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Guarino Guarini: His Architecture and the Sublime

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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Guarino Guarini's dome of San Lorenzo in Turin is singular. There are three predominate features that make it so: first, the pattern of the exposed ribs; second, the radical opening of the webbing between the ribs; and third, the conceit that it is not fully supported by the structure below it. While scholars have long questioned the reasoning behind the domes appearance, the impetus for its creation has not been fully addressed.

` After noting a radical alteration in Guarini's architectural designs during his time in Paris, I explore the intellectual discourses of the city during this period. One such conversation in particular may account for these changes—the discussion surrounding the antique manuscript *On the sublime* attributed to Longinus. By comparing this manuscript with Guarini's *Architettura civile* and San Lorenzo, I demonstrate how Guarini thought about architecture in terms that are very similar to the way Longinus explains the sublime. Then, by addressing the design of San Lorenzo as a vehicle of persuasion for

both the Savoy and the Theatine Order, a very strong motivation to use Longinus'

manuscript for the composition of the church emerges.

Another important observation included in this exploration is a new alternative

approach to the reading of the iconography of the dome. I point out a similarity between

the design of the dome of San Lorenzo and an unexecuted window for the Chapel of the

Holy Shroud. I propose that both of these designs represent a passionflower—a symbol

of Christ's passion and a popular meditative symbol in theological literature of the

period. The passion of Christ is also the significance of the relic of both San Lorenzo and

the Chapel of the Holy Shroud—the Holy Shroud itself, the most important relic held by

the Savoy family and used to confirm its pretensions to a royal title. Therefore, the

passionflower symbol served both the needs of the Theatine Order and the Savoy family.

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INTRODUCTION

What makes a building truly exceptional? Beauty, uniqueness, function, a certain *je ne sais quoi* that can't be defined?   Since the time of its construction, San Lorenzo in Turin has drawn comments on its uniqueness. In 1674 Donato Rossetti referred to the church as, "…che qui chiamano cose belle capricciose, ed io con un solo epiteto direi cose strane."[1] Emanuel Filiberto of Savoy was so moved by the work of Guarino Guarini, including San Lorenzo, to name Guarini his personal theologian in 1680. The patent of the appointment states, "…sua Chiesa di San Lorenzo alzata con ingegnose e straordinarie regole…"[2] Through the years many others have also commented on this unusual little church.

San Lorenzo is not immediately apparent upon entering the Piazza Castello in Turin—even if one is familiar with its appearance—as the façade of the church blends in with the buildings surrounding it (Fig. 1). In keeping with its environment, the foremost section of the front elevation is composed of rusticated masonry on the ground level, pierced by a slightly off center entry with an arched overdoor and two pendant arched windows (Fig. 2). Above are two upper levels clad in stucco, each containing six rectangular windows sporting grey shutters and capped by alternating triangular and rounded pediments.   Thus the appearance of the front façade closely echoes the building to the left and flows gracefully with the Palazzo on the right.   The camouflaged

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[1] Susan Elizabeth Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture" (PhD diss., Columbia University,

[2] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 275.

appearance of the lower region of San Lorenzo was not part of Guarini's design for the church. Instead, he designed a more elaborate scheme which includes a series of giant order Corinthian columns for the front façade. An engraving of the proposed façade appears in his treatise *Architettura Civile* (Fig. 3). However, it was rejected by the patron, the Savoy family, in order to maintain the unified ambiance of the piazza in which the royal palace presides.   This desire for suppression makes the church at first appear insignificant.

It is only when one looks up at the uppermost portions of the church, which sit back from the piazza, that the church can be easily differentiated from the uniformity below (Fig. 4). Here Guarini's design for the exterior of the church has been realized, thus providing a hint of the treasure awaiting the visitor inside. First, there is a change in materials to the characteristic brick, which most of Guarini's projects in Turin are made from, before returning once more to a stucco veneer which balances out the front elevation. Second—and most importantly—the design becomes much more imaginative and complex as if it is bursting out from the mundane form below, shouting to be acknowledged.

The complexity of the upper region of the church is due to Guarini's compilation of multilayered forms, the ornate decoration and the clever manner in which he conceals the interior of the church. To add to this extraordinary sight, the brick portion of the church contains a clock which sits below a canopied church bell on the left and a sundial on the right.   At San Lorenzo Guarini caps the church with an unusual dome which does not necessarily read as such from the exterior, perhaps lowering expectations. Similar to

the dome of Ste. Anne's, a church he had built in Paris before coming to Turin, Guarini rejects the more typical hemispherical shape for the exterior of the dome in favor of a series of stacked octagonal-shaped volumes. Towards the summit Guarini –continuing the octagonal theme—places a lantern topped by a cupola culminating in a pinnacle with convex sides. Each level of the dome is encircled by windows with each side of the octagonal shape containing a window. On the tallest layer Guarini has actually stacked a smaller rectangular window above a larger semi-oval shaped one. While the overall shape of the exterior of the dome does not entirely relate to the interior of the dome, Guarini does provide a small hint of what lies within. Between the two most prominent layers of the dome the octagonal-shaped layer appears to be a flower with eight petals and between the lantern and cupola is a twelve-sided star shape (Fig. 5)—floral and star images are repeated on the interior of the dome.

The volumes of the upper region of the church are in turn highly ornamented in what we now consider to be typical Guarini fashion. Each row of windows has its own unique shape and sits within an original surround design, flanked by columns or an elaborately sculpted frame. Also, to accentuate the layered effect of the dome area, Guarini adds ornamental bands, repeating the brickwork below on the cupola and top of the pinnacle. Thus there is a pattern of dark reddish brown and light ochre stucco repeated from the top of the church down to its base. The upper regions of the church stand in stark contrast to the more austere front façade below, giving the first time visitor to the church a hint at the spectacle they are about to experience inside. But it is only a hint, for Guarini also goes to great pains, in the upper region of the structure, to conceal

the inner splendor of the church. He not only hides the spherical dome shape of the interior dome, but also cleverly hides a window on the front of the nave from the view of the spectator approaching the church.

Upon entering the large simple wooden doors of the church, however Guarini provides another hint of what lays further inside. As the visitor's eyes adjust to the dimly lit interior of the front chapel, the brightly lit multi-colored nave magically sparkles behind wrought iron doors (Fig. 6). Thus, by revealing the spectacle of the holy space inside layer by layer Guarini is able to build anticipation in the visitor, in both a very short physical and timely space. Visitors are drawn to the scene before them, often missing the altar in the chapel to their right due to the simplicity of the space. Our Lady of Sorrows is a longitudinal chapel that parallels the piazza with a side entrance (Figs. 7 and 8). This chapel is said to date from the twelfth-century. However, Susan Klaiber maintains the chapel was originally a seventeenth century open portico that was later closed in to house a temporary chapel during the construction of the church.[3] The altar to the right is highly venerated by the congregants of the church as it is thought to be the first altar in Turin where the Holy Shroud was displayed after being brought to the city by Emmanuel Philibert in 1578. I will not go into detail about the chapel here because Guarini was not involved in its current decoration. It was largely redesigned in the eighteenth-century. The chapel appears humble as the walls are washed in ochre and the ceiling is modestly painted with a green geometric design with three larger circular frescos. Moreover, the ceiling is relatively low when compared with other chapels.

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[3] Ibid., 87-102.

Thus, most visitors entering the church are immediately drawn towards the nave that beckons them from the other side.

Once through the wrought iron doors, the visitor is overwhelmed by the vast array of colors, ornament and light (Fig. 9). Moreover, Guarini surrounds the nave with a series of eight convex surfaces which protrude into the congregational space creating a sensation of pressure upon the viewer. No matter which direction the viewer turns, a chapel advances forward. On the entry wall the elaborate casing for the organ has been constructed to echo the form of the chapels. The only slight relief on the ground level of the church is provided by the recessed areas inside of the altars, mostly that of the high altar as it is the deepest. However, because even this space is highly ornamented, it only offers a temporary respite.

All but two chapels in the nave were designed by Guarini, and even those are designed to blend seamlessly with the others by being constructed from the same materials in a similar design. All of the chapels are framed with columns made of red-toned marble from France. The French marble is then also used to decorate the altars along with green marble from Serravezza-Massa Carrara. The chapels are further ornamented by plasterwork and sculptures and pilasters in white marble from south of Turin, which stand out brightly from the earthy colors. These same marbles are then used to decorate the wall surface of the chapels and thus the entire nave—even the colors in the paintings of the chapels keep the earthly scheme intact.

The themes of the chapels are (listed clockwise from the nave entry): the Chapel of the Souls in Purgatory, the Chapel of Annunciation, the Chapel of the Nativity, the

High Altar, the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception, the Chapel of St. Gaetano, and the Chapel of the Crucifix.[4] Each of the chapels contains an altarpiece which relates to its theme. The altarpieces in the corner chapels are paintings while those in the side chapels are sculptural groups. The niches in the chapels contain statues of saints and important figures of the Theatine order. On either side of each serliana in the church—including the High Altar and organ casing—is an angel which relates to the theme of the area it announces, for example above the Chapel of St. Gaetano from Thiène the angel on the left holds the Bible and the one on the right points to the same Bible, showing the word of God as the path to follow. Thus the angels represent the evangelizing mission of St. Gaetano and the Theatines.

Guarini continues his cunning in the interior of the church. In each of the corner chapels the ceiling contains a six-pointed star with a hole at the center (Fig. 10). On the days of the year around the spring and autumn equinoxes the sun streams through these holes from another placed in the center top of the serliana to reveal a painting in each concealed cavity. The hidden paintings depict images of God and Christ.

Guarini sets apart the High Altar from the others by making it the most elaborate of all (Fig. 11). The High Altar is signified by a color change in the plaster work from white to gold, both in the serliana which frames it in the nave and its interior. The same materials are used to decorate this holiest of places as in the nave, but now the ornament is multiplied in keeping with the importance of the space, as well as its larger size. The

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[4] The Chapel of the Souls in Purgatory was originally designed by Alfonso Dupuy and the Chapel of St. Gaetano was designed by Benedetto Alfieri. The remaining altars were designed by Guarini, with the Chapel of the Nativity being constructed by Antonio Bettini in 1677 to Guarini's design.

High Altar is divided into two areas, the presbytery and the choir behind it, each having its own unique dome. The dome of the presbytery again utilizes the six-pointed star motif (Fig. 12). The dome is flooded with light as in between each of its points there is a large octagonal window on the drum; however the ceiling of the dome remains solid. In the center octagonal shape of the star is a painting of St. Lawrence surrounded by angels in each of the points of the star. The pendentives of the dome contain paintings of the four cardinal Virtues: Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance.

The dome above the altarpiece in the choir depicts angels spilling out from the heavens above in a similar manner to the way Gian Lorenzo Bernini's angels spill out of the window above his Throne of St. Peter in St. Peter's Basilica (Figs. 13 and 14). Guarini was familiar with this sculpture as evidenced by his comments on it in *Architettura civile.* Similar to Bernini's invention, Guarini depicts the light of God bathing all that it touches. Below is the altarpiece depicting St. Lawrence, the patron saint of the church, with the instruments of his martyrdom. Guarini utilizes many other ingenious conceits in this area of the church as he does in the nave, now the Lord's Table resides in the front of the chapel framed in a theatrical manner by the golden serliana above. Guarini is considered to be one of the first architects to place the high altar out from the wall of the church providing a greater emphasis to be placed on the Lord's table.

While the ground level dazzles the eye of the viewer, the most breathtaking sight of the church is yet to come. As the viewer's eye begins to climb up the vertical form of the nave, the pressure caused by the convex forms of the chapels intensifies (Fig. 15). At floor level Guarini provides a small amount of relief for the viewer in the receding voids

that are placed behind the columns of the serlianas which form the fronts of the altars. However, as the eye moves above the serlianas the walls solidify, extinguishing any assuagement from their encroachment into the interior space. This feature of San Lorenzo serves two functions. First, it intensifies tension in the viewer. Second, it increases the towering feeling of the dome above. The visitor to the church is not able to view the magnificence of the dome above by lifting his head at only a slight angle, he must extend his head all the way back to fully take in the scene above—it is physically and psychologically uncomfortable.

As the viewer's eye progresses still further, the structure does not become any less complex, because it is at this point that the massive bulk of the pendentives which hold up the dome above begins to become apparent. Finally, as the viewer looks a little higher, he is rewarded with the sight of the most unique feature of the church. The dome above is truly an amazing sight with its web of pierced ribs. However, the viewer is also struck with a questioning of how the immense weight of the entire structure can safely rest upon the fragile columns supporting it (Fig. 16). These mixed emotions combine to create a sense of awe in those who visit San Lorenzo for the first time. Looking up at the spectacle above, it is quickly apparent this is no ordinary dome even by Baroque standards. The ribs of the dome are not only visible but are in an intricate eight-pointed star shape. The perforations within the dome are entirely unique as there is no precedent in the history of architecture.[5] These open sections of the dome serve to flood the church with light and extends the viewer's line of sight still higher towards the lantern at the

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[5] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 272.

top.[6]   Guarini began using the star-shaped ribbing in the dome on Ste. Anne-la-Royale

around 1663 in Paris (Figs. 17 and 24), but it is only at San Lorenzo that he opens up the

space between the ribs bringing the conception to its conclusion.

The cornice at the rim of the dome is heavily decorated and again pierced with

windows. It contains 128 putti looking down on the congregation from the dome of

Heaven above. The ribs of the dome which are the focal point of the amazing display

above are decorated in an arabesque design with six-pointed stars and flowers which are

probably the Savoy rose, a heraldic symbol of the Savoy family. Again in the points of

the star, formed by the ribs of the dome, reside images of angels. The piercings of the

dome include ovals, octagons and triangles, as well as eight fan-shaped openings which

strongly suggest a flower shape that encircles the opening of the lantern above. In the

cupola of the lantern Guarini once more uses the eight-point star motif with depictions of

angels in the points with the ribs of the dome being decorated with the same interlacing

geometric pattern as in the primary dome below (Fig. 18). In the center of the lantern star

is a lattice pattern again in filled with flowers. It is important to note that while the

domes above the choir and presbytery are beautiful, it is the dome of the nave which is

the focal point of the church and where Guarini employs the most unusual architectural

features of the church—those that had never been used by another architect before him.

The foregoing description presents San Lorenzo as it stands today. It is

incomplete, for each decorative element and feature is not mentioned. The aim of my

description is to aid the reader in better understanding the features of the church which

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[6] Harold A. Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 50.

scholars have focused on as being unique. It must also be noted that the Chapel of St.

Gaetano and the Chapel of the Annunciation were constructed in the late eighteenth

century.[7] Originally one of these altars was dedicated to St. Luigi. Also, the painting on

the altar of the Chapel of the Souls in Purgatory is not the original painting. The painting

of the Souls in Purgatory which now resides in the altar replaces a more valuable painting

of the Madonna del Carmine by Giovanni Peruzzi which is now in the royal church of

Santa Cristina. Giuseppe Crepaldi gives a more detailed analysis of the decorative

program of San Lorenzo in *La Real Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino,*[8] however he

describes the church as it stood in the 1960s and not how it appeared in the seventeenth

century. Nevertheless, the church is largely intact and represents Guarini's design.

Guarino Guarini's Early Career

Guarino Guarini was born in Modena, Italy on January 17, 1624, to Rinaldo Guarini and

Eugenia Marescotti. The Guarini family was of modest means and had five sons, all of

whom joined the Theatine Order.[9] However, only Eugenio, Guarino and Giovanni

advanced to profession.   Guarino was accepted into the Theatine Order on November 27,

1639, the same day he left Modena for Rome, where he began his novitiate at S. Silvestro

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[7] Henry A. Millon, review of *La Real Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino* by Giuseppe Michele Crepaldi. *The Art Bulletin,* 47 4(Dec., 1965), 531-532.

[8] Giuseppe Crepaldi, *La Real Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino* (Torino: Rotocalco Dagnino, 1963).

[99] Klaiber notes that because there are 10 years between the ages of Eugenio and Guarini (the younger of the two), it is probable that the family had more children than the five recorded. Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 16.

al Quirinale.[10] Guarini made his profession on April 15, 1641, and by February, 1645, he

was in Venice where he became a subdeacon and probably spent the remaining four years

of his education.[11] When Guarini first arrived in Venice, construction had already begun

on a new library for the order which may have provided an opportunity for him to learn

the building trade from the Theatines. Guarini then returned to Modena in early 1647 for

his ordination the following year. Immediately once he was back in Modena, he began to

work on the construction of S. Vincenzo. On March 8, 1648, at S. Vincenzo, Guarini was

appointed *revisore dei conti* and a year and a half later he was made *sopraintendente*.[12]

Guarini's first recorded project was for the dome of the church. Also while in Modena,

Guarini taught philosophy and theology and rose rapidly in the Theatine Order, being

named *preposito* in 1655. However, for unknown reasons the d'Este family was

displeased with Guarini's appointment so he was forced to resign and leave the city.

Upon leaving Modena, there are records that show Guarini went first to Parma

where he was elected to the Theatine chapter on September 9, 1656.[13] On December 3,

1656, he wrote a letter to the Duke of Modena from Guastalla, asking to be allowed back

in Modena. The Duke must have agreed to his request because the chapter minutes show

that he was back in Modena by May of 1657, were he was named *scrutatore* for novices

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[10] Elwin Clark Robison, "Guarino Guarini's Church of San Lorenzo in Turin" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1985)*,* 3.

[11] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture*,*" 17, 18.

[12] Guarini was made *sopraintendente* of the construction campaign at S. Vincenzo on October 13, 1649. Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 72.

[13] Ibid., 74.

on July 5, 1657. There are no records regarding Guarini for the next 2 ½ years until his

first publication *La pieta trionfante,* a tragicomedy, in 1660 in Messina.

While Guarini was in Messina he taught philosophy, mathematics and theology at

an archepiscopal seminary for the noble youth of the city founded by Simone Carafa, one

of the original founders of the Theatine Order.[14] At Messina Guarini designed the façade

of the Theatine church, SS. Annunziata, the first of Guarini's architectural projects for

which visual evidence is extant (Fig. 19).[15] Susan Klaiber provides strong support for her

proposal that it is almost certain that Guarini actually spent the 2 ½ missing years

mentioned earlier in Messina working on SS. Annunziata. On the elevation Guarini

designed a five tiered façade in which each level diminishes in size as the structure rises

higher. The elevation strongly resembles the façade of Santa Susanna in Rome by Carlo

Maderno, which became a prototype for many subsequent churches, including the

Theatine church in Rome Sant'Andrea della Valle (Figs. 20 and 21). Each level of the

elevation is faced with a series of pilasters and columns which support a large cornice

that is capped by finials and brackets. A center axis is created by a vertical line of

windows which surmount the doors to the church with two Mannerist style niches

flanking the entrance on the ground level. Above the doors and windows Guarini places

pediments with the center one being broken. However the façade of SS. Annunziata is not

a strict imitation of Maderno's façade. Guarini's elevation reads as five levels instead of

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[14] Ibid., 74, 75.

[15] There is an engraving of the façade of SS. Annunziata in *Architettural civile,* a 1768 engraving of the church by Francesco Sicuro and old photographs of the building. Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 75-77.

two and the plan shows that his façade has an overall concave sweep while the entrance itself is convex. This later feature recalls Borromini's Oratory of the Filippini in Rome (Fig. 22). Though the façade of SS Annunziata does not yet evidence the integration of mathematical theory which Guarini is later known for, it is similar to the designs made by other priest-architects of the period.[16] Guarini also designed the Theatine *casa* next door to the church. Unfortunately the entire church complex was destroyed by an earthquake on December 28, 1908.

The date of Guarini's departure from Messina is unknown, but by June of 1662 he had returned to Modena visiting his dying mother.[17] During his stay with his mother, Guarini created drawings for S. Vincenzo including the design of the façade of the church which strongly resembles the one he designed for SS. Annunziata without the sweeping curves. While in Modena the Theatine chapter records show that Guarini also designed tombs. Guarini was on the road to Paris by September 1662 where he would start a new phase of his architectural career.

Guarini was called to Paris to supervise the construction of the Theatine church Ste.-Anne-la-Royale.[18] He arrived between the chapter meetings of August 29 and October 26, 1662. The primary patron of the church was Cardinal Jules Mazarin, who served as the chief minister of France from 1642 until his death in 1661. Upon his death, Mazarin left the Theatines 300,000 livres and a house at 25 quai Voltaire. Shortly after

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[16] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine architecture," 79, 80.

[17] Ibid., 81-83.

[18] Ibid., 115, 116.

his death, the Theatines purchased the remaining property required for the project from the money Mazarin had left them. Mazarin's choice of architect for the project was Antonio Maurizio, a military engineer from Piedmont he had mentored.[19] Valperga's designs for the church had been approved by Mazarin before his death, and also before the land for the project had been purchased.

Within two months of his arrival in Paris, Guarini provided a critique of Valperga's plans for the church, as well as a new set of plans, to the chapter.[20] Even though the foundation for the church had already been laid, after the meeting Guarini's revised plans were used to continue the construction of the church (Figs. 17, 23, 24). Ste. Anne was Guarini's first major work. Already it evidences several characteristics of Guarini's later works, such as skeletal vaulting; an opening up of the top of the dome to reveal a space above, a vertical stacking of decreasing masses on the exterior,[21] the incorporation of unique window and architectural orders; telescoping naves; the use of autonomous zones in the vertical arrangement of both the interior and exterior of his churches (meaning the elevation is divided into distinct levels, each with its own characteristics);[22] and an idiosyncratic treatment of vaulting including increased piercing of the shell in between the ribs. Guarini would continue to develop these elements in his

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[19] Ibid., 101-104.

[20] Ibid., 116, 117.

[21] While Guarini had used a similar idea on the façade of SS. Annunziata, now he applies the design he had previously used on a two dimensional façade in a three dimensional manner.

[22] The idea of 'autonomous zones' was originally applied to Guarini's architecture by Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750* (Harmondsworth [1958] 1980), p. 271.

work culminating in the design of San Lorenzo where the dome is so extreme it appears to be unsupported by the structure below it.

While Guarini was in Paris he again taught novices and *fratelli chierici.* He also wrote *Placita philosophica*, a large compendium of astronomy, metaphysics, philosophy and physics, and worked on other architectural projects besides Ste. Anne. While Guarini learned the architectural profession from the Theatines, several points of reference have been given for his unique style of architecture, including his education, career, travel, and intellectual interests. Guarini's buildings, especially his centrally-planned churches, were unlike those of any other architect. The fact is that Guarini himself was very different from the other architects of his time as he was a true polymath, being highly knowledgeable in several areas including theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, literature, and architecture as evidenced by his career and writings in these same fields.

Review of Literature on Guarino Guarini

While the largest volume of research on Guarino Guarini is focused on S. Sindone, San Lorenzo has also drawn the attention of scholars. Guarini's contemporaries were appreciative of San Lorenzo. In 1690 Maximilien Misson, author of the *Théatre sacré,* stated: "The Abbé Guarini has built a masterpiece, a marvel, a portent . . . Rome itself, even in the brilliance of its thousand monuments, has nothing to equal it."[23] The feature

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[23] Quoted by Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 1, and Giuseppe M. Crepaldi, *La Real Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino* (Turin 1963), 52.

of the church that seemed to draw the most attention was the illusion that the dome

seemed to float. In 1687 Nicodemus Tessin wrote, "[San Lorenzo] in the Palace Square

is also curved in a very strange manner inside and has a very strange dome. It is amazing

how the dome can hold itself up."[24] Despite the few passing accolades bestowed on

Guarini's architecture, during his lifetime he was mostly known for his scholarly work

and profession as a priest.[25]

With the surge of neoclassical taste in the eighteenth century, Guarini's work

began to become disparaged for its excessive Baroque design and ornamentation.

Francesco Milizia in *Memorie dei più celebri architetti* (1768) attacked Guarini's

architecture and exclaimed "whoever likes Guarini's architecture, much good may it do

him, but he would be a nitwit."[26] It wasn't until the end of the nineteenth century that an

interest in Baroque architecture began to resurface. New critiques of Guarini's

architecture began to reappear in the twentieth century. Cornelius Gurlitt was the first

modern writer to examine Guarini. In his book *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*

(1887), Gurlitt maintains that Guarini placed an emphasis on religious mysticism through

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[24] Susan Klaiber, "Le fonti per San Lorenzo," Guarini (Torino, Londra, Venezia, New York: 2006), 329. Quoted from O. Sirén, *Nicodemus Tessin d J.: S Studieresor I Danmark, Tyskland, Holand, Frankrike och Italien, Anteckningar, Bref och Ritningar af O. Sirén,* Stoccolma 1914, 120, as cited in V. Assandria, C. Gauna e G. Tetti, *L'architettura descritta: Viaggiatori e Guide a Torino tra Seicento Settecento,* in *Sperimentare l'Architettura. Guarini, Juvarra, Alfieri, Borra e Vittone,* edited by G. Dardanello, Torino 2001, 338.

[25] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 1.

[26] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 1.

the promotion of obscurantism in his architectural endeavors.[27] Thus, he attributes to his

faith the unusual appearance of Guarini's architecture, including San Lorenzo.

In the twentieth century Guarini's domes continued to receive attention from

scholars. Martin S. Briggs, in *Baroque Architecture* (1913), noted the unique appearance

of San Lorenzo, as well as the S. Sindone, when he wrote, "the chapel of S. Sindone . . .

and the church of S. Lorenzo are profusely and vulgarly decorated, but their chief interest

lies in the extraordinary complicated and absurd way in which they are domed. For sheer

lunacy of design they would be hard to parallel."[28] Even one hundred years after the

completion of San Lorenzo, Guarini's architectural mastery was still considered singular.

