[When talking about cinema], the word *path* is not used by chance. Nowadays it is the imaginary path followed by the eye and the varying perceptions of an object that depend on how it appears to the eye. Nowadays it may also be the path followed by the mind across a multiplicity of phenomena, far apart in time and space, gathered in a certain sequence into a single meaningful concept; and these diverse impressions pass in front of an immobile spectator.

In the past, however, the opposite was the case: the spectator moved between [a series of] carefully disposed phenomena that he absorbed sequentially with his visual sense.

This tradition has been preserved in any child’s drawing. Not only has the movement of the eye been given back to the action of the child himself moving in space, but the picture itself appears as the path along which a number of aspects of the subject are revealed sequentially.

This is a typical child’s drawing.¹ As a representation of a pond with trees along its bank it appears meaningless until we understand its internal dynamics. The trees are not depicted from one viewpoint, as adults are accustomed to show them in a picture or in a single frame of film. Here the drawing depicts a series of trees as they are revealed along the path that the observer follows between them. If the line AB represents the path taken by the observer, then at any given point in the sequence one through nine each separate tree is disposed entirely »reasonably«: it represents a frontal view of the tree in question at each corresponding point on the path.

Exactly similar are the surviving drawings of old Russian buildings, such as, for instance, the fifteenth-century (?) palace of Kolomenskoye, in which there is an identical combination of »plan« and »elevation«.² For here the path is a movement across the plan, while the frontal views of the buildings are shown in elevation, seen from specific points on the plan.

¹ This drawing has not been traced, but a similar argument, leading to a work by David Burliuk that was clearly marked by his fondness for children’s drawings, can be found in S. M. Eisenstein, *Non-indifferent Nature*, trans. Herbert Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 247-48.

² Kolomenskoye, now in the southeastern suburbs of Moscow, became the summer residence of the Grand Princes of Muscovy in 1532. The wooden palace referred to here was begun in 1667 but has not survived.
This can be seen even more vividly in the example of an Egyptian painting, representing a pond with trees and buildings around it, depicted according to exactly the same principle.\footnote{The Egyptian painting has not survived. Eisenstein, however, obviously refers here to representations dating from the New Empire, which were discussed at great length by Heinrich Schäfer in Von ägyptischer Kunst: besonders der Zeichenkunst (Leipzig, 1919), see Principles of Egyptian Art, English translation of 4th ed., ed. Emma Brunner-Traut and John Baines (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), fig. 190. On spatial rendering in such representations, see Erwin Panofsky, Le Perspective comme forme symbolique, French ed. of Perspektive als symbolische Kunst, trans. Guy Ballangé (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1975), 83.}

It is curious that in the period of artistic decadence at the turn of the twentieth century (which reflected the decadence of bourgeois society), in a period marked by every form of regression in the arts (for further comment on this see below), there occurred a curious "renaissance" of a similar kind of archaism. We may interpret it as something like a shriek uttered by painting as a premonition of its metamorphosis into cinematography. Figure 1 shows the scheme for a series of paintings by David Burliuk.\footnote{Burliuk, painter and poet, was one of the most important members of the pre-revolutionary Russian avant-garde. His text of 1912 on cubism provides probably one of the first purely formalist interpretations of the art of this movement; it also had some influence on the formation of the tenets of the Russian formalist school of literary criticism (trans. in John E. Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, rev. ed. [New York: Thames and Hudson, 1968], 69-77). On Burliuk and his relationship with Mayakovsky and other members of the Russian avant-garde, see the memoirs of Benedikt Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, ed. and trans. John E. Bowlt (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1977).}

In a slightly different mode, he is pursuing the same aim as Delaunay, whose [pictures] distorted the Eiffel Tower by dislocating [its structural elements].

It is also curious that in this final stage before its transition to cinematography, painting turns its representations inward, whereas the same aspiration at the dawn of drawing and painting presented objects through extraversion. That intrversion, of course, contains a profound sense of retreat "into oneself," of regression "away from" reality, unlike the second instance, which is characterized by looking outward into the surrounding reality, into an expansive widening of horizons.

Painting has remained incapable of fixing the total representation of a phenomenon in its full visual multidimensionality. (There have been numberless attempts to do this). Only the film camera has solved the problem of doing this on a flat surface, but its undoubted ancestor in this capability is — architecture. The Greeks have left us the most perfect examples of shot design, change of shot, and shot length (that is, the duration of a particular impression). Victor Hugo called the medieval cathedrals "books in stone" (see Notre Dame de Paris). The Acropolis of Athens has an equal right to be called the perfect example of one of the most ancient films.

I shall here quote in full from Choisy's Histoire d'architecture\footnote{Auguste Choisy, Histoire de l’architecture, 2 vols. (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1 889).} in which I shall not
alter a single comma, and I would only ask you to look at it with the eye of a filmmaker: it is hard to imagine a montage sequence for an architectural ensemble more subtly composed, shot by shot, than the one that our legs create by walking among the buildings of the Acropolis (figure 2).

