain describes this feature of an artist's creative process as the unfolding of the "virtuality" of the creator's intuition:

> For poetic intuition, as concerns its operative exercise, perfects itself in the course of the artistic process .... It is with the steady labor of intelligence intent on the elaboration of the form that this virtuality contained in poetic intuition actualizes and unfolds itself all along the process of production.[48].

It should be noted that Manzù allies his inner conception with his technical abilities. In the sculptor's view, "manual ability and familiarity with technical questions are not external or trivial factors but the inner and decisive basis for the shaping of a work."[49] Maritain separates these two fields in his discussion, though he agrees that technical skill is a necessary foundation upon which the creative process can unfold.[50]

THE VALUE OF RELIGIOUS ART

Maritain's discussion of the practice of art grants substantial value to an artist's vision as expressed within a piece of art. At the outset of his discourse on the character of religious art, Maritain upholds the inherent value of an art object. Such representations have "a value <u>in themselves</u>."[51]

Maritain's position stands in the line of Hebraic-Christian thought which perceives individuals to be unique personalities. Since the actions of individuals reflect the existence of separate wills, it is inferred that their actions - including the products of their hands - are of significant value:

> precisely as one of theology's miracles is the existence of unique and individual souls, free and endowed with personality, so the aesthetic miracle is the production of unique and individual works of art.[52]

For Maritain, the creative process naturally leads to material representations which have a spiritual quality.

Creative intuition is a "natural inspiration"[53] which moves towards the divine reality. When practicing his art, the human creator:

> tends without knowing it to pass beyond his art: as a plant unconsciously raises its stem to the sun, his eyes are turned, however low his habitation, towards subsisting Beauty, whose sweetness the Saints enjoy in a Radiance which Art and Reason cannot attain.[54]

According to Maritain's outline, then, Manzu naturally produces artwork with a spiritual quality as he freely expresses his inner vision. However, though Maritain would categorize the oeuvre of Manzù as being religious, he would not designate it as Christian.

Christian art for Maritain is that which is made by artists moved by "supernatural inspiration," that is to say, artists who are Christians directed by the spirit of Christ's love.[55] In light of Maritain's understanding of Christian art, Manzù's outlook would be categorized as similar to that of artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who were not believing Christians and yet who fashioned artwork which embodies Christian feeling. The Sitz im Leben of medieval artists, whether or not they were believers, was such that their way of thinking was permeated by Christian belief.[56]

Manzù was impressed by the Catholic belief of his family and his village when he was a youth. As noted previously, Christian motifs are a natural vocabulary of forms for artists within the Italian milieu. In Manzu's case this cultural influence gave him the freedom to express his personal vision through novel religious iconography. Regarding the sculptor's

politico-Christian series "Cristo nella nostra umanità," Mario De Micheli states that Manzù:

> était tellement familiarisé avec ce thème [the Crucifixion] qu'il n'en éprouvait pas la moindre intimidation. Au contraire, devant la difficulté du sujet, il sentait qu'il pouvait s'exprimer avec la plus grande liberté. C'est ce qui explique aussi pourquoi Manzù, dans ses Crucifixions, n'a jamais songé qu'il lui fallait suivre des normes respectant le récit des Evangiles.[57]

Nevertheless, Manzù's labours in "Cristo nella nostra umanità" and in the "Door of Death" do hold true Christian significance and are not simply images originating from the thought patterns of rural Italian culture. Despite Manzù's claim that he no longer upholds Catholic belief, his spiritual advisers recognized insights into the Christian faith when looking at his creative accomplishments. For example, Don Giuseppe de Luca considered the artist's series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" to be the vision of a "primitive" Christian believer and did not see anything "intrinsically wrong" with Manzù's creations.[58] De Luca even felt that the sculptor's conception was needed by the modern Church.[59] Within Maritain's schema, however, there is no room for the genuine Christian quality present within a vision such as Manzù's.

Maritain bases his viewpoint upon a traditional consideration of the relation between art and prudence, that is, between the artist's intuition of veiled reality and the artist's position before God. Creative activity per se is subject only to itself, but the human creator is subservient to divine authority:

> The artistic habit is concerned only with the work to be done .... But for the man working, the work to be done of itself comes into the line of morality, and so is merely a means .... It is therefore absolutely necessary for the artist, qua man, to work for something other than his work, something better beloved. God is infinitely more lovable than Art.[60]

Maritain concedes that the vision of an artist who is a believing Christian may be freely expressed without offending divine law:

> In the case of the Christian such control is unattended by any constraint, because the immanent order of charity makes it connatural to him and law has become his own interior inclination.[61]

However, Maritain ultimately denies this freedom to Christian artists. In a discussion of the 1921 papal ban on Expressionist art, he defends the judgement of Catholic officials who condemned this type of creative vision even when it was produced by faithful artists.[62]

In 1919, the Flemish painter Albert Servaes (1883-1966) had created a series of charcoal drawings entitled "Stations of the Cross" [Plates 59-60]. These works were fashioned in an Expressionist manner; a style which involves "distortion and exaggeration."[63] Servaes practiced this style as a means of representing his vision of Christ's Passion.

Servaes's conception for the drawings arose out of his Christian faith. Bernard Kemp points out that Servaes:

> tried to make art subservient to religious values. The supreme expression of this endeavour is in his first 'Stations of the Cross' [1919] - no painting, no colours, but bare, black, backgroundless drawings; pure, unadulterated sediments [sic] of meditation about suffering, laid down by a fumbling hand in unerring lines and totally convincing attitudes.[64]

Maritain observes that the 1919 series "stirred deep religious emotions in certain souls, nay, brought about conversions."[65]

Servaes's image of "Jesus Dead on the Cross" [Plate 60] - which is shocking at first sight - actually stands in the mystical tradition of the Catholic church. For Servaes's figure of Christ is similar in form and posture to a drawing produced by St.John of the Cross (d.1591)[Plate 61]. Jesus' agonized body is simply portrayed from different angles in the two artworks. It is probable that Servaes was aware of St.John's image, as the Flemish artist was connected with the same Carmelite order. His drawings of 1919 were highly admired by his spiritual adviser, Father Jerome, who was also a Carmelite.[66]

Nevertheless, on 30 March 1921, the Vatican decreed that "religious pictures of this kind were banned for official public worship."[67] As the outlook of Servaes was that of an orthodox Christian following the mystic tradition, his images appear to have been condemned simply on the basis of their intense style.

Maritain argues that the "Stations of the Cross" misrepresent the divine-human nature of Christ.[68] Yet style is confused with content when Maritain suggests the following view of Servaes's images:

> [There are] certain plastic distortions, a sort of degenerate aspect of the outline ... tantamount to an insult to the Humanity of the Saviour and, as it were, a doctrinal misconception of the sovereign dignity of His soul and body.[69]

Servaes's "Jesus Dead on the Cross" resembles the "Crucifixion" by Matthias Grunewald (d.1528) painted circa 1515 [Plate 62], which is a work admired by Maritain for the very way it portrays Christ "in His humanity, in His torment and redeeming Passion."[70] Maritain is inconsistent when admiring in the Renaissance image what he rejects in the modern. Both artists have expressed the horror of Jesus' death on the Cross through the contortion and exaggerated length of the figure's limbs. As well, the bodily and spiritual pain experienced by the Son of God is represented in both images by a figure who has expired - Servaes's figure is already skeleton-like while Grunewald's reveals that "Rigor mortis has set in."[71]

In the case of Servaes, Maritain has failed to uphold the value of creative expression against the judgement of Catholic authorities. If, as Maritain outlines, an artist's intuitive expression is a novel portrayal of reality, regardless of whether or not the artist is a Christian, then the fruits of the practice of art should be defended.

Maritain believes that ideally the Catholic church will not abuse its moral authority to judge artwork.[72] Within the experience of Manzu and Servaes, however, church officials have misused prudence when viewing their creations. In the final analysis, for artists such as Servaes and Manzu, it is only their spiritual advisers who are in a position to judge the theological significance of their creations.

This study of the value of an artist's creative effort suggests that it is important to consider the significance which was attached to religious imagery in past centuries. For the expectations placed upon modern religious art by the Catholic hierarchy are tied to the Church's historical response to images. The most influential definitions of the meaningful role of art in the life of the Christian community stem from the Byzantine and Counter-Reformation periods.

ENDNOTES

1. Jacques Maritain, Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry, Bollingen Series XXXV.1 (New York: Pantheon, 1953): 3.

2. Jacques Maritain, Art and Scholasticism with Other Essays, trans. J.F. Scanlan (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930): 63.

3. Albert Hofstader and Richard Kuhns, eds., Philosophies of Art and Beauty: Selected Readings in Aesthetics from Plato to Heidegger (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976): 200-01.

4. Milton C. Nahm, "The Theological Background of the Theory of the Artist as Creator," Journal of the History of Ideas 8.3 (June 1947): 365.

5. G. Richard Dimler, "Creative Intuition in the Aesthetic Theories of Croce and Maritain," The New Scholasticism 37 (October 1963): 472-73.

6. Ibid., 473.

7. Maritain, Intuition, 112.

8. Maritain, Scholasticism, 25.

9. Dimler, New Scholasticism, 472-73.

10. Cf. Maritain, Intuition, 114.

11. Ibid., 224-25.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 33-34.

14. Ibid., 117.

15. Ibid., 108.

16. Ibid., 3.

17. Ibid., 131-32.

18. This paragraph is based on material found in Maritain, Scholasticism, 181-82.

19. Maritain, Intuition, 139.

20. Ibid., 143.

21. Maritain, Scholasticism, 6-7.

22. "... such [connatural] knowledge knows, not in order to know, but in order to produce. It is toward creation that it tends." Maritain, Intuition, 124.

23. Ibid., 128.

24. Maritain, Scholasticism, 62-63.

25. Ibid., 13.

26. Ibid., 183.

27. Ibid., 203.

28. Art Gallery of Hamilton, Manzù: 100 Works, 1938 to 1980, exhibition catalogue (Hamilton, Ontario: Rothmans of Pall Mall Canada, 1980): 4.

29. Rewald, Manzù, 68.

30. Ibid.

31. Giacomo Manzù, "Giacomo Manzù," XXe siècle, 7.

32. Rewald, Manzù, 68.

33. Art Gallery of Hamilton, Manzù, 5.

34. Rewald, Manzù, 16.

35. "... a poetic intuition can be kept in the soul a long time, latent (though never forgotten), till some day it will come out of sleep, and compel to creation." Maritain, Intuition, 134.

36. Ibid., 128.

37. Manzù, XXe siècle, 7.

38. Rewald, Manzù, 95-96.

39. Ibid., 16.

40. Pepper, Artist, 209.

41. Ibid., 67.

42. J.P. Hodin, "Le travail, l'amour, la mort dans l'oeuvre de Manzù," XXe siècle, 59.

43. De Micheli, XXe siècle, 11.

44. Pepper, Artist, 6.

45. There is a formal quality of Manzù's sculptures - that of "dynamism" - which reflects his primary intuition: "... une autre caracteristique de la sculpture de Manzu: elle n'est jamais statique et elle contient un agent dynamique semblable levain." Cesare Brandi, "Discours prononcé, le 14 Décembre 1978," XXe siècle 96.

46. May this be the nature of every artist's intuition? On the basis of personal experience with the visual arts, I suspect that Manzu's experience is representative of all artists.

47. Pepper, Artist, 68.

48. Maritain, Intuition, 139.

49. Pewald, Manzù, 67.

50. "Science and technique, which are included in the still material means of art, are, to be sure, not sufficient conditions, and it would be a great mistake to expect everything from them. But they are the first necessary conditions of honest art." Maritain, Scholasticism, 190.

51. Ibid., 148.

52. Nahm, Journal, 368.

53. Maritain, Scholasticism, 69.

54. Ibid., 85.

55. Ibid., 69-71. The spiritual motivation behind an artist's creative activity, cannot be determined with precision. Maritain states that the motivation for Christian artists is the Holy Spirit but it seems unlikely that the presence of this spirit can be positively ascertained. Similarly, Manzu is aware that his fundamental inspiration is human life itself, yet this is an influence which cannot be clearly delimited. This subject does appear to have unresolvable tensions, although it is not within the scope of this paper to explore the topic fully.

56. Maritain, Scholasticism, 214.

57. De Micheli, XXe siècle, 16.

58. Pepper, Artist, 72.

59. Ibid.

60. Maritain, Scholasticism, 74.

61. Ibid., 75.

62. Ibid., 145.

63. Julia M. Ehresmann. "Expressionism." The Pocket Dictionary of Art Terms, 2nd rev. ed. (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1979).

64. Bernard Kemp, "Albert Servaes," Flemish Art from Ensor to Permeke, gen.ed. Dr.Albert Smeets (Tielt, Belgium: Drukkerij-Uitgeverij Lannoo pvba, 1971): 150.

65. Maritain, Scholasticism, 145.

66. Kemp, Flemish Art, 147.

67. Ibid., 145.

68. Maritain, Scholasticism, 145.

69. Ibid., 146.

70. Maritain, Intuition, 22.

71. Hartt, Art, 172.

72. Maritain, Scholasticism, 223.

PART THREE: THE JUSTIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS ART

INTRODUCTION

> Whether the tabernacle be poor or precious, Jesus is always there. The good parishioner of Ars who was surprised by his saintly Curé as he stood gazing silently at the dwelling place of Jesus ... replied very simply: 'I look at him, and I think he looks at me; and this feeds my soul, gives me strength.' So there may be prayer, or even contemplation, in the mere gaze of the eyes.[1]

The role granted to artistic images within the liturgical setting of the Christian church is one that has been surrounded by controversy. Images were present amongst the worship services organized by the early Christian communities. The earliest artwork helped to reinforce the liturgical actions of the worshiping communities, as painted images could mirror the liturgy. For instance, paintings in the catacombs were a reflection of the prayer services held for the dead.[2] Works of art were also visual reminders of the reality of the worshippers' belief in Christ. The functions of art were seriously challenged at certain times by members of the Christian community but they were ultimately defended. The greatest defences of the value of art within the liturgical context stem from conciliar decisions, such as those of the orthodox Byzantine church in the eighth century and the Catholic church in the sixteenth century.

Active opposition to images had called forth apologetic theory from their defenders. In response to the actions of iconoclasts, the written proclamations issued by the Second

Council of Nicaea in 787 CE and the Council of Trent in 1563 upheld the importance of artwork for Christian worship.

The common ground on which these councils stood is of the greatest significance. The councils upheld the value of artwork - though granting clergy the authority to direct its presence within the sphere of public worship. The understanding of the councils' members was that images fulfilled a didactic and a spiritual role within buildings where the Christian liturgy unfolded. The decision of the eighth century council was a response to those Christians who rejected the functions of art which had been developing since the fourth century. The Council of Trent reaffirmed the beliefs of the earlier council in the face of Protestant iconoclasts.

It is remarkable that the intended effect of church interiors built before the eighth century and those which sprang up in response to the aims of the Counter-Reformation were similar. During both periods there was a flowering of church construction in which interior decoration was created to impress the viewer who entered into the worship space. The extensive presence of artwork was intended to overwhelm the viewer. The spiritual role assigned to images was that of arousing an emotional response within the viewer, thus artwork was to act as a stimulus to worship.

ART OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

The beneficial aspects of images were never completely rejected by the leaders or followers of the early Church, though some members of the clergy did object to the use of images.[3] In fact, archaeological remains indicate that from the first beginnings of the Church, "religious art seems to have been taken for granted."[4]

Following the public recognition of the Christian religion by the Emperor Constantine I (reigned c.312-337), church art and architecture became a visible feature within Byzantine society. Constantine's elevation of Christianity in 313 had made it essential that a "suitable public image" be developed for the Church.[5]

Prior to 313, images were employed by the early Christians as symbols of their faith. Graeco-Roman symbols were appropriated in order to manifest particular truths. For example, naturalistic pastoral elements common in Roman art, such as the shepherd with his flock, were recreated by Christian artists to represent their supreme Shepherd.

Early Christian artwork was a mirror of the actual Christian liturgy. For example, figures of orators - originally a Roman motif - were depicted in the catacombs to symbolize the posture assumed by Christians in the act of prayer [Plate 63]:

> The <u>orans</u> figure, frequently encountered in fourth-century as in earlier catacombs, was the self-image of the individual Christian, concentrated in body and mind on petition and thanksgiving, eyes and hands raised to heaven.[6]

As well, an iconographic programme survives in the baptistry of a house church in the ancient town of Dura-Europas. This painted scheme is a reflection of ancient baptismal practices.[7] Traces of similar artwcrk have been found in the remains of house churches in Rome.[8]

Graeco-Roman motifs proved to be inadequate for the Christian milieu, especially after Christianity was embraced by Constantine in 313. With the influx of many new converts, it was necessary that didactic imagery be created for church decoration, since "the mass of new Christian converts ... had to be instructed in religious doctrine by means of explicit picture-stories drawn from the Old and New Testaments."[9]

The didactic and mnemonic, as well as exhortative, roles of art were upheld by early Christian writers. For example, St.Nilus of Sinai (d.c.430) stated in a letter dating from the fourth century that it was beneficial to:

> fill the holy church on both sides with pictures from the Old and New Testaments, executed by an excellent painter, so that the illiterate who are unable to read the Holy Scriptures, may, by gazing at the pictures, become mindful of the manly deeds of those who have genuinely served the true God, and may be roused to emulate those glorious and celebrated feats.[10]

With the "Peace of the Church" in 313, Christianity won a visible triumph by becoming the official religion of the Roman Empire. Art was employed to manifest this victory. The manner in which Constantine employed art within churches, newly constructed by his decree, was accepted by the Christian community. The interiors of such church buildings were overwhelming:

> The essential dullness of the architectural shell [was] ... covered up with a rich placage of colored marbles, painting, and mosaic - this impressed the populace. The rather vulgar emphasis on everything that glittered - gilding, silver revetments, polished marble, hangings of purple - was very much in the spirit of the times, and eventually became a permanent heritage of Byzantine art.[11]

The emotive nature of Byzantine artwork was, to a certain extent, this effect of a profusely decorated interior. However, the emotive aspect was actually centered within individual works of art. For instance, in describing his reactions to a particular image of Abraham's imminent sacrifice of Isaac, St.Gregory of Nyssa (c.330-395) wrote, "I have often seen this tragic event depicted in painting and could not walk by the sight of it without shedding tears, so clearly did art present the story to one's eyes."[12]

Margaret Miles suggests that Gregory of Nyssa's description of the ability of an image to move him was characteristic of the early Byzantine notion that vision was a more active means of edification than hearing:

> Fourth-century people were aware of the unique capacity of images to arouse strong emotions and to concentrate the will. The instructional value of an image consists not of the communication of information but of the power of the image to engage and train the will through perceptions. The immediate emotional response to a powerful image according to Evodius, bishop of Uzala at the end of the fourth-century [d.c.424], is <u>stupor ... amor, admiratio, et gratulatio</u> .... The viewer provides the energy for and initiates the act of vision .... The eye catches the object. Often this insistence on the activity of the viewer was contrasted with the greater passivity involved in hearing; the ear requires no focusing for it to hear sound.[13]

In the fourth century, an individual's response to an image was not simply an act of vision, it was also an act of

veneration. The appropriate response to a piece of religious art was, literally, "amazement, love, admiration and rejoicing." This devotional response of the viewer originated from a feature of Roman art.

The early Christians had adopted the Roman reverence for imperial portraiture. It is this aspect of Roman art which in later centuries led to the abuse of images, when a portrait or icon (eikôn)[14] [Plate 64] became endowed in the popular mind with magical powers. This misuse of art increased markedly by the end of the sixth century,[15] and ultimately prompted the eighth century demonstrations of the iconoclasts.

A portrait of the emperor was granted special status in the Roman world. As the emperor could not be everywhere within his domain at any given moment, his portrait became his legal representative. His portrait oversaw all official functions. The legal value of the emperor's image was such that a citizen could claim the emperor's protection if he managed to grasp hold of the portrait (ad statuas confugere). The distinction between the emperor's power and that of his icon was ambiguous, thus imperial portraits were considered to be magical in nature. The presence of the emperor assumed to be within each of his portraits was magnified by the cult of the emperor. Candles, incense and supplications were offered before his images. The emperor's portraits were even paraded through the streets on certain occasions.[16]

The writings of Eusebius (c.260-340), Bishop of Caesarea, indicate that in the fourth century portraits of the founders

of Christianity were not thought to be acceptable for church settings by some clergy.[17] However, such images were fashioned for private dwellings, following the manner in which pagans honoured their saviours:

> It is not surprising that pagans who a long time ago received a benefit from our Saviour should have done this, considering that I [Eusebius] have examined images of the apostles Paul and Peter and indeed of Christ Himself preserved in painting: presumably, men of olden times were heedlessly wont to honour them thus in their houses, as the pagan custom is with regard to saviours.[18]

Nonetheless, the value attached to a portrait of the emperor was gradually transferred to representations of Jesus Christ, Mary the Mother of God and the saints, for believers realized that religious portraits should be granted the same type of reverence.[19] This developing attitude was initially a movement within private Christian homes. Ernst Kitzinger notes that the hagiographic literature indicates that beginning in the late sixth century, "images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints became common in the domestic sphere .... Once admitted to that sphere their use and abuse was beyond control."[20] Subsequently, artwork fashioned for liturgical settings began to encompass the viewpoint of lay worshippers.

