
Rethinking Bernini's *David*: Attitude, Moment and the Location of Goliath

THOMAS L. GLEN, MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Résumé

Depuis sa création, le *David* a été admiré comme le chef-d'œuvre de jeunesse du Bernin. Baldinucci affirme que: «dans cet ouvrage, Le Bernin s'est surpassé», qu'il «a réussi à exprimer la juste colère du jeune Israélite», que la sculpture «a seulement besoin du mouvement pour devenir vivante». Depuis ces remarques initiales, les chercheurs ont toujours continué à insister sur la vitalité du *David*, sur l'action même de détruire le géant, sur le fait que c'est le premier exemple depuis l'antiquité d'une figure qui lance un projectile, que Le Bernin s'est inspiré du *Traité de la peinture* de Léonard de Vinci, que Goliath doit être imaginé comme étant situé quelque part derrière le spectateur et, enfin, que le *David* reprend la pictorialité des fresques d'Annibal Carrache à la galerie du palais Farnèse et plus particulièrement du *Polyphème tuant Acis*.

Cela dit, il existe pourtant des preuves qui laissent croire que le *David* a souffert d'une longue tradition de contresens et de méprises. Les questions les plus importantes comprennent la «colère» de David, la localisation de Goliath et l'«instant» que Le Bernin veut nous faire apprécier. Nous croyons et montrerons dans cet article que le *David* n'exprime pas tant une «colère légitime» qu'une grande focalisation et concentration mentales. David «voit» Goliath dans son esprit lorsqu'il juge mentalement de la distance de la cible, juste avant de s'élaner et de lancer son projectile sur le géant, lequel doit être imaginé au-delà de l'espace de la sculpture, quelque part derrière elle et vers la droite. De cette façon, et comme c'est aussi le cas avec *Énée*, *Anchise* et *Ascanius* ou encore avec *Pluton* et *Perséphone*, les spectateurs sont invités à compléter la représentation qui est devant eux plutôt qu'en faire partie.

From the moment of its inception, Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Borghese *David* has been admired as the masterpiece of his early career; as the supreme example of split-second action and psychological investigation (fig. 1). Baldinucci states, "In this work Bernini far surpassed himself." He goes on to identify Bernini's own features in the statue and marvels at the facial expression: "the vigorous downward-drawn and wrinkled eyebrows, the fierce, fixed eyes, the upper lip biting the lower, ... the righteous anger of the young Israelite taking aim at the forehead of the giant Philistine with his sling. The same resoluteness, spirit and strength," Baldinucci says, "is found in every part of the body, which only needs movement to be alive."¹

Since Baldinucci's initial remarks, scholarship has continued to elaborate on the life-like qualities of *David*: that for the first time David is portrayed as actively engaged in the process of slaying the giant;² that this is arguably the first example of a throwing figure since antiquity; that Bernini has consulted Leonardo's *Trattato*;³ that the giant, not physically present in the sculpture, must be understood to be located in the viewer's space somewhere behind the viewer;⁴ that the *David* incorporates the pictorialism of Annibale Carracci's Farnese Gallery frescoes and specifically the pose of Polyphemus in *Polyphemus Slaying Acis* (fig. 2);⁵ and that the two, *David* and *Polyphemus*, share a similar anger or *sdegno*, as again first observed by Baldinucci and then Bellori.⁶

There is, however, evidence both tangible and circumstantial to suggest that *David* suffers from a long tradition of being misinterpreted and misunderstood. The most im-

portant issues in this regard include *David's* anger, the location of Goliath and, consequently, the "moment" Bernini means us to appreciate. And though it is true that *David* shows major advances on the earlier Borghese sculptures, it should be said that this piece has much in common with *Aeneas*, *Anchises* and *Ascanius* and the *Pluto and Persephone* (figs. 3 & 4), especially with regard to the pictorialism as found in Annibale Carracci's frescoes for both the Farnese *Galleria* and the *Camerino*. Of these early sculptures, *David* represents the final and most sophisticated adaptation of Annibale's pictorial essays at the Farnese Palace. Moreover, it is partially through an investigation of Bernini's sources in Annibale's work that the location of the imaginary Goliath is revealed to be in the space shared by the spectator, but *not* as Howard Hibbard and more recently Charles Scribner III have asserted *behind* the viewer. Indeed, to position the observer between *David* and Goliath is to ignore, I believe, Bernini's marvellous *concetto* which invites the onlooker to complete the "picture" rather than to be part of it.

