

A reflection on the reception of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *Idea del Tempio della pittura*

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This article derives from my master's dissertation, where I conducted a critical study and developed a partial commented translation to Portuguese of the late treatise by the Milanese painter Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della pittura*, published in Milan, in 1590². In the dissertation, I proposed a reflection on the contemporaneity of the object of the historical investigation, namely the *Idea del tempio*, both in the sense of the researcher's sensibility to the object of his analysis, a sensibility that reflects the urgency of his own time, and in the sense of possible connections that this treatise allows us to establish with contemporary critical positions in relation to the work of art. Hence, the goal of this article is to expose the analysis presented on my dissertation in a more concise way. I do not propose a definitive hypothesis about this issue. Nevertheless, it constitutes the beginning of a reflection about Lomazzo's thought that I intend to continue pursuing.

When examining the History of the *Idea del tempio*'s reception, one can perceive more clearly the hues of the approaches of contemporary criticism itself. The manner how one enquires says more than the manners how the question is answered. As André Chastel stated, "On the edge, one could say that the lesson of History is already present in the question that we endeavour to put"³.

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² The title of my master dissertation is "Idea del Tempio della pittura by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1590). Critical study and partial commented translation" (*Idea del Tempio della pittura de Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1590). Estudo crítico da obra e tradução parcial comentada*).

³ KLEIN, R. (org. André Chastel). *La forme et l'intelligible*. São Paulo, SP: EDUSP, 1998, p. 13.

Lionello Venturi, in a work published about eighty years ago, stated that “the entire History of Criticism lives in the current thinking”⁴. Even today, Venturi’s appeal has not lost its vigour: it is imperative that the historian reflects on the present, for the perception of the present is the condition for any and all understanding of the past. Only the experience of the present enables a critical action in the face of an object or a past event. And without critical judgment the analysis is emptied, without discriminating what is contingent, proper of a specific time and place, from what crosses history and connects to the present.

Therefore, it is necessary to lay our feet in the present in order to perceive the real strength of the object’s survival under our examination, before we go through the intricacies that lead us to the comprehension of the work and its author. Only then shall we dwell on the delights of researching the past, plunging into the unveiling of a personality and the result of the thinking process of a man inserted in his historical context - where the historian immerses himself with enormous pleasure, enjoying each new piece found to compose a puzzle, whose final form gains sharpness insofar as the process come close to the end, hence the source of the fascination of our profession.

Everything arrives to us as fragments, made of pieces of pots, marbles, vile or precious objects, blindly and randomly assembled. From that stack that was accumulated and adjusted well or badly in the ground, we must, by attentive displacements of elements, to make emerge little by little a figure, or rather: the composition that makes the whole *intelligible*⁵,

as stated André Chastel, reflecting on Alberti’s moral essay, *De*

⁴ The Italian edition has been used for this article: VENTURI, L. *Storia della critica d'arte*. Turim: Einaudi, c. 1964, p. 330.

⁵ KLEIN, R. (Org. André Chastel; transl. Cely Arena). *A forma e o inteligível*. SP: EDUSP, 1998, pp. 12-13.

tranquillitate animi (1443-1444)⁶, in which the author meditates on the identification of the figures in the mosaics, such as the intellectual activity.

First of all, one must always keep in mind that the past is an abstraction and that the historical analysis is a current interpretation of the past; it is the consequence of a desire or a need of the present to seek aspects in the past that can re-signify the present itself. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the past keeping the present in view, so that this past has any power of transformation. This is the mission of the historian as a critical individual, while being a historical agent himself,

The schemas are always dead. Nothing but the present is alive. Only the present can vivify the past. Cannot the past serve as norm for the present. When the present accepts to conform to the past, it is no longer present, it is not alive anymore⁷.

On the grounds of the proposed reflection, we will take the currentness of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's thought into consideration. How potent can it be as a vestige of a past that no longer exists (and that cannot be fully grasped)? What drives the art historian to an attempt of understanding a theoretical work as the *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*? In other words, what values were attributed to this work that made it jump to the eyes of Contemporaneity? Clearly, these questions do not have just a single answer. For that reason, we will delimit some of them, that can be observed through some of the scholars who approached this treatise.

The *Idea del Tempio della pittura* is part of the history of artistic thought, within the Art Theory of sixteenth century. Still, it is part of the History of Art Criticism, that is, of the history of reactions towards the problem of the artistic object. Being a critical action in the face of the art of its time, it participates in art; it is the expression of a critical judgment. The manifestation of the critical judgment of an artist, according to Venturi,

⁶ From the preface of *La forme et l'intelligible* (1970).

⁷ VENTURI, L. *Storia della critica d'arte*. Turin: Einaudi, c. 1964, p. 171.

arises from the interaction between taste and art, that is, between what concerns a specific group or context and what concerns an universal issue, the expression of the creative force of a thinking mind. Therefore, through it one can apprehend an extract of the period accounted and its culture, within the category of taste, and it also allows us to identify what is permanent, the aspects that encounter the contemporary world. It is task of the historian, as Venturi asserted, beyond detecting changes, to know how to trace permanent components in the diachronic process, even within revolutions. What is permanent reveals the currentness of the vestige, making it a living fact.

Throughout the twentieth century, researchers turned their attention to the *Idea del Tempio della pittura* and to the personality of the painter and scholar Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo with greater sensibility to the connections with its cultural, social and aesthetic context. Such behaviour did not constitute an isolated case towards Lomazzo and his *corpus*, but it reveals a mark of transformations occurred, in general, in the field of History of Art.

At the turn of the new century, History struggled to overcome the investigative conduct based on chaining historical facts, consolidated in the nineteenth century, which saw the technical progress in the art field. Philology brought to History of Art the documentary rigour and the examination of art in relation to other aspects of coeval culture and society, based on value judgment of the artistic object with aspects of neutrality. Both Positivism and Philology gave rise to a vast bibliography on artists, monuments and works of art, discoveries, corrections, and new attributions. However, they presented a profound methodological chasm regarding modern art⁸.

As it is known, the events that erupted in the twentieth century, destabilising the paradigms that supported the various fields of knowledge, reverberated in revision and epistemological debate within the so-called Human Sciences. As it was argued, with regard to modern art, the positivist

⁸ In the preface of VENTURI, L. *Storia della critica d'arte*. Turin: Einaudi, c. 1964.

History and the nineteenth-century Philology were not capable of producing a critical knowledge that would account for it without rejecting it altogether. In 1936, during his exile from Fascist Italy in the United States, Lionello Venturi published his *Storia della critica d'arte* facing this problem, where he proposed a new perspective for studies in the field, influenced by Benedetto Croce's Aesthetics. It was necessary to bring critical judgment to historical analysis by identifying History of Art with History of Art Criticism, that is, by means of "examining the critical reactions that a work of art brought forth over the centuries." In this way, it would be possible to delimit the relations between art and taste, and, within these relations, to evoke the artist's own critical judgment, his experience with the reality to which he belonged, avoiding any appreciation in absolute terms of taste.

Thereby, the perspective of historical analysis gained a new vitality from understanding the artistic process as creation, adapting the key of Croce's Aesthetics, the concept of intuition-expression, fruit of senses and imagination, inserted in a historically concrete world. The emphasis was placed on the importance of the personality of the artist immersed in his context and on the individual creative power. It is through this breath of new winds that the *Idea del Tempio* and its author will be received, re-examined, revived and reinterpreted.

In order to reflect on the twentieth century criticism, I propose an exam on the precedent reception of this work, so one can perceive the critical judgment of each period and the characteristics of the treatise that were highlighted (or not) by the authors. Concerning the reception of Lomazzo's theory of art, there was a total silence about his published treatises in the beginning. A slightly more significant repercussion can be detected outside Italy, in a French environment, where Lomazzo echoed to a certain extent in the writings of authors who opposed to the explanations of the expression of human passions in the work of art exposed by Charles Le Brun at the French Academy in 1688, inspired by aesthetic ideas contained in Descartes' *Les passions de l'âme* (Paris, 1649).

The immediate reception of the work

The silence in which Lomazzo's artistic theory was immersed immediately after its publication is very significant. In general, concerning the Milanese context, we witness only the usual compliments contained in the poems gathered at the beginning of his writings, a practice quite usual in the period, which generally allude to the great intellect of the author and the fatality of the blindness that struck him in his youth, without properly addressing the theoretical contents of his texts⁹. Through these poems, it is possible to reconstitute an advantageous picture of his social circle, which becomes clearer when confronted with other documents.