Also during this period, Denina, Luigi and Proto (1920) in "La real Chiesa di San

Lorenzo in Torino" proposed a possible relationship between Guarini's architectural

work and Islamic Architecture.[29] Albert Erich Brinckmann in *Baukunst des 17. Und 18.*

Jahrhunderts in den romanischen Ländern (1919) began to discuss the appearance of

Guarini's architecture in relationship to the work of Francesco Borromini.[30] Guarini

would have seen Borromini's work, including San Carlo alle Quatre Fontaine and the

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[27] Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles, (des Rococo und des Klassicismus), in Italien, (Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England, Deutschland.) Mit ... Illustrationen*, 1887. Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 1. Giuseppe Dardanello, Susan Klaiber, Henry A. Millon eds., *Guarinio Guarini* (Torino: Umberto allemande @ C., 2006), 117.

[28] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 1.

[29] Alessandro Denina, Luigi and Proto, "La Real Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino," *L'Architettura Italiana* 15:45-48 (1920). This theme was picked up again in Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: the Growth of a New Tradition*. 5th ed. Cambridge, 1967.

[30] Albert Erich Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst del 17. Und 18. Jahrhundrsts* (Berlin, 1919). This theme was continued in Brinckmann, 1932. *Von Guarino Guarini bis Balthasar Neumann; Vortrag in der Mitgliederversammlung des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft am 11. Juni 1932 zu Berlin*. Berlin: Deutscher verein für kunstwissenschaft. Hans Sedlmayr also picked up this thought in Hans Sedlmayr, 1973. *Die Architektur Borrominis*. Hildesheim: Olms.

Oratorio dei Filippini during his novitiate in Rome (1639-1641).[31] San Carlo in particular

was very close to S. Silvestro al Quirinale where Guarini spent his novitiate.

Most of the Guarini scholarship is focused on the Sindone, with serious attempts

to interpret the symbolic significance of his work beginning only in the 1950s. Early

efforts focused on Roman and exotic sources.[32] David Coffin in "Padre Guarino Guarini

in Paris" (1956) agreed with Brinkman that Borromini's architecture is the primary

referent for Guarini's work.[33] However, while Coffin believes Borromini is the major

influence of Guarini's designs, he also detects Gian Lorenzo Bernini's influence in

Guarini's architecture. Coffin's article also gives a history of the Theatine Order in Paris

and the building of Ste. Anne. Despite the many similarities between Borromini's and

Guarini's architecture, Coffin maintains that Guarini depends too heavily on geometry in

his designs resulting in interior spaces which are composed of independent geometrical

forms. This aspect of Guarini's design robs the finished work of the subtlety found in

Borromini's structures. However, Coffin also points out that in the design of Ste. Anne

one begins to see the dawning of Guarini's understanding of the interpenetration of space

which is more fully developed in San Lorenzo. Also, at this time Paolo Portoghesi wrote

the first monograph on Guarini.[34]

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[31] For the date of Guarini's novitiate. Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 17.

[32] John Beldon Scott, "Stupire gl'Intelletti: Guarini e il Significato dell'Architettura" in Giuseppe Dardanello, Susan Klaiber, Henry A. Millon eds., *Guarinio Guarini* (Torino: Umberto allemande @ C., 2006), 117, 118.

[33] David Coffin, "Padre Guarino Guarini in Paris," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 15 2(May, 1956), 3-11.

[34] Paolo Portoghesi, *Guarino Guarini.* Milan: Electa Editrice, 1956.

Around the same time, Rudolf Wittkower published *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750* (1958) providing not only a brief biography of Guarini and his work, but also giving an analysis of the Church of the Somaschi, Ste. Anne-la-Royale, S. Sindone and San Lorenzo. Wittkower provided the first iconographic reading of the Chapel of the Shroud, which began a series of interpretations in the following decades.[35] Wittkower contends that while Guarini's designs are similar to Borromini's and Cortona's, his goal was to surpass them.[36] He points out the elements of Guarini's designs which he feels are unusual for the period, such as the use of domes that are radically pierced with openings, 'atomization' of spaces (a term he coined to explain the independent nature of each of the major units of the structure), and complex exteriors. Wittkower contends that Guarini followed Borromini's lead in breaking with the tradition of Baroque domes, and went even further by making it diaphanous (The domes appear sheer and light due to the radical piercing).

In the dome of San Lorenzo, Wittkower also sees a similarity with Hispano-Moresque domes, although he points out that Guarini's dome does not sit on its structural skeleton.[37] Moreover, Hispano-Moresque domes are not open between the ribs of the dome like Guarini's because their structural support is directly beneath them. While Wittkower notes the aforementioned influences on Guarini's architecture, he attributes the structural feat of Guarini's dome to his words on Gothic architecture in *Architettura*

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[35] Scott, "Strpire gl'Intelletti" in Dardanello, Klaiber, and Millon, *Guarino Guarini*, 117-118.

[36] Wittkower, Rudolf, Joseph Connors, and Jennifer Montagu, Art *and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 29-37.

[37] Ibid., 37.

civile, in particular the blend of Roman and Gothic design principles and the daring appearance of Gothic churches. Wittkower also proposes that Guarini replaced the traditional sphere of ancient architecture with the suggestion of infinity through his use of diaphanous structures, attributing this aim as the reasoning behind the element of surprise when entering the church, the use of the Gothic structural devices, the changing appearance of the different levels of the elevation, the interpenetration of spatial units, and the dissolution of the wall boundary. Wittkower concedes that Guarini does not mention his intention to create a dome which suggests infinity in his architectural treatise. Instead he based his assertion on Guarini's use of Desargues' Projective Geometry in the manuscript which was derived from a contemporaneous understanding of infinity. Moreover, Wittkower comments that the suggestion of infinity by architectural means may have been problematic due to Guarini's religious beliefs, but doesn't explain this further. Due to the difficulties with Wittkower's analysis, other explanations for these features should be sought. Despite these issues, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750* has been extremely influential for Guarini scholarship.

One year after Wittkower's analysis of the Sindone, Eugenio Battisti published a more extensive reading in "Note sul significato della Cappella della Santa Sindone del Duomo di Torino."[38] In this publication Battisti also gave an iconographic reading of San Lorenzo, suggesting that the ribs of the dome of the nave represent an iron grating, the tool of St. Lawrence's martyrdom which is inflamed by sunlight.

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[38] Eugenio Battisti, "Note sul Significato della Cappella della Santa Sindone del Duomo di Torino" in "Atti del Congresso di Storia dell'Architettura, X, 1959, 359-367.

There was a large increase in Guarini scholarship during the 1960s. The first

monograph of San Lorenzo was written by Giuseppe Michele Crepaldi in 1963. *La Real*

Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino explains the history of the church, and the decorative

programs of the chapels.[39] Crepaldi lays out the persons and families that were both

directly and indirectly involved with the building of the church and its decoration,

pointing out which projects they are affiliated with. However, Crepaldi does not further

develop his discussion by examining the effects of the finished projects on the

communities it served. In the description of the church, Crepaldi refers to the church as it

is found today, ignoring its seventeenth century appearance. Moreover, Crepaldi neglects

to include the fresco by Guidobono of S. Lorenzo being lifted to heaven by two putti

found on the dome above the main altar. Despite its deficiencies, this book provides a

solid starting point for iconographic readings of the church.

In the same year that Crepalsi's book was published, *Nel mondo magico di*

Guarino Guarini was written by Mario Passanti which offers visual and typological

analyses of Guarini's works, including five residences and eleven churches.[40] In the

book there is very little historical information, leaving the analysis of the works disunited

from one another. Most attention is given to the Palazzo Carignano, the S. Sindone, and

San Lorenzo with the inclusion of several drawings and photographs of these projects. In

the last section of the book, Passanti discusses the classic Orders as presented by Guarini,

Palladio, Vignola and Vittone, finding Guarini's presentation to be the largest and most

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[39] Giuseppe Michele Crepaldi. *La Real Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino* (Torino: Toso, 1963). The limits of the monograph are noted by Millon in "Recensione al Crepaldi," *Art Bulletin* 48(Dec, 1965), 531-32.

[40] Mario Passanti, *Nel Mondo Magico di Guarino Guarini.* Turin, 1963.

varied. In general *Nel mondo magico di Guarino Guarini* is a reworking of his own and others previous scholarship instead of offering new material.

Demonstrating a flowering of interest in Guarini, the Academy of Science in Turin held a six-day conference in 1968 to discuss just about every aspect of his work, thought, life and influence. Since almost every living Guarini scholar was in attendance the resulting collection of papers defined the state of Guarini scholarship to that date.[41] Two years later an anthology was published by the same name, *Guarino Guarini e l'internazionalità del barocco* containing all but five papers presented at the conference. The papers appear in the book in the order in which they were presented at the conference. At times the papers contradict each other, creating a complicated image of Guarini.

In the 1968 anthology, Augusta Lange's "Disegni e documenti di Guarino Guarini" includes a catalogue raisonné which lists 105 drawings, as well as information on his Paris period. Several scholars discussed a specific period of Guarini's life, focusing on his work in a particular city.   Others pondered Guarini's thought process through different aspects of his life such as his mathematical career, travel, philosophy, science, theology and even the writing of his tragic comedy. Her work was considered in relation to Mannerism, the Roman Baroque, Islamic architecture, Gothic architecture and architects who practiced before him. His plans and drawing methods were scrutinized and his influence on following generations of architects was considered. A very complex

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[41] Timothy Kaori Kitao, book review of *Guarino Guarini e l'Internazionalità del Barocco (Atti del Convegno Internazionale Promosso dall'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino,* Sept. 30-Oct., 1968) by Vittorio Viale, *The Art Bulletin,* 56 4(1974), 614-615.

picture of Guarini emerges from the work of these scholars due to the multi-faceted nature of the man.

Eugenio Battisti, Enrico Guidoni and Marcello Fagiolo presented iconographical studies of Guarini's architectural works. Battisti considers Guarini's use of geometry as representative of astrology and Christian cabala symbols, especially in the domes of his churches. Battisti views the dome of San Lorenzo as a microcosm of the universe and the pattern in the dome of the nave as an eight-pointed star, accompanied by pentagons and triangles. Battisti concedes he is unable to find an explaination for the spherical triangles and the pentagons despite his belief that they must be highly significant. Guidoni used *La pieta trionfante,* a tragicomedy written by Guarini, to demonstrate an association between the Renaissance art of memory and Guarini's architecture. He views Guarini's buildings as mnemonic devices which represent the universe. Fagiolo, focused his attention on the Chapel of the Holy Shroud.

Giulio Carlo Argan proposed at the conference that Guarini's dominant use of Geometry in his designs evolved from the philosophical and scientific culture of the period, especially from the works of Descartes and Malebranche. The aim of this type of design is in the process itself thus removing it from traditional allegorical meaning. Thus, when Guarini drew on exotic sources, he did so because for him they had no meaning. The problem with this approach is that it does not take into full consideration Guarini's theological beliefs as a Counter Reformation priest. Later studies in this same line, such as those by Alberto Pérez-Gómez, propose that Guarini understood geometry

as a demonstration of God's rationality.[42] Therefore, by using geometry to solve

architectural problems, his designs are an illustration of the mind of God. Moreover,

Pérez-Gómez maintains Guarini's geometric system is symbolic of the microcosm of

God's creation. However, by focusing on the abstract part of Guarini's design process,

Pérez-Gómez again does not take into consideration the full historical context of

Guarini's work, especially the political and devotional constraints which Guarini had to

take into consideration.[43]

     During the same year as the Turin conference, Werner Müller published "The

Authenticity of Guarini's Stereotomy in *Architettura Civile*," (1968). [44] This article is

similar to his conference presentation. Müller proposed that during Guarini's stay in

Paris he learned projective geometry, of which stereotomy (stone cutting) is but one of its

practical applications. It was this knowledge which enabled him to later construct more

complicated vault structures, such as the dome in San Lorenzo. Guarini's desire to learn

French stereotomy was encouraged by his appreciation of Philibert de l'Orme's

architecture. His knowledge in projective geometry was learned from the works of

Francois Derand, Girard Desargues and others.

     One of the few works to focus on San Lorenzo is Elwin Clark Robinson's 1985

Ph.D. dissertation *Guarino Guarini's Church of San Lorenzo.* Robinson considers San

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[42] Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1983), 88-97.

[43] John Beldon Scott, "Stupire gli Intelletti" in Dardanello, Klaiber, and Millon, *Guarino Guarini,*119.

[44] Werner Müller, "The Authenticity of Guarini's Stereotomy in his "Architettura Civile," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 27 3(Oct., 1968), 202-208.

Lorenzo to be a pivotal work in Guarini's career.[45] It is the first time Guarini used conic

sections in his vaulting. Guarini's designs for San Lorenzo and the Sindone resulted in a

large number of commissions throughout the remainder of his career. Robinson points

out the improbability of previous suggestions of Guarini's travel to Spain, which were

made to explain his contact with Islamic architecture. Instead of attributing Islamic

architecture as the source of the eight pointed star motif in the dome of San Lorenzo,

Robinson maintains the design was used throughout Europe including Gothic architecture

and in one of Leonardo's sketches of Bramante's design for St. Peter's. However,

Guarini's optical and mathematical refinements of the dome of San Lorenzo cannot be

found in any of these precedents.   While Robinson contends that Guarini's period in

Rome had the strongest influence on his architecture, he also notes that his wide range of

interests are manifest in his work, such as Gothic architecture, optical theories and

geometry which were further developed during his time in Paris. Guarini even wrote

about his appreciation of the impact Gothic churches made on viewers in his *Architettura*

civile. Robinson maintains that since the star motif of the dome (made by the ribs of the

dome) is not specific to San Lorenzo it has no symbolic meaning other than a general

reference to the dome of heaven.[46]   He also suggests Guarini's facades are derived from

the Mannerist tradition, but updated by the employment of curved facades and the

placement of string courses in a progressive succession in the upper pediment.[47] In his

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[45] Elwin Clark Robinson, "Guarino Guarini's Church of San Lorenzo in Turin" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1985), 34.
[46] Robinson, "Guarino Guarini's Church," 271-275.

[47] Ibid., 311.

dissertation, Robinson also provides a thorough description of the church, including its structure, as well as a biography of the architect and history of the church.

Harold Meek published the first monograph on Guarini in English titled *Guarino Guarini and his architecture* (1989). Building on the work of Augusta Lange, he provides a timeline of Guarini's life including his construction and literary histories.[48] Meek is cautious in his approach to Guarini's works by laying out facts, describing the structures and ignoring more speculative approaches like those of the 1968 Turin conference. While Meek's analysis of individual works may not be comprehensive—for example he does not include Guarini's ideas on light in *Placita Philosophica*—he contextualizes Guarini's architecture in the period, his life and his thought.[49]

Susan Klaiber, in her 1993 Ph.D. dissertation *Guarino Guarini's Theatine architecture,* locates Guarini's architecture in the context of the counter-reformation movement. She contends that Guarini's training and travel with the Theatine Order influenced his architecture. In regard to San Lorenzo, Klaiber maintains that the Savoy patronage of the Theatines helped to shape his work as well as his career as the Theatines gained favor and support from the court through Guarini's architectural and literary endeavors.[50] Klaiber provides a biography of Guarini and a history of San Lorenzo including the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows at the entrance of the church. She also

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[48] Michelle Sbacchi, review of *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture* by Harold Alan Meek, *Journal of Architectural Education,* 44 4(Aug., 1991), 239-241.

[49] Sbacchi, review of *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 239-241.

[50] Klaiber, *Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture*, 451.

gives an overview of counter-reformation architects of which she claims Guarini was the

most prolific.

Ten years later John Beldon Scott published *Architecture for the Shroud: relic*

and ritual in Turin (2003). Scott's study supplants all of the previous studies on the

Chapel of the Holy Shroud. Not only is the topic thoroughly researched, but the book is

clearly written and beautifully illustrated. Scott sets Guarini's chapel in several contexts:

the history of the shroud; the rituals surrounding the Shroud; the methods of display used

for the Shroud; the history of the Savoy family; the ways the Savoy used the Shroud to

enhance the prestige of the family; and the city of Turin. The Chapel of the Holy Shroud

was built to house the most important relic held by the Savoy dynasty, a building project

that had continued through multiple generations of the Savoy family. Scott rejects past

readings of the Chapel of the Holy Shroud which he considers extreme. Instead, he

emphasizes a more practical approach taking into consideration environmental, cultural,

political and theological constraints put on the design, especially the need to satisfy

courtly ritual and devotional purposes.[51] Scott insists that the ornamentation of Guarini's

masterpiece was not esoteric, but provided a stimulus to veneration of the relic and

served as a stage for the self-representation of the Savoy dynasty. As the Chapel of the

Holy Shroud and San Lorenzo are tied closely together through their patrons and close

proximity, Scott's reading of the Shroud has been extremely beneficial to my research.

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[51] John Beldon Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud: Relic and Ritual in Turin* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 191-198.

Thirty six years after the publication of *Guarino Guarini e l'internazionalità del barocco,* another anthology was published once again brining Guarini scholarship up to date.[52] This book was the result of a 2002 seminar on Guarini held in Vicenza. Again, the most prominent Guarini scholars were in attendance to present their current research on Guarini. New archival sources were introduced, information on the structure of the Chapel of the Holy Shroud was considered (due to the fire of 1997 new information about its structure had been discovered), and new methods of investigation were used. The only scholar whose works appears in both the 1970 publication and this one is Henry Millon. Other scholars participating in this publication include, but are not limited to: Giuseppe Dardanello, Susan Klaiber, John Beldon Scott, Marco Boetti, Andrew Morrogh, Edoardo Piccoli, Franco Rosso, Gerd Schneider and Aurora Scotti Tosini. The book contains a valuable collection of illustrations including photographs and reproductions of drawings and engravings. Several of the essays once again discuss Guarini's designs in relationship to his use of geometry, including those by Dardanello, Rosso, Morrogh, Millon and Schneider.

The book is divided into the following sections: Part one, an introduction to Guarini; Part two, the intellectual and professional figure; Part three, Projects and architecture (a collection of illustrations); Part four Projects and architecture (the diffusion of Guarini's ideas); Part five, Guarini and the architectural culture in Europe. John Beldon Scott provides an overview of Guarini scholarship and Susan Klaiber examines the sources for San Lorenzo concluding the wide range of eclectic sources

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[52] Kim Williams, book review of Giuseppe Dardanello, Susan Klaiber and Henry Millon eds., *Guarino Guarini* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi & C., 2006) in *Nexus Network Journal* 11 (2009), 493-494.

Guarini used in San Lorenzo which are a key feature of his work. Guarini's method of synthesizing disparate ideas is paralleled in his literary works. In San Lorenzo, Guarini merged the needs of the Savoy dynasty with those of the Theatine Order using a collection of unique architectural images which gave meaning to these requirements.[53]

The most recent publication on Guarino Guarini is "Guarino Guarini: Open Questions, Possible Solutions" in *Nexus Network Journal* (2009). The collection of papers in this work are the result of the 2006 conference by the same name.[54] Clara Silvia Roero presents an overview of Guarini's *Euclides adauctus et methodicus mathematicaque universalis* (1671) and other mathematical works. Patricia Radelet-de Garve examines Guarini's astronomical works, especially *Coelestis mathematicae* (1683). James McQuillan reconstructs Guarini's idea of the cosmic order and explains how this is mirrored in *Architettura civile. Paolo Freguglia* provides an overview of sixteenth century representations of space and techniques of perspective which influenced Guarini. Michele Sbacchi discusses Guarini's ideas of projection in the context of works by Alberti, Desargues, de l'Orme and others. Paolo Napoli presents a structural description of the Chapel of the Holy Shroud, Ntovros Vasileios uses Gilles Deleuze's notion of the "fold" to examine San Lorenzo. Ugo Quarello discusses the hidden structure of San Lorenzo. And Pietro Totaro traces the development of the triple storey façade Guarini designed for the SS. Annunziata in Messina. While the contributions of this

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[53] Susan Klaiber, "Le Fonti per San Lorenzo" in Giuseppe Dardanello, Susan Klaiber and Henry Millon eds., *Guarino Guarini* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi & C., 2006), 336.

[54] Kim Williams, "Letter from the Editor," *Nexus Network Journal* 11 (2009), 329-330.

publication focus on specific aspects of Guarini's life, they help to further contextualize his architectural and scientific works in the seventeenth century milieu.

In 2007 Caroline van Eck in *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* laid out a widespread association between rhetoric and architecture, including the use of Longinus Dionysius' ancient Greek manuscript *On the sublime* by architects for compositional purposes in their designs. Van Eck points out that the early modern interest in *Ut picture poesis* was used as justification for an association between rhetoric and the arts.[55] By examining the works of Barbaro, Scamozzi and Spini, she provides evidence of a direct influence of classical rhetoric on these authors understanding of architecture as an art of persuasion. Van Eck admits there are differences between linguistic and visual media, however she is able to demonstrate how the immersion of classical rhetoric within early modern culture affected the creation, practice, reception and theory of art.[56]

While scholarship has explored the technical aspects of Guarini's work and whether or not he integrates his mathematic, philosophical and theological ideas in his work, it has not fully explained why Guarini's architecture changed after his time in Paris. Moreover, even though several scholars have brought up Guarini's thoughts on Gothic architecture to help explain the aesthetics of San Lorenzo, no one has noted the similarity between his thoughts and the critical advice of Longinus Dionysius in *On the*

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[55] Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 11.

[56] Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts,* 12. James A. Knapp, review of Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* by Caroline van Eck, *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 27 2(2009), 233.

sublime, especially Guarini's comments that architecture can "amaze the intellect" and "terrify the spectators."[57] Because Guarini's views on Gothic architecture are unusual for the time period and a copy of Longinus' manuscript was held in Paris during the seventeenth century, the resemblance between Guarini's comments and Longinus' thoughts needs to be explored.

Structure of Analysis

In this thesis I will be using my own, original research and observation of Guarini's architecture and literature. I was struck by the similarity of discussions of the sublime, which seemed like they might be useful for discussions of Guarini architecture. While I knew that Burke published *The sublime and the beautiful* (1756) more than 70 years after Guarini's death, I began to look into the sources of his ideas. What I discovered was that Burke had relied in part on an ancient Greek manuscript titled *On the sublime* (Περὶ ὕψους, *Perì hýpsous*) attributed to Dionysius Longinus. As I continued my research I learned that a copy of this manuscript was held in Paris during the seventeenth century. Moreover, the first French translation of the treatise was published by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux in Paris in 1674—just eight years after Guarini had left Paris for Turin. Since it was possibly written earlier, or at least discussed, I determined that further research into the similarities between the appearance of the dome at San Lorenzo, Guarini's own words on Gothic architecture and Longinus' thoughts on the sublime was warranted.

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[57] "Fanno però stupire gl'intelletti, e rendono gli spettatori atterriti." Guarino Guarini, *Architettura Civile* (Torino 1737), trat. III, cap. XIII, oss.1.

This thesis is divided into three chapters: the first explores the intellectual milieu of Paris during the 1660s emphasizing the discourse on the sublime; the second compares Guarini's *Architettura civile* with Longinus' *On the sublime,* paying attention to how the ancient manuscript was discussed by Guarini's contemporaries. The final chapter then compares Longinus' idea of the sublime with San Lorenzo in an attempt to explain the composition of the church, especially the effect the dome has on its viewers.

I will rely heavily on Caroline van Eck's *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe,* as she provides a template for explaining the widespread association between rhetoric and architecture during the seventeenth century. I will also use Nicolas Cronk's *The classical sublime: French Neoclassicism and the language of literature* to better understand the intellectual discourse surrounding Longinus' manuscript during the seventeenth century. As there were actually several Latin translations of *On the sublime* available in Paris during the 1660s, and Guarini typically reasoned through his own understanding of what he read, I am using a 1991 translation by John Grube titled *Longinus on great writing (on the sublime)* which was translated from the Greek and is widely considered acceptable.

I will argue that it is highly probable that Guarini not only had access to the critical discourse on the sublime during his time in Paris, but also may have read one of the extant copies or translations of the text. Many of the ideas put forth in *On the sublime* were already commonly held by artists during the early modern period due to the use of Horace's line "Ut picture poesis" in his *Ars poetica* as justification for the connection between rhetoric and the arts. Therefore, Guarini may have thought Longinus' ideas

would be reasonable to adopt for use in the composition of his architecture. There are

definitely similarities between the idea of the sublime and Guarini's views on Gothic

architecture which then are played out in San Lorenzo.

Chapter 1: Parisian Influences

Intellectual Discourses in Paris

Guarini was highly productive during his time in Paris. Beginning with Ste. Anne-la-Royale (Figs. 17, 23, 24, destroyed between 1821 and 1823[58]) one sees in Guarini's architecture the origins of a trajectory of several themes that would preoccupy him: ever-increasing height of the nave; the use of autonomous zones in the vertical arrangement of both the interior and exterior of his churches (meaning the elevation is divided into distinct levels, each with its own characteristics);[59] and an idiosyncratic treatment of vaulting including increased piercing of the shell in between the ribs and the illusion that the dome is floating above the heads of the congregation. Moreover, shortly after leaving Paris Guarini began to devise a structure which conceals its method of support—a method he does not reveal in any of his treatises. These developments continued to evolve, culminating in San Lorenzo in Turin (Fig.15).[60]

Like other scholars, I argue that these variations in Guarini's architecture are a result of the artistic and scholarly discourses he participated in during his time in Paris.[61] However, I further propose that they are due in part to a discussion of the sublime that was current in Paris during Guarini's time there. He arrived in Paris between the chapter

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[58] Meek, Guarino Guarini and his Architecture, 36.

