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IMAGES OF CHANGE

VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF PAPAL POWER IN ROME FOLLOWING THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

Teresa Delgado-Jermann

Images of Change

Images of Change focuses on the visual propaganda employed by Catholic popes in Rome during the time of Tridentine Reform. In 1563, at the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church decided to reform its own use of imagery, in response to Protestant criticism. This volume examines how different sixteenth-century popes dealt with church reform by looking at the variety of artworks that were commissioned particularly in the city of Rome, the immediate sphere of influence of papal power. Based on original research in the Vatican archives, the book argues that because of the contradictory media strategies employed by individual popes, the papacy began to lose its spiritual and temporal influence and power.

This book will appeal to students and scholars alike interested in the Roman Catholic Church in and around the sixteenth century, as well as Early Modern religious reform and papal influence.

Teresa Delgado-Jermann received her PhD in Early Modern History from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. Her research focuses on pictorial propaganda; transcultural history; and the perception of "the other." She currently works as a foreign correspondent for the Swiss public broadcasting company.

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For Marc

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Figures

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Introduction

In today's world, we are well aware of the power of images, especially when it comes to personal branding or self-marketing. We mostly encounter image-building online, in the form of a politician's carefully curated Instagram account, for instance. By using images and hashtags to convey their message, politicians create an image—a personal brand that can be used as a platform for entire political campaigns on social media. "Instagram is the place to showcase the personality behind your politics," the platform advertises on its website. What the website does not tell you is that personal branding, image-building and media strategy are concepts, which are centuries old. After all, the media revolution, the invention of the printing-press in sixteenth-century Europe, predates the so-called social media revolution.

The Catholic Church, and in particular the papacy, provides perhaps one of the best examples in history of the mechanics of image-building and why it sometimes fails to work. Over the centuries, the papacy has re-branded itself and reinvented its own image multiple times and not always successfully. By investigating the image-building processes at work inside the papacy during a decisive moment of re-alignment, *Images of Change* gives insight into the "media machinery" of the Holy See that is still alive and well today. It also strives to explain why Reform is so difficult for the Catholic Church and why it often goes against the self-interest of the papacy. And, by looking at media strategies employed by different popes, this book also helps us to understand the papacy as a complex elective dynasty united by shared beliefs, values and common goals that may or may not align with diverging personal interests and individual political stances.

The departure point for this book, which presents the first comprehensive study of the popes of the second half of the sixteenth century, is the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The Council of Trent presents the Church's attempt to reform itself, by rectifying wrongful beliefs, consolidating Church teachings, reforming Church morals and discipline and, most importantly, reunifying the Church in the face of a looming schism. The decrees, the Council members agreed upon, were as much a message to their own brothers and sisters of faith, as an answer to the supposed Protestant "heresy."

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The term "counter-reformation" is misleading. German historians long ago proved it outdated and insufficient to describe the complex reform processes taking place within the Church before, during and after the Council of Trent.[1] Therefore, in this volume, the terms "Church Reform," "Catholic Reform" and "Tridentine Reform" will be used instead to describe what is, in essence, a conservative Catholic renewal movement. In essence, the Church tries to reform itself by going back to its roots.

To understand the need for Church Reform, we must first look at the historical background: during the Renaissance, the papacy promoted media revolution perhaps more than any other political power in early modern Europe. During the fifteenth century, Nicolas V (1447–1455) established the theoretical basis for a papal media strategy and declared permanent propaganda primary curia policy.[2] Long before the sixteenth century, popes recognized that the fate of the Church depended on the image of the Church throughout Europe and, as colonialism emerged, the world. Yet from 1520 onward, when Protestant Reformation starts to challenge the Catholic Church, propaganda becomes crucial. And with it, the city of Rome. As the power center of the Church, Rome becomes its propaganda capital and primary battleground against what is perceived as Protestant heresy. The impression the city leaves on its visitors therefore is of vital importance. The visible city with its monuments and the public appearances of the pope and his cardinals are a key factor in the fight for souls and power. But so are the propaganda leaflets the Protestants rely on so heavily. In their writings, Protestants increasingly challenge the political and religious authority of the Church, openly criticizing its imagery. In Rome, they see a new Babylon, a capital fit for the Antichrist, full of pomp and show.

In the decades before the Council of Trent, papal self-representation emphasizes the role of the individual pope and the papacy as an institution as champions for religion, who could count on heavenly support at all times—most poignantly in the fresco-series of Raphael's *stanzas* in the Vatican.[3] Elsewhere, popes opt for displays of absolute power—a visual strategy dangerously similar to that of worldly princes. This opens the floodgates for Protestant criticism. Rome's enemies see a perfidious mix of spiritual mandate and worldly hunger for power in the public appearance of the papacy and in its imagery. For Protestants, the self-portrayals of the papacy constitute a core characteristic of the Antichrist. They focus specifically on the pagan, immoral and megalomaniac basis traits of roman auto-representation. The demolition of old St. Peter in favor of a newer church project serves as the main argument for such criticism. In particular, because it was the oversized and ill-received tomb of Pope Julius II that made the tear down necessary in the first place.[4] The pomp of the Renaissance popes appeared to shake the Church to its foundations—literally, in the case of the St. Peter's Basilica. To attenuate such criticism, the papacy needed a new visual identity. Paul III was the first sixteenth-century pope to recognize this: a first example of a fully valid alternative concept for visual propaganda

emerges in the late stages of the Farnese reign with Vasari's frescoes in the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* of the *Cancelleria*. Here, a "tirelessly proven"[5] pontifex appears, sacrificing himself for the good of the faithful, who always rely on him to make decisions, to avoid the Apocalypse. In a theological sense, legitimizing power with usefulness was fashionable in the 1540s. This was in part due to the inconclusive controversy with Protestantism about human merit in connection with grace. It was, however, also presented as a counterpoint to grievances brought forward against Roman administrative and ruling institutions, especially by German princes from the mid-century onward.[6] In short, Paul III saw image cultivation as a means to strengthen the power foundation of the Church and Rome as a system. He also saw visual representation as a perfect tool to convey self-reform.

The cautious indicators of change debuting under Paul III are the departing point for the present book with the aim of analyzing papal propaganda for the pontificates from the Council of Trent until the end of the sixteenth century. This temporal frame was defined on the basis of earlier findings, most notoriously those of Hubert Jedin.[7] In his research, Jedin recognized that, although the impetus for a conservative renewal movement first emerged outside Rome, Catholic Reform was only implemented—to what extent will be discussed in the present analysis—after first being embraced by the papacy and Rome.[8] Therefore, the second half of the sixteenth century is the decisive moment for Catholic Reform: Paul III laid the foundation for the Tridentine Reform process when he recognized the importance of the problem and summoned the Council of Trent, effectively demanding a Catholic Reform of the papacy. Subsequent popes, from the fanatic Paul IV to the three "Reform popes" Pius V, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, experimented with implementing and shaping Church Reform—some more successfully than others. These diverging efforts to embrace, implement, shape and appropriate Tridentine Reform are communicated in the visual propaganda of the papacy, as will be shown throughout the analysis.

The analysis laid out in this book is based on the research of extensive literature[9] taken from the field of art-history. The approach pursued in this volume, however, goes beyond the traditional approach and combines traditional historical source criticism with methods taken from related research fields such as public relations and communication studies as well as marketing and economy. The reasoning behind this approach and its implications for the analysis are detailed in the theoretical part of this book, followed by background information on the historical context of the Council of Trent and, in particular, on the 1563 image decree and its significance for papal propaganda. The analytical part deals with important questions raised in this book: what methods and strategies does the papacy use to create a new image for itself during the Post-Tridentine time of change, power consolidation and realignment? What is the thematic focus of this new kind of propaganda? Where does it appear? How does this new media strategy oscillate between reform and tradition, modern progress and Renaissance nostalgia?

As we seek answers, additional questions emerge. For instance, how does the new image strategy deal with history? Does the papacy distance itself from the more recent past in the face of Protestant criticism? What is made of the awkward heritage of the second Borgia pontificate? Are there admissions of guilt in images that serve as symbols of change and of top-down Church Reform at the same time? What thought processes accompany these cautious and sometimes even contradictory efforts around a new image?

The analysis is presented as a successive approach to the individual pontificates, followed by a comparative study of the papal strategies used during the sixteenth century. To this end, the analysis is structured into three main parts: the first part focuses on the regency of Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV. For these pontificates, the principal objective is drafting an inventory and reconstructing planned and realized architectural and artistic projects. This analysis is based on extensive art-historical literature and archival research.[10] The research centers on the pope and his *nepotes*, whose own image building and propaganda form a vital part of papal propaganda. Any art projects commissioned by the pope or his nephews are carefully planned and based on shared concepts. These concepts are detailed in memoranda and implemented in the artworks. Analyzing the key messages, therefore, requires both archival study and iconological analysis to allow for an interpretation of motives and their accentuation. This results in a holistic overall assessment of papal objectives versus the executed paintings.

After the intermediary pontificate of Pius IV, the second part of the analysis concentrates on what is traditionally seen as the pinnacle of Catholic Reform under Pius V and Gregory XIII—although progress begins to slow down in 1572. Here, archival study in the Vatican Archives[11] was necessary in order to study initial concepts envisioned by the Ghislieri pope that were later retracted of diffused. Of particular interest is the open confrontation with ancient pagan Rome[12]: how far was this eradication of ancient paintings intended to go? Which counter-arguments proved useful against this campaign against antiquity? For the following pontificate of Gregory XIII, the main goal is to explore compromises made between strict Reform and opposing interests, particularly when it comes to the artistic projects led by the *nepotes*. Again, this is achieved by inventorying and reconstructing planned and realized projects: what is the qualitative and quantitative relationship between the still dominant utility buildings used to showcase papal charity and projects intended to consolidate and advance the position of the papal family?[13]

Because the Jesuits were crucial to Catholic Reform after Trent, their role is also discussed in the second part of the analysis, specifically during the pontificate of their great benefactor, Gregory XIII. The Jesuits' main activities, preaching, teaching and missionary work, served to communicate the Church's teachings and Church Reform. In the Roman context, however, they also served to reinforce and celebrate the faith through highly cultivated and visible means, particularly art and architecture. The building of

the Gesù and Sant'Ignazio are characteristic of a distinctly Jesuit form of pictorial representation that is in line with Catholic Reform. While these buildings are later than the scope of this book, they are a logical continuation of the definitions of Jesuit imagery and the use of theatrical devices that began in the second half of the sixteenth century. Early examples of this emergence of a distinctly Jesuit and Reform-centered imagery are discussed in this book, for instance, the pictorial decoration of Santo Stefano Rotondo.

The third and final analytic section centers around the exceptional pontificate of Sixtus V followed by the short-term regencies of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX. For Sixtus V, whose urban planning ideas and utopias have sparked heightened scientific interest for over 30 years, the objective of this book is to summarize and round off findings made so far.[14] This is accomplished by registering and interpreting central artworks such as the serial fresco-wall-paintings in memorial sites and other prominent places incorporating papal rule: what kind of honorary titles and achievements are being claimed as laurels by the papacy in such illustrations?[15] How does Sixtus V deal with contemporary history? How does he use contemporary events in his pictorial propaganda to convey historical continuity?[16]

The short-duration pontificates of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX—largely unresearched under the previously established parameters—complete the core investigation period, with Clement VIII forming the epilogue and the definite waning of Reform. Intermediary findings are included at the end of each part of the analysis. Comparative findings, spanning all investigated pontificates, and generated as a result of the vast period of time covered in this book, are detailed in the final comparative results chapter.

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Part I

Sources, Methods and Historical Context

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1 Written Sources

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the topic discussed in this book, a mixed-methods approach consisting of qualitative analysis of primary and secondary sources was required. Relevant sources could also be categorized according to formal criteria: they generally were either written or artistic. The following explanations outline the different methods applied to the different source categories appearing in this book.

All written sources analyzed over the course of this book are either of primary or secondary nature. Consulting primary sources included elaborate and time-consuming archive work primarily conducted on site in the Vatican and Rome. Secondary sources were incorporated into the analysis wherever relevant.

The primary written source analyzed in this book is the image decree issued by the Council of Trent in December 1563,[17] as this document regulated papal pictorial propaganda undertaken after 1563. The other main sources analyzed throughout this thesis originated during the papacies of Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Gregory XIV and Clement VIII.[18] Since the Council of Trent served as a starting point for the larger research project which serves as the foundation for this book, the exact timeframe of the analyzed sources spans the years between 1545 and 1605. Primary documents relevant for this volume are documents mentioning art commissioned by the pope—avvisi, inventory lists, protocols of papal proceedings, bills, letters and inscriptions.

One of the objectives of this book consists in the elaboration of an inventory of relevant artistic projects (although without claim to completeness). As patronized art has never been compared for the abovementioned papacies prior to this book, generating an inventory for these types of artworks could only be achieved through ground-breaking archival study. The archives consulted for this purpose were on site, at the center of papal influence, in the Vatican and in Rome, which in the sixteenth century formed part of the papal states and continues to be the capital of Christendom to this day. The sources were mostly written in the language of the Church, Latin or sixteenth-century Italian, sometimes also in a mixture of both and/or different local Italian vernaculars.

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Archives consulted:[19]

- *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Città del Vaticano*
- *Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), Città del Vaticano*
- *Archivio di Stato (AS), Roma*

Additional written sources are texts (treatises, manuscripts and folios) produced either during the period of investigation or shortly thereafter focusing on artistic patronage conducted by the popes. The most important examples of this are Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*[20] and (later) Giovanni Baglione's *Le vite de'* Pittori.[21] Other sources relevant to either all Tridentine and Post-Tridentine pontificates—such as Laurentius Valla's *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio*,[22] which was first printed and circulated during the period of investigation—or individual papacies are referenced throughout the analysis. The individual primary written sources cited in this book were subjected to analysis as designated by the historical method. Source criticism was conducted in the tradition of Leopold von Ranke et al.[23] on both an external level and an internal level. However, throughout this book, the particulars, curiosities and results found over the course of this source criticism were organically woven into the text as appropriate to the reporting of the results. In other words, source criticism was not treated as a separate section with detailed accounts of every methodological step of the analysis but as an implied method manifesting itself and rendered explicit only occasionally.

Secondary written sources are all written sources used in this book that were not produced during the targeted time (1545–1605), but at a later stage. Into this source category fall all scientific monographs and papers published on the topic at hand or a related topic, as well as scientific studies (i.e., data) published prior to this book. Given the author's linguistic capabilities and inclinations, publications considered as secondary literature were written in either English, German, Italian, French or Spanish. For a more detailed overview of the secondary literature used for this thesis, see the individual analysis chapters and the bibliography.

2 Artistic Sources

Artistic sources are the second formal category included in this book apart from written sources. They differ from written sources in that they are not texts, but objects such as paintings, frescoes, statues or even entire buildings. Yet, like their written counterparts, they were crafted during the time of interest, roughly between 1545 and 1605.[24] Since these artifacts were produced in the sixteenth century, they are—just like written primary sources—part of what Johann Gustav Droysen described as "Überreste," meaning historical relics that unintentionally help researchers gain insight into the past.[25] However, patronized art, propaganda imagery and historical paintings present a special methodological challenge in that they are not only relics but also part of what Ernst Bernheim called "Tradition."[26] This dual character of patronized art will be further explored in the following section.

2.1 Ars Sacra, Ars Profane: The Dual Character of Patronized Art

For the purpose of this book, the artistic sources analyzed are primarily religious artworks and buildings (*ars sacra*). Profane art is largely excluded, unless used in a religious context, for instance, a papal tomb monument within a chapel featuring reliefs showcasing profane historical scenes. Urban architecture (canalization, water supply, city gates and road infrastructure)—frequently used by the popes to improve living conditions in Rome while simultaneously displaying their role as benefactors—has also been left aside due to the sheer number of projects realized between 1545 and 1605.

Since propaganda art and historical paintings present a distinct outlook on a historical event or persona, they come with an intentional message that may go as far as reinterpreting historical facts. This dual character of patronized art as a relic that is also part of a certain tradition means that propaganda paintings are both witnesses to the past and commentary on it. From a methodological standpoint, this means that they are a hybrid form between a primary and a secondary source. This requires a delicate

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methodological approach that not only takes this dual character into account but also looks beyond the artwork itself into the mechanisms surrounding its creation. The milieu of the artwork—from the artist, the employer, the intended place and timing of issue to the target audience—contributes to the artwork's propagandistically charged message.

In addition, artists working in a religious setting had to fulfill the strict requirements of their employers. From a methodological point of view, the logical conclusion for these circumstances is, that in addition to the classical iconography and iconology used by historians whenever confronted with imagery, approaches from the social sciences (habitat and network of employer and employee) and communication sciences (employer-employee relationship and image-building) as well as an analysis foregrounding economic/market-economy concepts (art market, brand-building and the propaganda strategies of advertisement) must be implemented also. This results in the establishment of an interdisciplinary method tailored to deal with the technicalities of artworks commissioned by the popes during and after the Council of Trent. This in turn requires gaining an overview of the many preexisting interdisciplinary approaches in the field to use as a foundation where appropriate alongside the more classically historical methods employed by historians when dealing with images. The following section explores further methodological particularities regarding patronage and commissioned art and concludes with a detailed description of the method applied by the author in this thesis.

2.2 Methodological Particularities Regarding Patronage and Commissioned Art

To this day, there is no methodological uniformity within the historical sciences regarding image analysis, or the analysis of propaganda imagery—even Erwin Panofsky's widely recognized method still leaves important questions unanswered.

Panofsky took issue with the way most historians understood iconology: as a mere description of an image and its composition. According to Panofsky, as a term, iconography designated the classification and description of images. Iconology, however, was equal to applied iconography with the purpose of interpretation. In simpler terms: a method.[27]

Panofsky was correctly convinced that interpreting an image could not be achieved through description alone.[28] He therefore composed a three-step method for the analysis of images:

1 Description, which Panofsky referred to as "*vorikonographische Beschreibung*," is the first step of interpreting an image and belongs to the area of *Gestaltungs-geschichte* in that through describing a picture one describes its form.

2 The second step, dubbed "*ikonographische Analyse*," consists in combining what is seen and described with further knowledge—either pre-existing or acquired through extensive reading. Here interdisciplinarity comes into play: general knowledge of other fields besides history allows for a broader understanding of the subject and better recognition of the typology to which an image may belong (*Type-ngeschichte*).
3 The analysis culminates in step 3, "*Ikonologische Interpretation*": the interpretation of the image's message and the capture of what Panofsky referred to as—with a good dose of pathos perhaps—*Wesenssinn*.[29]

Although the three steps appear self-contained, Panofsky pointed out that when applied, the researcher's approach might be more fluid and a strict separation of the above-described steps might not be practicable. To Panofsky this did not matter as long as "scheinbar getrennte Bewegungen [sich] *in praxi* zu einem völlig einheitlichen […] Gesamtgeschehnis verweben […]" (apparently separate movements interweave in practice to from a completely […] unified overall event).[30]

As revolutionary as Panofsky's approach is—to this day it remains a fundamental reference when analyzing images—it does present some difficulties that provide ground for criticism. Francis Haskell[31] and Peter Burke[32] have written extensively on the subject. An ever-growing number of historians have since presented methods of their own to fill the gap or further refined proposals made by others. This multitude of approaches not only creates more authority and legitimacy for the use of images as primary sources among historians but also positions the field at several disciplinary crossroads.

Philosophical hermeneutics, for instance, as a theory or method, also deals with interpretations of texts and images and has gained wide acceptance among historians and theologians. Philosophers such as Hans-Georg Gadamer have recognized that interpreting historical images comes with added methodological challenges because "das Kunstwerk selbst ist es, was sich unter je veränderten Bedingungen anders darbietet. Der Betrachter von heute sieht nicht nur anders, er sieht auch anderes."[33] When looking back at images from the early modern period, historians are influenced by their own prejudices and prejudgments about the past. They cannot see the image as it was intended because they do not form part of the original audience for whom it was intended. Therefore, at its best, any interpretation of historical images is a highly probable approximation to the original meaning of any painting. Additionally, when analyzing images, historians have to interpret the individual parts of an image to understand the message of the entire painting. At the same time, understanding the message of the entire painting might again change the understanding of its individual parts. Gadamer calls this the hermeneutic circle. The term describes the complex and interactive process that is image interpretation and highlights the importance of establishing the cultural and historical context of artworks.

Umberto Eco, one of the most well-known semioticians, has further developed the interpretative theory.[34] According to Eco, image interpretation occurs in an interactive process between the connotations (signs) included in the image and the framework of understanding of the spectator (or historian). This means that both the image and its spectator actively contribute to establishing meaning. Eco emphasizes that to interpret artworks, spectators must perform an *Interpretationsleistung* (interpretation performance). Image interpretation, then, requires effort. And, as both Eco and Gadamer point out, since artworks carry a certain sense of ambiguity, this effort does not lead to a fixed interpretation. Rather, artworks display "eigentümliche Unfixiertheit" (a peculiar unfixedness).[35] However, this ambiguity is not "[ein] Mangel an Eindeutigkeit," (a lack of clarity) but rather "[die] Möglichkeit, gegensätzliche und kohärente Interpretationen zu tragen und zu erzeugen" (the possibility of carrying and generating opposing and coherent interpretations).[36] This ambiguity allowing for different, sometimes even contradictory interpretations is a characteristic of sixteenth-century commissioned artworks: they usually convey more than one message. Typically, sixteenth-century paintings include various motives carrying additional messages, inviting multiple interpretations. This is where communication theory offers useful insights, as it investigates the structures behind human communication in all its forms, be it verbal, nonverbal, written or visual. In 1948, Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver published what they called "a Mathematical Theory of Communication"[37]—a model so widely popular that it is often referred to as the mother of all models, even outside of communication sciences (see Figure 2.1). The model describes communication as follows:

- The sender selects the desired message.
- The sender encodes the message using a transmitter.
- The message travels to the receiver using a channel (e.g., sound or radio waves). Note: this channel can suffer interference summarized as "noise" in the graphic. Noise can be due to context (e.g., background noise on a phone line) or due to content (e.g., along with the message irrelevant information is also passed along).

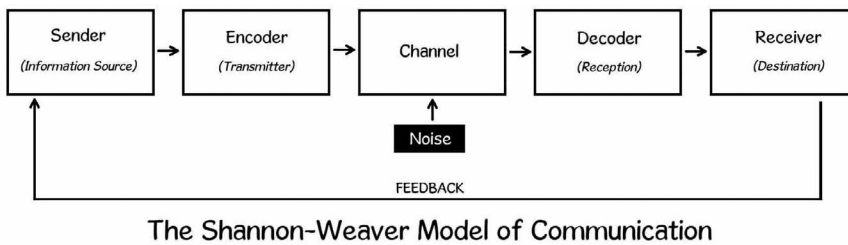

Figure 2.1 Shannon–Weaver Model of Communication.

- The receiver decodes the message to decipher its meaning.
- The message reaches its receiver. Note: if the message suffered interference in the form of noise during transmission via a selected communication channel, this might alter the received message. Therefore, the receiver might not understand exactly what the sender meant.
- The receiver gives the original sender feedback in the form of a response and if necessary communication begins anew, running through the model once again from the beginning.

Since art also conveys a message, the Shannon–Weaver Model of Communication[38] can also be translated into the visual context: instead of "sender," one might speak of "artist" and instead of "receiver" of "spectator." Additionally, in the case of commissioned art, the employer could be seen as the "sender," the artist as the "encoder" and the artwork as the chosen channel of transmission. The transmission process, however, remains the same.

For historians dealing with images, communication theory offers important insights: first, messages always come encoded and must therefore be decoded to be received. To fully understand the entire message hidden in an image, historians must first decode all the sub-parts of the message, meaning all the details of an image, and then put them together to grasp the sense of the entire message. Second, even if a message is decoded and received, it may not be transmitted in its original intended state, but in an altered or even misconstrued form due to noise during transmission. This means that when analyzing images, historians should be aware of the fact that more than one interpretation of the pictorial message is possible and that every interpretation is only a form of approximation to the original message. It is possible that the original message could only be understood by the originally intended receiver. Since we are not that receiver, every interpretation remains an approximation—at best a claim strongly supported by written sources, at worst an educated guess.

Third, in order to decipher the message of an image, the receiver (i.e., the intended audience) plays a vital role. Therefore, the audience cannot be neglected when analyzing historical images. Since the message is tailored to the intended receiver, the receiver has to have the necessary tools to decode the message. Ergo, when looking at the painting, the spectator has to be familiar with the subject and grasp the different references and allusions present in the painting; otherwise, the message of the painting cannot be deciphered. In the context of this book, this means that if a painting was created to be showcased in a ceremonial room usually frequented not by the general public but by members of the elite, one can deduct that the motives represented in the painting had to be commonly known within that elite in order to function as propaganda. This provides us with insights into which motives or visual arguments worked in what context. And, by extension, if an image is removed from a room and

replaced with a different motive, it is an indication that a motive no longer worked for the current elite. Therefore, to best reconstruct papal self-image, the motives that work for the pope in question are just as relevant as the ones that do not.

Shannon and Weaver's ideas about sender-receiver interaction bring us to an additional model governing the patron-client relationship: that of social interaction in general, also known as network theory. At the heart of sociological efforts surrounding social interaction lies the concept of "social capital" (Pierre Bourdieu, 1930–2002).[39] Bourdieu's "habitus" concept is strongly tied to this notion of different types of capital, since it mediates this relation between the individual and the collective that is the basis of any social network. Whereas economic and cultural capital are based on an individual's resources in a financial and educational sense, Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or, in other words, membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit—in the various senses of the word."[40] An individual with powerful social connections might benefit from those in one way or another (wealth, power, prestige), provided the individual in question is recognized as a peer by his acquaintances. Virtual social networks such as Facebook are based on this principle.

Originally a sociological and anthropological concept, network theory was introduced to historical research by German Historian Wolfgang Reinhard in 1979 focusing on the behavior of oligarchical elites.[41] Reinhard investigated the social *Verflechtungen* (entanglements) of early modern elites and found four commonly shared social circles, each with their respective further links. The interaction of early modern elites centers around *Verwandtschaft*, *Landsmannschaft*, *Freundschaft* and *Patronage* (kinship, territorial association such as a shared country of origin, friendship and patronage). By illustrating the degree of connectivity between individual members of a network, historians can render social hierarchies visible. Since, according to Bourdieu, exchanges between individual network members are mutually beneficial (either consciously or subconsciously), the network approach helps historians understand the way patron-client relationships work. In order to analyze an individual's role within a network (network centrality), a detailed understanding of all agents involved in a network relationship and their respective environment is needed. For historians, this explains why one cannot write about modern early papal art without writing partial biographies about the analyzed popes and artists.

The sociological network approach focusing on capital exchanges between agents relies heavily on the principles of market theory as developed by economical pioneers such as eighteenth-century Scottish philosopher Adam Smith (1723–1790).[42] The theory, centering around the idea of

an invisible hand—a metaphor to describe market self-regulation by means of competition, supply and demand and self-interest—can also be applied to network theory and patron-client relationships: competition, supply and demand regulate commissions, whereas self-interest might sway an artist to work for a cardinal close to the current pope rather than a political opponent, even if both were to ask for the same painting in exchange for the same price. In this sense, self-interest is strongly linked to both social capital and the principle of the *homo oeconomicus* as proposed by English philosopher and political economist John Stuart Mill (1806–1873):[43] whereas social capital is one of the multiple resources at hand, it is ultimately self-interest that guides every *homo oeconomicus* within a network and sways agents to opt for the transaction with the arguably best price-service ratio.

Sometimes, due to lack of time or knowledge, transaction choices are not made by the agents themselves but by affluent advocates that act as go-between in a relationship. In the case of early modern patronage on behalf of the pope, such go-betweens are often cardinals, papal nephews or project managers, whereas younger artists with a major contract requiring multiple artisans might be represented by more experienced colleagues. In this case, optimal representation was key for the involved agents in order to get the best possible deal.

This, of course, requires even more methodological considerations. Answers may be found in the twenty-first-century industry of go-betweens occupied with image, known as public relations or PR for short. In the twenty-first century, this industry has spread into the virtual world managing the social media presence of brands. And a connection between PR and the Church is not far-fetched. In recent years, the Catholic Church has started to embrace this development: the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross is the first and only institution to offer a specialization in Church Communications and Pope Francis has a personal Twitter Manager who oversees all his tweets published in nine languages.[44] Even though PR, both off- and online, is an industry based on fairly new market research, it can be of significance for historians when dealing with papal self-advertisement in the form of propaganda and self-imagery.

The methodological foundation for PR is led by researchers such as Sherry Baker, Deryl Koehn and James G. Hutton. According to Hutton, PR covers three dimensions that can be summed up as the three Is: interest, initiative and image.[45] Each dimension focuses on a different question central to PR. "Interest: to what degree is the public relations function focused on client interest versus the public interest? Initiative: to what extent is the public relations function reactive versus proactive? Image: to what extent is the organization focused on perception versus reality (image vs. substance)?"[46] These central questions of the PR discipline can easily be translated to historical research in a papal patronage setting. The different interests behind a propaganda painting center around the implicated agents: the pope and the Church (client), the artist (acting either as a "PR manager" himself, or

under the supervision of a papal nephew) and the public (the designated audience for the artwork). The focus on initiative investigates whether a pope commissions art as a reaction to criticism (reactive image-building) or as a preemptive attempt to construct or modify his public image due to an intrinsic motivation (proactive image-building). In the case of propaganda, the questions taken from the PR discipline must be adapted for a historical context: propaganda artwork is usually about perception rather than reality. It can, however, be presented within a realistic context, in the case of a real historical event that is exploited in a way that benefits the papal image (perception). Since without perception there is no propaganda, here, a historical research approach for investigating propaganda art needs to weigh reality and perception as implicated factors without ever fully excluding perception.

Looking at the existing literature on PR, Hutton further distinguishes six "relatively distinct orientations or models of public relations practice: persuasion, advocacy, public information, cause-related relations, image/reputation management and relationship management."[47] All of these can be subordinated to the main task of PR: managing strategic relationships. Hutton concludes that if strategic relationships are indeed at the center of PR, the field should focus on the strategies needed to develop and maintain these bonds rather than merely seeing them as communication models. As the network approach advanced by Reinhard shows, the same is true for the historical patronage research. Here, history can again benefit from PR: Daryl Koehn has written extensively on theoretical models underlying strategic relationships relevant to PR. In her 1994 book *The Ground of Professional Ethics*,[48] Koehn looks at the foundation upon which strategic PR relationships are based.[49] For a successful relationship to emerge, a certain basic common ground needs to be reached by both the PR professional and the client. Koehn defines this common base as professional authority and further states that professional authority can be thought of as "a source of standards or norms which are binding on a certain class or group of agents."[50] Norms, then, are perceived as implicit to the client-professional relationship and derivable from trustworthiness grounded in professional authority.

Yet, professional authority does not automatically generate trust. Koehn argues PR professionals cannot claim trustworthiness by expertise or contractual obligations on their own. Expertise alone, says Koehn, destroys authority in the eyes of the clients because it allows professionals to establish their own private agendas, which in turn damages their trustworthiness.[51] Contractual obligation also weakens professional authority and therefore trust because it assumes a minimalist attitude on the client's side: "It posits a customer-client with no duties apart from stating what service is desired, paying the fee and showing up on time to claim the product."[52] As these considerations illustrate, Koehn perceives professional authority as a requirement that needs to be met not just by the PR professional but also

by the client. This overlaps with what network theorists preach: in order for a relationship to work, it needs to be mutually beneficial and grounded in mutual recognition as members of the same group (here business professionals). According to Koehn, ideally, both individuals forming the PR professional-client relationship are willing to go the metaphorical "extra mile" to make it work. Hence, free volition to take on the commitment a relationship demands therefore plays an important part in generating mutual trust. An overall consideration of the client's interests and well-being on the professionals' side along with competence, accountability, discipline, discretion and a highly internalized sense of responsibility are additional conditions contributing to trustworthiness.[53] Koehn also includes an ideological element in her definition of elements generating trust in a professional PR relationship: the public relations specialist has to be convinced that they are working for a goal "desirable in its own right."[54]

In the context of papal patronage in the early modern period, faith presents the ideological basis for a good professional-client relationship, as it is a shared belief system that generates a certain level of trust. Additional ideologically unifying factors are common social circles as defined by Reinhard, i.e., *Verwandtschaft*, *Landsmannschaft*, *Freundschaft* and—since in the second half of the sixteenth century, popes exclusively employed male artists for their patronage purposes—gender could be added to that list of unifying factors.

But looking at the patron-painter relationship as a mere PR relationship in the contemporary sense would not only be too simplistic but also anachronistic. A sixteenth-century pope simply cannot be measured by the rules of our modern corporate world. Still, there are several things historians can take away from Hutton and Koehn's theories on PR: the theoretical models behind the dimensions of the field and the client-professional exchange can better our understanding of the patron-painter relationship's particular nature. Here is a brief summary of the lessons PR teaches the historians researching propaganda artworks:

- At the beginning of every PR relationship lie questions revolving around interest, initiative and image. For historians, relevant research questions could be: which *interests* do the different parties involved have in this relationship? Why is the *initiative* required now—is it reactive or proactive? What sort of perception is the created *image* supposed to generate? Is the constructed *image* rooted in reality? In which way?
- PR's main task is to manage strategic relationships. A patron-painter relationship is strategic, too, in that it is usually mutually beneficial. It can be managed by either the participants themselves or a go-between. Strategic relationships require professionalism and authority from all involved parties, as well as trust. Trust, however, is not created with professionalism alone, it needs a general sense of commitment to

> the mutual cause, a willingness to go the extra mile if necessary. All involved parties will be more willing to make such extra commitment, if they are convinced they are working for a desirable goal, such as a rise in social status.

In conclusion, it can be said that patron-client relationships obey the rules of communicative and social interactions following the theories of communication and sociology established by Shannon–Weaver and Bourdieu. They do this respecting the same mechanisms of self-regulation via competition, supply and demand inherent to free market systems (economic theory). Notwithstanding, actions of agents are guided by self-interest and the minimum-effort-for-maximum-reward approach attributed to *homo oeconomicus*. In short: the patron knows what he wants to communicate and the artist interprets this message and proposes a way to visualize it. Both are acting within a larger economic context consisting in funding of the artwork on the one side, and financial incentive for the artist on the other side. The relationship between patron and artist is based on trust, shared ideological convictions, mutual goals and an overall belief that the relationship serves a worthy goal. Sometimes, a written contract regulates the specifics of the relationship, but in the sixteenth-century context of papal patronage, art commissions are often verbal agreements.

As the term "relationship" implies, in the early modern period, patronage usually goes beyond an individual commission. Patronage is the focused promotion of an artist by a patron in the form of an institutionalized patron-painter relationship. The patron is a long-term protector, sponsor and art enthusiast who is usually part of the elite. The painter is rewarded for his work, in monetary terms or otherwise (titles, benefits, fame), and therefore highly dependent on the patron. Their bond goes beyond the normal working contract: it is subject to social hierarchies and loyalties.[55] Although their relationship is mutually beneficial, and there are shared values between patron and painter, it is not a relationship between equals. Patron-painter relationships are structurally and fundamentally imbalanced in that the patron gives and the painter receives.[56] Patronage has several functions: it makes art production possible. It promotes artists and advances their careers. It allows patrons to guide how they are perceived by a wider audience. But as Reinhard writes, there are also political functions behind patronage. As a system, "stellt (Patronage) historisch gesehen keineswegs einen Abgrund von Korruption, sondern schlicht eine notwendige und durchaus funktionale und zweckmässige Entwicklungsstufe auf dem Weg zum modernen Staat dar […]" (historically, patronage is not an abyss of corruption, but simply a necessary, thoroughly functional and expedient development stage on the way to the modern state).[57]

As such, outside of art, political patronage also serves as a substantial and indispensable tool to integrate new territory. It allowed popes and cardinals to give loyal locals influential positions and thus control and consolidate the

new territory.[58] In this sense, patronage is quite comparable to what we call "networking" in modern business-speak. Similar courses of action can be observed in foreign policy: patronage helps the papacy foster relationships with foreign royal courts. Papal representatives ensured the pope's interests were kept intact abroad and tried to influence monarchs and their creatures on the pope's behalf. Meanwhile, the pope awarded titles, offices and gifts to foreign representatives to turn them into creatures loyal to him rather than their original patron. The monarchs of course did the same with papal representatives at their court.[59] These patronage interactions created bonds based on the *do-ut-des* principle: a granted favor could always be followed by the demand of a favor in return—an important strategic toolkit in foreign relations.

Art patronage, then, is to be understood as one form of patronage, embedded in a world where patronage is part of the general political culture—even though patronage never existed as a uniform Europe-wide system. Therefore, patronage of the arts can be studied for research purposes, but never as an isolated phenomenon. Art patronage, indeed, forms part of the general political culture of the time.[60]

2.3 Conclusion and Applied Method for Relevant Artistic Sources

What do all of the methodological considerations and approaches detailed in the previous subsections mean when it comes to the method applied to artistic sources in this book? First of all, it supports the argument that artistic sources need to be analyzed with special care because of their dual source character (tradition and relic). Commissioned propaganda artworks cannot be analyzed without looking at the context of their creation and the network of people involved. This network is made visible by illustrating the degree of connectivity between individual parts of a social network. Economic market theory helps us understand—at least partially—how individuals obtain, use and increase their resources within a social network where everything is a commodity. The theories behind public relations also help us to understand the relationships these networks are based on in a more detailed manner. Furthermore, along with findings from communications studies, PR theories form a framework of interpretation when it comes to image-building and message-encoding-decoding processes.

That said, the sociological, economic, communication studies and PR approaches described in the previous subsections cannot be applied to historical research as such. On their own, these theoretical models and methods are not transferable to a sixteenth-century context. To simply transplant these methods into this book's research topic would amount to committing a disciplinary and anachronistic error from a methodological point of view. That does not mean that the described approaches are useless for historians—on the contrary: as detailed in previous subsections, sociology,

economy, communication studies and PR add a great deal to the historian's toolkit. They propose new angles, suggest new research questions and can therefore open up the field to new ideas, and ultimately, new insights. They also succeed in completing the iconographical and iconological method developed by Panofsky.

As has been shown, Panofsky's method for interpreting images certainly has its faults. It remains, however, the single most applicable and reliable method for historians to interpret images. Hermeneutics adds to Panofsky's theory by outlining the importance of spectator-image interaction and the relevance of the spectator's pre-existing knowledge to construct meaning and interpret the painting in question. In this book, the interdisciplinary approaches detailed above are used to partially bridge the many methodological gaps left by Panofsky. For the purpose of this book, the methodological inputs taken from other disciplines serve as an overhaul to bring Panofsky into the new millennium, methodologically speaking.

3 Historical Context

This chapter will briefly outline some of the key points relevant to the historical context of this book. There are two main historical contexts to consider: that of sixteenth-century Rome and that of the Council of Trent. These environments, although sometimes interlinked, will first be looked at separately, because they each have very specific requirements when it comes to pictorial propaganda. The analytical section of this book will later demonstrate where, when and how sixteenth-century Rome and Tridentine Reform factor into papal art commissions by looking closely at representative art projects for each of the pontiffs studied.

3.1 Rome as an Episcopal City

As a Church leader, highest ranking member of the ecclesiastical elite and as a bishop of Rome, sixteenth-century popes ruled over Rome in more ways than one: they were spiritual leaders of Christianity, political rulers over the Church State and its territories, but to Romans, they were first and foremost representatives of the local elite and city rulers. And as the most immediate subjects of the pope, Romans expected their ruler to pay special attention to their own issues and concerns. The special relationship between Romans and the pope relies on an understanding based on mutual benefit: the Romans expected certain privileges or improvements for themselves and their city. In turn, they were loyal subjects and thus contributed to papal power. The pope enjoyed great power and benefited from ruling over a city showcasing papal magnificence and supremacy. In turn, he expected obedient and submissive citizens. This unspoken agreement between the city of Rome and its ruler is governed by ideas about what constitutes a good pope and can be understood as a social contract. Thomas Hobbes first coined the concept of the social contract in his 1651 *Leviathan*, and although the treatise exceeds the timeframe focused upon in this book and was written in the context of the English Civil War (1642–1651), its core points are nonetheless applicable and transferable to the context of sixteenth-century Roman city rule, as the text is a testimony to Early Modern political philosophy.[61]

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In *Leviathan*, Hobbes argues that a Christian sovereign is both a religious and a political ruler whose supremacy is undoubted, provided the rules of the social contract are respected. This means that a ruler must be good to his or her people in order to be obeyed. A violation of this principle invites discord. Hobbes also postulated a right of rebellion against any ruler perceived as a tyrant.[62] These ideas were shared by medieval and Early Modern Catholic theologians, who saw it as their duty to resist a pope abusing his power, even if that pope was deemed irremovable unless openly heretic.

But when does a pope abuse his power and what constitutes a good pope? During the sixteenth century, theologians and political thinkers became increasingly preoccupied with these questions, mainly because the rise of Protestantism was accompanied by increasing criticism of the papacy. The medieval treatise *De consideratione* by the French abbot, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), was to become the model for texts about the morals and ethics of papal politics and rule.[63] Although de Clairvaux wrote his treatise in the Middle Ages as a critique of the papacy, the curia and Rome, his work was reinterpreted during the sixteenth century as a legitimization of papal power and subsequently widely diffused and translated. Increased access to the text was made possible by the invention of the printing press, only a century prior in Europe.[64] Texts such as Clairvaux' *De consideratione* followed the model of princely mirrors laying out the principles and particulars of papal rule with the pope as a religious elective dynastic ruler and as a representative of Christ on Earth. These essays focused on the concepts of *de potestate papae*, the nature, extent and limit of *plenitudo potestatis* (papal power), and dealt with theological issues surrounding the dual nature of the pope as both a sinful human and Christ's representative on Earth.[65]

In the sixteenth century, ordinary Roman city folk did not have the luxury of worrying about such intricate theological discussions and nuances. They were preoccupied with issues impacting their daily lives and survival such as the local price of bread. As Volker Reinhardt has shown, the price of bread was taken as direct indicator of how good-willed a pope was toward his subjects.[66] A high bread price was deemed unacceptable and unworthy of a legitimate representative of God on Earth, even if a poor harvest or a fluctuating economy put pressure on bread prices. As God's representative on Earth, the pope was expected to overcome such divine challenges or else see his legitimacy as a ruler questioned.

For papal pictorial propaganda, this signified that any building activity within the city of Rome had to also benefit Romans to be perceived as a legitimate and sensible expense of taxpayers' money. The popes took this into account when designing building projects, and, as Renaissance practices of self-glorification came under increasing pressure, Church leaders were careful to balance projects aggrandizing the papacy, with projects improving city infrastructure or beautifying the urban landscape.

During and after the Council of Trent, religious expectations grew. As a Church leader, the pope was also expected to lead by example and ensure

the religious education of his people. This applied to the people of Rome, but also to Christianity as a whole, as sixteenth-century Rome strived to position itself as *caput mundi*, capital of the world.

3.2 Rome as *Caput Mundi*

Because of its role as *caput mundi*, capital of the world, and of Christianity, Rome was seen as a model city and the place to be for sixteenth-century artists.[67] The city of Rome was inhabited by prosperous investors and representatives of the Church, always looking to increase their own importance alongside that of their family through costly commissions.[68] Cardinals fought for papal attention, trying to impress the pope with Church decorations and renovations mirroring the latest styles and fashions. For artists, the sheer scale of available work represented opportunities that no other major city at the time could compete with. Thus, Rome brought together talented new artists, looking to build a reputation with the established big players. This created an unmatched environment for explosive creativity.[69]

The renewed focus of the Post-Tridentine Church on Paleo-Christianity led to an increase in Church renovations rather than new constructions. Still, artists were able to introduce new styles and experiment: as today, avant-garde paintings of all kinds of styles were seen as investments for the rich of the sixteenth century. The thirst for new forms and styles also brought Northern painters to Rome, notably Dutch painters such as Paul Brill. Since they often worked alongside their Italian counterparts, artists from the North and South of Europe began to influence each other, creating new styles and spreading the newest fashions to the rest of Europe when traveling. This eclectic mix of artists from different origins and social backgrounds paired with the huge demand for art in Rome transformed the city into an artistic melting pot. In this creative climate, artists such as Caravaggio and Carracci were able to distinguish themselves by laying the foundations for the Baroque style.[70] The Baroque style quickly spread across Europe and consolidated Rome's role as the artistic capital of the Western World for more than another century to come.

3.3 The Significance of the Jubilee Years of 1560, 1575 and 1600 for Papal Propaganda

In the years leading up to a Jubilee and for the entire duration of a Holy Year, artistic commissions increased significantly. For the second half of the sixteenth century, this can be observed three times: before and during the extraordinary Jubilee, declared by Pius IV in 1560, to celebrate the convocation of the Council of Trent as well as before and during the regular Jubilees of 1575 and 1600. The increase in artistic production connected to said Jubilees had a simple reason: Holy Years attracted huge numbers of pilgrims—Rome's population could double during such a time.[71]

Public spectacles—processions, festivals or the discoveries of the bodies of early Christians and their subsequent transfer to a new sacred

location—present opportunities to showcase the city of Rome in its best light to the eyes of the world, not to mention Roman patrons. Keen to show off his city, the pontiff urged cardinals to undertake major restorations in their respective titular churches or to quickly finish up existing construction projects.[72] The building of new churches and decoration was equally encouraged.

Jubilees also led to an increase in excavations: archaeologists were instructed to dig up Paleo-Christian sites to find new treasures to show to the incoming pilgrims. Relics of Paleo-Christian martyrs, in particular, strengthened Rome's conviction of being the one true Church. The discovery of martyr tombs underneath Rome led to increasing veneration of Saints, in the form of a new cult focusing on catacomb saints, whose mortal remains were highly popular throughout Europe, including the Catholic areas of Switzerland.[73] Behind this emphasis on early Christianity lay strategic considerations: "During Clement's (Clement VIII's) reign, the Counter-Reformation was at a critical stage in the battle to regain souls for the Catholic Church, and the papacy was well aware of the significant role that art could play, especially in the pilgrim's experience."[74] Both Marian devotion and the martyr cult were considered to be significantly purer than the contemporary Church. By highlighting the early values of Christianity, artists could sway pilgrims to describe Rome favorably to others and thus help to rebuild the city's and the institution's image. Thus, over time, these

Figure 3.1 Giambattista Nolli. *Nuova pianta di Roma*, 1748.

various factors "would combine to establish the Baroque city, enabling it to boast its triumph over the Reformation."[75]

A testimony to how many architectural works were commissioned during the years leading up to and following the 1600 Jubilee are two maps by Antonio Tempesta (1593, see Figure 3.5)[76] and Giovanni Maggi (1625, see Figure 3.6).[77] Both maps present a panorama view of the city. Taking the Janiculum hill as their departure point, they illustrate how much Rome changed and grew within a few decades.[78] Of course Roberston's book aims to be a snap shot of Rome in the year 1600. For the purpose of this book, however, with its much bigger timeframe, four additional maps of Rome were considered and provided even more clues as to how Rome changed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Giambattista Nolli's 1748 map of Rome (see Figure 3.1),[79] Matteo Gregorio de Rossi's 1678 map (see Figure 3.2),[80] Giovanni Battista

Figure 3.2 Matteo Gregorio de Rossi. *Pianta di Roma presente*, 1668.

Figure 3.3 Giovanni Battista Falda. *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma*, 1676.

Falda 1676 map (see Figure 3.3)[81] and Antonio Barbey's from 1697 (see Figure 3.4).[82] Like Tempesta and Maggi, the maps by Nolli, de Rossi, Falda and Barbey are suitable for comparison as all four are orthogonal plans—with de Rossi's and Falda's maps including some landmarks drawn in three dimensions.[83]

3.4 The Council of Trent and Tridentine Reform

After familiarizing ourselves with the sources, the methodological basis for this book and the particularities of sixteenth-century artistic production in Rome, we now turn to the larger theological context of this book, namely that of the Council of Trent and the Tridentine Reform.

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) was the Church's attempt to rectify wrongful beliefs, consolidate Church teachings, reform Church morals

Figure 3.4 Antonio Barbey. *Nuova pianta della città di Roma*, 1697.

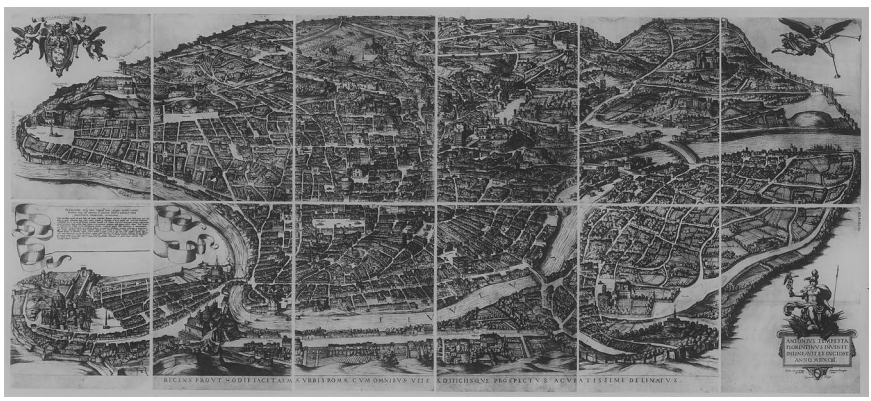

Figure 3.5 Antonio Tempesta. *Pianta di Roma*, 1593.

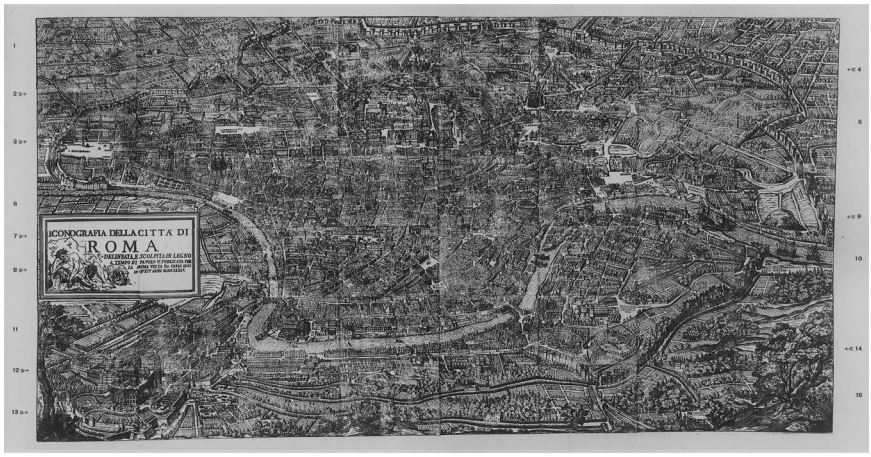

Figure 3.6 Giovanni Maggi. *Pianta di Roma*, 1625.

and discipline and reunify the Church in the face of a looming schism.[84] Reform was necessary. It was the only acceptable answer to growing Protestant criticism. And reform would also allow the Church to save face while dealing with misconduct and transgressions within its own ranks. From the Council's very inception, its members had the enormous challenge of accomplishing these tasks: the decrees they agreed upon where as much a message to their own brothers and sisters of faith, as a reply to the Protestant "heresy."

For the popes, however, a gathering of the Church's scholars and legates also signified delegating part of their own authority as the head of the Church and sole policymaker. Therefore, summoning a council was not without risk for papal authority. Because of this, the Holy See had rejected the idea of a council in the beginning stages of Protestantism. Clement VII (1523–1534) vehemently opposed a council keeping in line with Pius' II (1458–1464) 1460 *Excrabilis* bull, which deemed all authoritative council rulings over the pope "execrable" and thus not applicable. Since the fifteenth century, popes had opposed Conciliarism, which envisioned the supremacy of council-decisions over any other Church authority, including the papacy.[85] As Protestantism spread throughout the German Holy Roman Empire to neighboring France and Switzerland, however, Paul III (1534–1549) saw the need for ecumenical dialog and summoned the Council twice in 1537 (Mantua-Vicenza) and 1542 (Trent). To react appropriately to Protestant criticism of Church teachings and practices, Protestant leaders such as German-born theologian Martin Luther were initially also invited to present their findings to the Council. Yet in both the summoning of 1537 and 1542 for varying reasons, the cardinals opposed Pope Paul III because they feared a

face-to-face dialog with Protestants would legitimize heresy. They also opposed the idea of including secular ambassadors in a dialog concerning matters considered internal affairs of the Church. The political situation on the continent further complicated circumstances as another religious war broke out between France and the Holy Roman Empire. Now cardinals, Frenchmen and Protestants alike refused to attend an ecumenical Council.[86]

In addition, the Holy See took issue with Charles V's condition that the pope be excluded from the gathering. For the pope this was not only a personal affront but also a threat to his control over the Council. In 1544, conditions changed with the peace of Crépy between France and the Holy Roman Empire. Now, Paul III could finally announce the Council in his *Laetare Ierusalem* bull (19 November 1544). On 13 December 1545, the Council convened for the first time—as it happened, Martin Luther died shortly after. To keep control but also make a gesture toward France, Paul III settled on having the Council presided by papal legates.

Trent was the ideal location for such an occasion: the city formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, but was situated on Italian soil—both close enough to Rome that papal legates could easily travel there and sufficiently far away that the pope could spatially separate himself from the Council. This was important on a symbolic level because it gave the Council the appearance of a certain freedom to discuss matters openly, while allowing the pope to keep a close eye on things through his legates charged with opening and presiding the Council. One divide, however, could not be bridged: as Protestants took offense to a Council presided by an authority they rejected, the Council was exclusively attended by Catholics.

In three periods spread out over almost 20 years (1545–1548, 1551–1552, 1562–1563), council members convened by Paul III, Julius III and Pius IV, respectively, dealt with matters of Church doctrine and Church Reform.

The Council was interrupted twice: once by the pope's decision to transfer the Council to Bologna and thus closer to his own sphere of influence under the pretext of avoiding a plague. As this measure was not implemented, the council was prorogued indefinitely in 1548. The second interruption of the Council of Trent came with the papacy of the very anti-Protestant Paul IV. His successor Pius IV reopened the Council again in 1562.

As the public image of the Church and its most high-ranking representatives was one of the main points criticized by Protestantism, Church imagery and the conduct of bishops were among the issues discussed at Trent. Of central interest for this book are two reform decrees, namely the decree on the reform of the clergy (first Council period, 14th Council session, 25 November 1551) and the decree on the veneration of saints, images and relics (third Council period, 25th Council session, 3–4 December 1563)—both

completed by the decree on general reform (again third Council period, 25th Council session, 3–4 December 1563).[87]

3.5 The Reform Decree on Bishops

During the Renaissance, papal patronage and the patronage by cardinal nephews were the most important artistic commissions in Rome. The number of such commissions only increased in the years following the Council of Trent, as successive popes recognized the role art could play in embellishing the city of Rome and thus emphasizing its importance as center of the Catholic Church—a crucial propaganda tactic in the battle for souls triggered by the Reformation starting in 1517.[88]

Criticism of curial and papal propaganda and church imagery usually followed traditional lines and patterns of argumentation and had accompanied the Church since its inception. It often appears as criticism of the clergy and Rome in general. Early instances of such criticism can be traced back to the ninth-century pamphlets *Versus Romae* and *invectiva in Romam* outlaying the decline of the *caput mundi*.[89] With the eleventh-century Church Reform which saw a centralization of the Church and growing papal power, criticism turned explicitly toward the pope and the curia. During the Middle Ages, new patterns of criticism appeared, accusing the papacy of greed and simony. They further intensified over the centuries leading up to the Renaissance.

Furthermore, the Antichrist, an eschatological figure and concept, was now frequently transferred into the contemporary historical context to demonize political and religious enemies. This is especially apparent in the pamphlets of the Investiture Controversy between the Holy Roman Emperor and the pope. Over time, the image of the pope or anti-pope as Antichrist grew into a topos that was widely replicated in Protestant writings.[90] The Antichrist motive proved particularly effective during the period of Reformation and was amply used during the Religious Wars by both Protestants and Catholics to demonize the enemy side. It served to disparage illegitimate popes and was used alongside other current argumentation patterns, centering on the sinful behavior of the curia and papacy. The most popular allegations named were adultery, pride, imperiousness, simony, nepotism, gluttony and overall lavishness.

Because of the pope's adamant refusal to allow the Council to reform the papacy, the Council made no practical headway on the issue.[91] Nonetheless, in its reform of bishops and pastors, Trent was successful in passing strong legislation intended to improve the pastoral function of their offices: the Council abolished some of the most notorious abuses and introduced disciplinary reforms regulating the sale of indulgences, the education of the clergy and the non-residence of bishops. By doing so, Trent issued reform decrees indirectly also applicable to popes—not as in their role as the head of the Church, but in their function as bishops of Rome.

3.6 The Reform Decree on Religious Imagery and Image Veneration

The Tridentine Reform decree on religious imagery and image veneration touched on a particularly sensitive subject. In the sixteenth century, visual representations of the papacy—churches, paintings and statues—were welcome scapegoats for violence and rage directed toward the papacy and gave the impetus for iconoclastic fury in territories controlled by Protestants. What began as isolated incidents and peripheral riots eventually shook the Church to its core as more and more reports of Iconoclasm and Protestant pamphlets reached Rome. The convening of the Council of Trent not only indicates how seriously these events were perceived, but also can be seen—in the reformatory sense—as the pope's admission that something had to change.

Given that architecture and imagery are the most visible and tangible representations of the Church, it is rather surprising how little time Council members actually spent discussing them. While other reform decrees such as those regarding bishops have some consequences for visual representations, out of 25 sessions, only one was spent discussing imagery—the very last. This is no doubt due to the Council's dual task of rectifying Church doctrine and achieving reform. But timing also played a role: although all great reformers had written pamphlets on the veneration of images in the decades leading up to the Council of Trent, Protestant argumentation on the matter only peaked in 1559, with an extended version of Calvin's 1536 *Institutio*, which constitutes the most vigorous and systematic Protestant attack on the veneration of images.[92] Whereas Luther deemed the possession of images admissible and even recommended historical pictures, condemning iconoclasm and criticizing only the veneration of images, the Swiss reformers Zwingli and Calvin went further and argued for the abolishment of all Church imagery, invoking the prohibition of images as proclaimed by the Old Testament. For Calvin, only historical images were permissible—provided they were used in a didactical sense and kept strictly outside church buildings.[93]

In the years following Calvin's treatises on imagery, iconoclasm peaked: in the early 1560s, first in French-speaking Switzerland and France first, and then in 1566 in the Netherlands. In stark contrast to these events, the 1563 Tridentine decree on imagery is formulated so vaguely that one cannot help but wonder whether it was ever intended as a true reform or a mere act of completion. If we think of Rome's liturgical reforms as a "surgical operation on the living object,"[94] the Tridentine decree on the veneration of images, relics and saints is the equivalent of an open fracture. Nevertheless, the decrees issued by the Council of Trent form—along with the statutes of the *sacra congregation concilii* established by Pius IV to ensure the implementation of the Tridentine decrees—the essential basis for Canonical Law all the way until the promulgation of the *Codex Iuris Canonici* in 1917.[95]

3.7 Finding a Catholic Position on Image Veneration

The decree on the veneration of images issued by the Council of Trent in 1563 coincided with increasing iconoclasm across France and was heavily influenced by the iconoclastic controversy of the time. Catholic theologians recognized the importance of the image question writing treatises on the matter and participating in a disputation on the matter held in Rome in 1552. This disputation took place during the second Tridentine Council period and indicates an increasing haste to clarify the iconoclastic controversy once and for all. Theologians gathering in Rome intended to prepare any future Council decision regarding image veneration. To properly establish an official Church position on the matter, they studied treatises written by leading Catholic scholars used to defend image veneration against Protestant criticism spearheaded by Luther, Zwingli, Erasmus of Rotterdam and, most poignantly, Calvin.