Lomazzo was an active figure among Milanese artists, poets, nobles and magistrates. He is known for his central role in the "anti-literary" Academy of Blenio Valley¹⁰, function immortalised by himself in his self-portrait at the *Pinacoteca di Brera*¹¹. Also, his collections of poems, *Rime ad imitazione dei grotteschi* (Milan, 1587) and *Rabisch* (Milan, 1589), reveal his relations with friends who were artists and men of letters, patrons and protectors, and his discontents and rivalries.

Among the members of the Blenio Valley Academy were artists from all branches, painters, sculptors, actors, architects, poets, musicians, embroiderers, upholsterers, sword makers and engravers¹².

⁹ There are almost fifty poems, written by nearly forty different authors, and all of them, in the majority of cases, do allusions to his blindness or contain metaphors about the theme of light and shadow, as it was highlighted by G. Ackerman. See ACKERMAN, G. *The structure of Lomazzo's Treatise on Painting*. Pennsylvania: Princeton University, 1964, p. 15.

¹⁰ Lomazzo's *Fortuna Critica*, since the first scholars to write about him, as Ghilini (1647) and Picinelli (1670), outlines his function in this academy as its leader. See BORA, G.; KAHN-ROSSI, M.; PORZIO, F. (org.). *Rabisch. Il grottesco nell'arte de Cinquecento. L'Accademia della Val di Blenio, Lomazzo e l'ambiente milanese*. Skyra: Milan, 1998. In the first chapter of my master's dissertation I discussed about Lomazzo and the academy.

¹¹ Autoritratto in veste di abate dell'Accademia della Val di Blenio, 1568, oil on canvas, 56x44cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

¹² Some of their names: Ottavio Semino, Annibale Fontana, Gio. Ambrogio Brambilla, Scipione Delfinone, Francesco Tortorino, Lorenzo e Rafaello Toscani, Guido Mazzenta, Sigismondo Foliani, Bernardino Baldini, Giacomo Soldati, Francesco Giussano, Giuseppe Caimo, Girolamo Vincenza,

One can thus notice that the rigid division between art and crafts cannot be detected here. At this time, Milan had a central role in the production of luxury goods for European courts: all kinds of articles like jewels, tapestries, fabrics, metal and crystal objects, gem carvings, swords, armours, were exported from Milan to the courts of Turin, Madrid, Florence, Vienna, and Prague¹³.

In addition to the contact evidenced by the Blenian Academy, there were relations of kinship and affective ties between Lomazzo and the circle of local artisans¹⁴. This dynamic artisanal network, connected geographically and affectively, allows us to imagine the sense of local pride cultivated among these characters. Furthermore, there was a good relationship between this group and some Milanese influential nobles, such as Pirro Borromeo Visconti, Prospero Visconti and Giuliano Gosellini¹⁵.

Simone da Bologna, Paolo Camillo Landriani, Aurelio Luini, Vespasiano Marino, and others. About the academy and its members, See BORA, G.; KAHN-ROSSI, M.; PORZIO, F. (org.). *Rabisch. Il grottesco nell'arte de Cinquecento. L'Accademiadella Val di Blenio, Lomazzo e l'ambiente milanese*. Skyra: Milan, 1998.

¹³ See BERTELLI, C. "Introduzione". In Rabisch. Il grottesco nell'arte de Cinquecento. L'Accademia della Val di Blenio, Lomazzo e l'ambiente milanese. Skyra: Milan, 1998, pp. 17-21; ROMANI, Marzio Achille (org.). *Made in Milano. Le botteghe del Cinquecento*. Parma: Grafiche Step Editrice, 2015.

¹⁴ The region of Santa Maria Beltrade's parish, where the house and the workshop of his family was sited until 1571, was a local of concentration of workshops. The Lomazzo family had ties with the Delfinone Family (the daughter of the embroiderer Scipione was married to Lomazzo's younger brother, Cesare); The Figino family (the family of the famous painter Ambrogio Figino, disciple of Gio. Paolo Lomazzo) lived there. The tailor Giovan Antonio Maiocchi had family connections with Lomazzo. The documents about Lomazzo and the circle of artists and craftsmen who lived in this location in Milan can be found at GIULIANI, M.; SACCHI, R. "Per una lettura dei documenti su Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, storico pittor fatto poeta". In BORA, G.; KAHN-ROSSI, M.; PORZIO, F. (org.). *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Giuliano Gosellini (Rome, 1525 - Milan, 1587), see *ibidem*, pp. 103, 105 e 108; Prospero Visconti was prior of the *Ospedale Maggiore*, diplomat and art collector. He developed an important role working to Wilhelm V of Bavaria, collecting artistic objects to form the collections of the Bavarian duke, putting Milanese artistic productions into circulation in German courts. See *ibidem*, pp. 47, 105 e 107; About the activities of Pirro Visconti as one of the supporters of the Blenian academy, see *ibidem*, pp. 17-21 e pp. 89-100. For more information about this academy and its members, see the catalogue of the exposition *Rabisch. Il Grottesco nell'arte del Cinquecento. L'Accademia della Val di Blenio, Lomazzo e l'ambiente milanese* (Lugano, 1998), organised by Giulio Bora, Manuela Kahn-Rossi e Francesco Porzio, and the following article: LYNCH, J.B. Lomazzo and The Accademia Della Valle di Bregno. *The Art Bulletin*. 48, 210-211, 1966; For those who read Portuguese, it is possible to find information and references in the first chapter of my master's

Having pointed this, it is time to deal with the central question of our argument, concerning the immediate failure of Lomazzo's theoretical writings, especially the *Idea del Tempio della pittura*. There is no reference to the works of Lomazzo in Giovan Battista Armenini's treatise, *De' veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna, 1587), who probably knew Lomazzo¹⁶. Nor in Gregorio Comanini's, *Il Figino, ovvero del fine della pittura* (Mantua, 1591), who had written verses for the *Idea*.

The Piedmontese poet Gherardo Borgogni, who had been in Milan since the beginning of the 1570s, does not include any verse about him in his collection *Le muse toscane di diversi nobilissimi ingegni* (Bergamo, 1594), despite having written a poem for the *Trattato*. Another example is that of Giuliano Goselini, his former protector, who had close relations with the Blenian Academy, and who, in his *Rime* (1572-1588), does not mention Lomazzo either¹⁷.

His countrymen do not speak about his works, neither to criticise nor to praise them, with the exception of the Jesuit historian Paolo Morigia, who mentions them, without any pretence of commenting their contents, in his *Nobiltà di Milano* (Milan, 1595). The humanist Giovanni Paolo Gallucci, in his translation of Albrecht Dürer's book of proportions, *Della simmetria dei corpi umani* (Venice, 1591), adds a fifth book in which he discusses the expression of affections and emotions. Gallucci was probably inspired by Lomazzo's theory of expression, but he does not make any mention to our

dissertation.

¹⁶ Armenini was in Milan in the end of 1550, as Bernardino Campi's guest. Besides, he had a close relationship with Ambrogio Figino, former disciple of Lomazzo. See BORA, G. *Milano nell'età di Lomazzo e San Carlo: riaffermazione e difficoltà di sopravvivenza di una cultura* In BORA, G.; KAHN-ROSSI, M.; PORZIO, F. (org.) *op. cit.*, p. 37; RAGAZZI, A. *Os modelos plásticos auxiliares e suas funções entre os pintores italianos: com a catalogação das passagens relativas ao tema extraídas da literatura artística*. Campinas: Unicamp, 2010, p. 148.

¹⁷ See KLEIN, R. (trans.) *Idea del tempio della pittura*, Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1974, vol. II, pp. 463- 467; ACKERMAN, G. *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18; CHAI, J.J (trad.). *Idea of temple of painting*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 2013, p.36.

Milanese author. Lomazzo, in one of his verses (1587), seems to accuse him of plagiarism¹⁸.

The printed editions of Lomazzo's treatises

Observing the history of the treatises' impressions is also an interesting way to reflect on this issue. Both R. Klein and R. P. Ciardi performed this exercise. There are, in total, four editions of the *Trattato dell'arte* (I do not count here Ciardi's modern critical edition) and two translations, one to English and one to French. The *Idea*, however, obtained three editions (I do not count Ciardi's modern critical edition in this case either) and an adaptation to French in the seventeenth century, without taking into account the modern translations done by Robert Klein, the one by Jean J. Chai and the partial translation (the first twenty chapters) to Portuguese done by me.