Of the various sources for the *Aeneas*, *Anchises* and *Ascanius* (Michelangelo's *Risen Christ*, three figures from Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*), or for the *Pluto and Persephone* (Gianbologna's *Rape of the Sabine Women*, as evidenced by Bernini's drawing in Leipzig, his *Hercules and Antaeus* in Chicago, the antique group of the same subject in the Pitti Palace), or for Pietro da Barga's bronze of the same subject cast in Rome in the 1580s, there is one that has not heretofore been considered.⁷ It is pictorial and in this regard is especially appropriate for both these sculptures. It may be identified as one of the lunette frescoes located in the ceil-

Figure 1. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *David*, 1623. Marble, life-size. Rome, Borghese Gallery (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York).

ing of the *Camerino Farnese* featuring the *Catanian Brothers* (fig. 5). While no one would deny either Bernini's veneration of Raphael or the often noted similarity between his *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius* and the above mentioned group in the Renaissance master's *Fire in the Borgo*, the frontal presentation by Annibale Carracci of his *Catanian Brothers* carrying their parents out of the picture plane, away from the fire raging in the background, would appear to have been of particular interest to the young sculptor. Moreover, given his long acknowledged admiration of Annibale, we should not be surprised to find him consulting even the lesser-known frescoes of Annibale's Farnese Palace project.⁸

As J.R. Martin notes, the subject of the *Catanian Brothers* was rare in Renaissance art, though it seems, later, to have been of particular interest to Fulvio Orsini, one of the masterminds of the *Camerino* and *Galleria* iconographies. Such rarity, it should be said, would also have been attractive to Bernini, a committed student of the antique whose patrons at the time were among the most avid and knowledgeable collectors of antiquities in Rome.⁹ The *Catanian Brothers* are mentioned by both Pausanias and Virgil (according to Antonio Agustín in a letter of 1560 to Orsini) as having "carried their father and mother out of the land in a fire . . ." ¹⁰ In the foreground one son carrying their father on his shoulders looks back to his brother in the middle distance who carries their mother. She, in obvious alarm and with arms raised, looks back over her right shoulder to the flames raging in the distance on the left. Surely we may identify the nearest couple of father and son with the *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius*, who similarly stride towards us in their attempt to escape the destruction of Troy, which we are asked to *imagine* somewhere behind them, beyond the space of the sculpture.

In the same way we may recognize the second couple of mother and son in the *Pluto and Persephone*. As Pluto marches menacingly towards us and the gates of hell,



Persephone, like the *Catanian* mother, looks back in fear and panic over, not her right but her left shoulder, to the safety of her friends whom we are persuaded once again to *imagine* somewhere in the right background beyond the space of the marble figures. Both the *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius* and *Pluto and Persephone* were placed against walls; this affords the spectator a frontal approach, although side

Figure 2. A. Carracci, *Polyphemus Slaying Acis*, 1597-1600. Fresco. Farnese Gallery, Rome (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York).



views are not unimportant. In recognizing the subject matter of both works, we are reminded of the respective narratives and are thus invited to complete each of the "pictures." By taking our cue from the frescoes, we can imagine or fill in the appropriate background story elements which in the sculptures are missing but which in the *Catanian Brothers* are not.

It is not, however, just the pictorialism that Bernini has adopted from Annibale's frescoes. The very forms of his sculptures reflect in their painterly modelling Annibale's particular interpretation, as observed by Hibbard, of Greco-Roman mythology. Hibbard identifies *Persephone* as "a sculptured Carracci" while further noting that "the depiction of a moment of action, or of action about to occur, derives from Bernini's study of the Farnese Gallery."¹¹

Now *David*, too, was designed to be placed against a

wall and thus offered the same largely frontal appreciation, though it has been noted that secondary views in this work afford us a far better understanding of the action.¹² And if we may recognize in Annibale's *Polyphemus Slaying Acis* from the Farnese Gallery the same pictorial inspiration for *David* as the *Catanian Brothers* provides for the earlier sculptures, then it may be observed, at least from a formal perspective, that the missing component, Goliath, should be understood to be located behind *David*, in a position similar to *Acis* in Annibale's fresco, diagonally behind him, over his left shoulder. The viewer would thus be completing the "picture" in the same way as Bernini intended for the other two works.