On the Catholic side, the preceding decades saw a broad theological discussion of the subject by German, Dutch, French and Spanish scholars mostly aimed at defending the use of images deemed revering or educational.[96] Some examples of this include Johann Eck's handbook *Enchiridion* (1530), Dominican Georg Neudorffer's 1528 treatise *Von der heiligen erung und anruffen samt ettlicher einred wider der heiligen bild* and Johann Cochlaeus' short monography on image veneration *De sanctorum invocation deque imaginibus et reliquiis eorum tollendis* (1544). On Italian soil, the controversy surrounding images mostly remained a non-issue due to the greater geographic distance to Protestant territories. Italian language treatises on the matter only emerged from the 1550s onward, such as Dominican Feliciano Ninguarda's *Dogmatici characteres verbi Dei* (Florence, 1561) and his 1663 follow-up *Assertio fidei catholicae*, which included a broader treatise on the veneration of images recommended by Council legates.

Other scholars and lay theologians countered the more intransigent Protestant criticism embraced by Erasmus of Rotterdam and classified as "bilderfeindlich" (hostile toward images) by Hubert Jedin, who wrote extensively on the subject.[97] However, more recent studies give a more nuanced impression of Erasmus' stance on the veneration of Saints.[98] Albert Pio, Prince of Carpi's 1531 writing *Tres et viginti libri in locos lucubrationum variorum D. Erasmi Roterodami, quos cense tab eo recognoscendos et retractandos* is an example of a Catholic defense against the sort of Protestant image-hostility that condemns all image use and veneration as idolatry and rejects illustrations of God because the Divine cannot be depicted. According to Carpi, Christians did not reject image veneration as practiced by ancient pagans because they did not disagree with the idea behind it. Nonetheless they took issue with the object of pagan veneration: creatures and demons. If image veneration targets an object of non-demoniacal but Christian nature, however, it was deemed admissible and classified as non-idolatry.

Carpi also addresses the other main argument brought forward by Erasmus declaring all visual representations of God impossible and inadmissible because men cannot grasp the Divine. To this, Carpi responds by referencing the sign-character of Christian art and its biblical foundation in Theophany.[99] Swabian jurist Konrad Braun continued where Carpi left off in his 1548 *De imaginibus*. It is the most complete sixteenth-century monograph about images written by a Catholic. In it, Braun highlights image veneration as theocentric. To Braun, religious images are worthy of veneration because of what they represent. Venerating images serves as a way to praise and glorify God—the image being the figure used for veneration but not its object. Through this differentiation, Braun hopes to avoid further negative consequences brought about by Protestant iconoclastic fury, as he himself states in the preface to *De imaginibus*.[100]

At the same time as Braun, three Romanesque theologians also tackled image controversy: Martin Perez of Ayala, bishop of Cadiz, Ambrosius Catharinus, bishop of Minori, and Sorbonne-based Inquisitor Matthaeus Ory—the latter two both Dominicans. In his significant work from 1548 *De divinis, apostolicis et ecclesiasticis traditionibus*, Perez highlights the didactic use of images and recommends regularly reminding churchgoers that image veneration is not aimed at the image itself but at that which it represents, to avoid confusion leading to idolatry. A few years later, in 1552, Catharinus adds a new aspect to the discussion by attributing a sacred quality to images themselves in *De cultu et adoratione imaginum*: through repeated veneration of Saints and the Holy Trinity through images, the images themselves experience a form of sanctification. According to Catharinus, images therefore can become sacred if used for the holy purpose of veneration.[101] Ory's pamphlet *Opusculum de imaginibus* expands on both Perez and Catharinus but also criticizes them as partially erroneous—Ory adhered to the Thomist doctrine both Perez and Catharinus had abandoned. This pamphlet gives insight to inner Catholic disputes on the matter—a result of old contradictions between differing occidental and oriental iconological traditions. The 1552 theological disputation in Rome considered these diverging traditions and sought to formulate an official Church position regarding image veneration. Even though, as has been shown, Catholic scholars were divided among themselves when it came to image veneration, there are a number of consensual points that can be referred to as the "Catholic tradition" in accordance with Jedin: (1) image veneration is admissible because it always refers to the object depicted and ultimately to God, (2) it complies with Church tradition and early Christianity because it does not correspond to pagan idolatry, and (3) it possesses great value for religious education because images are the books of the unlearned.[102] There is a basic consensus on these three points shared by all previously mentioned scholars.[103] It was the Council's task not only to formulate a definitive theological and theoretical stance on image veneration but also to ensure

that theory would be put into practice, clearing up existing abuses and silencing Protestant criticism.

When deliberating a decree regulating the use of religious imagery, however, Council members did not have to start from zero: French Catholics were experienced in dealing with questions surrounding religious imagery. Under the influence of Calvinism and on the eve of the Huguenot Wars, iconoclasm became the main political issue in France in the early 1560s. This becomes apparent if we look at the religious talks organized by French Regent Catherine de' Medici (1560–1563) to end iconoclastic controversy, most importantly the talks taking place in the context of the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561 and the Conferences held in St-Germain-en-Laye between 28 January and 11 February 1562. Both events heavily influenced the decree on images later formulated by the Council of Trent. In fact, as Hubert Jedin has shown, to a large extent, the Tridentine decree adopted the exact wording of the final statements formulated in Poissy and St- Germain-en-Laye.[104] Even though neither the Colloquy of Poissy nor the conference of St-Germain ultimately avoided further conflict between Catholics and Protestants—the documents drafted constituted but a minimal consensus and pointed out religious differences deepening the wedge between the factions—the writings are still of great importance as procurers to the Tridentine decree. Whereas in Trent, Protestants abstained from joining a Council overseen by papal legates, in Poissy and St-Germain, they accepted Queen Regent Catherine de' Medici's invitation to join the talks.

In addition, scholars of the Sorbonne—France's most respected theological faculty— also participated in the debates, even approving the final documents signed in Poissy and St-Germain. In Trent, French theologians had not officially been invited to attend the Council as a result of their negative impact on the Council of Basel a century earlier (1431–1449). However, individual French theologians still managed to attend the Council of Trent—though not in an official function representing their institution, but rather as delegates of princes and bishops. Still, their influence on the image decree in Trent was crucial for two reasons: first, the preparatory work effected during the above-mentioned religious talks had already undergone significant scrutiny by a religiously diverse audience not present at Trent. Second, the religious conflict was particularly intense in France. In fact, it was the French who had pushed the Council for a separate decree on images and art to begin with: on 3 January 1563, French delegate Arnaud du Ferrier presented the legate college of the Council with the reform requests of the French crown co-signed by the bishops of Paris, Amiens, Evreux and Lavaur. The document is a call for action:

> Because iconoclasts have arisen in our times, men who believe images must be destroyed, which has resulted in grave public disturbances in many places, the council must take measures to assure that the faithful are properly instructed in church teaching regarding the veneration

> of images. The council should likewise take measures to eliminate the abuses and superstitious practices that have grown up in that regard. Similar provisions should be made for indulgences, pilgrimages, the relics of saints and the so-called brotherhoods [confraternities].[105]

Through the papal legates overseeing the Council of Trent, the French hoped to gain papal approval for the agreements reached in Poissy and St-Germain. Additionally, since France gave the impetus for discussing images in Trent, it made sense to pass a decree tailored to French satisfaction. At the same time, the decree on images formulated in Trent summarizes the Catholic position as established in the literature. The Council members had access to the *Sententia* of St-Germain. If not directly, then indirectly: Charles de Guise brought a document with him to Trent, which was formulated by the theologians of the Paris Faculty of Theology for the Colloquy in Saint-Germain[106] According to Pallavicino, when the discussion turned to images, de Guise presented the prelates with a pertinent "decree of the Sorbonne."[107] Additionally, de Guise was accompanied by five of the original authors of the St-Germain *Sententia*. It is highly probable that they originally approached cardinal de Guise with their views, outlining their relevance for a Tridentine decree on the same subject.[108]

Jedin has demonstrated the influence of the Saint-Germain *Sententia* on the Council by comparing the two texts side by side in their original Latin versions.[109] It is worth noting here that although Protestants participated in the talks in Poissy and St-Germain and therefore influenced the *Sententia* later presented to the Council members in Trent, the Tridentine image decree is not primarily directed toward Protestants: its objective is reformatory and not dogmatic. As de Guise initially proposed, it is the goal of the image decree to combat abuses and to solidify the faith of the wavering, not to win back those lost to Protestantism.[110] In this sense, although Protestant iconoclasm gave the impetus leading to the Tridentine decree on image veneration, the main intention of the decree itself is Catholic Reform and not to counter Reformation.

3.8 The Tridentine Decree on Images: A Band Aid on an Open Fracture?

The decree on image veneration issued by the Council of Trent is fundamental for the use of sacred images within the Catholic context. It follows the generally agreed upon "rule of three" according to which image veneration is admissible, compliant with Church tradition and of great value for religious education. By tracing the lines of these three main points, the decree summarizes Catholic image tradition without going into too much detail, thus avoiding points of conflict. The decree is the smallest common denominator of the Catholic position on image use, worded to defend religious image tradition, hence its fundamental importance. At the same time, the text leaves ample room for interpretation. This becomes apparent when carefully studying the wording of the decree:

Council of Trent, Session XXV, 3–4 December 1563.

Touching the Invocation, Veneration, and on Relics of Saints and Sacred Images[111]

The holy synod enjoins on all bishops, and others sustaining the office and charge of teaching, that, according to the usage of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, received from the primitive times of the Christian religion, and according to the consent of the holy fathers, and to the decrees of sacred councils, they especially instruct the faithful diligently touching the intercession and invocation of saints; the honour paid to relics; and the lawful use of images: teaching them, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to resort to their prayers, aid, and help, for obtaining benefits from God, through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone is our Redeemer and Saviour; but that they think impiously, who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invoked; or who assert either that they do not pray for men; or, that the invocation of them to pray for each of us even in particular, is idolatry; or, that if is repugnant to the word of God; and is opposed to the honour of the one mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus; or, that it is foolish to supplicate, orally, or inwardly, those who reign in heaven.

Also, that the holy bodies of holy martyrs, and of others now living with Christ, which were the living members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, and which are by Him to be raised unto eternal life, and to be glorified, are to be venerated by the faithful; through which [bodies] many benefits are bestowed by God on men; so that they who affirm that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of saints; or, that these, and other sacred monuments, are uselessly honoured by the faithful; and that the places dedicated to the memories of the saints are vainly visited for the purpose of obtaining their aid; are wholly to be condemned, as the Church has already long since condemned, and doth now also condemn them.

Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be awarded them; not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or that confidence is to be reposed in images was of old done by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in idols; but because the honour which is shown unto them is referred to the prototypes which they represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear. And this, by the decrees of councils, and especially of the second synod of Nicæa, has been ordained against the opponents of images.

And the bishops shall carefully teach this; that, by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, depicted by paintings or other representations, the people are instructed, and strengthened in remembering, and continually reflecting on the articles of faith; as also that great profit

is derived from all sacred images, not only because the people are thereby admonished of the benefits and gifts which have been bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because the miracles of God through the means of the saints, and their salutary examples, are set before the eyes of the faithful; that so for those things they may give God thanks; may order their own life and manners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety. But if any one shall teach or think contrary to these decrees; let him be anathema.

And if any abuses have crept in amongst these holy and salutary observances, the holy synod earnestly desires that they be utterly abolished; in such wise that no images conducive to false doctrine, and furnishing occasion of dangerous error to the uneducated, be set up. And if at times, when it shall be, expedient for the unlearned people; it happen that the histories and narratives of holy scripture are portrayed and represented the people shall be taught, that not thereby is the Divinity represented, as though it could be perceived by the eyes of the body, or be depictured by colours or figures.

Moreover, in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, every superstition shall be removed, all filthy lucre be abolished, finally, all lasciviousness be avoided; in such wise that figures shall not be painted or adorned with a wantness of beauty; nor shall men also pervert the celebration of the saints, and the visitation of relics, into revellings and drunkenness; as if festivals are celebrated to the honour of the saints by luxury and wantonness. Finally, let so great care and diligence be used by bishops touching these matters, as that there appear nothing disorderly, or unbecomingly or confusedly arranged, nothing profane, nothing indecorus; since holiness becometh the home of God.

And that these things may be the more faithfully observed, the holy synod ordains, that it be lawful for no one to place, or cause to be placed, any unusual image in any place, or church, howsoever exempted, except that it shall have been approved of by the bishop: also, that no new miracles are to be admitted, or new relics received, unless the said bishop has taken cognizance and approved thereof; who, as soon as he has obtained some certain information in regard of these matters, shall, after having taken advice with theologians, and other pious men, act therein as he shall judge to be agreeable to truth and piety. But if any doubtful, or difficult abuse is to be extirpated; or, in fine, if any more serious question shall arise touching these matters, the bishop, before he decides the controversy, shall await the sentence of the metropolitan and of the bishops of the same province, in a provincial council; yet so, that nothing new, or that has not previously been usual, in the Church, shall be decreed, without the most holy Roman Pontiff having been first consulted.

The decree is carefully structured and follows the rule of three established by the St-Germain *Sententia* and earlier Catholic writings on religious images: it begins by declaring image use admissible and part of Church tradition referencing early Christian roots of religious imagery.

It then proceeds to give instructions to the bishops: they are to "instruct the faithful diligently"[112] on the use of images. The decree continues by citing different examples regarding image use, including positive and negative examples, i.e., examples to be followed and those deemed impious. After Trent, some artists were required to justify themselves in front of the inquisition because their choice of subject did not fulfill the requirements set out in the decree and was deemed impious. In 1573, for instance, Paolo Veronese (1528–1588) had to explain in Venice why he had included so many figures dressed in the frivolous Renaissance style in his painting *The Feast in the House of Levi*. This was deemed a violation of the rules surrounding *Decorum*. Caravaggio (1571–1610) encountered difficulties because he often took inspiration from people deemed vulgar or criminal. He further included figures and animals in his renditions of Biblical scenes that were not mentioned in the scripture. This is the case, for instance, in his 1609 piece *Adoration of the Shepherds*.[113]

The decree puts a clear emphasis on the role of images dismissing idolatry: images are to be venerated not because they possess any inherent powers, but because of what they represent—subjects worthy of veneration such as Saints. The decree includes a passage on representations of the Divine, stating that "if […] histories and narratives of Holy Scripture are portrayed and represented the people shall be taught that not thereby is the Divinity represented, as though it could be perceived by the eyes of the body, or be depictured by colours or figures."[114] This rejection of portrayals of the Divine echoes the discussion regarding visual representations of the Trinity lead by Carpi and Cajetan.[115] It further emphasizes the *educational use of images*, highlighting the didactic and mimetic qualities of visual representations. The decree concludes with a reference to episcopal authority on the matter, going as far as recommending prior episcopal approval for all images displayed in churches. Finally, the decree declares all other decrees on the matter void unless approved by the pope.[116] The decree abstains, however, from formulating a clear position on some of the most disputed aspects of religious imagery at the time: it does not contain specific guidelines or regulations on the use of images in connection with the liturgy.[117] Equally the subject matter—for instance, iconographic or stylistic provisions about profane subjects—are left aside, merely requesting "lasciviousness be avoided; in such wise that figures shall not be painted or adorned with a wantness of beauty."[118] Historians have cited many reasons for the general vagueness of the decree. Three aspects are worth noticing: first, by refraining from more detailed provisions the Council members intended to avoid further conflict. Without doubt, they recognized the *zeitgeist* according to which image use could only be condoned or condemned in its entirety—any regulation exceeding the fundamentals contained in the decree would have been seen as criticism of existing practice with potentially disastrous consequences. Second, the subject matter could not be regulated more strictly without excluding some existing images as wrongful and therefore heretical.

Yet, according to doctrine, heresy only ever occurs outside of the Church. In Catholicism, there can be no heretical, not even dangerous images.[119] Any misuse mentioned in the Council decree on images refers to hypothetical wrongful practices undermining the Church from the outside. There is no reference to actual known incidents of wrongful practice.

A third reason for the relatively vague phrasing of the decree is the disagreement on the subject within France, which had enforced a decree on images to begin with. In particular, the role of Cardinal de Guise is not to be underestimated: a typical Church dignitary of the Renaissance and a passionate collector of ancient objects himself, de Guise certainly used his influence to exert a mitigating effect on the final decree. Although an analysis of de Guise's correspondence from 1547—the year he was appointed cardinal—onward goes beyond the scope of this book, it is possible that de Guise acted in consultation with the papacy, since he was a favorite of Paul III, who made him cardinal, and later of Julius III, who showered him with numerous gifts.[120] And in any case, Protestant criticism did not take issue with subject matter, but with image use in general and veneration in particular. Therefore, when balancing the tradition of sacral images as a whole against standardized regulations, the Council members opted for tradition and against reform. As Christian Hecht puts it: "[Es] entspricht […] der Absicht des Konzils, die Tradition des sakralen Bildes zu schützen. Alles andere war nebensächlich" (It corresponds to the intention of the Council to protect the tradition of sacred images. Everything else was secondary.)[121] As a consequence, the decree lacks reformatory force. It is limited to abolishing hypothetical wrongs and defending existing practices. The practices themselves are not up for discussion. This is what Leibniz meant when he correctly remarked, "diese Worte sind weicher, als die Welt angesichts der Bedeutung dieses Themas erwartet hatte."[122] In this sense, if we see the Church as a patient and the Council of Trent as a surgery performed on the living subject,[123], the decree appears as a mere Band-Aid on an open fracture. But as the spirit of the time suggests, any other treatment might have led to sudden heart failure of the patient. A Band-Aid is no cure, but at least no quackery either. Still, the consequences of the Tridentine image decree for papal art commissions are not nearly as marginal as the decree would lead us to assume. This is largely due to the wider debate surrounding images within Protestantism but also Catholicism, and to other decrees issued in Trent with more reformatory power, particularly those regarding bishops and nepotism.

3.9 Conclusion of the Historical Context

As the detailed outline above has illustrated, two particular historical contexts set the stage for the analysis conducted in this book: the context of the city of Rome and the context of Tridentine Reform. Although these contexts are sometimes interlinked, they each come with their own particularities and challenge the papacy and its visual propaganda strategy in different ways.

In the sixteenth century, Rome is the papacy's immediate sphere of influence. As the bishop of Rome and the head of the local ecclesiastical elite, the pope is closely tied to the city and its people. From a propagandistic and artistic point of view, this presents several opportunities and challenges: through artistic commissions and urban design, popes were able to stage themselves as "good popes"—as benefactors of the city and its people. Costly church renovations and city infrastructure projects were a way for the pope to showcase their own magnificence, while improving the living conditions of simple Romans at the same time. For instance, for Romans, papal aqueducts and fountains significantly improved water supply. This power structure was beneficial for Romans and popes alike, as Romans saw their living conditions improved and popes saw their local power-base strengthened. The relationship between a sixteenth-century pope and his Roman subjects is therefore a particularly powerful one, which can directly influence domestic politics and the local standing of a pope. Although the theory of a social contract (first described in Thomas Hobbes' 1651 *Leviathan*,) was first formulated in the seventeenth century, the relationship between the papacy and Romans during the sixteenth century can nonetheless be described in the same terms, as it followed the rules of an unspoken social contract: Romans supported and tolerated their pope, if he ensured their well-being. For the papacy, violating this principle signified risking a local revolt and facing the accusation of tyranny. Therefore, the Roman context significantly influenced papal artistic commissions.

Given that sixteenth-century Rome was also seen as *caput mundi*, the capital of the world (from a Euro-centric and Christian point of view), Rome also served as a stage, on which the papacy presented itself to the world. As has been shown, pilgrims and other visitors to Rome, such as foreign dignitaries, were an important audience for papal visual propaganda. What pilgrims and foreign dignitaries saw and experienced in Rome shaped ideas about Rome and the papacy throughout the world. The papacy recognized these reports and accounts as important tools to shape its own perception abroad. The Jubilee Years of 1560, 1575 and 1600 put special emphasis on Rome's propagandistic function as a model city and capital, because Jubilees attracted exceptionally high numbers of pilgrims and visitors. Because of this, artistic production and papal commissions increased in the years leading up to Jubilees. Holy Years also presented the ideal opportunity to display a reformed papacy to the world, which, although still magnificent, visually clearly situated itself in the context of the imagery of Tridentine Reform. This meant emphasizing Tridentine values or concepts such as the importance of Church doctrine and scripture alike and the centrality of Rome within the Church. It also signified distancing the Church and the papacy from their own immediate pasts, by condemning antiquity, mythology and paganism perceived as heresy, and by renouncing the glorification of the self as practiced by Renaissance patrons.

In conclusion, during the second half of the sixteenth century, artistic commissions in the public Roman sphere had to fulfill several propagandistic purposes at once. To improve the image of an individual pope and the public perception of the papacy as a whole, artistic commissions had to (1) beautify the city and enhance the life quality of Romans, (2) showcase papal magnificence and benevolence to strengthen the papal power base, its territorial claim to power, its dynastic legitimacy and its religious supremacy at home and abroad and (3) communicate and implement the ideas about Church Reform in the Church, the papacy and religious imagery in general. As the following analysis will demonstrate, the popes were not always successful in reconciling these different objectives. Sometimes, the propagandistic particularities required by the different recipient groups worked to visually complement each other, and on other occasions, they remained unconsolidated, or even contradictory.

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Part II

Analysis

Whereas Part I of this book focuses on the methodological particularities of dealing with patronized art and the historical context of sixteenth-century Rome, Part II is dedicated to the analysis of representative propagandistic art commissioned by the popes of the second half of the sixteenth century.

As outlined in the introduction, the analysis is based on original archival research and extensive secondary literature from the fields of history and art history. It is structured into three analytical blocks or chapters, that each close with intermediary conclusions. The first focuses on papal artistic production commissioned during and immediately after the Council of Trent. It covers the time period of 1550–1565 and the papacies of Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV. Because the three popes deal with Church Reform in widely different ways, this time period can be summarized as a laboratory for a new papal media strategy: Julius III is the last pope that unapologetically employs the pompous and classically inspired visual language of the Renaissance popes. Aware of the increasing criticism of the papacy and the Church, Julius' contemporaries anticipated the inevitable change and perceived his visual language as outdated. Julius' successor Paul IV embarks on a radical course correction. Under the impression of the Council of Trent and its new decree on religious imagery, Paul IV is set on implementing Church Reform in every aspect. His pontificate presents a break with the norms of Renaissance papal pictorial propaganda that is inflammatory: Paul IV's zeal for Reform is not well received by the Roman public. His successor Pius IV tries to learn from the mistakes of Julius III and Paul IV and attempts to reconcile Renaissance norms with Church Reform. This is apparent in the visual language of his artistic commissions, which present a curious amalgam of Renaissance and Reform motives and bring the laboratory of new papal media strategies to a momentary close.

The second analytical block focuses on what historians have coined the "pinnacle of Catholic Reform," namely the time between 1566 and 1585 and the visual propaganda of Pius V and Gregory XIII. Pius V and Gregory XIII

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continue to employ the reconciliatory media strategy developed by Pius IV. Their artistic patronage is dedicated to the implementation of Reform and the propagandistic exploitation of political victories over enemies of the faith. Yet at the same time, behind the scenes, both papacies are also characterized by a return to old Renaissance norms, with respect to nepotism, for instance. In this regard, the media strategy employed by Pius V and Gregory XIII can be interpreted as a visual Reform campaign at a time, when the pontiffs have already discarded those Tridentine Reform decrees thought particularly disadvantageous for themselves, effectively hollowing out Reform.

The third and final analytical block documents the decline of Reform in papal propaganda, which can be observed from 1585 onward to the close of the century, during the papacies of Sixtus V, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, Innocent IX and Clement VIII. The well-researched pontificate of Sixtus V sees a phase of heightened artistic production that strives to visually inscribe Tridentine Reform into the Roman cityscape. By this time, however, Church Reform has lost its original zeal and the visual language of Reform is increasingly used to visually aggrandize the papacy once again. As the analysis will show, by shifting emphasis away from the individual papal family to religious corporations and the papacy as a whole, Sixtus V finds new ways to depict papal magnificence. In this regard, Reform is increasingly put into the service of propaganda customary during the Renaissance and the Middle Ages: aggrandizing the papacy and ensuring its supremacy and legitimacy. The subsequent short pontificates of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX contribute to the continuous decline of Church Reform, because they cripple the institution with almost 2 years of dynastic instability that leaves the papacy paralyzed.

The last pontiff of the century, Clement VIII, struggles to complete the numerous building projects of his predecessors to ready the city of Rome for the Holy Year of 1600. Because of this, Clement VIII has little time to commission significant propagandistic artworks or building projects of his own. His papacy brings an eventful century to its close: it started with the religious schism of Protestantism, saw the papacy and the Church face increasing pressure to implement a wide-reaching conservative Church Reform, and ultimately leaves behind a conservatively renewed Church with a papacy relegated to a reactive rather than a proactive role and faced with a decline of power.

The historical sources examined throughout the three parts of the analysis document this process of power decline as a direct consequence of the pictorial propaganda of an institution struggling to keep up with the fast-paced current developments of a time of heightened political and religious conflict. As a result of the papacy's hesitation in a time of crisis and its commitment to self-preservation, the institution's pictorial propaganda is increasingly perceived as tone-deaf and out-of-touch.

This becomes evident, when we analyze representative artistic commissions for the individual papacies treated in this book, in which I ask the following research questions:

- Where, when and how do the historical contexts of sixteenth-century Rome and Tridentine Reform factor into papal art commissions?
- Which methods and strategies does the papacy use to create a new image for itself during the Post-Tridentine time of change, power consolidation and realignment? What is the thematic focus of this new kind of propaganda? Where does it appear and how does it change over time?
- How does this new papal media strategy deal with history? How does it oscillate between reform and tradition, modern progress and Renaissance nostalgia?
- And ultimately: what is the result of the pictorial propaganda employed by sixteenth-century popes regarding Church Reform and the public perception of Church and papacy?

4 St. Peter's Basilica

The Ground Zero for Catholic Image-making

The basilica of Saint Peter is the ground zero of Catholic image-making. Located at the very heart of the Vatican, the basilica visualizes the papacy's power claim unlike any other building. It was designed, shaped, added to and modified by a number of popes, making it the most significant building project of the papacy as a dynasty. While Saint Peter's building history and the basilica's decorative program have been thoroughly discussed by William Tronzo et al.,[124] the basilica's transformation shall also briefly be discussed here, in a summarizing manner, to give an impression of the building's fundamental significance with regards to papal pictorial propaganda and Tridentine Reform.

Today's Saint Peter's basilica is also referred to as new Saint Peter's and was constructed over the course of 120 years. Construction of the new basilica began on 18 April 1506, under Julius II, and was completed on 18 November 1626, under Clement VIII. The new basilica stands on the former location of old Saint Peter's, which was destroyed in order to build the new Church. The old Peter's Basilica was the Catholic Church's main representative Church from the fourth century to the sixteenth century. Construction of the old basilica began during the reign of Emperor Constantine I and took around 40 years to complete. The location of the building carries great symbolical significance: by erecting their church over the historical site of the Circus of Nero, early Christians reclaimed said space for themselves and their God. Where formally Christians had been persecuted, repressed and tortured within the circus walls, now a church stood victorious and the victims had vanquished their tormentor.

The design of the old church was a typical basilica form with the plan and elevation resembling those of Roman basilicas and audience halls, rather than the design of any Greco-Roman temple. Constantine took great pains to build the basilica on the site he and Pope Sylvester I believed to be Saint Peter's grave, hence the basilica's name. The location of the said grave heavily influenced the layout of the building, which was erected on the sloped Vatican Hill, on the west bank of the Tiber River. Since the site was outside the boundaries of the ancient city, the apse with the altar was located in the west so that the basilica's facade could

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be approached from Rome itself to the east. The exterior was not lavishly decorated and thereby distinguished itself from earlier pagan temples. In an attempt to eradicate pagan buildings, but also because building material was scarce, part of the building material used in the church was re-purposed from earlier pagan buildings. For instance, the altar of the old basilica used several columns thought to stem directly from the Temple of Solomon.

The old basilica was capable of housing a few thousand worshipers at a time. It was over 350 feet (110 m) long, built in the shape of a Latin cross. An atrium, known as the "Garden of Paradise," stood at the entrance and had five doors that led to the five aisles of the church, a wide central nave and two smaller aisles to each side. In 846, the building was sacked and damaged by Saracens. Since the building stood outside the Aurelian walls, the by this stage richly decorated basilica was an easy target. The raiders also destroyed Saint Peter's tomb and pillaged the holy shrine. In response to this incident, Pope Leo IV built the Leonine wall around the Vatican and rebuilt the parts of St. Peter's that had been damaged. By the fifteenth century, however, the church was falling into ruin. Discussions on repairing parts of the structure commenced upon the pope's return from Avignon. Julius II had every intention of preserving the old building, but once he understood the extent of repair needed, the pope's attention turned toward tearing the old building down and building a new structure instead. Julius' contemporaries were shocked by his proposal to tear down the old basilica, as the building represented papal continuity going back to Peter. Julius thought of it as restoring the building's focus on the altar in the apse and the tomb of Saint Peter, an effect that had been lost in the Middle Ages, when the old basilica was filled with other prestigious yet distracting relics. Julius II revived some of the old plans to modify the Peter's basilica designed by Nicholas V (1397–1455), who strove to transform Rome into a New Jerusalem. In this sense, the original undertaking to rebuild the basilica speaks to an early pre-Tridentine desire to return to the simplicity of early Christendom, while also modernizing Christian imagery.[125]

Yet, in the end, the resulting new building became the most renowned work of Renaissance architecture and the largest church in the world by interior measure. While it is neither the mother church of the Catholic Church nor the cathedral of the Diocese of Rome (these titles being held by the Archbasilica of Saint John Lateran in Rome), Saint Peter's is regarded as one of the holiest Catholic shrines and as such is a famous place of pilgrimage for Catholics worldwide.

Financed largely with indulgences and designed principally by Donato Bramante, Michelangelo, Carlo Maderno and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, new Saint Peter's is characterized by its central dome that dominates the skyline of Rome. It is one of the largest domes in the world. The interior dimensions of the basilica are vast when compared with other churches: the basilica is cruciform in shape with an elongated nave in the Latin cross

form but the early designs were for a centrally planned structure and this is still in evidence in the architecture. The entry hall of the basilica features decorated bronze doors. One of them is the Holy Door that is only opened during jubilees. The nave that leads to the central dome features the highest barrel vault of any Catholic church. It is framed by wide aisles leading to a number of chapels. The basilica contains a large number of notable people, mostly popes, many of which are considered outstanding artworks. Among them are the tombs of the *Gregoriana* and the *Clementina*, which are analyzed in a detailed manner in the chapters of this book dealing with Gregory XIII and Clement VIII, respectively. There are also a number of sculptures in niches and chapels, including Michelangelo's *Pietà*. The central feature is a baldachin or a canopy over the papal altar, designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The apse culminates in a sculptural ensemble, also by Bernini, and contains the symbolic *Chair of Saint Peter*. From the outside, the basilica is approached via St. Peter's Square, a forecourt in two sections, both surrounded by tall colonnades, and analyzed in the chapter focused on Sixtus V. The facade of the basilica, with a giant order of columns, stretches across the end of the square and is approached by steps on which stand two large-scale statues of first-century apostles and Roman city patrons, Saints Peter and Paul, a clear reference to Roman hegemony within the Catholic Church.

In summation, the basilica visualizes the papal power and the hegemony of Rome within the Catholic Church. It also renders the connection between the papacy and Saint Peter visible and reinforces the popes' position as Vicar of Christ on earth. As the basilica was built by many popes, it is also a building project that transcends the individual pope and instead focuses on papal dynasty. And, since the basilica was built near the site of a former pagan circus, where early Christians were executed, the building is also a powerful demonstration of victory over the classical period and its pagan "heresy."

The parts of the basilica that were shaped by the popes during and after the Council of Trent are analyzed more closely throughout the book. Among them are the *Cappella Gregoriana*, the *Cappella Clementina*, the tomb of Paul III, the basilica's dome and the Saint Peter's square.

5 Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV

A Laboratory for a New Media Strategy? Papal Art Commissions and Propaganda During and Immediately After Trent

Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV shaped papal imagery between 1550 and 1565, during and immediately after the Council of Trent. As Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV each adopt a different strategy to deal with Church Reform, this time period can be looked at as an experimental phase for artistic propaganda or even as a laboratory for a new papal media strategy. To set the stage for our first analytical block, a few preliminary words on Paul III are necessary to understand the point of departure for the visual propaganda of Paul's III immediate successor, Julius III.

In the later stages of Paul III's 15-year-long papacy and after numerous unsuccessful attempts to summon a Reform Council, Catholic Reform seemed finally under way with the freshly appointed Council of Trent. Paul III recognized the necessity of reform and even considered such radical and controversial proposals such as a residence obligation for all bishops and a limitation of privileges. The pope seemed open-minded. Radical change and realignment of the Church seemed almost tangible. Yet Paul also tried to influence the direction of Church Reform by appointing Council members loyal to him and continued to undermine and disregard reform efforts in his own policies by practicing extreme nepotism. Rarely have contradicting norms and value concepts collided as directly and openly as during Paul III's reign.[126]

Instead of pushing Church Reform concerning bishops, and by extension, the papal curia, the Council focused on less politically sensitive subjects. In its early years, the Council worked on theological foundations of the Church, emphasizing ecclesiastic tradition and continuity.[127] Luther's *sola scriptura* argument was countered by insisting on the binding character of Church tradition. The Protestant teaching of Predestination was answered with the Divine Mercy Command in connection with free will. These were the basic principles of the Church mostly undisputed within Catholicism, unlike policy and administrative reform. Later, the Council also tackled controversial issues such as episcopal residency (*Decretum de residentia episcoporum et aliorum inferiorum*).[128] This particular decree, and other decrees regarding bishops, has been thoroughly analyzed over the last decades.[129] But after a promising start, the Council became embroiled in political crises and Paul III relocated the council to Bologna, further away

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from his political adversary, the Holy Roman Emperor. As politics heated up, Catholic Reform efforts cooled down and the Council was eventually suspended in 1547. Toward the middle of the century, the future of Church Reform was anything but certain.[130]

5.1 Julius III (1550–1555)—Promoter of Merriment and Patron of the Arts

After the death of Paul III in 1549, rivaling cardinal factions of conservatives and reformers faced off in a heated conclave. In the end, they chose a compromise candidate: Julius III (formerly Giovanni Maria Ciocchi Del Monte). The studied jurist from a rural Tuscan Patrician family was no front-runner: he did not belong to the hardliners around Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa. And although he had presided over the Council of Trent under Paul III, he was not a part of the *zelanti*, Rome's most eager reformers either. In fact, neither fraction endorsed Julius, but no one excluded him either, which made him a consensual choice.[131] Julius' primary concern was indeed not Church politics but a lavish lifestyle: during his papacy, theater flourished—in particular, contemporary comedies about seduction and adultery.[132] The pope equally enjoyed indulging himself in hearty meals, knightly tournaments and the occasional gambling session.[133] His choice of name—a reference to controversial Renaissance pope Julius II—indicates his love for all things worldly. Julius III also caused what is arguably known as one of the biggest scandals around homosexuality involving a pope: as a cardinal, Julius III took a shine to the 13-year-old son of one of his servants, who was soon rumored to have become his lover. He was adopted into the Del Monte family by Julius III's brother Baldovino. Four months into his papacy, when his adolescent adoptive-nephew turned 17, Julius appointed him cardinal[134]—a scandal that not only became a favorite gossip subject of European royal courts but also incited renewed Protestant criticism.

Reinhardt connects Julius III's "carpe diem" mentality to a traumatic event that occurred during the *Sacco di Roma* in 1527[135]: Julius III was part of a group of hostages the pillaging imperial troops used to blackmail Clement VII into paying a 400,000 ducati[136] ransom. Initially, Clement refused to pay the sum. The hostage-takers retaliated by torturing their victims with mock executions—among them Cardinal Ciocchi Del Monte, the future Julius III. This dark episode may have led to Julius' zest for life expressed during his pontificate, programmatically dedicated to public merriment (*hilaritus publica*) in one of his regency medals.[137] The episode may also have contributed to Julius' moodiness and sudden outbursts of anger.[138]

In Rome, Julius III's love for borderline racy festivities was highly popular among the citizens. Julius III's entertainment policy was seen as the political program of a good ruler, dedicated to the well-being of his subjects. The pope's economic strategy further increased his popularity in Rome as he enforced lower bread prices, much to the delight of his subjects.[139]

Away from the public perception centering around bread and games, Julius III did, however, administer important changes. After nominating two additional cardinal *nepotes*, Julius III limited nepotism mainly to his favorite adopted nephew. Although other family members did receive significant amounts of money during his papacy, Julius cut down on other privileges formerly customary among members of the papal family. Nor was his nepotism aimed at ousting the family members of his predecessor, the Farnese, by reassigning their offices and title to his own relatives. Instead, Julius III built his power-base on the already existing elites and used money as a pay-off to keep his own family satisfied and in check, but effectively away from political power.

In 1551, Julius III revived efforts for a Church Reform launched by his predecessor. He reassembled the Reform Council and relocated it from Bologna back to its original venue in Trent. But in the meantime, religious conflict had continued and positions had hardened. A theological consensus regarding the Eucharist and Transubstantiation was no longer possible. This is apparent in the Eucharist decree of the Council[140]: it formalizes the transformation of bread and wine into the body and the blood of Christ during Eucharist. This was wholly unacceptable in the eyes of Protestants.[141] The sacraments of penance and extreme unction issued by the Council were deemed equally objectionable. As a result, Reform stalled. The political circumstances put an additional strain on Church Reform, as a war broke out between Henry II of France and Emperor Charles V. Julius III reacted by suspending the Council until further notice.

Although most historians connect Julius III with stalling Reform, the pope actually undertook immense efforts in this area,[142] issuing a Reformatory statement in 1555, the *Reformatio, quae edenda erat per Julium 3 Pont. Max. 1555*. However, this piece of writing was never promulgated because of Julius III's death in March of the same year. Nonetheless, the text indicates that the Del Monte pope was not opposed to Reform at all: he just favored a top-down approach to Reform via papal statement over the bottom-up approach of a participatory Council. Nova attributes this to Julius' experience as president legate of the Council: "Trent had shown him [Julius III] how difficult, expensive and slow it was to reach an agreement in the Council."[143] By issuing his own Reform decrees and suspending the Council, Julius hoped to speed up the process of Reform, while at the same time, closing down a Council he saw as threat to his authority as pope.

Because of his limited nepotism and his partial endorsement of Reform combined with his lavish lifestyle, Julius is generally seen as the last "typical" Renaissance pope. This orientation toward Renaissance values is also apparent in his patronage: Julius III was also a highly educated man fond of culture and the arts.[144] Among the characteristics of his patronage is the use of profane imagery.[145] The most significant and programmatic example of an artistic project realized under Julius III is the *Villa Giulia*, a papal residential Villa perfectly tailored to Del Monte.[146]

5.1.1 Artistic Program of the Villa Giulia

The *Villa Giulia* perfectly embodies the Pontificate of its namesake—a pope dedicated to the joys of life. Built outside the city walls near the *Via Flaminia* and the *Villa Borghese*, the *Villa Giulia* is an ingenious ensemble of loggias, courts, fountains and gardens—its star feature being the elegant nymphaeum.[147] As John Coolidge convincingly demonstrated, for the central Italian artists working on this project—Prospero Fontana, Taddeo Zuccharo, Giorgio Vasari, Ammannati and Vignola—the villa marked an important turning point in their careers, as many of them received their first major commissions from Julius III as part of the construction of the papal villa.[148] Antonio Lafreri's 1562 *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* contains sketches of the villa and its designs (see Figure 5.1 and 5.2).[149] The earliest written description of the *Villa Giulia* is given by architect Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–1592) in a letter to Paduan art-collector Marco Mantova Bonavides or Benavides (1498–1582). The letter dates of 2 May 1555 and was first printed in 1819 in the *Giornale arcadico*[150] and is also mentioned by Ludwig von Pastor.[151] The letter describes a building richly decorated with painting, "di marmi, di stucchi, di acque, di giardini, e di preziose antieaglie."[152] The actual villa itself—which still stands in Rome to this day—is a small two-storied private residence with three rooms on each floor. The principal rooms are the two on both sides of the main entrance on the lower

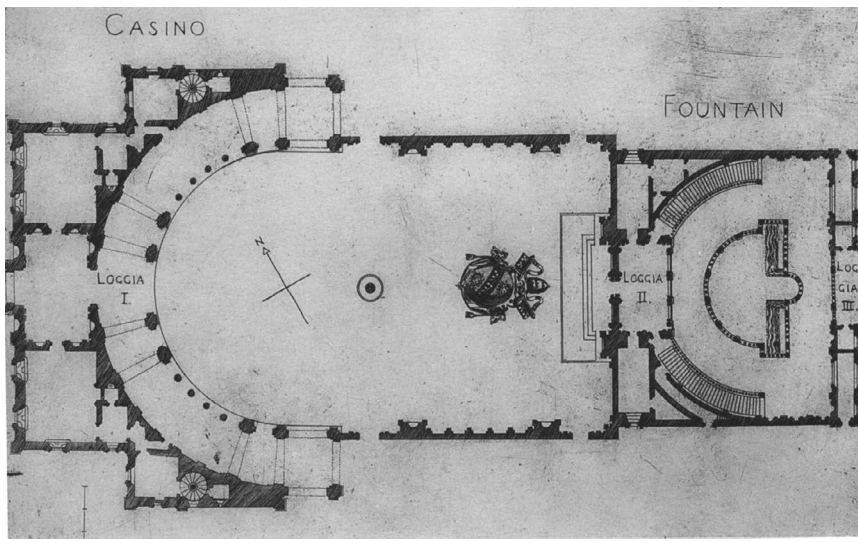

Figure 5.1 Sixteenth-century Plan of the Villa Giulia after Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, Rome, 1562. Printed in Coolidge, John. "The Villa Giulia: A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-Sixteenth Century." In: *The Art Bulletin* 25.3 (1943), pp. 177–225, here: 181.

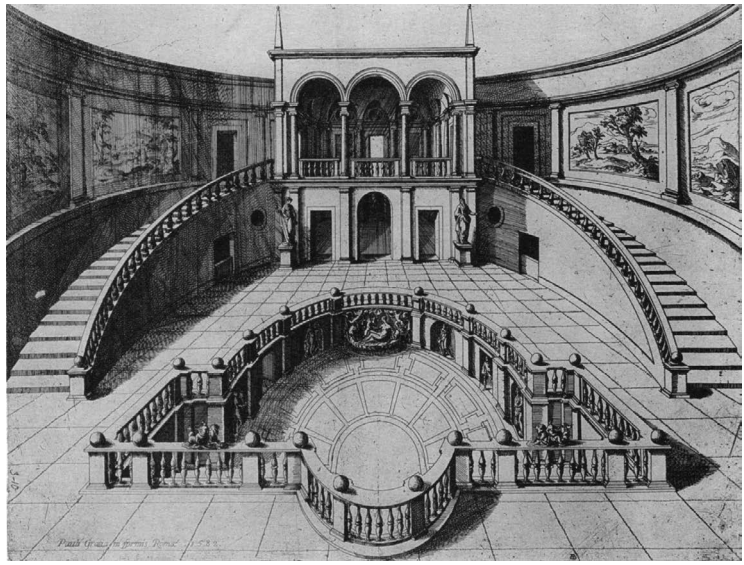

Figure 5.2 Sixteenth-century Drawing by Ammanati, showing the Logia II of the Villa Giulia, as seen from the Nymphaeum, after Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, Rome, 1562. Printed in Coolidge, John. "The Villa Giulia: A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-Sixteenth Century." In: *The Art Bulletin* 25.3 (1943), pp. 177–225, here: 182.

floor. The villa was located in the midst of ample vineyards and plots of land bought by the pope, which is why it is sometimes also referred to as *Vigna di Papa Giulio*.[153]

The *villa suburbana*, sometimes also referred to as *villa urbana*, *villa pseudourbana*, *rustica* or *maritima*, dates back to Roman imperial times and reemerged in the Renaissance.[154] Originally a residential villa for Roman Patrician families, during the fifteenth century, the suburban villa morphed into a getaway destination for Renaissance popes. The urban or suburban location of papal villas allowed for leisure time (*otium*) away from the curia and papal responsibilities. At the same time, the proximity to the Vatican made a quick return to the duties of power possible, whenever necessary. Although the short travelling distance—in case of the *Villa Giulia*, Julius III had to travel less than three kilometers upstream on the Tiber, to an especially constructed little harbor[155]—made the suburban villa a cost-efficient destination compared to other, more remote retreats. Nonetheless, the amenities, furnishings and decorations of a papal suburban villa were usually luxurious. This was pleasant for the noble inhabitants, but also necessary because the villas also served a representational function: they portrayed the magnificence of the reigning pope to the domestic and foreign visitors and ambassadors sometimes welcomed here for informal evenings

or official receptions. Essentially, papal villas served as mini courts away from court and allowed the pope to express his personal style—something not always possible under the watchful eyes of hardliners in the Vatican. The construction of the *Villa Giulia* was completed in 1554,[156] and, although Julius had in the meantime gifted the villa to his brother,[157] he soon moved in, *de facto* retiring from politics, although he remained in office until his death in March 1555. At the *Villa Giulia*, ever festive Julius III led an exclusive and luxurious lifestyle.

Planning his villa soon became Julius' favorite pastime: he became more and more immersed in this project, so that his political work in the Vatican gradually came to a standstill.[158] Julius dreamed of a building modeled on the celebrated *Palazzo del Te*, belonging to the Gonzaga family in Mantua and of the *Villa Madama* erected by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici near the construction site. Although Vasari first translated the fantastic ideas of the pope into sketches, the pope also requested Michelangelo's advice on this building project and had him review and correct Vasari's initial draft.[159] Ammanati and Vignola worked as the main architects on the villa. Although Vasari takes the main credit for the construction project in his *Vite*, there is no proof of this in connection with the sums expended on the villa, as Pastor correctly observes. Instead, from 1 February 1551 onward, Vignola is named as papal architect with a monthly salary of 13 gold scudi,[160] Ammanati executed the nymphaeum court[161] and nothing appears to come of Vasari's 1553 proposed painting of the loggia of the villa with frescoes.[162]

Executing the pope's grandiose ideas was a difficult task. As Vasari notes, artists were kept on a tight leash and had to incorporate ever-new ideas: "In quell'opera non si poteva mostrare quello che altri sapesse, nè far alcuna cosa pel verso; perocchè venivano di mano in mano a quel papa nuovi capricci, i quali bisognava metter in esecuzione, secondo che ordinava giornalmente messer Pier Giovanni Aliotti Vescovo di Forlì [sic!]."[163] According to Vasari, sometimes the pope would reject in the evening what he had sanctioned in the morning.[164] The changing moods of the pope are also evidenced in a medal struck to commemorate the general enterprise of the *Villa Giulia*.[165] As Moore has proven, four different versions of this foundation medal exist and the discrepancies between them indicate different times of origin, the earliest dating back to the middle of 1552.[166] The reverse of all medals displays a plan of the *Villa Giulia*, yet the earlier versions feature two domes that were never executed (see Figure 5.3).[167] Nova links these differences to a change in the architectural design of the *Villa Giulia* occurring between the summer of 1552, when the earliest medals were struck, and May 1553, when the building was essentially completed.[168] As foundation medals were only produced with papal approval, the existence of different versions of the same medal with different renderings of the same building indicates that pope Julius III overturned his original plans for the *Villa Giulia* by scrapping the two domes—further evidence for the changing tastes of the pope.

Figure 5.3 Medal of 1553 Showing Project for the Villa Giulia Featuring Two Domes, after Paul Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome moderne*, Vol. II, Paris, 1840–1857.

Nova established a still valid chronology for the different building phases of the *Villa Giulia* and also described the sometimes difficult relationship between chief architects Vignola, Vasari and Ammannati, who received vastly different payments for their respective contributions.[169] As for the iconography, in general, the *Villa Giulia* was modeled on the typical Renaissance fashion, referencing antiquity and repurposing several ancient statues and fragments.

As for a more detailed iconographical program regarding the frescoes of the interior, Nova states that "it is impossible to outline an overall programme at the *Villa Giulia*, because all the subjects are highly suitable for a villa, and for the specific function of each room,"[170] whereas the most recent full analysis of the *Villa Giulia* frescoes and statues carried out by Ruth Tschäpe comes to an entirely different conclusion, recognizing an overall neoplatonic theme in line with sixteenth-century discussions on humanist educational programs.[171] Tschäpe bases this interpretation on several recurrent topics that play an important role in the neoplatonic context and are represented in the villa, such as references to love, virtues, poetry and the underworld.

It is difficult to properly investigate the original decorative program regarding the frescoes of the *Villa Giulia*: only a few original drafts remain. Later reproductions made in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth

centuries are not reliable, because, as Tschäpe has demonstrated, the frescoes were renovated and altered in between.[172] The main source of information on the original paintings in the *Villa Giulia* is a brief passage in Vasari's description of Taddeo Zuccaro's life:

> (…) dipignervi molte cose Prospero Fontana, come di sotto si dirà, si servì assai di Taddeo à molte cose, che gli fuorono occasione di maggiore bene perciochè, piacendo a quel papa il suo modo di fare, gli fece dipignere (molte cose descritte da Vasari.) Alle vigna di papa Giulio, nelle prime camere del palazzo (Taddeo Zucchero) fece di colori nel mezzo della volta alcune storie, e particolarmente il monte Parnaso; e nel cortile del medesimo fece due storie di chiaroscuro, de'fatti delle Sabine, che mettono in mezzo la porta di mischio principale che entra nella loggia, dove si scende alla fonte dell'acqua Vergine: le quali tutte opere furono lodate commendate molto (sic!).[173]

Regrettably, none of the frescoes described by Vasari have survived and for the remaining frescoes, authorship is unclear. However, as John A. Gere has conclusively argued, for individual frescoes, authorship can be established based on thematic and stylistic similarities.[174] Among the most representative of the *Villa Giulia's* interior features are *Naiads and Putti* (see Figure 5.4)[175] and *Bacchanalian Feast* (see Figure 5.5).[176]

Zucchero's *Naiads and Putti* (see Figure 5.4) is located in the villa's South room, to the right of the main entrance. It is one of the nine ceiling frescoes present in the room arranged in three-by-three rows and is located in the center of the top row. Since there is no documentary evidence for the original name of the painting, the fresco has been referred to under different names in secondary literature. Some alternate title suggestions are *Women and Cupidi* or *Muses at the Castalian Spring*.[177] Tschäpe describes the painting as a visualization of idleness, based on the seemingly purposeless behavior of the depicted women, some of whom are pouring water from one amphora into another.[178] But the painting is probably a visualization of nymphs, legendary water deities, as the title *Naiads and Putti* used by Gere suggests. The amphorae function as a depiction of the springs and wells associated with these creatures. Originally part of Greek mythology, naiads, or nymphs, appear in Roman mythology and ancient iconography in the shape of goddesses connected to Italian rivers. The most prominent Roman goddesses of this type are Juturna, Egeria and Carmenta, who could very well be included among the sitting women depicted in the front part of the fresco. Egeria, in particular, is associated with giving counsel in exchange for libations—ritual pourings of water, milk, oil or honey in honor of gods, heroes or the dead.[179] This is illustrated in the painting: several women are pouring water, while others are shown deep in conversation. In the background of the painting, two women appear to be engaged in a private conversation with one laying her arm around the shoulders of the

Figure 5.4 *Naiads and Putti*. n.a., Generally Attributed to Taddeo Zuccharo. Fresco. Villa Giulia, Rome, ca. 1553. Photograph Printed with the Permission of the Fondazione Federico Zeri.

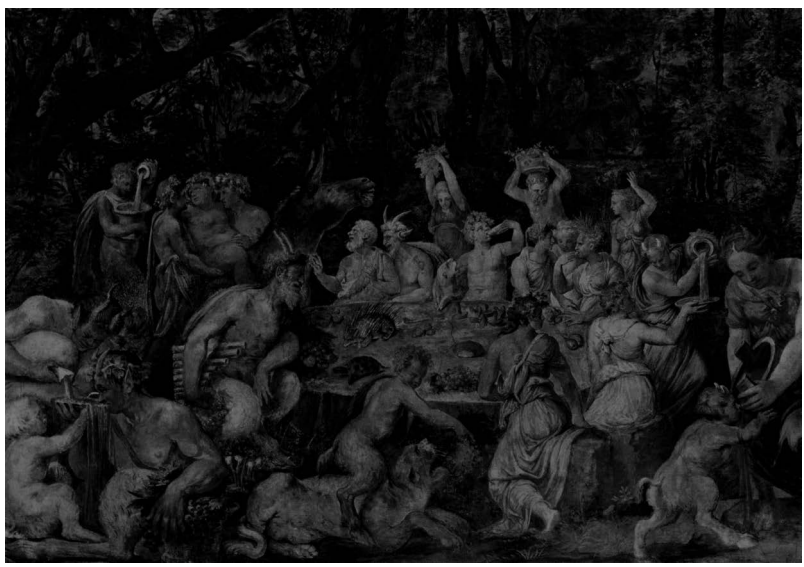

Figure 5.5 *Bacchnalian Feast*. n.a., Generally Attributed to Prospero Fontana. Fresco. Villa Giulia, Rome, ca. 1553. Photograph Printed with the Permission of the Fondazione Federico Zeri.

other, a gesture associated with familiarity or maternal counsel. As a fresco depicting nymphs around a fountain, the painting picks up on the Villa's most prominent outdoor feature, the nymphaeum, and carries the subject inside. The kitschy putti can be interpreted as an attempt to Christianize the pagan-inspired painting, but also as a more general reference to fertility—also symbolized by the fruit, plants and animals in the painting—childbirth and midwifery, usually attributed to the goddess Carmenta, but also to other river goddesses.

Located in the *Villa Giulia's* lower North room, left of the main entrance, Fontana's *Bacchanalian Feast* is one of the nine ceiling frescoes displayed in the room, and arranged in three-by-three rows, with *Bacchanalian Feast* located in the center of the top row. As with *Naiads and Putti*, there are different title suggestions for *Bacchanalian Feast*: the painting is also sometimes referred to as *Banchetto di Ninfe, Satiri, Pani ed altri esseri boscherecci* or *Gasthmal auf Erden* (Feast on Earth).[180] The painting shows a dinner scene in the woods and makes multiple references to the ancient Roman God of wine and fertility, Bacchus. As such, and combined with the fresco's location inside the room, *Bacchanalian Feast* is the perfect counterpart to *Naiads and Putti* in the South Room: whereas *Naiads and Putti* shows female goddesses associated with fertility, *Bacchanalian Feast* centers on their male equivalent depicted on the left of the table. Typically associated with drunkenness and lascivious behavior, Bacchus sits on a donkey and presides over a group of mythological creatures such as a pan and satyrs. The group feasts on bread, fruit and grapes, but also on small animals that are crawling around on the table—such as a hedgehog and a tortoise.[181] Overall, the scene shows a wild dinner party in honor of Bacchus. Nova accordingly suggests that the room inside the *Villa Giulia*, in which the fresco was placed, was used as dining room.[182]

Both *Naiads and Putti* and *Bacchanalian Feast* are thematic references to ancient Roman water mythology and the *nymphaeum* of the *Villa Giulia*. The *nymphaeum* itself—a two-story ensemble of loggias, balconies and courts grouped around a fountain (the *Acqua Vergine*) and richly decorated with mosaics, frescoes and statues—includes several additional water deities, such as the statues of Arno and Tiber. The statues, two bearded men laying on their side, are representations of the two most important rivers of central Italy—located in two niches of the Southeastern *nymphaeum*-wall. During the Renaissance, the Arno and Tiber were often used to symbolize Italy's most important artistic and political power-centers of the time: Florence and Rome. Additionally, the two rivers were sometimes used as symbols for the two patron saints of the Church and Rome, St. Paul and St. Peter.[183] This was the case during Julius' coronation festivities on 22 February 1550, when, along with other statues, statues of St. Peter, St. Paul, Tiber and Arno decorated the platform on St. Peter's Square on which the coronation took place.[184] The symbolism behind this is complex: Paul and Peter are seen as foundations of the Church, whereas the two rivers are fundamental to the

cities of Rome and Florence, and for Julius III too: as a Tuscan, Julius III was born only a few miles south of Florence and to the southwest of the source of the river Arno. And as pope, Julius III's life was connected to the Vatican, the city of Rome, and the Tiber. Unlike most of the statues displayed in the *Villa Giulia*, the two statues of Arno and Tiber of the *nymphaeum* were new productions.[185] This indicates that their placement is not random, but programmatic. This becomes even more apparent, when we realize that Julius' most important political ally was Cosimo de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and ruler over Florence. Julius even managed to become part of the Medici family by marrying his nephew Fabiano de Monte to Cosimo's daughter Lucrezia de' Medici in 1554.[186] The statues of Arno and Tiber in the *nymphaeum* can thus be seen as an attempt to establish a connection between the ruling classes of Florence and Rome: the Medici and the papal family.

The statues of Arno and Tiber in the *Villa Giulia* also echo those of the Nile and Tiber placed in the Garden of the Belvedere, under Leo X—yet another connection to the Medici, plus additional symbolism: the placement of the Belvedere statues is often seen as a visualization of the political connections between the papacy and the proven power politics of Julius Caesar in ancient Rome.[187] Julius Caesar was also used as a recurrent figure in poems dedicated to Julius III.[188] The *nymphaeum* of the *Villa Giulia*, then, visualizes papal power politics and propagandistic claims made by Julius III as the ruler of the Church and Rome, likening himself to other historical and contemporary rulers (Julius Cesar, Leo X, Cosimo de' Medici) and important ecclesiastical figures (St. Peter and St. Paul).

When interpreting the *Villa Giulia* as a whole within a larger context, the issue becomes more complicated. Tschäpe situates the mythological and classically inspired Renaissance style of the *Villa* within the context of the larger debate around the relationship between profane and sacred art specifically, as well as the mid-century debate surrounding religious imagery in general.[189] Whereas the official Church remained Thomist[190] in its approach to religious imagery, there were a number of competing unofficial positions among Catholics during the years leading up to the Tridentine image decree. Tschäpe classifies the *Villa Giulia* as one example of an alternative unofficial position in the controversy around religious imagery.[191]

However, when speaking of a papal villa, one can hardly speak of an unofficial position: although popes had a certain liberty of expression within their private establishments, and Julius III mainly commissioned private artworks and buildings, his preference for mythology and antiquity was publicly known. And what the pope appreciates is seen, by extension of his office as the head of the Church, as the official Church position. It thus remains therefore largely incomprehensible that a pope would commission a mythology-themed private estate in the midst of a controversy around idolatry and iconoclastic rage. Among contemporaries, the villa was indeed controversial, as a contemporary written account

of the villa's interior illustrates: shortly after Julius' death in March 1555, two English ambassadors were accommodated at the *Villa Giulia*. They had been sent to Rome on behalf of Queen Mary with a message from parliament: in 1553, Mary had restored Catholicism in England. And now, 2 years later, parliament, which had opposed the Queen's attempt to reinstate the pope as the head of the Church in England, finally succumbed to royal pressure. But Julius III died before the English envoy could inform the pope of his victory. Unable to fulfill their quest, the English ambassadors housed in the *Villa Giulia* were both amazed and bewildered by the decoration of this extraordinary building, as the written account indicates:

> This house is of an excellent building, and hath such a notable commodity in it, all of which marble, so curiously wrought, so replenished with strange fruits, and furnished with antiquities, that be daily digged up in the ruins of old Rome, and some found in the river of Tyber, in such sort, that it doth far exceed all the buildings that ever I saw, except the Charter House beside Pavia.[192]

This account indicates that by 1553, a house decorated with antiquities and "strange fruits" was perceived as well beyond the norm. And, since the foreign ambassadors were lodged at the *Villa Giulia*, we can deduce that the Villa was not a private building, as Tschäpe suggests, but a building occasionally used for official functions. As such, the decoration of the villa had representative character.

So why did Julius III choose to decorate his villa in such a controversial fashion for the time? First and foremost, because this style represented his personal taste, and as pope, Julius enjoyed certain freedoms. Mythology, and half-naked bodies, however, remained a core problem for theologians, especially within the religious context. But since the villa served as a papal residence and not as a sacred space, from a theological perspective, Julius III was on the safe side, even though his inclination toward mythology was still perceived as strange by contemporaries. But Julius III also deemed his personal style acceptable, because at the time of the villa's construction, the building reflected the humanist education ideal favored throughout the Renaissance. By selecting pictorial themes incorporating a neoplatonic didactic function, Julius III attempted to legitimize his use of classical pagan themes. However, in 1552, while the *Villa Giulia* was still under construction, a theological disputation held in Rome, objected to an exclusively didactic use of imagery and to profane images in general.[193] Over a decade later, Cardinal de Guise ensured that those same points would be decreed as acceptable by the Council of Trent.