The Acropolis is a cliff, isolated on all sides, whose summit is dedicated to the worship of the national deities. At point T was the mark made by Poseidon's trident, while near to it grew the olive tree sacred to Athene. In immediate proximity to this sacred spot a temple was built to both gods. The site being empty after a fire, it was therefore possible to build a new sanctuary on the very spot indicated by legend. The temple was moved to point S and given the name of Erechtheion. The highest point (P) was the site in this and another era (the time of the Pisistrades and after the Persian War) of the great temple of Athene — the Parthenon. Between the Parthenon and the entrance to the Acropolis was disposed a series of smaller temples, evidently relating to both the ancient and the new Acropolis. In this same space the colossal statue of Athene Promakhos (the Warrior) was erected in the fifth century B.C. The Propylaeum (M) formed the frontal façade of the Acropolis (in both the old and the new layout). The two layouts differed only in detail. The first, however, was a collection of buildings of various epochs, whereas the second was laid out to a single plan and adapted to the site, which had been cleared as the result of a fire. The apparent asymmetry of this new Acropolis is only a means of lending picturesqueness to this group of buildings, which have been laid out with more art than any others. [This] becomes clear from the series of panoramas that unfolded before visitors to the Acropolis in the fifth century B.C. View of the Propylaeum. The general idea of the plan of the Propylaeum can be seen in figure 3. We see the symmetrical central block and two noticeably different wings — the right-hand one broader and the left-hand one less so. At first sight, nothing could be more uneven than this plan, but in fact it
constitutes a completely balanced whole in which the general symmetry of the masses is accompanied by a subtle diversity in the details. ... The optical symmetry is impeccable. ...

First view of the square; Athene Promakhos. Passing by the Propylaeum, the spectator's eye embraces the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and Athene Promakhos (figure 4).

In the foreground towers the statue of Athene Promakhos; the Erechtheion and the Parthenon are in the background, so that the whole of this first panorama is subordinated to the statue, which is its central point and which creates an impression of unity. The Parthenon only acquires its significance when the visitor loses sight of this gigantic piece of sculpture.

The Parthenon and its oblique perspectives. To modern thinking, the Parthenon — the great temple of the Acropolis — should be placed opposite the main entrance, but the Greeks reasoned quite differently. The cliff of the Acropolis has an uneven surface, and the Greeks, without altering its natural relief, placed the main temple on the highest point at the edge of the cliff, facing the city (figure 5).

Placed thus, the Parthenon first of all faces the spectator obliquely. The ancients generally preferred oblique views: they are more picturesque, whereas a frontal view of the facade is more majestic. Each of them is allotted a specific role. An oblique view is the general rule, while a view en face is a calculated exception (figure 6).

The central body of the Propylaeum is presented en face, just as we head straight for the pronaos of the Parthenon, crossing the square of the Acropolis. With the exception of the two examples given, where this effect is deliberately calculated, all the other structures present themselves at an angle — as does the temple of Athene Ergane (H), when the spectator reaches its precinct at point E. ...

After the first panorama from the Erechtheion, let us continue our way

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6 This can often be tested in the film shots that are not taken »head-on« but from an angle or on the diagonal. — S. M. E.
across the Acropolis. At point B the Parthenon is still the only structure in our field of vision, but if we move on to point C, it will be so close to us that we shall be unable to encompass its shape; at that moment the Erechtheion becomes the center of the panorama. It is precisely from this point that it offers us one of its most graceful silhouettes (figure 7).

The bare wall (a) is enlivened by the Porch of the Caryatids, which stand out from it as though against a background specifically created for them.

Thus three pictures have passed before us, corresponding to the three chief points — A\(^1\), B, and C — on figure 4.

At each of them only one architectural monument was dominant: at point C, the Erechtheion; at point B, the Parthenon; and at point A\(^1\), Athene Promakhos. This one, principal motif ensures the clarity of the impression and the unity of the picture.

How responsibly and with what careful thought this has been done is witnessed in the following additional comment by Choisy:

*Erechtheion and Athene Promakhos.* Let us return to the starting point (figure 4), that is, to point A\(^1\), at which our whole attention was concentrated on Athene Promakhos. The Erechtheion with its caryatids is in the background. One might fear that the graceful caryatids would appear crushed by force of contrast with the gigantic statue of the goddess; to prevent this, the architect sited the base of the statue in such a way that it shut out the view of the Porch of the Caryatids — line A\(^1\)RL, which only revealed itself to the eye of the spectator when he was so close to the colossus that he could no longer see all of it, and therefore a comparison became possible only in memory.