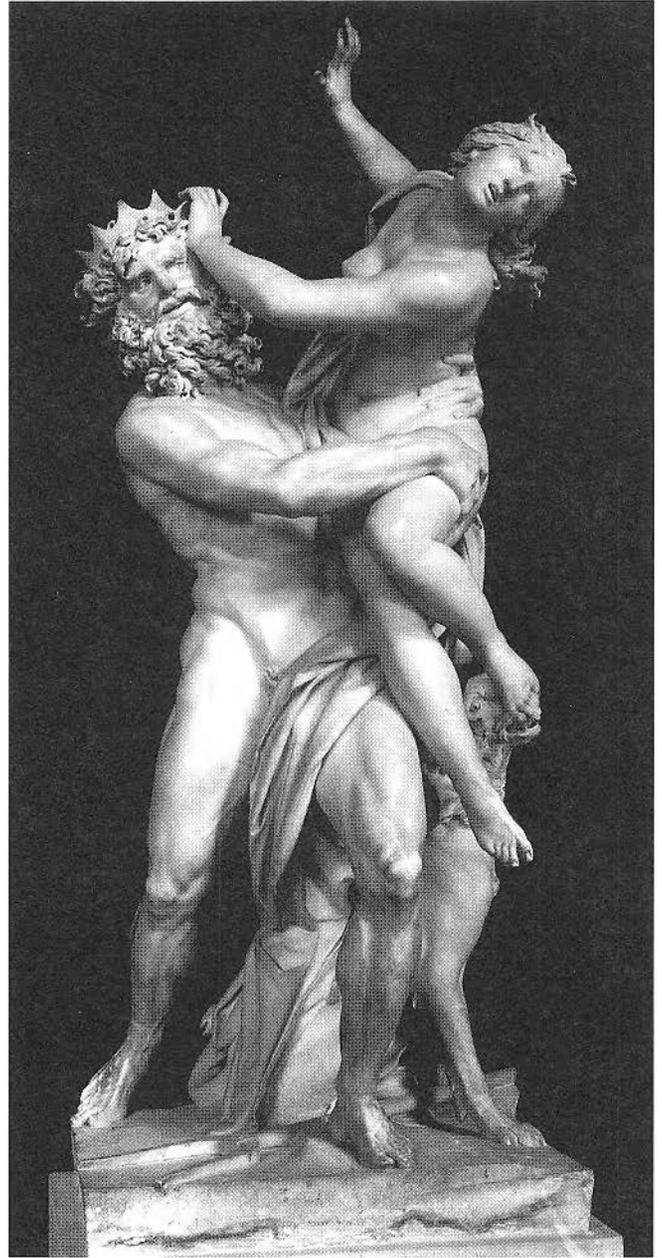
David's pose, however, is not as close to Polyphemus's as are the poses of the other two Borghese sculptures to Annibale's *Catanian Brothers*. Moreover, there is still the question of the "righteous anger of the young Israelite" and the "fixity" of his gaze on his adversary. *David* also differs from the previous sculptures in that it is a biblical subject and a single figure. The narrative component is therefore very much reduced. What identifies the statue as *David* are the attributes of sling, the piled up armour, a gift from Saul for the confrontation, and the harp which *David* played so often to soothe the troubled spirit of his master. Interestingly, this relationship of servant and master can be seen to extend to Bernini's own situation with Scipione Borghese; for he, the artist-servant to the Cardinal, has crowned *David's* harp with an eagle's head, an emblem of the Borghese family.

Different, too, is the "moment." *David* portrays split-second action rather than the idea of continuous walking toward the viewer expressed by both *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius* and *Pluto and Persephone* or, for that matter, the *Catanian Brothers*. In addition, *David's* attention, as is further argued below, is focused not in the direction of the viewer but over his left shoulder somewhere towards the space behind him. To this end the toes of *David's* left foot originally projected beyond the base, so as to suggest that

Figure 3. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius*, 1618-19. Marble, life-size. Rome, Borghese Gallery (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York).



Figure 4. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Pluto and Persephone*, 1621-22. Marble, over life-size. Rome, Borghese Gallery (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York).

