ABSTRACT. Hidden between the exuberant lines (forty-two thousand of them) of the most baroque among baroque poems (L’Adone, by Giovan Battista Marino, first published in Paris in 1623, and soon after inscribed in the Index librorum prohibitorum) is the story of Christ’s passion, death and resurrection. The purpose of this paper is twofold: to offer a description of all the elements leading to the identification of the protagonist, Adonis, with Christ; and to submit an interpretation of the disquieting mythological re-incarnation.

The metamorphosis I will be dealing with in this paper is contained in an epic poem inspired by Ovid’s work, an epic poem that is considered to be the most representative literary accomplishment of the Italian Baroque. Conceived in Naples in the early 1590’s, it saw the light of print only thirty years later, in the Spring of the year 1623, in Paris, with the title, L’Adone, in a splendid folio edition, dedicated to (and paid by) Louis XIII and his mother, Maria de’ Medici. The author was Giovan Battista Marino (1569-1625), who was already very famous at the time of the publication. He had been hailed, actually, as the greatest of all Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew writers, as well as the greatest of all writers that would ever live in the future. The praise came from Claudio Achil-

lini, a respected professor of Law in the university of Bologna and a poet himself.

It is easy for us to recognize the hyperbolic boasts of Baroque rhetoric here, but it would be a big mistake to discard as irrelevant Achillini’s superlatives. Not only because for the Baroque mind there are grades of hyperbolic discourses (and here, clearly we are at the highest point), but also because this particular praise was only one of the numerous expressions of profound sympathy and admiration he received from all over Italy in anticipation of the poema grande, announced as imminent several years before its publication.

Marino knew that with his new work he could not limit himself to feed new beautiful lines to his cheering admirers. He had published already two large and immensely successful collections of lyrics, several idylls and occasional poems. It was now time for the epic, time for a new vision of society and history that he, a Neapolitan immigrant in Paris, at the Florentine court of Mary, was royally appointed to express with a poema grande.

The antecedent, as well as the inevitable critical term of comparison was Torquato Tasso’s Jerusalem Delivered, the great epic moulded on revived, re-interpreted and re-defined Aristotelian poetics, and considered a truly classic, as well as Christian, Italian epic, even more so than Dante’s Divine Comedy. Marino did not choose Homer or Vergil’s works as models; he preferred the less known Dyonisiaca by Nonnus of Panopolis, and, in obvious opposition to Vergil’s poetics, Ovid’s Metamorphoses. While he could borrow numerous stylistic traits and mythological images and narratives from these encyclopaedic works, the new philosophy to support his creation was not to be drawn from them; it had to be completely original. All this could probably help to understand the audacity of the central metamorphosis in his poem, L’Adone, that he projected to be greater than the Jerusalem Delivered.

Marino was an instinctive, very elegant, sophisticated writer, in the sense, at least, that he wouldn’t or couldn’t rationalize his poetic choices; he would hint, and signify symbolically and with the full force of melodic and rhythmic expressivity, but he wouldn’t say, explain, or rationalize the philosophical positions that we, as readers, are led to assume he was taking. As Giovanni Pozzi, Marino’s greatest critic in modern times once remarked, for this poet first came the words, arranged in an enchanting rhetorical style, and then came the meaning of the words themselves. Marino’s reluctance to speak openly on philosophical issues is also linked to the fact that the “irregularity” of his positions (such as the
one we will consider in a moment) in the cultural environment of the Counter Reformation could have been highly problematic, not simply for his career, but for his own life. One of Marino’s friends in France, the philosopher Giulio Cesare Vanini, was in fact put on trial and condemned by the Tribunale del Sant’Uffizio, in 1617; his triple execution – his tongue was pulled out, his head cut off, and his body (whatever was left of it) burned at the stake – was not very encouraging for a poet to come out of his rhetoric.

And we should not forget, at this point, to mention the famous sentence of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, in his Vindicationes, where the Roman appointed historian of the Council of Trent, from the comfort of his Vatican chair finds that Marino, already dead and condemned by the Church, but still embarrassingly famous and read and imitated, “carebat philosophico ingenio that since Aristotle it is required in every respectable poet.” This insidious, negative comment – the nadir of the poet’s fame, the zenith being Achillini’s hyperboles – came from a man of the cultural establishment, the same establishment that had decreed the inclusion of L’Adone in the Index librorum prohibitorum, in 1624.