Examples of the popular attitude towards icons have been recorded in texts, such as that which describes how a sixth century artisan from Antioch, who was healed by a saint, placed an image of the saint outside his workshop's front door:

> Having returned to his house, this man, by way of thanksgiving set up an image of him [St.Symeon] in a public and conspicuous part of the city, namely above the

> door of his workshop .... the image [was] honored with lights and curtains (vela).[21]

This popular movement seems to have been indirectly encouraged by the leaders of the early Christian communities in two ways, despite the criticism of idolatry from some. Firstly, the Christian leaders did not question the manner in which reverence was shown to images of the emperor, particularly once the sovereign embraced Christianity.[22] In fact, St.Basil (c.330-379) used the stature of imperial portraiture to justify orthodox Christology. It is his explanation of the significance of the emperor's portrait - that the honour paid to an icon is directed towards its prototype - which became the primary justification for devotion to Christian images[23]:

> For the Son is in the Father, and the Father is in the Son inasmuch as the former is like the latter, and the latter like the former, and in this lies their unity .... How then, if they are one and one, are there not two Gods? Because the imperial image, too, is called the emperor, and yet there are not two emperors: neither is the power cut asunder nor is the glory divided. And as the authority that holds sway over us is one, so the glorification that we address to it is one and not many, since the honor shown to the image is transmitted to its model .... For just as in hand-made objects the likeness is by virtue of form (kata tên morphên), so in the case of the divine nature that is uncompounded the unity is in the communion of the Godhead.[24]

Secondly, emperors who claimed Christ as their Lord visually manifested their belief, and in this way encouraged the popular attitude that great reverence should be shown to religious portraits.[25] For instance, Constantine had an encaustic painting fashioned above his palace gate which illustrated his defeat of his pagan enemies through the power

of the symbol or "trophy" of Christ (either his monogram or the Cross).[26]

Further, in the seventh century the Emperor Justinian II (669-711) made a significant visual statement on the coins of his realm. His portrait appeared on one side of his coins while for the first time a bust of Christ was seen on the other [Plate 65]. The words Rex Regnantium were inscribed above the figure of Christ, affirming in this way that Christ was the greater lord:

> The legend 'Rex Regnantium' makes it clear that Christ is proclaimed here not merely as ruler in general but specifically as the ruler of those who rule on earth .... The emperor emphasizes before all the world his subordinate position in relation to Christ.[27]

Portraits of Christ, Mary and the saints were no longer considered to be simply visual symbols for use as teaching aids and as memorials of the Christian story. In the popular mind, such images became actual representatives of the historical persons, and respect was paid to them. Christian icons gained a magic quality at the moment when the populace believed them to be a direct link between heaven and earth:

> The common denominator of all beliefs and practices, which attribute magic properties to an image, is that the distinction between the image and the person represented is to some extent eliminated, at least temporarily. This tendency to break down the barrier between image and prototype is the most important feature of the cult of images.[28]

The shift from a fit use to an abuse of an art object occurred at the point when many Christians adopted an attitude towards religious portraits which was identical with the stature given to imperial icons within Roman culture. A

letter dating from the ninth century describes the extent to which the common attitude towards icons eventually corrupted the Christian liturgy:

> They [clerics and lay people] sang hymns to these images and worshipped them and asked help of them. Many people wrapped cloths round them and made them the baptismal godfathers of their children .... Certain priests and clerics scraped the paint of images and, mixing this with the eucharistic bread and wine, let the communicants partake of this oblation after the celebration of the mass. Others again placed the Body of the Lord in the hands of images and made the communicants receive it therefrom.[29]

The crux of the shift towards the misuse of icons seems to occur when the relationship between an artist, his work of art and the viewer is dissolved or forgotten. When an attitude of devotion is offered before a religious icon, the natural relationship between the artist and the viewer is disregarded. Instead, a direct relationship between the portrait and the heavenly being it represents is held to be the chief relationship. Kitzinger notes that:

> the apologists of the late sixth and seventh centuries began to use a number of arguments in which the beholder does not figure at all, and which are concerned solely with the establishment of a timeless and cosmic relationship between the image and its prototype .... Ways were sought to justify the icon as such .... It was lifted out of the pragmatic sphere of tools and utensils (however sacred) and was given a status of its own in the divine order of the universe.[30]

A religious image was considered to have a spiritual role as an existent, divine representative of the heavenly realm.

Popular stories from the period before the iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century express this dissolution of a natural relationship between an image that an artist creates

and the viewer who beholds it. There are numerous tales of the miracles which Christian icons performed. There are also stories of certain images which were not created by human hands (acheiropoietai) but were the work of divine beings.

Official controversy over icons arose in part as a reaction to the devotion to images which had developed at the 'grassroots' level.[31] The conflict centred on the nature of the veneration (proskunêsis) shown to religious icons by the populace. Enemies of images asserted that to honour representations of human figures was idolatrous. That is, images were offered the same absolute adoration (latreia) which is reserved for God alone. Those opposed to images promoted iconoclasm or "image breaking."

The stance of the supporters of images was based upon the traditional view of the proper veneration of icons, that is, the honour shown to an image passes to its prototype. The viewer's adoration (latreia) is directed towards God while the religious icon receives only a "relative love" (schetikô pothô).[32] Proponents of images believed that viewers did not worship the religious portrait itself as an idol but were able to direct their prayers towards the person whom the icon represented.

The Byzantine iconoclastic controversy was divided into several periods. The first period (c.725-780) began with the adoption of iconoclasm by the Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian (717-741). In 726, the Emperor decreed that all images were idols and were to be destroyed. This policy was opposed by

the papacy. Initially, the destruction of artwork was limited to movable icons, crosses and reliquaries which "lent themselves to manifestations of devotion."[33] Constantine V Copronymus (719-775), Leo's successor, was able to develop a theological rationale for iconoclasm. His views were ratified in 753 by the Council of Hieria, a council which was not attended by the Pope or the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria.[34]

The second period extended from 780 to 814. In 780, the Empress Irene (752-803) assumed the regency for her son. She was assisted by Tarasius (d.806), an official whom the Empress elevated to Patriarch of Constantinople in 784. Despite opposition, Irene convened the ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787) which upheld the legitimate use of images and their proper veneration.

During the years 814 to 842, iconoclasm was reinstated. Emperor Leo V, the Armenian (813-820), supported the destruction of images and in 815 the Easter Synod of Hagia Sophia was able to annul the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea. However, the veneration of images was later restored during the regency of the Empress Theodora (d.c.867).

Of those leaders of the Christian community who were opposed to reverence being shown to images, a number objected on Christological grounds. At the iconoclastic Council of Hieria (753) it was proclaimed that the only acceptable representation of the twofold nature of Christ was the Eucharist. Members of this council were convinced that as

Jesus Christ was both human and divine, his divinity pervaded his being and no earthly icon could truly portray this reality. The Horos (Definition) of the council sets forth:

> For where the soul of Christ is, there is also his Godhead; and where the body of Christ is, there too is his Godhead. If then in his passion the divinity remained inseparable from these, how do the fools venture to separate the flesh from the Godhead, and represent it by itself as the image of a mere man? .... The only admissible figure of the humanity of Christ, however, is bread and wine in the holy Supper. This and no other form, this and no other type, has he chosen to represent his incarnation.[35]

According to the Definition of 753, icons of the Virgin and the saints were also judged to be blasphemous as they could not represent the glory of God's chosen people.[36]

The Christological stance of the Council of Hieria was not an uncommon one for it had been voiced in earlier Christian literature. For instance, in the fourth century Eusebius had asserted that it was impossible to portray the divine nature of Christ which is inseparable from his humanity; any endeavour to depict Christ's divine form would merely be a reflection of ignorant pagan customs.[37]

The Council of Hieria believed that an artist who created a religious portrait, and a viewer who revered it, were both guilty of blasphemy.[38] However, the council members did not advocate the ruination of all images since they did not want to encourage an attitude of desecration, such as had broken out after Emperor Leo III's edict against idols in 726:

> This we also decree that no man who has charge of a church of God or a pious establishment shall, on the pretext of diminishing this error of icon(-worship), lay his hands on holy vessels consecrated to God for the

> purpose of altering them if they happen to have pictures on them, or on altar-cloths ... or other veils or any other object consecrated to the holy ministry lest these be put to waste.[39]

The Second Council of Nicaea reversed the decisions formulated at Hieria and proclaimed that, "'The making of icons is not the invention of painters, but (expresses) the approved legislation of the Catholic Church.'"[40] The role of images in liturgical worship had become too great to reject. Images had served the Church as a didactic tool for those believers who were illiterate. Icons functioned as reminders of the Christian faith and were thus a means of stimulating a worshipful response in the viewer; a role described by St.John of Damascus (c.675-749) in support of the iconodule position:

> Often, doubtless, when we have not the Lord's passion in mind and see the image of Christ's crucifixion, His saving passion is brought back to remembrance, and we fall down and worship not the material but that which is imaged: just as we do not worship the material of which the Gospels are made, nor the material of the Cross, but that which these typify.[41]

The Second Council of Nicaea affirmed that in showing proper reverence to an image, one does not worship the icon itself but adores the subject whom it represents; thus, religious icons were to remain in the service of the Church:

> venerable and holy images ... should be set forth in the holy churches of God .... For by so much more frequently as they are seen in artistic representation, by so much more readily are men lifted up to the memory of their prototypes, and to a longing after them; and to these should be given due salutation and honourable reverence ... not indeed that true worship of faith ... which pertains alone to the divine nature; but to these ... incense and lights may be offered according to ancient pious custom. For the honour which is paid to the image passes on to that which the image represents, and he who

> reveres the image reveres in it the subject represented.[42]

The Council of Hieria reacted to the popular conception of icons, while the later council did not confuse the image with its prototype and believed that artwork should continue to play an indispensable role in Christian worship. The Second Council of Nicaea was aware that the iconoclasts had failed to understand the symbolic significance of icons, and remarked:

> Christians ... acknowledge the visible image to communicate with the archetype in name only, and not in nature; whereas these senseless people (the Iconoclasts) say there is no distinction between image and prototype and ascribe an identity of nature to entities that are of different natures. Who will not make fun of their ignorance?[43]

In terms of theology, the Second Council of Nicaea wanted to uphold a particular feature of the Church's understanding of the nature of Christ. As Jesus Christ was God incarnate in the world, so art could be used to illustrate this historical occurrence. The human image of Christ was a reminder of the fact of his life on earth - a visual expression which could refute any who proclaimed the unreality of the Incarnation. An image of the human Jesus could thus be seen as a refutation of certain heretical notions of the nature of God's Son, such as those held by the Docetists. This was the express purpose of the council:

> the making of pictorial representations ... [is] a tradition useful in many respects, but especially in this, that so the incarnation of the Word of God is shewn forth as real and not merely phantastic.[44]

It is of interest that a text which predates the iconoclastic controversy reveals that books containing illustrations of story cycles from the Bible were probably in common use as models for the interior decoration of churches. Such books formed a portion of those items required for the establishment of a church.[45] These were:

> two Gospel books, two books of Acts ... two sets of silver paten-and-chalice ... two crosses made of cedar boards, and two volumes (tomoi) of the divine picture-stories (historiai) containing the decoration of the church, i.e., the pictorial story (eikonikê historia) of the Old and New Testaments.[46]

Control of the exercise of models was placed in the hands of the clergy according to the acts of the Council of Nicaea II:

> The conception and the tradition are therefore theirs [the Holy Fathers] and not of the painter; for the painter's domain is limited to his art, whereas the disposition manifestly pertains to the Holy Fathers who built (the churches).[47]

Unfamiliar or unscriptural images were subject to protests by church leaders, at the very least. An example of this is found in a letter addressed by St.Theodore of Studios (c.759-826) to Theodoulos, a stylite:

> they alleged that you [Theodoulos] had represented in the windows angels crucified in the form of Christ, and that both Christ and the angels were shown aged .... They said that you had done something foreign and alien to the tradition of the Church, and that this deed was inspired not by God ... seeing that in all the years that have passed no examples of this peculiar subject (idiôma) have ever been given by any one of the many holy Fathers who were inspired by God.[48]

ART OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The Baroque[49] style of artwork, prevalent in Western Europe from about 1600 to 1750, originated in Rome as an extension of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. It evolved following the proclamation on sacred images issued by the Council of Trent. Christian art was again defended in response to the destruction of images by iconoclasts; although the desecration was being carried out this time by Protestants as part of their antagonism towards abuses extant within the Catholic church. As a result, sculpture and painting in church settings, having been rejected by Protestants with the exception of the Lutherans, became powerful tools for the Catholic clergy and for Catholic monarchs.[50] In fact, as early as 1585 the papacy began to patronize the arts on a grand scale in Rome.[51] The general result of the proclamation of Trent, the second major official apology concerning artwork, was a flowering of church art and architecture similar to that of the fourth century.

Most Protestant leaders other than Martin Luther (1483-1546) rejected the beneficial uses of images for Christian worship. Luther believed that Christian icons were acceptable with the exception of "an image of God which one worships," as forbade by Mosaic law.[52] Other leaders, however, were convinced that the adoration of God was exclusively spiritual in nature. For instance, it was Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) who believed that:

> God was to be worshiped in spiritual terms, that prayer and worship were identical, that liturgies and ceremonies substituted 'babblings' for the spirit, that images were inevitably idols.[53]

John Dillenberger suggests that the attitude of most Protestants was not so much a repudiation of the actual or potential abuses of images as it was a "part of the rejection of a Roman Catholic sacramental view of the faith."[54] For the Baroque mode of seeing actually expressed the Catholic church's sacramental view of reality:

> The Roman Catholic baroque was an artistic tradition in which the accepted subjects were portrayed through a style that developed out of the new emphasis [through travel and science] on the world around us .... The art form was not an image of another world made manifest, but was itself a reality that disclosed the effective power of God's presence.[55]

The Council of Trent (1545-1563), the nineteenth ecumenical council, was initially summoned by Pope Paul III (1534-49) in 1536 in response to the growth of Protestantism and the necessity for reforms within the Catholic church. Due to opposition, the council did not convene until December 13, 1545. Twenty-five sessions were held with the aim of clarifying doctrine and producing legislation for a reform of the Catholic church. However, the council was unable to hold continous sessions since it was beset by internal conflicts. Its final sessions were held from January 18, 1562 to December 4, 1563 under the direction of Pope Pius IV (1559-65). The Council of Trent dealt with the question of sacred art during its twenty-fifth session, held on December 3 and 4, 1563.

The decree issued by the Council of Trent, entitled "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and On Sacred Images," essentially restated the position of the Second Council of Nicaea concerning the traditional or "legitimate"[56] use of art objects. Icons were to be shown relative love or veneration, not the "veneration of worship," that is, adoration[57]:

> due honor and veneration are to be given them [religious portraits]; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that any thing is to be asked of them; or that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in idols; but because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent .... as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of Nicaea, has been defined against the opponents of images.[58]

The role of icons as memorials of the Christian faith which instruct and edify was upheld, as was the capacity of artwork to stimulate a worshipful emotion in the viewer. Viewers were to be "excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety."[59]

The use of images for private and public devotions was esteemed by Catholic leaders.[60] For instance, St.Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Society of Jesus, is reported to have relied on artwork for his own meditative exercises:

> despite Ignatius' exceptional gift for meditation, nevertheless, whenever he was going to meditate on those mysteries of our Savior, shortly before his prayer he looked at the pictures that he had collected and displayed around the room for this purpose.[61]

The defence of images by Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century elaborates two significant aspects of the proclamation issued in 787. Firstly, an idolatrous use of icons, found unacceptable by the Second Council of Nicaea, was to be strictly guarded against:

> the people shall be taught, that not thereby [in imagery] is the Divinity represented, as though it could be seen by the eyes of the body, or be portrayed by colors or figures. Moreover, in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, every superstition shall be removed.[62]

Secondly, the Council of Trent elaborated how the clergy was to exercise control over iconography. Artwork was to be judged by bishops, who could reject "unusual" (insolitum) imagery that either was of unsound theology or which did not resemble traditional models. The council proclaimed:

> no images (suggestive) of false doctrine, and furnishing occasion of dangerous error to the uneducated, [may] be set ur ....let so great care and diligence be used herein by bishops, as that there be nothing seen that is disorderly, or that is unbecomingly or confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing indecorous .... [and] that no one be allowed to place, or cause to be placed, any unusual image, in any place or church, howsoever exempted, except that image has been approved of by the bishop.[63]

If difficult problems arose, then papal authority was to be consulted:

> if any more grave question shall arise touching these matters, the bishop, before deciding the controversy, shall await the sentence of the metropolitan and of the bishops of the province, in a provincial Council; yet so that nothing new, or that previously has not been usual in the Church, shall be resolved on without having first consulted the most holy Roman Pontiff.[64]

The Council of Trent failed to distinguish between that which simply follows the pattern of earlier imagery and that

which portrays accepted religious belief. The use of a particular form or pattern does not necessarily generate sacred art, rather the theme or figures must be interpreted by an artist. In trying to purify iconography of unfamiliar elements, the Council of Trent allowed for the rejection of a Catholic artist's personal vision by members of the clergy. The council upheld the importance of art for Christian worship, though at the same time bringing the value of novel artistic expression into question.

Prior to the Council of Trent, devotional images that were antidogmatic or unscriptural were not usually criticized by theologians. Even after the council's ban such images often were not withdrawn from churches:

> only occasionally did a medieval theologian question the use of an image with indisputable devotional value on the grounds that it was antidogmatic or unscriptural. Images of the Trinity incarnate in the Virgin's womb, the Virgin fainting at the crucifixion, the child Jesus carrying a cross, and depictions of the Trinity with a crucified and dead Christ were commonplace, accepted for their devotional effectiveness. All these images were proscribed for churches by the Council [of Trent]. But even after these proscriptions, nonscriptural and antidogmatic images were not removed from churches that already contained them, nor was the dictum of the Council always enforced in the case of new images.[65]

When it reaffirmed the instructional and devotional value of icons, the Council of Trent expected artists to obey certain directives. The Catholic clergy, particularly the Jesuits, called for art to perform a missionary function; the aim being, in part, to draw viewers away from Protestantism. The role granted to an artist was thus that of propagandist; a role explicitly referred to in the writings of Francisco

Pacheco (1564-1654), who was the most influential seventeenth century Spanish critic of art[66]:

> there is another very important aspect of Christian painting, which concerns the goal of the Catholic painter, who, in the guise of a preacher, endeavors to persuade the people and to bring them, by means of his painting, to embrace religion.[67]

Artists of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century were in a position to freely create their visions of the Christian faith as a result of developments which occurred during the Renaissance; however, throughout the Baroque era:

> artists ... often had to pay for their recently acquired professional emancipation by a more or less willing submission as propagandists for Princes or for the Church. In each case they had to obey some sort of code, the Church's implying mainly decorum and prudishness.[68]

The puritanical attitude of the Counter-Reformation period was explicit in the Council of Trent's directive that for holy images, "all lasciviousness be avoided; in such wise that figures shall not be painted or adorned with a beauty exciting to lust."[69]

A well-known instance of criticism directed against a religious artwork for "lasciviousness" was the controversy surrounding Michelangelo Buonarroti's (1475-1564) image of the "Last Judgement" (1536-41)[Plate 57]. The strongest criticism originated with Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) who, as part of his own attempt to blackmail the sculptor, professed to be shocked by the nude figures in the original fresco:

> The pagans when they made statues ... of naked Venus, made them cover with their hand the parts which should not be seen. And here there comes a Christian who, because he rates art higher than faith, deems a royal spectacle martyrs and virgins in improper attitudes, men

> dragged down by their genitals, things in front of which brothels would shut their eyes in order not to see them .... Less criminal were it if you [Michelangelo] were an infidel, than, being a believer, thus to sap the faith of others.[70]

The conflict ultimately forced Pope Paul IV (1555-59) to request that drapery be painted over the objectionable figures.

Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, a Bishop of Bologna during the seventeenth century, attempted to enlarge upon the Council of Trent's proclamation.[71] In one notable publication, entitled "Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images" (1582), the bishop declared that in order to fulfil its didactic function artwork must avoid being obscure.[72] His call for clear religious imagery in fact reiterated the Council of Trent's position as Paleotti demanded that artists use a restricted iconography. Artists were to:

> only represent what is proposed by holy doctors and accepted unanimously by the Church, without adding, removing, or changing anything, either in content, or as to the way of expression or other particulars.[73]

Interestingly, the bishop proposed that scale is important for the clarity of an image:

> obscurity can also come from or be increased by the restriction of the space where the painting is located, as the space would not actually contain the multitude of things that should be represented, unless mixed and pressed together.... a proportionate space makes things more successful.[74]

The bishop noted further that written inscriptions were to accompany unfamiliar icons.[75]

Paleotti's ideas were typical of the period, and such ideas shaped artwork produced for churches during the late

sixteenth and seventeenth century. The Baroque style presented highly dramatic images which were immediately intelligible to the viewer. As well, the imagery in Baroque churches was often large in scale and possessed a quality of unrestrained energy.