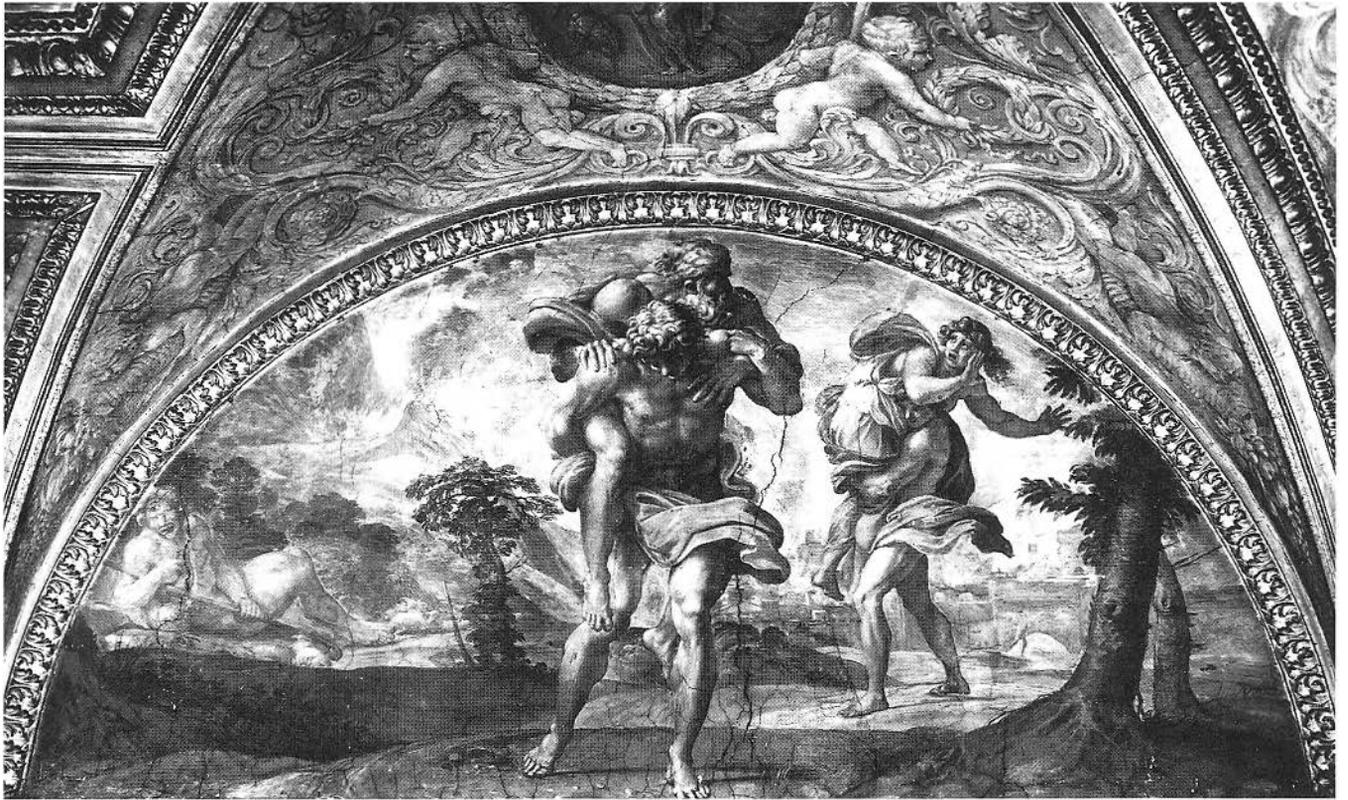


the figure and its actions are not limited to the confines of the marble setting, but rather should be understood as involving the space around and beyond it. It seems to have been imperative to Bernini that we should comprehend an action which, though beginning within the confines of the marble block, progresses in movement to *David's* left, finally to finish in the space occupied by the viewer. In other words, *David* should be imagined as spinning to his left off his base as he completes his throw in the direction of his foe, diagonally behind. The discarded armour provides an additional clue in this regard. Beyond its engineering and

narrative functions – it acts as a massive support, while confirming through its abandonment that *David* is so protected by his faith that armour is unnecessary – the cuirass, positioned as it is behind the statue and more to its right, leaves open to the shepherd warrior a space to his left (and before and behind him) that is large enough to accommodate his spin towards an adversary looming in the right background of this “picture.”

As Rudolf Preimesberger has postulated, Bernini was determined that *David* should accurately represent a throwing figure, and to this purpose he has followed Leonardo's

Figure 5. A. Carracci, *Catanian Brothers*, 1595. Fresco. Rome, Camerino Farnese (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York).



instructions as outlined in his *Trattato*. Such verisimilitude would also have been important to Bernini if he were consciously attempting to rival antiquity, in creating what he may have perceived as the first “throwing figure” sculpture since that time. Where Annibale Carracci’s Polyphemus, according to Bellori, is an illustration of Leonardo’s “man who waits to throw a stone with great force,” *David* exemplifies the man “who twists and moves himself from there to the opposite side” and “who wants to throw a spear or rock or something else with energetic motion.”¹³

Indeed, according to Preimesberger, *David* appears to respond quite dramatically to Leonardo’s ideas on the *Throwing Man*, and especially, I believe, to the artist’s advice regarding the representation of the man *beginning the motion*:

If you represent him beginning the motion, then the inner side of the outstretched foot will be in line with the chest, and will bring the opposite shoulder over the foot on which his weight rests. That is: the right foot will be under his weight, and the left shoulder will be above the tip of the right foot.