Why, one would argue, include a book by a superficial poet with no philosophical ingenium in the Index? What was the fear? Pozzi thinks that the “prelati del Sant’Uffizio” who censored the book read and understood things that were not superficial at all, and certainly would go way beyond the “common” obscenities for which the book was apparently condemned. The fact remains, however, that Sforza Pallavicino’s comments helped to forge a negative image of Marino’s epic which lasted for centuries.

Things have changed in the last decades of the twentieth thanks to a new appreciation of Baroque rhetoric, and also thanks to some critical work done in the area of sacred symbolism, discreetly hidden between the exuberant lines of the poem. Not counting myself, two people only have devoted considerable attention to this specific issue: Fra’ Tommaso Stigliani in the seventeenth century, and Father Giovanni Pozzi twenty-five years ago. Stigliani wrote in L’Occhiale (an entire volume devoted to a systematic scrutiny of L’Adone) that Marino had a blasphemous mind and enjoyed making a mockery of articles of faith for pure perversity. For Pozzi, instead, Marino’s metaphors of the sacred are part of the poet’s encyclopaedic approach to literature. I submit that Marino’s symbols, and especially the elements leading to the identification of Adonis with Christ, are the core of Marino’s philosophy, and that they allow for a critical re-reading of the poem in a totally new and different light. I
shall proceed, from now on, with a list of such elements accompanied
by some brief, specific comments.

* * *

Early in the poem (canto 3, stanza 68) Adonis is assimilated to Cupid
who, of course, not only is a mythological figure and one of the major
characters in the poem, like Adonis himself, but also the symbolic per-
sonification of Love. He is called “Amore,” in fact, with the capital “A”,
the name of a person as well as the name of a thing. Amore/Love is one
and one only in Marino, be it *Agape*, *Charitas*, or pure lust. And if one
reader may detect some influence here by the never mentioned by Mar-\nino but ever present in his work, contemporary philosopher of the
greatest *reductio ad unum*, Giordano Bruno, the thought would certainly
be well justified. As character with a described physical physiognomy,
Adonis and Cupid are very different from each other; but Venus at one
point cannot distinguish between her son and her lover. We can observe
a typical use of symbolic language by Marino here. Whenever a charac-
ter, a theme, or a situation appears to be unjustifiably unrealistic, Marino
is certainly at work to emphasize the symbolic meaning. And so, when
the poet tells us that Adonis *veracemente rassembra Amore* to Venus, he is
telling us that Adonis is a figure of pure and perfect Love. We soon will
be considering the implications of this in other passages in the poem.
Meanwhile, here’s the entire quote (with the English translation of Har-
old Martin Priest. Translations are mine when no credit is indicated).

Or giunta sotto il solitario monte,
dove raro uman piè stampò mai l’orme,
trova colà su ’l margine del fonte
Adon che ’n braccio ai fior s’adagia e dorme;
ed or che già dela serena fronte
gli appanna il sonno le celesti forme
e tien velato il gemino splendore,
veracemente egli rassembra Amore.

Rassembra Amor, qualor deposta e sciolta
La face e gli aurei strali e l’arco fido,
Stanco di saettar posa talvolta
Su l’Idalio frondoso o in val di Gnido
E dentro i mirti, ove tra l’ombra folta
Han canori augelletti opaco nido,
Appoggia il capo alla faretra e quivi
Carpisce il sonno al mormorar de’ rivi.

( *L’Adone* 3, 68-69)

Now having reached a solitary hill,
a spot where human foot has rarely trod,
Adonis sleeping in the flowers’ embrace;
and now, although sleep casts its shadow o’er
the heavenly features of his countenance,
and covers with a veil those splendors twain,
even in slumber he resembles Love.