Catholic church interiors which developed following the Council of Trent became environments which compelled the viewer towards a state of worship. It was in conjunction with the liturgy that the interior spaces were truly experienced.[76] For example, in his description of the church of S.Agnese (completed in 1666) [Plate 66], Kenneth Garlick notes that:

> One is impressed by the tremendous riches of the building materials ... the bright white of the high relief sculptures, the occasional gilding ... the painted frescoes in the vaults, the strong inlay of the marble floor. If, at the same time, the organ is playing the richly operatic church music of the period, if the floor of the church is filled by worshippers, and if the candles are lit and flickering, then you have the essence of worship in a Baroque church .... [You] have that feeling of unity between one part and another, and of unity between the parts of the building and the action that is taking place within the building during the progress of a service.[77]

Interior designs for churches gradually became exceedingly theatrical. The intended effect was to inspire in the viewer an emotion reminiscent of the mystical experiences of actual sixteenth century saints; it was a type of "spiritual hypnosis,"[78] so to speak:

> The decorations, the lighting, and even the shapes of Baroque churches and palaces were calculated for maximal emotional effect. Although religious outpourings on the order of those of the Counter-Reformation mystics were a thing of the past, artists ... contrived ... rationally planned stage sets for the experience of the irrational, so that the worshiper could achieve at least the illusion

> of that union with the Divine that had been granted to Saint Theresa, Saint John of the Cross, and other Catholic and also Protestant mystics of the sixteenth century.[79]

One of the finest examples of the Catholic Baroque is the Cornaro Chapel in S.Maria della Vittoria, Rome (1645-52), designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680)[Plates 67-68]. The whole chapel was invented as an environment for the artist's central sculpture, the "Ecstasy of Saint Teresa." Bernini's statue is "an almost clinically accurate study" of the transverberation of the saint.[80] It is also a fine example of the Baroque concern with the revelation of God's presence in the physical world; "Bernini's St.Teresa is the most intense expression of the Roman Catholic baroque in its physical portrayal of the effects of God's presence at a miraculous moment."[81]

The altarpiece of the Cornaro Chapel is a convex stage for Bernini's sculpture. The bronze rays placed behind the figures of St.Teresa and the angel are lit by a concealed window; however, Bernini created the illusion that the light proceeds from a break in the actual ceiling. Here, a decorative painter (using a sketch by Bernini) has represented the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove bursting through the ceiling surrounded by adoring angels. On either side of the altar have been fashioned theatre boxes which hold marble relief figures of the Cornaro family, who kneel and "piously discuss" the meaning of the vision.[82] The viewer is able to relate to

the Cornaro portraits and thereby becomes a participant in the chapel's central drama.[83]

During the Baroque era, illusionism was developed as a means of portraying the nature of Catholic spirituality. The interior space of a church building was decorated to give the impression of being an organic whole wherein the earthly and heavenly realms coalesced. The presence of quadratura - illusionistic wall and ceiling paintings which "give the impression that the interior is open and limitless"[84] - was a vision of the future to come. It was also an expression of the Christian belief that God has directly entered his creation. Baroque illusionism was, in this way, a new aspect of the traditional conviction that Christian icons reproduce God's incarnational relationship to humanity.

The ceiling quadratura of the church of Il Jesù (completed in 1584)[Plate 69], fashioned from 1676 to 1679 by the painter Giovanni Battista Gaulli (1639-1709) and the sculptor Antonio Raggi (1624-1686) serves as an example. Jesuit saints and angels appear to be ascending into heaven while evil spirits and vices fall towards the viewer. The figures are either drawn towards or cast away from the Sacred Name of Jesus, which is the focus of the composition. The sign of Jesus is depicted as the source of the sunlight which seems to burst through the ceiling.[85] The viewer is presented with a glimpse of the heaven to come but it is a vision so realistically contrived - including shadows cast by the figures -

that God's ultimate triumph appears to be unfolding about the church sanctuary at this very moment.

In essence, art was exploited during the Baroque period. The thrust of the Council of Trent's proclamation and the ensuing attitude of the period was that:

> the arts are employed in the service of the Church to further the teaching of the Church, not simply as a means of embellishing church architecture, and, therefore, their religious message must be absolutely clear and easily intelligible. Obscurity and irrelevance and even freely imaginative interpretations of the sacred story can have no place. Works of art for churches .... must act like magnets. They must be an emotional stimulus to piety .... the theme of worship must not emanate solely from the high altar or the side chapel but from every corner, every stone and every inch of paint or stucco.[86]

The Catholic clergy's exploitation of art to persuade viewers reached a culmination in certain images employed to train Jesuit novices. The church of Santo Stefano Rotondo in Italy contains thirty frescoes (c.1582-83) which illustrate martyrdoms.[87] The martyrdom scenes are accompanied by long inscriptions, and the torn limbs of the figures are even numbered. Novices were told to memorize each scene in association with devotional literature in order to prepare themselves for the sacrificial work of the Order, which in the sixteenth century included martyrdom.[88] Such paintings, considered deplorable today, were thought to be compelling by contemporary viewers. They reveal:

> the perhaps unbridgeable distance between modern aesthetic taste and sixteenth-century ideas of the function of art. Pope Sixtus V (1585-90) ... burst into tears on seeing these frescoes .... What was distinctive and thus would have gripped the emotions was not the grisliness of the painted scenes but the sacrificial heroism of the victims.[89]

The view of art expressed by the Second Council of Nicaea (787) and by the Council of Trent (1563) constitutes the traditional stance of the Catholic church. The attitude - that images have a significant role to play in the life of the worship community but a role that is to be governed by religious authorities - has continued to be proclaimed by many in the Catholic hierarchy. In the twentieth century, the Second Vatican Council upheld the traditional view of art while delimiting ecclesiastical judgement to some extent. Nevertheless, the modern conciliar definition supports the conventional restraints on the creative expression of religious artists.

ENDNOTES

1. Donnelly, Devotions, 99.

2. John Dillenberger, A Theology of Artistic Sensibilities: The Visual Arts and the Church (New York: Crossroad, 1986) 15.

3. Ibid., 6.

4. Ibid., 19.

5. Cyril Mango, comp., The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972) 3.

6. Margaret R. Miles, Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture (Boston: Beacon, 1985) 54.

7. Dillenberger, Theology, 16.

8. Ibid., 18.

9. This paragraph is based on material found in Mango, Byzantine, 22.

10. Ibid., 33.

11. Ibid., 3.

12. Ibid., 34.

13. Miles, Image, 45.

14. Cyril Mango notes that, "the distinction we draw today between an icon and a portrait is an artificial one and does not correspond to any reality of the Early Christian or medieval period. In Greek the word eikôn means simply an image - any image." Mango, Byzantine, 23.

15. Ernst Kitzinger, The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies, ed. W. Eugene Kleinbauer (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1976) 101.

16. This paragraph is based on material found in Kitzinger, Byzantium, 128-29.

17. Mango, Byzantine, 17. Found in a letter addressed to Constantia, sister of Emperor Constantine I, which may not be from the authentic writings of Eusebius. Dillenberger, Theology, 8.

18. Mango, Byzantine, 16.

19. Kitzinger, Byzantium, 130-31.

20. Ibid., 104.

21. Mango, Byzantine, 134.

22. Kitzinger, Byzantium, 97.

23. Mango, Byzantine, 23.

24. Ibid., 47.

25. Kitzinger, Byzantium, 131-32.

26. Mango, Byzantine, 15-16.

27. Kitzinger, Byzantium, 132.

28. Ibid., 106-07.

29. Mango, Byzantine, 158.

30. Kitzinger, Byzantium, 145.

31. There were political motives for the emergence of official iconoclastic policies. The expansion of the Muslim nations into the eastern Byzantine realm was a factor. Emperor Leo III (reigned c.717-741), who first promoted iconoclasm, actually believed that the Muslim conquests were divine punishment for the idolatry which had developed within the Church. Mango, Byzantine, 149.

32. "Nicaea, Second Council of (787)," Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., 1983.

33. J. Gouillard, "Iconoclasm," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967.

34. This paragraph is based on material found in Gouillard, Encyclopedia as well as "Iconoclastic Controversy," Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., 1983.

35. John H. Leith, ed., Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present, 3rd ed. (Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox, 1982) 54-55.

36. Mango, Byzantine, 167.

37. Mango, Byzantine, 17. See endnote no.17.

38. Ibid., 167.

39. Ibid., 168.

40. Ibid., 172.

41. John of Damascus, "Concerning Images," Hilary of Poitiers and John of Damascus, ed. P. Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1979) vol.9 of The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd series, 88.

42. Leith, Creeds, 55-56.

43. Mango, Byzantine, 173.

44. Leith, Creeds, 55.

45. Mango, Byzantine, 137.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 172.

48. Ibid., 175.

49. Frederick Hartt notes that, "The word Baroque is often claimed to derive from the Portuguese word barocco, of unkown origin, meaning irregular or rough, used specifically to describe pearls of distorted shape." Hartt, Art, 209.

50. Ibid., 209-10.

51. Janson, Art, 483.

52. Dillenberger, Theology, 64-65.

53. Ibid., 66.

54. Ibid., 71.

55. Ibid., 78.

56. "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," The Greek and Latin Creeds, ed. Philip Schaff, 6th ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, 1983) vol.2 of The Creeds of Christendom, 200.

57. Cf. Mango, Byzantine, footnote no.86, 169.

58. "Trent," Latin Creeds, 201-02.

59. This paragraph is based on material found in "Trent," Latin Creeds, 202.

60. Miles, Image, 121.

61. Reported by Fr.Bartomomea Ricci in 1607. Ibid., 120.

62. "Trent," Latin Creeds, 203.

63. Ibid., 203-04.

64. Ibid., 204-05.

65. Miles, Image, 118.

66. Robert Enggass, and Jonathan Brown, comps., Italy and Spain, 1600-1750, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-hall, 1970) 161.

67. Ibid., 164.

68. Robert Klein, and Henri Zerner, comps., Italian Art, 1500-1600, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966) 119.

69. "Trent," Latin Creeds, 203.

70. Klein, Art, 123.

71. Ibid., 124.

72. Ibid., 125.

73. Ibid., 126.

74. Ibid., 128-29.

75. Ibid., 127.

76. Miles, Image, 110.

77. Kenneth Garlick, "Religious Imagery in Baroque Art and Architecture," ed. Gilbert Cope, Christianity and the Visual Arts, Studies in the Art and Architecture of the Church (London: Faith, 1964) 47.

78. Ibid., 49.

79. Hartt, Art, 210.

80. Ibid., 222.

81. Dillenberger, Theology, 90.

82. This paragraph is based on material found in Hartt, Art, 222-23.

83. Miles, Image, 120.

84. "Quadratura," Art Terms, 1979.

85. This paragraph is based on material found in Hartt, Art, 228-29.

86. Garlick, Cope 45-46.

87. Miles, Image, 122.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

STANCE OF THE MODERN COUNCIL

On January 25, 1959, shortly after beginning his pontificate, John XXIII announced his vision for a unique ecumenical council. This council was to be the progressive response of the Roman church towards the contemporary world. Pope John's design was for a council that:

> would restore the Church's energies for the apostolate and search for the forms best adapted to its present-day needs .... would open the way toward the reunion of the separated brethren of East and West in the one fold of Christ; and would render the Church's doctrine more understandable, its constitution more simple, and its directives for safeguarding and developing morality more clear.[1]

John XXIII inaugurated the Second Vatican Council on October 11, 1962, following the completion of work by ten preparatory commissions. These commissions, including one for the Sacred Liturgy, became the essential framework for the council's decision-making process. Pope John presided over only the first of the four sessions of Vatican II. He died before the second session was convened. Paul VI (1963-78) presided over the remainder of the council and closed it on December 8, 1965.

The role of sacred art in Christian worship was re-addressed in chapter 7 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy which was promulgated on December 4, 1963 at the end of the council's second period.[2] It was Vatican II's first published Constitution.

The modern conciliar document refines the traditional Catholic stance. Vatican II based its directives upon groundwork laid by earlier councils. It reaffirmed the indispensability of religious art and its proper veneration:

> Very rightly the fine arts are considered to rank among the noblest activities of man's genius, and this applies especially to religious art and to its highest achievement, which is sacred art .... they achieve their purpose of redounding to God's praise and glory in proportion as they are directed the more exclusively to the single aim of turning men's minds devoutly toward God. Holy Mother Church has therefore always been the friend of the fine arts and has ever sought their noble help.[3]
>
> The practice of placing sacred images in churches so that they may be venerated by the faithful is to be maintained.[4]

The authority of bishops to judge images for use in Catholic churches was upheld, although supreme judgement in liturgical matters was to remain with the Pope.[5] The jurisdiction of bishops was carefully delimited in the Constitution. Commissions of bishops and educated laymen were to decide on matters of sacred art.

For regular operations, territorial assemblies of bishops were to establish liturgical commissions, "assisted by experts in liturgical science, sacred music, art and pastoral practice."[6] At the diocesan level, either three separate commissions for sacred liturgy, music and art or one all-inclusive commission was to be set up under the direction of the bishop.[7]

Further, regulation number 129 of the Constitution gives intructions for the education of clerics in matters of sacred

artwork in order that they will be able to satisfactorily direct artists:

> During their philosophical and theological studies, clerics are to be taught about the history and development of sacred art, and about the sound principles governing the production of its works. In consequence they will be able to appreciate and preserve the Church's venerable monuments, and be in a position to aid, by good advice, artists who are engaged in producing works of art.[8]

The admission underlying this document is that rule number 129 must be implemented or else all recommendations concerning sacred art will prove irrelevant for the modern context, since the clergy is not infallible in matters of artistic expression.[9]

Regarding actual objects of art, the approval of Vatican II was reserved for those images which displayed the traditional marks of noble beauty, simplicity, piety and artistic quality.[10] By this the Counter-Reformation attitude was perpetuated, namely that religious iconography should follow conventional rather than freely imaginative patterns:

> all things set apart for use in divine worship should be truly worthy, becoming, and beautiful, signs and symbols of the supernatural world .... In fact, the Church has, with good reason, always reserved to herself the right to pass judgment upon the arts, deciding which of the works of artists are in accordance with faith, piety, and cherished traditional laws, and thereby fitted for sacred use.[11]

The council members stated that room should be granted to religious images by contemporary artists, but stressed that artwork representative of different world cultures must be in keeping with Catholic devotion:

> The art of our own days, coming from every race and region, shall also be given free scope in the Church, provided that it adorns the sacred buildings and holy rites with due reverence and honor.[12]

Vatican II proclaimed that individual styles of art were not to be refused for use within Catholic churches, "The Church has not adopted any particular style of art as her very own; she has admitted styles from every period."[13] Yet the council anathematized artwork which offended piety and which illustrated distorted forms:

> Let bishops carefully remove from the house of God and from other sacred places those works of artists which are repugnant to faith, morals, and Christian piety, and which offend true religous sense either by depraved forms ["distortion of forms"[14]] or by lack of artistic worth, mediocrity and pretense.[15]

The rejection of "depraved" forms or a "distortion of forms" recalls the 1921 papal ban of the Expressionist style. What is the precise meaning of the terms depraved or distorted? Apparently, this directive of Vatican II maintains the earlier councils' ban of unusual images. Historically, the unusual (<u>insolitum</u>) has been a judgement passed on either the content or style of a piece of art. However, such condemnation may be more a reflection of the viewpoint of the judge than a correct assessment of the art object's nature.

From a conservative outlook, art is considered to be depraved if it might "shock" or be an "occasion for error" for the faith of the ordinary, uneducated layman.[16] A person holding this attitude believes that as the realities of the Christian faith stand above the contemporary world, a divorce between religious art and the everyday world is called for. He

demands a certain beauty from sacred art that would separate it from the daily conditions of life. The conservative view was most explicitly proclaimed in 1952 by the Vatican Office under Pius XII (1939-58):

> Of no moment are the objections raised by some that sacred art must be adapted to the necessities and conditions of the present times. For sacred art ... possesses its own ends, from which it can never diverge, and its proper function, which it can never desert.[17]

From this stance, the sincere visions of individual artists can be misinterpreted as heretical either in terms of style or content.

Manzù's series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" was misinterpreted by conservative clerics as being depraved, that is, heretical in content. However, Maritain has outlined how bold deformation or reconstruction of natural appearances issues from the true artistic process as an artist recreates his intuition of ulterior reality. Therefore, when judged with understanding, Manzù's series is perceived to be a transformation of conventional iconography - the death of Christ has been identified with the modern situation of the oppressed.

The crucial issue is: how may an undistorted judgement of religious images be formed? There is no sure answer since a basic problem of judgement lies in the fact that "Some people will enjoy what appears to others as 'depravity' or 'deformation' of wholesome art."[18]

From a more liberal vantage point, there are few - if any - depraved pieces fashioned by serious artists, since they

would not intentionally create "evil, corrupt, vicious" objects for church settings.[19] From this viewpoint, the insolitum is understood to be that which disturbs common aesthetic sensibilities rather than faith:

> Perhaps these forceful works of art are not really shaking anybody's faith or piety so much as they are disturbing his preconceived notion of what a statue ought to be. We have grown so accustomed to seeing a certain kind of overpainted sweetness and languishing pose in church statuary that any new, strong image shakes our preconceptions and awakens our sensibilities.[20]

Such artworks are thus considered to be useful for the stimulation of Christian belief.

STANCE OF THE MODERN ARTIST

> One of the great stumbling blocks in the way of appreciation of modern art lies in the assumption that the aim of art lies in the quest for beauty .... The artist cannot escape the fact that all is not beautiful in the world to-day. Should he then ignore that aspect of reality and turn to an expression of those things which are most likely to give pleasure?[21]

The imposed perspective of the Catholic church with its call for images of noble or sublime beauty[22] as well as its renunciation of depraved forms, has been "merely repeating the feelings and language of the ordinary man, who continues to demand of art an expression of beauty."[23] This attitude has led - and will continue to lead - to the rejection of artworks which offer profound insights into the nature of humanity.

Religious art which gives form to the ugly reality of human sin, such as Manzù's series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" as well as various scenes on the "Door of Death," are

important since they "inevitably connect Golgotha with Belsen and Hiroshima and few would deny that it is necessary for Christians to understand this relationship."[24]

Art which protests against sin at the same time discloses the existence of noble values. Manzù's "Door of Death" protests against the violence which claims the lives of individuals, thereby revealing the sculptor's belief in the preciousness of human life. This is an indispensable vision for a modern world suffering from tyranny.

It seems clear that article 7 of the Second Vatican Council's Decree on the Instruments of Social Communication (accepted on the same day as the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy) justifies the aspirations of Manzù:

> the narration, description, or portrayal of moral evil can indeed serve to make man more deeply known and studied, and to reveal and enhance the grandeur of truth and goodness. Such aims are achieved by means of appropriately heightened dramatic effects.[25]

If the Church's principles are to appear credible today, it needs to encompass these creative insights, even if the artist ostensibly professes a humanist outlook. That the Catholic church should openly embrace serious artwork by contemporary non-Catholics has been admitted by some within the Catholic community. For instance, Frank Kacmarcik has stated that:

> we must seek architects and artists who possess the gift of creating forms which have spiritual gravity and depth of content. Often enough this gift is to be found in those outside the Church. Talented non-Catholics should not be arbitrarily excluded.[26]

To be realistic, a definition of artwork suitable for Catholic worship spaces is needed. At the same time, however, the official Catholic stance remains too stringent even in modern documents.

Since the preeminence of an artist's vision - upheld by the secular world since the Renaissance and given philosophical rationale by Maritain - was not addressed by the Second Vatican Council, the discord between an artist's integrity and the liturgical aims of the Catholic church will persist.

A noteworthy emphasis of Vatican II falls on the artistic education of the clergy, stated in article number 129 of the Constitution. Educated clerics would exercise finer judgement on the issue of religious art, though decision-making by committee does not guarantee the passage of the most informed judgements. This directive of Vatican II does suggest that if an artistically educated clergy had reviewed Manzù's creations the merits of the sculptor's work would have been appreciated, as they were initially by Don Giuseppe and the secular world, and later by John XXIII.

The spirits of men such as Don Giuseppe and Pope John were needed to embrace the personal vision offered by Manzù in his masterpiece, the "Door of Death." This spirit may exist only in sympathetic church sponsors; for prior to and following the period of his friendship with the extraordinary Pope John, Manzù suffered the effects of the dissonance between his creative vision and the weight of Catholic tradition.

Manzù's work was not fully accepted by either Pius XII or by Paul VI. It was only John who granted the sculptor his dignity as a human creator particularly in his work on the "Door of Death." In one reported conversation, Pope John said to Manzù, "'You must follow your conscience all the way. This must come before all else.'"[27]

The Vatican Office under Pius XII had censured Manzù's series "Cristo nella nostra umanità" without having asked the artist to defend himself.[28] Even when Manzù was granted an audience with the Pope (a meeting arranged by Don Giuseppe), Pius XII did not come to understand the life experiences which had prompted the sculptor to create his series. Manzù tried to explain his motives to the pontiff - to no avail:

> The Pope shook his head as though he had been told an untruth.
> 'When you exhibited your work, it was not simply a question of personal liberty. Critics were forced to ask if what you saw, naked or otherwise, had sufficient worth or importance to be shown in public and so confuse the faithful ... as well as shock higher authority .... Before embarking upon such projects, you should seek spiritual advice.'[29]

Pius XII denied Manzù his artistic freedom. This was a restriction that the sculptor was unwilling to accept. To follow strictly the objectives of organized religion means that an artist's handiwork will degenerate into propaganda.[30] The situation of modern artists like Manzù is that of professionals who lack a spiritual foundation in the Christian faith and who are unable to relinquish their spiritual autonomy to the Church:

> Although most artists would welcome the return of church patronage, they would not compromise their own integrity in aesthetic expression. When religion was a public matter even more than a private matter it provided the framework for personal expression, but the artist in his present isolation is without such a framework of religion and is forced back on his own spiritual resources. For the artist to compromise here at the very fount of his being would be his own death.[31]

The above perception explains the tenacity with which Manzù defended his sculptures before his critics in the Catholic hierarchy.

Pope John had promised Manzù that a public festa would be held to celebrate the installation of the completed "Door of Death."[32] However, the bronze portal was not installed until after John's death when it was given an unsympathetic reception by Paul VI.