In conclusion, the iconography of the *Villa Giulia* should be seen as the last papal orientation toward the Renaissance, its symbols (the rivers Arno and Tiber as political metaphors) and political idols (Julius Cesar,

the Medici) at a time, where norms are already changing, but not yet fixed. This is important, since gray-area periods are the times when the pendulum can still swing in either direction. And as pope, Julius III took it upon himself to test the limits of current societal and religious norms with his iconographical program of the past. Although this might have been perceived as a norm violation by some, Julius had two things going for him: he chose the right context for his antiquity-inspired decoration, a residential space, physically separated from the Vatican and the sacred center of the Church. And, he was, after all, still an almighty pope and a ruler. However, Julius III's revival of the Renaissance was short-lived. Already perceived as elitist by contemporaries,[194] the iconographical program of the *Villa Giulia* contradicts the ideas around religious imagery that slowly start to spread. After Julius III's death, the pendulum swung back forcefully in the opposite direction, toward radical Church Reform.

5.2 From Marcellus II (1555) to Paul IV (1555–1559)—The Iron Fist of Reform

Following Julius III's death in 1555, a short conclave elected Cardinal Marcello Cervini as the new pope. The moderately reform-oriented Marcellus II suffered a fatal stroke only three weeks into his papacy. Marcellus was succeeded as Pope by his relative, Gian Pietro Carafa, who took the name of Paul IV. The head of the most radical reform fraction within the Vatican, Carafa emerged victoriously after a three-week-long conclave. The new pope was the opposite of Julius III: whereas Tuscan-born Julius III had proclaimed joy and celebrated the Renaissance, Neapolitan Paul IV stood for ascetic Church Reform. His irascible and mistrustful character soon gave him a reputation among courtiers and foreign delegates.[195] There were whispers about the soundness of Carafa's mind.[196] His advanced age—upon his election he was 79-years old—did not help to calm these rumors. Neither did his well-known habit of keeping private dossiers on all the prelates he suspected of Protestant heresy: this pope was highly unpopular in Rome and elsewhere.

As a Neapolitan, Paul IV hated Spain and its rule over Sicily and Naples. This led to an open conflict with Philip II and almost led to a second *Sacco di Roma* in 1557. But the pope was fond of the Spanish *Auto-da-fé*[197] practice, the Inquisition and violent conversion tactics and their use as a deterrent to scare potential heretics and to establish rigorous social control. Regarding book censorship, Paul IV implemented two new practices previously introduced by the Spanish Inquisition in the early 1550s: an index of banned books and expurgation.[198] The Carafa pope also intimidated foreign delegates with his unpredictable temper and his network of spies. He held grudges against anyone he suspected of not paying him enough respect. He persecuted the Roman Jewish community, forcing Jews to live in a walled-off Ghetto and bullying them with several indignities.

Another favorite target of the pope's rage were the Colonna family: the family's traditional political support for the Holy Roman Emperor was unacceptable in Paul IV's eyes. As punishment, he stripped the Colonna of their fiefdoms, gifting the Duchy of Paliano to the cardinal nephew instead.[199] The pope possessed a strong sense of family, showering his two cardinal nephews with countless gifts, titles and privileges—in stark opposition to his otherwise radical endorsement of Tridentine Reform.[200]

Although Paul IV embraced rigorous Reform like no other sixteenth-century pope, he did not reassemble the Council of Trent. Instead, the Carafa pope tried to take matters into his own hands by assigning his own personal Reform task force: a special congregation consisting of 20 cardinals as well as several prelates of the curia and referendaries of the *signatura*, auditors of the *rota*, the generals of the Dominicans, Franciscan observants and conventuals, other officials of the curia and five theologians.[201] These 62 members were first assembled on 20 January 1556, with the pope himself opening the first session. Although Paul IV planned to eventually re-open the Council of Trent in Rome under his supervision, his attempt to centralize (Romanize) the Church Reform failed, due to political circumstances—the war with Spain—and due to the fact that the pope simply could not cope with opinions diverging from his own and used his power to overrule them single-handedly.[202]

Paul IV's nepotism came to a sudden end in 1559 when papal nephews Giovanni and Carlo Carafa became embroiled in a scandal, as allegations of corruption and abuse of power were made public. To limit the damage to the image of the papacy, Paul IV banished his relatives, distancing himself from them. He died soon thereafter. After Paul IV's death, the Carafa nephews destroyed any political and social standing they had left when they murdered Giovanni Carafa's pregnant wife, whom they suspected of adulterous behavior. As a consequence, Paul IV's successor, Pius IV, seized the family's assets and ordered Carlo and Giovanni Carafa's execution.[203] The Carafa brothers were posthumously rehabilitated but the remaining family members never regained their former power.

Paul IV's death plunged the city of Rome into week-long riots. A despised sovereign, Paul IV had ruled over Rome with an iron fist for 4 years. Now, the city-folk was finally free from his oppression and social tensions exploded in cathartic vandalism, following the ancient practice of *damnatio memoriae*—the destruction of statues and monuments of unpopular rulers after a change of leadership. After the Carafa pope's death, the masses took revenge: they destroyed Carafa insignia on several buildings and edifices. In another episode of iconoclastic fury, the people of Rome tore down a marble statue of the pope erected only 2 months earlier on Capitol Hill. They beheaded the statue, pulled it through the streets and plunged it into the Tiber—a symbolical public lynching of the deceased. It took the College of Cardinals more than a week to re-establish public order.[204]

5.2.1 Artistic Production under Paul IV

Paul IV's relationship with the arts was a complex one: in private, he lived an almost ascetic life, characterized by insomnia and countless hours spent studying his favorite documents of the Sant'Uffizio.[205] In public, however, when carrying out official acts, the pope maintained an incredibly splendid visual representation of the papacy as an institution. Although the saying attributed to him that it was more important to fortify Rome than to adorn it with pictures may be an anecdote, it nevertheless sums up the political climate of the time, which was not favorable to the arts[206]: artists were expected to follow strict rules, as during Carafa's papacy, censorship reached new heights. Among his first acts as the pope were to cut off Michelangelo's pension and ordering that the nudes of *The Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel be painted more modestly—a request that Michelangelo ignored, but that was later realized under Pius IV.[207]

5.2.2 Paul IV's Unrealized Artistic Projects

During his papacy, Paul IV's artistic patronage was mainly focused on three projects: a large-scale remodeling of the papal apartments in the Belvedere, the rebuilding of *San Silvestro al Quirinale*,[208] a church Paul had gifted to his Theatine order shortly after becoming pope,[209] and the construction of a papal retreat, a *Casino*, in the neighboring Vatican gardens. Although the construction of the *Casino* technically began during Paul IV's pontificate, it was only completed under his successor Pius IV, who made far-reaching changes to the building. And, since the pictorial decoration was supervised by Carlo Borromeo, Pius' cardinal nephew, the *Casino* and its decorations are not representative of Paul IV's artistic patronage, but rather of that of Pius IV and will therefore be analyzed in Chapter 6 of this book.[210]

Paul IV's redesign of the papal apartment was never fully realized, but his plans are nonetheless indicative of the Carafa pope's ideas regarding the visual representation of the papacy. Although primarily a private space, the papal apartments also had a representative function, since they included an audience hall, where official dignitaries and delegates were received.[211] From 1556 onward, Paul IV expanded the papal apartment by building two additional rooms. He also had a private chapel built into the third, already existing room, which he used as his bedroom.[212] Vasari was offered the commission for the fresco decoration of the private chapel[213] and Pietro Venal painted two angels for the altar based on drawings made by Pietro Ligorio.[214]

Paul IV planned even more alterations within the Vatican Palace, at one point even considering a new garden near the Belvedere and several new windows for the South wall of the *Sala di Constantino* to better ventilate the room. This would have entailed the destruction of several mural frescoes, including Raphael's *Battle of the Milvian Bridge* in the *Sala di Constantino*.[215] Thankfully, this was never realized. Paul IV did, however, destroy other frescoes by Raphael in the *Sala dei Palafrenieri*, as part of

the remodeling of the papal apartments.[216] Due to increasing financial troubles—Paul IV's ill-fated and costly war with Spain seriously depleted the papal treasury[217]—Paul IV's plans for the papal apartments were never fully realized. They are, however, indicative of a pope interested in religious devotion and practicality over the munificent patronage typically associated with the Renaissance popes.

Although not indifferent to art, Paul IV probably adhered to the Thomist teachings, according to which imagery should exclusively display religious subjects within a sacred context. This was certainly the view of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, Paul IV's uncle, who raised the future Carafa pope and probably influenced him in this sense.[218] The imagery commissioned by Paul IV for his rebuilding of *San Silvestro al Quirinale* corresponds to the Thomist focus on ecclesiastical and educational themes.[219] With one curious exception, however, as pope and founder of the Theatine order, Paul IV also envisioned a Carafa funeral monument within the church, inside a Chapel dedicated to the Carafa family. While this project was never realized, drawings of the monument commissioned by Paul IV's cardinal nephew Giovanni Carafa survived (see Figure 5.6 and 5.7): Guglielmo della Porta and Giovanni Antonio Dosio both worked on the design of the Carafa chapel.

Carolyn Valone convincingly argues that the Dosio painting (see Figure 5.6)[220] is most likely a drawing of the central chapel wall featuring a large relief of the *Lamentation* in the center and smaller reliefs on both sides, whereas the della Porta drawing (see Figure 5.7)[221] shows the right hand wall of the chapel with a funeral monument to Giovanni Carafa.[222] Both drawings show four-story triumphal-arc stucco monuments divided into different sections by columns. Both drawings also feature the Carafa papal styles as would have befitted a Carafa chapel. The smaller side reliefs of the central wall drawing appear to be showing scenes from the life of Christ, the reliefs of the funeral wall feature scenes of the life of St. Paul and St. Peter, who are also visualized in the two niche statues on either side of the wall. As the first Vicar of Christ, Peter references the papacy in general, but the two saints can also be seen as a personal reference to Paul IV's given name, Gian Pietro, and the name he took upon becoming pope. In addition, as patron saints of the city of Rome, Peter and Paul also symbolize *romanitas*, which in the sixteenth-century context of Tridentine Reform translates to the hegemony of Rome within the Church. Giovanni Carafa is shown sitting in the central niche, bearing the attributes of his new title, the Duke of Paliano: a scepter, a cap and a cloak. This honor was conferred upon him by Paul IV on 9 May 1556.[223]

Monumental tombs of cardinal *nepotes* are usually designed with the intention of emphasizing the kinship with the pope and to visualize the claim to power based on this association. During the Renaissance, cardinals emulated papal tombs in their own funeral chapels.[224] In a noticeable departure from

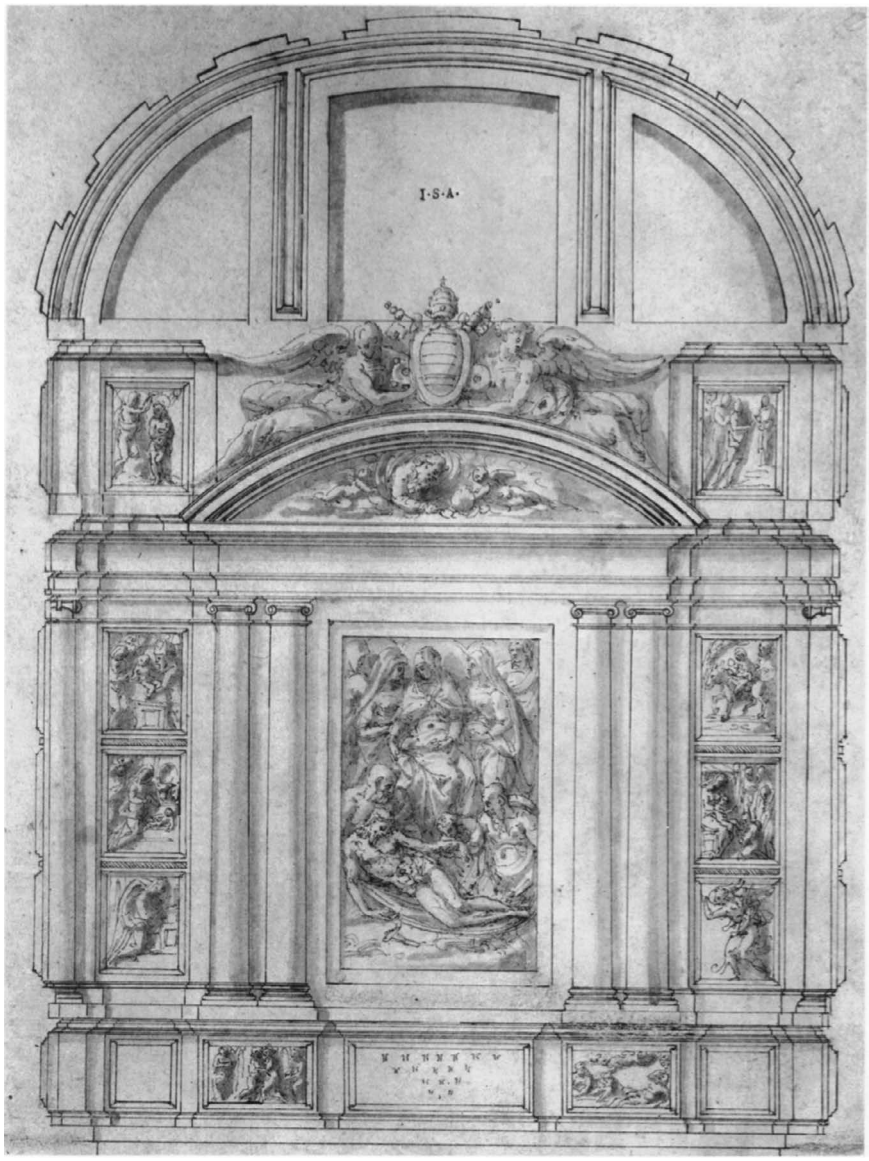

Figure 5.6 Giovanni Antonio Dosio. *Design for the Altar Wall of a Carafa Chapel*, Drawing, Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Museum, Cambridge Massachusetts, ca. 1556.

the iconography associated with medieval and papal Renaissance tombs,[225] the Carafa monument designed by della Porta features two Christian virtue cycles narrating the lives of St. Paul and St. Peter. During the fifteenth century, Renaissance papal tombs often featured virtue allegories in the form of

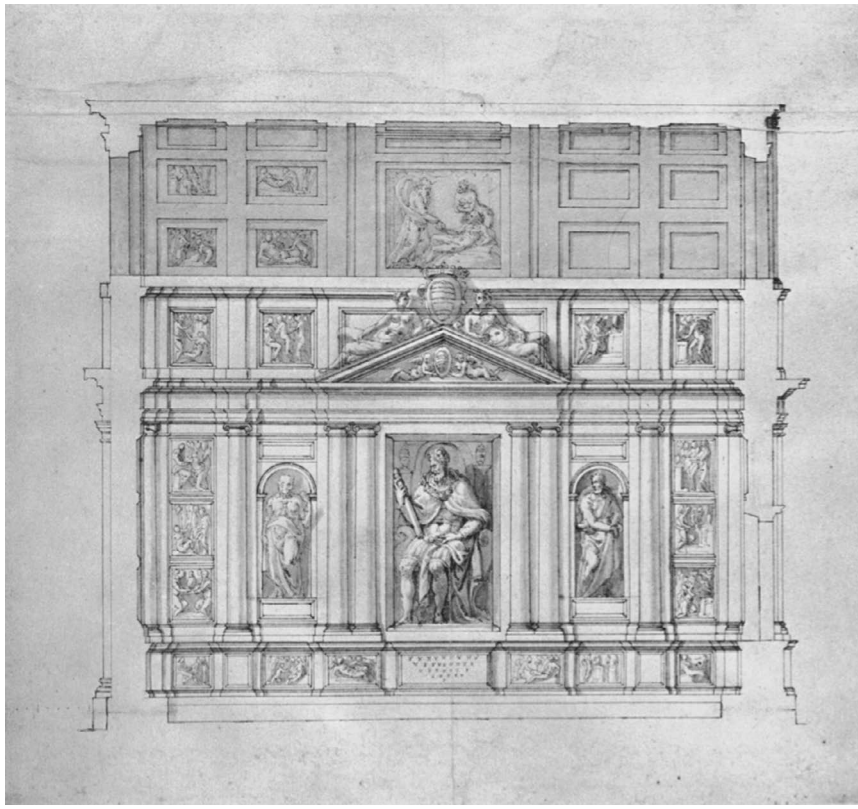

Figure 5.7 Giovanni Antonio Dosio following a scheme provided by Guglielmo della Porta. *Design for a Carafa Monument*, Drawing, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, ca. 1556.

female figures, bearing the stamp of humanism and modeled on the classical style, pictured with the emblems associated with the virtues they represented. The virtues displayed were usually a variation of Fides, Sapientia, Religio, Caritas, Justitia or Fortitudo.[226] And since Innocent VIII, it was customary to show popes as sitting rulers and not in the style of medieval kings, who were portrayed as the peacefully sleeping dead.[227]

Whereas the Carafa monument envisioned by Paul IV and his *nepote* Giovanni Carafa continues the tradition of the sitting ruler, it departs from the allegorical virtue statues and uses hagiographies instead, in the form of—what is likely to be, even though the individual scenes cannot be identified in detail, given the quality of the drawing—a visual representation of the lives of St. Paul and St. Peter. As such, in my opinion, the drawing of the Carafa monument is reminiscent of the Medici funeral monument in *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, built for Leo X (see Figure 5.8)[228] and Clement VII

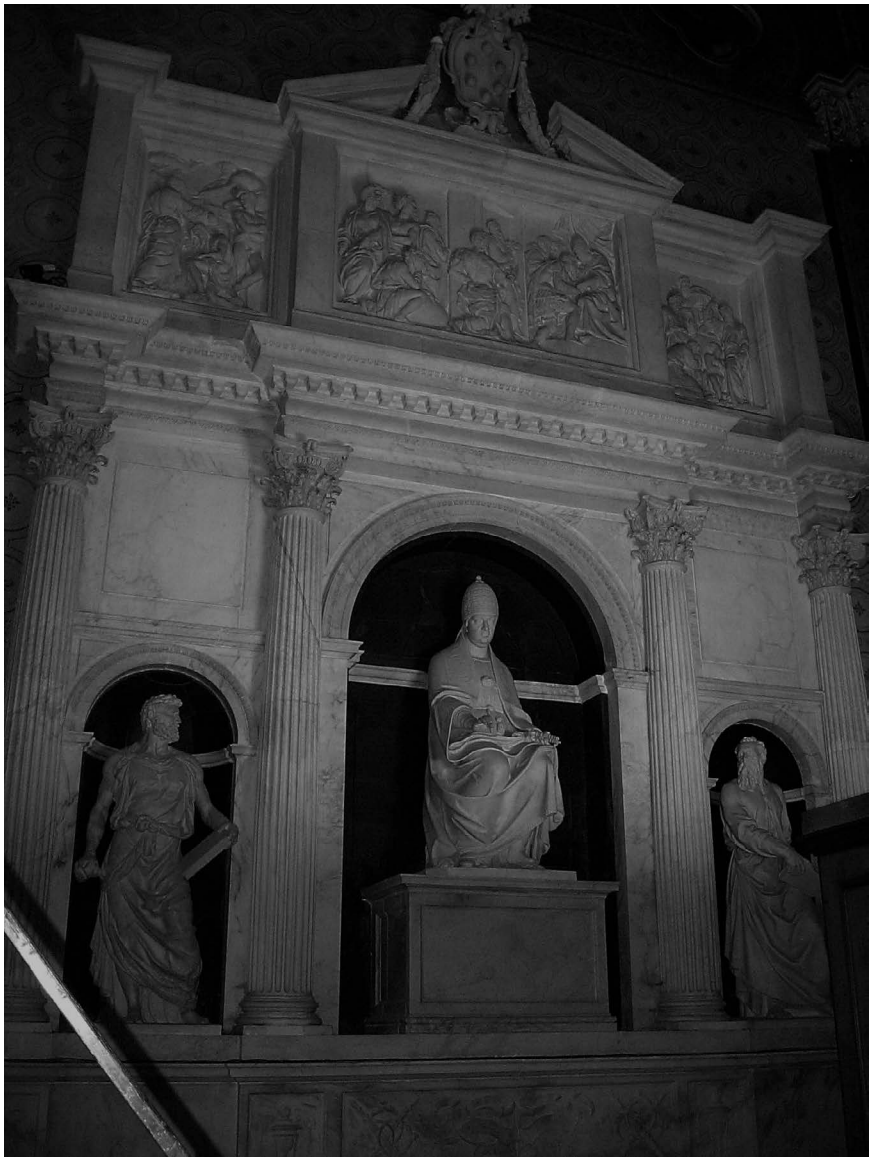

Figure 5.8 *Funeral wall monument of Leo X*, Monument, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, 1536.

(see Figure 5.9)[229] in 1536, under Paul III, and designed by Michelangelo: although the Medici tombs do not feature a hagiography cycle—instead they include *res gestae* reliefs showing the good deeds of the deceased—they, too, feature niche statues of saints. In a reference to the papal tradition and

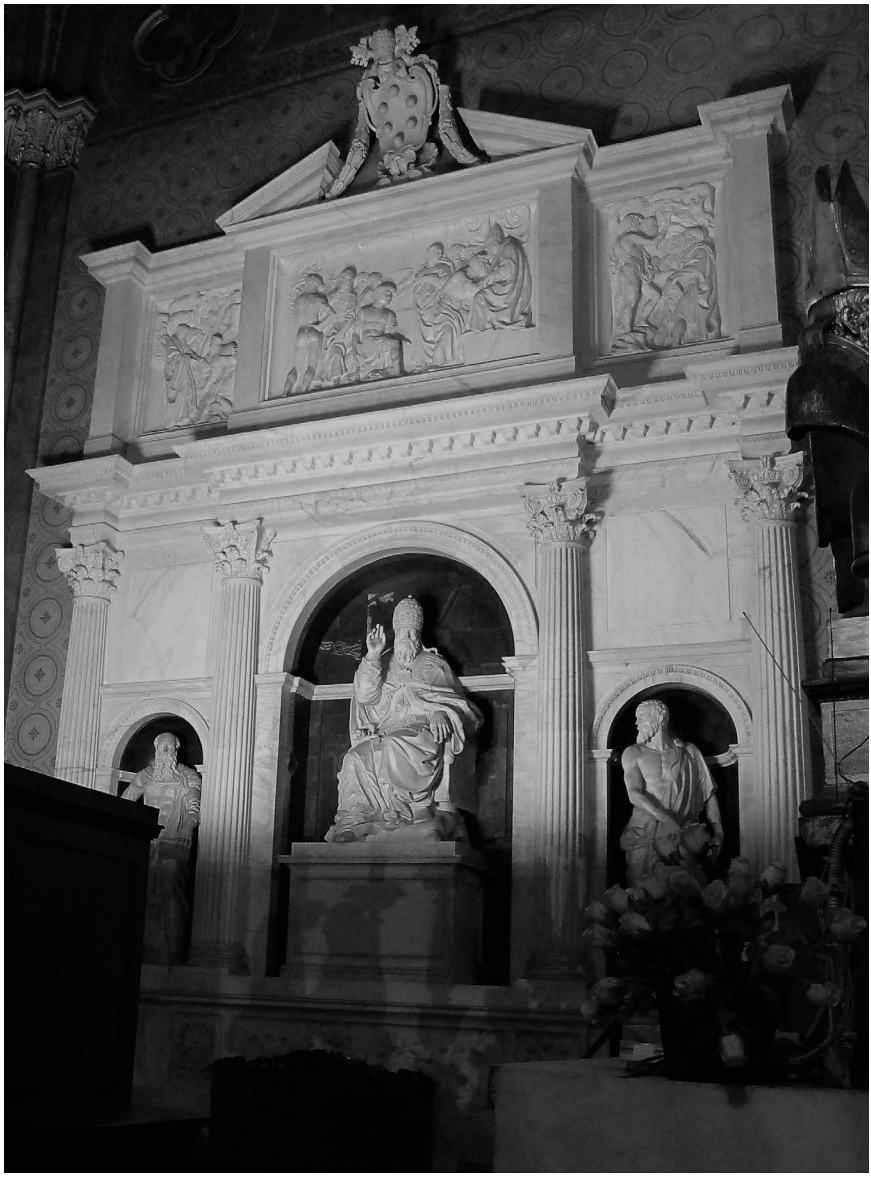

Figure 5.9 Funeral wall monument of Clement VII, Monument, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, 1536.

Church unity, the funeral wall monument of Clement VII is framed with statues of St. Paul and St. Peter, just like the monument envisioned by the later Carafa pope. And the tomb monument of Leo X features John the Evangelist and John the Baptist[230]—no doubt in reference to Leo X given

first name, Giovanni. The Carafa monument continues the symbolism of both graves, by combining the Saints Peter and Paul with the name reference to Gian Pietro Carafa. By association with Peter and John, also known as the pillars of the first-century Christian Church, the Medici popes are represented as heirs and defenders of the Early Church. This emphasis on Church tradition is one of the cornerstones of Reform iconography before Trent. And it also reflects the attitudes toward Reformation embraced by Leo X and Clement VII: both Medici popes were vehemently opposed to a direct debate with Protestants.[231]

Paul IV's and Giovanni Carafa's plans for the Carafa chapel in *San Silvestro al Quirinale*, then, were thus an attempt to associate the Carafa with Church Reform, and the Medici, in order to aggrandize the Carafa name and convey the claim to power of the papal family. The Medici were not only the role models for any family dynasty in Early Modern Rome, but Leo X and Clement VII were also similar to Paul IV in their politics regarding Protestantism and Reform: all three were opposed to a Council and in favor of a hard approach toward heresy. But there is a significant difference related to the advancement of reform between 1534, when the Medici tomb monument was completed, and 1556, when the Carafa monument was being planned: by using hagiographies to associate the Carafa *casa* with saint-like good deeds and virtuous behavior, the Carafa monument exclusively relies on sacral imagery. There are no profane *res gestae* scenes depicting events of the lives of the Carafa pope and his nephew, as is the case in the earlier Medici tombs. Equally, there are no allegorical figures—except for the two decorative statues flanking the Carafa coat of arms—as is the case with earlier Renaissance tombs. Given Paul's IV preference for sacred imagery apparent in all of his artistic patronage, the complete omission of profane imagery in this monument is a manifestation of Paul IV's Reform politics. Paul IV and his nephew present themselves as legitimate leaders of the Church who renounce the profane traditions criticized by Protestants and Catholics in favor of Church Reform. The Carafas achieve this by distancing themselves from everything pagan in Antiquity, maintaining only the architectural elements of the triumphal arch in an effort to emphasize the Church tradition dating back to early Christianity and ancient Rome.

Even though the iconography of the Carafa monument is plausible, the monument was never realized: in the fall of 1558, by the time Paul IV turned his attention to the rebuilding of *San Silvestro al Quirinale*,[232] Giovanni Carafa had fallen from grace after he murdered his own wife, Violante di Cardona, an aristocrat of Spanish descent. The funeral monument, therefore, was no longer appropriate, which is why it was never constructed. Paul IV was eventually laid to rest in another Carafa chapel, commissioned by Oliveiro Carafa at the end of the fifteenth century and dedicated to Saint Mary and Saint Thomas Aquinas—most fittingly in the same church where the funeral monument to Leo X and Clement VII is located (*Santa Maria sopra Minerva*).[233]

5.3 Pius IV (1559–1565)—Reform and Renaissance Traditions Side by Side

As one of his first official acts, Pius IV, immediate successor to Paul IV, had Giovanni and Carlo Carafa arrested, tried and executed. In this way, Pius IV hoped to rid himself of the former *nepotes* and contain the scandal they had caused.[234] Soon, new *nepotes* took the place of the old, amassing titles, privileges and significant sums of money. A Medici by name but with unrelated to the famous Florentine dynasty, the new pope Pius IV chose 21-year-old Carlo Borromeo as his cardinal nephew. Borromeo soon proved himself as a reformer. Over the next decades, Borromeo's name became synonymous with radical Church Reform and profound changes within the Church, which eventually led to his canonization in 1610.[235] A favorite of Paul III, Pius IV revived the juxtaposition of Reform and Renaissance practices of his benefactor. Paul III had managed to reconcile both sides of his contradictory politics within himself when he became pope: he preached Church Reform and practiced Renaissance-style nepotism at the same time. Pius IV, prone to a more lavish lifestyle and unsuited for the role of a hermit-like ascetic, used Carlo Borromeo as the face of Church Reform to give his papacy more reformatory credibility. Together, pope and nephew pursued moderate politics, mixing reform and Renaissance-traditions.[236]

Pius IV's choice to entrust his nephew with reforming the Church can also be interpreted as an attempt to break away from the unpopular politics of his predecessor Paul IV, whose radical reform and lawless nephews had caused a riot: by reversing the existing distribution of roles, Pius IV countered previous lines of criticism. Instead of a Church Reform hardliner, the new pope was a *bon vivant* and his nephew Carlo Borromeo could not have been more unlike the pretentious Carafa brothers.

5.3.1 Splendid Palace Halls and a Papal Crackdown on Nudes: Artistic Patronage under Pius IV

In contrast to Paul IV, Pius IV was a prolific builder and patron of the arts. An *Avviso di Roma* dating back to as soon as January 1560 already mentions his munificence toward the "literati et poveri"[237] and this generosity also extended to the visual arts, architecture and paintings. In the Vatican and Rome, Pius IV decorated and completed the Belvedere court,[238] the *Loggia della Cosmografia*, the *Sala Regia*, the *Sala Ducale* and the *Sala dei Papi*. Like his predecessors, Pius also continued to modernize city infrastructure by realigning the ancient *Via Nomentana* and opening the *Via Pia* from the Quirinale Palace to the church of *Santa Agnese*. He also commissioned two city gates and repaired the Aurelian Walls, reorganized the *città Leonina* and further fortified *Castel Sant'Angelo*. Pius commissioned Michelangelo with the construction of a new church from the ruins of the Tepidarium of the ancient baths of Diocletian, and he restored several Roman churches,

including the Pantheon and *San Giovanni in Laterano*.[239] Overall, Pius' artistic patronage was so wide-ranging that on 17 June 1564, Galeazzo Cusano—the Roman envoy of Maximilian II—described it as follows: "If the pope lives a few years longer, he will entirely renew the face of the city of Rome."[240]

Pius IV also renovated the Sistine Chapel. During the sixteenth century, artistic display of the profane, and nudity in particular, increasingly became a problem within the religious context. As Alessandro Nova conclusively showed, before Trent, throughout the fifteenth century, the display of nudity and erotically charged scenes was a common artistic practice in Rome. Several engravings indicate that erotic images circulated among a sizable audience.[241] Clement VII is rumored to have enjoyed erotic paintings. The loggia of Agostino Chigi, banker to the popes and great uncle of future pope Alexander VII, is an example of the liberal norms regarding visual representation of different sexual orientations and nudity.[242]

This practice continued well into the sixteenth century, until the 1563 image decree issued by the Council of Trent gave the green light for a Vatican crackdown on nudes, commonly known as the "Fig Leaf Campaign." Although some artworks displaying nudity, such as Michelangelo's *The Last Supper*, had incited criticism before, this criticism had so far largely remained without consequences. The decree changed this: its explicit condemnation of "all lasciviousness"[243] was interpreted by Reformers as a license to enforce strict censorship. So the nude figures decorating the Sistine Chapel wall were covered up by Daniele da Volterra, acting upon the personal request of Pope Pius IV.[244]

Although Pius IV enforced the Tridentine "war on nudity," the pope also continued to commission artworks featuring mythological and classically inspired decorations rejected by Tridentine Reform. Pius IV tried to reconcile this contradiction by combining mythological imagery with Christian iconography in an attempt to realign pagan-inspired art with Reform, as his *Casino* indicates.

5.3.2 The Casino Di Pio IV: An Ode to Antiquity and a Victory of Reform over Paganism

The *Casino* of Pius IV was the masterpiece of a series of artistic and architectural exploits realized throughout his Pontificate. Like Julius III, Pius IV enjoyed grandiose festivities. And like Julius III, Pius IV also commissioned a papal villa, the *Casino di Pio IV* (see Figure 5.10) situated in the Vatican gardens, only 350 feet West of the Belvedere Court. Initially designed as a private retreat and a "giardino pensile,"[245] a hanging garden by the name of *Casina del Boschetto*,[246] by Paul IV, the building was abandoned in early 1559—a few months into the construction—as money became an issue and the political scandal around the Carafa erupted. In December 1559, Pius IV picked up on Paul IV's building plans. Whereas little is known about

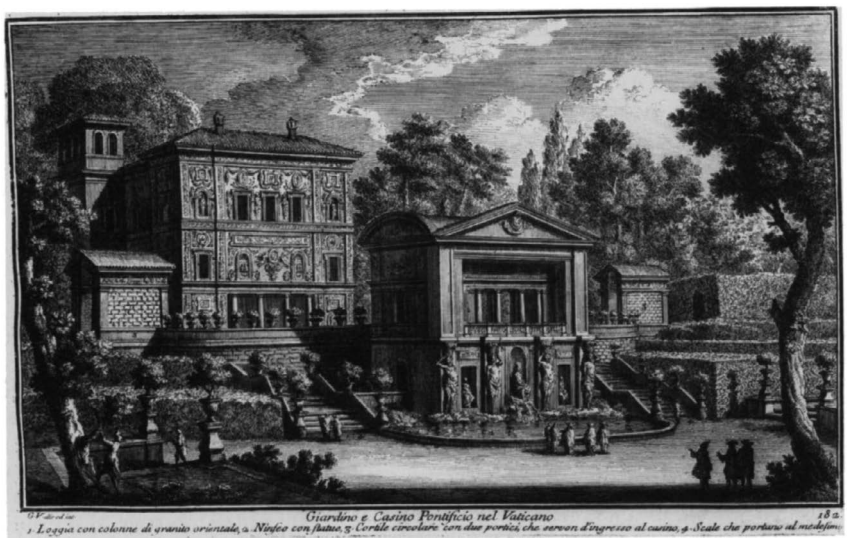

Figure 5.10 Giuseppe Vasi, *Vatican Gardens and Casino of Pius IV*, Printed in: *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* (Rome, n.d.), Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome.

Paul's IV original plans for the building, additions made by Pius IV are well-documented in the account books of the *Fabriche Palatine, Giornale 1560-1568*. These additions indirectly tell the tale of what Paul IV's original building project lacked: a stair-tower on the Northwest side and a second story.[247] Pius IV also commissioned extensive interior and exterior decor consisting of mural frescoes, statues and ornaments inspired by antiquity and mythology—none of which were included in the original plans provisioned by Paul IV.[248] By adding these elements, Pius IV made the design his own, as reflected in the name of the building (*Casino di Pio IV*) attributed later. The exterior of the Casino and its surrounding gardens have been recorded in contemporary drawings and prints.[249] The *Casino* interior has been thoroughly described by Vasari[250] and has most recently been studied by Smith,[251] Cellauro[252] and Losito.[253]

While it has been suggested that the building belongs to the architectural type of the *villa suburbana*, the design and original plans by artist-turned-classicist Pirro Ligorio suggest otherwise. In contemporary documents, the *Casino* is described as a fountain: the *avviso* of 30 April 1558, which first mentions the project, relates that pope Paul IV "ha fatto p[ri]ncipiar nel bosco una frabbrica ch[e] sara una fonte con una loggia à canto et alc[u]ne c[ame]re dove si ferma 2 o 3 hore alla volta solecitando li m[urato]ri et manuali come uno privato che frabrichi."[254] Similarly, the Florentine ambassador to the papal court remarks only a week later that the pope spends "i due terzi del tempo in Belvedere dove ha principato

nel bosco una fontana."[255] Commemorative inscriptions on the building's exterior carry the words *FONTIBVS* and *LYMPHAEUM*.[256] And the main architect Ligorio referred to the project as *Lymphaeo*,[257] but also as an classically inspired example of "gli huomini curiosi che amano de vedere le cose passate."[258] The term "villa" is first used in G. Vasi's 1760 *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* in connection with this building.[259] As Cellauro has compellingly argued, the *Casino* "can be understood as an antiquarian reconstruction of a classical *musaeum* (the *musaeum* being a *lymphaeum* [or *nymphaeum*] placed under the patronage of the Muses)."[260]

Cellauro further suggests that as *musaeum* the building might have been used as "a study, or place of retirement, or […] for literary and philosophical meetings"[261]—all traditions revived in sixteenth-century Rome. As Cellauro suggests, the building could have been used as a meeting place by Carlo Borromeo's *Academia Noctes* Vaticanae,[262] founded in 1560, a few years before construction was completed. As Losito has shown, Borromeo's Academy did indeed move into the *Casino* in September 1653, 3 months before the last session of the Council of Trent.[263] The interpretation of the *Casino* as *lymphaeum*, as argued by Cellauro and Losito, is supported by the original layout and architecture, the iconographical program of the exterior stucco decoration as analyzed by Smith based on of Ligorio's writings[264] and the overall connection to water.

Cellauro sees the biblical iconography of the interior centering on baptism—the salvation and admission to the Church by the sacrament of water—as yet another manifestation of the original function of the building. The classically inspired exterior of the *nymphaeum* or *fountain house* centered around water iconography. But by subordinating the interior to the exterior, Cellauro neglects the iconographical function of the Bible motifs highlighted by Smith[265]: they are a Christian reinterpretation of the mythological iconography of the building. And the Bible scenes are also a tour de force—as the visitor enters the building from the outside, mythological themes are gradually replaced by Christian iconography. Upon closer analysis, the seemingly coincidental juxtaposition of mythological iconography (fruit-garlands and fable animals emulating antiquity) and Christian imagery (the paintings focusing on the Tridentine doctrine of baptism) follows a clear structure from the inside out: all life and creation, symbolized by numerous depictions of plants and animals and the surrounding Vatican gardens, comes from water and the Christian doctrine of baptism. The latter stands under the protection and authority of the papacy—this is visualized in the papal coat of arms placed above the painting. Through this amalgam of Christian water rituals on the inside and ancient water deities on the outside, past and present are connected spatially. The biblical scenes thus legitimize the use of mythological iconography because it takes place in a Christian context. This way, it is suggested, the mythological scenes are in line with Church Reform.

In its entirety, there is another layer of interpretation that has been overlooked so far: located within the Vatican, the building mirrors the relationship between the Church and the city of Rome, the Christian present versus the pagan past. The city of Rome, once the power-center of the classical period and Roman mythological gods, is now reigned by the popes, with the Vatican having become a new power-center within the old. Similarly, the *Casino di Pio IV* begins as mythological-inspired building only to reveal its reinterpreted Christian iconography upon entry. The visitors are like time-travelers, wandering through ancient Rome toward Christianity and salvation, which can only be achieved through baptism, as the biblical iconography suggests. Water, the symbol of baptism, rebirth, purity and the passage of time, ties the exterior and the interior together. Instead of being a mere ode to the classical period and an imitation of a classical *nymphaeum*, the building is also a demonstration of power of one religion over another—of the Vatican's victory over pagan Rome—and, by extension and within the sixteenth-century context—of Church Reform over Protestant "heresy." By replacing mythological pagan water figures with Christian water rituals, the building renders history visible and as such it references the Tridentine doctrine of baptism—as Reinhardt suggests[266]—and it anticipates the educational message encouraged by the image decree issued by the Council of Trent, only months after construction was completed.[267]

In fact, between May 1561 and 1563, Carlo Borromeo was put in charge of the iconographical program of the Casino. With the building almost complete, Borromeo concentrated his vision on the interior decoration of the Casino.[268] In my opinion, this explains why, unlike the earlier commissioned exterior and loggias, the interior of the building introduces reformatory pictorial decoration. The changing functions of the building—from papal retreat to meeting place for the new Academy—correlate with the new alignment of the interior decoration, i.e., with the attempt to reinterpret the iconography of the entire building in line with the Reform: the Academy, looking for a space conducive to theological debates, simply had different decorative requirements than a building dedicated to the relaxation and the entertainment of a Renaissance-loving pope.

This extended interpretation of the building as a mirror of Church Reform within the context of the ancient roots of the city of Rome is supported by the additional metaphor of the enclosed garden, the *hortus conclusus*. Throughout the Renaissance, the *hortus conclusus* served as symbol for the Virgin Mary and paradise—a popular metaphor that would not have been lost on Pius IV's contemporaries.[269] The *Casino* of Pius IV can be interpreted as a fountain of life, typically set at the center of a *hortus conclusus*. Separating the Vatican and its Gardens from the city of Rome, the Leonine Walls complete the metaphor of the *hortus conclusus*.

In accordance with this, Creation and the life Mary are both recurrent themes used for the interior decoration of the Casino[270]: the Vestibule

narrates the biblical creation story as related in the Genesis. It features scenes showing *The Creator*, *the Creation of Sky and Earth*, *the Creation of Adam and Eve*, *Original Sin* and the following *Expulsion from Paradise*. The iconography then turns to Exodus with a fresco showing *Moses Striking the Rock* and *the Gathering of Manna*—a diptych on baptism and communion, two sacraments central to Tridentine doctrine.[271]

The *musaeum* continues the biblical theme with additional scenes from the life of Moses (*the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt*, *the Crossing of the Red Sea* and *Israel's Salvation from the Egyptian Army*). As a biblical precursor of Peter, Moses functions as *Vicarius Christi* and a pictorial symbol for Pius IV. Therefore, the depictions featuring Moses as visual metaphors for a pope (Pius IV) serving as instrument of God, leading the faithful toward salvation.[272]

In the *Hall of the Sacred Conversation* (see Figure 5.11), the decoration then turns to Mary with the fresco in the central panel of the barrel vault,[273] which features *the Sacred Conversation* that, according to Scripture, took place between the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus, the Infant St. John, St. Elizabeth and St. Zachariah.[274] The rest of the vault is richly decorated with stucco elements (see Figure 5.12),[275] grotesques and frescoes representing *The Samaritan*

Figure 5.11 *Vaulted Ceiling of the Hall of the Sacred Conversation in the Casino di Pio IV in the Vatican*, ca. 1561–1563, Photograph Printed with the Permission of the Fondazione Federico Zeri.

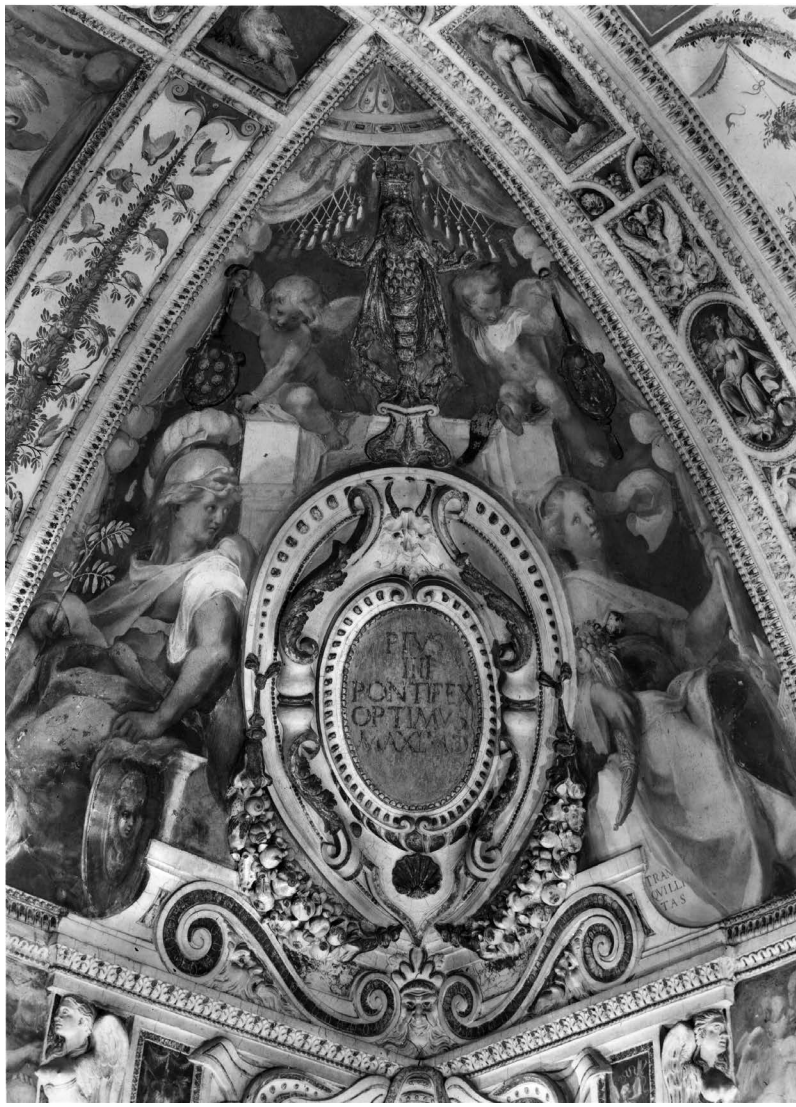

Figure 5.12 Federico Barocci, *Stucco detail of the Hall of the Sacred Conversation of the Casino di Pio IV in the Vatican*, ca. 1561–1563, Photograph Printed with the Permission of the Fondazione Federico Zeri.

Woman at the Well, *Jesus and the Adulteress*, *Jesus and Peter Walking on Water* and *The Baptism of Christ*.[276] These scenes again echo the central themes surrounding the Reform doctrine of baptism, water and the purification of sin. The decoration of this room was executed by Federico Barocci between October 1561 and June 1563, under Carlo Borromeo's supervision.

The lower level of the building continues with the Hall of the Annunciation featuring eight scenes from the life of Joseph. Among them are *Joseph and Potifar's Wife*, *Joseph Reunited with his Brothers* and *Joseph Describing his Dreams to his Brothers*. It is important to note that the depicted Joseph is not Mary's husband, but an Old Testament figure: Joseph is the favorite son of Jacob, widely regarded as a prefiguration of Christ. The Joseph scenes frame the centerpiece of the vault, dedicated, once again, to Mary: the fresco shows Mary startled by the sudden arrival of the Archangel Gabriel—a mainstay of the Annunciation scene.

The upper level of the *Casino* turns to the life of Christ with the Hall of the Gethsemane, completed again by Federico Zuccari in late 1563.[277] The vault features five important episodes of the life of Christ: *Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane*, *The Last Supper*, *The Temptation in the Desert*, *The Transfiguration and Christ on the Way to Calvary*. This theme continues in the Zuccari Hall, with Federico Zuccari's famous fresco of *The Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine* situated in the center of the ceiling,[278] surrounded by a frieze portraying several important episodes from the Bible and the life of Christ, all again referring to the central iconographical themes of life, water and purification: *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness*, *Jonah and the Whale*, *Penitence of St. Jerome*, *Christ and Peter Walking on Water*, *the Miraculous Draught of Fish*, *Jesus Calming the Storm*, *The Great Flood*, *David Restraining Abishai from Killing Saul*, *the Crossing of the Red Sea* and *Judith and Holofernes*,[279] the latter a reference to the purification of religion by killing enemies of the Church and, by extension, also a reference to the context of sixteenth-century Reformation.

Undisturbed by the biblical scenes, mythological and ancient references accompany the Christian imagery of the *Casino* interior, in apparent pandemonium. Although mythology- inspired animals, fruits and plants present throughout the *Casino* are primarily decorative references to the overall creation and water theme, some mythological elements carry additional meaning. The principal room of the Casino, for instance, features coves, decorated with ornamental stucco shields inscribed PIVS IIII PONTIFEX OPTIMVS MAXIMVS. The shields are set on top of painted thrones decorated with Diana of Ephesus, the Roman goddess of nature and fecundity, and they are attended by allegorical virtues and putti.[280] Here, the mythological reference to the goddess Diana serves to associate Pius IV with fecundity in the sense of plenty, abundance. Combined with the virtues that can be identified via their attributes and inscription as Letitia, Felicitas, Virtus, Tranquillitas, Concordia, Liberalitas, Immortalitas and Aequitas,[281] a simple pictorial message emerges, according to which pope Pius IV possesses an abundance of virtues. As Smith shows, this message can be expanded further still, when interpreting the empty thrones as references to the second coming of Christ himself or as a reference to the throne of Solomon.[282] According to this interpretation, Pius IV appears as the heir to both Solomon and Christ, a worldly and a heavenly king. As a whole, the *Casino* of Pius IV is a metaphor on human existence itself as narrated in the Bible: it begins in an Eden-like garden and is interrupted by a fall

from grace visualized both in the biblical scene showing Original Sin and in the mythological imagery of the building's exterior featuring pagan idols. The central message repeated throughout the building is that mankind can only achieve salvation by turning toward papal leadership and the central doctrine of Christian religion: by the way of baptism.

Therefore, although the exterior iconography of the *Casino* appears at first glance to be a decoration inspired by mythology and the classical period, its interior is clearly focused on Tridentine Reform. In this sense, the building mirrors the juxtaposition of the two pillars of the papacy of Pius IV—the Renaissance-Tradition-loving pope and his Reform-oriented cardinal nephew.

5.3.3 The Sala Regia under Pius IV: A Subtle Shift from Demanding Submission to Explaining Why

The *Sala Regia* is a state hall in the Apostolic Palace (see Figure 5.13), described by Vasari as "la più bella e ricca sala che infino allora fusse nel mondo."[283] The hall covers an area of 3,375 × 1,138 meters and is 18 meters high at its center. While the construction of the hall probably dates back to Nicolas III (1277–1280), it has been decorated and given its current appearance by the Reform popes Paul III, Pius IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII.

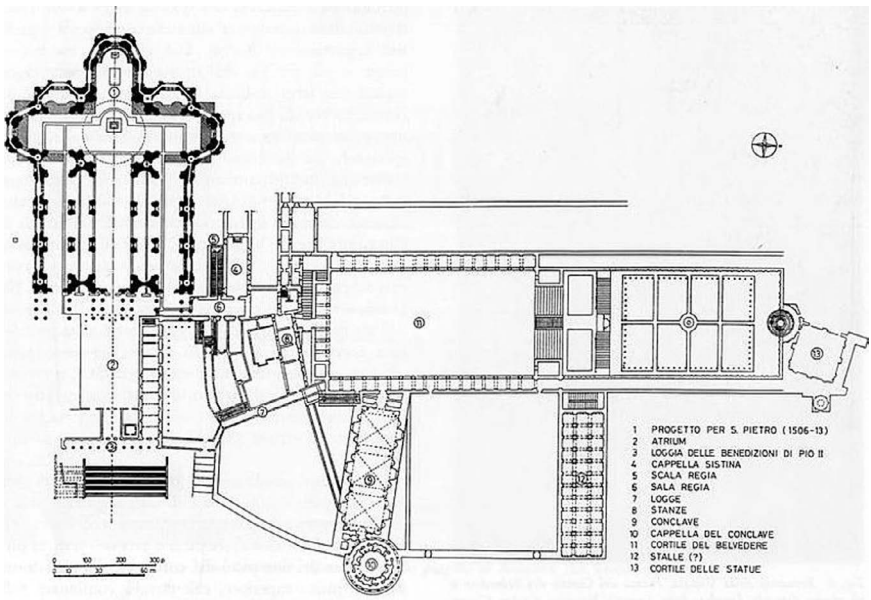

Figure 5.13 Site Plan of the Sala Regia within the Vatican Palace. Frommel, Christoph Luitpold. "I tre progetti bramanteschi per il Cortile del Belvedere." In: *Il Cortile delle Statue: der Statuenhof des Belvederes im Vatikan, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Roma, 1992)*, Ed. by Winner, Matthias. Mainz, 1998, pp. 17–66.

From the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries onward, the *Sala Regia* served a ceremonial and representative function, i.e., as the main reception hall for dignitaries visiting the papal court.[284] The hall is situated in the Southern part of the palace and connects the Pauline Chapel to the south with the Sistine Chapel to the west and the *Sala Ducale* to the east.[285] As well as being a separate hall with its own iconographical program, the *Sala Regia* also serves as antechamber to the two adjoining chapels.[286] The stucco decoration and the mural frescoes of the interior—two cycles on the lateral sides made up of six alternating large wall paintings and six smaller supraporta-frescoes, completed with three paintings on the longitudinal sides—were conceptualized by Paul III, realized and added to under Pius IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII. Overall, the interior decoration was realized over a time period of more than 35 years. This hall was inaugurated on 21 May 1573.[287]

The iconographical program of the *Sala Regia* features mural paintings displaying scenes from ecclesiastical history from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century (see Figure 5.14).[288] While, at first glance, the imagery appears to be a homogeneous unit centering around the idea of papal supremacy (*plenitudo potestatis*), the decoration reflects four different completion phases, carried out by different popes, each with their own personalities and ideas about the role of the papacy within sixteenth-century politics.[289]

Completed several years after the Council of Trent, as the main ceremonial hall of the papacy, the *Sala Regia* was the perfect platform to communicate a reformed media strategy: the images on display in the *Sala Regia* demonstrated the ambitions and political objectives of the papacy to all princes and royal ambassadors welcomed here.[290] Since the imagery centers around momentous turning points in the history of the Church, it is highly probable that the Council of Trent had a direct impact on the iconographical program of the *Sala Regia*.

1 Vasari, Giorgio. *King Charles IX Approving the Massacre of the Huguenots*, ca. 1573.
2 Zopelli, Maria Giovanni. *Charles of Anjou's Oath of Loyalty* (?), ca. 1565.
3 Agresti, Livio. *King Peter of Aragon Offering his Kingdom to Pope Innocent III*, 1564.
4 Porta, Giuseppe. *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*, 1563.
5 Zuccaro, Taddeo. *Charlemagne donating his Territory*, ca. 1563.
6 Vasari, Giorgio. *The Return of Gregory XI from Avignon*, 1572–1573.
7 Sammachini, Orazio. *Otto I Restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II*, ca. 1563.
8 Zuccaro, Taddeo and Zuccaro, Federico. *Charles V Capturing Tunis* (left), *Pope Gregory VII Absolving Emperor Henry IV* (right), Allegories of *Europe* and *Africa* (center), ca. 1565.
9 Fiorini, Giovanni Batista. *Pope Gregory II Receiving King Luitprand's Confirmation of the Donation by King Ariperth*, 1565.

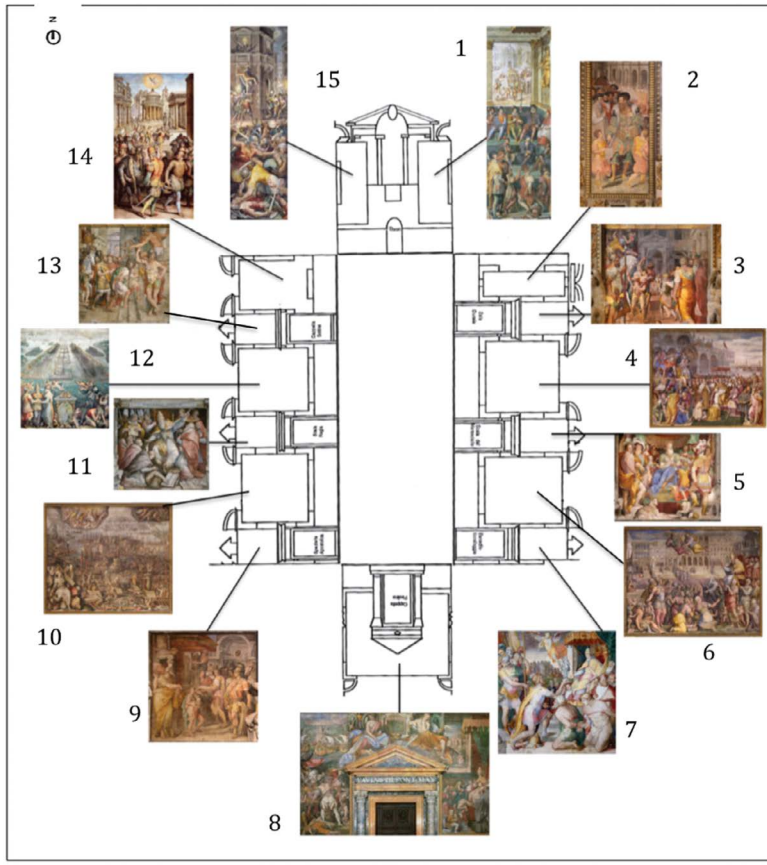

Figure 5.14 Overview of the Fresco Arrangement in the Sala Regia.

10 Vasari, Giorgio. *The Battle of Lepanto*, 1572–1573.
11 Vasari, Giorgio. *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*, ca 1573.
12 Vasari, Giorgio. *The Preparations for the Battle of Lepanto*, 1573.
13 Siciolante da Sermoneta, Girolamo. *Donation of Pepin*, 1565.
14 Vasari, Giorgio. *The Wounding of Admiral Caspar de Coligny*, 1573.
15 Vasari, Giorgio. *The Massacre of the Huguenots*, ca 1573.

The iconographical program of the hall (see Figure 5.14) was thoroughly described and analyzed for all relevant Church Reform pontificates by Angela Böck.[291] While the following analysis follows the argument of a conglomerate of four different decorative phases first made by Böck, it mainly focuses on the impact of the Council of Trent on the iconographical program

of the *Sala Regia*. This impact becomes apparent when looking at the realized images as well as the design changes made by the different popes.

As Böck showed, all images featured in the *Sala Regia* share the central theme of the room: the recurring *plenitudo potestatis* motif, the supremacy of papal power over temporal power. Nonetheless, there is no proof of a consistent iconographical program encompassing all participating Pontificates: little is known about Paul III's initial iconographical vision for the space. Vasari describes Paul III commissioning a series of supraporte-frescoes showing kings who had defended the Church in the past from Daniele da Volterra.[292] Pius IV commissioned several historical paintings—some larger mural frescoes and other supraporte-frescoes—not all of which were realized. When Pius IV died in 1565, he left no design concept behind for the remaining walls. Pius V continued the decorative work proposing a three-part cycle on the battle of Lepanto for the Western wall of the *Sala*, of which only two paintings were realized. Gregory XIII completed the *Sala Regia* with three paintings on the Bartholomew massacre in France and a Gregory-scene.

There is, however, an anonymous document preserved by the Vatican Archives containing a proposition for the pictorial program of the North wall of the *Sala Regia*, where the throne was originally located.[293] The text was probably written by a member of the Roman court not at the request of the pope, but as a suggestion. The document is undated and preserved only partially—beginning and ending are missing.[294]

As the preserved text makes no reference to any existing frescoes, Böck dates its period of origin to sometime between 1540, when work on the frescoes first began in the *Sala Regia*, and 1549, the year of Paul III's death.[295] But a later date of origin, during the pontificate of Pius IV, seems more probable. Böck considers this unlikely, citing differences between the typology of exemplary kings from the Old Testament, the classical period and the Early Middle Ages as envisioned in the anonymous document, and the presentation of the medieval kings realized under Pius IV. Böck argues that a fundamental break of this kind between the imagery of the lateral walls and throne wall seems improbable. But this rationale does not take into account that the submission of kings to the Church—the main pictorial theme suggested in the above-cited anonymous document—does not comply with Paul III's iconographical program for the *Sala Regia* centering on the exemplary behavior of kings defending the Church (*re difensori*)[296] either.

Instead, a connection between the document and frescoes commissioned by Pius IV seems more likely since several frescoes pick up on the submission-theme suggested in the anonymous proposition.[297] Two frescoes designed by Giuseppe Porta, a pupil of Francesco Salviati, are of particular interest: *I sette Re*, later replaced with Vasari's *The Return of Gregory XI from Avignon*[298] and *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*.[299]

Although Porta's *I sette Re* does not survive, it is probable that he began[300] and likely even fully executed the painting: the Basel Art Museum

Figure 5.15 Giuseppe della Porta, ca 1565, *Draft*, Recto, Kunstmuseum Basel. Left: *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*. Right: *King Peter of Aragon offering his kingdom to Pope Innocent III* (top), *Submission of Astolf to Pepin* (middle) and Stucco Detail of the Throne Wall (Bottom).