Furthermore, Choisy sums up as follows:

If we now recall the series of pictures that the Acropolis has given us, we shall see that they are all, without exception, calculated on the first impression that they make. Our recollections invariably take us back to first impressions, and the Greeks strove, abov
Both wings of the Propylaeum balance out at the exact moment when the general view of the building opens out in front of us (figure 3).

The disappearance passes through the precinct around the temple of Athene Ergane.

This creation of a favorable first impression was evidently the constant concern of Greek architects.

The calculation of a [film-] shot effect is obvious, for there, too, the effect of the first impression from each new, emerging shot is enormous. Equally strong, however, is the calculation on a montage effect, that is, the sequential juxtaposition of those shots.

Let us, in fact, draw up the general compositional schemes of these four successive »picturesque shots« (figure 8).

It is hard to imagine a stricter, more elegant, and more triumphant construct than this sequence.

Shots a and b are equal in symmetry and, at the same time, the opposites of each other in spatial extent. Shots c and d are in mirror symmetry, and function, as it were, as enlargements of the right-hand and left-hand wings of shot a, then reforming again into a single, balanced mass. The sculptural motif b is repeated through shot c, by the group of sculpture d and so on and so on.
It would further be of particular interest to analyze the length of time in which each of these pictures was presented to the spectator. We will not go into the details of this here, but only remark that the length of these montage sequences is entirely in step with the rhythm of the building itself: the distance from point to point is long, and the time taken to move from one to the other is of a length in keeping with solemnity.

In the »montage plan« of the Athenian Acropolis we find, of course, the same unsurpassed artistry as in other monuments of antiquity.

From a somewhat different aspect or point of view (and, of course, a different quality and scope!) we can find other elements of montage in Christian (Catholic) cathedrals.

This occurs in one version of what is invariably found in any [Catholic] church: the so-called Stations of the Cross, that is, the twelve sculptural groups representing the twelve stopping places that legend ascribes to the procession to Golgotha. The twelve »stations« are placed at certain distances from each other, usually around the outer ambulatory of the cathedral. That is how I have seen them in Chartres Cathedral and a number of others. But in places of pilgrimage, especially those of mass pilgrimage, they may also be placed outside the cathedral. I had occasion to see this type of disposition in Mexico — in the pilgrimage center of Amecameca. As with the majority of Catholic churches in Mexico, this church had been built on the site of an ancient pagan temple. The wise colonizers and missionaries did this so that the new faith should not lose the popularity of an already familiar spot and to use the well-trodden paths of pilgrimage to other gods for its own, Catholic purposes. Therefore this church, as many others, was sited on a high pyramidal hill. The hill is pyramid-shaped for the simple reason that it is nothing other than a genuine, but crumbling and overgrown pyramid, artificially created as prescribed for the construction of places of worship in the era of paganism. A winding road has been laid out around this fairly steep hill, and it is along this road that the »twelve stations« have been placed, the ultimate destination (»Golgotha«) being the church at the top.
From »station« to »station« the road ascends a certain number of meters. The business of climbing that distance is particularly impressive because it is the custom to go from »station« to »station« and on up to the very top — on one’s knees. The emotional reaction from stopping place to stopping place thereby increases with the pilgrims’ ever-increasing physical exhaustion. At another place of pilgrimage (Los Remedios, near Mexico City) this is done not only kneeling but »blind« — with the eyes blindfolded. The blindfold is only removed (symbolizing »spiritual insight«) at the very top.

Having thus turned our attention to Catholicism, via the pilgrims of Amecameca and Chartres Cathedral, I cannot help recalling another example of a montage structure standing in the center of the Catholic religion, in Rome, at its very heart: St. Peter’s, and in the very heart of that cathedral, under the famous canopy with its eleven-and-a-half-meters-high columns that tower above the high altar of the cathedral, the altar at which the pope alone may celebrate Mass and then only on the most solemn occasions.

I refer to the eight representations in relief of the coat of arms of the Barberini pope, Urban VIII, adorning the two outer sides of the four plinths of those gigantic columns that support the canopy. Erected in 1633 during the pontificate of Urban VIII and in his honor, the canopy, the columns, and the coats of arms that decorate the plinths form one of the most spectacular compositions of that great master Bernini.

These eight identical coats of arms, apparently meaningless, are in reality not only not identical but far from devoid of significance.

These eight coats of arms are eight shots, eight montage sequences of a whole montage scenario. Identical in their general design, they differ in their component details; and taken together they represent a whole drama that unfolds step by step. Both the subject of the drama, which closely concerned Urban VIII, and the location of its depiction within the holy of holies of Catholicism, of which he was the head, fully justify its description as *satira marmorea tremenda* (a tremendous satire in marble).

What is happening on these coats of arms?
It has been described by several scholars:
Frascetti, *Vida de Bernini*.
Gaetano Dossi, *El Baldaquino de San Pedro*.
G. E. Curatolo, Professor Libre de Obstetricia y Ginecologia en la Real Universidad de Roma, *El arte de Juno Lucina en Roma: Historia de la obstetricia*.
desde sus orígenes hasta el siglo XX, con documentos inéditos (Rome, 1901). (I only know the full title in Spanish).