[59] The term 'autonomous zones' was originally applied to Guarini's architecture by Wittkower in *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 271.

[60] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 21-22.

[61] Müller, "The Authenticity of Guarini's Stereotomy," 202-208.

meeting of August 29, and October 26, 1662, and remained there until 1666[62]. He was

called to Paris to help with the construction of Ste. Anne-la-Royale, but soon after his

arrival he was given the additional responsibility of the design of the church.[63] During

his years in Paris, Guarini demonstrated an awareness of current scholarly discourses not

only in his work on Ste. Anne but also in his writing of his *Placita philosophica physicis*

rationibus, experientiis, mathematicisque ostensa published in Paris in 1665.[64]

A connection between Guarini and the architectural culture in Paris is revealed by

the indirect contact between Guarini and Gian Lorenzo Bernini while both men were in

the city in 1665.[65] Paul Fréart de Chantelou, Bernini's guide while he stayed in Paris,

mentions a visit by Bernini to Ste. Anne while it was under construction. Chantelou

writes, "The Fathers asked him what he thought of it, to which he replied, 'I think it will

come out well."[66] Then, to put the Fathers' minds at ease over the dome which they

thought was too small, Bernini recommended that Guarini add a projection to the front of

the circular church to aid in the visitor's appreciation of the circular form upon entering

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[62] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 38.

[63] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine architecture." Thesis (Ph. D.)--Columbia University, 1993, 91, 115, 116.

[64] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his architecture*, 38. According to H.A. Meek the *Placita philosophica* was written in a post-classical Latin. Like other 17th century encyclopedic works, in *Placita philosophica* Guarini attempted to include almost every branch of human knowledge broken down into the following divisions: "(1) a preparation for logic; 920 preliminary arguments on physics; (3) preliminary arguments against current works on astronomy; (4) against current works on generation and corruption; (5) on separate substances; (6) metaphysics."

[65] David R. Coffin, "Padre Guarino Guarini in Paris," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* 15 2 (1956), 3-11.

[66] Paul Fréart de Chantelou, Anthony Blunt, and George C. Bauer, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 33-34. Bernini's visit to Ste. Anne's is written in his journal on June 14, 1665.

the church. It is assumed that Guarini was not at the church that day as he is not

mentioned directly by Chantelou; however, at the very least, Bernini became aware of

Guarini that day. As for Guarini, in *Architettura civile* he comments on Bernini's work at

St. Peter's signifying his familiarity with the Italian master.

It is almost certain that Guarini saw the plans of Bernini's projects for the Louvre,

especially the third project, either directly from Bernini, his assistant Mattia de Rossi

(who remained in Paris after Bernini left), or the engravings by Jean Marot made shortly

after the plans were completed (Figs. 25, 26).[67] Shortly after the publication of this

engraving, Guarini created the palace plan which is shown in plates 23 and 24 of

Architettura civile (Figs. 27, 28). Guarini's design shares many similarities with

Bernini's plans for the Louvre. Whether Guarini saw Bernini's plans in person or

through Marot's engraving, Coffin maintains contact with Bernini's designs for the

Louvre explains the resemblance.[68]

Another dimension of Guarini's participation in the intellectual discourses of

Paris is the speculation that Christopher Wren visited Ste. Anne while in Paris made by

several scholars.[69] Furthermore, Harold Meek suggests contact between Guarini and

Wren resulted in Guarini's appropriating parts of Wren's astronomical studies for his

own later treatises on the same subject.[70] Whether or not the two men actually met, again

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[67] Coffin, "Padre Guarino Guarini in Paris," 8-10.

[68] Ibid., 8-10. Meek makes a similar suggestion in Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 36-38.

[69] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 33, 34

[70] Ibid., 33, 34. Meek points out however that Guarini's name is not on the list of architects Wren made of the architects and artists he met while in Paris.

Guarini's behavior suggests he was current in the discourse on these subjects. It is difficult to determine all of the ways Bernini's or Wren's architectural practice influenced Guarini's work from these contacts because Guarini integrated what he learns from others seamlessly into his designs by using only the parts he needed and then modifying them to create his desired effect.

It is also most certain Guarini's knowledge and appreciation of Gothic architecture was intensified during his stay in Paris. While there were several Gothic structures in Italy that Guarini would have been familiar with, he is believed to have learned more complex Gothic building practices while in Paris. During Guarini's time in Paris, he learned about recent French advances in geometry, in particular plane geometry, as well as stereotomy (the cutting of stones for use in building).[71] A knowledge of stereotomy was necessary in the construction of Gothic vaults. While Guarini did not construct Gothic style vaults in his churches, he did see the mathematical nature of construction as a reflection of an orderly universe which has an underlying rationality and logic.[72] Moreover, he combined his interest in stereotomy with the discipline of conic sections to make complex curved surfaces and structurally daring domes which other architects considered dangerous to construct, such as the dome of San Lorenzo.[73] Guarini's bold stuctures made him irreplaceable on his projects. When Amedeo di

[71] Rudolf Wittkower, *Gothic vs. Classic; Architectural Projects in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (New York: G. Braziller, 1974), 94.

[72] Müller, "The Authenticity of Guarini's Stereotomy," 202-208.

[73] Sbacchi, book review of *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 240.

Castellamonte, a highly-skilled architect, was questioned about some technical aspects of Guarini's architectural designs he replied, "the work is so dangerous and difficult, and by consequence it would be better to … believe in the architect."[74]

Guarini's learning stereotomy in Paris is evidenced by the complexity of his explanation of it in his *Architettura civile* which is technically related to French practices, being more sophisticated than the practices used in Germany or Italy.[75] Guarini's treatise is a continuation of the work of Philibert de l'Orme, and reflects the teachings of François Derand and Jean-Baptiste de la Rue who also published on the subject in Paris. In Guarini's treatise stereotomy is covered as expansively as the architectural orders, showing its importance to Guarini's architectural design. Moreover, the knowledge Guarini learned from these sources enabled him to create the complex hidden structure of San Lorenzo.

Guarini did not incorporate Gothic construction practices into San Lorenzo in a straightforward manner but instead combined them with a classical sensibility, resulting in a unique Baroque structure which is made from forms that are loosely related to antique principles.[76] Instead of employing Vitruvius's system of *commodulatio*—using the half-diameter of the column as the basic module of measurement for the elements of an order—Guarini, following the lead of Carlo Cesare Osio (a little known Milanese

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[74] Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, *Schede Vesme* (Turin, 1964), 553. Robinson, "Guarino Guarini's Church of San Lorenzo in Turin," 31.

[75] Müller, "The Authenticity of Guarini's Stereotomy," 202-208.

[76] Sbacchi, book review of *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 240.

architect Guarini often quotes in *Architettura civile*), determined the elements through the use of Euclidean geometry.

Guarini was already familiar with geometry before coming to Paris. His preference for Euclidean geometry would have been nurtured originally during his years as a novice in the Theatine order because the basic mathematical education was largely comprised of Euclid.[77] (He was also known to have taught geometry in Messina before coming to Paris.) However, while in Paris Guarini additionally studied projective geometry as evidenced not only by its inclusion in *Architettura civile,* but also in his mathematical treatise *Euclides adauctus et methodicus mathematicaeque universalis* (1671).[78] Projective geometry (the application of Euclidian principles to perspective drawing) was a new point of departure from his previous understanding as it introduced two new "Ideal" elements which are similar to what we call today "point of infinity" and "line of infinity."[79]

According to Paolo Freguglia, "The techniques of perspective were presented not only as practical rules for drawing in a given manner, in confirmation with how observed reality appears to the eye, but were also described according to their geometric underpinnings."[80] Geometry could be based on two different systems: The first is based on Euclid's doctrine and the other is based on the Pythagorean theory of numbers which

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[77] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 29.

[78] Paolo Freguglia, "Reflections on the Relationship Between Perspective and Geometry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Nexus Network Journal* 11 (2009), 331.

[79] Freguglia, "Reflections on the Relationship Between Perspective and Geometry," 331. Freguglia provides a definition of "point of infinity" and "line of infinity" in his article.

[80] Ibid., 331.

had been adopted and elevated by Vitruvius.[81] The differences between these systems are significant. According to Michele Sbacchi, in the Vitruvian system, "multiplications and subdivisions of numbers regulated architectural shapes and dimensions", however in Euclidean constructions "architecture and its elements were made out of lines, by means of compass and straightedge."[82] In architecture every proportional element and every shape can be determined by either a numerical calculation or by the drawing of a line. Choosing one system or the other came to be associated with the epistemological difference between arithmetic and geometry.

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance Vitruvian numerical theory was prevalent among architects and patrons and Euclidean geometrical methods circulated orally among masons, being covered by the lodge's secrecy in which these practices were used. However, due to renewed interest in Vitruvius' text during the Renaissance the neo-Pythagorean numerological system became favored for architecture. Therefore, even when an architect was using Euclidean geometry, he refrained from announcing it publically. It was with Guarini's treatise on architecture that Euclidean geometry was finally recognized in a learned treatise. Therefore, Guarini's embrace of Euclidean geometry and perspective geometry affected both the design of his buildings and the role he played in seventeenth century architectural theory. Moreover, Guarini's employment of these practices demonstrates the significance of his contact with Parisian scientific circles.

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[81] Michele Sbacchi, "Euclidism and Theory of Architecture," *Nexus Network Journal* 3 2 (2001), 27-28.

[82] Ibid., both quotes in sentence are from same source.

Guarini's Euclidism was part of a general rise of geometry during the seventeenth century which occurred concurrently with a decline in Pythagorean numerology. During this time Johannes Kepler (German mathematician, astronomer and astrologer) dismissed numerology on Euclidean grounds in an even more radical manner. Kepler used Euclidean theory not only to refute Copernicus' Pythagorean understanding on the number of planets, but more importantly, he refuted the Pythagorean conception of musical ratios the same way in his *Harmonices mundi*.[83] Judith Field maintains that Kepler argued that "God was a Platonic geometer rather than a Pythagorean numerologist."[84] Kepler's argument demonstrates the opposition between Euclidean and Pythagorean theories not only affected the practical procedures of architectural theory, but more importantly it maintained Euclidean geometry contained ontological aspects as well, which Guarini may have also applied to his architecture.

There is one last point in regard to Guarini's appreciation of Euclidean geometry and its fundamental antithesis to Pythagorean numerology. In arithmetic quantity is represented by numeric entities, hence it is conceived of as discrete. The basis for this assumption is that things are separable and therefore can be enumerated. In geometry however the entities used are conceived of as continuous, such as a line, volume, etc. Therefore they more comprehensively represent the continuity of reality as they can symbolize both measurable and incommensurable quantities.[85] Sbacchi points out that

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[83] Ibid., 32.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 33.

while mathematicians were well aware of the continuous nature of geometry, architects rarely thought about it. Even Guarini barely mentions the association between geometry and continuity in *Architettura* despite his extensive elaboration on it in his *Euclides adauctus* and *Placita philosophica*. This makes sense because *Architettura* was written after his other books and was intended for a different audience as evidenced by the vernacular language it was written in. Guarini probably assumed the reader of *Architettura* would either already be aware of his earlier discussions on the topic or could refer to them. However, what is most important for our discussion is the probability of Guarini's use of Euclidean geometry in his work to communicate his connection with God and more importantly to evidence God's role in the creation and continuation of the church.

In the preface of *Euclides adauctus,* Guarini explains "the value and usefulness that this kind of work can have to *irradiate with mathematical light and make evident all things with a single luminous source.*"[86] If Guarini understood math as a *single luminous source* capable of revealing truth to those that utilized it, and furthermore understood Euclidean geometry as God's chosen tool, then Guarini most likely also understood math to be capable of revealing God's truth, and therefore as a way to understand God. So when Guarini, as a priest/architect/mathematician/scholar, emphasized the geometry in his churches, his aim was to help the worshiper within it to know God.

The preceding theories however only provide evidence that Guarini was thinking in theological, mathematical and philosophical terms in the designs of his churches—they

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[86] Clara Silvia Roero, "Guarino Guarini and Universal Mathematics," *Nexus Network Journal* 11 3(2009), 418.

do not fully explain the impetus behind the unusual architectural choices he made, especially his employment of ever increasing telescopic spaces, use of autonomous vertical zones, and idiosyncratic treatment of vaulting. One explanation for these developments in his churches might be found in a particular philosophical discourse in Paris at the time—the sublime.

The Sublime

Caroline van Eck has laid out a convincing argument in *Classical rhetoric and the visual arts in early modern Europe* for an active discourse on the sublime by architects as well as scholars in England during the seventeenth-century. Van Eck uses the sublime as an alternative way to explain the idiosyncratic aspects of the architecture of Nicolas Hawksmoor, Sir John Vanbrugh, James Gibbs and Christopher Wren, who at times disregarded the Baroque preference for the "correct" handling of the classical orders and proportioning. Van Eck asserts that these architects turned to *On the sublime* attributed to Longinus because Vitruvius and the Renaissance treatise writers neglected composition in their works. Since scholars of the time understood Longinus to be a rhetorical treatise on composition it was used to fill in this gap. Van Eck maintains the use of translated copies of *On the sublime* offers a possible explanation for the development of the very conspicuous towers, as well as exaggerated ornament that was unusually placed on buildings that began to appear during the early modern period.

The modern sense of the sublime actually has its origins in ancient text titled *On the sublime* (Περὶ ὕψους, *Perì hýpsous*) which in the seventeenth century was believed to

be written by an unknown author named Dionysis or Longinus. After being largely

forgotten during the Middle Ages, Longinus' first century treatise was rediscovered in the

mid-sixteenth century. For Longinus, the sublime described lofty thoughts or language

which inspired awe and veneration. While the treatise is only concerned with literary

sublimity, Longinus mentions that the "sublime," is found in any of the arts in a wider

sense.[87] Also, throughout the treatise he uses analogies from painting, sculpture and even

architecture to explain the sublime.

There were nine extant copies of Longinus' manuscript by the seventeenth

century, of these the Paris copy (MS 2036) of *De sublimitate,* is considered to be the best

because it contains the fewest number of lacune.[88] The missing portions of the Paris

manuscript are believed by scholars to be about one-third of the text.[89] The Longinus

manuscript was first published in 1554 in Latin by Francis Robortello at Basle being

attributed to Dionysius Longinus.[90] The following year Paulo Manutius published an

edition in Venice, and thereafter translations of the treatise became known in almost

every European country. During Guarino Guarini's lifetime the treatise was known and

discussed among scholars, although not widely read.

The handwritten copies of the manuscript are written in Greek. Therefore, to

become more widely accessible, translation of the text was required. As is typical with

the act of translation, different translators gave different interpretations to the text, even

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[87] Elder Olson, "The Argument of Longinus' "On the Sublime", *Modern Philology* 39 3(1942), 242.

[88] W. Rhys Roberts ed., *Longinus on the Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3.

[89] Ibid., 17.

[90] Roberts ed., *Longinus on the Sublime,* 1. This book is a translation of the Paris MS. 2036 codice.

the title was translated differently. Robortello titled his work *De grandi sive sublimi*

orationis genere, thus setting a precedent for the translation of the Greek *hýpsous* (which

literally translates into "height") as *sublimis.*   However, every subsequent translator did

not necessarily follow suit. Even as late as 1899, W. Rhys Roberts, who translated the

Paris MS 2036 copy into English, asserted the original Greek title when translated into

English should be *Concerning Height or Elevation* and not the *sublime,* which he

considered as the "ideal of abnormal altitude."[91] Roberts insisted the aim of the author

was to give a general indication of "the essentials of a noble and impressive style."[92] In

France however, the more typical translation of *hýpsous* was *sublimis.* Nicolas Boileau-

Despréaux, who wrote the most popular translation and critique of Longinus' manuscript

in the seventeenth century, titled his work *Le traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le*

discours (1674), thus translating *hýpsous* as *sublimis.* The question of how to translate

hýpsous was only one of the many issues discussed regarding Longinus' manuscript.

Other concerns revolved around the meaning of the work as well as whether this type of

speech is moral.

It is important to note that there are many similarities between Longinus' idea of

the sublime and Guarini's understanding of mathematics and geometry. In order to

produce the sublime one does not follow formulaic procedures but must instead find a

certain quality of composition which is discerned through the oppositions of the sublime

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[91] Ibid., 23.

[92] Ibid.

and its absence.[93] In fact throughout Longinus' treatise, he developed his arguments on

the sublime through a series of oppositions, for example Longinus says the sublime is

found in between "turgidity of language" and its opposite "puerility", the former being an

attempt to exceed greatness and the later a "lowly, petty and ignoble fault."[94] This

procedure is similar to the way Guarini applied mathematical knowledge to his

architecture, for example the way Guarini combined the use of Euclidean and

Pythagorean theories in his projects. In each case the aim is reached by finding a sweet

spot between the two. Another example of the similarity between Longinus' approach to

the sublime and Guarini's conception of geometry is that in both instances the

understanding that what exists and can be produced and alternatively that which does not

exist cannot be produced. These examples show that the way Longinus approaches the

composition of the sublime would not have been completely foreign to Guarini.

Longinus defines sublime passages as those which:

> Have a high distinction of thought and expression to which great writers owe their
> supremacy and their lasting renown. Great writing does not persuade; it takes the reader
> out of himself. The startling and amazing is more powerful than the charming and
> persuasive, if it is indeed true that to be convinced is usually within our control whereas
> amazement is the result of an irresistible force beyond the control of any audience. We
> become aware of a writer's inventive skill, the structure and arrangement of his subject
> matter, not from one or two passages, but as these qualities slowly emerge from the
> texture of the whole work. But greatness appears suddenly; like a thunderbolt it carries
> all before it and reveals the writer's full power in a flash.[95]

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[93] Ibid., 230.

[94] Longinus and G. M. A. Grube, *On Great Writing: on the Sublime* (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Co, 1957), 6.

[95] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing*, 4.

Two points are of particular interest here: First, the sublime forces a transformation of understanding in its audience and second, the psychological phenomenon of the sublime emanates immediately from the part upon exposure.

Neil Hertz maintains that from the time Longinus' treatise was written through the Middle Ages:

> The interest of the sublime lay in the joyful transport by which one joined the great to transcend the merely human. The negative moment in the sublime was understood as simply a means—a moment of rhetorical 'difficulty,' for example, that stimulated the soul to interpretive exercise and moved it, obstacle by conquered obstacle, toward the divine.[96]

Those who discussed the sublime in the seventeenth century would have been aware of these theological associations with the sublime, in fact the *Fiat lux* passage from Longinus was the most widely discussed excerpt during the seventeenth-century. The *Fiat lux* is a highly significant passage from the Bible, which describes God's initiation of creation, and associates God's signifying power with the sublime.[97] Lynn Poland suggests the passage provides a "relation between Signifying Power and the terrifying face of the deep."[98] Guarini as a theologian might have recognized this association linking God's saving grace with the terror of oblivion.

Longinus also explains how to employ the sublime in writing. First he lays a foundation by asserting that while the sublime is found in nature, artificial modes of production do exist which can generate the sublime in the viewer, hence it is an art. Furthermore, Longinus considers the art of the sublime to be teachable. To make the

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[96] Lynn Poland, "The Idea of the Holy and the History of the Sublime," *The Journal of Religion* 72 2(1992), 182-183.

[97] Poland, "The Idea of the Holy," 181.

[98] Ibid.

psychological phenomena of sublimity occur in its audience, the author must put a quality

in the work which forces the transportation in the hearer or viewer. The author first

recognizes this quality by experiencing it himself. After discovering the cause of the

sensation, the author can then employ it in his own work. According to Longinus,

sublimity may be found in all literary genres, including philosophical literature since the

sublime ultimately results not from the nature of a particular kind of literature, but the

ability of the one who produced it.[99] Thus, Guarini may have attempted to use the

sublime in his treatises, as well as his architecture.

Longinus presents five principal sources of the sublime: First, the ability to form

great conceptions; second, "strong and inspired emotion;" third, figures of thought and

fiction; fourth, noble diction, elaboration of language, and use of metaphors; and, last "is

dignified and distinguished word arrangement."[100] Of these the most important is the

power of conception. Longinus uses passages from ancient texts which evoke terror and

awe in the reader as examples of great conception. These vivid illustrations show the

terrifying power of the gods, as well as "represent the divine as truly pure and mighty."[101]

In light of Guarini's radical opening of the dome in San Lorenzo, it is perhaps significant

that included in these examples of greatness of conception is the *Fiat lux*—more will be

discussed on this in Chapter 3. Regardless of which emotion the sublime produces to

transport its message, Longinus makes it clear that if the author is able to reproduce those

same characteristics that cause that response, he is then able to produce a sublime

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[99] Olson, "The Argument of Longinus," 235.

[100] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing*, 10.

[101] Ibid., 13, 14.

experience in the reader.   Therefore, it is through conception of thought and the

production of emotion that the sublime is produced in the recipient.

Discourses on the Sublime in Seventeenth Century Paris

It is highly likely that Guarino Guarini was aware of Longinus' *On the sublime* before

coming to Paris. He probably would have been exposed to it as a Theatine priest, scholar

and playwright. According to Susan Klaiber, Guarini's education in the Theatine order

was very similar to that of the Jesuit order.[102] The Theatine novice would begin with

study of traditional humanistic texts and Latin grammar. The curriculum of both

educational systems included three years of philosophical study followed by four to five

years of theological study. After ordination, Guarini became a Theatine teacher writing

several treatises which reflect the traditional fields of study in Theatine education.[103]

Klaiber further suggests that the Theatines may have followed the Jesuit example of also

including elements of humanism and new sciences into their educational program which

was strongly grounded in Aristotelian and scholastic thought.[104] Also, for gifted students,

tutoring could be made available in applied mathematics including architecture.[105] An

early reference to Longinus is found in the *Pratica breve del predicare* by the Jesuit

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[102] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 13-52.

[103] Ibid., 20-21. Klaiber recommends that Guarini's literary output be understood in terms of his education and career as a Theatine teacher.

[104] Ibid., 30.

[105] Ibid.*,* 29.

priest Jules Mazarini (1615).[106] In this text Mazarini advised aspiring preachers to use the ancient orators as models "comme l'enseignait Longinus Dyonisius [sic], auteur grec."[107] [as taught by Dionysius Longinus, Greek author]. Since the education of the Theatine order was very similar to that of the Jesuits[108], it is possible that the Theatines would have also headed similar advice.

While Guarini's early exposure to Longinus may be of a highly speculative nature, it becomes much more probable after his arrival in Paris. During Guarini's time in Paris, scholars were discussing an antique Parisian manuscript Longinus' *On the sublime* which was translated into French by Boileau in 1674, only 8 years after Guarini left Paris.[109] Guarini could have come into contact with these discussions, as well as a copy of Longinus' treatise itself in several ways. It is almost certain that Guarini was at least indirectly introduced to Longinus through the work of the Oratorian priest Nicolas Malebranche. As mentioned before, while in Paris Guarini wrote *Placita philosophica,* a philosophical treatise that attempts to touch on nearly every branch of human knowledge. Guarini's treatise shares strong similarities to the writings of Nicolas Malebranche as many ideas in their works echo one another.[110] Moreover, both men based some of their theories on Occasionalism and Cartesian philosophy. According to Harold Meek, in both

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[106] Jules Brody, *Boileau and Longinus* (Genève: E. Droz, 1958), 14. This passage is found in Jean Baudoin's French translation of Giulio Mazarini's original text.

[107] Ibid., Brody quotes from *Pratique pour Bien Preacher,* 72-73.

[108] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 20.

[109] Kate Nesbitt, "The Sublime and Modern Architecture: Unmasking (An Aesthetic of) Abstraction," *New Literary History* 26 1(1995), 95.

[110] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture,* 39.

Guarini's and Malebranche's shared philosophical outlook "God is considered to be the only creative agent and the only real cause."[111] The artist's creative power is then stimulated through the effects of mathematics, in particular geometry, on the intellect. For Guarini this mathematical stimulus is coupled with the imagination. Scholars have long understood Guarini's use of geometry as a creative stimulus. Since the ideas of these two men are so similar and, according to Lawrence Kerslake, Malebranche was deeply involved in arguments surrounding the use of the sublime in rhetoric, especially in reference to the experience of reading the Bible[112], it is highly likely that Guarini was also aware of Longinus' treatise. However, it must be noted that Guarini did not adopt the work of anyone in its totality. Instead, by using a reasoned process, Guarini filtered the works of others, accepting what he agreed with and rejecting what he didn't. Therefore even though Malebranche argued those who admire the sublime style to be vain in *Euvres*[113]*,* Guarini could have held very different views on the topic. In *On the sublime* Boileau writes:

> Car tout ce qui est veritablement Sublime, a cela de propre, quand on l'écoute, qu'il éleve l'ame, et luy fait concevoir une plus haute opinion d'elle-mesme.[114]

The sublime elevates the souls of those who hear it, thus enhancing their view of themselves. The effect of elevating the soul may have been appealing to the Theatine priest.

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Lawrence Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime: Analyses of French Writings on the Sublime from Boileau to La Harpe* (New York: Peter Lang), 108-109.

[113] Malebranche, *Euvres,* 276 (*Recherche,* II.3.5). (Nicolas Cronk, *The classical sublime,* 89)

[114] Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime,* 59.