Both historians emphasise the change in the title of the *Trattato* in the 1584's editions. The first one does not contain in its title the words "scultura e architettura", which appear only in the third edition of the same year, with the addition of the subtitle that presented the themes of the Seven books, mentioning the index and the dedicatory to the Duke of Savoia, and quoting the names of those who authorised the publication. The second edition heralds a chapter which, as the publisher explains, had been forgotten. This is taken off from the third edition. Then an edition is published in 1585, with the extended title, as in the third edition, and with the portrait of Lomazzo in the frontispiece. There is an effort of the editor to make the frontispiece more attractive, exposing its contents better and expanding the subject of the work.

In 1598, Richard Haydocke published his illustrated translation of the first five books of the *Trattato*, altering its content in some parts to facilitate the

¹⁸ See KLEIN. *op. cit.*, p. 469; CHAI. *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7; LOMAZZO, *Rime ad imitazione dei grotteschi*, Milan, 1587, p. 293.

comprehension (he included synoptic tables about the categories of proportion, for example). Later, in 1649, Toulousain painter Hilaire Pader translated the first book of the *Trattato* (about proportion), revised and corrected it, adding engravings. Both translators promised to complete their translations, but this has never happened in either case. After that, in 1844, Saverio dal Monte published a new edition of the *Trattato*, with interventions in orthography and syntax, provoking, according to Ciardi, many arbitrary interpretations of the text¹⁹.

On the other hand, the *Idea del Tempio* had a first edition on December 25, 1590, a second publication, equal to the first, in Bologna (*Istituto delle scienze*) in March 1785, and a third publication, similar to that of Bologna, in Rome, in 1947. The second publication was done only almost two hundred years later, which indicates its failure in sales. Therefore, as far as we know, the most significant repercussion has been the adaptation by Hilaire Pader. About Hilaire Pader and his work, it is worth opening a new topic.

Hilaire Pader and the impact of Lomazzo's treatises in French context

Hilaire Pader (1607-1677), painter born in Toulouse, disciple of Jean Chalette, undertook a journey to Italy from 1635 to 1640. It was in this occasion that he came into contact with the works of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo²⁰. According to Stéphanie Trouvé, the *Trattato dell'arte* was a work sought by French painters in the first half of seventeenth century and, as an example, the author mentions the case of Sébastien Bourdon, who ordered Félibien to bring him a copy of the treatise when he returned from Italy. So, the French scholar told him in a letter dated in 1647, that he had

¹⁹ See CIARDI, R.P. *Scritti sulle arti*. Florence: Marchi e Bertolli, 1973, vol. I, p. LXXXIV.

²⁰ About the sojourn of Pader in Italy, see TROUVÉ, S. *Les leçons d'Hilaire Pader*. L' introduction des albums des portraits et armes des présidents et conseillers du parlement de Toulouse (1664). *Studiolo*. Rome/Paris, 7, 139-160, 2009, pp. 142-143.

been having difficulties in finding the book, for Lomazzo's work was a rarity. Finally, Félibien found a copy and informed the painter that

That is the only one I could find here, and I also insisted on seeking in other villages: I paid it well, because it costs me 12 *testons*, since it is still more esteemed in France²¹.

Trouvé emphasises the repercussion of Lomazzo's work in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, pointing to his presence in the bibliography of French scholars such as Trichet du Fresne, Roger de Piles, Dupuy du Grez. On the latter, it is possible to distinguish loans (declared by the author) from Lomazzo in his *Traité sur la peinture pour en apprendre la theorie et se perfectionner dans la pratique*, (Toulouse, 1699). However, it seems that this statement is true especially in the case of the *Trattato*. Regarding the theory of plurality of manners, the temple of governors, and the magical-astrological system presented in the *Idea del Tempio*, Hilaire Pader was one of the few who ventured down this path, and it is important to remember that Pader was not a central figure in French artistic environment.

Pader publishes an illustrated translation of the first book of Lomazzo's treatise in Toulouse in 1649, dedicated to Maurizio di Savoia: *Traicté de la proportion naturelle et artificielle de les choses par Jean Pol Lomazzo, peintre milanois. Ouvrage necessaire aux peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs, et ce qui pretendent à la perfection du dessein*²². In the introduction, Pader emphasises the need for all French painters to know the precepts and theory assembled by Lomazzo. The author stresses the problem of the diversity of styles and masters to be followed in Italy, which makes it difficult for the "novice" painter to choose, "parmi des sentiments si

²¹ "Qui est le seul qui fût ici, et que j'ai encore fait chercher en ces autres villes là: more je l'ai bien payé, car il me coûte 12 testons, d'autant qu'il est encore plus estimé *En France*". See THUILLIER, J. "Lettres familiè d'Andrès Félibien" XVII^e siècle, N^o. 138 (1), janvier-mars 1983, pp. 143 e 153 APUD TROUVÉ. *op. cit.*, p. 156 (nt. 25).

²² Maurizio di Savoia was chosen for being the son of the Duke Carlo Emanuele di Savoia, to whom Lomazzo had dedicated the *Trattato*.

contraires”, and this justifies the importance of turning yourself to the Milanese painter’s work²³. At the end, the painter promises to translate the other books under the condition that the translation of the first book is welcomed by the French public.

Four years go by, and instead of completing the translation of the *Trattato*’s other books, Pader exposes the contents of the first two books (about proportion and movement) in a work in verses entitled *La Peinture Parlante*²⁴. In 1658, Hilaire Pader published a third work, and in this last adaptation, the *Idea del Tempio* manifests itself with greater vigour. The title of the work is *Songe enigmatique sur la peinture universelle*.

Lomazzo’s work carries the Platonic concept *Idea (eidos)* in its title, making a direct reference to Giulio Camillo Delminio’s *Idea del Teatro* (Venice, 1550). In Pader’s case, the term used is “enigmatic dream”. Several times, the author refers to his work as “my enigma”. Lomazzo, in his youth, also wrote a work entitled “dream”, *Gli sogni e ragionamenti* (c.1562-65). Pader was probably unaware of this manuscript, having come into contact with the author’s treatises in the context of Italian academies. However, the artifice of the dream and the enigma as an abstract and allegorical manner to deal with a specific field of knowledge may be, in my view, an interesting common point among these authors.

The word enigma, from the Latin *aenigma*, connotes something hidden, allegorical, secret, which must be unveiled to be understood, that is, it is not

²³ “c’est lui qui leur donner la main pour sortir de labyrinthe de leurs erreurs, e qui les a conduit sagement dans Le Temple de la Verité, leur ayant appris à faire par raison, ce que plusieurs ont creu pouvoir acquerir par la seule habitude”, in the dedicatory of the *Traicté de la proportion naturelle (...)*.

²⁴ “En un mot le Lomasse a trouvé le vrai biais,
Nous ouvrant un chemin qu’on n’avoit vu jamais
Pour former nos esprits e rendre tel un homme
Qu’il pourra faire teste aux plus parfaits de Rome”
(*La Peinture Parlante*, p. 10).

something that is accessed directly, but through facilitating devices and intellectual preparation. The term “enigmatic dream”, *aenigmata somniorum*, can be found in Marcus Tullius Cicero’s *De divinatione* (44 BC), meaning obscurity or the hidden sense of dreams²⁵.

In the note to the reader, Hilaire Pader makes reference to Hermetic philosophy, explaining that his purpose was to elucidate the difference between the particular painters and the great historical universal painters, although his work (“mon Enigme”) might contain new ideas (“quelque nouvelle Lumière”) for researchers of Hermetism. So, it was not a work on occult science, but on painting, which does not exclude dialogues with this field of knowledge, insofar as it reveals a superior and complex knowledge and puts in relation the Micro and the Macrocosm. In the face of these references to Hermetism and to the idea of enigma, revealing a superior truth, we must draw parallels with the work of Camillo, also shrouded in the question of secrecy, a great source of inspiration for Lomazzo. Pader had probably read Camillo’s work, perhaps as a way to better understand the *Idea del tempio*.