Also in the article by Dr. P. Noury in Chronique médicale (Paris, 1903).

In the book by Dr. G. J. Witkowski, L’Art profane de l’Église, ses licenses symboliques, satiriques et fantaisistes (Paris, 1908).

And, finally, the voluminous work by Guillermo Dellhora, La iglesia Catolica ante la crítica en el pensamiento y en el arte (Mexico City, 1929).

N. B. All the above-cited authors also refer to much earlier descriptions. Each one describes the same thing although each from his own point of view and with a completely different purpose.

The first two try to play down the whole story. The third, Professor Curatolo, writes in order to demonstrate the state of seventeenth-century knowledge of — gynecology.

P. Noury writes his 1903 article from a medical standpoint. And G. J. Witkowski, in his 1908 pamphlet, attacks the Roman church — an attack, it must be said, that shows greater interest in shocking stories and mockery than in more serious matters, although the author does possess a certain degree of genuine antireligious free thought.

Finally there is Dellhora, for whom this matter is the culmination of his whole book, which is entirely devoted to the anticlerical and antireligious struggle of modern, intellectually based atheism.

In Monde, 17 May 1930, Henri Barbusse wrote as follows:

In this work Guillaume Dellhora has brought together a large quantity of written and iconographical documents against clericalism in Mexico, in Latin America in general, and all over the rest of the world. He supplies the reader with a complete arsenal against the Catholic religion. ...

This anticlerical struggle, which should be conducted everywhere ..., is particularly necessary in Spanish-speaking countries. No one can deny that the progress of the Spanish peoples has been checked by the fact that the Catholic religion has planted itself especially deeply in Spanish soil. In Spanish America there have been deeds of fanaticism and obscurantism that recall the Middle Ages. In Mexico in 1926 we have seen black-clad hordes, tools of the priests, bathing the country in blood to cries of ›Long live Christ the King!‹ and there are no crimes that these fanatics have not committed, fanatics who at one time numbered thirty thousand and who raged over the country for three years. That is why Guillaume Dellhora's courageous, avenging work is of particular value in those regions where the tragic wave of clericalism has not yet subsided. One must rejoice at the great success that this work has had in Latin America and specially in Mexico. (In June 1929 sales amounted to 2,000 copies; in September, 6,4000; in December, 10,300).7

I think the reader's curiosity will have been sufficiently aroused by all these preliminaries, so I will therefore proceed to describe the montage drama of eight sequences (shots), which the caustically ironic stone carver Bernini engraved in the

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7 The topic in Dellhora's book that interests me is set out with a wealth of detail and is supplied with an exhaustive quantity of photographs and drawings. I recommend this book to readers that are interested in such details, which can be recalled here only in very abbreviated form. — S. M. E.
eight coats of arms on the four plinths of the magnificent columns that support the canopy in St. Peter's, Rome, over the altar that surmounts the tomb of the saint.

The dimensions, design, and disposition of each coat of arms are identical (see figure 9). They display the heraldic device of the Barberini family to which Pope Urban VIII belonged: three bees. Above the shield, in the conventional decorative curlicues around it, is a woman’s head. Beneath the coat of arms is a no less conventional piece of ornamentation, whose swirling strands form themselves into the head of a satyr. The whole is surmounted by a papal tiara (»the triple crown«), placed over a huge pair of crossed keys (»the keys of St. Peter«) (see drawing in figure 10).

Such is the general layout of all eight coats of arms. Thus far they are all identical and in no way remarkable. If, however, we start to examine them more carefully, we shall see that, starting with the left-hand front plinth, the expression on the face of the female head above each shield changes sharply from shield to shield. From being calm and contented it passes through all the stages of pain and terror, until above the eighth coat of arms it returns to an expression of tranquility (although with a slightly different cast of character). But that is not all. Above the sixth shield in the sequence the woman’s head suddenly disappears and is replaced by a no less traditional Renaissance ornament — a child’s head (putto) with wings. Over the seventh and eighth shields the woman’s head returns with new and different facial expressions on the face. The mask of a satyr on the lower part of the shield also undergoes a marked deformation. On the shield the same occurs with the three bees of the Barberini family.

Figure 11 is a plan view of the canopy, showing the layout of the coat of arms on the plinths of the columns. The distance along the line a is approximately six meters.

The deformation that occurs on the surface of the shield itself is the most curious of all. Flat at first, beginning with the second shield its lower part starts to bulge outward, until with the sixth shield it »subsides« and remains flat on the last two shields. ... What can this mean? In the literal sense, what sort of an allegory is this?