Another possible point of contact with Longinus' manuscript could have been the several translations circulating in Paris during the period Guarini was there. There were Latin translations such as *De grandi sive sublimi, De sublimitate,* and *De sublimi genere dicendi.*[115] Guarini was proficient in Latin and even used it to write *Placita philosophica* during his stay in Paris. French translations also circulated in Paris at this time, including one by Tanneguy Le Fevre (1663) which actually was the first to use the term "le Sublime" as differentiated from the sublime style. Le Fevre's work has Cartesian overtones as in it the sublime is comparable to the soul and the sublime style is likened to the body. As Guarini seemed to have an interest in Occasionalism[116] Le Fevre's translation of Longinus may have been of interest to him. Perhaps an even more significant connection for Guarini is a French manuscript version of Longinus dated from the 1640s which may be the first French translation.[117] According to Bernard Weinberg the manuscript is tentatively attributed to Jules Mazarin, the chief minister of France (1642-1661), who also happens to be the patron of Ste. Anne. While Mazarin died the year before Guarini arrived in Paris, he stipulated in his will dated March 6, 1661, that his library was to become part of Collège des Quatre-Nations which he founded that same year.

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[115] Nicolas Cronk, *The Classical Sublime: French Neoclassicism and the Language of Literature* (Charlottesville: Rookwood Press, 2002), 94.

[116] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture,* 39.

[117] Cronk, *The Classical Sublime*, 77.

From the early seventeenth century French scholars were largely aware of Longinus' treatise and often drew on it for their own works.[118] Le Père Louis de Cressolles in *Vacationes autumnales* (1620) borrows from Longinus to bolster his claim that a noble soul can find expression through supreme eloquence.[119] Also Jean François Le Grand used the *Fiat lux* example in a discussion of sublimity and Longinus' manuscript in the preface to Bary's *La Rhetorique Françoise* (1659).[120] Discussions about nobility of soul and the *Fiat lux* would have been of interest to a Theatine priest, especially one with an inquisitive mind such as Guarini.

In fact, even before Boileau's translation of *On the sublime*, the passage from Longinus' manuscript which received the most attention was an example of sublimity which Longinus asserts expresses the divine power of God—the *Fiat lux:*[121]

> Similarly, the lawgiver of the Jews, no ordinary man – for he understood and
> Expressed God's power in accordance with its worth – writes at the beginning
> Of his *Laws:* 'God said' – now what? – "Let there be light," and there was light;
> "Let there be earth," and there was earth' (9.9.)

It is this verse from the book of Genesis that provides the metaphor of light which stands in for God's miracle of creation in both literature and the visual arts. It was this passage that was most often given and discussed as an example of the sublime during the period of time Guarini was in Paris.   As Guarini was a theologian this line of discussion would have at the very least piqued his interest.

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[118] Ibid., 77, 78.

[119] Ibid., 78.

[120] Ibid., 78.

[121] Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime*, 38.

In the seventeenth-century the sublime was discussed in two ways: On the one hand writers like Boileau-Despreaux held the view that the sublime was limited to rhetoric. Others, like Pierre-Daniel Huet and Rene Rapin, located the sublime in things, or events.[122] Lyons and Wine explain:

> Whereas a speaker or writer, following the *Treatise on the Sublime* of Longinus as translated by Boileau-Despreaux, might aspire to learn the art of producing the effect of the sublime in his audience, the sublime in things was seen to be beyond human mastery, associated both with chance, on one hand, and with divine transcendent power, on the other.[123]

Boileau-Despreaux's construction of the sublime is composed of art and method, therefore it can be taught. Huet and Rapin believed the sublime in things, being a creation of God and result of chance, cannot be manufactured. However, because Guarini believed only God is capable of creation and causation, it is likely he would not have seen a conflict in his attempt to create a sublime experience in his work.

There is a possible connection between Guarini and Pierre-Daniel Huet. Huet was a churchman and scholar who lived in Paris from 1651 to 1662, the year Guarini arrived in Paris. Even after leaving Paris to return to his hometown of Caen to cofound the Académie de Physique, the first provincial academy of science (1668), Huet returned to Paris each year to participate in current intellectual discussions. Even if Guarini and Huet did not know each other, both men were probably connected to the library of Cardinal Mazarin. Huet was a personal friend of Gabriel Naudé, the conservator of the Mazarin library (before Naudés death in 1653), and Guarini may have also been in contact with Mazarin's collection as the architect of Ste. Anne. Whether or not Guarini

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[122] Ibid., 8.

[123] Ibid.

and Huet knew each other, they held many common interests: science, theology, philosophy and architecture. Huet writes of his time after leaving Paris:

> At that period I frequently went and came between Paris and Caen, which last was my habitation, and the tranquil seat of my studies. Thither was carefully sent to me whatever novelty of the literary kind was produced in France, England, or Holland; especially those appertaining to physical and mathematical science.[124]

In light of Caroline van Eck's argument for the discussion of the sublime in regards to architecture in England, it is important to note that Huet kept up to date on the literary works from England. One might ask two questions: First, was Huet aware of any discussions from England on the sublime in architecture? Second, might Guarini, who shared so many interests with Huet, have done the same?

As well as Huet's proclaimed literary activities, he also joined a group of learned men who met at the home of William de Lamoignon, first president of the parliament of Paris. During their weekly meetings these men conversed on "subjects of erudition."[125] Moreover, Huet's argument for "the sublime in things," which he viewed as "a theological or aesthetic concept,"[126] was published shortly after Boileau-Despreaux's French translation of Longinus. However, it must be noted that both Boileau-Despreaux and Huet were writing twenty years after Jean-Françoise Le Grand who had already seized on the *Fiat lux* passage of Longinus' manuscript as the cornerstone of his treatment of the sublime published in *La rhetorique francaise,* 1659, as mentioned

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[124] Pierre-Daniel Huet and John Aikin. 1810. *Memoirs of the Life of Peter Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches*. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/2409123.html, 19.

[125] Huet and John Aikin, *Memoirs of the Life of Peter Daniel Huet,* 45.

[126] John D. Lyons and Kathleen Wine, *Chance, Literature, and Culture in Early Modern France* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009)*,* 96.

earlier.[127] It is most certain that the sublime was discussed among scholarly circles in between Le Grand and Boileau's publications especially as Boileau probably began his translation of Longinus' *Treatise on the sublime* in 1663/4.[128] Moreover, as Guarini was in Paris from 1661 to 1666, he probably would have been aware of Le Grand's publication, as well as the discussions surrounding it.

While it seems that there were two distinct camps in regard to how to view the sublime, Guarino Guarini rarely seems to have accepted ideas intact without any modifications of his own. Guarini's unique way of synthesizing ideas is seen in his architectural and intellectual works. Scholars have long noted Guarini's utilization of multiple stylistic elements in his buildings such as his implementation of Baroque, Gothic and possibly Islamic attributes in San Lorenzo. In regard to Guarini's scholarly endeavors, Paola Di Paolo concluded in her study of Guarini's *Architettura civile* that not only did Guarini adopt elements of treatise writing from both the French and Italians, but his own work can be understood as the synthesis of an Italian empirical emphasis and the French pursuit of either scientific or artistic theory (utilizing one or the other separately) contrasting aesthetics and technique.[129] According to Di Paolo, Guarini's great achievement is the reconciliation of all three areas: the empirical, the artistic, and the scientific. Moreover, she asserts for Guarini art is a means to investigate nature with the

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[127] Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime,* 38.

[128] Gordon Pocock, *Boileau and the Nature of Neo-Classicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 147.

[129] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 50-51. Klaiber references P. Di Paolo, "*L'Architettura civile* del Guarini e la trattatistica architettonica del XVII secolo," *Annali della scuola normale superior di Pisa,* (Classe di lettere e filosofia), ser. 3, vol. II.1, 1972, 311-350.

same dignity and validity of science.[130] Clearly Guarini attempted to understand and

employ empirical and theoretical knowledge in a new way. This new close relationship

between artistic practice and mathematical principals when combined with Guarini's

rhetorical and architectural training could lead him to produce a sublime experience in his

architecture even though it had not been done before. Moreover, as Di Paolo has

demonstrated Guarini's penchant for synthesizing seemingly contradictory approaches, it

would also have been possible for him to apply his unique way of thinking to the

opposing approaches to the sublime.

Conclusion

During the time Guarino Guarini was in Paris, the city was a hotbed of new and

stimulating theoretical ideas in many fields including architecture, philosophy,

mathematics, and theology. It is clear that Guarini not only picked up on these

discussions but synthesized many of them into his scholarly and architectural projects. In

doing so, he incorporated these ideas in unique ways as particularly demonstrated by his

synthesis of Italian empiricism and French theory in his *Placita philosophica.* It is highly

likely that Guarini would have also been aware of the discourse on the sublime at this

time as there were a plethora of sources at his disposal and the topic would have appealed

to him on many fronts.

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[130] Klaiber, , *Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture*, 51. Klaiber quotes Di Paolo, "for Guarini, 'l'arte. . .e un mezzo di indagine della natura che ha la stessa dignita e validita della scienza, in quanto e essa stessa scienza." P. Di Paolo, "L'Architettura civile del Guarini e la trattatistica architettonica del XVII secolo," *Annali della scuola normale superior di Pisa,* (Classe di lettere e filosofia), ser. 3, vol. II.1, 1972, 350.

A brief overview of *On the sublime* seems to share many similarities with Guarino Guarini's thought as written in his treatises and demonstrated in his architectural practices. Due to Guarini's unique working style, his access to both printed material and conversations surrounding the sublime, and the similarities between Longinus's manuscript and Guarini's work, it is important to examine the possible connections between them more closely. Perhaps by viewing Guarini's work through the lens of *On the sublime* a better understanding of the idiosyncratic architectural choices he made can be obtained. Moreover, perhaps it will be evident that Guarini's intention in San Lorenzo was to evoke the sublime through the audience's terror and awe of the floating dome above their heads which appeared as though it could collapse on them at any moment.

CHAPTER 2: *ARCHITETTURA CIVILE*: EQUATIONS OF DISCIPLINES,

METHODS, AND MEANINGS

Background of Architettura Civile

Theatine spirituality was strongly influenced by the Jesuits. Andrea Avellino (1521-

1608), a Theatine priest who was canonized in 1712, was so inspired by Ignatius of

Loyola's S*piritual Exercises* that he recommended them to those he directed and even

followed this up by writing his own set of "spiritual exercises."[131] Loyola's *Spiritual*

Exercises were a series of meditations a participant would go through in order to draw

himself closer to God, thus they were seen as a very powerful tool which complimented

the Theatine call for personal reform. Avellino's enthusiasm for the *Spiritual Exercises*

must have strongly influenced members of the Theatine order as later Lorenzo Scupoli

(1530-1610), a second generation Theatine whose writings were important in forming the

distinctive spirituality of the Theatines[132], used these earlier writings to form his own

recommendations for the order. This is one more reason to look for signs of Guarini's

familiarity with Longinus especially due to Ignatius of Loyola's recommendation of the

reading of the manuscript to priests. Moreover, since Guarini's architectural treatise was

written towards the end of his life, and after his time in Paris, it probably followed the

publication of Boileau's translation of Longinus. Thus there would have been a long

tradition of thought about the sublime Guarini could have tapped into.

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[131] There is a statue of Avellino next to the entry of the nave of San Lorenzo.

[132] William V. Hudon ed. and translator, *Theatine Spirituality: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1996), 29 and 43.

Guarino Guarini's first publication was *La pietà trionfante* (1660), a tragic

comedy. It was written for his students in Modena and Messina to perform, therefore it

was probably published to become part of the Theatine educational curriculum.[133] After

La pietà trionfante, Guarini published a new book every few years until his death in

1683. His books cover architecture, astronomy, fortifications, geometry and philosophy,

each attempting to encompass the entirety of contemporary knowledge on its topic.[134]

Guarini's publications were reviewed in scholarly journals. Due to the critical yet

respectful nature of the reviews of Guarini's works, Susan Klaiber suggests that he

played an important place in the scholarly discourse of his time.[135] Guarini's books even

continued to be published after his death in 1683, including an architectural treatise that

we will examine more closely. Klaiber recommends that Guarini's publications be

viewed in the context of the intellectual milieu of counter-reformation religious orders, as

Guarini's treatises were most likely written to enhance the Theatine curriculum.[136]

However, I would add that due to Guarini's associations with the wider Baroque culture

and the fact that his architectural treatises were written in the vernacular Italian, this

wider context must also be taken into consideration.

Three years after his death, Guarini's Theatine Order of Turin published the

engravings Guarini had commissioned for his own intended publication on

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[133] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 21.

[134] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and His Architecture,* 144. *La Pietà Trionfante* was published in 1660.

[135] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 21-22.

[136] Ibid.*,* 20-23.

architecture.[137] These prints were compiled into a folio volume titled *Dissegni d'architettura civile et ecclesiastica, inventati & delineati dal Padre D. Guarino Guarini*. The first part of the book includes Guarini's own inventions of architectural details while the second half presents his built and projected architectural projects. Around 50 years later the prints in *Dissegni d' architettura civile* were reprinted in another posthumous treatise, *Architettura civile* (1737). In *Architettura civile* the publisher removed the cartouches bearing the names of the dedicatees, and some of the engravers' names as well. The book was published by Gianfrancesco Mairesse at the sign of S. Teresa di Gesù, and the manuscript was prepared by Bernardo Vittone, an architect whose own work was significantly influenced by Guarini's. Vittone mentions in the preface that he was given the task of touching up the work. It is not known to what extent Vittone may have made any changes to the text. Scholars agree that, if anything, Vittone reduced the text to fit the space available. Since Vittone's own writing style was noticeably different than Guarini's, scholars believe it would be noticeable if Vittone had added to the treatise.[138] Despite Vittone's supervision, the text is still riddled with errors, inaccurate quotes and an illogical numbering of the plates, which makes understanding Guarini's intentions more difficult.

 Architettura civile is divided into five *trattati*. The first trattato provides an overview of architecture. The second deals with the general considerations that affect the planning of architecture such as laying out, leveling and surveying. The third trattato

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[137] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and His Architecture,* 149, 150.

[138] Ibid., 150.

discusses the facades of buildings and the Orders. The fourth trattato explains the

projection of cylinders, elliptical bodies, spheres, etc. as they relate to architecture. And,

the last trattato deals with the geometry involved in the division of hyperbolas and other

geometrical problems which occurred in designing buildings. Each trattato of

Architettura civile is divided into chapters which are composed of a few sentences that

explain the topic followed by its demonstration through observations. Guarini's

engravings are placed at the end of the treatise to serve as examples.

Connections between Rhetoric and Visual Arts

In both previous and more recent scholarship a connection between rhetoric and the

visual arts has been examined. Rensselaer W. Lee in *Ut picture poesis* points out that

from the middle of the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century there was a

notion that rhetorical theory was also applicable to the arts. Treatises on art and literature

often noted a connection between painting and poetry, as they were considered to be

almost identical in content, purpose and fundamental nature.[139] Lines from the ancient

works were often used out of context as confirmation of this relationship, especially

Horace's line "Ut picture poesis" [As is painting so is poetry] in *Ars poetica*.[140]

Building on the research of Rensselaer Lee, Caroline van Eck, in *Classical*

Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe, extended the work of Rensselaer

Lee by establishing several ways seventeenth century architects in Europe, especially

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[139] Rensselaer Wright Lee, *Ut Picture Poesis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co, 1967), 3.

[140] Ibid., Lee quotes from page 361 of Ars Poetica 361.

England, connected the appearance of their buildings with the effects a skilled orator could produce in his audience.[141] Buildings were created to serve a role in society not only by fulfilling practical purposes, but also to serve as a stage for civic life, to evoke memories or thoughts in the user and to act on the viewer through persuasion.[142] Probably the best-known example of an architectural structure's intention to persuade its audience is Bernini's Saint Peter's square in front of Saint Peter's in Rome constructed from 1656 to 1667. Bernini himself stated his intentions rhetorically: "it embraces Catholics to reinforce their belief, heretics to re-unite them with the Church, and agnostics to enlighten them with the true faith."[143] Bernini accomplished this feat by constructing the colonnade surrounding the piazza so that it resembles two arms embracing those within its circle. Thus the building speaks visually as it evokes a universal symbol of this human gesture. Bernini, like other baroque architects, also employed other methods of architectural persuasion in his works. Francesco Borromini did the same in the Oratory of the Philippians, publishing his intention of creating a façade which resembles the outstretched arms of a man in the *Opus architectonicum*.[144] In general early modern Europe architectural persuasion is a subtle process in which buildings arouse memories and associations, as well as guide the way they are

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[141] Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts*, 187.

[142] Ibid., 89.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Anthony Blunt, *Borromini* (London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 85, 91.

experienced by their audience.[145] The intent of the architect on behalf of the patron was to stir in the viewers an emotional identification with the building in order to encourage them to virtuous action.[146] The patrons of these buildings found this type of appeal to the audience useful as a building could then serve as propaganda.[147] In Chapter 4 we will explore Guarini's intentions in utilizing persuasion in San Lorenzo church.

Van Eck maintains that architectural theoreticians who had a rhetorical view of architecture during the Early Modern period were all highly educated in Aristotelian thought. Van Eck focuses her research on three theorists: Daniele Barbaro, Vincenzo Scamozzi and Gherardo Spini. Remember, Guarini was probably familiar with Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius as there was a copy of it in the Theatine library at S. Andrea della Valle where he spent the first four years of his novitiate (1641-1645).[148] Moreover, Guarini is thought to have held similar ideas on geometry as Barbaro including the insistence that both syllogism and demonstration must be present to prove architectural theory.[149] (Barbaro's was one of the earliest theoriticians to put an architectural twist on geometry and the value of geometrical demonstration.[150]) These circustances not only imply Guarini was aware of and appreciated Barbaro's work, but they also open up the idea that theoreticians were discussing geometry and architecture in terms of logic.

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[145] Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts*, 10.

[146] Ibid., 55.

[147] Ibid., 10.

[148] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine architecture," 38.

[149] Michele Sbacchi, "Euclidism and Theory of Architecture," *Nexus Network Journal,* 31.

[150] Ibid.

Scamozzi's architectural and theoretical works were also accessible to Guarini as he had lived in Venice as a subdeacon and completed his training at S. Nicolò da Tolentino, the Theatines' Venetian church (1645-1648) which had been begun by Scamozzi.[151] Moreover, both these men were well known. It is also important to note that Guarini's scientific education through the Theatine order was strongly grounded in Aristotelian thought, as well as scholastic thought, humanism and new science. Therefore the ideas of these men would not have been foreign to Guarini. It seems Guarini not only had access to these ideas, but may have also incorporated them into the way he thought about architecture.

In order to find a rhetorical aspect of architecture, architecture must be viewed as knowledge which can be communicated with the purpose to persuade others. According to van Eck, Barbaro, Scamozzi and Spini, who have a rhetorical sense of architecture, separate the design process of architecture from its construction, thereby claiming architectural design is the knowledge which directs the construction through the communication of ideas. Barbaro further considered architecture to be the product of reasoning which lead to contingent truths.[152] Moreover these three scholars shared an understanding of architectural design as a skill in a similar manner to rhetorical composition and comprehend architectural theory in the Aristotelian sense, as a science which serves a role in society.[153] This role of architecture was threefold: to house

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[151] Ibid., 17.

[152] Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts,* 38.

[153] Ibid., 32.

society's knowledge, to play a role in society, and to act upon its audience. All of these

activities had social repercussions.

Turning to Guarini's *Architettura civile,* we see a similar line of thinking in

Guarini. The first trattato of *Architettura civile* begins by restating Vitruvius' conviction

that architecture is a science:

> Nelle Facoltà, e Scienze prima d' ogn'altra cosa si dee cercare il loro ultimo
> scopo, ed a qual fine siano indirizzare, e pertanto l' Architettura, se la prendiamo come
> Vitruvio al Cap. I. Lib. I., è una Scienza, o cognizione ornate di più discipline, e varie
> erudizioni, che giudica l'opera delle alter Arti; ma se la riceviamo in più stretto
> significato, è una Facoltà, la quale si esercita in ordinare ogni sorta di Edifizi, secondo
> che insegna il Milliet nel suo Corso, o Mondo Matematico Tom. I. Tratt. X.. Egli è ben
> vero, che da questo Impiego, in cui si occupa l'Architetto ne siegue, che debba dar
> giudizio di quasi tutte le Arti, le quali si pongono in opera con proporzioni, e misure,
> perchè, tutte convengono in una comoda Abitazione, e ben disposta; onde conforme
> Vitruvio insegna nel predetto Cap. I. Lib. I. deve intendersi della Scultura, della Pittura,
> dell'Arte Fusoria, o Metallica, dell'Arte Ferraria, della Lapidaria, e molte alter, le quali
> s'impiegano o nell'Edifizio, o negli ornamenti di una comoda Abitazione, perlocchè
> l'Architetto perito dopo aver appreso I precetti dell'Arte propria, sarà necessario, che
> instruifcasi anche ne' precetti delle alter Arti, le quali egli pone in opera, affinchè possa
> impiegare gli Artefici, e l' opera loro secondo la esigenza delle sue Fabbriche.[154]

According to Guarini the science of architecture is employed in the design of buildings.

As the design of architecture requires knowledge from many different fields, it is the

product of the architect's reason and is therefore considered first and foremost as

knowledge. Guarini also maintains it is the role of architecture as an occupation to judge

and instruct the other arts which serve it similar to the orator's role which is to persuade

others. Moreover, it is clear that Guarini understands the role of the architect as being

separate from those who construct the building as it is the architect's responsibility to not

only have the knowledge of his own art but that of all the arts which are utilized in the

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[154] Guarino Guarini, *Architettura Civile del Padre D. Guarino Guarini ...* (Torino: Appresso
Gianfrancesco Mairesse, 1737), 1.

design so that he can lead those who actually construct the building. Guarini clarifies this

idea when he later states:

> Qualunque di queste parti, sia, o di Mecanica, o di Architettura, tiene due funzioni, ed occupasi in due maniere: l'una nel formar le Idee, o sia disegno, che fa per se stessa; l'altra è l'esecuzione, chef a per mezzo delle Arti, delle quali è Maestra, e le cui opera dirige, ed instruisce; poichè l'Architetto non fabbrica Muri, non Tetti, non Macchine, nè Statue, nè Porte, nè Serrature, nè Mattoni, ma comanda a tutti questi Artefici, che adopera secondo la occasione; e l'opere loro indirizza secondo la idea, o disegno, che vi ha format; e però delle idee di tutte queste Arti debb'esser perito, quanto basta, come dice Vitruvio Lib. I. Cap. I. citat.[155]

For Guarini architectural design is the idea, or knowledge base which directs the work.

In *Architettura civile* Guarini also expresses that it is not only the architect who

influences others, but also the employment of architectural design and the buildings

themselves. According to Guarini the practice of architecture is a reciprocal relationship

between humans and the structures they create:

> L'Architettura, sebbene dipenda dalla Matematica, nulla meno ella è un'Arte adulatrice, che non vuole punto per la ragione disgustare il senso: onde sebbene molte regole sue sieguano I suoi dettami, quando però si tratta, che le sue dimostrazioni offervate siano per offendere la vista, le cangia, le lascia, ed infine contradice allè medesime; onde non sarà infruttouoso per sapere quello, che debba osservare l'Architetto, vedere il fine dell'Architettura, ed il suo modo di procedere.[156]

According to Guarini the practice of architecture is an art which dictates rules to

create structures which please their audience. When these works cease to give pleasure,

the rules of architecture must change to meet changing preferences, even if the new rules

contradict those that came before. Thus architecture both influences and responds to the

society into which it is built in a similar manner as a dialog or an argument.   More

importantly, Guarini stresses that buildings affect their audience. When discussing

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[155] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* 2.

[156] Ibid., 3.

leaning towers he asserts, they "fanno però stupire gl'intelletti e rendono gli spetatori atterriti."[157] Thus these structures act on the viewer by inducing amazement and terror. An important question to consider is if architecture can act on an audience how does it communicate? In the case of leaning towers, it is clear Guarini, like other architects of the period, believes buildings can strongly affect the emotions of audience, causing them to ponder what they are experiencing.

Friedrich Polleroβ maintains that in general architecture of the Counter-Reformation had a persuasive purpose to draw the attention of viewers and arouse admiration.[158] Polleroβ further suggests that in the seventeenth century architecture spoke by visually transmitting ideas through the employment of iconography in imagery, such as in the use of emblems which communicate as symbols or figures of speech for example metaphors, similes, or personifications.[159] This type of ornament on a building could be used to persuade the viewer of the existence of certain qualities of a person or institution, such as their faith, knowledge, power, social position, wealth and so forth. Often architects worked with scholars to get the messaging correct.[160] There are many examples of this in Baroque architecture such as the papal emblems and allegorical paintings found in both secular and ecclesiastic architecture. One example of the persuasive use of ornament is Pietro da Cortona's painting *Allegory of Divine*

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[157] Ibid., III.xiii.1, 134.

[158] Friedrich Polleroβ, "Architecture and Rhetoric in the Work of Johann Bernhard von Erlach," in Max Reinhart, *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture* (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1998), 123.

[159] Polleroβ, "Architecture and Rhetoric," *Infinite Boundaries*, 121-146.

[160] Ibid., 126.

Providence and Barberini Power in the Barbarini Palace in Rome which proclaims the divine destiny of the Barbarini family and in particular Pope Urban VIII.