What next happens, according to Leonardo, is that the figure:

twists and moves himself from there to the opposite side, where, when he gathers his strength and prepares to

throw, he *turns* [my emphasis] with speed and ease to the position where he lets the weight leave his hands.¹⁴

That Bernini also meant us to anticipate in *David* this next “moment” can be ascertained by a comparison of his pose with Lucian’s and Quintilian’s famous descriptions of Myron’s *Discobolus*. Both texts were very well known, and once again it would have been appropriate for Bernini, both a sculptor *and* a student of the antique, to have been aware of them. As Preimesberger observes, *David* may also be seen to demonstrate the antique work’s torsion, which the ancient authors identify in their texts.¹⁵

With regard to the *Discobolus*, Quintilian writes, “But that curve, I might almost call it motion – gives an impression of action and animation,” while Lucian notes, “Here is the discus thrower, who bends over and turns in the process of getting ready to throw ... and who will obviously straighten up again after the throw.”¹⁶

Though *David* may be seen to reflect the next stage of throwing, it is important to reiterate that he is primarily shown in the *beginning* of the motion. He cannot, therefore, see his target at this point, as he must first *turn* “energetically” to his left in order to hurl his projectile. Goliath consequently cannot be located in the space behind the viewer. Such observations on both the action and the position of Goliath are further substantiated through a look at

Figure 6. N. Poussin, *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus*, 1634. Oil on canvas, 116 x 160 cm. Paris, Louvre (Photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, New York).

