ART, RITUAL, AND REFORM: THE ARCHCONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY CRUCIFIX OF SAN MARCELLO IN ROME

By

KIRA MAYE ALBINSKY

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Art, Ritual, and Reform:

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By KIRA MAYE ALBINSKY

Dissertation Director:

Catherine Puglisi

"Art, Ritual, and Reform" is the first comprehensive study of the social history, devotional practices, and art patronage of the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma, one of the most prominent lay religious associations in sixteenth-century Italy. Divided into four main chapters, the dissertation first develops the innovative theory of conspicuous devotion through a documented examination of the company's religious rituals and urban processions during the Catholic Reformation. The following chapters apply the theory to analyses of the confraternity's commissions in the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello and the nearby Oratorio del Crocifisso, in which Perino del Vaga (1501–47), Daniele da Volterra (1509–66), Giovanni de' Vecchi (ca. 1536–1615), Cesare Nebbia (ca. 1536–1614), and Niccolò Circignani (ca. 1517/24–after 1596) painted. Challenging traditional interpretations of Central Italian painting from 1520 to 1590, the object-focused project argues that conspicuous meaning and form served conspicuous devotion to both instruct and inspire, in accordance with the reforms of the Catholic Church. A final chapter explores the archaism of paintings produced by Jacopino del Conte (1510–98) and Marcello Venusti (ca. 1512–79) for Santa Chiara a

Monte Cavallo, a Capuchin convent founded by the confraternity on the Quirinal Hill. Reinforcing the assertions of the preceding chapters, the discussion demonstrates the company's keen art historical, or stylistic, understanding, which enabled it to choose between different artistic modes to suit different subjects and contexts, as required by the Council of Trent (1545–63). Recovering both the variety and the devotional significance of lay festive performance and art patronage in sixteenth-century Rome, this crucial research offers a much needed critical reassessment of art, ritual, and reform in the Catholic Reformation.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Two miraculous events inspired the foundation of the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma.[1] On the night of May 22, 1519, the church of San Marcello in Rome suffered a devastating fire. The ceiling collapsed. The nave and chapels crumbled. An unknown number of artworks, liturgical objects, vestments, and more burned. The church was destroyed. And yet, when the smoke cleared, a wooden crucifix emerged, a miraculous survivor of the flames (fig. 1.1). Despite the conflagration, it remained intact on the church's high altar, with its lamp still lit before it. A group of Romans began to gather each week in the church to venerate the holy object, lighting candles and reciting prayers to God before it. When an outbreak of the plague struck Rome in 1522, the titular cardinal of San Marcello, Raimondo de Vico (d. 1525), organized a penitential procession of the crucifix from San Marcello to St. Peter's Basilica. Over the course of sixteen days in August, devotees accompanied by nobles, ecclesiastics, barefoot youths with their heads covered in ashes, and Roman citizens in black habits carried the cross through each *rione* (district) of Rome until it reached the Vatican. As they marched, they solicited the cross's intervention against the disease with cries of, "Mercy, Holy Crucifix!" Shortly thereafter, the plague miraculously ended, and the confraternity was established to promote the cult of the miracle-working crucifix.[2]

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[1] Crucifix may be spelled "crocifisso" or "crocefisso" in Italian. With a few notable exceptions, the confraternity used "crocifisso." Therefore, I employ the spelling in this dissertation.

[2] *Statuti et ordini della venerabile Archicompagnia del Santiss. Crocefisso in Santo Marcello di Roma con l'origine d'essa* (Rome: apud Antonium Bladum Impress. Cam., 1565); Jean Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine au XVIe siècle: l'Arciconfraternita del SSmo Crocefisso in S. Marcello," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 63 (1951): 281–82; Matizia Maroni Lumbroso and Antonio Martini, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* (Rome: Fondazione Marco Besso, 1963), 106; Josephine Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), 11; Paolo Mancini and Giuseppe Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di

The pious union quickly became one of Rome's most elite and influential confraternities. On May 28, 1526, Pope Clement VII de' Medici (r. 1524–34) approved the sodality's statutes. Recalling the penitential nature of its foundation, the company took as its habit a black robe, without a *mozzetta* (short cape), with an image of the crucifix on the left shoulder and a black cord at the waist from which a flagellant's whip hung over the right hip. The crucifix flanked by confraternity brothers in black habits and unmarried women to whom the company gave dowries served as the confraternity's emblem. Versions of the symbol appear in the tympana of the painted tabernacles in the company's oratory and also on the frontispiece of the group's printed 1565 statutes (fig. 1.2). Nearly thirty years later, on April 27, 1554, Julius III del Monte (r. 1550–55) granted the association the privilege of liberating a condemned prisoner on the Feast of the Invention of the True Cross in May or the Feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross in September, the association's principal feast days.[3]

By the middle of the century, the confraternity's membership reached extraordinary levels. Its membership list from 1550 to 1557 includes more than 1,800 male members, an astonishing four percent of Rome's estimated population of 45,000, and an event greater share of the laity in a city dominated by clerics.[4] Furthermore, the

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Roma, 1983), 7–9; Antonio Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso e la sua cappella in San Marcello," in *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica*, ed. Luigi Fiorani (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 431.

[3] For the events described here and in the next paragraph, see *Statuti*; Maroni Lumbroso and Martini, *Le confraternite romane*, 106–7; Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 11–12; Mancini and Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 9–10; Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 431–32.

[4] The list of female members from these years does not survive. In total, the book lists 1,867 names. However, some names are repeated, making an exact count of the association's male members difficult. Only two of the company's membership lists survive. The second dates to 1668–1703. It includes the group's female members. See Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Arciconfraternita del Crocifisso di San Marcello (hereafter ACSM), Z-I-48: Album dei Fratelli dal 1550 al 1557; ASV, ACSM, Z-I-49: Album dei Fratelli dal 1668 al 1703. For Rome's population, see Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 284–85.

album counts several members of Rome's most noble families among the sodality's ranks, including the Orsini, Crescenzi, Capranica, Mattei, Carafa, Colonna, and Farnese. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), the most formidable patron in late sixteenth-century Rome, served as its cardinal protector between 1565 and 1589. His brother, Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese (1530–65), preceded him in the role.[5] Likely recognizing the group's growing influence, Pope Pius IV de' Medici (r. 1559–65) formally elevated the confraternity to the status of an archconfraternity on May 15, 1564, in the presence of his cardinal-nephew, Charles Borromeo (1538–84). The distinction allowed the company to aggregate other confraternities, and by 1600 the company had incorporated some 250 confraternities from across Europe.[6] Thus, within forty years of its foundation, the confraternity ascended to the highest echelons of Roman society, enjoying the patronage of the papal court and Rome's most noble families as well as a vast and diverse following.

Art and Ritual in the Crocifisso

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[5] For discussions of the confraternity's membership, see Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine," 289–99; Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 429–31. On Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's patronage, see Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

[6] Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine," 305. The confraternity seems to have been one of the first companies elevated to the rank of an archconfraternity. Rome's oldest confraternity, the Gonfalone, became an archconfraternity only in 1579, for instance. Most sources list the date of the Crocifisso's promotion as May 14, 1564. However, von Henneberg noted that a document dated February 26, 1563, already referred to the confraternity as an archconfraternity. She also observed that a different hand added the date on the copy of Pius IV's brief preserved in the association's archive at a later date. Thus, she gave the date as 1563. More recently, Antonio Vannugli has argued that the brief's date had been erroneously transcribed and was, in fact, May 15, 1564, the same date given in the statutes. He also introduced an earlier bull, dated April 18, 1561, in which the pope recognized the company as an archconfraternity, and thus gave the date as 1561, suggesting the brief of May 15, 1564, confirmed the group's new status. I have used May 15, 1564, here because it is the date recognized in the company's statutes. See *Statuti*; Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 12; Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 432.

As a devotional confraternity, the Crocifisso expressed its commitment to venerating its miracle-working crucifix and promoting its cult through religious rituals and processions.[7] Such public acts of devotion also served to define the group's collective identity as an association committed to the reformation of the Catholic Church, as demonstrated in Chapter Two. The company's printed 1565 statutes required the pious union to limit access to its crucifix in order to heighten devotion to the holy object as toward a relic. The rules also prescribed somber ceremonies for the unveiling of the cross in the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello, where the company kept the crucifix after 1519 and displayed the wondrous object on Good Friday, Corpus Christi, and the Feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross.[8] Great urban processions through the streets of Rome accompanied the cross's display and other important holidays, inscribing the cult of the wondrous cross throughout the city's landscape and visibly manifesting the confraternity's devotion to its crucifix as well as the spiritual renewal of the Catholic Reformation. As the statutes detailed, the group was obliged to go in procession four times a year: Epiphany, Holy Thursday or Good Friday, the Feast of the True Cross in May or September, and Corpus Christi.[9] During these rituals and processions, the sodality also practiced an unusually broad range of charitable activities. Not limiting itself to a single philanthropic activity like other confraternities, the Crocifisso distributed clothing to the poor, freed condemned prisoners, dowered poor young women, visited the sick,

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[7] Throughout this dissertation, I refer to the confraternity as the "Crocifisso" and its holy object as the "crucifix."
[8] *Statuti*, chap. 26. The company's statutes are un-paginated. I give chapter references when possible.
[9] *Statuti*, chap. 27.

maintained a doctor for the needy, buried and commemorated the dead, and received and housed pilgrims during Holy Years.[10]

The distinguished confraternity was also a prominent patron of the arts. As shown in Chapters Three, Four and Five, the sodality's art patronage secured its elite status and facilitated its devotional practices and charitable endeavors. Fabio Lando, a confraternity member whose "Trattato come fu fatto l'oratorio della Compagnia del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello" (Treatise on how the oratory of the Company of the Holy Crucifix of San Marcello was made) is an essential source of information for this study, certainly believed the company would have suffered socially, economically, and spiritually, if it had not commissioned works of art. He concluded his account of the building's construction with a brief consideration of what might have been had he not persuaded the company to build its prayer hall:

> And now one may consider if the company had not made this oratory, and had always inhabited that grotto under the dormitory of the friars [of San Marcello] as most of the company was content to do. Today [the company] would be the most unhappy, miserable company there is! It would have lost the following of the nobility, it would have lost the path of good works, and in the end it would have been reduced to four plebeians.[11]

While self-serving and aggrandizing, Lando's comments plainly suggest the important role patronage played in attaining and maintaining the sodality's social position and

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[10] *Statuti*, chaps. 42–43, 47–56, 21, 32–36.

[11] "È Hor quì si può considerare se la Compagnia non havesse fatto quest' Oratorio, e che fosse habitata sempre in quella Grotta sotto il Dormitorio de frati come la maggiore parte della Compagnia si contentava, hoggi sarebbe la più infelice meschirella Compagnia di quante hoggi ce ne sono, haveria perso il seguito della Nobilità, havria perduto la Via delle buone opera, et al fine si saria ridotta in mano di quattro Plebei." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51: Fabio Lando, "Trattato come fu fatto l'oratorio della compagnia del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello fatto dal signor Fabio Lando antiquario et uno dei fratelli della detta Compagnia e deputato sopra di ciò della Compagnia." The document is un-paginated. It was transcribed and signed by Fabio's grandson, the celebrated musician Stefano Lando, in 1639: "Io Stefano Lando musico della Cappella di Nostro Signore Urbano VIII e Chierico beneficiato nella Basilica di San Pietro a di primo Gennaro 1639 fo fede." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

thereby sustaining its pious and philanthropic work. In order to follow "the path of good works," the company had to attract "the following of the nobility."

As a patron of art and architecture, the Crocifisso was active at three major sites to which this study dedicates a chapter each: the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello, the nearby Oratorio del Crocifisso, and the Capuchin convent of Santa Chiara just up Monte Cavallo (now called the Quirinal Hill) from the oratory. The proximity of these sites is evident on Antonio Tempesta's (1555–1630) map of Rome of 1593 (fig. 1.3a).[12] The city plan identifies the church as "S. Marcelli," and the oratory as "Orat.o S. Marcelli." The convent church sits across from the "Pallatio Papa."

As Lando indicated, the confraternity's artistic programs attracted the support of numerous noble patrons. For instance, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese motivated the completion of the Oratorio del Crocifisso. A gift from the noblewoman Giovanna d'Aragona (1502–75) allowed the Crocifisso to construct the Capuchin convent, and generous financial aid from Farnese and Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–85) provided for the complex's maintenance. The company also employed many of the most prominent artists in sixteenth-century Rome, including Perino del Vaga (1501–47), Daniele da Volterra (1509–66), Giovanni de' Vecchi (ca. 1536–1615), Cesare Nebbia (ca. 1536–1614), Niccolò Circignani (ca. 1517/24–after 1596), Marcello Venusti (ca. 1512–79), and Jacopino del Conte (1510–98). In each of these commissions, the sodality

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[12] For the map, see especially Eckhard Leuschner, "Prolegomena to a Study of Antonio Tempesta's 'Map of Rome,'" in *Piante di Roma dal Rinascimento ai catasti*, ed. Mario Bevilacqua and Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Artemide, 2012), 159–67; Michael Bury, "The Meaning of Roman Maps: Etienne Dupérac and Antonio Tempesta," in *Seeing from above: The Aerial View in Visual Culture*, ed. Mark Dorrian and Frédéric Pousin (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 35–40; Eckhard Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta: ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2005), 365–69; Mario Gori Sassoli, ed., *Roma veduta: disegni e stampe panoramiche della città dal XV al XIX secolo* (Rome: Artemide, 2000), cat. 18; Stefano Borsi, *Roma di Sisto V: la pianta di Antonio Tempesta, 1593* (Rome: Officina, 1986); Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1962), 1:192-95, CXXXIV.

exhibited a system of patronage in which the company gave precedence to artists already known to the group through its network of artists, artisans, and *confratelli* (confraternity members).

The association's first act as a patron was to commission the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello (fig. 3.1) soon after the ruinous fire of 1519. Built to house the company's miracle-working crucifix, the chapel was, and still is, the primary site of public devotion to the cross. Between 1525 and 1527, Perino del Vaga, who would later become a confraternity member like most of the artists employed by the company, initiated the vault frescoes depicting the *Creation of Eve* and the *Four Evangelists*. The Sack of Rome brought work in the chapel to a halt in 1527. A dozen years later, the artist's apprentice, Daniele da Volterra, resumed the project, completing the chapel's frescoes between 1540 and 1543. In the 1550s, the architect and confrere Nanni di Baccio Bigio (d. 1568) designed a reliquary tabernacle for the chapel's main altar. The vessel held pieces of the True Cross just below the sodality's over-life-size crucifix, which a painted *sportello* (small door) normally concealed from view. Chapter Three studies the chapel's pictorial adornment and interprets the typological and Christological significance of its vault frescoes and miraculous cross.

Upon the election of Ranuccio Farnese as the company's cardinal protector in 1561, the sodality initiated its most prestigious commission — the Oratorio del Crocifisso (fig. 4.1). The oratory served as the confraternity's private prayer hall. The architect Giacomo della Porta (1532–1602) directed the oratory's construction between 1561 and 1563. Succeeding his brother as the association's protector in 1565, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese propelled the completion of the oratory's façade and the creation of the Piazza

dell'Oratorio between 1567 and 1568. A decade later, the company appointed the Roman noble, active confraternity member, and intimate friend of Michelangelo (1475–1564) Tommasso dei Cavalieri (ca. 1512–87) and the painter Girolamo Muziano (1532–92) to oversee the oratory's lavish interior decoration. Between 1578 and 1582, Giovanni de' Vecchi, Cesare Nebbia, and Niccolò Circignani executed the cycle of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross on the oratory's main walls (fig. 4.2). De' Vecchi was then Cardinal Alessandro's favorite painter, Nebbia Muziano's most distinguished pupil, and Circignani an associate of de' Vecchi, Nebbia, and Muziano. Baldassare Croce (1558–1628), Paris Nogari (ca. 1536–1601), and Cristoforo Roncalli (ca. 1552–1626) added scenes from the company's own history to the entrance wall in 1583–84. The three younger artists were then working under Circignani in Gregory XIII's Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (1581–83) in the Vatican. Chapter Four explores the Crocifisso's web of relations and analyzes the oratory's decorative program in light of the concept of conspicuous devotion defined below and developed in Chapter Two.

In 1574, Giovanna d'Aragona, a member of the association and also a reformer and benefactor of artists, poets, and printers, funded the foundation of a Capuchin convent on the Quirinal Hill by the sodality. Nanni di Baccio Bigio's son, the architect Annibale Lippi (active 1563–81), built the monastery and its affiliated church of Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo between 1574 and 1576. The complex was later expanded under Annibale's direction in 1578–86 and sadly destroyed in 1888. The *confratelli* and relatives Marcello Venusti and Jacopino del Conte contributed altarpieces representing the *Crucifixion* (fig. 5.1), the *Pietà* (fig. 5.2), and *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (fig. 5.3) to the church in the 1570s. Cristoforo Roncalli executed frescoes on the church's

façade and above its main altar, likely around 1583 when he was employed in the oratory. Chapter Five examines the unexpectedly archaizing style of these commissions as a summation to the preceding chapters' themes. From the chapel to the oratory to the convent, the confraternity's patronage spans the length of the sixteenth century and thus offers a unique opportunity to analyze the development of sixteenth-century sacred art in Rome from the 1520s to the 1580s and the critical issue of its status during the post-Tridentine period, which is still misunderstood by modern scholarship.

After the Council of Trent

To understand the company's place in art history, it is first necessary to outline a few salient points about the Council of Trent. The council was an ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church that met in the northern Italian city of Trent (and Bologna, briefly) between 1545 and 1563 in order to articulate the Church's official response to the Protestant Reformation. The council spanned the reigns of four popes, five French kings, and two Holy Roman Emperors. However, rivalry between the Habsburg and Valois dynasties and papal fears of Conciliarism, a movement to subject the pope's authority to that of church councils, caused the long delay in the council's start. Finally convening decades after Martin Luther's (1483–1546) actions in Wittenberg in 1517, the assembly addressed the needs of both spiritual and temporal powers. As Hubert Jedin showed, the conference divided its attention between affirming doctrine and reforming the clergy, especially the episcopacy and pastorate. The papacy was off limits from the outset. For spiritual leaders, the conference addressed Protestant teachings that conflicted with

Catholic tradition like justification by faith. For earthly rulers, it aimed to correct clerical abuses like absenteeism by improving the pastoral function of bishops and priests.[13]

The council convened for a total of twenty-five sessions, divided into three main periods under three pontiffs: December 1545–March 1547 under Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49); May 1551–April 1552 under Julius III del Monte; and January 1562–December 1563 under Pius IV de' Medici. The assembly's first orders of business were the questions of scripture and justification. It then turned to the sacraments, which absorbed its energies for the remainder of the first period, the entirety of the second, and nearly all of the third. The last six months of the convention witnessed the greatest flurry of activity. Fears about the health of Pius IV, who had fallen suddenly and desperately ill, and the arrival of the French delegation under the leadership of the skillful Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine (1524–74), spurred the council to action. At the eleventh hour, the assembly finished a series of pronouncements, including a decree on the veneration of relics, saints, and sacred images. France was then experiencing an outbreak of iconoclasm, and it is thanks to French pressure that the issues that concern this dissertation even made it onto the agenda.[14]

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[13] Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1948). See also Hubert Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung," in *Kirche des Glaubens, Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg: Herder, 1966), 2:460-98; Hubert Jedin, "Das Tridentinum und die bildenden Künste: Bemerkungen zu Paolo Prodi, Richerche sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma Cattolica," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963): 321–39.

[14] John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013); John W. O'Malley, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous," in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. Marcia B. Hall and Tracy Elizabeth Cooper (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 28–48; Robert Bireley, "Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond," in *Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 145–61; Giuseppe Alberigo, "The Council of Trent," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St. Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), 211–26.

Concluding in 1563, the council placed the burden of enacting its reforms squarely on the shoulders of bishops. Although it is now common to discuss the reforming movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as parallel reformations rather than opposing ones of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and while it is fashionable to shift focus away from the center to local dioceses like Milan and even the periphery of the Catholic world in Asia and the Americas, this project is concerned with Rome, and the bishop of Rome was the pope.[15] Upon the council's completion, Pius IV appointed deputies to review Trent's decrees and determine how to apply them in his bishopric. The committee included the diplomat Giovanni Morone (1509–80), Ludovico Simonetta (ca. 1500–68), the future Milanese reformer and saint Charles Borromeo, Giovanni Battista Cicala (1510–70), Vitellazzo Vitelli (1531–68), the subsequent Bolognese reformer Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), the future pope Ugo Boncompagni (1502–85), and Francesco Alciati (1522–80).[16]

Even at the center of the Church's reform in Pius's deputation, it is useful to distinguish between Trent and tridentinism, or between the council's edicts and the interpretation and implementation of those decrees, as Giuseppe Alberigo argued.[17] In reference to sacred art, the council called for instructive and inspiring works of art:

> Bishops should teach with care that the faithful are instructed and strengthened by commemorating and frequently recalling the articles of our faith through the expression in pictures or other likenesses of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption; and that great benefits flow from all sacred images, not only because

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[15] For example, see Simon Ditchfield, "Catholic Reformation and Renewal," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 152–85; Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999); Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 1999).

[16] O'Malley, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses," 37–38.

[17] Alberigo, "Council of Trent," 221–23.

> people are reminded of the gifts and blessings conferred on us by Christ, but because the miracles of God through the saints and their salutary example is put before the eyes of the faithful, who can thank God for them, shape their own lives and conduct in imitation of the saints, and be aroused to adore and love God and to practise devotion.[18]

The reformed Church required sacred images that taught, fortified, recalled, and aroused devotion, but the council also demanded that the artworks be clear and free of lasciviousness:

> The holy council earnestly desires to root out utterly any abuses that may have crept into these holy and saving practices, so that no representations of false doctrine should be set up which give occasion of dangerous error to the unlettered […] all sensual appeal must be avoided, so that images are not painted or adorned with seductive charm […] And lastly, bishops should give very great care and attention to ensure that in this matter nothing occurs that is disorderly or arranged in an exaggerated or riotous manner, nothing profane and nothing unseemly, since holiness befits the house of God.[19]

By prohibiting anything inaccurate, provocative, or excessive, the assembly facilitated the narrow-minded focus on nudity and error by some reformers like Giovanni Andrea Gilio (d. 1584). The now notorious decision of Pius's deputies to have Daniele da Volterra paint over Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in 1564 exemplifies this type of tridentinism: "The pictures in the Apostolic Chapel are to be covered, as [is to be done] in other churches if they display anything obscene or obviously false, according to decree 2 in Session 9 [25] under Pius."[20] However, accepting the need to cover up their figures and fact-check their stories, artists like those employed by the Crocifisso still faced the question of how to produce compelling images that would stir, excite, and awaken faith.

Trent addressed the challenge of stimulating piety more directly in its decrees on the Mass and sacraments. As John O'Malley and Simon Ditchfield have observed, the

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[18] Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 2:775.
[19] Tanner, *Ecumenical Councils*, 2:775-76.
[20] Quoted in O'Malley, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses," 37.

Catholic Church faced a crisis of ceremony, or a "wholesale reformation of ritual" as Ditchfield says, as much as, or more than, a crisis of images.[21] In fact, Protestant challenges to the sacraments presented an existential threat to the Church. In response, the council affirmed the utility of rituals in the liturgy:

> As human nature is such that it cannot easily raise itself up to the meditation of divine realities without external aids, holy mother church has for that reason duly established certain rites, such as that some parts of the mass should be said in quieter tones and others in louder; and it has provided ceremonial such as symbolic blessings, lights, incense, vestments and many other rituals of that kind from apostolic order and tradition, by which the majesty of this great sacrifice is enhanced, and the minds of the faithful are aroused by those visible signs of religious devotion to contemplation of the high mysteries hidden in it.[22]

Like images, ceremonies "aroused" devotion. They employed "visible signs" to inspire contemplation of invisible truths. Most fundamentally, this dissertation links religious ritual and art patronage in post-Tridentine Rome in order to insist upon the devotional function of religious art in the Catholic Reformation.

Explaining terms

Scholars have long debated what to call the historical period under discussion here, proposing terms as varied as Counter-Reformation and Early Modern Catholicism.[23] I use Catholic Reformation purposefully. The traditional label of Counter-Reformation implies a reactionary movement in opposition to, or in response to, the Protestant Reformation. Most commonly applied to the official acts of the Catholic Church during

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[21] O'Malley, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses," 42–44; Ditchfield, "Catholic Reformation," 175.
[22] Tanner, *Ecumenical Councils*, 2:734.
[23] For a summary, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

and after the Council of Trent, the term excludes the popular piety of the Crocifisso, especially before midcentury. The idea of Catholic Renewal is similarly problematic. The more inclusive notion of a Catholic Reform is also uncertain in its usefulness, but in the opposite chronological direction. Adopted in order to recognize the efforts of early reformers and to assert that the Catholic Church had initiated reforms well before 1517, the label likens nascent parallel reform movements "to streams that only merged into a river after the shock of Luther's attack."[24] However, the term is too chronologically broad to be meaningful. How far back does one go? Thinking of church councils alone, should one include the Lateran Councils, the Council of Basel, Ferrara, and Florence, the Councils of Nicaea? John O'Malley's increasingly popular Early Modern Catholicism is likewise too vague for the purposes of this dissertation. The author writes:

> By 'early modern' I mean simply the period conventionally designated as such, which historians interpret as beginning and ending at different times depending upon what places and what issues are being considered […] By 'Catholicism' I mean to include all people, institutions, and cultural and religious manifestations that before 1517 were Christian and that after 1517 were not Protestant.[25]

Catholic Reformation strikes a better balance. By replacing "Counter" with "Catholic," it permits a fuller, more positive history of the period. By retaining "Reformation," it ties the discussion to a particular time and place.

The Confraternity and the History of Art

The proliferation of period, or stylistic, labels used to describe the art and architecture produced in Italy between 1520 and 1590 and the growing chorus of calls to

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[24] Bireley, "Redefining Catholicism," 146.
[25] O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 8–9.

forgo such labels entirely further demonstrates the difficulty that scholars have encountered in defining the period.[26] In the last century, art historians spoke generally of an early experimental style, often classified as early Mannerism, which developed in Rome and Florence in the 1520s. A refined and sophisticated style called the Maniera followed. First appearing in Central Italy in the 1530s, it spread to the courts of Italy and Europe, including Mantua, Genoa, and Fontainebleau and lasted until around 1580, when artists increasingly responded to the calls for reform in the Catholic Church with a more naturalistic mode. However, before this period of change, scholars recognized a reformed version of the Maniera termed the Counter-Maniera, which developed in Rome around 1550. The following chapters demonstrate the limitations of these still influential labels. Therefore, this project uses the terms only sparingly and then primarily in reference to the usage of scholars like those discussed below.[27] The term "post-Tridentine" is generally a more appropriate description for the art produced for the Crocifisso.

Max Dvořák and Walter Friedlaender were the first and most influential art historians to reconsider Italian art of the later sixteenth century. Dvořák initiated the rehabilitation of the period as an independent epoch in a well-received lecture entitled "Über Greco und den Manierismus" ("On Greco and Mannerism"), delivered in 1920, published posthumously in 1924, and translated into English in an abridged form in 1953. Focusing on El Greco (1540/41–1614), the late Michelangelo, and Tintoretto (1519–94),

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[26] David Franklin conveyed the growing discomfort surrounding the terms "High Renaissance" and "Mannerism" in David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence, 1500-1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). Others have revised and revived such terms. For example, see Stephen J. Campbell, "Counter Reformation Polemic and Mannerist Counter-Aesthetics: Bronzino's 'Martyrdom of St. Lawrence' in San Lorenzo," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 98-119; Carlo Falciani and Antonio Natali, eds., *Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino: Diverging Paths of Mannerism* (Florence: Mandragora, 2014).

[27] For a recent review of the terms' history, see Hans Aurenhammer, "Manner, Mannerism, Maniera: On the History of a Controversial Term," in *Maniera: Pontormo, Bronzino and Medici Florence*, ed. Bastian Eclercy (Munich: Prestel, 2016), 15–23.

he defined Mannerism as a subjective, expressive, and non-naturalistic style born of spiritual rebirth around 1560.[28] Friedlaender's reevaluation actually predated Dvořák's. However, his research, which first appeared in a lecture of 1914, was not published until 1925, or translated into English until 1957. Like his contemporary, Friedlaender conceived of the later sixteenth century as a spiritual age and asserted its autonomy as a stylistic era distinct from the Renaissance and the Baroque. Unlike Dvořák, he focused on artists that scholars today might still recognize as Mannerists rather than the idiosyncratic and unclassifiable El Greco, Michelangelo, and Tintoretto of Dvořák's analysis.

For Friedlaender, Mannerism was a decidedly Central Italian phenomenon. According to the author, Mannerist painting first developed in Florence and Rome in the 1520s in the art of Jacopo Pontormo (1494–1557), Rosso Fiorentino (1495–1540), and Parmigianino (1503–40). He divided Mannerism, or the "anti-classical style" as he called it, into two periods with the first lasting between 1520 and 1530 and the second covering the years between 1530 and 1590. Around 1590, he argued an "anti-mannerist style" emerged. Friedlaender also defined many of the stylistic qualities of early Mannerism, including illogical space, attenuated figures, complex figural poses, and an emphasis on the often nude or semi-nude body. Most importantly, the scholar asserted the autonomy of the era. He characterized it as a reaction against the classical ideals of the Renaissance as well as a period of revolt and retrospection and a profoundly subjective and spiritual age.[29] Although scholars now reject many of these socio-historical conclusions, Dvořák's and Friedlaender's definitions of Mannerist painting opened the door to future

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[28] Max Dvořák, "El Greco and Mannerism," in *Readings in Italian Mannerism*, ed. Liana Cheney (New York: P. Lang, 1997), 193–211.
[29] Walter F. Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965).

generations of scholars interested in Italian art produced after Raphael's (1483–1520) death but before the Carracci and Caravaggio (1571–1610) arrived on the scene.

In *Mannerism* (1967), John Shearman rejected the idea of an anti-classical style and a period of revolt and introspection. Instead, he argued that the sixteenth century's style was deeply indebted to, and profoundly affected by, the High Renaissance and characterized by dispassion more than violence or emotion. Most significantly, he insisted on a more historical interpretation of the era. As he noted, the term "Mannerism" derives from the Italian word *maniera* (style). One may use the Italian term relatively or absolutely. In the qualitative sense, one might discuss the Gothic style. In the literal, one would say a person has style. As Sherman demonstrated, the absolute usage was the more historical usage. It derived from the literature on manners, and in the sixteenth century, it carried a positive connotation of courtly elegance. The word took on a pejorative meaning in the seventeenth century, when the artist biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–96) accused the artists of the later sixteenth century — that is, the painters featured in this dissertation — of relying too much on *maniera* and not enough on nature and thereby creating an art based on artifice rather than nature. Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810) codified this view in the eighteenth century, when he coined the term "manierismo," from which the English label "Mannerism" derives. However, the period's supporters as well as its later detractors all recognized style as the defining attribute of the age. Therefore, Shearman argued one should look for a style defined by *maniera* when discussing Mannerism. In short, one should seek the "stylish style."[30]

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[30] John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1967). Craig Hugh Smyth offered a similarly historical revision of the term's meaning, based on his analysis on the period's relationship to the antique, in these years too. See Craig Hugh Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: IRSA, 1992).

Marcia B. Hall offered the most accessible description of the artistic mode known as the Maniera in *After Raphael* (1999). Like Shearman, she placed it firmly within the tradition of the High Renaissance. In fact, she identified its origins in the "relieflike style" employed by Raphael and his workshop in Rome in the 1510s and 1520s in projects like the Sala di Costantino (1520–1524). In many ways, the style possessed many of the same formal characteristics as Friedlaender's early Mannerism. Exemplified by Jacopino del Conte's *Preaching of the Baptist* of 1538 in the oratory of the Florentine confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome (fig. 4.19), the manner employed irrational space, elongated proportions, figural complexity, and an emphasis on the body. However, it was overlaid with a sophistication, grace, and refinement that is more characteristic of Shearman's stylish style.[31] Chapter Four discusses the historical significance of Jacopino's fresco in greater detail.

The period after the Council of Trent and the so-called Counter-Maniera have attracted renewed interest among art historians in the last several decades.[32] The great iconographer and art historian of medieval France, Emile Mâle, first alerted scholars to the period's distinctive iconography in *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (1932).[33] The book examines religious art in Italy, France, Spain, and the Netherlands from the end of the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. However, seventeenth-century art in Rome receives the fullest treatment because the author viewed the seat of

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[31] Marcia B. Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See also S.J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); S. J. Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera," *Art Bulletin* 47, no. 2 (1965): 187–97; S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

[32] For a review of the literature, see Marcia B. Hall, Introduction to Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper, eds., *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6–9.

[33] Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente, étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe, du XVIIIe siècle, Italie - France - Espagne - Flanders* (Paris: A. Colin, 1932).

the revitalized Church as the center of innovation during the Catholic Reformation. An iconographer of Erwin Panofsky and Aby Warburg's generation, Mâle demonstrated how the council's call for didactic art that would confirm viewers in the articles of faith led to the production of new themes and subjects that aimed to defend and affirm Catholic doctrine in response to Protestant attacks. Most significantly, he revealed a new emphasis on the cult of the saints, especially martyrdoms, in the art produced after Trent.

Federico Zeri, in contrast, explored the possibility of a Counter-Reformation style in his influential *Pittura e Controriforma* (1957).[34] Identifying Scipione Pulzone (ca. 1542–98) as the quintessential post-Tridentine painter, he described a timeless, impersonal style as the period's defining feature — "l'arte senza tempo" of his subtitle. For example, about the Cappella della Madonna della Strada by Pulzone and Giuseppe Valeriano (1542–96), he wrote: "for the first time, painting touches a state of absolute anti-poeticism and anti-emotionalism, an abstract immobility, where every passion is extinguished, and that falls outside the corrosive action of hourglasses, clocks, and sundials."[35] However, Zeri approached his subject with the eyes of a connoisseur in the vein of Roberto Longhi and Bernard Berenson, and he exhibited little sympathy for the artists he identified as Counter-Reformation painters. While the first to recognize a new stylistic phase in Italian art after Trent, he judged the period unfavorably, and his aesthetic judgments long limited interest in the field, as demonstrated by the treatment of the Crocifisso's altarpieces for Santa Chiara discussed in Chapter Five.

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[34] Federico Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma: l'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1997).

[35] "La pittura tocca per la prima volta uno stato di antipoeticità e antiemotività assoluta, una astratta immobilità, dove ogni passione è spenta e che cade al di fuori dell'azione corrosive delle clessidre, degli orologi e dei puntali delle meridiane." Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma*, 67.

Scholars like Sydney J. Freedberg and more recently Claudio Strinati, Alessandro Zuccari, and Marcia Hall have refined and extended Zeri's formal analysis of post-Tridentine art. Freedberg divided the stylistic development of sixteenth-century Italian art into High Renaissance Classic (1500–20), an experimental phase (1520–35), Maniera (1535–75), Counter-Maniera (1550–75), and late Maniera (1570–1600), a periodization that still defines perceptions of post-Tridentine art.[36] The Italian scholars Claudio Strinati and Alessandro Zuccari have explored the question of a post-Tridentine style, or styles, in numerous publications, often with an eye to later developments in the early Baroque.[37] Following Freedberg, her mentor and teacher at Harvard, Hall charted the development of six different styles in the sixteenth century: High Renaissance Classic, transitional, Maniera, Counter-Maniera, Counter-Reformation, and late Maniera.[38] Her work recognized the essential distinction made by Maria Calí between the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reform movement, or the difference between the official and dogmatic response of the Catholic Church to the Protestant Reformation and the more exploratory reform movement that preceded it.[39] As Hall explains, Calí "undertook to set apart the pedestrian Counter-Reformation painters (Zeri's 'painters of the Counter-Reformation') from those she saw as preserving their expressive liberty while conforming their styles as necessary to the new demands for devout painting."[40] More

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[36] Freedberg, *Painting in Italy*. See also Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera"; Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance*.
[37] See especially Claudio Strinati, "Roma nell'anno 1600. Studio di pittura," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 10 (1980): 15–48; Alessandro Zuccari, *Arte e committenza nella Roma di Caravaggio* (Torino: ERI, Edizioni Rai, 1984); Alessandro Zuccari, *I pittori di Sisto V* (Roma: Palombi, 1992).
[38] Hall, *After Raphael*. See also Marcia B. Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).
[39] Maria Calí, *De Miguel Angel a El Escorial: momentos del debate religioso en el arte del siglo XVI* (Torrejón de Ardoz, Spain: Akal, 1994).
[40] Hall, *After Raphael*, xiv.

influentially, Alexander Nagel's recent examinations of the controversy surrounding religious art in the "age of art," as Hans Belting described the period, have explored the influence of the Catholic Reform on artistic production in early sixteenth-century Italy.[41] However, as highlighted in Chapters Four and Five, the disparaging notion of official reform and art after Trent persists. This dissertation works to dispel such negative critiques based on modern stylistic biases.

In the 1960s, scholars began to publish and analyze sixteenth-century sources of art theory, lending much needed textual and documentary support to the purely formal analyses of preceding generations. Anthony Blunt's influential volume *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1660* (1940) predated their work.[42] However, his characterization of the Catholic Reformation as a top-down reform, and the reformers as anti-Humanist, perpetuated the negative assessment of the post-Tridentine period. A fuller understanding of the sources led to more nuanced interpretations. Paola Barocchi published the three-volume *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e Controriforma* between 1960 and 1962.[43] For the first time, she brought together treatises of fundamental importance such as Giovanni Andrea Gilio's "Degli errori e degli abusi de' pittori" (1564), Charles Borromeo's "Instructionum fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae" (1577), and Gabriele Paleotti's "Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane" (1582). Raffaello Borghini's

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[41] Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010); Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). The reference is to Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[42] Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

[43] Paola Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma*, 3 vols. (Bari: G. Laterza, 1960).

(1537–88) *Il Riposo* (1584) was reprinted in 1969 and translated into English in 2007.[44] In 1977, Evelyn Carole Voelker translated and analyzed Borromeo's treatise, augmenting the modern student's understanding of the official Church response to the Protestant Reformation.[45] Finally, Giuseppe Scavizzi's investigations into contemporary sources culminated in *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (1992).[46]

Art historians returned to Mâle's iconographic investigations in the 1990s, studying the iconographic programs of the late Cinquecento and Seicento and imbuing their research with new investigations into systems of patronage. The patronage of popes and cardinals most attracted their attention. In 1992, Clare Robertson's *'Il Gran Cardinale'* appeared. The first comprehensive study of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as a patron of the arts, the book demonstrated the shifting tastes of Rome's most powerful patron in response to the demands of the Catholic Reformation.[47] The exhibition held in Rome in 1989 of art produced under Pope Sixtus V Peretti (r. 1585–90) and its accompanying catalogue *Roma di Sisto V* (1993), edited by Maria Luisa Madonna, highlighted the significant but often overlooked patronage of the Peretti pope.[48] In 1995, Jack Freiberg published *The Lateran in 1600*. A study of the restoration of San Giovanni in Laterano by Clement VIII Aldobrandini (r. 1592–1605), the book showed how the themes of reconciliation and concord in the basilica's iconography recalled the pope's

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[44] Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo (1584)*, Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausg. Florenz 1584 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969); Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, trans. Lloyd H. Ellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
[45] Evelyn Carole Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae, 1577" (PhD diss., Syracuse University, New York, 1977).
[46] Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York: P. Lang, 1992).
[47] Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale*.
[48] Maria Luisa Madonna, ed., *Roma di Sisto V: le arti e la cultura* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1993).

political achievements.[49] Steven Ostrow's *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome* inaugurated the Monuments of Papal Rome series in 1992, which later included Nicola Courtright's *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (2003).[50] Together, the books revealed how Church reforms informed the pictorial and architectural commissions of Sixtus V, Paul V Borghese (r. 1605–21), and Gregory XIII. More recently, Pamela Jones has turned attention to the reception of altarpieces in Rome, providing a more multivalent view of Catholic Reformation art.[51] Following Jones's methodology, this project aims to contribute to the ongoing reassessment of post-Tridentine art by expanding the focus beyond the concerns of the Church hierarchy to the needs of the laity, albeit the elite laity of the Crocifisso.

The Company and Confraternity Studies

The study of lay religious associations frequently called confraternities, companies, sodalities, or brotherhoods is a relatively new discipline.[52] The 700th

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[49] Jack Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[50] Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[51] Pamela M. Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008).

[52] For the state of the research in confraternity studies, see Christopher F. Black, "Introduction: The Confraternity Context," in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Christopher F. Black, "The Development of Confraternity Studies Over the Past Thirty Years," in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9–29; Nicholas Terpstra, "Introduction: The Politics of Ritual Kinship," in *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–8; Konrad Eisenbichler, "Italian Scholarship on Pre-Modern Confraternities in Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): 567–80; Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*

anniversary of the 1260 flagellant movement in Perugia sparked interest in medieval flagellation and the discipline confraternities that encouraged it. A conference was held in 1960 to commemorate the anniversary. It led to the publication of the conference's proceedings in *Il movimento dei disiciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio* (1962), the foundation of the Centro di Documentazione sul Movimento dei Disciplinati in Perugia, a second conference in 1969, and the publication of its accompanying volume, *Risultati e prospettive della ricerca sul movimento dei disciplinati* (1972).[53]

The conferences and center influenced the archival bent of early work in the field, with emphasis given to the documentation of confraternities and the publication of their statutes. Gilles Gerard Meersseman's *Ordo fraternitatis* (1977), a three-volume collection of Meersseman's studies of Dominican companies, became a model in this vein.[54] The Dominican father demonstrated the geographical and chronological expanse of his order's confraternities and their social and religious influence. His work also revealed the ecclesiastical or institutional focus of confraternity studies at this time, for he examined the sodalities within the context of Church history. In English-language scholarship, Rab Hatfield's "The Compagnia de' Magi" was the most widely cited study of this period.[55] A detailed study of the pageants, internal activities, sermons, and Medici patronage of the

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), xv–xx; Konrad Eisenbichler, "Richerche nord-americane sulle confraternite italiane," in *Confraternite, chiese e società: aspetti e problemi dell'associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. Liana Bertoldi Lenoci (Fasano: Schena, 1994), 289–303; John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–12; James R. Banker, *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 1–14.

[53] *Il movimento dei disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio (Perugia, 1260). Convegno internazionale: Perugia, 25-28 settembre 1960* (Spoleto: Arti grafiche Panetto & Petrolli, 1962); *Risultati e prospettive della ricerca sul movimento dei disciplinati. Convegno internazionale di studio. Perugia, 5-7 dicembre 1969* (Perugia, 1972).

[54] G. G. Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà dei laici nel Medioevo*, 3 vols. (Rome: Herder editrice e libreria, 1977).

[55] Rab Hatfield, "The Compagnia de' Magi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 107–61.

Florentine company of the Magi, the article showed the wealth of documentary evidence available to students of confraternity history and indicated the interdisciplinary approaches that could be used fruitfully in the future.

The rise of social history in the 1970s broadened the scope of the discipline. Scholars applied methodologies from sociology, anthropology, and social history to the study of confraternities, expanding the discipline's focus beyond the religious context of confraternities to their social, political, and economic influence. For this generation, understanding ritual behavior and poor relief in early modern cities stimulated interest in lay religious associations. Richard Trexler's groundbreaking article "Ritual in Florence" (1974) and subsequent book *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (1980) first pointed to the social significance of ritual for early modern confraternities.[56] The author's study of youth companies in Florence highlighted the socio-political relations on display in civic rituals and the significant role confraternities played in the socialization, or acculturation, of their members. Ronald F. E. Weissman further explored this theme in *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (1982).[57] Drawing on the theories of cultural anthropologist Victor Turner, he examined "the relationship between ritual behavior and social organization" in early modern Florence.[58] Most significantly, his detailed analysis of confraternity membership and participation in Florence contributed to the comprehension of the social composition of such societies.

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[56] Richard C. Trexler, "Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 200–264; Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[57] Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982).

[58] Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood*, ix.

Already in 1971, Brian Pullan had turned attention to the charitable function of confraternities in his influential book *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*.[59] Mining the membership lists, meeting minutes, and payment records of Venice's Scuole Grandi, Pullan established the essential place confraternities occupied in early modern society as administers of poor relief. John Henderson later fused the social with the religious in *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (1994), a survey of medieval and Renaissance confraternities in Florence.[60] Arguing that the socio-anthropological approach had reduced confraternities to a purely social phenomenon, the scholar studied the charitable actions of Florence's main confraternities in the light of cult and devotion. His synthetic methodology bore fruit in his discussion of the Renaissance monument of Orsanmichele and thus indicated the applicability of confraternity studies to the history of art, which this project advances.

Since 1980, confraternity studies have been increasingly interdisciplinary. Conferences have brought scholars from diverse fields together, stimulated new approaches, and produced collections of essays that demonstrate the variety of perspectives available. A symposium held in Florida and Florence in 1985 led to the publication of *Christianity and the Renaissance* (1990), the second part of which was dedicated to lay religion.[61] Contributions by Henderson, Weissman, Nerida Newbigin, and Cyrilla Barr examined penitence, humanist preaching, theater, and music in fifteenth-century Florentine confraternities, respectively. Meanwhile, Pullan's essay offered

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[59] Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971).
[60] Henderson, *Piety and Charity*.
[61] Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, eds., *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990).

further considerations of the Scuole Grandi, and James R. Banker's returned to the theme of his study of Borgo San Sepolcro, *Death in the Community* (1988).[62]

Many of these scholars participated in the first North American conference dedicated to the study of confraternities, which met in Toronto in 1989. The landmark conference inspired several initiatives designed to promote confraternity studies, including the foundation of the Society for Confraternity Studies and its semi-annual journal *Confraternitas* as well as the publication of conference papers in *Crossing the Boundaries* (1991).[63] In addition to essays by Barr, Kathleen Falvey, Jonathan E. Glixon, Newbigin, Nicholas Terpstra, and Weissman, the volume included two important contributions by Jean S. Weisz and Barbara Wisch, who pioneered confraternal art history.[64]

The growing number of sessions and papers dedicated to confraternity studies at major conferences and the support of research centers dedicated to work on confraternities encouraged additional publications. Meetings and volumes organized by the Centro Ricerche di Storia Religiosa in Puglia expanded knowledge of confraternities and religious history throughout Italy, while also contributing to the history of confraternal art. For example, the center's *Confraternite, chiese e società* (1994) includes studies of the Gonfalone, Santo Spirito in Sassia, and the Capranica Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva by Barbara Wisch, Louise Smith Bross, and Susan E. Wegner,

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[62] Banker, *Death in the Community*.

[63] Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991).

[64] Jean S. Weisz, "Caritas/Controriforma: The Changing Role of Confraternity's Ritual," in Eisenblicher, *Crossing the Boundaries*, 221–36; Barbara Wisch, "The Passion of Christ in the Art, Theater, and Penitential Rituals of the Roman Confraternity of the Gonfalone," in Eisenbichler, *Crossing the Boundaries*, 237–62.

respectively.[65] Noting the increase in presentations on confraternities at the Sixteenth Century Society Conference, the editors of the forty-fourth volume of Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies dedicated their book to the examination of confraternities during the Catholic Reformation.[66] Finally, the popularity of confraternity studies led to commissioned volumes like *The Politics of Ritual Kinship* (2000) and *Studi confraternali* (2009), which exhibit new avenues of research including issues of class, gender, and race in early modern confraternities.[67] Of particular note in the context of this study are the contributions by Anna Esposito and Lance Lazar, which explore the participation of women and other marginalized groups in Roman confraternities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[68]

Despite the interdisciplinary nature of modern confraternity studies, few scholars have attempted comprehensive, multidisciplinary histories of single companies. Eisenbichler's *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael* (1998) and Wisch and Newbigin's *Acting on Faith* (2013) are outstanding exceptions to this rule.[69] Eisenbichler's documented study of the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello situates the daily life and history of the organization within the religious, cultural, and social context of early modern Florence. Divided into thematic chapters, the book examines the youth

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[65] Liana Bertoldi Lenoci, ed., *Confraternite, chiese e società: aspetti e problemi dell'associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea* (Fasano: Schena, 1994).
[66] John Patrick Donnelly and Michael W. Maher, eds., *Confraternities & Catholic Reform in Italy, France, & Spain* (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999).
[67] Terpstra, *Politics of Ritual Kinship*; Marina Gazzini, ed., *Studi confraternali: orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze.* (Florence: Florence University Press, 2009).
[68] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Roles, Functions, Expectations," in Terpstra, *Politics of Ritual Kinship*, 82–97; Lance Lazar, "The First Jesuit Confraternities and Marginalized Groups in Sixteenth-Century Rome," in Terpstra, *Politics of Ritual Kinship*, 132–49.
[69] Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411-1785* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph's University Press, 2013).

confraternity from a multitude of perspectives, including the company's internal structure and membership, doctrinal education, religious rituals and devotions, processions, sermons, recreation, theater, music, and art patronage. The study's chronological scope and interdisciplinary approach allow the author to chart the sodality's full history, in particular its revitalization after the Council of Trent. Likewise, Wisch and Newbigin's book offers a complete history of the Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone, Rome's oldest confraternity, from its foundation in the 1260s to its suppression in 1888. Their richly illustrated volume augments the understanding of art, theater, and material culture in papal Rome and offers innovative discussions of the company's institutional, devotional, and philanthropic efforts in the Catholic Reformation, with emphasis given to the association's statutory basis, cultic devotions, dramatic performances, and art patronage. Together, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael* and *Acting on Faith* serve as models for this project.

In general, research into confraternities remains specialized by geographical location. Italy has attracted the greatest amount of scholarly interest, and scholarship on Italian confraternities has tended to focus on single cities or regions. Gennaro Maria Monti, who has been called "the first scholar of Italian confraternities," was the first to attempt a synthesized study of Italian confraternities.[70] His *Le confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia* (1927) remains a fundamental text in the discipline, despite its often cursory treatment of the subject, frequent factual errors, and neglect of southern Italy.[71] Roberto Rusconi's "Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni" (1987) assisted the effort at synthesis, while Danilo Zardin's "Le confraternite in Italia settentrionale fra XV

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[70] Banker, *Death in the Community*, 9.

[71] Gennaro Maria Monti, *Le confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia* (Venice: La Nuova Italia, 1927).

e XVIII secolo" (1987) extended Monti's consideration of north Italian companies into the early modern period.[72] However, Christopher F. Black's *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (1989) provides the only detailed discussion of a wide range of confraternities over a long period of time and throughout Italy.[73] Thus, it is an essential text in Italian confraternity studies.

Four volumes offer overviews of early modern confraternities in Rome. Matizia Maroni Lumbroso and Antonio Martini's *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* (1963) remains an essential reference for students studying companies in Rome.[74] It provides brief histories of the sodalities, descriptions of their affiliated churches and oratories, and basic, but now outdated, bibliographies. A conference held in Rome in 1982 produced two important volumes: *Le confraternite romane* (1984) and *Storiografia e archivi delle confraternite romane* (1985), both published in the periodical *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*.[75] Comprised of the conference proceedings, the first explores the origins, charity, spirituality, economics, and patronage of various confraternities in Rome from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. In particular, essays by Anna Cavallaro, Sergio Rossi, Claudio Strinati, and Antonio Vannugli explore the relationship between artistic practice and confraternities in Rome. The second volume is an invaluable handbook for archival research. It lists 140 different confraternities in alphabetical order, providing a brief history, bibliography, and summary of archival materials available for

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[72] Roberto Rusconi, "Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni," in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 9. La Chiesa e il potere politico del Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1987), 469–506; Danilo Zardin, "Le confraternite in Italia settentrionale fra XV e XVIII secolo," *Società e storia* 35 (1987): 81–137.

[73] Black, *Italian Confraternities*.

[74] Maroni Lumbroso and Martini, *Le confraternite romane*.

[75] Luigi Fiorani, ed., *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984); Luigi Fiorani, ed., *Storiografia e archivi delle confraternite romane* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1985).

each. A second meeting in Rome in 1996 further explored the role of confraternities as art patrons. Its proceedings were published in *Le confraternite romane* (2000).[76]

Of the numerous regional studies available, four merit discussion here for the influential themes and concepts that they introduced. Noting the increased participation of aristocrats in Bolognese confraternities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Mario Fanti described the "ennobling" of confraternities in the Catholic Reformation and argued that the shift led confraternal activity away from traditional charitable endeavors and towards increasingly lavish public ceremonies.[77] Danilo Zardin's examination of Lombard confraternities revealed how companies increasingly fell under the control of local parishes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a sign of the Catholic Church's efforts to control popular piety after the Council of Trent.[78] However, Angelo Torre questioned the duality of official and popular religion in *Il consumo di devozioni* (1995), a study of sodalities in Piedmont.[79] Drawing on episcopal visitation records, he argued that the line between confraternities and churches was fluid, with confraternities often providing many of the same services to their members as local parishes. His research corresponds with the development of the concept of "negotiation" in recent scholarship on the Catholic Reformation, which challenges the characterization of the Catholic Reformation as the imposition of reform from the top down. Instead, it explores instances of resistance and compromise and recognizes the plurality of religious

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[76] Claudio Crescentini and Antonio Martini, eds., *Le confraternite romane: arte, storia, committenza* (Rome: Associazione culturale Shakespeare and Co. 2, 2000).
[77] Mario Fanti, *La Chiesa e la Compagnia dei Poveri in Bologna: una istituzione di mutuo soccorso nella società bolognese fra il Cinquecento e il Seicento* (Bologna: Edizioni dehoniane, 1977).
[78] Danilo Zardin, *Confraternite e vita di pietà nelle campagne Lombarde tra 500 e 600: la pieve di Parabiago-Legnano* (Milan: NED, 1981).
[79] Angelo Torre, *Il consumo di devozioni: religione e comunità nelle campagne dell'ancien régime* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995).

experience in the early modern period.[80] Nonetheless, Nicholas Terpstra has shown that Bolognese confraternities experienced an unprecedented degree of centralization, bureaucratization, and artistocratization in the sixteenth century, making them key agents in the enforcement of social order.[81] This study explores negotiation and social disciplining as they played out in the Crocifisso's religious devotions investigated in Chapter Two.

New Approaches and Methodologies

"Art, Ritual, and Reform" is the first comprehensive study of the social history, devotional practices, and art patronage of the Crocifisso, one of the most prominent lay religious associations in sixteenth-century Italy. Divided into four main chapters, the dissertation first develops the innovative new theory of conspicuous devotion through a documented examination of the company's religious rituals and urban processions during the Catholic Reformation in Chapter Two. The subsequent chapters examine the significance of the company's artistic commissions in relation to the sodality's devotional practices. Chapter Three studies the frescoes produced by Perino del Vaga and Daniele da Volterra for the Cappella del Crocifisso — the public space of the confraternity's singular cultic devotion — and thus sets the scene for the feasts, devotions, and processions described in Chapter Two, as well as the art patronage analyzed in the following chapters. Chapter Four applies the theory of conspicuous devotion to an investigation of the Oratorio del Crocifisso — the private space of the company's assembly and worship —

[80] For a discussion of this concept, see Hall, Introduction to Hall and Cooper, *Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, 3–6.
[81] Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*.

where Giovanni de' Vecchi, Niccolò Circignani, Cesare Nebbia, Baldassare Croce, Paris Nogari, and Cristoforo Roncalli painted. Challenging traditional interpretations of Central Italian painting from 1520 to 1590, the chapter argues that conspicuous form served conspicuous devotion to teach and stimulate piety, in accordance with the reforms of the Catholic Church. Chapter Five explores the archaism of paintings produced by Jacopino del Conte and Marcello Venusti for Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo — the Capuchin convent founded by the confraternity on the Quirinal Hill. Reinforcing the assertions of the preceding chapters, the discussion demonstrates the company's sharp art historical, or stylistic, understanding, which enabled it to choose between different artistic modes to suit different contexts and thereby demonstrate its collective identity as an association committed to the Catholic Reformation.

CONSPICUOUS DEVOTION

Chapter Two and Four develop the idea of conspicuous devotion from the idea of conspicuous consumption. The latter is defined as the acquisition of luxury goods or services as a demonstration of economic power in order to attain or maintain social status, rather than for any practical necessity. The sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen first coined the term and the accompanying idea of conspicuous leisure in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) to describe the financial behavior of the new upper class of the industrial age.[82] As the author explained, "The basis on which good repute in any highly organized industrial community ultimately rests is pecuniary strength; and the

[82] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class. 1899* (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1965).

means of showing pecuniary strength, and so of gaining or retaining a good name, are leisure and a conspicuous consumption of goods."[83] For Veblen, a critic of capitalism, such ostentatious display was decidedly negative, for "the norm of reputability imposed by the upper class extends its coercive influence with but slight hindrance down through the social structure to the lowest strata" and creates a society defined by waste of time and especially money, or conspicuous waste.[84]

In the later twentieth century, Renaissance scholars Peter Burke and Richard Goldthwaite recognized the classical virtue of magnificence in Veblen's ideas and thus demonstrated that conspicuous consumption was not the unique product of the industrial age, but rather a cultural phenomenon present in Western society for centuries. Defined by Aristotle (384–322 BCE) in *Nicomachean Ethics* (350 BCE) and revived by fifteenth-century theorists like Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) and Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1370–1444), magnificence was distinctly positive. Early modern thinkers understood the classical virtue as the proper expenditure of large sums of money by noble individuals. Requiring good taste, it reflected the individual's magnanimity, or greatness of spirit. Although not without controversy, it was generally perceived as a duty, a product of widely shared cultural norms.[85] In an influential article first published in 1982, Burke applied the idea of conspicuous consumption, in its classical sense of magnificence, to the commissioning of grand palaces and churches, sumptuous furnishings, clothing,

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[83] Veblen, *Leisure Class*, 84.
[84] Veblen, *Leisure Class*, 84.
[85] For further discussion of magnificence, see Gail Feigenbaum, "Introduction: Art and Display in Principle and in Practice," in *Display of Art in the Roman Palace*, ed. Gail Feigenbaum and Francesco Freddolini (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2014), 23; Renata Ago, "Splendor and Magnificence," *Display of Art in the Roman Palace*, 62–72.

carriages, and extravagant festivals in seventeenth-century Italy.[86] Goldthwaite had already pointed to such frequently competitive displays as the reason behind the building boom in Quattrocento Florence.[87] He later traced the origin of today's consumer culture to the Renaissance in *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (1993).[88]

Adopting Goldthwaite's ideas with enthusiasm, scholars of the last few decades expanded the narrow scope of conspicuous consumption to the study of material culture more broadly and the idea of conspicuous self-presentation, yet again exhibiting the applicability of Veblen's idea to early modern society. For example, the English professor Lisa Jardine linked the creation of wealth to the creation of culture through the acquisition of material goods and, like Goldthwaite, identified the Renaissance as the source of modern society's consumerism in her popular history of the period.[89] Art historian Patricia Fortini Brown offered a model study of material culture in *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice* (2004), an examination of the palaces, domestic furnishings, and social mores of the Venetian patrician class.[90] Evelyn Welch, in contrast, studied the buying practices of Italians from different socio-economic backgrounds and different cities in *Shopping in the Renaissance* (2005).[91] Applying the economic concepts of signaling, signposting, and stretching to the study of art patronage, art historian Jonathan

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[86] Peter Burke, "Conspicuous Consumption in Seventeenth-Century Italy," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 132–49.
[87] Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
[88] Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
[89] Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).
[90] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).
[91] Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

Nelson and economist Richard Zeckhauser developed a methodological framework for the interpretation of conspicuous commissions in Renaissance Italy in *The Patron's Payoff* (2008).[92] Meanwhile, Douglas Biow, a professor of Italian and comparative literature, investigated the "art of being conspicuous" in the art and writings of Michelangelo, Benvenuto Cellini (1550–71), Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), and Anton Francesco Doni (1513–74).[93] Minou Schraven considered how the concern for strategic self-promotion continued after death in *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy* (2014).[94]

Conceptually linked to the conspicuous commissions, self-presentation, and commemoration described by the authors above, the theory of Renaissance self-fashioning also informs my conception of ostentatious devotion. Like conspicuous consumption, it recalls an early modern concept, namely *sprezzatura* (easy nonchalance), making it all the more appropriate to this discussion. First articulated by Stephen Greenblatt in relation to sixteenth-century English literature, self-fashioning is understood as the artful construction of identity. According to Greenblatt, the sixteenth century demonstrated a growing awareness that human identity could be shaped through human artifice. Increasingly, the elite crafted artfully designed personas and projected them into the world as unique personalities through stylized manners and behaviors. The result was a greater awareness of the self and the belief that it could be modified by human action.[95] Recognizing the symbiotic relationship between art and identity, art

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[92] Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).
[93] Douglas Biow, *In Your Face: Professional Improprieties and the Art of Being Conspicuous in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).
[94] Minou Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy: The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2014).
[95] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005).

historians have interpreted the self-fashioning of early modern artists and patrons alike in volumes like *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (2000) and *Artists at Court* (2004).[96]

Viewing the Crocifisso's festive performances and art patronage as a means of defining the sodality's collective identity, my project builds on the ideas of Veblen (especially as interpreted by Burke) and Greenblatt in order to develop the new concept of conspicuous devotion. Better suited to studies of the Catholic Reformation, this new interpretive model consists of three interconnected parts: status, identity, and piety. First, the company spent lavishly on exhibitions of its cross, urban processions, and religious art in order to attain and maintain its elite status; it consumed conspicuously. As Lando suggested, it aimed to attract the "following of the nobility." Second, the confraternity's public acts of devotion also marked the group, or fashioned its identity, as an association committed to the Catholic Reformation, which recognized the power of cult and ceremony to stimulate piety. As the Council of Trent justified rituals in the liturgy, "the minds of the faithful are aroused by those visible signs of religious devotion to contemplation of the high mysteries hidden in it."[97] Finally, the sodality's ceremonies in the public spaces of the city as well as its chapel and oratory manifested the company's dedication to igniting devotion to the crucifix through performance. The confraternity displayed its singular cultic devotion so that others might be moved, as the brothers proclaimed, "a divotione per il spettaculo de quel miraculoso Crucifisso" (to devotion by

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[96] Mary Rogers, ed., *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2000); Stephen J. Campbell, ed., *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004).
[97] Tanner, *Ecumenical Councils*, 2:734.

the spectacle of the miraculous crucifix).[98] The sodality's public exposition of faith displayed its members' piety; it also aimed to stir devotion in spectators. Therefore, while conspicuous devotion resembles conspicuous consumption and self-fashioning in its focus on the social reputation of the individual or group, it differs significantly from those behaviors in also being directed outward toward the spiritual benefit of others. Understanding the sacred significance of the company's rituals and processions then necessitates Chapter Four's reevaluation of the devotional function of sixteenth-century Roman painting, as exemplified by the confraternity's oratory (fig. 4.2), where conspicuous form served conspicuous devotion to both instruct and inspire.