He looks like Love, when, weary from the hunt,
and having laid aside the faithful bow,
the arrows and the torch, he sometimes rests
in Gnido’s vale or in Idalian slope,
amid the myrtles where in covert shade
canorous birds have found obscure retreat,
and on his quiver resting his fair head,
he takes his sleep beside the murmuring brook.
(Trans. H.M. Priest. 3.68-69)
Most of the elements leading to the identification of Adonis/Love with Christ are contained in the final cantos because only at that point in the narrative it becomes necessary for the poet to start offering an all-encompassing new symbolic significance to the re-issued mythological plot. But already in Canto 16 there is a crucial episode in the development of the *fabula sacra*. The occasion is a beauty contest in which the most handsome young man will be chosen by a number of wise men to become king of Cyprus, the island of Venus, where beauty is celebrated. Adonis, the beautiful (“il bell’Adone”) appears destined to an easy win. But Marino inserts an obstacle to the acclamation, a contestant that comes from the barbarians’ land of Scythia. He is a *Saracen* (“Di Scizia un saracin”) and his name is “Luciferno” (*nomen omen*: Lucifer from *Inferno*). Indeed, he is Satan, also called “mostro d’Averno” (monster from Hell) by one of the judges in the contest. Luciferno dares to compete with Adonis, and is killed by Cupid, whose arrows usually have only metaphorical lethal effects. But as I indicated before, traditional mythological realism, or plausibility, disappears when a particular symbolic meaning is attached to the text. In this case, the coronation of Adonis as king (which echoes the proclamation of Christ on his entering Jerusalem on Palm Sunday) can only happen with the killing of Luciferno, because Adonis/Cupid is Christ/Love and as such his power destroys Satan. Here, in Marino’s own words, the appearance of Luciferno, the monster from Hell, followed by the stanza in which he is killed by Cupid. The extremely detailed description of the character with centrifugal referents that slow down the already unhurried narration is customary in Marino’s rhetoric, and it shows why the poem, even when rejected by the critics in the eighteenth century, remained the favourite book of the poets of the time who saw in it an encyclopaedia of poetic imagery and rhetorical devices.

Vien Luciferno il fier dopo costui,  
coi di Scizia un saracin si noma.  
Il Sacca e l’Battrian soggiace a lui,  
il Margo ha vinto e la Sarmazia ha doma;  
e la gloria rapir presume altrui  
per irta barba e per irsuta chioma.  
Mostra ruvide membra, ossa robuste,  
lungo capo, ampie nari e tempie anguste.  

L’occhio pien di terrore e di bravura  
infra nero e verdiccio, altrui spaventa  
e con torvo balen di luce oscura  
la fierezza e l’furor vi rappresenta.  
Portamento ha superb e guatatura  
sì feroce ed atroce e violenta,  
che rassembl aquilon qualor più freme  
e col torbido e Egeo combatte insieme.
Su la giubba che tinta ha di morato, 
rete si stende d’or sottile e ricca, 
e con puntali pur d’oro smaltato 
gli angoli dele maglie insieme appicca; 
porta sotto l’ascella il manto alzato,

After him proud Lucifernus comes, 
A Saracen of Scythia so called. 
Subject to him are Saca, Bactrian; 
Margian he won, his home Sarmatia; 
hopes to carry off the envied crown 
because of his full beard and flowing hair. 
Rugged limbs he shows and robust frame, 
head long and thin, full nostrils, narrow brow.

His piercing eye, ‘twixt black and greenish hue, 
strikes terror in the hearts of all around.

And with grim lightning flashes he displays 
the fierce and savage gleam of those dark lights; 
his bearing haughty, offers signs and threats 
of havoc and of dire atrocities, 
which seem like Aegeon when, raging fierce, 
he battles the wild Aegean Sea.

Over a coat that is blackberry dyed 
is stretched a net of gold, subtle and rich, 
whereon the angles of the mesh are linked 
and intertwined with knots of inlaid gold; 
he wears a cape suspended from one shoulder, 
which is draped under the other arm; 
c’l lembo che dal braccio a terra cade, 
con lunga striscia il pavimento rade.

Di lavoro azimin la scimitarra 
larga, breve e ricurva appende al’anca; 
dietro ha il carcasso e per taverso sbarrà 
l’arco serpente in su la spalla manca. 
In forma di piramide bizzarra 
un globo intorno al crin di tela bianca 
erge, com’è de’ barbari costume, 
d’aviluppate fasce alto volume.