Regarding the rest of the title, “la peinture universelle”, it shows exactly the point of greatest distance between both authors: the belief in the possibility of an artist to bring all styles together. However, it is interesting to note this mistaken reading of Lomazzo’s theory as an apologetic theory of eclecticism, an interpretation that was not performed only by Pader, but by many authors throughout History of Art²⁶.

Pader describes the mnemonic architectural space of his treatise: instead of the circular temple of Lomazzo, Pader’s architecture expands and

²⁵ SARAIVA, F. R. dos Santos. *Dicionário latino-português*. 12a. ed. Belo Horizonte: Livraria Garnier, 2006.

²⁶ The discussion on Lomazzo as a defender of the eclecticism was mainly developed between the art historians Anthony Blunt (1940) and Denis Mahon (1953). I discussed this matter in the third chapter, section 3.4 (“Eclétismo e o *ut pictura poesis*”) of my masters dissertation. See ACKERMAN, G. *The structure of Lomazzo’s Treatise on Painting*. Pennsylvania: Princeton University, 1964.

becomes more complex, consisting of a garden, stairs, chamber, galleries, main hall. It is an imaginary palace, the “Palace of Painting”, which is represented by a statue located at the top of the building. In this sense, Pader approaches much more the classic art of memory than Lomazzo. To access this palace is necessary to enter the mystical garden, guided by Mother Nature. This garden has six angles and in each of these angles there is a tree, each representing a category of painter, each one excellent in one of the six parts of painting (the form and composition are united under practice), all different between them and all equally excellent. In the centre of the garden is the tree that represents the category of universal painter, which contains all six categories combined. The steps of the staircase leading to the palace are composed by the five theoretical parts of painting (according to Lomazzo’s division and ordering), and guide to the secret chamber. Herein lies practice (form and composition). Then, passing by the chamber, one can see the Palace of Neptune, and, then, reach the gallery, in which the protectors of painters are. At the entrance, one sees an old man, who evokes time; At the end of the gallery is Mercury Trimegistus with his triple mystic crown, as the one who reveals the mysteries through ascension in the chain of beings. Along the gallery, at the bottom, are the portraits of the excellent painters, “the protectors of painting”, as models to be observed so the reference in the art of painting is not lost.

The author states that this is a work of adaptation of the *Idea del Tempio della pittura* along with the “Lives” of the most celebrated artists of Vasari. The union between criticism and Art History is instituted by Vasari. In Lomazzo, both appear linked, structuring his entire magic-astrological system. In Hilaire Pader, there is the gallery of portraits of the selected painters as the protectors of painting, the gallery of *exempla*. In the *Idea del Tempio*, the theoretical system is arranged in a more compact way: the painter / governor / caryatid, representing at the same time an archetype of style, an astral temperament and the model to be observed by the incipient painter, containing in himself a lineage linked to an artistic tradition, is

placed on the horizon of the apprentice, guiding him along the search for his own style. In Pader this structure is eliminated. What we see are the categories of excellent painters, arranged in the angles of the mystical garden, in the form of trees.

In Lomazzo's theory, the whole process is based on the principle of artistic personality: one must know his own temperament through the astral map and align himself with one of the seven governors during the period of apprenticeship, until developing an authentic artistic personality and be able to gain autonomy. In Pader, the categories are abstract, not linked to a determined personality, but to one of the parts of painting, and there is the presence of the universal painter, devoid of personality, of individuality, an accomplishment of academic character and systematic rational eclecticism. At this point we can discern the most striking disagreement between Pader and Lomazzo.

The steps toward the unveiling of the great mystery are advanced as the knowledge of Art Theory, of the sciences necessary for the painter, of the practice of painting, and of Art History is accomplished, and as the portraits of the gallery are examined. All this course is supervised by Saturn, that is, by time, and by Mercury Trimegistus, who gives access to complex knowledge, central figures in the hermetic tradition.

The faculty of discernment which, through its parts and sub-parts, crosses and unites the stages of the ascension process to the *Idea*, does not exist. The accent of the French painter's enigma is much more allegorical, academic and mnemonic than the Neoplatonic treatise, based on the theory of personal expression, artistic fury, connection through the chain of beings between idea, artist, work of art and spectator, and on the idea of the work of art as a talismanic object.

Both Pader's last works were collected in a single edition and offered to the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* (1657-58) in an attempt to assert his status as a savant painter in the context of the dispute with Antoine Durand, who had succeeded Pader as official painter of the city of

Toulouse (1645)²⁷. In fact, Pader obtained a position at the academy in 1659. However, the Lomazzian theory, as adapted by Pader, did not have a significant impact. In the second half of the seventeenth century, we see the triumph of Descartes' physiological and mechanical science (*Les Passions de l'âme*, 1649) through Charles Le Brun, from the conference addressed to the academy in 1668.

J. J. Chai states that Hilaire Pader sent a copy of *La Peinture Parlante* to Poussin, praised and exalted at many points throughout the text. However, it is possible that Poussin already had knowledge of the works of Lomazzo, before receiving the copy of Pader's treatise. According to Chai, in the notes of the painter, organised and edited by Giovanni Pietro Bellori (*Osservazioni sopra la pittura*), when Poussin deals with the incorporeal Neo-Platonic beauty, which descends only on a well-prepared matter, he makes a note indicating the chapter twenty-six of the *Idea Tempio della pittura*. In addition, the author advances the possibility that Poussin used the *Idea* to formulate his theory of "modi", in which the musical modes are associated to the expression in the painting²⁸.

However, the author who best interpreted the ideas of Lomazzo in the French context was Roger de Piles, the great defender of Rubens. Chai claims that De Piles was certainly influenced by Pader's *Songe enigmatique*, as he also constructs an imaginary architecture of a mnemonic character. The most important role in De Piles' architecture is given to *inventio*, responsible for the architectural design and the materials involved in its construction. The French scholar is the great defender of the genius and the innate talent of the painter and was the one that most drew near to the theory of the personal expression of the artist of Lomazzo. De Piles also highlights the issues of the commotion of the spectator and the affinity of temperaments between spectator and painter. Therefore, it was in

²⁷ TROUVÉ, S. *op. cit.*

²⁸ Cfr. CHAI, J. J. *Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo and the art of expression*. Harvard University, 1990, pp. 182-183 and p. 194 and note 96, 97 and 98 and CHAI, J.J. *Idea of Temple of painting* (trans.). *cit.*, 2013, p. 40.

French territory in the seventeenth century that the essence of Lomazzo's theory of expression would be better revived, re-read, and accepted, by authors that were running counter the dominant Cartesian current of artistic thought.

Reasons for failure in the Milanese context

The bibliography aims at reasons of two natures: its content - the nuances of occult theory, criticism in disagreement with the standards of the time of the publication of the treatises, and the structural complexity of Lomazzo's writing - and the personal relationships of our author - his involvement in conflicts with artists of the Milanese scenario²⁹. In the end, these reasons become intertwined since his critical vision guides his opposition to the Cremonese mannerist painters (the Campi and their followers), supported by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, by eminent patrons³⁰ and by the sanctuary of Santa Maria presso San Celso, "one of the most lively centres of the figurative culture in Milan, in the 1550s and 1560s"³¹.

Lomazzo was a defender of the local Milanese school, linked to Gaudenzio Ferrari, and presenting traces of contamination of the style of Leonardo da Vinci, a crucial figure for the artistic culture of Milan. Artists praised by him, besides master Gaudenzio, are those linked to this circle and to the Lombard *Quattrocento*³². In addition to the local Milanese school, Lomazzo is an admirer of the great masters of the first *Cinquecento*³³.

²⁹ KLEIN. *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 463-467 (personal conflicts and old-fashioned criticism) and pp. 507 (complexity of his writing); CHAI, J.J. *Idea of temple of painting* (trad.). *cit.*, pp. 5 and ss.

³⁰ The wife of Governor F. Gonzaga, Isabella di Capua, was the one who invited Bernardino Campi to settle in Milan, in 1550. See BORA, G. *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 37 and ss.

³² Bernardino Lanino, Aurelio Luini, Giuseppe Meda, Giovan Battista della Cerva (his preceptor), Bernardo Zenale, Ambrogio Figino, Vincenzo Foppa, Bramante, Bramantino, Ottavio Semino, Bernardino Butinone, Giuseppe Arcimboldo.