The views of Paul VI were decidely conservative. In a pastoral directive issued before his election as pope, he declared that religious artists must obey the standards and the vocation set out for them by the Catholic church:

> With her holy signs, the Church has placed at the disposal of liturgical piety a very rich material alphabet; but she has, at the same time, strictly determined its use. Art ... must then submit to this standard. The vocation of art is to mediate between the kingdom of the divine mysteries and the world of human souls, both of which the artist must accept as pre-established realities, not of his own making.[33]

A private evening audience had been arranged with Paul VI to which only Manzù and a small party of his male relatives and associates were invited. During the meeting, a canvas screen hid the small assembly and the "Door of Death" from the

view of any passersby, as if the portal was "a source of sudden shame, something unwanted by God or man."[34]

The audience which Paul VI granted to Manzù was very brief. The Pope simply asked Manzù to explain the iconography of the "Door of Death" by providing a title for each representation on the portal.[35] The pontiff believed that inscriptions should have accompanied each scene. This was a negation of the integrity of Manzù's concept, which is an assembly of symbolic figures that stand as an independent world. Following this, Paul VI gave the sculptor a terse, farewell blessing. To Manzù, the entire affair was a humiliating experience.

Manzù was again left with the antipathy between his personal vision and the conventional outlook of the Catholic hierarchy. Manzù's experiences of three consecutive pontiffs clearly illustrate how a modern artist and his work continues to clash with the stance of unreceptive churchmen, and at the same time can be fostered by the goodwill of a sympathetic patron.

* * *

> 'It could be worse,' said Mario Zappettini, his [Manzù's] brother-in-law. 'They could have not put up the doors. They could have hid them in the cellar and washed their hands of the whole thing.'
> 'They wouldn't have dared such a thing,' he [Manzù] replied. 'Even if some priests in the Curia wanted to try it, they would never have hid my doors because Pope John wanted them and everybody knows it.'
> 'If only Pope John was here,' said Mario. 'It would be different.'[36]

ENDNOTES

1. R.F. Trisco, "Vatican Council II," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967.

2. Shortly afterwards, Paul VI established an additional commission to implement this document (January 25, 1964). It was aptly termed the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. On October 16, 1964, the commission published the Instruction on the Liturgy. Chapter 5 of this document - entitled "Proper Construction of Churches and Altars in Order to Facilitate Active Participation of the Faithful" - does not deal with the role of artwork within church buildings; rather, its concern is with the suitable placement of seats, altars, etc. within the worship space.

3. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963 (Boston: St.Paul Editions, n.d.) article no.122.

4. Ibid., article no.125. Both the Constitution and Environment and Art, issued by the American Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, state that the number of images placed within a church is to be limited in order to suit modern liturgical demands - contrasting with the exuberant artwork created for Byzantine and Baroque churches. The limitation of images was adopted officially as a means of preventing idolatry (Constitution, article no.125) and as a way of restoring the inherent power of an icon to the modern consciousness (Environment and Art, article no.86). However, the restriction of images indicates that the liturgical action and space have been elevated in importance. The icon is thereby confined to being an ornament within an architectural framework. If this is truly the case, images are now confined to an ornamental role comparable to the position of artwork in Protestant churches. However, this may be more an expression of modern aesthetics than a reflection of Catholic understanding. Señor L.C. Vivanco, a President of the Spanish Museum of Contemporary Art, remarked that "'modern architecture chooses once again to subordinate the image to itself.'" Gilbert Cope, "The Problem of Sacred Art," Cope 22.

5. Constitution, article no.22/1.

6. Ibid., article no.44.

7. Ibid., article no.46.

8. Ibid., article no.129.

9. Walter M. Abbott, gen. ed., The Documents of Vatican II (New York: America, 1966) footnote no.63, 176.

10. Constitution, articles no.122 and 124.

11. Ibid., article no.122.

12. Ibid., article no.123.

13. Ibid.

14. Abbott, Documents, 175.

15. Constitution, article no.124.

16. Pie-Raymond Régamey, "The Laws of the Church," Liturgical Arts 32.2 (February 1964): 60.

17. "On Sacred Art: Instruction to Bishops issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, June 30, 1952," Liturgical Arts 32.4 (August 1964): 114.

18. Régamey, Liturgical Arts, 60.

19. Anthony Lauck, "What the Council Had to Say About Art," Liturgical Arts 32.4 (August 1964): 112-13.

20. Ibid., 112.

21. William Lockett, "The Church and Modern Art," Cope 68.

22. Constitution, article no.124.

23. Michael C. Pellegrino, "Art and the Liturgy," Liturgical Arts 36.3 (May 1968): 67.

24. Lockett, Cope 69.

25. Abbott, Documents, 322-23.

26. Frank Kacmarcik, "The Visualization of Christ's Coming in Glory," Liturgical Arts 31.2 (February 1963): 45.

27. Pepper, Artist, 98.

28. Ibid., 56.

29. Ibid., 78.

30. Cf. Lockett, Cope 66. The directives in the Constitution calling for the spiritual and cechnical instruction of religious artists (article no.127) might unfortunately lead to this.

31. Lockett, Cope 67.

32. Pepper, Artist, 9.

33. Pope Paul VI, "Liturgical Formation," Liturgical Arts 31.4 (August 1963): 105.

34. Pepper, Artist, 4.

35. Ibid., 9ff.

36. Ibid., 4.

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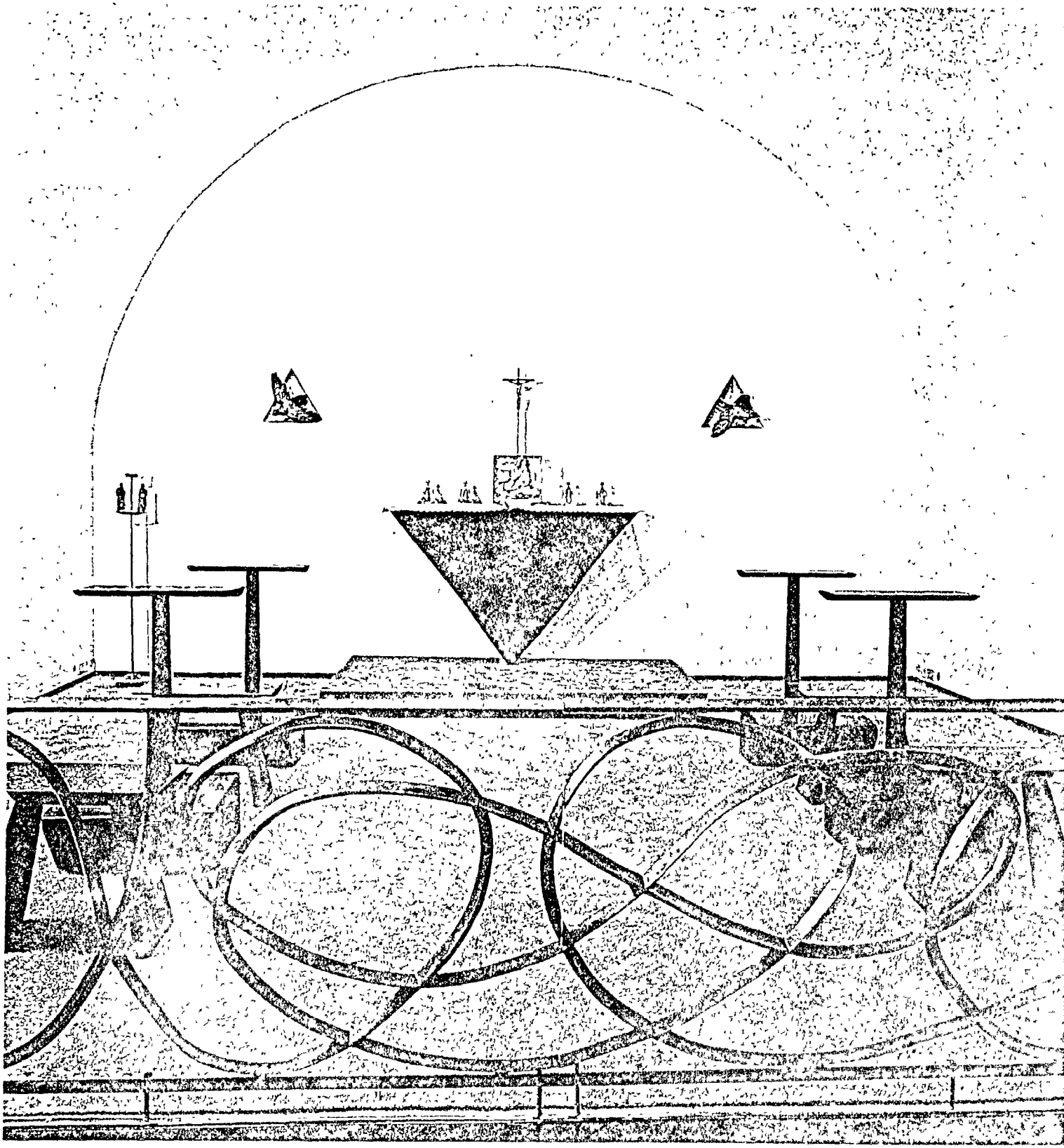
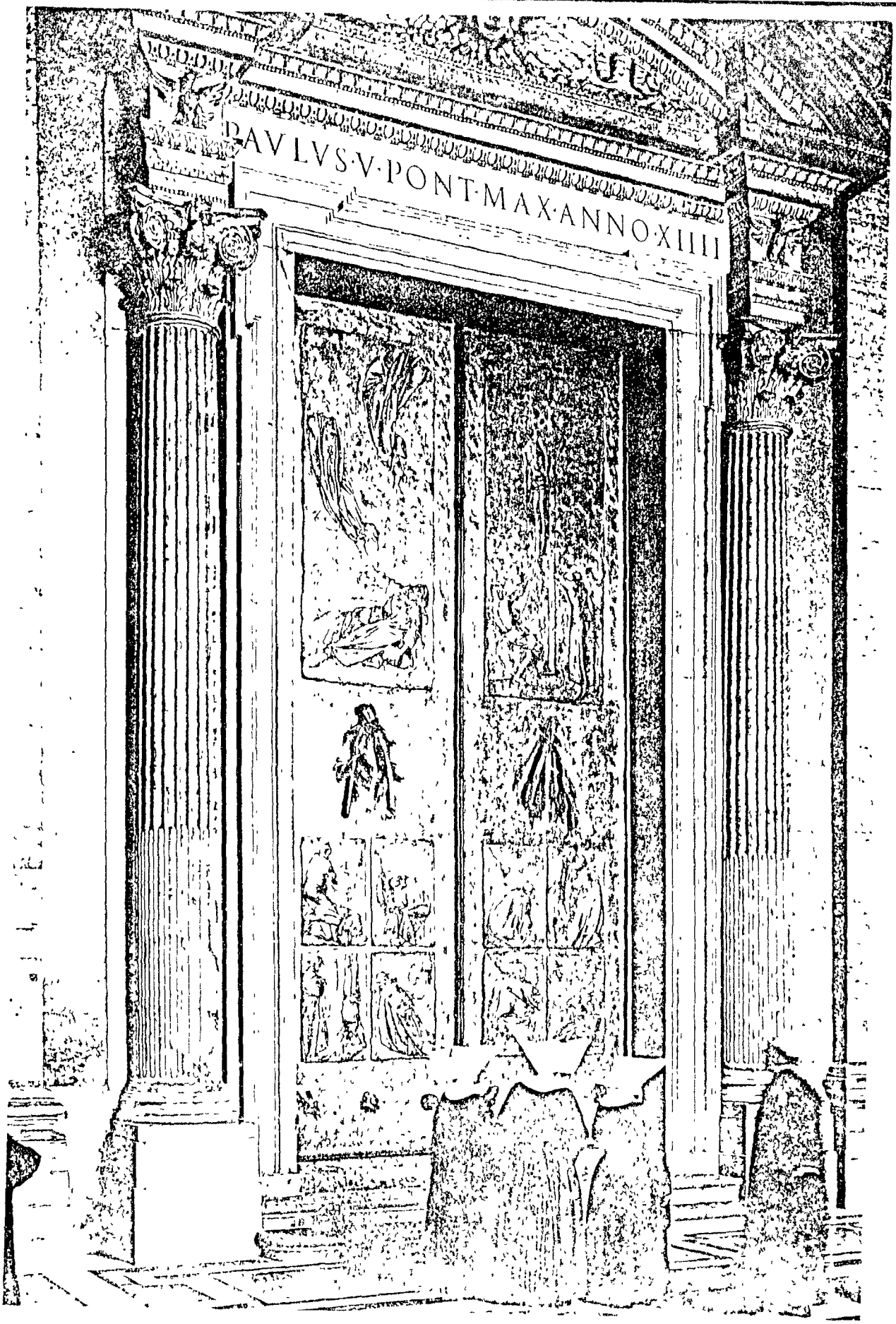
PLATES



1. Giacomo Manzù. "Chapel of Peace." 1961. Vatican Museums Collection of Modern Religious Art.

2. Manzù "Door of Death" (front view). 1947-64. Bronze, 765 x 365 x 20 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

3 Manzu "Door of Death" (rear view) 1947-64 Bronze, 765 x 365 x 20 cm St Peter's Basilica Vatican City.



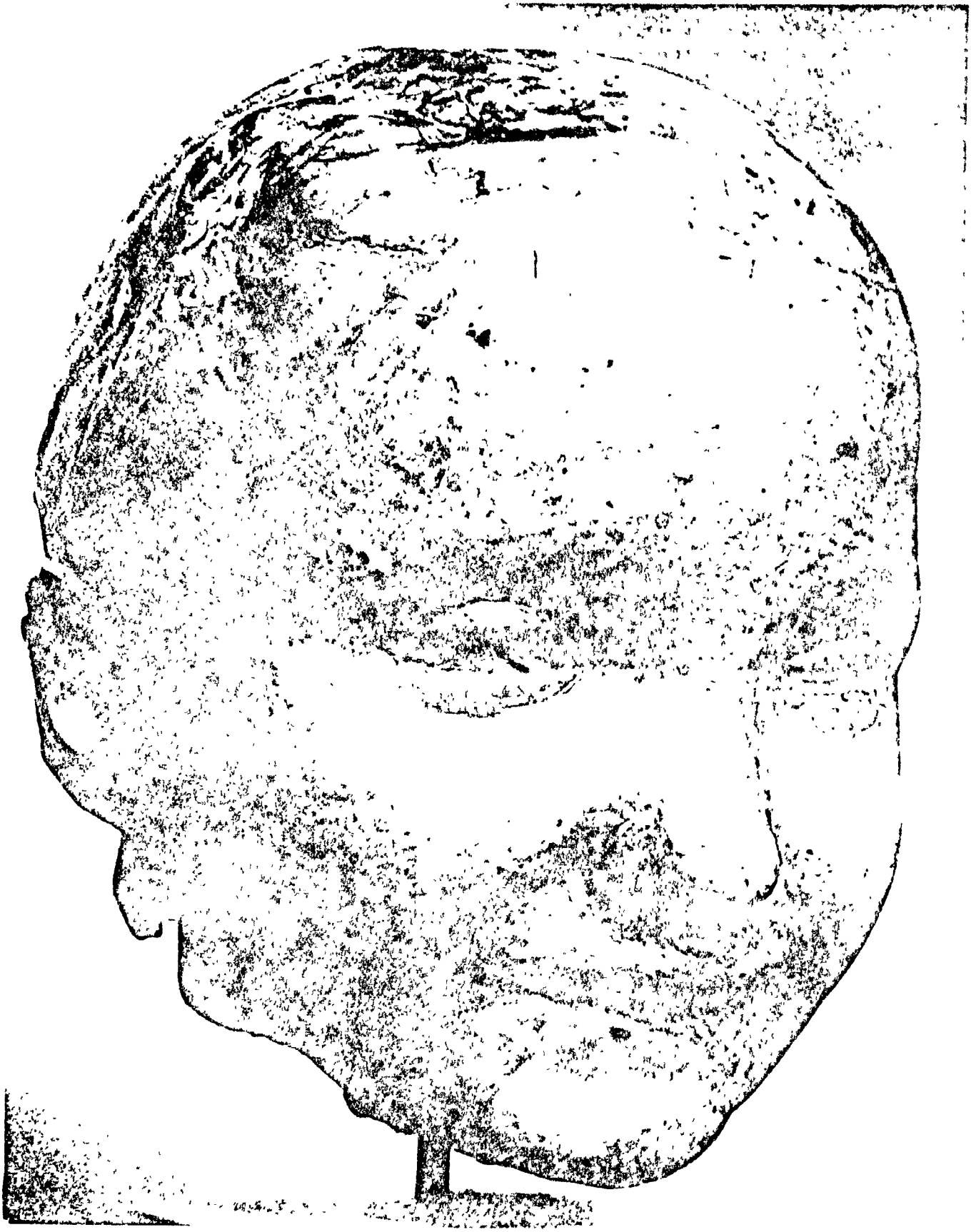
4. Manzù. "Door of Death" 1947-64. Bronze, 765 x 365 x 20 cm. St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

5. Manzù. Study for "Death of John XXIII." 1963. Clay

6. Manzù. "Annunciation." 1931. Polychrome stucco.
Coll. Manfredi Grosso, Milan.

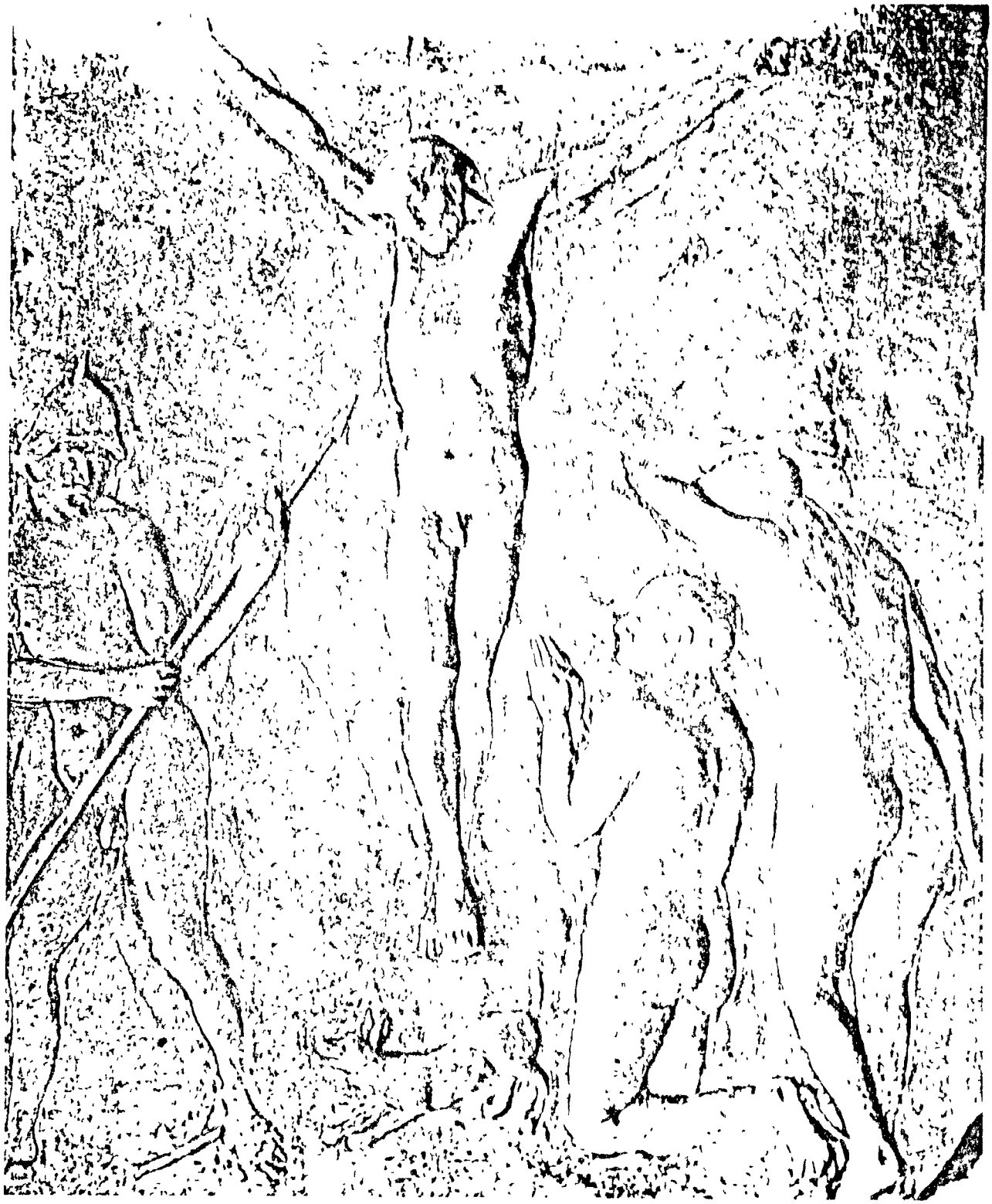
M. Manzù. "Entombment." 1932. Wrought silver.
Coll. Zappettini, Milan.