Stanno tutti a mirarlo attenti e cheti 
da Scommo infuora un vecchiarel ritroso, 
de’ satirici più che de’ faceti, 
ma carco il pigro piè d’umor nodoso 
che gl’i tien tra gli articoli secreti 
dele giunture un freddo gelo ascoso, 
onde del corpo stanco il grave incarco 
sova torto bastone appoggia in arco.

Questi il capo crollò, le ciglia torse, 
segni fé di disprezzo, atti di scherno: 
– Vattene (disse) pur là sotto l’orse 
tra le fere a regnar, mostro d’averno. 
(L’Adone 16, 150-56)

Prima che Luciferno oltre seguisse, 
strano prodigio e repentino avenne. 
Quella statua d’Amor che già si disse 
lo stral ch’avea su l’arco a scoccar venne. 
Volando il crudo stral, l’asta gli affisse 
nel costato miglior fino ale penne. 
Cadde e giacque il meschin gelido e muto, 
frecciato il cor di passatoio acuto. 
(L’Adone 16, 246)

A curving scimitar hangs at his hip, 
short and broad and fancily inlaid; 
a quiver at his back and curving bow 
at his left shoulder on a transverse strap. 
About his head a globe of snow-white cloth 
arises, as the barbarous custom is, 
a towering heap of convoluted bands, 
in form much like a pyramid bizarre.

With head held high and nostrils showing red, 
with furious and formidable face, 
puffing a dense cloud of smoke he moved, 
much like a lion menacing his foe. 
He bared his back, which showed well set and stout, 
he swung his sinews and sturdy arms,
arms threatening great force and violence, 
with veins and muscles standing in relief.

All stand and gaze at him, quiet and fixed, 
except for Scommus, old and ill-disposed, 
a satirist more than a jester he, 
his slow feet burdened with a humor vile, 
which nourishes a hidden piercing chill 
within his secret ligaments and joints, 
whence bent and stooping o'er a crooked 
staff, 
he leans the burden of his weary frame.

He shook his head, he creased his brow and 
showed 
expressions of contempt and mockery. 
"Be off," he said, “and there beneath the 
Bear 
hold sway among wild beasts, monster from Hell.” 
(Trans. H.M. Priest. 16.150-56)

Suddenly, before Luciferno could continue 
a strange event prodigiously happened: 
the statue of Cupid, that we have said, 
the arrow that was ready on the arc released. 
The arrow reached the left side of Luciferno’s breast 
And entered it all the way, deep till only the feathers 
were left outside. 
He fell and stayed, the wretched, mute and cold, 
the heart pierced by the sharp arrow. 
(L’Adone 16, 246)

Other aspects of sacred symbolism we find in Amatunta, capital city of Cyprus, inside the temple of Venus, described as having architectural characteristics of a Christian church of the Renaissance. Here Adonis is presented as spending the night in prayers to prepare himself for the dramatic event in store for him the day after when the new, legitimate king of Cyprus will be crowned. He is alone, except for some soldiers, guardians of the temple, who have fallen asleep. This situation recalls the Biblical episode of Christ praying in the Gethsemane when Peter, James, and John, three apostles, “soldiers” of Christ, fall asleep.

In the temple, on the main altar, there is a statue of Venus with a crown in her hands. She will put it on the head of the future king of Cyprus. Adonis is alone in the temple; he stands in front of the statue, and all of a sudden the stone becomes flesh, Venus smiles at him and crowns him king of the island. But something else happens during the night. Adonis does not really want the crown – comparable to the bitter chalice – that Christ asks God the Father, to spare him from. And so Adonis gives the crown to Barrino, another fraudulent competitor, who will be unmasked by Venus in person during the official ceremony of the crowning, the day after.

Early in the morning, before the ceremony, two episodes take place that have unmistakable symbolic values. First, a dove that had escaped the knife of the priest for the sacrifice, appears to be circling the crowd, and finally lands on Adonis’s shoulder.
Onde il buon vecchio Astreo che ne giova
e de’ presaghi aruspici lo stuolo
vaticinando aventuroso stato
con lieto annunzio interpretaro il fato.