For an explanation, let us turn to any one of the authors listed above. We shall see that the first two, while not denying the fact itself, try to brush it aside with the querulous remark that »these decorations, taken in conjunction with the coat of arms,
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could cause some people to weave fantasies and create mysterious allusions.«

What, in fact, are those »allusions,« which far from being mysterious, were intentional and evident?

What do these eight shields represent »taken in conjunction«?
The answer is given by, among others, Witkowski.

[These eight shields are pictures] that express, through the physiognomy of a woman, the various stages of childbirth. She relaxes as the womb releases its burden.

The shield is topped by a life-sized woman's head, above which are the potential crossed keys surmounted by the tiara.

At each crisis in the labor, the expression of the face changes. The scene begins on the face of the left-hand front plinth; the woman's face begins to contract; on the second and following plinths the features pass through a series of increasingly violent convulsions. Simultaneously, the hair becomes increasingly dishevelled; the eyes, which at first express a bearable degree of suffering, take on a haggard look; the mouth, closed at first, opens, then screams with piercing realism. Zola must have been unaware of this archaeological curiosity, otherwise he would not have failed to make use of it in his Rome. It would have been at least piquant to see the master of literary naturalism in the presence of such a shrieking example of artistic naturalism.

Calmness returns for a moment in between the pains, but the face still remains in pain, as though numbed, stupefied; then the pains come back with greater intensity, the features contract again, she looks terrifying. ...

Finally, comes the delivery: the belly subsides and the mother's head disappears, to give way to a cherubic baby's head with curly hair, smiling beneath the unchanging pontifical insignia. ...

But that is not all. Below the papal shield, which the artist has sculpted in the shape of the torso of a pregnant woman, there is the head of a satyr, whose lower part represents the external female genital organs, the anatomical details of which are quite complete and which undergo changes that occur throughout the stages of labor. (L'Art profane, 1:255-56)

At this point let us break off Witkowski's overextensive description dealing with the lower part of the ornament, and, in place of his ribald comments, let us rather turn to the words of Professor E. Curatolo, who deals with the astounding pictorial accuracy of the entire picture — which can perhaps only be appreciated in all its subtleties by the experienced eye of a gynecologist. This is also his explanation for the whole story being little known among the wider public.

The title will perhaps arouse the admiration of those who, despite knowing the great masterpieces of the seventeenth century with which Rome is adorned, are ignorant of one of its most original creations, revealed by the ingenious artist to those who have some knowledge of the science of obstetrics.

There are few, indeed, who know this original creation by Bernini that is to be found in the basilica of the Vatican. Many people, including some of the most distinguished lovers of archaeology and the fine arts, are ignorant of it, in part because it is an insignificant detail of a great work of art — the canopy of St. Peter's — and in part because its conception cannot be fully understood.
The same anatomical precision is confirmed by the drawings of the head of the satyr that Dellihora reproduces.

What is it all about? Whence came the idea for this monumental piece of mockery, placed under the pope's very nose in the holy of holies of Catholicism in Rome, which contains an obvious attack on the Barberini pope, executed alongside the eight coats of arms of his family? And what is the »secret« behind this marble representation of a woman giving birth in eight montage sequences at the base of the canopy of the high alter of St. Peter's, Rome?

The zealous defenders of Catholicism, of course, immediately have to hand an explanatory interpretation of this »symbol«. One such version is put forward by Witkowski: it came to him immediately after the first publication of these observations in France in 1903. The pen, indeed, is barely capable of copying these lines — such is the saccharine emotion with which they are written that the ink positively runs and smudges the paper.

Compare the papacy to a woman who, in great pain, is giving birth to souls for God, for a pope, as for the rest of the Church, it is sometimes a pregnancy and a birth that are truly painful. What disappointments, what opposition, what struggles, what suffering do the pope and the Church not endure in order to bring into the world children of Grace, in accordance with holy writ! ... The Church is a mother — a sacred metaphor that She ceaselessly affirms; why, therefore, should it be any surprise that the artist should have personified Her as a woman, and that he should have clothed her in the pontifical insignia, since the pope incarnates and personifies her on earth? (L’Art profane, 262)

Popular legend, however, has preserved a quite different account of this story. Here it is, as it has been recorded by Dr. P. Noury of Rouen, quoting the words of Lamberto Lelli:

While Urban was commissioning the canopy from the great architect [Bernini], it happened that a nephew of the pope, probably Taddeo — later to be a cardinal, a generalissimo of the Church, and Prince of the Palatine — fell in love with a sister of one of Bernini's pupils and made her pregnant.

As a result of this family misfortune, the girl's brother could think of no other solution than to implore his Master to intercede with the pope and to save the situation by a marriage.

Bernini, confident and sincere, believing that among the children of Christ differences of social class ought not to prevail, went to the pope to ask for justice.