Defining Terms

The discussion above raises the question of terminology. To modern, academic ears, words like devotion, performance, procession, spectacle, and theatrical carry theoretical connotations. However, as much as possible, I use these terms in their primary sixteenth-century meanings. The historical *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* defines devotion as both an internal attitude and external action. Devotion is a "sentiment of profound religiosity and veneration toward sacred mysteries and persons," an "interior disposition to fulfill, with devout love and reverence of God, all of the obligations imposed by religion," and a "mental and spiritual focus on God during the acts of worship." It is also a "devout act with which one manifests his/her religious faith," or

[98] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1544 al 1563, fol. 192 (December 16, 1554).

more simply a "pious practice."[99] The encyclopedic glossary explains a procession in the Catholic tradition is a "ritual consisting of a cortege of priests or lay individuals who proceed in line, at a measured pace, accompanying a statue, reliquary, or the Sacrament with chants and prayers." The faithful undertake such processions "in honor and praise of God or saints, in thanks, in penitence, and in atonement." These events are divided into "ordinary" and "extraordinary" processions. Ordinary processions mark days on the liturgical calendar like Epiphany, Holy Thursday or Good Friday, the Feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross, and Corpus Christi for the Crocifisso. Believers enact extraordinary processions during exceptional times, as in periods of crisis like the plague of 1522 or in celebration like the brief return of England to the Catholic Church in 1554, when the company voted to go in procession so that they might move viewers to devotion with the "spectacle" of their cross.[100] Finally, a spectacle is "that which is presented to the gaze," or a "scene that is observed or that is observed carefully and that strikes one with its singularity or, also, provokes a vivid emotion."[101] It is difficult to find a more fitting description of the intended effect of the exposition of the

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[99] These are the primary and secondary meanings: "Sentimento di profonda religiosità e venerazione verso i misteri o le persone sacre; disposizione interiore ad adempiere, con l'amore e la riverenza dovuti a Dio, tutti gli obblighi imposti dalla religion; raccoglimento della mente e dello spirito durante gli atti di culto verso Dio"; and "Atto devoto con cui si manifesta la propria fede religiosa; pratica pia." *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, s.v. "devozióne."

[100] "Nella liturgia cattolica, rito consistente in un corteo di sacerdoti o di laici che procedono in fila, a passo misurato, accompagnando con canti e con preghiere una statua, una reliquia o il Santissimo Sacramento; ha la funzione di supplica solenne fatta in onore e in lode di Dio o dei santi, in ringraziamento, in penitenza e in espiazione per lo più in tempo di calamità […] si distinguono processioni ordinarie, legate a giorni fissi della liturgia e da consuetudini locali […] e processioni straordinarie, quelle indette in circostanze particolari di carattere pubblico, come per implorare la cessazione di un flagella o in case di peste, di Guerra, di fame, di siccità o per traslazione di reliquie." *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, s.v. "processióne."

[101] "Ciò che si presenta allo sguardo; scena a cui si assiste o che si osserva attentamente e colpisce per lo singolarità o, anche, provoca una viva emozione (con riferimento, per esempio, a un'esecuzione capital in pubblico)." *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, s.v. "spettàcolo."

company's wondrous crucifix than a singular scene presented to the eye in an effort to provoke a strong feeling of faith.

The use of the words performance and theatrical risks greater anachronism because the terms do not appear in the confraternity's records, as far as I am aware. Rutgers professor Laura Weigert has explained that the English verb "to perform" derives either from the Old French *par* or *per* affixed to *former* or *furmer* or from the more prevalent *parfournir*. The former meant "to carry through in due form," while the latter signified "to complete, to carry through to completion, to finish, to perfect, or to provide what is lacking."[102] The great poet Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400) adapted the verb to English in the fourteenth century. In the seventeenth century, William Shakespeare (1564–1616) applied it to the process of playing a part on the stage. Although it originated in fifteenth-century France, the word "performance" was first used to designate the presentation of a drama or musical piece before an audience in English in the seventeenth century.[103] The noun exists in Italian, but *rappresentazione* (representation) appears more frequently in early modern sources like the Crocifisso's archives. Following Weigert, I define a performance as a "temporally limited action" before an audience: "'to perform' and 'performance' are actions or acts that take place before and are intended for the benefit of an audience."[104] The resonance with the historical meaning of *spettacolo* (spectacle), which the company did employ and which one may use to indicate a theatrical performance in Italian today, justifies the use of performance here.

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[102] Laura Weigert, "Performance," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 61.
[103] Weigert, "Performance," 61.
[104] Weigert, "Performance," 62.

Finally, I use the term theatrical in its most fundamental sense — of or relating to the theater — but also more generally to mean dramatic, artificial, or spectacular. Josephine von Henneberg, the author of the only monographic study of the company's oratory, first noted the "scenografico e teatrale" (scenographic and theatrical) quality of the prayer hall's frescoes and discussed *sacre rappresentazioni* (sacred representations) and musical oratorios as possible precedents.[105] However, neither source is historically accurate. Excluding celebrations of Corpus Christi that incorporated elements from the theater around midcentury, the Crocifisso did not stage plays, and the company ended its Corpus Christi performances after 1563. Moreover, Pope Gregory XIII strongly discouraged such religious dramas in 1574 — four years before the company began painting its oratory — when he declared attending such plays to be against the dignity of cardinals and ordered colleges and seminaries to stop performing them entirely. Only the Society of Jesus received special dispensation to continue its productions.[106]

In contrast, the Crocifisso did play an essential role in the creation of the oratorio, an extended musical composition for voices based on a sacred text, but performed without scenery, costume, or action. The confraternity developed the Latin oratorio, while the Oratory of St. Philip Neri fostered the vernacular oratorio. However, neither type reached its definitive form until the 1640s and 1650s — half a century after the company initiated its oratory frescoes.[107] Thus, rather than looking to sacred plays or

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[105] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 51.

[106] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 427n4.

[107] On the musical oratorio, see Juliane Riepe, "Die Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso und ihre Oratorienmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Musikstadt Rom: Geschichte, Forschung, Perspektiven: Beiträge der Tagung "Rom--die ewige Stadt im Brennpunkt der aktuellen musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung" am Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom, 28.-30. September 2004*, ed. Markus Engelhardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011), 159–203; Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des*

musical oratorios for the sources of the images' theatricality, this project looks to the company's rituals and processions. As even von Henneberg acknowledged,

> The theatrical and scenographic taste was already present in the innumerable celebrations organized in Rome in relation to the religious calendar, to the renovated cult of the seven churches, to the events for which one wished to render public gratitude to divine goodness […] an undeniable scenographic value was constituted by the decoration of the streets, by the celebratory decorations and *apparati* [apparatuses], by the processional clothes of the participants.[108]

Curiously, however, the author did not examine the company's devotional practices in relation to its art patronage, choosing instead to discuss better known, but less relevant, plays and music. This dissertation addresses the scholarly gap. In doing so, it prompts a reassessment of the religious value of sixteenth-century painting in Rome.

ARCHAISM

Chapter Five contributes to recent investigations of archaism, or retrospection, in Cinquecento painting. Paul Joannides first observed a pious "primitivism" in

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Oratoriums (Hildesheim: Gg. Olms, 1966); Domenico Alaleona, *Storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1945); Guido Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale in Italia: storia critico-letteraria* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1906). On confraternal music more generally, see Noel O'Regan's numerous publications, especially Noel O'Regan, "Music at Roman Confraternities to 1650: The Current State of Research," in Engelhardt, *Musikstadt Rom*, 132–58; Noel O'Regan, "Le pratiche della musica nelle chiese e nelle confraternite di Roma nel Cinquecento," in *Produzione, circolazione e consumo: consuetudine e quotidianità della polifonia sacra nelle chiese monastiche e parrocchiali dal tardo Medioevo alla fine degli antichi regimi*, ed. David Bryant and Elena Quaranta (Bologna: Il mulino, 2006), 67–118; Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità Dei Pellegrini, 1550-1650* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1995); Noel O'Regan, "Processions and Their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome," *Recercare* 4 (1992): 45–80; Noel O'Regan, "Roman Confraternities and Their Oratories 1550-1600," in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia: trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: EDT, 1990), 891–98.

[108] "Il gusto teatrale e scenografico era del resto già presente nelle innumerevoli celebrazioni organizzate a Roma in relazione al calendario religioso, al rinnovato culto delle sette chiese, ad avvenimenti per i quali si voleva rendere pubblico ringraziamento alla bontà divina […] un indubbio valore scenografico era costituito dall'addobbo delle strade, dalle decorazioni ed apparati celebrative, dalle vesti da parata dei partecipanti." Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 51.

Michelangelo's late manner.[109] In architecture, sculpture, and drawing, he argued, the master looked back to the purity of Late Medieval, Byzantine, and Early Christian models like Giotto's (ca. 1266–1337) *Crucifix* from Santa Maria Novella in Florence as well as to the expressiveness of northern European artworks in order to articulate an "intensely pietistic" style for his old age.[110] The "backward-looking" style took two forms. On the one hand, it consisted of an "austere simplicity and block-like frontality" or "compact, closed, and withdrawn form" marked by solidity. On the other hand, it exhibited an attraction "to the expressive possibilities of instability, to the fragmentary, the broken," or more simply, to the unstable.[111] In each case, Joannides argued Michelangelo subjugated form to religious content, and in doing so the artist created a reformed style, to which Joannides attributed significant influence: "Michelangelo achieved a private reformation of images which not merely anticipated the spirit of the decrees of the Council of Trent, but which probably influenced them."[112]

Alexander Nagel and Stuart Lingo have greatly expanded Joannides's ideas, situating the move toward frontal, central, and vertical altar panels in the sixteenth century within contemporary efforts to reconcile the traditional functions of altarpieces with the artistic innovations of history paintings.[113] Archaizing, or retrospective, paintings in this context are thus images that look back to the perceived piety, purity, and

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[109] Paul Joannides, "'Primitivism' in the Late Drawings of Michelangelo: The Master's Construction of an Old-Age Style," in *Michelangelo Drawings*, ed. Craig Hugh Smyth (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 245–61.
[110] Joannides, "Primitivism," 246.
[111] Joannides, "Primitivism," 245, 247.
[112] Joannides, "Primitivism," 246.
[113] Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art*; Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Stuart Lingo, "The Capuchins and the Art of History: Retrospection and Reform in the Arts in Late Renaissance Italy" (PhD diss, Harvard University, 1998).

formal qualities of earlier styles in order to recover the religiosity of those times. Working on Michelangelo and Federico Barocci (1528–1612), respectively, Nagel's and Lingo's research bookends the period under discussion here. Chapter Five shows artists grappling with these issues in Rome soon after the Council of Trent. Moreover, it demonstrates the Crocifisso's understanding of the council's call for decorous religious art, or the idea that sacred images should be conceived in a manner appropriate to their setting and subject.[114] A fresco representing the *Creation of Eve* paired with a miracle-working crucifix could be conspicuous in its meaning. A fresco cycle depicting the history of the True Cross's discovery and recovery in the private space of the company's oratory could be conspicuously devout, or devoutly conspicuous, in its form. Altarpieces portraying the *Crucifixion* (fig. 5.1), *Pietà* (fig. 5.2), and *St. Francis* (fig. 5.3) for a Capuchin convent needed to be more directly devout. Recovering both the variety and the devotional significance of art production, art patronage, and lay festive performance in sixteenth-century Rome, the essential research of this dissertation offers a much-needed critical reassessment of art, ritual, and reform in the Catholic Reformation.

[114] See the discussion of the Council of Trent above.

CHAPTER 2: Feasts, Devotions, and Processions

Unique in its dedication to a miraculous image of Christ on the cross, the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma expressed its commitment to its holy crucifix through religious rituals and processions. Such public acts of devotion also served to define the group's collective identity as an association committed to the reformation of the Catholic Church. This chapter examines the visual display of the confraternity's veneration of its miraculous crucifix during Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and the Feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross, when the company both displayed its cross in the church of San Marcello and organized urban processions through the streets of Rome. Although rarely documented in prints, drawings, or paintings, a wealth of written records offers evidence of the confraternity's festival decorations and processional pageantry. In historical accounts, meetings minutes, payment records, and the confraternity's statutes, one finds descriptive and prescriptive evidence of the company's conspicuous devotion, or its use of lavish ritual to achieve its elevated social status, fashion its collective identity, and stimulate piety, as defined in the previous chapterz.

As the company's printed 1565 statutes explain, the company limited access to its crucifix in order to heighten devotion to the holy object:

> So that more honored, and with more devotion and greatness to His holy name, it be desired to see it, we order and decree that the most holy image of the most holy crucifix be kept closed with its keys and not opened but for four times a year: Good Friday, the Feast of the Cross in May, the day of the procession of Corpus Christi, and the Feast of the Cross in September.[1]

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[1] "Acciò piu honorato, & con piu devotione & grandezza del suo santo Nome sia desiderato vederlo. Ordinamo & statuimo ch' essa santissim' Immagine del Santissimo Crocefisso si debbia tener' serrata con sue chiave, & quella non aprire se non quattro volte l'anno. Il Vener' santo. La Festa di santa Croce di

Thus, at a time when the Catholic Church affirmed the veneration of relics in the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent (1545–63), the confraternity focused its devotion on a cult object that functioned like a relic. The cross was kept under lock and key and rarely displayed so that its power might be enhanced and devotion to it stimulated. Furthermore, it was to be venerated by the public, and through it, the faithful believed God could act.[2]

The statutes also prescribed solemn rituals for the unveiling of the cross in the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello (fig. 3.1), where the company displayed its crucifix on Good Friday, Corpus Christi, and the Feasts of the True Cross. For example, the instructions for opening the crucifix on Good Friday were as follows:

> The Guardians, Treasurer, and *Tredici* [counselors by *rione*] with all of the archconfraternity with their sackcloth habits and candles of yellow wax, and with the four big torches and large lantern, must go to the sacristy after the Divine Office has finished, and together with the friars take the wood of the most Holy Cross, and in procession, singing that which is appropriate on that holy day, exit by the small door, circle around the Palazzo Salviati, enter by the main door, and piously present themselves in the Cappella del SS. Crocifisso, placing the wood of the most Holy Cross on the altar, opening [the altar], and singing the hymns as described.[3]

The process was repeated with small variations in order to close the crucifix and also on the association's other feast days. The processional route can be traced on Antonio Tempesta's (ca. 1555–1630) map of Rome of 1593 (fig. 1.3a). The church is marked "S.

Maggio. Il giorno della Processione del Corpo di Christo. Et la Festa de santa Croce di settembre."*Statuti et ordini della venerabile Archicompagnia del Santiss. Crocefisso in Santo Marcello di Roma con l'origine d'essa* (Rome: apud Antonium Bladum Impress. Cam., 1565), chap. 26. The volume is un-paginated. I cite by chapter when possible. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

[2] Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 2:774-76. The decree also addresses the invocation of saints and the use of sacred images.

[3] "Li Sig. Guardiani, Camerlengo, & Tredici con tutta l'Arciconfraternità con suoi sacchi & lumi di cera gialla, & con li quattro facoloni, & lanternone, & finito il divin' Officio andare alla sagrestia, & insieme con i Frati pilgiar' il legno della santissima Croce, et processionalmente cantando quello ch' in quel' giorno santo si conviene, escir' della porta piccola circuendo intorno il Palazzo de Salviati, entrar' per la porta grande, & devotamente presentarsi alla Cappella del Santissimo Crocefisso, posando il legno della santiss. Croce sull'Altare, et quello aprir', cantando l'Hymni come s' è detto." *Statuti*, chap. 26.

Marcelli." The Palazzo Salviati is to its right. Here again the statutes conflate the crucifix with a relic of the True Cross, "il legno della santissima Croce." The passage undoubtedly refers to the opening of the crucifix, as it appears under the heading, "Della cura et ordine d'aprir' il Santissimo Crocefisso" (On the care and order of opening the Holy Crucifix). However, it emphasizes the presentation of pieces of the True Cross, which had been in the confraternity's possession since the 1550s.[4] The slippage is telling: the crucifix gained power from its association with the cross, as if the crucifix's story was another chapter in the sacred history of Christ's cross.

Great urban processions accompanied the cross's unveiling and other important holidays. As outlined by the statutes, the confraternity was obliged to go in procession on four occasions a year: Epiphany, Holy Thursday or Good Friday, the Feast of the True Cross in May or September, and Corpus Christi.[5] Although often described as presenting only the outward appearance of piety, such spectacular events manifested the company's commitment to igniting devotion to the crucifix through performance and demonstrated its obedience to the reforms of the Catholic Church, which recognized the power of ceremony and spectacle to stimulate piety.[6] Already in 1554, the confraternity understood the ceremonial unveiling and procession of its cross as an opportunity to present itself as an exemplary model to Christian viewers and a chance "to move them to devotion by the spectacle of the miraculous crucifix," when it voted to join the general assembly ordered by Pope Julius III del Monte (r. 1550–55) to celebrate the return of England to the

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[4] See Josephine Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi, S. Chiara a Monte Cavallo, and the Villa Medici in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 3 (1989): 255n56.
[5] *Statuti*, chap. 27.
[6] The Catholic Church's appeal to the senses in art and religious practice after Trent has recently been explored in Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper, eds., *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Catholic Church.[7] At Trent, the Church affirmed the utility of such ceremonies in the liturgy. The council explained that "as human nature is such that it cannot easily raise itself up to the meditation of divine realities without external aids," the Mass employs "certain rites, such as that some parts of the mass should be said in quieter tones and others in louder" as well as "symbolic blessings, lights, incense, vestments and many other rituals" so that "this great sacrifice is enhanced, and the minds of the faithful are aroused by those visible signs of religious devotion to contemplation of the high mysteries hidden in it."[8]

Charity interwove with cult and ceremony in the confraternity's rituals and processions. In accordance with the Church's affirmation of the importance of good works to salvation after the Protestant Reformation, the group aimed to praise God not only with words, but also with good works: "non solo rendendogli gratie et lodi con l'affetto della lingua, ma con l'opere di viva charità."[9] To do so, it practiced an uncommonly broad range of philanthropic activities. During its procession to the church of Santa Maria del Sole on Epiphany, the sodality distributed clothing to its poor members.[10] To celebrate the Invention of the True Cross in May, the confraternity exercised its privilege to liberate a prisoner condemned to die by staging an elaborate ceremony that traveled from San Marcello to one of the city's prisons and back.[11] On the Feast of the Cross in September, the company offered dowries to poor young women,

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[7] "A moversi a divotione per il spettaculo de quel miraculoso Crucifisso." Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV) Arciconfraternita del Crocifisso di San Marcello (hereafter ACSM), P-I-55: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1544 al 1563, fol. 192 (December 16, 1554).
[8] Tanner, *Ecumenical Councils*, 2:734.
[9] *Statuti*.
[10] *Statuti*.
[11] *Statuti*, chaps. 42–43.

giving preference to its needy members' relations.[12] Furthermore, it visited sick confreres and maintained a doctor for moneyless brethren.[13] It buried its dead and commemorated departed brothers and sisters during its Anniversario Maggiore on November 3.[14] It also received and housed pilgrims during Holy Years, like many archconfraternities.[15] In short, the association dedicated itself to each of the Seven Acts of Mercy enumerated in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 25:34–40), a uniquely comprehensive commitment that led historian Christopher Black to label the company an "all-purpose philanthropic society" and that made the sodality a model of Catholic Reformation piety.[16]

The conspicuous devotion of these processions and exhibitions, theorized in Chapter One and documented here, asserted the company's presence in the city and inscribed the cult of the miraculous cross throughout the urban landscape. The confraternity carried the "visible signs" of piety usually consigned to the private space of the chapel or oratory out into the public sphere of the city, creating theaters of devotion, grace, and charity as it did. Candles flickered, incense burned, flagellants bled, and choirs sang as confraternity members guided the crucifix through the city streets on Good Friday or Holy Thursday. Theatrical performances in Piazza di San Marcello celebrated the Eucharist on Corpus Christi, while the exposition of newly freed prisoners and dowered girls marked the Feasts of the Cross in May and September. In these pious, merciful, and charitable acts, the company performed its devotion to the cross publicly so

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[12] *Statuti*, chaps. 47–56.
[13] *Statuti*, chap. 21.
[14] *Statuti*, chaps. 32–36.
[15] See also Camillo Fanucci, *Trattato di tutte l'opere pie dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome: per Lepido Facij & Stefano Paolini, 1601), 250–54.
[16] Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 81. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the Bible are to the Douay-Rheims Bible.

that others might be moved "to devotion by the spectacle of the miraculous crucifix," a mission that grew in significance as the Catholic Reformation spread.

Holy Week

In the middle decades of the sixteenth century, the Crocifisso's ritual focus during Holy Week shifted from Good Friday to Holy Thursday. The institution of the celebration of the Easter Sepulcher — an ephemeral architectural structure representing Christ's tomb in which the sanctified Host was symbolically buried until Easter Sunday — at the Vatican by Pope Paul IV Carafa (r. 1555–59) in 1556 and the foundation of the Holy Thursday procession in the following year inspired the first transition. However, the confraternity did not regularly observe the events marking Christ's Washing of the Feet and Last Supper until the papacy of Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–1585). This section traces the changing nature of the sodality's Holy Week observances and thus moves against liturgical order from Good Friday to the Easter Sepulchers and finally Holy Thursday.

GOOD FRIDAY

Romans and pilgrims alike went to St. Peter's on Good Friday to venerate the basilica's Passion relics, which were traditionally displayed on the day of Christ's crucifixion: Veronica's Veil, a piece of the True Cross, and Longinus's Lance. The observance expressed and later affirmed the efficacy of relics in response to Protestant

opposition and also offered a model of penitential piety, for devotees whipped and tore their flesh in ritual flagellation before the holy objects. The Good Friday processions to the basilica by the Gonfalone, Rome's oldest confraternity, are well known due to the work of Barbara Wisch.[17] Like the viewing of the relics, the company's evening processions involved flagellation. More than 100 brothers walked from the Gonfalone's oratory to the church of Santa Lucia Nuova each year. Dressed in sackcloth habits open at the back for flagellation like those in the fifteenth-century processional banner for the Confraternity of St. Mary Magdalene in Borgo San Sepolcro now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a rare survival of such a standard, the *battuti* (flagellants) scourged their backs with star-studded whips (fig. 2.1).[18] Other *confratelli* (confraternity members) joined the flagellants at the church. Headed by the company's processional banner and burning torches, the confraternity then marched along the Via del Pellegrino to Ponte Sant'Angelo and finally to the Vatican, where they venerated the Passion relics before returning to their oratory. While famous, these processions were rare before the reign of the first pope of the Catholic Reformation, Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49), and they were never the unique purview of the Gonfalone. The Crocifisso, in fact, mounted a procession to St. Peter's on Good Friday in 1540, the same year in which the ritual first became a regular occurrence for the Gonfalone.[19] Thus, the view of the Gonfalone as "the

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[17] Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph's University Press, 2013), 395–96; Barbara Wisch, "New Themes for New Rituals: The Crucifixion Altarpiece by Roviale Spagnuolo for the Oratory of the Gonfalone in Rome," in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 210–11.

[18] Stefan Weppelmann, *Spinello Aretino e la pittura del Trecento in Toscana* (Florence: Polistampa, 2011), 257–60.

[19] The Gonfalone traditionally went in procession to the Colosseum where it staged a Passion play. Pope Paul III banned the plays in 1539 after the performance inspired an outbreak of anti-Semitic violence. Thereafter the destination of the confraternity's Good Friday procession shifted from the Colosseum to St. Peter's. See Wisch above.

quintessential lay celebrants of Holy Week in Rome" must be revised, and the Good Friday procession (and the Holy Thursday procession that later replaced it) recognized instead as the quintessential lay devotion for all of Rome during Holy Week.[20]

For the Crocifisso, the penitential processions deeply recalled the company's first ceremonial march to St. Peter's during the plague of 1522 described in Chapter One, leading one scholar to hypothesize that the practice may have originated in that first miraculous procession.[21] However, a Good Friday procession is first recorded in the company's archives only in 1531, and its destination is uncertain.[22] The 1540 procession, in contrast, established the model for subsequent Good Friday processions to St. Peter's by the confraternity.[23] The sodality borrowed habits from the Gonfalone for the occasion and commissioned a great wooden *bara* (bier or casket), presumably to carry its processional crucifix, as recorded in later years. Wrapped in cloth and carried aloft by paid laborers, the bier cost 2.55 *scudi* to construct. The cross was likely the "Crocifisso di legno da portare a processione molto grazioso" (very attractive wooden Crucifix for carrying in procession) attributed to Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) by Giorgio Vasari (1511–74).[24] Singers accompanied the cavalcade and received 3.95 *scudi* for their performance. Records for wine with which to wash the *battutis'* wounds and for laundering habits and whips indicate that flagellants punished their flesh while they marched. Wax candles purchased at the price of two *scudi* lit the way. Those individuals who participated enjoyed *pignocadi* (pine nut cakes), *confetti* (candied spices or

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[20] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 396; Wisch, "New Themes," 211.
[21] Noel O'Regan, "Processions and Their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome," *Recercare* 4 (1992): 49.
[22] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-3: Entrata ed Uscita del 1530 e 1531, fol. 44v–45r (March 30, 1531).
[23] For the following discussion, see ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7: Entrata ed Uscita del 1538 al 1541, March, 20, 1540. The archival volumes are occasionally un-paginated. I cite dates instead in those cases.
[24] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), 7:368.

almonds), white sugar, bread, and wine, a fortifying meal that cost the company 1.88 *scudi*. In total, the Crocifisso spent 12.63 *scudi* for the year's observance.[25]

In 1546, the company ordered the Good Friday procession performed every year unless a legitimate impediment presented itself.[26] However, the confraternity oscillated between Holy Thursday and Good Friday for the remainder of the 1540s.[27] Only after the 1550 Jubilee, when Pope Julius III specially requested that the Crocifisso join the Gonfalone in procession on Good Friday, was the procession fixed to the day of Christ's crucifixion.[28] The celebration that followed in 1551 demonstrates the growing expense and opulence of Holy Week observances in Rome, a trend that continued throughout the century.[29]

That year the company went in procession on at least four days, perhaps to the four main station churches of Rome: San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Paolo fuori le mura, and St. Peter's.[30] The choirmaster of San Luigi dei Francesi, the choir of San Lorenzo in Damaso, and orphans joined the company's procession to St. Peter's on Good Friday, earning four *scudi*, six *scudi*, and two *scudi*, respectively. Confraternity members dressed in black habits carried candles with paper crucifixes

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[25] 1 *scudo* = 100 *baiocchi*. The *giulio* was the equivalent of 10 *baiocchi*. The *carolino* was approximately ½ *giulio*. I have translated every payment into *scudi* and *baiocchi* for simplicity's sake. Scholars estimate that an unskilled laborer earned approximately 2 *scudi* a month. A mason took home about 25 *baiocchi* a day. In the 1560s and 1570s, 100 eggs cost around 5–6 *baiocchi*. This information is most succinctly summarized in Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2001).

[26] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 26 (April 27, 1546).

[27] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 6 (March 8, 1545), fol.77 (February 19, 1548), fol. 92 (April 7, 1549).

[28] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 396.

[29] For the following, see ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15: Uscita dal 1550 e 1554, fol. 11v–15r (March 25, 1551–April 1551).

[30] The confraternity paid its porter for five days of service, including carrying the big lantern on the first, second, and third day of the procession. Other payments specify a procession on the evening of Good Friday. The company also registered a payment for attaching the cloth on "il di de la statione," or the day of the station, suggesting it may have observed the practice of going to the four station churches during Holy Week.

attached, while officers toted black batons. The company's cardinal protector and the pope's cardinal-nephew, the infamous Innocenzo Ciocchi del Monte (ca. 1532–77), wore a special habit made of San Gallo fabric and silk.[31] After returning from St. Peter's, the *battuti* washed and ate in a room especially equipped for the occasion with washbasins, candles, coal, benches, tables, and plates.[32] Preparations for the meal cost approximately nine *scudi*. However, the most expensive element of the observance was the ornamentation of the Cappella del Crocifisso, which required more than fourteen *scudi* to complete, or two more than the entirety of the 1540 procession. Ten *pezze* (bolts) of black mourning fabric suspended from wooden beams, likely in the manner of a canopy, signaled the event's solemn nature. The arms of Cardinal del Monte surmounted the structure. Greenery brought from the Frangipane household adorned the chapel, while tapestries borrowed from the Farnese and Colonna hung from the walls or the sides of the *apparato* (a temporary structure decorated with statues, paintings, or other ornaments). Having spent a total of 51 *scudi* and 35 *baiocchi* in 1551, it is unsurprising that the company voted in 1556 to reduce Good Friday expenses in order to stage the procession "more devoutly." However, the company's identification of the cost of feeding and comforting the *battuti* as the source of "scandal" rather than the more expensive creation

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[31] Innocenzo was Julius III's adoptive nephew. A teenage beggar discovered on the streets, adopted into the family of the pontiff's brother, and elevated to the rank of cardinal immediately after the pope's election, the uneducated, ill-mannered boy enjoyed an intimate relationship with Julius that scandalized Roman society. Showered with benefices, he also openly shared the pontiff's bed. After Julius's death, he was shunned and briefly banished for murder and rape before dying in obscurity. See *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Del Monte, Innocenzo," by Pietro Messina, accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.treccani.it.

[32] This room may have been the Oratorio di SS. Degna e Merita, an early meeting space for the company in San Marcello, since the company paid a locksmith to open the door of SS. Degna e Merita.

of ephemeral architecture and processional accessories is unusual and suggests a significant shift in the ostentatious display of the confraternity's devotion at this time.[33]

EASTER SEPULCHERS

In 1556, Pope Paul IV initiated the annual celebration of the Easter Sepulcher in the Vatican. Commemorating Christ's death and resurrection, the ritual also manifested the renewed devotion to the Eucharist under the severe and reform-minded pope, one of the co-founders of the austere Theatine Order. The ceremony was held in the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican Palace. Built by Antonio da Sangallo (1485–1546) for the pope's predecessor, Paul III Farnese, and decorated with Michelangelo's (1475–1564) last frescoes, the chapel served as the papal sacrament chapel, as well as the site of the papal conclave when cardinals gathered to elect a new pope.[34] It became the center of Holy Week observances at the Vatican, as Margaret Kuntz has demonstrated.[35]

On Holy Thursday 1556, Paul IV celebrated Mass in the Sistine Chapel. Accompanied by acolytes carrying censers and candles, the pope carried the body of

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[33] "Item diches Ill. D. Scipio Vesinus custos proposuiti che si' avvicina el venerdi santo nel qual giorno la compagnia nostra suol fare la solita processione et perche se fanno de molte spese nella detta processione et nella cura de battuti, la quale cura de battuti se fa con molta spesa de magniamenti et colicione, che piu presto riducono scandolo che diaocione et resulta de gran spesa alla compagnia Ilro omnes concordes. Votarunti che la processione sopradetta se faccia quanto piu devota si puo et se faccia el solito apparato. In quanto alli battuti che se accettino quelli che vorranno venire ma che elli dica chiaramente et appertamente che non se farra colacione alcuna se nonche quando sarranno rittornati sarranno governati lavati et medicati al solito et per la strada modestamente confortati. Et dederunti potistatim D. guardianis faciendi solitas expensas denopta dicta colacione et faciendi officiales consuelas." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 244–45 (March 1, 1556).

[34] The chapel served as the meeting place for the papal conclave until 1623, when the Sistine Chapel was first used for the purpose during the conclave of Urban VIII Barberini (r. 1623–44). See Kuntz below.

[35] Margaret Kuntz, "Mimesis, Ceremony, Praxis: The Cappella Paolina as the Holy Sepulcher," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 54 (2009): 61–82; Margaret Kuntz, "Designed for Ceremony: The Cappella Paolina at the Vatican Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 2 (2003): 228–55.

Christ in the form of the consecrated Host in procession to the Pauline Chapel. An elaborate *apparato* representing Christ's tomb was arranged on the chapel's altar. The Host was symbolically buried in the sepulcher, where it remained "entombed and adored" until Good Friday.[36] After burying the Host, the pope continued on to the Benediction Loggia of St. Peter's Basilica, where he offered the papal benediction and plenary indulgence to the faithful gathered in the piazza below (fig. 2.2).[37] The next day, on Good Friday, the pontiff returned to the Pauline Chapel, removed the Host from the sepulcher, and carried it in procession to the Sistine Chapel for the Mass of the Pre-sanctified Host. The Host was then returned to the sepulcher, where it remained until Easter Sunday when the pontiff went in procession to St. Peter's to celebrate Mass.

A drawing attributed to Federico Zuccaro (ca. 1540–1609) and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art records the appearance of the Pauline Easter Sepulcher (fig. 2.3).[38] Designed by Giacomo della Porta (ca. 1533–1602), later the architect of the Oratorio del Crocifisso, the original *apparato* was still in use with only minor alterations in 1580, when Pope Gregory XIII commissioned Zuccaro to complete the chapel decorations. In the drawing, two youthful torch-bearing angels flank the chapel's altar niche. Curtains part to reveal a casket atop a series of steps illuminated by votive candles. A bright light glows from behind the coffin, and six cherubs guard the vessel where the consecrated Host would have been entombed. Above, God the Father appears in heaven

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[36] Kuntz, "Designed for Ceremony," 231.

[37] For the print, see Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620*, cat. 108; Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "L'immagine degli anni santi nelle stampe," in *La storia dei Giubilei*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: BNL, 1998), 2:288.

[38] Gere first identified the drawing as a design for a Forty Hours' Devotion. Kuntz persuasively defined it as a study of the Pauline Easter Sepulcher. Kuntz, "Mimesis, Ceremony, Praxis," 66–71; David Franklin, ed., *From Raphael to Carracci: The Art of Papal Rome* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2009), cat. 109; J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2 (1970): cat. 19. For the Forty Hours' Devotion, see Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218–48.

surrounded by a host of putti, seraphs, and angels. He holds an orb surmounted by a cross in his left hand and raises his right in benediction. Payment records indicate that the *apparato's* celestial beings wore wings of peacock feathers and clothes of gold brocade.[39] An architectural screen consisting of paired pilasters with a shared base, entablature, and balustrade stands before the altar wall.[40] Latticework lit by flickering votive candles fills the spaces between the pilasters. The gold leaf, which articulated the structure's architectural elements, must have shimmered in the candlelight.[41] To either side, two over life-size stucco statues of prophets stand. They have been identified as Isaiah and Moses. Aaron and Daniel likely accompanied them in the chapel's opposite corners.[42] With the chapel's windows obscured to maximize the effect of the candles, the sepulcher took on monumental proportions that defied its ephemeral nature.

Soon after Paul IV's foundation of the Easter Sepulcher ritual at the Vatican, confraternities adopted the practice in their own churches. The Crocifisso and three other associations are known to have built such *apparati* in 1559.[43] However, evidence in the Crocifisso's archive indicates that the company initiated the practice as early as 1554, two years before Paul IV instituted the ceremony at the Vatican. Prominent members of the pope's family were members of the Crocifisso, including his cardinal-nephew Carlo (1571–61), Cardinal Alfonso (1540–65), and Giovanni, the count of Montorio (d. 1561).

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[39] Kuntz, "Mimesis, Ceremony, Praxis," 66.
[40] The differences between the two sides — most notably the use of the Ionic style on the left and the Corinthian on the right — offered the pontiff variations from which to choose.
[41] Kuntz, "Mimesis, Ceremony, Praxis," 66.
[42] Kuntz, "Mimesis, Ceremony, Praxis," 69–71.
[43] Minou Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy: The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2014), 119.

Carlo even served as the company's cardinal protector until his execution in 1561.[44] Thus, it is likely that the confraternity, through the Carafa family, inspired the pope to adopt the Easter Sepulcher ritual at the Vatican. On March 3, 1555, the company met to discuss preparations for their Good Friday procession. The guardian Hieronimo de Cupis proposed that the company purchase supplies for the sepulcher "as was done last year" (that is, in 1554). He argued that the cost of the sepulcher was "little more" than that of the "usual *apparato*." Most importantly, he noted that the observance had been "of great devotion to the people" and the company had received "numerous donations" as a result.[45] Persuaded, the confraternity voted to build the sepulcher, using the funds for the *apparato* and procession.[46]

The death of Pope Julius III on March 23 threw the company's plans into disarray. De Cupis convened a meeting of the officers just two days later to discuss whether the group should go ahead with the Good Friday procession, given the pope's passing. The officers concluded that the question should be deferred to a general assembly, since a decree was in place requiring that the Good Friday procession be

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[44] Carlo acted as Paul IV's cardinal-nephew until accusations of his abuses of power forced the pope to exile him from Rome in 1559. After Paul IV's death, Pope Pius IV de' Medici (r. 1559–65) ordered Carlo arrested and charged with numerous crimes. After a nine-month trial, Carlo was convicted and condemned to death by strangulation. He was executed on March 6, 1561. See Antonio Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso e la sua cappella in San Marcello," in *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica*, ed. Luigi Fiorani (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 432; Josephine Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), 160; Josephine Von Henneberg, "An Early Work by Giacomo della Porta: The Oratorio del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 52, no. 2 (1970): 160; Jean Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine au XVIe siècle: l'Arciconfraternita del SSmo Crocefisso in S. Marcello," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 63 (1951): 294.

[45] "Ill.mis D. Hieronimus de Cupis guardianus proposuit che ce occorre fare le solite spese et preparamenti per la processione del venerdi santo et se pare alla compagnia de fare la spesa del sepulchro come fu fatto l'anno passato essendo cose de molta devocione alle gente et facendo se la spesa del solito apparato per la detta processione poco piu ce vuole a fare il detto sepulchro et la compagnia ne cavo l'anno passato de molte elemosine come si vede al libbro del camorlengo passato." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 198 (March 3, 1555).

[46] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 198 (March 3, 1555).

observed every year.[47] However, they voted quickly and decisively to suspend the sepulcher and *apparato*.[48] The general congregation met on March 31, and de Cupis explained:

> The company is used to making the Good Friday procession and going to St. Peter's as is the custom every year. However, given that this year the death of the pope has occurred and things in Rome are troubled, it would be better and more expedient to forgo the procession this year, even though there is a decree made in years past that this Good Friday procession must be done and never interrupted […] 'if there is no legitimate impediment.'[49]

Recognizing the pope's death as a "legitimate impediment," the confraternity voted to uphold de Cupis's position, canceling the procession as well as the sepulcher and *apparato*.[50] However, by April 10, the company had decided to go ahead with the procession, perhaps because other confraternities were moving forward with their Holy Week plans.[51] On April 12, the guardian Hermes Bentivoglio suggested the company hold the ceremony on the morning of Good Friday rather than the usual evening to avoid overlapping with the Gonfalone. His proposal was unanimously rejected.[52]

Although compelled by decorum to temporarily suspend the practice in 1555, the company recognized their sepulcher as an object "of great devotion" and thus immediately reinstated the observance after Paul IV took up the ceremony at the Vatican. Records indicate that the confraternity annually spent about 40-90 *scudi* on the sepulcher

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[47] This is ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 26 (April 27, 1546), discussed above.
[48] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 199–200 (March 25, 1555).
[49] "Ill.mis d. Hieronimi de Cupis proponentis et exponentis qualmente la compagnia e solita de fare la processione del venerdi santo et andare a S. Pietro come ogni anno si costuma nondimeno essendo quest'anno successa la morte del PP.a et le cose de Roma stanno travagliate sarria buono et piu espediente lassare detta processione per questo anno anchora che vi sia uno decreto fatto alli anni passati che questa processione del venerdi santo si habbia da fare et non se interlassi mai pero el detto decreo se restringe et dice se non vi fusse legg.mo impedimento." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 202 (March 31, 1555).
[50] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 202 (March 31, 1555).
[51] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 202–3 (April 10, 1555).
[52] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 204 (April 12, 1555).

and collected donations from its members to cover the expenses.[53] However, in 1559, costs ballooned to a staggering 400 *scudi*, nearly as much as the confraternity later paid for the execution of the Oratorio del Crocifisso's entire fresco cycle in 1578–85! The shock of the unimaginable, tenfold increase is palpable in the company's meeting records.

With little money and numerous debts, the confraternity had begun to solicit funds for the sepulcher as early as February 1559. Receiving a sufficient amount, it appointed Hermes Bentivoglio, Abbate Casale, Roberto Malatesta, Bernardino Casanella, and Jacopo "scultore" to oversee the project on February 26.[54] And, it instructed them to make the sepulcher "in the usual place and with the usual vestments."[55] Two or three days later, the guardians reported, the deputies returned to ask how much they could spend on the sepulcher. The guardians instructed them to use the 40 *scudi* raised by the company and no more. However, a rather testy exchange followed, according to the officers. The deputies refused to make the sepulcher if they could not spend more. The officers held firm, insisting that they could not, and would not, allow the deputies to exceed the sum of 40 *scudi* and imploring them to be content to do the sepulcher with the given amount. The meeting broke up, and the deputies later returned to say they would agree to make the sepulcher, only if they could ask for donations from their confraternity brothers to supplement the 40 *scudi*. The guardians granted the deputies permission to solicit funds, and in total the deputies raised 130 *scudi* in addition to the original 40,

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[53] For example, the treasurer logged expenses of 87 *scudi* for the 1557 sepulcher. The officers estimated the 1558 sepulcher would cost 40–50 *scudi* and recorded expenditures of about 90 *scudi* in 1560. See ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26: Entrata ed Uscita del 1556 e 1557, fol. 16r (April 16, 1557), fol. 20r (May 14, 1557); ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 310–11 (March 13, 1558), fol. 367 (April 21, 1560).

[54] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 335 (February 26, 1559).

[55] "Fo detto a lor s.ri che lo facessero al loco solito et con li soliti paramenti." For this and the discussion that follows, see ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 338–440 (April 9, 1559).

bringing their budget to 170. And yet, by April 9, Bentivoglio and the others had spent approximately 400 *scudi* and returned to request reimbursement for the additional 230. Surprisingly, the company determined to take out a loan "for the part that concerned the company," and then spent the next four years paying off the debt.[56]

An anonymously authored booklet, briefly discussed by Minou Schraven, describes the sepulcher built by the Crocifisso in 1559, as well as three others constructed that year in San Lorenzo in Damaso, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[57] When the booklet is read along with Zuccaro's drawing of the Pauline apparatus as well as the English priest Gregory Martin's (ca. 1542–82) description of *apparati* later in the century, the text allows the form of a lay Easter Sepulcher at mid-century to be outlined. The booklet's unknown author identifies the Vatican sepulcher as "by far the most beautiful and sumptuous."[58] However, the lay *apparati* were remarkable as well. Black velvet mourning cloth hung from the churches' interior walls. Countless torches and candles burned continuously, the effect of their flames dramatized by the dark draperies. For Gregory Martin, the decorations evoked both a tomb and paradise:

> A solitarie place chosen, or for the purpose made solitarie and darke with the best carpettes inclosing it round about but the same darkenesse so lightned with lampe and taper light, by rowes of them artificially placed, that being without, and seing al shut up with clothes, thou wouldest thinke it a very cave of darkenesse and a grave of death. but being within, thou wilt imagin it a certayne Paradise.[59]

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[56] "Per la parte che tochara alla conpagnia che possano pigliare dinari a cento in nome della compagnia secondo la rata che tochara ala conpagnia." The company recorded discussions of the 1559 debt until 1563. See ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 345–46 (April 23, 155), fol. 386–88 (May 1, 1560), fol. 417 (December 1, 1560), fol. 486 (May 17, 1562), fol. 526–27 (March 14, 1563).

[57] The text is *Avvisi delle cose nuove successe in Roma et del governo della Città; & buon ordine di vivere, & dei sepolchri, processioni, oration, & altre opera pie fatte dale Confraterie et Compagnie di Roma, et altre cose nuove. Con l'Avviso della Pace conclusa tra il Catholica Re di Spagna & il Christianissimo Re di Francia, et le allegrezze et feste fatte in Roma alla conclusion di detta Pace* (Rome, 1559). I was unable to consult the source directly. Thus, the following discussion derives from Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 119.

[58] Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 119.

[59] Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, ed. George Burner Parks (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969), 91.

Simultaneously shrouded and illuminated, the symbolically buried Host was the ritual center of the decorations. As in Zuccaro's design, it rested ensconced in elaborate, temporary architectural structures decorated with statues, paintings, and other ornaments on the churches' main altars: "Here are placed round about the b. Sacrament, al the pretious jewels of that churche. Here are in certayne churches goodly stories of the old and newe testament represented by lively portraictes of Persons and thinges, pertayning to the death and burial of Christ."[60] The apparatus in the Spanish national church, for example, was "endlessly lit" and decorated with "beautiful doors with columns, in the form of a catafalque, and other beautiful ornaments" in 1559.[61] Thus, like the Pauline device, a confraternal Easter Sepulcher at mid-century consisted of the Host entombed in a casket framed by imposing ephemeral architecture, veiled by luxurious draperies, and lit by innumerable candles. Still, it is difficult to account for the extraordinary expense of the Crocifisso's sepulcher in 1559. Perhaps because of this debt, which the company struggled to pay down for years, the confraternity seems to have dispensed with the Easter Sepulcher celebration by 1562, when a sepulcher is last mentioned in the confraternity's records.[62]

HOLY THURSDAY

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[60] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 91.
[61] "Il terzo sepolcro fu quell di St. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, ornato anche lui di bellissime porte con colonne, a guisa di catafalco, et altri bellissimi ornamenti, et infinità di lumi." Schraven, *Festive Funerals*, 145n19.
[62] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 467–68 (February 15, 1562), fol. 474–75 (February 28, 1562).

A year after instituting the practice, Paul IV invited the confraternities of the Crocifisso and the Gonfalone to join him in the celebration of the Easter Sepulcher and thus established the city's great nocturnal procession on Holy Thursday, which commemorates the Washing of Feet and Last Supper of Christ. Later replacing the companies' traditional Good Friday processions, the event provided a venue for the expression of the laity's collective adoration of the Eucharist and desire for religious spectacle. The companies began at their respective churches, converging at the Ponte Sant'Angelo. They crossed the bridge in pairs, keeping to their own sodalities, and proceeded to the Vatican. Once at the papal palace, they passed through the Sala Regia to the threshold of the Pauline Chapel. From the doorway, they venerated the Host on display in the sepulcher and then continued on to St. Peter's to view the basilica's Passion relics.

When Paul IV initiated the Holy Thursday procession in 1557, he disrupted the traditional processions of confraternities to St. Peter's on Good Friday. Some have interpreted this action as a successful attempt to control and appropriate confraternal devotion, reinforcing the notion of a top-down reform dictated by the Church hierarchy.[63] However, the Crocifisso's records indicate that the pope's new procession was not immediately or universally embraced. In fact, the very next year the company returned to its long-established Good Friday procession, and throughout the 1550s and 1560s, it oscillated between Good Friday and Holy Thursday, exemplifying the concept of negotiation discussed in Chapter One.[64] It was not until the papacy of the pious and

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[63] For example, Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 397.

[64] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 310–11 (March 13, 1558), fol. 421 (March 16, 1561), fol. 474–75 (February 28, 1562); ASV, ACSM, P-I-56: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1564 al 1579, fol. 21 (March 5, 1564), fol. 22 (March 13, 1569), fol. 108–9 (March 2, 1567), fol. 169–70 (March 14, 1568).

scholarly Gregory XIII that the Holy Thursday procession became a regular observance and the city's greatest Holy Week devotion. By the end of the century, nearly all of Rome's confraternities participated in the annual event, with the Crocifisso and Gonfalone always occupying prominent positions.[65]

Martin offers a vivid and well-known account of the Holy Thursday procession he encountered during his 1576–78 stay in Gregory XIII's Rome. The procession began "in the Evening on Thursday after Candle lighting, which is the very tyme when Christ our Saviour after his supper entred into his agonies toward his bitter Passion."[66] Having prepared themselves in their own churches and gathered on the banks of the Tiber, the city's confraternities proceeded over the Ponte Sant'Angelo to the Vatican Palace:

> The lesser Companies first, the greater last, al of one Companie together, observing their tyme and place; and one being past, an other immediatly succedeth, al by two and two, ech in theyr distinat colours or liveries […] In every Companie, as it were in everye band, a great Crucifixe as it were their Standard, and that covered vaut-wise with a goodly cloth sutable to the Companie, two or three hands brode, and fringed, compassing the upper corners of the Crosse like a roofe […] and in the toppe the artificial palmes of some Card. or bishop of that Companie which were halowed on Palme Sunday. Every Companie with their great quyre singing al the way, great creset lightes in the fore ward, carried a loft, made after the finest maner of glasse or horne: and every one in every Companie that marchet […] carieng a long torche of waxe; so that for three houres space […] the streate from the Castel to the Palace is ful of lightes as it were the firmament besett with great starres.[67]

Dressed in their distinctive habits with their lights ablaze, accompanied by choirs, and punctuated by great processional crucifixes like those seen in the famous *Seven Churches of Rome* print examined below (fig. 2.8a–2.8b), the pious throng solemnly traveled

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[65] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 396–98; Wisch, "New Themes," 211–12.
[66] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 89.
[67] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 89–90.

through the Borgo to the papal place to venerate the Easter Sepulcher and the basilica's Passion relics.

The meditation on and imitation of Christ's suffering that the confraternities' devotion inspired was most memorable for Martin. "The marvelous sight of al," he writes, "is to see the *Flagellanti* that is in most of these Companies the third part voluntarily whypping them selves al the way upon the bare backe […] so vehemently that theyr whippe and garment round about is al blouddie."[68] Furthermore, after processing to the Vatican, the companies

> thus then […] marche up to the Palace and so to the Sepulchre kept by the Popes gard, whence after adoration of the b. Sacrament, and meditation of Christes burial, they turne downe in order an other goodly brode way that leadeth into S. Peters Churche, where there is shewed to every Companie as they passe, first *Vultus sanctus* called the *Veronica* […] then, the verie poynt of speare that pearced his holy side, al the people upon theyr knees, crying misericordia, and making doleful shoutes, and the Flagellanti then especially whipping theyr bodies and punishing theyr flesh.[69]

Kneeling before Veronica's Veil and the Spear of Longinus, the confraternities' public performance of devotion to the Eucharist and the salvific act it embodied reached its penitential climax as the flagellants tore their flesh "for their owne sinnes and for the whole Citie and al the world" and in "willing compassion with Christ our Saviour."[70]

The orderly masses and their myriad candles and penitential ardor similarly impressed the French essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–92). Recording his reflections on the Holy Thursday procession he attended in 1581, he writes, "as night began this city seemed to be all on fire."[71] The companies marched in an organized fashion toward St.

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[68] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 90.
[69] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 90.
[70] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 90.
[71] Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works: Essays, Travel, Journal, Letters*, trans. Donald M. Frame (New York: Knopf, 2003), 1169–70.

Peter's with each man carrying a torch. Montaigne estimates that at least 12,000 participants must have passed before him, since "from eight in the evening until midnight the street was always full of this procession, conducted in such good and measured order that although there were various companies and parties, starting from various places, there was never a breach or interruption to be seen."[72] Furthermore, the author notes that "a large choir of music always singing as they went" and flagellants accompanied each group, and he places the total number of flagellants at around 500. The backs of these penitents, he remembers, were "all flayed and bleeding in a piteous fashion."[73]

Like Martin, Montaigne was affected by the *battuti* who accompanied the cavalcade. He remarks: "This is an enigma that I do not yet well understand. They are all torn and cruelly wounded, and torment and beat themselves without stopping. Yet to see their bearing, the steadiness of their steps, the firmness of their speech […] and their faces […], it did not appear that they were even in the midst of a painful or indeed a serious action."[74] Moreover, he notes the presence of comforters for the *battuti* and offers a graphic account of their service:

> There are men among them who carry wine, which they offer the Penitents to drink; some of them take a swallow. They also give them sugar candy; and very often those who carry this wine put some in their mouth and then blow it out and with it wet the end of the scourges, which are made of cord and become so clotted and glued together with blood that they have to be wet to separate the throngs; for some they blow this same wine on their wounds.[75]

Beaten, bruised, and bloodied, the flagellants formed the procession's penitential core. However, with his characteristic skepticism, Montaigne questioned the sincerity of the

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[72] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1170.
[73] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1170.
[74] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1170.
[75] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1170.

practice. Noting that the flagellants' shoes and stockings were of a lower quality than their companions', he concludes that poor men "sell themselves for this service," acting as *battuti* in place of their wealthier brethren.[76] Nevertheless, for Montaigne and Martin as well as for most spectators, the flagellants' imitation of Christ's suffering was the procession's most stirring feature.

As an expression of collective devotion that embodied the renewed energy of the Catholic Church and its followers, the procession became the city's most important and spectacular Holy Week observance. The Crocifisso's meeting minutes and payment records affirm the event's growing prestige and splendor in the second half of the sixteenth century. The company's account books record its expenditures for the first Holy Thursday procession ordered by Paul IV in 1557. In addition to 87 *scudi* spent on the Easter Sepulcher, the confraternity gave six *scudi* each to the choirs of San Luigi dei Francesi and St. Peter's for accompanying its members in procession.[77] *Torcie*, *fiaccole*, and *candele* (torches and candles) of yellow wax and *fiaccole* of white wax cost 20 *scudi*, miscellaneous expenses another 7.5.[78] Additionally, the company paid nearly five *scudi* for thirty pounds of white-wax *fiaccole* for the opening of its crucifix on Good Friday and 18 *scudi* for the Good Friday *apparato*.[79] In total, the group's purchases for Holy Week reached 149 *scudi* and 52 *baiocchi* in the inaugural year of the Holy Thursday procession.

By the late 1560s, after initiating the construction of its oratory, the company was concerned with reducing expenses. However, its efforts seem to have been in vain, likely due to the view expressed in its meeting minutes that such purchases were made "for the

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[76] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1170.
[77] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26, fol. 16r (April 16, 1557), fol. 20r (May 14, 1557), fol. 16r (April 14, 1557).
[78] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26, fol. 18r (May 3, 1557), fol. 20r (May 14, 1557).
[79] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26, fol. 18r (May 3, 1557), fol. 21r (May 21, 1557).

honor of the company."[80] In 1562, the group spent a modest 72 *scudi* and 46.5 *baiocchi*. It paid 21 *scudi* for wax for Holy Thursday, 20.5 for various unidentified expenses, 13 for the rental of eight *pezze* of black cloth for the Holy Week *apparato*, almost 9 to Pietro Bardetti for music for the Holy Thursday and other Lenten processions, approximately 8 for wax for Holy Saturday, and 2 to two men who helped with the Holy Thursday *apparato*.[81] Nonetheless, it voted in 1567, 1568, and 1569, when the orthodox and dogmatic Pius V Ghislieri (r. 1566–72) was on St. Peter's throne, to do the procession with minimal expenses, or "con quella manca spesa si po."[82] And yet, its expenses reached 111 *scudi* and 22 *baiocchi* during Lent and Holy Week of 1568, the year in which its prayer hall's façade was completed. That year, the company ordered printed indulgences for the procession as well as bulletins with which to call its members to the event.[83] In addition to its usual *apparato* surrounding the company's crucifix in the Cappella del Crocifisso, the confraternity veiled its newly built oratory with cloth borrowed from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89) and Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1509–72).[84] It had *bastonetti* (small batons), yellow-wax torches and candles, and crosses of olive and palm branches made.[85] It also purchased new black habits, 150 silver

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[80] "La congregatione ratifica tutte le spese fatte dalli s.ri guardiani questa quaresima et setimana santa tanto nelle musiche quanto in le cere et altre spese annotate del camorlengo essendo che si sonno fatte per honore de detta conpagnia." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 180 (June 8, 1568).

[81] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-32: Entrata ed Uscita del 1561 e 1562, fol. 47r (April 6, 1562), fol. 46v (March 18, 1562), fol. 46v (March 28, 1562), fol. 46v (April 3, 1562).

[82] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 108–109 (March 2, 1567), fol. 169–70 (March 14, 1568), fol. 222 (March 13, 1569).

[83] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42: Entrata ed Uscita del 1567 e 1568, fol. 60v (April 12, 1568), fol. 61r (April 14, 1568).

[84] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 59v (April 6, 1568), fol. 60v (April 12, 1568), fol. 61r (April 14, 1568), fol. 63v (April 25, 1568).

[85] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 57v (March 27, 1568), fol. 58r (March 29, 1568), fol. 59v (April 6, 1568), fol. 59v (April 8, 1568), fol. 60r (April 10, 1568), fol. 60r (April 11, 1568), fol. 64r (May 1, 1568).

stars for flagellants' whips, and wine with which to bathe the *battuti's* wounds.[86] For their service in the procession, the confraternity made payments to young boys who sang *falsobordone* (a style of recitation), as well as the choir of San Luigi and other musicians, whom Mario dei Cavalieri (d. 1580), the elder son of the Roman noble and confraternity brother Tommaso, organized.[87] It also provided the singers and *battuti* with wine, sweets, nuts, and cakes for breakfast, among other expenses.[88] Thus, despite an initial decline, costs rose steadily in the 1560s, potentially antagonizing the perennial tension between the virtue of magnificence, embraced in papal Rome, and the ideal of austerity promoted by reformers from Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) to Philip Neri (1515–95).

In fact, the expenditures became so commonplace that in the 1580s the company began to simply ratify "tutta la spesa fatta e da farse" (all of the purchases made and to be made) during Lent and Holy Week.[89] These years correspond with the pontificate of Gregory XIII, who celebrated the Easter Sepulcher and Holy Thursday procession every year of his reign.[90] Despite the cursory treatment of the event in the company's meeting minutes, the payments from 1580 are revealing. First, the treasurer logged payments for thirty-seven new habits sewn during Lent and 207 pounds of wax made into seventy-four *torcie* for the Holy Thursday procession, indicating the confraternity's growing membership in the last quarter of the sixteenth century when it was most visibly active as a patron of art at the Oratorio del Crocifisso and the Capuchin church of Santa Chiara a

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[86] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 58v (April 1, 1568), fol. 59r (April 5, 1568), fol. 60v (April 13, 1568), fol. 61v (April 14, 1568).
[87] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 62r (April 14, 1568), fol. 62v (April 17, 1568), fol. 63r (April 17, 1568), fol. 63r (April 23, 1568).
[88] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 61r (April 13, 1568), fol. 61r (April 14, 1568), fol. 61v (April 14, 1568).
[89] ASV, ACSM, P-I-58: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1576 al 1587, fol. 116 (May 13, 1580), fol. 130 (March 19, 1581), fol. 155 (April 8, 1582), fol. 170 (April 17, 1583).
[90] Kuntz, "Mimesis, Ceremony, Praxis," 77.