(L’Adone 16, 195)

Just then a dove that, fugitive, alone,
had been that day miraculously spared

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Later, as all eyes are fixed on the youth, an old servant of Cynira and Mirra, Adonis’s parents who died tragically when he was born, recognize him as the legitimate king of the island, because of a birthmark, in the form of a rose, that he has on the left side of his chest. Pozzi explains the first episode as a reference to the baptism of Christ, and the second as a metaphor of Christ’s chest wound, “la ferita del costato” which is fairly common in the language of the mystics.

At this point, as we enter canto 18 of the poem, the canto of Adonis’s death, it is quite evident that Marino has been accumulating elements of Christological identification to lead his readers toward a new spiritual understanding of the old myth. Why would he not be more overt? One may ask. Again, we have to remember that we are in the middle of the Counter Reformation. The memory of Giordano Bruno, burned a few years back in Campo de’ Fiori, and of the more recent execution of his friend Giulio Cesare Vanini persuaded the poet to exercise prudence. Marino certainly had no intention of becoming another martyr of the “libero pensiero”. His courage was limited to expressing controversial thoughts only between the lines, in the safe compounds of his overly ornate camouflages. On the other hand, he openly advises his most sophisticated readers to look for special meanings under the external wrapping of his rhetoric. He says, in one of the opening stanzas of the poem:

Ombreggia il ver Parnaso e non rivela
gli alti mistery agli umili profani
ma con scorza mentita asconde e cela
quasi rozo Silen celesti arcani.

(My) poetry covers the truth and does not reveal
(its) high mysteries to humble profane readers,
like the uncouth Silenus, it hides secrets
of arcane knowledge under false appearances.

(L’Adone 1.10)

The death of Adonis is preceded by the death of Aurilla. A name of obvious meaning: she who loves gold. Aurilla is the unfaithful servant of Adonis; she betrays him, and then, for the remorse “gitta l’oro”(18, 242); throws away the golden coins she had received from Mars, the instigator
of the boar that will kill Adonis, and hangs herself. She is, unmistakeably, a personification of Judas Iscariot.

But perhaps the most obvious, as well as disquieting proof of the identification of Adonis with Christ can be found in the terminology used by Marino to indicate the anatomical area of the mortal wound inflicted by the boar. In the very elaborate narrative description of the attack, the first part of the body of the young man to be exposed to the fury of the gigantic boar is the “leg” [“un vento all’improvviso… per recargli alfin l’ultima angoscia / gli alzò la vesta e gli scoprì la coscia” (18, 94. A sudden wind to inflict on him the last anguish, lifted his skirt and showed his leg)]. Following that, the attack of the boar is aimed at the “anca” (18, 97), that is, at the “side”; and finally, with a very technical term, at the genitals: “sotto il vago galon” (16, 97. “under the iliac crest”). Pozzi in his commentary does not give particular emphasis to Marino’s insistence on anatomical details, which seem to me to indicate that the poet wanted to make sure that the readers understood the sexual nature of the boar’s aggression. What I find most remarkable, however, is that from this point on, and starting with the lament of Venus, the wound of Adonis is not mentioned as a wound in the genital area anymore, but as a chest wound, specifically, as “la piaga del costato,” (18, 152 and 19, 358) pre-announced by the recognition of birthmark by Myrra’s old maid. The expression in Italian has only one meaning: the wound in the side of Christ. To this we must add that the killer of Adonis is recognized by Venus not as a Beast of Cyprus, but as a monster from Hell.

After the death, we have the Resurrection. Marino devotes an entire canto to it, and he illustrates the rebirth of Adonis as a flower using several exempla, among which the most remarkable is perhaps that of Pampino, a young mythological figure like Adonis who died tragically. Pampino, who was the lover of Bacchus, after his death, Marino recalls, was transformed into “la sostanza del ciel data ale vigne” (19, 123. The substance of Heaven given to the vines), and that is the wine of the Eucharist, a metonymy for Christ himself.