Urban not only rejected the request, he scolded the artist for his gross presumption: ›How, Bernini,‹ said he, ›could you entertain such an idea? The pope's nephew marry the sister of a stonemason! Not only must you never mention it again, but this woman must be prevented from importuning my nephew.‹

Indignant, his conscience affronted, the artist returned to his work, and when he witnessed the pain of the unhappy mother and heard the whimpering of the
newborn infant, he swore this solemn oath: »The pope refuses to recognize his own flesh and blood — the son of a member of his family! Very well. For the rest of his life, around the altar at which he says Mass, in the midst of the church from whence goes forth the word of Christ, he shall have the innocent victims forever beneath his eyes: the mother and the child, nay the very act of their martyrdom.«

-Se non è vero è ben trovato- one might say about this colorful anecdote. There is, however, one more detail that may serve to put the finishing touch to its satirical accuracy and verisimilitude. Professor E. Curatolo writes,

But there is more. A minute examination has shown us that in the papal tiara on the first of the sculptures, which begins the sequence mimicking a woman in labor, there is a small baby's face (which should not be confused with the large face carved in relief on the sixth shield) and which does not figure in any other of the seven tiaras.

This baby's head (placed as indicated on the sketch in figure 12), which is not interpreted by Professor Curatolo and is mistakenly seen by Witkowski as a miniature version of the woman's head, might be read as something like a chapter heading or an introductory epigraph about the birth of a new scion of the family that was crowned with the papal tiara.

Dellhora prefers a more gracious interpretation.

The explanation is logical and provides an interpretation of the satire itself. After sculpting the last shield, which in place of the mother's head bears the head of the newborn infant, Bernini reproduced this in miniature, placing it above the papal tiara, precisely where a being born of the Barberini family should find its logical placement.

The pope — on behalf of his nephew — had repudiated the offspring of his family, and the great sculptor, assuming the role of minister of justice and of morality, positioned the bastard's head above the papal tiara, exactly where it deserved to be. (La iglesia Catolica, 357)

Moreri, in his *Grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* (Paris, 1759), expresses his amazement: »It is surprising that in a city where the authorities know so well how to shut men's mouths, they have not yet found the secret of forcing a piece of marble to be silent.«

There were, however, attempts to do so: M. A. Gazeau, in his book *Les Bouffons* (Paris, 1882), shows a picture of the statue of Pasquino in Rome (p. 181), but he claims that its original was not a tailor but a shoemaker, and writes about attempts that were made to stop the »marble mouth.«

8 »It may not be true but it's a good story.« Italian in the original.
9 The woman of the first shield has her mouth closed and is almost smiling; furthermore, the tiara above her is the only one that bears in the middle of it a female face that is also displaying a gracious smile. — S. M. E.
Several popes tried without success to suppress the unbridled scurrilousness of these satires, which at times degenerated into defamatory libels. Among others, Adrian VI (1522-23), who was strongly attacked for a parsimony that verged on avarice, resolved to have the statue removed and thrown into the Tiber. He was dissuaded only when it was pointed out to him that Pasquino would not be made dumb by drowning, but would rather make himself heard even more loudly than the frogs in the Pontine marshes. Adrian VI had the good sense not to put his plan into effect.

This was the same Pope Adrian whom the Romans hated so much that on the day after his death crowds of the populace gathered outside the house of his greatest enemy and adorned its entrance with the inscription »To the liberator of the Roman people.«

Apart from those already mentioned, Pasquino’s attacks on Pope Urban VIII were extremely numerous; Laffont cites a whole series. The targets were the pope, his family, and especially his nephews. Thus he proposed that Don Taddeo, the culprit in the »affair« depicted on the plinths of the canopy, should be castrated: »Castrate Francesco, Antonio, and Don Taddeo ...« is to be found in the pamphlet Il grosso e idioto Pasquino. In another pamphlet, entitled Pasquino’s Answer to the Beggar who Asked him for Alms, he scourged the avarice of the pope.

Ohimé! Io non ho quattrino
Tutto 'l mio è da Barberino!
[Alas, I have not a farthing;
Barberino has everything I possess!]

In the rhymed pamphlet Pasquino e le api he attacked the bees that formed the heraldic emblem of the Barberini family.

To the Pope and to his nephews, who go by the name of those bees that they bear on their coat of arms
Pasquino: Oh Bees, whom heaven has sent down upon the soil of Rome to gather nectar to your hearts’ content, show me now your wax and let me taste the sweet honey that you have made.
The Bees: How greedy you are! Barbarous war and the blood that you have shed on the earth for our sake — those shall by your wax and your honey.