Monte Cavallo.[91] Second, the company paid Emilio dei Cavalieri (d. 1602), Mario's younger brother, for the music during Lent, which demonstrates that the famous musician stepped in as the Crocifisso's music director immediately after his brother's death in 1580.[92] Finally, the sodality recorded a payment of six *scudi* "a m.o Flaminio per l'ombrella et incassatura del crocefisso portatto il giovedi santo" (to master Flaminio for the umbrella and encasement of the crucifix carried on Holy Thursday).[93] This is undoubtedly the French woodworker Flaminio Boulanger, who had already completed the altar of the company's Capuchin convent in 1575 as well as the ceiling of its oratory in 1576. The association of his name with the confraternity's processional furnishings suggests the increasingly sumptuous nature of the Crocifisso's Holy Week devotions.

By the end of the century, the company's Holy Thursday procession reached new heights of conspicuous devotion. On March 27, 1593, the company met to discuss preparations for the annual celebration, producing an itemized list of all the elements necessary for the Holy Thursday procession.[94] Two members were assigned to invite the Spanish ambassador, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, Duke of Sessa (served 1592–1603). Five others were appointed to invite thirty distinguished dignitaries, including Filippo Colonna (1578–1639), the head of the Colonna family, and Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621), the cardinal-nephew of Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605). Others were asked to order and guide the procession, restore the processional crosses and batons, acquire the necessary wax, and enlist 200 men to carry the *fiaccole*. Fabio Lando, whose account of the construction and decoration of the Oratorio del Crocifisso is invaluable to

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[91] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-51: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1576 al 1580, fol. 27v (March 16, 1580).
[92] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-51, fol. 27v (April 6, 1580).
[93] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-51, fol. 27v (April 6, 1580).
[94] ASV, ACSM, P-I-59: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1589 al 1593, fol. 48–50 (March 27, 1593).

this study, was especially active in these preparations. Lorenzo Castellano and Benvenuto del Conte, the son of the painter Jacopino del Conte (1501–98) who produced two altarpieces for the sodality's dependent Capuchin convent church, were given the honor of carrying the processional crucifix from the company's oratory and granted the authority to spend as much as necessary to prepare it. Flagellants accompanied the cortege, and the confraternity arranged to provide comforters from the Capuchin order, wine, and other necessities for the *battuti*. Finally, confraternity members were deputized to order the music. Lando was responsible for hiring a sixteen-voice choir from Santa Maria Maggiore, while Vincenzo Capoccia was assigned to direct the music with the aid of a companion. In all, nearly 300 individuals participated in 1593.

Corpus Christi

As the solemn performance of Holy Thursday grew in importance for the Crocifisso in the second half of the sixteenth century, the formerly significant observance of Corpus Christi declined. The feast celebrating the body of Christ originated in Liège in 1246, when Bishop Robert of Thorate (d. 1246) initiated the holiday following a mystical vision of the Eucharist by Juliana of Mont-Cornillon. The French pope Urban IV Pantaléon (r. 1261–64) institutionalized the feast in a bull of 1264, presenting it as "a sort of obverse of Maundy Thursday, celebrating the day of the institution of the Eucharist not in sorrow in the Passion week, but on another, joyful, occasion."[95] None other than the illustrious Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) wrote the Office of Corpus Christi for the pope.

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[95] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 180.

And yet, the feast was not universally celebrated until the early fourteenth century, when Pope John XXII d'Euse (r. 1316–34) promulgated Urban IV's original bull.[96]

Observed in June on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi was distinguished by great urban processions across Europe. Using churchwardens' accounts from England, Miri Rubin has outlined the common form of a Corpus Christi procession.[97] Garlands hung from churches, and bells rang at Mass. For their efforts, bell-ringers and others who offered assistance often received breakfast. Grass and sawdust covered the processional route to prevent slipping, and children often threw flowers on the road before the participants. A cross was carried before the cortege to ward off evil. Participants with flags or banners commonly followed. Sometimes children representing purity fronted the mass of adults. At Mainz, for example, children dressed as angels sang responses during the Corpus Christi procession. Nonetheless, the heart of the procession was the Eucharist.

The Host sat in a precious vessel, often transported in or on an elaborate platform or tabernacle. A priest or priests bore the monstrance, as laymen could not carry the sanctified Host. Four distinguished guests usually held a luxurious canopy over the Eucharist-bearing clergy, signaling the sacred center of the procession. In Bristol, twelve children and four men, dressed as Evangelists, went before the Eucharist's bier. Lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries with torches or banners accompanied the canopy and gained prominence from their proximity to the Host: "The centre of the procession was the most ornate, the most densely decorated; and it included people whose rank was reflected and

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[96] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 164–96; Richard Joseph Ingersoll, "The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 139–43.
[97] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 243–58.

enhanced by proximity to the holiest of holies."[98] Most commonly, the procession took on local political meanings, creating an ideal, but in no way true or stable, image of the social hierarchy.

In sixteenth-century Rome, the Eucharistic devotion offered an expression of papal ideology as well as a forceful rejection of Protestantism. It affirmed the mystery of transubstantiation, the effectiveness of the sacraments, and the role of priests in the administration of the sacraments. It also positioned Christ's vicar on earth at the center of the desired world order.[99] On the day of the feast, the pontiff went in procession in the Borgo. Weeks in advance, tall poles were set up along the parade route and covered with canvas to protect participants from the weather. The pope's finest tapestries as well as the best textiles from each cardinal's household hung from the canopy's sides. The cardinals' tapestries were displayed according to seniority "with their arms for distinction."[100] Green garlands of flowers stretched from post to post, and inhabitants of the Borgo decorated their windows with fine cloth. An anonymous painting of a Corpus Christi procession celebrated by Innocent X Pamphilj (r. 1644–55) documents the appearance of these processional furnishings (fig. 2.4).[101] Although the exact route varied, the cavalcade generally traveled in a circular fashion from the Vatican Palace to Castel Sant'Angelo and then to St. Peter's for Mass, with a brief musical interlude near Piazza di San Clemente (later Piazza Scossacavalli).[102]

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[98] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 255.
[99] Luigi Fiorani, "Processioni tra devozione e politica," in *La festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Turin: U. Allemandi per J. Sands, 1997), 2:76; Ingersoll, "Ritual Use of Public Space," 139–40.
[100] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 87.
[101] Montserrat Moli Frigola, "'Pietas romana.' Le processioni," in *Roma sancta: la città delle basiliche*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Madonna, Maria Luisa (Rome: Gangemi, 1985), 138.
[102] Fiorani, "Processioni," 76; Ingersoll, "Ritual Use of Public Space," 151–65.

Martin captures the pomp and ceremony of the procession in his account of a Corpus Christi parade celebrated by Gregory XIII. In the early morning, the populace began making the circuit "so that the place is never voyd of thicke rankes marching in modest and devout maner."[103] Swiss Guards and mounted soldiers "in harnesse over red velvet […] with their speares and flagges, and great tuftes in theyr helmettes, triumphant for the fest, and terrible for the adversarie" guaranteed order.[104] Members of the papal bureaucracy gathered at the door to the papal palace. Ordered according to rank with members of the papal household first, they set out, a sea of vibrant colors and sumptuous vestments:

> So they goe two and two, beginning of the Juniors and the laitie, a goodly companie, and long in passing, filling al the way with double lightes. Then come forth the gowned men in distinct robes according to theyr Office and profession, pewke, purple, and scarlet couler, the Chamberlaynes very many al in red gownes, the Chaplens, the Protonotaries, the Doctors of the Rota, the Referendaries, other dignities that I can not name. Then begin the Copes or […] rich Vestiments to appeare, first the Penitentiaries or Ghostly fathers of S. Peters […] then both vestiments and mitres as Abbottes, Bishopes, Archbisihopes, Patriarches, and Cardinals, everie one his man by his side that carieth his torche.[105]

The procession of gowns, copes, vestments, and miters culminated in the figure of the pope carried in the *sedia gestatoria* (gestatorial chair), as in the ceremonial opening of the Porta Santa for the Holy Year of 1575 (fig. 2.5). Marking the procession's ritual center, Gregory held the Eucharist, "which his Holinesse in richer Cope and triple crowne besette with pretious stones, carieth with stedfast hand, and fixed looke, in a pretious monstrant, under a costly Canopie, borne by foure of the noblest persons then present."[106] Upon his appearance at the palace gate, trumpets sounded and cannons boomed from

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[103] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 87.
[104] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 87.
[105] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 87–88.
[106] Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, 88.

Castel Sant'Angelo, and the pontiff made his way around the Borgo accompanied by choirs.

In the eight days that followed, confraternities, religious congregations, parishes, and others repeated the ceremony in the evenings of the feast's octave, bringing the Eucharistic devotion to the laity. For the Crocifisso, the celebration was a festive occasion that brought distinction to the company. In fact, the confraternity decreed in 1555 that the procession should be held "unfailingly […] so that the company will be honored."[107] Decorating the Cappella del Crocifisso and adorning the main door of San Marcello defined the company's observation of the feast. In 1543, the sodality paid for the delivery of black bands with which to veil the church's main door, as well as the delivery and installation of other rich cloth and the preparation of garlands.[108] More detailed accounts from 1551 indicate that the company borrowed tapestries from distinguished patrons, such as Camillo Colonna (d. 1558), Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, Cardinal François de Tournon (1489–1562), and Cardinal Niccolò Caetani di Sermonetta (1526–85). The tapestries likely hung from the chapel's walls, which remained unadorned throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century. *Mortella* (myrtle), *edera* (ivy), *sparacara* (wild asparagus), and *canne* (reeds) formed the garlands, which were hung together with the sumptuous fabric by a surprising number of nails purchased for the occasion.[109] In other years, the company bought *fiori di ginestra* (Spanish broom).[110] The stage was thus set for the joyous celebration of the Eucharist.

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[107] "Qui omnes concordes nemine discrepanti votarunti che la detta processione se debbia fare infallamente con la solita spesa et apparato accio la compagnia se faccia honore." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 209 (June 9, 1555).
[108] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-8: Entrata ed Uscita del 1542 e 1543, May 29, 1543, May 31, 1543.
[109] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 18r (May–June 1551).
[110] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, June 3, 1540.

In contrast to the more somber observances of Holy Week, the Crocifisso's Corpus Christi procession incorporated distinctly theatrical elements. In 1547, the company ordered the procession done "with torches and candles […] with orphans and other music and *pifari* [wind instruments]."[111] The sodality maintained this format ten years later when it voted to do the procession with the customary ceremonies including *pifari*, singing friars, and orphans. However, it also introduced an *intermedio* (a theatrical performance with music usually performed between the acts of a play at court).[112] In general, the company's processional crucifix fronted the cavalcade with four large white-wax torches, weighing as much as twenty pounds, carried before it.[113] An ensemble of musicians, singers, and choirs followed. In 1540 and 1562, the company employed the "pifari de canpidolio" (Campidoglio *pifari*).[114] In 1551, *pifari* and *trombetti* (small trumpets) went in procession, as did the choir of San Luigi, which also joined the cavalcade in 1557 and 1562.[115] In 1557, the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore participated.[116] Walking behind these performers, orphans, who represented innocence, and priests accompanied the Eucharist, the procession's sacred heart. In 1551, the friars of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, SS. Trinità, and Santa Maria in Traspontina participated, while in 1557 clergy from nearby SS. Apostoli and Sant'Agostino replaced the brothers of Traspontina.[117]

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[111] "Fuit decretatu per fiat processio Corpois Cristi e con torciis et candelis die mercurii et di sero cum orfanellis et una alia musica et pifaris." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 54 (June 5, 1547).
[112] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 291–92 (June 6, 1557).
[113] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 17r (June 5, 1551).
[114] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, June 3, 1540; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-32, fol. 49r (June 12, 1562).
[115] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 18v (June 19, 1551); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26, fol. 23r (July 27, 1557); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-32, fol. 49v (June 19, 1562).
[116] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26, fol. 24r (July 1, 1557).
[117] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 17r (June 5, 1551); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-26, fol. 23r (July 2, 1557).

Payments made to have the church and the piazza before it swept and washed indicate that the ceremony's theatrical performances centered on Piazza di San Marcello (fig. 1.3a).[118] And yet, it is unclear what form these performances took. In 1540, the company paid for "le pelle per vestire santo jovani" (the skin or hide with which to dress St. John) and "le capigliare" (false hair).[119] It is thus likely that some participants marched in costume as in Bristol. The confraternity also gave money "al angelo che recito li versi" (to the angel who recited verses), and eleven years later it purchased "le capigliere et ale deli angioli" (hair and wings for the angels), which suggests that children, dressed as angels, recited verses as in Mainz.[120] For their efforts, participants and the workmen hired to set up and tear down the decorations were given breakfasts of wine, meat, and bread.[121] At designated points in the ceremony, cannon blasts echoed out over the Corso, as demonstrated by a 1551 payment to a bombardier "per libre cinquantauna di polvere per tirare le code ad la processione" (for fifty-one pounds of powder to pull the cannons at the procession), which clarifies the otherwise curious acquisition of *polvere* and *code de castello* in 1540 and 1543.[122]

Striking and impressive, the Corpus Christi procession was a spectacular celebration of the institution of the Eucharist, but it was also a ceremony in which the confraternity of the Crocifisso was strangely alienated. Although observed "unfailing […] so that the company will be honored," the feast glorified the ecclesiastical structure or organization of the sacrament more than lay devotion to it. The clergy rather than the

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[118] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-8, May 31, 1543; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 18r (May–June 1551).
[119] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, June 2, 1540, June 3, 1540.
[120] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, June 3, 1540; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 17v (June 5, 1551).
[121] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, June 3, 1540; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-8, May 31, 1543; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 18r (May–June 1551).
[122] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 17v (June 5, 1551); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, June 3, 1540; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-8, May 31, 1543.

laity stood nearest the Host. Children, choirs, and musicians went before them. Performers rather than confraternity members took the stage during the musical interlude. The sodality, it seems, was primarily responsible for organizing and funding the affair. Likely for this reason, the "poverissma," or most impoverished, company voted against enacting the Corpus Christi procession in 1563.[123] Although the cost of the event rarely exceeded 30 *scudi*, the Crocifisso apparently no longer recognized the benefit of the display, and after 1563 the feast disappears entirely from the company's records.[124] It should be noted, however, that the company dispensed with the celebration of the Easter Sepulcher at approximately the same time in 1562, and these years correspond with the first phase of construction of the company's oratory. Funds were likely very limited, or better redirected towards new devotions.

Holy Years

The company's shift in emphasis from Corpus Christi to Holy Week may be attributed to the renewed importance of Jubilee years, when pilgrims flocked to the Eternal City especially during the season of Christ's Passion. Pope Boniface VIII Caetani (r. 1294–1303) announced the first Holy Year in 1300. To any truly repentant pilgrim who had confessed his sins and made devotional visits to the basilicas of St. Peter's and St. Paul's Outside the Walls over a prescribed period of time, the Catholic Church promised a plenary indulgence, or full remission of all temporal punishment for sin. Romans were required to go to the basilicas at least once a day for thirty consecutive

[123] ASV, ACSM, P-I-56, fol. 2 (June 9, 1563).
[124] Expenditures totaled approximately 6 *scudi* in 1540, 8 in 1543, 28 in 1551, 26 in 1557, and 11 in 1562. Only during the Jubilee of 1550 did it exceed 30, just reaching 32.

days, foreigners only fifteen. Boniface had intended the special year of pardon to be renewed only every 100 years. However, over the course of the fourteenth century, popes reduced the interval first to fifty years and then to thirty-three years to correspond with the lifetime of Christ. They also added San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Maria Maggiore to the pilgrim's circuit, establishing the canonical four basilicas required to obtain the Jubilee indulgence. In 1450, Nicholas V Parentucelli (r. 1447–1455) celebrated the first great Holy Year after the Avignon Captivity (1309–77) and Western Schism (1378–1417) and returned the practice to its central place in pilgrimage and Roman devotion. Recognizing the briefness of the average person's lifespan in the fifteenth century, Pope Paul II Barbo (r. 1464–1471) declared a Holy Year in 1475 and thus codified the traditional twenty-five-year interval.[125]

In 1500, Alexander VI Borgia (r. 1492–1503) established the opening ceremony of a Holy Year, the opening of the Porta Santa at St. Peter's (fig. 2.5). According to legend, the door on the far right-hand side of the church's portico, which is marked with the number "6" on Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri's print, was the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, the very gate through which Christ had entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.[126] Pilgrims believed the Roman emperor Vespasian (r. 69–79) and his son and heir Titus (r. 79–81) had brought the gate back to Rome after their conquest of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The devout also believed the door had the power to forgive sins, for it was said that the

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[125] Barbara Wisch, "The Roman Church Triumphant: Pilgrimage, Penance, and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575," in *"All the World's a Stage ...": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1990), 1:83-85; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 43–44; Herbert Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee* (New York: AMS Press, 1980).

[126] For the print, see Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620*, cat. 109; Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "L'immagine degli anni santi," 288; Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, eds., *Roma 1300-1875: l'arte degli anni santi* (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1984), 73.

sins of anyone who passed through it would be remitted. Even a murderer! Either to avoid tempting fate or because a killer had actually passed through the portico laughing at how easy it was to obtain forgiveness, the door had been sealed. On Christmas Eve 1499, Alexander ordered the portal opened. As stonemasons broke through the ancient masonry, the papal entourage sang music especially composed for the event; later the hymn "Urbs beata Hierusalem" was customarily performed.[127] Alexander then entered St. Peter's through the newly opened portal, followed by the papal court and populace. A year later, the door was ceremonially closed to mark the end of the Holy Year.[128]

The sixteenth-century Jubilees that followed demonstrated Rome's shifting religious and political landscape during the Catholic Reformation.[129] The Holy Year celebrated by Pope Clement VII de' Medici (r. 1523–34) was poorly attended due to the threat of Lutheranism, which then hung heavily over Europe. Participation improved in 1550 due to the election of a new pope, Julius III. As was customary, clergymen and courtiers, including the "divine" Michelangelo and his avid admirer Giorgio Vasari, flocked to Rome to receive benefices and blessings from the new pope. On Easter Sunday alone, an estimated 30,000 people received Julius III's benediction in St. Peter's Square. And yet, this was also the Holy Year in which all hope of reconciliation with the Protestants had been lost as witnessed by the institution of the Inquisition in 1542 and the initial, unforgiving pronouncements of the Council of Trent. In contrast, the Jubilee proclaimed by Gregory XIII for 1575 expressed the Catholic Church's hope and

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[127] Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 249n66.
[128] Wisch, "Roman Church Triumphant," 84; Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 44–45; Fagiolo and Madonna, *Roma 1300-1875*, 58–105.
[129] Genoveffa Palumbo, "I giubilei del Cinquecento tra Riforma e Controriforma," in *La storia dei Giubilei*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: BNL, 1998), 2:201; Wisch, "Roman Church Triumphant," 84–85.

confidence of triumphing over Protestantism. An unprecedented 400,000 pilgrims flooded into Rome to celebrate the first post-Tridentine Holy Year, which contemporaries recognized as the most extraordinary and magnificent Jubilee ever seen.[130] This section will focus on the Jubilees of 1550 and 1575 in which the Crocifisso played a most prominent role.

1550

Although devotees traveled to the holy city throughout these special years, the months between January and June, which correspond with Holy Week and the feast of Corpus Christi, attracted the greatest number.[131] The Crocifisso's records confirm the importance of these Eucharistic holidays at midcentury, before the confraternity ended its Corpus Christi procession. During the Holy Year of 1550, the company joined the Gonfalone in procession to St. Peter's on Good Friday, at the special request of Julius III.[132] To commemorate the day of Christ's crucifixion, the company draped San Marcello in eight *pezze* of black mourning cloth. It commissioned a tremendous *bara* for its miraculous crucifix, which required more than twenty men to carry it in procession. It also purchased cloth to wrap around the crucifix as it was transported to St. Peter's. A print of the company's 1775 apparatus offers an idea of the enormity of this processional

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[130] For the number of pilgrims, see Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle.* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957), 171–73.
[131] Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "I rituali del giubileo," in *La storia dei Giubilei*, ed. Gloria Fossi and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: BNL, 1999), 3:104.
[132] For the following discussion, see ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14: Entrata ed Uscita del 1549 e 1550, fol. 14r–22r (March 27–May 7, 1550), fol. 25r (May 23, 1550).

bier (fig. 2.6).[133] In later years, the task of planning the *bara* was given to designers of the first rank, including Tommaso dei Cavalieri (ca. 1512–87) and the architects Girolamo Rainaldi (1570–1655) and Carlo Fontana (1634–1714).[134] Orders "per fare le ale et capigliare alli angeli" (to make wings and hair for the angels) suggest that young boys, who are unusually prominent in the decoration of the confraternity's oratory, went dressed as angels in the cortege.[135] They may have sung *falsobordone* as in the 1568 Holy Thursday procession described above. Alternatively, the sodality may have adorned the crucifix's bier with sculpted angels, a practice documented in 1700 and 1775.[136] Payments to singers from St. Peter's, San Luigi dei Francesi, San Lorenzo in Damaso, and Cardinal de' Medici's household demonstrate that choirs punctuated the assembly, while purchases for four barrels of wine, numerous whips, and 225 silver stars for the *battuti* and their comforters as well as at least seventy-seven stiff cotton habits reflect the event's penitential nature. Other participants carried gilded arms and batons or candles with painted crucifixes attached. In total, Jean Delumeau calculated the confraternity spent nearly one-fifth of its income for the year on the procession.[137]

While decidedly more economical, the 1550 Corpus Christi procession was similarly extravagant. The Crocifisso paid the printer and confraternity brother Antonio

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[133] Marcello Fagiolo, ed., *La festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870* (Turin: U. Allemandi per J. Sands, 1997), C102.
[134] Barbara Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma: conservazione ed esigenze di culto," *Kermes* 14 (2001): 28, 30.
[135] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 14r (March 27, 1550), fol. 14v (March 27, 1550). Boys appear in the *Miracle of the True Cross*, *Procession of the Crucifix Against the Plague of 1522*, and *Vision of Heraclius*.
[136] See *Distinta relazione della machina, luminari, fanali, & altro di più solenne fatto dalla Vener. Archiconfr. del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello di Roma in occasione della celebre processione da essa fatta la sera del giovedì santo del presente anno* (Rome: per Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1700); *Relazione e distinta descrizione della machina, luminarj, ed ordinanza nella solenne processione fatta dalla Venerabile Archiconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso in S. Marcello di Roma nel portare l'Immagine del Nostro Salvator Crocifisso alla Basilica Vaticana la sera del giovedi santo nell'anno del Giubileo MDCCLXXV* (Rome: nella stamperia di Marco Pagliarini, 1775).
[137] Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine," 287.

Blando 75 *baiocchi* for the publication of 100 indulgences and 1,000 bulletins announcing the procession, a clear sign of the association's booming membership.[138] Three *some* (loads) of myrtle for garlands cost 90 *baiocchi*, while painting and repairing the four great torches carried before the company's crucifix required nearly four *scudi*.[139] Trumpet players heralded the cortege's start, for the confraternity gave 65 *baiocchi* to Geronimo "trombetta" and his companions "per fare lo bando per Roma" (for making the announcement in Rome).[140] Together, Geronimo and his friends earned an additional *scudo* for playing in the procession, while the band led by Gianfrancesco Pisaro received 1.5 *scudi* for the same task.[141] The confraternity also paid the choirs of San Lorenzo in Damaso and San Luigi dei Francesi two *scudi* each and gave a *scudo* in alms to the orphans who went singing in the procession.[142] Additionally, the company donated 2.25 *scudi* in total to the friars of the Aracoeli, SS. Trinità, and Traspontina for carrying the Host in procession and extended 2.5 *scudi* total to another fifty priests who walked in the cavalcade.[143] Finally, wax for the months of May and June, which included the Feasts of the Invention of the True Cross and Corpus Christi, cost nearly 13 *scudi*, and the company's *mandatari* (agents) merited 60 *baiocchi* for their efforts.[144] In total, the Crocifisso spent 32 *scudi* and 10 *baiocchi*, employed at least 100 individuals, and invited 1,000 others to celebrate the body of Christ during the Jubilee of 1550.

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[138] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 26v (June 13, 1550). Blando later published the company's statutes.
[139] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 30r (July 4, 1550), fol. 26r (June 13, 1550), fol. 28r (June 20, 1550).
[140] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 26v (June 13, 1550).
[141] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 27v (June 20, 1550).
[142] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 27v (June 20, 1550).
[143] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 26r (June 13, 1550), fol. 27r (June 20, 1550).
[144] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-14, fol. 28r (June 20, 1550), fol. 28v (June 20, 1550).

1575

Twenty-five years later, the company participated in the most important and influential religious spectacle of the century — the Holy Year of 1575. Under Gregory XIII's guidance, the ceremonies, rituals, and devotions of the first Jubilee after the Council of Trent created a new vision of reformed Rome as Heavenly Jerusalem, as Nicola Courtright has outlined.[145] Gregory initiated preparations for the Holy Year as early as 1573, just one year after his election to St. Peter's throne. He ordered bridges repaired, streets expanded, and provisions acquired to accommodate the vast number of pilgrims expected. He also admonished cardinals to renovate and adorn their titular churches in time for the occasion. The renovations aimed to restore the glory of Early Christian Rome and to encourage the association of the city with paradise. On March 20 of the following year, Gregory formally proclaimed the Holy Year from the portico of St. Peter's, establishing the practice of promulgating the edict of a Jubilee on the symbolically significant Feast of the Ascension. The new custom linked Christ's ascension into heaven with the Holy Year and underscored the belief that the gates of heaven opened to repentant sinners through the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee. Finally, following the convention established by Alexander VI, Gregory opened the Porta Santa at St. Peter's on Christmas Eve 1574 (fig. 2.5). Traditionally associated with the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, the portal also evoked the temporal gate's heavenly equivalent — the Gates of Paradise. Thus, through the ceremony of the opening of the Porta Santa, the gates of heaven were opened, and Rome transformed into Heavenly Jerusalem.

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[145] Courtright, *Papacy and the Art of Reform*, 21–23. See also Thurston, *Holy Year of Jubilee*, 86–96; Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1930), 19:197-214.

Commemorative prints like the allegorical device of *Roma Sancta* (Holy Rome) published by G. B. de' Cavalieri (1527–97) on the occasion of Gregory's Jubilee visualized the merging of Rome and Jerusalem, the Eternal City and the Celestial City (fig. 2.7).[146] Dedicated to the Polish cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504–79), the spiritual map likens Rome to New Jerusalem "descendentem de caelo a Deo, Deiq claritatem habentem" (descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God) (Revelation 21:10–11). A personification of Rome sits at center. She raises a chalice with the Host in her right hand and holds the "suave iugum" (sweet yoke) of a cross-shaped staff to her shoulder with her left. She is triumphant, with the symbols of paganism, or "idololatria eversa" (overthrown idolatry), lying broken at her feet. The emblems of papal power — the tiara and keys — emerge from clouds above her head. To either side, vignettes of twelve works of charity appear. They are — in the order in which they are numbered — preaching, prayer, penance, fasting, alms giving, comforting the afflicted, washing of feet, Christian instruction, liberation of prisoners, visiting the sick, housing pilgrims, and aiding the poor. In addition to representing the pious works for which Gregory's capital was praised during the Holy Year, the scenes also recall the twelve gates of Heavenly Jerusalem, indicating that one gains admittance to heaven through good works.

The pious actions of Rome's inhabitants and God himself sanctify the city, transforming it into "the ultimate triumphal citadel," a "sacred citadel" in which "Faith is its Fortress."[147] God the Father forcefully emerges from heaven above to bless the Jubilee year: "Benedices coronae anni benignitatis tuae" (Bless the crown of the year of thy

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[146] Courtright, *Papacy and the Art of Reform*, 22; Marcello Fagiolo, "La città delle basiliche," in *Roma sancta: la città delle basiliche*, ed. Fagiolo, Marcello and Madonna, Maria Luisa (Roma: Gangemi, 1985), 266–68; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 213–14; Thurston, *Holy Year of Jubilee*, 260–62.

[147] "Ed ecco che la 'Roma sancta' diventa cittadella sacra: la Fede è la sua Fortezza […] 'Roma Sancta' è l'ultima cittadella trionfale." Fagiolo, "La città delle basiliche," 266.

goodness) (Psalm 64:12). Regenerative waters identified as the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit issue from the dove below him. Wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of God then merge to form a protective boundary, or moat, around the allegorical city. The inscription that forms the citadel's walls explains: "Fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem Dei sanctificavit tabernaculum suum Altissimus" (The stream of the river maketh the city of God joyful: the most High hath sanctified his own tabernacle) (Psalm 45(46):5). The movement of confraternity members, pilgrims, and noble clerics around the city to the four major basilicas positioned in the print's four corners mirrors the sanctifying, encircling motion of the waters. Orderly pairs of confraternity brothers process from St. Peter's to Santa Maria Maggiore. Another group moves between Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano. Clusters of pilgrims traverse the area between St. Paul's and the Lateran, while cardinals on horseback accompanied by foot soldiers make their way from St. Paul's to St. Peter's. The collective movement of the faithful and the blessed waters of God surround and protect the New Jerusalem: "Faith is its Fortress."

The multitudes streaming into Rome for the year of pardon also established new patterns of ritual devotion in the city and throughout Catholic Europe. As Barbara Wisch most clearly explained, pilgrimage to Rome, which had been a solitary and individual act, became an expression of collective piety that the Church increasingly controlled.[148] The faithful who wished to make the journey were required to apply to their local bishop or magistrate for permission. Those officials then organized the trip as well as the entrance of their dioceses into the city. Rules were put into place to regulate entry as well as

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[148] Wisch, "Roman Church Triumphant," 84–89. See also Palumbo, "I giubilei del Cinquecento," 225–37; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19:203-207.

movement within the urban space. To stimulate interest, Gregory reduced the number of days required to obtain the Jubilee indulgence from thirty to three. On the first day, Roman confraternities met the pilgrims outside the city and organized them according to the prescribed ceremonial order: flagellant confraternities came first, followed by regular confraternities, clergy, civil magistrates, town citizens, women, and finally the newly fashionable processional carriages.[149] Accompanied by Roman *confratelli*, most famously St. Philip Neri's SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, the pilgrims made their way to St. Peter's and then to their accommodations, where the Roman companies hosting them tended to their needs. On the second day, the pilgrims visited the three remaining basilicas, always in strict, disciplined order. A second trip to St. Peter's on the third day generally concluded their sojourn.

The widely popular print of the *Seven Churches of Rome* published by Antonio Lafreri in Rome in 1575 (fig. 2.8) demonstrates the increasingly ritualized nature of devotion. Sold as a single sheet or as part of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, the map incorporates both descriptive and narrative, or realistic and allegorical, elements into a "didactic memory guide."[150] It depicts Rome's seven principal churches — St. Peter's, San Paolo fuori le mura, San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and San Sebastiano — "dal naturale" (from the original) in illusionistic perspective on a topographical map. However, its inscription

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[149] For the carriages, see Angelo Pientini, *Le pie narrationi dell'opere più memorabili fatte in Roma l'anno del givbileo MDLXXV* (Florence, 1583), 186–96; Wisch, "Roman Church Triumphant," 86–87; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 19:206–207.

[150] Barbara Wisch, "The Matrix: Le Sette Chiese di Roma of 1575 and the Image of Pilgrimage," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 56/57 (December 2011): 295. See also Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: A City out of Print* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 112–15; Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, "L'immagine degli anni santi," 285–86; Alessandro Rinaldi, "Le sette meraviglie della Roma cristiana. L'invenzione del Lafréry," in *Roma sancta: la città delle basiliche*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: Gangemi, 1985), 269–74.

appeals to the "iuditiosa" (judicious) viewer to understand the conceptual nature of its representation of the "circuito di Roma" (circuit of Rome). As indicated by the crosses above them, the capital letters of their names, and the appearance of their titular saints before them, only St. Peter's, St. Paul's, the Lateran, and Santa Maria Maggiore are privileged with the Jubilee indulgence by which "i Dio ci dia sua Santa pace" (God grants us his Holy peace). Furthermore, the ritual movement of pilgrims reinforces the hierarchical relationship between the basilicas and activates the city's sacred topography, envisioning Rome as the locus of salvation during the Holy Year.

Dominating the foreground, St. Peter's generates the processional movement that animates the entire scene. Three confraternities organized in a strictly hierarchical manner travel from the site of St. Peter's burial to San Paolo fuori le mura (fig. 2.8b). A banner flanked by four torchbearers fronts the first company. An eight-voice choir, seven pairs of confraternity bothers, two staff-bearers, a singer, and finally seven women follow. A crucifix "covered vaut-wise" and accompanied by two torches goes before the second sodality with a six-voice choir, four pairs of confraternity brothers, two staff-bearers, and three singers walking behind it. The final group composed of a standard, two torchbearers, and six pairs of brothers meets a procession of clerics and nobles making its way from St. Paul's to San Giovanni in Laterano. Eleven foot soldiers and a cruciform staff herald the arrival of a mounted cardinal. Other ecclesiastics and nobles on horseback follow with ten cavalrymen bringing up the rear. On the other side of the Lateran, a fourth orderly confraternity walks to Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 2.8a). A ten-voice choir, five pairs of confraternity brothers, two staff-bearers, one singer, and at last four women solemnly follow a veiled crucifix surrounded by three torches. Although likely only

figural types, the crucifix-bearing confraternities strikingly resemble the Crocifisso, and undoubtedly recalled the prominent sodality for contemporary viewers. Less concentrated and organized bands of pilgrims add the minor basilicas of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and San Sebastiano to the circuit. The processional movement inscribes a path to salvation through ritual action over the bird's eye, perspectival view of Rome and underscores the central role of the Roman Church's laity and clergy in the sacred process of redemption.

For the Crocifisso, ceremonial exposition of the confraternity's miracle-working crucifix served to define the sodality as a model of the new collective spirituality, a central theme of its near contemporary patronage at the Oratorio del Crocifisso and the Capuchin church of Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo. At first, the company was unsure whether the cross should be carried in procession. On January 21, 1575, the association appointed Tommaso dei Cavalieri, the architects Giacomo della Porta and Annibale Lippi (active 1563–81), the builder Matteo da Castello (d. after 1597), and the woodcarver Boulanger to determine whether the old, wooden cross was stable enough to be taken to St. Peter's during Holy Week.[151] Lippi was then initiating construction at Santa Chiara; Boulanger had already completed the wooden ceilings of the Capuchin church and the company's prayer hall. A week later Cavalieri, Lippi, the guardian Valerio della Valle, and the treasurer Pietro Lurago reported that they had seen the crucifix and ascertained that it was "saldissimo" (most stable) and could be carried in procession without any danger so long as it was done with care.[152] On January 30, the officers informed the general assembly of their decision to have the miraculous crucifix carried in procession

[151] ASV, ACSM, P-I-56, fol. 89 (January 21, 1575).
[152] ASV, ACSM, P-I-56, fol. 90 (January 28, 1575).

on Holy Thursday and asked the brothers to agree to collect alms for the occasion so that the display could be done without additional cost to the confraternity. To their surprise, many members objected, opposing the idea of removing the cross from its chapel at all. To resolve the dispute, the company voted. Those in favor numbered 131, those opposed 36. And so, the company prepared to bear its sacred image to the Vatican to celebrate the Jubilee.[153]

Contemporary observers widely recognized the spectacle of the crucifix as one of the most inspiring sights of the Holy Year. Their writings are well known to specialists, but their discussions of the Crocifisso generally overlooked. The Dominican Angelo Pientini lists it fourth among the many noteworthy things done in Roman processions during the Jubilee. He explains, the company's Holy Thursday procession to the Pauline Chapel to view the Easter Sepulcher was especially commendable not only because a very large number of brothers participated, including some very great prelates and princes humbly dressed like the others, or because they went with "silence, gravitas, and marvelous devotion," but rather because they carried "with beautiful apparato […] on a triumphal carriage" their "most celebrated Crucifix."[154] The Spanish Jesuit Raphael Riera adds that the company gathered each day during Lent in their oratory and hosted sermons

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[153] ASV, ACSM, P-I-56, fol. 97–98 (January 30, 1575).

[154] "Fu parimente assai commendata la processione di San Marcello, & particolarmente quella, che si fece la notte del Giovedi Santo in palazzo nella cappella Paolina, per andare à visitare il Santissimo Sagramento, non solamente perche vi si trovò gran numero de' fratelli, & vi furono assai Prelati, & Principi molto grandi, etiamdio col sacco indosso come gli altri, & perche andavano con silenzio, gravità, & devozione meravigliosa, ma perche con bellissimo apparato conducevano come sopra à un carro trionfale quel loro, per i suoi molti miracoli, celebratissimo Crocifisso." Pientini, *Le pie narrationi*, 181.

on Fridays but chose to carry their crucifix — "questo santo, & nobili trofeo" (this holy and noble trophy) — in procession "to better and better burnish their devotion."[155]

The only confraternity other than Neri's SS. Trinità to receive independent treatment in Riera's history, the Crocifisso is distinguished as the Holy Year's exemplar of piety, a complement to the Trinità's hospitality. The Jesuit father dedicates a full chapter to describing the Crocifisso's Lenten devotions, focusing especially on the sodality's Holy Thursday procession.[156] According to Riera, the procession began around two o'clock, when three prominent Roman citizens and two elderly nobles exited San Marcello. Barefoot and surrounded by their households and many other gentlemen wearing different colors and carrying torches, the elders carried a large processional cross. Many other individuals followed in "bonissimo ordine" (best orderliness), dressed in the company's habit and carrying cross-surmounted batons. These orderly participants included such distinguished guests as Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga, the Spanish Ambassador (1528–76), and Alessandro Farnese, prince of Parma (1545–92). Approximately 100 *battuti* "who disciplined themselves, and for the memory of the beating and wounding cruelly given to our Savior, abundantly spilled their blood in the streets," came next.[157] Thirteen comforters attended to their needs. 140 men carrying candlesticks and large torches flanked the *battuti* on either side, and a long line of torch-

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[155] "Questi per poter meglio, & più riccamente guadagnare il Santo Giubileo, incominciarono ogni giorno à congregarsi nel tempo del la Quaresima nel loro Oratorio quattro hore dopò mezzo giorno per essercitare le lor divotioni; & il venderì fecero far la predica da persona di gran dottrina, con musica ancho di molte santé orationi, di modo tale che ciascuno n'era molto edificato; ma per far di bene in meglio risplendere la loro divotione, statuirono primieramente portare l'imagine del Crocifisso in processione il Venderdì Santo." Raffaele Riera, *Historia utilissima, et dilettevolissima delle cose memorabili passate nell'Alma Città di Roma l'Anno del gran Giubileo MDLXXV* (Macerata: appresso Sebastiano Martellini, 1580), 55, 56.

[156] For the discussion that follows, see Riera, *Historia utilissima*, 57–60.

[157] "Che si disciplinavano, & per la memoria delle battiture, & piaghe date al nostro Redentore crudelmente, spargevano abondantemente il lor sangue per le strade per forza di crudeli percosse, che sopra le loro spalle davano."

bearing nobles and gentlemen followed, including cardinals, bishops, prelates, and officials from the Camera Apostolica, "who judge themselves blessed, being involved in this holy work."[158]

Most spectacularly, Riera reports that although a mile separates San Marcello from Castel Sant'Angelo the head of the procession reached the medieval fortress before the miraculous crucifix even emerged from the church. The distance can be loosely traced on Antonio Tempesta's plan of Rome (fig. 1.3). The holy image was carried on "a very triumphant *parato* in the guise of a trophy surrounded by curtains of white and black, twenty-two *palmi* [or about sixteen feet] high, with an abundance of silver, with five great lamps and burning torches."[159] All those who walked around the procession's devotional center did so "con grandissima riverenza" (with the greatest reverence) and with thirty Capuchins and the Servite friars of San Marcello carrying torches and singing psalms and hymns "di gran divotione" (of great devotion). Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma (1524–86), and many others followed. The company's acting guardians — Cristoforo Alciati, Patrizio Patrizi (d. 1592), Valerio della Valle, and Orazio Muti — occupied the final place. However, a "nearly innumerable" multitude of men and women carrying torches and "demonstrating their devotion" walked behind the formal cavalcade. "And with this beautiful order," Riera concludes, "the procession arrived at St. Peter's, where every place was full of people, and after having seen the Holy Relics and made the usual prayers to earn the Jubilee, returned to San Marcello at around eight o'clock at

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[158] "I quali si stimavano beati, essendo impiegati in questa santa opera."

[159] "Un parato molto trionfante à guisa di trofeo circondato di cortine di bianco, & nero, d'altezza di ventidue palmi, con abondanza d'argentaria, con cinque gran lampade, & torcie ardenti."

night."[160] Pious and triumphant, the company's procession embodied the spiritual fervor of the Catholic Reformation.

Feasts of the True Cross

Befitting its unique commitment to a miraculous image of Christ on the cross, the Crocifisso's principal feast was the Invention of the True Cross on May 3. The confraternity also celebrated the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14.[161] As detailed in Chapter Four, the pictorial decoration of the company's oratory also commemorates these events. The feast of the True Cross's invention marked the discovery of the wood of Christ's cross in Jerusalem in 326, attributed to St. Helena, the mother of the first Christian emperor Constantine (d. 337). After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, the sites of Christ's Passion were deserted and lost. Under Constantine, excavations were undertaken and the places of the Crucifixion and Christ's burial rediscovered. Having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to visit these holy sites, Helena is said to have directed the finding of Christ's cross under Golgotha. When she returned to Rome, she brought relics of Christ's Passion with her, including pieces of the True Cross. The basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme was built to house the relics, which quickly became objects of public and official devotion. Simultaneously,

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[160] "Ma le moltitudini, le quali seguitavano, erano quasi innumerabili d'huomini, e di donne con grosse torcie in mano, assai mostravan lor divotione. Et con questo bell'ordine giunse la processione à San Pietro, dove ogni luogo era pieno di popolo, & dopò havere vedute le Sante Reliquie, & fatte le solite orationi per guadagnare il Giubileo, si ritirò à San Marcello à otto hore di notte in circa."

[161] The feasts were given their distinct characters and positions in the liturgical calendar in the eighth century, when the Gallican and Roman rites combined. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "The True Cross," by Fernand Cabrol, accessed March 5, 2016, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04529a.htm; Carla Heussler, "Storia o leggenda: l'invenzione e l'esaltazione della vera Croce e Cesare Baronio," in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 maggio 2007*, ed. Patrizia Tosini (Rome: Gangemi, 2009), 642–43.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem increased and pieces of the cross and devotion to the cross spread throughout the Roman Empire, leading to the establishment of a liturgical feast to celebrate Helena's discovery of the True Cross.

The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, in contrast, emerged in Rome at the end of the seventh century. It celebrated the recovery of Jerusalem's reliquary of the True Cross from the Persians by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41) in 627. Following the conquest of Jerusalem in 614, the Persians under the leadership of Chosroes II (r. 590–628) are said to have stolen the city's relic of Christ's cross. After an extended campaign, Heraclius succeeded in driving the Persians out of the Byzantine Empire, ultimately defeating their king at the Battle of Nineveh (627). With Chosroes deposed and executed, his son sued for peace and returned the cross in a gesture of goodwill. Triumphantly, Heraclius restored the cross to Jerusalem, and a liturgical feast was established to commemorate the victory.

The Crocifisso marked the holidays by displaying its miracle-working crucifix and participating in acts of charity, namely the freeing of condemned prisoners and dowering of poor young women. Trumpeters and posted indulgences announced the feasts to the city.[162] Festoons made of dried *pistacia lentiscus* (or mastic), laurel, or myrtle and bands of black fabric adorned the church's main portal and nave as well as the Cappella del Crocifisso.[163] Later in the century, the company also decorated its oratory.[164] Borrowed tapestries hung from the chapel's otherwise undecorated walls. At vespers the

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[162] For the following, see especially the detailed payment records in ASV, ACSM, A-XI-7, April 3, 1540, September 13, 1540, May 1–6, 1543, September 13, 1543; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-8, September 14, 1543; ASV, ACSM, A-XI-27: Entrata ed Uscita del 1557 e 1558, fol. 9v (September 1557).
[163] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 17r (April–May 1551); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-50: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1574 al 1578, fol. 16r (September 23, 1575).
[164] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-54: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1594 al 1600, fol. 62r (July 11, 1597).

day before the feasts, the company opened its miraculous crucifix. Music from an organ played or choirs sang, while white-wax candles flickered.[165] A guard stood watch at night. The following day the company celebrated Mass, often accompanied by choirs. Those who helped, including the friars of San Marcello, received meals of bread, meat, and wine. However, the most spectacular element of the confraternity's festive celebrations was the charitable works it undertook in grand public processions.

LIBERATION OF PRISONERS

As Peter Blastenbrei has theorized, the ceremonial freeing of prisoners by Roman confraternities was an instrument of grace, or a "theater of grace," that simultaneously opposed and complimented the "theater of fear" created by bloody executions in the early modern city.[166] As an expression of the Christian ideal of mercy, the ritual allowed a company favored by a papal privilege to release a prisoner from one of Rome's six jails or the galleys on the feast of the association's patron saint. Only an informal petition to the pope naming the prisoner and his crimes and a formal settlement with the victims in the case of violent crimes known as the *pace* was required to obtain the pardon. However, acquiring the *pace* was not always easy, as a certain Marcantonio de Carissimi learned in 1556 when the Crocifisso cancelled his liberation because he could not reach a settlement

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[165] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 16v (May 1551); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-35: Entrata ed Uscita del 1562 e 1563, fol. 46r (September 26, 1562); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 66r (June 8, 1568); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-51, fol. 29v (May 16, 1580); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-54, fol. 62r (September 29, 1597), fol. 70v (July 13, 1599).

[166] Peter Blastenbrei, "An Unusual Privilege of Early Modern Roman Confraternities," *Confraternitas* 15, no. 2 (2004): 6.

with his victim's family.[167] Furthermore, individuals convicted of certain crimes were excluded entirely, including heresy, forgery of coins and papal documents, *lèse majesté* (an offense against the dignity of the sovereign power), and willful murder. After 1584, arson of ecclesiastical buildings and sacrilege were added to the list.[168] Only five confraternities received the privilege before the last quarter of the sixteenth century: San Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum (ca. 1520), San Giovanni Decollato (1540), Santa Lucia (1550/83), the Crocifisso (1554), and San Rocco (1560). Twelve more were added by 1600, seventeen in the first decade of the seventeenth century. All were Roman.[169] As one of the first companies honored with the papal privilege, the Crocifisso's annual liberation ceremony allowed its members to present themselves as "the true upholders of the ideal of Christian grace."[170]

Approximately one month before the Feast of the Invention of the True Cross, the company met to elect six prison deputies.[171] Together with the guardians, treasurer, prior, *tredici*, and syndics, the deputies reviewed the cases of potential candidates for liberation. The statutes direct the officers to consider dispassionately "il caso più miserabile & pietoso" (the most miserable and pitiful case) first and to come to a decision at least three

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[167] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 252–58 (April 12–29, 1556).

[168] Pius V prohibited the inclusion of homicides in 1568, but his decree was ignored after his death in 1572. See the sources below.

[169] Gregory XIII privileged seven, Sixtus V Peretti (1585–90) three, and Clement VIII four. The privilege was first extended to a confraternity outside of Rome in 1609. Although partially abolished by Innocent X, the practice persisted until 1800 when Pius VII Chiaramonti (1800–23) terminated it completely. See Blastenbrei, "An Unusual Privilege"; Peter Blastenbrei, "Clemenza und Equità: Zur Justizpolitik Papst Gregors XIII. (1572-1585)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 80 (2000): 360–452; Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 217–23; Vincenzo Paglia, *"La pietà dei carcerati": confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI-XVIII* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980), 201–3, 297–300.

[170] Blastenbrei, "An Unusual Privilege," 6. It should be noted that the papal privilege often simply formalized the status quo. For example, the Crocifisso first liberated a prisoner in 1552.

[171] The confraternity consistently elected deputies in March or April, indicating that the liberation of a prisoner was celebrated on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross in May rather than the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in September. For the following description, see *Statuti*, chaps. 42–43.

days before the feast. Competition was occasionally fierce, as in 1555 when the company chose to delay the ceremony until September because of the high number of prisoners petitioning for the privilege.[172] The rules further urge the brothers to make every effort to have the order of release in hand and to notify the prison of their decision one day before the celebration. By 1589, the company established the practice of selecting and ranking three potential candidates to propose to the pontiff.[173] Soon after the fortunate individual was identified, the prior and two *tredici* went to the prison to urge the prisoner to confess. Only after seeing him "veramente reconciliato con DIO et con gl'huomini" (truly reconciled with God and with mankind) did they explain that he had already been approved for release and would be able to take communion in their chapel after participating in their procession.

On the morning of the feast, the company gathered in the church of San Marcello to free the condemned man. An hour before the ceremony was scheduled to start, the treasurer and prior went to the prison and together put the company's habit on the prisoner, saying, "induat te DNS nouu homine qui creatus es in ueritate & iustitia" (God dresses you, a new man created in truth and justice). Meanwhile, the procession departed San Marcello. The guardians, identified by their batons and accompanied by two *mandatari* with their staffs, walked behind a processional crucifix. When the cross arrived at the prison, the treasurer and prior escorted the prisoner outside and handed him over to the guardians, who presented the crucifix to him. The prisoner kneeled at Christ's feet, while the senior guardian laid a mantle of green taffeta over his shoulders. The "veste di gratia," or robe of grace, had been purchased at the prisoner's expense. The

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[172] ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 206 (April 28, 1555).

[173] ASV, ACSM, P-I-59, fol. 3–5 (April 21, 1589); ASV, ACSM, P-I-60: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1595 al 1636, fol. 5 (April 23, 1596).

procession then returned to San Marcello, with its participants singing "Te Deum" or "Benedictus." Other arrangements for music indicate that choirs or musicians may have participated on occasion.[174] The *mandatari*, each dressed in his green habit and with baton in hand, went first. The prisoner followed carrying a burning white torch that, the statutes explain, allowed the company to see him and thus prevented disruptions from happening as *confratelli* strained to glimpse the redeemed convict. Interest must have been especially high when the company liberated Bernardo Cenci, the half-brother of the famous Beatrice (1577–99).[175] The guardians, treasurer, and other officials followed. By order of the pope's vicar, stores remained closed until the procession passed during the company's first liberation ceremony.[176]

Decorations adorning the church's portal and pilasters as well as the Cappella del Crocifisso greeted the company upon their return.[177] Immediately after entering San Marcello, the company placed the crucifix on the high altar. The guardians and officers went with the prisoner to venerate the Host before depositing the newly freed man in their chapel. Already on the eve of the feast, the brothers had opened the miraculous crucifix's altar in the manner described above for Good Friday. Mass was celebrated, alms collected, and the "robe of grace" taken from the prisoner, who was instructed to

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[174] For example, see ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 221 (August, 18, 1555); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 66r (June 8, 1568); ASV, ACSM, P-I-59, fol. 6 (May 5, 1589); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-54, fol. 62r (September 29, 1597), fol. 70v (July 13, 1599).

[175] Together with his half-siblings and mother, the twelve-year-old Bernardo had been convicted of killing his father in a lurid murder trial that attracted popular attention, but he was spared the scaffold (after being forced to watch the brutal executions of his relatives) and freed from the galleys in 1600. See Paolo Mancini and Giuseppe Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma, 1983), 10–11.

[176] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 51v (September 30, 1552).

[177] "Qui omnes votarunti che se appari la Cappella del Crucifisso et tutti li pilastri della chiesia con un poco d'ornamento alla porta…" ASV, ACSM, P-I-55, fol. 221 (August 18, 1555). Also see payments in ASV, ACSM, A-XI-32, fol. 48r (May 9, 1562); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-42, fol. 64r (May 2, 1568), fol. 65r (May 14, 1568); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-50: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1574 al 1578, fol. 8r (May 6, 1575); ASV, ACSM, A-XI-51, fol. 28v (June 15, 1580).

return at vespers. Montaigne glimpsed one such individual liberated by another company in 1581:

> On Palm Sunday I found in a church at vespers a boy sitting beside the altar on a chair, dressed in a great new robe of blue taffeta, head bare, with a crown of olive branches, holding in his hand a lighted torch of white wax. He was a boy of fifteen or thereabouts, who […] had been delivered from prison that day; he had killed another boy.[178]

Following the evening prayers, the Crocifisso sang lauds about the True Cross and closed its wondrous crucifix in the way described above. However, on this occasion, the prisoner attended the return of the company's relic of the True Cross to the church's sacristy. Finally, if not already a member, the liberated man was admitted into the company, the sinner returned to the fold.

Although primarily a performance of grace, the ritual also provided financial benefits for companies and facilitated the smooth operation of justice in the city. The spectacle stimulated devotion and loosened purse strings too, as Blastenbrei detailed. The Crocifisso's decision to seek the release of a man enslaved by the Turks in Constantinople during the Jubilee of 1575 must be read as much as a pious act as a brilliant publicity stunt meant to grab attention in a year of unprecedented confraternal activity.[179] Furthermore, confraternities often received donations from the prisoners they freed. Many sodalities came to expect and depend on such contributions and to look for jailed individuals who could give generously upon release. The practice was a contravention of the confraternities' charitable mission that often left the neediest in prison. In 1596, for example, the Crocifisso received a gift of 100 *scudi* from a liberated

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[178] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1165.
[179] ASV, ACSM, P-I-57: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1574 al 1576, fol. 104–105 (April 10, 1575).

prisoner, but determined to give it to the support of the Capuchin convent in its care.[180] With the possibility of such abuses as well as the reliance of the early modern justice system on torture and execution, the public exposition of freed men was key to the city's governance. It counteracted the gruesome administration of capital sentences with grace, extending the hope of salvation to even the worst sinners through the image of a loving and merciful Church embodied by its laity.

MARITAGGIO

Complementing the theater of grace shown in the liberation ritual, the distribution of dowries to *zitelle* (poor, respectable girls) produced what this project terms a "theater of Christian charity" in Rome. One of the most common forms of confraternal philanthropy, the *maritaggio* inspired "una vera gara di generosità" (a veritable race of generosity) with devotional, national, and corporate confraternities as well as hospitals, nobles, and ecclesiastics vying to donate money to young women so the girls might marry or enter a convent.[181] The devotion also addressed a pressing social issue as the price of dowries skyrocketed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century and post-Tridentine legislation imposed stricter enclosure and poverty on nuns, simultaneously making marriage more difficult and religious life less desirable for women.[182] In general, companies like the Crocifisso gave preference to the relatives of their members, but

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[180] ASV, ACSM, P-I-60, fol. 6 (June 17, 1596).
[181] Vincenzo Monachino, ed., *La carità cristiana in Roma* (Bologna: Cappelli editore, 1968), 251. See also Black, *Italian Confraternities*, 178–84.
[182] On dowries, see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), chap. 10; Diane Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry," *Journal of Family History* 3, no. 3 (1978): 262–96.

deserving outsiders received donations as well. After 1574, the Crocifisso also offered dowries to women wishing to enter the convent of Santa Chiara discussed in Chapter Five. Some confraternities like SS. Annunziata alla Minerva and Santa Caterina delle Vergini Miserabili specialized in dowering *zitelle* from the wider community, focusing especially on young women at risk of becoming prostitutes because of poverty.

Founded in 1460 by the Spanish Dominican cardinal Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), the Annunziata was the first Roman company dedicated to providing dowries. It established the form and custom of the *maritaggio* ceremony in which the dowries were distributed, and the Crocifisso largely followed its model.[183] To be considered, a girl had to be a poor and honest virgin of good reputation. The ideal candidate was born in Rome to Roman parents. Servants were excluded because their purity and character could not be easily verified, since it was believed they frequently fell victim to their employers' sexual desires. Women who intended to marry outside of Rome were also barred because the practice aimed to promote marriage and procreation in Rome and because the confraternity could not guard against potential abuses such as a man abandoning his wife as soon as he received her dowry or refusing to return her dowry if she died without heirs outside of Rome. To establish the honesty and legitimacy of potential candidates, the Crocifisso sent visitors to the *zitelle* on two occasions and extensively questioned their neighbors as to the girls' faith, reputations, and family circumstances.[184]

Once selected, the recipients were required to participate in the confraternities' public processions, which aimed to inspire admiration and emulation in all of the women

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[183] For the Annunziata, see Anna Esposito, "Le confraternite del matrimonio. Carità, devozione e bisogni sociali a Roma nel tardo Quattrocento," in *Un'idea di Roma. Società, arte e cultura tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, ed. Laura Fortini (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1993), 7–17; Monachino, *La carità cristiana*, 251–53.
[184] *Statuti*, chaps. 48–51.

of Rome by putting on display models of justly rewarded female virtue. The Annunziata celebrated the *maritaggio* on the Feast of the Annunciation in a ceremony that extended out from the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva into the public space of the piazza and thus included the entire city as well as the confraternity. After 1484, the pope regularly participated. Over Piazza della Minerva, the pontiff's crest hung. An "albero di stringhe" (tree of strings) stood at the center of the square, and a triumphal arch decorated the church's main portal. Wearing white and carrying candles, the *zitelle* walked to the church, accompanied by four prioresses. Precious cloth adorned the edifice's interior, including a banner painted with the pope's arms above the altar. A platform covered with black velvet and surrounded by myrtle provided seating for the officials.[185] As Montaigne recalled, the girls received their gifts directly from the pope:

> The maidens were a hundred and seven in number, each accompanied by an old female relative. After Mass they came out of the church and formed a long procession. On their return from there, one after the other, passing through the choir of the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva […] they kissed the Pope's feet; and he, after giving them the benediction, gave each one with his own hand a white damask purse containing a promissory note. It is understood that when they have found a husband they collect their alms […] Their faces are covered with a linen veil, with only a place open for seeing.[186]

Antoniazzo Romano (ca. 1430–1510) imagined the girls receiving dowries directly from the Virgin to whom the company was dedicated (fig. 2.9).[187] In contrast, the Crocifisso's *zitelle* wore green habits and faced additional scrutiny on the day of the procession — usually the Feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross in September — when the visitors

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[185] Esposito, "Le confraternite del matrimonio," 17–21.
[186] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1173.
[187] Anna Cavallaro and Stefano Petrocchi, eds., *Antoniazzo Romano: pictor urbis: 1435/1440-1508* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2013), cat. 39; Anna Cavallaro, *Antoniazzo Romano e gli Antoniazzeschi: una generazione di pittori nella Roma del Quattrocento* (Udine: Campanotto Editore, 1992), 203–4; Anna Cavallaro, "Antoniazzo Romano e le confraternite del Quattrocento a Roma," in *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, commitenza artistica* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 350–54; Fagiolo and Madonna, *Roma 1300-1875*, cat. VIII.12.

studied each woman's face and quizzed her about her personal history to verify her identity. Once recognized, the recipients went in procession with the women of the confraternity.[188]

Although varying from company to company and year to year, the dowries were a significant contribution to the earnings of the families of artisans, who most commonly received them. Jean Delumeau's analysis of the issue remains fundamental. In the sixteenth century, the Annunziata normally promised a dowry of about 50 *scudi* as well as the white dress and shoes worn during the *maritaggio* ritual to 100 girls. The number grew to more than 200 dowries at 100 *scudi* each by 1600.[189] The Crocifisso's 1565 statues set its donation at a modest 17 *scudi* and 25.5 *baiocchi* and two *canne* (or approximately 3-4 *braccia* or ¼ *pezza*) of the green fabric needed for the processional garments. Slippers were purchased at the girls' own expense.[190] By the 1590s, the confraternity's dowries averaged 25 *scudi* each, and the company awarded ten to thirty dowries per year. Although eclipsed by the dowries of the middle class, nobility, and aristocracy (which averaged 300 to 400, 1,000, and 3,000 *scudi*, respectively) the charitable donations were substantial.[191] As Delumeau calculated, the average mason in the sixteenth century earned approximately 25 *baiocchi* a day.[192] The Crocifisso's gift of 25 *scudi* was thus the equivalent of 100 days of labor.