8. Manzù. Study for a "St.Sebastian" (detail). 1934.
Bronze. Private coll., Milan.



9. Manzù. "Portrait of Carla" 1936. Wax.
Coll. Lampugnani, Milan

10. Medardo Rosso. "Child Laughing." 1890. Wax. Leipzig Art Museum.



11. Manzù. "Crucifixion" from "Cristo nella nostra umanità" 1939. Bronze relief.

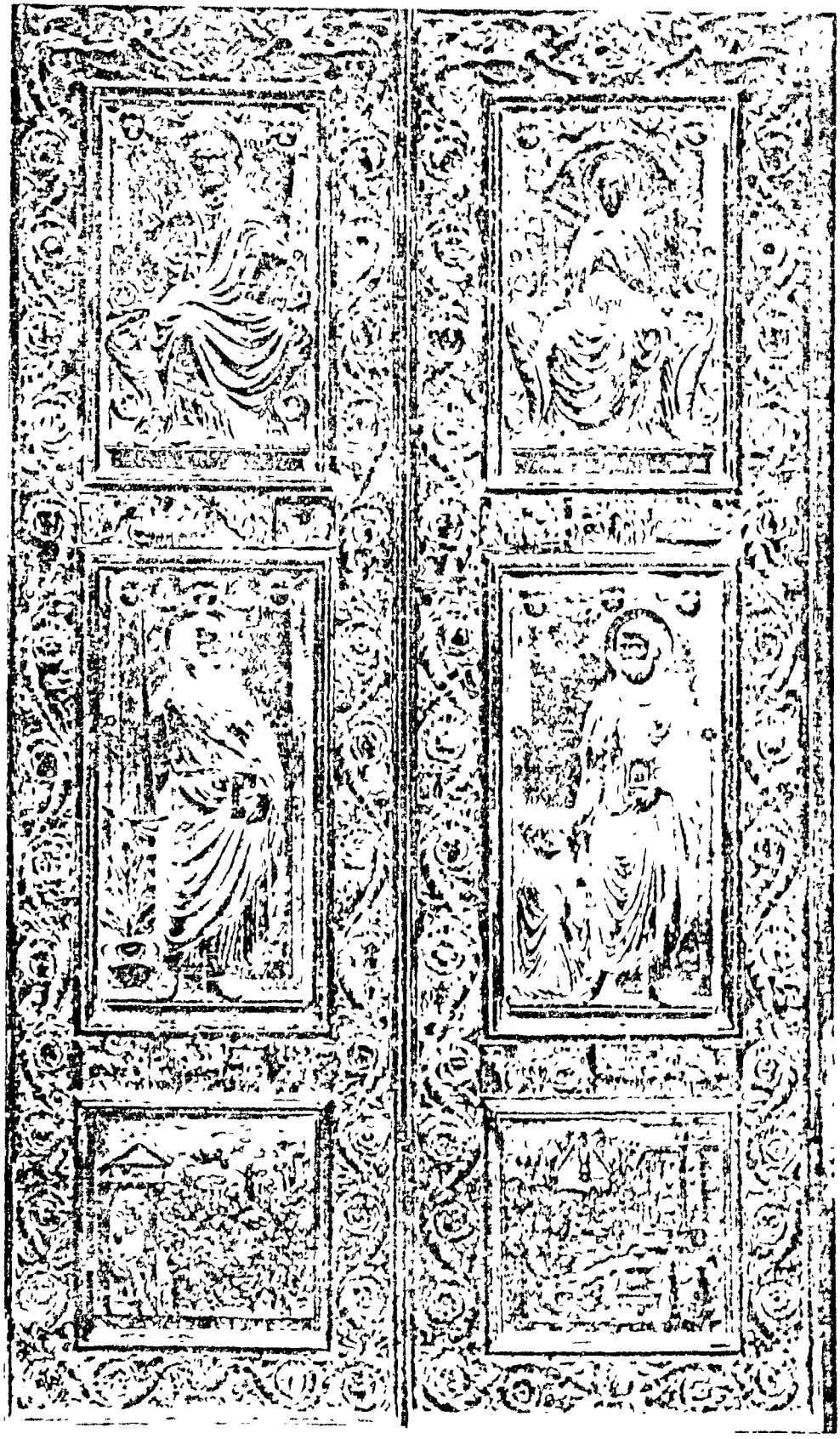
12. Manzù. "Crucifixion" from "Cristo nella nostra umanità." 1947-57. Bronze relief, c.70 x 50 cm. Owned by the artist.

13. Manzù. "Crucifixion" from "Cristo nella nostra umanità" 1947-57. Bronze relief, c.70 x 50 cm. Owned by the artist

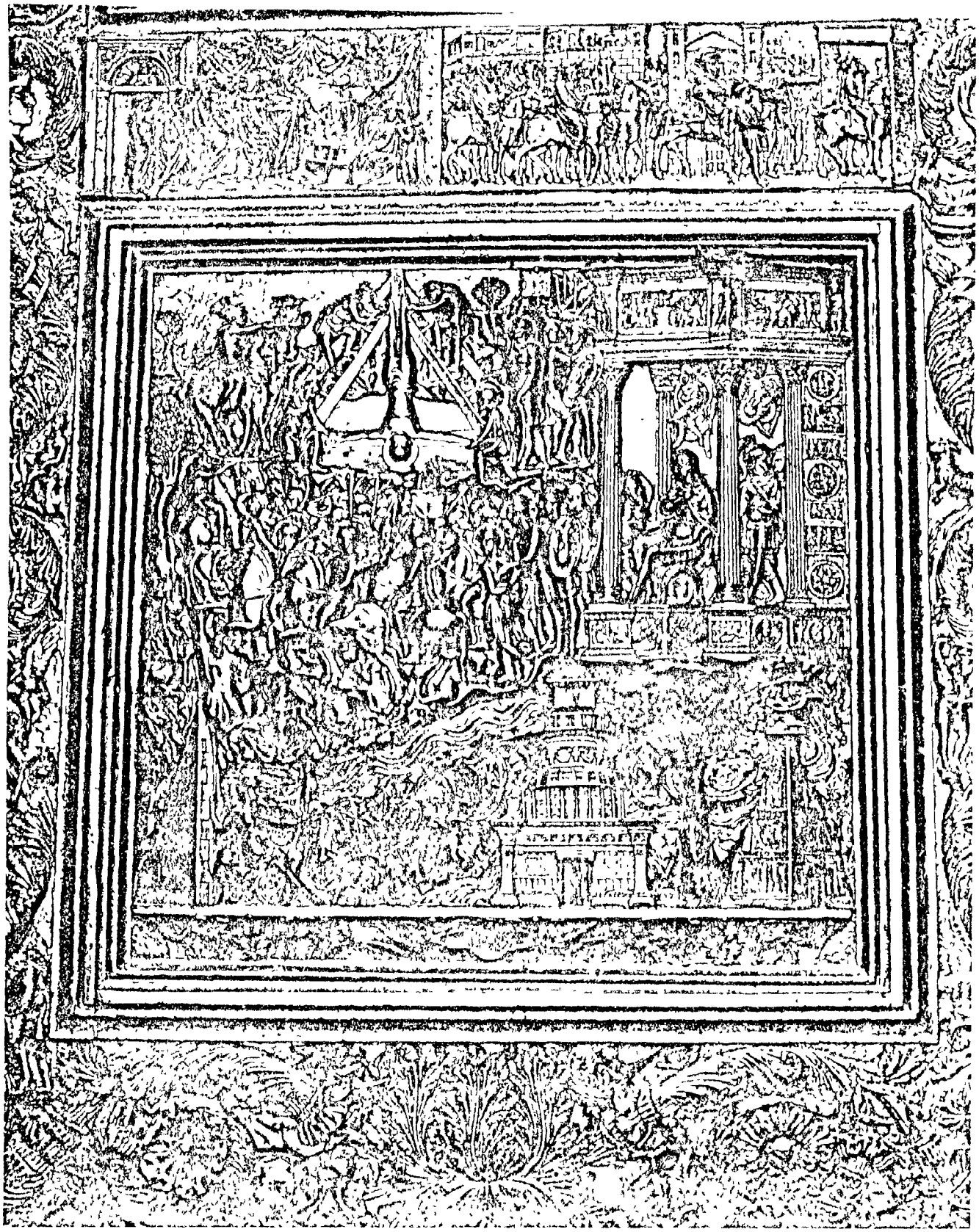
14. Manzù. "Crucifixion" from "Cristo nella nostra umanità." 1947-57. Bronze relief, c.70 x 50 cm. Owned by the artist.

15. Eugène Delacroix. "Liberty Leading the People." 1830. Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris.

16. François Rude. "La Marseillaise." 1833-36. Stone. Arc de Triomphe, Paris.



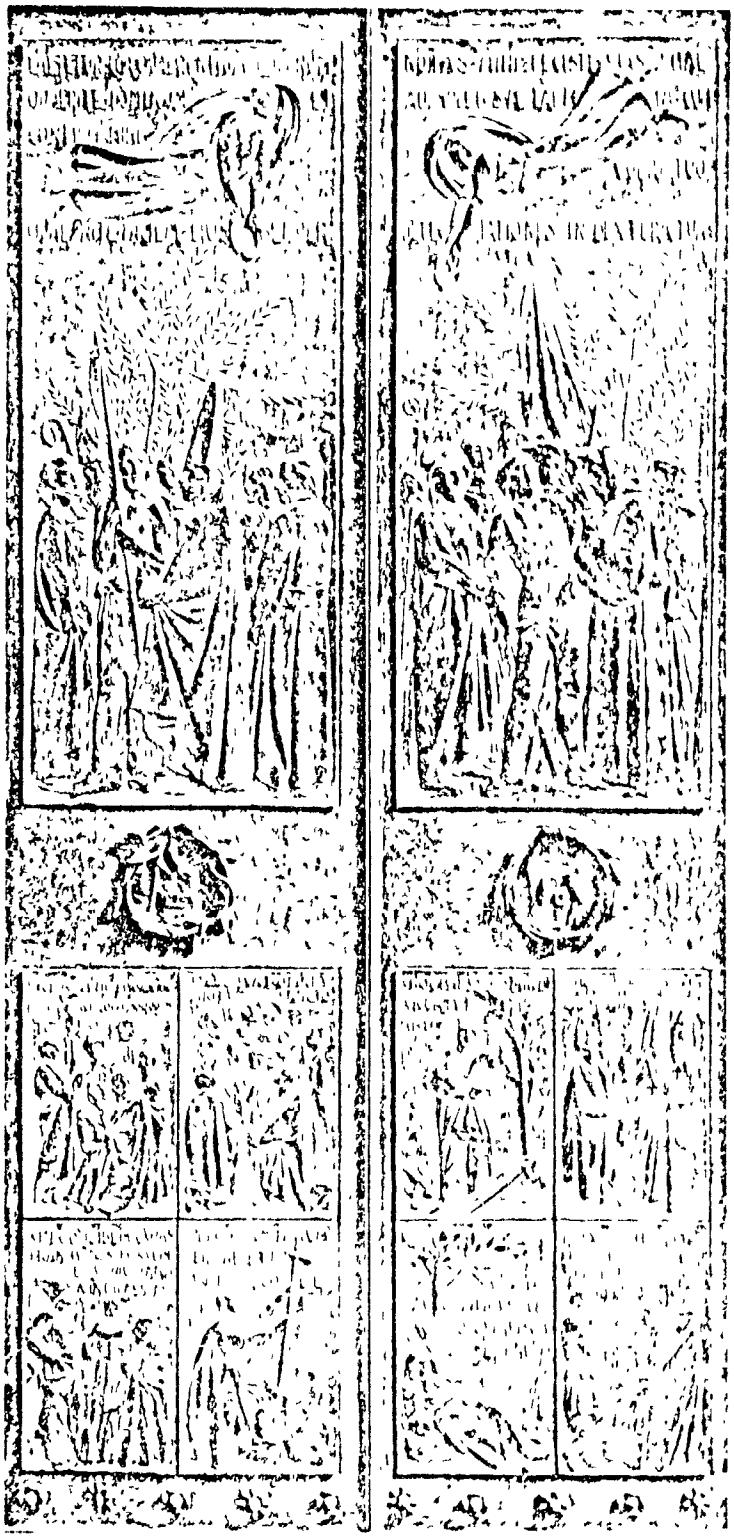
17. Filarete. Central door of St. Peter's Basilica. 1433–45. Bronze. Vatican City.



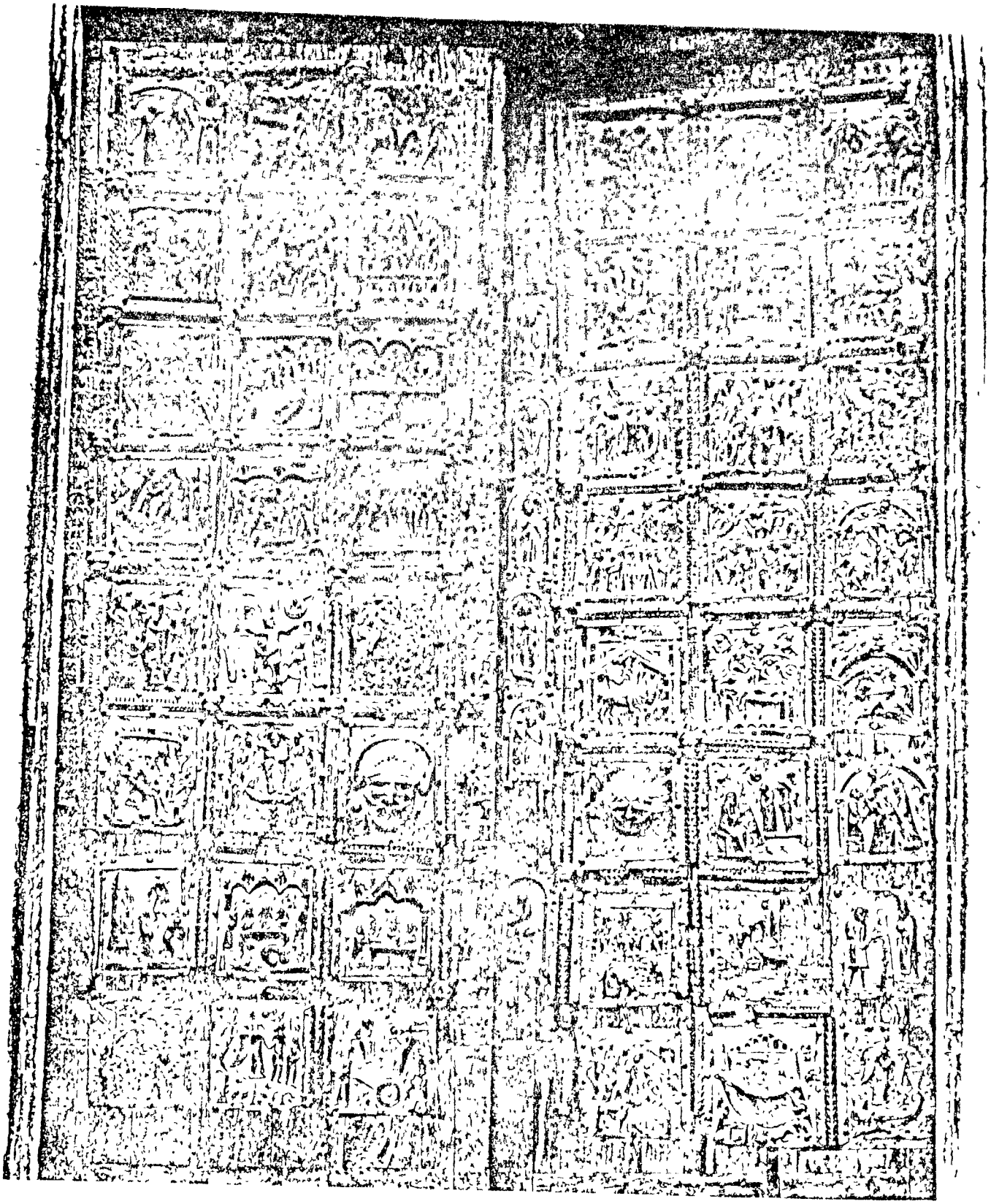
18. Filarete. Central door of St. Peter's Basilica (detail). 1433-45. Bronze. Vatican City.

19. Lorenzo Ghiberti "Gates of Paradise," 1425-52. Gilded bronze, height c.458 cm. Baptistry of S. Giovanni, Florence.

20. Lorenzo Ghiberti. "Sacrifice of Isaac" (competition design for Baptistry of S.Giovanni, Florence). 1401-02. Gilded bronze. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.



21. Manzù. Project for the Door of St. Peter's basilica 1949. Bronze, height c. 74 cm. Owned by the artist

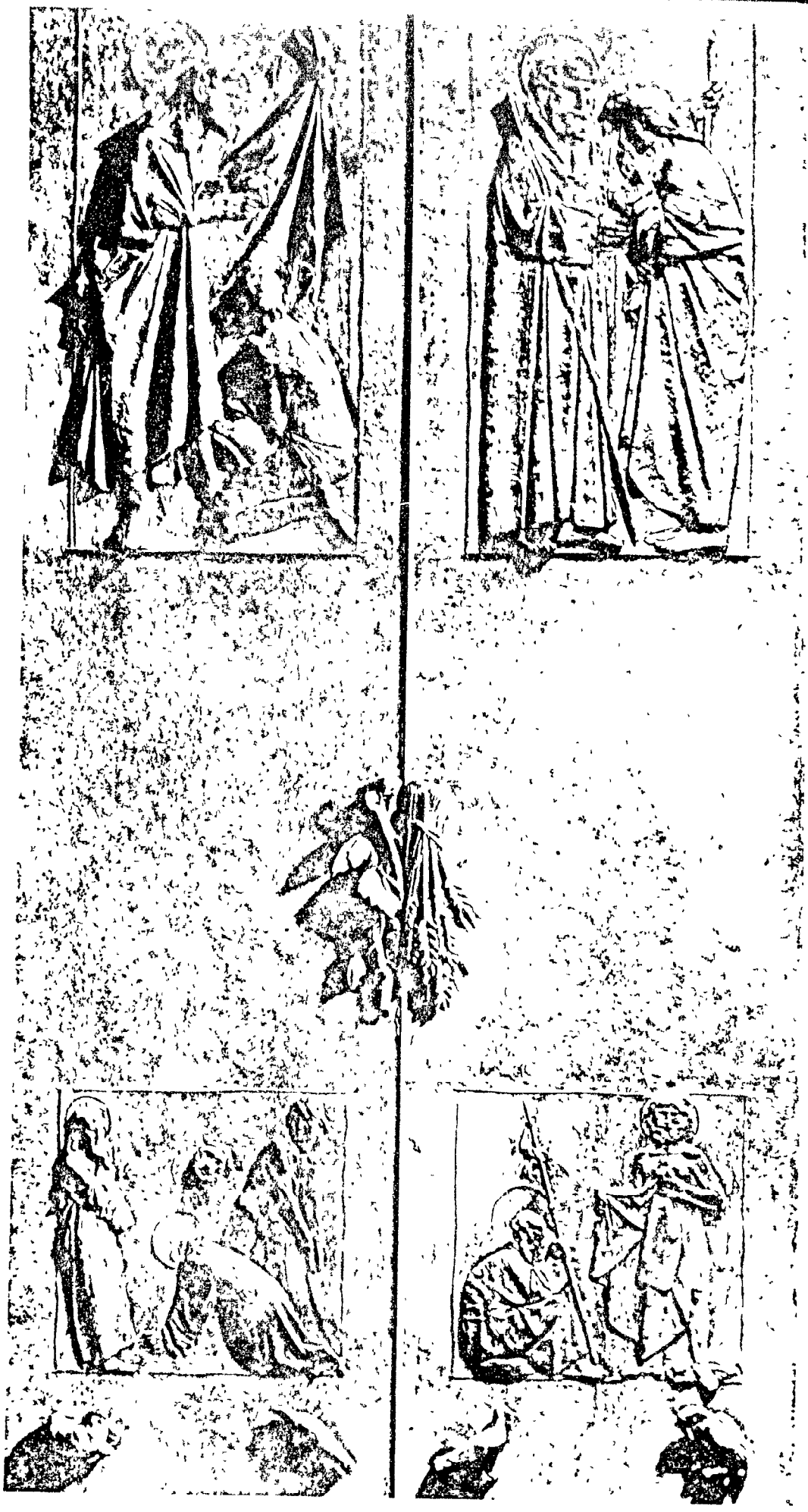


22. Stefano Lagerino. Central door of San Zeno Maggiore. 11th century. Bronze, c.480 x 360 cm. Verona.

23. Stefano Lagerino. "The Four Labors of Man: Cain and Abel" from the central door of San Zeno Maggiore. 11th century. Bronze relief. Verona.