³³ Raphael, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Giulio Romano, Antonio da Correggio, Tiziano, Parmigianino, Giorgione da Castelfranco, Albrecht Dürer, Rosso Fiorentino, Perin del Vaga, Polidoro da

One can imagine, therefore, the antagonism that the aristocratic and elaborate mannerist style of the painters from Cremona, among them its main rival, Bernardino Campi, caused in a painter like Lomazzo, inclined to meditate on the works of the great masters and to reinvent them from the principle of the spontaneity of personal style, and engaged in the defence of the art of their countrymen.

About his critical view, it is worth emphasising a fact of great relevance: the loss of vision at the age of thirty-three. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account that Lomazzo could only see what was produced until approximately 1572³⁴. The painting he witnessed was mainly that of the 1550s and 1560s, part of the works of the Lombard *Quattrocento* and those he had seen during his trip through Italy and the north. Roberto Paolo Ciardi advances the hypothesis that L. has not seen most of the works he cites and criticises; Still, concerning the ones he saw, he had contact with most of them through incisions, prints, drawings and copies, “so it could be said that more than Michelangelo, Raffaello and Tiziano, it is Marcantonio, Caraglio, Fantuzzi”³⁵. Whether this is true or not, the point is that the critical judgment of our author was not compatible with the time when his writings - written almost thirty years earlier - were published. In addition, his most intense interlocution is with half-century authors such as Giorgio Vasari, Pietro Aretino, Lodovico Dolce, Paolo Pino and Benedetto Varchi.

Constantly, the literature outlines the name of Giuliano Goselini (1525-1588), secretary of the Dukes of Milan since the beginning of his political activity, interspersed with delicate periods, at the service of Ferrante Gonzaga, elected Duke of Milan in 1546³⁶.

Caravaggio and Andrea del Sarto (among others, quoted numerous times in his texts).

³⁴ CIARDI, R.P. *op. cit.*, vol.I, p. LXXXIX.

³⁵ “tanti che si potrebbe dire che piu che di Michenlangelo, Raffaello e Tiziano, si trata di Marcantonio, di Caraglio, di Fantuzzi”, see CIARDI. *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. LXXIX.

³⁶ ACKERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 16; KLEIN, *op. cit.*, 1974, p. 463 and BORA, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and ss.

Goselini, an important magistrate and a well-connected man, was also a poet. His verses are gathered in his works entitled *Rime*³⁷. He had a close relationship with Lomazzo, having written two laudatory verses for Lomazzo, one that appears in the *Rime ad imitazione dei Grotteschi* and the other, in the *Trattato*. Lomazzo, in his autobiographical verses, says that he executed a “a Christ that prays in the garden” for Goselini³⁸. Klein advances on the assumption that it was also the secretary who commissioned the portrait of the Marquis Francesco Ferrante di Pescara, also listed by Lomazzo in his verses³⁹.

In the *Rime*, one can observe a poem about the portrait executed for the marquis, and in this same poem, a criticism against his rival, B. Campi, and against Goselini, who had dedicated verses to him⁴⁰. In fact, in the *Rime* of Giuliano Goselini, there is a poem extolling the Cremonese painter entitled “*sopra un ritratto del Marchese di Pescara à Bernardino Campi*” (both in the 1574 and in the 1588 editions. I could not check the other editions). Goselini does no mention about Lomazzo in his work. Still, in the 1588 edition, the ducal secretary dedicated a poem to Ambrogio Figino (1548-1608), *À Gio. Ambrogio Figino Milanese, pennello famoso, former disciple of Lomazzo*.

It is known that there was a breakup between Lomazzo and his former student, Ambrogio Figino, but not precisely when it occurred. The reason can however be conjectured.. Both in *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (1584) and in *Rime ad imitazione dei Grotteschi* (1587), Figino's name is often praised by Lomazzo with an affectionate tone, “*Il mio Figino, il divo Ambrogio.*” Nonetheless, in the *Idea del Tempio* (1590), Figino is not

³⁷ The first edition was printed by the Milanese editor PG da Ponte in 1572. Then, there were four more editions: in Venice by P. Deuchino, in 1573; in Milan, by PG Da Ponte, in 1574; in Venice by Err. P. Deuchino, in 1581, and the last one, published on the day following the death of Goselini, in Venice by F. Franceschi, in 1588.

³⁸ There are two paintings executed by Lomazzo, representing this same theme, one at the cathedral of San Carlo al Corso (Milan) and the other one is at the Ambrosian Gallery (Milan).

³⁹ See KLEIN, *ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Rime*, p. 116.

mentioned once, but there are indirect references to him⁴¹. In this passage, Lomazzo alludes to *the Incoronazione della Vergine*, which, according to Ciardi, can be dated in the years immediately following 1580⁴².

In the 1590s, Figino was the subject of many poems and writings, his reputation as an excellent painter became ever greater, as did the distance from his former preceptor. Gregorio Comanini (c.1550-1608), author of one of the laudatory verses presented at the beginning of the *Idea del Tempio*, dedicates him his treatise, *Il Figino overo del fine della Pittura*, published in Mantua in 1591, and does not reference Lomazzo. Gherardo Borgogni (1526 - c.1608), to whom Lomazzo dedicated verses in his *Rime* and who wrote a poem for the *Trattato dell'arte*, does not mention him in his *Muse toscane di diversi nobilissimi ingegni*, published in Bergamo in 1594. In this work, Borgogni devotes many lines to Ambrogio Figino.

It is not possible to state for sure what happened between Lomazzo and his disciple. What is evident is the distance between them, both personal and in relation to stylistic principles, and that this detachment, in a way, contributed to boost Lomazzo and his treatises away from the Milanese intellectual circles of the period.

In spite of the fact of the isolation in his homeland, it is possible to perceive a certain circulation of its treatises in the Italian academic ambit: Romano Alberti, in the fifth session of the Accademia di S. Lucca in Rome, in the seventeenth of January 1594, presents the *Trattato dell'arte* and discusses the theory of *moti*⁴³. In *Dialogos de la pintura* (1633), Vicente Carducho mentions it among those who spoke about the representation of emotions and movements. Giulio Mancini, in *Considerazione sulla pittura* (Rome, 1627-28), gives him a severe criticism regarding the use of the word *moto*, since, according to Mancini, the term designates “continuity in time”, which

⁴¹ *Idea del tempio*, chap. XXXVIII.

⁴² CIARDI, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 361 (n. 8).

⁴³ See CHAI (trans.). *Idea of temple of (...)*, *op. cit.* p. 37.

does not can be achieved in painting. Still, there was the episode of Domenichino and the misinterpretation exposed in the letter to Francesco Angeloni. Domenichino's misjudgment, considering Lomazzo as a defender of the eclecticism, would influence the contemporary criticism.

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During the XVI-XVIII centuries, Lomazzo was mainly quoted among the main Milanese writers, remembered as a famous painter and theoretician by the Milanese and Italian chroniclers. His name, his biography and his production are in the lines written by the Jesuit Paolo Morigia, *La Nobiltà di Milano* (Milan, 1595), by the abbot Girolamo Ghilini, *Teatro d'huomini letterati* (Venice, 1647), by the Augustinian monk Filippo Picinelli, *Ateneo dei letterati milanesi* (Milan, 1670), by the historian, Numismatist and director of the Ambrosian Library Filippo Argelati, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum mediolanensium* (Milan, 1745), by the historian and abbot Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Modena, 1772-1782) and by the Bolognese painter and sculptor Carlo Bianconi, who back then was secretary of the *Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera, Nuova Guida di Milano per gli Amanti delle Belle Arti e delle Sacre, e Profane Antichità milanesi* (1787).

It must be observed that the information presented in the texts are often the same and that probably the common source of all authors was Lomazzo's autobiographical verses published in his *Rime ad imitazione dei grotteschi (con la vita del autore descritta da lui stesso in rime sciolte)*, 1587.

Nineteenth-century scholars, more attentive to the content of the treatise, used Lomazzo's writings above all as a documentary source, as it can be seen in the work of the Milanese painter and scholar Giuseppe Bossi, about da Vinci's famous fresco, *Del Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci* (1810), and Carlo Casati's study, "*Leone Leoni d'Arezzo scultore e Giovan Paolo Lomazzo pittore milanese*", published in Milan, in 1884. In that time, the perception of Lomazzo's *corpus* acquired nuances a little more vibrant, and important considerations on his writings were outlined.