Public Art Collection preserves a sketch attributed to Porta (see Figure 5.15 and 5.16).[301] The pen drawing shows the *Sala Regia* before the Pontificate of Gregory XIII. It includes all mural paintings executed up to 1566 and preserved in the *Sala Regia* to this day, except for *Otto I restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II*. The draft includes the drawing of an additional painting that most likely shows Porta's vanished *I sette Re*. While it cannot be fully excluded that the drawing might instead be a strongly altered version of *Otto I restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II*, this seems improbable because there are no sources indicating such extensive changes being carried out on Sammachini's painting.

Combined with the payment Porta received (see note 300), it can be assumed that the painting was finished and later destroyed.[302] Originally located on the left hand side of the entrance connecting the *Sala Regia* with the stairs leading toward the *Cortile del Maresciallo*, the fresco showing the seven ancient mythological Roman kings would have been located right next to *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*. Instead of reconciliation scenes, both paintings would have displayed scenes of submission, with kings kneeling in front of a pope.[303] A painting dedicated to the seven Roman kings of the classical period later replaced as Roman sovereigns by the popes, effectively submitting their power to the Church, would have made sense as yet another display of submission, as well as from a chronological point of view: the subject taken

Figure 5.16 Giuseppe della Porta, ca 1565, *Draft*, Verso, Kunstmuseum Basel. Left: *Charlemagne donating his Territory*. Right: Most Likely a Draft of Porta's Vanished Fresco *I sette Re* (top) and *Pope Gregory II Receiving King Luitprand's Confirmation of the Donation by King Ariperth* (Bottom).

from Roman Antiquity would have fit in with the submission-scenes suggested in the anonymous proposal for the throne wall (a painting showing the Old Testament scene of Melchizedek blessing Abraham and another featuring Alexander the Great kneeling before the high-priest in front of Jerusalem).[304]

Since, as Böck mentions, the subject referencing Alexander the Great was realized several times during Paul III's pontificate, it cannot be excluded that the anonymous document was written as early as 1540.[305] But there is another aspect that supports a connection between Pius IV's pictorial program and the anonymous iconographical suggestion: the document also mentions Charlemagne's reception in Rome, a reference to imperial submission to the supremacy of the papacy—a subject realized under Pius IV, although not as a submission scene but as a donation.[306] It is possible that Pius IV originally planned a decoration focused on scenes of submission featuring kneeling kings, that was later replaced in favor of the slightly more subtle demonstration of papal supremacy in a cycle picturing kings restoring Church possessions. This change of heart must have occurred between 1563 and 1572, after *The Reconciliation between pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa* and the smaller supraporta-fresco *Otto I restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II*[307]—the only paintings of the *Sala Regia* featuring kings kneeling in front of a pope[308]—were fully realized and before Vasari began his work on *The Return of Gregory XI from Avignon* to replace the fresco of the seven kings.

The change in the iconographic program of Pius IV can be narrowed down even further, by considering the payments made to the artists working in the *Sala Regia* are taken into account: on 6 February 1563, Giuseppe Porta was paid "a buon conto del suo lavoro alla Sala Regia."[309] Sammachini received the first payment for his *Otto I restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II* on 29 September 1563,[310] it can therefore be assumed, that by December 1563, when the Council of Trent issued its image decree, both pictures showing kneeling kings were close to completion.[311] The next payment issued by Pius IV to a painter working in the *Sala Regia* is made to Livio Agresti on 27 February 1564 for his work on *King Peter of Aragon offering his kingdom to Pope Innocent III*[312]—the first fresco realized under Pius IV in the *Sala Regia* not featuring a kneeling king. It therefore seems highly probable that the change in the iconographical program of the *Sala Regia* occurred between September 1563 and February 1564, which puts the pictorial realignment right around the time of the image decree issued in Trent, on 4 December 1563. Based on the thematic similarities between *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*, the smaller fresco *Otto I restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II* and the anonymous iconographical proposal, the thematic shift occurred sometime around the last session of the Council of Trent; and based on the payments made to the artists, an extended time period for the written document of sometime between 1540 and 1563 seems more reasonable, instead of the more limited timeframe of 1540 to 1549 given by Böck.

In this sense, Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro's *Charles V Capturing Tunis*[313] and *Pope Gregory VII Absolving Emperor Henry IV*,[314] both painted ca. 1565, function as visual summary of the *re difensori* and submission-of-kings motif dominant during the first stage of decoration of the *Sala Regia*. At the same time, they can be seen as transitional paintings: the absolution scene shows Henry IV as a clearly submissive, but standing king, bridging the submission and the reconciliation theme. The conquest of Tunis shows the *re difensori* motif in combination with a battle scene—a motif picked up anew under Pius V and Gregory XIII with the frescoes on the battle of Lepanto and the Huguenot Massacre.

There is more evidence that supports this theory and indicates that the change of direction of the pictorial program on display in the *Sala Regia* was a direct consequence of the Tridentine image decree and the political circumstances of the time: the images themselves are not accurate depictions of the historical events referenced but renderings of these events influenced by contemporary politics and papal propaganda. For instance, several historical scenes showing medieval events feature anachronisms, such as Pius IV's coat of arms,[315] portraits of the pope himself and other well-known sixteenth-century contemporaries,[316] or the new and (in the sixteenth century) still unfinished St. Peter's basilica.[317] There are more historical inaccuracies, for example, the setting depicted in several frescoes differs from historical reality. As Böck points out, the "relocation" of historical scenes

has to do with Pius IV's attempt to depict all relevant Christian nations of the sixteenth century within the *Sala Regia* to demonstratively stage papal supremacy over all.[318] Strikingly, England is the only important political player of the sixteenth century not represented in the *Sala Regia*. Böck proposes that a scene dedicated to the reconciliation between John Lackland and Innocent III might have been originally envisioned by either Paul III or Pius IV.[319] But this seems highly unlikely based on sixteenth-century developments overlooked by Böck: in 1534, shortly before the decoration of the *Sala Regia* began, Henry VIII issued the Act of Supremacy, which made him the head of the Church of England. This was a direct dismissal of papal authority, for which he was punished with excommunication by Paul III in 1538. Depicting a nation ruled over by an excommunicated king alongside Christian nations in the *Sala Regia* would not have made any sense for Paul III. And by the time Pius IV was pope and the Council of Trent concluded, England was ruled by Queen Elizabeth I—a Protestant and a woman—making it an even more heretical nation in the eyes of the Catholic Church.

After Trent, Pius IV decides to adopt a subtler political approach than his predecessors Paul III and Paul IV. In addition to the debate surrounding images, this iconographical change of heart is also connected to a larger theological debate surrounding papal power and the power of the Church as a whole: during the second half of the sixteenth century, a change of mentality occurred among leading Catholic theologians regarding Church supremacy. The debate was spearheaded by influential writings on Church supremacy by scholastic theologians, such as the Jesuit scholar Robert Bellarmine's (1542–1621) late sixteenth-century treatise *De Summo Pontifice* on papal power.[320] Bellarmine and others postulated a new and limited form of temporal papal supremacy that recognized a papal right of interference in worldly political affairs. Whereas theologians of the curia and imperial legates advocated hierocracy regarding papal supremacy, scholastic theologians understood papal temporal supremacy as indirect (*Potestas ecclesiae indirecta in temporalibus*). Precursors of these ideas regarding papal temporal power were discussed among scholars during Pius IV's reign. The pope must have felt the increasing scrutiny surrounding papal supremacy in the public eye. This becomes apparent in the iconographic shift in the *Sala Regia*: instead of solely emphasizing the role of Christian kings as defenders of the Church, Pius IV introduces a new iconographical motif with subtler and less submissive restitution scenes, giving more weight to the legitimacy of the Church State and the papal power derived from it. This is a precursor to scholastic ideas of indirect temporal supremacy and a testimony to the Church's credibility crisis fueled by Paul IV's conflict with the king of Spain.

Paul III's and Pius IV's decision not to include the *Donation of Constantine* among the restoration scenes featured in the room can be interpreted as another concession to contemporary criticism: by leaving out the most emblematic donation scene of all in Church history, the popes deflect from the theological controversy regarding the historicity of this episode. Only a

few decades prior, in 1520, Leo X commissioned Raphael with decorating an entire hall inside the Apostolic Palace with the Constantine motif. But, after the 1517 publication of Lorenzo Valla's treatise *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio*,[321] outing the donation of Constantine as a forgery, Protestant criticism grew to a point where this particular motif could simply no longer be used in good faith. Instead, in an attempt to silence critics, Pius IV showers visitors of the *Sala Regia* with an entire series of other restorations, as if he were to say: "You doubt the donation of Constantine's authenticity? But look at all these other accurate and historical events showcasing my power and kingly submission: This happened, and this, and this."

The iconographic shift under Pius IV is also a testimony to Church Reform: the historical scenes recalling restorations to the Church painted under Pius IV are educational. They are intended to further explain why submission to the authority of the Church is necessary. After Trent, a simple series of portraits depicting exemplary kings who once defended the Church, as planned under Paul III, is no longer enough to entice monarchical submission and compliance. With the Church's legitimacy questioned by Protestantism, now the monarchs need to be educated and reminded of their place. The thematic shift from obvious submission scenes to subtler displays of kingly endorsement of papal power is designed to educate the kings about their role, while commemorating important episodes of Church history. As such, the frescoes painted in the *Sala Regia* under Pius IV directly fulfill the educational task formulated as one of the main functions of iconography in the image decree issued in Trent.

5.3.4 A Church inside a Roman Bathhouse: Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri

Although not a building with representative character in the sense of a stately hall used for official receptions, the *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* church commissioned by Pius IV is one of the most important artistic endeavors of his papacy, because it is a public statement in itself. Built on top of the ancient Roman Baths of Diocletian near today's Piazza della Republica, the church is a symbol of Christianity's triumph over paganism that is visible to all.[322] More specifically, the building dedicated to Christian martyrs celebrates the victory over Roman emperor Diocletian, who had issued a persecution edict against Christians in 303, leading to the Great Persecution—the last and most severe persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire.[323] As such, the building is a show of force toward an ancient archenemy of Christianity.[324]

The idea of converting the Roman baths into a Christian church goes back to the Sicilian priest, Antonio del Duca.[325] With the permission of Julius III, del Duca constructed a small chapel inside the bathhouse in 1550. A decade later, Pius IV took interest in these conversion plans as part of his urban re-design scheme that stipulated an entirely new street, the Via Pia, close to the Roman baths. Now, Pius IV commissioned Michelangelo with designing a church inside the Diocletian baths, as well as with overseeing

the new city gate located nearby the Porta Pia, which also served as gateway to his new street.

Designed by Michelangelo in the 1560s,[326] *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* is built within Diocletian's ancient baths, not eradicating them fully, but demonstratively preserving large parts of the original structure in order to emphasize the re-purposing of the ancient building. Similar architectural conversions and repurposings of sacred spaces were not unusual throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The most prominent example of this practice, to this date, is the Mosque-Cathedral of Córdoba—a Cathedral built inside a former mosque in the Spanish city of Cordoba, and whose construction was begun in the thirteenth century and expanded in 1523. Both buildings are directed toward contemporary enemies of faith: the *Mezquita* is a message of triumph over Muslims that had been defeated during the *Reconquista* in Southern Spain only decades earlier, in 1492. And *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* can be read as a triumph over enemies of faith in general, which in the sixteenth-century context of the Tridentine Church primarily translates to Protestants. This is apparent in a coin struck to commemorate the building. According to seventeenth-century historian Filippo Bonnani, it carried the inscription "What once was used for pagan purposes is now a temple of the Virgin; its founder was Pius; take flight, ye demons!"[327] The solicitation of flight toward the end of the inscription is formulated in the present tense and is indicative of the contemporary symbolism of the building as a demonstration of force against the so-called Protestant heresy.

Yet, although *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* reflects Tridentine Reform in many ways, the building also departs from certain Reform ideas. The most striking example of this type of floor plan: with its four equal-length arms, it follows the shape of a Greek cross. This is not unusual for the time period—during the Renaissance, architects such as Michelangelo experimented with this floor plan, most noticeably in the New St. Peter's basilica[328]—but the central, Greek cross-style plan is not the floor plan recommended by the Council of Trent: Tridentine Reform recommended a Latin Cross floor plan, devised to mirror God's perfection. Pius IV reform-oriented nephew Carlo Borromeo shared the Council's architectural vision regarding the Latin cross, recommending this type of floor plan as the most apt for liturgy in his 1577 *Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae*.[329] In *Santa Maria degli Angeli*, however, Michelangelo opted for the central plan, viewed as the most perfect of shapes and therefore an architectural manifestation of divine reason.[330]

Caroline Elam suggests that Michelangelo's choice of floor plan is directly related to Pius IV's urban renovation plans for the surrounding area: in order to better direct traffic and steer horses and carriages away from the church,[331] the pope planned a new street, the *Via Pia*, from the Quirinal to the walls. Antonio del Duca envisioned a Latin cross floor plan, with the floor leading to the area of *Via Pia*. According to Elam, for economic reasons, and to

preserve more of the original ancient structure, Michelangelo scrapped this plan, opting for a central plan instead.[332] There is another advantage that the central plan offered in the case of *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* that Elam fails to mention: the central plan not only reflected a Greek cross but also the St. Andrews cross associated with martyrs and a secret symbol of recognition for Early Christians in times of persecution. As such, although not strictly in line with Reform, the floor plan reflects the church's dedication to martyrs in yet another architectural visualization of Christian triumph over Roman persecution.

Large-scale additions and renovations undertaken during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have changed the interior of *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* since Pius IV's times. One of the most apparent characteristics of the sixteenth-century building was its remarkable simplicity, which stood in sharp contrast with baroque norms. While contemporary chronicles mentioned by Elam[333] credit Pius IV with wanting great splendor for the church's interior, we cannot know for certain why this idea was abandoned in favor of austerity. This choice might be related to Michelangelo's clear desire to preserve as much as possible of the original ancient structure, or to Borromeo's mitigating influence, or it might be a gesture toward the modest lifestyle of the Carthusians, to whom the church was entrusted by Pius IV.[334]

What can be said with certainty, however, is that Pius IV saw *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* as a magnificent building and as a tribute to his papacy[335]: in a direct reference to his given first name, Angelo, Pius IV chose to dedicate the church to angels and he stated in his will that he wanted to be buried in this particular church. A monument to Early Christians, the triumph of the Church over heresy, *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri* is a clear tribute to Tridentine Reform as well as papal power. As such, the building combines the conflicting priorities of Church Reform and Renaissance papal propaganda.

5.4 Conclusion of Part I of the Analysis

As this analysis shows, artistic papal propaganda undergoes significant changes between 1550 and 1565. During the Council of Trent, and between the different Council periods, the papacies of Julius III and Paul IV experiment with new media strategies. Naturally, every pope has his own character and regency style but the change in practice regarding visual representation during the pontificates of Julius III and Paul IV is largely due to outside factors, namely increasing reformatory pressure on Church leadership. This pressure becomes apparent in the artistic patronage of the popes: whereas under Julius III, it is still acceptable for a pope to build a suburban villa modeled on the classical period, contemporaries, Romans but also foreign delegates, observe this in an increasingly critical way, so that by 1555, it is already out of the ordinary for a pope to manifest an interest in classical

and mythological motives in such a public manner. Criticism of this kind is not so much an issue in Rome, the center of Catholicism and stronghold of the Church, as it is in the rest of Europe, especially in the areas where Protestantism is present, as the account of the English ambassadors housed in the *Villa Giulia* in 1555 demonstrates.

Julius III is able to sway public opinion in his favor because he distances himself from nepotism and he is generous when it comes to public entertainment and basic necessities, such as affordable bread prices. However, and possibly to the detriment of the Church at the time, Julius III is not a very political pope. Instead, when it comes to artistic patronage, he presents himself as the last Renaissance pope, adhering to humanist ideals about education, antiquity and mythology. Contemporaries already perceive this media strategy as outdated and elitist, but there is no significant backlash, because norms regarding visual representation of the Church remain unfixed, and because Julius III limits his appreciation for mythology to a residential space reserved for the elite.

After Julius III's death, Paul IV takes the visual representation of the papacy in the opposite direction by adopting an extraordinarily strict Church Reform policy. This leads to a decline in pictorial production, and, in the case of the papal apartments, even to the destruction of earlier artworks (Raphael's frescoes in the *Sala dei Palafrenieri*). During this period, it becomes apparent that art is understood in a Thomist sense, as a tool for religious education and the transmission of biblical motives. Under Paul IV, art is primarily a didactic tool, and architecture serves practical purposes, such as the better aeration of a room. His most detrimental blind spot is his nepotism. The public scandal caused by his nephews, combined with the pope's expensive war with Spain, destroys Paul IV's plans to visually aggrandize his own *casa* with a monument in *San Silvestro al Quirinale*. The social unrest after Paul IV's death shows that although political change is imminent, the Carafa pope's reforms were perceived as being too repressive. The lowest ranks of society rebel against policies enforced on them without any say. And Rome, the center of the Renaissance and the self-perceived navel of the world, rebels against a Catholic Reform spearheaded by foreign theologians on the periphery (Trent).

Pius IV, in turn, learns from his predecessors and adapts the papacy's visual representation once more. He does this on the basis of the newly issued Tridentine image decree, but without fully eradicating past Renaissance traditions. By reintroducing past practices, Pius IV rebuilds some of the bridges burned by his predecessor Paul IV. Among these practices is vigorous papal art patronage. Pius IV recognizes the papacy's need for self-preservation. This becomes apparent in his aggrandizement of the papacy in the *Sala Regia*, but also in projects such as *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri*.

The shift during Pius IV's papacy back to a juxtaposition of Church Reform and Renaissance traditions is a sign of the increasing political

pressure. The image decree issued by the Council of Trent puts an enormous spotlight on papal propaganda. Pius IV is aware of this special scrutiny and he knows that the papacy's claim to power is at stake. It is no longer possible to aggrandize the papacy in a purely Renaissance style. The *Sala Regia* reflects this thematic realignment of the papacy's media strategy: the pope can no longer simply demand the submission of Christian kings. He increasingly needs to justify why this submission is necessary and why his supremacy is legitimate. Faced with changing circumstances, Pius IV uses Church history to emphasize continuity and tradition.

Because he knows his own limits, Pius IV puts Carlo Borromeo in charge of keeping his papacy in line with reform. By delegating Reform to his nephew, Pius IV turns the model of the previous papacy on its head. This is an attempt to re-brand nepotism positively after the public-relations disaster of the Carafa brothers and it also allows the pope to distance himself from reformatory repression in the eyes of the people of Rome.

The result of this combination of Reform and Renaissance tradition sometimes takes curious forms. This is especially apparent in Pius IV's patronage of his *Casino* in the Vatican gardens: whereas the exterior is a reconstruction of an ancient fountain house, the interior introduces Christian imagery centering around the Baptism doctrine proclaimed by the Council of Trent. The two visual strategies are intended to work together in a complementary way, with the Christian imagery legitimizing the use of the mythological themes, by emphasizing the continuity of creation and water and the overcoming of paganism. But this combination is not always successful, as Chapter 6 dedicated to Pius V and Gregory XIII will demonstrate.

6 Pius V and Gregory XIII
The Pinnacle of Catholic Reform?

We continue our analysis with a detailed study of the period between 1566 and 1585 and the pontificates of Pius V and Gregory XIII. This phase, customarily described by historians as the "pinnacle of Catholic Reform," is characterized by an increasing implementation of the media strategies developed under previous popes Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV. Pius V and Gregory XIII continue to employ the combined approach taken by Pius IV and complete the decoration of the *Sala Regia* of the Vatican palace begun by Pius IV. But in addition to commissioning historical paintings, Pius V and Gregory XIII also emphasize the present: whenever possible and beneficial to the image of the papacy, they visually exploit contemporary political events.

Behind the propagandistic scenes of the papacy, both pontificates are also characterized by a return to the old Renaissance norms, especially with respect to nepotism. As the following closer look at the pontificates of Pius V and Gregory XIII will show, this ultimately leads to a decline of the Church Reform movement, which paradoxically begins at the same time that the implementation of Catholic Reform culminates.

6.1 Pius V (1566–1572): Radical Reform and Piety

Pius V's papacy begins with a relapse to traditional norms that is very symptomatic for any reform movement: during the conclave, cardinal nephew Carlo Borromeo attempts to implement the reform decrees issued in Trent by abolishing the requirement to vote in accordance with party policy. But when there is still no majority candidate after 2 weeks, Borromeo reintroduces the old customs.[336] And, now that his Renaissance-loving uncle is dead, the nephew successfully pushes through a candidate to his own taste: Michele Ghislieri, a radical reformer. To thank Borromeo for his support during the conclave, Ghislieri adopts the name Pius V after Borromeo's uncle, the former pope.[337] Traditionally, Pius V, a Dominican and former General Inquisitor, is seen as the embodiment of Tridentine Reform, but without the violent temper and repressive nature of Paul IV. Because of his exemplary zeal for Church Reform, Pius V was canonized in 1712.[338]

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Like other popes before him, Pius V continued to practice nepotism although he saw himself as a Reformer at heart. But with the cautionary tale of the Carafa nephews in mind, Pius V practiced a very minimal form of nepotism: he awarded posts to his nephews balancing out this favoritism with repeated public rebukes for those nephew's minor boundary infractions.[339] This approach allowed Pius V to publicly embrace the role of a pope committed to Church Reform, while still conveying that he, unlike Paul IV, was not controlled by his nephews.

Determined to abolish Renaissance excess, Pius V laid down new rules in the Vatican: luxury, parties, and mistresses were banished from the Vatican. According to Reinhardt, the basic idea behind these new rules was to publicly portray papal power as being morally and—by deduction—holistically superior to worldly power.[340] This is a sharp departure from the politics of Alexander VI, the second Borgia pope, who presented himself as primarily worldly leader in an attempt to beat kings at their own political power strategies. Under Pius V, the Vatican was transformed from a court into what could almost be considered a monastery.[341] From a propagandist point of view, this improved the image of the Church. But it also made the court unattractive for many of the previous courtiers: personal advancement now depended on proof of piousness instead of kinship. As a consequence, and also as an economic measure, the number of courtiers sank from 1,000 to 600 under Pius V.[342]

During his pontificate, Pius V made every effort to implement what the Council of Trent had decided, and this in all areas of ecclesiastical life: he advocated a purely religious use of art, reprimanded negligent clerics and reminded bishops to adhere to their new obligation of residency, and he persecuted heretics. In fact, as a former General Inquisitor, Pius V put a special emphasis on the eradication of heresy. Although, in comparison to the Pontificate of Paul IV, fewer heretics were burned at the stake under Pius V, the new pontiff made every effort to persecute them. Any practice or belief seen as deviant from the Church Reform decrees issued by the Council of Trent was declared heretical.[343] For Roman Jews, this amounted to a new wave of oppression, which culminated in the 1569 papal bull *Hebraeorum gens sola*, demanding all Jews to leave the Church State or else be expropriated or enslaved.[344]

Pius V's zeal for Church Reform translated into political success: the pope managed to create a new Christian alliance against the Ottoman Empire and a combined victory for the papal, Spanish and Venetian fleets at Lepanto in October of 1571—a huge triumph. Pius exploited his political prowess visually in the *Sala Regia*, the state hall of the Vatican palace. To the dismay of Roman humanists and aristocrats, the pope also began to "cleanse" Rome from what he classified as "pagan idols."[345] The new pope stripped papal urban and suburban villas of their antique statues and gifted them to the neighboring Duchy of Florence reigned by Cosimo de' Medici. According to Reinhardt, by adopting a stricter approach toward imagery than the image decree issued by the Council of Trent, Pius V established new boundaries between pagan and Christian Antiquity.[346] Whereas

predecessor Pius IV had practiced a relaxed parallel approach toward religious and profane imagery, Pius V strictly separated the two. In his eyes, there was only one acceptable way to display classical imagery: as a trophy of Christian triumph over pagan persecution. Toward the end of his papacy, Pius IV had practiced this kind of artistic reframing in his rebuilding of *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri*. Now, under Pius V, all papal patronage followed the approach introduced by Pius IV in the Church built in the former Roman bathhouse.

6.1.1 Artistic Patronage of Pius V

Pius V's patronage is characterized by an emphasis on religious themes, virulent anti-paganism and historical revisionism. The Ghislieri pope makes it his personal mission to destroy anything remotely reminiscent of pagan idolatry. Ancient or mythological subjects were only deemed acceptable when accompanied by instructions of how to interpret them. Occasionally, these instructions were written inscriptions but for the unlearned public, ancient artwork was usually also reframed visually by contrasting it with religious art that conveyed the triumph of the Church over paganism.

Under Pius V, historical revisionism becomes a frequent propaganda tool. Although other popes before him were savvy at exploiting history for their own benefit, Pius V takes this practice to a whole new level: previous popes used historical themes to emphasize Church tradition, legitimacy or important military victories, but Pius V's main objective is to distance his papacy from its own immediate past, because the papal practices of the Renaissance had triggered Reformation. Instead of an emphasis on continuity, there is an accentuated break with the old norms because they are no longer deemed acceptable by the public. Pius V's image as a pope committed to Church Reform relies on his condemnation of the excesses of the Renaissance. This new political message of Reform translates into an almost 180-degree turn in the visual representation of the papacy: essentially, Pius V needs to convincingly present himself as "holier than the pope," to successfully sell the image of a new and reformed Church.

6.1.2 Reframing and Anti-Paganism under Pius V

Approximately a month after his election as a pope, Pius V begins his iconoclastic "cleansing" of the Vatican: on 10 February 1566, he officially donates all the classical statues located in the Belvedere theater to the Roman people.[347] As Pastor notes, the pope deems pagan imagery inappropriate for an heir to St. Peter.[348] Given that classical statues were highly popular during the Renaissance and up to Pius V's papacy, the pope faces a significant backlash from the cardinals over his decision to remove these statues from the Vatican. As a result, Pius V settles for a compromise: the classical statues located in the gallery of the Belvedere are allowed to remain in the Vatican,

under the condition that the exposition remains closed to the public.[349] This particular concession is indicative of both Pius V's anti-paganism and his acute consciousness of how the public perceives him as a person.

The cardinals are not always successful: Pius V continues to bequeath large parts of the Vatican antiquity collection to the public. He publishes ever-growing inventory lists. Given that the riches of the Vatican accumulated over the previous century were extensively described to the foreign rulers by their delegates and ambassadors, Pius V's generous donations soon attract the interest of European royal courts. The most renowned art collectors now all try to get a piece of the Vatican treasures. And, since the pope is set on giving everything away for free, the nobles do not even have to pay for the precious artwork. During this period, countless classical Roman statues land in the hands of the neighboring Medici or Emperor Maximilian II.[350] Among them are statues taken from the *Villa Giulia*.[351] Pius IV's *Casino* in the Vatican gardens faces the same fate: like the *Villa Giulia*, the building is effectively stripped of its movable objects, which are mostly freestanding statues.[352]

Pius V's anti-pagan iconoclasm is as all-embracing as it is scary: in the spring of 1569, shortly before the 1570 Jubilee year, the imperial agent hints to his master that the pope intended not only to destroy the theater of the Belvedere but also the Colosseum and the triumphal arches to remove any temptation for visitors to Rome to pay more attention to pagan than to Christian elements.[353] Although this apprehension was later proven exaggerated, it indicates that contemporaries, deeply influenced by ideas about antiquity rooted in the Renaissance and classical humanism, were horrified by the pope's radical embracing of Reform.

In fact, inside the Church State, there had been no autonomous debate on classical artworks and paganism, since religious controversy and wars against Protestants mainly took place on foreign soil. Most Romans, whose minds had been shaped by centuries of Renaissance splendor, did not perceive classical artwork as offensive or anti-Christian but as a sign of Rome's long history. Pius V, a child of his time, shared this view to a certain extent: he left the Colosseum and the triumphal arches untouched and did not oppose the exhibition of classical statues within the city of Rome.[354] His anti-paganism limited itself to papal domains: the Vatican and papal urban villas. In this, his anti-pagan attitude has to be understood as a calculated policy first: it is an attempt to correct the negative public image of the papacy regarding profane imagery. Under the pressure of the Council of Trent and Protestant criticism, Pius V is trying to separate the papacy from sensitive imagery in order to better defend his institutions—the papacy and the Church—against their critics.

6.1.3 A New Emphasis on Modesty: The Casale Di Pio V

Like other popes before him, Pius V also commissioned his own *villa urbana*, the *Casale di Pio V*. Due to its striking modesty, however, the U-shaped building, located close to the *Via Aurelia Antica*, is at best, of marginal

iconographic interest. It has been thoroughly described and analyzed in a 1968 dissertation.[355]

According to the papal biographer Giovanni Antonio Gabuzio (1551–1621), the villa was built between April 1566 and May 1567.[356] Architecturally speaking, it appears to be a conscious break with the papal villas of the Renaissance, usually fashioned in the classical Roman style. The *Casale di Pio V* departs from such models in both its exterior and interior, which are characterized by striking simplicity, placing functionality above the aesthetics of the time.[357] The interior lacks any monumental decoration: there are no mural frescoes or stucco-vaulted ceilings. With its predominant striving for simplicity, the building leaves the overall impression of a modest rural estate. In this, it is representative of Pius' personal ascetic lifestyle, renouncing the pleasures and merriment connected to the Renaissance popes. Instead, Pius V focused on prayer and contemplation. For this purpose, the villa included a private garden that, rather surprisingly—given Pius V's virulent anti-paganism—featured a nymphaeum.

Regrettably, there are no photographic reproductions of the fountain other than a microfilm made by Reuer as part of his dissertation in the 1960s, currently conserved by the Freie Universität of Berlin.[358] However, since Reuer's written description does not mention any statues or other decorative elements, it can be deducted that the nymphaeum, like the rest of the building, was kept simplistic in style, as a small, semi-circular backdrop to a larger water basin.[359]

Therefore, the surprising inclusion of a classically inspired fountain structure in Pius' V personal villa, along with other architectural features reminiscent of the Renaissance—the garden with its fountains, terraces and symmetrical stairs similar to court architecture—should be seen "als Zugeständnisse […], die Pius V. entsprechend der hohen Auffassung, die er von der Würde seines Amtes hegte, an die Repräsentationsvorstellungen seiner Zeit machte,"[360] and not as significant departure from Pius V's general anti-paganism and hatred of the classical world.

6.1.4 Historical Revisionism under Pius V: The Carafa Tomb

Pius V's corrective propaganda approach to visual imagery does not limit itself to the representation of the papacy within the Vatican; he also commissions artwork for the city of Rome, with the distinct intention of changing the papacy's public image: in 1566, shortly after becoming pope, Pius V decides to build a monumental tomb for Paul IV, deceased 7 years earlier. Situated in the Carafa chapel of the *Santa Maria Sopra Minerva*, the tomb monument depicts Paul IV as a powerful head of the Church, who demands obedience. Overall, the quality of the work is rather modest. This is probably due to a certain haste during construction, as the monument was completed within 6 months. The monument exemplifies historical revisionism[361]: commissioned by the Ghislieri pope Pius V (1566–1572), a favorite of Paul

IV, it is designed to correct the negative impact left by the Carafa pope.[362] As such, the tomb is an example of a reactive and course-correcting papal media strategy intended to influence public opinion in favor of both the deceased and his currently reigning partisan.[363] The fact that Pius V commissioned Pirro Ligorio with sketching the first drafts for this monument before Pius V was even elected pope indicates that this project was a clear priority for him.[364]

A triumphal arch monument with a marble sarcophagus featuring a statue of the pope, the grave is framed by two female allegorical figures representing faith and religion. Paul IV is shown in a sitting position, holding keys in his left hand—symbol of the Petrine Office—and raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing. Of particular interest is the inscription on the exterior of the sarcophagus. It reads:

> To Jesus Christ, the hope and life of believers, to Paul IV Carafa, the pontifex maximus, the one and only, with his eloquence, learning and wisdom; his innocence, generosity and greatness of soul are glorious; to this relentless executioner of sin, the most zealous champion of the Catholic faith Pius V sets this monument of gratitude and pious moderation.[365]

The explicit emphasis on the virtues attributed to Paul IV is an attempt to reinterpret his pontificate positively and visibly to all, forever set in stone. The description of Paul IV as a relentless persecutor of sacrilegious acts and champion of the Christian faith is a direct reference to his role as an inquisitor, a role that Pius V shared. Here, the negative aspects of the Carafa pope, his repressive reforms, are reinterpreted positively and in line with the spirit of the Council of Trent, as proof of religious zeal.[366] In this respect, the tomb is not only a monument to Paul IV and the Carafa—the remains of Paul IV's *nepotes*, the executed and posthumously rehabilitated brothers Carlo and Giovanni Carafa, were also transferred into this grave upon completion of the tomb and lie next to their uncle—but also a monument to the Inquisition. Pius V even envisioned a yearly requiem mass celebrated at the graveside with all cardinal-members of the Inquisition.[367] In this sense, the tomb monument is both an example of historical revisionism and of the attempted introduction of a new cult and adoration of the Inquisition.[368]

6.1.5 The Sala Regia under Pius V and Gregory XIII

Like Paul III and Pius IV before them, both Pius V and Gregory XIII continued decorating the *Sala Regia*. Under Pius V, Vasari's *The Preparations for the Battle of Lepanto*[369] and *The Battle of Lepanto* (see Figure 6.2)[370] were realized as part of a three-part cycle on the subject envisioned for the Western wall of the *Sala Regia*. Under Gregory XIII, the third projected painting of the Lepanto-cycle was replaced by *The Wounding of Admiral*

Caspar de Coligny,[371] also painted by Vasari. Gregory completed the *Sala Regia* with two more paintings[372] on the Bartholomew massacre in France 1572 (see Figure 6.1)[373] as well as a Gregorian scene[374] referring both to the earlier historical paintings in the *Sala Regia* and to Gregory's name.

With the exception of *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*,[375] all the frescoes realized during the two last stages of decoration of the

Figure 6.1 Giorgio Vasari, *The Massacre of the Huguenots*, Fresco, Sala Regia, Vatican, ca. 1573.

Figure 6.2 Giorgio Vasari, *The Battle of Lepanto*, Fresco, Sala Regia, Vatican, 1572–1573.

Sala Regia picture contemporary events—a clear departure from scenes depicting classical and medieval Church history depicted in the earlier frescoes of the room. There is also a thematic shift toward representations of victorious battles won with the help of God, and away from scenes showing kings submitting to papal authority. Böck, who has written extensively on the *Sala Regia*, argues that this thematic shift is also one away from political scenes and matters of the state toward religious scenes and matters of faith.[376] This is probably not a distinction sixteenth-century observers would have made when visiting the *Sala Regia*, since religion and politics were perceived as being inextricably interconnected.[377] Instead, contemporary observers would have recognized all iconographic themes present in the *Sala Regia* as different forms of triumph legitimizing the supremacy of the Church: first in the form of restoration and submission, and later, on the battlefield.

Written accounts left by visitors to the *Sala Regia*, most recently studied by Jan L. de Jong,[378] bear witness to this: observers such as Dutch humanist Aernout van Buchel, who spent the winter of 1587/1588 in Rome, did not pay attention to whether a painting showed had a primarily political or religious

subject, since they perceived this as being two sides of the same coin. They did, however, notice the degree of accuracy in the better-known historical scenes. According to de Jong, during a visit to the *Sala Regia*, Van Buchel transcribed the inscriptions of the paintings into his diary. He later checked for accuracy, comparing the historical episodes as depicted in the paintings with accounts made in his history books (Bartolomeo Platina's *Lives of the Popes* and Martinus Polonius' *Chronicles of the Popes and Emperors*).[379] Van Buchel discovered that Giuseppe Porta's *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*[380] did not comply with the historical facts as relayed in his books. Van Buchel took offense to this, noting in his diary, that the "papal parasites" had omitted part of history.[381]

In fact, among contemporary visitors, Giuseppe Porta's *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa* and its one-sided presentation of a historical event incited more criticism than any other fresco of the *Sala Regia*, matched only by Vasari's *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*.[382] Vasari's painting was criticized by contemporaries like Van Buchel because it does not depict how, where and why Frederick II was excommunicated since, as de Jong points out, this was not information accessible to Vasari. Instead, Vasari painted an unspecific excommunication scene, as Jan L. de Jong remarks:

> (In the scene) the pope and some bishops dressed in white (are shown) throwing burning candles on the floor and trampling on them, in accordance with actual practice. At the same time, he (Vasari) drew on pictorial traditions of the damned cast into Hell during the Last Judgment, or the Giants defeated by Jupiter's thunderbolts, and pictures showing a heretic trampled under the feet of a Christian hero.[383]

All in all, this is a far cry from the more subtle renderings of papal supremacy under Pius IV. This rather violent painting of papal supremacy irritated Van Buchel who wrote: "Here all the procedures of excommunication have been painted in a terrifying way and with the aim of inspiring horror."[384]

According to de Jong, there is no proof of contemporary criticism of the other more violent depictions of the *Sala Regia*, the two Lepanto paintings and the three paintings showing the Bartholomew massacre, even though the paintings were strongly criticized later.[385] Instead, contemporaries valued the historical accuracy displayed in Vasari's paintings on Lepanto and the St. Bartholomew massacre. Like all the frescoes of the *Sala Regia*, Vasari's paintings belong to the category of the so-called *pittura mista*[386]: they are not literal renditions of historical events, but representations that combine historical events with allegorical elements and politically charged alterations. As quasi-historical paintings, the artworks lose accuracy, but gain universal importance and significance as propaganda. Vasari, with his interest for historical accuracy, did extensive research to correctly portray the very recent events that occurred on 7 October 1571, in Lepanto, and on

23 August 1572, in Paris.[387] The interest of contemporaries for historical accuracy that is apparent in (1) the criticism of Porta's *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*, (2) the appreciation of Vasari's paintings of the battle of Lepanto and the Bartholomew massacre and (3) in the painter's increased effort to achieve historical accuracy is directly connected to the image decree issued by the Council of Trent. The decree recommended literal renditions for religious art dealing with the text of the Bible and the teachings of the Church. As de Jong remarks, this demand for a literal rendition of a text or an event was increasingly transferred to the realm of the profane, ergo also to historical paintings.[388] This means that as the decoration of the *Sala Regia* was being completed, the propaganda message of papal supremacy and triumph implemented was already lagging behind its time. As is apparent in the different shifts occurring during the four decoration phases of the *Sala Regia* and in the combination of historical accuracy and fiction Post-Trent, the popes were playing catch up with continuously changing artistic norms and political circumstances in an effort to display their magnificence.

Politics also help to explain why, under Pius V and Gregory XIII, subject matter commissioned for the *Sala Regia* becomes more blatant again, after the subtler iconography employed by Pius IV: whereas during Pius IV's papacy, with the Council of Trent, the focus lies on finding a consensus for Church Reform within the Catholic camp, under Pius V and Gregory XIII, Church Reform is actually being implemented. This again increases the friction between Catholics and other important religious groups present in Europe at the time—Protestants and Muslims. These conflicts are illustrated in the *Sala Regia* with the two Vasari paintings on the battle of Lepanto and the paintings on the Huguenot massacre. Like *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*, the paintings illustrate triumphs over enemies of the faith. They are therefore blatant scenes of victory that entirely miss the subtlety of the imagery dealing with internal Church affairs, such as the power struggle between the papacy and Christian kings. Even though the themes of papal supremacy and religious superiority are present throughout the *Sala Regia*, overall, the pictorial program of the *Sala Regia* lacks iconographic unity. It is characterized by thematic and normative shifts due to the Council of Trent's effects on politics and papal succession.

6.2 Gregory XIII (1572–1585): A New Era for Catholicism

After Pius V's death, the cardinals find a perfect successor in Ugo Boncompagni, a jurist from Bologna. As pope, Gregory XIII stands for continued Reform, but his approach is less strict than that of his predecessor. For the cardinals, Gregory XIII is the perfect synthesis of the joviality of Julius III and the reformatory spirit of Pius V.[389]

Under Gregory XIII, Church Reform slows down. In a characteristic move for any leader incorporating Tridentine Reform but also facing

potential criticism for the speed and the magnitude of any changes implemented, Gregory XIII reinstates some old customs—such as nepotism. Like the Renaissance popes, the new pope puts an emphasis on accumulating titles and riches in order to strengthen the position of his own family. Gregory XIII not only has nephews to think about but also a son. Maybe paternal instincts reinforced his interests in a family dynasty. In any case, Gregory XIII knows how to cleverly balance these inclinations: he showers his son in gifts and titles but keeps him at a distance by continuing Pius V's successful strategy of public reprimands.[390]

Politically, Gregory's papacy begins with a dramatic event: the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France and the murder of Huguenot leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. Although this Catholic coup against French Protestants was entirely planned and organized by Queen mother Catherine de' Medici and her allies, Gregory XIII begins to exploit the event as propaganda, commissioning several medals and rural frescoes for the *Sala Regia*, to commemorate what he claims as a victory of Christianity over heresy.[391] For the papacy, the killing of several thousand Huguenots—estimates for the exact number of dead in France during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre vary widely—represents the first significant blow to Protestantism after its loss of the kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England and Scotland, as well as parts of Northern Germany to the new religion.[392] Now, as positions have been clarified and Catholic Reform is being implemented, the fronts between the two competing religions harden anew and France, especially torn over the religious controversy, is once again plummets into a devastating religious war.

With regards to Reform, Gregory XIII follows the guidelines established by the Council of Trent. Less radical than his predecessor Pius V, Gregory XIII takes a more lenient approach toward fulfilling the reformatory Council decrees. To oversee every aspect of Church Reform, Gregory instates several congregations presided over by cardinals. They each focus on a different issue, from new ceremonial practices to the water supply for the city of Rome. To better assert his interests in the remaining territories of the Church State and its allies, Gregory also increases the number of papal nuncios.[393]

In response to the losses of souls to Protestantism, Gregory hangs his hopes on the next generation of priests. Priestly education and the establishment of Catholic schools in territories threatened by religious controversy become a priority. The fight over souls increasingly takes place in classrooms rather than battlefields. These educational efforts, usually carried out by the Jesuit order, gained Gregory XIII a reputation as a restorer of the Catholic faith.[394]

Gregory also strengthened popular piety in the city of Rome by allowing laymen their own fraternities. These fraternities, often connected very closely to different trades and corporations, were overseen by clerics.

Although by no means independent, these guided laymen fraternities were an important step forward for individual religiosity.[395]

To this day, Gregory XIII is best remembered for introducing a new calendar system: the Gregorian calendar was introduced in October 1582 and corrected the discrepancies of the previous Julian calendar by skipping 10 days. The main idea behind this correction was to ensure that the actual date of Easter aligned with the canonical date of the celebration. And, with his calendar reform, Gregory was claiming that the Christian Church had now surpassed and improved upon pagan—and Protestant—authorities by replacing Julius Caesar's calendar with a new Christian instrument for the control of terrestrial time. Since Protestants rejected a calendar reform undertaken by a Catholic pope, the introduction of the Gregorian calendar virtually catapulted Europe into two different time zones. Until the eighteenth century, the answer to the seemingly innocent question "What is today's date?" depended on whether one was Catholic or Protestant.[396]

6.2.1 Artistic Patronage of Gregory XIII

In his visual representation, Gregory XIII implements the strategies recommended by the image decree of the Council of Trent. In contrast to Pius V, Gregory XIII's art patronage is not primarily characterized by anti-paganism and historical revisionism, although he continues the reframing of ancient references begun during earlier pontificates. Instead, Gregory XIII primarily uses imagery for educational purposes: for the *Sala Regia*, he commissions a series of mural frescoes showcasing the triumph of Christianity over enemies of the faith during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, as a lesson in papal superiority for foreign dignitaries welcomed here. He commissions a fresco cycle on the cruel deaths suffered by martyrs for *San Stefano Rotondo* to educate aspiring clerics about their purpose as servants of the Church. He also commissions a funeral monument as a reminder of the pope who first put Church Reform in motion: Paul III. He builds himself a chapel in the new St. Peter's basilica, containing multiple visual references to his own name to educate the public about his own merits as a pope and namesake of other great Gregorys of the past. And, last but not the least, Gregory XIII commissions an entire gallery of splendid maps for the apostolic palace, to educate himself about every corner of the Church State he reigns over.[397]

Additionally, in his visual representation, Gregory XIII must address criticism directed at him personally: the dragon, the heraldic emblem of the Boncompagni family, and incidentally also the symbol of dragon-slayer St. George, was connotated negatively during the sixteenth century. Protestants saw it as an emblem of the Antichrist, a reference to the seven-headed monster described in the book of Revelation.[398] And Catholics saw the dragon as a reference to heresy and mythology. Conscious of this negative association, and shortly after his election, Gregory XIII mandated his son to organize

a competition among intellectuals and artists with the goal of reinterpreting the heraldic animal positively.[399] As Marco Ruffini shows, the results were mixed: among others, the Bolognese natural philosopher Baldassare Pisanelli and the painter Pirro Ligorio tried make the dragon more appealing by creating elaborate back stories or by emphasizing the naturalistic qualities of the animal to try to counter mythology with scientifically accurate portrayals that avoided demonic associations such as a tail, fiery breath or claws.[400] As a consequence, throughout Gregory XIII's papacy, the Boncompagni dragon appears in varying forms, always in an attempt to find the best and most positive possible representation of this symbol that was so highly political in the sixteenth century.

6.2.2 A Lesson in Martyrdom: Santo Stefano Rotondo

The martyrdom cycle of *Santo Stefano Rotondo* in Rome was painted in 1582 by Niccolò Circignani and Matteo da Siena.[401] It was commissioned by the German-Hungarian Jesuit College. Although not a direct commission of Gregory XIII, the fresco cycle is still representative of the pictorial strategy of the Boncompagni papacy, because it visualizes a didactic theme used by Jesuits on Gregory XIII's orders to instruct new priests about their task. As *Santo Stefano Rotondo* was not the only Jesuit church decorated in the early 1580s, its interior is also part of a larger trend toward more elaborate decorative church programs facilitated by the new emotional climate connected to the Holy Year 1575.[402] And, most importantly, the pictorial decoration of *Santo Stefano Rotondo* is an early example of an emergence of a distinctly Jesuit and Reform-centered imagery that later culminates in the buildings of the Gesù and Sant'Ignazio.

The fresco series of *Santo Stefano Rotondo*, a cycle of 34 murals, glorifies the pleasures of martyrdom[403]—the ultimate sacrifice for God and the Church—in a particularly vivid and almost theatrical way, by displaying different martyr scenes.[404] The frescoes were recently partially restored and show martyrs of both sexes being tortured in the most creative and cruel ways possible—they are skinned, burned or boiled alive, broken on the wheel, ripped apart by lions and crushed by stones. Charles Dickens once described the paintings of *San Stefano Rotondo* as "a panorama of horror and butchery no man could imagine in his sleep […]."[405] Yet the martyrs are shown smiling.[406] They feel no earthly pain because they already know they will soon enter Paradise.

Like a catalog, the frescoes are enumerated and dated, accompanied by explanatory texts in Italian and Latin and prayers connected to the Litany of Saints, that seminaries would recite or sing while contemplating the paintings.[407] Among the depicted martyrs, bishops and popes take precedence. According to Reinhardt, the fresco cycle was used to instruct and motivate German, Hungarian and English seminarians on the highest achievable honor: a victorious death for the honor of Rome and the episcopate.[408]

Located within an Early Christian round church, the martyrdom cycle of *Santo Stefano Rotondo* narrates the deaths of Christian martyrs and connects them to the overall theme of self-sacrifice and triumph over pain in the name of God. Gruesome subject matter aside, from a didactic point of view, the fresco paintings represent "a happy marriage between the methods of meditation and mnemonics."[409] Still, it is a curious example of reformatory pictorial religious education because it does not fully comply with the demands for religious art as detailed in the Tridentine image decree: as David Nelting correctly states, regarding subject matter, the frescoes are representative of a distinctive Jesuit type of Catholic Reform iconography.[410] Yet the frescoes are also characterized by extraordinary complexity with every mural divided into several smaller scenes cluttered with detail. In this, the frescoes are reminiscent of a hidden-object challenge. Complexity goes against the demand for simplicity and clarity, as laid out in the Tridentine image decree. It is, however, part of the conscious aesthetic program of the Jesuit order, in which lettered and annotated pictures are used with great frequency, particularly in the propaganda battle against Protestantism. The frescoes comply with the image decree in their theme but not in their complex visualization. In this last aspect, the frescoes are more representative of Jesuit than Tridentine iconography.

The complexity apparent in the martyrdom frescoes is the result of the artist's choice to put content over form: the frescoes are intended to communicate as many martyrdoms and in as great detail as possible. For this purpose, form is somewhat sacrificed. In this, as Herwarth Röttgen recognizes, the frescoes are characteristic for "jene möglichst viel berichtenden Bildprogramme"[411] commissioned under Gregory XIII: Gregory XIII's artistic patronage is characterized by an educational aspiration that strives for accuracy rather than didactic simplicity. In this, the frescoes are reminiscent of the extravagance and the clutter of the Pre-Tridentine mannerism style, rather than a *stilus humilis* practiced by Cesare Nebbia and Girolamo Muziano—a style that renounced the virtuosity of mannerism and therefore was perceived to be more in line with Tridentine iconography.

Nelting interprets this coexistence of Tridentine subject matter and Pre-Tridentine style as a way for artists to legitimize a deviation from the rigorous rules of Catholic Reform. By using Tridentine subject matter as a shield, artists can assert an artistic freedom of style in the form of complex representations. While this is an interesting proposition, this hypothesis neglects the fact that the martyrdom cycle also uses accuracy to suggest historicity. This is relevant here because the martyrdom cycle combines religious and profane imagery: it shows religious martyrs and profane scenes of torture. While the religious subject matter justifies depicting martyrs in their moment of death, it does not explain the excessive detail and sheer-endless repetition of the martyr theme. These are, however, distinctive features of history paintings.

The image decree issued in Trent affected not only religious imagery but also historical paintings. They were now held to similar standards to religious imagery. The decree demanded a literal rendering of religious themes. This was transplanted into the realm of historical paintings,[412] as this passage from Raffaele Borghini's 1584 treatise *Il Riposo* illustrates: "[…] l'invenzione che da' poeti o dagli istorici prendono i pittori o gli scultori, non dovrebbe altramente esser rappresentata che se l'abbiano i propii autori scritta et ordinata."[413] Whereas previously, historical paintings were understood as allegorical and mystical representations of the past, after Trent they were expected to be as accurate as possible.[414]

After Trent, historical images were the only admissible context in which profane, (i.e., non-religious) subjects could be represented. By combining the religious subject matter of martyrs with the accuracy expected of the historical genre, Circignani found a way to include profane imagery (horrific torture scenes) within his fresco decoration of *Santo Stefano Rotondo*, all for the greater purpose of religious education, i.e., to instill a willingness to make sacrifices in the next generation of priests.

But the frescoes are also a visual representation of papal self-glorification: they celebrate papal martyrs in particular, suggesting a special connection between martyrdom, Rome and the papacy. This is especially apparent in the *Crucifixion* fresco (see Figure 6.3), located in the Southeast sector of the ambulatory.[415] The fresco deviates slightly from the general arrangement of the fresco-series as it includes no lettering on the scene itself and is accompanied only by a single text panel with a Latin inscription.[416] The scene is centered on the crucified Christ in the foreground of the painting.[417] At the foot of the cross, two children swaddled in cloth are depicted on either side—one standing and one lying on the ground. Behind the cross, 18 martyrs stand in two rows in a semicircle. To the left of the cross, Saint Peter is shown with his key. On the right side of the cross, Saint Paul can be made out, carrying a sword. Peter is accompanied by Saints Lawrence and Ursula, and Paul is depicted alongside Saint Stephen and a sanctified pope—in the second row, another pope or bishop can be made out, wearing a simple white *Mitre*.

The scene, showing a group of holy persons gathering around Christ or the Trinity, belongs to the medieval "All Saints" iconographic category.[418] As a whole, the fresco highlights the *romanitas* and *latinitas* of the Church, as well as the supremacy of the papacy under the patronage of Christ, in service of the defense of the Holy Innocents represented by the two swaddled children in the lower half of the painting.[419] The papacy, visualized in the fresco in the form of the two popes, is depicted as a direct heir of Christ—a typical feature of Jesuit iconography.[420] At the same time, the two popes symbolically also stand for Rome's two patron Saints Peter and Paul. Shown as integral members of a crowd of celebrated martyrs, the papacy is inserted within a tradition focusing on martyrdom and the defense of the Church against enemies of the faith. According to Leif Holm Monssen, the

Figure 6.3 Niccolò Circignani, and Matteo da Siena, *Crucifixion*, Fresco, Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome, 1582.

pope in the first row is a representation of Saint Clement, who is said to have been consecrated by Saint Peter. Although as a leading figure of the Early Roman Church Clement could stand for the Roman roots of the Church in a Tridentine sense, the argument can be made that the pope in question is more likely a rendering of Saint Gregory (Gregory the Great) based on three key observations: first, as the patron saint of teachers and the instigator of the first recorded large-scale mission from Rome, Gregory carries a special meaning for the Jesuit order and the German-Hungarian college dedicated to the education of missionaries. Second, because his efforts for peaceful missionary work were widely recognized as commendable within Church history, Gregory the Great is generally seen as a "model pope."[421]

Therefore, depicting an exemplary pope such as Gregory the Great has a special appeal for Jesuits, because it reaffirms one of the main pictorial traditions of Jesuit iconography, namely that of showing the papacy as following Christ's example.[422] Third, the visual traits of the pope in the fresco bear close resemblance to those of Gregory XIII—the namesake of Gregory I, patron of the Jesuit order and *Santo Stefano Rotondo* and founder of the Hungarian College later unified with the Germanicum.[423] For the Jesuit Society, Gregory XIII's pontificate was of crucially important, because, as pope, he confirmed the legitimacy of the order, previously questioned and denied by earlier popes. Therefore, by depicting Saint Gregory as part of the "All Saints" scene, Circignani and da Siena pay homage to the teaching and mission mandate of the Jesuit order and to the papal patronage of the Church.

In Jesuit iconography, the cross is a fundamental symbol: Spanish priest Ignatius of Loyola founded the Jesuit order after a vision of the crucified Jesus asking for his service. Jerome Nadal, Loyola's close collaborator and a Jesuit of the first hour, records the episode as follows:

> Thus we gather that the foundation of our Society is Jesus Christ crucified, so that just as he redeemed the human race with the Cross and daily endures the greatest afflictions and crosses in his mystical body, which is the Church, so also one who belongs to our Society can propose to himself nothing else, following Christ through the greatest persecutions.[424]

As a symbol, therefore, the crucifix is directly connected to the self-conception of the Jesuit order's role, as Monssen summarizes: "Every member of the Society, guided by the Holy Spirit, was to fight for God under the banner of the Cross and serve Christ, his Church, and the Roman pope."[425] This direct connection between the Jesuit's task, the cross and the pope is visualized in the *Crucifixion* scene of *Santo Stefano Rotondo*, where the crucified Christ lowers his head in the direction of Saint Gregory standing below. Gregory, in turn, dispatches missionaries in service of Christ.

There is yet another layer of interpretation connected to Saint Gregory, which fills his inclusion within the *Crucifixion* with meaning, particularly within the context of sixteenth-century religious conflicts and Tridentine Reform: Gregory enjoyed great admiration, even among Protestants. John Calvin, for instance, recognized him in his *Institutes* as "the last bishop of Rome"[426] and used him as the standard by which he judged the sixteenth-century Church.[427] In the context of the sixteenth-century debate around images, Saint Gregory also embodied the didactic function of religious imagery upheld by the Catholic Church like no other: the statement "images are the books of the illiterate" goes back to a letter by Gregory the Great.[428] Gregory I's notion of images serving as "books" is visualized in the pictorial program of *Santo Stefano Rotondo* that functions as both

visual (the frescoes) and textual (the annotations in Italian and Latin) catalog of martyrs.

Within Jesuit iconography, therefore, Gregory is connected to the dispatching of missionaries. Within the larger Catholic context, depicting Saint Gregory signals acceptance of (1) the didactic use of religious imagery, (2) the institutional structure of Early Christianity as installed by Gregory I, and (3) the Roman centrality of the papacy and the Church. These notions served as important counter-arguments against Protestants with regard to imagery. Therefore, including Saint Gregory in the *Crucifixion* fresco of a church dedicated to the education of missionaries who would be sent out by the papacy to face off Protestant "heresy" makes sense from an iconographical point of view.

For Gregory XIII, a fresco cycle themed around a militant Church and a distinctly Roman martyrology was part of his patronage of a didactic religious art program. In *Santo Stefano Rotondo*, this program is weaponized in the sense of the Council of Trent to highlight the *romanitas* of the Church and papal supremacy, educate missionaries and counter the Protestant position in religious debates centering on entirely different conceptions of faith, works and salvation. As the martyr cycle of *Santo Stefano Rotondo* illustrates, in the eyes of the Roman Church, and the Jesuits, *sola fide* is not enough to achieve salvation: instead, the emphasis lies on the works of the Saints, their ultimate self-sacrifice for God as martyrs. The Tridentine Church, in turn, used such pictorial representations to claim its direct descent from early Christian martyrs to declare its legitimacy and that of the precedence of Rome within Christianity.

6.2.3 A Lesson on Italy and Papal Supremacy: The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche

Another example of Gregory XIII's visual propaganda can be found in the Vatican palace, on the first floor of the Western wing: the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* is one of the most significant testimonies to early modern cartography and one of Gregory XIII's most significant artistic projects. The gallery can be read as a logical completion of Gregory's vision for the Church and its leadership: Gregory's calendar reform represented in the *Torre Gregoriana* (Tower of the Winds) and its pictorial program which is centered on the meridian and thoroughly analyzed in Nicola Courtright's *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican. CUP, 2003* serves as a new Christian instrument for the control of terrestrial time, the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* shows, that the entire immediate world can be charted and illustrated by the Church. In short, through these means, Gregory claimed nothing less for the papacy than complete control of time and space.

The *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* serves the purpose of a passageway connecting the classical collection of the Vatican museum with the apartment of Paul V and the *Cappella Sistina*. The rectangular space itself is

120 meters long and 6 meters wide and is entered and exited through doorways located on the northern and southern broadside. The longitudinal sides each feature 17 windows looking west to the Vatican gardens and east to the Belvedere Court. A total number of 40 maps decorate the walls of the *Galleria* displaying different parts of Italy and the Church State: the spaces between the windows feature 32 large-size frescoes (16 on each side). Eight additional and smaller-sized maps are displayed next to the doors—four on either end of the corridor. The vaulted ceiling is richly decorated with stucco ornaments (see Figure 6.4)[429] and smaller frescoes by Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia showing historical, biblical and pastoral scenes.

Gregory XIII mandated Dominican Ignazio Danti with painting the maps for the *Galleria Geografica*.[430] Danti, a cartographer and mathematician, had gained the pope's attention through his work on a cartographic wall painting of Perugia. As a studied mathematician, Danti also advised Gregory XIII on his calendar reform. Danti's main purpose in the Vatican, however, was to decorate the Gallery of Maps completed over the course of 3 years between 1580 and 1583.[431]

Gregory XIII's Gallery of Maps is a continuation of earlier cartographic paintings and draws on earlier depictions of Italian regions by the humanist Flavio Biondo whose *Italia illustrata* was popular throughout the sixteenth century.[432] Within the Vatican Palace, the gallery works as a continuation of the earlier *Mappomondo Vaticano* loggia, located on the third floor of the same building, commissioned by Pius IV in 1561 and completed under Gregory XIII. Whereas the third-floor gallery features maps of regions

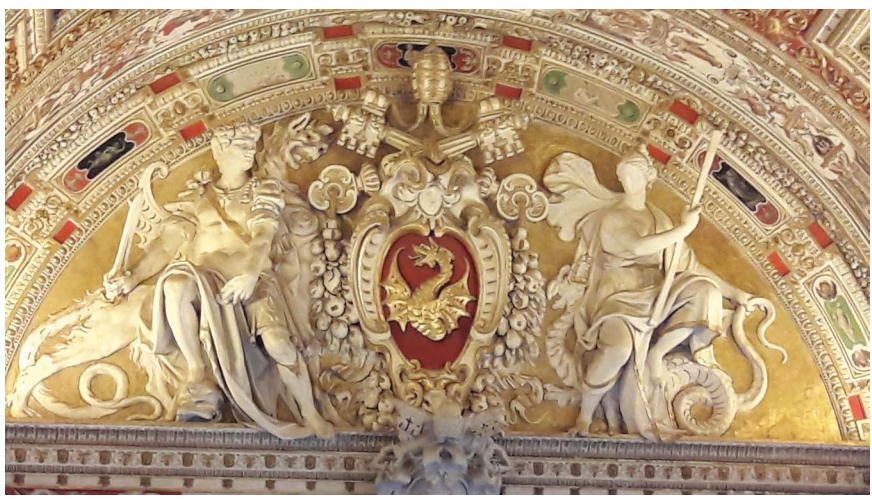

Figure 6.4 Detail of the Ceiling Decoration of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, showing the Papal Stemma of Gregory XIII with the Boncompagni Dragon.

of Europe, Russia, Asia, Africa and the Americas as well as a double-hemisphere *mappamundi*,[433] the gallery on the lower floor focuses on the different regions of Italy and the papal Estates.[434] Together, the maps visualize all political territories of importance during the sixteenth century, emphasizing the global papal claim to power.

