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Review

Reviewed Work(s): *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Court Ritual in Modena, Rome, and Paris* by Alice Jarrard

Review by: John E. Moore

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also of how that discipline can illuminate social, political, and cultural issues, and in turn be illuminated by them. And, last but not least, it is a genuine pleasure to read.

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Alice Jarrard. *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Court Ritual in Modena, Rome, and Paris.*

Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xvi + 298 pp. + 8 color pls. index. append. illus. map. bibl. \$80. ISBN 0-521-81509-6.

In 1598, an expansionist papacy deposed the illegitimate Cesare d'Este (r. 1597-1628) and expropriated Ferrara, the historic Este capital. Alice Jarrard goes some way to elucidate how Cesare's grandson Francesco (r. 1629-58) commissioned and used works of art in Modena, the new Este capital. Tournaments, theaters and theatrical performances, architecture, and portraiture in various media are treated, each in one chapter.

The book's subtitle adumbrates Jarrard's intention to establish Modenese sources for the visual arts, and to place Modena on a par with Rome and Paris indeed invites curiosity. However, I was not persuaded that the objects flowing from Francesco's patronage played the determining roles that Jarrard imputes to them.

In 1652, a Modenese tournament celebrated two visiting Austrian archdukes. With a letter of 21 December 1655, Jarrard links that festival to designs for carnival celebrations financed by the Barberini family in 1656 to welcome Christina of Sweden to Rome. Providing the descriptive epistolary evidence in an endnote, the author finds it compelling, but the mere construction of viewing stands, however decorated or illuminated, was hardly new in Rome. For the 1634 visit of a Polish prince, the capacious Piazza Navona (as illustrated in Jarrard's fig. 11) was similarly outfitted, in part through Barberini patronage. Viewing stands also resemble seating in the stable theaters of Rome and, for that matter, Venice, whose musical and particularly operatic culture colored theatrical life in Modena.

Francesco d'Este obliged his architect to submit plans for an enlarged palace to designers in Rome, and their criticisms were happily offset by praise. The Modenese building evinced the medieval fortified castle and the modern palace that served as both bureaucratic center and monarchical residence. Imposing staircases rendered movement an aesthetic experience inflected by the ceremonial, while the garden was meant to surprise and delight, with axial pathways, elaborated nodal points, and impressive fountains and plantings. Within the palace, an eagerly acquired collection of paintings reflected ideals of ducal self-fashioning.

Jarrard discusses this complex in her third chapter, the book's most profitable. But she goes too far when she writes in chapter 5, "Louis XIV also staged a palace competition in Rome" (169). The adverb "also" is gainsaid by fact, for Francesco

chose (for whatever presumed strategic reasons) to send designs made in Modena for vetting in Rome, whereas Louis XIV regally deigned to invite prominent architects to plan an expanded Louvre.

Jarrard turns to the most famous work of Francesco's reign in chapters 4 and 5, and there the same problem occurs, namely the overarching desire to make Modena the *fons et origo* of many things courtly. Bernini's 1651 marble bust of Francesco is related to the same artist's 1665 marble bust of Louis XIV, displayed first at the Tuileries palace in Paris and since 1684 at Versailles. Jarrard asserts that "Louis XIV's new monarchical identity rested firmly upon a ducal foundation" (186). But just as Bernini never laid eyes on his Italian sitter, he likewise never saw Charles I, the British monarch whose marble bust, completed in 1636, was destroyed in the Whitehall palace fire of 1698. Jarrard illustrates a print after this earlier bust (fig. 88), and she recognizes the hierarchical disparities between ducal and royal courts, but she tellingly slips when she writes of Francesco's bust in the same sentence as "[Bernini's] portraits of other kings" (157). Bernini now and again carved his *Louis XIV* in the presence of onlookers and even the royal sitter himself, yet the king did not "[turn] to Modena in search of a model by which to construct his rule" (185). Instead, he turned to Bernini, who brought along a discriminating eye and redoubtable technical skills when he traveled to Paris in 1665.

What is more, to insist upon Modena causes Jarrard to neglect Louis XIV's other exemplars, such as Henry IV and Louis XIII, the first two kings of a new French dynasty, both of whom thought carefully about how to create an image. Overlooked, too, are highly cultivated ministers of state and patrons of the arts such as Richelieu and Mazarin, and an ambitious, unlucky superintendent of finances named Nicolas Fouquet. The great sixteenth- and seventeenth-century builder-popes and the monumental, momentous legacy of imperial Rome also receive too-short shrift here.

Gaspare Vigarani built theaters for the Duke of Modena, and in 1659 the designer and his sons went to Paris to construct a theater for Louis XIV. Jarrard chronicles this activity to overall good effect in chapter 5, where we learn how Modenese patterns were significantly tempered by Parisian design, display, and ritual requirements. Called the Salle des Machines, the stable theater in the Tuileries was inaugurated on 14 February 1662, "when . . . Louis was twenty-eight years younger than Francesco d'Este" (214). Here Jarrard's interpretative framework misleads her, for Francesco died on 14 October 1658.

Jarrard's contribution lies primarily in having gathered widely dispersed archival materials so as to reconstitute short-lived events and splendid projects for permanent structures, some of which were either never fully realized or completed after Francesco's death. Her analysis of spectacle helpfully reminds readers of the nuanced political dimensions of magnificence as an expression of rulership. The weakness of the book is that it makes more of Modena than the facts warrant.

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