In the twentieth century, the *Idea del Tempio* gains greater visibility due to studies on artistic literature of the *Cinquecento*, Art Theory and within the History of Art Criticism. The works of Julius Von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur* (1924), Lionello Venturi, *Storia della Critica d'Arte* (1936), Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (1940), Rensselaer Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (1967), Eugenio Battisti, *Rinascimento e Barocco* (1960) and Carlo Ossola, *Autunno del Rinascimento: 'Idea del Tempio' dell'arte nell'ultimo Cinquecento* (1971), can be mentioned. Then, in the 1960's and 1970's, studies totally aimed at understanding its complex theoretical structure, sensitive to the dialogues established by the author with the occult philosophical currents, were conducted.

The ideas presented by this specific treatise of Lomazzo – its neoplatonic content, the Temple of Painting and its magical-astrological devices – constantly caused strangeness and difficulties in its reception. It was only in the twentieth century that this aspect of the *Idea's* theory would be examined with real interest. The abbot Luigi Lanzi, in his *Storia pittorica dell'Italia* (1792-96), censured the presence of the Occult Sciences as Astrology in Lomazzo's last theoretical work, accounted as his most serious theoretical fault⁴⁴.

The Milanese painter and scholar Giuseppe Bossi (*Del Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci*, 1810) alerts those who want to get in contact with Lomazzo's treatises against his astrological delusions. However, Bossi states that one can find a great deal of historical information in Lomazzo's writings, and alleges that only those who have a sharper intellect are able to understand and take advantage of the obscure Milanese theoretician.

In 1884, Carlo Casati publishes his "*Leone Leoni d'Arezzo scultore e Giovan Paolo Lomazzo pittore milanese*, where the author discuss

⁴⁴ "Mentre insegna un'arte che sta nel disegnare e colorir bene, egli vola di pianeta in pianeta; a ciascun de' sette pittori che chiama principali, assegna un di que'corpi celesti, e poi anche un metallo corrispondente; e a questa mal conceputa idea ne connette poi delle altre più stravaganti". See LANZI, L. *Storia Pittorica dell'Italia*. 5a. ed., Firenze: Guglielmo Piatti, 1834, vol. 4, pp. 177-178.

Lomazzo's biography and pictorial and literary work. Regarding the Occultism verified in the *Idea del Tempio*, Casati takes Lanzi's opinion up, affirming that this inclination is a defective aspect of Lomazzo's theory.

Julius von Schlosser, in *Die Kunstliteratur* (1924), rates this "eccentricities" as a typical feature of baroque erudition, which tends to an allegorical language; Under Panofsky's view, Lomazzo's inclination to Occultism, Neoplatonism, Astrology and Cosmology, is proper of the Mannerist period; Roberto Longhi, in *Quesiti Caravaggeschi* (1928-1934), describes Lomazzo as an "eccentric, superficial and endowed with a certain pedantry character", typical aspects of a mind inserted in a transitory context, when *bizzarrie* and caprices are loosely produced.

Despite these opinions, Lomazzo was continually considered as a synoptic author of his time, a theoretician obstinate in gathering all the possibilities of the artistic doing available in his historical-cultural medium. Bossi asserts that Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte* is "the most complete treatise on painting"; Casati, Bossi and Lanzi insist in the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura's* quality of content and completeness, and state that reading it is essential for teachers and students of art. Schlosser considered the *Trattato dell'arte* as the "bible of Mannerism".

In addition, in the twentieth century, he was classified as the great exponent of the period known as "Mannerism", since his artistic theory sought to establish critical and theoretical foundations for the notion of the plurality of styles, or, ways of artistic expression, opposed to the canon of unique model of beauty, prevalent in the first half of the sixteenth century. This statement can be found in Venturi's *Storia della Critica d'Arte* (1936), in Rensselaer Lee's *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (1967), in Robert Klein's articles published in 1958 and 1959, *La forme et l'intelligible* and *Les sept gouverneurs de l'art' selon Lomazzo*, and in his French critical translation published in 1974, in Carlo Ossola's *Autunno del Rinascimento: 'Idea del Tempio' dell'arte nell'ultimo Cinquecento* (1971), in Ciardi's critical edition of Lomazzo's theoretical *corpus* (1973).

Nineteenth-century historians saw in Lomazzo a source for precious information about artists and works of art, making a documentary use of his writings and disregarding the traces of the occult thought, classified as delusions or caprices of the author, as it was said. In the twentieth century, epistemological effervescence fostered an urgency to seek the individual dimensions, the subjects of history, and, in the case of History of Art, the critical judgment of these individuals, stimulating a rich academic production about Lomazzo and his treatises. The articles produced by Maria Luisa Gengaro (1932), Annamaria Paris (1954) and Emma Spina Barelli (1958), for instance, present this impetus on the individuality and the criticism of our author⁴⁵.

On Gengaro's case, in "*La teoria dell'arte di Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo*" there is an effort to detect an attitude towards the optical phenomenon in Lomazzo that could be juxtaposed to Carlo Carrá's futuristic sensibility. A. Paris, in *Sistema e giudizi nell'Idea del Lomazzo*, put emphasis on Lomazzo's critical judgments, defending that one cannot detach Lomazzo's critical view from the system proposed by his Art Theory. The scholar states that one can observe the manifestation of Lomazzo's Lombard formation (at Gaudenzio Ferrari's workshop) in his personal taste, expressed through his critical judgments, in the omissions and in which he emphasises in his analysis, and in his uneasiness towards the Vasarian narrative centred in the Tuscan-roman *maniera*. The election of master Ferrari among the bastions of Modern Age, something unthinkable for Vasari, suggests this concern. Critique and system go hand in hand: Lomazzo evaluates the style of each artist as he advances in the development of his system around the seven parts of painting and the seven temperaments. Although relying on contemporary criticism, Lomazzo inserts rather independent and original observations; For example, when he analyses colour in Michelangelo, "that served to fury and depth of the

⁴⁵ GENGARO, M.L. "La teoria dell'arte di Giovan Lomazzo". *Archivio storico lombardo*. Bologna. 59, 541-550, 1932; PARIS, A. "Sistema e giudizi nell'idea del Lomazzo". *Atti del Seminario di Storia dell'arte*, Pisa, 4, 187-196, 1954; BARELLI, E. S. "Il Lomazzo o il ruolo delle personalità psicologiche nell'estetica dell'ultimo manierismo lombardo". *Arte lombarda*, 3, 2, 119-124, 1958.

drawing”, or even when he establishes a hierarchy of the Florentine master’s manners.

Nevertheless, it was only in the late 1950s that the theory presented in the *Idea del Tempio* was actually brought to the centre of the investigations, in Robert Klein’s articles mentioned above, *La forme et l’intelligible* (1958) and *Les sept gouverneurs de l’art ‘selon Lomazzo’* (1959). Robert Klein was an intellectual of exceptional caliber. His intellectual behaviour was marked by the perception of phenomena, intentionality, averse to totalising ideas. His studies on Lomazzo, an author who occupied his mind for many years, were conducted with great critical sensitivity, letting the unorthodox features of his object emerge. Always in search for contradictions, Klein perceived the great latent tension in Lomazzo’s thought, which, in my view, is his most lively aspect: the will to liberate artistic inventiveness from rules and precepts, enhancing creative individuality, and, at the same time, organising the artistic doing within a system that would be able of justifying the work of art not by the means of purely individual matter, but subjecting it to a cosmological order. In Klein’s own words,

Against the pure anarchy that marked the subjectivist theory, the neoplatonics tried to secured themselves by way of attribution to the rules a role at least subordinate; its justification can be found in the principles that presided the creation of universe, *ordo*, *modos* and *species*; but its importance is limited to be *preparations*⁴⁶.

Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo and his *Idea del Tempio della pittura* encountered Robert Klein at the point of “innervation”⁴⁷ that most agitated this scholar: the magical thought. Klein spent most of his academic life meditating on the idea of Responsibility - and one could say that his personal trajectory, living the scourges of Nazism when he was in Romania, was the trigger for this reflection, which basically touches the issue of freedom, something that

⁴⁶ KLEIN, *La forme et l’intelligible. cit.*, p. 157.

⁴⁷ Expression used by A. Chastel. See *ibidem*, p. 13.

hangs over Lomazzo's thought as well - which led him towards Neoplatonism and Natural Magic, within the magical comprehension key of the potency of souls: it is possible to manage the forces of nature capturing energies and through the correct preparation of matter.