Whereas the earlier maps of the Vatican palace have been thoroughly described[435] and analyzed,[436] Gregory XIII's Gallery of Maps has only sparked scientific interest over the course of the last century. This is probably due to the fact that until the early-twentieth century, the Gallery of Maps was not open to the public.[437] In 1994, Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli published a three-volume study of the *Galleria delle Carte*, containing extensive documentation, photographs and analyses.[438]

Designed for the instruction and guidance of the pope, the *Galleria delle Carte* primarily serves a private, educational purpose. At the same time, the gallery forms part of a mid-sixteenth-century tradition of visualizing political power claims and suggesting the ruler's detailed knowledge of the world. As such, the gallery also served a representational purpose. Originally a Venetian custom, from the mid-century onward, map-room projects became a vital part of the palace decoration of other European courts, particularly in Italy.[439] Among such projects, the *Cosmografo del Granduca* of Cosimo de' Medici in Florence stands out. The Florentine map room helped Ignazio Danti gain a reputation as a gifted cartographer. As has been stated previously, the popes often looked to the Medici as models for their own visual propaganda. Not only were the Medici particularly successful in their media strategy and self-representation, but they were also the most immediate political ally and rival of the papacy within Italy. It is therefore not surprising that Gregory XIII later contracted the same artist previously used by Cosimo de' Medici for the decoration of the papal gallery of maps to build an even bigger map-room project in the Vatican.

The maps of the *Galleria Geografica* show the regions of sixteenth-century peninsular Italy (for instance, Piedmont and Apulia) as well as islands (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica,[440] Elba and Ilua) and city plans (Florence, Venice, Genoa, Civitavecchia and Ancona). Two large-scale frescoes situated at the southern end of both longitudinal walls display general maps giving an overview of the entire country—with one map showing the Italy of classical times and the other modern-period Italy. The territories near the borders to France and Switzerland are only hazily indicated. The only non-Italian territory included among the frescoes is a map of Avignon, an ecclesiastical enclave in France. Because of its status as papal territory, the presence of Avignon within the gallery reminds the observant visitor that the collection of maps is to be understood first and foremost as a representation of papal hegemony within Italy and the papal states. In this sense, the Italy depicted in the Vatican gallery does not correspond to the political reality of the sixteenth century. It represents, instead, a utopian construction of a place under the spiritual and political authority of the papacy.

In keeping in line with this main message of papal supremacy, many of the maps featured in the *Galleria delle Carte* are depicted as seen from Rome: the maps of Calabria and Sicily are oriented toward the south, Apulia toward the east and the map of Sardinia points to the north-northwest. In this way, Rome is presented as the center of Italy and the world, as postulated by the papacy.

There is, however, a second system of orientation used in the remaining maps: the maps showing Perugia, Umbria, Etruria, Liguria and Corsica (see Figure 6.6) are not shown from a Roman point of view but as seen from the Apennine Mountains. As Everhard Schmidt points out, Danti uses the Apennine Mountains, a mountain range extending 1,200 km along the length of peninsular Italy, as a natural division to separate the subjects displayed on the opposing longitudinal walls: accordingly, the western wall of the map room shows the territories west to the Apennine Mountains from Piedmont to Apulia and the eastern wall shows the Trans-Apennine territories from Liguria to Sicily.[441] There are therefore two systems of orientation used within the map room: a geographical and a political- ecclesiastical model.

Scale also varies throughout the map gallery. Danti used different scales to display his maps as accurately as possible.[442] The variation in scale is a consequence of the limited space available to the artist: Danti had to fill the rectangular spaces between the windows on the longitudinal walls with maps of territories of varying sizes. To fill the available space while still maintaining accuracy, Danti opted for varying scales. As a consequence, in comparison with other territories, Sicily, for instance, appears exaggeratedly large. The inconsistency in size and scale however is no indication of greater visual importance given to certain territories over others, it is simply a result of the spatial challenges of the room. Of particular interest with regard to Tridentine Reform are the decorative and allegorical elements included in the maps (see Figure 6.5)[443]: the sea charts feature dolphins, seahorses, sea gods Triton and Neptune, nymphs and other mythological creatures.[444] According to Schmidt, these decorative elements were likely modeled on those used in the earlier map room commissioned under Pius IV. Within the cartographic context, these elements point to a pictorial tradition dating back to the Early Renaissance: artists used decorative sea creatures to liven up large and monochromatic bodies of water. Additionally, spectators often placed value on a map not by means of usefulness or accuracy, but according to the richness of its decoration. With its main aim being to impress the visitors, the papal map gallery had to be exquisitely decorated. Map accuracy and legibility were secondary, hence the different scales and orientation systems used in the maps.

Overall, there are even more decorative elements reminiscent of Early Renaissance in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*: as Pauline Moffitt Watts showed, the decorative program can also be read as a visualization of Church tradition, of medieval ideology centering on the figure of the pope as *Vicarius Christi*.[445] Moffitt Watts argues that the program of the gallery

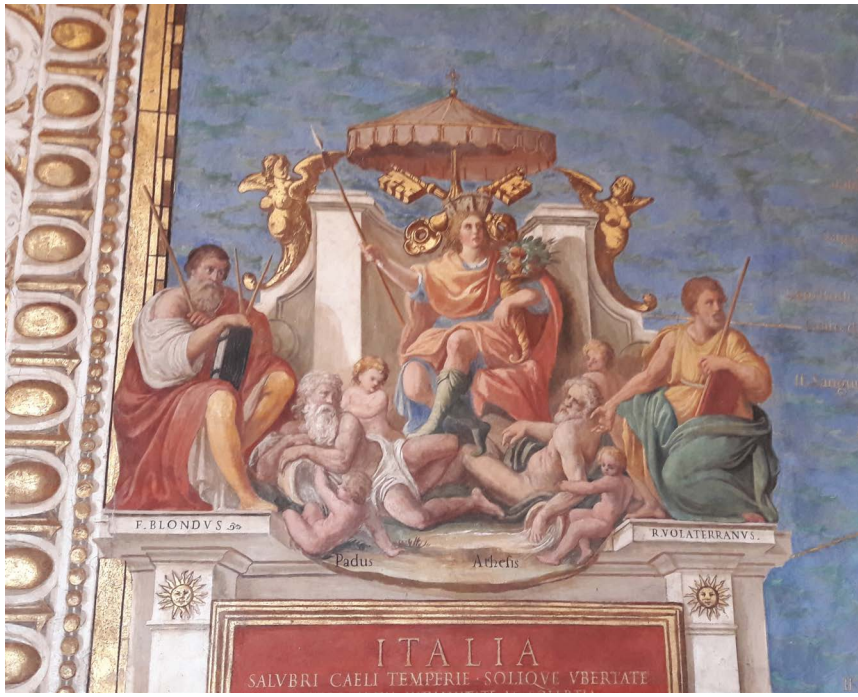

Figure 6.5 Detail of the Mural Decoration of the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, showing Italy Represented as an Allegorical Figure.

is rooted in the twelfth-century treatise *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam tertiam*[446] written by Saint Bernard (Bernard of Clairvaux) for pope Eugenius III—a text Gregory XIII had read aloud during dinner almost daily.[447] The treatise, originally composed as a critique of the medieval papacy and later reinterpreted as a guide on being a good ruler—a sort of *Fürstenspiegel*, a mirror for princes—defines the unique, almost God-like person of the pope, as a formerly human man turned into the physical and spiritual embodiment of Christ. The pope is made of "the bones in his [Christ's] bones, and the flesh of his flesh," writes Clairvaux.[448] Yet, according to Clairvaux, because of his human origin prone to fallibility, even as the embodiment of Christ on Earth and leader of the Church, the pope must continuously reflect on his strengths and weaknesses as an individual. "[…] four things in this consider," Clairvaux advises Eugenius III: "yourself, what is below you, around you, and above you."[449] Clairvaux's definition of the pope's extraordinary nature became the core of the ideology of the papacy developed during the reigns of Eugenius III and his successors[450] and it is a key component of the iconographical program of the *Galleria delle Carte*: through the maps, the gallery renders Clairvaux's advice to the pope spatially visible and physically tangible. The connection between the

Figure 6.6 Ignazio Danti, *Map of Corsica*, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Fresco, Vatican, 1580–1583.

decoration of the gallery and Clairvaux' treatise becomes even more apparent when we consider that the gallery originally included an anamorphosis, a distorted projection requiring the viewer to occupy a specific vantage point or use a special device to view a recognizable image. At the southern end of the gallery, opposite the entrance, a mirror displayed an image of the Eucharist, reflected from a distortion hidden above[451]—a direct reference to the body of Christ and therefore, by extension, also to the pope as the living embodiment of Christ.

Simultaneously, as Moffitt Watts correctly observes,[452] the gallery also visualizes another core concept of papal ideology, the *plenitudo potestatis*—the

belief, that the pope possesses a kind of unique power defined by Gerhart B. Ladner as "spiritual sovereignty, with temporal consequences plus temporal sovereignty in the papal states and temporal sovereignty over states (Sicily, Aragon, etc.)."[453]

In the gallery, both medieval concepts—the *Vicarius Christi* and his *plenitudo potestatis*—are rendered visible and are adapted to the political context of sixteenth-century Italy. But the iconography of the gallery goes further than that: by highlighting papal estates and territories in a space leading up to a mirror, the gallery serves the purpose of a sort of princely "hall of mirrors" for the pope.[454] By studying the maps of the different papal states and looking at the reflection of Eucharist in the mirror, Gregory XIII uses the gallery to reflect upon the double nature of his papal persona—as a temporal and spiritual sovereign. As the pope reflects on his persona, his office and his politics, he is accompanied not only by the decorative elements to his side but also by those above him: the richly-decorated vaulted ceiling. The ceiling (see Figure 6.7) features stucco ornaments, fruit garlands, as well as fresco paintings of biblical and allegorical figures. The decorative elements frame scenic frescoes showcasing important moments of Church history, such as St. Ambrose, depicted as acting bishop of Milan, refusing to let Roman emperor Theodosius I enter a church—a scene referencing Ambrose's resistance to the nontrinitarian Christological doctrine of Arianism, which Theodosius adhered to.[455] In the context of the sixteenth century, this scene is a thinly-veiled reference to the resistance of the Church to contemporary "heresy" in the form of Protestantism.

Other scenes show Saint Peter Damian becoming an eremite (see Figure 6.8,[456] Apostle Peter breaking the magic spell of Simon Magus with his prayer (see Figure 6.10)[457] and Frederick Barbarossa bending the knee to pope Alexander II (see Figure 6.9)[458]—a scene also depicted in the nearby *Sala Regia*. As a whole, these biblical scenes emphasize religious devotion (Saint Peter Damian), resistance to heresy (Peter and Simon Magus) and papal supremacy over earthly rulers (Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander II). In short, the Church is shown as the defender of religion and as the definitive Christian authority.

Perhaps, surprisingly, the ceiling does not include a rendition of the *Donation of Constantine* motif—the foundation upon which the papacy built its claim to power: the papal states on display in the maps of the *Galleria Geografica* are based on the historicity of the original transaction of lands between Constantine and Sylvester. Therefore, it would have made sense to include this particular motif in a gallery of papal territories. But, by the sixteenth century, the historicity of the document supposedly verifying the actual transaction had long been proven a forgery. However, the treatise disclosing this, Lorenzo Valla's 1440 essay *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio*[459] was not printed until the early-sixteenth century.[460] Upon publication, the text was quickly weaponized by Protestant leaders Luther and Calvin in order to criticize the Church. Although the

Figure 6.7 Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia, Ceiling Fresco, Galleria della Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583.

Church maintained its official position of the authenticity of this event, the formerly celebrated motif of the donation of Constantine fell out of fashion during the sixteenth century because of this controversy. Therefore, Gregory XIII's decision not to include the donation of Constantine in his gallery of maps is probably a concession to the contemporary controversy.

Figure 6.8 Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia. *Ceiling-fresco Showing Saint Peter Damian Signing his Name to Become an Eremite (center)*, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583, ceiling fresco.

As a whole, the ceiling is designed to counter the most controversial issues raised by Protestants: it narrates the political role of the Roman Church, the foundation of holy buildings in early Christianity, the historical truth of saints' lives and miracles, the veneration of relics and the morality of monastic life.[461] The scenes featured on the ceiling are not chosen randomly. They are an inextricable part of the map cycle, linked conceptually and not just by proximity: whereas the maps show places geographically, the ceiling scenes narrate the accompanying ecclesiastical back-story of the places.[462] Here, on the ceiling, the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* broaches new territory: as Francesca Fiorani convincingly argues, the combination of Church history and geographical description is inconsistent with contemporary Renaissance geography texts. For the most part, although they routinely recorded political events, the texts were completely silent on saints' lives and miracles, the devotion to relics or the history of monastic orders. In the sixteenth century, the geographical description of places relevant to religion had become the domain of Protestants.[463] The main reason for this was that a literal understanding of the Bible required great accuracy, including geographically. In their geographical description of the Bible, Protestants did not stick to richly decorated books: they also produced expensive wall

Figure 6.9 Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia. *Frederick Barbarossa Bending the Knee to Pope Alexander II (center)*, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583, ceiling fresco.

maps. Whereas in the book form, maps accompanied the biblical text, the murals turned this concept on its head: here, Bible scenes accompanied maps in order to facilitate religious education.[464]

For Catholics, of course, the most important scenes of ecclesiastical history shift geographically from the Holy Land to Italy, from the places of the Bible and Christ to the seat of the *Vicarius Christi* in Rome. This is why Gregory XIII chose to display maps focusing on Italy and Rome in his gallery and accompanied the maps with ecclesiastical background stories, highlighting the geographical importance of Italy and Rome within Church history.

As a whole, the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* combines Tridentine and Renaissance iconography. This is reminiscent of the juxtaposition of reform and tradition practiced by earlier Post-Tridentine popes, such as Pius IV.

Figure 6.10 Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia. *Apostle Peter Praying and Interrupting a Flying Spell Cast by Magician Simon Magus (center)*, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583, ceiling fresco.

Like Pius IV, Gregory XIII utilizes ideologies dating back to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (the concepts of the *Vicarius Christi* and his *plenitudo potestatis*), to visually convey papal supremacy.

But Gregory XIII goes further than Pius IV in that his iconography is more strongly reactive to contemporary religious debates: Gregory XIII designs the entire gallery in the fashion of Protestant Bible geography. In doing so, Gregory XIII not only (re-)claims this iconographical territory for himself and Catholicism, but he also uses it to insist on *romanitas* to reaffirm the centrality of Rome and Italy within Christianity. Because of this, it can be concluded that overall Tridentine iconography predominates within Gregory XIII's map gallery. Even though mannerism and Renaissance surface in the gallery in the allegorical figures decorating the maps and the ceiling, the Tridentine elements ultimately bring this pictorial program

together: the overall educational aspiration of the program, visible in the striving for accuracy in the maps, and the function of the room as a princely "mirror" for the pope are perfectly in line with Church Reform.

6.2.4 A Lesson on All Things Gregorian: The Cappella Gregoriana

Gregory XIII is the first pope to be buried in New St. Peter, directly after his death on 10 April 1585. Already in 1579, Gregory XIII had begun to plan his own monumental tomb.[465] He decides on the passageway near the *Cappella Gregoriana* as a burial place for himself and two of his *nepotes*. Located under the adjacent cupola to the right side of the main transept, the passageway connects the *navi piccole* northern arm of the Basilica's Latin cross floor plan with the main nave. Although the *Gregoriana* was consecrated in 1578, interior decoration continued until 1583 and was overseen by Giacomo della Porta. Construction of the nearby tomb continued until shortly before Gregory XIII's death in 1585.[466]

The Gregorian Chapel is so richly decorated that contemporaries described it as "artistically adorned with gold, marbles and mosaics, and that there is nothing like it in the world."[467] Gregory XIII monitored the progress of the chapel decoration very closely: in the spring of 1579, he conducted a two-hour inspection of the building site followed by almost daily visits in the spring of 1580.[468] According to the Venetian ambassador, Gregory XIII spent more than 80,000 ducats of his own private money on the decoration of the *Gregoriana*.[469]

In 1580, when Gregory decided on the *Gregoriana* as his burial site, the mural decoration of the chapel was already complete with altars placed on every wall. It is therefore probable that Gregory XIII originally envisioned a detached sepulchral monument in the middle of the chapel. Instead, for reasons unknown, Gregory XIII opted for a wall niche tomb in a passageway leading into the *Gregoriana*.[470]

The tomb approved by Gregory XIII was a triumphal arch with Gregory XIII's papal coat of arms, featuring a marble sarcophagus flanked by four female statues—allegorical figures representing the virtues—and crowned with a statue of the pope as a sitting ruler by Prospero Bresciano. These pictorial elements date back to the sepulchral architecture employed by popes throughout the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Although at first glance this is a display of tradition rather than Church Reform, the monument indicates that he was able to continue this pictorial language even after the Council of Trent. This may have been possible because the pictorial message of this monument is relatively unproblematic within Catholicism: the tomb presents the pope as virtuous ruler and Church dignitary.[471]

The original sixteenth-century tomb (see Figure 6.11) was significantly altered during the eighteenth century: given its decayed state, in 1723, Gregory XIII's great grandnephew, cardinal Giacomo Boncompagni, employed Camillo Rusconi to overhaul the entire monument.[472] Over the

Figure 6.11 The Original 1585 Tomb of Gregory XIII in New Saint Peter's, Copperplate Engraving after Prospero Antichi (de Antiquis).

course of this renovation, Rusconi depicted Ignazio Danti as a central symbol on the plinth. This is a reference to the cartographer's central role within Gregory's artistic program, especially in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*. Rusconi also removed the two exterior female allegories placed in little niches.[473] He also changed the remaining two statues, added an inscription on the sarcophagus and a dragon at its base—the heraldic animal of the Boncompagni (see Figure 6.12).[474] In the sixteenth century, decorating a papal sarcophagus with a dragon would have been ill-advised: from his election, Gregory XIII faced criticism in connection to the heraldic animal of his family. Contemporaries, in particular Protestants, interpreted the Boncompagni dragon as a bad omen.[475] Because of this, instead of commissioning a more prominent dragon statue, Gregory XIII opted for a more discrete heraldic decoration as part of the triumphal arch framing the gravesite. As Ruffini has shown, the dragon in the Boncompagni emblem underwent changes after Gregory XIII's election as pope: in an attempt to positively reinterpret the dragon, Gregory XIII chose to display only the dragon's upper half, in profile, and with wings. Demon-like features, such as a tail, teeth, fire, or claws, were omitted. In the eighteenth-century context, the problematic association surrounding the dragon was no longer a political concern. Instead, the dragon was now seen as an eastern animal and acceptable due to the connection with the orientalist style increasingly popular across Europe. This is probably why Rusconi's dragon wears a beard and has four claws. Overall, it shows

Figure 6.12 The Monumental Tomb of Gregory XIII after the 1723 Alterations Made by Camillo Rusconi, Copperplate Engraving of Johann Jakob Frey After a Drawing of Sempronio Subissati, 1723.

closer resemblance to a Chinese Long-dragon, than to the Boncompagni emblem.[476]

Engravings reproduced in Bonanni's *Numismata Pontificium* depict the monument in its original sixteenth-century state.[477] They show the jurist pope as the executive power of Church Reform. To this end, *res gestae* scenes—small images depicting the good deeds of Gregory XIII—were envisioned for the wall opposite the tomb. Instead, in 1590, the tomb of

Gregory XIV was built here. Whereas in Rusconi's remodeled tomb, the two remaining female allegories represent *Justitia* (holding a table of commandments) and *Fortitudo* (wearing armor), the original statues placed here symbolized *Caritas*, shown as a mother breastfeeding two children, and *Concordia*, holding an olive branch. The two central virtues were accompanied by the additional allegorical figures of *Fides* on the left, carrying a chalice, and *Spes* on the right, represented as a woman cradling a container in her hands. Overall, there is an insistence on the trifecta *Fides*-*Caritas*-*Spes*, also known as the Theological virtues, with *Concordia* being an additional visual reference to *Spes*, and the statue of the pope himself as a representation of *Religio* in a repetition of the *Fides* motive.[478] On the whole, the tomb makes use of pictorial references to antiquity with the architectural form of the triumphal arch and the female allegories imitating ancient Roman statues. However, in accordance with the image decree of the Council of Trent, these ancient references are combined with Christian symbolism in an attempt to show the pope as the heir of early Christianity, while the pagan elements of ancient Rome are suppressed.

In addition, there are repeated visual references to Gregory's name: the theological virtues of the tomb monument are a reference to Gregory I, who is traditionally credited with declaring these virtues as taking a special place among other virtues based on the writings of Paul the Apostle.[479] In the adjacent *Cappella Gregoriana*, there are further references to Gregory with the Boncompagni papal insignia displayed on floors and ceilings, and the tomb of early Church scholar Gregory of Nazianzus, whose remains Gregory XIII had transferred there.[480] In addition, the presence of Nazianzus in the *Cappella Gregoriana* is also an attempt to suggest a direct connection between the Greek roots of Early Christianity and Roman popes: with the help of Nazianzus, Gregory XIII spatially reframes himself as the heir of Greek Christianity. By extension, as a Roman pontiff, Gregory stands for the entire papacy. Therefore, the decoration of the chapel reflects one of the key incentives behind Trent: it visualizes *romanitas*, the Roman claim to power within the Church, by retrospectively "Romanizing" its Greek roots.

Within the context of the adjacent chapel and through multiple visual references to Antiquity and Early Christianity, the funeral monument of Gregory XIII shows the Boncompagni pope as the heir and the preserver of the early Church. This propaganda message leads from Gregory I to Gregory XIII, suggesting a line of ancestry united by theological virtues supposedly inherent to all popes and in particular to all Gregorys. If the interplay of tomb and chapel space is taken into account, the funeral monument of Gregory XIII presents itself as an example of self-representation centered not on the personal family dynasty of the pope but on his connection to the dynasty of the Church. As such, the funeral monument is a departure from the usual monuments dedicated to family dynasty commissioned by Renaissance popes—a clear nod to Tridentine Reform and its effort to replace the profane imagery with religious and educational themes.[481]

6.2.5 A Lesson on Church Reform and Romanitas: Gregory XIII and the Funeral Monument to Paul III

Gregory XIII's funeral chapel in the new Saint Peter's basilica, the *Cappella Gregoriana*, originally included yet another papal tomb: that of Paul III (see Figure 6.13).[482] The monument stood in the *Cappella Gregoriana* for approximately 10 years before being removed shortly before Gregory XIII's death, probably because it obstructed the view of the altar and distracted from the main focus of the entire Basilica—the funeral monument of Saint Peter.[483] Upon its removal from the *Gregoriana*, the monument was moved to the Southeast dome pillar. Between 1628 and 1629, the monument was moved again under Urban VIII (1623–1644)—this time to the west of the Basilica into a niche, where it is still visible today.[484]

Figure 6.13 Guglielmo della Porta. *Tomb of Paul III*, Saint Peter's Basilica, Vatican, ca. 1549–1575.

After his death in 1549, Paul III was buried provisionally in the old Saint Peter's basilica. Over the following decades, architects Guglielmo della Porta and Michelangelo fought over a design for Paul III's funeral monument. This was due to aesthetic differences—della Porta's design envisioned an isolated funeral monument, but Michelangelo rejected this, advocating for a niche-tomb in the northeast dome of the new Saint Peter's basilica opposite the tomb of Paul III's immediate successor, Julius III, which was designated for the southeast pier.[485] Both della Porta's and Michelangelo's plans were left unrealized until the pontificate of Gregory XIII. This is due to a larger debate about visual representations of the papacy and funeral monuments within church buildings—a papal tomb as the main attraction in the apse of the new Saint Peter's basilica, as envisioned by della Porta, would have been without precedent, even among the Renaissance popes.[486] In 1574 or 1575, long after Michelangelo's death, Gregory XIII commissioned Guglielmo della Porta with building a tomb for Paul III following his original freestanding tomb that dated back to 1549.

Gregory XIII felt a special connection to Paul III: it was Paul who had first summoned him as a young priest from Bologna to Rome. Both shared great commitment toward education and the Jesuit order: Paul III was the first pope to officially recognize the order, thus legitimizing it. Gregory XIII, in turn, founded several Jesuit colleges and became an important patron of the order. Both Paul and Gregory were committed to reforming the Catholic Church: Paul set Church Reform in motion by summoning the Council of Trent in 1545. And Gregory XIII saw it as his main task to implement Tridentine Reform. Gregory XIII's dedication to Church Reform is most likely a motivating factor behind his decision to commission a funeral monument for Paul III. Any monument to Paul III, the instigator of Catholic Reform, was also a monument to Church Reform itself.

But Gregory XIII was also personally indebted to the Farnese family: during the conclave, the support of Alessandro Farnese, Paul III's grandson, had been the deciding factor that helped the Boncompagni pope win the election. It is therefore not surprising that Gregory XIII commissioned a funeral monument for the grandfather of his political ally in the early years of his papacy.

The tomb of Paul III itself has been thoroughly described and analyzed by Ernst Steinmann,[487] Werner Gramberg,[488] and, more recently, by Andreas Gormans and Philipp Zitzlsperger.[489] The monument follows the usual architectural structure of a marble sarcophagus carrying a statue of the pope shown as a sitting ruler and accompanied by decorative and allegorical female figures. Although today, the monument appears as a triumphal-arch niche grave similar to that of Gregory XIII, it was originally built as a freestanding tomb and included four female allegorical figures on its base—one in each corner of the marble sarcophagus. Because of the tomb's relocation into a niche, two of the statues—Abundance and Peace—were later removed and transferred to the *Palazzo Farnese*. The other two

allegories, Justice and Prudence, remain on site in the Saint Peter's basilica (see Figure 6.13). They are said to be modeled on the likenesses of Paul III's beautiful sister, Julia, and his mother.[490]

The first Roman to be elected pope in more than over a century—after Martin V Colonna in 1417—Paul III was perceived as a distinctly Roman pope.[491] Paul III used this "home advantage" to his benefit by visually exploiting the possibilities offered by the myth of Rome. By stressing the city's ancient roots, Paul III effectively "(re-)romanized" Rome, in order to reaffirm the city's universal role, to stress its religious, cultural and political importance and to construct his own image based on these processes.[492] The Council of Trent, which Paul III summoned, put the centrality of Rome into Church doctrine and its image decree in order to Romanize the entire Christian world following Paul III's example in Rome.

However, as Paul III and his entourage stylized themselves as the living embodiment of the city of Rome and the Roman Church, conflict ensued between the Farnese and rivaling noble Roman family dynasties: Roman Patricians such as Ascanio Colonna criticized the pope for his arrogance and ingratitude toward the Roman people upon whom Paul III had imposed several new taxes to finance the grandiose festivities to visually convey the supremacy of his papacy.[493] Paul III also manipulated his rivals in order to create new conflicts among Roman barons and diminish their power.[494] Taken together, Paul III's conflict with Roman nobility, the short, respectively unpopular papacies of his supporters Marcellus II and Paul IV, combined with the continued construction of the new Saint Peter's basilica, and the conflict between della Porta and Michelangelo about regarding Paul III's funeral monument are some of the main reasons why Paul III's tomb was only constructed more than a quarter-century after the Farnese pope's death.

Another important factor is the Farnese's loss of status and political power after Paul III's death. Initially fearful of this, the Farnese *casa* commissioned Paul III's funeral monument with great haste, in an attempt to immortalize the family's claim to power. Additionally, from a propaganda point of view, Paul III's funeral monument seemed an ideal opportunity to highlight the papacy's universal claim to power.[495] In 1549, the year of Paul III's death, this message would principally have been directed toward the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his strive for hegemony over Europe and Christianity.[496] This combination of family interests and greater political concerns explains the sense of urgency, with which the Farnese ordered marble for Paul III's funeral monument in 1551. Shortly afterward, in 1552, the honorary statue of the pope was cast.[497]

The statue is rather untypical in that it does not feature any papal insignia, such as a tiara or episcopal sandals, instead, Paul III is shown wearing a liturgical vestment of a simple priest, with his head bare and unassuming sandals. The complete absence of papal insignia is striking. At a time, when the Farnese were struggling to assert their political relevance and pretension

to power, the family pope is shown as the embodiment of modesty rather than as a mighty Church leader—an unprecedented form of representation in papal iconography.[498] This unusually modest depiction seemed to be almost a humiliation of the *pontifex*. Yet, as Gormans and Zitzlsperger remark, this subject-choice is fully intentional: the striking display of modesty works to disarm Protestant criticism focusing on papal excesses. At the same time, the image of a modest pope is inspired by visual representations of the emperor—Paul III's greatest political rival outside of Italy. In his statue, Paul III is shown raising his right hand in a gesture usually employed by the emperor, instead of performing a gesture of blessing, the pope performs a greeting of peace. Della Porta himself described the gesture as "atto di pace."[499] The dress of the statue—reminiscent of a classical tunic—works to further emphasize the appearance of the pope as a distinctly Roman emperor. In essence, in his statue, Paul III is shown as the unification of pope and emperor, of papal and imperial power. Whereas other artists conveyed papal power with the help of insignia, della Porta breaks with tradition and creates a new representational archetype for papal honorary statues: he shows Paul III fully immersed in the role of an ancient emperor. Thus, whereas his predecessors only decorated themselves with symbols of papal power, Paul III is shown as the embodiment of the Christian heir to imperial Rome.[500] This invocation of Paul III's supposed imperial power also worked in favor of the Farnese, since it helped legitimize the family's controversial seizure of the Duchies of Piacenza and Parma.

The symbolism of the statue showing Paul III as emperor-pope becomes even more apparent when we look closely at the decorative reliefs on the statue's liturgical vestment: 14 reliefs on the border of the upper-garment show different scenes connected to the pontiff's life. They function as a *res gestae*. Among these scenes, the first and most visible six representations leading from the shoulders to the front of the statue celebrate political victories of Paul III. The next five reliefs, partly hidden in the garment's creases, illustrate the Farnese's love for the Church. The final three relief scenes located on the back of the garment show biblical scenes that commemorate Paul III's theological self-conception.[501] The largest of these three scenes shows the miraculous transformation of Saul (see Figure 6.14),[502] later known as Paul, into a deeply God-fearing man—a direct allusion to the Farnese pope's papal name and religious devotion: Paul III saw his election as pope as a deep and personal transformation.[503] The other two reliefs on the back are references to Moses (see Figure 6.15)[504]: one shows Moses parting the Red Sea and the other shows Moses holding the Ten Commandments. In the last relief in particular, the connection to the Farnese pope is clearly visible, as Moses is shown with similar facial features to Paul III.[505] Through the Moses representations, Paul III is stylized as the energetic voice of God, elected to interpret God's will, lead his chosen people and protect them against the enemies of faith. Overall, the reliefs of the garment show Paul III as heir to both Moses and Paul—as a Christian leader on the path to

Figure 6.14 Guglielmo della Porta. *Tomb of Paul III, Relief Detail of the Statue's Garment showing Saul*, Saint Peter's Basilica, Vatican, ca. 1549–1575.

salvation. In this, the tomb monument is highly educational and anticipates Tridentine Reform, with its use of reliefs of biblical episodes to provide analogies for the life of Paul III.

On top of a freestanding tomb monument, as envisioned by the Farnese and constructed by della Porta, the theological significance portrayed on the garment of the honorary statue of Paul III would have been visible to visitors from every angle. But, in 1574, Gregory XIII had the tomb monument relocated to a niche grave—as Gormans and Zitzlsperger suggest, probably to free up space for the huge amount of pilgrims expected to visit Rome during the Holy Year of 1575. In 1627/1628, the monument was moved a third time from the southeastern cupola pillar to a niche of the left west apse, this time by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. As a result, the reliefs on Paul III's garment and the theological symbolism of his tomb

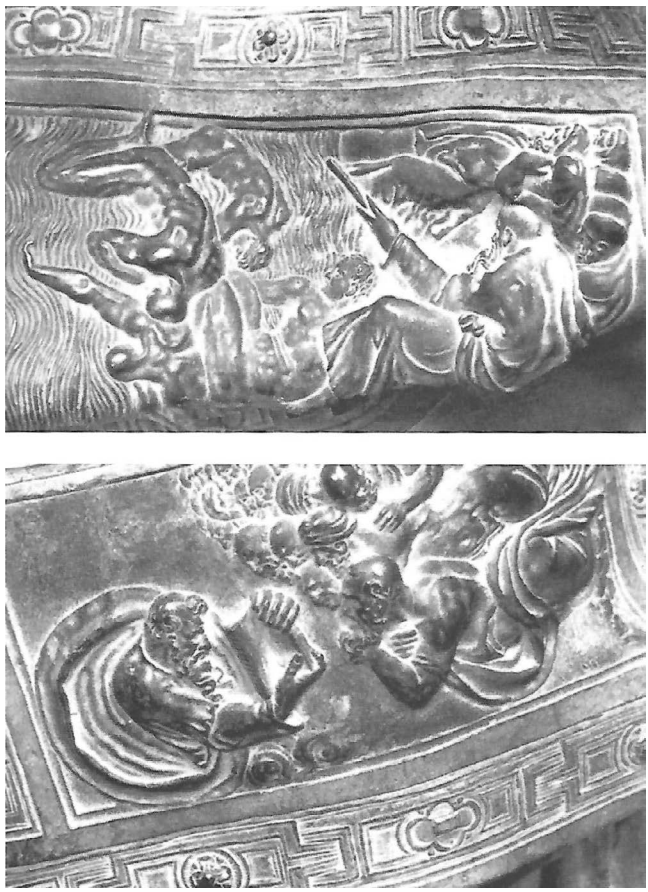

Figure 6.15 Guglielmo della Porta, *Tomb of Paul III, Relief Detail of the Statue's Garment showing two Moses scenes*, St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, ca. 1549–1575.

monument are no longer as easily decipherable as originally envisioned by the Farnese.

Although Paul III's tomb monument introduces an interesting new style of papal iconography centering on modesty, antiquity and showing the Church leader as emperor-pope, this new visual language is not continued by Gregory XIII—the first of Paul's successors to see the Farnese grave completed. Instead, when commissioning his own funeral monument, Gregory XIII returns to old norms and opts for a statue featuring the customary papal insignia, such as the tiara. This suggests, that by the time Gregory XIII was nearing the end of his life, criticism of the worldliness of the papacy had lost some of its penetrating power. Instead, under Gregory XIII, Church territories and the supremacy of the Church state, itself, increasingly came under pressure. This helps to explain why Gregory XIII

chose to revive papal power insignia on his tomb monument. Later popes, however, most notoriously Sixtus V, revive the new modest papal statue type created by della Porta and further exploit the image of the pontifex as a model of modesty.

6.3 Conclusion of Part II of the Analysis

Between 1566 and 1585, papal pictorial propaganda enters a new phase. Prior pontificates, namely those of Julius III, Paul IV and Pius IV, experiment with new media strategies and, in some cases, struggle to put the requirements of the Council of Trent into practice. Pius V and Gregory XIII, however, are able to draw from the toolbox of new strategies developed by their predecessors. Under Pius V and Gregory XIII, the imagery of Church Reform becomes a fixed part of papal pictorial propaganda. Both Pius V's and Gregory XIII's papacies have often been described as "pinnacles" of Catholic Reform. Yet this assessment is insufficient, as the analysis of some of the most representative artistic endeavors of Pius V and Gregory XIII conducted in this book has shown.

Pius V's artistic patronage is characterized by a return to established yet criticized norms and goes beyond the scope of a conservative Church Reform movement, whose supposed success lies in a certain return to tradition. Pius V is caught between his role as a spiritual leader with a zeal for Church Reform and the reality of Vatican politics. As a consequence, there is a contradiction between the external communication of the papacy and its internal acts. To the world, Pius V presents himself as a pope relentlessly embracing Church Reform, characterized by a virulent anti-paganism that manifests as iconoclastic "cleansing" and, where necessary, historical revisionism to retrospectively correct the image of the papacy as an institution in the spirit of Tridentine Reform, wherever necessary. Since Catholic Reform is a movement designed to correct the previously established image of the Church, Pius V's credibility as a Church Reformer is mainly defined by his condemnation of the excesses of the Renaissance. Under Pius V, this visually translates into representations of a strictly pious pope committed to the aggrandizement of the papacy and not the self. With this approach, he follows in the footsteps of Pius IV, rather than those of Paul IV, the uncompromising Church Reform tyrant.

Behind the scenes, however, there is no clean break with the Renaissance norms criticized by Church Reformers. Pius V continues to practice nepotism, even if on a very minimal scale, compared to his predecessors. This is made possible by the positive rebranding of nepotism that occurred during the reign of Pius IV, who cleverly appointed his nephew Carlo Borromeo, who was committed to Church Reform, as his cardinal nephew. Pius V continues this idea of a checks-and-balances system, but he shifts emphasis back to the papacy by presenting himself as the spearhead of the Church Reform and by keeping his nephews in line with orchestrated public rebukes.

In his implementation of Tridentine Reform, Pius attempts to emphasize a renewed moral superiority of the papacy and effectively changes the Vatican from a fun-loving political court into a monastery. At first, this appears to invite political success in the form of a victory for the papal alliance in the Battle of Lepanto, which Pius V exploits visually in the *Sala Regia*. However, the transformation of the Vatican from a worldly to a spiritual court actually decreased the political significance of the papacy in the long run. And, since, from the 1560s onward, religious conflict again accelerated with the religious wars in France, religious alliances throughout Europe and the threat posed by Ottoman expansion, visual renditions of contemporary events were always lagging behind the fast-changing political reality. For any leader, staying on top of current political affairs is crucial, especially during times of rapid political change. But, since both the political reality and the requirements of a conservative Reform forced the papacy into a reactive rather than proactive role, the papacy is increasingly perceived as being both out-of-touch with, and lagging behind, reality.

Gregory XIII continues the race to catch up with politics, hastily commissioning frescoes showing the Saint Bartholomew massacre in an attempt to give the papacy credit for this devastating blow to its religious enemy, even though in reality, the pope was not even consulted by the perpetrators of this event. Decades of public criticism of the Church, internal disagreements among Catholics about Church Reform and the papacy's focus on internal affairs virtually leaving the field open for political rivals and enemies, all left their mark on European politics: in the 1570s, a few decades after the Church finally decided on a new media strategy, the irreparable political damages caused by the failure of the papacy to embrace Church Reform, both early and fast enough, become noticeable. As a consequence, the papacy loses even more of its former influence.

Conscious of the shrinking influence of the papacy, Gregory XIII takes refuge in splendid visual commissions designed to again aggrandize the significance of the papacy and Rome in the eyes of the world. He recognizes, that to improve their images, the popes need to take a page from the playbook of their rivals.

In his map gallery in the Vatican palace, Gregory XIII employs Protestant iconography in form of the renderings of geographical places combined with their accompanying biblical scenes. He does this to emphasize the centrality of Rome within Church tradition in order to legitimize papal supremacy. The map gallery is an attempt to assert territorial Church dominance in a new iconographic way, in a reaction to the criticism and controversy about the usual motive employed by the papacy for this matter—the donation of Constantine.

Overall, Gregory XIII's artistic patronage is characterized by an educational aspiration that manifests itself in striving for accuracy. Because of this, frescoes commissioned by Gregory XIII are often reminiscent of the extravagance and the clutter of Pre-Tridentine mannerism rather than the

didactic simplicity favored by Tridentine iconography. Determined not to stand idly by and watch the Church lose its political power, Gregory XIII also employs militaristic imagery in his visual language centered on education: he weaponizes Roman martyrology in the sense of the Council of Trent in *Santo Stefano Rotondo*. The decorative program of the church is designed to inspire Catholic missionaries with a desire to sacrifice themselves for the Church in the fight against Protestant "heresy." At the same time, the frescoes offer instructions on how to best counter Protestant positions in religious debates. They are didactic in nature, commissioned to educate potential new martyrs and commemorate past sacrifices of the faithful in the service of Rome, the Church and its one true God. At a time when the papacy itself is struggling to remain politically relevant, the visual propaganda of the popes becomes increasingly spiritual.

7 From the Exceptional Sixtus V (1585–1590) and the Short Pontificates of Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV and Innocent IX (Both 1590–1591) to the Turn of the Century and Clement VIII (1592–1605)

The third and final part of the analysis focuses on the time period between 1585 and the turn of the century. It leads us from the exceptional pontificate of Sixtus V to the short pontificates of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX, and finally to the last pope of the sixteenth century, Clement VIII. This period is characterized by a phase of heightened artistic productivity to ready the city of Rome for the pilgrims expected to travel there in great numbers for the Holy Year of 1600. At the same time, the many artistic projects of Sixtus V accelerate the decline of Reform already begun under Pius V and Gregory XIII. As will be shown, under Sixtus V, papal pictorial propaganda further shifts toward religious subject matter. And, although the motives employed seem to be compatible with Tridentine Reform, they are also used to visually aggrandize the papacy in a way that is paradoxically reminiscent of the visual language of Renaissance popes.

7.1 Sixtus V (1585–1590): An Exceptional Social Climber

In 1585, after Gregory XIII's death and 13 years of Boncompagni rule, Roman elites are ready for a change. Gregory XIII's heirs, his two nepotes, are divided. The Medici and the Farnese families are able to seize the opportunity and gather cardinals behind them. It is not long before they agree on Cardinal Felice Peretti di Montalto as a worthy successor to the Holy See. Peretti has several advantages that make him the ideal candidate: he belongs to the unassuming Franciscan order and is therefore not seen as a political player. He is of modest origin and has no powerful family behind him, which could pose a threat to the existing elites. And, during a recent scandal,[506] Peretti had proven loyal, obedient and discreet.[507] In short, the new pope appeared to be the perfect marionette by means of which the old elites could govern once again and amass titles and benefices.

However, contrary to popular belief, Sixtus V was very much a man intent on ruling according to his own ideas. Although the new pope practiced the modest lifestyle of a Franciscan, his personal ambitions soon became apparent in his family politics. Perhaps even more eager than popes before him to climb the social ladder, Sixtus V reintroduced a more aggressive

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form of nepotism. Unlike his immediate predecessor, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V did not form part of the urban elite. But he was keen to do so and married two of his nieces into the powerful Roman noble families, Orsini and Colonna. Like Gregory XIII, Sixtus also named two cardinal nephews—an 8-year-old boy and a 15-year-old adolescent—whom he lavished with titles and gifts.[508] In an unprecedented move, the new pope also gave his sister, Camilla Peretti, a significant role at his court, treating her as a sort of first lady of the Vatican.[509]

These nepotistic practices raised eyebrows and criticism, especially from reformers, who saw the Council of Trent's achievements in danger of being destroyed by this apparent return to Renaissance customs. Although officially forbidden under the pain of death, Sixtus V also reintroduced simony. The sale of offices and titles was a lucrative source of income for the Holy See. However, Sixtus V was not a great spender. Strongly affected by the poverty experienced during his upbringing, the pope saved almost obsessively, amassing more than five million scudi in *Castel Sant'Angelo* by the end of his papacy.[510] This aggressive saving strategy combined with the sale of offices and titles was damaging to the reputation of the papacy, and once again fed Protestant criticism centering on greed and corruption in the Vatican. Sixtus V also initiated several changes that had long-lasting effects on the Vatican administration: he limited the number of cardinals to 70, ordered 15 permanent congregations—nine for the universal Church and six for the Church state—re-organized the bureaucracy of curia notaries and ensured that overseeing the Inquisition was reserved for the pope alone.[511]

Regarding politics, Sixtus V focused his efforts mainly on domestic issues. By vigorously pursuing bandits, the pope appealed to rural elites as well as to people of lower social ranking.[512] As a warning to other outlaws, Sixtus V demonstratively displayed the chopped off heads of the bandits killed in his name in greater number, "than [there were] melons in the market," as one contemporary source put it.[513] When it came to European politics, Sixtus V acted without much foresight. Due to the political circumstances of the time, the pope repeatedly found himself on the losing side of conflicts: during the French Religious Wars, he sided with the Holy League, a Catholic alliance, and suffered great losses against the pretender to the throne, Henry of Navarre. And, in the other great international conflict of the time, the Anglo-Spanish war (1585–1604), Sixtus V sided with Spain, only months before the disastrous defeat of the Spanish at Gravelines. Sixtus V lacked experience, keen political instincts and diplomatic finesse regarding foreign affairs.[514] Yet, as a social climber always conscious of his immediate surroundings and his image as pope, Sixtus V proved to be quite an avid urban architect. Like his predecessors, Sixtus V was convinced that the *romanitas* of the Church was central to the significance of the papacy. Committed to the idea of aggrandizing the papacy, Sixtus V envisioned grandiose and far-reaching plans to remodel the city of Rome. His urban-planning projects were the biggest renovation plans the city had seen since the era of

emperor Augustus.[515] Sixtus V's urban re-design plans were based on the vision of Nicholas V to transform Rome into a New Jerusalem by rendering the history of salvation visible in urban architecture.[516] Ultimately, only a fraction of Sixtus V's pompous ideas was realized. Because of the grandeur and ambition of his architectural plans, Sixtus V and his pontificate have sparked heightened scientific interest for several decades now. The closer look at the artistic patronage of Sixtus V in the following section presents a summary of previous analyses in general and rounds of these analyses by taking a closer look at Sixtus V's re-model of the Vatican square, the Vatican obelisk and Sixtus V's funerary monument.

7.1.1 Artistic Patronage of Sixtus V

The Peretti pontificate is characterized by a phase of heightened artistic patronage, which includes numerous realized and unrealized building projects and goes beyond the scope of this book. The artistic production commissioned by this pontificate is exceptional. No other pontiff before or after Sixtus V has had comparable influence on the shaping of the city of Rome. Accordingly, the Peretti pontificate is comparably well-researched. Referential publications on the artistic production under Sixtus V in general include the works of Helge Gamrath,[517] Wolfgang Reinhard,[518] Volker Reinhardt[519] and Philipp Zitzlsperger.[520] More in-depth analyses of individual artistic projects have been conducted by Bettina Burkart,[521] René Schiffmann,[522] Corinne Mandel[523] and Steven F. Ostrow,[524] to name but a few influential names of the past decades. When it comes to Sixtus V's urban planning projects, the writings of Peter Stephan are fundamental.[525]

Regarding the extensive number of artistic commissions, Sixtus V's artistic patronage resembles that of the Renaissance popes. But there are important distinctions to be made: Sixtus V's patronage is characterized by a marked indifference toward the classical period that goes beyond the mere re-purposing of classical statues customary during the Renaissance: in 1590, chief papal architect Fontana proposed plans to destroy the remains of the Baths of Diocletian to facilitate access into *Santa Maria degli Angeli*. There were also plans to convert the Colosseum into a cloth factory. Fontana's writings suggest that Sixtus V considered carrying out these propositions, but that the pope died before making a decision.[526] As the following analysis will show, destroying classical buildings as a show of force or for the benefit of urban restructuring is a practice Sixtus V engaged in throughout his patronage. Pastor refers to this practice when he describes Sixtus as "the enemy of paganism."[527] This speaks to the changed attitude of papal patronage toward antiquity after the Council of Trent.

As Sixtus V's urban planning projects represent the most significant component of his artistic heritage, the analysis conducted in this book will briefly summarize the key points of existing research and then propose

additional and alternative interpretations of Sixtus V's re-modeling of the Vatican square and the Vatican obelisk. A second section centers on Sixtus V's funerary architecture, since his double tomb monument in the *Cappella Sistina* inside *Santa Maria Maggiore* introduced new standards for Post-Tridentine papal tombs.

7.1.2 Urban Development under Sixtus V

As Peter Stephan conclusively argued, Sixtus V used urban architecture to render the history of salvation visible in three dimensions.[528] The principal idea behind his urban development projects was to transform Rome into a model territory that exemplified Christian and Godly order.[529] Sixtus wanted to achieve this by implementing a strategically designed network of straight (righteous) roads in the shape of a star (*forma syderis*),[530] intended to fulfill both symbolical and practical functions. The main purpose of this plan was to lead the crowds of pilgrims expected in Rome for the Holy Year of 1600 from one square and church of major importance to another.[531] This road-network system was represented in an erasure[532] printed by Giovanni Francesco Bordini (see Figure 7.1).[533]

A fresco by Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra in the *Salone Sistino* of the Vatican Library shows Sixtus V's architectural master plan in a more detailed way (see Figure 7.2).[534] An antecedent to absolutist capital-city planning, Sixtus V's road-network system not only connected Rome's major churches, but also made it possible to experience an urban order in a sensory way, rendering it visible and tangible.[535] For the Peretti pope, this urban restructuring project was one of his main ambitions, as his almost daily inspections of the progress of the works attest.[536]

As Peter Stephan points out, the new road system also served the purpose of enforcing social order: with the help of the new roads, large crowds of pilgrims could be directed to the city's sights more efficiently. And, for the city guards, it was also easier to enforce discipline: through targeted controls of individual street sections, they could ensure that no angry mob assembled, and that Jews, courtesans and monks abstained from using carriages. This particular measure served a dual disciplinary function as it reminded Jews and courtesans of their low social standing and forced monks to observe a lifestyle rooted in modesty and asceticism.[537]

Like Roman emperors long before him, Sixtus V also used improvements of the water-supply system to promote public health (*salus publica*) and better his own image in the public eye.[538] Easily accessible fountains—ideally located in front of representational buildings that featured decorations presenting the pope in a favorable light—were the perfect way to achieve this goal.[539] The Fontana dell'Acqua Felice is a prime example of this: situated in the Quirinale district, its location and inscription drew attention to the *Acqua Felice* aqueduct, which Sixtus had restored.[540] At the same time, the fountain glorified Sixtus V by visually comparing the Peretti pope to Moses,

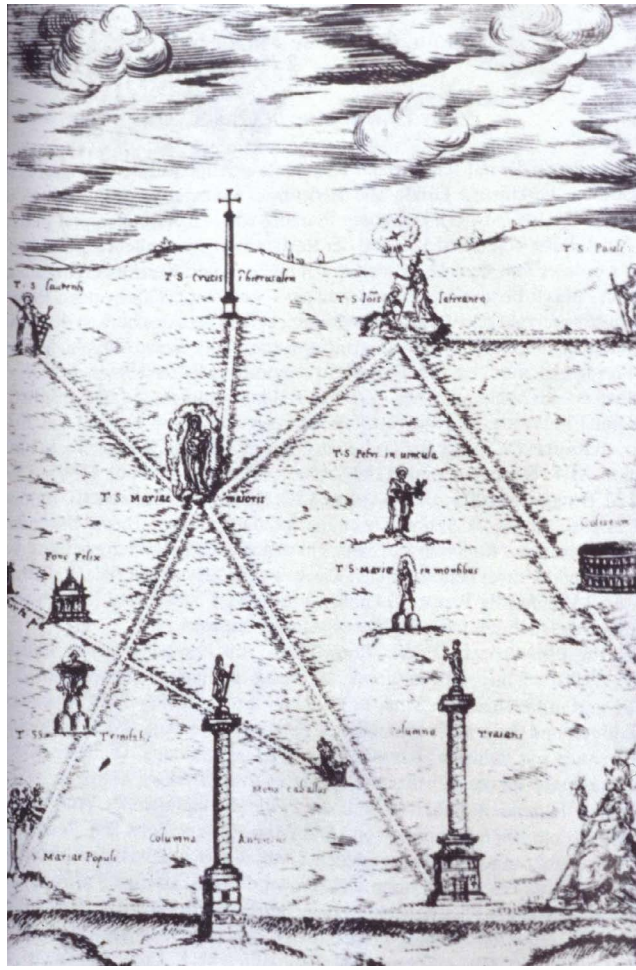

Figure 7.1 Giovanni Maggi (?). *Schematic Rendering of Roman Title Churches and the Road Network System Envisioned by Sixtus V*, Erasure, Rome, 1588.

who had led the people of Israel through the desert and given them water.[541] In this way, Sixtus V visually reinforced his claim to power.

Sixtus V used public works like the *Acqua Felice* aqueduct and its adjacent fountain to inscribe himself within the urban space of the city in yet another way: by changing the names of monuments, he constantly reminded the public of its ruler and benefactor. Suddenly, numerous works—the above-mentioned *Acqua Felice* aqueduct and fountain[542] and the *Via Felice*[543]—carried the name "Felice" in an allusion to the pope's given name.[544] In fact, the entire city of Rome was now often described as *civitas felix*[545]—a play on words attributing the "happy" (*felix*) city to its pope, Felix Peretti. Another

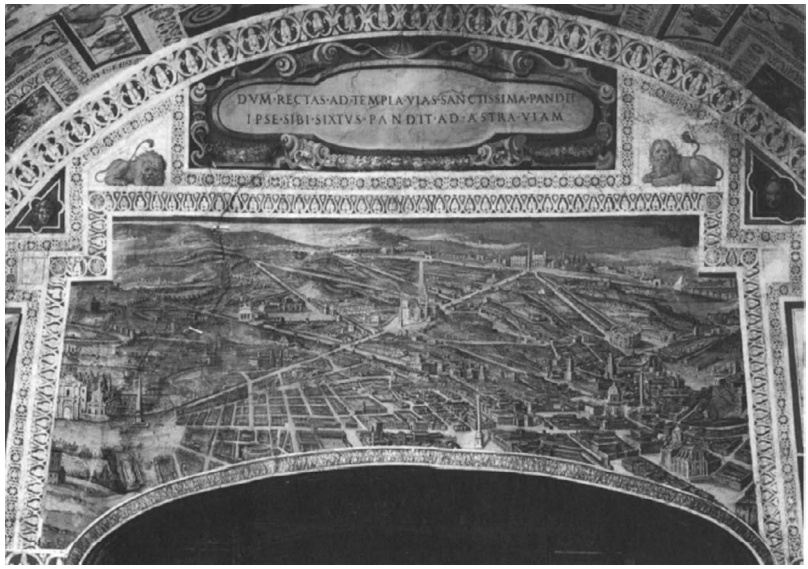

Figure 7.2 Giovanni Guerra and Cesare Nebbia. *Perspective View of Rome*, Fresco, Salone Sistino, Vatican Library, Vatican, 1588–1589.

location of great symbolical significance was *Santa Maria Maggiore*. As the fresco by Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra in the Vatican Library shows, *Santa Maria Maggiore* was located both at the very heart of Rome and at the center of Sixtus V's urban development plans and with his star-formed road-network. This was not only a gesture to Saint Mary but also to Sixtus V himself, as *Santa Maria Maggiore* was located in immediate vicinity of the Franciscan monastery Sixtus V had joined as a young man.[546] As a cardinal, Sixtus V had added a new chapel to the church, the *Cappella Sistina*, which he later transformed into a double funeral monument for himself and Pius V.

As pope, Sixtus V continued to employ the visual propaganda tactics conceptualized by his predecessors, most noticeably Pius IV, who re-appropriated ancient Roman relics for visual Church propaganda. The pagan world had been defeated and Christianity emerged victoriously.[547] Accordingly, Sixtus V saw pagan imagery fit for use, if presented in a way that exalted the glory of Christ, his Church and his vicar on Earth, the pope. Therefore, several of Sixtus V's urban architectural projects included a relocation of classical Roman statues, columns or obelisks transforming objects formerly associated with Christian martyrs into symbols of victory through spatial reframing. Some examples of this can be found in Sixtus V's rededication of the obelisks with the papal inscriptions on their plinths or the addition of Peter and Paul to the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

Sixtus V did not limit his ambitious city plans within the city gates: he also made crucial changes to the surrounding landscape. By cutting down entire woods, draining swamps and facilitating a better water supply for farming land, Sixtus V domesticated nature, submitting it to his will and—by extension—Godly order.[548] Sixtus V also created new paths into the wilderness and—in a symbolic way—toward salvation (Rome).[549] His efforts to re-structure urban space were so extensive that they served as a sort of purification of the city ahead of the Holy Year of 1600: by establishing Godly order within the city of Rome—the city described as "whore of Babylon" in the Book of Revelation and criticized as the seat of the Antichrist by Protestants[550]—Sixtus V effectively transformed the city into a New Jerusalem in anticipation of the second coming of Christ.[551] In the case of pagan artworks, such as the obelisk located on St. Peter's square, this purification was not just symbolic, but also quite literal, as Sixtus V had these objects publicly exorcised prior to transforming them into symbols of Christian victory.[552] By cleansing the city and rendering the history of salvation visible within the cityscape, Sixtus V inscribes the spiritual and moral realignment of the Church into the Roman urban landscape.[553] At the same time, this strategy complies with the educational function of art, as decreed by the Council of Trent. And by transforming Rome into a city worthy of being the center of Christianity, Sixtus V illustrates and legitimizes *romanitas*—the Roman supremacy within the Church as supported by the Council of Trent. And paradoxically, the theological foundation, on which Sixtus V's urban development project is based, also serves as justification for the pope to publicly present himself in a way formerly only displayed by Roman emperors: as a magnificent and almost omnipotent ruler.

7.1.3 The Lions and the Eagles of the Vatican Obelisk on St. Peter's Square: A Symbol of Martyrdom, Salvation, the Tridentine Church and the Circus Christianus

Within Sixtus V's urban renovation projects, his plans for St. Peter's square and its obelisk stand out in particular. As one of Rome's most famous sights, St. Peter's square has inspired numerous architectural-historical studies and papers. Whereas the artistic significance of the square and its components is undisputed—Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt praised Bernini's colonnades as "bei weitem das Beste, was er überhaupt gebaut hat" (by far the best he ever built) in his mid-nineteenth-century Cicerone[554]—little attention has been paid to the four lions situated at the foot of on the Vatican obelisk and the four eagles sitting on garlands in-between the lions (see Figure 7.3). Peter Stephan, who has written extensively on the urban renovation plans of Sixtus V (1521–1590), has recognized the lions as heraldic emblems of the Peretti pope marked with a Peretti star, and in a larger sense, as a reference to Christ with the entire obelisk serving as a monument

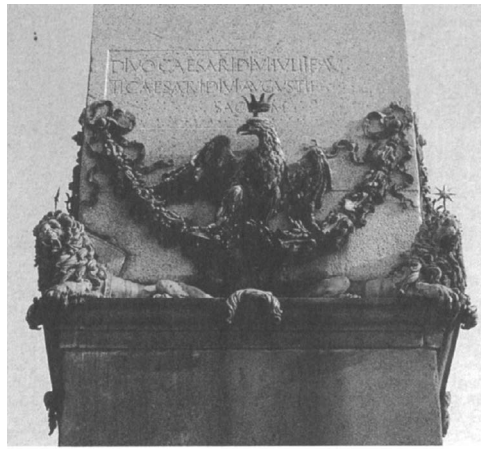

Figure 7.3 The Lions and the Eagles of the Vatican Obelisk, Vatican, 1586.

celebrating salvation and resurrection and ultimately the Christian triumph over pagan Rome.[555]

This interpretation of the lions as a symbol of Christ is based on the inscription "LEO DE TRIBV IVDA" on the lower east side of the obelisk, which connects the lions to the biblical tribe of Judah, to which Jesus Christ belonged.[556] Another inscription on the obelisk praises the victory of Christ, replacing an earlier inscription praising "Divine Augustus" and "Divine Tiberius (see Figure 7.4)."[557] In addition, Sixtus had *monti* and a star installed on top of the obelisk—two more references to the Peretti *stemma* (coat of arms) and Sixtus V's claim to power. These objects are crowned only by a single copper cross. The message conveyed by the obelisk is fairly simple: above the pope, there is only God.