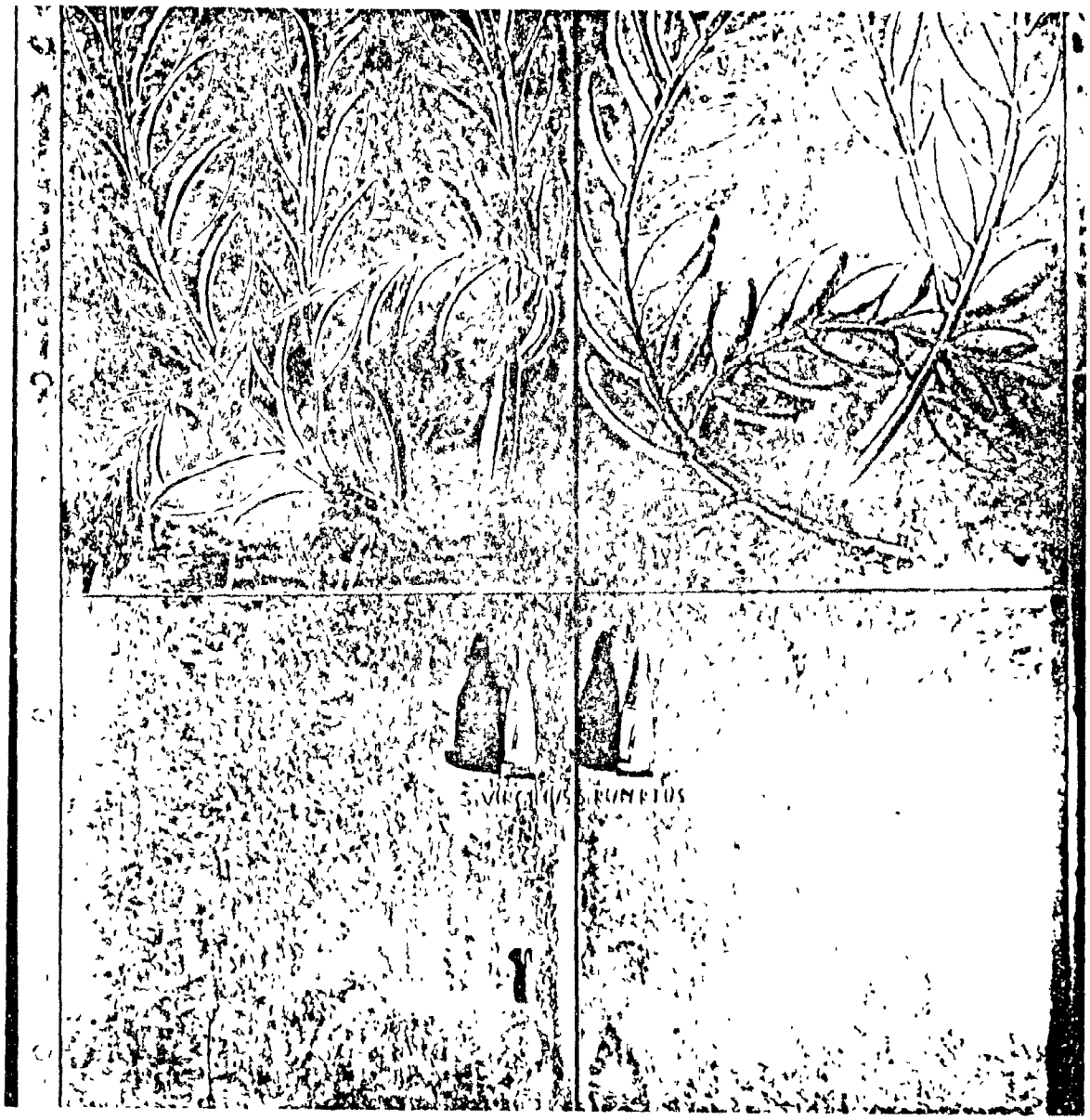
24. Manzù. "Crucifixion." 1951. Bronze high relief, c 150 x 127 cm Middelheimpark, Antwerp.

25 Manzu "Entombment" 1951 Bronze height of first c. 150 x 127 cm Middelheim park, Antwerp

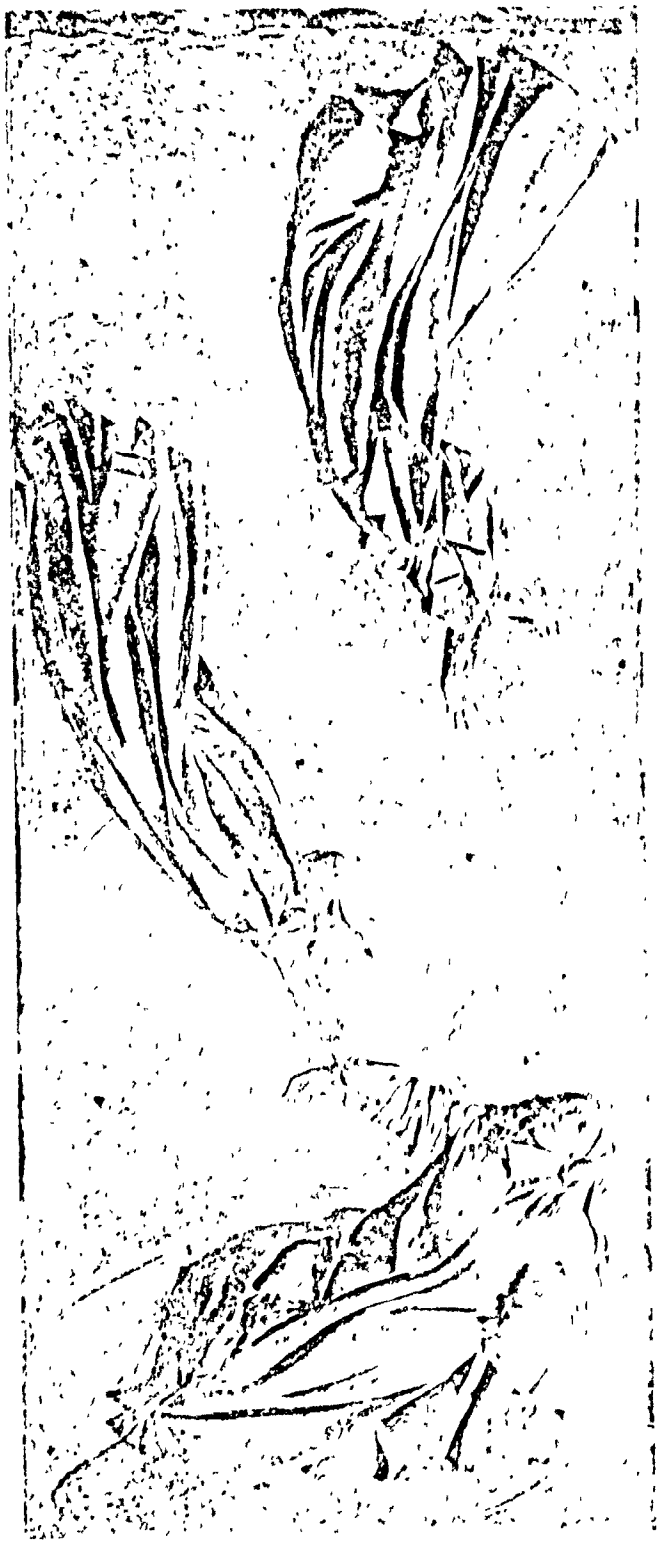


26 Manzu, "Door of Love" (front view) 1958 Bronze, c.434 x 236 cm Salzburg Cathedral

27. Manzu. "St Notburga and the Beheading of the Blessed Engelbert Kolland" from the "Door of Love" 1958 Bronze relief Salzburg Cathedral

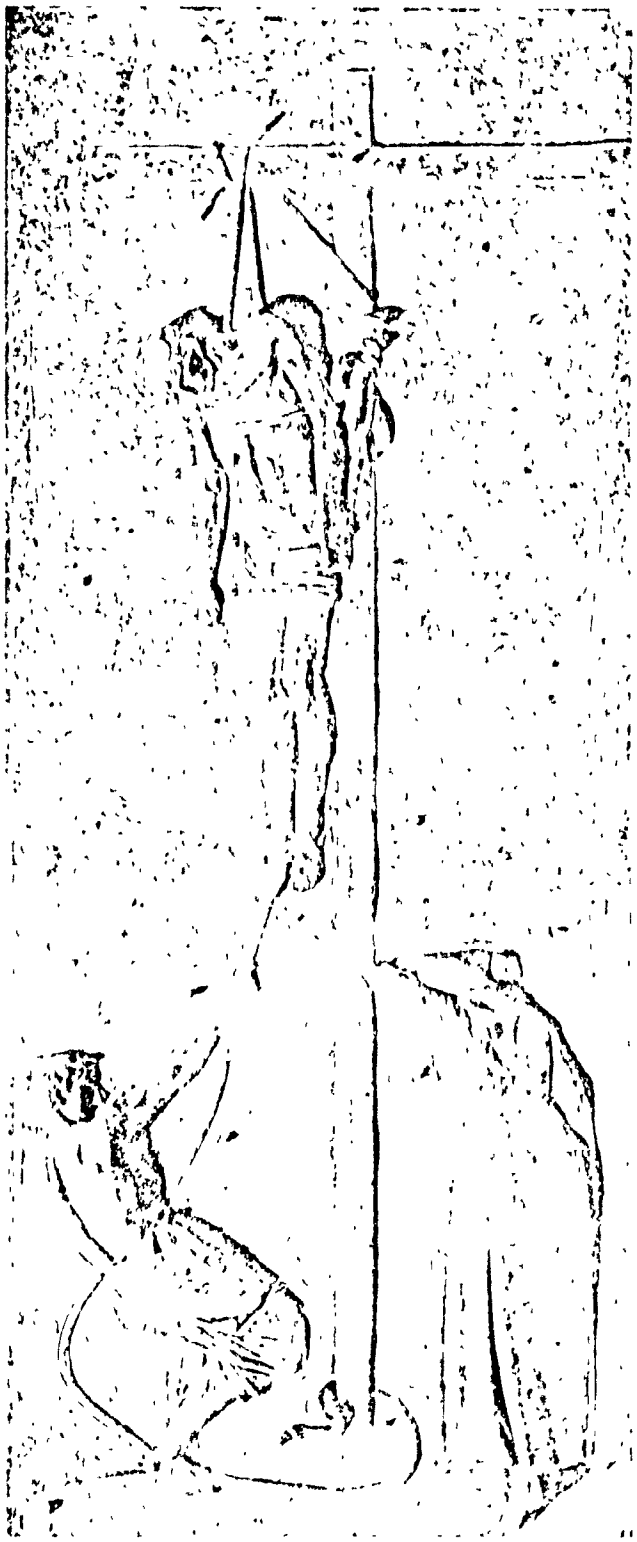


28. Manzù. "Door of Love" (detail of rear view). 1958. Bronze, c.434 x 236 cm. Salzburg Cathedral.

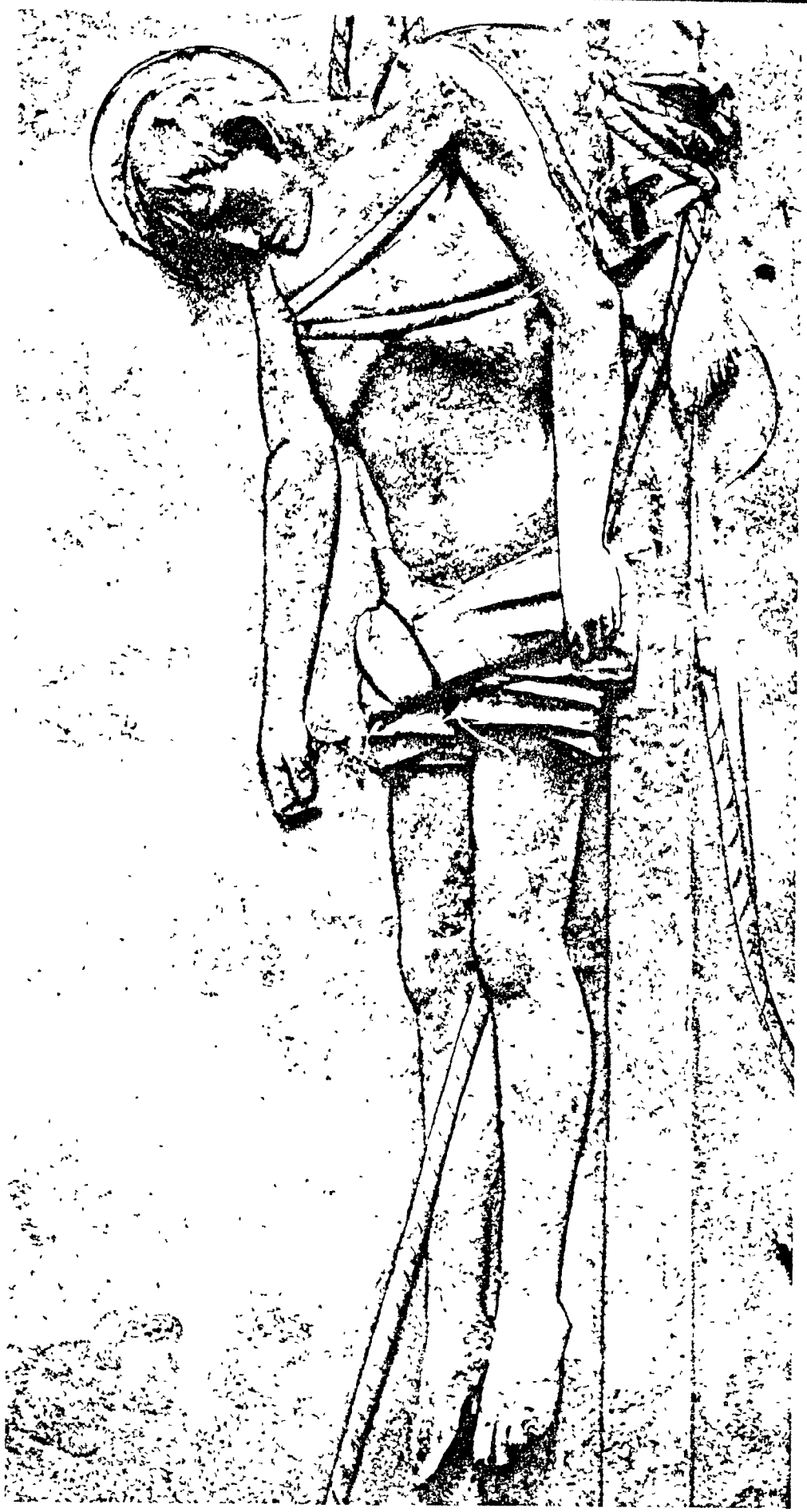


29. Manzu "Death of the Virgin" from the "Door of Death" 1964. Bronze relief, c 300 x 124 cm. St. Peter's, Basilica, Vatican City.

30. Manzù. Study for "Death of the Virgin." 1962. Bronze. Paul Rosenberg Gallery, New York.

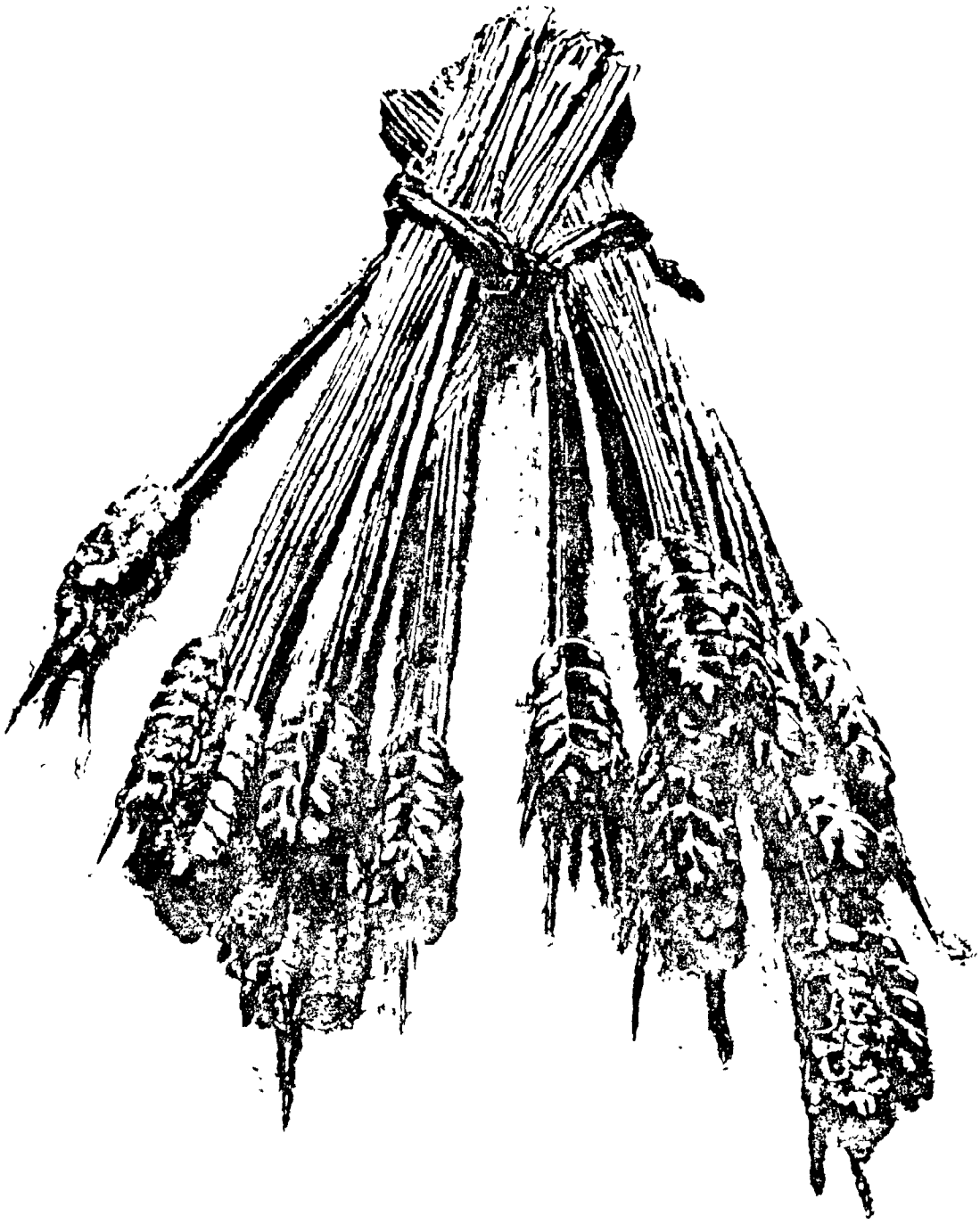


31. Manzù. "Death of Christ" from the "Door of Death" 1964
Bronze relief, c.300 x 124 cm. St.Peter's Basilica,
Vatican City



32. Manzù. Study for "Death of Christ" (detail). 1963. Clay.

33. Manzù. "Vine branch" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief. St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.



34. Manzù. "Sheaves of wheat" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

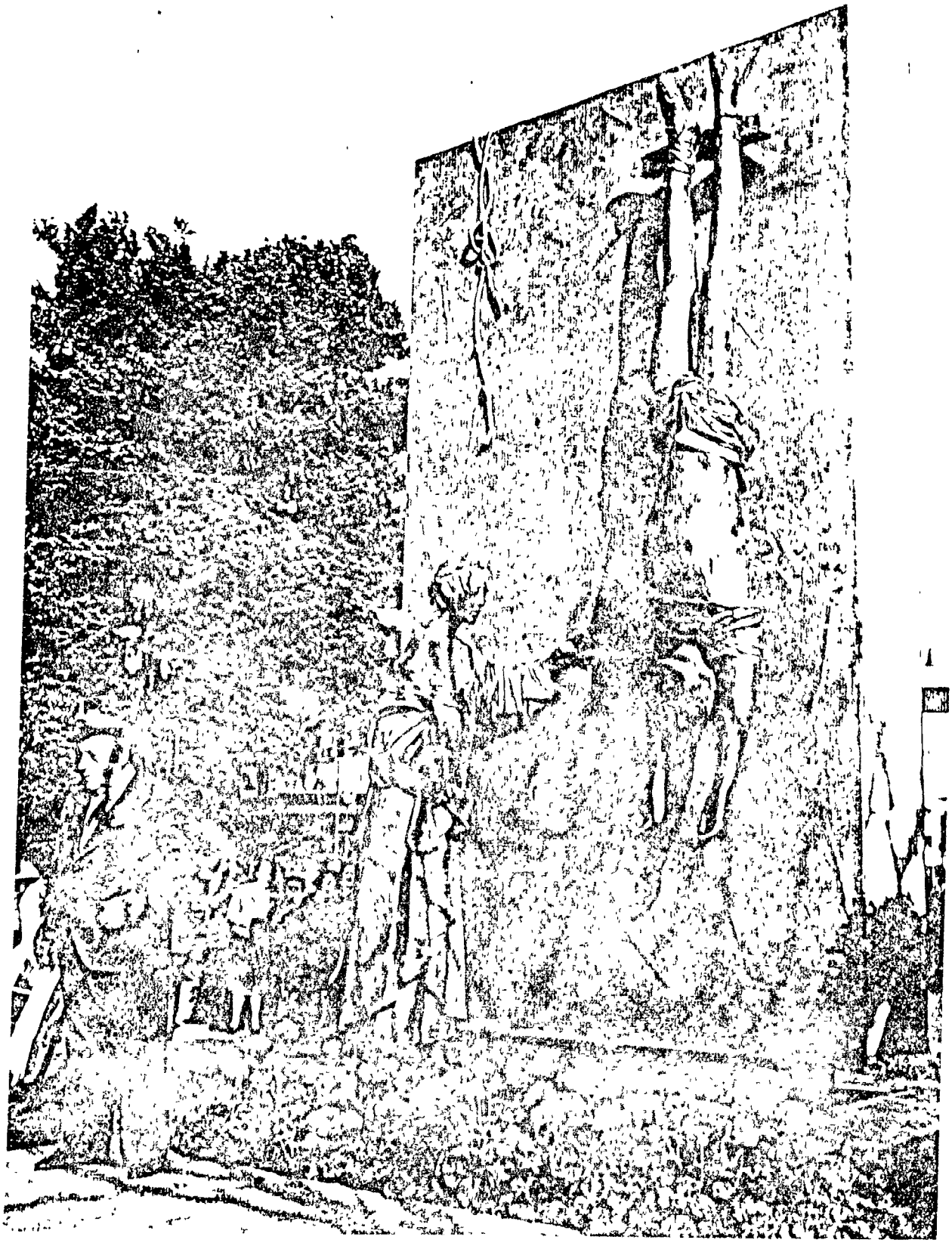
35. Manzù. "Death of Abel" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