For the first time, the approach given to Lomazzo's late work was totally focused on the investigation of its internal structure. The intimate integration between his two treatises was also observed quite perceptibly, which prompted the historian to hypothesise that the *Idea del Tempio* might have originated from discarded and unpublished chapters of the *Trattato*, which would henceforth change the interpretations on this theoretical *corpus*.

Klein identifies the presence of magical contents, especially the work of Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Lomazzo's main source. On the issue of plurality of manners, the author claims that it reveals a rupture with "the solid traditional dogmas - the doctrine of imitation, the idea of a single canon of beauty, and the myth of painting as science."

On the relations established between the masters of painting and the astrological planets, Klein approaches the table of typological correspondences in the *Idea del Tempio* to the books of destiny, such as Sigismondo Fanti's *Triumpho di Fortuna*, published in 1526. The talismanic character assumed by the work of art in the *Idea* is another trait of the influence of Agrippa's neoplatonic and magical thought: the work of art, if prepared under the right influences, is capable of capturing the astral influxes and transmitting them to the viewer.

In this talismanic principle, which suggests the preparation of the work of art, lies one of the conflicting points of Lomazzo's theory, since it is an obstacle for the total and spontaneous artistic expression. In this way, one cannot affirm a total relativism of taste in Lomazzo. What is seen is an attempt to reconcile two opposing currents of thought: on the one hand, the Aristotelian and humanist conception of art, that is, art as preparation and manufacture; On the other, the infinity of artistic temperaments and the

particular case of the work of art subjected to invention. This would be the problem manifest in all Mannerist aesthetics, the tension of a transitional period.

One can glimpse the process of fusion of art and science in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both Alberti and Leonardo can be understood by means of this phenomenon of art-science. The visual signs and images as the very end of science, the preparation of matter to dominate the mechanisms of external world, and the belief in an ordering rationality in nature are some of the points of affinity between science and magic. No wonder they had met in countless moments: Cornelius Agrippa and Leonardo were in the same social circles; Parmigianino was a painter and an alchemist. In short, the point this discussion want to reach, to where precisely Klein addressed himself, is the moment in which magic, science and art have become consubstantial. And it is precisely at this stage of reasoning that Lomazzo became the focus of Klein's attention.

Robert Klein realised that Lomazzo had adapted the contents of astrological magic to artistic thought, elaborating a completely new theory. For the first time, theory, history and criticism would form an unity, manifested in the seven governors and expressed by the allegory of the Temple of Painting. The seven governors, representing seven different ways of artistic doing, linked to the ancient painters, had been concretised in the present through the seven personalities selected by Lomazzo - Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo, Mantegna, Titian, Polidoro da Caravaggio and Gaudenzio Ferrari. At the same time, they embodied seven astral temperaments, connecting individual identities to the Macrocosm through the magical mechanism of astral influxes. It is interesting to observe, as Chastel pointed out, that Lomazzo combines in his theory the diachronic and synchronic analyses, prefiguring famous positions of History of Art and of contemporary Art Criticism ⁴⁸.

In the following years, there is an important intellectual production on

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

Lomazzo's treatises. In 1964, the art historian Gerald Ackerman defended his Ph.D thesis on the treatises of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, under the guidance of Erwin Panofsky and Rensselaer Lee at Princeton University. Entitled *The Structure of Lomazzo's Treatise on Painting*, his proposal was to investigate side by side the structure of both Lomazzo's treatises, the *Trattato della pittura* and the *Idea del Tempio*, in order to identify the stages of development of his theoretical thought and the way how the treatises were being conceived in the course of many years, until their final moment, when the chapters are organised and edited for publication. According to Ackerman's thesis, when the treatises are studied as a single work, their contents are divided into well-delimited sections that can be related to each other, allowing us to recognise the primitive structure of Lomazzo's "primordial treatise" - which was divided into *Trattato* and *Idea* later - and to accompany the theoretical changes made as Lomazzo matured his philosophical conceptions and added more bibliography to his theory.

The extensive work required by the pioneering task of transcribing, correcting and completing the philological analysis of the texts, in short, the necessary steps to produce an inedited modern critical edition of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's writings, was carried out by Roberto Paolo Ciardi, who initiated his studies on this subject in 1959, and the elaboration of the critical editions in c.1961. Therefore, it was during the 1960s that the most colossal investigations on Lomazzo's theoretical work were conducted (Gerald Ackerman, Robert Klein, Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Paola Barocchi).

Ciardi's attempt to reconstruct the "Lomazzian library" was of extreme relevance and attentive to the facts that most of the bibliography had been read by Lomazzo until the age of thirty-three (up to 1572), before the loss of sight, and that the *Tavola dei nomi degli Autori citati nell'opera* (in the *Trattato's* appendix) excludes and includes authors identified or not throughout Lomazzo's text, which requires great caution when using it in this task. The guiding thread of the comments to the edition lies in this crucial exercise of bibliographical reconstitution, the most accurate analysis

presented by the entire *Fortuna Critica* of the *Idea del Tempio*.

In reconstructing the chronology of the Lomazzian writings, Ciardi put under examination the autograph manuscript known as *Libro dei sogni* (c. 1563), which had not been taken into account by Klein and was not included in the work of G. Ackerman, because it was still unknown in that time. Through the manuscript's analysis, Ciardi delineated the intellectual and cultural profile of Lomazzo in his younger years, whose interests varied in a wide range, including music, poetry, dance, pharmacology, occult sciences, among others. His interest and admiration for Pietro Aretino and the emulation of Leonardo da Vinci are quite noticeable.

Comparing his youthful production (*Libro dei Sogni*, *Rime* and *Rabisch*) to his published theoretical treatises (*Trattato*, *Idea* and *Della forma delle muse*), Ciardi notes a shrinkage of poetic-literary quotations, which are now more economically used to exemplify possible uses in painting – “become a collection of possible inspiring models, a chart from which to extract elements for the representation of the most varied accidents”. It is possible to perceive a total adhesion of the author to the principle *ut pictura poesis*, so widespread in the period, being the knowledge of poetry recommended to the painter as a model, so that one could translate visually the written language. As for the occult universe, Ciardi verifies a more intimate and structural presence of magical thought in the mature writings of Lomazzo, fully manifested in the *Idea* (the “magic-cognitive” view of graphic-plastic expression).

With respect to Lomazzo's theory own features, the first question pointed out by Ciardi is the belief in the possibility of a pedagogy of the arts, the art understood as the object of a didactic process (teaching and learning). Art comes close to language as a semantic vehicle, and, in this way, the artistic theory is close to rhetoric and literary theory. In Ciardi's words, artistic theory is configured as the systematisation of a grammar and a syntax, a pre-ordered and organic *cursus* of moments, enunciating rules, foreseeing exceptions and providing concrete examples through the authors consensually considered models of orthodoxy in application of precepts in

an original way. In this way, we can see the strong connection between Lomazzo's theory and Cicero, Quintilian, and the coders of the Aristotelian Poetics of the period, as Scaligero, Castelvetro and Naugerio.

Concerning the seven parts of painting, Ciardi draws attention to the fact that they are not static concepts, but moments within the process of artistic conception, and therefore the inconsistency in the delimitation of each one in the extension of the Lomazzo's textual *corpus*. Discernment and the notion of ideal beauty or divine grace, in turn, are concepts that sustain the whole theory. Discernment mediates universal beauty and contingent beauty, and insofar as his function is to select what is appropriate to the particular case of the work of art, it is suggested the mastery of the intellect over theory and over practice.

Ciardi explains that there is a difficulty in giving a univocal definition to the concept of discernment, which at the same time brings together a set of general rules and non-teachable subjective qualities that escape the academic learning and the routine in the atelier. Discernment is the "own method of the artist who faces the problem of the concrete realisation of the tableau", being the ideal rule that descends to the artist, in harmony with his temperament, conditioned by the astral influxes, making possible the manifestation of the ideal beauty in a individual way in the particular case of the work of art through the artistic style.