To mark the Jubilee of 1550, the Crocifisso held an unusual procession to St. Peter's on All Saints Day in which it promised to dower fifty-five *zitelle*, an exceptional

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[188] *Statuti*, chap. 52. Scrutiny continued after the ceremony too, as the company established procedures to verify if the women had married and to refuse and recover dowries if they died without heirs or moved without notifying the company. See *Statuti*, chaps. 53–54, 56.
[189] Delumeau, *Vie économique*, 430–32.
[190] *Statuti*, chap. 48.
[191] Esposito, "Le confraternite del matrimonio," 16.
[192] Delumeau, *Vie économique*, 432.

commitment that likely discouraged the organization from celebrating the *maritaggio* again until 1570.[193] The sodality announced the Jubilee procession with 1,500 notices purchased from the woman printmaker Paula Blada. The company's four great torches, a large lantern, and smaller torches illuminated the way. The master of the San Luigi choir and the singers of Santa Lucia accompanied the cortege, dressed in the company's habit. Orphans and the friars of the Aracoeli and San Marcello went with the confraternity. More than 300 *confratelli* participated as indicated by the amount of wax used during the procession: the company distributed 589 *libre* of white-wax candles to its members, but received only 323 candle halves back from St. Peter's. The *zitelle* wore the customary green robe and received purses of green taffeta containing the promissory note of the dowry. Payment for the return of a cope and baldachin from the Borgo may indicate that the ceremony took place in the Vatican, but the girls took communion in San Marcello, which was lavishly decorated for the feast. Cloth borrowed from the Colonna and Crescenzi families hung from the walls, as did coats of arms and gold. Myrtle adorned the sanctuary. A temporary *tramezzo* (partition wall) protected the modesty of the girls, who sat on benches installed for the occasion. In total, the Crocifisso spent nearly 200 *scudi* on the procession, not including the amount promised in dowries.

Conspicuous Devotion

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[193] In 1570, the company noted that it had been "a few years" since it had celebrated the *maritaggio*, and in 1597 it determined to reduce the number of visits made to *zitelle* and to recover dowries owed to it, indicating that the charitable activity was not consistently practiced. In fact, the statutes instructed the company to first review its credits and debits to determine if it could afford the ceremony, allowing the confraternity to hold the ritual only infrequently. See ASV, ACSM, P-I-56, fol. 262 (February 12, 1570) and ASV, ACSM, P-I-60, fol. 26 (May 21, 1597), fol. 27 (June 6, 1597), fol. 30 (July 18, 1597); *Statuti*, chap. 48. For the following discussion, see ASV, ACSM, A-XI-15, fol. 1r–10r (October 17–February 25, 1551), fol. 20v (June 19, 1550), fol. 28v (November 10, 1551); Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine," 303.

The conspicuous devotion of the Crocifisso's religious rituals and urban processions during Holy Week and on Corpus Christi and the Feasts of the True Cross produced theaters of faith, grace, and charity that burnished the company's elite and pious reputation, while also stirring religious sentiment in the faithful. Drawing on abundant written sources and rare visual evidence, this chapter has demonstrated how lay devotion changed in Rome during the Catholic Reformation. The Crocifisso's focus shifted from Corpus Christi to Holy Week, when the piety of the laity rather than the clergy took center stage. The confraternity likely invented the celebration of the Easter Sepulcher and played an essential part in the foundation of the city's great Holy Thursday procession, both of which manifested renewed veneration of the Eucharist. As the importance of Holy Years grew, the prestige and splendor of the Crocifisso's observances increased too, and contemporary observers recognized the sodality as the model of the era's new collective spirituality. Exercising its unusual privilege to liberate prisoners, the company acted as a model of love and mercy. Exhibiting its philanthropic giving in the *maritaggio* and other ceremonies, it became an exemplar of charity. Its devotion was conspicuous, focused both on the group and its audience. The following chapter examines the conspicuous meaning of the confraternity's art patronage in the Cappella del Crocifisso, where many of the rituals described here took place.

CHAPTER 3: Cappella del Crocifisso

The Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma received a mysterious donation to its chapel in the church of San Marcello (fig. 3.1) in 1589. On the eve of the Feast of the Invention of the True Cross in May, the confraternity gathered in the sanctuary. As the *confratelli* (confraternity members) prepared to go in procession to open their miraculous crucifix, an enigmatic figure arrived, "dressed in a black habit similar to ours" and "totally covered." Undoubtedly intrigued by the curious addition, the confraternity brothers nonetheless went about their business, unveiling their cross in the manner prescribed by their statutes. The secretive, shrouded figure kneeled before the holy object, prayed, and deposited "a box lined with copper similar to our alms-seeker's box" with a small key attached to it on the chapel's altar. A confraternity brother retrieved the key and delivered it to the association's guardians, who opened the chest and discovered a handwritten note that read:

> The present donation is made particularly to the chapel of the holy Crucifix of the Church of san Marcello in the street of the corso of Rome and is to be dispensed on that which will be most necessary, useful, and honorable to the above-mentioned holy Crucifix, imposing this weight that it be employed in the service of the above-mentioned image on the conscience of the Guardians.

Beneath the message, the officials discovered 500 *scudi*, or approximately twenty years' work for an unskilled laborer. The anonymous donor had disappeared as mysteriously as he had appeared, and so the guardians gave the funds to the company's treasurer and instructed a few brothers to consider "which ornaments they could make in accordance with the form of the note and the mind of the one who had given it."[1] After a month's

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[1] "Sappiassi come la vigilia di detta nostra festa mentre stanamo in procinto d'andare processionalmente ad aprire il s.mo Crocifisso nella chiesa di s. Marcello vi venne uno vestito con uno saccho nero simile a nostri

discussion, the sodality finally determined to have silver candleholders made, but only after the confraternity brother and former guardian Valerio della Valle assured them that "the gentleman who had made the donation had said that it was his desire that they spend it on so many silver candlesticks, without, however, wanting anyone in any way to know who he was."[2]

This chapter examines the Crocifisso's artistic commissions in the Cappella del Crocifisso, the locus of public devotion to the company's miracle-working crucifix. To this day, visitors to San Marcello will usually find worshippers gathered in front of the cross and a variety of memorabilia, including photographs of Pope John Paul II with the holy object during the Jubilee of 2000, for sale. Following the crucifix's miraculous survival from the fire of 1519 described in Chapter One, San Marcello was rebuilt and a chapel dedicated to the wondrous crucifix. The discussion here reviews the reconstruction of the sanctuary and the embellishment of the cross's chapel and thus offers a fuller view

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tutto coperto et ingenocchiatesi avanti l'Immagine del s.mo Crocifisso avanti fusse aperta, fatta oratione pose sopra l'altare in mezzo una cassetta grandotta di rame simile alla nostra del nostro Cercante, la quale haveva un bolettino cosi scritto ... et eravi [indecipherable] legata una chiavetta la quale fu presa da un de nostri sig.ri fratelli et consegnata alli s.ri guardiani, cioe Mons.re R.mo Glorierio, sig.re Ciriaco Mattei, s.re Ascanio Lante, la quale aperta ne si trovo dentro la bocca di detta cassetta una poliza incerata del infrascritto tenere.'La presente elemosina è fatta particularmente a la capella del santissimo Crocifisso della Chiesa di san Marcello nella strada del'corso di Roma et sia dispensata in quel che sarà più necessario, utile, et honore del sùdetto sant.mo Crucifisso inponendo questo peso alla coscientia delli sig.ri Guardiani che sia impiegata in servitio della sù detta immagine.'Dentro vi erano cinquecento scudi d'oro in oro li quali contati furno consegnati al sig.re Giovann Battista Lurago nostro camerlengho, et fatti annotare apparte, per mettere in esecutione quanto nella sopradetta poliza si conteneva anzi fu commesso ad alcuni sig.ri fratelli che pensassero quali ornamenti si possino fare secondo la forma della poliza et mente de chi li ha donati quanto prima." Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Arciconfraternita del Crocifisso di San Marcello (hereafter ACSM), P-I-59: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1589 al 1593, fol. 4–5 (May 5, 1589). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

[2] "Quinto fu detto anchora l'elemosina che v'era stata fatta la vigilia di s. Croce di maggio prossimo passato di scudi 500 d'oro in oro, et come in piu congregationi secrete s'era discorso a lungho in che ornamento particulare si dovessero spendere li detti denari per la cappella del s.mo Crocifisso fu risoluto che si spendessero in tanti candelieri d'argento, ma che si facei ornare de stucchi secondo il disegnio dato da m.o Ambrosio stuccatore la facciata dinanzi di detta cappella et tanto piu volentieri si spendino in Argenti, quanto che il sig.re Valerio della Valle fece fede che quel sig.re che haveva fatta la detta elemosina (si) haveva detto che era l'animo suo si spendessero in tanti candelieri d'argento, non volendo pero si sapesse in modo alcuno chi fusse." ASV, ACSM, P-I-59, fol. 12 (June 11, 1589).

of the stage set for the feasts, devotions, and processions described in the previous chapter. Outlining the commission history of the vault frescoes depicting the *Creation of Eve* and *Four Evangelists* (fig. 3.2–3.3) by Perino del Vaga (1501–47) and Daniele da Volterra (1509–66), the analysis also provides the first episode in the history of the Crocifisso's patronage traced by this dissertation. Discussions of the artists' careers and artistic development lay the groundwork for subsequent chapters, as Perino and Daniele influenced the artists employed by the Crocifisso later in the century. Finally, the chapter offers an iconographic reading of the typological significance of the *Creation of Eve* and the company's crucifix, in which the confraternity's sculpted, miraculous cross merged with the saving wood of the True Cross and Christ's crucifixion. The Christological meaning of the pair underscores the confraternity's unique cultic devotion explored in the previous chapter and foreshadows its artistic commissions in the Oratorio del Crocifisso and Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo, discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

San Marcello al Corso

Dedicated to Pope Marcellus I (r. 308–309), San Marcello al Corso stands in the center of Rome on the city's main north-south artery, the via del Corso. It is marked "S. Marcelli" on Antonio Tempesta's (1555–1630) map of Rome of 1593 (fig. 1.3a). Archeological evidence indicates that an Early Christian edifice occupied the site as early as the late fourth or early fifth century. The Order of Servants of Mary, or Servites, has administered the church since 1368. Dated to the twelfth century by Richard Krautheimer, the medieval church rose on a basilica plan. Its entrance opened on the via

di San Marcello, opposite its current orientation and diagonally opposite the basilica of SS. Apostoli on the Piazza di SS. Apostoli. Its apse faced the via Lata (now via del Corso). A cloister containing a small chapel dedicated to St. Cosmas and St. Damian preceded the church's entrance, and a bell tower adorned its façade. Private patrons added various chapels to the church's interior in the fifteenth century.[3]

In the sixteenth century, the structure was entirely rebuilt. As described in Chapter One, a ruinous fire struck San Marcello in May 1519. Immediately after the conflagration, reconstruction of the church began, but the project proceeded in fits and starts until the end of the century. Pope Leo X de' Medici (r. 1513–21) ordered the edifice rebuilt in a bull of October 8, 1519. The pontiff promised alms and indulgences to the effort, and the Servites contributed 2,200 *scudi*. However, the Sack of Rome interrupted work in 1527. A "tax" paid to the marauding forces of Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56) protected the church from looting, but construction was necessarily delayed. A devastating flood of the Tiber River in 1530, which contemporaries estimated killed as many as 3,000 people, further postponed progress. A gift from Cardinal Ascanio Parisani (d. 1549), the treasurer to Pope Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49), allowed work to resume in 1538. However, the building was still unfinished in 1564, when Pope Pius V Ghislieri (r. 1566–72) conferred an indulgence on the church so that it might be concluded. Construction finally ended in 1595, seventy-six years after the calamitous fire.[4]

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[3] Silvana Episcopo, *Il Titulus Marcelli sulla via Lata: nuovi studi e ricerche archeologiche, 1990-2000* (Tome: Palombi, 2003); Laura Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso* (Rome: Istituto nazionale di studi romani, 1996), 16–28; Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Century)* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificia Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1959), 2:204-15.

[4] Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 31–33.

Florentine architects oversaw the building's completion over the course of the sixteenth century. Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) initiated the program in 1519. Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) attributed a processional crucifix made for the company of the Crocifisso to him.[5] Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1485–1546) may have submitted designs as well, as attested by three surviving drawings in the Uffizi's collection. Under Sansovino's leadership, work progressed quickly, for Perino del Vaga was able to begin painting in the Cappella del Crocifisso around 1525. This chapter discusses the chapel's history at length below. However, the Sack forced Sansovino to flee Rome for Venice in 1527. Some ten years later, likely after Cardinal Parisani's gift, the project resumed, possibly under the direction of Nanni di Baccio Bigio (d. 1568), a follower of Antonio da Sangallo's from Florence and later a member of the Crocifisso. Nanni's son, the little-known Annibale Lippi (active 1563–81), designed the church's apse in 1569, following Pius V's indulgence. His contribution likely brought him to the Crocifisso's attention, for the company later commissioned its Capuchin convent on the Quirinal Hill from the architect. Chapter Five outlines the convent's commission history. In 1593, a gift from Monsignor Giulio Vitelli (d. 1600), deacon of the Camera Apostolica, allowed work to begin on the church's ornate wooden ceiling, which was completed in 1595.[6]

The rebuilt church is an early example of what James Ackerman somewhat ineloquently termed the "boxlike style," a style of ecclesiastical architecture that dominated Roman practice throughout the Catholic Reformation.[7] With roots in late

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[5] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), 7:368.
[6] Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 49–61.
[7] James S. Ackerman, "The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 15–28.

Quattrocento structures like Leon Battista Alberti's (1404–72) Sant'Andrea in Mantua, the style reached maturity in Rome in churches like Antonio da Sangallo's Santo Spirito in Sassia of 1538–45, Guidetto Guidetti's (d. 1564) Santa Caterina dei Funari of 1560–65, and Giacomo Barozzi Vignola's (1507–73), Il Gesù, begun in 1568.[8] It also influenced the form of the Crocifisso's oratory as described in Chapter Four. Reoriented so that its entrance faces the via del Corso, which had been transformed into a fashionable thoroughfare in the fifteenth century, the reconstructed San Marcello possesses a single-aisle longitudinal plan with five rectangular chapels extending off the nave (fig. 3.4). A small vestibule precedes the nave, and an elevated presbytery fronts on the semicircular choir apse. A balustrade separates each chapel from the single aisle. Large fluted pilasters in the Corinthian style divide the chapels and support a heavy entablature above the chapel entrances (fig. 3.5). As at Sant'Andrea, the rounded openings are equal in height to the pilasters. Centered above the arches, rectangular windows allow light into the sanctuary. A flat, heavily ornamented timber ceiling covers the nave, while barrel vaults top the chapels. The effect is one of emphasis on the nave, which facilitated more frequent masses, preaching, and renewed piety in the Catholic Reformation, as Milton Lewine demonstrated.[9]

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[8] On the Roman models, see Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia* (Rome: Istituto nazionale di studi romani, 2002); Emilio Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia: e il mutare del gusto a Roma al tempo del Concilio di Trento* (Turin: ILTE, 1962); Simone Massimilla, *Chiesa di S. Caterina della Rosa dei Funari: restauro delle cappelle*, ed. Christian Rosolino and Aleksandra Filipović (Rome: Palombi Editori, 2011); Anna Melograni, "Il cantiere cinquecentesco di S. Caterina dei Funari e le pitture della cappella Cesi," *Storia dell'arte* 67 (1989): 224–47; Luciana Gaudenzi, ed., *La Chiesa del SS. Nome di Gesù: gli ultimi restauri* (Viterbo: BettaGamma, 1996); Aurelio Dionisi, *Il Gesù di Roma: breve storia e illustrazione della prima chiesa eretta dalla Compagnia del Gesù* (Rome: Residenza del Gesù, 1982).

[9] Milton J. Lewine, "Roman Architectural Practice During Michelangelo's Maturity," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin: G. Mann, 1967), 2:20-26; Milton J. Lewine, "The Roman Church Interior, 1527-1580" (PhD diss, Columbia University, 1960).

Replaced in 1683 by Carlo Fontana (ca. 1638–1714), San Marcello's sixteenth-century façade was modest in comparison.[10] It offered a simple, modifiable backdrop for public ceremonies like the Crocifisso's Corpus Christi plays discussed in Chapter Two. A woodcut in Sante Solinori's *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* of 1588 records its appearance (fig. 3.6), as does Antonio Tempesta's map (fig. 1.3a). A single door granted entry into the sanctuary. Two pilasters flanked the portal, surmounted by a triangular pediment. Corbels marked the transition from door to pediment. Above a large semicircular window divided into three lights and flanked by two smaller openings opened onto the nave. A rare survivor of the flames, the thermal window originally lit the medieval church's apse. A slight eave projected over the rectangular façade. A pitched roof covered the main aisle. Otherwise, the plain brick front was unadorned.[11]

Decorating the church and chapels stretched from the sixteenth to the eighteen century. The Cappella del Crocifisso was among the first to be renovated. However, the church contains two important examples of later Cinquecento painting: the Cappella Grifoni (ca. 1562–63) and the Cappella Frangipane (ca. 1557–66). The pictorial decoration of the crucifix's chapel likely informed these chapels' ornamentation, and the tension between conspicuous form and narrative clarity exhibited by them fits into this dissertation's larger discussion of the devotional function of religious art and ritual during the Catholic Reformation. Formally conceded to Matteo Grifoni (d. 1567), the bishop of Trivento, in 1562, the third chapel on the right is dedicated to the Madonna delle Grazie, or Our Lady of Graces. Reflecting the chapel's dedication, five episodes from the life of

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[10] For Carlo Fontana's façade, see Hellmut Hager, "A proposito della costruzione della facciata di San Marcello al Corso e delle traversie collegate al compimento della decorazione scultorea dovuta ad Andrea Fucigna," Commentari 29 (1978): 201–16; Hellmut Hager, "La facciata di San Marcello al Corso: contributo alla storia della costruzione," Commentari 24 (1973): 58–74.

[11] Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 41–43.

the Virgin painted by Francesco Salviati (1510–63) in the last years of his life adorn the altar wall. The vignettes likely replaced frescoes executed by Perino del Vaga earlier in the century. Set within an elaborate gilded stucco frame, Salviati's paintings depict the *Nativity of the Virgin*, the *Presentation of the Virgin*, the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, the *Death of the Virgin*, and the *Coronation of the Virgin*.[12]

Ornamental and artificial, the images were out of step with the reformatory mood of 1560s Rome, when Pius IV de' Medici (r. 1559–65) sat on St. Peter's throne. The Council of Trent (1545–63) promulgated its decree for legible, instructive, and compelling sacred art, free of lasciviousness, only a year after Salviati's death. And yet, in the *Nativity of the Virgin* (fig. 3.7), Salviati pushed the sacred history into the middle ground and distance. St. Anne recovers from labor in a canopied bed in the background, glimpsed through a grand archway. In the middle distance, two maids draped, rather than dressed, in classicizing robes bathe the infant Mary, who stands in a manner reminiscent of Michelangelo's *Victory* of 1532–34. In the foreground, the lyrical movements of two large *repoussoir* figures overwhelm the narrative. The decorative frame becomes the focus. With a tray on her hip, a hand to a cornucopia of fruit on her head, and a coy look on her face, a servant in diaphanous robes descends a staircase at left. A second woman sits at right, pointing out Anne's bedchamber in the distance to a third woman. As she does, she overtly exposes her breast in the immediate foreground. Prominently positioned and sensuously appealing, the figures distract from the main event, undermining the didacticism of the scene.

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[12] Ludovica Trezzani, "San Marcello al Corso: Cappella Griffoni," in *Francesco Salviati: affreschi romani*, ed. Anna Coliva (Milan: Electa, 1998), 110–16; Luisa Mortari, *Francesco Salviati* (Rome: Leonardo-De Luca, 1992), 128.

In contrast, Taddeo Zuccaro (1529–66) refocused attention on narrative clarity in the paintings he undertook in the fourth chapel on the left dedicated to St. Paul. The powerful Frangipane family endowed the chapel around 1560, and Taddeo labored over the vault, walls, and altarpiece for nearly a decade before his untimely death at the age of thirty-seven. His brother, Federico (ca. 1540–69), completed the paintings. Echoing the renewed apostolic zeal of the Catholic Church after the Protestant Reformation, the chapel's subject is the mission of St. Paul, told clearly, directly, and with little embellishment. The *Conversion of Paul* takes center stage over the altar. The surrounding frescoes highlight the unique powers God gave the apostle to win converts to Christianity. The left wall represents the *Blinding of Elymas* (fig. 3.8), in which Paul called down divine retribution on the sorcerer Elymas to demonstrate Christianity's power before a heathen ruler, while the right wall portrays *Paul's Healing of a Lame Man*. From left to right, the vault depicts the *Shipwreck of St. Paul on the Island of Malta*, the *Martyrdom of Paul*, and the *Raising of Eutychus*, in which the disciple revived a young man who tumbled out of a three-story window after nodding off during one of Paul's long sermons.[13]

In the *Blinding of Elymas*, Taddeo retained many of the figural conventions preferred by painters like Salviati, but unlike his older counterparts, he employed the pictorial standards in service of the sacred history. As in Salviati's *Nativity of the Virgin*, seminude *repoussoir* figures in elaborate poses and fantastical costumes fill the picture plane, but unlike Salviati's ornamental forms, Taddeo's figures react to the story, heightening the narrative drama. The Roman governor sits enthroned in the upper left

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[13] Marcia B. Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 184–87; John A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 71–83.

corner, distinguished by a laurel crown. Paul stands at right, addressing him. The magician, who had tried to prevent Paul from speaking, occupies the center. As blindness descends on him, the conjurer staggers back and throws his hands up. Shock ripples through the audience. With evident horror, the prefect leans back and holds his hands up. His fasces-bearers lean forward, mouths agape. One spectator leans around a column to gain a better view, while another man pushes back, arm outstretched, as a friend eagerly points to the action. At right, two individuals appear ready to run. Intermediaries for the viewer, these figures help the spectator read the narrative, while heightening its dramatic appeal. The Crocifisso would later employ such strategies in its oratory, where legibility and artificiality worked together to both teach and arouse devotion.

Cappella del Crocifisso

Occupying the fourth bay on the right, the Cappella del Crocifisso (fig. 3.1) remains the most frequented chapel in San Marcello. The chapel consists of a rectangular space topped by a barrel vault. Frescoes representing the *Creation of Eve* and *Four Evangelists* decorate the curved ceiling, with the scene from Genesis placed at center and two evangelists on either side. A semicircular window lights the space. Below it the holy crucifix — a six-foot figure of Christ carved from poplar at the turn of the fifteenth century — rests in a classicizing tabernacle and a gilded frame decorated with cherubim.[14] Polychrome marble and numerous pilgrims' badges decorate the wall behind it, attesting to the crucifix's long popularity. At the base of the aedicule, a luxurious

[14] On the cross, see Barbara Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma: conservazione ed esigenze di culto," *Kermes* 14 (2001): 31–39.

reliquary in the form of a ciborium holds pieces of the True Cross on the chapel's altar. The altar is an ancient Roman grave marker, unearthed during excavations in the church at the start of the twentieth century and repurposed to its current use. More modern tombs adorn the lateral walls. The funerary monument of Cardinal Ercole Consalvi (1757–1824) by Rinaldo Rinaldi (1793–1873), a favorite of Antonio Canova (1757–1822), embellishes the left side, while the monument of Cardinal Carlo Grano, titular cardinal of San Marcello from 1967 to 1976, by the sculptor Tommaso Gismondi adorns the right.

Giuseppe Fiocco first traced the documents pertaining to the commission and execution of the vault frescoes at the beginning of the last century. His research confirmed Vasari's attribution of the paintings to Perino del Vaga and Daniele da Volterra. It also demonstrated that the artists completed the frescoes in two phases between 1525 and 1527 and 1540 and 1543.[15] Elena Parma Armani subsequently published the relevant contracts.[16] Through careful review of the archival sources, I can clarify and correct two small points of Fiocco's now century-old research. First, the scholar listed eight payment records for the chapel. Only five are necessary. Three of the *mandati* (receipts) duplicate entries in the account book of the *camerlengo* (treasurer). Second, the year of the final payment should be 1544, not 1543, although work was finished by 1543.

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[15] Giuseppe Fiocco, "La cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello," *Bollettino d'arte* 7 (1913): 87–94; Vasari, *Vite*, 5:610-11, 631, 7:51-52.

[16] Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga: l'anello mancante* (Genova: Sagep Editrice, 1986). See also Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso"; Antonio Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso e la sua cappella in San Marcello," in *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica*, ed. Luigi Fiorani (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 429–83.

On February 6, 1525, the confraternity contracted Perino del Vaga, later a member of the association, to paint the entire chapel.[17] Choosing an artist member, the Crocifisso established the pattern seen throughout its commission history of favoring artists already known to its social network. Work in the space had likely begun already in 1523. On July 7, 1523, the confraternity and the Servite friars of San Marcello entered into an agreement, in which the company committed to finish the chapel on the condition that they be compensated for certain expenses. If they were able to agree to complete the chapel, they must have already initiated it. Furthermore, the 1525 contract with Perino referenced an earlier contract, suggesting that the artist began painting in the chapel immediately after his return to Rome from Florence in 1523 or 1524.[18] Although the first contract does not survive, the second stipulates that the artist complete the chapel frescoes by March 20, 1526. The company agreed to pay the artist 200 ducats for his work. Ducats and *scudi* were approximately equal in value.[19] One hundred would be paid immediately in rights to a house belonging to the association. The remaining 100 would be paid upon the frescoes' completion in 1526.[20]

However, as Vasari reported, Perino had initiated only the vault frescoes (fig. 3.2) at the time of the Sack of Rome in 1527, just completing the *Creation of Eve* at center and nearly finishing the figures of St. Mark and St. John at left before the rampaging forces entered the city. According to Vasari, the "laudable details" of Perino's first work in San Marcello — most likely the destroyed frescoes in the neighboring Grifoni Chapel

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[17] For the contract, see Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, 249. The company's 1550–57 membership list counts "Perino Bonaccursio pittore in Borgo" as a member, even though the artist had been dead for years. See Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 430n2.
[18] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n4; Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 437.
[19] See Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph's University Press, 2013).
[20] Fiocco, "La cappella del Crocifisso," 89–90.

— inspired the prior of the church and "certain bosses" of the confraternity to commission the artist to paint the Cappella del Crocifisso "in the hopes of having something excellent" by his hand. The painter had the scaffolding erected and began work, executing the "*istoria* [history] when God, having made Adam, pulled from his side Eve, his wife" at the center of the barrel vault and finishing "all of St. Mark and St. John, except the head and a bare arm" in the band at left. Between the evangelists, he added "two little putti, who hold for ornament a candelabra." And yet, work dragged on. There were "many impediments, illnesses, and other misfortunes, that happen daily to those who live here," including a lack of funds on the confraternity's part. Finally, the year 1527 arrived and with it came "the ruin of Rome."[21]

Twelve years later, on April 25, 1539, the artist agreed to a new contract, which stipulated that the vault should be finished by May of 1540.[22] In the intervening years, Perino had returned to the papal city and entered into the service of Pope Paul III. The confraternity, in turn, had given up on getting the busy artist to decorate the entire chapel. Instead, they now simply wanted the vault finished. And yet, despite the requirement that painting be completed by May 1540, work began only in April of that year and then by Daniele da Volterra, Perino's assistant. Payment records indicate that workers erected scaffolding and the company purchased lime for the painter only in March or April

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[21] "Per le lode dategli nella prima opera fatta in San Marcello, fu deliberato dal priore di quell convento e da certi capi della Compagnia del Crocifisso […] che ella si dovesse dipignere: e così allogarono a Perino quest'opera con speranza di avere qualche cosa eccellente di suo. Perino fattovi fare i ponti, cominciò l'opera: e fece nella volta a mezza botte nel mezzo un'istoria quando Dio, fatto Adamo, cava della costa sua Eva sua donna […] e da una banda a man ritta due Evangelisti, de' quali finì tutto il San Marco ed il San Giovanni, eccetto la testa ed un braccio ignudo. Fecevi in mezzo fra l'uno e l'altro due puttini, che abbracciano per ornamento un candelliere […] la quale opera mentre che egli fece, ebbe molti impedimenti e di malattie e d'altri infortunj, che accaggiono giornalmente a chi ci vive: oltra che dicono che mancarono danari ancora a quelli della Compagnia: e talmente andò in lungo questa pratica, che l'annó 1527 venne la rovina di Roma." Vasari, *Vite*, 5:610-11.

[22] See Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, 250–51.

1540.[23] Although Daniele's name does not appear in the documents, Vasari attributed the completion of the frescoes to him, and modern scholars have confirmed the author's evidence on the basis of style.[24]

Working from Perino's cartoons, Daniele finished the figure of St. John the Evangelist and executed the two remaining evangelists on the right, St. Matthew and St. Luke (fig. 3.3), between 1540 and 1543. As Vasari recorded:

> The men of that company resolved, when the things of Rome had quieted down, that the same Perino should finish the work. But having other things to do, he made cartoons and had it finished by Daniello; who finished the St. John left imperfect, made all of the other two Evangelists, St. Luke and St. Matthew; in the middle two putti who carry a candelabra.

Daniele also painted angels carrying instruments of the Passion and other ornaments on the altar wall, which Vasari described as "two Angels who fly and are suspended above on wings, they carry the mysteries of the Passion of Christ" and "grottesche and many other small beautiful nude figures."[25] These embellishments were lost when the window above the altar was enlarged in 1724.[26] On May 6, 1543, the confraternity made a

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[23] ASV, ASCM, A-XI-7: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1538 al 1541, April 3, 1540; Fiocco, "La cappella del Crocifisso," 90–91. The archival volumes are occasionally un-paginated. I cite dates instead in those cases.

[24] For example, see Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 92–93; Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 435–39; Luigi Salerno, "San Marcello. Restauro di tre cappelle," *Bollettino d'arte* 50 (1965): 116–17; Maria Vittoria Brugnoli, "Affreschi di Perin del Vaga nella cappella del Crocifisso a S. Marcello," *Il Vasari* 21 (1963): 183–84.

[25] "Avendo fatto Perino, innanzi al sacco di Roma, come s'è detto, alla capella del Crucifisso di San Marcello, nella volta, la Creazione di Adamo ed Eva, grandi quanto il vivo; e, molto maggiori, due Evangelisti, cioè San Giovanni e San Marco; ed anco non finiti del tutto, perchè la figura del San Giovanni mancava del mezzo in su; gli uomini di quella Compagnia si risolverono, quando poi furono quietate le cose di Rome, che il medesimo Perino finisse quell'opera. Ma avendo altro che fare, fattone i cartoni la fece finire a Daniello; il quale finí il S. Giovanni lasciato imperfetto; fece del tutto gli altri due Evangelisti, S. Luca e S. Matteo; nel mezzo due putti che tengono un candeliere e nell'arco della faccia che mette in mezzo la finestra, due Angeli che volano e stando sospesi in su l'ale, tengono in mano i misteri della Passione di Gesú Cristo; l'arco adornò riccamente di grottesche e molte belle figurine ignude." Vasari, *Vite*, 7:51-52.

[26] Following Fiocco, most scholars date the destruction of Daniele da Volterra's frescoes to the renovation of the chapel in 1866. However, Babara Fabjan has demonstrated that the frescoes were destroyed a century earlier, when the company decided to open the chapel's arch and create a new window in 1724. See Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n8.

payment to Perino who "a finita depengiere la cappella" (had finished painting the chapel), but the company registered its last payment to the artist only in September 1544.[27] It remains unclear whether the artist received the 100 *scudi* promised in the 1525 contract, since the surviving payment records total only seven *scudi* and seventy-five *baiocchi*. Records from before the Sack do not survive.

The chapel's ornamentation remained relatively austere throughout the sixteenth century, but the crucifix's exhibition was duly devout and conspicuous, as indicated in Chapter Two. The summary of the 1999 restoration of the confraternity's crucifix offers the most detailed description of the sacred space's original appearance.[28] As it does today, the crucifix hung over the altar in a tabernacle conceived as a classical aedicule with two columns topped by Corinthian capitals and a triangular pediment (fig. 3.1). The company contracted a certain "Barolomeo quondam Nicolai de Cunio" to sculpt the structure on February 21, 1525.[29] A *sportello* (small door) in the form of a large painting closed the cross, as indicated by an inventory of the company's possessions taken in 1693: "A painted picture on wood with diverse angels, with a cross in the middle, nailed together in two pieces, with a wooden frame around, 9 *palmi* high and 7 *palmi* wide [or approximately 6.5 feet by 5 feet], the same served in the past to open and close the Holy Crucifix."[30] As described in Chapter Two, the company rarely removed its crucifix from its chapel. Instead, they normally employed a processional cross, likely the "Crocifisso di

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[27] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-8: Entrata ed Uscita del 1542 e 1543, May 6, 1543. ASV, ACSM, A-XI-9: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1543 al 1546, November 11, 1543, September 6, 1544; Fiocco, "La cappella del Crocifisso," 94.

[28] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 27–31.

[29] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n6.

[30] "Un quadro pittura in tavola con diversi Angiolí, con una croce in mezzo, inchiodato assieme in due pezzi, con cornice attorno di legno, d'altezza palmi di nove, e di larghezza palmi sette, il medesmo serviva anticamente per aprire e serrare il SS.mo Crocifisso." Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n11.

legno da portare a processione molto grazioso" (very attractive wooden crucifix for carrying in procession) attributed to Jacopo Sansovino by Giorgio Vasari.[31] Therefore, the opening and closing of the *sportello* was of great ritual significance. Below the holy object, a reliquary tabernacle held the confraternity's relic of the True Cross on the chapel's altar. The architect and confraternity brother Nanni di Baccio Bigio prepared a model for the vessel, and the company contracted with the goldsmith Francesco de Valenti to construct it on April 20, 1552.[32] Records of Pope Urban VIII Barberini's (r. 1623–44) apostolic visit to the church in 1624 offer evidence of the now lost tabernacle's appearance: "On the Altar there is a Tabernacle, in this gilded bronze vessel part of the wood of the Holy Cross is reverently preserved, and several distinct crystals facilitate, pure intuition of this Holy Relic."[33]

Early modern guidebooks like Camillo Fanucci's *Trattato di tutte l'Opere pie dell'Alma Città di Roma* of 1601 record the practice of maintaining five lamps before the crucifix in memory of the five wounds of Christ.[34] These lights were likely set in the silver candlesticks bearing "li segni della Compagnia cioè il Crocefisso con li fratelli et Cappuccine" (the signs of the Company, that is the Crucifix with the brothers and Capuchins) ordered from Carlo Minotta on July 8, 1589, following the mysterious donation recounted at the start of this chapter.[35] In the same year, the company

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[31] Vasari, *Vite*, 7:368.

[32] See Josephine Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi, S. Chiara a Monte Cavallo, and the Villa Medici in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 3 (1989): 255n56.

[33] "Super Altare adesi Tabernaculum, in eoque vas aeneum deauratum in quo pars ligni Sanctissimae Crucis reverenter asservatur, et pluribus crystalli distinctum est ad faciliorem, purioremque intuitum d.ae S.mae Reliquiae." Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 40n31.

[34] Camillo Fanucci, *Trattato di tutte l'opere pie dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome: per Lepido Facij & Stefano Paolini, 1601), 252. See also Filippo de Rossi, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Rome: Rossi, 1689), 291.

[35] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n15.

commissioned the Milanese stucco-worker Ambrogio Bonvicino to complete stuccoes on the chapel's façade. The 1866 restoration of the church likely destroyed the embellishments.[36] In 1577, Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–1585) awarded the chapel's altar the privilege of liberating souls from purgatory.[37] A long inscription on the chapel's right wall recorded the indulgence.[38] Most likely, modest tapestries hung from the side walls in the sixteenth century. Such draperies are recorded in the chapel at the end of the seventeenth century.[39]

Additions made in the seventeenth century enhanced the drama of the cross's unveiling in the chapel. On November 21, 1682, the company paid Luigi Garzi (1683–1721) for *Angels Carrying the Cross and Crown of Thorns* (fig. 3.9), a new *sportello* for the crucifix's tabernacle.[40] Although the artist is not identified by name in the payment record, the Italian artist biographer Lione Pascoli (1674–1744) attributed the painting to him, and modern scholars have accepted his evidence.[41] A year earlier the confraternity had asked the architect Giovanni Antonio De Rossi (1616–91) to design a mechanism to raise and lower the canvas before the crucifix like a curtain, augmenting the spectacle of the ritual in wonderfully Seicento fashion. De Rossi also designed the gilded wooden frame with cherub heads that still surrounds the crucifix today.[42] In addition, evidence suggests that even when opened the crucifix was shrouded by a veil and displayed before

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[36] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 29.
[37] Jean Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine au XVIe siècle: l'Arciconfraternita del SSmo Crocefisso in S. Marcello," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 63 (1951): 291.
[38] Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome: Tip. delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1869), 2:310.
[39] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n7.
[40] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 40n27.
[41] See Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1730), 2:240; Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 30; Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 97–98.
[42] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 30.

a velvet background adorned with silver stars.[43] The red velvet background with silver stars in the chapel today (fig. 1.1) probably dates to the seventeenth century.[44] Limiting the cross's visibility heightened its sacred status, as described in Chapter Two. Likely during the 1613 renovation of the chapel directed by the painter Francesco Nappi (ca. 1565–1630), the sodality added an inscription to the altar's entablature. In doing so, it lent a stirring voice to the holy cross. "Huc me meus impulit ardor," the inscription reads, or "Here you drove me to my Passion."[45] Finally, in the 1690s, the confraternity received the ornate reliquary ciborium by Carlo Francesco Bizzaccheri (1656–1721) that stands on the chapel's altar today, replacing Nanni di Baccio Bigio's reliquary tabernacle. Giovanni Paolo Zappati (1726–58) added the silver monstrance in 1737.[46] The pious accretions attest to the living status of the crucifix and its chapel. Even today, devotion to the cross survives.

The Vault

Throughout the sixteenth century, the chapel's principal artistic interest derived from the vault frescoes undertaken by Perino del Vaga and completed by Daniele da Volterra. The central scene depicts the episode from Genesis in which God the Father

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[43] Surviving documents testify indirectly, but persuasively, to the use of a veil. On February 13, 1812, the parish priest of San Marcello requested that the crucifix be exhibited "tutto scoperto, e non con il velo" (totally uncovered, and not with the veil) on the first Sunday of every month. The confraternity asked its archivist to research whether there was precedent for exhibiting the cross in this manner. Receiving a negative response, they refused the priest's request. Thus, to the best of the company's knowledge, the crucifix had always been displayed behind a veil. Furthermore, it was common practice to exhibit the city's most sacred images and relics behind veils. See Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 39n12.

[44] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 40n29.

[45] Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 29.

[46] Francesco Posterla, *Roma sacra e moderna* (Rome: De Romanis, 1707), 352; Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso," 30, 40n31; Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 98.

creates Eve from the side of Adam (fig. 3.2). Nude and golden-haired, Adam slumbers at right. Leaning against a fruitless tree, he bends his knees and holds his left arm slackly at his side, as his head droops forward. A fleshy Eve with long blond locks steps from his side. She holds her hands in prayer and gazes intently at her creator, as if drawn to him. God the Father stands at left. With a look of intense concentration, he raises his right hand in blessing, calling Eve forward. A single curl falls over his forehead. As Vasari wrote, "in this *storia* one sees Adam most beautifully nude and *artifizioso* [artful], who lies oppressed by sleep, while Eve most vivid with hands clasped stands and receives the blessing of her Maker."[47] The 1963 restoration of the chapel recovered the excellent *cangiantismo* (modeling in changes of hue) of God's lilac robes.[48] In fact, Vasari reserved his highest praise for the Almighty, "the figure of which is made with richest appearance and grave in majesty, upright, with many draperies that wrap around the nude."[49] Set on a grassy hill, the figures act out their drama as a new day dawns. The sky is a wash of hopeful pinks, purples, and blues.

PERINO DEL VAGA

The fresco is an important early work from Perino's first Roman period. Perino was born in Florence in 1501. First apprenticed to the little-known painter Andrea de' Ceri, he entered the workshop of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (1483–1561), the son of the influential Domenico (ca. 1448–94), at the age of eleven. Around 1515, he arrived in

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[47] "Nella quale storia si vede Adamo ignudo bellissimo ed artifizioso, che oppresso dal sonno giace, mentre che Eva vivissima a man giunte si leva in piedi e riceve la benedizione dal suo Fattore." Vasari, *Vite*, 5:610.
[48] Salerno, "San Marcello"; Brugnoli, "Affreschi di Perin del Vaga."
[49] "La figura del quale è fatta di aspetto ricchissimo e grave in maestà, diritta, con molti panni attorno che vanno girando con i lembi l'ignudo." Vasari, *Vite*, 5:610.

Rome with an otherwise unknown Florentine artist called il Vaga, from whom Perino took his name. Just four years later, he joined Raphael's (1483–1520) studio, working with the popular stucco-worker Giovanni da Udine (1487–1564) and the painter Giovan Francesco Penni (d. 1528), whose sister he later married. Artistically and socially gifted like Raphael, Perino was soon painting scenes from the master's own designs in the Vatican Logge. He also earned independent commissions in this period, most notably frescoes in the Chapel of the Madonna (later Cappella Grifoni) in San Marcello and the Pucci Chapel in SS. Trinità dei Monti. He also executed a now fragmented *Deposition* for Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[50] Salviati's frescoes described above destroyed the first. The Zuccari brothers completed the second. The Royal Collections at Hampton Court now house the remaining pieces of the last.

Raphael's death in 1520, the ascension of the unpopular Pope Adrian VI Florensz (r. 1522–23), and an outbreak of the plague in 1522 — the very same epidemic that the Crocifisso's crucifix was credited with abating — compelled Perino to leave Rome for Florence in 1522. He stayed in his hometown for less than a year, fleeing when the pestilence reached the Tuscan city. After some months of travel, he returned to Rome in 1523. Between the election of Clement VII de' Medici (r. 1523–34) and the Sack in 1527, Perino resumed the works he left unfinished in 1522 and received many new commissions, including the Cappella del Crocifisso and a series of designs of the Loves of the Gods, later engraved by Jacopo Caraglio (ca. 1500–65). However, during the Sack, the artist and his family were imprisoned and forced to pay a ransom for their freedom.

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[50] On Perino del Vaga, see Morten Steen Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror: Perino del Vaga, Daniele da Volterra, Pellegrino Tibaldi* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 12–53; Elena Parma, ed., *Perino del Vaga: prima, durante, dopo: atti delle Giornate internazionali di stu- dio, Genova, 26-27 maggio 2001, Palazzo Doria del Principe* (Genoa: De Ferrari, 2004); Elena Parma, ed., *Perino del Vaga: tra Raffaello e Michelangelo* (Milan: Electa, 2001); Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*.

Unsurprisingly, when an invitation to join the service of Andrea Doria (1466–1560) in Genoa arrived in 1528, Perino agreed, abandoning the papal city for a decade.[51]

Soon after his return to Rome in 1538, the painter entered the service of Pope Paul III, and Farnese commissions commanded the artist's attention for the rest of his life. According to Vasari, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), the pope's grandson and later the Crocifisso's cardinal protector, asked Perino to design six crystals for candlesticks as well as crystal engravings for a sumptuous gilded silver box intended for rare books and manuscripts, now known as the Farnese Casket.[52] The commissions brought Perino to the pontiff's attention, and a flood of papal projects followed, earning the artist the status of official painter to the pope. For Paul III, Perino produced designs for a tapestry meant to hang below Michelangelo's (1475–1564) *Last Judgment* of 1536–41 in the Sistine Chapel as well as pictorial plans for the *basamento* (base) of Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura (1508–11), vault decorations based on a design by Michelangelo for the Cappella Paolina, and elaborate stuccoes and paintings for the ceiling of the Sala Regia, a reception room linking the Sistine and Pauline Chapels. However, the artist realized almost none of these projects because the pictorial ornamentation of the papal apartments in Castel Sant'Angelo, including the masterful Sala Paolina (1545–47), absorbed his attention until his death in 1547.[53] The Sala Paolina and other Farnese commissions from midcentury later influenced the conception of the Crocifisso's oratory,

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[51] For Perino's work in Genoa for Andrea Doria, see especially Laura Stagno, ed., *Il Palazzo del principe: genesi e trasformazioni della villa di Andrea Doria a Genova* (Rome: Carocci, 2004); Piero Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti: committenza e mecenatismo a Genova nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Palombi, 1989); Bernice F. Davidson, "The Furti di Giove Tapestries Designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 424–50; George Lawrence Gorse, "The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44 (1985): 18–36.
[52] Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 37–48.
[53] Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 40; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, 177–208.

as explained in Chapter Four. Like his mentor Raphael, Perino was buried in the Pantheon.

Perino's early success in Rome depended on emulation of Raphael. The painter's cultivation of a Raphaelesque manner is evident in the *Visitation* from before 1522–23 in the Pucci Chapel in SS. Trinità dei Monti (fig. 3.10). Part of a cycle of the Life of the Virgin commissioned by the Florentine cardinal and Medici favorite Lorenzo Pucci (1458–1531) that the Zuccari brothers completed decades later, the fresco evokes Raphael's *School of Athens* (fig. 3.11) in the Stanza della Segnatura.[54] Like Raphael's ancient philosophers, Perino's religious figures occupy a stage-like setting of monumental architecture. They stand in a horizontal arrangement, and action generates out from a calm central pair. Both pregnant, Mary and her cousin Elizabeth greet each other gently. The individuals immediately around them respond with quiet dignity, as the unborn child in Elizabeth's womb recognizes the Christ Child Mary is carrying. The figures on the periphery, however, react with agitated excitement. The bearded man at left spins in a reverse pyramidal pose. The draperies of the figures around him billow without reason. Although unnatural, the stylized movements and dynamic garments "convey the animating presence of *grazia* [grace]," or divine presence, as Morten Steen Hansen has observed.[55]

The youthful Perino also appropriated elements of Michelangelo's style, as the artists employed by the Crocifisso at its dependent Capuchin convent would later in the

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[54] For the Pucci chapel, see Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 21–28; Anna Maria Dell'Agli, "La struttura originaria della Cappella Pucci Cauco nella Trinità dei Monti a Roma, le conseguenze sul ciclo zuccaresco e un'ipotesi per Perin del Vaga," in *Federico Zuccari: le idee, gli scritti: atti del convegno di Sant'Angelo in Vado*, ed. Bonita Cleri (Milan: Electa, 1997), 111–23; Maria Vittoria Brugnoli, "Gli affreschi di Perin del Vaga nella Cappella Pucci: note sulla prima attività romana del pittore," *Bolletino d'arte* 4, no. 47 (1962): 327–50.

[55] Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 25.

century. According to Vasari, Perino began sketching in the Sistine Chapel "dove la volta di Michelangelo Buonarroti era dipinta" (where the vault was painted by Michelangelo) immediately after his arrival in Rome.[56] The impact of his studies is apparent in the vault of the Cappella del Crocifisso, where he first employed a Michelangelesque manner. Perino's *Creation of Eve* of 1525–27 (fig. 3.2) is a mirror image of the master's representation of the same subject (fig. 3.12). God the Father stands at left, drawing Eve from the side of Adam, who sleeps at right. Like Michelangelo's Old Testament figures, Perino's forms possess a heroic monumentality. Their bodies are large and sculptural, they occupy the immediate foreground, and they dominate the spare landscape behind them. God the Father's purple robe is an example of the *cangiantismo* Michelangelo displayed in the Sistine Ceiling (1508–12). Moreover, the central image and the *Four Evangelists* that flank it are replete with figural quotations. Perino took the figure of Eve directly from Michelangelo. He combined the master's drunken Noah with the seated woman from the *Deluge* in the figure of Adam. He also found inspiration in the Sibyls and Prophets for the surrounding Evangelists.[57] Although more imitation than emulation, Perino's Michelangelesque style in the Cappella del Crocifisso is significant as the first evidence of the master's impact on Perino, since a sophisticated play between Raphaelism and Michelangelism came to define Perino's mature style under Paul III.

The Farnese pope's decision to employ Perino at midcentury aimed to recreate the days in which Raphael and Michelangelo worked and competed alongside each other at the Vatican for Julius II della Rovere (r. 1503–13) and Leo X. Perino acted as a new Raphael. While Michelangelo executed the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel, where

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[56] Vasari, *Vite*, 5:592.
[57] Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 27–29; Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 95–96.

he had first worked for Julius II, and then completed the *Conversion of Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Peter* in the Pauline Chapel between 1542 and 1549, Paul III put Perino to work on the *basamento* in the Stanza della Segnatura. Raphael had produced the *School of Athens* and the room's other famous frescoes under the della Rovere pope. Like Leo X who requested tapestry designs from Raphael for the Sistine Chapel, Paul III commissioned Perino to produce designs for a tapestry to adorn the *spalliera* (backrest) below Michelangleo's *Last Judgment* for the chapel. He also assigned Perino to decorate the papal apartments in Castel Sant'Angelo, a commission that recalled the Vatican *stanze* (rooms) executed by Raphael for Julius II and Leo X. Finally, Paul III ordered pictorial ornaments for the Sala Regia, an elaborate audience hall like the Sala di Costantino (1520–24) initiated by Raphael for the Medici pontiff, but completed by the artist's workshop after both Leo's and Raphael's deaths.[58]

Perino's artistic exchange with Raphael and Michelangelo culminated in the Sala Paolina (fig. 3.13), the reception room of the papal suite in Castel Sant'Angelo. Depicting scenes from the lives of Alexander the Great (r. 332–323 BCE) and St. Paul as well as the figures of Roman Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–38) and Archangel Michael, the complex decorative program alluded to the spiritual and temporal leadership of Paul III (born Alessandro, or Alexander).[59] Like Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Raphael's Sala di Costantino, and later the Oratorio del Crocifisso, fictive architecture provides a setting for pictorial embellishments, which inventively simulate a variety of materials. Ionic columns with gilded bases and capitals stand on a marble base inset with long bronze

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[58] These commissions and the pope's motives are nicely summarized in Hall, *After Raphael*, 149.

[59] See Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 40–53; Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, 209–26, 288–94; Filippa M. Aliberti Gaudioso, ed., *Gli Affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo: progetto ed esecuzione, 1543-1548* (Rome: De Luca, 1981); Richard Harprath, *Papst Paul III. als Alexander der Grosse: das Freskenprogramm der Sala Paolina in der Engelsburg* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978).

reliefs and supported by caryatids. Garlands like those in Raphael's Loggia di Psiche (1517–18) stretch from column to column below a heavy entablature. Between the pillars, six great bronze reliefs depict the virtuous deeds of Alexander the Great. Paired nude youths like Michelangelo's *ignudi* (nudes) recline below, holding medallions. Personifications of the Cardinal Virtues of Fortitude, Justice, Temperance, and Prudence stand in niches to either side of the central histories. Bronze cartouches adorn their pedestals. Winged putti hold bronze *tondi* (circular reliefs) portraying episodes from St. Paul's mission and martyrdom above the room's six doors. Female allegories lounge on the doorframes, while Hadrian, who built the castle in antiquity, and St. Michael, to whom it was rededicated, appear on the short walls. In the ceiling above, six frescoes set within the gilded stuccowork emphasize Alexander the Great's military achievements. Perino imitated every material from column to flesh in paint.

Varying his technique for each feigned substance, Perino combined Michelangelo's sculptural forms and Raphael's more painterly manner into a unified decorative whole that entertains with an erudite play of reality and meaning. The bronze reliefs possess the forceful movements, titanic forms, and artificial poses of Michelangelo's late style, as exemplified by the *Last Judgment*. In contrast, the virtues, allegories, and other flesh-and-blood characters like the lounging youths exhibit Raphael's elegance and grace. For example, bulky, muscular figures defined by hard edges crowd into the scene of *Alexander Placing the Iliad in a Shrine* in the far corner of the view illustrated here. The figure at left holds his right hand to his shoulder and arches his body from toe to helmet in a sweeping arc that artfully contrasts with the dull, flat figure at right. Meanwhile, the figure of *Temperance* in the adjacent niche possesses

more delicate, elongated proportions and the tangible presence of living flesh like the enticing winged youths on the marble base. More than just a *paragone* (comparison) of style, the juxtaposition of a Michelangelesque and a Raphaelesque style also differentiates between the pagan and Christian past of the faux bronze reliefs and the "real" presence of the supporting actors.[60]

CREATION OF EVE

A number of preparatory drawings for the vault of the Cappella del Crocifisso demonstrate Perino's growing interest in Michelangelo after his return from Florence in 1523–24 and again after his return from Genoa in 1538. To understand the development of the artist's ideas, it is useful to divide the drawings between the two phases of the ceiling's execution. Drawing experts assign the following designs to the first phase of 1525–27: Perino del Vaga, *Study for St. Mark and St. John with Putti*, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (inv. 01218); Perino del Vaga (or possibly a copy after Perino by Marco Pino), *Study for St. Mark*, Albertina, Vienna (inv. 437); Perino del Vaga, *Sketch for the Entire Vault with God the Father Blessing at Center*, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (inv. 22004); and Perino del Vaga, *Sketches for the Creation of Eve*, Uffizi, Florence (inv. 16E). To the second phase of 1540–43, scholars ascribe these works on paper: Perino del Vaga (for Daniele da Volterra), *Study for St. Matthew*, Louvre, Paris (inv. 2814); Perino del Vaga (for Daniele da Volterra), *Study for St. Luke*, Louvre, Paris (inv. 2815); Daniele da Volterra, *Study for St. Matthew and St. Luke with*

[60] Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 43.

Putti, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. 21222); and Daniele da Volterra, *Study for the Arm of St. Matthew*, Louvre, Paris (inv. 1495).[61] The studies show Perino shifting from the model of Raphael in the Stanze to the example of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel.

More importantly, the Berlin and Uffizi drawings indicate a significant change in subject matter from an image of God the Father Blessing to the Creation of Eve actually executed. Although Michelangelo's paintings clearly impacted Perino's conception of the frescoes, artistic influence alone cannot explain the theme's modification. As Antonio Vannugli rightly argued, the subject must have held meaning for the chapel's patron, and the pertinent question then becomes why the company preferred Eve's creation:

> At this point the problem is to identify the reason why he […] received at a certain moment the order to substitute such a representation with a *Creation of Eve*. The response […] will clarify furthermore that the Sistine fresco was not present only to Perino in his position as artist, but also and above all to the patrons who wanted the depiction in the center of the vault, demonstrating the substantial similarity of the significance assumed by the episode in the two contexts.[62]

In response to the question, Vannugli pointed to the typological significance of the new subject and the special meaning it likely held for the company dedicated to the miraculous crucifix.[63] This section expands on Vannugli's ideas with reference to newly available iconographic studies and demonstrates the conspicuous piety of the company's choice of subject matter.

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[61] Parma, *Perino del Vaga*, 2001, 165–67; Gigli, *San Marcello al Corso*, 95n142; Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 437–39.

[62] "Come si è visto, appare evidente che Perino era stato dapprima incaricato dalla confraternita di dipingere al centro della volta un *Dio Padre benedicente*. A questo punto il problema è individuare la ragione per la quale egli […] ricevette ad un certo momento l'ordine di sostituire tale rappresentazione con una *Nascita di Eva*. La risposta […] chiarirà inoltre che l'affresco della Sistina non fu presente solo a Perino nella sua posizione di artista, ma anche a soprattutto ai committenti che ne vollero la raffigurazione al centro della volta, dimostrata la sostanziale analogia del significato assunto dall'episodio nei due contesti, pur diversissima fra loro." Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 439.

[63] Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 439–42.

Edgar Wind first interpreted Michelangelo's *Creation of Eve* (fig. 3.12) in accordance with the doctrine of types, or pre-figurative symbols, in a series of lectures given between 1948 and 1952. Although known to scholars, his texts have only recently been published.[64] Wind explained that medieval theologians like St. Augustine (354–430) understood Adam and Eve as representations of the two natures of man: the contemplative and the active. Because God created Adam in his own image, the Bible's first man was spiritual and passive. In contrast, because God made Eve out of Adam, the first woman was sensuous and active. The Fall of Man later inverted these distinctions. Michelangelo, Wind showed, illustrated the primordial difference in the *Creation of Adam* and the *Creation of Eve* on the Sistine Ceiling.[65] Adam looks at God in the first, and God looks at him. Adam sees God surrounded by a heavenly host, whose nature he mirrors, and his hand meets God's hand at the same level. Meanwhile, in the second fresco, Eve emerges from Adam's side in a kneeling posture, literally and figuratively beneath her creator. God greets her on earth, without a company of angels, and her gaze is unknowing: "A heavy, brutish, inarticulate being, completely instinct with flesh and matter, she steps forth with gaping mouth and unintelligent eyes, inhaling but not seeing the divine spirit: the image of the body as opposed to the mind."[66]

As the creation of the body, the emergence of Eve from Adam's side prefigures the Incarnation, and through it the formation of the Church. Two New Testament

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[64] Edgar Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Ernst Guldan, *Eva und Maria: eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz: Böhlau, 1966), 46–55; Frederick Hartt, "Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi: The Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling," *Art Bulletin* 32, no. 2 (1950): 115–45.
[65] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 58–60.
[66] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 58.

passages lend Biblical authority to the interpretation. In the Book of Matthew, Jesus cites the story of creation when asked by the Pharisees about divorce:

> Who answering, said to them, Have ye not read, that he which did make from the beginning, made them male and female? And he said, For this cause man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be in one flesh. Therefore, now they are not two, but one flesh. That therefore which God hath joined together, let no man separate (Matthew 19:4–5).

In his letter to the Ephesians, Paul paraphrases Jesus and then links the lesson to the creation of the Church:

> So also men ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife, loveth himself. For no man ever hated his own flesh: but he nourisheth & cherisheth it, as also Christ the Church: because we be the members of his body, of his flesh & of his bones. For this cause shall man leave his father & mother: and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament but I speak in Christ and in the Church (Ephesians 5:28–32).[67]

Wind's explication of this chain of associations clarifies:

> Through Eve, the spirit receives a body, and this mystery of 'embodiment', in the Old Testament the source of sin, becomes in the New Testament an instrument of salvation. For just as Eve is the wife of Adam, made out of his own rib and produced from his side, so the Church is the bride of Christ, made out of his own blood and produced from his side. The Church 'embodies' Christ, for without her sacraments the spirit of salvation could not be administered. Thus the 'nature of Eve', the creation of the body, is at once essential to salvation and the condition of sin. Eve foreshadows the mystery of the Incarnation.[68]

According to this symbolic reading of the Bible, the Church was born from the side of Christ, whose crucified body miraculously spilled blood and water when struck with a lance, just like Eve was born from the rib of Adam asleep. The "humble creature" Eve was thus a potent symbol of salvation through the Catholic Church.[69]

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[67] Unless otherwise noted, all references to the Bible are to the Douay-Rheims Bible.
[68] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 59.
[69] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 58.

A number of medieval sources visualized the typological pairing. Wind identified the *Bible moralisée* (Moralized Bible) and the *Biblia pauperum* (Paupers' Bible) as models.[70] These medieval picture Bibles illustrate correspondences between the Old and New Testaments. The thirteenth-century manuscript cited by Wind shows God pulling a crowned woman from the wound on Christ's side. Bearing a chalice, she represents the Church, and her gesture mimics Eve's in the paired scene above. There, Eve emerges from Adam's side with her hands held in prayer. Wind's fifteenth-century example (fig. 3.14) depicts the crucified Christ pierced with a lance above Eve's creation. God pulls a serpent-like Eve from Adam's ribcage. The text explains: "The sleeping Adam signifies Christ from whose side flowed blood and water, as a sign that the sacraments of the Church issued from the side of Christ."[71]

Closer to home, authoritative pictorial cycles provided formal antecedents for Michelangelo. Jack Greenstein has recently reviewed the "emergence" iconography, in which Eve emerges from Adam's side rather than being constructed from his rib, and found the composition to be incredibly stable from as early as the fifth century. A full-length Creator stands, or occasionally sits enthroned on a sphere, while a full-length Adam sleeps on the ground. God calls Eve forward with a commanding gesture, usually the sign of benediction. Occasionally, he pulls her by the wrist, hand, or arm. Eve, visible only to the waist or thighs, emerges from Adam's side. Almost always, she looks at her creator and holds her hands together or out to her side in prayer. As a Florentine, Michelangelo must have known the thirteenth-century example of this type in the dome of the Baptistery in Florence. The artist would have been baptized below the mosaic.

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[70] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 60–61.

[71] "Adam dormiens Christum significat, de cuius latere fluxit sanguis et aqua, in signum illius, ut intelligamus Omnia sacramenta de latere Christi effluxisse." Wind, Religious Symbolism, 60.