Another way a building could convey meaning was through the employment of architectural orders.[161] Columns had been one of the major components of architecture for ancient builders and they were also subject to very strict rules about their proportions, details and decoration. Early modern architects knew of the properties of the columns and their orders first and foremost through Vitruvius. However, since Vitruvius' descriptions of the orders were vague and difficult to understand and moreover there were no illustrations accompanying the text, throughout the Renaissance theorists continued to clarify the rules of their use. Serlio in Book Four of his treatise on architecture attempted to clarify and codify what Vitruvius had said and furthermore illustrated them in order with all of the basic information being also supplied on the drawings. Serlio based the column proportions on ancient ideas about human proportions, for example the Doric column was thought to be based on the proportions of a man, the Ionic column was based on a woman and the Corinthian column was based on a maiden. Therefore the orders were associated with the characteristics of the human type they were believed to represent. The Doric order was used most commonly for the ground floor of a building as it was considered to be the sturdiest. The Ionic and Corinthian orders were considered to be more refined and therefore carried more elevated connotations. Other later architectural theorists such as Vignola continued this practice of systematization of the orders. Therefore, the selection of a particular column order

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[161] For a general study of the architectural orders see John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

could speak to the status and character of the family or institution housed within a building.[162]   In general the more a building was admired for its appearance, the more respect the institution housed within it was given.

However, Guarini's view of the orders varies from previous ideas. While in Trattato III. Chapter III, Observation 2. Guarini quotes Vitruvius' views on the Greek orders and even states a preference for the Corinthian order, Guarini's systemization of the orders is quite different. According to Guarini:

> Gli ordini dell'Architettura secondo Carlo Cesare Osio altro non sono, che un compimento di varie parti proporzionali, ch'esce dalla sodezza de'muri, il quale diletta, e soddisfa l'occhio di chi lo mira; ed è ben difficile sapere qual sia la radice di questo diletto, non meno che difficile ella è la notizia della radice della bellezza d'un vago vestito; massime che talvolta veggiamo, che gli uomini cangiano mode, e che quello, che prima era ammirato per bello, vien poi abborrito per diforme, e quello, che piace a una nazione dispiace all'altra, e nello stesso nostro affare veggiamo, che l'Architettura Romana prima spiacque ai Goti, e l'Architettura Gotica a noi stessi dispiace; onde par necessario, Avanti che procediamo più oltre, de vedere a quall'occhio si debba aggradire, e se a qualunque, o pur solamente a' giudiziosi, e ragionevoli, e sovra tutto intendenti dell'arte.[163]

Guarini maintains that fashions come in and out of style, even for the use of the orders. Therefore, an architect must pay attention to the relevance of style in the selection and design of the orders. While Guarini accepted a similar view of the Greek orders, he extended the system of orders to include the Tuscan and Composite orders, and also added the Gothic and Atlantic orders. Moreover, Guarini included designs for each of these orders that were uniquely his. Therefore, building on the ideas of P. Miliet Dechales, a French mathematician whom Guarini cites, Guarini bases his systematic approach to the orders on ancient geometrical order and harmonic proportions whenever

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[162] Ibid., 142, 143.

[163] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* III.II.13, 83.

it is possible.[164] Guarini's orders are much more complex and reasoned than previous standards, and therefore they could have been seen by his patrons to be even more persuasive. The uniqueness of Guarini's columns would speak of his and his patron's erudite learning, as well as serve to draw attention and admiration to the buildings they adorned.

This view of architecture may explain the reason Carlo Emanuel II, the Duke of Savoy, hired Guarini to build San Lorenzo. Before Guarini left Paris for Turin he had already developed an international reputation for both his architectural accomplishments and his scholarly publications due to Ste. Anne and *Placita philosophica*. Moreover, his design of Ste. Anne was known to be unique and elaborate. This may be the reason the royal family rejected Guarini's design for the façade of San Lorenzo as it would have been more elaborate and thus drawn more attention and admiration than the royal palace to which it was attached.

It was for the benefit of his royal patrons and the church that Guarini employs the use of emblems and symbols in his designs. Through the use of symbolism and metaphor in Guarini's buildings he could persuade the viewer of the patron's prestige and power by instilling in the viewer's mind certain images such as through the use of heraldic or dynastic imagery and his selection and design of the orders. Moreover, it could cause the viewer to act in socially desirable ways by inciting virtuous action[165]—by evoking admiration in the viewer towards the state and by awing the viewer into compliance.

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[164] James McQuillan, "Guarino Guarini and his Grand Philosophy of Sapientia and Mathematics," *Nexus Network Journal* 11(2009), 347.

[165] Van Eck, "Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts," 94.

Similar reactions could occur in viewers when they encountered ecclesiastical motifs. Guarini's buildings were far from unique in their employment of visual rhetoric—all baroque Catholic churches used this form of communication with their audience extensively.

Guarini's use of metaphor in his treatises is quite interesting. Susan Klaiber points out that in Guarini's *Placita philosophica* he uses architectural metaphors to illustrate philosophical issues.[166] In a section on logic Guarini gives this example:

> Sicuti potest Architectus considerare de lapidibus, ex quibus conficienda est domus, an sint duri & aquae resistentes; & haec speculation nullo pacto ordinatur ad praxim secumdùm se, cùm tame nab Architecto possit ordinary. . .quòd ex iis Conclusionibus potest deduci, <u>ergo taliter conficiendus syllogismus</u>; & haec vocatur Logica docens: ut & potest facere Architectus; <u>ergo tales lapides, qui aquae resistunt, ponenda ad partem domus exteriorem</u>. . .quòd potest deinde Logicus his praeceptis uti, sicuti Architectur; haec est Logica utens, quae utitur in qualibet scientiá praeceptis Logicis.[167]

Here Guarini uses an architectural analogy to make his point. It also suggests that for Guarini an architect's work is similar to a philosopher's or even an orator's in that he must use logic in his constructions. During the Baroque period, the ideal of a universal knowledge played a role in both the humanistic and scientific thought.[168] Roger Bacon (1214–1294), whose writings Guarini was familiar with[169], in his *Scientia experimentalis* developed a universal method of discovery.[170] He attributed his empirical method to "the

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[166] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 134.

[167] Guarino Guarini, *Placita Philosophica,* 17. According to Susan Klaiber another example can be found on p. 266.

[168] Philip P. Wiener ed., *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (New York: Scribner, 1973), 431.

[169] John Beldon Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud: Relic and Ritual in Turin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 114, 116.

[170] Wiener ed., *Dictionary of the History of Ideas,* 434.

same relation to the other sciences as the science of navigation to the carpenter's art and the military art to that of the engineer . . . It directs other sciences as its handmaids, and therefore the whole power of speculative science is attributed especially to this science."[171] Thus in early modern Europe knowledge was applied more universally and divisions between disciplines were not as distinctly drawn as they are today. Guarini and many of his contemporaries would not have considered it unusual to regard the principles and methods of every field he was knowledgeable about as analogous to one another. Therefore it would be plausible for Guarini to view his buildings as rhetoric in much more complex ways than those already discussed.

One example of Guarini's complex use of rhetoric in his architecture is in reference to the ornament in the Temple of the Shroud. In this chapel Guarini uses an abundance of geometric shapes such as circles, triangles, and pentagons. John Beldon Scott points out that for Guarini these shapes are largely not symbols.[172] Instead, Guarini maintains geometry "teaches how to deploy the numbers of the intellect by means of a certain kind of argumentation that permits the discovery of other truths."[173] For Guarini, geometry unifies the parts of a design depending on the naturally occurring relationships between them.[174] Thus Guarini uses geometrical operations for creative stimulation in the design process. Also, like many of his contemporaries such as Pascal, Guarini held

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[171] Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius,* Part VI. Trans. R.B. Burke (Philadelphia, 1928), 633.

[172] Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*, 157.

[173] Guarini, *Placita Philosophica,* 179.

[174] Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*, 157. Scott is quoting Tavassi La Greca 1968, 450-52.

the conviction that geometry presented a path to "other truths," or absolute truths.[175] It was the ability of geometry to derive at truths and perhaps its visual properties that many intellectuals held the view that the guiding principles of geometry could be applied in any field of inquiry to exact truths. Mario Bettini, a Jesuit missionary and mathematician whom Guarini was familiar with, maintained geometrical theorems and demonstration could direct one towards the divine. Therefore, geometrical forms which were by God's design an essential part of the universe—and embedded into structures such as a church-- could be viewed as evidence for spiritual concepts to lead men through reason to salvation.[176]   Besides mathematics, philosophy and architecture, this way of thinking appears in many contexts such as devotional rhetoric.

Guarini and Longinus

As the structure of San Lorenzo is so peculiar, one might suspect that Guarini's motivations behind its design are unique for the time period, especially when his wide breath of knowledge is taken into consideration. As discussed earlier in this paper, Guarini may have been in contact with the various discourses on Longinus' manuscript while he was living in Paris and then continued to be knowledgeable about it while in Turin due to the immense popularity of Boileau's 1674 translation of *On the sublime*. Within Guarini's *Architettura civile* there are many indications that Longinus' critique on sublimity in writing may be the source of Guarini's unique architectural vision.

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[175] Guarini, *Placita Philosophica,* 179.

[176] Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud,* 158.

It is actually in Vittone's Preface to *Architettura civile* that we find our first

passage bringing Guarini together with the sublime:

> Alla qual cosa provedere volendo il nostro Padre D. Guarino Guarini, ha composta la qui annessa Architettura, nella quale non solamente fa comparire la bellezza di tal arte, ma di soprappiù minutamente dimostra la maniera di pore in esecuzione quanto ha di vago l'arte medesima, ed essendo tale l'intenzione di formare un architetto, lo va innalzando a poco a poco dale cose più facili e piane alle più difficili e *sublimi*, ed acciò sappia quello che far deve, lo va illuminando in tutto ciò che deve operare.[177] [My italics]

Here, fifty years after Guarini's death, Vittone, the architectural heir of Guarini,

states that Guarini created his architecture from things that are difficult and sublime.

While Vittone could not have known Guarini's thoughts, several questions arise from this

statement: What exactly does Vittone understand "sublime" to mean? What are these

sublime things? And, was this the intention of Guarini, as Vittone states?

In *Architettura civile* one learns that Guarini himself uses the term
"sublime:"

> La Cornice 23. È stata adoperata da me con ottimo effetto, e la 24. Nel Palazzo del Serenissimo Principe di Carignano a Torino; la 25. Pur in un Palazzo di detto Principe a Racconigi; la 26. È quella, che il Serlio al lib. 4. Del cap. 9., ed altri attribuiscono all' ordine compost, che nell' Anfiteatro, ò Coliseo Romano è la più *sublime,* e corona l'ordine compost: Ma la sua *semplicità* ben appalesa non doversi dire composta, ma fatta di capriccio, come quella, che coronava le ultime cime, ed intagliata, ò distinta sottilmente sarebbe stata troppo minuta; e però Palladio, ed il Viola, ed il Vignola, ed altri s'ingegnano d'inventarla in altro modo, come diremo al suo luogo.[178] [My itlaics]

Here Guarini asserts that the cornice in the Roman Coliseum is the most sublime.

If one just considers the first part of the sentence, it is difficult to determine how Guarini

is using "sublime." We can attempt to determine Guarini's usage of the word by

referencing its definition in *Vocabolario degli* a*ccademia della Crusca*. In the first three

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[177] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* "Avviso a' lettori."

[178] Guarini, *Architettura Civile*, III.V.8., 98.

editions printed in 1612 through 1691 *sublime* is defined: Alto, eccelso; per ispecaulativo, eccellente. And, in the fourth edition (1729-1738) sublime is defined as: Alto, eccelso; per elevato, eccellente nella speculazione. Several meanings seem to fit Guarini's ideas about the cornice on the coliseum, especially high and excellent, except that Guarini continues by explaining that the cornice has a simplicity that is composed of fancy. In fact, before 1674 the word *sublime* had multiple meanings.[179] While it is difficult to determine Guarini's exact meaning, at least we know he was familiar with the term. It is interesting to note that even after Boileau's translation of *On the sublime* was published, there isn't any significant change to the definitions in *Vocabolario degli accademia della Crusca*. This seems to suggest that at least in Italy, the Longinian sense of sublime was not commonly used. Perhaps this accounts for the reason why Guarini is not explicit about Longinus' compositional methods in *architettura civile*. Because the treatise was meant for a wider audience, any comparison between Longinus and architectural composition would probably be lost on most of the readers.

> In regard to composition Longinus states:

> We have had sufficient proof that a good many writers of prose and poetry who have no natural genius—often, indeed, no great inborn talent—use commonplace, popular words, and, as a rule, no unusual language; yet by the mere arrangement and harmonizing of these words they endow their work with dignity, distinction, and the appearance of not being ordinary.[180]

Thus, Longinus maintains the sublime can be employed through the artful blend of even simple words as what transports the audience is the effect of the arrangement on the audience. Clearly what is important here is an effective composition. This was a familiar

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[179] Cronk, *The Classical Sublime*, 89.

[180] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing*, 53.

concept which could apply to architecture too (columns, domes, etc.). Perhaps that is

what Guarini points out when he says the cornice "was used by me with great effect . . .

its *simplicity* becomes apparent one does not have to say composed, but composed of

fancy, such as, that which is crowned with the latest tops, and carved, subtly

distinguished or would have been too minute." It is clearly the composition which

creates the sublime cornice, and seems to be important that the cornice has an effect on

its audience.

Further placing an emphasis on the composition of the parts of a building, Guarini

states:

> The beauty of buildings consists in a well-proportioned harmony of the parts, to secure
> which, the Ancients, with Vitruvius, gave certain fixed rules, some of which are
> assertorial, so strict that they may not be departed from by even a fingernail's breadth;
> but I, judging discreetly and from what happens in every other profession, think that you
> can both correct some of the ancient rules and add others; and experience itself
> demonstrates it in the first place, because Roman Antiquities are not precisely in
> accordance with the rules of Vitruvius, or the proportions of Vignola or the other
> moderns who follow the ancient literature in every feature; but as may be seen, many new
> proportions and many new ways of building have been invented in our own times which
> the Ancients did not use.[181]

Thus the importance in designing a building is the composition. It is also interesting that

Guarini views the rules of architecture as fluid, needing at times to be corrected by the

use of new technologies. This passage also shows how in *Architettura civile* Guarini

builds on past architectural treatises such as those by Vitruvius.

While Vitruvius, Palladio, Serlio and Vignola are mentioned throughout Guarini's

treatise, Philibert de l'Orme, who may have also inspired Guarini, is not mentioned.[182]

Guarini does not accept any of these treatises in their entirety, but reasons through them,

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[181] Guarini, *Architettura Civile*, I.iii.6, 152. Meeks translation.

[182] Ibid., 152.

accepting what he agrees with and rejecting what he does not. Guarini's creative license

with the architectural orders was preceded by de l'Orme's *Architecture* (1567) which was

published in Paris. In his treatise, de l'Orme criticized architects who blindly follow the

Greek and Roman precedents set up by Vitruvius. Moreover, he proposed a French

Order to be added to these standards which took into consideration French tastes and

materials. De l'Orme's rethinking of Italian principles in slightly different terms was not

unusual for the period. Charles Perrault's edition of Vitruvius (1641-1700) provides a

parallel example of a reshaping of a canonical staple of theory in Paris. In *Dix livres*

d'architecture de Vitruve Perrault puts a spin on Vitruvius architectural treatise that the

French would have recognized, making it substantially different, yet rich and valid.   The

works of de l'Orme and Perrault would have been interesting to readers on their own

terms.

 Like de l'Orme, Guarini adds to the traditional pantheon of Orders by suggesting

an inclusion of a Gothic and an Atlantic Order, and even includes several of his own

unique creations to the mix. Thus, Guarini envisions a much broader and more creative

collection of sources for modern architects to draw inspiration from. Furthermore,

Guarini's non-traditional views demonstrate his proclivity to seek out varied sources and

reason through information. While Guarini may have been influenced by l'Orme's work,

he may have also been heeding Longinus's advice. According to Longinus:

> Let us consider now whether we can point to any other factor which can make writing
> great. There are, in every situation, a number of features which combine to make up the
> texture of events. To select the most vital of these and to relate them to one another to
> form a unified whole is an essential cause of great writing.[183]

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[183] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing*, 17.

Longinus calls for the author to take what is most vital from various sources and combines them into a unified whole. This is also typical of both literary and artistic theory in the seventeenth century. Guarini adheres to this same process when he writes his treatises, as well as when he designs buildings. What makes Guarini's architecture so intriguing is his synthesis of disparate sources into a creation which feels entirely new. Also in respect to Guarini's own innovative designs which he includes in his Orders, it is possible he is drawing on Longinus' call for the employment of imagination to attain "weight, dignity and realism" in sublime writing.[184] While both of these points are certainly not unique to Longinus, they demonstrate at the very least Longinus' thoughts on the sublime would not have been completely foreign to Guarini.   Instead, Longinus' ideas would have easily blended with Guarini's existing views on design—and, typically, with many others.

Philibert de l'Orme's *Architecture* was not the only non-traditional source Guarini is considered by scholars to have used in his treatises without acknowledging them. Rudolf Wittkower introduced the idea that in Guarini's *Euclides adauctus* he references the work of Dionysius the Areopagite when he states: *"Thaumaturga Mathematicorum miraculorum insigni, verèque Regali architectura coruscat"* [The magic of wondrous mathematicians shines brightly in the marvelous and truly regal architecture].[185] The term 'wondrous mathematicians' is a direct reference to Dionysius whose 'miraculous Mathematicians' are celestial beings who mediate between the human mind and the

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[184] Ibid.*,* 23.

[185] Rudolf Wittkower, *Studies in the Italian Baroque* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 186.

Divine.[186] Besides quoting from a lesser-known source, it also shows Guarini's interest in antique sources—even more obscure ones like *On the sublime.* Perhaps similar to the way Guarini does not mention Philibert de l'Orme and Dionysius the Areopagite by name in his treatises yet calls on their ideas, he is doing the same with Longinus.

It is interesting that in both *Architettura civile* and *On the sublime* the authors describe the power of psychological phenomena to strongly affect viewers. In *On the Sublime* Longinus states:

> The effect of elevated language upon an audience is not persuasion but transport. At every time and in every way imposing speech, with the spell it throws over us, prevails over that which aims at persuasion and gratification. Our persuasions we can usually control, but the influences of the sublime bring power and irresistible might to bear, and reign supreme over every hearer. Similarly, we see skill in invention, and due order and arrangement of matter, emerging as the hard-won result not of one thing nor of two, but of the whole texture of the composition, whereas Sublimity flashing forth at the right moment scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt, and at once displays the power of the orator in all its plenitude.[187]

Thus, the sublime is an experience that affects its audience through transport and not persuasion. Transport is a force which the audience is unable to resist.   Moreover Longinus states: "Our soul is naturally uplifted by the [sublime]; we receive it as a joyous offering; we are filled with delight and pride as if we had ourselves created what we heard."[188] Thus, as the viewer identifies with the sublime, he swells with joy and pride. Similarly, Guarini is concerned with the effect architecture has on its viewers when he states: "Architecture has as its purpose the gratification of the senses."[189] In

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[186] McQuillan, "Guarino Guarini and his Grand Philosophy," 345-346.

[187] Longinus, and Roberts, *On the sublime*, 43.

[188] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 10.

[189] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* I.iii.7, 6.

fact, Guarini repeatedly maintains Architecture appeals to the senses throughout his treatise—it provides pleasure.[190]

Another common point between the treatises in question is a belief on the part of each author that a work can be manipulated to affect the audience. Longinus maintains, "Nature supplies the first main underlying elements in all cases [of the sublime], but study enables one to define the right moment and appropriate measure on each occasion, and also provides steady training and practice."[191] Thus Longinus maintains that although the sublime is originally found in nature through training and practice, one can learn to produce the sublime. Similarly Guarini devotes Trattato III, chapter xxi to ways an architect can manipulate the audience's vision. Here Guarini makes the following comments: "white objects appear larger than dark or black ones, and brighter" and "how to proportion a façade which appears defective by reason of the site," as well as many others.[192] How architecture is perceived by its viewers is one of the most importance aspects of design for Guarini. Moreover, it is clear that Guarini believes he can create a specific response in an audience. Again this way of thinking is not unique—Alberti talks about putting a church on an elevated spot to give it an imposing quality. Thus, many of Longinus' ideas on composition would have been easy to adopt for architects, including Guarini, in the late seventeenth century.

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[190] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and His Architecture*, 155.

[191] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 5.

[192] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and His Architecture*, 154.

In Guarini's discussions on Gothic architecture one finds even more similarities between his ideas and Longinus's. Longinus proposes that there are five sources which are most likely to produce sublimity--great thoughts, strong emotions, certain figures of thought and speech, noble diction, and artistic and figurative language.[193] Of these sources a "natural high-mindedness" is the most important. This is the ability of the author to create great conceptions.[194] Longinus asserts that passages which "represent the divine as truly pure and mighty" are superior for producing the sublime.[195] It is also important to note that according to Longinus, emotional intensification must be combined with greatness of thought to be effective. Moreover, both sources of sublimity are considered to be innate dispositions.[196] In *Architettura civile* Guarini may have had these thoughts in mind as he discussed the Gothic order and its proportions by stating, [Gothic Architecture] "had as its object to erect buildings that were in fact very strong, but would seem weak and as though they needed a miracle to keep them standing . . . which, if they do not actually delight the eye, nevertheless amaze the intellect and terrify the spectators."[197] Here Guarini recognizes and appreciates the strong emotion he experienced when viewing Gothic architecture. Also when describing how Gothic architecture causes great emotions—awe and terror—in the viewer, he joins it with the

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[193] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 10.

[194] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 11.

[195] Cronk, *The Classical Sublime,* 96.

[196] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 10 and 19.

[197] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* III.xiii.1. Meeks translation.

idea that it appears miraculous thus connecting it to a great thought since for Guarini only God can create a miracle.

It is important to note that Tanneguy Le Fèvre, the most celebrated Greek scholar in Paris of his time, published the first critical edition of *On the sublime* (1663)[198] — while Guarini was in Paris. In his text Le Fèvre translated the Greek word *hupsos* as *sublime.*[199] Le Fèvre also maintained that since sublimity is similar to the soul (and not the body, like grandeur is) it is distinct from traditional rhetorical theory. Perhaps most important, Le Fèvre links the sublime with scenes that inspire strong violent emotion, resembling the manner in which the sublime style of rhetoric was linked to tactics of persuasion which utilized emotion appeals.[200] If Guarini was aware of Le Fèvre's critique of Longinus this could account for the way he speaks of Gothic architecture in such dramatic terms especially when he asserted that Gothic buildings look as if they, "needed a miracle to keep them standing" and leaning towers "amaze the intellect and terrify the spectators."[201] Not only do Guarini's words seem to embody Le Fèvre's understanding of the sublime, but they also seem to echo Longinus' approach to the sublime: "Great writing does not persuade; it takes the reader out of himself. The startling and amazing is more powerful than the charming and persuasive."[202] As demonstrated by Guarini's description of Gothic architecture, it is possible he

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[198] Cronk, *The Classical Sublime,* 96.

[199] Cronk, *The Classical Sublime,* 96.

[200] Cronk, *The Classical Sublime,* 96.

[201] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* III.xiii.1. Meeks translation.

[202] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 4.

understands it as presenting an emotional appeal (terror) combined with greatness of thought (God's miracle)—the same methods Longinus uses as examples to explain the most important source of the sublime, greatness of thought.[203] Furthermore, Longinus maintains that terrifying references are useless unless they can be understood allegorically and are pious.[204] The "sublime" dome of San Lorenzo could satisfy both of these conditions. Also important to note is Guarini's suggestion that the effect of leaning towers, such as the Tower of Pisa, is not only to terrify the viewers but also to amaze the intellect, as only great minds can recognize sublimity. Guarini's description of Gothic architecture in his treatise was unique for its time. During the early modern period leading up to Guarini, Gothic architecture was largely looked at disparagingly.[205] Longinus' manuscript, especially Le Fèvre's critical edition, may account for Guarini's very unique statements about Gothic architecture, as well as leaning towers.

Benefits of Using the Sublime

Guarini may have had reason to believe he was capable of producing the sublime in his architecture. First of all, in *On the sublime,* Longinus does not limit the sublime to writing, as Boileau argues. In section XX Longinus uses a building analogy in discussing a writing sample which fails to evoke the sublime when he states:

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[203] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 14-19.

[204] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 13.

[205] E. S. de Beer, "Gothic: Origin and Diffusion of the Term; The Idea of Style in Architecture." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.* 11(1948), 143-162. Paul Frankl, *The Gothic*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

These writers have sifted out the most significant details on the basis of merit, so to speak, and joined them harmoniously without inserting between them anything irrelevant, frivolous, or artificial; such additions spoil the total effect just as the imperfect adjustment of massive stones that are fitted together into a wall spoils the whole structure if chinks and fissures are left between them.[206]

Looking to Guarini's passage in *Placita philosophica* once more it seems that, similar to Longinus, Guarini himself had compared the building of Architecture with the construction of logic.

Sicuti potest Architectus considerare de lapidibus, ex quibus conficienda est domus, an sint duri & aquae resistentes; & haec speculation nullo pacto ordinatur ad praxim secumdùm se, cùm tame nab Architecto possit ordinary. . .quòd ex iis Conclusionibus potest deduci, ergo taliter conficiendus syllogismus; & haec vocatur Logica docens: ut & potest facere Architectus; ergo tales lapides, qui aquae resistunt, ponenda ad partem domus exteriorem. . .quòd potest deinde Logicus his praeceptis uti, sicuti Architectur; haec est Logica utens, quae utitur in qualibet scientiá praeceptis Logicis.[207]

There are strong similarities between Longinus' and Guarini's views on the sympathy between architectural and linguistic constructions. As Longinus' aim is to provide proof for the creation of sublimity, he uses the building analogy to support his explanation. Guarini's goal is to associate the role of the architect with the rhetorician therefore he would not need to bring in a discussion of the sublime. Moreover, as just pointed out, it would probably be lost on his audience.