While this argument is convincing and conclusive, there is further evidence supporting this hypothesis connected to the multiple meaning of the lions, which has been left unexplored so far. This section of the present book aims at investigating the function of the lions on the Vatican obelisk as symbols of salvation and resurrection, but also of martyrdom and vigilance and proposes a reading of the lions as a key to understanding the obelisk monument and the entire square as a *circus Christianus*, a Christianized circus, a theater for the creation of saints and the formal ritual of pontifical authority.

To understand the multiple symbolism of the obelisk lions, we need to understand their architectural context first, the setting in which they are situated and staged, namely St. Peter's square. Wolfgang Reinhard has described St. Peter's square as having been conceptualized "als grandiose Bühne für eine Theaterkirche und einen Theaterstaat" (as a grandious stage for a theater church and a theater state).[558] Reinhard's reference to

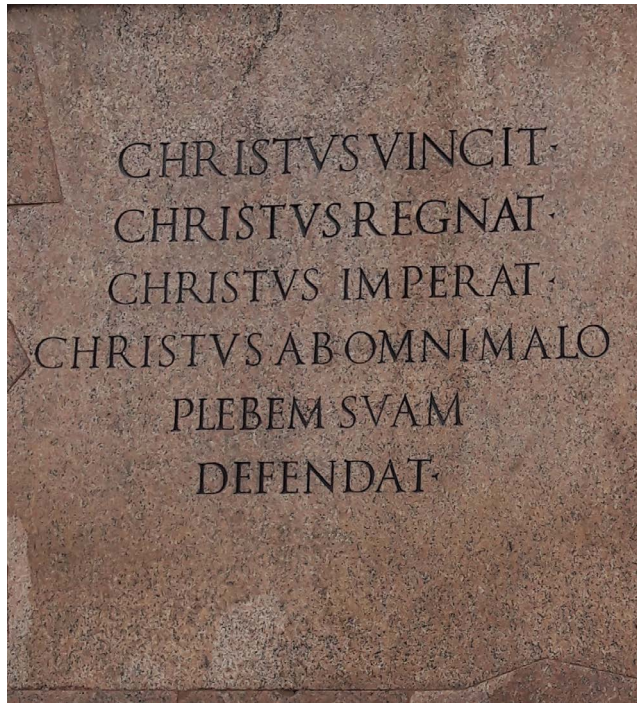

Figure 7.4 Inscription Praising the Victory of Christ, Vatican obelisk, Vatican, 1586.

theater expresses the notion of a city that is deliberately staged to represent the papal claim to power and the triumph of Christianity over the world. Urban design has preoccupied Roman pontiffs since Nicholas V (1397–1455), who envisioned Rome as a New Jerusalem.[559] But city development, having been practiced by Roman emperors in the classical period, long predates Christianity and its popes. One of the most noticeable architectural structures of Roman antiquity and an integral part of any larger Roman city design is the semicircular theater, in contrast to the earlier Greek theater, it is usually built on its own foundation and completely enclosed on all sides, with a semicircular tribune facing the stage and the theater wall. The similarities between this architectural form and the layout of St. Peter's square are striking: like a Roman theater, the square is designed to guide the visitor's eye toward a central wall or stage, namely the main facade of the Saint Peter's Basilica. These commonalities go even further if we compare the layout of St. Peter's square to that of a Roman circus.

The idea of St. Peter's square as a re-imagined *circus romanus* is not new: according to the tradition, the new Saint Peter's Basilica was built with its three southern *navate* resting upon the three northern supporting walls of the circus of Gaius and Nero, an assumption proven inaccurate and

Figure 7.5 Giovanni Guerra and Cesare Nebbia. *Erection of the Vatican obelisk on St Peter's Square*, Salone Sistino, Vatican Library, Vatican, 1586, Mural Fresco.

declared either a misunderstanding or a deliberate falsification by Jocelyn Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins in 1956.[560] Famously, the Vatican obelisk itself, relocated under Sixtus V in 1585 (see Figure 7.5), formed part of the circus of Caligula (or Nero), which was located mostly in the space occupied by St. Peter's square today. But only if we recognize the connection between theater, circus and St. Peter's square, are we able to fully grasp the symbolism connected to the four lions of the Vatican obelisk: architecturally speaking, the Latin word *theatrum* designates a semi-circle, while *circus* signifies "ring." A *circus*, then, is a structure characterized by a full circle or two connected semi-circles. If we understand St. Peter's square as both a *circus* and a double theater, the entire space gains added meaning, as we are now able to make out a second "stage": the two semi-circular colonnades designed by Bernini 1656 open the square up on two sides, guiding the visitor's gaze to the basilica's facade but also allowing an undisturbed view from the basilica to the city of Rome. In this sense, St. Peter's square serves as both a *theatrum sacrum* and a *theatrum romanum* or *theatrum terrarum*: it places the Church and the city of Rome on a larger, worldly stage. This is expressed in the apostolic *urbi et orbi* blessing pronounced by the pope on Easter Sunday on the basilica's balcony looking upon this second, worldly "stage."

The center of the square, marked by the Vatican obelisk, is the only place where visitors standing on the square can look onto both stages: from there, a sixteenth-century visitor would have been able to see the

Saint Peter's Basilica and look out toward the city of Rome. This effect was reinforced in the twentieth century under the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, with the construction of the *Via della Conciliazione*, which connects the Vatican to the city of Rome.[561] Within this context of the *theatrum sacrum* and *theatrum romanum*, the four lions supporting the Vatican obelisk present another instance of double staging: as supporting elements of the obelisk, they lift up this monument dedicated to Christian triumph. Theologically, as Peter Stephan has conclusively argued, the lions contribute to salvation *per aspera ad astra*. Like Christ, the lions are shown carrying the cross (*aspera*), visually represented by the bronze crucifix installed on top of the obelisk, which is said to contain a relic of the Cross.[562] But if we understand the lions not only as a symbol of sacrifice or the passion of Christ but also as a symbol of Christian martyrdom, another symbolic reading emerges, which is that of the *circus* or *theatrum romanum*: the lions are also a reminder of the *damnatio ad bestias*, the capital punishment reserved for runaway slaves, the worst criminals and Christians in ancient Rome.

In fact, Christian martyrs were thrown to the lions in the circus of Caligula, on the same site where St. Peter's square stands today.[563] But there is even more to the symbolism of relocating the obelisk to Saint Peter's: according to Christian tradition, Saint Peter, the first bishop of Rome and the first pope, was also crucified by emperor Nero, which is why sixteenth-century Romans referred to the obelisk as *Pyramis Beati Petri* or pyramid of Saint Peter. Because of his persecution of Early Christians, Nero is seen as the Antichrist in the Bible: in the Greek and the Hebrew alphabet—the original languages of the Bible—where every letter is assigned a number, the name "Caesar Neron" corresponds to the number 666, in Latin to 616. Both numbers are assigned to the Antichrist in the Book of Revelation. Historians and religious scholars, such as Peter Corssen, have long argued that Nero's name was codified in this way out of a fear, that a recantation of his name might bring him back from the dead.[564] Physically removing the obelisk from Nero's sphere of influence (the circus) was an enterprise that required an unimaginable technological effort, which Sixtus V propagandized accordingly, in a fresco in the Vatican Library.[565] But by erecting the obelisk anew in the power center of Christianity (the Vatican), Church and papacy celebrate a symbolic triumph and victory over Nero and paganism. And, since the Vatican obelisk also functions as a giant sun dial, it also renders Godly order visible.[566]

As a symbol of martyrdom, the lions, then, are also a Petrine symbol. Theologically, this symbolical connection between St. Peter and the lions is rooted in the First Epistle of Peter 5:8, where Peter writes: "Be alert and of sober mind. Your enemy the devil prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour."[567] Here, the lions symbolize the demonic, the beast, through which followers of Christ found death. If we consider the entire

passage, the connection between the lions, martyrdom, vigilance and salvation becomes clear:

> To the elders among you, I appeal as a fellow elder and a witness of Christ's sufferings who also will share in the glory to be revealed: Be shepherds of God's flock that is under your care, watching over them—not because you must, but because you are willing, as God wants you to be; not pursuing dishonest gain, but eager to serve; not lording it over those entrusted to you, but being examples to the flock. And when the Chief Shepherd appears, you will receive the crown of glory that will never fade away. In the same way, you who are younger, submit yourselves to your elders. All of you, clothe yourselves with humility toward one another, because, 'God opposes the proud, but shows favor to the humble.' Humble yourselves, therefore, under God's mighty hand, that he may lift you up in due time. Cast all your anxiety on him because he cares for you. Be alert and of sober mind. Your enemy the devil prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour. Resist him, standing firm in the faith, because you know that the family of believers throughout the world is undergoing the same kind of sufferings. And the God of all grace, who called you to his eternal glory in Christ, after you have suffered a little while, will himself restore you and make you strong, firm and steadfast. To him be the power for ever and ever. Amen.[568]

If we "read" the Vatican obelisk lions according to 1 Peter 5:1-11, the four lions that are sitting under the obelisk stone appear as demonic beasts, that have been humbled by God, who is symbolized by the obelisk stone marked with a crucifix. In this sense, the once demonic beasts are being Christianized by the stone they carry: instead of the devil's work, they now do God's work, protecting the obelisk and square from demonic powers. Vigilantly, they watch over the four corners of the world and thus safeguard the Christianized obelisk from the pagan (demonic) spirits, from which the monument has been exorcised. The lions thus connect St. Peter and all popes as direct heirs to the lineage of Christ and Judah, who have been tasked with the mission to watch over Christianity ("the flock") as Shepherds in the promise of salvation.

Additionally, because the quartet of lions are connected to the First Epistle of Peter, the lions also function as a larger symbol of the New Testament and its promise of salvation and resurrection. In this way, the quartet of lions mirrors the quartet of Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) and the four Gospels, which narrate the Life of Christ. And, like in the New Testament, where the promise of resurrection and salvation is narrated and supported by the four Evangelists, the lions support and lift up the obelisk, to make salvation *per astera ad astra* possible. If the lions symbolize the four Evangelists and the cross on the top of the obelisk stands for salvation, the obelisk stone itself can be read as Peter, the "rock," upon

which the Church is built—in an analogy to Matthew 16:18 ("And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.").[569]

These multiple meanings connected to the lions are customary for the Early Modern Period: countless translations of the Early Christian Greek *Physiologus* circulated throughout Europe during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. The treatise, first written by an unknown author between the second and fourth centuries AD, describes natural and fantastical animals and beasts, and strongly influenced European ideas about animals for over a thousand years. Of the lion, the first animal described in the *Physiologus*, the treatise says:

> We begin first of all by speaking of the Lion, the king of all beasts: Jacob, blessing his son Judah, said, "Judah is a lion's whelp" [Gen. 49:9]. Physiologus, who wrote about the nature of these words, said that the lion has three natures. His first nature is that when he walks following a scent in the mountains, and the odor of a hunter reaches him, he covers his tracks with his tail wherever he has walked so that the hunter may not follow them and find his den and capture him. Thus also, our Savior, the spiritual lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David [cf. Rv. 5:5], having been sent down by his coeternal Father, hides his intelligible tracks (that is, his divine nature) from the unbelieving Jews: an angel with angels, an archangel with archangels, a throne with thrones, a power with powers, descending until he had descended into the womb of a virgin to save the human race which had perished. 'And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us' [John 1:14]. And those who are on high not knowing him as he descended and ascended said this, 'Who is this king of glory?' And the angels leading him down answered, 'He is the lord of virtues, the king of glory' [cf. Ps. 24:10]. The second nature of the lion is that, although he has fallen asleep, his eyes keep watch for him, for they remain open. In the Song of Songs the betrothed bears witness, saying, 'I sleep, but my heart is awake' [S. of S. 5:2]. And indeed, my Lord physically slept on the cross, but his divine nature always keeps watch in the right hand of the Father [cf. Matt. 26:64]. 'He who guards Israel will neither slumber nor sleep' [Ps. 121:4]. The third nature of the lion is that, when the lioness has given birth to her whelp, she brings it forth dead. And she guards it for three days until its sire arrives on the third day and, breathing into its face on the third day, he awakens it. Thus did the almighty Father of all awaken from the dead on the third day the firstborn of every creature [cf. Corl. 1:15]. Jacob, therefore, spoke well, 'Judah is a lion's whelp; who has awakened him?' [Gen. 49:9].[570]

Physiologus prescribes multiple "natures" to the lion and connects the lion first to Christ, the divine, the tribe of Judah, second to vigilance and third to salvation and resurrection. All of these "natures" are embodied by the

lions of the Vatican obelisk. The former demonic nature of the lion as a beast devouring Christians is only hinted at in *Physiologus*: like the devil, who according to the Bible is unable to create life, the lioness is unable to birth life. But, as *Physiologus* explains in an analogy to Christ, the male lion is able to breathe life into the stillborn cub, after 3 days and only on the third day. The symbolism behind this is clear: the formerly demonic beast finds new life by following Christ. The lion has been tamed and Christianized. The four lions of the Vatican obelisk then, not only stand for salvation and resurrection, but also for St. Peter, the four Evangelists, vigilance and the demonic, which has been reformed, transformed and exorcised. The former beasts of a roman circus, a *theatrum romanum*, appear as divine creatures on St. Peter's square, the *theatrum sacrum* following the principle laid out in Romans 5:20: "Now the law came in to increase the trespass, but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more."[571] In this sense, the site, where Early Christians found death is transformed into a *circus christianus*, a Christianized Circus, and cosmic god-pleasing order is restored. And now, we are also able to understand why the statues of martyrs look down onto the square from the colonnades and the basilica's facade: they are cheerfully looking toward the Vatican obelisk and the lions, a symbol of martyrdom. The Christianized lions, the defenders of Christianity against evil, have allowed the martyrs to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. In this sense, the lions contribute to the symbolism of salvation, resurrection and Christian triumph of the Vatican obelisk: in yet another analogy to Peter (and the papacy, in general), they are the symbolical key to the gates of heaven, the Vatican, St. Peter's square and the Saint Peter's Basilica.

The four eagles on either side of the obelisk sitting in-between the lion statues symbolically connect the lions and papacy to ancient imperial Rome and the Tridentine Church. This becomes clear, when looking at the passage on eagles of *Physiologus*:

> David says in Psalm 120, "Your youth will be renewed, like the eagle's" [Ps. 103:50]. Physiologus says of the eagle that, when he grows old, his wings grow heavy and his eyes grow dim. What does he do then? He seeks out a fountain and then flies up into the atmosphere of the sun, and he burns away his wings, and the dimness of his eyes, and descends into the fountain and bathes himself three times and is restored and made new again. Therefore, you also, if you have the old clothing and the eyes of your heart have grown dim, seek out the spiritual fountain who is the Lord. "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water" [Jer. 2:13]. As you fly into the height of the sun of justice [Mal. 4:2], who is Christ as the Apostle says, he himself will burn off your old clothing, which is the devil's. Therefore, those two elders Daniel heard, "You have grown old in wicked days" [Dan. 13:52]. Be baptized in the everlasting fountain, putting off the old man and his actions and putting on the new, you who have been created after the likeness of God [cf. Eph.

> 4:24] as the Apostle said. Therefore, David said, "Your youth will be renewed like the eagle's" [Ps. 103:5].[572]

Physiologus connects the eagle to baptism, one of the central doctrines of the Tridentine Church. Like the eagle, who is renewed after taking a bath in the fountain of life, Christians are spiritually renewed, when baptized. Since the obelisk, as has been shown, serves as a symbol for ascension *per aspera ad astra*, the eagles directly connect salvation to the Tridentine Church and its doctrine of baptism: the formerly demonic lions are Christianized, and able to achieve salvation through the doctrine of baptism and the Tridentine Church and ultimately following Christ, as symbolized by the eagles. To underscore Christ's victory and reign over heaven and earth highlighted in the obelisk inscriptions, the eagles are shown wearing crowns.

Therefore, on St. Peter's square under the Vatican obelisk, where Christian martyrs once found death, pilgrims are now able to achieve ascension *per aspera ad astra*. They can achieve this through the Christian faith, baptism and by following the Church and its leader, the pope, incorporated into the monument in the form of the Peretti insignia. The faithful on the square are cheered on by Christian martyrs (the statues of the Apostles and Saints located on top of St. Peter's Basilica and the later-added colonnades), who are watching from the stands, in an analogy of the classical Roman and pagan circus once located there.

In the *circus romanus* of St. Peter's square, the devil (Nero) is vanquished and his former victims are victorious. To cap it all, the whole square is named after Saint Peter, in honor of the ecclesiastical dynasty that he founded, and which Nero was unable to obliterate. Thus, the entire square and the Vatican obelisk are a perfect example of the symbolism used by Sixtus V to render the history of salvation visible and tangible within the cityscape.

In the end, because Sixtus V died after a mere 5 years on the throne, only a minimal part of his far-reaching urban development plan was realized: the construction of the *Via Sistina* and the relocation and reframing of several ancient objects, such as the Vatican obelisk. In hindsight, as Reinhardt observes, this is probably for the better, as Sixtus V's large scale redevelopment could not have been implemented without serious damage to several older buildings.[573]

7.1.4 Funerary Architecture under Sixtus V

In addition to busying himself with redesigning the entire city of Rome, Sixtus V also designed his own funeral monument: a double tomb for himself and Pius V, whom he greatly admired, in the *Cappella Sistina* inside *Santa Maria Maggiore* (see Figure 7.6 and 7.7). Architects Domenico Fontana and Carlo Maderno began its construction in 1587. The mannerist interior decoration was supervised by Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra, while the tomb monuments themselves were designed and sculpted by artists Pietro

Figure 7.6 Pietro Olivieri, Niccolò Pippi, Egidio della Riviera, Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. *Tomb of Sixtus V Peretti*, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1586–1591/1592.

Olivieri, Niccolò Pippi, Egidio della Riviera, Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. Yet, when Sixtus V died in 1590, the project was still unfinished. Sixtus V was therefore first buried in the St. Andrew's Chapel of the old Saint Peter's basilica. As an inscription[574] tells us, it was Alexander Peretti, his cardinal nephew, who completed the work under Sixtus V's successor, Clemens VIII (born Ippolito Aldobrandini). Clemens VIII himself was indebted to Sixtus V, since the Peretti pope had made him cardinal in 1585. Once the construction was completed, Sixtus V's remains were transferred into the *Cappella Sistina* tomb, where they remain to this day. The remains of Pius V (1566–1572), whose wish to be buried in his hometown

Figure 7.7 Pietro Olivieri, Niccolò Pippi, Egidio della Riviera, Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. *Tomb of Pius V Ghisleri*, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1586–1591/1592.

Bosco was ignored by Sixtus V, were also transferred to the *Cappella Sistina*.[575]

Sixtus V's double funerary monument is a spectacularly magnificent burial place. Fittingly, some of the material used to build the tomb and chapel was recycled from the destroyed Septizonium, an act of papal vandalism that shocked many in humanist circles in 1590s Rome, but which fit papal propaganda and policy under Sixtus perfectly as it aligns with his strategy of reframing and reclaiming antique Roman monuments for the Catholic Church. The entire burial chapel is the result of meticulously conceptualized

papal self-portrayal.[576] The monument was designed "mit dem entschiedenen Anspruch, einen neuen Abschnitt der Kirchengeschichte zu versinnbildlichen."[577] It intends to interconnect the past, the present and the future, since the two popes buried there, a Franciscan and a Dominican, are themselves reminiscent of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic—two reformatory pillars of the Church in the thirteenth century.[578] The possible interpretations of this monumental tomb are so manifold, that a detailed analysis would go beyond the scope of this book. Overall, it can be stated that the two tombs relate to each other in a way that emphasizes the papacy as ecclesiastical dynasty transcending time. In short, by visualizing the accomplishments of the two popes buried here, the monument aspires to elevate the papacy as a whole.[579]

The two tombs are situated on the two lateral sides of the chapel, facing each other. Between them, at the center of the chapel, stands a tabernacle carried by four angels and made by Ludovico del Duca and Sebastiano Torrigiani in 1586–1588.[580] Underneath lies a relic of the manger in Bethlehem, especially revered by Franciscans such as Sixtus V.[581] The main altar is located on the longitudinal side of the chapel opposite the entrance. Both tomb monuments have the same structure: they are triumphal arch monuments. With their different partitions, pillars and niches, the funerary monuments are reminiscent of an ancient Roman theater stage—a clear architectural reference to Roman antiquity and an emphasis on the Roman origins, the *romanitas*, of papacy and Church.[582] At the same time, the structure of the tomb monuments in the *Cappella Sistina* follows that of the Medici tombs in *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*. Yet, according to Reinhardt, whereas the Medici tombs are person- and dynasty-centered pieces of panegyric, the *Sistina* tombs realign this message in the sense of Catholic Reform, as the following analysis will show.[583] A niche, situated in the middle of the lower section of each wall monument, features a stone sarcophagus with a statue on top showing the respective pope buried there: the tomb of Sixtus V with its statue is located on the right-hand side of the chapel entrance, and Pius V's tomb with its statue are situated opposite, on the left-hand side. Above and next to the papal statues—the main focal point of each wall monument—images carved into marble showcase the good deeds of Sixtus V and Pius V, their *res gestae*. These relief scenes are history pictures and proof of legitimacy alike, since they highlight the track record of the deceased and cast them in a favorable light.[584]

When comparing the two papal statues, key differences become apparent: Pius V is shown as a ruler sitting on his throne (see Figure 7.7).[585] Sixtus V is shown kneeling and praying (see Figure 7.8).[586] His head is bare: the tiara is placed next to him on the ground.[587] Together, the two statues embody two key papal virtues: Pius V, the radical reformer, represents triumph, while the submissive pose of Sixtus V is a visualization of *pietas*.[588] As Sixtus V supervised the works on the statues quite closely, it is highly probable that he intended them to function as complimentary counterparts.[589] As Peter

Figure 7.8 Pietro Olivieri, Niccolò Pippi, Egidio della Riviera, Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. *Detail of tomb of Sixtus V Peretti*, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1586–1591/1592.

Stephan remarks, this devotion is directed toward the tabernacle and the relic of the manger of Bethlehem at the chapel's center.[590] But, at the same time, through the deliberately staged understatement of his statue, Sixtus masterfully presents himself as the perfect successor and heir to his pre-predecessor and promoter Pius V.[591] In this sense, the visual rendering of humility in the Sistina follows the *exaltatio humilitatis* of Pauline theologumenon.[592] And

together, triumph and humility form a theological and ideological unity, since it was believed that popes demonstrating these characteristics could distinguish themselves when facing the Last Judgement.[593] Additionally, the virtues of triumph and humility are also indicative of the field of tension in which all papal funerary monuments Post-Trent find themselves: the monuments are designed to aggrandize the popes as Church dignitaries and rulers, without offering Protestants or Catholics committed to Church Reform new grounds for criticism. Yet, any funerary monument designed to glorify an individual is irreconcilable with Church doctrine: one cannot advertise oneself in front of God, who sees into the hearts of people and knows their truest selves.[594]

Nonetheless, Sixtus V, who commissioned this double funeral monument, attempts to distinguish himself in front of God. But, in light of the Church Reform, he opts for a different strategy to Renaissance popes: Sixtus V only marginally incorporates family dynasty into his monument in the form of his family's coat of arms.[595] Instead of highlighting his own family name, Sixtus V puts the emphasis onto the spiritual families of the two popes. Through the spatial juxtaposition of the two popes and the visual references linking them, the corporate unity of the two as members of mendicant orders is emphasized. Dominican pope Pius and Franciscan pope Sixtus are visually united. They incorporate both Church continuity and a joint effort for Church Reform, and appear as a "korporative Grenzen überschreitende Würdigkeitsgemeinschaft"[596]—a community of dignity exceeding corporate limits.

This emphasis of a shared spiritual background in turn allows Sixtus V to appropriate some of the merits of his predecessor, since he depicts himself as being the continuation of a community of shared values and beliefs. And, by visually staging his own humility, Sixtus V portrays himself as a church attendant who is even more modest and therefore virtuous than his counterpart. In short, Sixtus V attempts to appear holier than a saint—in this case—holier than Pius V, who was indeed canonized in 1712. In this way, Sixtus V cleverly exploits the image of humility to represent himself as a ruler who is uninterested in worldly power (the tiara set aside) and determined to stand in front of God as a seemingly simple Franciscan. In this, the statue of Sixtus V is strikingly close to the people, as it shows one of the most powerful rulers on Earth as a supposedly humble man.[597] By emphasizing personal humility and spiritual family rather than personal dynastic relations, the funeral monuments of the *Sistina* reconcile Catholic Reform with the Renaissance tradition of aggrandizing papal tomb monuments. And the funerary double monument includes several other references to Church Reform and the Tridentine image decree: *didacticis*, for instance, plays a great role. The values and virtues for which the two popes stand are displayed in several relief scenes in a diegetic and anecdotal manner, so that even unlearned contemporaries would have been able to decipher the key messages of the wall monuments. Although the relief scenes make

reference to specific historical events, they are at the same time universally valid, so that they can easily be "read" and interpreted. For instance, the two main reliefs of the middle section of the Peretti tomb commemorate Sixtus V's fight against rural bandits and his charitable works for the people of Rome. The upper three reliefs show Sixtus V's crowning as pope (center), the canonization of Diego de Alcalà (left) and the peace agreement between Austria and Poland (right), which Sixtus V helped mediate.[598] As Tridentine and Post-Tridentine popes were very prudent in regards to canonizations, the display of Diego de Alcalà in the tomb relief is significant: as one of only two saints canonized between 1563 and 1600,[599] in the tomb relief, Franciscan lay brother Alcalà symbolically reinforces Sixtus V's corporative ties to the mendicant order while also suggesting commonalities between Sixtus V and Diego de Alcalà.[600] As a whole, the upper three reliefs render papal virtues or characteristics visible, centering on piety, charity, justice and religiosity.[601]

The upper three relief scenes of both wall monuments carry an additional message—a targeted answer to the three founding pillars and principal claims of Reformation, *sola fide, sola gratia* and *sola scriptura*.[602] The charitable works and almost saint-like lives of the popes demonstrate that faith, grace and holy scripture must lead to good deeds, since this the only way of living a God-pleasing life.[603] Alcalà, of course, serves as an example to visually remind the mindful spectator of this. Because papal acts are guided by religious values, popes, like saints, can put good deeds into practice ultimately establishing an order agreeable to God in *urbi et orbi*. This is a didactic message that almost perfectly embodies the Reform ideas laid out in the image decree of the Council of Trent.[604] And the double tomb monument contains yet another layer of meaning: the relief showing the *Peace agreement between Austria and Poland* features Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, Sixtus V's successor, the future Clement VIII (1592–1605). After Sixtus V's death, Clement completes the decoration of the *Sistina*. In the relief, Clement advertises himself as a worthy and deserving successor. Therefore, as a whole, the funeral chapel leads visitors through different time periods: from the past of Pius V, to the present of the chapel's designer, Sixtus V, all the way to Sixtus V's (future) successor, Clement VIII.[605] This focus on the continuity of the papal office, the charitable deeds of the popes and their respective orders ties in with the tradition of older papal tombs: in the *Sistina*, the papacy recommits itself to a tomb style that values spiritual relations over personal dynastic relations—a tomb type customary until the first half of the fifteenth century. Dynastic and clientele relations, which dominated papal propaganda and self-aggrandizement during the sixteenth century, are relegated to the background—at least seemingly—in favor of an ideological self-cleansing and renewal of the papacy.[606] These Church dignitaries have not forgotten the values of times past.

In conclusion, the double-tomb monument combines and mixes Tridentine messages with elements of self-aggrandizement. Compared

with previous funeral chapels, such as Gregory XIII's *Gregoriana* in St. Peter's Basilica, the *Sistina* includes far more multi-layered symbolical connections between tomb and space. This is mainly due to the fact that unlike previous funerary chapels, that were continuously being transformed and being added to, the *Sistina* was conceptualized by Sixtus V as a double tomb from the very beginning. The double monument allowed for aggrandizing the papacy as an institution and shifting the attention from the individual to the Holy See, while still praising individual popes. It represents a rather successful attempt to do the impossible and square the circle. In this regard, Sixtus V's double funeral monument sets new standards: later popes, such as Paul V, continue to build double funeral monuments and present the popes as distinctly Roman rulers characterized by their good works, rather than their humanist education.[607] As the Church is increasingly perceived as lagging behind, portraying assertive action becomes vitally important for the papacy.

7.2 From the Short Pontificates of Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV (1590–1591) and Innocent IX (1591) to Clement VIII (1592–1605)

The death of Sixtus V in 1590 was followed by three short pontificates: Urban VII only reigned for 12 days, Gregory XIV for 10 months and Innocent IX for 2 months.[608] Although their pontificates turned out to be regrettably short, all three pontiffs were political choices: they were the preferred candidates of cardinals who supported King Philipp II of Spain.

Whereas Urban VII (Giovanni Battista), who probably died of malaria, was unable to commission any significant artworks before his death, Gregory XIV (Niccolò Sfondrati) managed to engage in a few projects during his short papacy. Most of his artistic patronage entailed the continuation of works commissioned by previous popes, such as the still ongoing construction of the new St. Peter's and the transformation of the Quirinal palace, begun by Sixtus V, into a papal summer residence. Of his own volition, Gregory XIV commissioned only one artwork: a tomb monument in *S. Silvestro al Quirinale* for his longtime friend, Cardinal Federico Cornaro.[609] The tomb is a simple wall monument with a bust of the deceased and a marble sarcophagus featuring an inscription naming Gregory XIV as the sponsor of the grave. In March 1591, Gregory XIV had designs made for his own funerary chapel at *Santa Maria Maggiore* following the example of the *Cappella Sistina* of Sixtus V.[610] An *Avviso* makes note of this, but the designs did not survive and the project was never realized.[611] Instead, Gregory XIV was buried in a simple stone tomb in the *Cappella Gregoriana* in the new St. Peter's basilica, opposite his promoter and namesake Gregory XIII.

Gregory XIV's successor, Innocent IX (Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti), managed to name a cardinal nephew during his short pontificate, but

neither he nor his nephew engaged in relevant artistic patronage. When it came to visual propaganda, during the three short pontificates of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX, Tridentine Reform came to a standstill.

This changed in 1592, when Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini) was elected pope. His election was a compromise: after electing three short-lived popes, this time the Spanish faction failed to obtain a majority of votes for their main candidate, Cardinal Santori.[612] After a couple of unsuccessful rounds of voting, part of the Spanish fraction led by Cardinal Montalto switched their allegiance to the Florentine, Cardinal Aldobrandini—a relatively young candidate at 63 years old. Being 4 years younger than his main opponent during the conclave, Aldobrandini was the perfect candidate. A lawyer by training, he had considerable experience in foreign diplomacy. He was a religiously devout peace-maker by reputation.[613] In order to pay homage to St. Clement I—thought by some to be a direct heir to St. Peter—the new Aldobrandini pope took the name of Clement VIII.

As a jurist pope and patron of the arts, Clement was a stickler for detail: he was deeply preoccupied with implementing Tridentine Reform in all respects. He was in favor of strictly overseeing all practices of religious orders down to the very last detail. His concern with political issues both foreign and domestic can be seen as a very hands-on push for Church Reform, or in more negative terms, as micro-management and an excessive concern with procedure to the point of absurdity.[614] For instance, Clement VIII ordered all windows of Roman female convents facing the street to be walled up.[615] Among Clement VIII's more reasonable policies are those that deal directly with Church Reform, such as insisting on bishops taking up residence in their respective Sees and receiving proper training in order to perform their duties.[616] Clement VIII's concern with details and procedure in particular also led to a reluctance to grant both canonizations and beatifications. In this regard, Clement VIII asserted clear papal authority over any pressure exerted by other clerics and popular demand: Clement VIII banned pictorial representations of the supposed miracles performed by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) and Filippo Neri (1515–1595) and also prohibited the diffusion of pamphlets dealing with these matters, although they continued to be widely circulated.[617]

Furthermore, anti-Semitism saw a new rise under Clement VIII, who revived the harsh policies of the Carafa pope, Paul IV, which his immediate predecessor, Sixtus V, had banned. Roman Jews were once again confined to a ghetto. The Talmud and other Hebraic books were forbidden.[618] Barbaric practices to torment Jews were reintroduced under Clement VIII. At the beginning of Carnival, Jews were, for instance, forced to run down the *Via del Corso* naked while being pelted with garbage and stones.[619]

Other restrictive social policies led by Clement VIII concerned the Roman nobility: he had Beatrice Cenci, a young Roman noblewoman, executed. This led to an outcry among the Roman aristocracy. Prior to her execution, Beatrice—along with other family members—had been found guilty

of murdering her own father, whom she accused of incarcerating and raping her. This incident inspired several novels, such as *The Cenci* (1819) by Percy Bysshe Shelley. The appeal of Beatrice's story especially to Romantics such as Shelley is not surprising, especially as there is a ghost story surrounding her character: according to popular legend, on the night before the anniversary of her death, Beatrice reappears on the Sant'Angelo Bridge, the place of her execution, carrying her severed head. At any rate, the Roman nobility was enraged by the death of young beautiful Beatrice and accused Clement VIII of ulterior motives: after executing Beatrice, the pope had opportunistically confiscated the Cenci family assets.

Eventually, the pressure grew to a point at which Clement VIII prohibited the circulation of documents about her death by *motu propio*, by a personal papal decree.[620] Clement VIII also continued the persecution of heresy observed by his predecessors. The most notorious execution carried out under his papacy is certainly that of Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) on 17 February 1600. The outspoken philosopher was a known adherent of the Copernican view of a heliocentric solar system and an infinite universe—views judged to be heretical by the Roman Inquisition.[621]

7.2.1 Artistic Patronage of Clement VIII—The Echo of Tridentine Reform

Although Clement VIII had shown little to no interest in artistic patronage prior to becoming pope, the Aldobrandini pope quickly learned the ropes of his new office and continued projects left unfinished by his predecessors.[622] Clement VIII's artistic patronage has been researched by Morton Abromson,[623] Jack Freiberg,[624] Steven F. Ostrow[625] and Claire Robertson, who recently published a referential monograph on the subject.[626] In summary, the literature argues that under Clement VIII, Tridentine Reform reached its cultural peak, while the papacy itself entered a phase of decline. Tridentine Reform had already become a fixed part of papal propaganda under previous pontificates (Pius V, Gregory XIII) and was further consolidated under Sixtus V, who re-introduced former Renaissance magnificence but visually re-framed it in service of Tridentine Reform. Clement VIII continued the strategies employed by the Peretti pope, but shifted attention back from profane art (Sixtus V's urban design plans) to religious art. His patronage was driven by two desires: completing unfinished building projects left by his predecessors (mainly Sixtus V) and defying Protestant revolt by reinforcing the status of Rome as the capital of Christianity, particularly during the Jubilee Year of 1600. In anticipation of the Holy Year, Clement VIII completed the interior decoration of several churches, most prominently that of the Lateran and of St. Peter's—the two main representative churches of the papacy.

With the Jubilee in mind, Clement VIII ordered numerous changes for the interior of the ancient basilica of *San Giovanni in Laterano*,[627] not all of

which were carried out.[628] The most significant change commissioned by Clement VIII within the interior of the Lateran Basilica is the re-modeling of the transept into a so-called *nave clementina*, a unified space celebrating the pope and his dedication to Eucharist—a central sacrament of Catholicism and the subject of one of the main controversies during Reformation.[629] Overall, Clement VIII's emphasis on the Eucharist, papal authority and early Christianity inside the Lateran Church perfectly aligns with the concerns of post-Tridentine Rome.

Throughout Clement VIII's patronage, clemency and St. Peter are major motives.[630] This is apparent in his patronage of St. Peter's. Clement capped St. Peter's dome off with a gilt bronze orb that is big enough to fit 16 people inside.[631] The *globus cruciger*, the cross-bearing orb, a medieval symbol of Christian authority and of Christ's rule over the world, fittingly sparkles above St. Peter's, the Vatican and Rome—capital of the world in the eyes of the popes and Western civilization. Once the construction of the new Basilica was completed, Clement VIII turned his attention to its interior: it was imperative to decorate the crossing, the spiritual center of the basilica and the surrounding chapels. Naturally, Clement VIII focused his patronage efforts on what is thought to be St. Peter's tomb, located beneath the crossing.[632] He commissioned a new high altar, which was consecrated on 26 June 1594,[633] and had it equipped with a series of precious *ciboria*.[634] He then had the surrounding area of the tomb excavated under the watchful eye of main architect Giacomo della Porta, in order to create an underground grotto. That grotto was decorated with bronze bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul by Ruggero Bascapè and finished off with the Aldobrandini *stemma* (coat of arms).[635]

Of St. Peter's main chapels, only one had been fully decorated by the time Clement VIII became pope: the *Cappella Gregoriana*, with its decoration commissioned by Gregory XIII. This chapel, situated in the northeast of the building, became Clement VIII's model for the decoration of all other chapels. Following Gregory XIII's example, Clement chose polychrome marble inlays and mosaics with paintings and sculptures evoking the Early Christian Church for the other corner chapels. His entire decorative program for the *navi piccole*, the transepts and the dome obey similar stylistic guidelines. It has been argued that the iconography was designed by Cardinal Baronio, who had been made cardinal by Clement VIII and who played a leading role in Paleo-Christian revival.[636] Like Gregory XIII with the Cappella Gregoriana, Clement VIII built his own burial chapel with the *Cappella Clementina*, directly opposite the *Cappella Gregoriana*. A display of Clement VIII's magnificence, the decoration of the *Clementina* employs lavish materials similar to those used in the *Gregoriana*. As with other Clementine commissions, notably the Lateran transept and the Aldobrandini family chapel in *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, the *Clementina* makes use of copious quantities of colored marble. What Clement VIII intended as decoration for the chapel's central altar is unknown. All altars

for the chapel were built under Giacomo della Porta's supervision, yet no detailed design for the painting above the central altar remains. However, nearby altars in the *navi piccole* featured Cristofano Roncalli's *Death of Sapphira* and Domenico Passignano's *Crucifixion of St. Peter*—imagery belonging to a cycle of Saint Peter's life.

The altarpieces of the adjoining *navi piccole*, completed during Clement VIII's reign, showed scenes continuing the basilica's main theme: the life of St. Peter. Featured paintings are Francesco Vanni's *Fall of Simon Magnus*[637] and Lodovico Cigoli's *St. Peter healing the Crippled Man*[638]—both painted on slate and completed in 1603 and 1606, respectively.[639] Vanni's *Fall of Simon Magnus* deals with the defeat of heresy and mirrors the preoccupations of Cardinal Cesare Baronio as laid out in his *Annales ecclesiastici*. The *navi piccole* of the *Cappella di San Michele* were decorated with Baglione's *Raising of Tabitha* and Bernardo Castello's *Christ walking on the Water (Navicella)*—the former remains only in fragmentary form and, of the latter, only engravings survive.

With the unified decoration of the corner chapels and the *navi piccole*, Clement VIII not only created a decorative ring around the crossing, he also highlighted themes of St. Peter's life that were central to his own papacy: defeating heresy, conversion, salvation and delivering ecclesiastical justice. All in all, the programmatic nature of this cycle dedicated to a single saint is unusual, even if that saint is the basilica's patron saint. Clement VIII also intended to extend this program to the three altars of the two transepts: following his vision, each altar was to be dedicated to a different apostle, again including St. Peter.[640] The mosaic decoration of the main dome (see Figure 7.9) was entrusted to Clement VIII's favorite artist, Giuseppe Cesari, il Cavaliere d'Arpino, in 1603.[641] Decorating the dome meant completing the interior decoration of St. Peter, a highly prestigious task. Clement VIII put great emphasis on this: according to Baglione, the Cavaliere was instructed to take a break from his work in the *Villa Aldobrandini* for his work on the dome and design a vision of the heavens for the dome.[642] Because of the particular structure of the dome—the available space was separated into 16 equal-sized ribs slimming toward the top—Cesari opted for a layered image of the heavens, placing all figures in a series of individually framed tiers.[643] The lower tiers depict Church authority on earth showing saints, martyrs and bishops. Above them are Christ, Mary and St. John the Baptist, followed by different types of angels (standing angels, cherubim, kneeling angels and seraphim). At the top, in the middle of the lantern of the dome, reigns God the Father. This program was probably devised by Baronio as well, and not Cesari alone. An inscription at the base of the lantern, surrounded by golden stars against a blue backdrop, commemorates Sixtus V's completion of the dome. Clement VIII also recorded his own role in decorating the dome: the stars around the inscription honoring Sixtus V and those lining all 16 ribs of the dome are eight-pointed stars, a symbol for the biblical star of Bethlehem that is also included in the Aldobrandini

Figure 7.9 Dome Interior Featuring Aldobrandini Stars and an Inscription Honoring Sixtus V, St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican.

stemma (see Figure 7.9). Additionally, a wall frieze placed directly under the central image of God alternates candelabras with the Aldobrandini arms.[644] Clement VIII therefore discretely included traces of himself and the Aldobrandini name in the dome of St. Peter—above the inscription honoring his predecessor Sixtus V and surpassed only by God himself. Clement VIII would not live to see the decoration of the dome completed: he died in 1604, 7 years before Cesari finished the monumental work that would be the most prestigious of his career. As a whole, Clement VIII's contribution to the most important parts of the basilica—the Vatican grottoes, the chapels surrounding the crossing and the dome with its pendentives—is so significant that it would only be surpassed by Urban VIII and Bernini. Clement VIII's intention to transfer the relics of his namesake, pope Clement I from *San Clemente* to the *Cappella Clementina* in the same way Gregory XIII had done with the remains of St. Gregory Nazianzus in the *Cappella Gregoriana*, was never carried out.[645] Instead, Clement VIII's remains were transferred to the *Cappella Paolina* on the orders of his successor, Paul V (Camillo Borghese).

In addition to decorating the Lateran and St. Peter's, Clement VIII also decorated a number of rooms within the Vatican palace, specifically the *palazzo novo*, in his own taste.[646] These projects were overseen first by Taddeo Landini (until his death in 1596) and later by Giovanni Fontana and Giacomo della Porta. Among these additions to the palace interior,

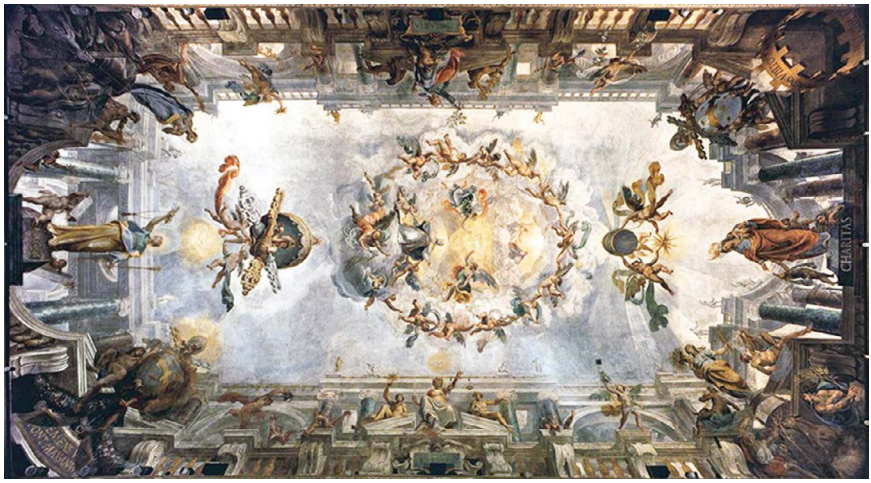

Figure 7.10 Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti. *The Apotheosis of Saint Clement*, Fresco, Sala Clementina, Vatican Palace, Vatican, 1595.

the ceiling decoration of the *Sala Clementina* (see Figure 7.10) is certainly the most significant. Painted by Tuscan brothers Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti (1558–1601 and 1553–1615, respectively), the *Sala Clementina's* ceiling was praised by early seventeenth-century writers Mancini and Baglione because of its remarkable illusion of perspective. Baglione described the work as "la più esquisita opera […] che in questo genere a'nostri tempi sia stata fatta" (the most exquisite artwork […] realized in our genre and our times).[647] Indeed, as a whole, because of this masterly illusion featuring a heavenly vision towering over a fictive balustrade, the ceiling marks the beginning of a new chapter in Italian ceiling decorations picked up by later Baroque painters such as Pietro da Cortona. The center of the ceiling shows the apotheosis of Clement I, pope Clement VIII's namesake, which gives the room its name.[648] Clement I kneels, looking up toward the Holy Trinity, surrounded by a circle of putti and angels.[649] At either end of the room, the ceiling shows angels carrying papal insignia: the tiara and crossed keys are noticeably crowned by a baldachin that features an eight-pointed Aldobrandini star. The balustrade—a carefully crafted piece of fictive architecture—runs around the ceiling's edges, extending into the clouds, creating the illusion of an open sky above. In front of the balustrade, several female allegories can be discerned. They are personifications of papal virtues, such as charity, justice and clemency. Two corners feature prominent Aldobrandini arms, under-scoring Clement VIII's identification with his predecessor. In addition, the tiara on top of the coat-of-arms has a halo—just like Clement I, Christ, God the Father and the Holy Ghost pictured as a dove in numerous places on the ceiling. The halo common to all these

figures represents the divine mission entrusted to the popes (here: Clement I and VIII) by God transmitted through the Holy Ghost. It also suggests a direct succession: Clement VIII, the then living pope, is positioned as a direct heir to Clement I and therefore to a saint, Apostolic Father and patron of Rome. Once again, Tridentine values, such as papal supremacy, Church continuity and *romanitas*, are evoked.

A surprising deviation from Tridentine motives can be found in Clement VIII's last major commission: the family chapel in *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*. Although the project was ultimately completed by Clement VIII's nephew, Cardinal Pietro, Clement remained very involved in the decoration of the family chapel until his death, demanding to see the detailed sketches, which he examined and criticized personally. Numerous letters speak to this.[650] The chapel features a statue of the pope himself, and of his parents. Other family members are shown in effigies. In addition, Roman patron saints such as the Apostles Peter and Paul are represented, as well as the family Saints Clement and Sebastian. There are also several allegorical figures in niches, next to the two tomb monuments for Clement VIII's parents.[651] Among the allegories, the most remarkable is a representation of *Prudence* (see Figure 7.11). Located next to the funerary monument of Silvestro Aldobrandini on the right-hand side of the chapel, the statue displays provocative nudity—a rather surprising detail, given Clement VIII's attitude to censorship.[652]

7.3 Conclusion of Part III of the Analysis

During the last decades of the sixteenth century, Sixtus V and Clement VIII continue to employ some of the propaganda strategies and elements developed by their predecessors following the image decree of the Council of Trent. However, significant changes occur: Tridentine Reform declines and, in some cases, even regresses.

By the time Sixtus V is elected pope, the visual language of Tridentine Reform is a widely accepted and integral part of papal pictorial propaganda. Sixtus V uses this for his benefit and employs Tridentine motives that have proven successful during the reigns of his predecessors. At the same time, Sixtus is determined to renew some of the magnificence of the papacy of past times: he builds himself an impressive funerary chapel in *Santa Maria Maggiore* and develops a master plan to reorganize the entire city of Rome in order to render the history of salvation visible. The scale of these artistic projects is unparalleled, but their aspirations—the aggrandizement of the individual pope, for example, through the reiteration of his family name in inscriptions on buildings and fountains across Rome—is a revival of the claim to power of Renaissance popes. In many ways, Sixtus V even surpasses the propagandistic aspirations of Pre-Tridentine popes: whereas at the beginning of the century, Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere, 1503–1513) decided to build St. Peter's anew, to create the biggest

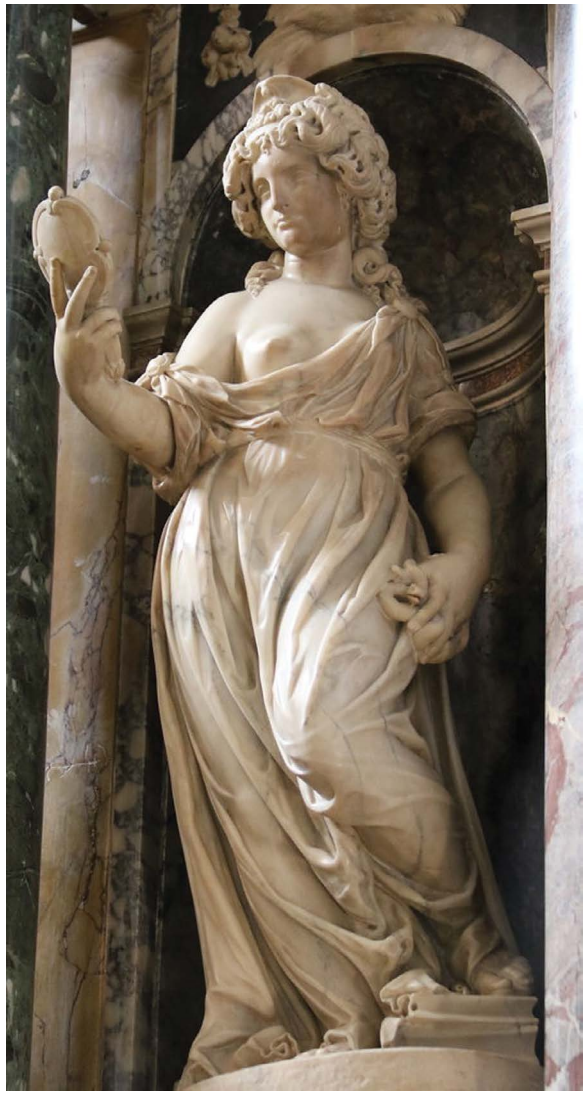

Figure 7.11 Ippolito Buzzi. *Prudence*, Statue, Aldobrandini Family Chapel, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome, ca. 1601, Statue.

and most prestigious Church of Christianity, Sixtus V envisioned a reorganization of the entire city. The purpose of these plans was to aggrandize Rome, the Church, the papacy and the Peretti pope himself. Sixtus justified these plans and made them acceptable in the public eye, by merging elements of self-glorification with the visual language of Tridentine Reform and the "bread and games" tactics of ancient Roman emperors:

he ensured goodwill by multiplying water supplies and providing other benefits to the masses.

Sixtus V's exceptional urban development project, however, was also a way to publicly stage demonstrative action. By the time Sixtus V ascended to the throne, the papacy was struggling to remain politically relevant. Pius V and Gregory XIII had attempted to stand their ground, by visually exploiting contemporary events, such as the Battle of Lepanto (1571) or the Bartholomew Massacre (1572). However, the papacy's actual contribution to these victories was marginal at best. When contemporary politics failed to impress, Pius V and Gregory XIII turned to other areas of triumph, finding inspiration for their visual propaganda in history or in religion. Sixtus V continued this strategy with the history scenes in the reliefs of the *Cappella Sistina* tombs and the manifold references to Tridentine Reform and religious corporations in his tomb chapel. But to convey the papacy's political claim to power, contemporary victories that could be exploited for propaganda were of vital importance. Sixtus V recognized this. And, since by the time he ascended to power, foreign politics proved to be nothing but a series of disappointing events for the papacy, Sixtus found victory elsewhere. In Rome, his immediate sphere of influence, Sixtus V successfully fought against the bandits, effectively obliterating them. And, at a time where the papacy had lost control over politics on the world stage, Sixtus demonstratively showed his control over *urbi et orbi* by attempting to implement Godly order within the city. Sixtus V even staged his own victories in Rome, in the form of technological achievements such as the erection of the Vatican obelisk or the completion of the dome of St. Peter (see Figure 7.5). These events were important for the papacy because they allowed Sixtus V to symbolically inscribe Tridentine imagery centering on the history of salvation and the doctrine of baptism into the Roman cityscape. This allowed Sixtus V with the additional advantage to present himself as a proactive ruler, instead of a merely reactive political pawn. In this sense, Sixtus V's seeming hyperactivity and heightened artistic patronage are indicative of an over-correction in the face of a decline of actual power.

Although Sixtus V does his best to appear as a magnificent ruler, the decline of papal power becomes painfully obvious when the conclave fails to elect a suitable and strong leader three times in a row. During the short-lived pontificates of Urban VII (1590), Gregory (1590–1591) and Innocent IX (1591), visual propaganda comes to a standstill. For the papacy, this was a disaster, since conveying and legitimizing the papacy's claim to power through architectural and artistic projects was especially important in anticipation of the Holy Year—a major event for Christendom. Clement VIII tried to make up for the time lost by engaging in numerous artistic endeavors simultaneously. The Aldobrandini pope completed several of Sixtus V's building projects and continued the Peretti pope's visual propaganda: like Sixtus V, Clement VIII employed Tridentine imagery centered on the Eucharist, St. Peter and early Christianity to aggrandize the papacy and his own family

dynasty. In the case of the Aldobrandini family chapel in *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, the attempt to consolidate Tridentine Reform with personal exaltation failed and led to a curious revival of Renaissance practices: although the altar piece of the chapel (a fresco by Cherubino Alberti) celebrates the triumph of the cross, the popes' parents are shown in the same reclining position as Julius II in the controversial Michelangelo grave, and one of the allegorical figures displays a nudity frowned upon by Church Reformers and unheard of since the times of Pius IV. Paradoxically, while reverting to pre-Tridentine imagery, Clement VIII also drove artistic development forward with his unusual choice of an illusionist ceiling in the *Sala Clementina*—an anticipation of Baroque art. Overall, Clements VIII's patronage is characterized by his desire to prepare the city for the Jubilee year. Faced with the pressure to complete the projects of his predecessors, Tridentine Reform takes a back seat under Clement VIII and slowly declines.

8 Comparative Findings and Final Results

As the analysis presented in this book has shown, Tridentine Reform is implemented in the visual propaganda of the papacy over the course of several decades and takes different forms in different phases. The new papal media strategy oscillates between Church Reform and tradition, modern progress and Renaissance nostalgia. This is partly due to the circumstances surrounding the papacy as an elective dynasty. All monarchies exist within a field of tension: to endure, they must maintain the status quo. And to survive, they must evolve. Change is probably the single most important thing people—or in early modern terms, subjects—expect from leaders. Yet, there is also nothing people or institutions dread more than change. Keeping a careful balance between tradition and renovation is thus the greatest challenge any monarch or institution must face. Tradition is especially important in the context of an elective monarchy, such as the papacy, where there is no dynastic succession or family legacy. This is why papal visual propaganda, in the form of rituals, ceremonies and artistic commissions, is a vital means of communication. By maintaining tradition and communicating Church tradition as often as possible to the public by means of carefully targeted visual propaganda, the papacy maintains its legitimacy. Emphasizing tradition is crucial for an elected ruler, because he needs to constantly prove himself worthy in the eyes of the public. There are no other legitimizing factors, such as blood relationships, that an elected monarch can fall back on. Also, when first elected, a pope's personal aptitude for the job is yet to be determined. So every pope must prove that he is worthy of joining the ranks of popes before him, that he is a legitimate ruler and leader of the Church.

For sixteenth-century popes, this presents a significant problem, because, as Protestantism spreads, the legitimacy of the Church is in crisis. And, simultaneously, the pressure for change is inescapably high: the *Zeitgeist* requires Church Reform, but at the same time, this Reform requires a condemnation of the papacy's own immediate past. For the popes, this presents great risks: their claim to power is at stake. So what do the popes do? They revert to Christianity's roots and interpret Reform as a conservative renewal movement. They experiment with imagery, develop a new media strategy and press forward. If they experience a backlash, they try

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to correct course by hitting the brakes, reinstating old customs and finding comfort in old habits associated with stability of times past.

Reform, therefore, occurs in waves, and sometimes circles back to previous norms. As the analysis of papal visual propaganda during and after the Council of Trent has illustrated, Church Reform is a time-consuming process: it occurs over several decades. Instead of being linear in its development, Church Reform also knows moments of involution or rejection. And over the course of its implementation, Reform changes. It evolves. Usually forward, but sometimes backward, too. As such, Church Reform, especially in the case of a conservative renewal movement, is both characterized by the continuity or revival of some previous norms, and the violation, condemnation or rejection of others. This process of continuous realignment and correction occurs in several stages over the course of the second half of the sixteenth century and exemplifies the general field of tension in which papal visual propaganda exists.

In addition, each individual papacy situates itself in yet another field of tension, as the new ruler tries to establish and distinguish himself among a dynasty of papal rulers. Where beneficial, popes strive to inscribe themselves within a continuity of a papal dynasty. This is particularly apparent in the way the papacy deals with history, in the *Sala Regia*, for instance, a ceremonial hall that celebrates papal supremacy using imagery celebrating sixteenth-century militaristic victories of the papacy and medieval territorial restorations to the Church. But sometimes, as is the case in the sixteenth century, historical revisionism and a clear separation from previous papacies becomes necessary. Therefore, within the general backdrop of geopolitical tension, each pope faces a more specific and personal challenge within the papal monarchy itself. Each pope is faced with a dual legitimacy crisis: that of the Church and that of the papacy. Both issues require a carefully balanced approach to maintain and restore the legitimacy of the Church without infringing on papal supremacy. For sixteenth-century popes, this is an impossible task.

The visual propaganda employed by pontificates during and after the Council of Trent exemplifies this. Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V and Clement VIII each adopt a different approach toward Reform, and they communicate their approach in various visual representations of the papacy. They do so in reaction to political circumstances and public expectations but also in reaction to previous papacies. The conclave elects popes with the intention of either continuing popular politics or changing them, of keeping or violating norms. And each pope tries to learn from the past to avoid past mistakes. From an overarching perspective, papal politics during and after Trent are one colossal trial and error experiment.

So how does the papacy distance itself from the more recent past in the face of Protestant criticism? And how does it communicate Tridentine imagery? Artistic commissions of the papacy analyzed throughout this book provide

us with answers to these questions: during the Council of Trent, Julius III Del Monte clings to the visual language employed by Renaissance princes, centering on humanist ideals about education, antiquity and mythology. At a time where Protestantism presents an increasing threat to papal supremacy within Christianity, Julius III builds himself a pompous villa filled with visual references to the classical period and mythology. Far from Europe's battlegrounds, the tone-deaf pope engages in elitist escapism, ignoring the changing circumstances of European power politics. He can do so because the Council of Trent is still debating a solution to the Vatican's public perception crisis that has led to such virulent iconoclasm. As long as the Council has not decreed anything, everything is still possible. This changes in 1563, when the Council publishes its Reform decree about imagery. Now, the new pope Paul IV Carafa sets about correcting the course. Inspired by Church Reform and lacking interpersonal skills, Paul IV does not realize that after Julius III's passiveness, an extraordinarily strict Reform policy will shock the public and be perceived as a repressive violation of previously existing norms. This is especially so in Italy and Rome itself, where Protestantism poses no immediate threat: as the reform movement is triggered by political events occurring on the periphery of papal power, the new norms are incompatible with the Roman context. The papacy fails to recognize this and again proves itself to be tone-deaf—this time to the needs of the people of Rome. After Paul IV is caught red-handed in the cover-up of a public scandal involving his nephews, social unrest ensues.

Pius IV Medici learns from the experiences of his predecessors. He understands that he cannot eliminate classical style in its entirety without scorning the people of Rome and eradicating the very roots of Christianity itself. Unable to ignore the European demand for Church Reform as Julius III did, and afraid of causing another uprising in Rome, he adopts a middle-ground approach. Pius IV's artistic patronage is characterized by a realignment, a juxtaposition of Renaissance traditions and Tridentine imagery. He employs a sometimes contradictory and incoherent visual language that is indicative of increased political pressure from both inside and outside Rome. For Tridentine Reform, this particular pontificate is of crucial significance, as Pius IV is the first pope to develop and test out new propagandist strategies to implement Church Reform. Some of his strategies prove successful, such as his re-branding of nepotism in the service of Reform through the assignment of Carlo Borromeo or his visual reframing of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*, an ancient Roman building turned into a monument of Christian triumph over heresy. But the juxtaposition of old and new also creates curious and seemingly directionless artistic projects, such as the *Sala Regia* in the Vatican palace. Faced with increasing political pressure, Pius IV attempts to decorate the ceremonial hall of the Vatican palace in a way that aggrandizes and glorifies the papacy. But at that point in time, contemporary criticism paints the papacy in an unflattering light. For instance, the donation of Constantine, one of the favorite artistic subjects

of the papacy thus far to justify its territorial claims, is publicly revealed as a scam. Instead of addressing this criticism head on, Pius pushes it aside and simply omits this particular motive from future art projects. In the *Sala Regia*, he resorts to visually exploiting historical moments that highlight the territorial foundation of power and the legitimacy of the Church State. As a result, the papacy confines itself to a reactive rather than a proactive role: in the public perception, the papacy is always lagging one step behind current affairs. The consequences are devastating for the papacy: as Pius IV's successors struggle to regain their leading political roles, the perceived out-of-touch mentality and tone-deafness of the papacy speeds up the process of its loss of political relevance and worldly power. For the ecclesiastical dynasty, this is a highly detrimental downward spiral.