If Pasquino himself was an out-and-out antipapist, his name was, however, used by the Catholics themselves for their own pamphleteering purposes. There are, for example, some no less biting pamphlets written by Catholics attacking the Calvinists, collected under the general title Passevent Parisien respondant à Pasquin Romain: De la vie de ceux qui sont allés demeurer à Cenève et se disent vivre selon la réformation de l’Evangile: fait en fome de Dialogue (Paris, 1556). These were written in the form of dialogues between Pasquino and Passevent, attacking the Calvinists in every possible way and »les gros paillardes de leur Eglise, comme Calvin, Farel et Viret.«

Bernini, too, was equally uninhibited in the scope and extent of his ideas and in
the means of putting them into effect. Both the boldness of his satire and the central feature of St. Peter’s, into which he was not afraid to plunge the arrow of his sarcasm, are typical of the man. We have only to recall how, in the guise of portraying the mystic ecstasy of St. Teresa (again in the holy of holies of a church, in this case Santa Maria della Vittoria, \[he created\] an image of the orgasmic rapture of the great hysteric that is unsurpassed in its realism. This was a malicious joke, aimed at [Pope Urban], who nine years later (by a decree of 15 March 1642), under a resolution of the Council of Trent, issued an instruction *urbi et orbi* »to banish from every Christian house all images that are obscene, lascivious, and immodest.« For all the friendship that existed between these two brigands, this [statue of St. Teresa] was entirely in character with the one — Bernini — who was also a great artist. We should not forget that both of them were responsible for the vandalistic plundering of »one hundred eighty-six thousand, three hundred ninety-three pounds of bronze« (Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*) from the portico of the Roman Pantheon. »Urban stripped Flavian bare in order to enrobe Peter« was the ubiquitous Pasquino’s jocular comment. It was perhaps in »compensation« for this that Bernini, aided and abetted by Urban, disfigured the Pantheon of Agrippa with two Renaissance campanili, or bell towers. Whichever way one considers it, they thoroughly deserved their nickname of »Bernini’s asses’ Bars.« Later, artistic good taste prevailed, and these two »dovecotes« no longer exist, having been demolished; but in 1725 they were still in place, as albums of architectural drawings made in that year bear witness. History, however, has fixed a much worse pair of asses’ ears on the head of Urban VIII — the twin vices of obscurantism and repression. Mankind will never forget the year 1633, the year in which the canopy over the high altar in St. Peter’s was built. For in the year of its construction occurred one of the most shameful moments in the history of Rome and the papacy: in that same year — on 22 June 1633 — there took place the enforced public recantation of the »prisoner of the Inquisition«, Galileo Galilei, at which he was made to renounce the »heretical teachings of Copernicus«!

It is natural that the question should arise, How was it that no one noticed Bernini’s malicious practical joke? How was it that for many, many years Pope Urban VIII celebrated the liturgy while beneath his very nose was this marble lampoon directed against the whole Barberini clan? Again, legend has preserved a reference to the fact that certain rumors and suspicions may have arisen. It is in this connection that the pope is said to have questioned Bernini about the decoration of the plinths. P. Noury writes of it thus:

> When Pope Urban VIII asked him to explain his work, Bernini replied ambiguously »It concerns your family.« The pope assumed that the artist was alluding to the coat of arms of the Barberini family, but in the artist's mind that phrase had a different meaning.

The coat of arms remained untouched.
The extent to which this »hint« remained undetected, and thus preserved the ornamental coat of arms undamaged, is confirmed by eyewitnesses. Dr. H. Vigouroux, for instance, informed Dr. Witkowski of a letter on this subject from the former's brother, the Abbé Vigouroux, written from Rome.

The drawings published by the *Chronique médicale* are quite exact, but one must be a physician to see what he [the correspondent] saw in those escutcheons. I have often noticed them, because they are placed immediately adjoining the tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul, only a meter or so above ground level, and everyone can see them; but it is certain that no one suspects anything unless he has been forewarned. When I went there, men and women were leaning against these escutcheons, to hear the Mass that was being said nearby, and they saw nothing more in them than someone or other's coat of arms. (*L'Art profane*, 262)

How these »men and women« behaved, who had noticed nothing until the Roman magazine *L'asino* (famous for its anticlerical caricatures) seized upon the material published in the *Chronique médicale* and opened their eyes to those ill-fated shields, we may gather from a few of the headlines printed in that weekly magazine during the year 1903:

Consequences of Revelations on Significance of the Bernini Sculptures
Incredible influx of Curious Visitors from all over the World in Irreverent Pilgrimage to the Cathedral of St. Peter
The Prime Basilica of Christianity turned into a Theater of Comic and Grotesque Scenes
Demonstrations, Tumults, Violence
The Holy Temple in a State of Siege
Measures taken by the Vatican
The Roman Curia intends to cover Bernini's carved Escutcheons

If we want to find the solution of the riddle as to why this hurricane, these tumults were not unleashed earlier, and why the secret of Bernini's satire in all its fullness was not revealed sooner, we shall seek the answer in vain from the popes, from St. Peter, from doctors Noury and Witkowski; nor shall we find it beneath the canopy or the boards, with which, apparently, the Roman Curia never did cover up the ill-starred escutcheons of the Barberini family.