Likewise, he was probably familiar with the creation scenes in San Paolo fuori le mura, then the best-preserved Early Christian basilica in Rome. Now known through watercolor copies made for Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), the Early Christian imagery carried particular weight in the papal city. In each example, a half- or three-quarters-length Eve rises from the side of a reclining, full-length Adam, while a standing, full-length God calls her forward with the sign of benediction.[72]

Early Renaissance artists like Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1455), Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), and Jacopo della Quercia (ca. 1374–1438) also offered models, but a subtle change in setting by Michelangelo added a new layer to the subject's mystical interpretation.[73] Ghiberti's *Creation of Adam and Eve* from the Gates of Paradise of 1425–52 for the Florentine Baptistery shows Eve born aloft by four angels from a reclining Adam. A standing God greets her with a gesture of blessing. Uccello's *Creation of Eve and Original Sin* of 1432–36 in the Green Cloister of Santa Maria Novella in Florence is now badly damaged, but a rising, prayerful Eve is still visible, as is a standing, blessing God. Jacopo's conception of the theme of ca. 1435 for the main portal of San Petronio in Bologna (fig. 3.15) imagines a fearsome God pulling a stubborn looking Eve from Adam's side.[74] In each, the action takes place in Paradise as indicated by the abundant plant life. Even Jacopo's minimal setting includes a healthy tree full of leaves.

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[72] Jack M. Greenstein, *The Creation of Eve and Renaissance Naturalism: Visual Theology and Artistic Invention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 33–40.
[73] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 61–63.
[74] Gary M. Radke, ed., *The Gates of Paradise: Lorenzo Ghiberti's Renaissance Masterpiece* (Atlanta, GA: High Museum of Art, 2007); Franco Borsi and Stefano Borsi, *Paolo Uccello*, trans. Elfreda Powell (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1994), 287–90; James H. Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 1:168-72.

In contrast, Michelangelo's scene takes place in a barren location, a "desolate landscape of rocks without vegetation."[75] Only a dead tree with shorn limbs populates the land, but as Wind highlighted "the dead tree with its branches cut off is one of the most common symbols of the Cross."[76] It calls to mind the Tree of Knowledge in the Fall of Man, which ushered sin into the world, thus necessitating Christ's sacrifice. It also recalls the Tree of Life, which the faithful believed furnished the wood for Christ's salvific cross. Thus, with Michelangelo's small but significant change to the setting, the tree now foreshadows Golgotha, and Eve's creation prefigures the Crucifixion. In case his modern listeners were inclined to be skeptical of his reading, Wind planned in an early draft of his lecture to cite the example of the Cappella del Crocifisso, where the scene from Genesis is the primary pictorial adornment of a sacred space otherwise dedicated to an image of Christ crucified.[77]

The quotation of Michelangelo's Sistine fresco in the Crocifisso's chapel was, therefore, not simply an artistic homage on the part of Perino, but rather a knowing absorption of meaning desired by the confraternity — a conspicuous choice of subject matter. The company intended the *Creation of Eve* in the chapel's vault and the holy crucifix on the chapel's altar to be read as a typological pair. As Vannugli explained, "the birth of Eve depicted on the vault counterpoises, by means of the miraculous Crucifix, the crucified Christ present on the altar."[78] For the devout brethren, it symbolized the birth of the Church and the salvation promised by the Crucifixion. Their wondrous crucifix stood

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[75] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 61.
[76] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 61.
[77] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 61n11.
[78] "La nascita di Eva raffigurata sulla volta [della cappella di San Marcello] si contrappone, per mezzo del Crocifisso miracoloso, al Cristo crocifisso pesente sull'altare." Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 441.

in for the True Cross; their holy image of Christ on the cross became the Crucifixion. Moreover, the image likely reminded the Crocifisso's *confratelli* of their association's miraculous origins: "through a double parallelism, the very origin of the confraternity is hidden: like the Church as a whole, that is the community of all Christians, has its origin in the crucified Christ, that smaller community that is indeed the confraternity is born similarly by the miracles of that particular image of the crucifix."[79]

EVANGELISTS

The *Four Evangelists* flanking the scene of Eve's creation aid the typological reading of the fresco. As Wind planned to note, the figures "emphasize the New Testament meaning" of the Old Testament scene.[80] Identified by their accompanying lion and eagle, St. Mark and St. John sit at left (fig. 3.2). Nearly finished by Perino at the time of his departure from Rome after the Sack, each figure holds a foot out and turns to face the other across the middle, where two putti support a candlestick on a pedestal. John unfurls a scroll, and Mark gestures with both hands as if making a point. As Vasari wrote, the putti "veramente son di carne vivissimi" (are truly of most vivid flesh) and the Evangelists are "similimente […] molto belli nelle teste e ne' panni e braccia, e tutto quell che lor fece di sua mano" (similarly […] very beautiful in their heads and in their

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[79] "In tal modo, attraverso un doppio parallelismo, è adombrata l'origine stessa della confraternita: come la Chiesa tutta, cioè la comunità di tutti i cristiani, ha origine da Cristo crcofisso, analogamente dai miracoli di quella particolare immagine del crocifisso è nata quella più piccolo comunità che è appunto la confraternita." Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso," 441.
[80] Wind, *Religious Symbolism*, 61n11.

draperies and arms, and all that which his hand made for them).[81] The composition is also balanced, orderly, and harmonious like Raphael's paintings.

On the opposite side of the vault, St. Matthew and St. Luke (fig. 3.3) perch with their symbols of an angel and ox. Completed by Daniele eighteen years after the vault's start, the figures are far more vigorous, reflecting the influence of Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes on Perino and especially his mentee Daniele. Seated on a marble block, Matthew faces right. He crosses his right leg over his left, brings his left arm over his torso, holds his right hand to his shoulder, and opens his torso to his right, while looking at the angel to his left. The complex figural pose is an invigorated version of the posture of the *Erythraean Sibyl* on the Sistine Ceiling. Luke holds his foot out like the evangelists on the other side of the ceiling, but he leans farther back into the pose, showing off his abdominal muscles. With his right arm curved up artfully, he turns to read the book he holds at his left hip in a pose that combines the contortions of *Jonah* and the hauteur of *Isaiah* in the Sistine Chapel. Two Herculean putti wrestle a candlestick at center. Like the preparatory drawings listed above, the Evangelists show a move from the model of Raphael to that of Michelangelo, a transition that proved essential for Daniele's career.

DANIELE DA VOLTERRA

Daniele aimed to be Michelangelo's protégée and heir, an ambition that earned skepticism from Vasari and others. Born in the Tuscan town of Volterra around 1509, Daniele received his earliest artistic training in nearby Siena. He first studied with Il

[81] Vasari, *Vite*, 5:610.

Sodoma (1477–1549), who combined the classical style of the Renaissance in Rome with the local tradition in Siena. Daniele probably also studied with the architect and painter Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) in Siena in the 1530s. Although Sienese by birth, Baldassare passed most of his career in Rome, with only an eight-year sojourn in his native city after the Sack of 1527. Furthermore, formal analyses of Daniele's work suggest the Sienese painter Domenico Beccafumi (1484–1551) influenced Daniele's early style. Sometime after 1538, Daniele arrived in Rome and entered Perino's workshop. The older artist had just returned from Genoa. Daniele's collaboration with Perino was essential to Daniele's career, for it afforded him the opportunity to study with one of the foremost painters then in Rome and it led him to the unique fusion of the manners of Perino, Raphael, and Michelangelo that defined his mature style.[82]

Between the late 1530s and the late 1540s, Daniele assimilated the Roman style, quickly moving toward a more sculptural, Michelangelesque mode. Through Perino's intervention, he obtained the commission to paint the frieze of the *salone* (hall) in the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne in 1538 or 1539. He completed the figures of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the Cappella del Crocifisso as described above. And in the 1540s, he earned the commission to decorate the Orsini Chapel in SS. Trinità dei Monti with scenes from the Life of St. Helena and the Legend of the True Cross (now destroyed) and an altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 3.16). Chapter Four discusses the frescoes of the True Cross in relation to the Crocifisso's cycle of the Invention and Exaltation of

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[82] On Daniele da Volterra, see Hansen, *In Michelangelo's Mirror*, 54–95; Andrea Donati, *Ritratto e figura nel manierismo a Roma: Michelangelo Buonarroti, Jacopino del Conte, Daniele Ricciarelli* (Repubblica di San Marino: Asset Banca, 2010), 299–326; Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Benedetta Moreschini, *Daniele Ricciarelli: da Volterra a Roma* (Rome: CIRF, 2004); Vittoria Romani, ed., *Daniele da Volterra: amico di Michelangelo* (Florence: Mandragora, 2003); Paul Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Garland, 1979).

the True Cross in the Oratorio del Crocifisso.[83] Following Perino's death in 1547, friends including Michelangelo intervened to secure Farnese patronage for the young artist. Daniele undertook the Bacchic Frieze in the Palazzo Farnese and assumed Perino's Sala Regia. Pope Paul III's death brought the latter to a halt in 1549. Work in the audience hall did not resume again until the papacy of Gregory XIII.

By the 1550s, Daniele had secured his position in the Roman art world. However, he turned unexpectedly to sculpture in the last decade of his life. Around 1550, the artist returned to SS. Trinità dei Monti to paint scenes from the Life of the Virgin in the della Rovere Chapel, situated opposite the Orsini Chapel across the church's nave. The altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* energizes the traditional altar panel like Titian's representation of the same theme for Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice and Raphael's innovative, but unexecuted, plans for the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome. In the middle of the decade, the artist initiated his third and final chapel decoration in the Ricci Chapel of San Pietro in Montorio and received a request for a number of paintings from the Florentine author Giovanni della Casa (1503–56), including the playful *David and Goliath* now in the Louvre, Paris. Grappling as it does with the *paragone* of sculpture and painting, the painting foreshadowed the artist's shift to sculpture after 1555, which was probably inspired by closer contact with Michelangelo. The transition earned the envious ire of Guglielmo della Porta (ca. 1500–77), who penned an unpublished treatise against the upstart. From about 1559 to 1565, a bronze equestrian statue of King Henry II of France (r. 1547–59) for Catherine de' Medici (1519–59)

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[83] See also Carolyn Valone, "Elena Orsini, Daniele da Volterra, and the Orsini Chapel," *Artibus et Historiae* 11, no. 22 (1990): 79–87; Bernice Davidson, "Daniele da Volterra and the Orsini Chapel - II," *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 775 (1967): 553–61; Michael Hirst, "Daniele da Volterra and the Orsini Chapel - I: The Chronology and the Altar-Piece," *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 774 (1967): 498–509.

occupied Daniele's attention. Michelangelo's influence gained the commission for Daniele. At the end of his life, Daniele painted over the nudes in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* at the request of Pope Paul IV Carafa (r. 1555–59). Although credited with saving the fresco from destruction, the now embarrassing project has somewhat overshadowed Daniele's legacy. In 1566, Daniele died in Rome, having earned a reputation as one of Michelangelo's greatest interpreters.[84]

The *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 3.16) is unquestionably Daniele's masterpiece, and it should be studied as one of the defining works of the so-called Maniera in Rome. Based on drawings by Michelangelo and inspired by the *Last Judgment*, which the Renaissance giant unveiled right as Daniele initiated work in the Orsini Chapel, the frescoed altarpiece earned the admiration of artists as varied as Federico Barocci (ca. 1535–1612), Tintoretto (1519–94), Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), and Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825).[85] With its Eucharistic focus on the body of Christ, the painting also expressed the principles of the Catholic Reformation. Chapter Two already documented the renewed veneration of the Eucharist by the laity in this period. Chapter Five explores the importance of Chistocentric imagery at the Crocifisso's Capuchin convent and in the reform era more broadly.

With a knowing eye to *maniera* (style) and meaning, Daniele set the ground level of the vertically oriented altarpiece to correspond with the altar table below. Looking up at the tableau, the spectator sees only a stormy sky behind the cross and a dense mass of monumental figures in the foreground. Space is irrational, and bodies emphasized. Semi-

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[84] For the most recent monographic studies, see especially Ciardi and Moreschini, *Daniele Ricciarelli*; Romani, *Daniele da Volterra*.

[85] On the painting's reception, see Teresa Pugliatti, *Giulio Mazzoni e la decorazione a Roma nella cerchia di Daniele da Volterra* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreriadello Stato, 1984).

nude muscular men, Nicodemus, and the Roman centurion lower the dead weight of Christ's lifeless body — the Corpus Christi — from the cross. Their garments exhibit the *cangiantismo* of Michelangelo's painting method. John the Evangelist runs with outstretched arms to Jesus, while the holy women attend to the Virgin, who has swooned. Mary's posture, John's gesture, and Christ's body exhibit skilled and difficult foreshortenings, or complex figural arrangements. All of the figures possess a swelling plasticity, and their movements are forceful and dramatic in emulation of Michelangelo's scene of judgment. Like the master, the human body is Daniele's means of expression.

Conspicuous Meaning

The Christological meaning of the typological pair of the *Creation of Eve* and holy crucifix in the Crocifisso's chapel expressed the company's dedication to its miracle-working cross, and the True Cross and Crucifixion it represented. The sculpted cross became the True Cross, and the crucifix merged with the Crucifixion in the minds of the faithful. Although obscure to modern viewers, the mystical reading would have been readily apparent to devotees. Nonetheless, the Catholic world changed in the decades following the frescoes' completion. The papal Church articulated its official response to the Protestant Reformation and the Crocifisso necessarily modified its patronage. The confraternity replaced the allegory of its chapel first with narrative in its oratory and then iconic representation in its dependent convent. Conspicuous form and archaism displaced symbolic meaning. Nonetheless, as the following chapter shows, the Crocifisso consistently displayed its devotion to its miraculous crucifix, and through it

the True Cross and the Crucifixion. The story of the company's crucifix became a part of the sacred history of Christ's cross.

CHAPTER 4: Oratorio del Crocifisso

On May 3, 1562, the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma crowded around a dusty construction site to inaugurate the fabrication of their new oratory. Preparations for the ceremony had begun already during Holy Week, when the company laid the prayer hall's foundations. The Crocifisso's guardians had invited Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese (1530–65), then the sodality's protector, to set the first stone on the upcoming Feast of the Invention of the True Cross, one of the company's principal feast days. The cardinal accepted the invitation, declaring himself very willing to come to the confraternity's service, "voler venire molto voluntieri ad ogni loro piacere." The company commissioned the antiquarian Fabio Lando, a confraternity member and one of the deputies in charge of the oratory's construction, to make approximately 200 commemorative medals depicting Ranuccio Farnese on the obverse and the oratory on the reverse. Unfortunately, none of these medals survive. The Crocifisso then contacted Rome's *maestri di cerimonie* (masters of ceremony) to organize the necessary festival decorations and pageantry. The officials had "a great tent" erected. They ordered "a beautiful altar with all of the adornments necessary for the bishop and priests," and they organized "music, trumpets, and artillery." On the day of the Feast of the True Cross, Mass was sung in Farnese's presence "with all of the solemnity appropriate to it." After the liturgy, the *confratelli* (confraternity members) presented the cardinal with two silver bowls containing the 200 medals and a square block measuring one and a half *palmi* (or about one foot) on each side. Inscribed with the cardinal's name and the names of other benefactors, the stone was filled with the medals. With the help of the confraternity's

mason, the cardinal pushed the foundation block into place. As it slid into position, a "firing of canons" and "playing of trumpets" erupted. Once the joyous noise subsided, the "Te Deum" was sung, the benediction given, and the crowd dispersed. The next day, Cardinal Farnese sent the confraternity a gift of 100 *scudi d'oro*.[1]

Situated in the center of Rome, just off the city's principal north-south thoroughfare near the church of San Marcello al Corso, the Oratorio del Crocifisso (fig. 4.1–4.2) served as a space for the association's private worship and assembly until the company disbanded at the turn of the twentieth century. Labeled "Orat.o S. Marcelli" on Antonio Tempesta's (1550–1630) 1593 map of Rome (fig. 1.3a), the structure is now open to the public and administered by a community of nuns. Between 1578 and 1585, six leading Roman artists of the day — Giovanni de' Vecchi (ca. 1536–1615), Cesare Nebbia (ca, 1536–1614), Niccolò Circignani (ca. 1517/24–after 1596), Baldassare Croce (1558–1628), Paris Nogari (ca. 1536–1601), and Cristoforo Roncalli (ca. 1552–1626) — decorated the prayer hall's walls with scenes from the story of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross, a subject of great significance to the company of the

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[1] "Fatto questo parere alli Signori Guardiani invitar il Signore Cardinale Sant'Angelo Protettore della Compagnia a mettere la prima pietra et invitato disse voler venire molto voluntieri ad ogni loro piacere. Toccò al Signore Fabio Lando Deputato à fare la medaglia del Cardinale con il roverscio della facciata dell'Oratorio, e fattone circa duecento le quali si serborno insino alla venuta dal Cardinale quale fù invitato per l'Ottava di Santa Croce di Maggio à mettere la prima Pietra. Si chiamorono li Mastri di Cerimonie li quali ordinarono molte cose necessarie. La prima fecero mettere una gran tenda, ordinorno un bell'Altare con tutti li suoi Parati all'Episcopale e Preti necessarii con musiche, trombe, et Artigliarie, e presente il Cardinale fù cantata la Messa con tutta la solennità che si conveniva: finita la Messa fù presentato doi bacili d'argente con le duecento Medaglie et una Pietra quadra d'un palmo e mezzo per ogni verso con lettere del nome del Protettore et altro. Venuto sù l'primo canto Mastro Elia haveva ammannito la Calce aiutando à pigliar la Pietra il Signore Cardinale la misse al'luogo suo con molte Medaglie dentro la Pietra, e partito per il canto sinistro fece il medesimo; subito fatto segno si sentì un sparare di code, un suonar di Trombe, e cessate il rumore fù cantato il Te Deum Laudamus, e fatta la beneditione ogn'huomo tolse licenza. Il giorno venente il Signore Cardinale mandò cento scudi d'oro per elemosina." Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Arciconfraternita del Crocifisso di San Marcello (hereafter ACSM), P-XIX-51: Fabio Lando, "Trattato come fu fatto l'oratorio della compagnia del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello fatto dal signor Fabio Lando antiquario et uno dei fratelli della detta Compagnia e deputato sopra di ciò della Compagnia." The document is un-paginated. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

Crocifisso. As the last chapter demonstrated, the company's crucifix stood in for the True Cross in typological readings of the Cappella del Crocifisso's decorations, and as noted in Chapter One, the company often spoke of its crucifix as if it were a relic of the True Cross. Unique among Roman oratories, the confraternity's oratory also illustrates four episodes from the sodality's own history on the entrance wall: the *Miraculous Survival of the Crucifix from the Fire in San Marcello* (fig. 4.13), *Procession of the Crucifix Against the Plague in 1522* (fig. 4.12), *Approval of the Confraternity's Statutes* (fig. 4.11), and *Foundation of the Capuchin Convent* (fig. 4.14).

After reviewing the oratory's commission history and sketching the Crocifisso's elite patronage network, this chapter investigates how the conspicuous devotion of the confraternity's religious rituals and urban processions after the Council of Trent (1545–63) informed the meaning of the post-Tridentine frescoes in the Oratorio del Crocifisso. Having discussed the devotional practices and processions surrounding the cult of the holy crucifix and demonstrated the company's singular cultic devotion to a miracle-working crucifix in Chapter Two, this discussion offers an interpretation of the conspicuous form of the oratory's frescoes, one of only three Roman oratories adorned with pictorial cycles in the sixteenth century. The other two are the Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato (1536–55) and the Oratorio del Gonfalone (1569–76).[2] Asserting the close interdependence of art patronage and religious rituals in Rome after the Council of Trent, the study identifies the contemporary sources for the oratory's iconography, which

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[2] Jean S. Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia: The Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1984); Rolf E. Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom: eine Studie seiner Fresken* (Rome: Institut suisse, 1976); Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph's University Press, 2013); Maria Grazia Bernardini, ed., *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone a Roma: il ciclo cinquecentesco della Passione di Cristo* (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana, 2002).

highlights the confraternity's principal feasts and its commitment to a renewed and reformed Church. The chapter then analyzes the central role of spectacle in the frescoes' formal structure and recovers the devotional function of this important but often neglected example of post-Tridentine art in a comparison of the oratory to the prayer halls of the Decollato and the Gonfalone. At the Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso, the chapter concludes, art patronage and religious rituals united to create a space for the artful construction of corporate identity in post-Tridentine Rome.

Building the Oratory

Josephine von Henneberg first outlined the oratory's building history and identified Giacomo della Porta (1532–1602) as the prayer hall's architect.[3] Until the 1560s, the confraternity met in a space known as the Oratorio di SS. Degna e Merita adjacent to the Cappella del Crocifisso in the monastery of the Servite friars of San Marcello. However, the need for an independent prayer hall that would befit the association's elite status and accommodate its swelling membership was increasingly apparent. In his "Trattato come fu fatto l'oratorio della Compagnia del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello" (Treatise on how the oratory of the Company of the Holy Crucifix of San Marcello was made), Fabio Lando, a member of the confraternity, reports that during Holy Week of 1560 the sodality's accommodations in the Servite monastery proved "poco capace per la gran frequenza che in quel tempo della Compagnia si frequentava" (little able to accommodate the great attendance that frequented the

[3] See Josephine Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974); Josephine Von Henneberg, "An Early Work by Giacomo della Porta: The Oratorio del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 52, no. 2 (1970): 157–71.

company at that time). And thus, many in the confraternity recognized the need for "un Oratorio capace per poter ricevere tanta nobilità che in quel tempo, et in quel luogo si radunava" (an oratory able to receive so much nobility as gathered in that time and in that place).[4] Already in 1549, the group had discussed the possibility of constructing a new oratory. However, records of the association's meetings show that debate as to whether to build a new structure or simply expand the group's existing space continued until 1561.[5] On April 8, 1561, Pope Pius IV de' Medici (r. 1559–65) approved Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese as the company's cardinal protector, and the cardinal's election lent fresh impetus to the plan.[6]

The very next day, the confraternity appointed Lando and Massimo Bagarotto as deputies in charge of the oratory's construction. Their first task was to review the plan, proposed as early as 1557, to enlarge the group's existing space in the Servite monastery.[7] To assess the viability of the proposal, they consulted the architect Guidetto Guidetti (d. 1564), a Florentine active in Rome and favored by the Cesi family.[8] Members of the Cesi family were also confraternity brothers. Guidetti measured the site and assured the deputies that the space could be expanded with minimal inconvenience to the friars, but at an estimated cost of 5,000 *scudi*, or approximately 2,500 months of work

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[4] ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51. Although generally reliable, Lando's dates for the oratory's construction and decoration are inaccurate. I have corrected them here. See Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 160n30.

[5] For these deliberations, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 12–16; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 158–60.

[6] The confraternity had already elected Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese as its cardinal protector on March 16, 1561, just ten days after the death by execution of its previous protector, Cardinal Carlo Carafa (1517–61). Pope Pius IV then approved the nomination on April 8. For the Carafa family's involvement in the Crocifisso, see Chapter Two.

[7] For the following, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 17; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 160.

[8] On Guidetto Guidetti, see Stefano Marani, "Contrastate attribuzioni a Guidetto Guidetti: il palazzo Cesi ad Acquasparta; vicende remote e recenti," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 15/20, no. 2 (1992): 609–16; Anna Melograni, "Il cantiere cinquecentesco di S. Caterina dei Funari e le pitture della cappella Cesi," *Storia dell'arte* 67 (1989): 224–27.

for an unskilled laborer. Despite the staggering sum, the confraternity chose to proceed. However, they encountered implacable resistance from Fra Feliciano da Narni, the prior of the Servite friars. Worried that construction would disrupt life at the monastery and certain that competition would arise between the church and oratory, the prior laid out a set of highly impossible demands. First, construction had to be completed within eight months. Second, the confraternity would have to agree to a yearly rent of seventy *scudi* in perpetuity. Finally, the oratory could possess no independent entrance, forcing visitors to enter through the monastery. Discouraged but undeterred, the confraternity attempted to negotiate with Feliciano, promising to finish the building campaign within a year and offering fifty *scudi* a year in rent, but holding firm on the need for a separate entryway. However, the prior rejected each of their counterproposals, forcing the sodality to find another site for the oratory.

Lando describes the fortuitous discovery of the site in his account of the construction and decoration of the oratory. As he explains, one day after the failure of negotiations with Feliciano, he and Bagarotto were walking around San Marcello "all tired and sad," when they saw a dark and sinister-looking place. Lando suggested they enter. Bagarotto balked, saying, "What do you want to see there and don't you see that this is a place of assassins, and also too far from the church"? Lando persisted and slowly they entered, finding the place to be "full of crooks, who played cards and dice and who deloused themselves and other ugly things." Undaunted, or perhaps desperate to resolve the problem of the oratory, Lando went a little farther in and found a large grotto full of hay with thick walls that had once been an ancient structure. Pleased, he turned to Bagarotto and said, "This here will do well because opening these alleys the land will

become a beautiful place." His companion was unconvinced, but agreed to propose the site to the confraternity's guardians.[9] And thus, the deputies turned to their next task: gaining approval of the site and permission to begin construction.

Together, they submitted the site to the association's leaders, who decided to send Guidetti and the young architect Giacomo della Porta to inspect its suitability.[10] The architects measured the space and reported that it could be transformed into an oratory of sufficient size. As proof, they offered measurements of the Oratorio del Gonfalone, which had just been renovated after a destructive fire in 1555.[11] The Oratorio del Gonfalone was the home of Rome's oldest and most venerable confraternity and an obvious model for the Crocifisso. At approximately 71.5 feet by 29.5 feet by 21.3 feet, it was also demonstrably smaller than the proposed area, and so the architects assured the guardians that the grotto could accommodate an oratory.[12]

After overcoming some lingering opposition within the sodality, the confraternity approved the site and instructed four confraternity members, including Lando and Bagarotto, to acquire the necessary properties on June 1, 1561. On October 5, the company signed a contract with the friars of San Marcello, who owned an adjacent

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[9] "Quando un giorno li medesmi doi Deputati andando intorno a San Marcello tutti stracchi et afflitti disse il Signore Fabio Lando al suo compagno: entriamo un poco quà in questo luogo tenebroso, qual'era dov'è al presente l'Oratorio, rispose il Signore Massimo: che volete vedere quà e non vedete che questo è luogo d'assassini, et anco è troppo discosto dalla Chiesa, soggiunse il Signore Fabio: il vedere non nuoce, e cosi à poco à poco l'andò asseverando: entrando dentro vederono quel luogo pieno di furbi, chi giocava à carte, e chi à dadi, e chi si spidocchiava et altre cose brutte. Cominciò il Signore Fabio ad entrare un poco più dentro, e vidde una grandissima Grotta piena di fieno con muri molto grossi qual'era un edificio antico, e caminava parecchie canne, e voltatosi al Compagno gli disse: quì ci è da far bene perche aprendo questi vicoletti, il paese diventeria un bel luogo, mà il Signore Massimo non condescendeva à nessuno partito, pure pregato tanto dal Signore Fabio, d'accordo ambedui domandarono de Padroni di quel luogo […] Ora il Signore Massimo proponeva malvolontieri questo luogo à Signori Guardiani pure per li prieghi del Signore Fabio ci s'indusse, e lo proporre a Signori Guardiani con dirgli che quel luogo era di poco valore, e che quello che si poteva considerare si per li muri antichi che si vedevano si saria rispiarmato un mondo di fondamenti, e che butando et allargando il paese, sara diventato un bel luogo." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.

[10] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 18; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 161.

[11] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 393–453.

[12] For the Gonfalone's dimensions, see Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 402n54.

property, after protracted discussions.[13] Still opposed to the idea and hoping to gain some advantage for his monastery, but also "inspirato dal SS. Crocefisso" (inspired by the Holy Crucifix), Feliciano negotiated a rent of twenty-two *scudi* a year for the use of the order's land and limited the number of religious services that could be held in the oratory.[14] No continuous Masses were permitted. Mass could be said only on feast days, and then only four regular Masses and one high Mass were allowed a year. Furthermore, only the fathers of San Marcello could officiate. Finally, the monastery and confraternity agreed to evenly divide all objects unearthed during the building process.[15]

Many confraternity members still thought the plan was economically irresponsible. With the confraternity earning only about forty *scudi* a year, Ludovico Mattei declared, "Those who want to start building without money merit jail!"[16] However, Pietro Paolo di Castro spoke passionately about the project's pious nature and persuaded the company to ratify the contract. "Signori," he said, "do not doubt that this is the work of the Holy Crucifix, let us recommend ourselves to him, and do not doubt that this work will have a good start, and a better ending."[17] Thus, with the most trying discussions over, the confraternity finally initiated construction, contracting the builder Mastro Elia da Morco on February 22, 1562.[18] Construction proceeded rapidly under the direction of Giacomo della Porta, whom the confraternity formally hired in May. As

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[13] See Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 19; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 161.
[14] ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.
[15] Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 161n37.
[16] "Questi tali che si vogliono mettere à fabricare senza denari maritano la Galera." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.
[17] "Signori non dubitate questa è opera del SS. Crocefisso, raccomandiamoci à lui, e non dubitate punto che quest'opera haverà buon principio, e miglior fine." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.
[18] The company obtained the last requisite property in June 1562, but started building four months earlier. For the legal wrangling involved, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 20; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 162.

described at the start of the chapter, the company's protector, Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, laid the first stone on May 3, the Feast of the Invention of the True Cross. A year later, on April 4, 1563, the confraternity took possession of its prayer hall in a solemn ceremony on Palm Sunday.[19]

GIACOMO DELLA PORTA

Born in 1532, Giacomo is first documented in Rome in 1559, as a sculptor. His name derives from the earliest work of architecture ascribed to him — the *porta* (portal) of the Vigna Grimani on the Quirinal Hill of about 1560. He was likely apprenticed to Guidetto Guidetti, with whom he was already associated at the oratory in 1561. Identified as "nostro architetto" in a payment made by the Crocifisso, Giacomo produced his first significant, independent architectural commission for the confraternity.[20] The private prayer hall — and the indispensable connections made through association with the confraternity's elite members — established the architect's reputation in Rome.[21]

The building demonstrates the company's and its architect's awareness of contemporary trends in church architecture, which facilitated the laity's more direct involvement in the liturgy, as well as the models of the oratories of the Decollato and the

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[19] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 21–24; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 162–63.

[20] For the payment, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 95.

[21] On Giacomo della Porta, see Luca Maggi, *Giacomo della Porta: il S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane* (Rome: Bonsignori, 1996), 94–97; Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1500-1600* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 121–24; Vitaliano Tiberia, *Giacomo della Porta: un architetto tra manierismo e barocco* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974); Von Henneberg, "An Early Work"; Howard Hibbard, "Giacomo Della Porta on Roman Architects, 1593," *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 777 (1967): 713–14.

Gonfalone.[22] The Oratorio del Crocifisso (fig. 4.2) is a simple structure built on a rectangular plan. It consists of a single nave without side aisles or chapels with a small rectangular altar recess opposite the entrance. The sidewalls are unarticulated. A door punctures each one, creating a subtle horizontal axis. However, emphasis is given to the uninterrupted space of the hall and the altar recess at the end of the longitudinal axis. Two steps run across the length of the altar wall, elevating the altar from the preceding space. Treated like a triumphal arch, the altar wall is further distinguished by being the only interior wall articulated with architectural elements. In the lower register, Composite pilasters support an entablature from which a grand central arch rises into the upper register, framing the altar recess. Blind windows align vertically with lateral doors in the side bays, and the altar sits within the barrel-vaulted space created by the central arch. Like many mid-sixteenth-century churches in Rome, the oratory balances the need for an unencumbered central space in which a sizeable number of lay members could gather with an emphasis on the altar, fusing the oratory's dual function as both an assembly and prayer hall.

After 1563, progress on the building, which still lacked a permanent roof, façade, and adequate entrance, slowed until Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), late sixteenth-century Rome's most powerful patron, succeeded his brother as the association's cardinal protector on November 11, 1565.[23] The formidable cardinal

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[22] For contemporary church architecture, see James S. Ackerman, "The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 15–28; Milton J. Lewine, "Roman Architectural Practice During Michelangelo's Maturity," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin: G. Mann, 1967), 2:20-26; Milton J. Lewine, "The Roman Church Interior, 1527-1580" (PhD diss, Columbia University, 1960).

[23] On Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's patronage, see Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

motivated the completion of the building's façade and the creation of the Piazza dell'Oratorio on which the oratory still stands.[24] Having already recognized the need for a more commodious entrance to the oratory, the confraternity had approached the bookseller Vincenzo Lucchino about the acquisition of his neighboring properties. Lucchino would agree to sell only one house or the entire block. Financially strapped due to the cost of construction, the confraternity prudently chose to purchase and demolish just one fronting property. The "poverissima" (poorest) company dispensed with its celebration of the Easter Sepulcher and Corpus Christi plays in these years too. However, the cardinal judged the resulting area to be "troppo picola et deforme" (too small and misshapen) and encouraged the confraternity to raze the entire block, even donating 100 *scudi* to the cause.[25] However, the value of Lucchino's properties exceeded the size of Farnese's gift, and the sodality was not in the financial position to cover the difference. Nevertheless, the cardinal had made his wishes known. And so, the confraternity acquired the remaining properties in March 1568, and the pleasant Piazza dell'Oratorio resulted, carving the confraternity of the Crocifisso into the heart of Rome.

Alessandro Farnese similarly influenced the completion of the oratory's façade (fig. 4.1). The minutes of the association's November 23, 1567 meeting reflect both the cardinal's displeasure at the unfinished state of the oratory and the association's desire to bring it to completion as soon as possible in order to avoid his disapproval. "Every day," the minutes report, "our most illustrious protector remembers that the façade of the oratory is not good." And so, the guardians ordered the work finished so that the cardinal

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[24] For the following, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 24–25; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 163.
[25] ASV, ACSM, P-I-56: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1564 al 1579, fol. 147–48 (November 23, 1567).

"will not have anything more to say" about it.[26] Most probably, the confraternity had initiated work on the façade during the first phase of construction between 1561 and 1563 under the direction of Giacomo della Porta. Already in September 1567, stone-carvers cut the travertine of the lower story and begin work on the entrance portal. However, the company's poor finances and the need to finish the façade quickly required that the confraternity substitute stucco for travertine in the upper story. In February 1568, the company signed a contract with a stucco-worker for the upper level, and by July the façade was finished according to Giacomo's designs.[27]

Recognizing the instrumental role its cardinal protectors had played in the construction of its oratory and likely responding to the Farneses' implicit expectations, the confraternity determined to honor its patrons on the oratory's façade. On January 9, 1568, it hired Angelo Landi to carve the Farnese coat of arms in marble, stipulating that the arms be finished and put in place in the façade's attic lunette by February of that year. On March 14, the association tasked four confraternity members, including the Roman noble and confraternity brother Tommaso dei Cavalieri (1509–87), to compose an inscription celebrating Cardinals Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese.[28] Situated in the central bay of the second story just below the Farnese crest, the inscription reads:

SANCTISSIMI CRVCIFIXI
AMPLISSIMA SODALITAS
ALEXANDRO ET RAYNVTIO FARNESIIS
SRE EPISCOPIS CARDINALIBVS
PATRONIS ADIVVANTIBVS

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[26] "Ill.mo nostro prottectore ogni giorno ricorda che la facciata dell'oratorio non sta bene: cosi e che li pare che si finischa et per quest li signori guardiani havendo notitia che ci sonno decreti assai fatti che li guardiani protempore possino fare finire detta facciata hanno data afarla accio la SS. Ill.ma non habbi piu adire cosa alcuna." ASV, ACSM, P-I-56, fol. 155 (November 23, 1567).

[27] For these records, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 25–26, 94–98; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 163–64, 169–71.

[28] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 26; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 164.

ORATORIVM HOC EXTRVXIT ET ORNAVIT
MDLXVIII.[29]

Together, the Farnese brothers had brought about the construction and completion of the Oratorio del Crocifisso, and thus the façade duly recognizes their influence, while also publically linking the confraternity to Rome's most illustrious patrons.

Like the structure's plan, the façade reflects contemporary designs. Recalling Antonio da Sangallo's (1485–1546) Santo Spirito in Sassia of 1538–45 and Guidetto Guidetti's Santa Caterina dei Funari of 1560–65 (fig. 4.3), which Giacomo della Porta likely completed after Guidetti's death, the façade consists of two registers of nearly equal size divided into three bays.[30] Elevated from the piazza by five steps, the main portal stands in the central bay of the lower level topped by a triangular pediment on scroll-like corbels. Bundled Tuscan pilasters separate the door from the lateral bays and also articulate the corners. Semicircular niches surmounted by rounded pediments on rectangular corbels appear between rectangular recesses and grated windows in the side bays. A heavy entablature supported by corbels in the form of triglyphs divides the lower story from the upper story. The inscription honoring Cardinals Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese occupies the central bay of the upper level. It is surmounted by the attic lunette in which the Farnese coat of arms hangs. Bundled Tuscan pilasters again divide the central bay from the outer bays and mark the corners. Rectangular windows surrounded by ornate frames and topped with broken triangular pediments puncture the side bays. Stone

[29] "Most Holy Crucifix / Most Distinguished Sodality / Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese / Holy Roman Church Cardinal Bishops / Supporting Patrons / Built and Decorated this Oratory / 1568." For the Latin inscription, see Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome: Tip. delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1869), 2:333.

[30] See Sivigliano Alloisi and Luisa Cardilli, *Santo Spirito in Saxia* (Rome: Istituto nazionale di studi romani, 2002); Emilio Lavagnino, *La Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia: e il mutare del gusto a Roma al tempo del Concilio di Trento* (Turin: ILTE, 1962); Simone Massimilla, *Chiesa di S. Caterina della Rosa dei Funari: restauro delle cappelle*, ed. Christian Rosolino and Aleksandra Filipović (Rome: Palombi Editori, 2011); Melograni, "Il cantiere cinquecentesco," 219–29.

candelabra stand on the building's corners. Scrolls link them to the attic story, where a triangular pediment topped by a cross crowns the entire structure. Unlike the models on which it draws, Giacomo's façade possesses an emphatic verticality, lending the small structure and also the confraternity a more imposing presence on the Piazza dell'Oratorio.

Although recognized as the dominant architect in Rome in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Giacomo typically completed the work of others, most notably Michelangelo (1475–1564) and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73). As a result, architectural historians have cast him as a "thoroughly reliable if not very inspired" architect with an output characterized by a "somber monumentality" and "standardized simplification" of Michelangelo's formal vocabulary.[31] The essential features of Giacomo's style were present already at the oratory, as were the professional relationships necessary for success. Admittance to the Crocifisso's social network offered access to Rome's most elite patrons.

After Guidetti's death in 1564, Giacomo probably completed Santa Caterina dei Funari and the Cesi family chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore for Cardinal Federico Cesi (1500–65), whose family was later involved in the oratory's pictorial ornamentation. As already described, the oratory's façade shares the tripartite division of Guidetti's church front, but possesses a new verticality. Following Michelangelo's death in the same year, Giacomo was named "architetto del popolo romano" (architect of the Roman people), a prestigious position that put him in charge of renovations on the Capitoline Hill as well as several other public works. Either Guidetti, who supervised the construction of Michelangelo's façade for the Palazzo dei Conservatori, or Cavalieri, who oversaw work

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[31] Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1500-1600*, 122.

at the Palazzo Senatorio and whom Giacomo likely first met at the Crocifisso's prayer hall, introduced him to the capitol projects. After Vignola's demise in 1573, Giacomo became architect to the Farnese family and architect-in-chief of St. Peter's, on the basis of Cavalieri's recommendation. Already in 1571, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the confraternity's protector for whom Giacomo had worked at the oratory, had chosen Giacomo's design for the façade of the Gesù over Vignola's. Building on his ideas from the prayer hall, Giacomo lent the mother church of the Jesuit Order a climactic verticality by reducing the number of niches and statues in the lateral bays and duplicating the architectural members around the main portal (fig. 4.4). Giacomo also completed the church's transept, dome, and choir as well as the final stages of construction at the Farnese family palace. At St. Peter's, the architect designed the mortuary chapels of Popes Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–85) and Clement VIII Aldobrandini (r. 1592–1605) and, most famously (or infamously), completed Michelangelo's dome.[32] Most of the individuals responsible for the oratory's decorative program were employed at the Cappella Gregoriana in the Vatican too. As usual, the company preferred artists and architects already known to its network of members.

Decorating the Oratory

A decade after the façade's completion the company shifted its attention to the interior decoration of its oratory. Von Henneberg's 1974 monograph on the oratory remains an essential source for the documentation of the prayer hall's ornamentation.

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[32] For the professional associations outlined here, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 33–38; Von Henneberg, "An Early Work," 166–68.

Specialized studies by Stefano Pierguidi and Rhoda Eitel-Porter have since correctly revised her chronology of the frescoes' execution on the basis of archival records and preparatory drawings.[33] My study offers the most comprehensive account of the decoration to date, based on a fresh assessment of the sources. On February 3, 1578, the association appointed Tommaso dei Cavalieri and the painter Girolamo Muziano (1532–92) to oversee the oratory's embellishment. Best remembered today as the intimate friend of Michelangelo, Cavalieri was a distinguished intellectual and an active member of the confraternity.[34] Muziano was the preferred painter of Pope Gregory XIII and founder of the Accademia di San Luca (f. 1577), Rome's professional association of artists.[35] In 1578, the two men were collaborating in the Cappella Gregoriana (1578–85) in St. Peter's, with Cavalieri developing the chapel's iconography and Muziano its artistic program.[36] They almost certainly filled the same roles at the oratory, where the company gave them the power "to set the price with the painter, divide the paintings, determine the

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[33] See Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 63–78; Stefano Pierguidi, "Note su Cesare Nebbia e l'Oratorio del Crocifisso," *Studi di storia dell'arte* 10 (1999): 268–71; Rhoda Eitel-Porter, "The Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso in Rome Revisited," *Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1171 (2000): 613–23. See also Stefano Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano' fuori dal Vaticano: L'Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso," in *Unità e frammenti di modernità: arte e scienza nella Roma di Gregorio XIII Boncompagni, 1572-85*, ed. Claudia Cieri Via, Ingrid D. Rowland, and Marco Ruffini (Pisa: Serra, 2012), 265–75; Angela Negro, "Oratorio del Crocifisso, il ciclo cinquecentesco: De' Vecchi, Nebbia, Circignani," in *Restauri d'arte e Giubileo: gli interventi della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma nel Piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000*, ed. Angela Negro (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001), 47–57; Paolo Mancini and Giuseppe Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma, 1983), 36–44.

[34] For instance, he served as a guardian of the company in 1565, when Alessandro Farnese was elected cardinal protector. He participated in the finding of a site for the oratory, the composition of its façade inscription, the direction of its interior decoration, and the commission of its wooden ceiling (now destroyed). His eldest son Mario (d. 1580) was guardian in 1573 and 1579, when Tommaso was overseeing the oratory's decoration. His younger son Emilio (d. 1602), a famous musician, directed the sodality's music from 1573 to 1583. Tommaso's dedication to the association is attested by his request to be buried in its habit. See Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Michelangelo und Tommaso dei Cavalieri* (Amsterdam: Castrvm Peregrini Presse, 1979), 90; Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 12–16, 24, 26, 41–50, 63–64.

[35] On Girolamo Muziano, see Patrizia Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano, 1532-1592: dalla maniera alla natura* (Rome: U. Bozzi, 2008); John Marciari, "Girolamo Muziano and Art in Rome, circa 1550-1600" (PhD diss, Yale University, 2000).

[36] Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano*, 220–32; Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 64.

subjects [and] how to make the payments and the time of those payments, and every other thing that will be necessary."[37] In turn, the deputies awarded the commission to Giovanni de' Vecchi, the favorite painter of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and one of the leading painters in late sixteenth-century Rome.

GIOVANNI DE' VECCHI

Born in Borgo San Sepolcro, Giovanni de' Vecchi arrived in Rome by the early 1560s. Often identified as a pupil of his hometown's own Raffaellino del Colle (ca. 1490–1566), he likely worked on the Life of Nebuchadnezzar II in the Palazzo Belvedere in the Vatican with the Florentine painter Santi di Tito (1563–1603) and Niccolò Circignani between 1561 and 1564. Circignani later took over Giovanni's commission at the Crocifisso. Giovanni is first securely documented in Rome in 1570 as a member of the Accademia di San Luca. As the preferred painter of Alessandro Farnese, he worked at the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Il Gesù, San Lorenzo in Damaso, and Santa Maria Scala Coeli.[38]

At Caprarola, he labored in the ambient of Federico Zuccaro (ca. 1540–1609) and Jacopo Bertoia (ca. 1544–73), completing frescoes in the Sala del Mappamondo and the Sala degli Angeli with Raffaellino da Reggio (ca. 1550–78) in the 1570s. Excluding

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[37] "Fare il prezo con il pictore dividere li quatri fare historie come se hanno de fare li pagamenti et li tempi di essi pagamenti et ogni altra cosa sara necessario sopra di cio." ASV, ACSM, P-I-58: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1576 al 1587, fol. 55 (February 3, 1578).

[38] On Giovanni de' Vecchi, see Nicola Knorn-Ezernieks, *Giovanni de' Vecchi: seine Stellung in der römischen Malerei um 1600* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2013); Patrizia Tosini, "Rivedendo Giovanni de' Vecchi: nuovi dipinti, documenti e precisazioni," *Storia dell'arte* 82 (1994): 303–47; Patrizia Tosini, "Giovanni De' Vecchi," in *Roma di Sisto V: le arti e la cultura*, ed. Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1993); Antonio Pinelli, "Pittura e controriforma: 'convenienza' e misticismo in Giovanni de' Vecchi," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 6 (1977): 49–85; Renato Roli, "Giovanni de' Vecchi," *Arte antica e moderna* 8 (1965): 45–56.

Giovanni, all of these artists also worked at the Oratorio del Gonfalone, the Crocifisso's model and rival. At the Gesù, Farnese commissioned Giovanni to decorate the church's dome and pendentives. The painter completed only the *Four Doctors of the Latin Church* in the pendentives before his patron's death in 1589. The Baroque artist Giovanni Battista Gaulli (1639–1709) later painted over these frescoes. Also in the 1580s, Giovanni collaborated with Giuseppe Cesari, called Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640), and Circignani on the interior façade of San Lorenzo in Damaso, Farnese's titular church. Nineteenth-century renovations of the church destroyed Giovanni's representation of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. At Santa Maria Scala Coeli, Giovanni designed mosaics for the church's apse around 1604, a commission that despite its late execution originated with Farnese.

In addition to Farnese patronage, Giovanni enjoyed the support of Roman nobles and pontiffs. Most significantly, he executed an important cycle of the Life of St. Catherine of Siena in the Chapel of the Rosary in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, variously dated to the 1570s and 1580s, for the Capranica family.[39] Ottavio Capranica was instrumental to the completion of the oratory's decoration, as detailed below. During the papacy of Clement VIII, Giovanni produced cartoons for mosaics of St. John the

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[39] See Patrizia Tosini, "New Documents for the Chronology and Patronage of the Cappella Del Rosario in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 152, no. 1289 (2010): 517–22; Claudio Strinati, "Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Marcello Venusti e Giovanni de' Vecchi nella Cappella Capranica," in *Restauri d'arte e Giubileo: gli interventi della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma nel Piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000*, ed. Angela Negro (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001), 65–70; Susan E. Wegner, "Painted Records of Two Companies of St. Catherine of Siena: Late Sixteenth Century Siena and Rome," in *Confraternite, chiese e società: aspetti e problemi dell'associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. Liana Bertoldi Lenoci (Fasano: Schena, 1994), 755–75; Johanna Heideman, "Giovanni de Vecchi's Fresco Cycle and Its Commissioners in the Rosary Chapel in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome," in *The Power of Imagery: Essays on Rome, Italy & Imagination*, ed. Peter van Kessel (Rome: Apeiron, 1993), 149–62; Johanna Heideman, "Saint Catherine of Siena's Life and Thought: A Fresco-Cycle by Giovanni De' Vecchi in the Rosary Chapel of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome," *Arte Cristiana* 77 (1989): 451–64; Claudio Strinati, "Espressione figurativa e committenza confraternale nella cappella Capranica alla Minerva (1573)," in *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, commitenza artistica* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 395–428.

Evangelist and St. Luke for the pendentives of St. Peter's Basilica. Cesare Nebbia, who briefly worked in the oratory, executed the designs for the mosaics of Matthew and Mark. The prevalence of mosaic designs in Giovanni's *oeuvre* indicates the artist's and his patrons' involvement in the Early Christian revival of the post-Tridentine years, which influenced the oratory's decoration as well. In 1596, Giovanni was elected *principe* (director) of the Accademia di San Luca, a clear sign of his success. Art historians have detected the influence of the academy's founder and the artistic director of the Crocifisso's decorative program, Girolamo Muziano, in the somber piety of Giovanni's late religious work.[40] In 1615, the artist died in Rome.

Years before, on July 11, 1578, the painter and the Crocifisso agreed to a contract. The document, which Josephine von Henneberg published, indicates the sodality's desire for a unified program of the highest quality, for it guarantees unusually strict oversight of the frescoes' execution. It stipulates the subject and appearance of the frescoes and guarantees the master's authorship of the main figures. It also subjects the entire program to Cavalieri's and Muziano's approval and allows the company to terminate its agreement with Giovanni at will. Exerting control over the frescoes' content and form, the contract evinces a sharp stylistic, or artistic, sensibility that enabled the company to choose between artists and artistic modes.

As the contract states, Giovanni was to paint the lateral walls from the height of the sacristy door to the ceiling "di modo che dette faciate siano tute due piene di pitura" (so that these walls will both be full of painting). He would paint three scenes from the story of the Invention of the True Cross on each wall, with the central scene envisioned

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[40] See especially Pinelli, "Pittura e controriforma."

as a fictive tapestry. Niches containing figures to be chosen by the artist, Cavalieri, and Muziano would alternate with the main scenes:

> In each of the above-mentioned walls three large paintings must be made from top to bottom, that is one between the two windows and the other two at the sides. The middle painting will imitate a *panno reportato* [fictive tapestry] and will be the larger painting. So that the other two will not overwhelm the size of the middle [painting], painted ornaments will have to be made. Between the paintings there must be niches or *sfondati* [recesses] or other [such things] with a figure, according to the best judgment of the painter and deputies. Also the subject of the six paintings has to be the story of the Invention of the Cross, that is three per wall as above.[41]

Furthermore, Giovanni would paint in fresco "con ritorcarla a secco dove bisognara" (with retouches *a secco* where needed), and he was obliged to execute all of the figures of the main scenes as well as the main figures in the niches by his own hand. The rest could be entrusted to experienced individuals approved by the deputies, assuming they worked from Giovanni's designs. Most unusually, each part of the decorative program was subject to Cavalieri's and Muziano's approval, and the artist was prohibited from initiating any part of the decoration without the deputies' express consent: "de tutte le inventioni sì delli partimenti come delle altre storie promette farne disigni e cartoni di qualche figura a contentamento de essi S. Deputati et che non possa metter mano all'opera senza consenzo delli deputati." Finally, the artist agreed to begin painting by the end of the month, and the company promised to pay him 440 *scudi* for his work, with the stipulation that "la Compagnia possa levare l'opera al detto M. Giovanni et detto M.

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[41] "In quelle dette facciate come di sopra in ciascheduna di esse faciate vi ha da fare tre quadri grandi d'alto et basso cioè uno in mezo alle due finestre et li altre due delle bande qual quadro di mezo va finto un panno reportato et sara il quadro più grande che si può, alli altri dui accio non soverchino di grandeza quel di mezo vi si hanna da fare ornamenti pure di pitura, fra mezo li quadri vi hano da essere Nicchi o sfondati o altri con una figura secondo miglior parere ad esso pictore et deputati. Item l'inventione delli sei quadri hanno da essere l'historie dell'inventione della croce, cioè tre per faciata come di sopra."

Giovanni non la possa renuntiare" (the company may take the work from M. Giovanni and said M. Giovanni may not give it up).[42]

The artist's association with the company's cardinal protector undoubtedly motivated the confraternity's choice. As Stefano Pierguidi has outlined through a close re-reading of Lando's text, Giangiorgio Cesarini (d. 1585), the husband of Clelia Farnese (ca. 1556–1613) and thus son-in-law of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, propelled the program's initiation. Through Cesarini, the company awarded the entire commission to Giovanni in the hopes of gaining the cardinal's financial support for the project.[43] As Lando writes:

> At that time Signor Mario del Cavaliero [the elder son of Tommaso dei Cavalieri] was made Guardian. Most loving of the Company, he administered all of the belongings of Signor Gio. Giorgio Cesarino, who had a silver lamp made at a cost of 160 *scudi* and also undertook to have the Oratory painted and to have a design made by M. Ioacchino [Giovanni] del Borgo, Cardinal Farnese's painter, with the intention that the cardinal would have covered all of the expenses, and to [Giovanni] alone all of this work was given.[44]

In recognition of Cesarini's assistance, the confraternity added the Cesarini coat of arms, squared with that of the Farnese, to the architectural surround of Giovanni's first history, *St. Helena Ordering the Destruction of Idols* (fig. 4.5).[45] However, the artist's dilatoriness and Cesarini's failure to obtain Farnese's financial backing soon motivated the confraternity to dismiss the painter. As Lando explains, "having started the first

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[42] The document is published in full in Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 101–3.

[43] Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano.'"

[44] "In quel tempo fù fatto Guardiano il Signor Mario del Cavaliero amorevolissimo della Compagnia quale governava tutto l'havere del Signor Gio: Giorgio Cesarino che fece fare una lampada d'argento di costo 160 scudi et anco pigliò per impresa di far dipingere l'Oratorio, e fattone far disegno da M. Ioacchino del Borgo Pittore del Cardinale Farnese con intentione che il Cardinale havresse fatta tutta la spesa e li fù data tutta quest' opera à lui solo." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.

[45] The crest is no longer visible, leading many scholars to overlook Cesarini's involvement in the commission. However, Pierguidi noted that the coat of arms is easily recognizable in photographs taken after the 1963 restoration, but before the 1999 restoration, of the oratory. I was unable to consult the photos directly. See Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 268–69; Pierguidi, "Note su Cesare Nebbia," 269, 274n36, 274n40.

istoria [history] he delayed it so much that it became a nuisance, and also it was not much liked. The thing with the Cardinal did not succeed, and the whole work was taken from his hand."[46]

Five payments made to the artist between August 1578 and May 1579 indicate that Giovanni had, in fact, initiated work in the oratory by the end of July 1578, as required by his contract. However, by 1579, he had completed only one of the main histories, *St. Helena Ordering the Destruction of Idols*. Furthermore, the confraternity was paying the artist with its own funds because "the thing with the cardinal" had not worked out, "la cosa del Cardinale non riusciva."[47] Intriguingly, Lando suggests that issues of style, or taste, also played a part in the sodality's decision to terminate Giovanni's contract. Lando notes that the artist's work was not much liked, or "non piacque molto." However, scholars have consistently overlooked or summarily dismissed this crucial point. For example, Pierguidi echoed von Henneberg and Rhoda Eitel-Porter when, in a footnote, he acknowledged that the company may not have appreciated Giovanni's style, but attributed the decision to take the commission away from the artist to the painter's sluggishness, a product of Giovanni's tendency to overcommit himself: "It is certainly possible that the Archconfraternity did not appreciate de' Vecchi's style, but in the whole affair de' Vecchi's tendency to take on commissions that he could not complete in the established time had a determining weight."[48] In contrast, the later

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[46] "E cominciata la prima istoria la trattenne tanto che venne in fastidio, et anco non piacque molto. La cosa del Cardinale non riusciva, e li fù levata di mano tutta l'opera." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.

[47] For the payments, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 103–4.

[48] "È certamente possibile che l'Arciconfraternita non apprezzasse lo stile del de' Vecchi, ma in tutta la vicenda ebbe un peso determinante la tendenza del de' Vecchi a assumere incarichi che non poteva portare a termine nei tempi stabiliti." Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 269n4. Pierguidi's argument is somewhat dependent on the dating of Giovanni's Life of St. Catherine of Siena in the Chapel of the Rosary

sections of this chapter place the question of form at the center of the discussion. As Lando suggests, without the financial incentive involved in employing the cardinal's favorite painter, the sodality was free to hire artists who could paint more quickly and in a more pleasing manner.

CESARE NEBBIA AND NICCOLÒ CIRCIGNANI

To complete the cycle, the confraternity first turned to Cesare Nebbia, Muziano's most distinguished pupil, and then Niccolò Circignani. As Pierguidi demonstrated, Lando's account is again essential to understanding the commission's history. From Lando's narrative, one may deduce that work progressed from the altar wall to the entrance wall, the subject of the cycle changed to include three scenes from the Exaltation of the True Cross as well as three episodes from the Invention of the True Cross, and the confraternity relied on individual confraternity members to fund individual scenes after the failure of "the thing with the cardinal." Lando explains:

> Having taken it upon himself, the loving Signor Ottavio Capranica negotiated with Signor Federico Cesi and persuaded him to make the second *istoria*, which M. Cesare d'Orvieto made. Signor Fabritio Nari, who made the third by the hand of M. Nicolas Circignano, was made Guardian. Signor D. Michele Bonelli had the fourth made, Signor Valerio della Valle, Signor Tiberio Astalli, and Signor Ottavio Capranica, Guardians at that time, had the fifth made, the Company made the sixth.[49]

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in Santa Maria sopra Minerva to 1573–79. However, Patrizia Tosinia has asserted that the cycle dates to 1583–86. See the bibliography above.

[49] "Pigliatala sopra di se l'amorevole Signor Ottavio Capranica trattò con il Signor Federico Cesi, e lo persuate [sic] a fare la seconda istoria quale fece M. Cesare d' Orvieto. Fù fatto Guardiano il Signor Fabritio Nari quale fece la terza di mano di M. Nicolas Cercignano. La quarta la fece fare il Signor D. Michele Bonelli, la quinta la fece fare il Signor Valerio della Valle, il Signor Tiberio Astalli et il Signor Ottavio Capranica Guardiani in quel tempo; la sesta la fece la Compagnia." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.

In typical sixteenth-century fashion, Lando identified the patrons as the individuals who "made" or "had made" the paintings. He also did not name Circignani as the artist of the fourth and fifth scenes. However, Giovanni Baglione (1566–1643) attributed the last three scenes to the artist, and scholars have universally accepted his account.[50]

As Lando's text demonstrates, changes in artist and patron were needed to bring the cycle to completion between 1578 and 1582. Financial control of the project shifted from Cesarini to Ottavio Capranica, in whose family chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva Giovanni de' Vecchi worked. Capranica convinced Federico Cesi (1562–1630) to fund the second scene. Federico, the marquis of Monticelli, husband of Olimpia Orsini, and father of the founder of the Accademia dei Lincei (f. 1603), should not be confused with Cardinal Federico Cesi, Giacomo della Porta's patron, who died in 1565.[51] Nebbia earned the commission and executed *Heraclius Carrying the Cross Barefoot* (fig. 4.10). Fabrizio Nari, whom Lando identifies as a confraternity guardian, paid for the third image to be executed, *Vision of Heraclius* (fig. 4.9) by Circignani. Although not named by Lando, Circignani was also the author of the fourth and fifth completed scenes, the *Battle Between Heraclius and Chosroes* (fig. 4.8) and *Miracle of the True Cro*ss (fig. 4.7), respectively. Michele Bonelli (1551–1604), brother of Cardinal Michele Bonelli called Alessandrino (1541–98), husband of Livia Capranica, and therefore brother-in-law of Ottavio Capranica, sponsored the fourth scene.[52] Valerio delle Valle, Tiberio Astalli,

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[50] Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, ed. Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1995), 1:42.
[51] Eitel-Porter, "Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso," 617.
[52] Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 275.

and Capranica subsidized the fifth episode during their tenure as guardians in 1581–82.[53] Valerio dell Valle and Capranica were also related, as Capranica's grandmother was Faustina della Valle.[54] Each patron added his coat of arms to the image he sponsored.[55] In 1582, Giovanni de' Vecchi returned to the oratory to finish the last remaining history, *Discovery of the Three Crosses* (fig. 4.6). As attested by a payment made to the artist on June 2, the confraternity as a whole supported his work.[56]

Nebbia's affiliation with Muziano, the oratory's artistic director, determined his participation in the oratory's embellishment. Born in Orvieto, Nebbia trained with Muziano and worked with his teacher at Orvieto Cathedral from 1562 to 1575. He is first recorded as a member of Rome's Accademia di San Luca in 1579. However, he had already completed the *Crowning with Thorns* and *Ecce Homo* in the Oratorio del Gonfalone in 1576. There, he likely met Federico Zuccaro, who greatly influenced him. A prolific artist, Nebbia worked in most of the major artistic programs undertaken during the papacies of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V (r. 1598–90), including at the Sistine Library, Scala Santa, Vatican Palace, Lateran Palace, and San Giovanni in Laterano. He was elected *principe* of the Roman academy in 1597, a year after Giovanni de' Vecchi, and like Giovanni he executed cartoons for the mosaic Evangelists in St. Peter's dome. After

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[53] The confraternity elected the men as guardians on August 20, 1581. Guardians served for one year. See ASV, ACSM, P-I-58, fol. 142 (August 20, 1581).
[54] Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 275.
[55] For the crests, see Negro, "Oratorio del Crocifisso," 54n4; Pierguidi, "Note su Cesare Nebbia," 269–70, 274n40; Mancini and Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 37–38; Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 75n15.
[56] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 103–4.