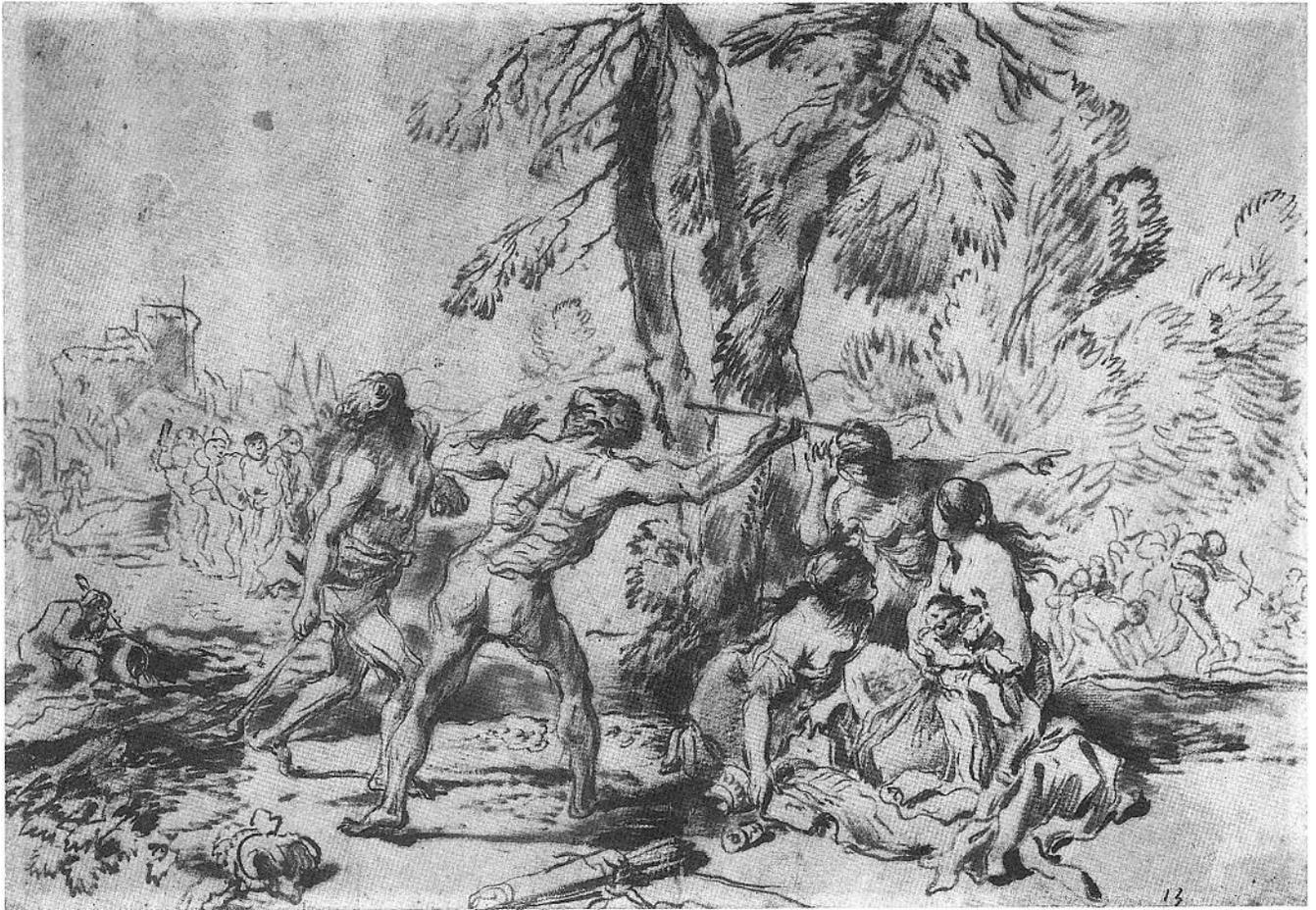


Nicolas Poussin's painting, *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus* of 1634, in the Louvre, in which the stone-throwing figure (again taken from Leonardo's treatise) shows that his body is turned away from his adversaries, though his head is cocked in their direction (fig. 6). This is even more clearly illustrated by G.B. Castiglione's drawing of the same subject, which features a stone slinger, head and body turned away from the enemy, in mid-swing of his throwing motion (fig. 7).¹⁷ Significantly, it must be noted that *David's* head, too, is involuntarily cocked to his left; in other words in the direction which is here being proposed as the location of Goliath. Moreover, the precise tilt of the head to the left, the raised face, and the diagonal line formed by the knitted brows rising to his left, all reflect an attitude acknowledging an opponent not only in the right background, but one who is considerably taller.

But how does one deal with *David's* expression of "anger," as described by Baldinucci, reiterated more recently by Scribner and particularly by Preimesberger, who identi-

fies *David* as an emotional figure "filled with rage?"¹⁸ Certainly, the furrowed brows and grimace of biting lips might seem to suggest anger. The *Vulgate*, however, says nothing about *David* being angry. And to equate the expressions of *David* and Polyphemus, as Baldinucci and Bellori have done, is also, I feel, a mistake. Their missions are quite different. Polyphemus may, indeed, be filled with the jealous rage of a jilted suitor – but not so *David*, who is instead armed with the strength of his faith (I *Samuel* 17, 45-47). In this respect it is important to be aware, too, that *David's* eyes are, in fact, not as "fiercely" fixed as Baldinucci first claimed (fig. 8). For, in comparison to the detailing of the eyes in the *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius*, the *Pluto and Persephone* or the *Apollo and Daphne*, for that matter, *David's* irises and pupils, though visible, are not as deeply carved out. Close inspection reveals that the eyes are actually rather shallowly developed and demonstrate little of the drill work which characterizes the eyes of the other statues, thus permitting them to be so expressive from a comfortable view-

Figure 7. G.B. Castiglione, *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus*, ca. 1637-40. Brown oil paint, 26.3 x 38 cm. London, The Royal Collection (Photo: The Royal Collection ©, Her Majesty the Queen).



ing distance. From a similar vantage point, *David's* eyes, significantly, are virtually blank.

Could Bernini, therefore, not have been meaning to suggest something quite different: perhaps a facial expression of mental concentration rather than of anger? Should it not more properly be said that at this point *David* sees Goliath in the eye of his imagination, that he is mentally gaging the distance of his throw and the height and the location of his target, the instant before he actually swings into action, just as a discus thrower or shot-putter would do today?¹⁹ Under such circumstances of cool, focused calculation, there is absolutely no room for emotions, especially anger, one of the seven deadly sins. Nothing should cloud this cerebral image of the task at hand.²⁰