Longinus also points out that the sublime must first be recognized by the author before he can relate the experience to his audience: "great writing is the echo of a noble mind. Hence the thought alone can move one to admiration even without being uttered, because of its inherent nobility. For example, the silence of Ajax in the Nekuia is superb,

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[206] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 19.

[207] Guarini, *Placita Philosophica,* 17. According to Susan Klaiber another example can be found on p. 266.

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greater than any speech he could make."[208] As Guarini was a highly educated man, he

would have an affinity with Longinus' statement suggesting that it required a

distinguished intellect to produce the sublime. Moreover, it is important that in this

passage Longinus points out that sublimity can be produced by silence, thus being

produced by the absence of articulation—one of the ways in which architecture conveys a

message as it directs the eye and speaks of things belonging to a higher level. Finally in

regard to this passage, Longinus states that sublimity draws admiration which is the goal

of the architect and his patron in the construction of an architectural project.

Like the one just discussed, many of Longinus' passages which demonstrate

sublimity are extremely visual and appeal to the senses.   Most importantly for Longinus,

the sublime does not reside in structured rules but in the intellectual concept. As Guarini

repeatedly demonstrates in his treatises, he reasons through his sources. Therefore it is

likely that he would not blindly accept Boileau's critique of Longinus. Instead Guarini

would have probably considered other sources as well, including Longinus' original text

since as a Theatine scholar he would have probably had knowledge of the Greek

language.

There is another important reason we might suspect Guarini saw himself as

capable of producing the sublime. As mentioned before, Longinus maintains the first

source of sublimity is high-mindedness. Longinus asserts "we must nevertheless educate

the mind to greatness as far as possible and impregnate it, as it were with noble

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[208] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 12.

exaltation."[209] Guarini would may have been able to identify with this explanation as he

was not only well read, but he was actually introduced into architecture as a scholar and

even taught literature, math, philosophy and theology during different periods of his life.

In fact, Guarini was first and foremost seen as a priest and intellectual by his

contemporaries.[210] In 1674 a sonnet was even written about Guarini in which the first

stanza reads:

> Al Tuo vasto saper Saggio GUARINO
> Quanto di più sublime il Ciel nasconde,
> Quanto di più secreto il Mar confonde,
> Quanto produsse il Creator Divino

This passage demonstrates that, at least intellectually, Guarini himself was considered by

at least one of his contemporaries as sublime. The poet's definition of the sublime here is

probably the Italian usage referring to one who has a truer understanding. However, if

Guarini agreed with this appraisal he may have also considered himself to be capable of

producing sublimity in his architecture in the sense understood by Longinus.

Longinus provides several practical benefits of sublimity, the most importance of

which is the power of the sublime in forcing the understanding of truth upon those who

experience it:

> Great writing does not persuade; it takes the reader out of himself. The startling and
> amazing is more powerful than the charming and persuasive, if it is indeed true that to be
> convinced is usually within our control whereas amazement is the result of an irresistible
> force beyond the control of any audience. We become aware of a writer's inventive skill,
> the structure and arrangement of his subject matter, not from one or two passages, but as
> these qualities slowly emerge from the texture of the whole work. But greatness appears

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[209] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 11, 12.

[210] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine architecture," 1, 7. Klaiber cites the sonnet in Girolamo
Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese,* Modena, 1783, III, 37-38, see P. A. Arnaldo, *La galleria, Overo Poesie
Varie,* Turin, 1674, 212.

suddenly; like a thunderbolt it carries all before it and reveals the writer's full power in a flash.[211]

Sublimity is stronger than mere persuasion; it transports the viewer to the understanding of truth instantly through a force that is beyond their control. Moreover, it is not necessary that the viewer understand the concept of sublimity for its effectiveness. Therefore, through sublimity viewers would be enlightened to the truth even without their knowledge of the principles behind the composition. Beyond practical considerations, Guarini may have also had theological reasons for following Longinus' advice, after all what higher truth is there than the word? Moreover, while Guarini was in Paris, the most frequently discussed passage of *On the sublime* discussed by scholars was the example of the *Fiat lux.*[212]   This passage was part of Longinus' explanation of how to portray divine beings[213], thereby providing a way to portray God. This idea will be pickup up once more in our discussion on San Lorenzo.

Longinus' words also reflect the mission of personal reform held by the Theatine Order, especially when he states:

> Our soul is naturally uplifted by the truly great; we receive it as a joyous offering; we are filled with delight and pride as if we had ourselves created what we heard . . . The truly great can be pondered again and again; it is difficult, indeed impossible to withstand, for the memory of it is strong and hard to efface.

The effect of sublimity on viewers can be understood as a meditative device, similar to that of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises.* This meditative device however, is forced upon the spectator who experiences it.

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[211] Longinus and Grube, *On Great Writing,* 4.

[212] Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime*, 38.

[213] Ibid.

Conclusion

Whereas people had long been thinking about the connection between rhetoric and the arts, especially painting, Guarini seems to have applied this association to architecture as evidenced by his thoughts on architecture, especially Gothic architecture. Guarini may have been familiar with Longinus' *On the sublime* through counter reformation teachings, critical discourse, Latin translations, Tanneguy Le Fèvre's critical edition, Boileau's translation or even Longinus' manuscript itself during his stay in Paris. If this is the case it may help explain some of the passages scholars often comment on in Guarini's *Architettura civile* as being unusual for the time period such as his liberal views of the orders and his comments about Gothic architecture. Guarini shares many views with architects that implement rhetorical methods in their designs, such as his belief that architecture is a science and as such is knowledge which can be communicated through his medium. Furthermore, he considers the aim of architecture to be the role it plays in society: to serve the practical needs of its users; to provide a stage for civic life; to trigger memories or thoughts in its audience and to encourage the viewer to act in desired ways.

Guarini accomplishes his aim of creating persuasive architecture through the application of ornament which communicates to the viewer in a manner similar to the ways symbols or figures of speech do such as metaphors, allegories, similes, etc. The ornament on his buildings also has typological interpretations denoting the social status of the inhabitants of the building and can simply be used to draw attention to the building

and its occupants. Guarini is not alone in this manner of design, other baroque architects worked the same way, such as Bernini, Borromini, Cortona and so forth.

Guarini also seems to employ the use of metaphors in both his treatises and buildings in a more complex and reasoned manner than most Baroque architects. In *Placita philosophica,* Guarini employs architectural analogies to make scientific points similar to the way an orator uses logic in his arguments. Guarini's borrowing of methodology from one discipline for use in another was not unusual for this period. Many scholars shared a belief in the ideal of a universal knowledge. Like Roger Bacon before him, Guarini attributed a universal empirical method to the sciences. However, for an architect Guarini's views were perhaps more unique largely due to his occupation as a priest of the Theatine Order. As a member of the Theatines Guarini was highly educated in multiple fields, and after his education was completed, Guarini began to teach. Guarini's scholarly lifestyle enabled him to think and write about, as well as construct architecture in highly sophisticated ways.

Guarini's erudite approach to architecture is exhibited in many ways in his architecture, particularly in his use of geometry in his churches to reveal God's design for the microcosm of the church and the macrocosm of the cosmos. However, Guarini's mathematical inclinations are not sufficient to fully explain all of the unique features in San Lorenzo Church which are the end result of a progression that seems to have its origins in Ste. Anne, such as the illusion of the floating dome, the radical piercing of the dome, and the use of autonomous zones in the vertical arrangement of the interior of the nave. Moreover, I hope to provide an explanation for the radical variation between the

exterior and interior appearances of the dome. By turning to critical discussions on Longinus' *On the sublime,* perhaps we can begin to fill in some of the gaps left by other approaches.

Guarini uses the word sublime once in his treatise when he calls the Corinthian cornice on the Roman Colosseum sublime. Using the term sublime in an architectural treatise was extremely rare for the period. Therefore, it is important to look further into the possibility that Guarini was familiar with Longinus' *On the sublime* and perhaps used the compositional ideas contained within it.

By comparing the scholarly discourse on the sublime with Guarini's *Architettura civile,* one begins to see many similarities in thought. There are also other possible subtle similarities between the two treatises. Both authors borrow segments of their sources and reject what is untruthful or unnecessary. Both authors describe the power of psychological phenomena in works to strongly affect viewers and moreover hold a belief that an artist has the ability to create a work that is able to manipulate its audience.

Longinus maintains that the advantage of using the sublime is that it affects its audience through transport and not persuasion, thus it is more powerful as the recipient has no resistance in the matter. Guarini probably would have seen this aspect of sublimity as an important benefit because the sublime could be viewed as a means to force viewers to act. Through sublimity Guarini's churches could have a much stronger impact on the evangelization of the audience which was the aim of the Theatine Order.

As evidenced by a poem written to honor Guarini in 1674, Guarini was seen by at least one of his contemporaries as sublime. Even though the context of the usage of the

word most likely was the more common sense of a person who has a truer understanding, if Guarini agreed with this appraisal, he could have believed he had the capability to create sublime works after reading *On the sublime*, whether in the original Greek form or translations in Latin or French. The implications of this supposition are great. If Guarini did intentionally employ sublimity in his architectural projects, it would be the earliest known instance of this type. Moreover, it would be further evidence of the influence of French scholars on Italian architecture and the fluid transfer of ideas during the seventeenth century. Most importantly it would add insight to the reasoning behind the spectacular works of art Guarini created during his lifetime. In the next chapter we will explore how these ideas may have played out in the architecture of San Lorenzo.

CHAPTER 3: SAN LORENZO: VEHICLE OF PERSUASION

Unanswered Questions

In 1680 Emanuele Filiberto Amedeo, Prince of Carignano, named Guarino Guarini his personal theologian. In a document affirming Guarini's nomination the Prince stated:

> . . . his great ability showed in his majestic design for the Capella del' SS. Sindone, that [unreadable section] its perfection through his care and assistance that he has untiringly continued, meriting the applause of their Royal Highnesses, of all the more illustrious architects that have seen and examined it with admiration, in the design of his Church of San Lorenzo raised with ingenious and extraordinary rules, and also in that of our palace, as singular and out of the ordinary as our castello of Racconigi, that has no less bizarrie and invention, above the other parts which unite in it the highest philosophic sciences both moral and theological . . .[214]

By bizarrie the prince means "exceptionally imaginative" which was the way the word was used in the parlance of the time.[215] The prince, like many of his contemporaries, saw Guarini's architecture, including San Lorenzo, as masterful, unique and creative (Fig. 2). He also understood San Lorenzo as conveying the highest moral and theological sciences—as if San Lorenzo could speak. While the prince gave a rhetorical form to support his decision to give Guarini an exalted position, it is also clear that he understood San Lorenzo to be extraordinary. Here the prince does not single out any particular feature which made San Lorenzo so worthy of his admiration, but others like Nicodemus Tessin did: "La Santa Cecilia alla Piazza del Palazzo e anche curvata in maniera molto strana all'interno e ha una cupola oltremodo strana, ed e da meravigliarsi come la cupola

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[214] Elwin Clark Robinson, "Guarino Guarini's Church of San Lorenzo in Turin," 34. Robinson translates the original from Baudi di Vesse, p. 555.

[215] Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*, 191. Scott derives this translation from Grassi and Pepe 1978, 1:79.

possa sostenersi."[216] [The Santa Cecilia in the Palace Square is also curved in a very strange manner inside and has a very strange dome; it is amazing how the dome can hold itself up]. It seems the nave with its unique dome drew the attention of those who saw it, even other architects (Figs. 15, 16).

In fact, still today scholars are struggling to explain Guarini's reasoning behind the unique appearance of San Lorenzo. Especially troubling are the illusion of a floating dome, the disjointed feeling of the vertical arrangement of the nave and its dome, and the radical opening of the surface of the dome. Most scholars today agree it is highly probable that Guarini's vast knowledge, experience and travels, as well as his knack for synthesizing ideas, enabled him to create edifices which were as complicated as the man himself. While these three features of San Lorenzo are difficult to explain, Longinus's manuscript on the sublime might provide a way of doing so.

Longinus as Inspiration

Turning to Longinus's manuscript one can see that Guarini, like many of his contemporaries, would have already been familiar with many of the ideas expressed in the document, such as when Longinus calls for authors to emulate the great writers of the past: "For as we emulate them, these eminent personages are present in our minds and raise us to a higher level of imaginative power."[217] Guarini, like other architects of his day, found inspiration in the works of his predecessors. We have already seen in the

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[216] Klaiber, "Le Fonti per San Lorenzo," *Guarini*, 329. Nicodemus Tessin wrote this statement about San Lorenzo in 1687.

[217] Longinus, and Russell, *"Longinus" on the Sublime*, 23.

previous chapter that in *Architettura civile* Guarini praises both Roman and Gothic works

of the past and emulates them in his own designs. Another example of agreement

between Longinus' views on greatness and those of seventeenth century architects is

demonstrated by Longinus' recommendation for great authors to question "how will

posterity receive what I write?"[218] The act of writing an architectural treatise and using

his own work to demonstrate his points, clearly demonstrates Guarini's forethought on

how his works would be received in the future. Because Longinus' words often echoed

seventeenth century thought, Guarini wouldn't have had to change his way of thinking in

accepting Longinus' views. Instead, the new material would have complemented and

enhanced Guarini's existing views on architecture.

> Longinus often drew associations between thought, language and art:
>
> Since thought and language usually unfold together, let us now examine some things which remain to be said under the heading of diction. That the choice of words, whether commonplace or grand, wonderfully moves and charms an audience; that it is the chief concern of all speakers and writers; that of itself it endows discourse with grandeur, beauty, mellowness, weight, strength, power, and a certain brightness—qualities also found in the most beautiful statues, providing events, as it were, with a speaking soul—such matters there is no need to discuss with those who know them. Beautiful words are in truth the mind's peculiar light.[219]

While statements equating language with art forms recalled ideas previously put forth in

the long discourse on Horace's famous line in "Ut Pictura Poesis",[220] Longinus took this

idea further by using rhetoric to provide a definition of composition and furnished this

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[218] Longinus, and Russell, *"Longinus" on the Sublime*, 23.

[219] Longinus, and Russell, *"Longinus" on the sublime*, 41.

[220] Rensselaer Wright Lee, *Ut Picture Poesis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967).

idea with methods of achieving and analyzing it.[221] In particular in section 10 of *On the sublime* Longinus discusses composition in a manner that strongly reflects Guarini's views on the arrangement of architecture:

> Let us consider now whether we can point to any other factor which can make writing great. There are, in every situation, a number of features which combine to make up the texture of events. To select the most vital of these and to relate them to one another to form a unified whole is an essential cause of great writing. One writer charms the reader by the selection of such details, another by the manner in which he presses them into close relationship.
>
> Sappho, for example, selects on each occasion the emotions which accompany the frenzy of love. She takes these from among the constituent elements of the situation in actual life. How does she excel? In her skillful choice of the most important and intense details and in relating them to one another:
>
>> Peer of gods he seemeth to me, the blissful
>> Man who sits and gazes at thee before him,
>> Close beside thee sits, and in silence hears thee
>> Silvery speaking,
>>
>> Laughing Love's low laughter. Oh this, this only
>> Stirs the troubled heart in my breast to tremble,
>> For should I but see thee a little moment,
>> Straight is my voice hushed;
>>
>> Yea, my tongue is broken, and through and through me
>> 'Neath the flesh, impalpable fire runs tingling;
>> Nothing see mine eyes, and a noise of roaring
>> Waves in my ears sounds;
>>
>> Sweat runs down in rivers, a tremor seizes
>> All my limbs and paler than grass in autumn,
>> Caught by pains of menacing death, I falter,
>> Lost in the love trance.
>
> Do you not marvel how she seeks to make her mind, body, ears, tongue, eyes, and complexion, as if they were scattered elements strange to her, join together in the same moment of experience? In contradictory phrases she describes herself as hot and cold at once, rational and irrational, at the same time terrified and almost dead, in order to appear afflicted not by one passion but by a swarm of passions. Lovers do have all those feelings, but it is, as I said, her selection of the most vital details and her working them into one whole which produce the outstanding quality of the poem.[222]

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[221] Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts*, 119.

[222] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 17, 18.

This passage offers many direct parallels between Longinus' and Guarini's thinking.

First, both men recommend pulling the most vital elements from varied sources and then

combining them to create a unified whole as a way of composing greatness. It must be

noted that the synthesizing of disparate elements to create a unified whole was common

in early modern theory in general. Guarini definitely uses this strategy in San Lorenzo

when he combines the emotional effects of Gothic architecture with Roman style to

create the dome of the nave which appears insufficiently supported (Fig. 15). It also calls

to mind Guarini's words on Gothic and Roman architecture in the ninth observation of

Tractato I, Chapter 1:

> Si prova; perchè non vi è scienza, sebben evidente, che non abbia non solamente varie,
> ma di più contrarie opinion, ed anche in materie gravissime di Fede, di costume, e
> d'interesse; onde quanto piu potrà essere varia l'Architettura, che non si compiace, se non
> di piacere al senso; nè altra ragione la governa, se non l'aggradimento di un ragionevole
> giudizio, e di un'occhio giudizioso? Ciò esperimentasi nelle diverse proporzioni, che
> danno gl'ingegnosi, e celebri Architetti moderni, come vedremo nelle Antichità Romane,
> che variansi da' sentimenti di Vitruvio. Si può anche questo conoscere, e
> nell'Architettura Gotica, la quale doveva pur piacere a que' tempi, e pur al giorno d'oggi
> non è punto stimata, anzi derisa, benchè quegli Uomini veramente ingegnosi abbiano in
> essa erette Fabbriche sì artifiziose, che chi con guist'occhio le confidera, sebbene non
> così estate in Simmetria non lasciano però di essere meravigliose, e degne di molta
> lode.[223]

Guarini speaks of architectural beauty as being composed from "a well-proportioned

harmony of the parts."[224] Moreover like Sappho, Guarini with the use of discretion is

able to blend various elements, even those that may seem to oppose each other, for the

creation of something greater which pleases the senses and thus can withstand the test of

time. Guarini's use of Roman and Gothic elements, which were considered to be

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[223] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* I.iii.9. 7.

[224] Ibid.

opposing styles during his time, in his work further echoes Sappho's use of contradictory phrases which Longinus praises and exemplifies as an example of sublimity.

As demonstrated, Guarini's general views on composition seem to share some similarities to those of Longinus. This relationship seems to grow even stronger as the details of San Lorenzo are examined more closely. I would like to focus on the three aspects of the church which scholars seem to find most puzzling, namely the illusion of the floating dome, the appearance of autonomous zones and the dramatic opening of the surface between the ribs of the nave dome. All three of these features are unique to Guarini's architecture. The illusion and lighting of the dome in particular seem to have no direct precedent.[225]

In the first place it makes sense that Guarini would set out to invoke the sublime in the dome which sits directly above the nave of the church (Fig. 15). First, this is where the audience is located which Guarini intends to influence. Moreover, the dome traditionally references heaven—it is the truth of the heavens which Guarini desires to transport to those who enter the church. In regard to the floating appearance of the dome in San Lorenzo, it is important to note that as the viewer recognizes the weakness of the structure below the dome it first strikes fear into their hearts which then turns to amazement and wonder as they contemplate the possibility of the wonder before them. These are the same sensations Longinus stresses in his manuscript. Longinus provides a passage from Homer's *Iliad* as an example of terror which produces a sublime experience:

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[225] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 272.

He rushed upon them, as a wave storm-driven,
Boisterous beneath black clouds, on a swift ship
Will burst, and all is hidden in the foam;
Meanwhile the wind tears thundering at the mast,
And all hands tremble, pale and sore afraid,
As they are carried close from under death.[226]

Longinus goes on to explain:

> Homer does not limit the danger to one moment; instead, he draws a picture of men avoiding destruction many times, at every wave; he forces and compels into unnatural times, at every wave; he forces and compels into unnatural union prepositions which are not easily joined together when he says "*from under death.*" He has tortured his line into conformity with the impending disaster, and by the compactness of his language he brilliantly represents the calamity and almost stamps upon the words the very shape of the peril: "they are carried from under death." The same is true of Archilochus' description of a shipwreck and of Demosthenes' description of news of defeat reaching Athens in the passage which begins: "It was evening . . ."
>
> These writers have sifted out the most significant details on the basis of merit, so to speak, and joined them harmoniously without inserting between them irrelevant, frivolous, or artificial; such additions spoil the total effect just as the imperfect adjustment of massive stones that are fitted together into a wall spoils the whole structure if chinks and fissures are left between them.[227]

Similar to Homer, Guarini places the viewer in a situation of impending doom which lasts as long as it remains unclear how the dome above him remains suspended. It is interesting that Longinus uses an architectural analogy as he discusses the merits of terror in producing sublimity. What is clear is the ability to remain standing despite a weak appearance is one of the aspects of Gothic architecture which Guarini most admires. In fact, most scholars compare the dome of San Lorenzo to remarks Guarini makes about Gothic architecture while discussing how different it is from Roman architecture in *Architettura civile:*[228]

> [Gothic architecture] ebbe per iscopo di ergere molti Fortis ì, ma che sembrassero deboli, e che servissero di miracolo, come stessero in piedi. Laonde si vedrà una

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[226] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 17. Longinus quotes from Homer, *Iliad* 15.624-628.

[227] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 18, 19.

[228] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 274.

grossissima Guglia di un Campanile appoggiata stabilmente sopra fottilissime Colonne: Archi che si ripiegano sopra il or piede, che pende in aria, nè s'appoggia a Colonna, che lo sostenti. Torrette tutte traforate, che siniscono in acutissime piramidi; finestre estremamente elevate; volte senza financhi.[229]

It is interesting that Guarini suggests Gothic structures "seem weak and as though they needed a miracle to keep them standing."[230] For Guarini miracles are only created by God, as such they are a sign of his presence. Therefore for Guarini to have constructed the dome in San Lorenzo as though it required a miracle to keep it standing was an abstract way of imaging God. After providing examples of Gothic architecture to support his claims, Guarini continues:

Da questa ambizione anche nacque di far le Torri pendenti, come la Torre degli Afinelli a Bologna, e la Torre del Duomo di Pisa, le quali sebben non sono di aggradimento alla vista, fanno pero stupire gl'intelletti, e rendono gli spettatori atterriti; onde di questi due opposti fini qual sia piu glorioso, farebbe degno problema di un' accademico ingegno.[231]

[From these ambitions also came to the leaning Towers, such as the Tower of Afinelli in Bologna, and the Tower of Pisa Cathedral, which, if they do not actually delight the eye, nevertheless amaze the intellect and terrify the spectators.]

It seems that for Guarini, the aim of architecture which was in fact strong but intentionally appeared to be weak was to cause terror and awe in those who experienced it in a manner similar to the goals of the sublime.   This seems to be a possible reason for Guarini's unique dome in San Lorenzo—to lead the spectators who witnessed the miraculous appearance of the dome to God in a manner that is even more powerful than persuasion.

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[229] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* III.xiii.1. 134.

[230] Ibid.

[231] Ibid.

Another unusual feature of Guarini's work in general and San Lorenzo in particular is the manner in which he composes the vertical arrangement of both the interior and exterior surfaces of his buildings (Figs. 3, 29). David Coffin refers to the exterior of S. Anne as "a layer cake arrangement."[232] Harold Meek refers to it as "a further development of the incipient 'telescoping' that we have seen in the Messina facades."[233] As mentioned earlier, Wittkower refers to Guarini's practice of creating his elevations from stacked sections which are unique in appearance as 'autonomous zones'.[234] Wittkower made this reference due to the disconnected nature of the vertical levels of Guarini's elevations. Guarini seems to have begun this practice during his time in Messina on the façade of Ste. Maria Annunziata (Fig. 19). However, it may be coincidental, as his design for Ste. Maria Annunziata is similar to the façade of Ste. Suzanna in Rome and many other Counter Reformation churches (Fig. 20). Even Sant'Andrea della Valle, the Theatine church in Rome, had a similar façade (Fig. 21). This style became popular for the façades of churches during the Baroque period. Ste. Maria Annunziata differs from these other examples in that Guarini breaks down the façade into five levels where as the others had only had two. However, when Guarini designed Ste. Anne in Paris, the vertical sectioning of the façade now extended to the actual structure of the building, as well as the design of the interior elevations (Figs. 17, 23). Moreover, Guarini exaggerated the uniqueness of the decorative scheme for each

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[232] Coffin, "Padre Guarino Guarini in Paris", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* p. 6.

[233] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 33.

[234] Rudolph Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 272.

vertical section making the layered effect much more obvious. Guarini then carried this idea to an extreme at San Lorenzo where not only the surface decoration of each level is unique but also the actual perimeter of each level. The ground level is square and then each successively higher level has a unique shape which plays off the general idea of an octagon. There is even a star-shaped section.

With respect to the disconnected feeling of the levels of Guarini's elevations one passage in *On the sublime* immediately comes to mind:

> Passionate language is more moving when it seems to arise spontaneously and not to be contrived by the speaker, and the rhetorical question answered by oneself simulates this emotional spontaneity. For, just as when we are suddenly asked a question we are provoked to give a vigorous and truthful reply, so the figure of question and answer leads and beguiles the hearer to believe that each point has arisen and been answered spontaneously . . . and the words burst forth without connective, pour out, as it were pushing, fighting, killing, dying." And the words of Eurylochus to Odysseus:
>
> > As you had ordered, through the wood we went,
> > We noticed in the glens a well-built house.
>
> The clauses are disconnected as well as hurried; they give an impression of actuality; they stop the reader and yet press on. And the poet has achieved this effect by means of asyndeton.[235]

Longinus' call for the appearance of spontaneity in the composition of sentences which express emotion may be the effect Guarini is striving for with his unusual elevation designs. The abrupt demarcation of each level serves to stop the eye of the beholder as it travels higher in order to make sense of the vision. Yet at the same time the desire to see what is next leads the viewer on to complete the journey. As each level is uniquely imaginative, requiring a reaction on the part of the viewer as it is spied by the viewer, the overall effect of the arrangement produces a feeling of spontaneity.