1600, he worked in Lombardy, most significantly at the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia with Federico Zuccaro. In 1609, he retired to Orvieto, where he died in 1614.[57]

Examining a series of preparatory drawings for the Crocifisso's prayer hall, Rhoda Eitel-Porter and Pierguidi concluded that Nebbia, with the help of his mentor, Muziano, contrived to win the entire commission from Giovanni, whose delays aggravated the confraternity. However, the company selected Niccolò Circignani to finish the cycle. To explain the Crocifisso's choice, the scholars posited that either Nebbia abandoned the project for more prestigious work in the Vatican's Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (1581–83) or the confraternity recognized in Circignani an artist capable of working more expeditiously. This study argues one must also consider the possibility that employing an artist known as a skilled interpreter of the Catholic Reformation appealed to the company as well. Style motivated the confraternity's choice, and scholars must consider why Circignani's conspicuous forms pleased his patrons.

Born in Pomarance near Volterra, Circignani was called Il Pomarancio after his hometown. The nickname has produced a great deal of confusion, since early sources apply it equally to Circignani, his son Antonio (ca. 1567–1630), who was also a painter, and Cristoforo Roncalli, who also hailed from Pomarance. As a result, this discussion does not employ the moniker. Circignani likely studied under his compatriot Daniele da Volterra (1509–66), who completed the frescoes in the Cappella del Crocifisso, as outlined in the previous chapter. During a first brief sojourn in Rome in 1562–63, Circignani worked with Santi di Tito and Giovanni de' Vecchi in the Vatican's Palazzo Belvedere. For most of the 1560s and 1570s, he was active in Umbria, where he produced

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[57] On Cesare Nebbia, see Rhoda Eitel-Porter, *Der Zeichner und Maler Cesare Nebbia, 1536-1614* (Munich: Hirmer, 2009).

paintings for Orvieto Cathedral like Nebbia and Muziano. By the end of the 1570s, he returned to Rome for a second, longer stay.[58]

A member of the Accademia di San Luca after 1581, he participated in the most significant commissions of the post-Tridentine period. During the papacy of Gregory XIII, he painted in the Torre dei Venti.[59] Around 1582, he executed his first famous martyrdom cycle in San Stefano Rotondo, which was quickly followed by the now lost series in San Tommaso degli Inglesi of about 1583.[60] Around 1585, he completed the frescoes in the Chapel of St. Francis in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. He also executed paintings in the Gesù, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and Santa Pudenziana, only little of which survives. In the following decade, Circignani returned to the Oratorio del Crocifisso's theme of the True Cross in the Chapel of St. Helena in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[61] Having retired to Città della Pieve in Umbria, the painter died sometime after 1596, the date of his last known work.

Set within a sophisticated decorative framework, the fresco cycle that Circignani brought to completion in the Oratorio del Crocifisso recalls the illusionism of the pictorial legends commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and his family in the mid-sixteenth century, including Perino del Vaga's (1501–47) Sala Paolina of 1545–47 (fig. 3.13), Giorgio Vasari's (1511–74) Sala dei Cento Giorni from 1546, and Francesco

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[58] On Niccolò Circignani, see Mara Nimmo, "L'età perfetta della virilità di Nicolò Circignani delle Pomarancie," *Studi romani* 32 (1984): 194–214.
[59] Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[60] Leslie Korrick, "On the Meaning of Style: Nicolò Circignani in Counter-Reformation Rome," *Word & Image* 15 (1984): 170–89.
[61] Carla Heussler, "Storia o leggenda: l'invenzione e l'esaltazione della vera Croce e Cesare Baronio," in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 maggio 2007*, ed. Patrizia Tosini (Rome: Gangemi, 2009), 241–54.

Salviati's (1510–63) Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani of 1552–56.[62] Three narratives appear on each wall of the oratory. Giovanni de' Vecchi's *St. Helena Ordering the Destruction of Idols* (fig. 4.5) and *Discovery of the Three Crosses* (fig. 4.6) and Circignani's *Miracle of the True Cross* (fig. 4.7) tell the story of the Invention of the True Cross on the right wall, while Circignani's *Battle Between Heraclius and Chosroes* (fig. 4.8) and *Vision of Heraclius* (fig. 4.9) and Nebbia's *Heraclius Carrying the Cross Barefoot* (fig. 4.10) recount the Exaltation of the True Cross on the left wall. On each wall, the central image is represented as a fictive tapestry with the scalloped fringe of a baldachin on its upper edge. The lateral scenes are set within painted classicizing tabernacles adorned with bronze Herms and surmounted by Michelangelesque nude youths holding garlands. Personifications of virtues adorn the fictive wall hanging above the central image, while visions of the cross in glory materialize within the illusionistic draperies over the lateral scenes. In the lower level, sibyls and prophets of unusual plasticity sit before painted tabernacles, which are topped by the confraternity's emblem, and alternate with the main narratives. Above, standing prophets frame the upper register, and windows flank the central scene. Although more subdued than the designs of midcentury, the cycle's illusionistic framework lends vitality to the sacred histories represented within it, creating a sophisticated play of illusionism for the observer.

BALDASSARE CROCE, PARIS NOGARI, AND CRISTOFORO RONCALLI

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[62] Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga: l'anello mancante* (Genova: SAGEP, 1986), 209–26, 288–94; Filippa M. Aliberti Gaudioso, ed., *Gli Affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo: progetto ed esecuzione, 1543-1548* (Rome: De Luca, 1981); Richard Harprath, *Papst Paul III. als Alexander der Grosse: das Freskenprogramm der Sala Paolina in der Engelsburg* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978); Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale*, 57–68; Francesco Buranelli, ed., *Palazzo Farnese: dalle collezioni rinascimentali ad ambasciata di Francia* (Florence: Giunti, 2010), 81–91; Ludovica Trezzani, "San Marcello al Corso: Cappella Griffoni," in *Francesco Salviati: affreschi romani*, ed. Anna Coliva (Milan: Electa, 1998), 76–87.

After the completion of the sacred histories on the main walls in 1582, the company commissioned a second smaller cycle representing four scenes from its own history on the entrance wall.[63] Baldassare Croce, Paris Nogari, and Cristoforo Roncalli painted the secular histories under the choir loft between 1583 and 1584. Circignani, who had successfully brought the cycle of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross to a conclusion, most likely recommended the artists. He was then overseeing the younger painters in Gregory XIII's Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican.[64] Born in Bologna, Croce arrived in Rome during Gregory XIII's papacy, clearly attracted to the city by the promise of work under the Bolognese pope.[65] Nogari was the only Roman born artist employed at the oratory.[66] A native of Pomarance, Roncalli was Circignani's compatriot and protégé.[67] For all three artists, but especially Roncalli, work at the prayer hall helped to establish their reputations and launch their careers in Rome.

The frescoes at the oratory record four of the most important events in the Crocifisso's history, which Chapter One traced. Croce's *Approval of the Confraternity's Statutes* (fig. 4.11) chronicles the group's official sanction under Pope Clement VII de'

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[63] For these frescoes, see Enzo Fagiolo, "Le storie dell'Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello negli affreschi dell'Oratorio," *Strenna dei romanisti* 66 (2005): 321–31; Negro, "Oratorio del Crocifisso," 47; Mancini and Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 44–47; Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 79–83.
[64] For the Galleria delle Carte geografiche, see Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 275; Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, eds., *La Galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano*, 3 vols. (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1994); Margret Schütte, *Die Galleria delle Carte Geografiche im Vatikan: eine ikonologische Betrachtung des Gewölbeprogramms* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993).
[65] On Baldassare Croce, see Stefano Pierguidi, "L'attività tarda di Baldassarre Croce," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 25, no. 57 (2002): 311–22.
[66] On Paris Nogari, see Tiziana Litteri, "Paris Nogari, pittore manierista romano," *Storia dell'arte* 99 (2000): 3–54.
[67] On Cristoforo Roncalli, see Ileana Chiappini di Sorio, "Cristoforo Roncalli detto il Pomarancio," in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo, il Seicento* (Bergamo: Poligrafiche Bolis, 1983), 1:3-201; William Chandler Kirwin, "The Life and Drawing Style of Cristofano Roncalli," *Paragone* 29, no. 335 (1978): 18–62; William Chandler Kirwin, "Christofano Roncalli (1551/2-1626), an Exponent of the Proto-Baroque: His Activity through 1605" (PhD diss, Stanford University, 1972).

Medici (r. 1523–34) in 1526. The painting was formerly attributed to Nogari. However, the 1963 restoration of the oratory revealed Croce's signature — "Baldassar de Croce Pittor Bonosiensi faciebat" — on the scroll held by two figures at the center of the image.[68] The *Procession of the Crucifix against the Plague of 1522* by Nogari (fig. 4.12) and the *Miraculous Survival of the Crucifix from the Fire in San Marcello* by Roncalli (fig. 4.13) commemorate the association's miraculous origins. Meanwhile, Roncalli's *Foundation of the Capuchin Convent on the Quirinal Hill* (fig. 4.14) recalls the sodality's charitable mission. The image is the only fresco on the entrance wall for which a payment survives, and scholars have reasonably dated the other frescoes on the entrance to 1583–84 on the basis of the payment.[69] A vision of the cross in glory appears above these frescoes in the choir loft.

CEILING AND ALTAR

The gilding of the ceiling and completion of the altar wall, which this section reviews only briefly, brought the oratory's decoration to an end in the 1580s. Already in 1567, the confraternity had appointed five members, including Cavalieri and Lando, to oversee the ceiling's construction. However, the deputies made little progress on the project until 1573 when the company confirmed their election and added Patrizio Patrizi

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[68] See Italo Faldi, "Roma, Oratorio del Crocefisso. Affreschi manieristici," in *Tutela e valorizzazione del patrimonio artistico di Roma e del Lazio mostra documentaria dell'attività di tutela, restauro, sistemazione museografica e incremento patrimoniale svolta dal 1 gennaio 1963 al 30 marzo 1964 dalle Soprintendenze e dagli Istituti di Roma dipendenti dalla Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti: Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 12-19 aprile, 1964* (Rome: Palazzo Venezia, 1964), 93.

[69] On May 13, 1583, the confraternity registered a payment of five *scudi* to Cristoforo Roncalli "per intero pagamento della storia depenta della … Capucine facto sotto il coro sopra al banco del s. vicario che sta nel nostro oratorio" (for entire payment of the painted history of the Capuchins made under the choir above the vicar's bench that is in our oratory). See Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 105; Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 270; Eitel-Porter, "Oratorio Del SS. Crocifisso," 613n9.

(d. 1592) to their numbers. The sodality later recognized Patrizio as the benefactor of its Capuchin convent. On August 23, the confraternity selected the design submitted by the master woodworker Flaminio Boulanger.

Cavalieri's influence was instrumental in the committee's choice. He had submitted Boulanger's design to the congregation, which "not having a more beautiful design than that made by M. Flaminio, which M. Thomao del Cavagliero brought and showed here at the assembly" selected it without hesitation.[70] Furthermore, as von Henneberg noted, Cavalieri had already awarded the master carver two important commissions in Rome: the ceiling of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli and three rooms in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Campidoglio.[71] On September 9, 1573, the confraternity and woodworker agreed to a contract, which stipulated that the ceiling should be finished within a year and guaranteed 650 *scudi* for the work, or 210 *scudi* more than the main fresco cycle. However, a decade would pass before the company would undertake the ceiling's gilding.

As Pierguidi indicated, Capranica likely motivated the ceiling's completion as he inspired the end of the frescoes' execution. "Having finished painting," Lando remembered, "Signor Ottavio proposed to gild the ceiling, and taking the endeavor upon himself […] found enough money to finish it."[72] On October 16, 1573, the Confraternity agreed to a contract with gilders, and by 1584 the gilding was complete and the ceiling

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[70] "Non havere disegno più bello che quello disegno facto da Mastro Flaminio quale è questo che M. Thomao del Cavagliero porta et mostra qui alla congregatione." Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 45.
[71] For these events, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 44–46.
[72] "Finito di dipingere il Signor Ottavio propore d'indorar il soffitto, e pigliando sopra di lui tal'impresa andò tanto col suo dolce procedure che trovò tanti denari che lo condusse à fine." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51; Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 274.

finished.[73] It was later destroyed in 1798, during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802).

A year after the ceiling's completion, the company registered its final payment for the altar wall (fig. 4.2). Already in 1582, the sodality recorded payments to Circignani for "aver depinto ala cappella del nostro oratorio" (having painted in the chapel of our oratory) and "haver depinto li cinque sfondati alla cappella del nostro oratorio" (having painted the five recesses in the chapel of our oratory).[74] Scholars have traditionally interpreted these records as referring to Circignani's work on the lateral walls, but it is more likely they refer to the altar recess or wall.[75] On October 7, 1583, the company provided funds to Roncalli for the "telari et tela et colori per fare le due figure che vanno all'altare dell'oratorio di San Marcello sopra le porticelle che metendo in mezzo laltare" (frames, canvas, and colors for making the two figures that go above the altar of the oratory of San Marcello above the doors with the altar between them), that is the figures of St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene to either side of the altar niche.[76] In 1584, the confraternity paid Circignani for the "doi quadri de pittura delo altare" (two painted pictures of the altar).[77] Finally, between October 1584 and April 1585, the association dispersed various payments to an artist named Colantonio and Bartolomeo Giordano for their work on the altar wall.[78] With the exception of Roncalli's *St. John the Evangelist* and *St. Mary Magdalene*, these paintings cannot be identified with certainty,

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[73] For the documents, see Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 99–100, 107–10.
[74] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 104.
[75] As Pierguidi noted, the payments to Giovanni de' Vecchi refer to "nostro oratorio" (our oratory), not the "cappella del nostro oratorio" (chapel of our oratory). The term "cappella del nostro oratorio," therefore, most likely refers to the altar recess or altar wall. See Pierguidi, "Un cantiere 'gregoriano,'" 273–74.
[76] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 109–10.
[77] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 109.
[78] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 109–10.

for the register's descriptions do not correspond in number or shape to the extant paintings.

As executed, the altar wall creates an elaborate frame for the sculpted crucifix on the oratory's altar, which may be the crucifix donated by Monsignor Pietro Bardetti after the ceremonial laying of the prayer hall's first stone recounted at the start of this chapter. Lando estimated the sculpture cost eighty *scudi*.[79] The dove of the Holy Spirit flies in the barrel vault of the altar's recess. God the Father appears in a semicircular lunette below. Roncalli's saints hang to either side of the altar niche. The *Sacrifice of Isaac* and *Brazen Serpent* set within rectangular frames surmount the false windows in the wall's upper register, while figures of the Four Evangelists flank the windows' casements. Personifications of Meekness and Temperance appear in the spandrels above the central arch to either side of a cartouche inscribed with the words, "IN CRVCE GLORIARI OPORTET IN QVA EST SALVS" (Glory to the Cross in which is Salvation).[80] Finally, painted ornaments of various types fill the remainder of the wall's surface.

Interpreting the Frescoes

The pictorial decoration of the Oratorio del Crocifisso expressed the confraternity's dedication to arousing devotion through spectacle as well as its commitment to restoring the Catholic faith following the Council of Trent. The paintings on the main walls narrate the story of the finding and recovery of the True Cross by St. Helena and the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, the events celebrated by the confraternity

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[79] "Fù donato il SS. Crocefisso qual'hoggi si vede nella Cappella dell'Oratorio da Monsignor PIetro Bardetti quale gli costò 80 scudi." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.
[80] Mancini and Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 48.

on its principal feasts in May and September. On the right wall of the oratory, Helena, the mother of the first Christian emperor Constantine, discovers the cross on which Christ was crucified. Having traveled to Jerusalem to find the cross, Helena comes across a pagan temple at the site of the Crucifixion in the first narrative episode (fig. 4.5). With a commanding gesture, she orders the temple razed and the idols destroyed. In the next scene, she holds her hand to her chest and gazes toward heaven, while Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, directs the finding of Christ's cross and the crosses of the two thieves (fig. 4.6).[81] In the third scene, Helena indicates the miracle of the True Cross in which Christ's cross reveals itself by resuscitating a young man (fig. 4.7). On the opposite wall, three frescoes portray the exaltation of the True Cross, in which the emperor Heraclius recovers the cross from the Persians. With the relic of the True Cross having been plundered by the Persians, Heraclius confronts the Persian king at the Danube and defeats him in single combat (fig. 4.8). The emperor triumphantly returns with the cross to Jerusalem in the next episode (fig. 4.9). However, an angel appears to him, admonishing him to follow Christ's example of humility. In the last scene, having shed his imperial garb, a barefoot Heraclius returns the cross to Mount Golgotha in a somber procession with Zacharias, the patriarch of Jerusalem (fig. 4.10).

LEGENDS OF THE TRUE CROSS

Unlike early visual precedents such as Piero della Francesca's (ca. 1415–92) famous fifteenth-century cycle in Arezzo, the oratory's frescoes focus exclusively on the

[81] Stefano Lando, who transcribed Fabio Lando's treatise on the oratory, identified the bearded figure with a ruffled collar looking out of the scene at the right as his grandfather, Fabio. See ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51.

discovery and recovery of the cross by Helena and Heraclius. Piero's cycle, in contrast, follows the miraculous story of the wood of Christ's cross in Jacobus da Voragine's thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*, which remained the definitive source on the subject throughout the Quattrocento.[82] On the chapel's right side (fig. 4.15), Adam's son Seth plants a branch from the Tree of Knowledge over his father's grave. The branch grows into a majestic tree, which survives into Solomon's time when it is cut down and used as a bridge. Traveling to Jerusalem to test Solomon's wisdom, the Queen of Sheba recognizes the holiness of the bridge's wood and kneels to adore it. Subsequently, she meets Solomon, the king of Israel, and predicts that the man who will bring about the end of the Jewish kingdom will one day hang from the tree. The timber is then buried deep within the earth on the king's orders. Centuries later, after Christ has been crucified on the cross and the cross's wood buried again, the Roman emperor Constantine experiences a vision of the cross and triumphs over his rival Maxentius in the sign of the cross.

On the left side, Constantine's pious mother Helena travels to Jerusalem to find the cross on which Christ was crucified. After torturing a Jew named Judas to uncover its location, Helena and her entourage find Christ's cross and the crosses of the two thieves. The True Cross then reveals itself by reviving a dead man. Hundreds of years later, with the relic of the True Cross having fallen into the hands of the Persians, the Christian emperor Heraclius fights the Persian king Chosroes, defeats him, and recovers the cross. He then returns the cross to Jerusalem.[83] Thus, unlike the oratory's frescoes, the chapel

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[82] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1941), 1:269-76, 2:543-50.
[83] Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Piero Della Francesca: San Francesco, Arezzo* (New York: G. Braziller, 1994).

offers a complete cycle of the Legend of the True Cross, as it includes episodes from the lives of Adam, Solomon, and Constantine.

For the oratory's focus on the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross, the frescoes attributed to Antoniazzo Romano (ca. 1430–1510) in the main apse of the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome offered the most immediate model (fig. 4.16). One of the city's seven major pilgrimage churches, the basilica housed the relics of the Passion that Helena brought to Rome from the Holy Land, including fragments of the True Cross. Moving from left to right, Antoniazzo's version of the narrative also follows the story of the wood of Christ's cross in the *Golden Legend*. To uncover the cross's location, Helena speaks with a Jew named Judas, who indicates where Christ's cross and the crosses of the two thieves may be found. Laborers unearth the crosses as three men observe the discovery. A funeral procession then approaches. Helena and her entourage test the crosses by laying the corpse over each one. Christ's cross revives the man, who rises from it. On the right side, the armies of Heraclius and Chosroes gather on the banks of the Danube, while the rulers fight. Victorious, Heraclius returns to Jerusalem at the head of a grand procession, but the admonitory angel halts his progress. Duly humbled, the emperor carries the cross into Jerusalem on foot in the distance.[84] Macarius and Zacharias, who take active parts in the oratory's story, are noticeably absent from these events, as is the scene of Helena's destruction of idols. Meanwhile, Judas is essential to Antoniazzo's narrative, but missing from the oratory.

POST-TRIDENTINE TEXTS

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[84] Anna Cavallaro, *Antoniazzo Romano e gli Antoniazzeschi: una generazione di pittori nella Roma del Quattrocento* (Udine: Campanotto Editore, 1992), 263–64.

These differences indicate that the confraternity and its iconographic advisor, Tommaso dei Cavalieri, drew on textual sources beyond the medieval *Golden Legend* in devising the oratory's program. Already in the early 1540s, Daniele da Volterra had offered an interpretation of the theme inspired by early Christian sources in his now-destroyed paintings of the Life of St. Helena and the Legend of the True Cross in the Cappella Orsini in SS. Trinità dei Monti.[85] Daniele was then completing the frescoes in the Crocifisso's chapel too. In the vault of the Orsini Chapel, the artist depicted the construction of the three crosses, Helena demanding to know where the crosses had been hidden, Helena ordering that Judas be cast into a well until he revealed the crosses' location, and finally Judas showing Helena where the crosses had been buried. On the right wall, Daniele showed Helena ordering the excavation of the crosses and overseeing the proof of the True Cross. On the left, he portrayed the healing of a sick man by the cross and Heraclius carrying the cross barefoot into Jerusalem. In many ways, the program followed Voragine's account of the sacred history. However, as Carolyn Valone has outlined, Daniele's depiction of the climactic proof of the cross — known through surviving drawings (fig. 4.17) and Vasari's description of the scene — matched the drama of St. Paulinus da Nola's (ca. 354–431) lively account of the sacred history in a letter to Sulpitius Severus of ca. 402.[86] Employing a diagonal composition, pronounced chiaroscuro, and animated gestures, Daniele enlivened the narrative like Paulinus.

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[85] Michael Hirst, "Daniele da Volterra and the Orsini Chapel - I: The Chronology and the Altar-Piece," *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 774 (1967): 498–509; Bernice Davidson, "Daniele da Volterra and the Orsini Chapel - II," *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 775 (1967): 553–61.

[86] Carolyn Valone, "Elena Orsini, Daniele da Volterra, and the Orsini Chapel," *Artibus et Historiae* 11, no. 22 (1990): 83–86.

The Crocifisso drew more directly on post-Tridentine texts rooted in authoritative early sources, firmly situating the confraternity's choice of subject in the Early Christian revival then underway in Rome. The oratory depicts the rarely visualized story of Helena ordering the destruction of idols; it also grants members of the Church hierarchy an exceptionally prominent role in the finding and restitution of the cross. For these features, Cavalieri and his confraternity brothers most likely drew on the post-Tridentine *Breviarium romanum* (1568) and Cesare Baronio's (1538–1607) *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), which was written at the request of St. Philip Neri (1515–95).[87] The texts offer versions of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross grounded in Early Christian and Byzantine sources, most significantly Rufinus of Aquileia's Church history (401), St. Paulinus of Nola's letter to Sulpitius Severus (ca. 402), and the chronicle of St. Theophanes the Confessor (810–15).[88] Following Rufinus and Paulinus, the breviary reports that Helena found the crosses after first purifying the area of a pagan cult. Like Paulinus, it introduces the figure of Macarius into the narrative to help Helena distinguish between the crosses. And like Theophanes, it includes Zacharias in the story of

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[87] Manlio Sodi and Achille M. Triacca, eds., *Breviarium romanum: editio princeps (1568)* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1999); Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1588–1607).

[88] Sodi and Triacca, *Breviarium romanum*, 769–70, 886; Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 3:330-32, 8:217; Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* (Paris, 1878), 21:475-77; Paulinus of Nola, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, trans. P. G. Walsh (Westminster, MD: Newmann Press, 1967), 2:125-33; Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, trans. Cyril A. Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 458–60. Von Henneberg first identified Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* as a potential source for the unusual features of Nebbia's *Heraclius Carrying the Cross Barefoot* — e.g., the patriarch Zacharias accompanies Heraclius and the emperor appears to be exiting rather than entering Jerusalem. Noting that the relevant volumes of Baronio's text were published only in 1592 (vol. 3) and 1599 (vol. 8), Carla Heussler rejected the annals as a possible source for the fresco cycle, identifying the *Breviarium romanum* instead. However, as von Henneberg and Eitel-Porter noted, Baronio's text circulated orally and in manuscript form before its publication. Therefore, both the annals and the breviary (and the early sources on which they draw) may be considered sources for the cycle's iconography. See Josephine Von Henneberg, "Elsheimer and Rubens: A Link in Early 17th Century Rome," *Storia dell'arte* 95 (1999): 35–44; Heussler, "Storia o leggenda," 245–46; Eitel-Porter, "Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso," 623.

Heraclius's return of the cross to Mount Golgotha, reporting that it was the patriarch rather than an angel who advised the emperor to shed his imperial garb before returning the cross to Calvary. Meanwhile, Baronio cites each of the early sources for the Invention of the True Cross and references the breviary for the True Cross's Exaltation.

The unusual iconography inspired by these texts also carried significance within the official reform of the Catholic Church initiated by the Council of Trent. Like the *Destruction of the Pagan Temples* of 1548–50 by Francesco Salviati in the Cappella del Pallio in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome, *St. Helena Ordering the Destruction of Idols* (fig. 4.5) acts as a symbol of the restoration of true faith after the Protestant Reformation.[89] In response to the Protestant critique of images, which often led to their proscription or destruction, the Catholic Church reaffirmed its position on the right use of religious images at Trent:

> And they must also teach that images of Christ, the virgin mother of God and the other saints should be set up and kept, particularly in churches, and that due honour and reverence is owed to them, not because some divinity or power is believed to lie in them as reason for the cult, or because anything is to be expected from them, or because confidence should be placed in images as was done by the pagans of old; but because the honour showed to them is referred to the original which they represent: thus, through the images which we kiss and before which we uncover our heads and go down on our knees, we give adoration to Christ and veneration to the saints, whose likeness they bear.[90]

Distinguishing between the veneration due to God and that due to images, the Church differentiated the approved use of images by Christians from pagan idolatry. At the oratory, one sees Helena ordering pagan idols demolished because they are images of false gods that were used improperly. Her act is also purifying, for she cleanses the site of

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[89] For the chapel, see Patricia Rubin, "The Private Chapel of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Cancelleria, Rome," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 82–112; Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale*, 151–57.

[90] Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 2:775.

the Crucifixion of false religion. Through the eradication of old ways and erroneous beliefs, the true faith is restored, as the Catholic Church would be revived through reform and the defeat of Protestantism.

In addition, like the post-Tridentine texts on which it draws, the cycle emphasizes the Church's role as mediator. The Protestant doctrine of justification by faith fundamentally challenged the Church's role in salvation by questioning the necessity of the sacraments and the Mass. Furthermore, the reformers aimed their strongest criticisms at the institutions of the Church hierarchy, namely the papacy, episcopacy, and pastorate — exactly those officials tasked with mediating between the individual and God. As a result, the council dedicated the majority of its twenty-five sessions to confirming Church doctrine and reforming the clergy, thus reaffirming the central place of the Church hierarchy in salvation.[91] The oratory expresses this renewal of ecclesiastical authority in the figures of Macarius and Zacharias. In the *Discovery of the Three Crosses* (fig. 4.6), Helena looks to heaven, as if led to the crosses by divine revelation, a direct and unmediated experience of the divine. However, it is the bishop who leads the discovery of the crosses. Likewise, an angel had appeared to Heraclius (fig. 4.9), conveying God's message to him directly. However, the Church patriarch is given prominence in *Heraclius Carrying the Cross Barefoot* (fig. 4.10), reflecting the breviary's account of his intervention in the return of the cross to Golgotha. Thus, the confraternity's choice of subject and the selection of individual scenes within it were of great significance. The group drew on post-Tridentine texts founded in early sources, celebrated the restoration

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[91] For the council, see especially Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1948); John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013); John W. O'Malley, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous," in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. Marcia B. Hall and Tracy Elizabeth Cooper (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 28–48.

of the Catholic faith after the Protestant Reformation, referenced the renewal of Church authority after Trent, and recalled the confraternity's principal feasts — the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross.

DEVOUT AND CONSPICUOUS

The frescoes' formal structure also expressed Catholic Reformation values, especially the proper use of sacred images. The compositions steadily guide the viewer around the oratory, compelling him or her to read the images and meditate on the narrative. Beginning with *St. Helena Ordering the Destruction of Idols* (fig. 4.5), the gaze follows the diagonal from the crowd behind Helena, down her arm, to the man kneeling before her, who directs the viewer to the next scene (fig. 4.6). There, Macarius's glance and gesture toward the crosses lead the viewer to the *Miracle of the True Cross* (fig. 4.7), where the sharp line of the cross and the balletic movements of its bearers guide the viewer across the entrance and to the opposite wall. Similarly, the elegant postures of *repoussoir* figures before the *Duel Between Heraclius and Chosroes* (fig. 4.8) point to the following episode (fig. 4.9). There, the strong diagonal linking the emperor and angel directs the viewer forward to the final scene (fig. 4.10), where a somber march continues the processional movement depicted throughout the oratory into the distance.

The frescoes' legibility corresponds with the expectations of religious art after the Council of Trent, which articulated the Church's call for didactic and comprehensible art. Like the devotional practices and urban processions discussed in Chapter Two, religious

art after Trent was intended to instruct and inspire. Trent's decree on the use of sacred images is notoriously vague, but its central message was:

> Bishops should teach with care that the faithful are instructed and strengthened by commemorating and frequently recalling the articles of our faith through the expression in pictures or other likenesses of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption; and that great benefits flow from all sacred images, not only because people are reminded of the gifts and blessings conferred on us by Christ, but because the miracles of God through the saints and their salutary example is put before the eyes of the faithful, who can thank God for them, shape their own lives and conduct in imitation of the saints, and be aroused to adore and love God and to practise devotion.[92]

Thus, sacred art after Trent was meant to be intelligible, didactic, and compelling. However, following early commentators like Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), scholars have often argued that the artificiality of late sixteenth-century painting in Italy prevented it from moving viewers to devotion because it appealed to the intellect of the elite, rather than the emotions of the faithful.[93] This claim has been especially persistent in discussions of the Oratorio del Crocifisso because of the assumption that the confraternity's "taste for the splendid and sumptuous and its profoundly aristocratic character" made the "profound intensity of religious sentiment" at the heart of reform "fundamentally extraneous" to the company.[94] This dissertation counters such claims,

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[92] Tanner, *Ecumenical Councils*, 2:775.

[93] The perception is rooted in discussions of Mannerism or Maniera, most influentially Walter F. Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965); Craig Hugh Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: IRSA, 1992); John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1967); S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961); S. J. Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera," *Art Bulletin* 47, no. 2 (1965): 187–97; S.J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Marcia B. Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). See Chapter One for a review of the literature.

[94] "La profonda intensità di sentimento religioso comune a molte confraternite romane del '500 rimase infatti fondamentalmente estranea a quella del Crocifisso che, con il suo gusto per lo splendido e lo sfarzoso ed il suo carattere profondamente aristocratico, sembrò prendere della Controriforma quanto in essa vi era di più esteriore e appariscente." Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 50.

arguing instead that the theatricality of the images — their drama, artifice, and spectacle — worked together with the narrative clarity of the frescoes to both instruct and inspire.

The oratory's images are not purely didactic. They also seek to arouse devotion through artifice, or to paraphrase the confraternity, "to move viewers to devotion with the spectacle of the cross."[95] For example, Circignani's *Miracle of the True Cross* (fig. 4.7) recalls a sacred drama like the company's Corpus Christi plays described in Chapter Two. An architectural frame acts like a proscenium, and a perspectival view of classically inspired architecture and distant hills evokes a stage set. Like actors in a play, the figures are arranged in the foreground on an elevated platform. The funerary bier — which evokes the *bara* (bier or casket) used by the company in its processions — sits at center. The newly resurrected youth rises from it. Supported by a companion, his body forms an elegant parabola that leads the eye to Helena at left. Helena then calmly points back to the miracle at center. There, two beautiful, muscular men in skintight garb strike statuesque poses as they hold the True Cross over the revived man and thus focus the viewer's attention on the central scene. Their movements are graceful, but unnatural. Some of the other actors even look out at the spectator, inviting him or her to witness the sacred event. The *titulus* (inscription) held by two boys in contemporary garb at the forefront of the image identifies the cross as Christ's.

Likewise, Circignani's *Vision of Heraclius* (fig. 4.9) on the opposite wall stirs devotion with spectacle. Imagined as a fictive tapestry, the fresco portrays a cortege at dusk and thus recalls the confraternity's processions. As shadows fall across the

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[95] "A moversi a divotione per il spettaculo de quel miraculoso Crucifisso." ASV, ACSM, P-I-55: Congregazioni e Decreti, fol. 192 (December 16, 1554). Discussed in Chapter Two, the statement referred to the 1554 procession ordered by Pope Julius III del Monte (r. 1550–55) to celebrate the return of England to the Catholic Church.

landscape, Heraclius rides a white horse in the center foreground. With the help of two aides, he balances the True Cross on his left shoulder, keeping a cloth between his hands and the holy relic like the veils used to shroud the Crocifisso's crucifix. Suddenly, a magnificent angel with arms outstretched, torso curved, and knee raised in a dance-like posture appears in a glory of light before him. The yellow and orange of Heraclius's garments echo the heavenly luminescence, and the emperor gazes adoringly up at the celestial vision, establishing an inexorable link between them. However, the other foreground figures — including the boy in contemporary dress holding an escutcheon at right, who recalls the children who participated in the company's ceremonies — look out at the viewer and urge him or her to participate in the intimate encounter. They invite the audience to participate in the public performance of devotion like the *confratelli* in procession. Both dramatic and didactic, Cirignani's frescoes respond to the Church's demands for comprehensible, instructive, and inspiring religious art after the Council of Trent. Thus, although often maligned today for its stylization, the sumptuous artistic mode favored by the Crocifisso functioned in the company's private prayer hall to recall the devotional significance of the group's public religious performances, as well as its dedication to the reforms of Trent.

From Decollato to Gonfalone to Crocifisso

Reviewing the 1963 restoration of the oratory, Italo Faldi observed that the three Roman oratories painted in the sixteenth century — the oratories of San Giovanni Decollato, the Gonfalone, and the Crocifisso — offer a "compiuta antologia del

manierismo romano" (complete anthology of Roman mannerism).[96] Seven oratories were built or significantly rebuilt in the period, but only these three received pictorial programs. The authors of the short but scholarly guide to the Oratorio del Crocifisso expanded Faldi's idea, writing:

> In these three monuments it is possible to study in brief most of the history of Cinquecento Roman painting, to start from the Oratorio di S. Giovanni Decollato, in the pictorial decoration of which it is still possible to recognize the problems, ferments, ideas that rendered the first Roman Mannerism alive and fruitful, to pass to that […] of the Gonfalone, that is 'at the Roman roots of International Mannerism,' and finally, to this of the SS. Crocifisso […] by which point the *Maniera* had arrived at its descent; where […] only the great technical ability put to the service of the intentions of religious edification according to a program dictated by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation is left to admire.[97]

Quoting Federico Zeri, the comment traces the traditional trajectory from early Mannerism to Maniera to Counter-Maniera, a periodization that scholars now generally reject as all such classifications have fallen from favor.[98] However, without entering into the seemingly endless debate over period labels, it is useful to compare the Crocifisso's ornamentation to that of the prayer halls that came before it in order to understand better the conspicuous devotion of its post-Tridentine manner.

The style of painting that art historians often call the Maniera first manifested in the Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato.[99] A group of Florentines living in Rome founded the confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, or St. John the Beheaded, in 1488. The

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[96] Faldi, "Oratorio del Crocefisso," 92.

[97] "In questi tre monumenti è possibile studiare in sintesi gran parte della storia della pittura romana del Cinquecento, ad iniziare dall'Oratorio di S. Giovanni Decollato, nella cui decorazione pittorica […] è ancora possibile riconoscere i problemi, i fermenti, le idee che resero vivo e fecondo il primo Manierismo romano, per passare a quello […] del Gonfalone, che sta 'alle radici romane del Manierismo Internazionale', ed infine, a questo del SS. Crocifisso […] quando la *Maniera* era giunta ormai al suo tramonto; ove […] è solo da ammirare la grande abilità tecnica messa al servizio degli intenti di edificazione religiosa secondo un programma dettato dallo spirito della Controriforma." Mancini and Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 37.

[98] For discussion of this issue, see David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence, 1500-1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

[99] Hall, *After Raphael*, 141–46.

sodality of foreign nationals took as its charitable dedication the comforting of prisoners condemned to die, and as its name suggests, the group's patron saint was John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence. Between 1536 and 1555, Jacopino del Conte (1510–98), Francesco Salviati, Battista Franco (ca. 1510–61), Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1512/13–83), and an anonymous follower of Salviati decorated the oratory with a series of frescoes depicting scenes from the life of John the Baptist. The cycle begins on the right wall with the *Annunciation to Zachariah* by Jacopino del Conte (fig. 4.18) and continues around the room in a clockwise manner, ending with the *Beheading of the Baptist* by Salviati's follower. Jacopino's *Descent from the Cross* stands above the altar, flanked by representations of St. Andrew and St. Bartholomew by Salviati.[100]

A comparison of the *Annunciation to Zachariah* and *Preaching of the Baptist* (fig. 4.19) by Jacopino demonstrates the significant stylistic shift that occurred at the Decollato. Jacopino later joined the Crocifisso and produced altarpieces for the company's Capuchin convent that the next chapter analyzes. The first narrative episode at the Decollato (fig. 4.18) recalls the classical style of the Renaissance and is replete with references to Jacopino's hometown as well as the Renaissance giants Michelangelo and Raphael (1483–1520). The composition is balanced and orderly. The aged Zachariah stands at center receiving the news of John the Baptist's impending birth from a Raphaelesque angel. The dome over the baptistery in the background is that of Florence's cathedral. Michelangelo's *Apollo-David* adorns the structure, and a Michelangelesque *ignudo* (nude) reclines on the stairs.

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[100] Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia*; Jean S. Weisz, "Salvation through Death: Jacopino del Conte's Altarpiece in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome," *Art History* 6 (1983): 395–405; Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato*.

In contrast, the *Preaching of the Baptist* (fig. 4.19) combines the stylistic qualities that Walter Friedlaender defined as early Mannerism — namely irrational space, elongated figures, complex figural poses, and an emphasis on the body — with the sophistication of John Shearman's "stylish style" in the first example of the Maniera.[101] The fresco shows John the Baptist standing amidst a group of followers. He raises his right hand in a rhetorical gesture as if to make his point better. His followers are crowded around him, filling the picture plane with their elegantly contorted bodies. Above all, the artist is interested in displaying his artistic virtuosity. The space is unrealistic. The figures are unnaturally elongated and posed in exceedingly graceful, artificial poses. As their semi-nude bodies fill the picture plane, the viewer's attention is drawn to the artist's skill in depicting the human body, perhaps more than the fresco's religious content.

The Oratorio del Gonfalone, in turn, exhibits the stylistic diversity that has frustrated efforts to define a uniform "Mannerist" style. Rome's oldest surviving confraternity, the company of the Gonfalone was founded around 1267 and named after the banner carried in its processions. Originally a flagellant society, the sodality was best known for the Passion plays it staged in the Colosseum, until Pope Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49) banned the practice in 1539. It was later famous for the penitential processions it performed during Easter Week, discussed in Chapter Two. Between 1569 and 1576, Jacopo Bertoia, Livio Agresti (ca. 1508–80), Marcantonio dal Forno, Raffaellino da Reggio, Federico Zuccaro, Cesare Nebbia, Marco Pino (ca. 1525–87), and other unknown artists embellished the Gonfalone's prayer hall with a series of frescoes representing episodes from the Passion of Christ. Nebbia later worked at the Crocifisso. Recalling the

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[101] Hall, *After Raphael*, 141–46; Shearman, *Mannerism*; Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting*.

imitation and reenactment of Christ's suffering undertaken by the company in its devotional practices, the cycle begins on the right wall with Bertoia's *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 4.20) and, like the fresco cycle at the Decollato, continues in a clockwise fashion around the room, ending with Marco Pino's *Resurrection*. The *Crucifixion* by Pietro Roviale Spagnolo (b. after 1511) adorns the altar.[102]

As Gonfalone expert Barbara Wisch briefly noted, the frescoes present an "amalgam" of un-homogenized personal styles.[103] Sydney J. Freedberg described Bertoia's *Entry into Jerusalem* as a "chastened" Maniera with a "classicist — or even academic — accent."[104] He suggested Raffaellino da Reggio's *Christ before Pilate* (fig. 4.21) was a "spirited" late Maniera painting "full of a young foreigner's concern to absorb novelties of Roman style."[105] In the fresco, Christ appears before Pilate, who signals his uncertainty with an exaggerated gesture, while the crowd of onlookers responds with a variety of emotions ranging from intense concentration and sadistic enthusiasm to bored indifference. Zuccaro's *Flagellation* (fig. 4.22), in contrast, was to Freedberg an early example of the Counter-Maniera, "a legible and non-rhetorical mode."[106] Christ stands tied to a short column and suffers quietly as three guards, whose graceful movements contrast with their grotesque features, beat him. Marcia Hall, Freedberg's student, characterized the manner of the entire cycle as a "moderate" or "subdued" Maniera, distinguished by its combination of an appeal to the viewer's

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[102] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*; Bernardini, *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone*; Barbara Wisch, "New Themes for New Rituals: The Crucifixion Altarpiece by Roviale Spagnuolo for the Oratory of the Gonfalone in Rome," in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 203–34.
[103] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 425.
[104] Freedberg, *Painting in Italy*, 582.
[105] Freedberg, *Painting in Italy*, 653.
[106] Freedberg, *Painting in Italy*, 642, 647.

emotions with the rhetorical, theatrical devices of the Maniera.[107] Wisch, rather unsatisfactorily, rationalized the stylistic disparities by arguing that the diversity of artistic modes allowed confraternity brothers with varied tastes to engage personally with each episode.[108]

The Crocifisso aimed for a more unified decorative program, as the analysis of the company's original contract with Giovanni de' Vecchi has already indicated, but the sodality was also dissatisfied with Giovanni's work. The first fresco "was not much liked." Thus, around 1580, the company moved away from the somber manners of Giovanni and Cesare Nebbia to the more exuberant style of Circignani. As the director of the oratory's 1999 restoration summarized:

> One thus passes from the tense and austere phrasing of De' Vecchi, characterized by an elongated and abstract form of the figures, towering against livid backgrounds, enclosed by improbable architecture, to the solemn, most human naturalism of Nebbia, to the sumptuous and brilliant pictorial behavior of Circignani.[109]

And yet, despite the documented chronology of execution, scholars have consistently highlighted Nebbia's influence on Giovanni's second fresco and thereby cast the entire program as a move towards the Counter-Maniera. As the same author concluded:

> The new operative succession proposed by Pierguidi and by Eitel-Porter explains moreover the change of language already noted by Henneberg between De' Vecchi's first and second scene: in the *Discovery of the Crosses*, in fact, the tense and disoriented tone of the first episode […] is diluted in a calmer phrasing that seems affected by the ample and paused modes of Nebbia.[110]

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[107] Hall, *After Raphael*, 208.

[108] Wisch and Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, 425.

[109] "Si passa così dal fraseggio teso e austero del De' Vecchi, caratterizzato da un taglio allungato e astratto delle figure, grandeggianti contro sfondi lividi, chiusi da improbabili architetture, al solenne, umanissimo naturalismo del Nebbia, alla condotta pittorica sontuosa e brillante del Circignani." Negro, "Oratorio del Crocifisso," 50.

[110] "La nuova successione operativa proposta da Pierguidi e dalla Eitel-Porter spiega inoltre il cambiamento di linguaggio già notato dalla Henneberg fra la prima e la seconda scena del De' Vecchi: nel *Ritrovamento della Croce*, infatti, il tono teso e allucinato del primo episodio […] è diluito in un fraseggio

Following the familiar narrative path from Maniera to Counter-Maniera, von Henneberg tied the transition in Giovanni's style, which is admittedly so subtle it is nearly indecipherable, to "una stessa profonda e sentita aderenza alla severa religiosità della chiesa post-tridentina" (a deep and heartfelt adherence to the severe religiosity of the post-Tridentine church).[111] Moreover, she denied any religious value to "le più trite formule figurative del tardo Manierismo" (the most trite figural formulas of the late Mannerism) employed by Circignani, the Crocifisso's preferred painter.[112]

Resisting such conclusions, my analysis demonstrates that the frescoes are conspicuous and devout. As even Freedberg recognized, the so-called Maniera retained its "creative energy" at the Crocifisso.[113] Individual scenes like Circignani's *Battle Between Heraclius and Chosroes* (fig. 4.8) are mannered. Although set in a landscape, the space is irrational with telescoped gaps between foreground, middle ground, and background. The distance between *repoussoir* figures in the foreground and dueling rulers on the bridge collapses before giving way to infinite space. The figures move in elaborate, serpentine poses. The rulers, for instance, fight in a seemingly choreographed dance. As Heraclius lunges with his arms outstretched and his cloak billowing behind him, Chosroes falls backward and to the side with his arms flung out in a mirror image of Heraclius. An exaggerated *cangiantismo* (modeling with changes in hue) heightens the decorative value of the costumes and lends the image a calligraphic quality. Such images seek to stimulate, stir, or awaken devotion with artifice; they are devoutly conspicuous.

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più pacato, che sembra risentire dei modi ampi e pausati del Nebbia." Negro, "Oratorio del Crocifisso," 50–51.

[111] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 68.

[112] Von Henneberg, *L'Oratorio*, 72.

[113] Freedberg, *Painting in Italy*, 643.

And yet, the image is set within an exceedingly legible program that is conspicuously devout in its didactic clarity, as already outlined. Individually, the frescoes inspire devotion with artifice. Together, they teach with narrative clarity.

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Together with the religious rituals and urban processions analyzed in Chapter Two, the Crocifisso's art patronage at the Oratorio del Crocifisso worked to define the company's collective identity as an association committed to Tridentine reforms. Two scenes from the sodality's own history on the prayer hall's entrance wall epitomize this message. As was customary in Roman oratories, the confraternity faced not the altar wall, but the entrance wall, during its routine meetings. A surviving inventory indicates that seats for the company's officials were originally situated at either side of the doorway. Benches with kneelers provided seating for regular confraternity members along the lateral walls.[114]

Unique in its inclusion of scenes from the confraternity's own history, the oratory's officials conducted the groups business from beneath the self-referential frescoes celebrating the confraternity's miraculous origins on either side of the entrance: the *Miraculous Survival of the Crucifix from the Fire in San Marcello* (fig. 4.13) and the *Procession of the Crucifix Against the Plague of 1522* (fig. 4.12). In the first, the church of San Marcello stands in ruins after the disastrous fire of 1519. In the background, the wooden crucifix stands intact over the rubble, as an animated group of Romans gathers to

[114] ASV, ACSM, C-XVIII-23: Inventario di oggetti appartenenta all'Oratorio, 1734.

venerate the holy object. The crucifix takes center stage in the following scene in which devotees, nobles, ecclesiastics, and countless Roman citizens carry the over life-sized cross in procession through the streets of Rome in order to counteract the plague of 1522.[115]

Given the significance of ritual and ceremony to the Crocifisso, the oratory's self-referential iconography undoubtedly served as a reminder of the confraternity's dedication to fostering devotion to the holy crucifix through public religious performances, a commitment that grew in importance after the Council of Trent. As visualized in the *Miraculous Survival of the Crucifix*, the confraternity dramatically exhibited its cross in the church of San Marcello on its main feast days. And like the scene portrayed in the *Procession of the Crucifix*, the company regularly went in procession to promote the cult of the holy crucifix. Thus, the histories in the oratory served a dual purpose. Like Ambrogio Lorenzetti's better-known Allegory of Good and Bad Government in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena from the fourteenth century and other such decorations for communal spaces, the frescoes both glorified the collective body and acted as constant reminders to its members of their duties.[116] The paintings celebrated the group's miraculous origins and recalled its commitment to fostering devotion to the holy crucifix through spectacle and performance.

Conspicuous Form

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[115] As suggested by the image, the company's crucifix is over six feet tall — the figure of Christ alone measures six feet by six feet. It consists of fourteenth-century poplar. For a technical analysis of the company's cross, see Barbara Fabjan et al., "Il restauro del Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma: conservazione ed esigenze di culto," *Kermes* 14 (2001): 31–39.

[116] Randolph Starn, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Palazzo Pubblico, Siena* (New York: George Braziller, 1994).

Like the conspicuous devotion of the company's feasts, rituals, and processions, the conspicuous form of its artistic commissions in the Oratorio del Crocifisso proclaimed the confraternity's elite status, fashioned the Crocifisso's reform identity, and stimulated piety. Reviewing the building and commission history of the prayer hall, this chapter has begun to trace the company's exclusive patronage network, which merits further investigation in the future. As financial and artistic control of the project shifted, individuals like Ottavio Capranica and Niccolò Circignani emerged as unexpected nodes of influence not only in the oratory, but also in post-Tridentine Rome more generally. Identifying the contemporary texts on which the confraternity's iconographic advisor Tommaso dei Cavalieri, drew, the discussion also outlined the Crocifisso's allegiance to the restoration and renewal of the Catholic Church after Trent. Most importantly, the chapter's reassessment of the surviving documents revealed the company's preference for Circignani's artistic mode, and the study's analysis of the painter's theatrical or spectacular frescoes demonstrated the devotional function of the post-Tridentine cycle. In the company's oratory, conspicuous form offered comprehensible and compelling religious art, in accordance with Trent's decrees. The next chapter examines the Crocifisso's selection of a more archaizing style for its Capuchin convent, where different viewers in a different setting necessitated different stylistic choices.

CHAPTER 5: Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo

The Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma received an unexpected visitor during its August 13, 1574 meeting. A man arrived from the house of Giovanna d'Aragona (1502–75), the duchess of Tagliacozzo, with word that the noblewoman requested the confraternity send its guardians to her as soon as possible. The widow of Ascanio Colonna (d.1557), mother of the victorious naval commander Marcantonio Colonna (1535–84), sister-in-law of the poet Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547), and granddaughter of King Ferrante I of Naples (1423–94), Giovanna was a famed patron of the arts, printing, literature, and religious reform, and she wished to speak with the officers about "alcune cose importante alla ditta conpagnia" (some important things to do with the company).[1] Intrigued and perhaps a bit intimidated, the association promptly sent Muzio Mattei and Valerio della Valle to the duchess, while the other members waited in the oratory. The officers returned quickly with the news that Giovanna intended to donate her house, vineyard, and other properties on Monte Cavallo (known as the Quirinal Hill today) to the sodality, on the condition that the association would use the land to found a convent for Capuchin nuns, a reform branch of the Franciscan Order of St. Clare. The confraternity brothers were thrilled. Just two months earlier they had

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[1] Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Arciconfraternita del Crocifisso di San Marcello (hereafter ACSM), P-I-57: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1574 al 1576, fol. 36–37 (August 13, 1574). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. On Giovanna d'Aragona, see Michele Cassese, "Giovanna e Maria d'Aragona: due sorelle napoletane 'doppio pregio ad una etade' e il rapporto con il potere nel '500," in *Donne di potere nel Rinascimento*, ed. Letizia Arcangeli and Susanna Peyronei Rambaldi (Rome: Viella, 2008), 669–707; Diana Robin, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 256; Diana Robin, "Aragona, Giovanna d' (1502-77)," in *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France, and England*, ed. Diana Maury Robin, Anne R. Larsen, and Carole Levin (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 22–24; Donata Chiomenti Vassalli, *Giovanna d'Aragona fra baroni, principi e sovrani del Rinascimento* (Milan: Mursia, 1987).

discussed the possibility of opening a convent, noting that "among the many pious works that are in this city it seems there is missing a monastery for those poor young women who, wishing to become nuns, are not accepted anywhere for lack of suitable dowries."[2] Their charitable plan could now move forward, and the brothers immediately sent their guardians to the company's chapel in the church of San Marcello to thank God for the fortuitous gift, which may not have been entirely coincidental. It is likely that one of the association's elite members encouraged Giovanna's donation. Two days later they ordered a procession fronted by the sign of their miraculous crucifix to go from their oratory to Monte Cavallo to take possession of the land. They also appointed members to call on Giovanna d'Aragona to thank her and designate her prioress of their female members and voted to place her arms and an inscription recognizing her donation over the convent door, once built.[3]

This chapter studies the Crocifisso's patronage of the Capuchin convent church on the Quirinal hill, known as Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo and later called Corpus Christi al Quirinale. Following Giovanna's wishes, the company built and then expanded a church and dormitory for Capuchin sisters between 1574 and 1586. Tasked with the material care of the nuns, the confraternity also adorned the sanctuary with works of art produced by its affiliated artists, including the *Crucifixion* (fig. 5.1) by Marcello Venusti (ca. 1512–79) and the *Pietà* (fig. 5.2) and *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (fig. 5.3) by Jacopino del Conte (1510–98).

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[2] "Fra le molte opera pie che sonno in questa citta pare che ci manchi uno monasterio per quelle povere zitelle che volendo farsi monache non sonno acetate in loco alcuno per non havere dote conveniente." ASV, ACSM, P-I-57, fol. 19–21 (June 13, 1574).

[3] ASV, ACSM, P-I-57, fol. 41–42 (August 16, 1574), fol. 44–45 (August 16, 1574), fol. 46 (August 16, 1574).

Scholarship on Santa Chiara and its pictorial decoration has been extremely limited. The complex was destroyed in 1888 to make way for a public garden in honor of Emperor Wilhem II of Germany's (r. 1888–1918) state visit to Rome. The view that the modest church "touched more upon the religious and social than the artistic life of the city" and the perception of decline or creative dependency in Jacopino's and Marcello's bodies of work have also foreseeably diminished interest in the Crocifisso's commissions at Santa Chiara.[4] This discussion aims to move beyond the cursory treatment of the church and painters who worked within it and to resituate Santa Chiara and its pictorial decoration within their Capuchin context, as understood and interpreted by the confraternity and its artist members within the broader Catholic Reformation. In doing so, it offers important insight into the range of the confraternity's patronage and its mediation between religious reform and artistic commissions.

Close examination of the surviving written and visual sources reveals that the Crocifisso recognized that, as a radical reform movement of strictest observance to the Rule of St. Clare, the Capuchin *suore* (sisters) required 1) a simple church, 2) uncomplicated, plain, and archaizing altarpieces, and 3) a devotional focus on the crucified Christ. The confraternity brothers and successful painters Jacopino and Marcello were especially equipped to translate the sodality's commission into visual form. Furthermore, the company's sensitivity to the Capuchins' different artistic needs demonstrates a keen art historical, or stylistic, understanding that reinforces and justifies the arguments of the preceding chapters. The sodality could, and did, choose between different artistic modes to suit different contexts. The conspicuous devotion of their

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[4] Josephine Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi, S. Chiara a Monte Cavallo, and the Villa Medici in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 3 (1989): 248.

religious rituals, chapel, and oratory was inappropriate at Santa Chiara, and so they selected a deliberately archaicizing style.

Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo

Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo, also known as Corpus Christi, and its affiliated convent long stood on the Strada Pia (now via del Quirinale) opposite the Quirinal Palace between Gianlorenzo Bernini's (1598–1690) Sant'Andrea al Quirinale and the church of Santa Maria Maddelena a Monte Cavallo.[5] The label "Pallatio Papa" identifies the Quirinal Palace on Antonio Tempesta's (1555–1630) map of Rome of 1593 (fig. 1.3a). With an act of August 24, 1574, Giovanna d'Aragona formalized her gift of a house and vineyard on Monte Cavallo to the confraternity of the Crocifisso, with the stipulation that the assets be used to establish a Capuchin convent dedicated to the Corpus Christi in recognition of her commitment to the Eucharist.[6] The company resolved to build the complex "senza pompa nel modo e forma del fabricare fanno per li scapuccini" (without pomp in the manner and form of building that is done for the Capuchins) and appointed one of its guardians, Patrizio Patrizi (d. 1592), to oversee the project, giving him the authority to "demandare architetto onde fare tutto quello sarà necessario" (ask of the

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[5] On the complex, see Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi"; Paolo Mancini and Giuseppe Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Cassa di Risparmio di Roma, 1983), 11–13; Jean Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine au XVIe siècle: l'Arciconfraternita del SSmo Crocefisso in S. Marcello," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 63 (1951): 301–2; Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* (Rome: E. Loeschler & Co, 1907), 3:195; Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, ed. Carlo Cecchelli (Rome: Edizioni R. O. R. E. di N. Ruffolo, 1942), 1:230; Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome: Tip. delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1869), 2:334.

[6] For the following building history, see especially Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 249–50.

architect everything that will be necessary).[7] The company would later honor Patrizio as the monastery's benefactor.[8] On October 1, 1574, the association voted to hire two masons to construct the church and convent, finalizing the contract with them in the following month. As Josephine von Henneberg demonstrated, the masons worked under the supervision of Annibale Lippi (active 1563–81), not Giacomo della Porta (ca. 1533–1602) as previously thought. Annibale's family had a long association with the confraternity and, as will be seen, his relatives were actively involved in the construction and decoration of Santa Chiara. Payments made to Annibale and the builders indicate that construction occurred between 1574 and 1576.

Modeled on the first convent of Capuchin Clares in Naples, Santa Chiara was officially inaugurated in 1576. In a brief of March 1, Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572–85) sent the *procuratore* (solicitor) of the Capuchin Order to the Neapolitan convent of Santa Maria in Gerusalemme to instruct the nuns to select four of their sisters to found the Roman house. The pontiff advised the women to carefully choose one sister to act as abbess, another as mistress of the novitiates, and two others as advisers to the abbess. Gregory then ordered the four chosen nuns to Rome, temporarily relieving them of their vow of seclusion for the journey.[9] In a bull of November 1576, Gregory formally recognized the new church and convent, "in which nuns of excellent observance and sanctity live in greatest poverty and strictest seclusion, according to the first Rule of St. Clare and some laudable ordinances, under the care of the Observant friars minor called

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[7] ASV, ACSM, P-I-57, fol. 45 (August 16, 1574), fol. 43 (August 16, 1574).
[8] ASV, ACSM, P-I-59: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1589 al 1593, fol. 35 (December 11, 1592).
[9] Costanzo Cargnoni, ed., *I frati cappuccini: documenti e testimonianze del primo secolo* (Perugia: Frate Indovino, 1988), 4:1825-26.

Capuchins."[10] He later clarified that the "laudable ordinances" were those observed in Santa Maria in Gerusalemme. Recognizing that the monastery was "quasi ormai completo" (already nearly complete), he granted the sisters use of the "chiesa, campanile, campane umili" (humble church, bell tower, and bells) in perpetuity, as well as the dormitory, cloister, refectory, garden, and any other spaces needed then or in the future.[11] Furthermore, he assigned their spiritual care to the Capuchins, and their material concerns to the Crocifisso, while placing the convent under the direct protection of the Holy See.[12]

Almost immediately after the buildings' completion, the Crocifisso recognized the need to expand both the church and convent in order to accommodate a larger community of Capuchin Clares, whose little community was thriving under the beneficence of the confraternity and other distinguished patrons, including Gregory XIII, the Roman Senate, and Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), the Crocifisso's cardinal protector.[13] On October 6, 1578, the company contracted a mason to enlarge the monastery according to Annibale Lippi's designs.[14] He worked quickly, expanding the structure to house a community of forty sisters — ten times Santa Chiara's founding population of just two years earlier. On March 24, 1579, Annibale appraised the mason's work. The builder must have then

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[10] "Nel quale vivano monache di eccezionale osservanza e santità in altissima povertà e strettissima clausura, secondo la Regola prima della stessa santa Chiara e alcune lodevoli costituzioni, nonchè sotto la cura dei frati minori dell'osservanza chiamati Cappuccini." Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 4:1828. The volume also contains the original Latin of the papal briefs and bulls.