36. Manzù. "Death of St. Joseph" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c 90 x 65 cm. St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

37. Manzù. "Death of St.Stephen" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

38. Manzù. "Death of Gregory VII" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

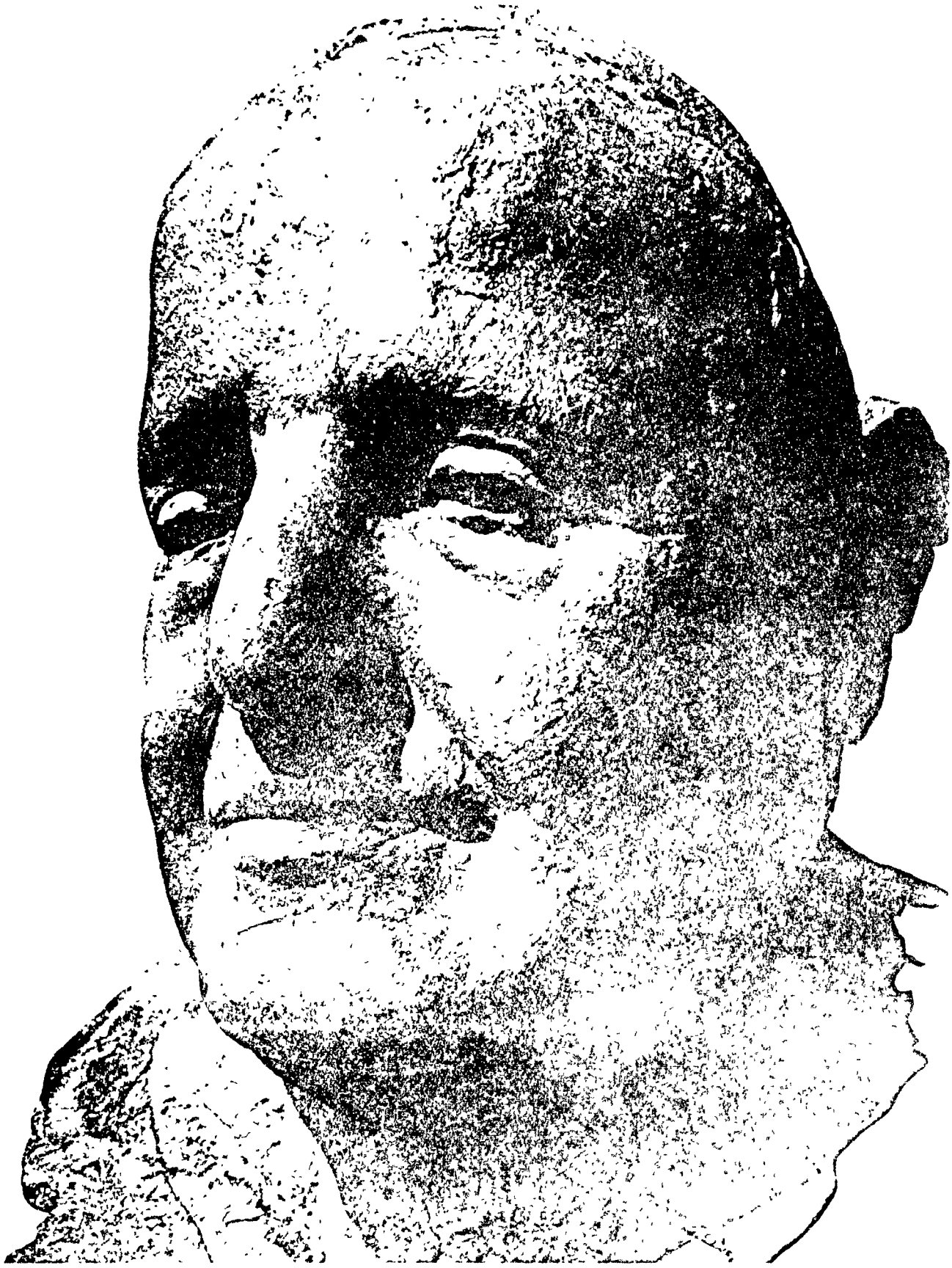
39. Manzù. "Death through Violence" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica. Vatican City.



40. Manzù. "Monumento del Partigiano" 1977. Bronze.
Bergamo, Italy.

41. Manzù. "Death of John XXIII" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

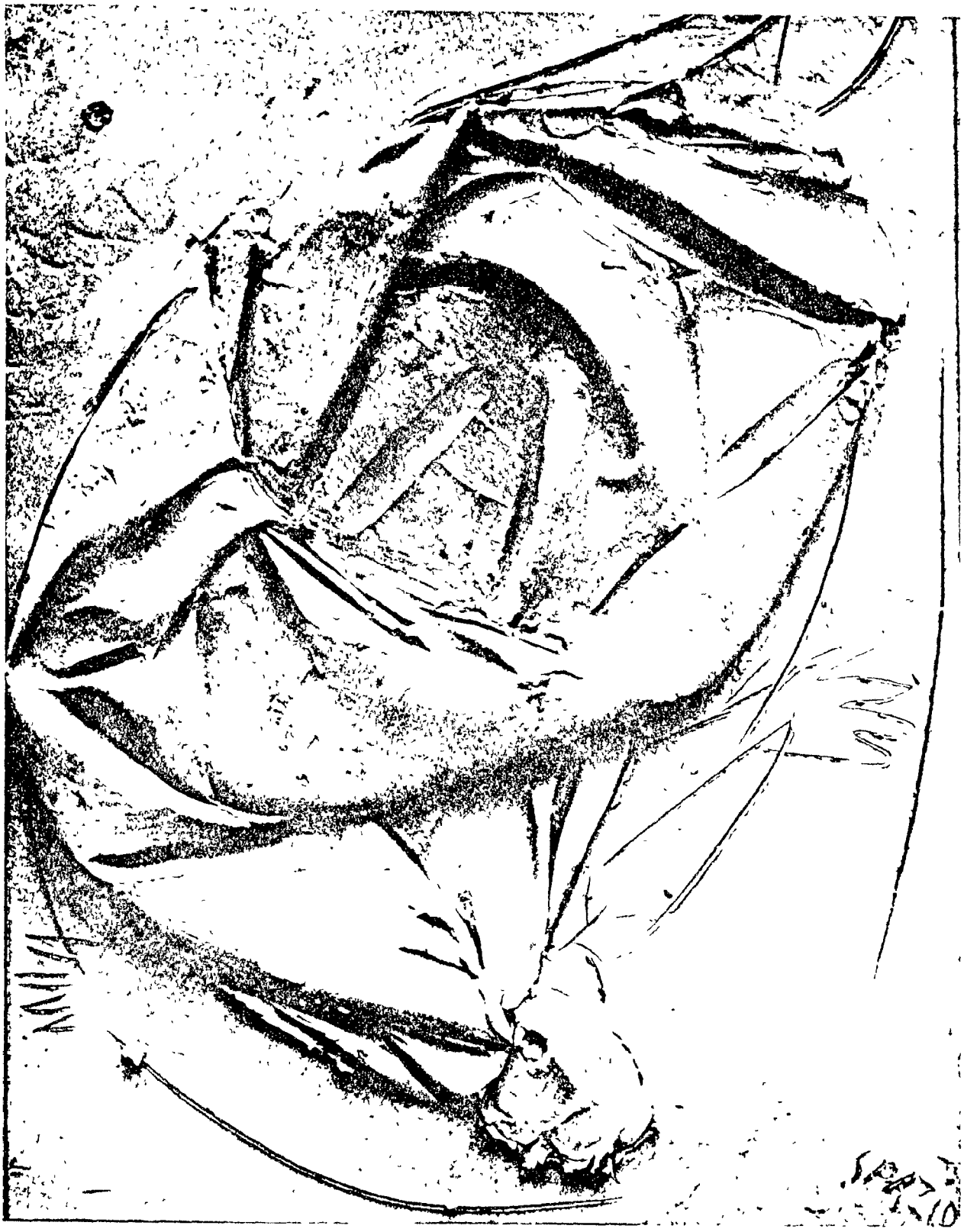
42. Manzù. "Portrait Bust of Pope John XXIII" (detail). 1963. Bronze, c.92 cm. Vatican Collection.



43. Manzù. "Head of Pope John XXIII." 1963. Bronze, c. 26 cm. Coll. Archbishop Capovilla.

44. Manzù. "Death mask of Pope John XXIII." 1963. Bronze. Coll. Archbishop Capovilla.

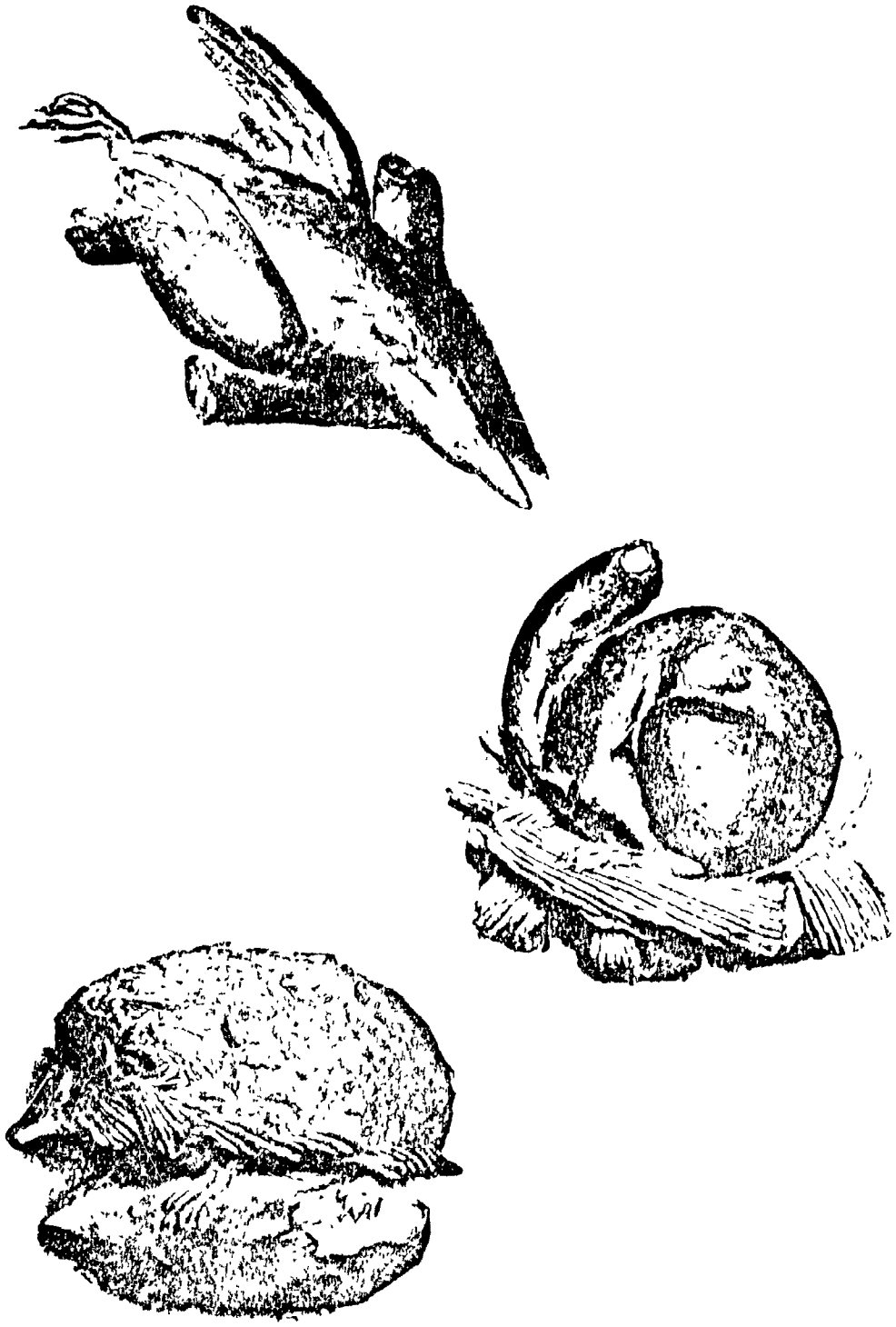
45. Manzù. "Death in Space" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.



46. Manzù. Study for "Death in Space." 1963. Clay.

47. Manzù. "Death on Earth" from the "Door of Death." 1964. Bronze relief, c.90 x 65 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

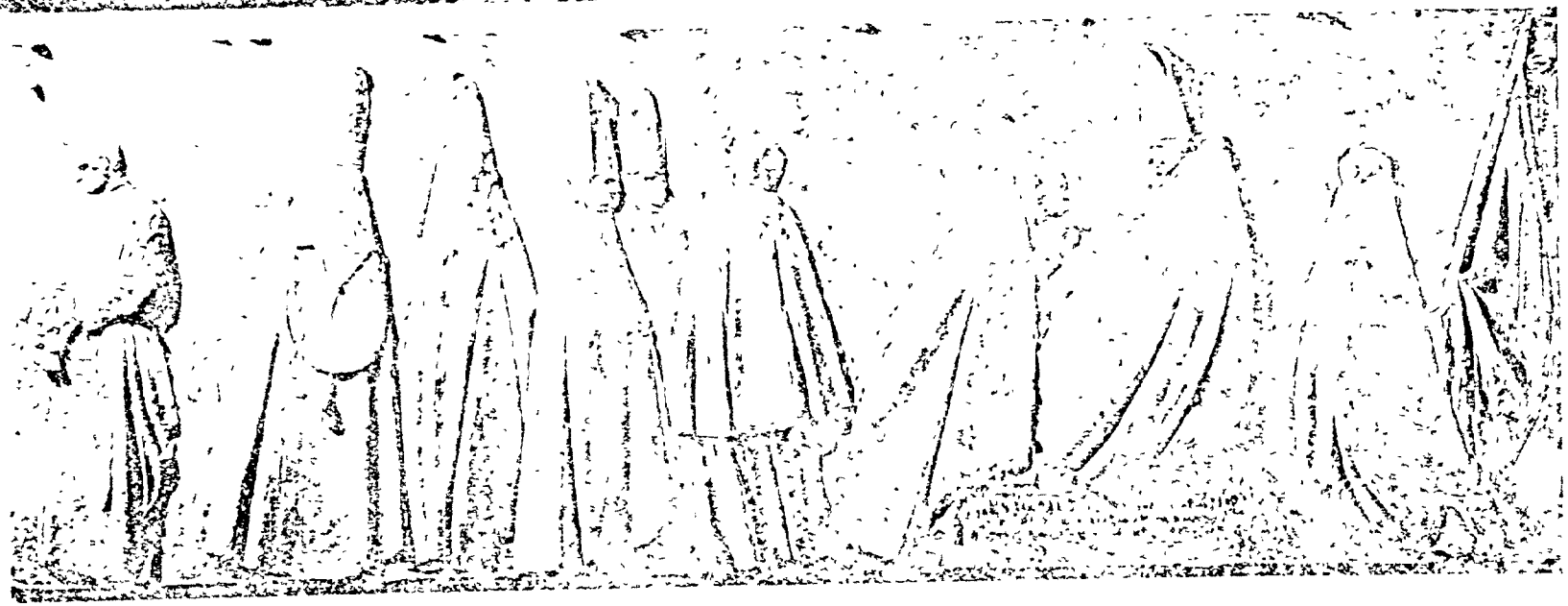
48. Manzù. Study for "Death on Earth." 1963. Clay.



49. Manzù. "Dove, Dormouse, Hedgehog" from the "Door of Death" (base of portal, left hand side). 1964. Bronze. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

50. Manzù. "Owl, Turtle and Snake, Raven" from the "Door of Death" (base of portal, right hand side). 1964. Bronze. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

51A.

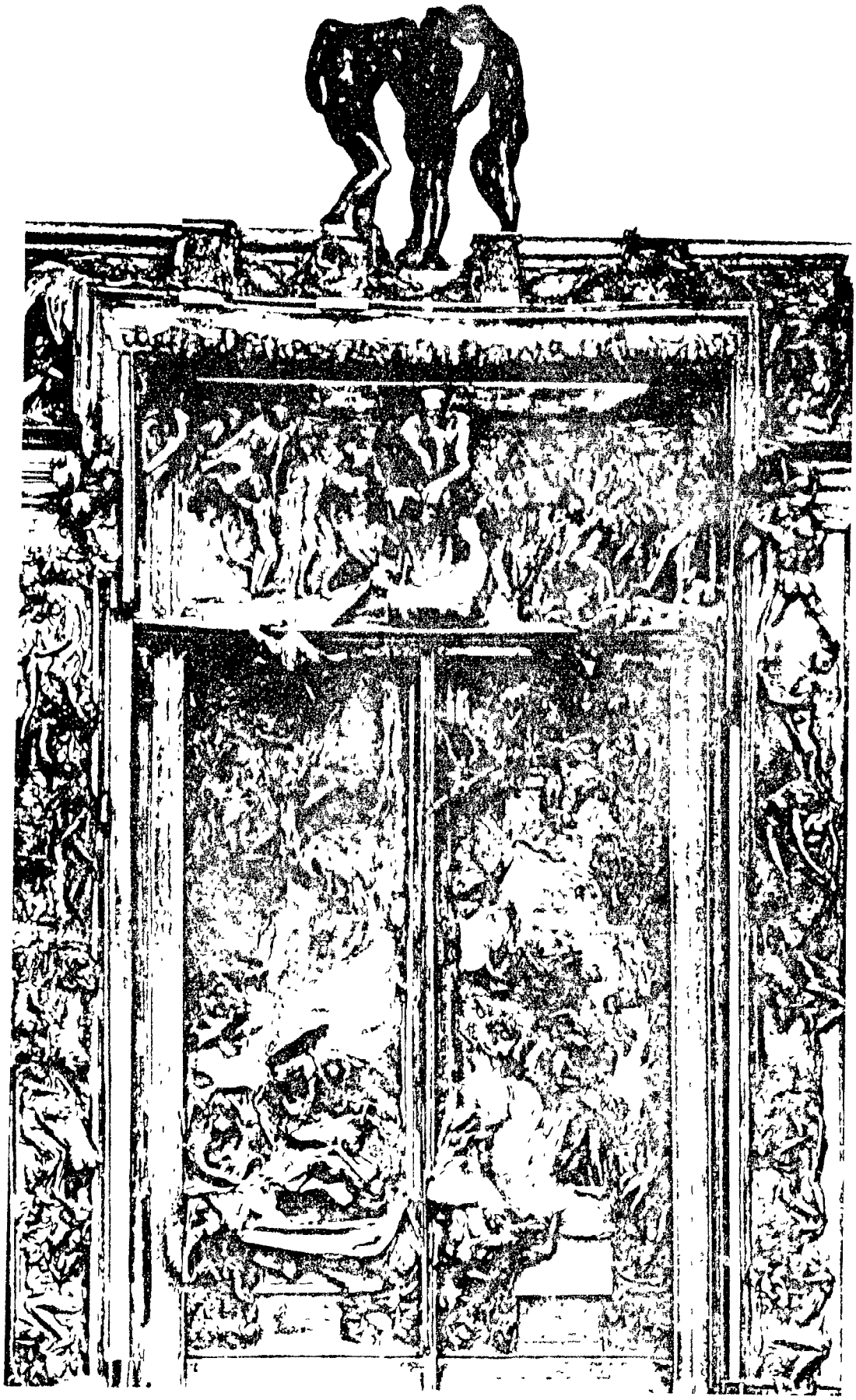


...o Manzù. "Inauguration of the Second Vatican Council" from
... "Door of Death" (inner side). 1964. Bronze frieze.
... m. St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City

52. Manzù. "Inauguration of the Second Vatican Council" from the "Door of Death" (detail). 1964. Bronze frieze, c.70 x 365 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

53. Manzù. "Inauguration of the Second Vatican Council" from the "Door of Death" (detail). 1964. Bronze frieze, c.70 x 365 cm. St.Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

54. Manzù. "Cardinal Lercaro." 1953. Bronze.
Basilica S.Petronio, Bologna.

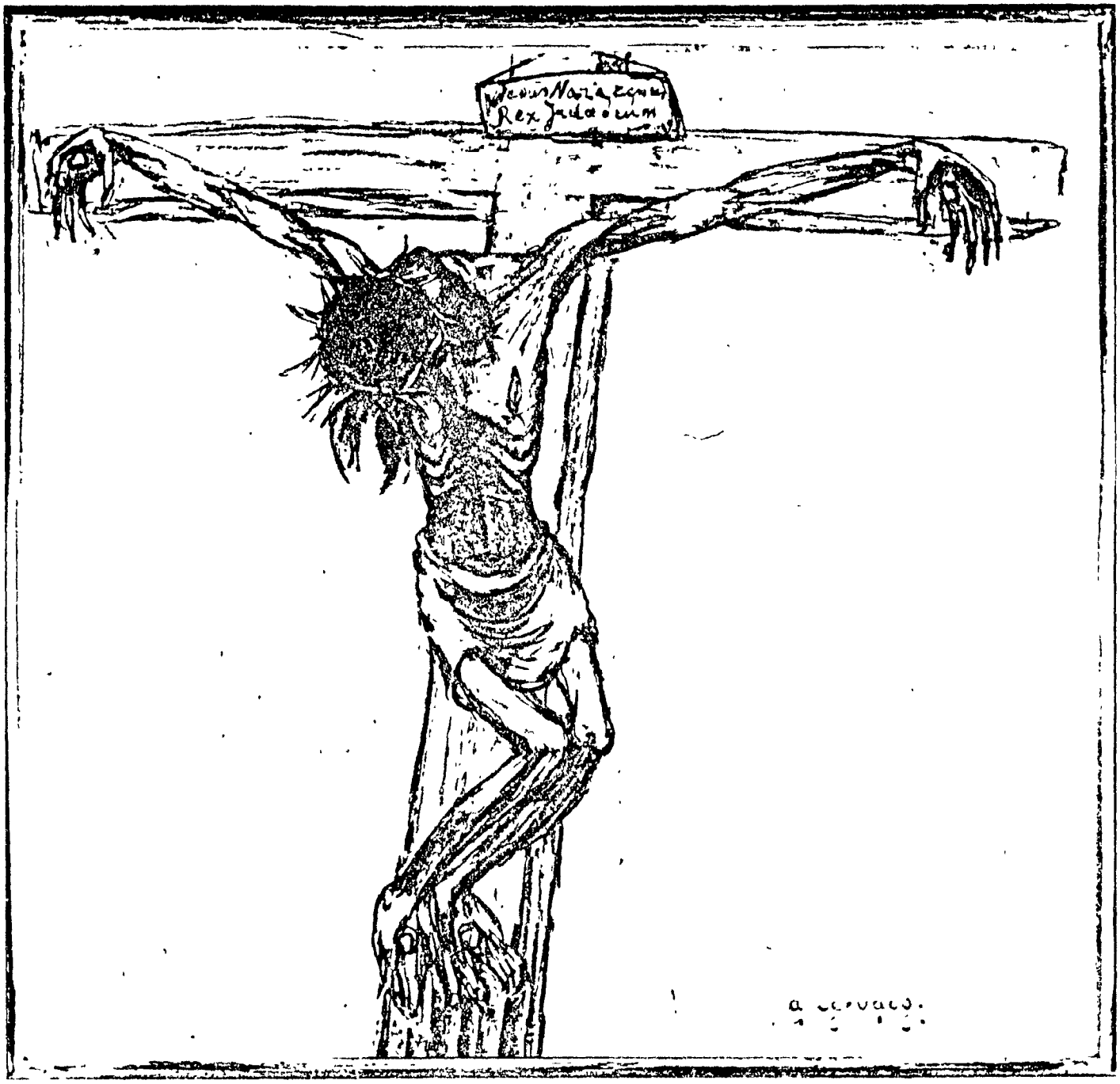


56. Auguste Rodin "Gates of Hell." 1880-1917. Bronze, c.549 x 365 cm. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia.