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[235] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 30-32.

Longinus further explains the reasoning behind the use of asyndeton (the omission of conjunctions in a sentence):

> Come now, add the connectives if you will, after the manner of Isocrates and his school: "Furthermore, we must not omit the fact that an assailant could do many things, first by his posture then by his look, and then again by his voice . . . ." As you expand the passage in this way point by point, and make it smooth by adding the connectives, you will soon realize that its urgent, rugged passion is falling flat, that its sting and its fire have vanished.[236]

The use of asyndeton produces passion which is one of five sources of the sublime. According to Longinus, asyndeton in particular is effective in producing sublimity because, "Passionate language is more moving when it seems to arise spontaneously and not to be contrived by the speaker, and the rhetorical question answered by oneself simulates this emotional spontaneity."[237] Thus Guarini's use of 'autonomous zones' in his elevations stimulates emotional spontaneity and thus passion in the viewer. The creation of a passion for God in humanity through belief in the salvation of his only begotten son was and is still today the primary aim of the Theatine Order, as well as the Catholic Church. Another possible association between Longinus' thoughts and the autonomous zones in San Lorenzo could be the suggestion that the sublime can be produced by silence, which is derived from Longinus' statement, "great writing is the echo of a noble mind," as mentioned in Chapter 2. In this case silence is produced by the absence of articulation brought about by the changing decorative schemes of the various levels.

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[236] Ibid., 32, 33.

[237] Ibid., 30.

It may seem inappropriate to pick and choose selections from *On the sublime* at will. However, as mentioned earlier, that is how the treatise was treated during the seventeenth century. Moreover, it is what Longinus suggests an author should do: "There are, in every situation, a number of features which combine to make up the texture of events. To select the most vital of these and to relate them to one another to form a unified whole is an essential cause of great writing."[238] The careful selection of the elements of composition is necessary to create a unified object that produces sublimity. Moreover, Longinus asserts, "A combination of figures can also be very moving when two or three are mingled together and jointly contribute to the power, persuasiveness, and beauty of a passage."[239] Therefore, Guarini would be following Longinus' advice in selecting more than one figure of speech in his work. It is the effect of the work which is ultimately most important in creating sublimity for which there is no set formula.

In *On the sublime* Longinus provides a reason for opening up the dome to let light pour in (Fig. 16). To explain Guarini's radical piercing of the dome in San Lorenzo scholars usually turn to his discussion of light in *Architettura civile:* "se il sito sarà circondato da Case, nè può ricevere se non lume dall alto, bisogna che l'Architetto scelga un genere, e disposizione di Fabbrica, che riceva il lume dall' alto, e simili cose."[240] Susan Klaiber maintains that many of Guarini's design choices are the result of his desire

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[238] Ibid., 41.

[239] Ibid., 31.

[240] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 6, 7.

to flood the church with light from above.[241] The assumption is that because San Lorenzo is surrounded by buildings on three sides, Guarini had to increase the amount of light coming in through the dome for practical reasons.

There is no doubt that Guarini had to approach his architectural designs by taking into consideration many practical issues. However, since his domes are always innovative, Guarini seems to put more of an emphasis on aesthetics over practical considerations. In regard to the lighting in San Lorenzo, this also seems to be the case as there were many possible solutions available to Guarini. He could have put windows closer to the rim of the dome or added more light wells similar to the one which lights up the window area above the entry to the nave, as well as other methods (Fig 4). Instead Guarini chose to light the nave by radically opening up the upper region of the dome—an unprecedented and dangerous feat.   Guarini demonstrated his mastery over lighting when he very precisely designed San Lorenzo so that for a few minutes in the morning of the days around the autumn and spring equinoxes, a painting of Christ blessing the world and a painting of God the Father blessing the world appears in the circular openings of the stars on the ceilings of the Chapel of the Crucifix and the Chapel of the Nativity respectively (Fig. 10).   This feat was then followed around midday by the appearance of paintings of God the Father blessing the world in his hand and Christ the Son blessing the world in similar openings of on the ceilings of the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception and the Alter of the Souls in Purgatory respectively. While Guarini needed to light the

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[241] Klaiber, "Guarino Guarini's Theatine Architecture," 276.

church from above, how he did it was probably also the result of other considerations as well.

The passage from *On the sublime* that may provide the strongest point of reference for Guarini's radical opening of the dome is:

> Far superior to the Battle of the Gods are those passages which represent the divine as truly pure and mighty . . . In this manner also the lawgiver of the Jews, no ordinary man, since he recognized and expressed divine power according to its worth, expressed that power clearly when he wrote at the beginning of his Laws: "And God said." What? "Let there be light, and there was light; let there be land, and there was land.[242]

Longinus gives the example of Fiat lux to demonstrate how to portray divine beings. This passage from the book of Genesis in the Bible was the most frequently discussed excerpt from Longinus' manuscript during the period Guarini was in Rome.[243] Flooding the church with light from the symbol of heaven would not only be a powerful way to portray God's presence in the church but according to Longinus it would be a way to portray God as "truly pure and mighty."[244]

Practical Considerations

The church of San Lorenzo was built to serve the needs of both the church and state. Each of these institutions desired for San Lorenzo to influence the public on its behalf. Besides providing a place for worship, the primary function for the state was to aggrandize the ducal family by drawing attention to its attributes. This was accomplished through the use of symbols, narratives, the complexity of the design and references to the

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[242] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 14.

[243] Kerslake, *Essays on the Sublime*, 38.

[244] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 14.

Holy Shroud which was held in the ducal palace since 1578. For the Theatines, San

Lorenzo was a vehicle used to help them with their mission of personal reform.

Moreover, San Lorenzo needed to bring its audience to faith and convince them to act on

that faith so they could achieve salvation. Thus San Lorenzo as a counter-reformation

church needs to be read in part with the mission of the Theatines in mind.

The spiritual teachings of the Theatines fit in nicely with the self-fashioning of the

Savoy. This is probably one of the reason the dukes supported the order. An important

element of the image of the Savoy was their ownership of the Holy Shroud, the cloth

which is believed by Catholics to have been wrapped around the body of Christ during

his burial (Fig. 30). This cloth bears images of both the front and back of Christ's body

with stains marking his wounds. Thus the Shroud serves as a witness to the crucifixion

and resurrection of Christ. It was the Savoy who had brought the Holy Shroud to Turin

and provided for its safe keeping and display. While the Temple of the Shroud, also built

by Guarini, was built to house and display the relic, San Lorenzo as a ducal chapel also

played an important part in this service. San Lorenzo was built as a public chapel to

complement the Temple of the Holy Shroud (Fig. 31), which is a palatine-reliquary

chapel.[245]

From the beginnings of the Theatine order the theme of the imitation of Christ in

his passion was an intrinsic part of their teachings.[246] While many Theatine authors take

up this theme, Lorenzo Scupoli (1530-1610), a highly influential Theatine writer,

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[245] Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*, 181.

[246] Hudon ed., *Theatine Spirituality*, 24.

suggested those seeking a truly spiritual life to pray and meditate "upon the life and

passion of our Lord."[247] Moreover, Scupoli's spirituality was Christocentric and Marian.

These three themes are prominent in the decorative program of San Lorenzo. In his

writings Scupoli used strong imagery to describe the passion of Christ. Scupoli even

encouraged his readers to create a personal experience by smelling "the stench of dead

bodies that He smelled on Calvary"[248] and feeling the pain and agony Christ experienced

by using their senses.[249] For Scupoli, the passion of Christ provided a model of

adherence to God and patience that should be emulated as man must battle his passions in

order to obtain "Christian perfection."[250] Mary's example was also worthy of imitation,

thus she was also recommended as a model, as well as intercessor by Scupoli. Scupoli

believed that if prayed to, Mary would help those battling passions. In San Lorenzo the

Chapel of the Crucifixion has an altarpiece of Christ crucified and the Chapel of the

Immaculate Conception has an altarpiece depicting a model of the city of Turin being

offered to Mary by an angel for her protection (Figs. 32, 33). Mary is surrounded by the

Savoy coat of arms and on the ground is the crown of the Savoy.

Scupoli's spirituality centered on humility attained through self-doubt. It was

through a distrust of oneself that spiritual devotion to God was realized. According to

Scupoli, spirituality could be obtained through the total defeat of one's sensual passions

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[247] Ibid., 51.

[248] Ibid., 49.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Ibid., 50-55.

for which he laid out a process to achieve this goal. Scupoli defined sensual passions as a

mental state or anything a person might "feel."[251] First, one seeking to defeat sensual

passions must recognize any existing weaknesses through self-evaluation derived through

meditation on the passion of Christ. Scupoli then recommended a process for battling

one's passions through repeated exposure, contemplation and repression of impulses

(except sexual passions which it is best to flee from).

Like many of his contemporaries, Scupoli was ambivalent towards the concept of

free will. While he provided a path for worshipers to obtain Christian perfection (through

self-exertion in prayer, spiritual exercises and self-restraint), he also recognized the

necessity of God's intervention in this process.[252] Scupoli's recommendation of the

performance of spiritual exercises was influenced by his mentor Andrea Avellino, who

had introduced Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises to the Theatine order. Loyola's

Spiritual Exercises contained military symbolism which was used by Scupoli in his

concept of "spiritual combat."[253] Scupoli's ideas of spiritual combat reflected the central

meditation of the Spiritual Exercises in recommending followers to contemplate on how

both Christ and Lucifer call upon individuals to join them in the battle against the other.

By meditating on the plan and message of each side, it was hoped the participant would

chose the side of Christ and act accordingly. As mentioned earlier, the aim of performing

the spiritual exercises was Christian perfection as defined through one's personal

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[251] Ibid., 52.

[252] Ibid., 54.

[253] Ibid.

relationship with God. Thus Scupoli's spiritual exercises were one of the tools the

Theatines could use to fulfill their mission of promoting personal reform. By using his

program, followers could achieve a mystical transformation through the use of their

senses. One would begin by using the senses found in physical reality to meditate on

examples of perfection. Following this one would continue by shifting their focus to

reflect "on the supreme Creator there present who has given it being . . . taking all delight

in Him alone . . . recollected in itself, [the soul] can unfurl its powerful wings toward

heaven and the contemplation of God."[254] Scupoli also used a similar method to secure

intercession from the Virgin Mary, as well as spiritual exercises involving meditation on

the Eucharist and imagining the reception of God. All of these spiritual exercises

required the use of the mind and senses of the participant as a means of Christian

perfection, thus personal reform. As mentioned earlier, in Guarini's discussion on Gothic

architecture and leaning towers mentioned earlier, he points out they "amaze the intellect

and terrify the spectators."[255] Thus, for Guarini architecture has the capability to affect

people in a similar manner to spiritual exercises. Architecture can be used as a tool by

the Church to encourage viewers to contemplate God and thus bring about a personal

reformation.

In the dome of San Lorenzo, Guarini provides the viewer with symbols of the

Holy Shroud, and thus the passion of Christ, on which to meditate (Fig. 16). The

structure of the dome itself has within it an abstract design of a passionflower. An early

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[254] Ibid., 56.

[255] Guarini, *Architettura Civile,* III.xiii.1, 134.

engraving of a section of the first wooden model for the Chapel of the Holy Shroud

shows Guarini's intention of decorating the chapel with scenes of the Passion, Passion

capitals and other passion imagery including circular windows with a passionflower

motif in the center (Fig. 34).[256] If one juxtaposes the flower in the center of the window

with the rib structure and window openings of the dome of San Lorenzo, one sees there is

a very close match (Fig. 16).

The passion vine, Passiflora caerulea, was introduced into Europe in the

seventeenth century, being indigenous to the Western Hemisphere (Fig. 35).[257] The

flowers were reputed to resemble the instruments of the Passion of Christ.[258] However

the first mention in print of the blossom's similarity to the instruments of the Passion was

in 1553 by Cieza de León in his chronicle of Peru, and by 1607 there is evidence of

knowledge of the plant in Turin.[259] One of the earliest illustrations of the passionflower

is in a 1610 religious tract published by Giacomo Bosio in Rome (Fig. 36). The flowers

in the image have several rounded petals backed by six pointed ones and a 'crown of

thorns' that encircles three pointed stigmas which look like the tools of the passion (the

nails used to nail Christ to the cross) that they were associated with in seventeenth

century devotional literature. John Beldon Scott has pointed out the similarity between

the stigmas of the flowers in this engraving and the stigmas on the passionflowers of the

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[256] Scott, *Architecture for the Shroud*, 180.

[257] Ibid., 174.

[258] Ibid., 173-181.

[259] Ibid., 174, 175.

passion capitals in the Chapel of the Holy Shroud (Fig. 37). Scott maintains there is a

connection between a mystical interpretation of the flower and common private prayer

practices of the period, such as those advocated by Saint Ignatius, in which the flower

serves as a mnemonic device. Therefore, devotional representations of the flower do not

precisely mimic the actual bloom. The changes made to the images reflect a moral

interpretation of the passionflower, an emphasis is placed on the Christian meaning of the

image. It is not known if Guarini ever saw Bosio's engraving, but he probably was aware

of the association of the passionflower and the Passion relics.[260]

The symbolism of Crown of Thorns appealed to the Duke of Savoy for two

reasons: first, Louis IX, Saint Louis, owned the relic which he kept in Sainte-Chapelle

which he had built to house it. Thus Sainte –Chapelle was a model of sorts for the

Chapel of the Holy Shroud. Second, Duke Louis of Savoy saw St Louis as a role model

for his own collecting. While the Savoy saw the Shroud as being comparable in status

with the Crown of Thorns, they also kept a spine from the Crown in the Shroud Chapel.

Around the octagonal oculus of the dome of San Lorenzo there seems to be a circular

crossed hatched pattern that represents a crown of thorns. The circle of fan shaped

openings appears to be the petals of the passionflower, while the closed triangular areas

that extend out from them are the pointed petals beneath the rounded ones. The motif of

the rounded and pointed petals strongly resembles the design in the window of the

engraving for the early design scheme for the temple of the Shroud (Fig. 34). While in

the dome of San Lorenzo, the stigmas of the passionflower that represent the tools of the

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[260] Ibid.

crucifixion are missing, Guarini has placed inverted pentagrams around the petals of the flower. John Beldon Scott has pointed out that the pentagrams in the Chapel of the Holy Shroud refer to the tools of the passion, as well as the cult of the Five Sacred Wounds and the Holy Shroud.[261] Because of the close relationship between the two buildings, and with the ducal family, the symbols most likely have the same meaning in San Lorenzo and thus take the place of the missing stigmas.

It makes complete sense that the passion flower which represents the shroud is depicted in the dome of the church—the dome of heaven. In the center of dome the ribs form two overlapping squares, a microcosm of Christianity which references the history of salvation that was foreordained by God to take place. In Christian thought, man is fallen and thus requires the Grace of God to save him.[262] The Holy Shroud is a visual reminder of the death and resurrection of Christ which is the reason for the existence of humankind. The Shroud sits in the middle of the cosmos as a witness to all of this. The passion of Christ is the center of time and space cosmically speaking. On the passionflower Guarini uses eight petals, the number of rebirth, symbolizing the salvation of Christ and thus of humankind. The angels reside in the heavenly region of the dome as this is their realm. Finally, in reference to St. Lawrence, Guarini places grids, the instrument of his martyrdom, over the large oval windows at the base of the dome. Hence there is much to contemplate as one looks up at the dome. The spiritual ornamentation in the lower region of the church represents the life and passion of Christ:

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[261] Ibid., 157, 158.

[262] Arthur Hyman and James J. Walsh, *Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 4.

his incarnation on earth. The upper regions refer to the ultimate outcome of Salvation:

eternal life for Christ and those who believe in Christ. Often the imagery in San Lorenzo

serves the needs of both the Theatines and the ducal family, for example symbols of the

shroud serve as a meditative aid and remind the public of the wealth, power and prestige

of the Dukes who brought the Shroud to Turin and continue to care for it.

The design of San Lorenzo also includes many theatrical motifs, such as the

visual appearance of the serliana which frame the chapels similar to a proscenium stage.

Harold Meek points out parallels between the presentation of the chapels of San Lorenzo

and Bernini's Cornaro chapel[263] which was designed as a theater to display the Eucharist

metaphorically through the representation of St. Theresa's experience of the sacrament

(Fig. 38).[264] The incorporation of theatrical devices in San Lorenzo are probably also

related to the sacrament of the Eucharist since the Theatine Order was known for its

theatrical performance of this part of the service.[265] Like the Jesuits, the Theatines used

theatrics to appeal to and educate converts to their order.[266] When the Theatines

introduced this type of spectacle in France, it earned them the support of Queen Anne of

Austria, to whom they later dedicated their church.[267]

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[263] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 46, 47.

[264] Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York: [Published for] Pierpont Morgan Library [by] Oxford University Press, 1980), 77-133.

[265] Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his Architecture*, 6. Meek provides a brief description of this theatrical production.

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid.

It is important to point out the distinction between the experience of theatergoers and those who attend a church service. While those who attend the theater react to the production with admiration, enjoyment and even intellectual astonishment, they understand that what they are experiencing is not reality.[268] However, the churchgoer understands the production as "ultra-reality" and moreover feels pressure to participate in the experience.[269] Thus in the church the boundaries between the altar or "stage" and the nave or "auditorium" are dissolved in order to help the conjugants relate to the production before them. The aim of the Jesuits' productions was to bring the Gospel to the devotee in a manner so close that it would encourage direct communication with the Holy person(s) being represented in the production.[270] Again this practice was in keeping with Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises.*[271] It is highly possible that similar intentions were played out in San Lorenzo because the Theatines also used the *Spiritual Exercises* as a tool for personal redemption.

Guarini would have had several reasons for following Longinus' advice for the design of San Lorenzo. Longinus states:

> [The sublime] does not persuade; it takes the reader out of himself. The startling and amazing is more powerful than the charming and persuasive. . .amazement is the result of an irresistible force beyond the control of any audience. . .greatness appears suddenly; like a thunderbolt it carries all before it and reveals the writer's full power in a flash.[272]

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[268] Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe eds., *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 108.

[269] Wittkower and Jaffe eds., *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution*, 107-108.

[270] Ibid., 108.

[271] Ibid.

[272] Longinus, and Russell, *'Longinus' on the Sublime*, 4.

In striving to create sublimity, Guarini would have been creating a much more powerful

tool than one that merely relies on persuasion. When the viewer experiences the sublime

the effect is immediate and irresistible. San Lorenzo does create an immediate response

in its viewers as evidenced by comments like Nicodemus Tessin's mentioned earlier.

Those who came to view San Lorenzo experienced feelings of fear and awe at the

amazing site of the nave dome. While the modern visitor still stands in amazement under

the dome, in the seventeenth-century the effect on the visitor must have been much

stronger, as nothing like it had been built before. That the dome stayed standing, must

have seemed miraculous, especially to those who were not knowledgeable about building

practices.   From Guarini's own words describing similar architectural feats we can

extrapolate that the effect the dome of San Lorenzo had on its audience was intentional.

It is also significant that the exterior of the church hides what lies in wait for the visitor

within. It also seems Guarini intended the interior of the dome to have a strong and

sudden impact on the spectator—again following Longinus' lead.

Longinus provides even more encouragement to follow his advice in his

manuscript:

> Our soul is naturally uplifted by the truly great; we receive it as a joyous
> offering; we are filled with delight and pride as if we had ourselves created what we
> heard.
> Any piece of writing which is heard repeatedly by a man of intelligence and
> experience yet fails to stir his soul to noble thoughts and does not leave impressed upon
> his mind reflections which reach beyond what was said, and which on further observation
> is seen to fade and be forgotten—that is not truly great writing, as it is only remembered
> while it is before us. The truly great can be pondered again and again; it is difficult,
> indeed impossible to withstand, for the memory of it is strong and hard to efface.[273]

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[273] Ibid., 10.

Sublimity forces the viewer to contemplate on what he has seen and therefore is the perfect lead into the use of the dome of San Lorenzo in the meditations of the passion of Christ used in the spiritual exercises as proscribed by Scupoli. Moreover, the very design of San Lorenzo brought attention and admiration to the church, the Theatine order and the Duke who supported it.

Conclusion

This comparison of Longinus' critique of literary composition and Guarini's church of San Lorenzo, does not provide definitive proof of Guarini's intentional use of *On the sublime* for compositional ideas. However, Guarini's introduction into the intellectual milieu of Paris seems to have opened his mind to alternative ways of thinking about composition and the ways in which buildings can impact their audience. The architecture of Guarino Guarini, specifically his church of San Lorenzo, provides evidence of a new way of thinking about architecture. Due to this probable contact with Longinus' ideas, Guarini's architecture becomes radically different than the architecture proposed by classical theorists such as Vitruvius, Serlio, and Palladio. While Guarini quotes all of these men in his own architectural treatise, he uses their ideas with a new sensibility. Guarini now selects from sources what he finds effective and combines it with other ideas to make a new unified whole that is vastly different from its origins.

Van Eck recommends that when looking for signs that an architect may have been familiar with the concept of sublimity, the following characteristics should be kept in mind: disjointed compositions made from the joining of conflicting opposites, classical

church designs which have an awful and solemn appearance (these may include design elements that are dark, difficult and intricate or that evoke awe in the viewer), and a stressed emphasis on the impression the viewer gets from the building.[274] Moreover, one should do a side-by-side analysis of the strategies and ideas of conception with the work in question to look for similarities.

After a close examination of Guarini's San Lorenzo in juxtaposition with *On the sublime*, many points of reference have surfaced, such as Guarini's blending of Gothic structural practices and effects with a classical aesthetic, an awful and frightening appearance of the dome, a concern that architecture should appeal to the senses, a disjointed feeling in the vertical arrangement of the interior and exterior elevations, and the use of a dangerous technique to flood the church with light. Longinus' conception of sublimity is very close to the effect the dome in the nave of San Lorenzo has on its audience. Moreover Guarini's views on architectural design strongly echo Longinus' ideas on composition. While we see the seeds for this progression in S. Anne-la-Royale, it is not until Guarini builds San Lorenzo that he is able to bring his ideas to fruition to create a forceful impact on the viewer.

While it cannot be said for certain that Guarini took Longinus' manuscript to heart, or that he even read it, there is a distinct possibility that the revival and discussion of *On the sublime* in Paris strongly influenced his new direction. Guarini seems to have seized on these new ideas which were at the cutting edge of the culture of his day, to

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[274] Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts*, 120-122.

fulfill the mission of the Theatine order and to serve the self-fashioning needs of the royal family as well.

CONCLUSION

Guarini's architecture, especially San Lorenzo, is unique for its time. No other architect had previously created such daring domes which were intended to evoke terror and amaze the intellect of the spectator. Other exceptional features of San Lorenzo include the radical opening of the dome and the appearance of autonomous zones. Previously scholars have not sufficiently explained the reasoning behind these design decisions. One possible explanation may be the use of Longinus' *On the sublime*. Caroline van Eck proposed the use of Longinus' ideas on the sublime as a compositional tool by early modern architects—there is strong evidence to think that Guarini may have done the same.

Guarini's thoughts on architecture possibly reveal his application of the generally accepted notion of a connection between rhetoric and the arts to architecture. Guarini's comments on Gothic architecture in particular were highly unusual for his day, especially his understanding that the purpose of Gothic architecture was in part to terrify the spectators and amaze the intellect. When one also considers that Guarini insists the role of architecture is to please the senses repeatedly throughout his architectural treatise, it becomes evident he is highly concerned with the effect architecture has on its audience—especially its capability to arouse strong emotion. These ideas strongly echo those of Longinus.

Guarini seems to have had many points of access to scholarly discussions surrounding the idea of the sublime as proposed by Longinus, perhaps he even read one of the many translations of *On the sublime*. Moreover, because Guarini seems to have

been interested in a wide range of erudite discourses which he incorporated into his literary and architectural works, it is possible he did the same with the idea of the sublime, especially as it was often discussed in theological terms. There would have been several reasons for Guarini to use Longinus' manuscript as a compositional tool, perhaps the most important of these was that the sublime conveys a message through transport which is much more forceful than persuasion. Therefore, the utilization of the sublime in San Lorenzo could be understood as the intention on the part of Guarini to make the church an overpowering tool of evangelization for the Theatine order. Churches were typically thought of as an instrument of the church, the employment of the sublime would be a way of making the structure more effective. More significantly, Guarini seems to be employing the compositional aspects of *On the sublime* to create the more unique features of San Lorenzo in order to bring the viewer closer to God who is represented by the highest region of the dome.

Not only does the design of the church encourage spiritual reformation, but it also promotes the Savoy's claims of royalty through its explanation of the exalted place of the Holy Shroud (the most important relic held by the Savoy) as a witness to the history of salvation. To convey this message Guarini uses the structure of the dome to place an abstract symbol of a passionflower, which represents the relic, in the center of the symbol of heaven along with symbolic references of the micro- macrocosm of the church. The iconography of the dome could then be used to both promote the aspirations of the Savoy and as a spiritual tool for the Theatines. Moreover, this symbolism could be used as a

mnemonic device for the Theatine's spiritual exercises in a similar fashion to how images of the passionflower in Theological pamphlets were used.