Marino devotes another canto, the entire canto 20, the longest of the poem, containing more than four thousand lines, to the effects of the metamorphosis of Adonis or, better, of his resurrection: the influence of the miracle embraces all of mankind, and “the great theatre of the world” that we find here, at the end of the poem, is an epiphany of celestial beatitude, made possible by the sacrifice of Adonis/Christ.
At this point we can interrupt our series of Christological references in the poem to make a few comments, or rather, to try to make some sense of this very particular literary phenomenon. To start, why would Marino need the support of Christological symbolism for his epic poem? And why would the prelates of the Sant’Uffizio respond so harshly to the identification of Adonis with Christ, an identification that had already been accepted and elaborated on by the fathers of the Church (as a quick query into the _Patrologia latina_ would indicate today to anyone)?

A quick answer to the first question would be that in some historical and cultural situations only the universal power of Christ is seen as capable of adding true metaphysical values to human events, be it a “real” power that touches the heart of the faithful, or an abstraction, a metaphorical power that appeals to the minds of those who do not believe.

In his _Discorsi del poema eroico_ (1595), Torquato Tasso’s own revised guide on how to write epic poems, he says that the poet must be a philosopher, a mystic and not a Thomist philosopher, one who uses reason to translate visions and not to explain them. This is a definition that suits Marino perfectly. Visions of a new world are often not pleasant projections at all, but dramatic responses to fear in a reality that has become oppressive. It was Carlo Calcatera perhaps, in his 1940 book, _Il Parnaso in rivolta_, who more than any other critic before him, pointed to the creative anguish of the Baroque soul, “l’anima in Barocco”. We see it at work in Monteverdi’s sorrowful _Lamento di Arianna_, in Borromini and Bernini’s ellipses and spirals, in Caravaggio’s rejection of harmony and balance, just as in the Monteverdi’s “stile concertato” of his “seconda pratica.” Marino’s “anima in barocco” includes all of this, and the pathos of his epic grows immensely as the meaning of his images become more evident, functional, and prophetic. An so we reach a point when we finally recognize that it is Christ the true protagonist of his poem.

As for the other question, of the condemnation of the book by the Sant’Uffizio, we should remember the direct, negative response to _L’Adone_, in 1623, by the new pope, Maffeo Barberini, Urbano VIII, the pope of Campanella and Galileo, a mediocre poet and a megalomaniac. He had just been elected when Marino returned triumphantly to Rome with copies of _L’Adone_, just published, _in folio grande_, by the royal print masters of Paris. Marino’s presence in Rome created a sense of excitement that lasted for several months. The Oziosi Academy, the most important literary institution in Rome at the time, to which the pope himself belonged, held special festivities for Marino, who was also appointed honorary Prince of the Academy. Perhaps Maffeo Barberini, the
poet, just could not stand that, and a few months after Marino’s celebrations in Rome, his poem was included in the *Index*.

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE**

The edition of *L’Adone* used is Giovanni Pozzi’s, along with his volume of commentary (2 vols. Milano: Mondadori, 1976). I have dealt with the specific topic of this paper in other publications, in Italian, and I shall refer to them for a detailed analysis of the Christological terminology, imagery and symbols used by Marino. The issue was first discussed in my *La meravigliosa retorica dell’Adone di Giovan Battista Marino* (Firenze: Olschki, 1989, pp. 45-58). I then studied all the implications of Adonis’ death and resurrection with a close re-reading of canto 18 and canto 20: “Canto 18: LA MORTE. I trastulli del cinghiale,” and “Canto 20: GLI SPETTACOLI. Il gran teatro del mondo, ovvero il mondo a teatro,” both in *Lectura Marini: L’Adone letto e commentato* (ed. Francesco Guardiani. Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1989, pp 301-316 and pp. 325-347 respectively). Every passage of *L’Adone* described in this paper was considered critically by Giovanni Pozzi in his commentary (attached to the cited edition) as well as by Tommaso Stigliani in his *L’Occhiale* (Roma: Carampello, 1627). For other Baroque aspects of Marino see *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts and Music of the Italian Baroque* (ed. Francesco Guardiani. Ottawa: Legas, 1994). The most comprehensive bibliography of Marino’s editions since the seventeenth century is now available thanks to Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Giambattista Marino*. Firenze: Olschki, 2000. In terms of Marino criticism, the most reliable and complete bibliography remains the one compiled by Giorgio Fulco in his “Giovan Battista Marino,” in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 5, *La fine del Cinquecento e il Seicento*. Roma, Salerno Editrice, 1977.