[11] Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 4:1838, 1830.

[12] Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 4:1827-33.

[13] Gregory XIII gave some 3,300 *scudi* to the convent, granted the nuns a tax exemption on wine, and ordered the governor of Rome to hand over pecuniary punishments like fines to the community. The Roman Senate ordered proceeds from the sale of building materials from the restoration of the Ponte Santa Maria diverted to the building campaign, earning the confraternity an estimated 6,000 *scudi*. In thanks, the company ordered the arms of the Roman people carved into the ceiling of their oratory. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese donated 500 *scudi* to the project and promised 10 *scudi* a month for the rest of his life. He actually paid 50 *scudi* a month. See Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 249–50; Delumeau, "Une confrérie romaine," 301–2.

[14] For the following, see Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 250–51.

initiated renovations in the church, for the confraternity paid one of its members, Benvenuto del Conte, for an assessment of the contractor's work there on July 22, 1583. Benvenuto was Annibale's cousin and the son of the painter Jacopino, who executed two altarpieces for the church.[15] Still in July, the confraternity hired two new masons to replace the original builder. Regular payments to these contractors made between July 1583 and June 1585 suggest that construction proceeded steadily under their supervision, with a new choir and improved vaulting being added to the church. Finally, on May 20, 1586, Pope Sixtus V Peretti (r. 1585–90) issued a brief granting an indulgence to any pilgrim who visited the church on the third day of Pentecost, the day on which the sanctuary had been consecrated, and thus the pontiff signaled the end of the convent's expansion.

Works of art commissioned by the confraternity from its artistic members adorned the walls and altars of the church. Von Henneberg identified the paintings, but did not discuss them at length. A fresco on the church's façade executed by Cristoforo Roncalli (ca. 1552–1626) showed *St. Francis and St. Clare Adoring the Sacrament*. A second fresco by the same artist representing the *Coronation of the Virgin* occupied the vault above the main altar. The artist likely produced these works around 1583 when he was employed in the company's Oratorio del Crocifisso. Recorded by early written sources, the frescoes survived until Santa Chiara was demolished in 1888.[16] In 1575, Marcello Venusti completed the high altarpiece — the *Crucifixion* now in the church of Corpus

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[15] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 251n24.

[16] See Mancini and Scarfone, *L'Oratorio del SS.mo Crocifisso*, 11–13; Filippo Titi, *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma (1674-1763)*, ed. Bruno Contardi and Serena Romano (Florence: Centro Di, 1987), 1:162; Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, ed. Jacob Hess and Herwarth Röttgen (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1995), 1:189.

Christi alla Garbatella in Rome (fig. 5.1), the home of the Capuchin Clares in Rome today.[17] Marcello was a confraternity member and relative by marriage of Jacopino del Conte.[18] An ornate frame by the master woodworker Flaminio Boulanger surrounded the image. Flaminio also supplied a wooden tabernacle for the Eucharist for the church's main altar and later designed the wooden ceiling of the company's oratory.[19] Over the right side altar hung Jacopino's *Pietà* (fig. 5.2). The artist's *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* stood over the left altar (fig. 5.3). Like Venusti, Jacopino was a member of the confraternity. He was also the brother-in-law of Nanni di Baccio Bigio (d. 1568), Annibale Lippi's father.[20] Building and decorating Santa Chiara, it seems, was a family affair, and the family comprised of committed members of the Crocifisso. Jacopino's paintings were later transferred to the Monastero del Corpus Christi alla Garbatella, where they are still appreciated by the cloistered nuns today.[21] The discussion below analyzes the significance of the altarpieces' retrospective, archaizing style.

Capuchin Poor Clares

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[17] Lauro Russo first identified and published the painting as Venusti's. Simona Capelli mistakenly rejected her attribution, as demonstrated below. See Laura Russo, "Per Marcello Venusti, pittore lombardo," *Bollettino d'arte* 76, no. 64 (1990): 15; Simona Capelli, "Marcello Venusti. Un valtellinese pittore a Roma," *Studi di storia dell'arte* 12 (2001): 24.

[18] Andrea Donati, *Ritratto e figura nel manierismo a Roma: Michelangelo Buonarroti, Jacopino del Conte, Daniele Ricciarelli* (Repubblica di San Marino: Asset Banca, 2010), 117.

[19] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 250, 257.

[20] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 251n24.

[21] Federico Zeri first traced the paintings to Corpus Christi alla Garbatella. I was unable to study them in person because the sisters still live under strict seclusion today. See Federico Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma: l'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1997), 28–29; Federico Zeri, "Intorno a Gerolamo Siciolante," *Bolletino d'arte* 36, no. 4 (1951): 143–44; Federico Zeri, "Salviati e Jacopino del Conte," *Proporzioni* 2 (1948): 182.

To understand the Crocifisso's perception and execution of a building "without pomp […] as is done for the Capuchins," it is necessary first to examine the history and motivation of the Capuchin reform. Officially sanctioned in 1538, the Capuchin Poor Clares were a reform division of the Order of St. Clare, the female branch of the Franciscan Order.[22] The Capuchin nuns originated in the work of Maria Lorenza Longo (d. 1542), a Spanish noblewoman of Catalan origin, in Naples, the ancestral homeland of Giovanna d'Argona. Widowed in 1510 and miraculously healed of paralysis during a pilgrimage to the Santa Casa di Loreto, Maria took the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis and dedicated her life to charity, living in accordance with the ideals of the Franciscan Order but remaining in secular life. In 1522, she founded the Ospedale degli Incurabili at Santa Maria del Popolo in Naples for impoverished syphilitics. In 1530, she offered accommodations in the hospital to Ludovico da Fossombrone (ca. 1490–1560), one of the co-founders of the Capuchin Order, and his Capuchin brothers during their first mission to the city. Three years later, she hosted Gaetano Thiene (1480–1547), the co-founder of the Theatine Order, and his Theatine brothers.

Unable to continue her charitable work due to age and illness, Maria committed the rest of her life to contemplation, passing "dalla vita attiva alla contemplativa" (from the active to the contemplative life), as one papal document phrased it.[23] In 1535, she obtained permission from Pope Paul III Farnese (r. 1534–49) in the bull of *Debitum pastoralis officii* to build the convent of Santa Maria in Gerusalemme adjacent to the Ospedale degli Incurabili and to found a community of cloistered tertiary nuns under the

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[22] For the following history, see Vincenzo Criscuolo, ed., *I Cappuccini: fonti documentarie e narrative del primo secolo (1525-1619)* (Rome: Curia Generale dei Cappuccini, 1994), 1087–92; Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 4:1735-70.

[23] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 1093. A more accessible volume, this book contains only Italian translations of the papal briefs and bulls, without the original Latin.

Rule of St. Clare there. The community was restricted to twelve sisters, admitted without dowries and under strict seclusion. Maria was appointed abbess for life, and the convent was placed under the direct protection of the Apostolic See. The number of nuns later expanded to thirty-three, and thereafter the community was affectionately called Trentatré. In 1538, Paul issued the *Cum monasterium* brief in which he assigned the spiritual care of the convent to the newly established Capuchin Order, provided the nuns adopted "l'osservanza strettissima della Regola di santa Chiara" (the strictest observance of the Rule of St. Clare) in accordance with Capuchin practice.[24] The Capuchin friars were at first opposed to the incorporation of the nuns into their order, since their founding statutes expressly forbade such union, but papal pressure convinced them to accept the sisters, and thus the Capuchin Poor Clares were born.

The order's fame spread quickly, and the Capuchin Clares motivated new foundations in Italy and beyond. Vittoria Colonna — marchioness of Pescara, friend and muse of Michelangelo, and relative of Santa Chiara's benefactor, Giovanna d'Aragona — is said to have expressed the desire to enter the convent of the "donna di santissima vita" (woman of holiest life), Maria Lorenza Longo.[25] Convents modeled after Santa Maria in Gerusalemme opened in Umbria's Perugia (1556) and Gubbio (1557/68), Apulia's Brindisi (1571), Lazio's Rome (1576), Liguria's Genoa (1577), and Lombardy's Milan (1578), the last thanks to the intervention of Charles Borromeo (1538–84). By 1600, the order counted nearly twenty convents in Italy. In 1588, it expanded to Spain, and in 1602 it launched in France. Between 1600 and 1700, sixty-five new Capuchin Clare

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[24] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 1097.
[25] Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 4:1741-42.

foundations opened in Italy, twenty-three in Spain, seven in France, two in Portugal, and two in America.

A community of rigid "perpetua clausura" (perpetual seclusion), the Capuchin Clares have left little direct trace in the historical record.[26] Maria prohibited even doctors and priests from entering her convent in order to maintain absolute separation from the world.[27] However, insight into the nature of the sisters' religious observances may be gained by examining their affiliation with the Capuchin brothers. As the Capuchin chronicler Mattia da Salò (1535–1611) indicated, the religious women were closely aligned with their male counterparts in the popular imagination:

> In this way, the first monastery of reformed nuns of St. Clare, who are called Capuchins by the people for the conformity they have with the Capuchins, was established during this most recent reform of the Franciscan religion and of the Holy Church. They observe the Rule of St. Clare without privilege, as was done by St. Francis and by [St. Clare]. They do not have anything of their own, and they live by their labor and by alms like the friars. They go barefoot, dressed in rough cloth and veils, and they attend to the service of choir with holy prayer.[28]

Adhering strictly to the Rule of St. Clare, rejecting all property, and living in absolute poverty, the Capuchin Clares modeled their austere practices on those of the Capuchin friars, whose rigid radical reforms transformed the Franciscan Order and influenced the Crocifisso's commissions for Santa Chiara.

CAPUCHINS

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[26] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 1094.

[27] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 1137–39.

[28] "Fu in tal guisa istituito nel tempo di questa ultima riforma della francescana religione e della santa Chiesa il primo monastero delle monache reformate di santa Chiara, le quali per la conformità che hanno coi capuccini sono dal volgo chiamate capuccine. Osservano senza privilege la Regola di santa Chiara, come dal padre san Francesco e da lei è stata fatta. Non hanno cosa alcuna di proprio e vivono delle loro fatiche e di limosine come i frati. Vanno scalze; vestono di panni grossi e vili e attendono col servigio del coro alla santa orazione." Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 1122.

Founded in 1528, the Capuchin Order was an independent reform branch of the Franciscan Order. Almost from its inception, the Franciscan family was divided over the question of how best to follow the Rule of St. Francis, a body of regulations set by Francis in the thirteenth century to govern life in the Order of Friars Minor. Francis's inspiration was to imitate Christ's life as described in the Gospels as closely as possible. The defining characteristics of this life were absolute poverty, humility, and simplicity. Trouble arose as friars tried to translate this vision into institutional practice. The history of the Capuchins may thus be traced back to the rise of the Regular Observance in the fourteenth century.[29]

In 1368, Paulo de' Trinci (1309–90) revived the community at Brugliano on the border between Umbria and the Marches that John de Valle (d. 1362) had founded in 1334. John and four companions had settled the hermitage and obtained permission from the Minister General of the Franciscan Order "to live strictly in accordance with what the Rule of the Friars Minor laid down, in abject poverty, humility and simplicity."[30] However, facing opposition from the rest of the order, which feared division, Pope Innocent VI Aubert (r. 1352–62) suppressed the movement in 1355, revoking the privileges granted to it by his predecessor and ordering it subjugated to the Franciscans' Minister General. With the election of a new Minister General in 1367, Paulo de' Trinci gained license to return to Brugliano and renew the "movement of strict observance of

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[29] On the Regular Observance, see John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988), 369–77; Raphael M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order (1812-1517)* (Milwaukee, WI: The Nowiny Publishing Apostolate, 1944), 265–86.

[30] Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 369.

the Rule."[31] Still attached to the Franciscan Order, the movement spread quickly with the support of Pope Gregory XI de Beaufort (r. 1370–78), and by the time of Paulo's death in 1390, the Regular Observance counted twenty-five houses in Umbria, Marche, Tuscany, and Rome.

Calls for autonomy arose in the fifteenth century as tensions grew between the vows of poverty and obedience. Friars generally divided between Observants and Conventuals. The Observants claimed to live in strict observance of the Rule because they renounced landed property and fixed incomes. In contrast, the Conventuals maintained properties and accepted incomes through papal dispensations in order to fulfill their apostolic mission. As the religious historian John Moorman observed, the Observants represented "nothing that was new." They simply wished to live in accordance with the Rule and therefore recreate the "real poverty and insecurity" of Francis and his first followers. They respected the authority of their Provincial Ministers and the Minister General, as the Rule required, "so long as it did not interfere with their conscientious desire for reform."[32] But their reforming impulse was fundamentally at odds with the Conventual position, as exemplified by the results of the meeting of the Chapter General in 1430. Moved by John of Capistrano's (1386–1456) impassioned speeches, Franciscans adopted a series of reforms, including the requirement that friars renounce all property, money, and unnecessary goods. And yet, just two months later traditionalists, including the newly elected Minister General, successfully petitioned Pope Martin V Colonna (r. 1417–31) to relax the conditions and regained the right to hold property through proctors, so long as the property legally belonged to the Vatican. Thus,

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[31] Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 372.
[32] Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 444.

the status quo was confirmed. The battle lines were drawn, and the order settled into virtual division for the duration of the century.[33]

Formal separation occurred in 1517 during the papacy of Leo X de' Medici (r. 1513–21). In 1516, Leo ordered a commission to study the problems within the Franciscan Order, which had begun to trouble political leaders across Europe, who had written repeatedly to the pontiff to express their concerns. The committee recommended a meeting of the Chapter General, and so the pope called the order to Rome in 1517. The factions immediately took up their familiar positions: the Observants refused to remain connected to the Conventuals unless the latter agreed to extensive reforms, while the Conventuals rejected union with the Observants so long as renunciation of their privileges was required. Leo responded with two surprising bulls — *Ite vos* and *Omnipotens Deus* — that effectively excluded the Conventuals from the administration of the order and declared that those who wished to keep their property and privileges must consider themselves a separate order and organize themselves accordingly. And so the Franciscan Order divided into two houses: the Observants and the Conventuals.[34]

In reality, there was little distinction between Observants and Conventuals by the early sixteenth century, and the Capuchin movement emerged to revive strict observance of the Rule. Having relaxed their literal interpretation of the Rule's position on poverty over time, many Observants had simply taken over Conventual houses. Some had even begun accepting stipends through intermediary syndics. Disappointed, Observant friars like Matteo da Bascio (1495–1552) and Ludovico da Fossombrone, the co-founders of

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[33] Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 444–53; Huber, *Documented History*, 335–46.

[34] Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order: From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), 640–42; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 579–85; Huber, *Documented History*, 491–502.

the Capuchin Order, began to agitate for reform. In 1525, Matteo ran away from the monastery of Montefalcone in the Marches in order to beg Pope Clement VII de' Medici (r. 1523–34) for permission to follow the Rule more strictly. He especially wished to follow Francis's example in poverty, itinerant preaching, and dress. (The order's singular habit became the distinguishing symbol of its reform, and later the inspiration for the name of the New World monkeys and Italian beverage.) Having gained verbal permission from the pope, but curiously no written document, he returned to the Marches, where the Provincial Minister promptly jailed him as an apostate. Matteo gained his freedom through the interventions of Caterina Cybo (1501–57), the duchess of Camerino and the pope's niece. Caterina also introduced him to Ludovico. Unlike Matteo, Ludovico desired to live in seclusion in strict observance of the Rule and was more dogged in his reform efforts. Like Matteo, he fled his monastery after being denied permission to live as he wished. The order declared him apostate, ostracized him, and threatened him with forcible subjugation. In 1526, Clement ordered Matteo, Ludovico, and Ludovico's German associate Raffaele captured, but just months later the pontiff's *penitenziere maggiore* (a cardinal appointed to the Roman tribunal of the Apostolic Penitentiary to oversee crimes pertaining to the Holy See) granted them permission to live independently of the Observants, under the protection of the bishop of Camerino.[35]

The friars' reform earned official sanction from Pope Clement VII in 1528, and the newly formed Capuchin Order quickly promulgated its statutes. Likely through the intervention of Caterina, Clement authorized the brothers to wear a beard and their distinctive habit with a pointed hood, live in seclusion, elect officers, and accept new

[35] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 22–25.

members from any other order in the bull of *Religionis selus*. Reconciliation with the Observants was impossible, and so the unreformed Conventuals somewhat ironically became the official protectors of the reformed Capuchins.[36] In 1529, the Capuchin Order convened its first Chapter General and articulated its first rules at Albacina. The friars elected Ludovico as Vicar General, after Matteo refused the position. Under Ludovico's direction, the chapter articulated a series of guidelines that insisted on a life of poverty, austerity, discipline, prayer, solitude, and silence, based on the model of St. Francis.[37] Like the Observants before them, the Capuchins represented "nothing new." As Mariano D'Alatri noted, they merely looked back (again) to the example of Francis and the "tradizione genuinamente riformistica" (genuinely reformist tradition) of the Franciscan Order.[38]

Expansion beyond Marche followed the constitutions of Albacina. In the 1530s, the Capuchins opened monasteries in Lazio (Rome), Liguria (Genoa), Campagnia (Naples), Umbria (Narni, Terni, and Foligno), Tuscany (Montepulciano), Calabria, Basilicata (Potenza), Apulia (Lecce), Sicily, Emiglia-Romagna (Faenza), Molise (Larino), Veneto, and Lombardy (Bergamo).[39] In 1536, the order published its revised statutes following its second Chapter General in Rome. The rules reiterated the Capuchins' desire to "conformarsi a Francesco, come lui si conformò a Cristo" (model themselves after Francis, as he modeled himself after Christ).[40] Bernardino d'Asti (ca. 1584–1557) rose to the position of Vicar General after Ludovico retired. In fact, both co-

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[36] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 25–27.
[37] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 27–29.
[38] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 29.
[39] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 29–31, 49–50, 53.
[40] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 36.

founders left the order in 1536.[41] Nonetheless, the Capuchins counted some 500 members across Italy in 1536, and the revised statutes governed the order largely unchanged for the next 400 years. The Franciscan Order was thus split into three distinct houses according to their observance of the Rule: Conventuals (relaxed), Observants (moderate), and Capuchins (strict).[42]

A "Humble" Church

A community of strict observance, Santa Chiara required a "humble" church "without pomp," as Gregory XIII and the Crocifisso intuited, respectively. Exactly how the church embodied Franciscan humility and modesty is difficult to ascertain, for Santa Chiara left few marks on the historical record before its destruction in 1888, much like the community of religious women that inhabited it. In fact, Josephine von Henneberg began her review of the relevant visual and written sources with the dispiriting assessment that "nothing can be said for sure about the aspect of S. Chiara beyond asserting that the church was a simple structure," and she ended with the determination that "no definite conclusion can be made about the appearance of the destroyed church."[43] Notwithstanding the impossibility of reconstructing the exact dimensions of Santa Chiara, pictorial and textual sources and comparative Capuchin churches furnish evidence that, in contrast to the Crocifisso's other commissions, the unassuming church was truly "without pomp," as suited the Capuchin Clares.

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[41] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 36–40.
[42] Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 3–4, 642–50.
[43] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 252, 253.

To promote rigorous adherence to the vow of poverty, the 1536 statutes that governed the Capuchin Order for nearly 400 years exhorted the brothers to refuse any new construction unless it was built "secundo la forma de l'altissima povertà" (according to the form of the highest poverty) or "secundo la santissima povertà" (according to the holiest poverty).[44] The rules called for "piccole, povere e oneste" (small, poor, and honest) churches ideally made of "vimini e luto, canne, mattoni crudi e vil materia […] in segno di umiltà e povertà" (straw and mud, reeds, sundried bricks, and base materials […] as a sign of humility and poverty).[45] Furthermore, the guidelines permitted no "curiosità" (curiosity), "superfluità" (superfluity), or "preziosità" (preciosity) in the order's buildings or furnishings.[46] As a result, church possessions were limited to: one small bell weighing approximately 150 *libre piccole* (small pounds); an armoire or, preferably, a chest in place of a sacristy; two small chalices, one of tin, the other with only the bowl of silver; no more than three simple vestments without gold, silver, velvet, silk, or other adornments; inexpensive altar cloths; wooden candleholders; and modestly bound missals, breviaries, and books. As the ordinances indicate, the Capuchins maintained such austerity "acciò che in tutte le cose che sono ad nostro povero uso, risplenda l'altissima povertà e ce accenda a la preziosità de le ricchezze celeste" (so that in all the things that are in our modest use, the highest poverty shines and turns into the preciousness of heavenly riches).[47]

Giuseppina Fortunato's examination of Capuchin monasteries in Rome and its environs demonstrates a remarkable degree of consistency in the application of these

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[44] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 202, 203.
[45] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 203, 204.
[46] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 239.
[47] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 236–37.

principles to Capuchin church architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[48] In general, the monasteries stood on a rectangular plan with a cloister at center and a church occupying an entire length of the four-sided complex. The longitudinal churches possessed a single small nave, a slightly elevated presbytery, and a choir set behind the main altar. Lateral chapels extended either off one side of the nave and choir or off both sides of the nave. All of the churches' parts were square or rectangular in plan. Barrel vaults accented only by horizontal bands or stringcourses at their base frequently covered the subsidiary spaces and main hall. As suggested by the numerous versions of *Choir of the Capuchin Church in Rome* by François Marius Granet (1775–1849), including the version in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 5.4), the mood inside the sanctuaries was incredibly somber.[49]

Church facades were similarly simple and austere. Unlike Capuchin churches in Abruzzo, the Marches, and Umbria, which almost always employed a portico in emulation of the venerable San Damiano in Assisi where Francis received his mission to "rebuild" God's church, Capuchin churches in and around Rome opened directly onto the street. The only ornaments on the sober facades were openings strictly aligned on the central axis: the main entrance surmounted by a triangular pediment or cornice, a rectangular window without adornment of any kind, and a circular window at top.

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[48] Giuseppina Fortunato, *Architettura dei frati cappuccini nella Provincia Romana, tra il XVI e il XVII secolo, e il complesso conventuale dell'Immacolata Concezione a Roma* (Pescara: Carsa Edizioni, 2012), 26–40.

[49] Although not cited by Giuseppina Fortunato, the painting conveys the solemn atmosphere perhaps better than any architectural ground plan or reconstruction can. For the painting, see Denis Coutagne, *François-Marius Granet, 1775-1849: une vie pour la peinture* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2008), 195–217; Isabelle Néto Daguerre and Denis Coutagne, *Granet, peintre de Rome* (Aix-en-Provence: Association des Amis du Musée Granet, 1992), 139–57.

Occasionally, pilasters without capitals outlined the edifice, and projecting cornices transformed the gabled roofs into pediments.

Santa Chiara undoubtedly followed this model, even though surviving images and texts are somewhat contradictory. As von Henneberg summarized, Cristoforo Roncalli depicted a small domed space in *Foundation of the Capuchin Convent* in the company's Oratorio del Crocifisso (fig. 4.14). The fresco shows a dome resting on pendentives above piers fronted by Tuscan pilasters. A document by G. A. Bruzio preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana reports that three windows lit the choir: "l'altar maggiore che dentro la tribuna riceve la luce da una della […] 3 finestre ha nel tabernacolo dorato il SS. Sacramento" (the main altar, which receives the light of one of […] three windows, has the gilded tabernacle of the Sacrament).[50] Paintings of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* and the *Dead Christ* hung opposite each other in two "sfondati" (recesses), while a representation of the *Crucifixion* hung above the iron gate that divided the inner and outer church. Although Bruzio does not name the artists, these are the paintings by Jacopino del Conte and Marcello Venusti cited above. An oval window punctured the façade. In total, the church measured 48 *palmi* long, 49 *palmi* wide, and 52 *palmi* high (or about 35 feet by 36 feet by 38 feet), with an additional 26 *palmi* (or 19 feet) in length for the apse. From this information, von Henneberg argued Santa Chiara might have been a centralized church topped by a dome.[51] However, she acknowledged that the longitudinal plan without an apse and fronted by a courtyard published by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1766–1839) (fig. 5.5) opposes such conclusions. Furthermore, the two-story façade divided into three bays in Cipriani's guidebook is typical of longitudinal churches and

[50] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 252n40.
[51] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 252.

corresponds with depictions of Santa Chiara in city plans like that by Antonio Tempesta (fig. 1.3a), as well as Bruzio's description of a main portal flanked by two niches in between four pilasters. Thus, von Henneberg determined that Santa Chiara could also have been a longitudinal church and left the question of the church's original appearance open in the face of such "conflicting testimony."[52]

Closer examination of the primary sources strongly argues in favor of a longitudinal plan like that described by Fortunato and exemplified in her book by more than thirty surviving Capuchin churches. First, Roncalli's painted church is unfinished or opened to afford the spectator a view into the building. It is not a careful record of the sanctuary's appearance, but rather an evocation of the grandeur of the ceremony of the convent's foundation. The event's illustrious guests take center stage and point to the cardinals in attendance, while the Capuchin sisters take possession of their convent in the distance, seemingly without notice. Second, Bruzio described a "tribuna" (tribune), not an apse.[53] Although often used to designate a semicircular recess behind a church's altar, the term "tribuna" can also indicate any raised platform or stand, like the raised presbytery that Fortunato describes. Furthermore, if one adds the 26 *palmi* of the so-called apse to the length of the church, a longitudinal plan of 74 *palmi* by 49 *palmi* results. Finally, the visual evidence from Tempesta's sixteenth-century map to Cipriani's nineteenth-century guidebook, as well as the numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Capuchin churches still standing in the province of Rome, strongly suggest a simple longitudinal plan for Santa Chiara — a "humble" church "without pomp" in accordance with Capuchin practice.

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[52] Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 253.
[53] See Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 252n40.

"Pure" and "Simple" Altarpieces

The austerity that characterized Santa Chiara also determined the Crocifisso's commissions for the church's altarpieces. The 1529 rules of Albacina that preceded the Capuchins' revised statutes of 1536 required "che li nanti-altari, o ver palli, siano puri, semplici e di panno" (the altar frontals, or better altar panels, be pure, simple, and of cloth).[54] Although it is unlikely that the Crocifisso was directly familiar with the rules of Albacina, the company's call for a church "without pomp" exhibited a stylistic awareness that recognized different modes for different contexts as well an essential comprehension of the Capuchin reform. The *confratelli* (confraternity members) understood that the conspicuous devotion of their religious observances and art patronage in their chapel and oratory would not have been appropriate in the Capuchin convent. Additionally, they most likely worked with a Capuchin adviser, who would have guided their choices in light of Capuchin custom.[55] To translate the order's need for "pure" and "simple" altarpieces in Santa Chiara into pictorial form, the Crocifisso turned to two of its members — Jacopino del Conte and Marcello Venusti — who were personally invested in the company's efforts. Questions of quality and originality have generally defined discussion of the artists' works. This section aims to move beyond these concerns and to ask not whether the Santa Chiara paintings represent a decline in the artists' productions or a dependency on another artist's work, but instead how the artists and their patrons

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[54] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 160.

[55] The vice-protector of the Capuchin Order, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602), wrote the governing rules of Santa Chiara, for example. He was also identified as a confraternity member in 1583. See Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 250n17.

intended the images to function in their Capuchin context and the broader Catholic reform movement.

JACOPINO DEL CONTE

As a parishioner of San Marcello and a member of the Crocifisso, Jacopino del Conte was uniquely equipped to translate the Crocifisso's pious commission into visual form. Born in Florence, he was a religious painter and portraitist active in Rome. He trained in the workshop of Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530) and absorbed the influence of Michelangelo (1475–1564) in his native city before relocating to Rome around 1535. He produced his first major public commissions in Rome in the fresco decoration of the oratory of the Florentine confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato: *Annunciation to Zacharias* (1536), *Preaching of the Baptist* (1538), and *Baptism of Christ* (1541). Perhaps inspired by Perino del Vaga's (1501–47) return from Genoa around 1537, Jacopino created what scholars recognize as the first Maniera painting in the *Preaching of the Baptist*.[56] Around 1550, he earned commissions for three significant altarpieces: *Clovis I and St. Remigius*, 1548, Cappella di San Remigio, San Luigi dei Francesi; *Entombment*, 1548–50, originally Cappella Elvino, Santa Maria del Popolo (fig. 5.6); and *Deposition*, 1551–53, Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato (fig. 5.7). He also collaborated with Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta (1521–80) and Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–96) on the lateral frescoes of the chapel in the French national church. Despite these successes, the artist largely abandoned religious painting in favor of portraiture around midcentury, and

[56] See Marcia B. Hall, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 141–46. In fact, Perino del Vaga furnished a design for the fresco: Perino del Vaga, *Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1538, pen and ink, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 23751.

art historians have perceived a decline in the painter's work at that time.[57] Jacopino married twice: first to the sister of Nanni di Baccio Bigio — the father of Annibale Lippi, the architect of the Capuchin church and convent — and later to Livia Biondi — likely a relative of Camilla Nunzia, the wife of Marcello Venusti, who painted the church's main altarpiece.[58]

Locating when and why Jacopino's artistic production declined has preoccupied scholarly attention since Federico Zeri first advanced the idea of deterioration, and the *Pietà* produced for the Capuchin church has been at the center of the debate (fig. 5.2). Giovanni Baglione (1566–1643) recorded paintings by the artist representing the *Dead Christ* and *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* over the side altars of Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo. He also identified a self-portrait by Jacopino at an "età già cadente" (already advanced age) in the *Pietà* and noted that the paintings were the artist's last public works.[59] Zeri traced the canvases to the Capuchin monastery of Corpus Christi in via Sardegna, which was later transferred to via Pomponio Grecia in Garbatella, Rome. He also outlined the trajectory of the artist's late work from the "dry" paintings in San Luigi dei Francesi to the "cadaveric" *Pietà* formerly of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne (fig. 5.8) to the "lifeless" canvases from Santa Chiara, "where [the artist's]

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[57] On Jacopino del Conte, see Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 117–257; Antonio Vannugli, "La 'Pietà' di Jacopino del Conte per S. Maria del Popolo: dalla identificazione del quadro al rieseme dell'autore," *Storia dell'arte* 71 (1991): 59–93; Iris H. Cheney, "Notes on Jacopino del Conte," *Art Bulletin* 52, no. 1 (1970): 32–40; Josephine Von Henneberg, "An Unknown Portrait of St. Ignatius by Jacopino del Conte," *Art Bulletin* 49, no. 2 (1967): 140–42; Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma*, 28–29; Federico Zeri, "Rivedendo Jacopino del Conte," *Antologia di belle arti* 2, no. 6 (1978): 114–21; Zeri, "Intorno a Gerolamo Siciolante"; Zeri, "Salviati e Jacopino del Conte"; Baglione, *Vite*, 1:75-76; Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), 7:575-77.
[58] Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 117.
[59] Baglione, *Vite*, 1:75-76.

unique voice […] is lost within the anonymity of the late Roman Cinquecento."[60] The author later fixed this "rapid decline of any merit" to around 1547 and attributed it to the influence of the Catholic Reformation, especially the artist's documented association with St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), the founder of the Society of Jesus. Whether the result of the artist's acquiescence to the recommendations of reformers like Ignatius "who wished to tie painting to the battle wagon of the Church against the Reformation" or the product of "an internal struggle" — or even "an uncontrollable mental collapse" — Jacopino's deterioration was evident to Zeri in the "lugubrious" Massimo *Pietà* and the San Luigi dei Francesi paintings, "where the didactic intent […] is carried toward the absolute of symbol and allegory […] as if the painted work had to be not a mirror reflecting the personality of the author, but rather a fixed image to which the painter had to adapt and constrain himself."[61] Later publishing the Santa Chiara *Pietà* for the first time, Zeri modified his position slightly. He reiterated his hypothesis that Ignatius influenced the mutation of the artist's work, but rejected his own idea of "directives," arguing instead that Jacopino's decline was not the result of any clear instructions from

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[60] "E non fa meraviglia che Jacopino […] abbia poi posto la sua magniloquente retorica al servizio della Controriforma, giungendo, attraverso gli aridi dipinti in San Luigi dei Francesi e la cadaverica 'Pietà' di Palazzo Massimo, sino alle esanimi tele già in Santa Chiara al Quirinale, dove la sua voce personale […] si perde entro l'anonimato del tardo Cinquecento romano." Zeri, "Salviati e Jacopino del Conte," 182.

[61] The passage merits quotation in full: "Questo repentino scadimento di qualsiasi merito, documentato appunto dal dipinto di San Luigi dei Francesi e dalla non lontana, luguberrisma Pietà di Casa Massimo, potrebbe persino far pensare ad un incontrollabile collasso mentale; ma piuttosto […] esso è la resultante di un ambizioso arrivismo economico e sociale. Tuttavia il degradamento impegna così a fondo non solo la cura esecutiva, ma il processo stesso della nascita dei quadri che Jacopino eseguirà dal 1547 in poi […] per noi dietro il precipitare di Jacopo del Conte nel baratro del maccanicismo figurative si cela la Controriforma, anzi, la presenza stessa in Roma di Sant'Ignazio […] Insomma, che Jacopino seguisse docilmente i consigli di chi si proponeva di legare le pittura al carro di battaglia della Chiesa contro la Riforma […] o che un reale travaglio interiore si esprimesse esteticamente alla rovescia […] o anche che le due eventualità si verificassero nello stesso tempo, ciò che conta è il significato del tutto nuovo che dal punto di vista controriformistico assume la tavola di San Luigi dei Francesi: dove l'intento didascalico […] viene portato verso l'assoluto del simbolo e dell'allegoria […] Quasi che l'opera dipinta avesse ad essere non già uno specchio riflettente la personalità dell'autore, ma uno stampo fisso cui il pittore dovesse adequarsi e costringersi." Zeri, "Intorno a Gerolamo Siciolante," 143–44.

the Jesuit saint but rather a product of the artist's own inadequate response to reform: "The formal decline, the sinister, macabre gloom, the cold breath of driest rumination that is released by the *Pietà* of Casa Massimo in Rome […] are the effect of intimate reactions, carried out exclusively between the painter and himself, without the interference of others."[62]

Scholars subsequently challenged Zeri's conclusions, questioning the exact moment and cause of Jacopino's decline, but the presumption of degeneration persisted. Josephine von Henneberg first disputed Zeri's identification of decline in the artist's output around 1547, arguing that it occurred in the 1560s instead and because of the "basic eclecticism" of the painter's style rather than any direct influence from Ignatius. Nevertheless, she called the Santa Chiara *Pietà* "insipid" and "a clear indication of the shallowness of [the artist's] late manner."[63] Iris H. Cheney responded to von Henneberg's article, generally affirming Zeri's formal analysis. Noting that von Henneberg's archival evidence pertained to Jacopino's life more than his art, Cheney dismissed such material as inadequate proof of the artist's "continued artistic sanity." Instead, she argued that analysis of Jacopino's *oeuvre* demonstrates that the eclectic artist could absorb influences from a variety of sources so long as they were purely formal. When he tried to express the religious sentiments of his day, he failed: "His paintings became dark, eerie, artificial, rather than convey any genuine spirituality."[64]

Antonio Vannugli undertook the first dispassionate reassessment of the artist's career. Accepting a later date for the Decollato altarpiece, tracing the Elvino panel (which

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[62] "Lo scadimento formale, la sinistra, macabra tetraggini, il soffio freddo di aridissima elucubrazione che si sprigiona dalla *Pietà* di Casa Massimo a Roma […] sono l'effetto di reazioni intime, svolte esclusivamente fra il pittore e se stesso, senza interferenza di altri." Zeri, *Pittura e controriforma*, 28.
[63] Von Henneberg, "An Unknown Portrait," 141, 142.
[64] Cheney, "Notes on Jacopino del Conte," 38.

Zeri mistakenly identified as the Massimo *Pietà*) to France, and subsequently reconsidering the San Luigi dei Francesi paintings, Vannugli argued that any decline must be situated well beyond 1550. He also offered a more sympathetic reading of the Santa Chiara altarpieces. While acknowledging that the aged artist's creative powers appeared "definitively dimmed" in the canvases, he asserted that the painter proved himself "to still be perfectly capable of finding the language […] to provide a response […] to those exigencies" of the Church hierarchy and post-Tridentine reformers.[65]

Pietà

In the *Pietà*, Jacopino returned to the theme of the dead Christ, which he had explored decades earlier in the *Entombment* for the Cappella Elvino in Santa Maria del Popolo and the *Deposition* in the Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato. As Vannugli argued, Jacopino's *Entombment* (fig. 5.6) is not properly an Entombment, nor is it a Lamentation or Deposition. Instead, it grafts the iconic image of the Pietà onto the narrative scene of the Carrying of Christ to the Tomb.[66] The Deposition has already taken place. Golgotha stands empty in the distance, under a foreboding sky. Christ's followers have removed his body from the cross and carried it down the hillside to the nearby grave. With the help of the Roman centurion, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus

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[65] "È indubbio che il vecchio Jacopino […] non era ormai più in grado di contribuire in modo personale agli sviluppi dell'arte sacra, ma non per questo la sua abituale apertura e disponibilità appaiono definitivamente annebbiate. Scegliendo infatti di adattare i propi modi all'impronta muzianesca, egli – che già trent-anni prima aveva capito che la Grande Maniera si sarebbe rivelata presto inadeguata alle nuove esigenze in via di elaborazione da parte della gerarchia cattolica, nel Concilio tridentino allora riunito a Bologna – dimostra di riuscire ancora perfettamente ad individuare il linguaggio […] fornire una risposta di rango ufficiale a quelle esigenze." Vannugli, "La 'Pietà' di Jacopino del Conte," 81.

[66] Vannugli, "La 'Pietà' di Jacopino del Conte," 71–72. See also Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 142–44; Elisabeth de Boissard and Valérie Lavergne-Durey, *Chantilly, Musée Condé, peintures de l'ecole italienne* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), 95–97.

present the cold, lifeless form of Christ to the Virgin Mary and by extension the viewer, evoking a Pietà. Alternatively, they may have just lifted Christ's body from the Virgin's lap, interrupting the mother's pitiful goodbye. The Virgin swoons into the arms of one of the holy women around her, while Mary Magdalene cradles her savior's feet in her hands. The Magdalene's fingers just touch those of the centurion as he and his companions prepare to turn toward the tomb, continuing to carry the body of Christ to the grave. The casket is open, ready to receive Christ's corpse, but the Entombment has not yet begun. Two women stand near the grave under a rocky ledge. They weep, but their presence is also hopeful, for they remind the viewer of the Resurrection, when the holy women will find the sepulcher empty. Thus, despite the synthetic nature of the image, the narrative prevails: "the Pietà is nothing more than a pause […] within a narrative process." Jacopino solved "the problem posed by the devotional theme of the Pietà […] without slipping away from the master current of history painting."[67]

In contrast, the devotional begins to take precedence in the *Deposition* Jacopino painted for the Decollato (fig. 5.7). Jean S. Weisz first highlighted the painting's pietistic function and Eucharistic significance. As she explained, the pose of Christ's figure recalls a Pietà, specifically Michelangelo's so-called Bandini *Pietà*, which was then in Rome (fig. 5.9). The association encourages the viewer to identify the figure of Christ with the Sacrament.[68] Christ's cross stands at center, behind many active figures. Balancing on ladders, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus take Christ's body off the cross. Joseph

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[67] "La pietà è nulla più che una pausa […] all'interno di un processo narrativo […] Per Jacopino del Conte, il problema posto dalla tematica devozionale della pietà […] va dunque risolto […] soprattutto senza scantonare dal filone maestro della pittura di storia." Vannugli, "La 'Pietà' di Jacopino del Conte," 72.
[68] Jean S. Weisz, "Salvation through Death: Jacopino del Conte's Altarpiece in the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome," *Art History* 6 (1983): 395–405. See also Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 144–46; Jean S. Weisz, "Daniele da Volterra and the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Rome," *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981): 335–36.

uses pincers to pull the nail from Christ's right hand, while Nicodemus guides Christ's form into the arms of John the Evangelist and the centurion below. The good and bad thieves hang to either side of Jesus. One twists against his crucifying tree to gaze in wonder at his messiah, while the other slumps, his head drooping, obviously dead. At the foot of the cross, Mary Magdalene rushes to the Virgin in a way that recalls the Visitation, while another woman supports the Virgin's head, as if Christ's mother might faint, but the Virgin does not swoon. Instead, she looks with awe at her son's body, which appears weightless. The figure, which Jacopino showed in three-quarters view in the *Entombment*, is now frontal, central, and upright like an icon. In contrast to the contemporary representations of the theme by Daniele da Volterra (1509–66) (fig. 3.16) and Francesco Salviati (1510–63) to which it is most often compared, Jacopino's figure is suspended, rather than heavy with death, and the individuals supporting it exert very little effort. Born "upright and frontal in a graceful, curved posture as if it were being displayed," it becomes a surrogate for the sanctified Host, an image and object of devotion.[69] The putto flying overhead with a chalice reinforces the Eucharistic message.

Painted more than twenty years later, the Santa Chiara *Pietà* (fig. 5.2) distills this investigation of the narrative and meditative further into what Stuart Lingo has called a Lamentation-Entombment, "a moment when icon and narrative are held in tense equilibrium."[70] As in the Elvino *Entombment*, the Deposition has finished. Golgotha is still visible in the background, but it is now relegated to a small corner of the canvas.

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[69] Weisz, "Salvation through Death," 399.

[70] Stuart Lingo uses the label in reference to Federico Barocci's (1528–1612) unfinished altarpiece for Milan Cathedral. See Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 114. Variants of the subject attributed to Jacopino del Conte are in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome and Duccio Marignoli Collection, Spoleto (formerly Galleria Barberini, Rome). See Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 148–49.

Christ's mourners, including Jacopino at an "already advanced age," have transported his body to the sepulcher, as indicated by the rocky wall behind them. Now, though, the wall separates and isolates them from extraneous action. Moreover, unlike the Elvino painting, in which the Pietà has "paused," here the Pietà has ended. Joseph of Arimathea and Mary Magdalene have removed Christ's dead form from the Virgin's lap and set it on the lip of the sarcophagus to be lamented once more. In a moment, Joseph will pull the corpse back and into the tomb.

And yet, his movement is arrested. The altarpiece tips into the iconic, transforming the figure of Christ into a cultic image appropriate to an altarpiece, and especially an altarpiece in a Capuchin church originally dedicated to the Corpus Christi. As in the Decollato altar panel, the figure of Christ is almost forward facing and full-length, presented to the viewer for veneration in a pose that explicitly invokes Michelangelo's Bandini *Pietà*. However, Christ's body — the Corpus Christi — dominates the picture plane now. Standing by the altar-like tomb, Joseph holds Christ's torso aloft, maintaining the shroud between his hands and Christ's flesh as a priest holds the Host during Mass. The Magdalene embraces Christ's legs, passing her right arm under his bent left knee, grasping his right thigh, and holding his right leg out toward the viewer. Christ's arms hang from either side of his body, the wound in his left hand prominently positioned. His head falls back over his left shoulder in a movement that could divert attention to the mourners at his side, if the holy women and John the Evangelist did not gaze so ardently at him, guiding the eye back to the body of Christ. The only figure to break this pious focus is the artist, who stares out at the viewer from a self-portrait at the left and invites him or her to participate in the contemplation of the

venerable corpus. Isolated from time and place, the unmoving figure of Christ becomes a focus of devotional attention for the nuns at Santa Chiara.

Icon or Narrative

Jacopino's transition from the paused narrative of the *Entombment* and the suspended body of the *Deposition* to the iconic dead Christ in the *Pietà* must be understood in the context of contemporary developments in altarpiece painting, and not isolated within discussions of the artist's personal style. Of primary significance is the desire of artists in the period to reconcile modern conceptions of history painting with the traditional conventions and functions of the altarpiece. As Peter Humfrey outlined, the typical altar panel of the fourteenth century consisted of an image of a single, standing saint corresponding to the altar's dedication. Over the course of the fifteenth century, the format gave way to the *sacra conversazione* (holy conversation) in which a group of saints are gathered in a unified space, usually around the Virgin and Child in the Central Italian tradition. In the sixteenth century, the narrative altarpiece, in which a scene from the life or death of the altar's titular saint is shown, increasingly rivaled the *sacra conversazione*.[71] The new type offered opportunities for artistic experimentation and exposition, but it also threatened the traditional role of the altar panel as a locus of cultic devotion. It issued a challenge to the approved use of sacred images to which artists were compelled to respond decades before the formal pronouncement of the Council of Trent (1545-63).

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[71] See Peter Humfrey, "Altarpieces and Altar Dedications in Counter-Reformation Venice and the Veneto," *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 3 (1996): 373–74; Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 67–69.

Alexander Nagel has eloquently described Michelangelo's early efforts to preserve the altarpiece tradition in the "age of art" in the *Entombment* of about 1500, which most scholars recognize as an unfinished altarpiece for the church of Sant'Agostino in Rome (fig. 5.10).[72] The painting depicts a moment after the Deposition and Lamentation, but before the Entombment. Christ's followers have just lifted his body from the Virgin's lap and begun to move back into the painting toward the tomb in the middle distance. The corpus is full-length, front-facing, and central. The narrative movement is backward and perpendicular to the picture plane, for the figures move back from the picture plane to the background. As Nagel explains, the composition retains the frontal and symmetrical arrangement of a traditional full-length Man of Sorrows, while incorporating the dramatic movement of a historical narrative, like the ancient reliefs of the dead Meleager identified as models for the modern *istoria* (history) by the humanist artist and theorist Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) and adapted to the subject of Christ's Entombment in a famous print by Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506) (fig. 5.11).[73] In short, the painting accommodates tradition and innovation, or cult image and narrative complexity. It aims to secure the future of the altarpiece by assimilating the new conception of the *istoria*, while also sanctifying the *istoria* by integrating the devotional image.

Raphael (1483–1520), in contrast, broke with the altarpiece tradition in his *Entombment* of 1507 (fig. 5.12). Nagel again offers the most sensitive reading of the

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[72] Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 25–112. See also Michael Hirst and Jill Dunkerton, *The Young Michelangelo* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1994), 57–71, 107–27. The reference is to Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
[73] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 73–74.

painting's "generic tension and rupture."[74] Tracing the artist's conception of the panel over a series of surviving preparatory drawings as well as thoughtful consideration of Michelangelo's *Entombment*, Nagel demonstrates how Raphael's ideas slowly, deliberately developed from a more contemplative image of lamentation to a more dynamic history. In the final painting, Raphael took the scene of Carrying Christ to the Tomb as his primary subject and returned to the sideways conception of the narrative provided by Mantegna's print and the Meleager reliefs. The figures move from right to left across the foreground between the crosses and tomb in the background. The Virgin swoons at right, the body of her son having just been taken from her. Mary Magdalene rushes forward to embrace Jesus, while Christ's male followers struggle to carry his body to the sepulcher at left. The figures are quickly moving out of the frame. The emphasis is no longer on the iconic center of the painting, but instead on the narrative action. Raphael transferred the narrative mode to the altarpiece, but privileged art over tradition to do so.

The problem of integrating the narrative and iconic continued to preoccupy artists in the following decades. Jacopo Pontormo (1494–1557), for example, confronted the different solutions embodied by Michelangelo's and Raphael's paintings in his *Deposition* of 1525–28 (fig. 5.13), an altarpiece that Jacopino del Conte undoubtedly knew from his youth in Florence. The body of Christ has just been taken from the Virgin's lap and carried down into the foreground in a diagonal, spiraling motion. The corpus is off-center as in Raphael's *istoria*, but the action is perpendicular to the picture plane as in Michelangelo's cultic image. And yet, Pontormo's actors move out toward the viewer, while Michelangelo's figures move away from the spectator. More than his

[74] Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art*, 112–40. See also Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 94–102.

predecessors, Pontormo aimed to relate the altar panel to the viewer, the altar, and also the chapel space. The exact action portrayed is uncertain. The bearers may be lowering Christ's body onto the altar in an extra-pictorial Entombment, as John Shearman argued.[75] Alternatively, they may be lifting Christ up to the figure of God the Father in the chapel's cupola, as Leo Steinberg posited.[76] Or perhaps, the movement is intentionally ambiguous. In any case, Pontormo emphatically reasserted the altarpiece's relationship to its ritual use and environment, an artistic challenge and liturgical necessity that motivated religious painters like Jacopino in the second half of the century too.

Christocentrism

The growing prevalence of Christocentric imagery exhibited by these paintings should also be considered when examining Jacopino's *Pietà*. Formal interests alone cannot explain Michelangelo's, Raphael's, and Pontormo's choices of Christocentric subjects for their experimental altarpieces, or the increasing number of Christological themes on altars after 1500. Frederick Hartt observed a "wave of Pietàs that breaks over Italian art" after the onset of the Protestant Reformation in 1517.[77] His definition of a Pietà was broad, including Lamentations and Entombments. Peter Humfrey, in turn, noted a "huge expansion in the number of high altarpieces with Christological subjects"

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[75] John Shearman, *Only Connect...: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 97–94; John Shearman, *Pontormo's Altarpiece in S. Felicita,* (Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971).
[76] Leo Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," *Art Bulletin* 56, no. 3 (1974): 385–99.
[77] Frederick Hartt, "Power and the Individual in Mannerist Art," in *Studies in Western Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 2:229.

during the post-Tridentine period.[78] Nagel has dedicated a book to investigating the "Christocentric restoration" of sixteenth-century sculpture.[79] In fact, many of the paintings most closely associated with the style known as Mannerism feature the dead Christ in either a narrative or cultic context, and many lesser-known sixteenth-century panels feature the Pietà. A preliminary list limited to works Jacopino may have seen in Central Italy includes: Rosso Fiorentino, *Descent from the Cross*, 1521, Cathedral, Volterra; Rosso Fiorentino, *Dead Christ with Angels*, ca. 1524–27; Jacopo Pontormo, *Deposition*, 1525–28, Santa Felicita, Florence (previously discussed); Perino del Vaga, *Deposition*, 1520s, originally Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome; Giorgio Vasari, *Deposition*, ca. 1540, SS. Donato e Illariano, Camaldoli; Francesco Salviati, *Pietà*, ca. 1541–49, Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome; Girolamo Siciolante, *Pietà*, after 1541, SS. Apostoli, Rome; Daniele da Volterra, *Descent from the Cross*, ca. 1545–48, SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome (mentioned above); Francesco Salviati, *Deposition*, 1547–48, Santa Croce, Florence (also already noted); Livio Agresti, *Pietà*, ca. 1557, Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome; Taddeo Zuccaro, *Dead Christ with Angels*, 1560s; Girolamo Muziano, *Pietà*, ca. 1571, Santa Caterina dei Funari, Rome; and Marco Pino, *Dead Christ with Angels*, ca. 1572, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome.

Together, these paintings express a return to a "purer" form of Christianity with Christ rather than the cult of saints at center. Renewed devotion to the Eucharist and emphasis on the liturgical function of altars as loci for the celebration of the Eucharist during Mass accompanied this revival, as already suggested by Chapter Two's discussion of Easter Sepulchers and Holy Thursday processions. Perhaps more than any other group,

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[78] Humfrey, "Altarpieces and Altar Dedications," 376.
[79] Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

the Theatines, with whom the Capuchin Clares were associated in Naples, promoted the spread of Christocentrism in Italy.[80] Already in 1517, Pope Leo X recognized the Roman Oratorio del Divino Amore, the precursor to the reform order. A small religious association of elite clergy and laity, the Divine Love emphasized inward spiritual renewal through charitable activities and frequent confession and communion. In 1524, the group transferred its activities to the newly established Theatine Order, approved by Clement VII in that year. Exclusive and austere, the order exercised its influence primarily through example.

The Sacrament was the principal devotion of the Theatine's prominent founders and early followers. Saint Gaetano Thiene is said to have frequently cried at the moment of consecration during the daily Masses he celebrated and to have lain prostrate before the Host in meditation for hours at a time. Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), the reforming bishop of Verona who influenced the saintly Charles Borromeo, ordered Sacrament tabernacles moved to high altars during his pastoral visits. Pope Paul IV Carafa's (r. 1555–59) exaltation of the Eucharist in the annual celebration of the Easter Sepulcher and Holy Thursday procession in Rome was discussed in Chapter Two. By the time the Council of Trent addressed the Eucharist in its thirteenth session of 1551, devotion to the Sacrament was widespread, and the practice of preserving the Host on high altars commonplace.[81]

Unexpectedly, the qualities that Walter Friedlaender first identified as Mannerist aided the Christocentric turn in altarpiece production, a contribution that, to the best of

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[80] On the Theatines, see Michael Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (Routledge, 1999), 70–71; Hartt, "Power and the Individual," 226--31; Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1938), 10:388-424.

[81] For the decree, see Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 2:693-98.

my knowledge, scholars have not fully recognized. These stylistic features include illogical space, elongation and verticality, complex figural poses, and focus on the body.[82] Although objections to the author's characterization of the period as "anti-classical" abound, art historians increasingly recognize retrospective tendencies in Cinquecento painting.[83] If not renouncing the classical style of the High Renaissance, the Christocentric paintings discussed above do look back to an earlier and seemingly more spiritual age. Therefore, the tension of icon and narrative was also a tension between archaic and modern, as can be seen in Jacopino's Santa Chiara *Pietà*.

The telescoping of distance between remote background and immediate foreground in the canvas separates the sacred figures from time and place. The painting's vertical orientation further neutralizes narrative movement, suppressing the naturalistic space and dynamic action of modern history painting in favor of timeless, universal iconic stasis. The complex pose of Christ's body is a self-conscious quotation of Michelangelo's sculpture that allows Jacopino to display his artistic skill in typically Mannerist fashion, but it is also a means of emphasizing the body, which here is the revered Corpus Christi. The motionless figure is a focus of devotion, the painting both a work of art and a sacred image. To borrow Zeri's above-cited phrase while inverting his

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[82] Walter F. Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965).

[83] For example, see Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art*; Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997), 335–47; Stuart Lingo, "The Capuchins and the Art of History: Retrospection and Reform in the Arts in Late Renaissance Italy" (PhD diss, Harvard University, 1998); Alessandro Zuccari, "Cesare Baronio, le immagini, gli artisti," in *La regola e la fama: San Filippo Neri e l'arte*, ed. Claudio Strinati (Milano: Electa, 1995), 80–97; Paul Joannides, "'Primitivism' in the Late Drawings of Michelangelo: The Master's Construction of an Old-Age Style," in *Michelangelo Drawings*, ed. Craig Hugh Smyth (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 245–61.

meaning, the painted work is no longer "a mirror reflecting the personality of the author, but rather a fixed image to which the painter had to adapt and constrain himself."

Archaizing St. Francis

The archaizing trend that resulted from efforts to reconcile icon and narrative is also present in Jacopino's *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (fig. 5.3), which originally faced the *Pietà* across the Capuchin sanctuary.[84] Having retreated to the mountain of La Verna for prayer, meditation, and fasting, Francis kneels at the center of the canvas before a manuscript and cross in a wooded sanctuary. A glowing seraph appears in the upper left corner, and Francis turns over his right shoulder to gaze upon the celestial being with wonder. Bearded, emaciated, and wearing the distinctive pointed hood of the Capuchin order, the saint throws open his arms as if struck by the light emanating from the angelic vision. The complicated pose recalls the serpentine postures of Michelangelo's sibyls and prophets on the Sistine Ceiling. More significantly, it opens the saint's centrally positioned body to the viewer's gaze and prominently displays the marks of the stigmata for veneration. In the middle distance, Brother Leo, who accompanied Francis to La Verna and witnessed the miracle, strains to decipher the apparition. Resting a book on his knee with his right hand, he leans back and raises his left hand to shield his eyes from the blinding light. Beyond the leafy grotto, a church or chapel rests in the distance.

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[84] To the best of my knowledge, the painting has been published only once. See Claudio Strinati, "Riforma della pittura e riforma religiosa," in *L'Immagine di San Francesco nella controriforma*, by Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò and Claudio Strinati (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1982), 51–52.

The simultaneously dynamic and cultic image amalgamates Titian's (ca. 1488–1576) and Girolamo Muziano's (1532–92) interpretations of the theme, which were widely known through prints. Titian's early experimental woodcut envisions the stigmatization as a dramatic narrative, arranged horizontally across a verdant landscape that acts as a protagonist in the sacred history (fig. 5.14).[85] A cross materializes in a nebula of light in the upper right corner. Its brilliance radiates throughout the lush terrain, striking Leo and Francis with palpable energy. Shown from behind with his arms flung outward and his gaze to heaven, Francis falls to his knee, overcome by the vision of the cross. Leo similarly reacts to the heavenly appearance. More traditionally represented as absorbed in reading or adoration as in the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century frescoes of the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi, he rolls onto his back and lifts his right hand above his eyes to look upon the brilliant spectacle. Jacopino's painting effectively rotates the scene to afford a frontal view of the episode and a central position for the saint, while maintaining the print's dynamic energy. The heavenly vision moves from upper right to upper left, the picture plane re-orientates vertically, Brother Leo retains his middle position in plane if not in depth, and Francis turns to look back at the miraculous illusion.

The altarpiece's more conservative elements likely derived from Muziano's numerous representations of the subject, especially the 1568 engraving produced in collaboration with the Dutch printmaker Cornelis Cort (ca. 1533–78) (fig. 5.15) and the related painting of circa 1575–77 for the Capuchin monks of the church of San

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[85] See Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò and Claudio Strinati, *L'Immagine di San Francesco nella controriforma* (Rome: Quasar, 1982), cat. 89; David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut* (Washington, DC: The Foundation, 1976), cat. 23.

Bonaventura dei Lucchesi, which stood near Santa Chiara on Monte Cavallo (fig. 5.16).[86] Additionally, the Crocifisso employed Muziano as their artistic adviser in the Oratorio del Crocifisso at nearly the same time that they commissioned Jacopino for his Santa Chiara altarpieces. Muziano's influential compositions, frequently repeated by the artist and his workshop and copied by other artists, offer a mystical interpretation of the event that likens the stigmatization to Christ's Agony in the Garden.[87] The saint kneels in the foreground before a mysterious landscape. Turned slightly toward the viewer, he gently opens his arms and holds his palms out at his sides. The luminous seraph appears in the upper left corner, and Francis gazes ardently up at it. In the middle distance, Leo is startled. He raises his hands and topples backward, but like the sleeping disciples in Gethsemane, he does not seem to see or comprehend the momentous occasion. Francis, in contrast, accepts his fate with grace like Jesus. Having likely studied the canvas in person and doubtlessly seen the ubiquitous prints, Jacopino adopted the verticality and frontality of Muziano's composition, but energized it. In *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, he invigorated the iconic, while in the *Pietà* he subdued the narrative.

Stigmatization from Above

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[86] François Marius Granet shows Muziano's painting at the left of the choir of Santa Maria della Concezione, where it was transferred after 1626, in *Choir of the Capuchin Church in Rome* illustrated here. For Muziano's works, see Patrizia Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano, 1532-1592: dalla maniera alla natura* (Rome: U. Bozzi, 2008), 191–200, 261–69, 380–83; Prosperi Valenti Rodinò and Strinati, *L'Immagine di San Francesco*, cat. 92.

[87] Other representations of St. Francis by Muziano include: *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, ca. 1550–55, fresco, SS. Apostoli, Rome (destroyed); Cornelis Cort (after Girolamo Muziano), *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1567, engraving; Cornelis Cort (after Girolamo Muziano), *St. Francis*, from the Series of Penitential Saints, 1575, engraving. See Tosini, *Girolamo Muziano*, 191–200, 261–69, 473; Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620*, cat. 57; Prosperi Valenti Rodinò and Strinati, *L'Immagine di San Francesco*, cat. 91, 93.

Stuart Lingo has termed the compositional type exhibited by Jacopino's *St. Francis* a "Stigmatization from Above" and situated its adaptation in the later sixteenth century within the context of the Catholic Reformation.[88] As he explains, two iconographic traditions existed for artists representing the stigmatization. The first predominated in the thirteenth century and employed the more iconic "from above" mode. As seen on reliquaries, crosses, windows, historiated panels, and seals, it depicted Francis kneeling or standing directly below the seraph with his arms outstretched and his gaze heavenward. It thus created a liturgically appropriate, centralized, and hierarchical image with heaven and earth separated, while also requiring more physically and emotionally charged figures from artists. Nevertheless, the Stigmatization from Above generally fell out of favor in the early fourteenth century as the second type emerged. The new variety relied on a decidedly narrative construction like an Annunciation in which the angel approaches the Virgin across the painted surface. As exemplified by innumerable Tuscan paintings, it placed the seraph in one corner of the composition and Francis on the opposite side so that the viewer had to read the image horizontally. It therefore produced a legible history.