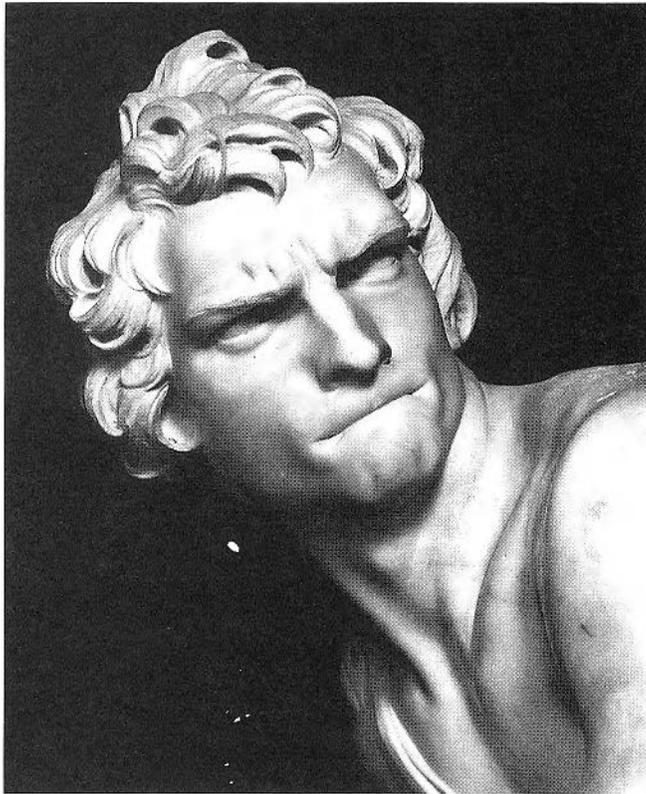
We might, thus, further propose that Goliath, as a result, is here *already* conquered in *David's* mind. *David* "sees" his target and has reviewed in his mind the mechanics of the throw. It only remains to sling the stone; to an experienced athlete this is virtually an automatic action dependent on learned technique and mental preparation. Moreover, such triumph of intellect, fuelled by faith, over brute force

is far more in keeping with the function of *David* at the Villa Borghese.

According to Preimesberger, *David* is a model of the ecclesiastical *princeps litteratus*, he enhanced the *cultus divinus* with poetry and music.²¹ At the Villa Borghese *David* stood in the first *stanza*, the positive counterpart to the *Apollo and Daphne* in the last room, for which Maffeo Barberini composed the famous epigram warning of sensual pleasure and "the bitter fame, that comes from worldly sensual poetry," just such poetry as was enjoying tremendous popularity in the *Adone* of 1622 by Gian Battista Marino who in 1623 had returned triumphantly from France.

If we can accept the statements of both Baldinucci and Domenico Bernini that Maffeo Barberini on several occasions held the mirror for the sculptor as he applied his own facial features to *David*, and if we further consider that the statue was executed between the summer of 1623 and the start of 1624, it seems almost impossible that Maffeo, who became Pope Urban VIII on 6 August 1623, would not have had some input into the meaning that *David* should con-

Figure 8. Bernini, David, detail of Figure 1 (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York).



vey. Maffeo Barberini objected strongly to Marino, and in his later *Poemata*, with a title page by Bernini of a fighting David, he pleads for his concept of a *poesia sacra* while exhorting the youth of Italy to support him by “taking up David’s Lyre and driving out the monster.”²²

So it may be said that David, who, St Jerome wrote, “let Christ sound on his lyre,” is evoked because of his character, his resolution of purpose and his faith, not because of his physical prowess. In this regard it is strength of faith and sharpness of intellect that are called upon to prevail in both the Borghese *David* and Maffeo Barberini’s writing. Indeed, Preimesberger concluded in 1985 that *David*, apart from its association with Leonardo’s *Trattato* or the *Discobolus*, must be understood as “the reflection of a struggle between opposing cultural positions, of an ecclesiastical ‘Kultur Kampf’.”²³ Finally, with regard to Pope Urban VIII, it is appropriate that David personifies the totality of virtues and especially Faith, the ultimate virtue, at least according to Ripa.²⁴ For the likes of Scipione Borghese, David’s slaying of Goliath in the Old Testament, with its typological relationship to Christ’s overcoming temptation in the desert in the New Testament, would serve as a forceful reminder of the true path of righteousness – that very path which might more frequently be trodden by the Cardinal.