Guarini was the most successful priest-architect of the Counter-Reformation. During his lifetime his unprecedented designs made him popular with the Savoy who used his creativity to help them conceptualize their new capital city in order to elevate their international status. If Guarini did intentionally use the sublime in his architectural projects, the Savoy may have been aware of what he was doing as they were well educated and had strong ties to Paris. However, knowledge of Longinus' ideas was not necessary to be awed by the spectacular sight of the dome of San Lorenzo, making it an extremely effective vehicle of persuasion for both church and state.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1

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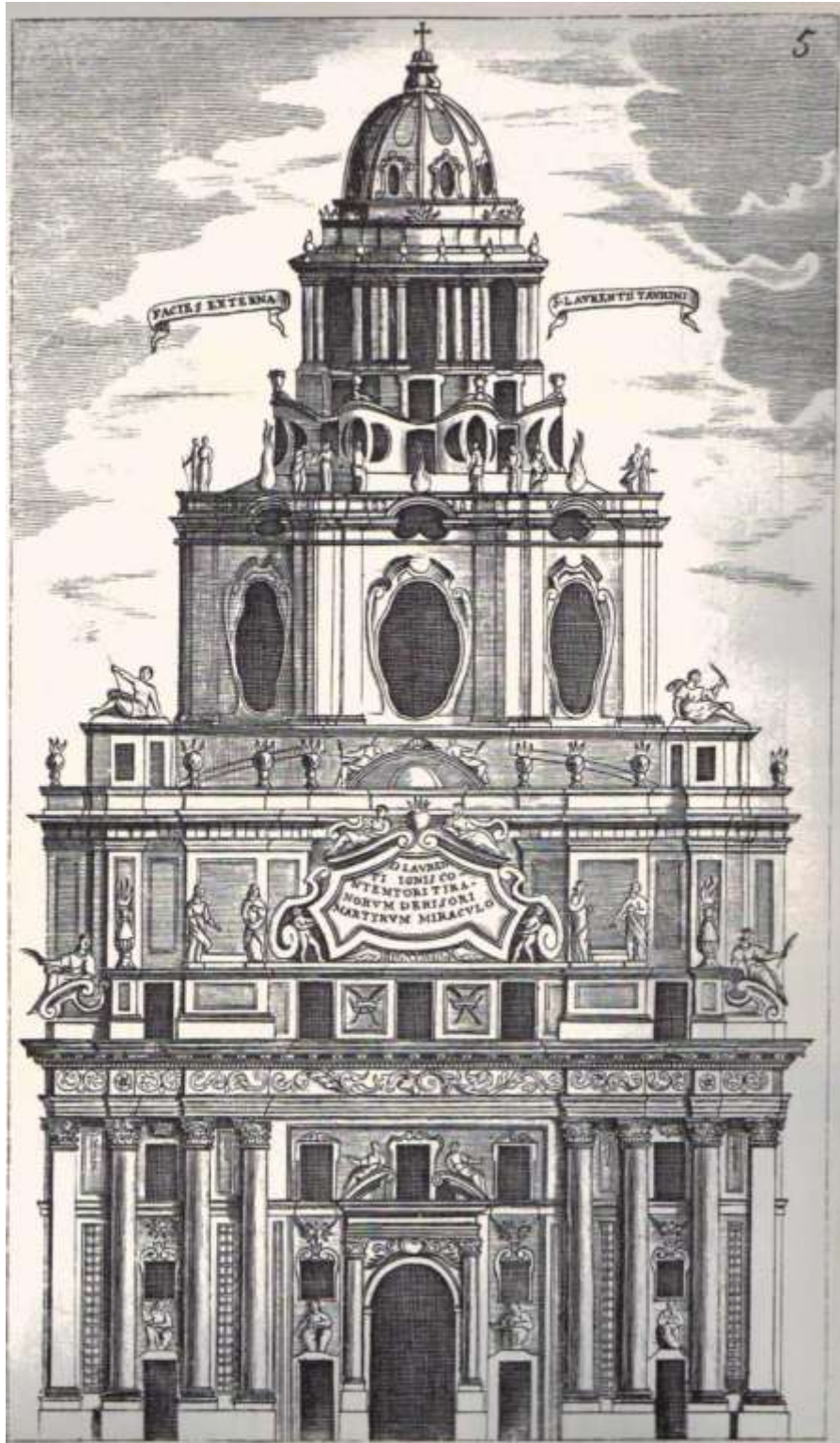
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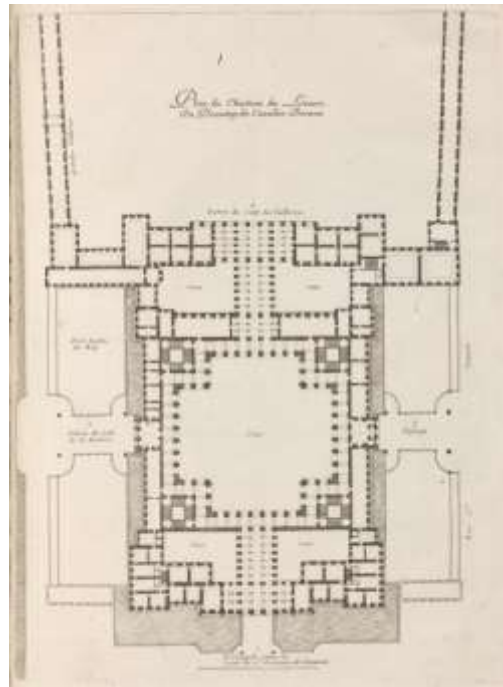
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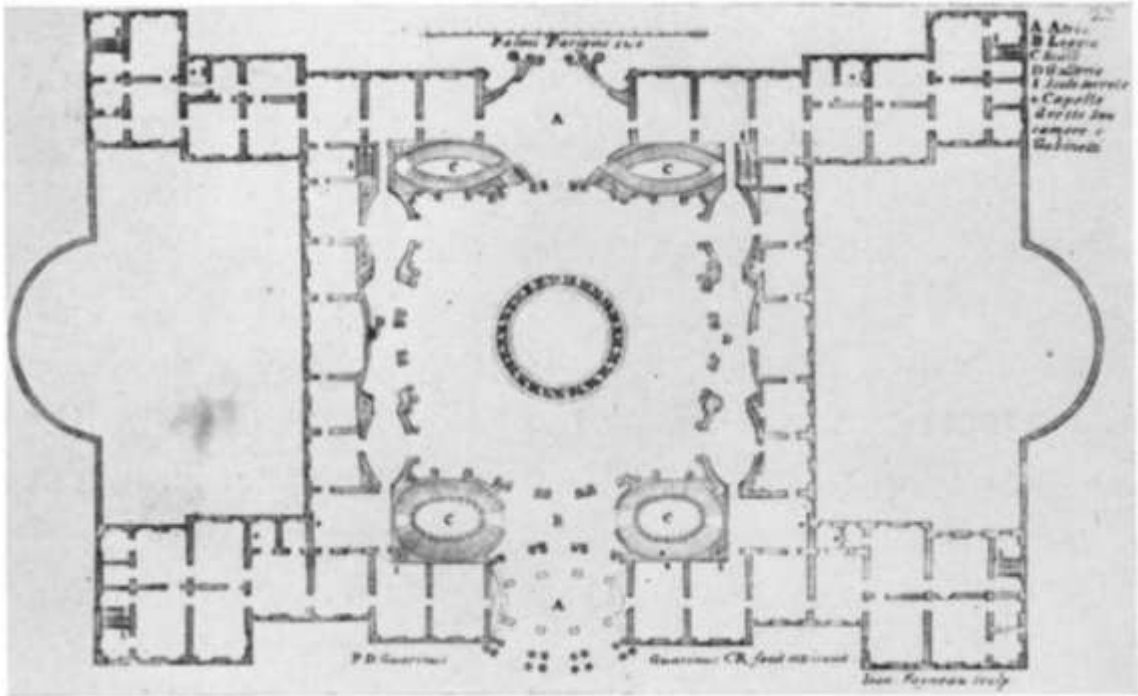
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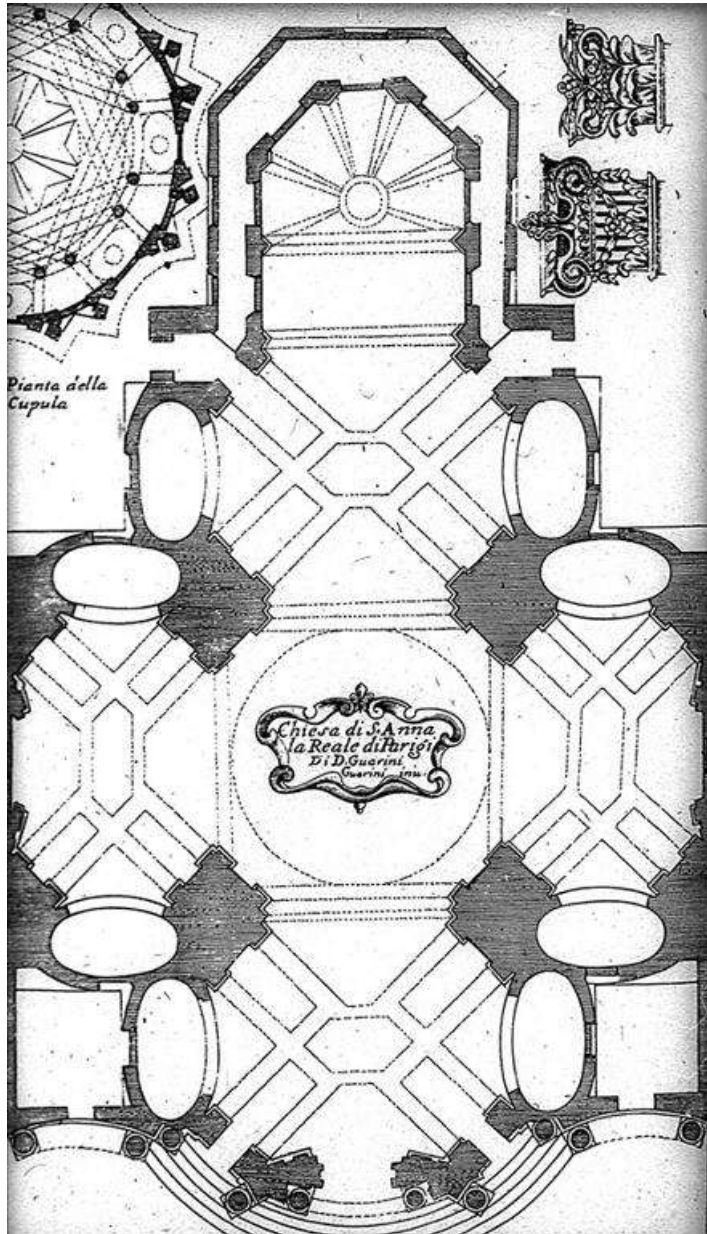
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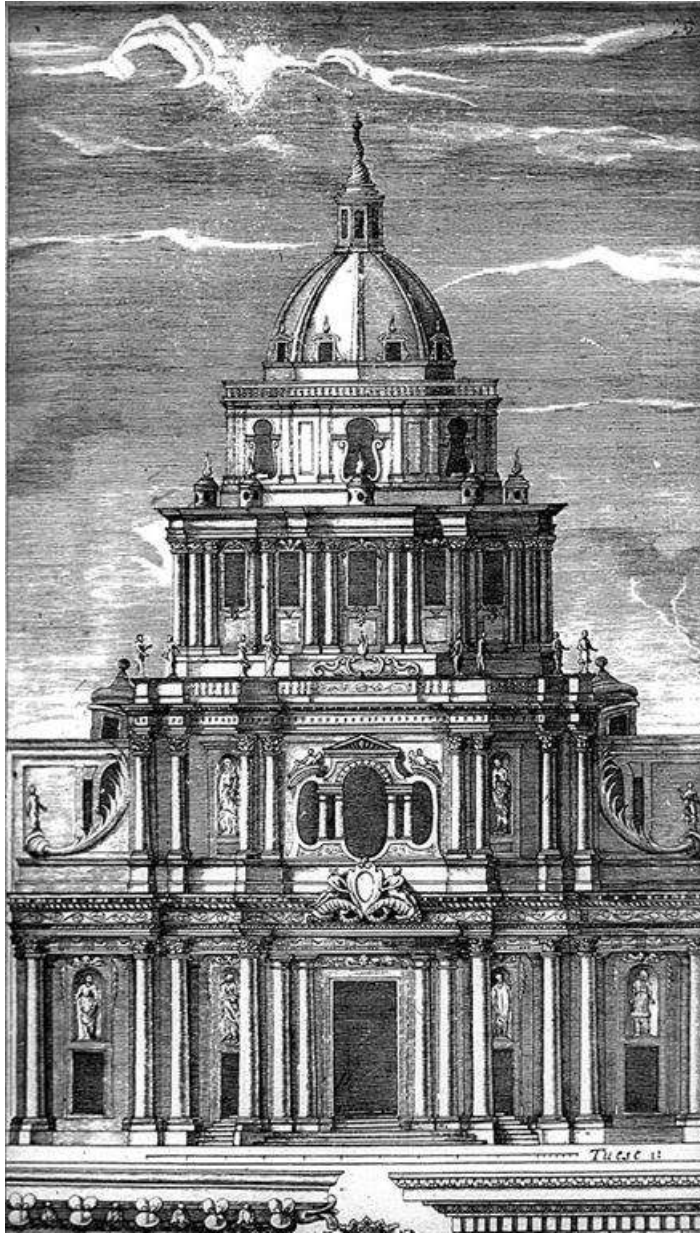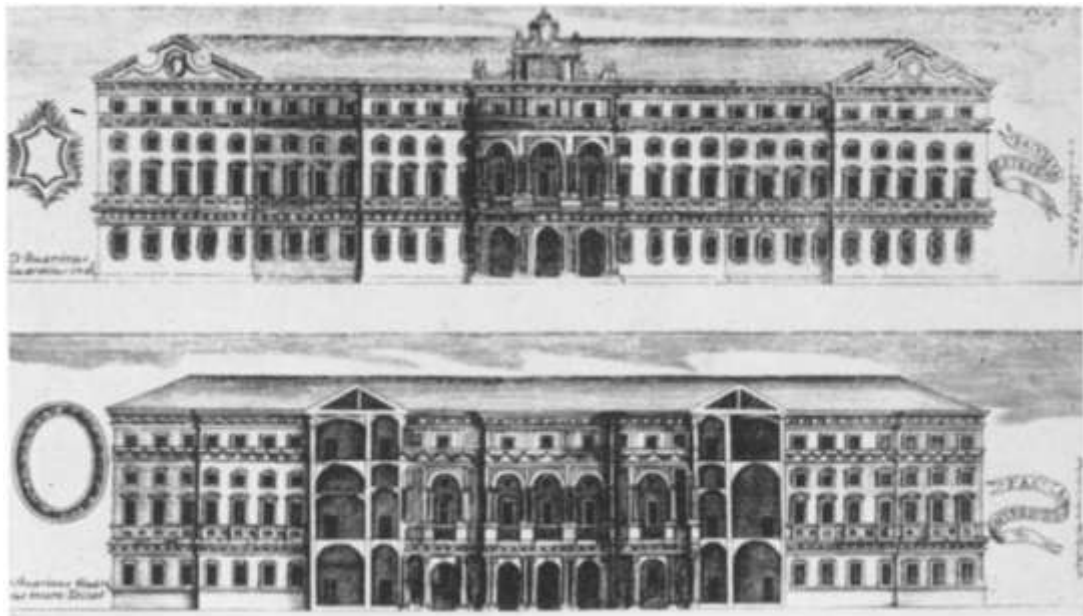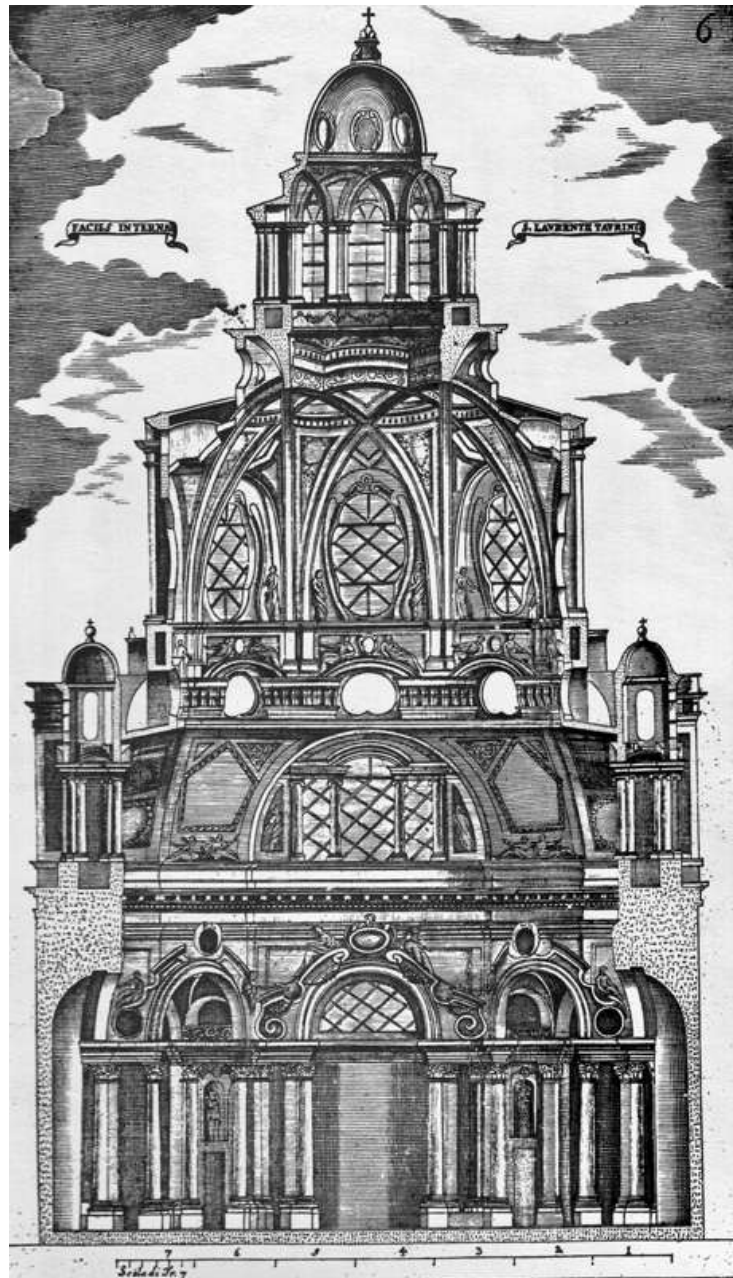
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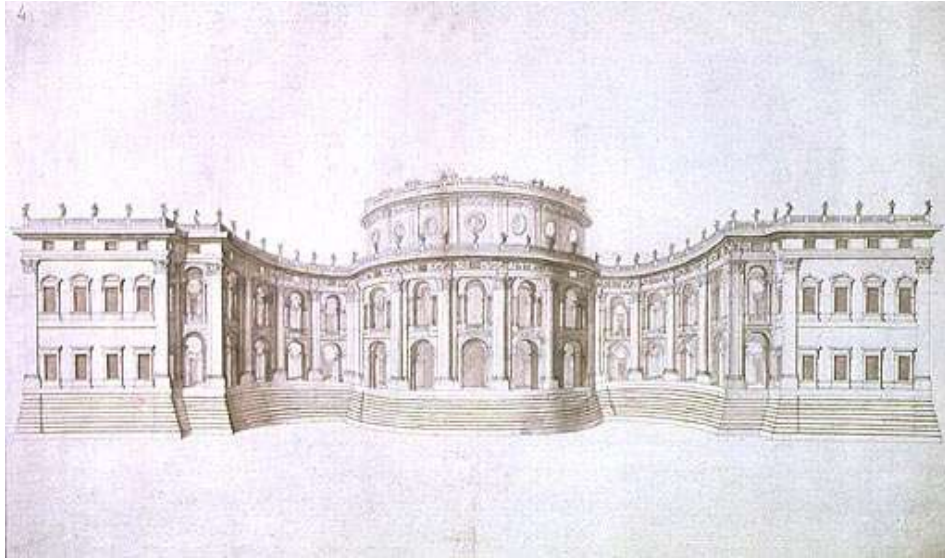
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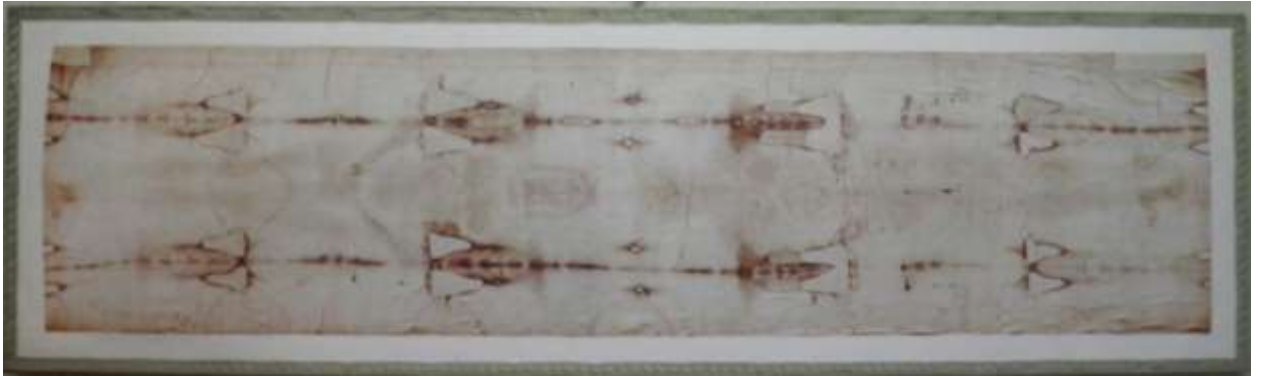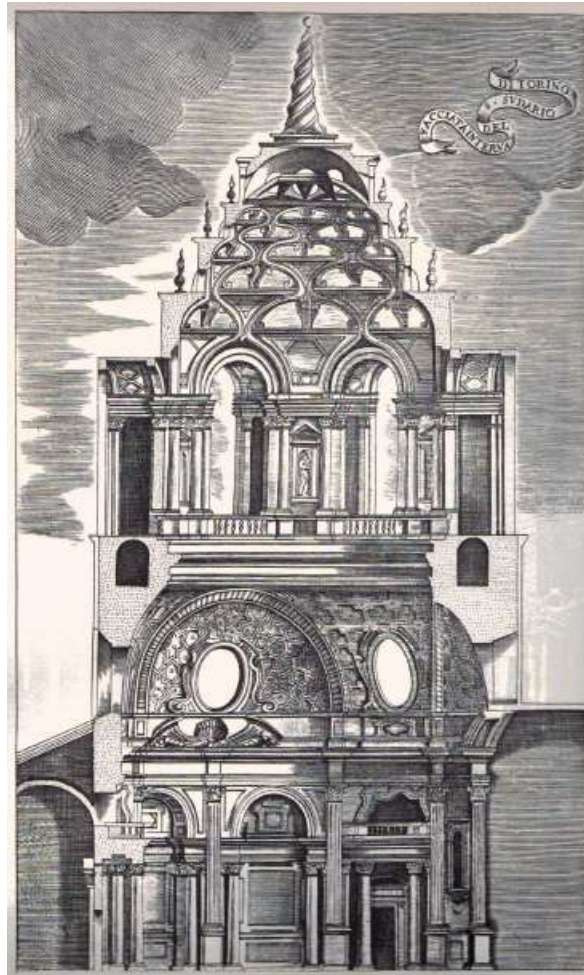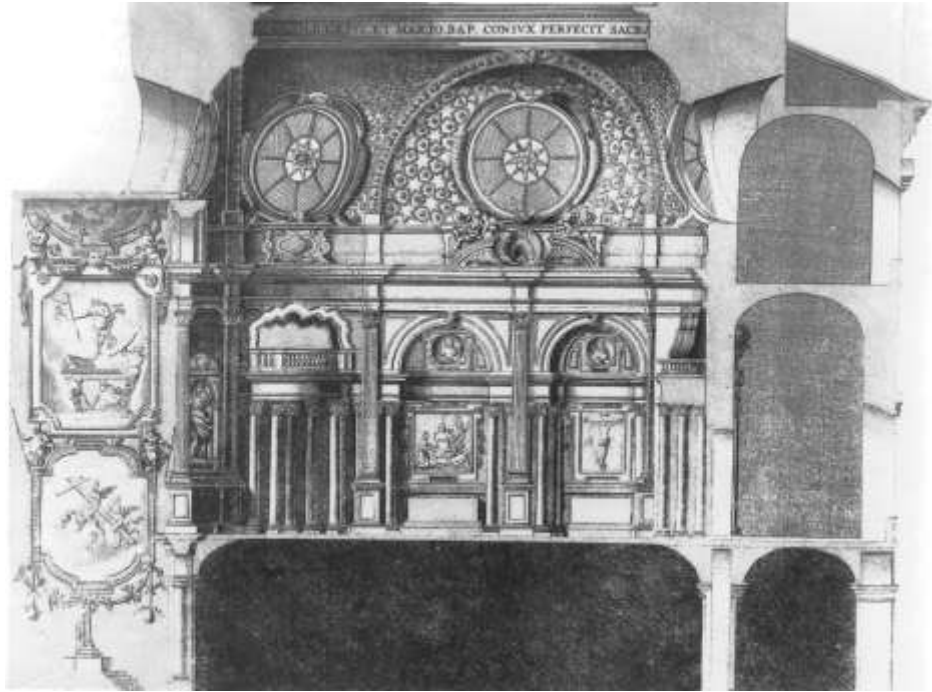
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