With Pius V Ghislieri, papal pictorial propaganda enters a new stage, namely implementation. Whereas prior pontiffs experiment with new media strategies, under Pius V, Tridentine Reform becomes a fixed part of papal propaganda. His patronage is characterized by a shift toward religious subjects, virulent anti-paganism and historical revisionism. By publicly condemning the use of ancient Roman artworks, Pius V hopes to reinstate the moral superiority of the papacy in the eyes of the public. His main objective is to delimit his own papacy from its own immediate past—the visual language of Renaissance popes criticized by Protestants. At first, a victory for the papal alliance in the battle of Lepanto appears to suggest that the political momentum is back on the papacy's side. And Pius V's visual propaganda—his *Casale* located near to the *Via Aurelia Antica*, was an almost shocking display of a modest, simplistic and ascetic lifestyle—seems indicative of a real shift inside the Vatican, away from a worldly court toward a spiritual one. But Pius V soon encounters difficulties, since his image as a Church Reformer mainly relies on his condemnation of the excesses of the Renaissance. The problem with this censure of the dynasty's own immediate past is that it does not leave much room for maneuver or error, as it must always come from a position of moral high-ground. In the long run, this is simply not sustainable. In addition, by publicly condemning the practices of past representatives of the ecclesiastical dynasty and engaging in historical revisionism, Pius V puts his own legitimacy at stake and makes the papacy even more vulnerable to public criticism: why should people consider the new pope's actions or morals to be correct, if the previous one was wrong?

Gregory XIII Boncompagni once again increases the wiggle room of the papacy by opting for a less extreme break with the past than Pius V. His approach can be summarized as a synthesis between the joyful humanist Julius III and the devout Church Reformer Pius V. Although in the *Sala Regia*, with his visual exploitation of the 1572 St. Bartholomew Massacre, Gregory XIII is still trying to catch-up with foreign politics, he also attempts to reassume a proactive rather than a merely reactive role. To this end, Gregory XIII commissions splendid artworks designed to restore and aggrandize papal supremacy in the eyes of the world. He clearly states the

territorial claim to power of the papacy in the map gallery of the Vatican palace, even appropriating Protestant iconography, as he displays geographical places alongside their accompanying biblical scenes—a visual strategy commonly used in Protestant Bibles. Here, the papacy proves surprisingly adaptable and shows itself conscientious of competing visual imagery. Determined not to lose any more territories and souls to Protestantism, Gregory employs the Jesuits to communicate Church Reform. To this end, he weaponizes Roman martyrology in *Santo Stefano Rotondo*—a series of fresco scenes reminiscent of theater, designed to educate young missionaries about the fight against Protestant heresy and to incite in them a wish to sacrifice themselves for the Church. At a time when the papacy continues to lose political influence, visual propaganda increasingly becomes the arena for the battle over power and souls. By the 1570s and 1580s, as the territorial lines between Protestantism and Catholicism throughout Europe have been drawn, papal visual propaganda retreats from the political to the religious sphere, becoming increasingly spiritual.

Sixtus V Peretti refuses to revert to a reactive (passive) role, even though political circumstances—the victory of Protestant leader Henry of Navarre over the Holy League during the Religious Wars in France, and the failed Spanish attempt to conquer England—seem to indicate that the papacy no longer has even the slightest control over political events. A go-getter by nature, Sixtus V takes matters into his own hands, trying to assert his magnificence and superiority regardless. He attempts this by demonstratively asserting control over his immediate sphere of influence: the city of Rome. As the pope is unable to vanquish European Protestants, he instead eradicates bandits, rural outlaws in the outskirts of Rome, instead. Since he cannot control international politics, he obsessively focuses on the perception of himself and his city in the eyes of the world and celebrates so-called "victories" in the form of technological achievements (the erection of the Vatican obelisk and the completion of the dome of St. Peter's). Sixtus V goes as far as planning to redesign the entire city of Rome, in the hopes of transforming it into a visible and tangible New Jerusalem and thus asserting Roman centrality and papal leadership of the Church. He achieves this, by symbolically purifying the Roman cityscape, as when he relocates the Vatican obelisk and decorates it with exorcising inscriptions, lions (symbols of Christian martyrdom and victory) and eagles (symbols of the Tridentine doctrine of baptism). Yet in his desire to render the history of salvation visible and aggrandize the papacy, Sixtus V reverts to some practices customary during the Renaissance, most noticeably the aggrandizement of his own persona. In this sense, under his papacy, Tridentine Reform declines: although Sixtus still employs many of the visual motives of Tridentine Reform, he also propagandistically exalts himself by inscribing his name onto numerous buildings and fountains in the city, and by installing visual references to his given name (the Peretti lion, for instance) in key locations across Rome. He also further develops visual strategies tested by

previous popes: his funerary chapel, the *Cappella Sistina*, is a testimony to his attempt to achieve self-aggrandizement through the glorification of the entire papacy and the introduction of new spiritual families, such as the religious corporations.

During the short pontificates of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX papal pictorial propaganda comes to a standstill. The momentum of Sixtus V's exceptional papacy and his revival of the former magnificence of the papacy are lost. The last pope of the sixteenth century, Clement VIII Aldobrandini, focuses his energy on completing the building projects of his predecessors to prepare Rome for the Holy Year of 1600. Because Clement VIII is involved in numerous building projects simultaneously, his artistic patronage lacks focus and therefore persuasive power. He continues to employ Tridentine imagery centered on the Eucharist or St. Peter. At the same time, he builds himself a family chapel inside *S. Maria sopra Minerva* that fails to reconcile out-right family dynasty propaganda with the requirements of Tridentine Reform.

The papacy—although still asserting itself in magnificent and grandiose buildings as the central spiritual leader of Christianity—leaves the century significantly weaker than it entered it: with the rise of Protestantism, half a millennium after the schism with the Greek-Orthodox Church, the papacy has lost the sovereignty of interpretation within Christianity in Western Europe. By the close of the century, Tridentine Reform has lost its urgency and slowly declines. Overall, it can be said, that the papacy struggled to implement Church Reform. Some of the reasons for this, as this book has shown, are political circumstances beyond its control.

Another major problem for the papacy was the fact that it was supposed to implement a Church Reform triggered by foreign events (i.e., the spread of the Reformation outside of Italy) domestically. Because Protestantism was perceived as a foreign issue, the urgency for Church Reform was underestimated within Rome and the Vatican for much too long. Geographically, the Reformation was too far away to be considered a threat. The popes paid for this miscalculation with their loss of political influence. They reacted by shifting the thematic focus of their pictorial propaganda. The main objectives of this were to emphasize the importance of the papacy, the centrality of Rome within the Church, and to re-frame the Greek roots of the Church as "Roman," insisting on the Roman patron saints Peter and Paul, on Roman martyrs and ancient biblical scenes. By highlighting the Church's roots, the popes attempted to suggest historical continuity, when, in fact, effective Church Reform, even as a conservative renewal movement, required historical revisionism and a break with previous traditions. When contemporary reality failed to impress, history often became a frequent propaganda battleground. Mythology, visual references to paganism and personal and nepotistic self-aggrandization were deemed problematic when not carefully reframed in the sense of Tridentine Reform.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, under Sixtus V and Clement VIII, once political and territorial lines between Protestants and Catholics became stabilized, Church Reform loses its urgency and enters a phase of decline. With respect to representative papal pictorial propaganda, this translates into a resurgence of certain elements of the visual language of the Renaissance, in an attempt to aggrandize the family dynasty of the reigning pope once again.

Epilogue

This book attempts to present a conclusive analysis of the visual propaganda used by the popes in a selection of representational buildings and artworks during second half of the sixteenth century. This is a first. Through this analysis, I was able to determine three distinct stages of papal pictorial propaganda: experimentation, implementation and decline. However, as the purpose of this volume was a longitudinal comparison, many questions concerning individual papacies remain unanswered.

For instance, as my analysis has shown, the pontificate of Pius IV is of crucial importance for the development of Church Reform, as it sets the strategic course of action for visual and propagandist communication for the following papacies. The consequences of this are directly related to a loss of political influence by the papacy. Although the pontificate of Pius IV has long been recognized as first "real" pontificate of Church Reform by Wolfgang Reinhard and others, it has often been overlooked, being treated more as an enabler of the following pinnacle of Catholic Reform than as its actual pioneer. Because of this underestimation and focus on the more successful implementation of Church Reform under Pius V and Gregory XIII, the damaging consequences of Pius IV's course of action have been neglected thus far and this needs to be rebalanced. More in-depth research of his pontificate is required to better understand the political and diplomatic pressures that triggered Pius IV's withdrawal into reactive rather than proactive communication. It is my view, that during Pius IV's pontificate, the papacy developed a defensive reflex, one that it has been unable to shake to this day. But, as stated above, more research is required to establish certainty in this regard.

At the same time, the pontificates of Pius V and Gregory XIII, which are customarily seen as "pinnacle of Catholic Reform," also require additional research. As my analysis has shown, the weighting of these pontificates regarding the implementation of Tridentine Reform needs to be somewhat relativized. Although both pontiffs manage to further develop some of the visual strategies employed under Pius IV, they also revert to norms predating the image decree of the Council of Trent. Their implementation of Tridentine Reform therefore—although certainly a climax of the Catholic Reform

movement—is never complete or radical, but founded on a contradictory relationship with the immediate past, wavering between reconciliation and condemnation. It would have been interesting to further investigate both the response of the public and of European political powers to this inconsistent media strategy. Of course, Pius IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII stand in the shadow of Sixtus V, who has sparked more scientific interest than any other pope of the second half of the sixteenth century, with Clement VIII coming in as a close second. Given the explosion of artistic production under Sixtus V and the shortness of the following pontificates of Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX, this is hardly surprising. Yet little attention has been paid to the devastating consequences of these three short pontificates for the papacy: not only do these pontificates further slowdown the already delayed reaction to contemporary politics of the papacy but they also associate the papacy with misfortune—a negative omen whose impact on public perception is not to be underestimated, in particular, in the years leading up to the turn of the century. Since medieval times in Europe, the ending of the century was typically associated with the anticipation of Judgment Day and the Apocalypse.

In addition to individual papacies, questions related to other disciplinary fields also remain unanswered. It was the objective of this book to take an interdisciplinary approach, combining historical source criticism with the iconological and iconographical method, heuristics, sociology, economy, communication theory and public relations theory. As my own background lies in the field of history, however, this interdisciplinary approach could only point to issues related to other disciplinary fields. More theological research, and, in particular, research on Church History, in particular, is required to better understand some of the liturgical consequences of Church reconstructions following Trent. This opens up the field to related research questions: how did the papacy theologically justify its visual propaganda in texts, such as Cesare Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiatici* for instance? How did the papacy reconcile the resurgence of nepotism Post-Trent with the theological aspirations of the Council? These research questions lie at the center of two other related research projects currently being tackled at the University of Fribourg and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

Finally, as this book has illustrated, the field of tension between the religious power center (Rome, Italy) and the periphery (the rest of the Catholic world, especially outside of Europe) played a significant role in papal visual propaganda. More research is needed, however, to better understand some of the geographical challenges and particularities of papal propaganda and Church Reform in an increasingly globalized setting. How did Church Reform affect European colonies, for instance? What visual imagery did the papacy use to portray itself in the even further removed periphery, i.e., the New World? As Catholic powers attempt to increase their sphere of influence from the late fifteenth century onward by establishing colonies in North, Central and South America, Africa and Asia, missionaries in these

territories are faced with the challenge of implementing Church Reform in regions beyond European control—sometimes in areas so remote that priests are virtually cut off from communication with other Church officials. What does that signify for Church Reform? And how much control does Rome have over what happens in the colonies? Areas of particular interest for this include the Spanish colonies and territories in the "New World" claimed during the sixteenth century.[653]

Although many factors contributed to the beginnings of European colonialism—technological advancement allowing for better sea maps and navigation skills as well as a demand for territorial expansion, precious metals (gold, silver) and economical goods (slaves, spices, precious fabrics, silk)—the rivalry between Catholicism and Protestantism also played a significant part in the rise of colonialism, as the establishment of Protestant colonies and trading posts over the course of the seventeenth century demonstrate.[654]

But the Catholic Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not yet possess the defensive mentality of the nineteenth century—a time, when the Church will attempt to distance itself from a "Protestant" modern world with an ultramontane *Orbis Catholicus*. In the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century papacy, the Church still possesses a "triumphant" mentality. Spain, Portugal and France contribute significantly to this mindset, as missionary successes in the colonies spread Catholicism. By contrast, Protestantism, in its early stages, is fully occupied with consolidating its theological positions.

The Catholic Church interprets its missionary success in Mexico, for instance, as part of a theology centering around prevision and compensation. In the eyes of Catholics, the gift that is the New World is God's way to restore to his one true Church what was lost to the devil and Protestantism in the Old World. For the Church, therefore, the successful worldwide expansion is an expression of a triumph over paganism, superstition and heresy willed by God. The Church showcases its self-confidence in the form of numerous frescoes, paintings and artworks. And, within the Catholic world, the popes are the masters of this form of self-portrayal that centers on a theatrical staging of success.

The papal artworks analyzed in this book were conceived and realized during this era of a triumphant Catholic mentality. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 confirms the definitive loss of papal political power, a loss already hinted at in the second half of the seventeenth century. And after the colonial expansion of Protestant powers, first and foremost that of Great Britain, the Catholic Church is confronted with a Protestantism increasingly focused on missionary work. This challenges the Church's self-conception built on a triumphant view of itself. But Tridentine popes, blissfully unaware of the future, are still able to celebrate the Church's successes and their own triumph. They publicly showcase this with the help of the best artists of the time.

Today, the Catholic Church faces new challenging challenges: how does the papacy retain its supremacy and sovereignty over Christianity in a world

where being Christian increasingly means being Protestant and Evangelical? In which way should the pope use new media tools and channels to communicate with today's global audience? And what are the consequences of modern communication technology for papal image-building? In a larger sense, the questions occupying the twenty-first-century Church today are reminiscent of those faced by seventeenth-century popes—the direct heirs of the popes analyzed in this book.

Notes

1. See Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Abschied von der 'Gegenreformation' und neue Perspektiven der Forschung". In: *Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit* 1 (1997), pp. 440–451.
2. See Reinhardt, Volker. *Rom. Kunst und Geschichte 1480-1650*. Freiburg i. Br. Würzburg: Ploetz, 1992, pp. 10–16.
3. Quednau, Rolf. "Päpstliches Geschichtsdenken und seine Verbildlichung in der Stanza dell'Incendio". In: *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 35 (1984), pp. 83–128.
4. Bredekamp, Horst. *Sankt Peter in Rom und das Prinzip der produktiven Zerstörung: Bau und Abbau von Bramante bis Bernini*. Berlin: Wagenbach, 2000.
5. A term used by Reinhardt in Reinhardt, Volker. "Der rastlos bewährte Pontifex. Eine ikonologische Deutung der Fresken Vasaris im 'Saal der Hundert Tage' der Cancelleria". In: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 76 (1996), pp. 274–307.
6. For an overview of these debates, see Tewes, Götz-Rüdiger. *Die römische Kurie und die europäischen Länder am Vorabend der Reformation*. Rome: Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001.
7. See Iserloh, Erwin, Glazik, Josef, and Jedin, Hubert, eds. *Reformation: Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation*. Vol. 4. Herder, 1967.
8. See Jedin, Hubert. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*. Vol. I–IV. Verlag Herder, 1950–1975.
9. On the ideas of the Council of Trent regarding art and on their effects on the immediate surroundings of the Council see the comprehensive study conducted by Cattoi, Domizio and Primerano, Domenica, eds. *Arte e persuasione. La strategia delle immagini dopo il concilio di Trento*. Trent: Museo Diocesano Tridentino, 2014, as well as Jan L. De Jong, *The Power and the Glorification. Papal Pretensions and the Art of Propaganda in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, University Park 2013.
10. Of main interest are the following archival collections: ASV, Brevia Arm. t. 53–64; Min. brev. 55–70; Archivio di Stato di Roma, Proc. t.35–38; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth: BAV), Cod. Vat. 10495–10610.
11. Relevant archives and resources are: ASV, Brevi Arm. 41–45.
12. For a discussion of significant baseline studies particularly regarding Santo Stefano Rotondo's martyr-cycle, see Reinhardt, Volker, *Rom. Kunst und Geschichte 1480-1650*, pp. 267–269.
13. The most relevant archive and resources for this are the Avvisi di Roma preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana's (BAV) Urb. Lat. codices 1039–1074.

14. For the existing research on the artistic patronage of Sixtus V, see n.a. "L'urbanistica nell'età di Sisto V, Storia della città". In: *Rivista internazionale di storia urbana e territoriale* 40 (1986), see also Gamrath, Helge. *Roma sancta renovata: studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda meta del secolo XVI con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585-1590)*. Rome: L'Erma di Breitschneider, 1987. See also the works of Stephan, Peter. "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte". In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72.2 (2009), pp. 165–214. Idem. "Das verräumlichte Bild im verbildlichten Raum". In: *Das haptische Bild. Körperhafte Bilderfahrung in der Neuzeit*. Ed. by Roth, Markus, Rempler, Jörg, and Wenderholm, Iris. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013, pp. 113–134. Idem. "Transformation und Transfiguration. Die bauliche und geistige Erneuerung Roms unter Sixtus V.". In: *Heilige Landschaft, Heilige Berge.* Ed. by Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin. Einsiedeln and Zurich: Gta Verlag, 2014, pp. 84–129.
15. Reinhardt, Volker. "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore". In: *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*. Ed. by Bredekamp, Horst and Reinhardt, Volker. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft wbg, 2004, pp. 141–158.
16. Of particular interest are the frescoe-series of Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra in the rooms of the BAV and its surrounding premises. See Eitel-Porter, Rhoda. *Der Zeichner und Maler Cesare Nebbia, 1536-1614*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2009.
17. See "Council of Trent, Session XXV, 3–4 December 1563. Touching the Invocation, Veneration, and on Relics of Saints and Sacred Images" in Buckley, Theodore Alois. *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. London: George Routledge and Co, 1851, pp. 774–776.
18. The papacies of Marcellus II, Urban VII and Innocent IX were excluded from the analysis, due to their short duration varying between just twenty days (Urban VII) to a little over 2 months (Innocent IX), which left virtually no time for relevant art production.
19. For a detailed list of the archival collections and documents consulted, see the list of sources shown in the bibliography.
20. Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti. con nuove annotazioni e commenti de Gaetano Milanesi*. Ed. by Sansoni, G. C. Vol. V. Florence: presso l'Ufficio Generale di Commissioni ed Annunzi, 1880, and see also Vol. VI and VII.
21. Baglione, Giovanni. *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo del 1642*. Ed. by Mariani, Valerio. Rome: Andrea Fei, 1642.
22. Valla, Laurentius. *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio*. 1440. Jacobus Marcus, 1620.
23. Ranke was one of the first scholars to apply the so-called *Quellenkritik* established by classical philology, biblical criticism and legal history to the field of modern European history. See Wright, Johnson. "History and Historicism". In: *The Cambridge History of Science: The Modern Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 113–130, Here: p. 121f.
24. Saint Peter's Basilica, for instance, exceeds this period as the construction began in 1503 and the church was anointed in 1626, with construction continuing until 1641.
25. See Von Brandt, Ahasver. *Werkzeug des Historikers: eine Einführung in die historischen Hilfswissenschaften*. Vol. 33. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 2007, p. 52.

26. See ibid.
27. See Panofsky, Erwin. "Ikonographie und Ikonologie". In: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Bildinterpretation nach dem Dreistufenmodell*. 1955. Cologne: DuMont, 2006, pp. 33–60, Here: p. 41-43.
28. Why description alone does not suffice to interpret an image can easily be understood when applied to written sources following the standard historical method of source criticism: by itself, an external source analysis does not lead to the same holistic result as when combined with an internal source analysis.
29. See Panofsky, Erwin. *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Bildinterpretation nach dem Dreistufenmodell*. Cologne: DuMont, 2006, Here: p. 29, 43.
30. See Panofsky, Erwin. "Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der Bildenden Kunst". In: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Bildinterpretation nach dem Dreistufenmodell*. 1932. Cologne: DuMont, 2006, pp. 5–32, Here: pp. 29–30.
31. See Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. 2nd ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980.
32. See Burke, Peter. *Augenzeugenschaft: Bilder als historische Quellen*. Berlin: K. Wagenbach, 2003.
33. Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Hermeneutik I. Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*. Vol. 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, p. 153.
34. See, for instance, Eco, Umberto. *Das offene Kunstwerk*. Trans. by Memmert, Günter. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972.
35. Gadamer, Hans-Georg, *Hermeneutik I. Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*, p. 148.
36. Ricoeur, Paul. *Die Interpretation: ein Versuch über Freud*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974, p. 507.
37. Shannon, Claude Elwood and Weaver, Warren. "A Mathematical Theory of Communication". In: *Bell System Technical Journal* 27.3 (1948), pp. 379–423.
38. See Shannon, Claude Elwood and Weaver, Warren. *Shannon-Weaver Model of Communication*. In: "A Mathematical Theory of Communication". Bell Systems Technical Journal. 27.3 (1948), pp. 379–423.
39. See Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Social Capital". In: *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Ed. by Richardson, John G. New York: Greenwood New York, 1986, pp. 241–258.
40. Ibid., p. 247.
41. See Reinhard, Wolfgang. *Freunde und Kreaturen. 'Verflechtung' als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen. Römische Oligarchie um 1600*. Vol. 14. Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Augsburg. Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1979.
42. See Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments: Or, An Essay Towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men Naturally Judge Concerning the Conduct and Character, First of Their Neighbours, and Afterwards of Themselves. To which is Added, a Dissertation on the Origin of Languages*. Ed. By Miller, A. et al. Edinburgh, 1759.
43. Mill, John Stuart. "On the Definition of Political Economy, and on the Method of Investigation Proper to it". In: *London and Westminster Review*. 1836, pp. 41–58.
44. Including Spanish, English, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, French, Latin, German and Arabic according to Vatican Radio. *Radiovaticana.va/news*. (Visited on 01/11/2019); *Papal Letter (motu propio) Regarding the Establishment of the Secretariat of Communication*. (Visited on 01/11/2019).

45. See Hutton, James G. "The Definition, Dimensions, and Domain of Public Relations". In: *Public Relations Review* 25.2 (1999), pp. 199–214, Here: p. 204.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 205.
48. Koehn, Daryl. *The Ground of Professional Ethics*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
49. For a detailed analysis, see Baker, Sherry. "The Theoretical Ground for Public Relations Practice and Ethics: A Koehnian Analysis". In: *Journal of Business Ethics* 35.3 (2002), pp. 191–205.
50. Koehn, Daryl, *The Ground of Professional Ethics*, p. 11.
51. See ibid., p. 32.
52. Ibid., p. 45.
53. See ibid., p. 54ff.
54. Ibid., p. 69.
55. See Leinweber, Luise. "Auftraggeber, Kunst". In: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*. Ed. by Friedrich Jäger. Vol. 5. Stuttgart: Springer, 2007, pp. 784–786; Erben, Dietrich. "Mäzen, Definition, Kunst". In: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*. Ed. by Friedrich Jäger. Vol. 8. Stuttgart: Springer, 2008, pp. 181–184.
56. See von Thiessen, Hillard Emich, Birgit Reinhardt, Nicole and Wieland, Christian. "Stand und Perspektiven der Patronageforschung: Zugleich eine Antwort auf Heiko Droste". In: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 32.2 (2005), pp. 233–265, Here: p. 237.
57. Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Was ist europäische politische Kultur? Versuch zur Begründung einer politischen Historischen Anthropologie". In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27.H. 4 (2001), pp. 593–616, Here: p. 594f.
58. See Emich, Birgit and Wieland, Christian, "Stand und Perspektiven der Patronageforschung: Zugleich eine Antwort auf Heiko Droste", p. 248.
59. See ibid., pp. 251–254.
60. See Emich, Birgit and Wieland, Christian, "Stand und Perspektiven der Patronageforschung: Zugleich eine Antwort auf Heiko Droste", p. 258.
61. See Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan, 1651*. New York: Barnes & Noble Publishing, 2004.
62. See ibid.
63. See Clairvaux, Saint Bernard of. *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope, 1440*. Trans. Latin by Anderson, John Douglas and Kennan, Elizabeth T. Cistercian Publications, 1976.
64. Earlier printing practices, wood-block printing, for instance, are documented for East Asia and the Muslim world from 220 A.D. onward.
65. For more on medieval political philosophy with regards to what constitutes a "good" pope, see Schmitz, Benoît. "Du bon usage du pouvoir pontifical: réforme et sainteté du chef de l'Église, de Paul III à Clément VIII". In: *Mythos Reform: Das Papsttum, die Kurie und Rom 1534–1605*. Ed. by Delgado-Jermann, Teresa; Malesevic, Filip; Reinhardt, Volker and Schneider, Christian. Manuscript submitted for publication: De Gruyter, 2020.
66. See Reinhardt, Volker. *Im Schatten von Sankt Peter: Die Geschichte des barocken Rom*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft wbg, 2011, p. 29.
67. For more on Rome's exemplary function during the Early Modern Period as well as contemporary criticism focusing on Rome, see Büchel, Daniel and Reinhardt, Volker, eds. *Modell Rom? Der Kirchenstaat und Italien in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Köln Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2003.
68. For more on this see: Burke, Peter and Kaiser, Wolfgang. *Städtische Kultur in Italien zwischen Hochrenaissance und Barock: eine historische Anthropologie*. Berlin: Wagenbach, 1986.

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70. See Clare Robertson. *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016, p. 323.
71. See ibid., p. 1.
72. See ibid.
73. See Camillo Ferrari, Michele and Pfaff, Carl. "Heiligenverehrung". In: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*. Online. 2011. (Visited on 11/02/2020).
74. Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*, p. 2.
75. Ibid.
76. See Tempesta, Antonio. *Pianta di Roma*. Printed City Map. Rome, 1593.
77. See Maggi, Giovanni. *Pianta di Roma*. Printed City Map. Rome, 1625.
78. See Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*, p. 2.
79. See Nolli, Giambattista. *Nuova pianta di Roma*. Printed City Map. Rome, 1748.
80. See de Rossi, Matteo Gregorio. *Pianta di Roma presente*. Printed City Map. Rome, 1668.
81. See Falda, Giovanni Battista. *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma*. Printed City Map. Rome, 1676.
82. See Barbey, Antonio. *Nuova pianta della città di Roma coll'Indice de tempij palazzi et altre fabriche antiche e moderne, e divisa nelli suoi XIII rioni*. Printed City Map. Rome, 1697.
83. All of the maps are conveniently made accessible online in high-resolution by the Italian-American research center "Studium Urbis," which focuses on the urban development of Rome. *www.studiumurbis.org*.
84. For a detailed account of the Council and the historical context in which it took place, see Jedin, Hubert. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*. Vol. I–IV. Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1950–1975.
85. For more on Conciliarism, see Jedin, Hubert. "Konziliarismus". In: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (LthK)* Ed. by Höfer, Josef and Rahner, Karl. Vol. 6. Freiburg im Breishgau: Verlag Herder, 1961, pp. 532–534.
86. See Wohlmuth, Josef and Alberigo, Giuseppe et al. *Dekrete der Ökumenischen Konzilien, Konzil von Trient*, Here: pp. 657–659.
87. For more on the conference proceedings and decrees, see ibid., Here: pp. 657–659.
88. See Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*, p. 9.
89. See Michael, Matheus. "Papstund Romkritik in der Renaissance". In: *Die Päpste der Renaissance. Politik, Kunst und Musik*. Ed. by Matheus, Michael et al. 75. Regensburg: Publikation der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, 2017, pp. 301–352, Here: 305.
90. For more on this, see Leppin, Volker. *Antichrist und jüngster Tag. Das Profil apokalyptischer Flugschriftenpublizistik im deutschen Luthertum, 1548–1618*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999.
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94. See Heid, Stefan, ed. *Operation am lebenden Objekt: Roms Liturgiereformen von Trient bis zum Vaticanum III*. Berlin-Brandenburg: be.bra Wissenschaft Verlag, 2014.
95. See Wohlmuth, Josef and al., *Dekrete der Ökumenischen Konzilien, Konzil von Trient*, p. 658.
96. See Hecht, Christian. *Katholische Bildertheologie der Frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2012.
97. See Jedin, Hubert. "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung". In: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (1/2 1935), pp. 143–188, p. 151.
98. For more on this, see Walter, Peter. "Prepostera religio: Richtige und falsche Heiligenverehrung nach Erasmus von Rotterdam". In: *Bilder, Heilige und Reliquien*. Ed. by Delgado, Mariano and Leppin, Volker. Vol. 28. Studien zur christlichen Religions-und Kulturgeschichte. Manuscript submitted for publication. Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2020, pp. 159–179, For more on the symbolism connected to the representations of saints in Post-Tridentine Italy, see Gerken, Claudia. *Entstehung und Funktion von Heiligenbildern im nachtridentinischen Italien (1588-1622)*. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015.
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100. See ibid., p. 155.
101. See ibid., p. 160.
102. "…die Bilder (sind) die Bücher der Ungelehrten." qtd. in Jedin, Hubert. "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung". In: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (1/2 1935), pp. 143–188, p. 162.
103. For more on Catholic discussions regarding image veneration, see Hecht, Christian, *Katholische Bildertheologie der Frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*.
104. See Jedin, Hubert. "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung". In: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (1/2 1935), pp. 143–188, pp. 168–188.
105. "Cum nostris temporibus exorti sint Iconomachi, qui imagines evertendas cesent, & maximae pertubationes plurimis in locis ex eo sunt excitatae, provideat sancta synodus, ut doceatur populus quid de cultu imaginum sit sentiendum curetque, ut si quae in eis colendis irrepserunt superstitiones & abusus, tollantur; quod ipsum quoque provideat in indulgentiis, preregrinationibus, reliquiis sanctorum & iis sodalitatibus, quas vocant fraternitates." Le Plat, Josse. *Monumentor. Concil. Trident.: Postulata oratorum regis Galliae, cum exhibitione XXXIV. articulorum. Ad hos articulos responsa legeatorum praesidentium Concilii Tridenti, 1563*. Vol. 5, Art. XXIX. Leuven: Typographia Academica, 1785, v641 translated into English and qtd. in O'Malley, John W. "Trent, Sacred Images and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous". In: *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*. Ed. by Hall, Marcia B. and Cooper, Tracey E. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 28–48, Here: p. 34.
106. See O'Malley, John W. *Trent: What Happened at the Council*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 244.

107. "Intorno a' dogmi non ancora quiui decisi per professione sopra il Purgatorioa, le Indulgenze, la Invocazione de'Santi, e le Immagini, fú considerato, che assai se troverebbe ne'Concilij passati: Nondimeno volersi dirne alcuna cosa per maniera di corregger gli abusi. E specialmente intorno all'ultimo punto il Cardinal di Loreno (Charles de Lorraine-Guise) mostró un decreto della Sorbona che molto lor soddisfece. (sic!)" Pallavicino, Francesco Sforza. *Istoria del Concilio di Trento scritta dal padre Sforza Pallavicino*. Vol. 2. Stamperia d'Angelo Bernabó dal Verme erede del Manelfi, 1657. Chap. 2, p. 995.
108. See Jedin, Hubert. "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung". In: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (3/4 1935), pp. 404–429, p. 410.
109. See Jedin, Hubert. "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung". In: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (1/2 1935), pp. 143–188, p. 181.
110. See Jedin, Hubert. "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung". In: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 116 (3/4 1935), pp. 404–429, p. 410.
111. Buckley, Theodore Alois, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 213–216. For the Latin original and a German translation see Wohlmuth, Josef and Alberigo, Giuseppe et al., *Dekrete der Ökumenischen Konzilien*, p. 774–776.
112. Ibid., p. 213.
113. For more on this, see Delgado, Mariano. *Das Spanische Jahrhundert (1492–1659): Politik, Religion, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. Geschichte kompakt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft wbg, 2016.
114. Buckley, Theodore Alois, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 215.
115. See Jedin, Hubert, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung", p. 187.
116. See Buckley, Theodore Alois, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 216.
117. See Hecht, Christian. "Bilder und Bildersturm. Die Sakralkunst nach dem Trienter und dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil". In: *Operation am lebenden Objekt: Roms Liturgiereformen von Trient bis zum Vaticanum III*. ed. by Heid, Stefan. Berlin-Brandenburg: be.bra Wissenschaft Verlag, 2014, pp. 121–138, p. 125.
118. Buckley, Theodore Alois, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 215.
119. See Hecht, Christian, "Bilder und Bildersturm. Die Sakralkunst nach dem Trienter und dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil", p. 126.
120. See Tschäpe, Ruth. "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*. Phd Thesis. Technische Hochschule Aachen: Verlag Mainz, 1995, p. 538.
121. Hecht, Christian, "Bilder und Bildersturm. Die Sakralkunst nach dem Trienter und dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil", p. 125.
122. Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von. *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe: Politische Schriften: Annotata quaedam ad Concilium Tridentinum 1680-1692*. Vol. 4. 4. 1690. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001, p. 540 qtd. in Hecht, Christian, "Bilder und Bildersturm. Die Sakralkunst nach dem Trienter und dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil", p. 127.
123. See Heid, Stefan, *Operation am lebenden Objekt: Roms Liturgiereformen von Trient bis zum Vaticanum III*.
124. See Tronzo, William, et al. *St Peter's in the Vatican*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

125. See Thoenes, Christof. "Renaissance at St Peter's". In: *St Peter's in the Vatican*. Ed. by William Tronzo. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 64–92.
126. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Januskopf: Paul III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 537–549.
127. See Wohlmuth, Josef and al., *Dekrete der Ökumenischen Konzilien, Konzil von Trient*, pp. 660–692.
128. See Wohlmuth, Josef and al., *Dekrete der Ökumenischen Konzilien, Konzil von Trient*, p. 681.
129. For instance, see Tellechea Idígoras, José Ignacio. *El Obispo ideal en el siglo de la Reforma*. Iglesia nacional española, 1963.
130. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Januskopf: Paul III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 537–549, p. 549.
131. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Förderer des Frohsinns: Julius III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 550–553, Here: p. 550.
132. See ibid., p. 551.
133. See ibid., p. 551.
134. Cardinal Innocenzo Del Monte, who later turned out to be one of the worst cardinals in history: after Julius' death, the Cardinal Del Monte was accused of raping several women, committing acts of violence and even murders. Dall'Orto, Giovanni. "Julius III". In: *Who's Who in Gay and Lesbian History: From Antiquity to World War II*. ed. by Aldrich, Robert F. and Wotherspoon, Garry. London and New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 277–278, p. 278.
135. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Förderer des Frohsinns: Julius III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 550–553, p. 551.
136. During the Renaissance, one Venetian gold ducat weighed 3.49 grams. At today's gold-price of roughly 47 Swiss francs per gram, 400,000 ducats would correspond to a sum of over 65 Million Swiss Francs. Schmutz, Daniel and Zäch, Benedikt. "Dukat". In: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. Vol. 4. Schwabe, 2005.
137. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Förderer des Frohsinns: Julius III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 550–553, p. 551.
138. See Nova, Alessandro. *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*. Phd Thesis. Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1982, p. 34.
139. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Förderer des Frohsinns: Julius III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 550–553, p. 552.
140. See Wohlmuth, Josef and al., *Dekrete der Ökumenischen Konzilien, Konzil von Trient*, p. 693.
141. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Förderer des Frohsinns: Julius III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 550–553, p. 553.
142. For more on this, see Schweitzer, Vinzenz. "Zur Geschichte der Reform unter Julius III". In: vol. 2. Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im Katholischen Deutschland. Cologne, 1907, pp. 51–66, p. 65.
143. Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 36.

144. For an inventory of Julius' artistic patronage, although by no means complete, see the index list included in the appendix.
145. For more on this, see Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*.
146. For more on this, see Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*.
147. Compare Lafreri, Antonio. *Sixteenth-century plan of the Villa Giulia*. Drawing. Rome, 1562.
148. For more on this, see Coolidge, John. "The Villa Giulia: A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-Sixteenth Century". In: *The Art Bulletin* 25.3 (1943), pp. 177–225.
149. See Lafreri, Antonio. *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Rome, 1562.
150. See n.a. *Giornale arcadico di scienze, lettere, ed arti*. Vol. IV. Rome: Stamperia de Romanis, 1819, pp. 387–388.
151. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XIII. London: J. Hodges, 1924, p. 345.
152. n.a., *Giornale arcadico di scienze, lettere, ed arti*, p. 387.
153. von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, pp. 338–339.
154. See Mayer, Jochen Werner. *Imus ad villam: Studien zur Villeggiatur im stadtrömischen Suburbium in der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 20. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005, p. 33.
155. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 344.
156. A Spanish faience, ordered in 1554 for the flooring indicates the end of the works, see Secret Archives of the Vatican. Min. Brev. Arm. 41, t. 72, n. 640.
157. See Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 72.
158. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 340.
159. Vasari mentions this in his *Vite*, see Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti. con nuove annotazioni e commenti de Gaetano Milanesi*. Ed. by Sansoni, G. C. Vol. VII. Florence: presso l'Ufficio Generale di Commissioni ed Annunzi, 1878, p. 694.
160. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 341.
161. See Lafreri, Antonio. *Sixteenth-century drawing by Ammanati, showing the Logia II of the Villa Giulia, as seen from the Nymphaeum*. Drawing. Rome, 1562.
162. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 341.
163. Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, p. 694.
164. "…e il papa non voleva la sera quello che gli era piaciuto la mattina" Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti. con nuove annotazioni e commenti de Gaetano Milanesi*. Ed. by Sansoni, G. C. Vol. VI. Florence: presso l'Ufficio Generale di Commissioni ed Annunzi, 1878, p. 478.

165. See Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 70.
166. See Moore, Frances Land. "A Contribution to the Study of the Villa Giulia". In: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1969), pp. 171–194, p. 184.
167. For instance, see Letarouilly, Paul. *Medal of 1553 Showing Project for the Villa Giulia Featuring Two Domes*. Vol. II, Drawing. Paris, 1840–1857.
168. See Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 70.
169. See ibid., pp. 71–80.
170. Ibid., p. 159.
171. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, pp. 537–538.
172. See ibid., 349f.
173. "Prospero Fontana (…) painted many things there, and much use was also made of Taddeo's services. This was of great benefit to Taddeo, for the pope, pleased with what he had done (gave him various commissions, which Vasari describes). In the main rooms of the Villa (Taddeo Zucchero) painted certain histories in colour in the centre of the ceiling, one of which, of Parnassus, should be specially mentioned. In the courtyard he painted in chiaroscuro two histories of the Sabines, on either side of the marble doorway leading to the loggia from which there is a way down to the Acqua Vergine". English transl. in Gere, John A. "The Decoration of the Villa Giulia". In: *The Burlington Magazine* 107.745 (1965), pp. 199–207, Here: p. 199. Original Italian text from Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, Vol. VII, p. 82.
174. Ibid.
175. *Naiads and Putti*. Attributed to Zucchero, Taddeo. Fresco. Villa Giulia, Rome, 1553.
176. *Bacchnalian Feast*. Attributed to Fontana, Prospero. Fresco. Villa Giulia, Rome, 1553.
177. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, p. 354.
178. See ibid., p. 354.
179. See Roberts, John. "Libations". In: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
180. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, p. 359.
181. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, p. 358.
182. See Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 102.
183. For more on the symbolism connected to the representations of saints in Post-Tridentine Italy, see Gerken, Claudia. *Entstehung und Funktion von Heiligenbildern im nachtridentinischen Italien (1588-1622)*. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015.
184. See Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 25.
185. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, p. 475.
186. See Nova, Alessandro, *The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome*, p. 23.

187. For more on the Caesar iconography see Geese, Uwe. "Antike als Programm–Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan". In: *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance. Ausstellungskatalog Liebighaus* (1985), pp. 24–50, pp. 31–31, 35–36.
188. For example: "Ille (J. Caesar) fuit quondam dictus pater Vrbis, et orbis, Iulius ecce pater Vrbis et orbis eret". This is part of an ode recorded in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. BAV, Ms Ott. Lat. 1351, fol. 3r. Vatican City, n.d. See also Nova, Alessandro, "The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55): Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome", p. 25.
189. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, p. 538.
190. According to Saint Thomas Aquinas, images representing Christ should be venerated in the same way, as Christ himself.
191. See ibid., p. 538.
192. Yorke, Philip. *Miscellaneous State Papers. From 1501 to 1726*. Vol. I. London, 1778, p. 95 qtd. in Nova, Alessandro, "*The Artistic Patronage of Pope Julius III (1550-55)*: Profane Imagery and Buildings for the De Monte Family in Rome", p. 58.
193. See Tschäpe, Ruth, "*Die" Villa Giulia: Rekonstruktion des Bildbestandes und ein Versuch, die Strukturen des ikonographischen Konzepts zu erfassen*, p. 539.
194. See ibid., p. 14.
195. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Januskopf: Paul III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 537–549, p. 554.
196. See ibid., p. 555.
197. The Spanish referred to the burning of heretics as act of faith (actus fidei).
198. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Januskopf: Paul III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 537–549, p. 556.
199. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Januskopf: Paul III". p. 558.
200. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Januskopf: Paul III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 537–549, p. 558.
201. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XIV. London: J. Hodges, 1924, p. 186.
202. See ibid., p. 194.
203. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa. "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient". In: *Mythos Reform: Das Papsttum, die Kurie und Rom 1534–1605*. Ed. by Delgado-Jermann, Teresa; Malesevic, Filip; Reinhardt, Volker and Schneider, Christian. Manuscript submitted for publication: De Gruyter, 2020.
204. See ibid.
205. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Januskopf: Paul III". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 537–549, p. 555.
206. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, pp. 418–420.
207. For more on this, see the following chapter on the artistic production under Pius IV.

208. Some of Paul's alterations were never realized, others were later replaced. Today, only an inscription in the *Sala Ducale* references Paul IV. See Vincenzo Forcella. *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*. Vol. VI. Rome: Cecchini, 1869, p. 71.
209. See Valone, Carolyn. "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale". In: *Master Drawings* 15.3 (1977), pp. 243–292, p. 243.
210. For more on this, see the following chapter on the artistic production under Pius IV.
211. See Losito, Maria. "Villa Pia nei Giardini Vaticani, i Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e la Fabbrica di San Pietro (Parte I)". in: *Arte Cristiana. Rivista Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte e di Arti Liturgiche* 875 (March-April 2013), pp. 149–158, p. 149.
212. See ibid., p. 149.
213. See Ancel, René. "Le Vatican sous Paul IV. Contribution à l'histoire du Palais pontifical". In: *Revue bénédictine* 25.1–4 (1908), pp. 48–71.
214. Pietro Venale received payment for the two angels, drawn by Ligorio, see Archivio Generale dei Teatini. Giustificazioni di Tesoreria, Bl/13, fols 17–18, 26 March 1558. Rome.
215. See Losito, Maria, "Villa Pia nei Giardini Vaticani, i Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e la Fabbrica di San Pietro (Parte I)", p. 150.
216. See Robertson, Clare. "Phoenix Romanus: 1534-1565". In: *Rome*. Ed. by Hall, Marcia B. Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance. Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 184–245, p. 224.
217. See Valone, Carolyn, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale", p. 243.
218. See Norman, Diana. "In Imitation of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Art, Patronage and Liturgy within a Renaissance Chapel". In: *Renaissance Studies* 7.1 (1993), pp. 1–42, p. 1.
219. For more on this, see Carolyn Valone's compelling analysis of Paul's Qurinale commissions: Valone, Carolyn, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale".
220. See Dosio, Antonio Giovanni. *Design for a Carafa Chapel*. Drawing. Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge Massachusetts, ca. 1556.
221. See Dosio, Antonio Giovanni. *Design for a Carafa Monument following a scheme provided by Guglielmo della Porta*. Drawing. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, ca. 1556.
222. See Valone, Carolyn, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale", p. 252.
223. See Valone, Carolyn. "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale". In: *Master Drawings* 15.3 (1977), pp. 243–292, p. 252.
224. See Karsten, Arne. "Gräber für Gelehrte? Anmerkungen zu den römischen Papst- und Kardinalsgrabmälern im Zeitalter der katholischen Reform". In: *Funktionen des Humanismus, Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*. Ed. by Thomas Maissen and Gerrit Walther. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2006, pp. 303–324, p. 307.
225. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient".
226. See Karsten, Arne, "Gräber für Gelehrte? Anmerkungen zu den römischen Papst- und Kardinalsgrabmälern im Zeitalter der katholischen Reform", p. 304.

227. See Karsten, Arne. "Gräber für Gelehrte? Anmerkungen zu den römischen Papst- und Kardinalsgrabmälern im Zeitalter der katholischen Reform". In: *Funktionen des Humanismus, Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*. Ed. by Thomas Maissen and Gerrit Walther. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2006, pp. 303–324, p. 310.
228. See Michelangelo. *Funeral Wall Monument of Leo X*. Monument. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, 1536.
229. See Michelangelo. *Funeral Wall Monument of Clement VII*. Monument. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, 1536.
230. See Kleefisch-Jobst, Ursula. "Die Errichtung der Grabmäler für Leo X. und Clemens VII. und die Projekte für die Neugestaltung der Hauptchorkapelle von S. Maria sopra Minerva". In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51.4 (1988), pp. 524–541, p. 532.
231. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Genussmensch und Machtpolitiker: Leo X". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 513–522, 520 and see also Reinhardt, Volker. "Selbstzerstörung: Clemens VII". in: idem., p. 535.
232. See Valone, Carolyn, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale", p. 253.
233. For more on Paul's IV final burial site, see the chapter on Pius V.
234. This judgment was later reversed by Pius V, who rehabilitated Carlo and Giovanni Carafa.
235. Borromeo's canonization served to effectively "sedate" Catholic Reform allowing nepotism to increase once again, as Volker Reinhardt has conclusively argued. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Krieg um die Erinnerungs-Hoheit. Die Heiligsprechung Carlo Borromeos". In: *Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform: Akten des Freiburger Symposiums zur 400. Wiederkehr der Heiligsprechung des Schutzpatrons der katholischen Schweiz*. Ed. by Delgado, Mariano and Ries, Markus. Vol. 13. Fribourg, Switzerland: Saint-Paul, 2010.
236. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Rollentausch: Pius IV". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 559–564, p. 560.
237. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 20 January 1560 in MS Urb. Lat. 1039, 120r.
238. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 30 August 1561 in MS Urb. Lat. 1039, 296r.
239. For the patronage of Pius IV, see Smith, Graham. *The Casino of Pius IV*. Princeton University Press, 1978.
240. Cusano further reports that after celebrating mass in the Lateran, "et di poi cavalcò (il papa) per Roma vecchia et tutta la mattina non fece che disegnar strade e fabriche a tale che se vive ancora qualche anni la innovcra in modo che la non si riconoscera". Qtd. in von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XVI. London: J. Hodges, 1928, p. 457.
241. See Nova, Alessandro. "Erotik und Spiritualität in der Römischen Malerei des Cinquecento (2001)". In: *Bild/Sprachen: Kunst und visuelle Kultur in der italienischen Renaissance*. Ed. by Burioni, Matteo; Burzer, Katja et al. Berlin: Wagenbach, 2014, pp. 83–104, p. 104.
242. See ibid., pp. 86, 92.
243. Buckley, Theodore Alois, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 215.

244. Painting leaves and loincloths over genitals over Renaissance artwork became such a frequent assignment for Volterra that it earned him the questionable nickname "il braghettone" (the Breeches Maker).
245. Guglielmo de Grandi, archbishop of Anglona (Sicily), describes the projected garden in his letter to Duke of Ferrara as follows: "Nostro Signore ha dessignato un giardino pensile dove sono le stantie de Papi passati (…)". Archivio di Stato di Modena. Letter of 10 August 1558, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori - Roma, b 55. Modena (henceforth cited as ASMo).
246. Contemporary *avvisi* and letters indicate Paul IV's original patronage of the building. It has also been shown that the inscription over the entrance portico of the Casino once read PAVLVS IIII. See Fagiolo, M. and Madonna, M.L. "La Casina di Pio IV in Vaticano. Pirro Ligorio e l'architettura come geroglifico". In: *Storia dell'Arte* 15–16 (1972), pp. 237–381, p. 273.
247. Cellauro gives a detailed description of the architectural layout of the building in Cellauro, Louis. "The Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican". In: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 63 (1995), pp. 183–214, p. 183.
248. See ibid., p. 190.
249. See, for instance, Vasi, Giuseppe. *Vatican Gardens and Casino of Pius IV*. Print. Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, n.d.
250. Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*.
251. Smith, Graham, *The Casino of Pius IV*.
252. Cellauro, Louis, "The Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican".
253. Losito, Maria, "Villa Pia nei Giardini Vaticani, i Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e la Fabbrica di San Pietro (Parte I)".
254. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ms Urb. Lat. 1038, fol. 302v. Vatican City (henceforth cited as BAV).
255. Archivio di Stato di Firenze. *Mediceo*. 3278, fol. 38. Florence (henceforth cited as ASF).
256. The inscriptions read: PIVS IIII HANC IN NEMORE PALATII APOSTOLOCI AREAM PORTICVM FONTEM AEDIFICIVMQVE CONSTITVIT ANN SAL M D L XI; PIVS IIII MEDICES MEIOLANENS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS IN NEMORE PALATII VATICANI PORTICVM APSIDADAM CVM VOLCM NIS NVMIDICIS FONTIBVS LYMPHAEO IMMINENTEM E REGIONE AREAE EXTRAVXIT ANNO SALVTIS MDLXI; PIVS IIII PONT MAX LYMPHAEVM HOC CONDIDIT ANTIQVISQVE STATVIS ORNAVIT. See Cellauro, Louis, "The Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican", pp. 202–203.
257. See ibid., p. 183.
258. Qtd. in Losito, Maria. "Villa Pia nei Giardini Vaticani, i Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e la Fabbrica di San Pietro (Parte II)". in: *Arte Cristiana. Rivista Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte e di Arti Liturgiche* 876 (May-June 2013), pp. 229–238, p. 229.
259. See Cellauro, Louis, "The Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican", p. 202.
260. Ibid., p. 183.
261. Ibid., p. 205.
262. See Maylender, Michele and Rava, Luigi. *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*. Vol. 4. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1926–1930, pp. 78–81.
263. See Losito, Maria, "Villa Pia nei Giardini Vaticani, i Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e la Fabbrica di San Pietro (Parte I)", 231. Today the building is still used as main office of an Academy: The *Accademia delle Scienze* of the Vatican.
264. Smith, Graham, *The Casino of Pius IV*.
265. Ibid., See.
266. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Rollentausch: Pius IV". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 559–564, p. 561.

267. The last payments for the interior decoration were made in September 1563, 3 months before the opening of the final session of the Council of Trent. See Cellauro, Louis, "The Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican", p. 183.
268. See Losito, Maria, "Villa Pia nei Giardini Vaticani, i Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e la Fabbrica di San Pietro (Parte II)", p. 230.
269. Stewart, Stanley. *The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.
270. For a detailed description and pictures of the Casino interior, see Losito, Maria. *The Casina Pio IV in the Vatican. Historical and Iconographic Guide*. Vatican City: Pontifical Academy of Sciences, 2010.
271. See Smith, Graham, *The Casino of Pius IV*, pp. 80–81, 91.
272. See ibid., p. 91.
273. See n.a. *Vaulted Ceiling of the Hall of the Sacred Conversation in the Casino di Pio IV in the Vatican*. Photograph. Fondazione Federico Zeri Archive, Bologna, ca. 1561–1563.
274. See Smith, Graham, *The Casino of Pius IV*, p. 68.
275. See Barocci, Federico. *Stucco Detail of the Hall of the Sacred Conversation of the Casino di Pio IV in the Vatican*. Photograph. Fondazione Federico Zeri Archive, Bologna, ca. 1561–1563.
276. See Smith, Graham, *The Casino of Pius IV*, p. 71.
277. See Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, pp. 91–92.
278. See Smith, Graham, *The Casino of Pius IV*, p. 72.
279. See ibid., p. 82.
280. See ibid., p. 81.
281. See ibid., p. 81.
282. See ibid., p. 82.
283. Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, p. 465.
284. See Böck, Angela. *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Phd Thesis. Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich: Olms, 1992, published in 1997, p. 3.
285. See plan of the Vatican Palace and the Sala Regia in: Frommel, Christoph Luitpold. "I tre progetti braman-teschi per il Cortile del Belvedere". In: *Il Cortile delle Statue: der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*. Ed. by Winner, Matthias. Mainz: Von Zabern, 1998, pp. 17–66.
286. See Frommel, Christoph Luitpold. *I tre progetti bramanteschi per il Cortile del Belvedere*. Schematic rendering. Site Plan of the Sala Regia inside the Vatican Palace, 1998.
287. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 4.
288. For a detailed rendering of all the frescoes see the appendix. For the location of the Sala Regia, see Böck, Angela (layout scheme) and Delgado-Jermann, Teresa (visualization of images). *Overview of the Fresco Arrangement inside the Sala Regia*. Schematic rendering. Vatican, n.d.
289. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 4–6.
290. In addition to its political function, the *Sala* also served multiple religious and practical purposes: in times of vacancy of the Holy See, cardinals participating in the conclave would sleep in the *Sala Regia*. Appointments of bishops and cardinals were conducted in the stately hall, as well as canonizations. During processions, rituals or celebrations of the holy mass or even papal funerals, prelates and domestics used the *Sala Regia* as waiting room. As Böck suggests, however, the pictorial program of the hall is aligned exclusively with the political function of the hall. See ibid., p. 20.

291. See ibid., for a detailed rendering of all the frescoes see the appendix of this thesis.
292. "… fece Daniello sopra ogni porta quasi un tabernacolo di stucco, bellissimo: in ciascuno de'quali disegnava fare di pittura uno di quei re che hanno difesa la Chiesa apostolica, e seguitare nelle facciate istorie di que 're, che con tributi o vettorie hanno beneficato la Chiesa, onde in tutto venivano a essere sei storie e sei nicchie". Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, p. 57.
293. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 30.
294. (…) E cosa decente, si come a me pare, che le pitture che in alcun luogo si dipingono, habiano conformità, et proportione con le attioni, che in quei tali luoghi si sogliono esercitare. Et perché nella Sala Regia, gli Imperatori, et Re Christiani, publicamente rendono obedienza al Pontifice Romano, sommo sacerdote capo visibile della santa chiesa, et Vicario di Christo in terra, attione senza dubbio nobilissima et principalissima, pertanto credesei che in quasi due vani, chi chiudono in mezzo il luogo della sedia Pontificale, si dovesse dipignere alcun fatto, o historia memorabile, che rappresentasse la debita suggettione, et inferiorità del principato terreno, verso il sacerdotio, di che in tutte le età si trovariano facilmente chiarissimi esempij. Et per venire a qualche particulare, bella, et famosa historia è quella di Abraam, quando tornando vitoriosa, et quasi trionfando di quattro Re, diede la decima della presa à Melchisedech, Re et sacerdote di dio altissimo et humiliandosi ai suoi piedi, da lui fu benedeto, come si legge nella scrittura sacra. Illustri historia è anchor quella che racconta Giosefo nella antichità Giudaiche di Alessandro Magno, il quale essendo gravemente adirato contro il sommo sacerdote degli Hebrei, et minacciando guerra, et distruttioni a Gerusaleme, et a tutta Giudea, incontrato poi dal medesimo sacerdoti, vestito de gli habite sacri et venerandi, subito cambiatosi di voluntà, con grandissima sommissioni lo adorò, et ai suoi che molto di tal mutatione si mervigliavano rispose non ho io adorato costui, ma Iddio, di cui egli col principato sacerdote tiene il luogho. Potrebbesse anchora rappresentare alcuna delle historie Christiane, in questo istesso genere della riverenza usata dai Principi terreni verso i sommi Pontifici, si come di Constantino verso S. Silvestro, dipingendolo in qualche atto di sommissione, (…) gratia di tener la staffa, et la briglia del cavallo del Papa, facendo offitio di stratore, come è scritto nel cap. costant.s (…) dist. o in altra cotal maniera. Et similimente di Carlo Magno, quando sopra i gradi di S. Pietro fu ricevuto da Principe christianissimo sono piene le historie ma particularmente è degno memoria, quello che di lui legge, che per devotione baciò ad uno per uno tutti i gradi delle scale di San Pietro. Et molte altre cose simiglianti si potranno riccordare di più intelligenti, et più prattiche di me nella historie ecclesiastiche (…). (sic!) Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. BAV, Ms Vat. Lat. 7031, fol. 280r-v. n.d. Vatican City.
295. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 32.
296. For the analysis of the pictorial program of the Sala Regia realized under Paul III, see ibid., pp. 21–29.
297. For instance, Zopelli, Maria Giovanni. *Charles of Anjou's Oath of Loyalty (?)* Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1565.
298. Vasari, Giorgio. *The Return of Gregory XI from Avignon*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, 1572–1573.
299. Porta, Giuseppe. *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1563.

300. Porta received payment for the painting in question. See Archivio di Stato di Roma. Cam. I, Fabb. 1520, fol. 246r. Rome (henceforth cited as ASR), 20 July 1565: "Maestro Giuseppe Salviati pittore de dare adì 20 di luglio scudi cento havutone mandato a buon conto dell'historia delli sette Re ch' egli fa nella Sala Regia a man sinistra della Porta in capo la sacala quale scende verso Roma (sic!)".
301. See della Porta, Giuseppe. *Inv. Nr. 1938.44rv*. Pen drawing on paper. Kunstmuseum Basel, ca. 1565.
302. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 16.
303. See Porta, Giuseppe, *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*.
304. In addition, a painted over-fresco would also explain why Pastor was unable to locate the fresco. See "Vasari always speaks of 'sei cartoni grandi delle sei storie' but I could not verify the sixth fresco". von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XX. London: J. Hodges, 1930, notes on p. 610.
305. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 31.
306. Zuccaro, Taddeo. *Charlemagne Donating his Territory*. ca. 1563, Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia.
307. Sammachini, Orazio. *Otto I restoring the Territories of the Church to Pope Agapetus II*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1563.
308. The only other and even more explicit submission scene being Vasari, Giorgio. *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1573. A painting realized later under Gregory XIII and dealing with a different kind of submission, since it does not deal with a Christian king, but rather with an excommunicated king. This explains why here the submission is not displayed in the form of a kneeling king but rather in the form of a crown-less heretic crushed by the Holy See.
309. Archivio di Stato di Roma. Cam. I, Tes. Segr. 1299, fol. 23r. Rome, Additional payments were made between 13 December 1563 and 29 April 1564, with the latter probably being on account of the destroyed fresco showing the seven Roman kings, see Böck, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan*, notes for p. 16.
310. See Archivio di Stato di Roma. Cam. I, Fabb. 1520, fol. 178r. Rome, Additional payments were made on 20 and 22 February and 7 March 1564.
311. The subsequent payments over the next months indicate that the paintings were not fully completed at this point. Otherwise the artists would no longer have received payment.
312. Agresti, Livio. *King Peter of Aragon offering his Kingdom to Pope Innocent III*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca.1564.
313. See Zuccaro, Taddeo and Federico. *Charles V Capturing Tunis*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1565.
314. See Zuccaro, Taddeo and Federico. *Pope Gregory VII Absolving Emperor Henry*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, 1565.
315. See Siciolante da Sermoneta, Girolamo. *Donation of Pepin*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1565, Pius IV also commissioned Siciolante with a painting showing the Holy See bestowing the right of imperial election on the German prince-electors (*Kurfürsten*), for which Siciolante received payments. However, this painting was either never begun, left unfinished or painted over. See Böck, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan*, p. 16.
316. This is the case in *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*. See de Jong, Jan L. "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia

in the Vatican. Intention and Reception". In: *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual at the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. 2004, pp. 153–168, p. 30.