With regard to the selection of canonical masters, Ciardi connects Lomazzo with the notion, present in Ghiberti and Alberti, of the artist's participation in the course of History as a creative force, and also the recourse to the individuation of a series of canonical masters inserted in the course of Art History, present in Vasari and also in the rhetorical treatises. The plurality of excellences, all equally perfect, refutes the question of the imitation of one model. The emphasis is on the principles of choice and individual personality, which constitute "the first moment of expressive operation", selecting the model or models to be imitated according to the personal inclination of the artist. "Study, imitation and exercise," in Ciardi's words,

“should not falsify the vocation, but should aid in the development of the personality, and not serve to construct it ex nihilo.”

In face of such considerations, Ciardi concludes that, for Lomazzo, art itself cannot be taught, since it is individual expression, resulted from the creative furor, that originates in divine grace through astral influences. There is an apparent aporia in Lomazzo’s theory, which lies precisely in the tension between a notion of artistic didactics and Lomazzo’s declared belief in creative fury, which is solved through the conception of the concrete reality of the painter’s singular and individual personality. What can be taught is the method of painting, its grammar and syntax, not art.

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It was within the Natural Magic that Lomazzo found philosophical support to formulate a theory of expression of affections through the artist’s imagination: the talent, the contagious force of affection manifested by form, the role and charming power of individuality, and inspiration could not be explained by Aristotelianism⁴⁹. Such aspects have a quite current feature for Art Criticism. Another question that strikes the eye concerns the magical theme of personal and permanent inclination, which finds the idea of the involuntariness of style. The artistic expression in Lomazzo’s theory must be fluid, natural, intuitive: to a certain extent, one cannot deny the common points with the Crocian Aesthetics itself (intuition-expression).

Klein places Lomazzo’s thought at a moment of crisis in art. It was time to rethink the paradigms that had sustained the field until then. By breaking down the idea of art as a rule, the principle of art was raised as grace, and the artist’s expression linked to movement or affection, to passions of the soul. The artistic fury and spontaneity created the conditions for the emergence of the artistic genius almost a hundred years later. A prototype of the genius is Lomazzo’s melancholic saturnine type, embodied in the figure of Michelangelo in the *Idea del Tempio*, which the nineteenth century

⁴⁹ KLEIN, *La forme et l’intelligible*, cit., pp. 149 and ss.

would incorporate so well, extending to the twentieth century⁵⁰.

Up to now, it was possible to notice the manner how Klein, Ackerman and Ciardi approached Lomazzo's artistic theory present in the *Idea del Tempio*. Their views were marked by a sensibility to an idea of social crisis, of transitory period, of an attempt of solving a tension between two poles: individuality, in one side, and the ordination subordinated to fixed norms, in the other; A tension that Lomazzo even if temporarily resolves by means of magical thought. If one considers that these authors were thinking and writing during the 1950's and 1960's, it gets clear the urgency they were seeking to answer. Also, one can glimpse a concern towards contemporary art. And, looking at the History of Art Criticism, maybe only Lomazzo's thought can bring together Contemporary and Renaissance art, and perhaps answer interrogations about a total relativity in art based on an absolute subjectivity, even if the answer were understood as a warn, since Lomazzo seeks a halfway⁵¹.

In this article, my intention was to point out that the aspects perceived by art historians – especially Robert Klein, Roberto Paolo Ciardi, Gerald Ackerman –, which undoubtedly pulsate in Lomazzo's theory, whose greater expression is the *Idea del tempio*, reveal a sensibility towards the object, its author and the context that starts from a present perspective. The idea of the work of art as fruit of invention, the emphasis on the artist's creativity, spontaneity, the diversity of human feelings, the variety of artistic creativity, that also varies in each work of the same artist, the principle of the plurality of perfections of every created form that depends on the personality of the artist, are some of the aesthetic principles that are verified in Lomazzo, and that can be found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the current

⁵⁰ In the article "*La forme et l'intelligible*" (1958), in KLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁵¹ Here I must mention the professor Alexandre Ragazzi (UERJ) and my colleague Ianick Takaes (whose concerns lies in Edgar Wind's thought), who stimulated a reflection about Lomazzo and the contemporary world. The idea of Lomazzo's thought as a link between Contemporary and Renaissance art came to me for the first time from professor Ragazzi. This issue is not ended to me, I would like to develop it in a future work.

considerations on the issue of art.

Venturi's notion that it is necessary to reconstruct the personality of the artist to verify whether it is manifested in the work through the creative imagination also appears in Lomazzo's criticism, as well as the indispensability of History for art critique. Even the notion of taste, so important for Aesthetics since the seventeenth century, finds in Lomazzo a first outline, starting from an Aesthetics of enchantment (the mechanism of fascination), which explains the commotion of the spectator through astral inclinations. Lomazzo connects the artist, the work and the spectator through the fusion of magical thought with art. And this connection by means of affections, feelings and passions, meets the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Expressionism, for example, has commonalities with this idea of artist-public connection via emotions. As well as the answer formulated by Tolstoy, in the work where the author questions himself about what art would be (1889):

Every work of art has the effect of putting the man to whom it is addressed in relation, in a certain way, both to the person that produced it and to everyone that, simultaneously, previously, or subsequently, receives its impression. Word, transmitting men's thinking, is a way of uniting them; and art as well. What distinguishes it, as means of communication, from speech, is that, by means of word, men transmit to the others their thought, while through art they transmit their feelings and emotion⁵².

The inclusion of the subjective dimension, historically situated, to understand and formulate a critical judgment on a work of art or an artist had its first appearance in the course of History of art in Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's theory. And, in this sense, his thought is directly dialoguing with current investigative practices. In such manner, this article leaves the reader the reflection on these points of contact that were highlighted without the pretence of formulating any great theory on the argument. In my

⁵² TOLSTOI, L. (Trad. Teodor de Wyzewa). *Qu'est-ce que c'est l'art*. Paris. Perrin, 1918, pp. 54-59.

view, what is of most interest is to perceive the contemporary sensibility in the investigation of the object of the past, and that in the course of History there are questions and ways of answering these questions that encounter the present experience.

The final observation will be on Robert Williams' work, *Art, theory, and culture in sixteenth-century Italy. From Techne to Metatechne* (Cambridge, 1997). Robert Williams distinguishes in the analysis on Renaissance and in the study of Humanism a possibility of reassessing the present towards a transformative action: they reveal the political power of representation and art. Humanism was a historical process of awareness about the mediation role of cultural meanings in the relationship between the individual and the world in modern age. And these cultural meanings are ordered and reordered within systems of representation. Throughout the sixteenth century, art has acquired a central role as the one that organises the systems of representation by means of signs, and it is from the perception of the transformation of the social role of art and from the new definition of art, that Williams observes a deeper historical mutation, which laid the foundations of Modernity.

Over the sixteenth century, art was redefined, no longer in Aristotelian terms, that is, as applied technical and rational knowledge, but as a knowledge that brings together all types of knowledge, becoming an absolute principle (in a totalising sense, not as a metaphysical substance): art gains superintendence over all forms of knowledge. In addition to an intellectual dimension, it also assumed an affective dimension, becoming a means of forming individual identity and ordering society. In Williams' words, "modes of representation correspond to modes of knowing and being," and the unity of this knowledge given by art allowed one "to believe that reality itself was governed by an intelligible order."

Concerning Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's theory, Williams distinguishes in it one of the greatest expressions of this mutation in art. Lomazzo brings together all possible types of artistic action, objectifying them in seven

different styles, and arranges these seven modes of knowledge into a cosmological system. In this way, he provides a place for individual identities within a hierarchy, conveying the idea of equal stability in the world and in the social order. Lomazzian concepts such as eurythmy, discernment, and decorum reinforce this ordering based on ideal social standards. From this, one can see that subjective identities are defined from the relations of meaning within a system, that is, they are products of culture. Hence the power of representations and the power of art.

Within this process, Lomazzo, next to Zuccari, was understood as the moment in which the theory of art sublimated itself in philosophy, and the art transcends to its absolute place, like a *Metathecne*. The *Idea del Tempio della pittura* is seen by Williams as one of the largest, if not the largest expression of *Metatechne*, which enabled the advent of the aesthetic theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In it, art assumes an intellectual unity becoming a principle to be sought. The work of art in its singularity ends up being configured as a system that allocates the various elements and identities existing according to the pattern most suited to their limited purposes.

The author concludes by pointing out that this coercive power of representation is still real and appealing to the urgency of a critical art. According to him, art has not lost the fundamentally theoretical character attributed to it in the sixteenth century. The process of conceptualisation of art began in the Cinquecento, crossed the History of Art and set on in the contemporary world.