In the late sixteenth century, the "from above" convention experienced a revival because it uniquely addressed the concerns of artists and reformers alike. On the one hand, it allowed painters to exhibit their virtuosity through the creation of complex figural poses and the representation of exaggerated emotions. On the other hand, it produced clear, inspiring narratives that were also appropriately central and frontal liturgical images: "It thus provided an ideal means to conjoin two of the principal

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[88] Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 75–82; Lingo, "Capuchins and the Art of History," 174–86.

concerns of much post-Tridentine painting […] on the one hand the clear and affecting narration of a sacred story and on the other the creation of a compelling liturgical image with the principal holy figures at or near its center."[89] Jacopino's St. Francis, for instance, twists like Michelangelo's sibyls and prophets because the seraph is positioned above and behind him, and he responds with a mixture of pleasure and pain because the impression of the stigmata is an ecstatic experience. The artificial contortion and elevated emotionalism are appropriate to the narrative. Moreover, the figure is centrally placed and frontally oriented, and the composition vertically arranged, so that the nuns at Santa Chiara could properly approach and venerate the image of the saint above its altar.

Paleo-Franciscanism

The retrospection exemplified by the Stigmatization from Above was especially significant to the Capuchins, as Lingo has demonstrated. To defend their position as the true adherents to the Rule of St. Francis, the Capuchins cited historical images and texts, and in doing so, employed an early form of art history and archeology. Archaic forms especially informed the style of the order's peculiar habit, the symbol of its reform.[90] According to the order's traditional foundation story, Matteo da Bascio received either a vision from God or an oral communication from a very old friar that the dress worn by contemporary Franciscans did not match that donned by Francis and his original followers. Matteo examined historical paintings and discovered the information to be true. A more dynamic narrative unfolds in the somewhat apocryphal *Informatione intorno*

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[89] Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 78.
[90] Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 19–21; Lingo, "Capuchins and the Art of History," 86–125.

la origine dei Reverendi Frati Capuccini of 1579 by Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90), which Lingo cites. According to the text, the Capuchin order originated directly from an encounter with an archaic image. Disillusioned by the modern lifestyle of his Observant brothers, Paolo da Chioggia (d. 1530/31) visited his city's cathedral one day. An aged altarpiece caught his attention. Looking closely, he observed Francis depicted wearing a pointed hood, not the rounded hood of the Observants. Realizing that not even the habit of his brethren adhered to the original experience of Francis, Paolo went out and made a hood like the one in the painting. And thus the Capuchin order was born.

Such historical investigations intended to legitimate the new religious order soon grew into the creation of a "Paleo-Franciscan visual environment."[91] The Capuchins studied early Franciscan architecture and built convents and churches on thirteenth-century models. The church of San Damiano in Assisi was an especially important prototype. They also revived the veneration of early Franciscan images across the Italian peninsula. Conventuals, Observants, and Capuchins alike transferred thirteenth-century dossals and icons to more prestigious locations or surrounded them with elaborate frames of painted angels. The Bardi Dossal of ca. 1245–50, for example, was moved to its eponymous chapel in Santa Croce in Florence only in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Capuchins' explorations in art history encouraged imitation of archaic styles. The retrospective paintings of Dono Doni of Assisi (1505–75) exemplify the trend, but so too does the Stigmatization from Above employed by Jacopino. The painting consciously looks back to thirteenth-century compositional modes and thereby relates its Capuchin viewers to their order's revival of the hallowed, early days of Franciscanism. As

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[91] Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 21. For the following, see Lingo, *Federico Barocci*, 21–24; Lingo, "Capuchins and the Art of History," 20–80, 125–42, 145–244.

Vannugli argued, the aged artist was still "perfectly capable" of providing a visual language for the Catholic Reformation.

Crucified Christ

The desire to revive the early days of Francis and his first followers was at the heart of the Capuchins' investigations into paleo-Franciscanism. Beyond poverty and austerity, Francis's greatest devotion was to the crucified Christ, whose wounds he received on La Verna in 1224. In emulation of Francis, the Capuchins defined themselves as the "devoti e umili servi del Crocifisso" (devoted and humble servants of the Crucifixion), a designation that might be applied equally to the confraternity of the Crocifisso.[92] To stimulate devotion to Christ's redemptive suffering and death on the cross, the 1529 rules of Albacina recommended "that the friars neither hold nor have curious figures in their rooms, but rather some poor thing, or really some crucifix, or rather some other simple figure or simple little cross with the mysteries of the Passion, like the lance, sponge, and nails."[93] The 1536 statutes dictated that friars who preached "should not preach sentiments, or novels, poems, histories, or other vain, superfluous, curious, useless, pernicious sciences, but rather, following the example of Paul the

[92] Cargnoni, *I frati cappuccini*, 218.

[93] "Che li frati non tengano, né abbiano in cella figure curiose, ma alcuna poverina cosa, o ver qualche crocifisso, o ver qualch'altra semplice figura o semplice crociolina con li misteri della passione, come lancia, spongia, chiodi." Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 156.

Apostle, they should preach Christ crucified, in whom all the treasures of the knowledge and science of God are."[94]

Moreover, in the brothers' sermons, the rules sanctioned only words that were "nude, pure, simple, humble, base, nothing less than divine" because "refined, ornate, and embellished words are not suitable to the nude and humble Crucifix."[95] Identifying Christ as the "libro de la vita" (book of life) for the illiterate, the Capuchins produced pocket-sized prayer manuals that guided the faithful through daily exercises of meditation on Christ's Passion. Both popular and accessible, the books described Christ's suffering in vivid, realistic, and passionate detail so that readers could imagine the Crucifixion as if it were before their eyes.[96] The Crocifisso's rituals and processions more literally put the Crucifixion before the faithful. As shown in the previous chapters, the company's miraculous image of Christ on the cross functioned as a surrogate for the True Cross and Christ's crucifixion. Thus, recognizing the Capuchins' particular commitment to the crucified Christ, which so recalled their own cultic devotion, the confraternity of the Crocifisso duly selected the Crucifixion as the subject for the main altarpiece of Santa Chiara and assigned the canvas's execution to one of the company's artistic members known for his "divoto, diligente, e vago" (devout, diligent, and desirable) painting style.[97]

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[94] "Che non predichino frasche, né novella, poesie, istorie o altre vane, superflue, curiose, inutile, imo perniciose scienzie, ma, a esemplo di Paulo apostolo, predichino Cristo crucifisso, nel quale sono tutti li tesori de la sapienzia e scienzia di Dio." Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 221.

[95] "E perché al nudo e umil Crucifisso non sono conveniente terse, fallerate e fucate parole, ma nude, pure, simplice, umile e basse, niente di meno divine, infocate e piene di amore, a esemplo di Paulo, vaso di elezione, il quale predicava non in sublimità di sermone e di eloquenzia umana, ma in virtù di Spirito." Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 222.

[96] Criscuolo, *I cappuccini*, 223. On the Capuchins' dedication to the crucified Christ, see Salvatore Vacca, *Momenti e figure della spiritualità dei cappuccini in Italia* (Rome: Collegio San Lorenzo da Brindisi, 2007), 69–105.

[97] Baglione, *Vite*, 1:21.

MARCELLO VENUSTI

A member of the Crocifisso like Jacopino, Marcello Venusti was a painter of Lombard origin active in Rome. Little is known of his early career. However, he was employed in Perino del Vaga's Roman workshop by the 1540s, when he may have witnessed Daniele da Volterra complete the Crocifisso's chapel frescoes for Perino. Marcello also likely met Michelangelo for the first time while working under Perino's direction in the Pauline Chapel, where Michelangelo was then executing his last frescoes. Already recognized as one of the best young artists studying the master's work, Marcello received the commission from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to reproduce Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (1536–41) in 1549. The painting was then under threat from reformers. Farnese would later serve as the Crocifisso's cardinal protector. According to Baglione, the copy earned Michelangelo's praise and initiated a period of collaboration between the artists: "[Marcello] carried it out so excellently that Buonarroti attached great affection to him and assigned many other things to him."[98] Stretching from the 1540s to Michelangelo's death in 1564, the professional relationship produced two important altarpieces: the *Annunciation* for the Cappella Cesi in Santa Maria della Pace and the *Annunciation* for San Giovanni in Laterano, both of the 1550s-60s. It also generated several smaller pictures for collectors or private devotion, including the *Crucifixion* and *Pietà* after Michelangelo's drawings for Vittoria Colonna as well as the *Expulsion of the Money Changers*, *Madonna del Silenzio*, and *Agony in the Garden*. Frequently replicated,

[98] "Prese egli poi amicitia, e servitù con Michelagnolo Buonarroti Fiorentino, il quale diegli molti opera a lavorare co suoi disegni, e gli se ritrarre una copia del Giuditio di esso Michelagnolo per il Cardinal' Alessandro Farnese in un quadretto, & egli lo condusse tanto eccellentemente, che il Buonarroti gli pose grand' affettione, & imposegli molte altre cose." Baglione, *Vite*, 1:20.

Marcello's originals are difficult to identify with certainty. Marcello also enjoyed a long and successful independent career, executing paintings in Santo Spirito in Sassia, Sant'Agostino, Santa Caterina dei Funari, and Santa Maria sopra Minerva. In 1579, he died in Rome and was buried in the habit of the Crocifisso.[99] It is likely that the *Crucifixion* for Santa Chiara was one of his last public works — a swan song like Jacopino's *Pietà* and *St. Francis*. Marcello married twice: first to Tarquinia della Porta and then to Camilla Nunzia, the daughter of Michelangelo de Nunzi and Graziosa de Biondi, probably a relative of Jacopino's second wife. Attesting to the painter's friendship with the great artist Michelangelo, Marcello and Tarquinia named their first-born son Michelangelo, and the artist acted as the child's godfather, according to Baglione.[100]

Marcello's relationship with Michelangelo has predictably dominated discussion of his work since Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) first characterized him as Michelangelo's copyist. The success of his copy of the *Last Judgment* also limited his reputation, as it identified him as a miniaturist and replicator. "Similarly with designs by Michelangelo, and with his works, [Marcello] made an infinite number of small things," Vasari wrote. "And among the others in his work he made the whole façade of the Judgment, which is a rare thing and optimally conducted. And in truth, for small things in painting, one cannot

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[99] Russo, "Per Marcello Venusti," 26.

[100] On Marcello Venusti, see Barbara Agosti and Agosti Leone, eds., *Intorno a Marcello Venusti* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2016); Capelli, "Marcello Venusti"; Laura Russo, "Marcello Venusti e Michelangelo," in *Michelangelo e Dante*, ed. Corrado Gizzi (Milan: Electa, 1995), 143–48; Georg W. Kamp, *Marcello Venusti: religiöse Kunst im Umfeld Michelangelos* (Egelsbach: Verlag Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 1993); Russo, "Per Marcello Venusti"; Baglione, *Vite*, 1:20-22; Vasari, *Vite*, 5:625, 632, 7:272-75, 574-75.

do better."[101] And yet, Marcello's association with Michelangelo was more complex than that of imitator. When Michelangelo ended his career as a painter with the *Conversion of Paul* (1542–45) and *Crucifixion of Peter* (1546–50) in the Pauline Chapel, he also began to work with a younger generation of artists including Marcello, which allowed him to remain active in the world of painting. Consistently, he provided figure drawings for the younger painters to use in their compositions, as he had earlier with Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547). However, Marcello never simply copied the master's designs, as scholars have recognized increasingly.

Johannes Wilde first reconceived the artists' interactions as "collaboration."[102] Laura Russo insisted that Marcello was never a copyist in the literal sense: "The relationship that the artist from Como established with Michelangelo is entirely unique in that one is dealing with an approach that touches the limit of a copy […] but never arrives at a true and proper stylistic involvement."[103] If one examines Venusti's works closely, she argued, "It emerges that the drawing by Michelangelo, although scrupulously transcribed in the painting, is not actually realized with a Michelangelesque style."[104] William Wallace greatly expanded the idea, advancing the theory of "multiple authorship, where each artist brought equally important and indispensable ingredients to a

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[101] "Ma perchè si è dilettato sempre costui di fare ritratti e cose piccole, lasciando l'opere maggiori, n'ha fatto infiniti […] Similmente con disegni di Michelagnolo, e di sue opere, ha fatto una infinità di cose similmente piccolo; e fra l'altre in una sua opera ha fatta tutta la facciata del Giudizio, che è cosa rara e condotta ottimamente. E nel vero, per cose piccole di pittura, non si può far meglio […] E questo basti di Marcello, che per ultimo attende a lavorare cose piccole, conducendole con veramente estrema ed incredibile pacienza." Vasari, *Vite*, 7:574-75.

[102] Johannes Wilde, "Cartonetti by Michelangelo," *Burlington Magazine* 101, no. 680 (1959): 374.

[103] "Il rapporto che l'artista comasco istituisce con Michelangelo è del tutto particolare in quanto si tratta di un avvicinamento che tocca il limite della coppia […] ma non arriva mai ad un vero e proprio coinvolgimento stilistico." Russo, "Per Marcello Venusti," 3.

[104] "Emerge che il disegno di Michelangelo, pur scrupolosamente trascritto nel dipinto, non è affatto realizzato con uno stile michelangiolesco." Russo, "Per Marcello Venusti," 9.

mutually beneficial collaboration."[105] Echoing Russo's assertions, he contended, "Michelangelo's collaboration with Venusti achieved a Renaissance ideal in combining the best of *disegno* and *colore*," or "the self-consciously refined manner of Michelangelo's drawing and the enamel-like finish of Venusti's painting."[106] The designs were Michelangelesque, but the style was Venusti's, for Venusti translated and transformed Michelangelo's drawings into paint.

Collaboration

The best-known example of collaboration between Marcello and Michelangelo is the Cesi *Annunciation*. According to Vasari, Tommaso dei Cavalieri (ca. 1512–87) persuaded Michelangelo to produce a number of drawings for his friends, including Cardinal Federico Cesi (1500–65), with whom Michelangelo was already associated. Cavalieri was a dedicated member of the Crocifisso, as the last chapter showed. His friend Cesi commissioned Marcello to paint an altarpiece of the *Annunciation* for his family chapel in Santa Maria della Pace sometime in the 1540s. Michelangelo may have recommended Marcello for the commission. He certainly supplied at least two designs for Marcello's use. Wilde first linked the drawings to the commission and identified the

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[105] William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo and Marcello Venusti: A Case of Multiple Authorship," in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 154.

[106] Wallace, "Michelangelo and Marcello Venusti," 147, 143. See also Margaret Kuntz, "Michelangelo the 'Lefty': The Cappella Paolina, the Expulsion Drawings, and Marcello Venusti," in *Michelangelo in the New Millennium: Conversations about Artistic Practice, Patronage and Christianity*, ed. Tamara Smithers (Boston: Brill, 2016), 185–93; William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo Admires Antiquity... and Marcello Venusti," in *Ashes to Ashes: Art in Rome Between Humanism and Maniera*, ed. Roy Eriksen and Victor Plahte Tschudi (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 125–53; William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo and Venusti Collaborate: The Agony in the Garden," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 22, no. 1 (2002): 36–43.

highly finished version attributed to Michelangelo in the Morgan Library and Museum (fig. 5.17) as Marcello's model for the Cesi altarpiece. Marcello used the second study now in the Uffizi as the basis for his painting of the same subject in San Giovanni in Laterano. Although the Cesi panel is now lost, numerous small-scale replicas like that in the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica in Rome (fig. 5.18) offer an idea of the altarpiece's original appearance.[107] Like Jacopino's later *St. Francis*, Michelangelo's design employs a "from above" composition, exhibiting figural torsion while piously evoking the drama of the religious narrative. The angel appears in the upper right corner. Startled, the Virgin turns back over her left shoulder to gaze up at the heavenly apparition. Marcello finished the picture by adding color and a minutely observed interior setting.

An example of the artists' partnership more pertinent to this discussion of Marcello's altarpiece for Santa Chiara is Marcello's interpretation of Michelangelo's *Crucifixion* for Vittoria Colonna, the sister-in-law of Santa Chiara's benefactor Giovanna d'Argona. Vasari reports that Michelangelo gifted three drawings to Vittoria, including a *Crucifixion* that scholars now identify as that in the British Museum in London (fig. 5.19).[108] Michelangelo's biographer Ascanio Condivi (1525–74) noted that the drawing showed Christ "not in the usual semblance of death, but alive, with His face upturned to the Father, and he seems to be saying 'Eli, 'Eli' [why has thou forsaken me]."[109] Drawing

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[107] For the drawings and paintings, see Federica Kappler, "Una nota di cronologia sui disegni di Michelangelo per la pala Cesi di Santa Maria della Pace," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56, no. 3 (2014): 355–60; Hugo Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings: Closer to the Master* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 257–61; Wallace, "Michelangelo and Marcello Venusti," 139–47; Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 54–57; Wilde, "Cartonetti"; Vasari, *Vite*, 7:272.

[108] Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings*, 245–57; Alexander Perrig, *Michelangelo's Drawings: The Science of Attribution*, trans. Michael Joyce (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 94–101; Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 117–18.

[109] Asconio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo*, ed. Hellmut Wohl, trans. Alice Wedgwick Wohl (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1976), 103.

on Condivi, Vasari identified the subject instead as the moment just before Christ's death when Christ recommended his spirit to God.[110] Christ is vigorously alive, flanked by two mourning angels, with the skull of Adam at the base of his cross. To translate the older artist's drawing into paint, Marcello retained the compelling figure of Christ, but added the figures of Mary and John the Evangelist from two other sketches by Michelangelo now in the Louvre. As exemplified by the version in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Rome (fig. 5.20), Marcello's frequently copied composition employed the expressive gestures of Mary and John and a dark, ominous setting to heighten the emotional drama of the scene.[111]

Crucifixion

Returning to the theme of the Crucifixion for the Crocifisso a decade after Michelangelo's death, Marcello depicted the crucified Christ, rather than the living Christ, in keeping with Capuchin devotion. Laura Russo first identified and published the *Crucifixion* in Corpus Christi alla Garbatella (fig. 5.1) as Marcello's altarpiece for Santa Chiara, suggesting the possibility of workshop assistance to explain details of the image's execution not usually seen in Marcello's work.[112] Simona Capelli summarily rejected "all

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[110] Vasari, *Vite*, 7:275.

[111] On contemporary representations of the Crucifixion in Rome, see Thomas Noll, "Zur Interpretation von Michelangelos Kruzifixus für Vittoria Colonna und Marcello Venustis 'Kreuzigung' anlässlich einer neu aufgefundenen Kopie von Venustis Komposition," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 65, no. 3 (2014): 29–58; Massimo Firpo, "Ancora sul 'Cristo in croce' di Michelangelo: Giulio Clovio, Cornelis Cort, Agostino Carracci," in *Società, cultura e vita religiosa in età moderna*, ed. Luigi Gulia, Ingo Herklotz, and Stefano Zen (Sora: Centro di Studi Sorani "Vincenzo Patriarca," 2009), 133–62; Massimo Firpo, "Denis Calvaert e il 'Cristo in croce' di Michelangelo per Vittoria Colonna," *Iconographica* 6 (2007): 115–25; Iris Krick, *Römische Altarbildmalerei zwischen 1563 und 1605* (Taunusstein: Driesen, 2002), 267–92.

[112] Russo, "Per Marcello Venusti," 15.

those Crucifixions undeservedly ascribed to [Marcello]." Pointing to unspecified discrepancies of style and iconography, she "expunged" the Corpus Christi canvas as well as five other Crucifixions from the artist's catalog.[113] However, the evidence I have unearthed overwhelmingly supports Russo's identification, and the *Crucifixion* can now be returned to Marcello's *oeuvre* with confidence.

The confraternity's payment records document a *Crucifixion* produced by Marcello for Santa Chiara. Between August and December 1575, the company registered payments to the artist for work made for the church, designating the last allocation of December 30 as "per resto del quadro dipinto per il sudetto altare" (for the rest of the painting for the above-mentioned altar).[114] Von Henneberg first published these records. Payments to the woodworker Flaminio for the "hornamento del crucifisso de depengie hora m.ro Marcelo per la giesia delle pucine" (ornament for the crucifix to be painted now by master Marcello for the church of the Capuchins) and to a cloth merchant for "tella san gallo frangia cordoni anelle per la coperta del quadro del Cristo al altar delle capucina" (San Gallo fabric, fringe, cords, and rings for the cover of the picture of Christ on the altar of the Capuchins) clarify that the altarpiece depicted the Crucifixion.[115] These records are published here for the first time. Well-known early sources like Baglione's *Vite* and Filippo Titi's 1674 guidebook, which draws heavily on Baglione's biographies, record an image by Marcello of the *Crucifixion* "con diverse figure" (with

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[113] "Appare così necessaria l'espunzione dal catalogo venustiano di tutte quelle Crocifissioni a lui ascritte immeritatamente, non solo per l'evidente discrepanza stilistica ma anche per la presenza di una diversa interpretazione iconografica: basti citare quella della Galleria Borghese, quella della chiesa del Corpus Christi, quella conservata nella Pinacoteca Nazionale di Perugia, quella facente parte della Collezione Fesh, quella nella Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco e infine quella del Museo Storico Aloisiano di Castiglione delle Stiviere." Capelli, "Marcello Venusti," 24.

[114] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-50: Entrata ed Uscita dal 1574 al 1578, fol. 94r (December 30, 1575); Von Henneberg, "Annibale Lippi," 257.

[115] ASV, ACSM, A-XI-50, fol. 92r (November 4, 1575), fol. 95r (January 21, 1576).

diverse figures) — the same subject as the Corpus Christi painting — above the church's main altar. Baglione especially praised the work for the "gran diligenza, e divotione" (great diligence and devotion) with which the artist made it.[116] Moreover, Corpus Christi alla Garbatella now serves as the convent church of the Capuchin Clares in Rome, suggesting a reliable provenance that has generally gone unnoticed. The sisters of Santa Chiara most likely moved with their transferable possessions, including Marcello's and Jacopino's paintings, to Corpus Christi at the time of their convent's destruction in 1888. Finally, and perhaps most persuasively, two figures wear confraternal robes in the image, a highly unusual inclusion for a Capuchin church that would be inexplicable without confraternal patronage but that has surprisingly escaped scholarly attention.

A humble, pure, and simple image of the crucified Christ, Marcello's *Crucifixion* thus neatly embodies the confraternal and Capuchin concerns at Santa Chiara traced in this chapter. Christ's lifeless body hangs in iconic fashion from the cross. Presented frontally, centrally, and vertically in the immediate foreground of the painting, the corpus is an archaizing focus of devotion. The Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, the traditional witnesses to the Crucifixion, stand to either side of the cross. Francis and Clare kneel before them. Wearing the pointed hood of the Capuchin order, Francis gestures toward the observer, displaying the wounds of the stigmata, the marks of his passionate adoration of the crucified Christ. Clare holds the sanctified Host in a monstrance in her right hand and indicates the viewer with her left, simultaneously interceding with Jesus on behalf of the spectator and reminding the observer of the church's dedication to the body of Christ. To either side of the saintly figures, representatives of the altarpiece's

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[116] Baglione, *Vite*, 1:189; Titi, *Studio di pittura*, 1:162.

patrons and intended audience gather. Three men kneel behind Francis. Two wear confraternal hoods to piously maintain their anonymity. The third is probably a portrait, most likely of Patrizio Patrizi, whom the confraternity identified as the convent's benefactor. Behind Clare, three Capuchin sisters pray. Together, the *confratelli* and *suore* convene at the foot of the cross to venerate the crucified Christ in their unique ways — the brothers through charity, and the sisters through prayer.

Stylistic Choices

The Crocifisso's patronage at Santa Chiara acts as a coda to the arguments of this dissertation. A review of the convent church's construction and decoration has again revealed the complex web of social and professional relationships that bound the confraternity brothers together. United by familial bonds and confraternal brotherhood, Annibale Lippi, Jacopino del Conte, and Marcello Venusti were uniquely qualified to translate the Crocifisso's commissions into visual reality. Examination of the confraternity's support of the convent church demonstrated the Crocifisso's understanding of the aims of the Capuchin reform movement. The brothers intuited that the Capuchin sisters required a modest church on a longitudinal plan and austere altarpieces in archaizing manners and with Christocentric focuses. As in the confraternity's chapel and oratory, Christological imagery manifested the Christocentric turn of the sixteenth century, which resonated profoundly with the company's own peculiar devotion to a miracle-working crucifix. Furthermore, the Crocifisso's choice of a more retrospective style for the paintings of Santa Chiara also exhibited a deep

comprehension of the goals of the Catholic Reformation more broadly. It showed an ability to choose — and recognition of the need to choose — between artistic manners depending on setting and subject. As if in response to the Council of Trent's decrees on sacred art, the company shifted between conspicuous meaning, conspicuous form, and archaism in its commissions at the Cappella del Crocifisso, Oratorio del Crocifisso, and Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo.

CONCLUSION

When the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di San Marcello a Roma met on December 10, 1574, the swiftly approaching Jubilee declared by Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85) for the following year was on everyone's mind. "Because we are near the Holy Year," the *confratelli* (confraternity brothers) observed, "it seems necessary for every Christian and especially the brothers of the Company of the Holy Crucifix to think about limiting themselves to the best and most exemplary life possible not only for their own benefit and duty but also for the edification and example of others." In order to prepare to serve as models of piety for Roman citizens and visiting pilgrims, the confraternity convened to discuss and determine whether to invite a certain "R.mo D. Philippo" and "R.mo Tharusio" to offer spiritual guidance to the sodality "because we cannot by ourselves easily affect such holy desire without having for guide and leader religious individuals and exemplars who not only edify and introduce us to the good path with exhortations and sermons but also administer the sacraments and continually celebrate masses in our oratory." One scholar has identified the laudable Philippo as none other than St. Philip Neri (1515–95).[1] The company's officers assured its members that the fathers would enter "as brothers of the company," looking to gain nothing from the sodality but the use of its prayer hall "to celebrate and do that which will be of service to the whole company." Without interfering in the confraternity's daily observances, the men would worship in the oratory "as our brothers" in the hope that their ministrations would be "of great utility as much to our souls as to many others." Having already voted

[1] Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, 1550-1650* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1995), 28.

unanimously to ask the fathers to join the confraternity, the officers requested that the whole community simply ratify their decision and begin preparing to serve as models of devotion during the Jubilee.[2]

Preserved in the company's abundant, but previously unplumbed archive, the anecdote encapsulates many of the central themes of this dissertation. With a membership exceeding 1,800 individuals, support from Rome's most influential leaders, and some 250 affiliated confraternities across Europe, the Crocifisso enjoyed a prestigious position in sixteenth-century society. With great prominence, however, came great responsibility, and the sodality recognized its duties as a leader in the Catholic world. While it was important for every Christian to prepare for the 1575 Jubilee, it was especially important that the brothers of the Crocifisso adopt the most admirable lifestyle, "not only for their own benefit and duty but also for the edification and example of others." The *confratelli*

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[2] "Perche siamo vicini all'Anno Santo pare che sia necessario ad ogni christiano et massimamente ai fratelli della Compagnia del S.mo Crucifisso di pensare de ridursi a piu megliore et esemplare vita che sia possibile non solo per utilita et debito proprio ma anco per edificatione et essempio delli altri et perche non si po facilmente da noi stessi affetuare cosi santo desiderio senza havere per guida e capo persone religiose et esemplari li quali non solo con esortationi et sermoni ce habbino a edificare et introdurci nella via bona ma anco ci habbiano amistrare li s.mi sacramenti et celebrare di continuo messe nel nostro oratorio essendo piaciuto a Dio che se in sia fatta parola con il R.mo Don Philippo et il R.mo Tharusio li quali per bonta loro si sonno trovati disposti di maniera che ogni volta che piacera alla nostra compagnia di richiederli et chiamarli a questa impresa veranno volintieri fattone prima pero parola con sua santita et con il ill.mo protettore et perche non si po ne si deve fare di cio risolutione alcuna senza consenso et volunta delli s.rie nostre pero hogi sonno chiamati a ragionare et risolverne quanto piacera loro: certi si candole che questi R.di padri entraranno come confrati della compagnia giarando osservare li nostri statuti et che non cercano dalla nostra compagnia cosa alcuna ma solo l'uso del nostro oratorio per celebrare et per farci tutto quello che sara servitio di tutta la compagnia obligandose per habitation loro conprare case e pigliarle apigione ove possino habitare celebraranno nello oratorio come fratelli nostri ne mai precuraranno per alcuna via ne impediranno li nostri soliti offitii all'hore consvente confessaranno li fratelli et communicaranno quante volte sara bisogno si tera nino questo loco sperando habbi da essere de grande utile si all'anime nostre come de molte altre et ancora che fossero intesi moltri pareri della congregatione secreta alultimo pero furno tutti conforni che si dovesse effetuare cosi s.ta proposta di chiamare questi R.mi padri et per validita di cio si fece correr la bossola che chi voleva che questi padri si richiedessero ponessero la fava bianca chi no la nera nella qual bossola per gratia de Idio furono ritrovate tutte le fave bianche pero hogi si propone alle s.rie nostre se quelle se contentano di quanto di sopra e proposto aceptato nella congregatione secreta li quali da essi si voranno confessare." Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Arciconfraternita del Crocifisso di San Marcello (hereafter ACSM), P-I-56: Congregazioni e Decreti dal 1564 al 1579, fol. 74–75 (December 10, 1574). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

would publically display their devotion in religious rituals and processions so that their exhibitions of faith might be of use "as much to our souls as to many others." Their devotion was private and public — an interior state and an exterior action, or a deep religious feeling and the pious practice that manifested it. Moreover, they could not exercise their faith alone. They required the salutary examples of religious leaders "who not only edify and introduce us to the good path with exhortations and sermons but also administer the sacraments and continually celebrate masses in our oratory." The *confratelli* needed the mediation of the Catholic Church. As one of the most prominent confraternities in sixteenth-century Italy and beyond, the Crocifisso was a model of lay spirituality in the Catholic Reformation.

Chapter Two documented the conspicuous devotion of the confraternity's religious ceremonies and urban processions during Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and the Feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross, when the company both exhibited its miracle-working crucifix in the church of San Marcello and went in procession through the streets of Rome. Having delineated the theory of conspicuous devotion in Chapter One, the discussion showed how the Crocifisso used its ostentatious displays of faith to attain and maintain its elite standing, fashion its collective identity as an association committed to the Catholic Reformation, and most importantly, arouse piety in its viewers. Focusing on the distinguished and influential confraternity, which was uniquely positioned to interpret and implement the reforms desired by the Catholic Church, the chapter also charted the changes in lay religious devotion in sixteenth-century Rome more broadly. As my research indicates, the Crocifisso played an essential role in the institution of the celebration of the Easter Sepulcher — an ephemeral

architectural structure representing Christ's tomb in which the sanctified Host was symbolically buried until Easter Sunday — as well as the foundation of Rome's great nocturnal procession on Holy Thursday. The confraternity was indispensable to the growing prestige and splendor of Holy Year observances, culminating in Gregory XIII's 1575 Jubilee during which contemporary observers like Angelo Pientini and Raphael Riera recognized the Crocifisso as the model of a new collective spirituality.[3] Finally, the association's rare privilege to liberate condemned prisoners on its principal feast of the Invention of the True Cross and its commitment to dowering poor young women on the Exaltation of the True Cross allowed the pious union to define itself as an exemplar of Christian mercy and compassion. Through conspicuous devotion, the brothers created theaters of devotion, grace, and charity in Rome "not only for their own benefit and duty but also for the edification and example of others."

Chapters Three, Four, and Five asserted the close interdependence of art, ritual, and reform in sixteenth-century Rome in analyses of the Crocifisso's three prestigious sites of patronage: the Cappella del Crocifisso (fig. 3.1), the Oratorio del Crocifisso (fig. 4.1–4.2), and Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo (fig. 5.1–5.3). As Fabio Lando, a confraternity member and deputy to the prayer hall's construction suggested, the company's art patronage ensured the group's elevated standing and thus made its devotional practices and charitable activities possible. In the conclusion to his account of the building and decoration of the sodality's oratory, Lando urged the reader to consider what would have happened if the company had not built its prayer hall "as most of the

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[3] Angelo Pientini, *Le pie narrationi dell'opere più memorabili fatte in Roma l'anno del givbileo MDLXXV* (Florence, 1583); Raffaele Riera, *Historia utilissima, et dilettevolissima delle cose memorabili passate nell'Alma Città di Roma l'Anno del gran Giubileo MDLXXV* (Macerata: appresso Sebastiano Martellini, 1580).

company was content to do," a complacency that Lando recognized as a terrible miscalculation. "Today," he argued, "[the company] would be the most unhappy, miserable company there is! It would have lost the following of the nobility, it would have lost the path of good works," and it would have been reduced to penury.[4] In order to follow "the path of good works" — that is, the path of devotion, compassion, and charity traced in Chapter Two — the company had to attract "the following of nobility." To attract powerful members, the Crocifisso commissioned works of art.

Chapter Three examined the conspicuous meaning of the pictorial ornamentation of the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello al Corso, the primary site of public veneration of the confraternity's wondrous crucifix. A review of the church's reconstruction after the calamitous fire of 1519, from which the wooden crucifix miraculously survived, and a survey of the chapel's subsequent embellishment set the stage for the ceremonies and rituals described in Chapter Two. Consideration of Antonio Vannugli's study of the chapel in light of Edgar Wind's newly published lectures on iconography offered the interpretive key to the chapel's frescoes representing the *Creation of Eve* and *Four Evangelists* (fig. 3.2–3.3) by Perino del Vaga (1501–47) and Daniele da Volterra (1509–60).[5] In a symbolic reading that would have been readily apparent to original viewers accustomed to seeking concordances between the Old and

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[4] "È Hor quì si può considerare se la Compagnia non havesse fatto quest' Oratorio, e che fosse habitata sempre in quella Grotta sotto il Dormitorio de frati come la maggiore parte della Compagnia si contentava, hoggi sarebbe la più infelice meschirella Compagnia di quante hoggi ce ne sono, haveria perso il seguito della Nobilità, havria perduto la Via delle buone opera, et al fine si saria ridotta in mano di quattro Plebei." ASV, ACSM, P-XIX-51: Fabio Lando, "Trattato come fu fatto l'oratorio della compagnia del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello fatto dal signor Fabio Lando antiquario et uno dei fratelli della detta Compagnia e deputato sopra di ciò della Compagnia." The document is un-paginated.

[5] Antonio Vannugli, "L'arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso e la sua cappella in San Marcello," in *Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica*, ed. Luigi Fiorani (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 429–83; Edgar Wind, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

New Testaments, the *Creation of Eve* and the company's own miracle-working image of Christ on the cross functioned as a typological pair. The emergence of Eve from the side of Adam prefigured the creation of the Church from the side of Christ at the Crucifixion, when blood and water flowed from Christ's side wound like the sacraments from the Church. Furthermore, the inclusion of a desiccated tree as in Michelangelo's *Creation of Eve* in the Sistine Chapel (fig. 3.12) evoked the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life, from which the faithful believed the wood of the True Cross (that is, Christ's cross) derived. Thus, a chain of associations linked the Crocifisso's fresco to the association's particular cultic devotion. The *Creation of Eve* prefigured the Creation of the Church, the sculpted crucifix stood in for the Crucifixion, and the object's wood became the wood of the True Cross. In its first act as a patron of the arts, the Crocifisso established Christocentricism as the dominant theme of both its art and ritual, foreshadowing the Christocentric turn of the Church during the Catholic Reformation.

The conspicuous form of the fresco cycle portraying the Invention and Exaltation of the True Cross as well as the History of the Archconfraternity of the Holy Crucifix in the Oratorio del Crocifisso (fig. 4.2) was the subject of Chapter Four. Thorough examination of the prayer hall's building and commission history highlighted the network of productive relationships that bound the brothers together and also revealed the company's preference for Niccolò Circignani's (ca. 1517/24–after 1596) post-Tridentine style, which scholars have routinely and mistakenly rejected in the past. While Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89) motivated the structure's completion, Tommaso dei Cavalieri (1509–87) and Girolamo Muziano (1532–92) oversaw its pictorial decoration, giving preference first to Giovanni de' Vecchi (ca. 1532–1615), Farnese's favorite

painter, and then to Cesare Nebbia (ca. 1536–1614), Muziano's pupil. However, financial and artistic control shifted, and Ottavio Capranica and Circignani emerged as significant nodes of influence. Identifying the post-Tridentine *Breviarium romanum* (1568) and Cesare Baronio's (1538–1607) *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607) as textual sources for the frescoes' iconography, the chapter showed the confraternity's choice of subject matter expressed its collective identity as an association committed to the restoration and renewal of the Catholic faith after the Council of Trent (1545–63).[6] Furthermore, formal analyses of the cycle and Circignani's frescoes (fig. 4.7–4.9) demonstrated that conspicuous form served conspicuous devotion to both instruct and inspire, in accordance with Trent's decree on religious art. Thus, although often dismissed as little more than vacuous stylization, the spectacular artistic mode of the oratory's frescoes functioned like the conspicuous devotion of its religious rituals and processions to secure status, fashion identity, and stimulate piety. The innovative theory of conspicuous devotion developed by this dissertation offers a new interpretive lens through which to reconsider and rediscover the devotional function of sixteenth-century painting in Italy.

Chapter Five's investigation of the Crocifisso's stylistic choices at Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo reinforced the arguments of the preceding chapters. Like the building and commission history of the oratory in Chapter Four, the review of the Capuchin convent church's foundation, construction, and decoration detailed the confraternity's exclusive patronage network. Analysis of the Capuchin reform movement and pertinent primary source material uncovered the Crocifisso's innate understanding of the Capuchin sisters' need for a simple church built on a longitudinal plan, pure and simple altarpieces in

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[6] Manlio Sodi and Achille M. Triacca, eds., *Breviarium romanum: editio princeps (1568)* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1999); Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1588–1607).

retrospective styles, and a devotional focus on the crucified Christ. Most significantly, the chapter lifted discussion of the church's altarpieces (fig. 5.1–5.3) by *confratelli* Marcello Venusti (ca. 1512–79) and Jacopino del Conte (1510–98) out of the limiting confines of connoisseurship and into the realm of meaning. Resituating the paintings within their Capuchin context and the broader Catholic reform movement, as comprehended and carried out by the confraternity, the study demonstrated that the paintings expressed the archaizing and Christocentric turn of post-Tridentine painting. As in the Crocifisso's chapel and oratory, Christ rather than the cult of saints was the devotional center, and the company chose between artistic modes to communicate religious content. Understanding the diversity and religious value of the Crocifisso's art patronage and festive lay performances in sixteenth-century Rome, this dissertation has provided the first comprehensive history of the powerful confraternity and new critical insights into the interdependence of art, ritual, and reform in the Catholic Reformation.

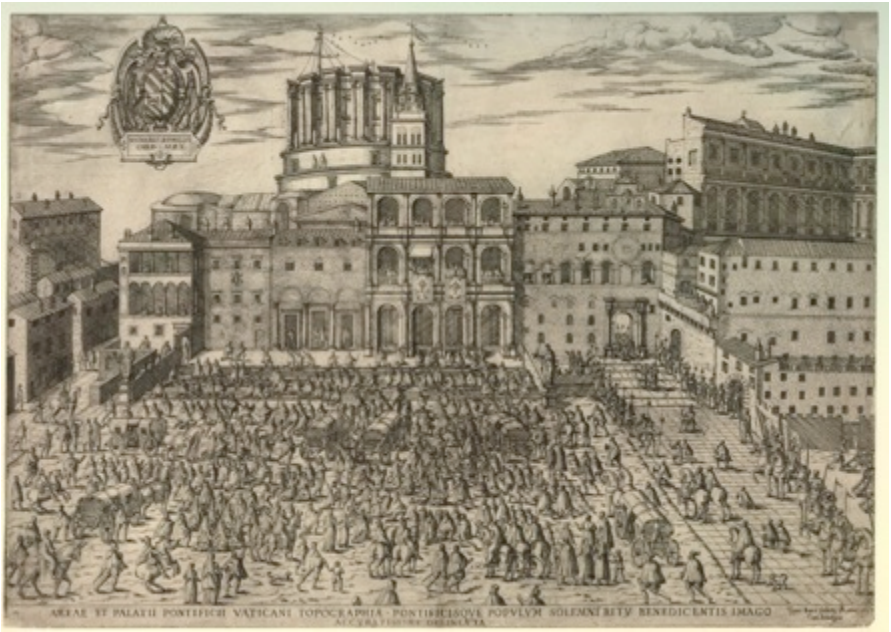
1.1. Crucifix, 14th century, poplar, Cappella del Crocifisso, San Marcello al Corso, Rome

1.2. Frontispiece of *Statuti et ordini della venerabile Archicompagnia del Santiss. Crocefisso in Santo Marcello di Roma* (Rome, 1565)

1.3. Antonio Tempesta, *Plan of the City of Rome*, 1645 (first printed 1593), etching with some engraving, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

1.3a. Detail of San Marcello, Oratorio del Crocifisso, and Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo in Antonio Tempesta's *Plan of the City of Rome*

2.1. Spinello Aretino*, St. Mary Magdalene Holding a Crucifix*, ca. 1395–1400, tempera and gold ground on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



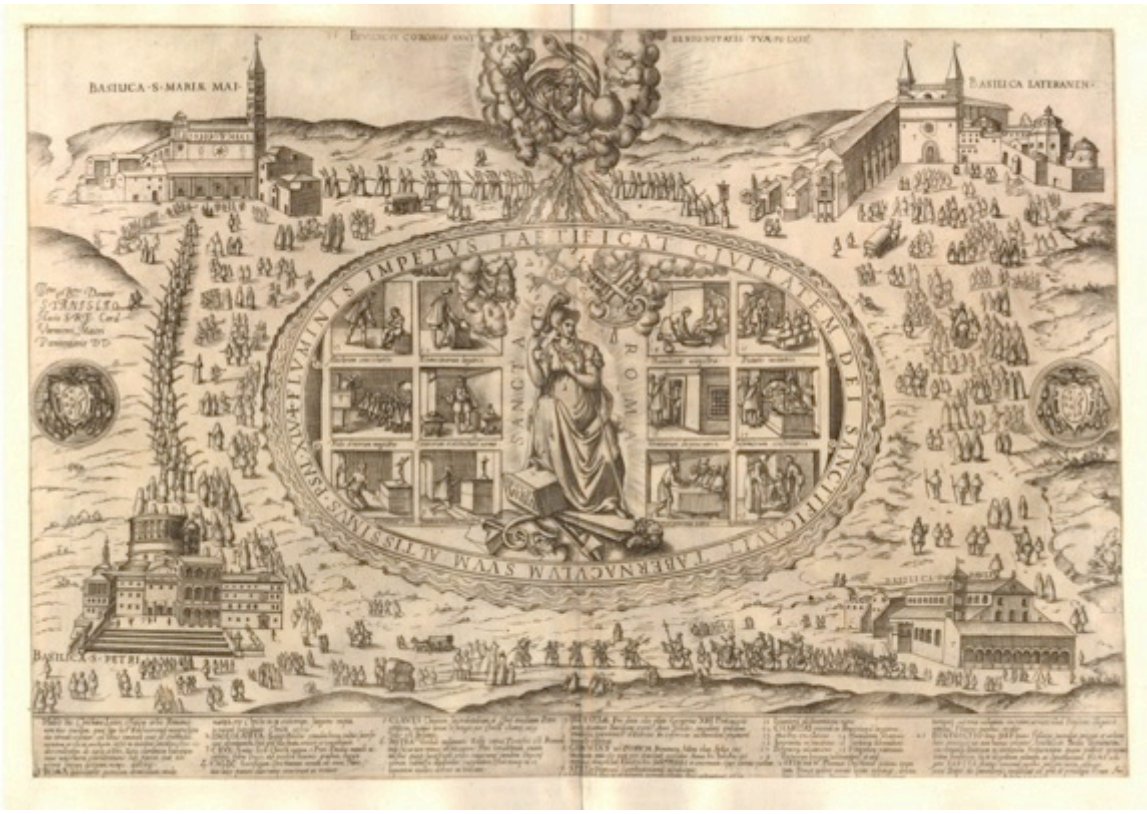
2.2. *Papal Benediction in St. Peter's Square*, 1567, etching and engraving, British Museum, London

2.3. Federico Zuccaro, *Design for an Easter Sepulcher*, ca. 1580, pen and brown ink with brown wash and white heightening over traces of black chalk, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

2.5. G. B. de' Cavalieri, *Opening of the Porta Santa for the Jubilee of 1575*, engraving, British Museum, London

2.4. Anonymous, *Corpus Domini Procession in St. Peter's Square during the Papacy of Innocent X*, ca. 1650, oil on canvas, Museo di Roma, Rome

2.6. C. Antonini, *Processional Macchina*, designed by Pietro Camporese the Elder for the Holy Thursday procession of 1775, etching, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, Rome



2.7. G. B. de' Cavalieri, *Roma Sancta*, 1575, engraving, British Museum, London

2.8. Antonio Lafreri, *Seven Churches of Rome*, 1575, etching and engraving, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

2.8a. Detail of confraternity processions in Antonio Lafreri's *Seven Churches of Rome*

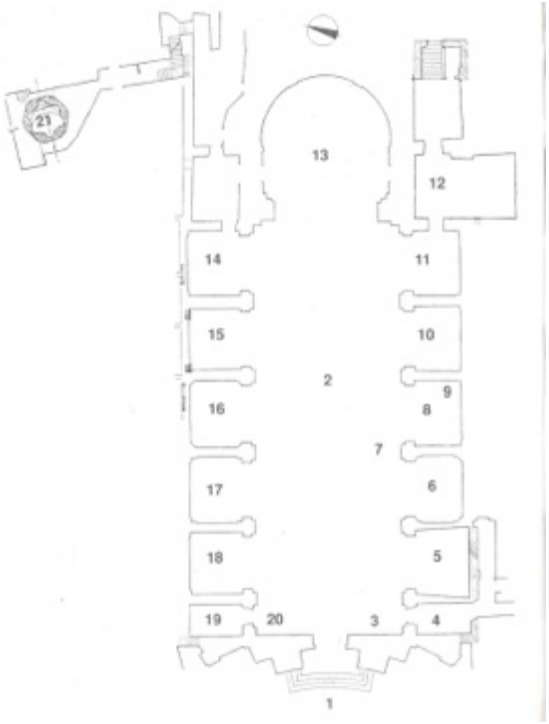
2.8b. Detail of confraternity processions in Antonio Lafreri's *Seven Churches of Rome*

2.9. Antoniazzo Romano, *Annunciation*, 1500, panel, Cappella dell'Annunziata, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome

3.1. Cappella del Crocifisso, San Marcello al Corso, Rome

3.2. Perino del Vaga and Daniele da Volterra, *Creation of Eve* and *Four Evangelists*, 1525–27 and 1540–43, fresco, vault, Cappella del Crocifisso, San Marcello al Corso, Rome

3.3. Daniele da Volterra, *St. Matthew and St. Luke*, 1540–43, fresco, vault, Cappella del Crocifisso, San Marcello al Corso, Rome



3.4. Plan of San Marcello al Corso, Rome

sino in Campidoglio. 31

di di Maggio vi e plenaria remission de peccati. Vi sono li corpi di S. Filippo, e Giacobo Apostoli, di S. Giouanni, e Pelagio Papa, & martire, di S. Theodoro, Cirillo, Honorato, Colosio, Buono, Fausto, Proto, Giacinto, Giouiano, Mauro, Nazario, Claudia, Sabino, vna parte di S. Crisinto, & Daria, vna costa di S. Lorenzo, vn ginocchio di S. Andrea, vna spalla e braccio di S. Biagio, del legno della Croce, vna veste senza maniche di San Thomaso Apostolo, il scapolario di S. Francesco, vi stanno frati di S. Francesco Conuentuali, & è titolo di Cardinale.

La Chiesa di San Marcello.

·TEMPL· S· MARCELLI·

QVESTA Chiesa fu edificata da vna gentildonna Romana in honore di S. Marcello Papa, ilquale fu posto in detto loco, che era vna stalla per comandamento di Massentio, & iui morì dal gran fetore, che vi era,

3.6. *La Chiesa di San Marcello*, from Sante Solinori, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome, 1588)

3.5. Interior view of San Marcello al Corso, Rome

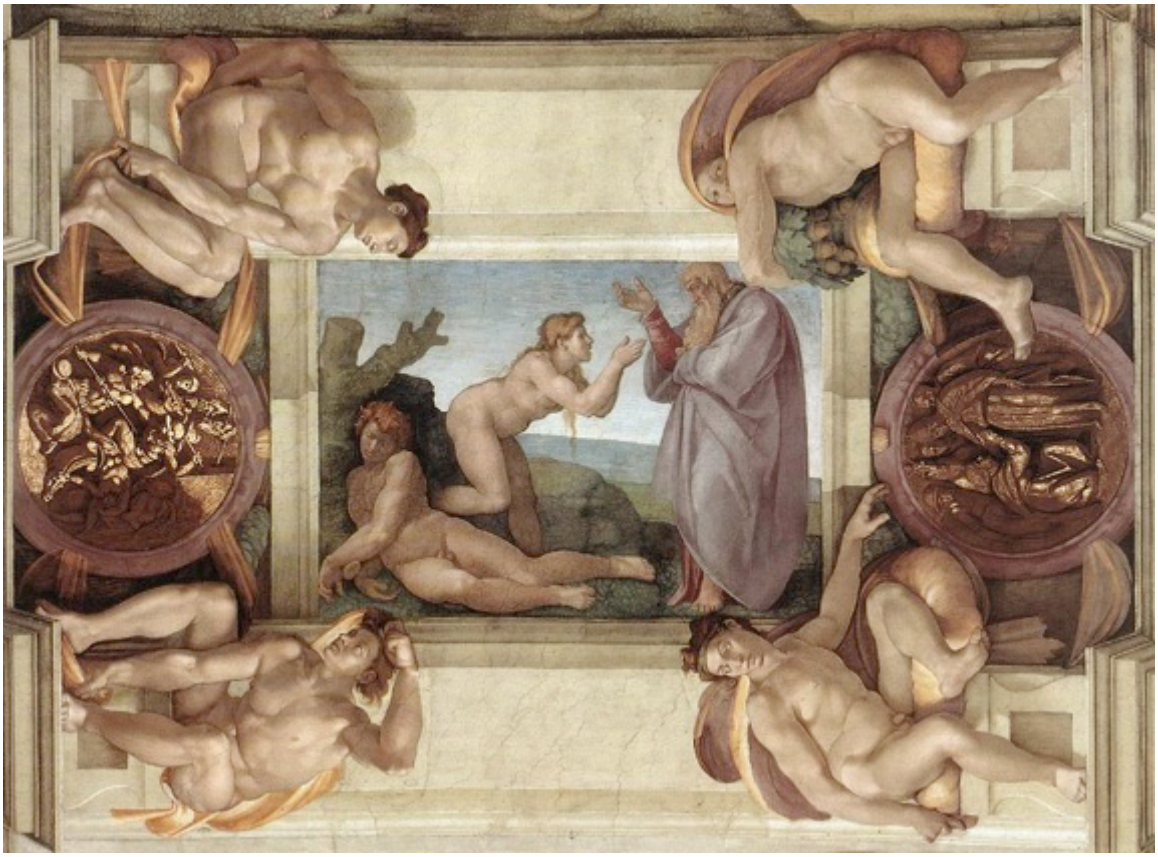
3.7. Francesco Salviati, *Nativity of the Virgin*, ca. 1562–63, fresco, Cappella Grifoni, San Marcello al Corso, Rome

3.9. Luigi Garzi, *Angels Carrying the Cross and Crown of Thorns*, 1682, oil painting, sacristy, San Marcello al Corso, Rome (originally Cappella del Crocifisso, San Marcello al Corso, Rome)

3.8. Taddeo Zuccaro and Federico Zuccaro, *Blinding of Elymas*, ca. 1557–66, fresco, Cappella Frangipane, San Marcello al Corso, Rome

3.10. Perino del Vaga, *Visitation*, 1520s, fresco, Pucci Chapel, SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome

3.11. Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1508–11, fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, Rome



3.12. Michelangelo, *Creation of Eve*, 1508–12, fresco, Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Rome

3.13. Perino del Vaga and workshop, Sala Paolina, 1545–47, fresco, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome

3.14. Fol. 86v with *Christ Pierced by the Lance and Creation of Eve*, from *Biblia Pauperum*, 15th century, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm 8201

3.16. Daniele da Volterra, *Descent from the Cross*, ca. 1545–48, fresco, originally Orsini Chapel, SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome (now transferred to neighboring chapel)

3.15. Jacopo della Quercia, *Creation of Eve*, 1425–39, marble, Porta Magna, San Petronio, Bologna

4.1. Giacomo della Porta, Oratorio del Crocifisso, 1561–68, Rome

4.2. Interior view of the Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.3. Giudetto Guidetti, Santa Caterina dei Funari, 1560–64, Rome

4.4. Giacomo della Porta, façade, begun 1571, Il Gesù, Rome

4.5. Giovanni de' Vecchi, *St. Helena Ordering the Destruction of Idols*, 1578–79, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.6. Giovanni de' Vecchi, *Discovery of the Three Crosses*, 1578–79 (completed 1582), fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.7. Niccolò Circignani, *Miracle of the True Cross*, 1581–82, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.8. Niccolò Circignani, *Battle Between Heraclius and Chosroes*, 1581–82, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.9. Niccolò Circignani, *Vision of Heraclius*, 1581–82, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.10. Cesare Nebbia, *Heraclius Carrying the Cross Barefoot*, 1579–80, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.11. Baldassare Croce, *Approval of the Confraternity's Statutes*, 1583–84, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.12. Paris Nogari, *Procession of the Crucifix Against the Plague of 1522*, 1583–84, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.13. Cristoforo Roncalli, *Miraculous Survival of the Crucifix from the Fire in San Marcello*, 1583–84, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.14. Cristoforo Roncalli, *Foundation of the Capuchin Convent*, 1583–84, fresco, Oratorio del Crocifisso, Rome

4.15. Piero della Francesca, *Legend of the True Cross*, ca. 1450s, fresco, right wall, apse, San Francesco, Arezzo

4.16. Antoniazzo Romano and workshop (attributed to), *Legend of the True Cross*, late 15th century, fresco, apse, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome

4.17. Daniele da Volterra, *Raising of a Dead Man*, 16th century, pen and wash, Kunsthalle, Hamburg

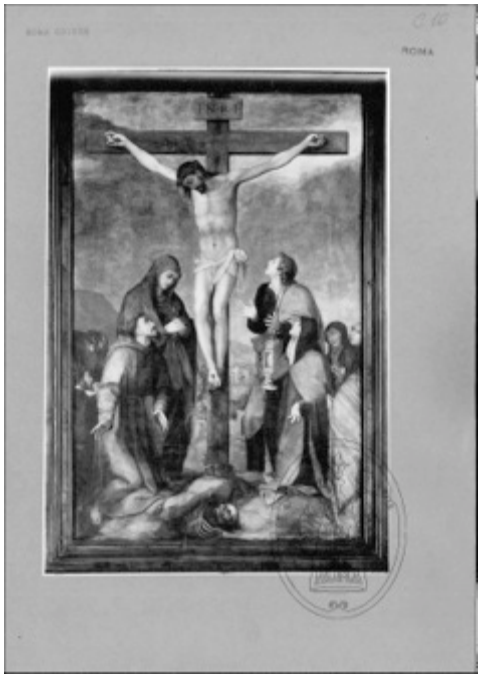
4.18. Jacopino del Conte, *Annunciation to Zachariah*, 1537, fresco, Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato, Rome

4.19. Jacopino del onte, *Preaching of the aptist*, 1538, fresco, ratorio di San iovanni Decollato, ome

4.20. Jacopo Bertoia, *Entry into Jerusalem*, 1569, fresco, Oratorio del Gonfalone, Rome

4.21. Raffaellino da Reggio, *Christ before Pilate*, 1574–75, fresco, Oratorio del Gonfalone, Rome

4.22. Federico Zuccaro, *Flagellation*, 1573, fresco, Oratorio del Gonfalone, Rome

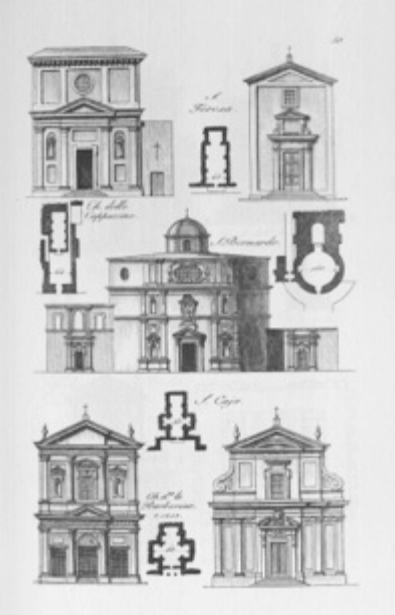


5.1. Marcello Venusti, *Crucifixion*, 1575–76, Corpus Christi alla Garbatella, Rome (originally Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo, Rome)

5.2. Jacopino del Conte, *Pietà*, 1575–80, oil on canvas, Monastero del Corpus Christi alla Garbatella, Rome (originally Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo, Rome)

5.3. Jacopino del Conte, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1575–80, oil on canvas, Monastero del Corpus Christi alla Garbatella, Rome (originally Santa Chiara a Monte Cavallo, Rome)

5.4. François Marius Granet, *Choir of the Capuchin Church in Rome*, 1814–15, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



5.5. Plate 50 with *Chiesa delle Cappuccine*, from Giovanni Battista Cipriani, *Itinerario figurato negli edifici più rimarchevoli di Roma* (Rome, 1835)

5.6. Jacopino del Conte, *Entombment*, 1548–50, wood, Musée Condé, Chantilly (originally Elvino Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome)

5.7. Jacopino del Conte, *Deposition*, 1551–53, Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato, Rome

5.8. Attributed to Jacopino del Conte, *Pietà*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome (formerly Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, Rome)

5.9. Michelangelo, *Bandini Pietà*, begun ca. 1547–48, marble, Museo del Opera del Duomo, Florence

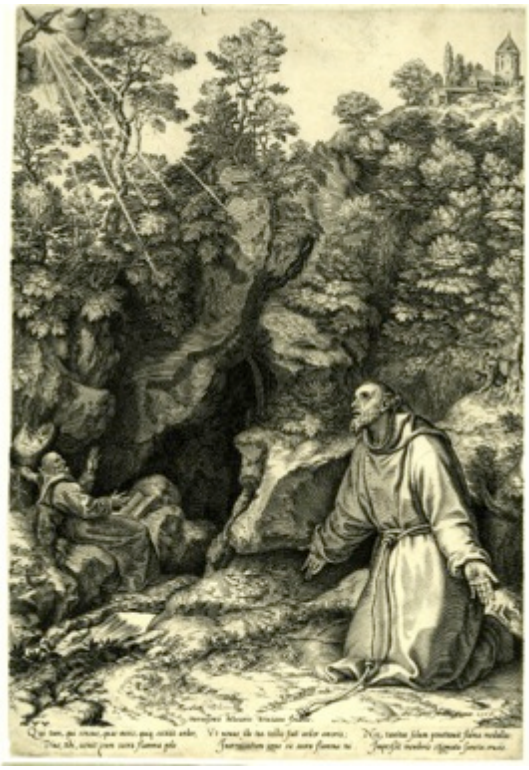
5.10. Michelangelo, *Entombment*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, National Gallery, London

5.11. Andrea Mantegna, *Entombment*, 1465/70, engraving, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

5.12. Raphael, *Entombment*, 1507, oil on panel, Galleria Borghese, Rome (originally Baglioni Chapel, San Francesco al Prato, Perugia)

5.13. Jacopo Pontormo, *Deposition*, 1525–28, oil on wood, Capponi Chapel, Santa Felicita, Florence

5.14. Attributed to Nicolo Boldrini (after Titian), *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, ca. 1530, woodcut, British Museum, London



5.15. Cornelis Cort (after Girolamo Muziano), *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1568, engraving, British Museum, London

5.16. Girolamo Muziano, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, ca. 1575–77, oil on canvas, Santa Maria della Concezione, Rome (originally San Bonaventura dei Lucchesi, Rome)

5.17. Michelangelo, *Annunciation*, late 1530s or early 1540s, black chalk, Morgan Library & Museum, New York

5.18. Marcello Venusti, *Annunciation*, 1550s?, oil on panel, Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, Galleria Corsini, Rome

5.19. Michelangelo, *Christ on the Cross*, 1538–41, black chalk, British Museum, London

5.20. Marcello Venusti, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1550–79, oil on panel, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome

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