Notes

- 1 Taken from Alois Riegl, *Filippo Baldinucci’s Vita des Gio. Lorenzo Bernini mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Vienna, 1912) as translated and reproduced in E. G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art*, X vols. (Princeton, 1958), II, 112-13. Baldinucci further tells us that Cardinal Maffeo Barberini often came to the sculptor’s studio in order to hold the mirror for Bernini as he incorporated his own features into the face of *David*. Domenico Bernini confirms this point while also commenting on the “truly marvelous expression” in the face; see Domenico Bernini, *Vita del Cavalier Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini* (Rome, 1713; repr. Munich, 1988), ch. III, 18-19.
- 2 See, for example, H. Hibbard, *Bernini* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 56.
- 3 R. Preimesberger, “Themes from Art Theory in the Early Works of Bernini,” in I. Lavin, ed., *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought* (Pittsburgh, 1985), 11-12.
- 4 Hibbard, *Bernini*, 55; C. Scribner III, *Bernini* (New York, 1991), 66.
- 5 See, for example, Hibbard, *Bernini*, 62-64.
- 6 Preimesberger, “Themes from Art Theory,” 11.
- 7 For a review of the sources, see Hibbard, *Bernini*, 36-45; Preimesberger, “Themes from Art Theory,” 10; I. Lavin, ed., *Drawings by Gianlorenzo Bernini from the Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig, German Democratic Republic* (Princeton, 1981), 56-61; M. Winner, “Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage in His Early Years: Praxiteles’, Bernini’s and Lanfranco’s *Pluto and Proserpina*,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXII (1985), 191-207.
- 8 Further with respect to frontality, it is worth mentioning that Annibale at first envisioned the youth carrying the father as moving diagonally to the left but then changed this lateral arrangement to the frontal view of the final fresco. Perhaps Annibale, too, was thinking initially of Raphael’s figures, though in reverse. On the drawings for the Catanian Brothers, see J.R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (Princeton, 1965), 188-89.
- 9 Just how conversant Bernini was with the antique at this time is revealed by M. Winner in his discussion of *Pluto and Persephone*. He argues persuasively that the young artist seems intentionally to have meant to refer to – and even to surpass – a *Rape of Persephone* by the ancient sculptor, Praxiteles. The contrasting emotions of the Lord of the Underworld and his victim suggest such a rivalry, as do their actions. See M. Winner, “Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage of his Early Years,” esp. 204-07.
- 10 Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, 45-46. Martin (35-36) also alludes to why this scene was chosen and not the very similar Aeneas carrying his father out of Troy. Obviously, Bernini has made this connection.
- 11 Hibbard, *Bernini*, 63-64; for one of the best discussions of Bernini and Annibalesque pictorialism, see 48-64.

- 12 See the discussion in Joy Kensath's, "Bernini's Borghese Sculptures: Another View," *Art Bulletin*, LXIII, 5 (1981), 191ff.
- 13 As quoted in Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 11.
- 14 As quoted in Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 11-12.
- 15 Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 11-12; and his "Zu Berninis Borghese – Skulpturen," in S. Beck and R. Schulze, eds, *Antikenrezeption im Hoch Barock* (Berlin, 1989), 125-27.
- 16 As quoted in Preimesberger; see note 13 above. Bernini could only have known Myron's *Discobolus* through the description of it by Quintilian (Quintilian, II, 13, VIII-X) or Lucian (*Philospseudes*, 18) since the sculpture as we know it today was not discovered until 1781. On the other hand, the *Borghese Gladiator*, to which secondary views of *David* bear resemblance, is known to have been at the Villa Borghese by 1613; see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London, 1981), 199-202, 221-24.
- 17 The relationship of this passage of Poussin's painting to Leonardo's *Treatise* is well known. Castiglione's drawing, however, seems to me to be a far more poignant image of the action under discussion; see Richard Vardi, *Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665*, exh. cat. (London, 1995), 199-200. During the 1630s, Poussin was busy preparing illustrations for Leonardo's *Treatise on Painting* which was republished in Paris in 1651. G.B. Castiglione's drawing of *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus* dates from 1637-40 and is in the British Royal Collection.
- 18 Scribner III, *Bernini*, 66; and Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 14.
- 19 There are a number of such discussions of inner focusing and concentrating of energies available in print today. For a popular example, see J. Canfield and M. Victor Hansen, *Dare to Win* (New York, 1994), esp. 31-44.
- 20 For David in this situation to be expressing anger is particularly inappropriate. I am grateful to Dr. James Bugslag for pointing out to me that David was traditionally related to the Virtues, most notably Fortitude, and that Fortitude, specifically, was sometimes even contrasted with Anger or Ira. See Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1988), 149, 153.
- 21 Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 12-13; and his "Zu Berninis Borghese – Skulpturen," 124-25.
- 22 Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 13.
- 23 Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory," 13.
- 24 The long tradition of decorating papal tombs with the virtues is well known. See, for example, E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1956), esp. 67-96; and M. Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1994), 288-91.