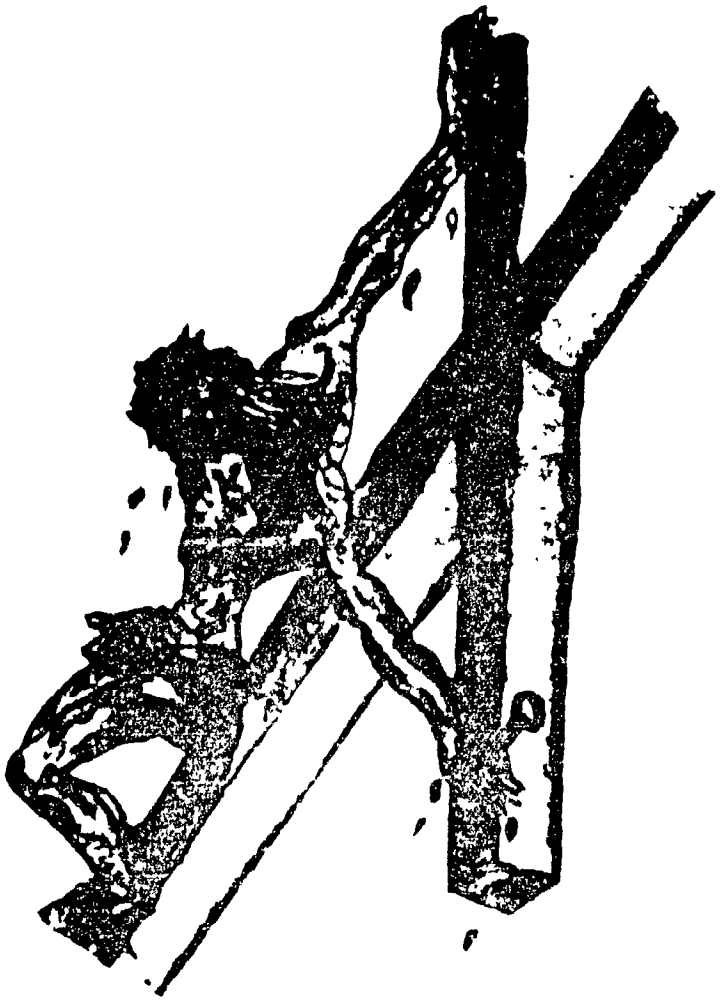
57. Michelangelo. "Last Judgement." 1536-41. Fresco
Sistine Chapel, Vatican City.

58. Peter Paul Rubens. "Fall of the Damned." c.1614-18. Oil on panel. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

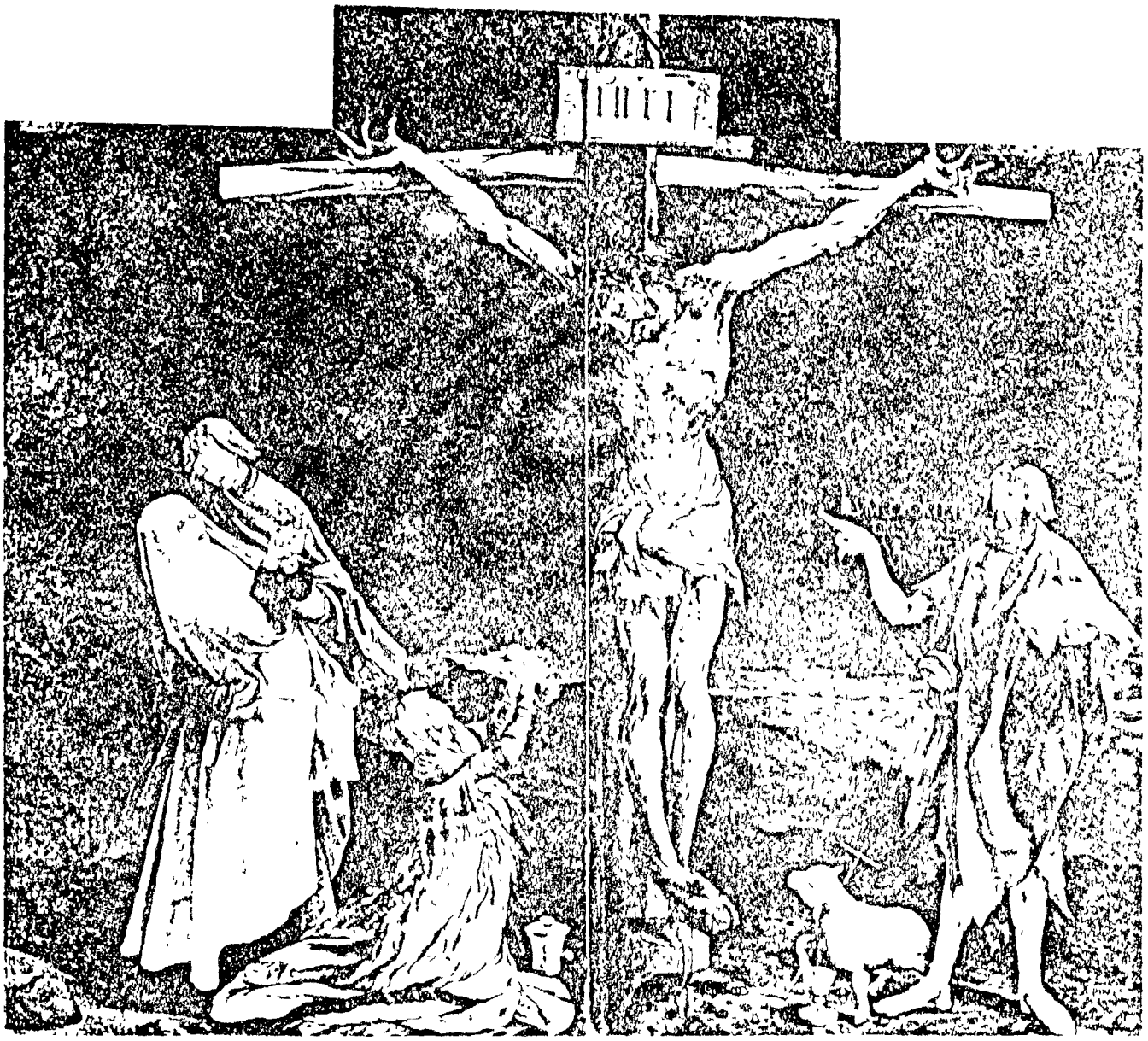
59. Albert Servaes. "Jesus is Carried to the Tomb." 1919. Charcoal drawing, 80 x 80 cm. Cistercian Abbey, Tilburg (Netherlands).



60. Albert Servaes. "Jesus Dead on the Cross." 1919. Charcoal drawing, 80 x 80 cm. Cistercian Abbey, Tilburg (Netherlands).

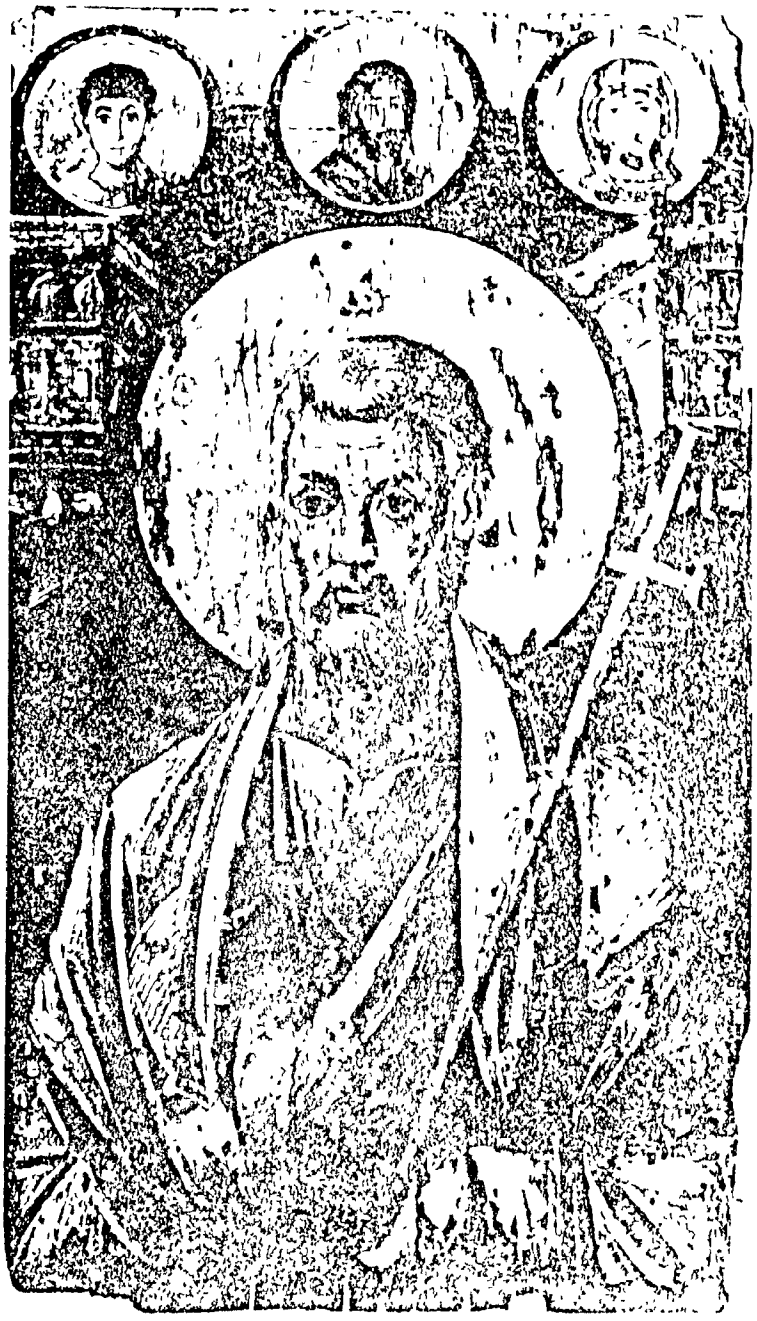


61. St.John of the Cross (d.1591). "Christ Crucified." Drawing.



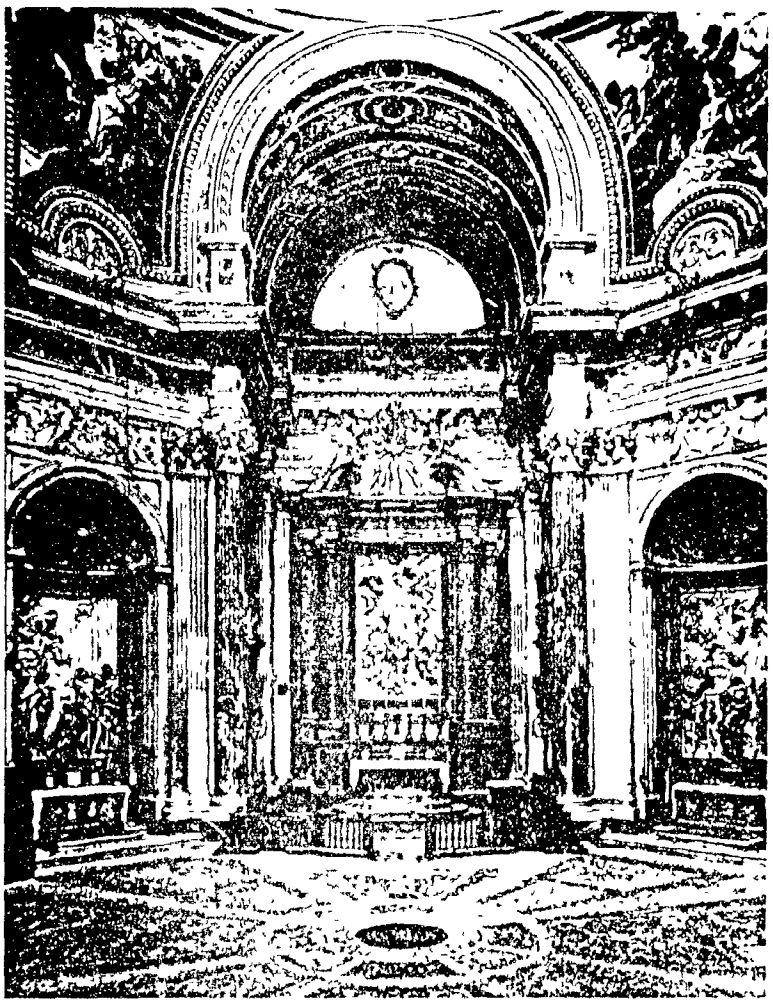
62. Matthias Grünewald. "Crucifixion" from the "Isenheim Altarpiece." c.1512-15. Oil on panel. Musée Unterlinden, Colmar, France.

63. "Tomb of Cominia and the child Nicatiola, with St.Januarius." 5th century. Painting. Naples.

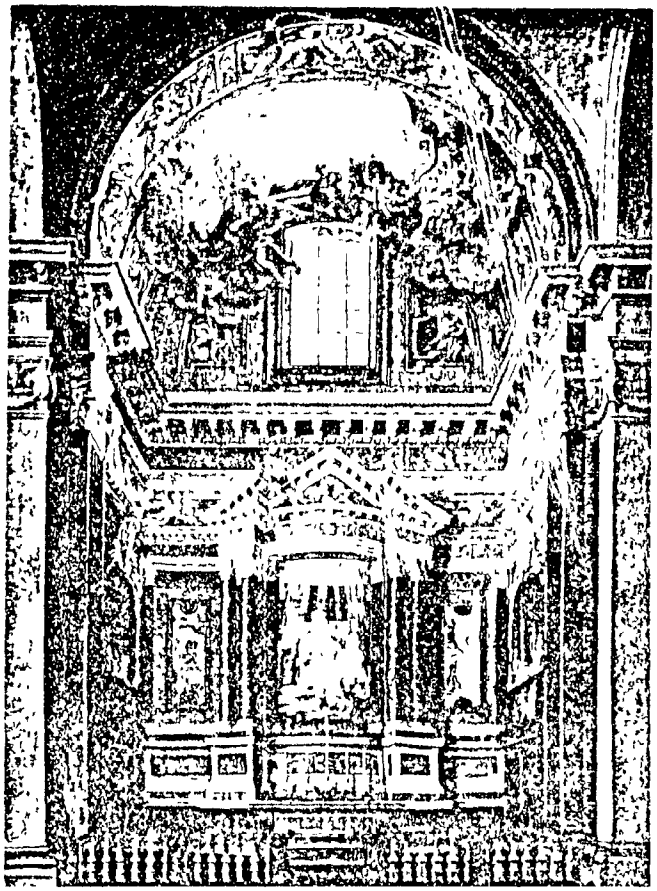


64. "St.Peter." Late 7th century. Encaustic. Monastery of St.Catherine, Mount Sinai.

65. "Bust of Christ." 7th century. Solidus of Justinian II.

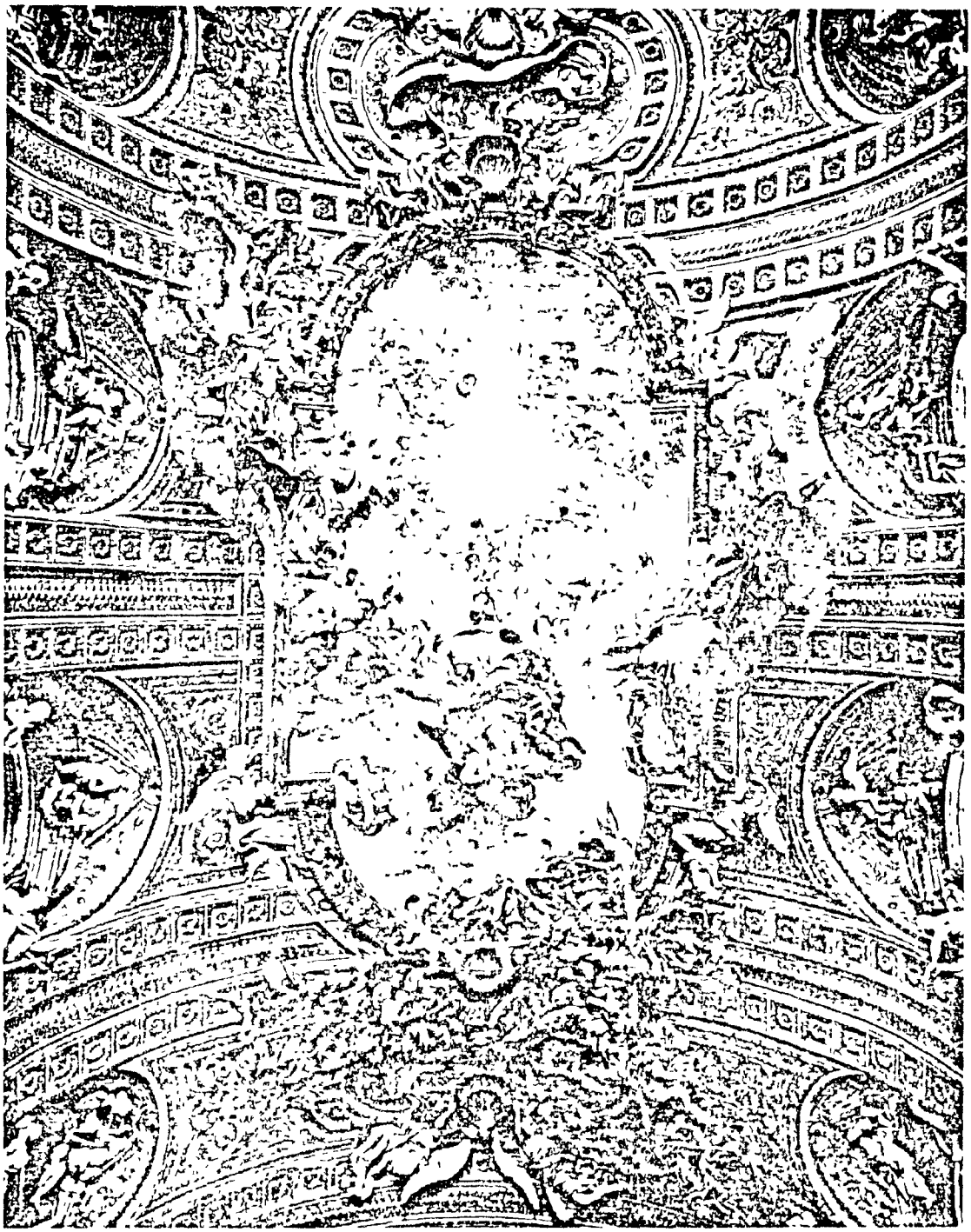


66. Carlo Rainaldi and Francesco Borromini. S.Agnese in Piazza Navona (detail of interior). 1652-66. Rome.



67. Anonymous. "The Cornaro Chapel." 18th century. Painting. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, Germany.

68. Gianlorenzo Bernini. "Ecstasy of Saint Theresa." 1645-52. Marble, height of group c.350 cm. Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome.



69. Giovanni Battista Gaulli and Antonio Raggi. "Triumph of the Sacred Name of Jesus." 1676-79. Ceiling fresco and sculpture. Il Jesù, Rome.