The answer to the riddle lies entirely in that the full picture, the true »image« of this montage statement only emerges in the sequential juxtaposition [of its constituent »frames«]. Each shield; in itself means nothing. Viewed in isolation, it is dumb. But in the joint combination of all eight of them and taken together with the tomb of St. Peter and the basilica as a whole, they ring out across the centuries as a devastating pamphlet against the plunderers and brigands concealed beneath the papal tiara.

In themselves, the pictures, the phases, the elements of the whole are innocent and indecipherable. The blow is struck only when the elements are juxtaposed into a sequential image. The placing of the shields — or rather their »displacing« — around
the four plinths, at right angles and at six meters distance from each other, together
with the need to walk round the whole vast quadrilateral of the canopy and to begin
from one particular corner (the left-hand front pillar) — these are the factors that make
up the cunning separation of the eight montage sequences. Such is the method by
which, in the very heart of Catholicism, a most venomous satire on its triple-crowned
head has managed to remain in encoded form for centuries.

The separation of its elements is the best means of concealing an image that
emerges, or should emerge, from their sequential juxtaposition.

Here I cannot help recalling an analogous instance. Admittedly it is to be found at
the other end of the continent, almost three hundred years later, and in a totally
different class context. In one thing, however, it resembles the foregoing: here as
there it was a means of avoiding the vigilance of censorship — a censorship no less
corrosive than that of the Tsarist government in 1905. In both cases the method of
pulling the wool over the censor's eyes was the same. In both cases the principle was
the dissociated display of images that only acquired significance through the
montage technique of sequential juxtaposition. In this instance, the medium was not
carved marble intended to last for centuries, but printer's ink on the pages of a
 satirical magazine — one of those that, like the clouds of arrows of a light advance
 guard, were showered down upon the enemy, accompanying a great popular upsurge,
the first wave of the movement that was to overthrow autocracy.

I am describing this from memory, on the basis of memoirs that I read somewhere,
written by an old journalist who was active in 1905, when it was strictly forbidden to
make any reference to such events as the dispersal of a crowd by armed force. How,
then, could such a scene be conveyed in a magazine? A way around the ban was
found: two unrelated pictures were drawn, in the form of an initial illuminated letter
and a pictorial endpiece to an article. In one — a purely cinematographic frame! —
were shown the legs of a rank of soldiers marching in step; in another, a confused
mass of civilian legs in disorderly retreat. The pictures were shown to the censor
separately, and he saw no objection to passing these vignettes, each of little signi-
ficance and in any case »harmless« in themselves, which were, furthermore, shown to
him on different days. On the pages of the magazine, however, they were placed in
such a way that they merged into a single image — the dispersal of a crowd — that
instantly sprang to life. The censor had been circumvented. The hint went home. The
issue of the magazine was confiscated after its appearance. But too late. The name
of the censor was Savenkov; the magazine was called Zritel (The spectator).

Shebuyev's magazine Pulemyot (The machine gun) introduced »montage« of this
kind as an integral part of its makeup. Over many issues, the role of such montage
shots was played by the front and back covers. The meaning of what they depicted
and their full graphic significance were largely revealed by the juxtaposition of the
first and last pages.

The cover of issue three showed »A Russian Sailor« with the caption »Russia's
freedom was born on the sea.« The back cover had the caption »The God-Fearing
Warriors« and showed a galloping detachment of maddened Cossacks. The
The cover of issue four showed Father Gapon, with a crowd of typically Russian faces behind him. The caption was »Follow me!« On the back cover was the same caption, »Follow me!« but the picture above it showed a crowd of injured people limping away from a demonstration — and so on.

Zritel also used »montages« of a kind more complex in the mental juxtaposition linking them. One drawing, for instance, showed twenty-five dark figures, among which it was fairly easy to discern Nicholas II, Alexander III, several grand dukes, Father John of Kronstadt, and a number of ministers. The caption read »25 Silhouettes«, followed by a multiplication sign, then the figure 4. The censor passed the drawing, having failed to notice that it was a cryptogram: the twenty-five black figures multiplied by four made a hundred black figures — a »Black Hundred.« The expression *Black Hundred* thereafter passed into general use, although it was strictly forbidden to use it in print.

Where architectural interiors are concerned, one might adduce more »direct« examples, taken from other pages in the history of architecture, such as the system of rising vaults in Hagia Sophia, which reveal their scope and magnificence step by step, or the interplay of arcades and vaulting in Chartres Cathedral, whose calculated magic of sequential montage I have myself admired more than once.

These examples not only link montage technique with architecture, they vividly underline the even closer, immediate link, within montage, between *mise-en-cadre* and *mise-en-scène*. This is one of the cornerstones without which not only can there be no understanding of either sphere, but still less can there be any planned, consistent teaching of the art of montage.