317. See Fiorini, Giovanni Batista. *Pope Gregory II Receiving King Luitprand's Confirmation of the Donation by King Ariperth*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1565.
318. See Böck, Angela, *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 40.
319. See ibid., p. 40.
320. See Bellarmino, Roberto. *De Summo Pontifice: Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini Politiani, SJ sre cardinalis, de controversiis christianæ fidei adversus hujus temporis hæreticos, quatuor tomis comprehensarum. De temporali dominio & potestate ejusdem Pontificis*. Vol. III. Joannem Malachinum, sub signo s. Ignatii, 1721. Chap. V, 433f.
321. Valla, Laurentius. *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio*. 1440. Jacobus Marcus, 1620.
322. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 443.
323. See ibid., p. 443.
324. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa. "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient". In: *Mythos Reform: Das Papsttum, die Kurie und Rom 1534–1605*. Ed. by Delgado-Jermann, Teresa; Malesevic, Filip; Reinhardt, Volker and Schneider, Christian. Manuscript submitted for publication: De Gruyter, 2020.
325. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XVI. London: J. Hodges, 1928, p. 443.
326. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XVI. London: J. Hodges, 1928, p. 444.
327. Qtd. in ibid., p. 445.
328. See Zirpolo, Lilian H. "Latin Cross Plan". In: *Historical Dictionary of Baroque Art and Architecture*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018, pp. 314–315, p. 314.
329. See Zirpolo, Lilian H., "Latin Cross Plan", p. 314.
330. See Zirpolo, Lilian H. "Latin Cross Plan". In: *Historical Dictionary of Baroque Art and Architecture*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018, pp. 314–315, p. 314.
331. The Avviso di Roma of 9 August 1561 records that Pius IV prohibited under pain of excommunication "che in detto luoco non vi si vada a giocar ne con cocchi ne cavalli." Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 9 August 1561 in MS Urb. Lat. 1039, 293v.
332. See Elam, Caroline. "Michelangelo: His Late Roman Architecture". In: *AA Files* 1 (1981), pp. 68–76, pp. 72–73.
333. See ibid., p. 73.
334. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 445.
335. See Elam, Caroline, "Michelangelo: His Late Roman Architecture", p. 73.
336. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Radikalreform: Pius V". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 564–572, p. 564.
337. See ibid., p. 564.
338. See ibid., p. 565.

339. See ibid., p. 565.
340. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Radikalreform: Pius V". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 564–572, p. 568.
341. See ibid., p. 568.
342. See ibid., p. 568.
343. See ibid., p. 569.
344. See ibid., p. 571.
345. See ibid., p. 566.
346. See ibid., p. 566.
347. "II papa ha donato tutte le statue di Belvedere al popolo Romano con non poco dispiacere delle creature di Pio IV". In: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 9 February 1566 in MS Urb. Lat. 1040, 170r, and see also von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of The Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol XVII. London: J. Hodges, 1929, p. 110.
348. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XVII. London: J. Hodges, 1929, pp. 110–111.
349. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 111.
350. See ibid., pp. 112–113.
351. See ibid., p. 113.
352. See ibid., p. 113.
353. "Si ragiona chel Papa voglia guastar il theatro di Belvedere come cosa di gentilitià et fatto a posta per farvi spettacoli publici cosa poco conveniente a pontefici, et anco che vuol ridure tutte le altre antiquitià in servitio di religione et culto divino, acciiò quelli verrano a Roma, habbino d'andare a veder le 7 chiese e non l'antiquitià profana (sic!)". In: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 2 April 1569 in MS Urb. Lat. 1041, 51r, and see also von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of The Popes*. Vol XVII, p. 113.
354. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 114.
355. See Reuer, G John Phillip. *Der Casale di S. Pio V. in Rom*. Phd Thesis. Freie Universität Berlin: Ernst-Reuter-Gesellschaft, 1968.
356. Gabuzio notes that Pius V bought the property in April 1566 and gifted it with the newly built Casale to his nephew, Paolo Ghisleri, in May 1567. Cited in ibid., 58f.
357. See ibid., 64f.
358. Unfortunately, I was not able to access that microfilm since it can only be visualized on-site.
359. Reuer describes the nymphaeum as "bescheidene Anlage." See ibid., p. 26.
360. Ibid., p. 66.
361. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
362. For more on Pius V's funeral architecture see Caldwell, Dorigen. "Grace and Favour: Pius V and Sepulchral Architecture in Counter-Reformation Rome". In: *Artibus et historiae* 72 (2015), pp. 211–246.
363. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."

364. See Büchel, Daniel. "Das Grabmal Papst Pauls IV. Carafa (1555-1559)". In: *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*. Ed. by Bredekamp, Horst and Reinhardt, Volker. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft wbg, 2004, pp. 121–140, p. 133.
365. Qtd. in ibid., p. 134.
366. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
367. See Borgolte, Michael. *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation: die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989, p. 302.
368. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
369. Vasari, Giorgio. *The Preparations for the Battle of Lepanto*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, 1573.
370. Vasari, Giorgio. *The Battle of Lepanto*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, 1572–1573.
371. Vasari, Giorgio. *The Wounding of Admiral Caspar de Coligny*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, 1573.
372. See Vasari, Giorgio. *The Massacre of the Huguenots*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1573.
373. See Vasari, Giorgio. *King Charles IX Approving the Massacre of the Huguenots*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1573.
374. See Vasari, Giorgio, *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*.
375. Vasari, Giorgio. *Pope Gregory IX excommunicating King Frederick II*. Fresco. Vatican Palace, Sala Regia, ca. 1573.
376. See Böck, Angela. *Die Sala Regia im Vatikan als Beispiel der Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Phd Thesis. Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich: Olms, 1992, published in 1997, p. 103.
377. For more on the reception of the *Sala Regia* frescoes, see de Jong, Jan L. "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. Intention and Reception". In: *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual at the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. 2004, pp. 153–168.
378. Ibid.
379. See ibid., p. 155.
380. Porta, Giuseppe, *The Reconciliation between Pope Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa*.
381. Venetian historians described how Frederick kneeled and tolerated the Holy Father putting a pontifical foot on his imperial head, "but the arrogance, nay, the insolence of Alexander, who trampled on the head of this great man, and spoke the haughty words: 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder', to which the emperor replied: 'Not to you but to St. Peter I submit myself', and the pope reacted with 'Both to me and to Saint Peter'—that these papal parasites have omitted." qtd. in de Jong, Jan L, "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. Intention and Reception", p. 158.
382. See ibid., p. 158.
383. de Jong, Jan L. "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. Intention and Reception". In: *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual at the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. 2004, pp. 153–168, pp. 163–165.
384. Qtd. in ibid., p. 165.
385. De Jong references criticism made in the nineteenth century by French author and politician Stendhal and in the twentieth century by art historians Philipp Fehl and Herwarth Röttgen, see ibid., p. 163.

386. See ibid., pp. 159, 166.
387. See de Jong, Jan L, "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. Intention and Reception", p. 161.
388. See ibid., p. 166.
389. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Rekatholisierung und neue Zeitrechnung: Gregor XIII". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 572–582, p. 572.
390. See ibid., p. 572.
391. See ibid., p. 577.
392. See ibid., p. 573.
393. See ibid., p. 579.
394. See ibid., p. 580.
395. See ibid., p. 581.
396. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Rekatholisierung und neue Zeitrechnung: Gregor XIII". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 572–582, p. 582.
397. As Pastor notes, the *mandati* of Gregory XIII, up to the last 2 years of his reign (1583–1585) are all preserved in eleven volumes in the State Archives, Rome. They record all the payments that the pope ordered to be made directly through the general treasurer, and they give an exact account of all the artists and craftsmen directly employed by Gregory XIII. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 560.
398. See Ruffini, Marco. "A Dragon For the Pope: Politics and Emblematics at the Court of Gregory XIII". In: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 54 (2009), pp. 83–105, p. 83.
399. See ibid., p. 85.
400. See ibid., p. 95.
401. See Monssen, Leif Holm. "Rex Gloriose Martyrum: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography". In: *The Art Bulletin* 63.1 (1981), pp. 130–137, p. 132.
402. See ibid., p. 131.
403. For a detailed description and analysis of the individual frescoes, see Leif Holm Monssen. *The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo*. Bretschneider, 1982.
404. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Rekatholisierung und neue Zeitrechnung: Gregor XIII". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 572–582, p. 580.
405. See Dickens, Charles. *Pictures from Italy*. London: Bradbury & Evans, Whitefriars, 1846, p. 195.
406. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Rekatholisierung und neue Zeitrechnung: Gregor XIII". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 572–582, p. 580.
407. See Noreen, Kirstin. "Ecclesiae militantis triumphi: Jesuit iconography and the Counter-Reformation". In: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (1998), pp. 689–715, p. 697.
408. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Rekatholisierung und neue Zeitrechnung: Gregor XIII", p. 580.
409. Monssen, Leif Holm, "Rex Gloriose Martyrum: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography", p. 133.
410. See Nelting, David. "Nicolo Circignanis Fresken in Santo Stefano Rotondo und Antonio Gallonios 'Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio': Zwei Beispiele manieristischer Praxis unter den Bedingungen der Gegenreformation". In: *Romanische Forschungen* (2001), pp. 70–81, p. 75.

411. Röttgen, Herwarth. "Zeitgeschichtliche Bildprogramme der katholischen Restauration under Gregor XIII. 1572-1585". In: *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 26 (1975), pp. 89–122, p. 108.
412. See de Jong, Jan L. "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. Intention and Reception", p. 166.
413. Borghini, Raffaello. *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini: in cui della pittura, e della scultura fi fauella, de' piu illustri pittori, e scultori, e delle piu famose opere loro si fa mentione; e le cose principali appartenenti à dette arti s'insegnano*. Florence: Appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1584, p. 64.
414. See de Jong, Jan L. "The Painted Decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. Intention and Reception", p. 166.
415. See Monssen, Leif Holm, "Rex Gloriose Martyrum: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography", p. 133.
416. See ibid., p. 133.
417. See Circignani, Niccolò and da Siena, Matteo. *Crucifixion*. Fresco. Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome, 1582.
418. See Monssen, Leif Holm, "Rex Gloriose Martyrum: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography", p. 134.
419. See ibid., p. 135.
420. For more on the patronage of Christ as a motive in early modern Jesuit iconography, see Appuhn-Radtke, Sibylle. "Innovation durch Tradition. Zur Aktualisierung mittelalterlicher Bildmotive in der Ikonographie der Jesuiten". In: *Die Jesuiten in Wien. Zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jh.* Ed. by Werner Telesko Herbert Karner. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003, pp. 243–259, p. 244.
421. The Venerable Bede, for instance, describes Gregory as a "model pope" in his 731 *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. In the sixteenth century, different printed editions of this work were circulated throughout Europe, for instance, see: Beda Venerabilis. *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Ed. by John de Grave. Vol. I–V. 731. Antwerp, 1565.
422. See Appuhn-Radtke, Sibylle, "Innovation durch Tradition. Zur Aktualisierung mittelalterlicher Bildmotive in der Ikonographie der Jesuiten", p. 244.
423. See Noreen, Kirstin, "Ecclesiae militantis triumphi: Jesuit iconography and the Counter-Reformation", p. 694.
424. "Ex his colligimus Societatis nostrae fundamentum esse lesum Christum crucifixum, ut sicut ipse cum cruce genus humanum redemit et quotidie maximas patitur afflictiones et cruces in Corpore suo Mystico, quod est Ecclesia: sic et is qui Societatis nostrae est, non aliud sibi proponat quam ut, per plurimas persecutiones Christum sequens, animarum salutem una cum ipso Christo procuret, quandoquidem illae, Christi sanguine redemptae, tam misere pereunt." Nadal, Gerónimo. *Pláticas espirituales del P. Jerónimo Nadal, SJ, en Coimbra, 1561*. Ed. by with intro and S. J. notes M. Nicolau. Granada: Facultad Teológica de la Compañía de Jesús, 1945, 469. Transl. in Monssen, Leif Holm. "Rex Gloriose Martyrum: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography." In: *The Art Bulletin* 63.1 (1981), pp. 130–137, p. 134.
425. Monssen, Leif Holm, "Rex Gloriose Martyrum: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography", p. 134.
426. Calvin, John, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Here: Book IV, Chapter XVII, p. 49.
427. See Little, Lester K. "Calvin's appreciation of Gregory the Great". In: *Harvard Theological Review* 56.2 (1963), pp. 145–157, p. 146.

428. See ibid., p. 153.
429. See n.a. *Detail of the Ceiling Decoration Showing the Papal Stemma of Gregory XIII with the Boncompagni Dragon*. Stucco Decoration. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1590–1583.
430. See Schmidt, Everhard. "Die Galleria Geografica des Vatikans". In: *Geographische Zeitschrift* 17.9. H (1911), pp. 502–517, p. 503.
431. See ibid., pp. 503–504.
432. See Biondo, Flavio. *Roma ristaurata et Italia illustrata*. Venice: Domenico Giglio, 1558.
433. See Banfi, Florio. "The Cosmographic Loggia of the Vatican Palace". In: *Imago Mundi* 9.1 (1952), pp. 23– 34.
434. See Rosen, Mark. *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 76.
435. See Podestà, Bartolomeo. "Le Mappe delle Logge Vaticane". In: *Rivista Europea* II.1 (1877), pp. 34–46.
436. See Porena, Filippo. "La Geografia in Roma e il Mappomondo Vaticano". In: *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana* III.1 (1888), pp. 221–238, 311–339, 427–453, see also Banfi, Florio. "The Cosmographic Loggia of the Vatican Palace". In: *Imago Mundi* 9.1 (1952), pp. 23–34.
437. See Schmidt, Everhard, "Die Galleria Geografica des Vatikans", p. 502.
438. See Gambi, Lucio and Pinelli, Antonio, eds. *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*. Vol. 1–3. Modena: FC Panini, 1994.
439. See Rosen, Mark, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*, p. 75.
440. See Danti, Ignatio. *Map of Corsica*. Mural Fresco. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580-1583.
441. See Schmidt, Everhard, "Die Galleria Geografica des Vatikans", p. 509.
442. See ibid., p. 507.
443. See Danti, Ignatio. *Italy Represented as an Allegorical Figure*. Detail of Mural Fresco. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583.
444. See Schmidt, Everhard, "Die Galleria Geografica des Vatikans", p. 511.
445. See Moffitt Watts, Pauline. "A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the 'Corpus Christi' in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche". In: *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 10 (2005), pp. 173–192, p. 175.
446. See Clairvaux, Saint Bernard of, *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope, 1440*.
447. See Moffitt Watts, Pauline, "A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the 'Corpus Christi' in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche", p. 175.
448. Clairvaux, Saint Bernard of. *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope, 1440*. Trans. Latin by Anderson, John Douglas and Kennan, Elizabeth T. Vol. Book Two. 1148–1153. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976, pp. 66–67.
449. Ibid., pp. 53–54.
450. See Moffitt Watts, Pauline, "A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the 'Corpus Christi' in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche", p. 175.
451. See ibid., p. 173.
452. See ibid., p. 177.
453. Ladner, Gerhart B. "The Concepts of 'Ecclesia' and 'Christianitas' and their Relation to the Idea of Papal 'Plenitudo Potestatis' from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII". In: *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*. Vol. 2. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1983, pp. 487–515, p. 508.
454. See Moffitt Watts, Pauline, "A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the 'Corpus Christi' in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche", p. 178.

455. See Muzziano, Girolamo and Nebbia, Cesare. *St Ambrose Resisting Against Theodosius I.* Ceiling Fresco. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583.
456. See Muzziano, Girolamo and Nebbia, Cesare. *Saint Peter Damian Signing his Name to Become an Eremite*. Ceiling Fresco. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583.
457. See Muzziano, Girolamo and Nebbia, Cesare. *Apostle Peter Praying and Interrupting a Flying Spell Cast by Magician Simon Magus*. Ceiling Fresco. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583.
458. See Muzziano, Girolamo and Nebbia, Cesare. *Frederick Barbarossa Bending the Knee to Pope Alexander II.* Ceiling Fresco. Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican, 1580–1583.
459. Valla, Laurentius. *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio*. 1440. Jacobus Marcus, 1620.
460. See Moffitt Watts, Pauline, "A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the 'Corpus Christi' in the Galleria Delle Carte Geografiche", p. 182.
461. See Cheney, Iris. "The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the Vatican and the Roman Church's View of the History of Christianity". In: *Renaissance Papers* 17 (1989), pp. 21–37, pp. 24–25.
462. See Fiorani, Francesca. "Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra'. The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace". In: *Imago mundi* 48.1 (1996), pp. 124–148, p. 136.
463. See Fiorani, Francesca, "Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra'. The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace", p. 137.
464. See ibid., p. 137.
465. An avviso makes note of this: "La cappella Gregoriana sara in breve tempo vaghissima, superba e miracu- losa." Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 7 February 1579 in MS Urb. Lat. 1047, 44v.
466. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient".
467. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 18 June 1580 in MS Urb. Lat. 1048, 172r.
468. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 7 March 1579 in MS Urb. Lat. 1047, 76r, and the Avviso of 17 February 1580 in Urb. 1048 21r.
469. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 572.
470. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient".
471. See ibid.
472. See Goldhahn, Almut. *Von der Kunst des sozialen Aufstiegs: Statusaffirmation und Kunstpatronage der venezianischen Papstfamilie Rezzonico*. Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2017, p. 321.
473. See Biblioteca Casanatense. *Stampa raffigurante il monumento funebre di papa Gregorio XIII nella chiesa di S. Maria in Via a Roma*. Rome, 1723, Scaffali Digitali.
474. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
475. See Ruffini, Marco, "A Dragon For the Pope: Politics and Emblematics at the Court of Gregory XIII", pp. 83–84.
476. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."

477. See n.a., modeled after Antichi (de Antiquis), Prospero. *The Original 1585 Tomb of Gregory XIII in New St. Peter*. Copperplate Engraving. Numismata Summorum Pontificum, Rome, 1696, p. 110.
478. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
479. See ibid.
480. The pope had planned to move the relics to the Capella Gregoriana as early as 1578, as an avviso records. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 15 March 1578 in MS Urb. Lat. 1046, 80r.
481. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
482. See Noach, Arnold. "The Tomb of Paul III and a Point of Vasari". In: *The Burlington Magazine* 98.643 (1956), pp. 376–379, p. 379.
483. See ibid., p. 379.
484. See della Porta, Guglielmo. *Tomb of Paul III.* 1549-1575, Funeral Monument. St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, depicted in Caldwell, Dorigen. "Grace and Favour: Pius V and Sepulchral Architecture in Counter- Reformation Rome". In: *Artibus et historiae* 72 (2015), p. 218.
485. See Noach, Arnold, "The Tomb of Paul III and a Point of Vasari", p. 376.
486. See ibid., p. 376.
487. See Steinmann, Ernst. *Das Grabmal Pauls III. in St. Peter in Rom*. Poeschel & Trepte, 1912.
488. See Gramberg, Werner. "Guglielmo della Portas Grabmal für Paul III. Farnese in San Pietro in Vaticano". In: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984), pp. 253–364.
489. See Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp. "Des Papstes neue Kleider. Das Grabmal Papst Pauls III. Farnese (1534–1549)". In: *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*. Ed. by Bredekamp, Horst and Reinhardt, Volker. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft wbg, 2004, pp. 85–98.
490. See Suffi, Nicolò. *St. Peter's: Guide to the Square and the Basilica*. Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998.
491. See Rebecchini, Guido. "After the Medici. The New Rome of Pope Paul III Farnese". In: *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007), pp. 147–200, p. 158.
492. See ibid., p. 163.
493. See ibid., p. 167.
494. See ibid., p. 168.
495. See Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp, "Des Papstes neue Kleider. Das Grabmal Papst Pauls III. Farnese (1534–1549)", p. 87.
496. See ibid., p. 88.
497. See ibid., p. 87.
498. See ibid., p. 89.
499. Ibid., p. 90.
500. See ibid., p. 90.
501. See ibid., p. 91.
502. See della Porta, Guglielmo. *Tomb of Paul III, Relief Detail of the Statue's Garment showing Saul*. Funeral Monument. St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, 1549–1575, depicted in Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp, "Des Papstes neue Kleider. Das Grabmal Papst Pauls III. Farnese (1534–1549)", p. 92.
503. See Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp, "Des Papstes neue Kleider. Das Grabmal Papst Pauls III. Farnese (1534–1549)", p. 91.

504. See della Porta, Guglielmo. *Tomb of Paul III, Relief Detail of the Statue's Garment showing Saul*. Funeral Monument. St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, 1549–1575, depicted in Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp, "Des Papstes neue Kleider. Das Grabmal Papst Pauls III. Farnese (1534–1549)", p. 93.
505. See Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp, "Des Papstes neue Kleider. Das Grabmal Papst Pauls III. Farnese (1534–1549)", p. 91.
506. As cardinal, Peretti had married his nephew with beautiful Umbrian noblewoman Vittoria Accoramboni. However, upon the couple's arrival in Rome, Vittoria began an affair with Duke Paolo Giordano Orsini—a powerful Roman aristocrats with family ties to the Medici dynasty. Orsini, eager to marry Vittoria, had Peretti's nephew (Vittoria's husband) murdered. Conscious of the possible political ramifications of going after a Medici family-member, Gregory XIII granted Orsini impunity and Peretti was smart enough to keep quiet.
507. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Banditenkrieg und Sternplan: Sixtus V". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 582–592, pp. 582–583.
508. See ibid., p. 584.
509. See Dennis, Kimberly. "Camilla Peretti, Sixtus V, and the Construction of Peretti Family Identity in Counter-Reformation Rome". In: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (2012), pp. 71–101, and see also Valone, Carolyn. "Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome 1560–1630". In: *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), pp. 129–146.
510. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Banditenkrieg und Sternplan: Sixtus V", p. 584.
511. See ibid., p. 588.
512. See ibid., p. 585.
513. Qtd. in von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XXI. London: J. Hodges, 1932, p. 83.
514. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Banditenkrieg und Sternplan: Sixtus V", p. 588.
515. See ibid., p. 589.
516. See Stephan, Peter. "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte". In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72.2 (2009), pp. 165–214.
517. See Gamrath, Helge. *Roma sancta renovata: studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda meta del secolo XVI con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585-1590)*. Rome: L'Erma di Breitschneider, 1987.
518. See Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Schwäche und schöner Schein". In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 283.1 (2006), pp. 281–318.
519. See Reinhardt, Volker. *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017.
520. See Gormans, Andreas and Zitzlsperger, Philipp. *Totenkult und Wille zur Macht: Die unruhigen Ruhestätten der Päpste in St. Peter*. Ed. by Bredekamp, Horst and Reinhardt, Volker. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft wbg, 2004.
521. See Burkart, Bettina. *Der Lateran Sixtus V. und sein Architekt Domenico Fontana*. Rheinische Friedrich- Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1989.
522. See Schiffmann, René. *Roma felix: Aspekte der städtebaulichen Gestaltung Roms unter Papst Sixtus V*. Lang, 1985.
523. See Mandel, Corinne. *Sixtus V and the Lateran Palace*. Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1994.
524. See Ostrow, Steven F. *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

525. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", and see also Stephan, Peter. "Das verräumlichte Bild im verbildlichten Raum". In: *Das haptische Bild. Körperhafte Bilderfahrung in der Neuzeit*. Ed. by Jörg Rempler, Markus Roth, Iris Wenderholm. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013, pp. 113–134 as well as "Transformation und Transfiguration. Die bauliche und geistige Erneuerung Roms unter Sixtus V". In: *Heilige Landschaft, Heilige Berge*. Ed. by Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin. Einsiedeln and Zurich: Gta Verlag, 2014, pp. 84–129.
526. "If he had lived for another year Sixtus V would have carried out this useful undertaking", writes Fontana, qtd. in von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XXII. London: J. Hodges, 1932, p. 236.
527. Ibid., p. 246.
528. See Stephan, Peter. "Transformation und Transfiguration. Die bauliche und geistige Erneuerung Roms unter Sixtus V". In: *Heilige Landschaft, Heilige Berge*. Ed. By Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin. Einsiedeln and Zurich: Gta Verlag, 2014, pp. 84–129.
529. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 167.
530. A star-shaped form usually associated with the *stella maris*, a symbol of Saint Mary, and the *stella matutina*, a symbol of Christ. For a more detailed description of this, see Stephan, Peter, "Transformation und Transfiguration. Die bauliche und geistige Erneuerung Roms unter Sixtus V", p. 87.
531. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 165.
532. See Attributed to Maggi, Giovanni. *Schematic Rendering of Roman Title Churches and the Road Network System Envisioned by Sixtus V*. Erasure. Rome, 1588.
533. See Bordini, Giovanni Francesco. *De rebus praeclare gestis a Sixto V Pon*. Rome: Max… carminum liberprimus, 1588, p. 50 and see also See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 165.
534. See Guerra, Giovanni and Nebbia, Cesare. *Perspective View of Rome*. Mural Fresco. Salone Sistino, Vatican Library, Vatican, 1588–1589.
535. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 166.
536. Papal inspections of the works are mentioned in: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avvisi di Roma of 30 May and 31 October 1587 in MS Urb. Lat. 1055, 197r, 415r.
537. For more on this see Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 167.
538. See ibid., p. 169.
539. An avviso tells us of Sixtus V's plans and connects the building project to self-aggrandizement: "(il Papa) ha parimente rissoluto di far condurre in Roma un capo d'acqua tanto grosso che potrà servire non solo a Monte Cavallo, dove disegna conduverla, ma in molti altri luoghi della città, et questi sono li trattenimenti con quali S. Sta si va sollevando dalle cure gravi che passano, mostrando in tutte le sue attioni grandezza d'anima". Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 28 September 1585 in MS Urb. Lat. 1053, 420r.
540. The works on the aqueduct were quite costly: On 28 May 1585, Sixtus V bought the springs from Marzio Colonna, the brother of the Cardinal, for 25,000 scudi, and in June, the pontiff put an additional 36,000 scudi toward the cost of the works. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 8 June 1585 in MS Urb. Lat. 1053, 243r.

541. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 169.
542. The name change of the aqueduct is commemorated in an avviso. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 5 October 1585 in MS Urb. Lat. 1053, 429r.
543. Sixtus was keen on the success of "his" street and decreed financial incentives to facilitate property development on the *Via Felice*. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avvisi di Roma of 7 and 10 October 1587 in MS Urb. Lat. 1055, 376r, 388r.
544. Other references included the name of Montalto, which Sixtus had carried as a cardinal. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 170.
545. See ibid., p. 169.
546. See ibid., p. 172.
547. See Verdugo Santos, Javier. "La reinterpretación cristiana de los monumentos de la Antigüedad en la Roma de Sixto V (1585-1590)". In: *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 90 (2017), pp. 53–76, p. 53.
548. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 169.
549. See ibid., p. 183.
550. See ibid., p. 193.
551. See ibid., p. 185.
552. See ibid., p. 197.
553. See Stephan, Peter, "Transformation und Transfiguration. Die bauliche und geistige Erneuerung Roms unter Sixtus V", p. 90.
554. Burckhardt, Jacob. *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*. Vol. I–III. Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855, p. 338.
555. Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte".
556. Matthew 1:1–6 and Luke 3:31–34 of the New Testament describe Jesus as a member of the tribe of Judah lineage. See *The Holy Bible: English Standard Version*. HarperCollins UK, 2008.
557. The new inscription reads: "CHRISTVS VINCIT/CHRISTVS REGNAT/ CHRISTVS IMPERAT/CHRISTVS ABOMNIMALO/PLEBEM SVAM/ DEFENDAT". Fontana, Domenico. *Inscription Praising the Victory of Christ*. Monument Inscription. Vatican Obelisk, Vatican, 1586.
558. Reinhard, Wolfgang, "Schwäche und schöner Schein", p. 282.
559. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Banditenkrieg und Sternplan: Sixtus V", p. 589.
560. See Toynbee, Jocelyn and Perkins, John Ward. *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations*. London, 1956.
561. As Peter Stephan points out, Sixtus V originally even planned to tear down part of the Borgo in order to allow for an undisturbed view from the obelisk all the way to Ponte Sant' Angelo. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 180.
562. See ibid., p. 180.
563. An avviso records the relocation of the obelisk and the connection of the object to Roman Emperors: "Hanno eretto una piramide di legno nell'istesso luogo su la piazza di S. Pietro, ove ha da esser condotta e posta quella di marmo (sic), che è dietro la sacrestia dell'istessa chiesa, nella quale dentro un pallone di metallo stanno rinchiusi le ceneri di Cesare primo impreatore". In: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 24 August 1585 in MS Urb. Lat. 1053, 380r.
564. See Corssen, Peter. "Noch einmal die Zahl des Tieres in der Apokalypse". In: *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren*

Kirche 3 (1902), pp. 238–242, the old Egyptians shared similar beliefs regarding the recantation of names: Pharaohs, such as Ramses II, believed that they could achieve immortality, if their name was inscribed in hieroglyphs on palace walls and thus recanted over and over by visitors.

565. See Guerra, Giovanni and Nebbia, Cesare. *Erection of the Vatican obelisk on St. Peter's Square*. Mural Fresco. Salone Sistino, Vatican Library, Vatican, 1586, Another unparalleled technological achievement for the papacy was the completion of the dome of New St. Peter in May of 1590. In order to ensure future generations would not forget who was responsible for this great work, Sixtus had the dome decorated with Peretti lions inside and out.
566. See Verdugo Santos, Javier, "La reinterpretación cristiana de los monumentos de la Antigüedad en la Roma de Sixto V (1585-1590)", p. 53.
567. See 1 Peter 5:8, in *The Holy Bible: English Standard Version*.
568. See 1 Peter 5:1-11, in ibid.
569. Matthew 16:18, in *The Holy Bible: English Standard Version*.
570. N.a. *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*. Trans. By Curley, Michael J. University of Chicago Press, 2009, pp. 3–4.
571. Romans 5:20, in *The Holy Bible: English Standard Version*.
572. N.a., *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*, pp. 12–13.
573. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Banditenkrieg und Sternplan: Sixtus V", p. 591.
574. It reads: SIXTO. V. PONT. MAX/EX ORD MENOR/ALEXANDER PERETTVS/S. R. E. CARD. VICECAN/EX. SORORE. PRONEPOS/PERFECIT.
575. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient".
576. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 141.
577. See ibid., p. 141.
578. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
579. See ibid.
580. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 177.
581. See ibid., p. 177.
582. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
583. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 147.
584. For a more detailed analysis of the relief scenes see Herz, Alexandra. "The Sixtine and Pauline Tombs. Documents of the Counter-Reformation". In: *Storia dell'Arte* 43 (1981), pp. 241–262.
585. See Pietro Olivieri; Niccolò Pippi; Egidio della Riviera; Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. *Tomb of Pius V Ghisleri*. Marble Funeral Monument. Cappella Sistina, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1586–1591 or 1592, depicted in Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 143.
586. See Pietro Olivieri; Niccolò Pippi; Egidio della Riviera; Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. *Tomb of Sixtus V Peretti*. Marble Funeral Monument, Cappella Sistina, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1586–1591 or 1592, depicted in Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 142.

587. See Pietro Olivieri; Niccolò Pippi; Egidio della Riviera; Flaminio Vacca and Giovanni Antonio da Valsoldo. *Detail of Tomb of Sixtus V Peretti*. Marble Funeral Monument. Cappella Sistina, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1586–1591 or 1592.
588. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
589. Sixtus inspected the statue for his own tomb in the craftsman's workshop toward the end of September 1586 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 1 October 1587 in MS Urb. Lat. 1054.
590. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 177.
591. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
592. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", p. 177.
593. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 147.
594. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
595. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 147.
596. Ibid., p. 147.
597. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
598. See Stephan, Peter, "Rom unter Sixtus V. Stadtplanung als Verräumlichung von Heilsgeschichte", pp. 172–177.
599. The other being Dominican friar Hyacinth of Poland (1185–1257), who was canonized in 1593 by Clement VIII.
600. For more on Protestant criticism of canonizations and the papal response to it in Post-Tridentine Italy, see Gerken, Claudia. "Bilderund Reliquienkult im nachtridentinischen Italien zwischen Kritik und Inszenierung". In: *Bilder, Heilige und Reliquien*. Ed. By Delgado, Mariano and Leppin, Volker. Vol. 28. Studien zur christlichen Religions-und Kulturgeschichte. Manuscript submitted for publication. Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2020, pp. 265–285.
601. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
602. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 151.
603. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
604. See ibid.
605. See ibid.
606. See Reinhardt, Volker, "Metahistorische Tatenberichte. Die Papstgrabmäler der Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore", p. 149.
607. See Delgado-Jermann, Teresa, "Mächtige Tote zwischen Triumph und Demut: Die Bildsprache der Papstgrabmäler während und nach dem Konzil von Trient."
608. See Reinhardt, Volker. "Nachhall der Reform: Urban VII., Gregor XIV., Innozenz IX., Clemens VIII., Leo IX". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 592–601, p. 592.

609. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso of 29 December 1590 in MS Urb. Lat. 1058, 671r.
610. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 406.
611. It reads: "N. Sre. Lunedì disegnò una capella in S. Maria Maggiore incontro et a similitudine di quella di Sisto per una sepultura". See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso of 2 March 1591 in MS Urb. Lat. 1058, 182v.
612. For more on the conclave, see von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XXIII. London: J. Hodges, 1933, p. 6–18.
613. See Freiberg, Jack. *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 163–166.
614. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. Vol. XXIV. London: J. Hodges, 1933.
615. See ibid., pp. 125, 507.
616. See ibid., pp. 186–193.
617. See ibid., pp. 233–234.
618. See ibid., pp. 218–221.
619. See Boiteux, Martine. "Les Juifs dans le Carnaval de la Rome moderne, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles". In: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 88.2 (1976), pp. 745–787.
620. See Bevilacqua, Mario. *Il Monte dei Cenci: una famiglia romana e il suo insediamento urbano tra medioevo ed età barocca*. Vol. 3. Rome: Gangemi, 1988, pp. 65–66.
621. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, pp. 202–212.
622. An avviso makes note of Clement VIII's orders to complete construction works begun under Sixtus V: "N. Sre ha dato parola che si finischino tutte le fabriche incominciate da Sisto V. tra le quali si finisce hora il ponte del Borghetto et certe altre strutture". In: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Avviso di Roma of 12 February 1592 in MS Urb. Lat. 1060, I.
623. See Abromson, Morton C. "Clement VIII's Patronage of the Brothers Alberti". In: *The Art Bulletin* 60.3 (1978), pp. 531–547.
624. See Freiberg, Jack, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*.
625. Ostrow, Steven F, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*.
626. See Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*.
627. For Clement VIII's Lateran project see Freiberg, Jack, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*.
628. For a detailed analysis of Clement VIII's artistic projects in the Lateran church see Abromson, Morton C, "Clement VIII's Patronage of the Brothers Alberti."
629. For more on this see Freiberg, Jack, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*.
630. See ibid., p. 37.
631. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, p. 469.
632. After being rediscovered in 1942, the bones in question were analyzed by archaeologist Margherita Guarducci, who came to the conclusion that the bones belonged to St. Peter. This conclusion, however, remains questioned by other archaeologists to this day. However, there is also no scientific proof that the bones are *not* those of St. Peter.

633. See Freiberg, Jack, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*, p. 178.
634. See Chappell, Miles L and Kirwin, William Chandler. "A Petrine Triumph: the Decoration of the Navi Piccole in San Pietro under Clement VIII". in: *Storia dell'arte* 21 (1974), pp. 119–170, Here: p. 126–127.
635. See Zalum, Margherita. "Schede". In: *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano: Atalante*. Ed. by Pinelli, Antonio et al. Vol. 10. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2000, pp. 864–868.
636. See Pinelli, Antonio, Beltramini, Maria, and Angeli, Alessandro. *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano: Atalante*. Vol. 10. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2000, 217–225 and see also Reinhardt, Volker. "Nachhall der Reform: Urban VII., Gregor XIV., Innozenz IX., Clemens VIII., Leo IX". In: *Pontifex. Die Geschichte der Päpste. Von Petrus bis Franziskus.* Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017, pp. 592–601, p. 598.
637. Currently no longer *in situ*.
638. Only three fragments of this painting survive. The painting can, however, be reconstructed using drawings and engravings showing the painting after completion. See Chappell, Miles L and Kirwin, William Chandler, "A Petrine Triumph: the Decoration of the Navi Piccole in San Pietro under Clement VIII", pp. 138–144.
639. See Marciari, John and Boorsch, Suzanne. *Francesco Vanni: Art in Late Renaissance Siena*. New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Art Gallery, 2013, p. 194–201 and see Chappell, Miles L. and Kirwin, W. Chandler. "A Petrine Triumph: The Decoration of the Navi Piccole in San Pietro under Clement VIII" *Storia dell'arte* 21 (1974), p. 138–144.
640. No altarpieces were commissioned, yet the intended dedications can be deduced from the roundels in the half-domes above the altar, each with narrative scenes from the life of an apostle.
641. For the decoration of the dome see Ostrow, Steven F. "Schede". In: *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano: Atalante*. Ed. by Pinelli, Antonio et al. Vol. 10. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2000, pp. 591–592, pp. 798–799.
642. See Baglione, Giovanni, *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo del 1642*, p. 372.
643. See Cesari, Giuseppe. *Inscription Praising the Victory of Christ*. Ceiling Decoration. St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, 1603–1612.
644. See Pinelli, Antonio, Beltramini, Maria, and Angeli, Alessandro, *La Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano: Atalante*, 1008–1009, figs. 1370–1371.
645. See Freiberg, Jack, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*, p. 263.
646. For more on the interior decoration of the palace, see Wasserman, Jack. "The Palazzo Sisto V in the Vatican." In: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 21.1 (1962), pp. 26–35.
647. See Baglione, Giovanni, *Le vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti. Dal Pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572. In fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo del 1642*, p. 70.
648. See von Pastor, Ludwig Freiherr, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, pp. 488–489.
649. See Alberti, Cherubino and Alberti, Giuseppe. *The Apotheosis of Saint Clement*. Ceiling Fresco. Sala Clementina, Vatican Palace, Vatican, 1595, pp. 488–489.
650. See Robertson, *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*, pp. 114–118.
651. See ibid., pp. 114–118.

652. See Buzzi, Ippolito. *Prudence*. Statue. Aldrobandini Family Chapel, S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome, ca. 1601.
653. Among these territories are Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Mexico or New Spain, Peru, Melilla, the Canary Islands and the Spanish East-Indies. Other areas of interest are the Portuguese territories and colonies (Brazil, Río de Oro, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape-Verde, Goa, East Timor and Macau), as well as the French colonies (French-Canada, Louisiana and French-India)—all claimed or conquered during the sixteenth century.
654. During this period, the British claim Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, parts of present-day Canada, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Barbados and India. The Dutch establish colonies and trade-posts in New Amsterdam (later New York), Colombo, Jakarta, Dejima (Japan) and South Africa (later British).

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Appendix
Inventory of Papal Art Commissions 1550–1605

The following tables provide an overview of architectural and artistic building commissions for individual pontiffs. The papacies of Marcellus II (1555), Paul IV (1555–1559), Urban VII (1590) and Innocent IX (1591) have been left out, due to insufficient artistic activity and source material. Among the projects listed are those concerning the city of Rome and the Vatican.

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Julius III (1550–1555)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	New St. Peter	Michelangelo	1506–1626	Biggest Christian Church	Pastor XIII, 333
2	Villa Giulia, building	Michelangelo, Vignola, Vasari (?)	1551–1553	Baroque, Antiquity	Pastor XIII, 338–350
3	Villa Giulia, *Nymphaeum*	Ammanati	1551–1553	Antiquity, Paganism, Figures of Arno and Tiber, Aqua Vigor	Pastor XIII, 341–349
4	Villa Giulia, interior	Zuccaro, Fontana	1552–1554	Mythology, Allegory, Views, Landscape	Pastor XIII, 342–345
5	Sant'Andrea del vignola (Church)	Vignola, da Sermoneta, Tibaldi	1552–1553	Commemorates escape of Clement VII during Sacco di Roma 1527. First church with elliptical dome	Pastor XIII, 351–352
6	Palazzo Cardelli	Vignola, Fontana, Zuccaro, Primaticcio (?)	1550–1553	Family palace	Pastor XIII, 351–352
7	Other Palazzo	Vignola		Near Via del Clementino	Pastor XIII, 352

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
8	San Pietro in Montorio	Vasari, Michelangelo, Ammanati	?	Family chapel. Baptism of Apostle Paul.	Pastor XIII, 352
9	Belvedere Staircase	Michelangelo	?	Rebuilding of Bramante's original staircase	Pastor XIII, 337
10	Villa Giulia	Michelangelo	?	Design scheme	Pastor XIII, 337–338

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Pius IV (1559-1565)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	Belvedere	Ligorio	1562	3-floor-high façade	Pastor XVI, 413–414
2	Nicchione	Ligorio	1562	Balcony w/cupola	Pastor XVI, 413–415
3	Bramante Courtyard	Ligorio	1561–1565	Antique statues, also used as open-air theatre	Pastor XVI, 415
4	Loggia della Cosmografia	Udine, Ligorio	1560–1563	Weird mix of sacred (biblical) and allegorical subjects	Pastor XVI, 416
5	Hall of Secret Consistories		1563	Room and ceiling decor	Pastor XVI, 416
6	Sala dei Papi			Room decor, views of Rome	Pastor XVI, 418
7	Sala Regia	Vasari, Zuccaro et al.	1540–1573	Ceremonial hall, history paintings	Pastor XVI, 418
8	Sala Ducale	Zuccaro, Volterra, Sermoneta et al.		Hall used to host ambassadors. Wall paintings show history of foreign affairs of papacy and gifts received	Pastor XVI, 418
9	Villa Pia/ Casino di Pio IV.	Ligorio, Zuccaro, Titto et al.	1558–1562	Antiquity, transition period between Renaissance and Baroque style (Nymphaeum)	Pastor XVI, 418–426
10	Castel Sant'Angelo	Laparelli, Orsini, Paciotti et al.	Continued by Pius V.	Secret passageway used by popes to exit city in case of attack	Pastor XVI, 427–429

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
11	Fortification of Rome (Borgo Pio)	Same as above	1561–1565	Giant construction	Pastor XVI, 429–431
12	Fortification of Coasts of Papal States	Serbelloni	Continued by Pius V.	Fortification of ports against Turks	Pastor XVI, 432
13	Porta Pia	Michelangelo	1565/façade by Pius IX.	City gate, between Porta Nomentana and Porta Salaria	Pastor XVI, 434–435
14	Porta del Popolo	Michelangelo	1561–1565	Inspired by arch of Titus	Pastor XVI, 435
15	City Streets		1561	Streets and squares, symmetry	Pastor XVI, 436
16	Acqua Vergine	Treviso	After death of Pius IV.	Quality of life clean Drinking water	Pastor XVI, 437–438
17	Palazzo dei Conservatori	Michelangelo, della Porta and Lunghi	1560–1577	New residential building, horse statue of emperor Marc Aurel	Pastor XVI, 439
18	Palazzo (same as Palazzo Colonna?)	Ligorio	1561–1564	New residential building	Pastor XVI, 439
19	Palazzo Paul III.	Carracci brothers, Albani	1561–1564	Restorations and improvements, allegorical frescoes	Pastor XVI, 439
20	Palazzo Colonna			Renovations, residence of Card. Borromeo (nepote)	Pastor XVI, 439–440
21	Fountain(s)			Multiple fountains	Pastor XVI, 440
22	Roman College			Educational building (Jesuits)	Pastor XVI, 440
23	Church Restorations	Diverse		Restoration	Pastor XVI, 440–441
24	Baths of Diocletian/S. Maria degli Angeli	Michelangelo	1561–1566	Transformation into a church. Christianity > Paganism	Pastor XVI, 443–445
25	St. Peter	Michelangelo, Ligorio	1506–1626	Construction continued, biggest Christian church	Pastor XVI, 433–434
26	Piazza of St. Peter's		After death of Pius IV.	Columns	Pastor XVI, 446–456

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Pius V (1566-1572)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	Belvedere, Villa Giulia and Casino di Pio Statues		1566–1569	Anti-paganism: Removal of antique statues	Pastor XVIII, 110–116
2	Belvedere theatre			Removal of seats -> anti-paganism	Pastor XVIII, 113–114
3	Sistine Chapel	Domenico Carnevale	1566	Removal of cracks in ceiling	Pastor XVIII, 117
4	Torre Pia	Vasari, Guglielmo della Porta		Frescoes/paintings illustrating life and ascension to Heaven of saints	Pastor XVIII, 118–119
5	S. Martino e S. Sebastiano	Nanni di Naccio Bigio, Mazzoni, Volterra	1568	Access to church only for Swiss Guards	Pastor XVIII, 119–120
6	Villa Pia	?		Completions and alterations, exotic plants in garden	Pastor XVIII, 120
7	Villa			Via Aurelia	Pastor XVIII, 120
8	Churches and buildings—diverse			For public	Pastor XVIII, 121–122
9	House for converts, Jews	?		For recent converts	Pastor XVIII, 122
10	Monastery of S. Basilio			Conversion into house for catechumens	Pastor XVIII, 122
11	St. Peter	Vignola	1506–1626	Biggest Christian Church	Pastor XVI, 446–456
12	Church of the Jesuits (Gesù)	Jacopo Vignola, de Rosis	1568–1584	Image of Virgin, Chapel of Ignatiu, single nave without aisles	Pastor XVIII, 123
13	Monumental tombs—diverse			Gestures to former patrons of Pius V -> Pius IV.	Pastor XVIII, 123
14	Monumental tomb in Bosco (S. Croce)	Buzi		Christ with Pius V kneeling at his feet, archangel Michael slaying the dragon	Pastor XVIII, 124
15	S. Maria degli Angeli (Asisi)			Chapel dedicated to St Francis	Pastor XVIII, 124

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
16	City buildings	Diverse		For public	Pastor XVIII, 125
17	City fortifications	Guasco, Conti, Paciotti		protection against Turks, urgency	Pastor XVIII, 126–127
18	Sala Regia	Vasari	1540–1573	Three paintings to celebrate victory against Turks at Battle of Lepanto	Pastor XVIII, 127
19	Streets of Rome			Urban development, infrastructure	Pastor XX, 603

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Gregory XIII (1572-1585)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	Oriental Printing-Press		1572+	Machine commissioned by Ferdinando de Medici under Gregory XIII	Pastor XIX, 219
2	English College		1575–1579	Educational building	Pastor XIX, 243
3	Swiss College		1579	Educational building	Pastor XIX, 243
4	Seminaries and schools		1572–1585	Several educational buildings across Rome	Pastor XX, 629
5	St Peter's	della Porta	1506–1626 (120 years)	Biggest Christian church	Pastor XX, 565
6	Gregorian Chapel	della Porta, Muziano	1572–1583	Funeral chapel of Gregory XIII and Gregory XIV	Pastor XX, 567–573
7	Church Restorations		1572–1575	Preparations for Holy Year 1575	Pastor XX, 574
8	Lateran		1575	Church interior	Pastor XX, 575
9	St. Paul		1575	Church interior	Pastor XX, 575
10	St. Mary Major's	Lunghi	1575	Renovations	Pastor XX, 575

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
11	S. Maria in Aracoeli			Church interior	Pastor XX, 575
12	Church of the Jesuits (Gesù)	Vignola, della Porta et al.	1568–1584	Single nave without aisles, absence of narthex	Pastor XVIII, 123/Pastor XX, 576–577
13	S. Maria in Vallicella	Lunghi	1575	Chapel dedicated to St Gregory	Pastor XX, 581
14	SS. Cosma e Damiano			Relics of saints	Pastor XX, 583
15	S. Maria de Monti	della Porta		Contains picture which grants miracles, Baroque	Pastor XX, 583
16	Greek College	della Porta, Trabaldese	1580–1583	Educational building	Pastor XX, 584
17	Roman College	Ammanati	1582–1584	Educational building	Pastor XVI, 440/Pastor XX, 584–589
18	Hospital for mendicants			Hospital building, public health, charity	Pastor XX, 590
19	Prison of Corte Savelli			Building enlargement	Pastor XX, 590
20	House for penitents			Public welfare	Pastor XX, 590
21	Hospital of fate bene fratelli			Hospital building, public health, charity	Pastor XX, 590
22	Corn storage			Built into Baths of Diocletian, food supply	Pastor XX, 590
23	Piazza Navona		1578	Fountain with Boncompagni dragon	Pastor XX, 592
24	Fountains (diverse)	della Porta, Landini		Public water supply	Pastor XX, 592
25	City streets and bridges			Construction and maintenance	Pastor XX, 594–596
26	Capitol	della Porta, Lunghi	1579	New campanile, leveling of piazza, ballustrade	Pastor XX, 598–599
27	Palazzo della Cancelleria			Renovations	Pastor XX, 599

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
28	Streets of Rome		1574	New laws improving public health (hygiene)	Pastor XX, 604–605
29	statue of Gregory XIII	Olivieri	1576	In great hall of palace of senators (Vatican)	Pastor XX, 608
30	Vatican palace			Restorations: Loggia della Cosmografia	Pastor XX, 609
31	Sala Regia, Sala Ducale	Sabbatini, di Siena, Vasari	1540–1573	Frescoes completion	Pastor XX, 609–611
32	Pauline chapel	Vasari, Zuccaro, Sabbatini	1585	Paintings of St. Stephen, St. Paul and Simon Magus et al.	Pastor XX, 612–613
33	Sala de' Palafrenieri	de Santi, Comotto, d'Arpino		Restoration of paintings	Pastor XX, 613
34	Sala de Paramenti			Ceiling decoration	Pastor XX, 613
35	Hall of Constantine	Laureti ("the Sicilian")		Ceiling decoration, allegories of regions/continents	Pastor XX, 613–614
36	Cortile of S. Damaso	dalle Pomarancie, Sabbatini, Mascherino et al.		Grotesques, scenes from New Testament, fruit garlands	Pastor XX, 614
37	Papal Chapel (Vatican Palace)	Muziano		Altar w/Paul the Hermit and Antony fed by raven	Pastor XX, 614–615
38	Stairs Vatican Palace	da Formello		Fresco w/scenes of Life of St. Peter	Pastor XX, 615
39	Painting in the Vatican Palace	M. Bril and Tempesta		Painting showing transport of the Relics of St. Gregory of Nazianzus	Pastor XX, 615
40	Sala Bolognese	Sabbatini, Mascherino, Alberti brothers		Zodiac pictures, figures of celebrated astronomers and geographers, landscapes of Bologna	Pastor XX, 616

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
41	Galleria Geografica (Vatican Palace)	Danti, Mascherino, Muziano, Nebbia et al.	1580–1583	40 map paintings showing Papal States, and bible scenes, richly decorated with allegories	Pastor XX, 616–619
42	Tower of Winds	Mascherino		Astronomical observatory, 73 m high	Pastor XX, 621
43	Quirinal	Mascherino	1583–1585	High tower	Pastor XX, 622–624
44	Monte Porzio	Sabbatini, Mascherino, Alberti brothers		Small cathedral outside city of Rome (Montecavallo), in honor of St. Gregory	Pastor XX, 625
45	Santo Stefano Rotondo	Diverse		Frescoes of Martyrs	Reinhardt (Pontifex), 578–580
46	Germanicum			Educational building	Reinhardt (Pontifex), 580

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Sixtus V (1585-1590)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	Roman college		1582–1585	Educational building	Pastor XXII, 197
2	Vatican Library	D. Fontana, Guerra, Nebbia et al.	1589	New building and printing press, fresco celebrating technological achievement of Vatican obelisk	Pastor XXII, 198–200/ 291–299
3	Villa Montalto	D. Fontana	1577–1581	Residential villa, antique statues	Pastor XXII, 202–207
4	Palazzo delle Terme	Guerra, Nebbia	1585–1586	Paintings of Sixtus V's achievements	Pastor XXII, 207
5	Acqua Felice	da Castello, D. and G. Fontana	1585–1589	Public water supply, huge project	Pastor XXII, 207–212

(*Continued*)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
6	Fountains (diverse)		1587–1589	Water supply, biblical statues	Pastor XXII, 211–218
7	Streets of Rome	D. Fontana	1585–1590	Maintenance and construction	Pastor XXII, 222–231
8	Several Piazzas		1585–1590	Construction, restoration	Pastor XXII, 232–233
9	Columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan	D. Fontana, T. della Porta, de'Servi et al.	1587–1588	Topped with statues of St. Paul and St. Peter, victory over paganism	Pastor XXII, 238–242
10	Capitol tower		1585	Removal of antique statues	Pastor XXII, 244
11	Street names and inscriptions			Removal of antique references	Pastor XXII, 244–245
12	Horse statues	Flamini, Sormani, Olivieri et al.		Restoration of antique statues and transfer to Quirinal	Pastor XXII, 247
13	Obelisk, St. Peter's square	D. Fontana	1585–1586	Transfer, erection, Christianization, big technological achievement, sun Dial	Pastor XXII, 247–263, 290
14	Four other obelisks	D. Fontana	1585–1589	Transfer, erection and Christianization, sun dials	Pastor XXII, 263–268
15	Lateran Palace	D. Fontana, Guerra, Nebbia, Paul Brill et al.	1585–1589	Loggia paintings, part of building destroyed	Pastor XXII, 269–277
16	Vatican Palace	D. Fontana		New chapels and scala santa	Pastor XXII, 276–277
17	church restorations	Diverse		Renovations, interior decoration	Pastor XXII, 280–281
18	St. Mary Major's	D. Fontana	1585–1587	Funeral chapel Cappella Sistina, original church moved 17 m	Pastor XXII, 283–289
19	Monte de Pità			Public utility building	Pastor XXII, 290

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Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
20	Work-house		1587	"	Pastor XXII, 290
21	New market			"	Pastor XXII, 290
22	Palace Via Giulia	Bramante et al.		Julius III, Sixtus V, renovations	Pastor XXII, 290
23	City Walls			Fortification	Pastor XXII, 290
24	Villa Magliana			Restoration	Pastor XXII, 290
25	Vatican Library interior			Frescoes showing greatest libraries of all times and ecumenical councils	Pastor XXII, 291–299, Reinhardt (Pontifex) 588
26	Quirinal	D. Fontana	1586–1590	Construction	Pastor XXII, 300–302
27	Hall of Constantine	Laureti		Frescoes in Vatican Palace, removal of imperial idols	Pastor XXII, 299–300
28	St. Peter	G. della Porta	1506–1626	Construction (continued)	Pastor XIII, 333/Pastor XXII, 306–312

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Gregory XIV (1590–1591)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	St. Peter	G. della Porta	1506–1626	Biggest Christian Church	Pastor XIII, 333/ Pastor XXII, 306–312/ Pastor XXII, 406
2	Quirinal	D. Fontana	1586–1590	Symbolic for catholic restoration	Pastor XXII, 300–302/ Pastor XXII, 406
3	St. Mary Major's		1590	New chapel with own papal tomb	Pastor XXII, 406

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Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
4	Lateran connection		1590	Connection of Palace with Basilica	Pastor XXII, 406–407
5	S. Maria in Aracoeli		1590	Restoration of corridor	Pastor XXII, 407
6	Tomb for Card. Federico Cornro		1590	Tomb for friend, S. Silvestro a Monte Cavalio	Pastor XXII, 407

Index of Artworks Commissioned by Clement VIII (1592-1605)

Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
1	Bridge	D. Fontana	1592–1600	Bridge over Tiber	Pastor XXIV, 468/489
2	St. Peter	G. della Porta	1506–1626	Biggest Christian church	Pastor XXIV, 468
3	Orb (St. Peter)	Torrigiani	1592–1593	Colossal metal ball and cross for dome	Pastor XXIV, 469
4	Dome interior (St. Peter)	d'Arpino		Mosaics and paintings, Virgin, Apostles and Saints whose relics lie in St Peter	Pastor XXIV, 470–471
5	Grotte Vaticane (St. Peter)	G. della Porta	1592–1594	Excavation and construction	Pastor, XXIV, 471
6	Roof (St. Peter)		1598–1601	Reparations	Pastor XXIV, 472
7	Chapel interior (St. Peter)	G. della Porta and Roncalli	1600	Cappella Clementina	Pastor XXIV, 473
8	Altar decorations (St. Peter)	Roncalli		Mostly scenes of life of St. Peter	Pastor XXIV, 474
9	Nave Clementina (Lateran)	G. della Porta, d'Arpino	1592	Restoration	Pastor XXIV, 475

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Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
10	Interior decoration (Lateran)	G. della Porta	1594	Chapel of confession, Baptistery chapels and altar decorations	Pastor XXIV, 476–477, 480
11	Organ (Lateran)	Blasio		Organ construction and decoration	Pastor XXIV, 478–479
12	St. Mary Major's	Diverse		Interior decoration, restoration of mosaics and organ	Pastor XXIV, 480
13	S. Cesareo	Diverse		Restoration, reconstruction	Pastor XXIV, 480
14	Church restorations (diverse)	Diverse		Pantheon, S. Angelo in Pescheria, S. Nicolò de' Lorenesi, SS. Cosima e Damiano	Pastor XXIV, 481
15	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gia. and Gugl. della Porta, C. Alberti, et al.	1600–1605	Tomb decoration (tomb of parents Clements VIII)	Pastor XXIV, 481–483
16	Scottish College		1600	Educational building	Pastor XXIV, 484
17	Clementinum		1595	Educational building	Pastor XXIV, 484
18	Column			Commemorates return to the Church of Henry IV	Pastor XXIV, 484
19	Public buildings			Restorations (fountains, etc.)	Pastor XXIV, 484
20	Vatican Palace		1596	Papal residence, construction and interior decoration	Pastor XXIV, 485
21	Quirinal	C. Alberti, Paul Brill		Papal summer residence, interior décor, hydraulic installations in garden	Pastor XXIV, 486

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Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
22	Hall of Consistories (Vatican Palace)	Paul Brill	1603	Paintings of most famous hermitages of Italy, Aldobrandini emblems	Pastor XXIV, 486
23	Sala Clementina (Vatican Palace)	Brothers Alberti, Paul Brill	1595	Ceiling decoration, illusionist painting that anticipates Baroque style	Pastor XXIV, 488–489
24	Ports (diverse)			Fortifications	Pastor XXIV, 490–491
25	Salt Mine	Giovanni Fontana	1592	Restoration, food supply	Pastor XXIV, 492
26	Interior decoration (Villa Aldrobandini)	Gia. della Porta, Maderno, D'Arpino. et al.	1598–1604	Residential building, summer residence	Pastor XXIV, 495–499
27	Sala del Parnasso (Villa Aldrobandini)	Viola, Domenichino		Mountain of gods (olymp) showing Apollo	Pastor XXIV, 499–500
28	Catacombs		1599–1604	Excavations, restorations	Pastor XXIV, 505
29	Streets		1599	Ordinance regarding pigs	Pastor XXIV, 507
30	Hospitals (diverse)			Maintenance, charity	Pastor XXIV, 509–510
31	Interior decoration (Palazzo Farnese)	Caracci et al.	1595–1603	Mythological scenes	Pastor XXIV, 510–512
32	Interior decoration (Palazzo Doria)	Caracci et al.	1601	Bought by pope for his sister, scenes of Life of Madonna	Pastor XXIV, 512–513
33	Capitoline palaces	Girolamo Rinaldi	1598	Façade	Pastor XXIV, 513
34	Capitoline palaces	Girolamo Rinaldi	1603	Construction of third palace building	Pastor XXIV, 513
35	Interior decoration (Palace of the Conservatori)	Laureti, d'Arpino		Monumental frescoes showing ancient history of Rome	Pastor XXIV, 513

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Project #	*Project Title*	*Artist(s)*	*Realization*	*Key features*	*References*
36	New churches (diverse)			Construction and completion	Pastor XXIV, 514
37	S. Maria in Vallicella		1599	Construction	Pastor XXIV, 515
38	S. Andrea della Valle	Olivieri, Maderno	1591	Construction	Pastor XXIV, 514–515
39	SS. Nereo and Achilleo		1600	Restoration	Pastor XXIV, 517–518
40	S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane	Gia. della Porta, de Vecchi, Zucchi et al.	1599–1601	Restoration and construction of third church building	Pastor XXIV, 519–520
41	S. Cecilia		1599	Discovery of relics and new burial of saint	Pastor XXIV, 523–524

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